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ΠΡΑΚΤΙΚΑ ΣΥΝΕΔΡΙΟΥ
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ΝΙΚΟΣ ΜΑΛΙΑΡΑΣ

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This book is dedicated to the memory of

Alexander Ivashkin
(1948-2014)

Born in Blagoveschensk, Russia in 1948, Ivashkin began his musical education at the Gnessins Special School of Music for gifted students at the age of five, playing both piano and cello.

It was at the advice of Mstislav Rostropovich that Ivashkin decided on an international performance career. Ivashkin worked alongside the likes of John Cage, George Crumb, Penderecki, Pärt, Rodion Shchedrin and Gabriel Prokofiev. He was also no stranger to our shores, having worked with Australian composers Peter Sculthorpe and Brett Dean. Collaborations such as these meant that he rapidly developed an international reputation as a keen advocate of contemporary music.

In 2008 he gave the world premiere of Penderecki's revised version of the Largo for Cello and Orchestra with the Cape Philharmonic Orchestra and Penderecki himself conducting. As soloist and conductor with the City of Saratov State Philharmonic Orchestra, he gave the world premiere of the orchestral version of Schnittke's Cantus Perpetuus in November 2011.

In one of his final major appearances, in May 2013 Ivashkin gave the world premiere of Gabriel Prokofiev's Concerto for Cello and Orchestra. Performed with the St Petersburg Philharmonic Orchestra under Sabrie Bekirova, the concert featured the music of three generations of the Prokofiev family.

During his career, Ivashkin made award-winning recordings of the complete cello repertoire of Prokofiev, Shostakovich, Roslavets, Tchernepnin, Schnittke and Kancheli with labels Chandos, BMG and Naxos.

An avid writer, Ivashkin published numerous books and articles on the music that he performed. He also taught at conservatoires all around the world and at the time of death held the position of Professor of Music and Director of Classical Music Performance at the University of London. He passed away on 31st of January 2014.

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George Lambelet (1875-1945): Aspects on the National and European Element in Greek music

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Abstract George Lambelet has been a pioneer in the systematization of the study for the creation of Greek music, according to the standards of national schools. A multifarious personality, he has been active in Athens in the first half of the 20th century as a composer, a columnist, an author, a music educator and a music-philosopher. He bequeathed to us his vast work –theoretical, aesthetic, literary and musical– which not only has never been evaluated but also not in the least registered. By critics and colleagues he has been characterized as “a milestone” of his era, as a “nobleman composer” who had lived with dignity and moral values. Lambelet was the first to point out that Greek music should be based on the studies of folk songs and their melodic, rhythmic and other textural features. At the same time he expressed his views concerning the use of elements from the Western music culture in Greek National Music. In this study is attempted a collective survey of the composer’s views, concerning the subject of national identity in music, as they are deriving from his writing, at a theoretical level, as well as at a practical level, as they are applied in some of his characteristic works. Attempted is also a first comprehensive assessment of these views, taking into account the general historical frame, as well as the particular conditions in the Greek state of his times.

1. Introduction

George Lambelet, offspring of a family of musicians of Swiss origin, was born in Corfu on the 24th December 1875. In 1888 he settled with his family in Piraeus. He studied in the Conservatory of Naples from 1895 until 1901. There he was taught composition by the famous professor Paolo Serrao (1830-1907), among whose students are included Cilea, Giordano and Leoncavallo¹.

As soon as he returned to Athens in 1901, he wrote an article under the title “Η Εθνική Μουσική” (The National Music) for the journal *Panathinea*². Having as a model Solomos’ notion of national art in poetry, he sought for the creation of national music inspired by the folk song.

One of his most important works, has been the writing of national pedagogical music, which he created and was the first one to establish, as a professor at the Model Teachers-School for the Secondary Education. He was assigned the musical part of the school-books for the Elementary Education [*Μουσικόν αλφαβητάριον (Musical Alphabet)*, *Διγενής Ακρίτας (Digenis Akritas)*, etc]. He co-operated with Zacharias Papantoniou (1877-1940) in the poet’s writing and educational campaign with *Τα Χελιδόνια (The Swallows)* (1920)³ and *Παιδικά Τραγούδια (Children’s songs)* (1931)⁴. Lambelet went along Papantoniou in the choice of common educational ideals,

¹ Sansone, Matteo, “Serrao, Paolo”, *Grove Music Online*. In: www.oxfordmusiconline.com (accessed on January 1st, 2013).

² Λαμπελέτ, Γεώργιος “Η Εθνική Μουσική”, [Lambelet, George “Ē Ethnikē Mousikē” (The National Music)], *Panathinea* 15/11 (1901), 82-90 and 30/11 (1901), 126-131.

³ Παπαντωνίου, Ζαχαρίας Λ. *Τα Χελιδόνια. Ποιήματα για Παιδιά*, μουσική Γεωργίου Λαμπελέτ [Papantoniou, Zacharias L. *Ta Helidonia (The Swallows)*, Poems for children, music by George Lambelet], (Athens: Library of the Educational Association ed., 1920).

⁴ Παπαντωνίου, Ζαχαρίας – Λαμπελέτ, Γεώργιος *Παιδικά Τραγούδια: ποιήματα και μουσική* [Papantoniou, Zacharias – Lambelet, George *Children’s Songs: poems and music*], (Athens: Papadimitriou Publishing Company ed., 1931); Φτέρης, Γεώργιος “Γεώργιος Λαμπελέτ (1875-1945)” [Fteris, Georgios, “George Lambelet (1875-1945)”], *Kerkyraika Nea*, nr. 1605-1606, 4-5 (1986), 11.

as love for Nature⁵, the clarity, subtlety, the unadorned and supple character of the form, as artistic standards⁶.

He spoke Italian and French and had cooperated with the Italian journal *La Farfalla* and the French *Mercure de France*. He has also cooperated with many Greek journals, as *Πρωία (Prōia)*, *Νέον Κράτος (Neon Kratos)*, *Ίόνιος Ανθολογία (Ionios Anthologia)*, *Μουσική Εφημερίς (Mousikē Ephēmeris)*, *Το Περιοδικό μας (To Periodiko mas)* (1900-1902), *Κριτική (Kritikē)* (2 volumes, 1903), *Καιροί (Kairoi)* (1909-1910), *Μουσική Επιθεώρησης (Mousikē Epitheōrēsis)* (1921-22), *Μουσικά Χρονικά (Mousika Chronika)* (1925 and 1928-1933), etc.

He was honored twice by the Academy of Athens. In 1921 with the Medal of Arts and Letters, and in 1940, with the Mavrogenous Award for his work *La Musique Populaire Grecque*⁷.

He died on the October, 30th in 1945 and he was buried in the 1st Cemetery of Athens at public expense⁸.

2. George Lambelet's views on music.

In this announcement is attempted a concise presentation and a critical commentary of George Lambelet's views on the various aspects of the Art of Music. It is based mostly on primal sources and specifically on the texts he wrote himself. The main focus is on his views on the national music creation. Intentionally we avoid commenting on his critical notes and his artistic juxtapositions, which have been up to a point already evaluated in the existing bibliography⁹.

In a number of his articles on the relation of music to poetry, he maintains that "music should not be subordinate to any other kind of art, and it should increasingly tend to its total and complete independence". He actually considers music as dominant in its coexistence with poetry, since the later, "by submitting its rhythmic character to music, necessarily changes the components of its form and therefore loses a great part of its expressive value"¹⁰.

In his studies on the relationship between language and music¹¹, he refers to the following points:

1. The sounding of language, that is, the way sounds in language are combined together,
2. The morphology of language, that is, the musical expression acquired by speech, rendered in a specific form ("Every syllable and every word in the language has a musical reason for being created, the pitch and the expression of the person speaking, the rais-

⁵ Σωτηρίου, Κώστας Δ. *Τα Ψηλά Βουνά. Απάντηση στην Επιτροπή* [Sotiriou, Kostas D. *The High Mountains. Response to the Committee*], (Athens: Publishing Company "ATHINA", A.I. Ralli, 1923), 53-54.

⁶ Λαμπελέτ, Γεώργιος "Ο Παπαντωνίου φίλος της μελωδίας" [Lambelet, George "Papantoniou, friend of the melody"], *Nea Estia*, 1/4 (1940), 451.

⁷ Lambelet, Georges *La Musique Populaire Grecque. Chants et Dances (Etude – Critique, Transcription et Harmonisation)*, traduction de Antoine C. Ruben (Athènes: 1934).

⁸ The main bibliographical data have been collected from: Γκρέκας, Ιωσήφ Οι Λαμπελέτ. Μία μεγάλη οικογένεια μουσικών στην Ελλάδα (Papadopoulos – Grekas, Joseph "The Lambelets. A great musicians' family in Greece"), reprint from the annual edition *Piraeus 1960*, p. 18-24; Θεοδωροπούλου Αύρα Σ "Γεώργιος Λαμπελέτ" [Theodoropoulou Avra S. "Georgios Lambelet", *Nea Estia* 15/11 (1945), 1040-1041]; Καλογερόπουλος Τάκης "Λαμπελέτ Γεώργιος (Τζώρτζης)" [Kalogeropoulos, Takis "Lambelet George"], *The dictionary of Greek music* (Athens: Giallelis ed., 1998), vol.3, 436-438].

⁹ Ρωμανού, Καίτη Έντεχνη Ελληνική Μουσική στους Νεότερους Μυηάριας 138-142 and 170.

¹⁰ Λαμπελέτ, Γεώργιος "Μουσική και Ποίησης" [Lambelet, George "Music and Poetry"], *Mousikē Epitheōrēsis*, May (1933), 5-6; Λαμπελέτ Γεώργιος, "Το πνεύμα της Μουσικής της Αρχαίας Ελληνικής Τραγωδίας" [Lambelet, George "The spirit of Music in Ancient Greek Tragedy"], *Nea Estia*, 1/8 (1940), 955.

¹¹ Λαμπελέτ, Γεώργιος "Γλώσσα και Μουσική" [Lambelet, George "Language and Music"], *Mousika Chronika*, April (1928), 1-6 and May (1928), 44-46 and 51-52; Λαμπελέτ, Γεώργιος "Το Μουσικόν Αίσθημα στη Γλώσσα" [Lambelet, George "Musical Feeling in Language"], *Mousika Chronika*, April-May (1930), 108-117.

ing and lowering of his voice and its faster or slower rhythmic movement, make language some kind of musical recitation which is not completely devoid of an artistic spirit.”)

3. The architectural relationship between phrase and speech period in language, and phrase and speech period in music.
4. The analogy of speaking or recitation and musical melody.

He also maintains that the creation and evolution of the language is subject to the music-aesthetic criterion of the people speaking it. Based upon this fact, he commits himself to the Greek language question, examining it from his aesthetic, musical point of view, putting forward the following arguments:

1. The folk is the creator of the natural and our really national language, which is the one used by the folk (Demotic Greek).
2. The language of the purists (Katharevousa) has been convicted by the musical sense of the people.
3. The language of the folk has been used in the monumental creation of the folk songs.
4. The language of the purists has been created artificially to a great extent, and gives to the ear the impression of an artless and wrong music.

In his studies on the ancient Greek tragedy he maintains that “ancient tragedy had been predominantly a musical work”¹² and “it should be considered not as a theatrical play belonging to the dramatic theatre, but as a musical drama...”¹³.

Lambelet, as well as Manolis Kalomiris later, had been the first one to point out that Greek music should be based on the study of folk songs, and their melodic, rhythmical and other stylistic characteristics.

As for the question of Nationalism, it is worth focusing on Lambelet’s views, which he expounded mainly in his treatise *Nationalism in Art and Greek Folk Music* (1928)¹⁴.

At first he refers to the opposing schools of nationalism and “universality”. He considers unavoidable the influence of place and race upon the artist, since he is subject to the physical influences of the environment, the race, the climate, etc. Therefore he believes that human Art cannot be but national. Nevertheless he accepts the possibility of the existence of an idealized Art, to the extent that the artist can distance himself from the bonds of the imperfect reality. He also believes that national Art can produce works of global reach. Lambelet espouses Solomos’ view: “*Let the fundamental rhythm stand up in the centre of Nationality and let it rise up vertically*”. Making this view more explicit, he believes that the artist must have as starting point the model of the folk, such as the folk song, and rise from this, with the help of technical and scientific means, up to a higher level of global acceptance. As a characteristic example of a perfect sample of art, he mentions Richard Wagner’s work which, according to Lambelet, reflects the spirit of his race, has a global reputation and has affected schools all over the world. Lambelet does not rule out the existence of Art with a national substance, which does not arise directly from the folk songs of a place, but brings a specific character in its rhythm and architec-

¹² Λαμπελέτ, Γεώργιος, “Η Μουσική και η Απαγγελία στην Αρχαία Τραγωδία” [Lambelet, George “Music and Recitation in Ancient Tragedy”], *Mousikē Zōē*, November (1930), 28.

¹³ Λαμπελέτ, Γεώργιος “Το πνεύμα της Μουσικής της Αρχαίας Ελληνικής Τραγωδίας” [Lambelet, George “The spirit of Music in Ancient Greek Tragedy”], *Nea Estia*, 1/7 (1940), 817.

¹⁴ Λαμπελέτ, Γεώργιος *Ο Εθνικισμός εις την Τέχνην και η Ελληνική Δημόδης Μουσική* [Lambelet, George *Nationalism in Art and Greek Folk Music*], (Athens: Eleftheroudakis Publishing House, 1928, reprint from To Rodon ed., 1986).

ture, so that it can be distinguished from the Art of other races. As a characteristic example in this case, he refers to Ludwig van Beethoven.

Lambelet considers the diatonic system and its two scales, the major and the minor scale, as the stronger tradition in Western Music. He wonders whether, with the satiation of this system, the music of the East and particular Greek folk music might be a fruitful way out for the Art of Music. Referring to his contemporary modernist composers, he wonders whether it might be preferable if they focused their attention on natural resources, as the scales of folk music, which have been created by the inspiration and the instinct of the people, instead of focusing on artificial means. For example, Lambelet expresses the view that Jazz constitutes a remarkable musical fact, because it has originated spontaneously from the instincts and the feelings of the folk. For this reason it has offered "*a new colour and a new rhythm to global music*"¹⁵.

As for the Greek music, he notices the variety presented by the folk songs, with reference to scales and the melodic intervals. He also realizes the relationship that exists between the scales of folk songs and ancient Greek music¹⁶. He also mentions that in some folk songs there are found intervals smaller than a semitone, but he does not consider them to be one of their fundamental characteristics. In his opinion, since the listener in our days has become accustomed to the diatonic system, these particular intervals either are not perceived, or they are understood as a dissonance¹⁷.

Subsequently he refers to the variety and the originality that Greek folk music presents in its metres and rhythms. He refers to the usual complex meters of five, seven and nine quavers which are met in our folk songs, as well as to the particular accents that stand apart from the stereotypes of the Western European music.

Furthermore he refers to the problem of harmonization in folk songs. Owing to the variety of scales being used in them and which differ from those used in western music, he believes that it is easy to alter the character of their melody, unless the harmonization has been undertaken by a person sufficiently versed in their spirit.

Lambelet points out that many of the folk songs are sung and danced at the same time. In these cases the artistic conception of the creator-folk is threefold. That is, poetry, music and dance coexist. Then he refers to the wealth of Greek dances with reference to their melody and rhythm, nomenclature, topics, and the musical instruments accompanying them, etc. Then he comments on the categories of folk songs. He also mentions the urban folk song as another category of Greek songs. From all the folk songs, he believes that those having Epirus as their origin are the most expressive and songs can be divided into two great categories: those that are only sung, and the ones that are danced. He also believes that can be divided into those originating from islands and the ones from the mainland, because of the different feelings and expressions owed to the influence of the environment.

Finally Lambelet states that his text on Greek folk music has simply the character of a suggestion for a more extensive and specialized study that should be written on it. In conclusion he points out that Greek art is the fruit of love for Nature and life. He recommends that young Greek composers should derive the very substance of their art from exactly that feeling of love

¹⁵ Λαμπελέτ, Γεώργιος, "Νέα Μουσική και Νεωτεριστάι Συνθέται" [Lambelet, George "New Music and Modernist Composers"], *Mousika Chronika*, June (1928), 69.

¹⁶ The first reference on this specific subject is made in the: Λαμπελέτ, Γεώργιος "Από τη Νεοελληνική Μουσική (Κλίμακες, Μέτρα, Ρυθμοί)" [Lambelet, George "From Modern Greek Music (Scales, Meters, Rhythms)"], *Mousika Chronika*, 19/04 (1925), 3-4.

¹⁷ The subject is more analytically discussed in: Λαμπελέτ, Γεώργιος "Η Ελληνική Μουσική και οι υποδιαίρεσεις του τόνου" [Lambelet, George "Greek Music and the subdivisions of the tone"], *Mousika Chronika*, July-August (1928), 105-108.

for Nature which is the underlying characteristic of folk songs. He urges them to study all schools and the great works of world music and to enrich their technique even with the most daring contemporary means. However, all these influences should finally submit to the aesthetic principles of the artist. When he arrives at the level of artistic maturity which will enable him to face the higher artistic forms, then he will create in a natural way an Art characterized by “the clarity, deep simplicity, the suppleness of the form and the deep feeling of Nature”.¹⁸

Defending the purity of the folk song and its simple and plain melody, he blames Kalomiris for his ceremonial intentions and out of spirit renditions in cases of pompous conclusions [as in the coda, in the harmonization of *Mavro Yemeni*] and the overloaded instrumental accompaniment [as in the *Karavi apo ti Chio (The ship from Chios)*]¹⁹.

In 1933 Lambelet publishes 60 songs and dances harmonized, attempting an exemplary, in his opinion, harmonization of Greek folk music²⁰. The author’s introduction is an enlarged reformulation of the views he had already expounded in his earlier relevant writings. He refers analytically to the theoretical system of the ancient Greek scales, a subject he had presented for the first time in his article on National Music in the journal *Panathinea* in 1901. Consequently he unfolds theoretically the construction of modern Greek scales –upon which the folk song is built– from scales of ancient Greek music. Finally he proceeds in the presentation of his suggestions for the “in a natural way harmonization of Greek folk melody” so that it maintains its “character and expression”²¹.

A few representative samples of his suggestions are:

1. The use of the minor chord on the fifth degree at the perfect cadence and generally at the V-I progression (both in root position), in scales of hypodorian character (that is, minor scales where the seventh degree is a whole tone lower than the tonic).
2. The use of the major chord on the fourth degree at the plagal cadence and generally at the IV-I progression (both in root position), in scales of hypodorian character with raised sixth degree.
3. The use of the major chord on the second degree at cadential progressions, combined with descent by a whole tone to the tonic in melody, in scales of hypodorian character with raised fourth and sixth degree.

Lambelet devotes a separate chapter to the plagal cadence in Greek folk music. According to his opinion, it is used so frequently so that it can be considered as the predominant Greek cadence. It seems that he had dealt extensively with this subject in the preceding years. In the text that he writes on *Modern Greek Harmony* in the more general entry of “harmony” for the encyclopedia of Eleftheroudakis, devotes more than three quarters of the whole for the presentation of the different kinds of plagal cadence in Greek folk music. At the same time he gives examples of usage of the aforementioned cadences in several songs of his own²².

¹⁸ Lambelet, George “Nationalism in Art and Greek Folk Music”, 57.

¹⁹ Λαμπελέτ, Γεώργιος “Ο κ. Καλομοίρης και το Δημοτικό Τραγούδι” [Lambelet, George “Mr. Kalomoirēs and the Folk Song”], *Mousika Chronika*, July-August (1928), 135.

²⁰ Λαμπελέτ, Γεώργιος *Η Ελληνική Δημόδης Μουσική. 60 Τραγούδια και Χοροί (Κριτική Μελέτη – Μεταγραφή και Εναρμόνισις)* [Lambelet, George *The Greek Folk Music: 60 Song and Dances (Critical Study – Transcription and Harmonization)*], (Athens, 1933); also published in French.

²¹ Lambelet, *The Greek Folk Music*, 28.

²² Λαμπελέτ, Γεώργιος “Αρμονία (Μουσική)” [Lambelet, George “Harmony (Music)”] in *Encyclopedic Dictionary*, (Athens: Eleftheroudakis Publishing Company, 1927), 480-482; Λαμπελέτ, Γεώργιος “Αρμονία (Μουσική)” [Lambelet, George “Harmony (Music)”], in *Eleftheroudakis Contemporary Encyclopedia* (Athens: Encyclopedic Editions N. Nikas & Co. E.E., 4th edition, without date), 480-482.

In the last years of his life Lambelet wrote a study under the title *Modern Greek music and its aesthetic and theoretical being*, which is still unpublished. The handwritten text is kept in the Hellenic Literary and Historical Archive of the National Bank of Greece Culture Foundation²³. In the introduction of this study it is mentioned that the author had tried to study the aesthetic and theoretical foundation of Modern Greek folk music, as well as of the Art Music that was based on it. The possibility of the harmonization of the Greek melody had also been examined, “with a harmonic basis naturally and closely connected to it”.

The structure of this study is as follows:

Modern Greek Music and its aesthetic and theoretical being

Introduction

First Part: Greek folk music

- Introduction: Harmonization and harmonizers (p. 6-11)
- [On the formation of ancient Greek scales]²⁴
- Non-native scales (p. 22)
- The minor and major system and the tonic in ancient, byzantine and modern Greek music (p. 23-32)
- Modern Greek meters (p. 33-44)
- Modern Greek Dances (p. 41-55)
- The drone (*ison*) in Greek folk music
- The natural sources of Greek scales and Greek harmony (p. 60-65)
- Greek Harmony and Musical Modernism (p. 66-70)
- For the collectors of folk songs and dances (p. 71-80)
- Folk Song and folk singers (p. 81-85)
- Modern Greek scales (p. 86)
- The harmonization of Greek folk music (p. 87-;)

Second Part: The Greek scientific and art music (p. 100-102)

- Excerpts from Greek Compositions based on ancient diatonic scales (p. 103-112)
- Excerpts from Modern Greek Art Music, based on modern Greek scales (p. 112-124)
- Forms of Cadences and of Melodic Endings (p. 125-135)
- Folk music sources (p. 138-145)
- Nationalism in Art and Greek folk music (p. 146-153)

This particular study is an expansion of earlier most important studies of the author, incorporating and supplementing them. Interesting is his attempt to maintain the historical continuity of Greek music with theoretical (e.g. p. 23-32) and practical arguments as well (e.g. the use of drone in folk music, p. 56-59). In the second part of this study he uses a large number of examples from his own works in order to show applications of elements of folk songs in art music.

²³ Λαμπελέτ, Γεώργιος “Η νεοελληνική μουσική και η αισθητική και θεωρητική υπόστασίς της” [Lambelet, George “Modern Greek Music and its aesthetic and theoretical being”], handwritten text in the Hellenic Literary and Historical Archive of the National Bank of Greece Cultural Foundation, code 220; Παραμυθιώτης, Φιλοκτήμονας “Οι Επτανήσιοι Μουσουργοί του 19^{ου} Αιώνα” [Paramithiotis, Filoktimonas “The Heptanesian Composers in the 19th Century”], *Kerkyraika Chronika*, vol. XIX (1974), 49.

²⁴ It does not exist in the manuscript. It is part of the study *Greek folk music*, as is the former and the latter part of the aforementioned manuscript. Its borrowing is deduced from the context on page 23 of the manuscript.

Conversely, could be a particularly useful guide in the analytical study of his compositional work. In conclusion, the publication of this study could be especially useful and informative, as it presents the whole of Lambelet's views on Greek music and, more generally, on the Art of Music. The necessity for the publication of this study becomes even greater from the fact that, all of the earlier published works of the author are no more available. Nevertheless, it should be preceded by a critical editing of the text, because it contains a number of repetitions, since it is to a greater extent the outcome of the compilation of earlier texts of the author.

Finally, from the manuscripts that are being kept in the same archive, worth mentioning is a study which has remained in its early infancy, under the title "Music and Architecture". Lambelet refers to the analogies presented on both arts, in the form as well as in the content. Though this study had not proceeded any further and not any specific views of the author might be derived, even its title is evidence of the composer's wide range of interest.

3. Epilogue

As is mentioned by Avra Theodoropoulou, "the era of the military revolution in 1909 and of the Balkan Wars, is the period of the most intensive nationalism in Greece. National consciousness wants to be expressed in every possible way in all arts"²⁵. George Lambelet has been a pioneer in the systematization of the study for the establishment of Greek music in accord with the standards of the national schools²⁶. By critics and colleagues he has been characterized as "a milestone" of his era²⁷, as a "nobleman composer" who has lived with dignity and morals²⁸, as a composer who had never consented in the commercialization of his art but maintained it at a higher artistic level. According to the written testimony of his student, the musicologist and composer Josef Papadopoulos-Grekas, the teacher Lambelet had confessed to him this: "I strongly believe that in my small work, if not anything else, at least I have been sincere and impulsive because, before I had decided to compose Greek music, I had first felt most deeply the folk song, and I had felt even more deeply that if a Greek work of art might be possible to come to life, three ingredients should contribute: Simplicity, clarity and a deep feeling of the Nature"²⁹. What remains to be done, is the analytical registration and study of his work, theoretical and compositional, so that he takes the place he deserves in the History of Greek Music.

Athanasios Trikoupis studied music in Athens (Piano Diploma under professor Dimitri Toufexis, Composition Diploma under professor Yannis Ioannidis, Harpsichord Diploma under professor Thomas Karachalios) and mechanical engineering at the National Technical University of Athens (N.T.U.A.). Completed his piano studies at the Conservatoire Européen de Musique de Paris, under Chantal Stigliani, and his composition studies at the Music University of Graz, under Beat Furrer and George Friedrich Haas (Magister der Künste). Subsequently he accomplished his doctoral studies in the Faculty of Music Studies, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki (A.U.TH.), under the supervision of professor Evi Nika-Sampson and was nominated Doctor of Musicology- Musical Education. As an artist (director of choir, orchestra and music ensembles, piano and harpsichord soloist, and as a composer) he has cooperated with many Artistic Societies such as: the Academic Symphonic Orchestras of the Trakya University, and the

²⁵ Θεοδωροπούλου, Αύρα Σ. "Η Ελληνική Μουσική Αναγέννηση" [Theodoropoulou, Avra S. "The Greek Musical Renaissance"], *Aggloellēnikē Epiteōrēsē*, October (1945), 26.

²⁶ Θεοδωροπούλου, Αύρα Σ. "Η Μουσική στην Ελλάδα" [Theodoropoulou, Avra S. "Music in Greece"], *Nea Estia*, December (1955), 463.

²⁷ Θεοδωροπούλου, Αύρα Σ. "Γεώργιος Λαμπελέτ", [Theodoropoulou, Avra S. "George Lambelet"], *Nea Estia*, December (1955), 1040.

²⁸ Προκοπίου, Σταύρος, "Οι ευπατρίδες Μουσουργοί Λαμπελέτ" στο Μύστες και Ανατροπείς της Απολλωνίας Τέχνης: Δοκίμια [Prokopiou, Stavros "The Noblemen Composers Lambelet"], in *Mistes ke anatropis tis Apollonias technis: Essays*, ed. Prokopiou, Stauros (Athens: Mousika Chronika ed., without date), 33.

²⁹ Γκρέκας [Grekas], 22.

The National Element in Music

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Constantinos Chrestomanos, a pioneer overlooked. His contribution to the formation of the National School of Music in Greece

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Abstract. Can a theatre director be considered as a precursor of formatting a National School of music or is it a privilege belonging to composers only? What is the certain element that we have to recognize as the key feature in his action, in order to accept him as an early leader of such a movement? Is it a significant manifesto? Are the vanguard music elements he uses in his work, the theoretical discourse on music, or a combination of afore mentioned principals? The paper assumes that the history of the Greek National School of Music has to include Constantinos Chrestomanos in the list of the most significant persons prior the advent of Manolis Kalomoiris, who paved the way for the creation of the movement. The use of music in his directions of Euripides' *Alcestis* (Ch. W. Gluck) Sophocles' *Antigone* (F. Mendelson) and finally in Aristophanes' *Ecclesiazusae*, mingling Wagnerian and folk Greek elements (Theophrastos Sakellaridis), indicates an evolution, similar to the one Kalomoiris followed after leaving Vienna. Finally, the paper points out the common aesthetic domain of the two significant personalities, discussing also the reasons that led Kalomoiris to deny the collaboration Chrestomanos proposed to him and what would be the possible effect of such a work.

During February 1901, an eccentric young intellectual invited a few Greek colleagues of his to Dionysus' theatre, in Athens. The recitation of his manifesto¹, that same day, marked the beginning of a new era in Greek Theater. His name was Constantinos Chrestomanos. Despite the fact that the impact of Wagner's ideas was apparent in the manifesto's text and although there is a clear reference to "the composer of the homeland of the North" in it,² the text has passed almost unnoticed by musicologists within the framework of their research on Wagnerism in Greece, on the emergence of the national element in music, or their research on the efforts for the establishment of the National School of Music in Greece.

This omission can easily be justified. As Chrestomanos heralded the renaissance of drama and theater in Greece, the fact that this very manifesto was written mostly in music terms, somehow escaped the attention of the researchers of music history until today. Naturally, major interest was focused on theatrical innovations of the pioneer stage director; the relevant music innovations took second place. Soon after the aforementioned short ritual in the theatre of Dionysus, the young artist tried to widen the team of the people that followed him. The narrow circle of eight writers became a large group of artists from all spheres of art, where music held a special place. Among them was Georgios Lambelet, a very significant person in the establishment of the National School of Music in Greece. In the rest of the administrative committees of the troupe, we meet two more musicians: in the "mise en scène" section was Ioannis Psaroudas, who was soon asked to compose original baroque-style music for the new symbolist drama *Phaia* and *Nymphaia*, which was performed during 1902. And among the members of

¹ Chrēstomanos, Konstantinos "Eisēgēsis pros tous en tō theatrō tou Dionysou synelthontas idrytas tēs Nēas Skēnēs", (Prelection to the Founders of the Nea Skēnē theatre troupe summoned in the Dionysus Theatre), *Nea Estia*, 70/ 826, (1961), 1626-1627.

² Chrēstomanos, "Eisēgēsis...", 1627.

the Supervisors' Committee we meet the composer Laurentios Camillieris.³ The activity of the latter that concerns us more here is that he was a press' correspondent of the Bayreuth Festival.

The troupe officially started performing during the last days of November 1901. A couple of weeks earlier, the first of the three aforementioned musicians, Georgios Lambelet, started publishing a series of articles and reviews in the art magazine *Panathenaia*. In conjunction with his criticism of the work of Dionysius Lavrangas' *Magissa* (The Witch), Lambelet launched an attack on the use of orchestrated background music as incidental.⁴ In her fundamental monograph on the National School of Music, Olympia Fragou Psychopaidi, on the occasion of the controversy between Kalomoiris and Lambelet, quoted:

"In the texts of both authors the impression is given that they are specifically targeting entities or persons who are not in line with their own trend and aesthetic ideologies".⁵

As this is an incitement to investigate further the identity of the persons involved, I believe that Lambelet's attack targeted the imminent premiere of the Chrestomanos' troupe with Euripides' *Alcestis*, and in more practical terms, his decision to use Gluck's music, instead of ordering a new work composed by a Greek composer⁶. Georgios Lambelet knew that he had no chance of being the one that would receive such a commission, despite the fact that he had offered literary work to the troupe.⁷ During the last days of September he had abandoned Chrestomanos and his initiates or "mystes", after an altercation between the director and the composer⁸.

Yet, the point was not the conflict between Chrestomanos and Lambelet, but, beyond that, the identity and the quality of the person who could have the authority to compose music for the ancient drama. Chrestomanos in his manifesto described the sad artistic situation of his time while talking about the separation of the three key elements of drama (Poetry, Dance, and Mimesis) that had to be reunited:

"...Poetry, as it is so-called, is accompanied by rags of music and movement, less melodious and rhythmic than the sound of the beater in the hands of women washing clothes in the creeks among oleanders, less melodious and rhythmic than the buzzing of the bees in the morning meadows".⁹

One could assume that Chrestomanos radically rejected Greek music. There are two of his works, however, that prompt us to revise this view. In his first book *Orphische Lieder*¹⁰ some of his poems seem to have been inspired by Greek folk songs, as their titles suggest. And in his

³ Papanikolaou, Vania *Ē symbolē tēs Neas Skēnēs stēn exelixē tou neoellēnikou theatrou* (The role of Nea Skēnē in the evolution of modern Greek theatre) (Doctoral dissertation, University of Crete, 2011), 415. In <http://elocus.lib.uoc.gr> (accessed on August 28th, 2013)

⁴ Lampelet, Geōrgios, "Ē magissa: melodramatikon dokimion eis mian praxin. Poiēsis kai mousikē D. Lauranka" (The Witch: A one - act operatic piece. Poetry and music by D. Laurankas), *Panathēnaia*, 3/25 (1901) 29 - 30.

⁵ *Frankou Psychopaidē, Olympia Ē Ethniki Scholē Mousikēs – Provlēmata ideologias* (The Greek National School of Music - Ideology aspects) (Athens, Idryma Mesogeiakōn Meletōn, 1990), 81.

⁶ Chrestomanos is obviously contained in the sum of the "sur-aethaerial artists" who Lambelet refers to in his manifesto on the formation of the National School of Music: Lampelet, Geōrgios "Ē ethnikē mousikē" (National Music), *Panathēnaia*, 3/26 (1901) 82 - 90, and 3/27 (1901) 127 - 131.

⁷ His translation of Gabriele D' Annunzio's, *Il sogno di un mattino di primavera* (A spring morning's dream) had been used earlier this summer for the occasional informal performances of the Nea Skene theatre troupe.

⁸ Papanikolaou, 85.

⁹ Chrestomanos, "Eisēgēsis...", 1627.

¹⁰ Chrestomanos, *Kōnstantinos Orphische Lieder*, (Orphic Songs) (Vienna: Konegen, 1899).

famous *Tagebuchblätter*,¹¹ in the light of the description of the Empress Elisabeth's stay in Corfu he got the chance to express his admiration for Greek music, both the traditional and the monophonic byzantine psalmody of the island's monasteries. The latter appreciation is of course of special significance, coming from the lips of a man living in Vienna at that time, where polyphonic chant was the only thing he could listen to in churches, even in the two Greek Orthodox ones¹². Furthermore, the fact that in Corfu he found monasteries that had not adopted the western polyphony, as he quotes in the book, is doubtful. Rather than highlighting the need to preserve a tradition, Chrestomanos expressed his preference for monophonic church music in purely aesthetic criteria, as its psalmody was...

"...drowned in a plaintive monotony that was as shocking as the incessant and monophonic crying of the waves of the sea".¹³

In an analogous description he had found the opportunity to refer to some other forms of Greek music also: first the tunes played by a young shepherd, on his reed flute, tunes that Empress Elisabeth first noticed and praised:

"Art will never reveal a greater masterpiece than the song of the shepherd, because art is just a glow of inner life, while these poor moans of the flute are the deep inner life itself. - And I supplemented her thoughts, soliloquizing silently: With these same tunes, during the hours that were dominated by the ancient god Pan, Mother Nature used to open her pelvis to the horrible pleasure and the Fauns deceived the Nymphs. -With exactly the same tunes, emanating from his reed, Kurwenal the shepherd, sang just before Isolde's purple sail flourished in the hazy horizon of the open sea".¹⁴

Three pages later, in the same book, he feels entranced by the song of the women collecting olives, and concludes that it reaches us unchanged from the depths of time, directly from Greek antiquity.

"Their song has been familiar to the trees since the time when Great Pan lived, when they listened to it as it emanated from the mouth of the Nymphs; it is also similar, however, to the psalms of the byzantine church service. These latter, are, indeed, exactly the same pagan rhythms that used to praise the source of life".¹⁵

The impact of Wagner's ideas is obvious again¹⁶, supplemented, in fact, by the respective Nietzschean ideas on the Apollonian and the Dionysiac element. Presence of Wagner's ideas is apparent in *Tagebuchblätter* as Empress Elisabeth recites by heart verses from *Siegfried*, praises Wagner as a great contemporary redeemer and finally calls everybody to return to the spring sources of Rhine where the Rheingold song was born, in order to prevail upon ourselves. But if

¹¹ Christomanos, Cōnstantin *Tagebuchblätter*, I, Folge, (Wien: Perles, 1899).

<http://anemi.lib.uoc.gr/php/pdf_pager.php?rec=/metadata/2/1/9/metadata-194-0000095.tkl&do=199863.pdf&lang=el&pageno=1&pagestart=1&width=371&height=496&maxpage=295>

(accessed January 2nd, 2013).

¹² Philopoulos, Yiannis *Eisagōgē stēn ellēnikē polyfōnikē ekklesiastikē moysikē* (Athens, Nefeli, 1990)

¹³ Chrēstomanos, Cōnstantinos *To vivlio tis autokrateiras Elisavet, Fylla ēmerologiou* (Athens, Nefeli, 1987), 191-192.

¹⁴ Chrēstomanos, *To vivlio tis autokrateiras Elisavet*, 141-142.

¹⁵ Chrēstomanos, *To vivlio tis autokrateiras Elisavet*, 145.

¹⁶ For further argument on Chrestomanos' Wagnerism see Seiragakis, Manolis "Mediterranising the 'composer of the North': Constantinos Chrestomanos, Richard Wagner, and the early Modern Greek Theatre", *Proceedings of the Conference "The staging of Verdi and Wagner Operas"* (Pistoia, Centro Studi Opera Omnia Luigi Boccherini), forthcoming.

Chrestomanos embraced also Wagner's nihilistic philosophy on the value of his contemporary music, and if he expressed his admiration only for the primitivism of traditional Greek music and the monotonous lament of the byzantine psalm, what could have been the value of Greek composers enjoying stardom within the realms of art music during the early 20th century? The answer was given in Chrestomanos' manifesto from the Dionysus' Theatre and, as musicians were absent from this first gathering, he tried simultaneously to solve potential queries from the playwrights:

"You, the elite among Greek artists will crave and help produce wonderful works of poetic conception. [...] But since all beginnings have difficulties, and because pure truth is hateful to the majority of people, we'll not impose ourselves, but we will also accept foreign poets' works that will be woven with beauty, so they will be Greek".¹⁷

Thus, in the field of incidental music Chrestomanos in *Alcestis* opted to fill the stage with the original music from the eponymous Gluck's opera, played not only by a rich orchestra but also supplemented by an instrument of a special sentimental timbre, a harmonium¹⁸.

Chrestomanos unfolded Gluck's melodies in different moments of the play, not only in the chorus' parts, but also during the "Marcia Funebre" for the heroine's death as he entitled the "Marcia Religiosa" (Act I scene III) of Gluck's *Alceste*, directing a fully sentimental wordless musical scene which strongly impressed the audience, where the impact of Wagner was again strongly felt. As about the orchestra's instruments,

"... in the opening of the second part and also in the middle, they played music pieces presenting the transitions of drama: from the hard and heartbreaking tones of the wind brass, the orchestra shifted to the sweetness of the strings, playing tunes even with a comical tone, resembling a dance out of rhythm, as if heralding the entrance of Hercules shortly after, staggering drunkenly"¹⁹.

We can easily recognize the programmatic character of this first staging. It seems that Chrestomanos determined to start with Euripides' *Alcestis* for a host of reasons. Firstly, because, by using an ancient tragedy as an "emblem" of his troupe, he was making a link with his aforementioned manifesto, where he argued, just like Wagner, that the pursuit of beauty and truth must start from ancient Greece, especially from the genre that is the superior and more complete form of poetry, ancient drama. At the same time, he determined to start with an author that Wagner had blamed for contributing to the decline of tragic poetry.

Secondly, because the choice of Gluck's music reminds us also of the composer's *Manifesto of the Drama per musica* and his hard effort to reform Opera staging practice:

"When I undertook to write the music for *Alceste*, I resolved to divest it entirely of all those abuses introduced into it, either by the mistaken vanity of singers, or by the too great complaisance of composers..."²⁰ Gluck wrote.

Mutatis mutandis, the Greek troupe boasted of the "ensemble theatre" it launched. However, if we wish to understand the choice of *Alcestis* in depth, we have to consider the specific-

¹⁷ Chrēstomanos, "Eisēgēsis...", 1627.

¹⁸ It was a small organ that Timotheos Xanthopoulos was playing solo offstage. At the time, he was the official Royal Organist. Earlier, when he had lived in Smyrna, he had been one of Manolis Kalomoiris' teachers.

¹⁹ 'Ē prōtē tēs Neas Skēnēs, Ē epitychia tēs Alkēsteōs, Ē metaphrasis, ē ypokrisis, ē moysikē' (The premiere of Nea Skēnē, *Alcestis*' success; Translation, Acting, Music), *To Asty*, 23 November 1901, 1.

²⁰ Loppert, Max "Gluck, Christoph Wilibald: 6. The Italian reform Operas" in *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera*, ed. Stanley Sadie, 2nd ed. (New York, MacMillan, 1997), 456.

ty of the Myth. Its importance is crucial, not only for its theater function, but, more for its close relationship to the birth of the Opera. The plot of *Alcestis* seems to be a female heroic descent to the underworld, a relevant or even opposite version of the famous myth of Orpheus, so closely connected to the first appearance of the genre of Opera in Europe (Monteverdi, *Orfeo*, Madova 1607). According to this, it represents in the most convincing way the diffuse spirit of the fin-de-siècle, a period when a new trend was extremely strong in the arts: to become inspired by a newly discovered creature called Woman and to present it in a totally different mode. The fact proves a totally different point of view Chrestomanos held in comparison not only to Wagner but also to most of the representatives of the National School of music in Greece. In all the three plays he selected to stage from ancient drama (*Alcestis*, *Antigone*, *Ecclesiastusae* / *The Assembly Women*) the key figure is female, a woman conflicting with a male hero. The latter is portrayed with a plurality of defects in a way that highlights the value and quality of the central heroine.

This trend of a new depiction of Female seems to have heavily affected, besides a wide range of arts, also a series of disciplines, the most important of which for our research being archaeology. The premiere of Chrestomanos' troupe Nea Skene, probably took advantage of archaeology's recent discoveries, specifically of the excavations of Sir Arthur Evans in Knossos. Chrestomanos brought on stage, as it seems, Evans's new interpretation of a major symbol of the Bronze Age civilization, the Lions' Gate at Mycenae. We have four reviews, contemporary to the premiere, providing evidence that the depicted setting included on the right a model of the famous Gate.²¹ More accurate observation of the only existing photo provides us with evidence of the presence of the Gate and also forces us to consider the significance of its presence on stage.

It was not the first time that the monument appeared on the European stage. During 1893 the audience in the theatre of the Comedie Française had the opportunity to admire a similar model, integrated into the setting for Sophocles' *Antigone*, with Julia Bartet and Jean Moune Sully in the main roles. Five years later Gabrielle D' Annunzio, wrote a symbolist drama, where much of the action unfolds under the Lions Gate, which is, however, not depicted on stage, but often referred to, both in stage directions and quite a lot in the text itself. The realm of *La città morta*, (1898) as the drama was entitled, is mainly Schliemann's excavation site at Mycenae and the archaeologist himself seems to be one of the main characters of the play. Although we are located in the symbolist poetic theatre, the monument is not exploited on stage with all its symbolic connotations. The gate functioned here simply as an invisible symbolic connecting path between the ancient and the modern, the live and the dead city, although it is not depicted anywhere in the scene. Such a use of the monument on stage seems rather significant, considering that Schliemann himself interpreted the Gate as decorative regalia and nothing more.

Evans now, in 1901, was beginning to suggest a completely different interpretation of the symbol, associated with his theories on the Minoan and Mycenaean cult of a Great Mother Goddess who was allegedly depicted in the centre of the heraldic triangle in the form of the column. Additionally, Evans insisted on the importance of the tree cult in the Minoan and Mycenaean religion, in order to set up an outdoor worship space, where they may well have worshiped either a male or a female deity.

Chrestomanos put on stage both these symbols. Although he partly mimicked the 1893 setting from Comedie Française's *Antigone*, he also employed the perspective of Bayreuth

²¹ Indicatively: Pikman, 'Apo ta paraskēnia, (From the Backstage), *Nykteris*, A/30, 23 December 1901, 2. Episkopopoulos, Nikolaos "Ē Nēa Skēnē", (The Nēa Skēnē), *Neon Asty*, 30 July 1902, n.p.n.

Festspielhaus and the Meininger Theatre on a three dimension setting.²² He used the Lions Gate as a symbol, rejecting its decorative character, utilizing also the rest of Evans' ideas and complementing the scenery with truly natural trees and plenty of soil to sustain them. The performance came thus extremely close to a ritual. Furthermore, the focus of the myth had substantially shifted to the need for complementarities between the sexes,²³ in an era where Woman continued to be treated as an object, as a bird in a cage, or at best, exclusively as a virtuous mother and wife.

Also evident on stage was the coupling of the Apollonian and Dionysiac element, through the contrast between dreamy and evocative, the monotonous recitation of the actress playing the role of Alcestis counterbalanced by the outgoing, vivid and earthy manners of Hercules. This contrast, as well as a fierce conflict between king Admetus and his father, Feres, aroused the critics' reaction. Finally, choosing a tragedy that presents the death of the central heroine on stage, obviously targeted conventional thought and the staging traditions of the era.

Chrestomanos used a host of Wagner's ideas, daring however to revamp them, in order to recast Wagnerian myths, in order to "mediterraneanise"²⁴ them, and in order to offer a new, more familiar, international contemporary Myth to his audience. The mediation of a Greek composer in such an effort still seemed to be considered impossible or even unnecessary. However, things were different again. After adopting Mendelssohn's music for the staging of *Antigone* and after an all-out conflict with the most famous Greek poet of the era, Kostis Palamas, during 1903, Chrestomanos commissioned a promising young Greek musician to compose incidental music for the new world premiere of Aristophanes' *Ecclesiazusae* in 1904. At the mention of the name of Theofrastos Sakellarides as recipient of the commission, one might think that Chrestomanos wanted to build on the composer's successes in the operetta or theatre revue. The statement is false again.

In this first stage of his career (1898-1909), Sakellarides was considered a promising young composer of art music, with his interests concentrated on Byzantine and ancient Greek music. Let us bear in mind that in the age of 19 he had already composed an opera²⁵. We can also mention some of his prose work, for example an article on the sentimental character of the music of the ancient flute.²⁶ Of course Sakellarides did not have the slightest idea about the success that would come after 1908 through his music for operetta and revue, a success that, in combination with the prejudices that dominated the representatives of the National School of Music, and the strong personal attacks by Manolis Kalomoiris, convinced not only his contemporary musicians, but also the subsequent scholars not to include him in the group of the movements' pioneers.

Yet, the fact that, under the guidance of Chrestomanos, Sakellarides composed music for the staging of Aristophanes which utilized urban (rebetika) instead of rural folk music is one of the most vanguard attainments of Greek stage music in general. It is perhaps the first time in an-

²² The ideas which Max Brückner had already used in his works in Bayreuth and Meininger's theatre helped him to create an effect with the reflection of light on the painted cloth, but mostly an illusion of a feeling of depth by skillful use of a combination of the cut drop (principale), the background and the wings.

²³ This issue was extremely familiar to the fans of Wagner's ideas through his early prose texts. In *Opern und Drama*, Wagner had used a metaphor with the lack of unity between Poetry and Music, seen respectively as the incarnation of male and female principles, suggesting their reunification.

²⁴ I use the term first used for the relevant attempt of a great artist in Venice. See Calloi, Illaria "The reception of the 'Minoans' in the modern art of Mariano Fortuny y Madrazo", *Creta Antica* 11(2010), 279-299.

²⁵ Frangias, Iōannēs G. Ymenaios: *Melodramatikon eidyllion eis praxeis treis* (Athens, Typographeion tou kratous 1902).

²⁶ Sakellaridēs, Theofrastos I. "Diati o ēhos tou aulou einai thrēnōdēs", *Athēnai* 2/5 (1909), 1831-1834.

cient drama's staging in modern Europe that such a radical use takes place. The prejudices of the time turned, however, the performance into a scandal.²⁷

During 1906 Chrestomanos started translating into Greek his own *Tagebuchblätter*. Near the end of the book there is a folk song about a lost handkerchief which is supposed to have originated on the island of Corfu²⁸. In fact, during this transition he composed something new, based on an extremely popular urban folk song. The high quality of his creative imitation during transcription caused the song to be considered folk, although there are clear signs of his personal style in it. The poet Kostas Varnalis offers us valuable evidence about this procedure and about Chrestomanos' effort to deepen his study of the Greek folk song of his era, in order to use it not only for his own artistic purposes but also as an unrivalled model for the young poets.²⁹ Thus, Passow's collection of Greek folk songs³⁰ and Chrestomanos' personal attempts to collect traditional Greek songs were, obviously, the first sources of inspiration for his poem.³¹ An interesting additional point is, however, that the poem was widespread as a folk song, not only in Greece, but throughout the Balkan Peninsula and the Asia Minor coasts.

With the exception of some fragmented efforts of Alexandros Rizos Rankaves, Chrestomanos was the first person involved in Greek theater who used incidental music in such a significant way. He also showed keen interest in Greek music, both artistic and traditional, both rural and urban, using it not only by incorporating it as an autonomous part in his artistic works, but also by reconstructing it creatively. And this is exactly the point where the concerns of Chrestomanos met the respective concerns of the first representatives of the National School of music in Greece, like Kalomoiris.

As the leadership of the movement for the establishment of the National School of Music in Greece was very early allocated to Kalomoiris, every appointment of a major personality of a wide range and decisive views on such issues becomes extremely significant. Furthermore, the possibility of interactions between such persons could have created a totally different intellectual atmosphere in the theatre and music life of Greece, at the dawn of the 20th century. Yet, the prejudices of Manolis Kalomoiris prevented the co-operation between two artists with a wide range of common aesthetic elements. As Chrestomanos was perpetually looking for new talented artists, he was among the sparse audience of Kalomoiris' first concert in Greece in 1908. The composer, however, not only rejected the director's request to compose incidental music for his play *Kontorevithoulis*, (Tom Thumb) but he also scoffed a posteriori at the resounding failure of the performance, commenting on the requisition thus in his Memoirs:

"I mention it here because it indicates the appreciation that a globetrotter intellectual, like Kostas Chrestomanos, had for my music art and my effort. How could he imagine, however,

²⁷ Another scandal occurred when the other major theatre director of the era, Thomas Oikonomou, asked Sakellarides to compose byzantine style incidental music for Oscar Wilde's *Salome* (1908).

²⁸ Chrestomanos, *Tagebuchblätter*, 264

²⁹ Chrestomanos had hired two young poets, Varnalis and Markos Avgeris, to copy folk songs for him from Arnold Passow's book. "What would he do with these songs? He said that he was gathering them in order to publish them, together with a series of others that he himself had collected. Yet, furthermore, he wanted them in order to study the use of language in them and to crop from their genuine linguistic material what was most rare and valuable, in order to use it in his own medieval style poems". Varnalēs, *Kōstas Philologika Apomnēmoneumata*, 2nd ed. (Athens: Kedros, 1981), 90.

³⁰ Passow, *Arnoldus Tragoudia Rōmaiika: Popularia carmina graeciae recentioris* (Lipsiae: Teubneri, 1860). Another explanation for his motives could be, of course, that he wanted to acquaint the two young poets with the folk songs of their homeland.

³¹ In the translation of the song from *Tagebuchblätter*, Chrestomanos uses the verb «μύρομαι» (Chrestomanos, *To vivlio*, 217) giving to it the meaning "to lament". The verb, however, was not and is not in use in Greek. We find it only in Passow's book, in the vocabulary (Passow, 621).

that a composer with dreams and aspirations like me would condescend to compose not even the music of an operetta but simply some cabaret songs?"

One could suppose that the phrase indicates simply Kalomoiris' narcissism or an empathy that cannot be interpreted otherwise. Things are a little more complicated. On the one hand, here is being expressed theoretically and practically one of the basic prejudices of representatives of the National School of Music: contempt for the humblest music genres and forms. On the other hand, Kalomoiris' integration into *Noumas* and the demoticists' camp was a decision in which the composer had invested heavily to secure his career. After 1903 and the fierce controversy between Chrestomanos and Palamas, with the latter being considered the most distinguished representative of the demotic movement living in Greece, any collaboration between Chrestomanos and Kalomoiris would mean a war declaration against the composer on the part of the demoticists. It is obvious that Kalomoiris was not willing to get involved in such an adventure before he had satisfactorily secured his position in the Greek musical firmament. Besides, according to a variant on this matter, the failure of Chrestomanos' *Kontorevithoulis* premiere itself, was not due to the natural and spontaneous reaction of the audience but because of an organized movement of journalists, as we are informed by the poet Kostas Varnalīs.³² Thus an artificial controversy was created, although the ideas of the two artists could complement each other creatively. Kalomoiris' refusal to work with Chrestomanos takes on the character of a lost opportunity and gives us the chance to mention the host of common elements in the work of the two artists.

Firstly, they both appealed to their fellow artists with manifestos, in which the problem of the artist's identity had a prominent place as the artist had to define it in relation to antiquity, tradition and Western art. Both of them asked for free and creative use of the nations' past. They rejected the limitations of national identities and borders, even at the price of being attacked by the most fanatical nationalists. Chrestomanos, however, with the incidental music for the *Ecclesiazusae* abolished the distinction between rural and urban traditional music, sublime and humble music genres, taking an extremely bold step, which took Kalomoiris more than forty years to follow: in his opera *Anatolē* (East) instead of the Wagner's leitmotiv Kalomoiris used the "characteristic tunes" of the humble Greek Shadow Theatre.³³

Secondly, they both based many of their plays on a magical world of unexplained demonic forces and momenta.³⁴ Faithful to the fundamental principles of Romanticism, Kalomoiris expected for his heroes a release from this world and a return to the reality of life with the power of moral and religious values. Instead, Chrestomanos considered this dreamy world as real, while he considered Art and the acceptance of fate as the only values that can help us make it more painless. It seems that a common origin of their ideas can be found in Wagner's prose work and music dramas. This is most obvious in their attempt to unite the arts, especially poetry and music. Kalomoiris in his third symphony, for example, juxtaposes simple recitation with music. It is no coincidence that he entitled this symphony *Palamike*.³⁵

³² Varnalēs, Kostas *Antrōpoi Zōntanoi Alēthinoi* (Athens: Kedros, 1978), 52

³³ Frankou, *Psychopaidē Ē Ethniki Scholē Mousikēs*, 68. In Serbia, for example, the composers that tried to make relevant efforts to establish National School of Music, managed to incorporate urban folk song in their operas as early as in 1903. For the case of Stanislav Binički's and Branislav Nušić's opera *Na uranku* (At dawn) see Milin, Melita "Images of the Eastern Other in Serbian Art Music" In *Beyond East and West division: Rethinking Balkan Music's poles of attraction, Proceedings of Conference organized by REEM and the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Belgrade 2013, forthcoming.*

³⁴ Frankou *Psychopaidē Ē Ethniki Scholē Mousikēs*, 28.

³⁵ Frankou *Psychopaidē Ē Ethniki Scholē Mousikēs*, 52.

Kostis Palamas finally proved a key figure for the work and the life of both of them. Initially partner, then fanatical opponent of Chrestomanos, and artistic model throughout Kalomoiris' life,³⁶ he became the reason or the cause that prevented collaboration between Chrestomanos and Kalomoiris on a more practical level, a collaboration that could have proved very fruitful.

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³⁶ Tabakaki, Paulina "Ethnikē tautotēta kai ē poiēsē ōs tragoudi: O Palamas kai ē mousikē", (Poetry as Song and National Identity: Palamas and Music') Proceedings of the Fourth International EENS Congress (European Society of Modern Greek Studies, Granada, 9-12 September 2010). Vol. 4, 381-396 In <http://www.eens.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2012/05/Identities-in-the-Greek-world-Granada-2010-Congress-Vol-4-2011-isbn-978-960-99699-6-31.pdf> (accessed 12th May 2013)

Johanna Kinkel's *Thurm und Fluth* (Opus 19, No. 6): Revolutionary ideas and political optimism in a 19th-century art song

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Abstract. Johanna Kinkel (1810-1858) has for a long time been overshadowed by her husband, Gottfried Kinkel (1815-1882), who was an influential German political propagandist in the 19th century. When he was arrested as a result of a pre-unionist revolutionary speech in 1849, Johanna was not allowed to visit him, because the state estimated her influence as being harmful for Gottfried's peace of mind and his indoctrination. In fact, Johanna Kinkel was the co-founder of the political magazine *Maikäfer* and she expressed her sympathy for her husband's political activities in many letters and diary entries. Another interesting avenue to her political perceptions is her musical Œuvre including more than 80 art songs, three cantatas as well as incidental music. This paper aims to introduce Johanna Kinkel's lied *Thurm und Fluth*, Opus 19, No. 6, which was published in 1848, one of the most eventful years on the way from scattered regionalism to a united Germany. The consistently ambiguous words are delivered through a broad variety of compositional features, ranging from traditional formal aspects to fairly experimental harmonic and melodic progressions. The lyrics, which were written by Gottfried Kinkel, describe the German political status quo as well as the writer and composer's rather optimistic hopes using the power of nature as a major allegory. A musical analysis and interpretation of the lied will show how the piece carries political hints without arousing public suspicion of political agitation.¹

1. Introduction

Johanna Kinkel (1810-1858) has for a long time been overshadowed by her husband, Gottfried Kinkel (1815-1882), who was an influential German political propagandist in the nineteenth century. However, Johanna Kinkel herself seemed to be involved with politics and the distribution of revolutionary ideas just as much as her husband. Gottfried Kinkel was arrested after his involvement with the social democrat rebellion in the Palatinate in 1849. As the state considered Johanna Kinkel's influence on her husband as being harmful for his indoctrination, Johanna was not granted permission to visit him in prison.² Paul Kaufmann acknowledges Johanna's pivotal influence on her husband and refers to her as Gottfried Kinkel's demon.³ In fact, Johanna Kinkel was the co-founder and the only female member of the *Maikäferbund*, a literary and political association publishing the political magazine *Maikäfer*. Although Johanna Kinkel missed her husband whenever he left the house for the sake of politics, she expressed her sympathy for his political activities in many letters. When Gottfried Kinkel joined the revolutionary forces in the *Siegburger Zeughaussturm* on 10 May 1849, from which he did not return home as he tried to hide from the military, Johanna bemoaned his absence in one of her letters to him. At the same time, however, she promises him to control herself and grants him her full support:

"I want to pull myself together. – I want to stick to my promise to bring up the children as good revolutionaries. I believe, you were not able to act in a different way; and whatever

¹ The presentation of this paper at the conference "The National Element in Music", 18-20 January 2013, Athens, was financially supported by the Graduate Studies Office, National University of Ireland Maynooth.

² *Neue Leipziger Zeitung*, 242 (30/08/1850), p. 961.

³ Paul Kaufmann "Johanna Kinkel. Neue Beiträge zu ihrem Lebensstil", *Preußische Jahrbücher* 22 (1931), 3-47, p. 4.

may happen, if the torture of missing you exasperates me, you do not have to fear me blaming you".⁴

Besides Johanna Kinkel's psychological support of her husband's political activities, she herself actively contributed to the *Bonner Zeitung*⁵, as indicated in one of her letters to Gottfried, in which she discusses the option of her and the family following the sadly-missed husband and father to Berlin, where he worked as a member of the Prussian Diet from 23 February 1849 until May 1849:

"I believe that my presence is very important to the punctual publication of your newspaper. You can be sure that the paper will be looked after and driven carefully, and that I will take care of the evening work, the Sunday work and the reviews as long as I am in charge of them".⁶

Another promising avenue to Johanna Kinkel's political activity is the examination of her musical Œuvre which includes more than 80 lieder, 15 of which are settings of her husband's poetry.⁷

This paper aims to introduce Johanna Kinkel's lied *Thurm und Fluth*, Opus 19, No. 6, which was published in 1848, one of the most eventful years in nineteenth-century German history. The consistently ambiguous words written by Gottfried Kinkel are delivered through a broad variety of compositional features, ranging from traditional formal aspects to a fairly experimental piano accompaniment as well as thoroughly organised harmonic and melodic progressions. The lyrics summarise and criticise the German political status quo and show the poet and composer's rather optimistic hopes using the power of nature as a major allegory.

A short synopsis followed by a musical analysis and interpretation of the lied will show how the piece carries political hints without arousing public suspicion of political agitation. In a concluding section I would like to introduce further research points and questions resulting from this study.

⁴ Johanna Kinkel in a letter to Gottfried Kinkel on 14 May 1849, published in *Liebe treue Johanna! Liebster Gottit! Der Briefwechsel zwischen Gottfried und Johanna Kinkel 1840-1858*, ed. Monica Klaus (Bonn: Stadtarchiv und stadthistorische Bibliothek, 2008), pp. 506-508, p. 508. Original citation: "Ich will fest bleiben. – Ich will dir mein Wort halten und die Kinder zu guten Republikanern erziehen. Ich glaube, du konntest nicht anders handeln, und was auch daraus entstehe, wenn die Qual dich zu missen mich zur Verzweiflung bringt, keinen Vorwurf hast du von mir zu befürchten".

⁵ The *Bonner Zeitung* was Bonn's only democratic newspaper of the time and was edited by Gottfried Kinkel from 6 August 1848 until he became a member of the Prussian Diet in Berlin and moved to the Prussian capital city on 24 February 1849. From then on, Carl Schurz was appointed editor of the *Bonner Zeitung*, followed by Johanna Kinkel, who took over the editorship in May 1849 when Carl Schurz and Gottfried Kinkel both joined the *Siegburger Zeughaussturm*.

⁶ Johanna Kinkel in a letter to Gottfried on 10 March 1849, published in Monica Klaus (ed.) *Liebe treue Johanna! Liebster Gottit!*, pp. 453-454, p. 554. Original citation: "Endlich glaube ich, daß meine Anwesenheit für das pünktliche Erscheinen deiner Zeitung sehr wichtig ist. Dies konsequente Aufpassen, Antreiben, Versorgen für die Abendarbeit, für den Sonntag u. die Rezensionen bist du ja auch beruhigt, solange du sie in meinen Händen weißt".

⁷ Besides typical nineteenth-century themes such as longing, the South, love and romanticised pictures of nature, Johanna Kinkel includes different socio-political themes in her lieder compositions, such as nationalist allusions to history (e.g. *Rheinsage*, Opus 8, No. 2; words by Emanuel Geibel), revolutionary appeals (e.g. *Demokratenlied*, no opus, words by Johanna Kinkel; *Auf wohlauf, ihr Candioten*, Op. 18, No. 3; words by Gottfried Kinkel; *Stürmisch wandern*, Op. 18, No. 6; words by Gottfried Kinkel), the sorrows of a wife whose husband is leaving for war (e.g. *Abreise*, Opus 8, No. 6; words by Emanuel Geibel; *Des Lehnmanns Abschied*, Op. 21, No. 6; words by Gottfried Kinkel), the fight against religious conventions (*Die Gefangenen*, Op. 16, No. 1; words by Johanna Kinkel) and nationalism under the disguise of orientalism (*Beduinen-Romanze*, Op. 19, No. 4; words by Gottfried Kinkel).

2. Words

Gottfried Kinkel gave his first political speech on 20 March 1848 in Bonn only one day after the March Revolution had commenced and had been violently put down by the emperor in Berlin.⁸ Reading *Thurm und Fluth* as a political poem, one is struck by the ambiguity that is evident throughout all five stanzas. The poet is using nature as an overall allegory for the German political status quo by choosing a tower as a symbol of the politically powerful Prussian emperor and the sea as a metaphor for the people. That way the sea could equally be considered as the revolutionary movement favouring a united Germany with a constitution.

2.1. Synopsis

Thurm und Fluth tells the story of a waterfront tower that is constantly touched and finally destroyed by the raging sea. The first stanza introduces the tower which is located at the cliffs overlooking the countryside. As a counterpart to each stanza the reader is confronted with a refrain that portrays the wild ocean, permanently bathing the quiet and strong tower. In the second stanza we are presented with a rhetorical question about the sea: Why would it keep itself calm? A second rhetorical question alludes to the sea's past which could be considered as a reference to German history. The lyrical I characterizes the current political force as a "drone" (line 10). The third stanza describes how the sea bravely approaches the tower but only takes away a grain of sand from it. At this stage the tower is referred to as a "castle" (line 21) which shows the strength and stability it is assigned. At this moment we reach the climax of the poem, and a turning point at the same time. In the following stanza the balance of power between the sea and the tower seems to change as spirits sally in from the West during the night. Here Kinkel adverts to his own political speech and the revolutionary movement in and around Bonn, Western from the Prussian court in Berlin. The Western approach results in the victory of the sea against the tower which finally cracks and collapses. The refrain could be interpreted as a positive development of the sea's attempt to crush down the tower. This becomes an ambitious political undertaking and could be read as an optimistic threat, voiced by a convinced revolutionary.

2.2. Interpretation

2.2.1. Imagery

The poem is laden with personification giving the reader the impression that the tower and the sea are acting like human beings. Especially the chorus "Die Wellen kennen nicht Rast noch Ruh" ["The troubled water knows neither rest nor calmness", line 7] seems to go beyond the literal meaning of nature. It constantly reappears in order to remind the reader of the staying power of the revolutionaries.⁹ Furthermore, the chorus forms a permanent contrast to the

⁸ Cf. Monica Klaus *Johanna Kinkel. Romantik und Revolution* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2008), p. 153. For more details on German history of the nineteenth century, especially the 1848/49 revolutions see Frank Eyck *The Revolutions of 1848-49* (Edinburgh: Longman, 1972), pp. 3 ff. and Ernest John Knappton & Thomas Kingston Derry *Europe 1815-1914* (Norwich: Jarrold & Sons, 1965), pp. 20 ff.

⁹ Although the Berlin March revolution (17 March 1848) was violently suppressed by the Prussian military, the insurrection awarded the revolutionaries freedom of press, which resulted in an increased number of revolutionary organisations and newspapers, which, in turn, enabled the revolutionaries to associate with each other. This is also reflected by Gottfried Kinkel's increasing political activities: On 20 March 1848, he gave his first political speech at the City Hall in Bonn; on 27 March 1848, he contributed to the foundation of a central committee of the Bonn democrats (*Central-Bürgerversammlung*); on 19 April 1848, Kinkel wrote a petition for craftsmen favouring a better education of this lower societal stratum, followed by the foundation of the *Handwerkerbildungsverein* (Educational association for craftsmen) on 28 May 1848 and the establishment of

verses. Whereas the chorus stays the same all the time, the preceding verses tell a story that incorporates a change of atmosphere. In addition to this the poet uses metaphors such as “krauses Haupt” [“fizzy head” (line 18) for the troubled water] in order to create variety and attract the reader’s imagination. Another reason for the huge concentration of imagery within the poem could be Kinkel’s awareness of the socio-political situation he was in. His profession as a Protestant theologian ended when he married a Catholic-born woman who had been married before.¹⁰ However, he certainly did not want to put his own life and his family’s life at additional risk publishing obvious revolutionary ideas that were not welcomed by the political powers.¹¹ Apart from that, Kinkel might have hoped for as big a readership as possible and therefore tried to hide his political message between the lines rather than putting off readers who were not on the same wavelength as him.

2.2.2. Formal aspects

The poem consists of five stanzas, each of which includes one alternate rhyme, followed by a rhyming couplet and the refrain. Each verse contains three stressed syllables and the poet only uses falling rhythmic feet, i.e. trochees and dactyls, depending on the number of syllables in a word. In order to keep that pattern the poet inserts fillers (e.g. “so” in lines 4 and 5) or uses elisions (e.g. “Well” rather than “Welle”, line 22).

2.2.3. Sound

Besides the well-chosen allegory of nature¹² as a disguise for a political statement, an evenly organized formal sketch and a regular metre there is another feature which adds to the musical qualification of this poem, namely the sound. The words seem extremely harmonious as the poet uses many alliterations (e.g. “Rast noch Ruh”, line 7) and assonances (e.g. “wühlen und spülen”, line 8).

3. Musical Analysis

Many of the above-mentioned features that create regularity and seem to result from a thorough organisation of the syllables, words, verses and stanzas recur in the musical framework of Johanna Kinkel’s setting.

3.1. Formal Sketch

Looking at the formal sketch of the song (Figure 1) one is reminded of the traditional eighteenth-century phrasal pattern. Four bars form one phrase and we have a total of 24 bars, i.e. six phrases. This supports the regularity Gottfried Kinkel applied in his poem, especially because

the *Demokratischer Verein* (Democrats’ association) on 31 May 1848. On 6 August 1848 he took editorship of the *Bonner Zeitung* and on 15 November 1848, Kinkel made a public appeal for tax refusal. (Cf. Monica Klaus *Johanna Kinkel*, pp. 152 ff.)

¹⁰ Cf. Monica Klaus *Johanna Kinkel*, p. 90.

¹¹ On 10 February 1846, Gottfried Kinkel was appointed professor at the Faculty of the history of arts at the Bonn University, which made up for the financial shortage caused by Kinkel’s religious dishonest behaviour and which polished up financially the Kinkels’ household. However, Gottfried Kinkel’s political engagement with the *Siegburger Zeughaussturm* in 1849 cost him his job at the Bonn University and endangered his family’s life to a great extent (Cf. Monica Klaus *Johanna Kinkel*, p. 183); a fact, of which he did not know when he wrote his poem *Thurm und Fluth* in 1848.

¹² This is also a general typical feature of the romantic era, in which, according to Rey M. Longyear, the “love of an unspoiled pre-industrial nature” alludes to the industrialisation that influenced large parts of Western Europe in the middle of the nineteenth century. (Cf. Rey M. Longyear *Nineteenth-Century Romanticism in Music*, third edition [New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1988] p. 12)

each line is always assigned two bars. One stanza consists of three phrases, whereas the first two phrases, in accordance with the alternate rhyme, seem to be an entity. The third phrase sets itself apart from its preceding phrases as it is made up of a rhyming couplet. The rhythmic change of the piano accompaniment adds to the contrast between the first two phrases and the third phrase.

The musical organisation of the song conforms to the poetical structure of the poem as Kinkel inserts one bar, namely bar 13 that functions as a bridge between stanza and refrain. However, this bridge introduces a little bit of irregularity as bar 13 is a stand-alone section. The following four bars, i.e. phrase four, cover the first part of the chorus in which the refrain repeats one line. The second part of the refrain is represented by three bars, which, if we add bar 13, makes the chorus into an entity of eight bars, i.e. two phrases. That means that the irregularity generated in bar 13 is balanced at the end of the chorus and the traditional number of four bars per phrase has been restored. At this stage the song could finish off, but Johanna Kinkel composes another phrase for the solo piano. Summarising the formal structure of this composition I would like to stress the close relationship to the German folk song as it is a strophic setting.

bar	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
verse	1		2		3		4		5		6		Refrain ¹		Refrain ¹		Refrain ²							
phrase	1				2				3				4				5				6			
melody																								
section	A				A				B				Chorus											
piano	Triplets/ arpeggios								8/8 – 4/4				Triplets/ arpeggios				Triplets against 4/4				calming down			
harm.	g	g	Eb/Bb	B	g/B ⁺	Eb/Ab	Eb/Bb	Eb	e/D	g	Bb/c	D	D/d	e/F ⁺	Bb/Eb	Ab/e/D	g/D	G	G	G	G	G	G	G
com.					climax				melody/ words! centre				melody/ words!				harmonics contrast				solo piano harmonics			

Furthermore, *Thurm und Fluth* reminds us of the traditional bar form A – A – B if we examine the stanzas separately from the chorus. The lyrics address a large audience that might go beyond the musically well-educated social stratum and might include musical laymen. Hence the appliance of two folk-like structural features might have been chosen in order to assist the listener as it increases both comprehensibility and memorability of the piece. One might be tempted to assume that Johanna Kinkel structured this piece as a folk song because she was most used to folk songs herself due to the lack of organised musical education during her childhood. However, I would like to hold against this that the composer’s musical understanding must have developed from 1836 on as she then went to Berlin and spent a lot of time with Fanny Hensel who had enjoyed a brilliant musical education as a child and certainly must have influenced Johanna Kinkel’s compositional style. Kinkel was also friendly with Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy¹³ with whom she was in close touch discussing compositional matters and on whose compositions she gave lectures in London in the 1850s¹⁴ – a point which might prove Kinkel’s musical and compositional understanding.

¹³ Adeline Rittershaus “Felix Mendelssohn und Johanna Kinkel. Ungedruckte Tagebuchblätter und Briefe“, *Neue Freie Presse. Morgenblatt.* (19/4/1900), pp. 1ff. Johanna Kinkel’s close friendship with the Mendelssohns is also reflected in her memories of her time in Berlin, in which she speaks very well of Felix Mendelssohn’s sister Fanny Hensel and her *Sonntagsmusiken* (Cf. Monica Klaus *Johanna Kinkel*, p. 44). Furthermore, Mendelssohn’s other sister Rebecka Dirichlet was involved with Gottfried Kinkel’s escape from prison in November 1850, as she kept the money Johanna had sent to Berlin in order to conduct the escape until Carl Schurz, who finally freed Gottfried Kinkel with the help of a few prison guards, collected the money at Rebecka Dirichlet’s. (Cf. Monica Klaus *Johanna Kinkel*, p. 234)

¹⁴ The lectures are archived in the Handschriftenlesesaal at Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Bonn.

3.2 Piano Accompaniment

In opposite to the quite simple formal organisation of the song, the piano accompaniment is far from simple. The huge amount of triplets and arpeggios produces a fast tempo and challenges the pianist. Thus the composition could hardly be considered as a folk-like piece from the pianist's point of view. This observation is contradictory to the argument that Johanna Kinkel intended to compose a folk song for a large audience as the superior piano accompaniment certainly hindered public performance and, therefore, distribution. On the other hand it is understandable that Kinkel wanted to show her whole musical and compositional potential and therefore assigned a fairly important role to the piano. This is not only recognisable by means of the last four bars which include a solo piano passage. But the piano exceeds a purely accompanying function throughout the lied and takes on a semantic role.

A good example of an effective pianistic figuration used to illustrate the text is found in the chorus, bars 18-20 (musical example 1). Whereas the first verse "Die Wogen kennen nicht Rast noch Ruh" ["The troubled water knows neither rest nor calmness"] is accompanied by triplets and arpeggios supporting the fast motion of the troubled sea; the piano part becomes independent in bars 18-20. These bars are made up of triplets in the right hand and groups of four quavers in the left hand. The coexistence of an even and an uneven rhythm reinforces the unsettledness of the sea and accurately pictures the contents of the last verse, which is "Sie wühlen und spülen immerzu" ["They constantly grub and swill"].

3.3. Melodic aspects

Remaining with the last verse of the chorus, bars 18 to 20, it is striking how Kinkel uses melody as a means of contrast. Whereas the piano part portrays the troubled water, the vocal part consists of only one note, namely "g" (see musical example 1). As the sea is used as an overall allegory for the people the tonal uniformity could be interpreted as the persistence of the revolutionaries who fight against the Prussian powers.

Musical example 1: Bars 18-20 of Thurm und Fluth by Johanna Kinkel¹⁵

3.4. Harmonic aspects

Also the harmonics are used as a meaning-bearing musical parameter. The piece is set in G minor with all its common tonal mediants as well as its dominant key D major arranged around it. The desperate attempts of the sea to approach the tower are represented by a rather restrained g-minor tone. However, the chorus is used as a means of modulation to G major and thereby brightens up the general atmosphere. It does not surprise that Johanna Kinkel uses the note "g" for the melody in the last phrase of the chorus as this functions as a stabilizer of both the originally introduced key g minor and the newly established mode G major. The shift from G minor to G major in the chorus supports the initial interpretation of the refrain as an optimistic and enthusiastic appeal to the revolutionaries. In relation to this, the solo piano part

¹⁵ Musical example: Johanna Kinkel *Sechs Lieder* (Köln: M: Schloß, 1848). It has been transcribed by the author.

in G major at the end of the piece could be considered as a reassessment of the words voiced before, which increases its contextual function.

4. Summary

Thurm und Fluth contains many stylistic means which attract the reader's imagination. Furthermore, the musical appearance of the words, the strophic organization and the regular metre enabled Johanna Kinkel to compose a piece that, at the first glance, seems like a folk song. The setting of five stanzas which are each structured according to the Minnesang bar form increases the comprehensibility and memorability of the piece. In addition to this, the melodic and harmonic progression takes on a contextual level and supports the message that is hidden between the lines which could be summarised as the attempt of the revolutionary movement to dispossess the political force. The chorus functions as both an appeal to Johanna and Gottfried Kinkel's like-minded people to not give in and keep fighting as well as a clear statement towards the Prussian court who had violently put down the political rebellion on 19 March 1848 in Berlin.

5. Conclusion

However, more than likely this piece was perceived as a political message only by a small part of the population rather than the general public as it would have taken a certain perspective, namely the perspective of a revolutionary, to interpret the piece as an attempt of political agitation. Furthermore it is questionable in how far the general public was intellectually able to understand and interpret Johanna Kinkel's message. As Kinkel was the mother of three children, a fourth child on its way, she might have purposely hidden her revolutionary ideas under the disguise of "mother nature" as she certainly did not want to endanger the well-being of her family for the sake of politics any more than necessary.¹⁶ Having said this, it would be interesting to examine if this piece was promptly performed and, if so, under what circumstances and on which occasion the performance took place.

In addition to this, I would like to raise attention to the question of distribution of revolutionary ideas, expressed through music. Such ideas can certainly only be considered politically influential if there is some kind of public distribution at all. The media preferably published words that carried political information more obviously. The *Bonner Zeitung* for example, since 6 August 1848 under Gottfried Kinkel's editorship, published Johanna Kinkel's *Demokratenlied* in December 1848.¹⁷ But as the *Bonner Zeitung* was a fairly revolutionary medium the distribution of the words through this medium might not have gone beyond the revolutionary crowd that agreed with Kinkel anyway. It shall be interesting to investigate if Johanna Kinkel also published her works through non-political media such as women's magazines, art journals or rather neutral daily newspapers.

Thurm und Fluth could have been a useful means to distribute revolutionary ideas to rather neutral and undecided sections of the population as the lyrics are not as obvious and aggressive as for example the words of the *Demokratenlied*. Opus 19 was published in 1848 by the music publisher Schloss in Cologne. But has the general public ever been confronted with these thoroughly chosen words and notes or was *Thurm und Fluth* **not** much more than a team work experience of highly-psychological value for Gottfried and, more importantly, Johanna Kinkel?

¹⁶ Monica Klaus *Johanna Kinkel*, p. 154.

¹⁷ *Bonner Zeitung*, 192 (6/12/1848), p. 1.

Having raised this point, I would like to try to transfer my findings to a more general argument and I would like to address the following question to my audience. If we consider music carrying revolutionary content as a phenomenon of fringe groups, i.e. a small part of the population, rather than a mainstream occurrence, why is it that such kind of music is assigned a huge political relevance, sometimes even a danger by its respective political force?

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Medea on opera: “ethnic” identity and operatic adaptations

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Abstract. The figure of Medea is usually approached through her main characteristics, most of them related to her ethnic («Colchian») identity: Medea the (barbaric) witch, Medea the infanticide, Medea the outsider, Medea as a proto-feminist, as a victim and victimizer etc. Her exotic/ barbaric origin obviously plays a significant role (along with her divine descent) in order to “justify” her crimes and drive the dramatic plot: f.i. nowhere in Euripides’ tragedy is the famous act of infanticide described as “unnatural”; it is condemned as “unholy”, [ἐργον ανοσιώτατον], “savage” and “horrific”, but not as “against nature”. These and other aspects of Medea’s identity are discussed in this paper, along with Carl Dahlhaus’ arguments on this subject, and a presentation of Medea’s figure and function in the plots of well-known operas (mainly in Cherubini’s *Medea*, and others) such as: Marc-Antoine Charpentier’s *Médée* (1693), *Medea*, by Jiří Benda (1775), *Medea in Corinto* by Giovanni Simone Mayr, Giovanni Pacini’s *Medea* (1843), Darius Milhaud’s *Médée* (1938) and the recent, *Medea* by Mikis Theodorakis (1991) and Rolf Liebermann’s last opera *Freispruch für Medea* (1995).

The figure of Medea is usually approached through her main characteristics, most of them referring to her ethnic/ barbaric and her other identities: Medea the witch, Medea the infanticide-filicide, Medea the “protofeminist”, Medea the Outsider etc. In Euripides’ tragedy (431 B. C.), Jason, prince of Iolcus and leader of the Argonauts, has won the Golden Fleece from King Aietes of Colchis with the aid of the magical powers of Aietes’ daughter Medea, who is the granddaughter of the sun-god Helios and also related (a niece) to the enchantress Circe. Medea, in love with Jason, betrays her father and follows Jason to his native city Iolcus. Along the way Medea kills her younger brother Apsyrtus, whose dismembered body is spread upon the sea to distract Aietes in his pursuit of the pair. In Iolcus, Jason’s uncle Pelias denies him the crown, and Jason gets revenge by Medea’s witchcraft: the daughters of Pelias are enchanted into killing their father in hope of rejuvenating him through Medea’s elixirs. At the beginning of the play, Jason, Medea, and their two young sons have sought refuge from the Iolcians in Corinth. There, Jason abandons Medea for young Glauce, daughter of the Corinthian King Creon, partly because Medea was considered a barbarian, but mostly because this new marriage would elevate him socially.¹ Betrayed and desperate, Medea proceeds to the horrific deed of killing her two sons; right before this, in operas treating the same subject, she usually has a monologue in which she is tormented by contrasting feelings, at the same time wanting to murder and spare her children; this is invariably a major aria, usually alternating between dramatic rage and lyrical tenderness.

The story of Medea flourished in a large variety of versions and genres: stage dramas, novels, ballet suites (such as Samuel Barber’s *Medea: Suite op. 23*, 1947), and internationally known operas, mostly of the Italian-French operatic spectacle-and-aria tradition. Some well-known operas based on Medea (apart from the ones based on the figure of Jason / Giasone) are: Marc-Antoine Charpentier’s *Médée* (1693, with Thomas Corneille’s *Médée* as libretto), Jiří Benda’s *Medea*, a one-act opera on a text by Friedrich Wilhelm Gotter (Leipzig, 1775), and Luigi Cherubini’s *Medea* (1797). To be noted are also Giovanni Simone Mayr’s *Medea in Corinto* (premiered in 1813, libretto by Felice Romani), Giovanni Pacini’s *Medea* (1843), Darius Mi-

¹ See: *Medea: Essays on Medea in Myth, Literature, Philosophy, and Art*, eds. James J. Clauss and Sarah Iles Johnston (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997) and *Mythos Medea*, ed. Lütkehaus Ludger (Leipzig: Reclam, 2001).

lhaud's *Médée* (1938), Mikis Theodorakis' *Medea* (Bilbao, 1991), and Rolf Liebermann's last opera *Freispruch für Medea* (1992, premiere 1995 in Hamburg).

Some crucial points in operatic plots: Jason (*Giasone*) abandons Medea to marry Glauce (also called Creusa or Dirce), the daughter of Creon/ Creonte, King of Corinth. Medea tries in vain to get Jason back, but is promised that she will see her children one last time before she is sent away (this "banishment" of Medea appears in several different versions in the operas, and even in the several re-workings of Cherubini's opera). As revenge she sends a poisoned robe to Glauce (who dies in a subsequent scene), whereupon she also kills her two sons and finally sets fire to the temple. Medea has already betrayed her own father and her homeland, murdered and cut to pieces her own brother, and tricked other women into murdering and cutting to pieces her father. But at the same time Medea's exotic and barbaric origin plays a significant role in "justifying" these crimes and driving the tragedy's plot. Therefore, a main issue is the "justification of the unjustifiable", because of Medea's extraordinary identities.

Luigi Cherubini's (1760-1842) *Medea* actually incorporates at least five different "national" identities: It is Italian, it is based on a Greek textual background, but it was originally composed in French (*Médée*) as an opéra-comique with spoken dialogue. Additionally, when it was performed in Frankfurt in 1854/55, the German organist Franz Paul Lachner changed it further and inserted recitatives in an almost Wagnerian style. Furthermore, it was revived by a Greek (-American) soprano (Maria Callas), and was the very first opera ever to be conducted in La Scala by an American conductor (Leonard Bernstein).

Carl Dahlhaus has pointed out that the major differences between Euripides' original tragic drama and the Luigi Cherubini- Francois Benoit Hoffmann operatic version, derive from the fact that the early 19th-century French bourgeois audience would never have understood the causes that motivated Medea to commit infanticide. Dahlhaus regards Euripides' *Medea* as driven to the extremes by her exiled, expatriate, personal status: being without a homeland, "a-polis"; a social- political status unbearable in the ancient world. Thus, Dahlhaus argues, Medea's deeds would have made a lot of sense to Euripides' contemporaries, but they would have been incomprehensible to a French audience in 1797 without some sort of psychological and theatrical refinement.

"To render comprehensible to a post-revolutionary public an intrigue whose historico-social grounding had long ceased to subsist, Hoffmann, Cherubini's librettist, performed a "psicologizzazione" totally alien to the Euripidean world, a psychological elaboration (and this is crucial) that was structurally dialectical, and which could therefore give life to the drama."²

This was done, according to Dahlhaus, by elaborating the wedding preparations and the wedding ceremony of Jason and Creusa/ Dirce as a counterpart to the continuous threat posed by Medea's presence on stage; by stressing the "earthly" and "human" qualities of both Jason and Medea and therefore implying a "tragic irony" absent from Euripides' original.³

Ever since Maria Callas revived this opera in the 1950s, Cherubini's *Medea* has been the point of reference for the operas treating this subject. But this has not always been so; for instance, in mid-19th century Italy, the most famous opera using this subject was the one composed by Giovanni Pacini (1796-1867). Johann Simon Mayr's *Medea in Corinto* (1813) had already disappeared from the repertoire by around 1845, and Cherubini's had already been forgotten before that. In Mayr's opera the orchestration is significantly different from Gluck's

² Littlejohn David, *The Ultimate Art: Essays Around and About Opera* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: Columbia University Press, 1994), 86.

³ Dahlhaus Carl and Miller Norbert, *Europäische Romantik in der Musik, Band 1: Oper und symphonischer Stil 1770-1820* (Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler Verlag GmbH, 1999), 211-212 .

(Mayr's model of inspiration) while the arias remain in the *bel canto* tradition with plenty of space for ornamentation.⁴

The three-act Pacini opera, on a libretto by Benedetto Castiglia, premiered in 1843 in Palermo, was revised several times (mainly in 1857), and had a long "international" career: at least 43 productions up to ca.1869 all over the world, from Russia to several Latin American countries and also to New York City. Pacini's *Medea* is actually more melodious than Cherubini's; Pacini is a composer whose importance has now started again to be recognized. In his *Medea*, there are two great duets (one each for Medea with the tenor/ Giasone and the baritone/ Creonte), effective arias for all the principal roles (most important is Medea's final aria), as well as some remarkable ensembles and choruses.

Cherubini's Italian version of *Medea* returned to the repertoire in 1953, when Maria Callas sang the title role, first in Florence, then in Milan, and, in later years, in Venice, Rome, London, and also in Dallas in 1958, where the staging was done by personalities of that time with a strong "national" Greek identity: Yannis Tsarouhis (stage design and costumes) and Alexis Minotis (stage direction). This was the very production that took place at the theatre of Epidaurus in 1961⁵. Callas also performed in Pier-Paolo Pasolini's film adaptation of *Medea* (1969/1970), playing as an actress the title role: a famous film, filmed in the district of the Göreme ancient Christian Churches in Nevsehir, Turkey and in Aleppo, Syria, stressing the "savage" aspects, the origin and the "ethnic" identity of Medea (without historical/ anthropological accuracy in relation to the myth though).

Cherubini originally structured a dramatic opera using the conventions of the French *opéra-comique*, where the drama is carried forward by means of spoken dialogue rather than the "half- sung" recitative. The Chorus last appears in a spectacular *Finale*, in which the crowd rushes toward the temple to murder Medea, who appears in the doorway, surrounded by three Furies and waving over her head the knife with which she has just killed her sons. Then she announces her departure for hell, having set fire to the temple, which bursts into flames.

In Euripides' finale though, Medea appears suddenly on the roof of the temple, with the corpses of her sons, about to escape in a chariot drawn by flying dragons, that was given to her by her grandfather, the god Helios [what she does, according to the myth, after this escape, (acting again in accordance with her specific identities), is horrifying enough, and out of the scope of this presentation]. One might start an endless discussion on the various aspects of Medea's nature whereby this foreigner is not just "the other", she is the "unknown"; any unconventional, exotic or extreme behavior on her part is excusable, or at least understandable. Additionally, an exotic mysterious barbarian does not have to comply with local social tradi-

⁴ Ref: Johann Simon Mayr (1763-1845), *Medea in Corinto* - Tragic Melodramma in two acts (1813), National Theatre, Munich, 2010, DVD NTSC, ARTHAUS MUSIK 108 03

⁵ Data on Luigi Cherubini's *Medea*: Première - Théâtre Feydeau, Paris - 13 March, 1797. Berlin première - 17 April, 1800. Vienna première - 1803. Cherubini's Vienna version (cut by about 500 bars) -1809. Première of the Franz Paul Lachner version (with cuts of Cherubini's score and the addition of over 500 bars of recitative to replace the original dialogue) - Frankfurt 1855. U.K. première at Her Majesty's Theatre, Haymarket - 6 June, 1865 with recitatives by Luigi Arditti (Thérèse Tietjes as Medea), Covent Garden première - 30 December, 1870. La Scala première - 30 December, 1909 in the Italian translation (by Carlo Zangarini) of the Lachner version. Other important modern performances: 7 May, 1953 - 16th Maggio Musicale Fiorentino - The first performance in Italy since 1909 with Maria Callas in the title rôle conducted by Vittorio Gui. 28 July 1984 - Buxton Festival - original French version with reduced spoken dialogue. 6 November 1989 - Covent Garden - same version as above, 4 August, 1995 - Valle d'Itria Festival - Premiere of the original French version in Italy. April, 1996 - Opera North, Leeds - Vienna version in English translation. 6 March, 1997 - Lincoln Center - complete original French version. See also: The New Grove Dictionary of Opera Volume IV, ed. Sadie Stanley (Oxford: Oxford University Press,1997), 292.

tions, moral norms and practices; in general, as Dahlhaus also points out, she is perceived as a “threat- posing factor” (in Greek: φοβογενικός παράγων), not unlike what has been the case with, for instance, African/Americans within urban societies in America, or immigrants in western/ white societies.⁶ Nowadays, we are familiar with Medea as a “dramatis persona” (here: in the musical drama), and tend to forget the mythical parameters attached to this figure: that this stranger/ outsider from Colchis, is at the same time the granddaughter of the sun-god Helios and also the niece of the witch Circe, that she actually is a (foreign) semi-goddess etc... It is also known that in his tragic drama, Euripides expresses doubt about traditional values related to biological origin, to the national (Greek) identity and to traditionally established social and moral values.

Another point related to national identities: Cherubini’s *Medea*, as already mentioned, was also the very first opera conducted by an American maestro in “La Scala”. Leonard Bernstein had agreed to conduct the work in this famous opera house in 1953, a house in which no American had ever conducted opera before. He only had five days in which to learn the score, he had never conducted grand opera in his life and never even heard of Cherubini’s *Medea*⁷. “To make things worse, he had a case of bronchitis [...] and the 1797 score gave off dust —to which Bernstein was allergic. But the opera authorities canceled a conflicting rehearsal of *Rigoletto* to give him more time [...]” At the end, the audience cheered up half a dozen curtain calls for Maria Callas and Bernstein and leaned into the orchestra pit to compliment the musicians⁸.

In Mikis Theodorakis’s *Medea*, premiered in Bilbao, 1991, it becomes evident that the musical setting of the text, the musical dramaturgy itself, is often based on a contradiction between the meaning of the text and the style of the music. This is very clear in Medea’s tragic aria, where she struggles with the decision to kill or spare her two sons. Here, the music is rather “sweet”, very close to bel canto, or rather to Neapolitan canzonetta style (much beloved in the musical tradition of the Ionian islands / Heptanisos in Greece), and thus contradicting the heavily tragic text.

The traditional versions of “Medea” present this wild semi-goddess as a barbaric outsider who uses her magical powers to destroy Corinth and who kills her children to punish her faithless husband, Jason. The underlying message is probably that civilized nations like ancient Greece, should be afraid of uncultured or “uncontrollable” foreigners. Therefore, the myth of Medea can be easily modernized on the basis of “national, social and personal identities”, e.g. with Jason and the Argonauts portrayed as colonial brutals raping and plundering Colchis; and Medea herself as a dark-skinned (Georgian?) immigrant who finally avenges all betrayal, discrimination, and humiliation she has suffered.

⁶ See Helene P. Foley, «Reimagining Medea as the American Other» in her *Reimagining Greek Tragedy on the American Stage* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2012), 190-228.

⁷ “Lennie at La Scala”, *Time Magazine*, Dec. 21, 1953 (<http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,890837,00.html>), accessed on July 29, 2013.

⁸ During the 20th century, the work was practically unheard until Maria Callas dug it out for the performances in May 1953 during the Maggio Musicale Fiorentino and later the same year at La Scala. Callas performed *Medea* 31 times in total from 1953 to 1962. There exists a recording from La Scala in 1955, again with Bernstein conducting. A few years later Callas made a studio recording with Tulio Serafin. There are also a couple of later recordings of the work : Decca set it down in 1967 with the then young Gwyneth Jones in the title role and Pilar Lorengar, Fiorenza Cossotto and Bruno Prevedi in other roles. Lamberto Gardelli conducted this, and the same conductor also lead a Hungaroton recording with Sylvia Sass as Medea and Veriano Luchetti as Jason. Apart from all this, one may recognize much of the style and the sonorities of the Beethoven symphonies when hearing the orchestral Overture of *Medea*. Or, as it is also written “Cherubini’s *Medea* looks back to Gluck and forward to Beethoven [...] when there are moments where the chorus foreshadows, by no means unworthingly the final movement of Beethoven’s 9th Symphony”... [“Opera and Concert Notices” (unsigned), *The Musical Times* Vol. 100, No. 1398 (Aug., 1959), 433-435].

This myth has also been reworked with a remarkable twist. Instead of leaving Medea for Creon's daughter (Glauce), Jason runs off with the king's son, also named Creon. This is the plot of the Swiss composer Rolf Liebermann's last opera *Freispruch für Medea* (in English named *Medea*), which has gained attention after French critics proclaimed it "the first explicitly homosexual opera" in 2002⁹. For this work, commissioned by the Hamburg State Opera, librettist Ursula Haas has adapted her own novel, *Freispruch für Medea (Acquittal for Medea)*. The musical dramaturgy reveals many influences, ranging from the Javanese gamelan (Introduction), to 12-tone, atonal and expressionistic styles.

So, if Medea has to be pronounced innocent for her crimes, there have to be strong reasons for it. The reason given in Liebermann's opera seems to be a strong one indeed, since it is based on a crucial personal/ sexual identity. To be abandoned, betrayed and desperate are some other good reasons; the infanticide can also be understood as an act of madness brought on by despair. To be caught by madness/ mental illness, speaks for the acquittal of murderers, in the so-called «civilized societies», since the end of the 19th century. Additionally, a stranger, a savage foreigner, a barbarian does not have to comply with local morals and ethics. And most of all: a semi-goddess, with an extra-terrestrial identity does not have to comply with human morals and ethics, since non-humans do not have to do so. All in all, one might also argue, analysis is valuable, but, in fact this is only a myth about a foreign supernatural witch. And after all "it's all in the theatre...".

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⁹ The data of this opera, at the official publisher's site:

http://www.sikorski.de/575/en/0/a/0/opera/1002093_freispruch_fuer_medea_oper_in_2_akten.html.

Libretto:

http://www.sikorski.de/661/en/0/a/0//2827_freispruch_fuer_medea_acquittal_for_medea_libretto.html

(accessed on July 29, 2013).

The Greek symphony (1900-1950): oscillating between Greek nationalism and Western art-music tradition

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Abstract. The reformation of Athens Conservatory in 1891, followed by significant aesthetic and cultural changes as regards the indigenous perception of western-European music, and the formation of the first orchestral ensembles contributed to an inceptive promotion of symphonic music in Greece between 1890-1910. However, it was due to the continuous efforts of Dimitri Mitropoulos, mainly between 1924-1939, to establish a steady full orchestral ensemble and expand the repertory of performed works that brought the Athenian audience closer to the Western-European symphonic repertory.

Important Greek symphonic works had already emerged after the second half of the 19th century (i.e. by Dionysios Rodotheatos and Demetrios Lialios), while the preceding *sinfonias* by Mantzaros, Padovanis, Metaxas and other Ionian composers were more related to the pattern of the Italian overture. The Greek symphony, originating from 1920 onwards, combined romantic aesthetics and ideals (mainly of Austrian – German orientation), (neo)classical structural features and indigenous characteristics of musical folklorism, national identity and tradition (initially modelled after 19th century European national schools). Manolis Kalomiris and Petros Petridis comprised prime symphonists, followed by an important number of composers more or less attached to the ideals of the Greek National School.

While examining the existing repertory of Greek symphonies during the first half of the 20th century, both historically and analytically, this paper also aims at correlating landmark works and composers to important social, political and even military events in Greece, up until World War II. The invasion of modernism after 1950 in Greek art music and its repercussions to the production of post-war Greek symphonies will be also commented upon.

The cultivation of orchestral music and symphonic genres, during the first half of the 20th century in Greece, was both influenced by and depended upon several aesthetic, cultural, ideological and political circumstances in modern Greek society that pertained to music. However, such criteria had already been originating - to a degree - during the 19th century in the Ionian islands, even before the establishment of modern Greek state, relating to the necessity and purpose of forming orchestral ensembles, the respective repertory there was to be performed, the evolution of indigenous music education in order orchestral musicians to be properly trained, and the interest for composing purely instrumental music - apart from vocal genres and especially opera that dominated the Ionian musical life during the 19th century. Aspects of musical life in the 18th and 19th centuries in the Ionian islands, such as perception, education, repertory and even social perspective were largely influenced by Italian patterns, thus revealing a musical culture that was generally cut off from the central-European – beyond the Alps – evolutions in music, as Italy also was up until 1850,¹ while including its own special characteristics.

Around 1810-1830, a number of about 15-20 musicians comprised a steady orchestral ensemble at the theatre San Giacomo of Corfu, in order operatic productions to be held.² The

¹ As regards the gradual alignment of the Italian orchestral music - especially in programmatic symphony and symphonic poem - with the central-European evolution of orchestral genres after 1850, see: Antonio Rostagno, *La musica Italiana per orchestra nell' Ottocento* (Firenze: Leo Olschki, 2003), 53.

² For a detailed discussion of the formation and evolution of the orchestra of San Giacomo during the first half of the 19th century, see: Konstantinos Kardamis, *The "Pre-Solomian" Nikolaos Halikiopoulos Mantzaros and his Work* (PhD diss., Ionian University, 2006), 273-276 [in Greek]. Also, for additional information on the relations of Italian musicians to the orchestra of San Giacomo: Katy Romanou, "The Ionian Islands", in *Serbian and Greek Art Music*, ed. Katy Romanou (Bristol/Chicago: Intellect Books, 2009), 99-124: 108-109.

basic group of string performers was enhanced, on occasion, by performers of woodwind and brass instruments that later became permanent members of the orchestra and also contributed to the training of young musicians by teaching at the Corfu Philharmonic Society (founded in 1840). Nevertheless, it was not up until December 1907 that an orchestral ensemble of 46 members was assembled in Corfu in order to perform a program that included Beethoven's first symphony and extracts of works by Grieg, Weber, Goldmark and Moskowski under the direction of Dimitrios Andronis.³ The annexation of the Ionian Islands to the Greek state in 1864 led many distinguished musicians to leave Corfu in order to establish themselves and (re)launch their careers in Athens and other cities. This led to the weakening of local music institutions.

On the other hand, new efforts of establishing music ensembles were held elsewhere, especially in Athens. A small orchestral ensemble, along with a mixed chorus, was first assembled by Rafaele Parisini. They were later both embodied into the Philharmonic Society "Eyterpi" in 1871.⁴ An ensemble of 40 musicians was assembled by the "Association of the Friends of Music" under Riccardo Boniccioli in 1893.⁵ It performed works by Samaras and Lavrangas in the Olympic Games of 1896. But the most important step was the foundation of the Athens Conservatory Symphony Orchestra that occurred as part of the reformation of the conservatory's program of studies, after Georgios Nazos had become its new director in 1891. The formation of the ensemble coincided with the new directions of music education in Greece that left behind any Italian influences, by which the Ionian music institutes were founded and were operating. This new orientation focused mainly on the Austrian-German model of music perception, performance, repertory and studies and was also related to political circumstances, the subsequent rise of Greece's urban social class and its craving for Europeanization.⁶ The orchestra of Athens Conservatory was benefited by the presence of François Choisy from 1903 and was further improved under Armand Marsick from 1908 to 1922.

Between 1924-1939 symphonic music flourished to the highest degree in the Greek capital thanks to the spirit and skill of Dimitri Mitropoulos. After arriving from Berlin in 1924, where he had served as 'Korrepetitor und Assistent' at the prestigious Berlin State Opera "Unter der Linden" under Erich Kleiber for two years,⁷ Mitropoulos first took up the symphony orchestra of the Hellenic Conservatory.⁸ The next year the orchestras of the Athens and the Hellenic conservatories merged, forming a unified symphonic ensemble, the orchestra of the "Concerts' Association".⁹ This ensemble performed for two seasons, until 1927, and then Mitropoulos became the director of the regenerated Symphony Orchestra of the Athens Conservatory up until 1939, the year that he permanently left Greece for the United States.¹⁰ During Mitropoulos' leadership the repertory of symphonic concerts in Athens was widely expanded from Viennese

³ Katy Romanou, *Greek Art Music in Modern Times* (Athens: Koultoura, 2006), 67 [in Greek].

⁴ Romanou, *Greek Art Music in Modern Times*, 111.

⁵ Takis Kalogeropoulos, *Athens State Orchestra. Pre-history and History* (Athens: Athens State Orchestra, 2004), 24-27 [in Greek].

⁶ Giorgos Sakallieros, "Perspectives of the Athenian musical life, 1870-1940", in *Musik-Stadt. Traditionen und Perspektiven urbaner Musikkulturen - Bericht über den XIV. Internationalen Kongress der Gesellschaft für Musikforschung*, eds. Katrin Stöck & Gilbert Stöck (Leipzig: Gudrun Schröder Verlag, 2012), 94-104: 97-98. Also, Romanou, *Greek Art Music in Modern Times*, 131-132.

⁷ As regards Mitropoulos' activities in Berlin between 1921-1924, see: Apostolos Kostios, *Dimitri Mitropoulos* (Athens: Educational Institute of the National Bank of Greece, 1985), 33-35 [in Greek]; also, Haris Xanthoudakis, "Mitropoulos in Berlin", *Moussikos Hellenomnemon* 5 (2010), 3-16 [in Greek].

⁸ Romanou, *Greek Art Music in Modern Times*, 217.

⁹ Haris Xanthoudakis and Aris Garoufalas (eds.), *Dimitri Mitropoulos and the Athens Conservatory. Chronicle and Documentation* (Corfu: Ionian University-Department of Music Studies, 2011), 34-40 [in Greek].

¹⁰ For a detailed discussion on Mitropoulos' activities during his second "Athenian period" from 1924 to 1939, see: Kostios, 36-60; Xanthoudakis - Garoufalas, *Dimitri Mitropoulos and the Athens Conservatory*, 34-49.

classics to 20th century works by Debussy, Ravel, Stravinsky, Prokofiev, Honegger, R. Strauss and even Mahler.¹¹ Famous composers, directors and performers were invited to perform with the orchestra, such as Richard Strauss himself, Alfred Cortot, Egon Petri, Arthur Rubinstein and Wilhelm Kempff.¹²

The orchestra of the Athens Conservatory became the first Greek state symphony orchestra during World War II. The law by which the orchestra became nationalized was voted by the appointed, by the occupational forces, government and was published on December 12, 1942.¹³ Its first concert, as Athens State Orchestra, in February 28, 1943, comprised of works by Lavrangas, Samaras, Sklavos, Kalomiris and Petridis, in a program that both depicted the symphonic spirit of the composers of the Greek National School during the first half of the 20th century, while establishing a distant link with the past by performing works from composers coming from the Ionian Islands.

The repertory of instrumental music in the Ionian Islands during the first half of the 19th century also followed the Italian model of period, where there was hardly any interest for composing orchestral music outside the operatic theatre. In Italy, according to Antonio Rostagno, the main genre up until 1860 was the one-movement orchestral overture modelled after Rossini and Mercadante. The overture generally coincided with the type of the Italian *sinfonia*, except for the omission of the middle slow movement. Its structure followed a condensed sonata-allegro pattern with the use of two contrasting themes but without the middle unit of development. Sometimes the allegro movement was preceded by a slow introduction, usually in dotted rhythm.¹⁴ Nikolaos Halikiopoulos Mantzaros (1795-1872), the most important musical figure of the 19th century in the Ionian Islands composed a large number of *sinfonias*, the earliest one dated in 1820 as an overture to the cantata *Ulisse agli Elisi*. A manuscript collection of 18 of his *sinfonias* are preserved at the Moutsenigos' Archive of the National Library of Greece, without being quite certain if they are originally scored for piano or are piano reductions of orchestral works.¹⁵ Among them, *sinfonia* no. 7 also comprises the piano reduction of the aforementioned cantata overture, while another autograph of the same work is preserved in the Library of the Corfu Philharmonic Society.¹⁶

¹¹ In order to get an idea of the significant input of Mitropoulos in the expansion of symphonic repertory in the Athenian musical life during the 1920s and 30s, one can go through: (i) the archived programmes of his concerts with the Athens Conservatory Symphony Orchestra (1927-1939), in Xanthoudakis - Garoufalas, *Dimitri Mitropoulos and the Athens Conservatory*, 177-207, and also (ii) the large number of music reviews on Mitropoulos' Athenian concerts, collected from newspapers and compiled in albums by Katy Katsoyannis, now archived in *Dimitri Mitropoulos Papers*, American School of Classical Studies in Athens, Gennadius Library Archives (Folder 20 / Subfolders 1, 2 and 3, covering the period 1920-1936).

¹² Xanthoudakis - Garoufalas, *Dimitri Mitropoulos and the Athens Conservatory*, 92; Romanou, *Greek Art Music in Modern Times*, 214-216.

¹³ Katy Romanou, "Occupied by the most musical people of Europe; a musical Greek tragedy", in *Proceedings of the International Musicological Conference 'Crossroads | Greece as an Intercultural Pole of Musical Thought and Creativity'*, eds. Evi Nika-Sampson, Giorgos Sakallieros, Maria Alexandru, Giorgos Kitsios & Emmanouil Giannopoulos (Thessaloniki: School of Music Studies, A.U.Th., 2013), 53-62: 59 [published electronically as an e-book; accessed July 12, 2013, <http://crossroads.mus.auth.gr/proceedings/>].

¹⁴ Rostagno, 54, 61-104.

¹⁵ For a detailed historical overview regarding the relation of Mantzaros to the genre of the Italian *sinfonia*, see: Kardamis, *The "Pre-Solomian" Nikolaos Halikiopoulos Mantzaros and his Work*, 342-354, 483-484. Also, Katy Romanou, "The Septinsular musical culture: an adequate intention", *Polyphonia* 5 (2004), 7-34: 20-24 (where Romanou proceeds to an analysis of Mantzaros' *Sinfonia* in C (the same work presented in autograph in image 1, above). The score is also fully presented in the same issue of the journal, in pp. 149-173 in typeset musical fonts, with a subsequent commentary in pp. 174-175 [in Greek].

¹⁶ According to Kardamis, there are four versions of this *sinfonia* (one for orchestra and the other three in piano reduction). Kardamis, *The "Pre-Solomian" Nikolaos Halikiopoulos Mantzaros and his Work*, 349.



Image 1. Nikolaos Mantzaros, *Sinfonia in C*, pp. 1-2, autograph [©Library of the Corfu Philharmonic Society].

Mantzaros' student Domenico Padovani (1817-1892) attested to a «*Sinfonia in the German style [alla tedesca]...no less important than of Beethoven's symphonies*». This *sinfonia* was the introductory part of Mantzaros' *Te Deum* composed for the enthronement of archbishop Nosstrano in Corfu in 1830, which is a still missing work. So, what exactly Padovani refers at, an one-movement *sinfonia* or perhaps a multi-movement symphony that could comprise the first Greek symphony, is still a mystery waiting to be resolved.¹⁷

Besides Mantzaros, the aforementioned Padovani and also Nikolaos Tzanis Metaxas (1825-1907) also comprised Septinsular composers of *sinfonias*. Although the genre seems to decay around the first decades of the second half of the 19th century, a quite belated example was recently found in a concert program from February 27, 1926: in the 19th concert of the "Concerts' Assosiation" orchestra led by Mitropoulos, exclusively comprising of works by Greek composers, the *Sinfonia orientale* ("Ανατολική Συμφωνία") by Dionysios Lavrangas (1860-1941) was performed.¹⁸ Lavrangas also came from the Ionian Islands but comprised a connecting link between the Septinsular School of the 19th century and the Greek National School of the 20th century. His *Greek Suite no. 1* for orchestra (before 1904) is generally regarded as the first symphonic work of the Greek National School.¹⁹

Another aspect of symphonic music composition from the Ionian islands came after 1850 with the works of Dionysios Rodotheatos (1849-1892). His two symphonic poems *Atalia* after Racine and *Lo Cid* after Corneille, along with the orchestral *Rapsodie: Idée allégorique*, all composed in the 1870s, reveal the influences of romanticism that led to the flourish of italian symphonic poem by composers like Antonio Bazzini²⁰ and also, to a degree, the reflection of the German spirit that largely reformed italian symphonic repertory after 1880. In Rodotheatos'

¹⁷ A detailed commentary on the Padovani's attestation about Mantzaros' missing work *Te Deum* can be found in: Kardamis, *The "Pre-Solomian" Nikolaos Halikiopoulos Mantzaros and his Work*, 396-399.

¹⁸ Evidence was found in the albums consisting of music reviews on Mitropoulos' concerts (from newspapers), compiled by Katy Katsoyannis, all archived in *Dimitri Mitropoulos Papers*, American School of Classical Studies in Athens, Gennadius Library Archives (Folder 20 / Subfolder 1). For the aforementioned concert (and Lavrangas' *Sinfonia orientale*), seven music reviews were collected (among their authors we trace Manolis Kalomiris, Georgios Lambelet and Ioannis Psaroudas).

¹⁹ Demetre Yannou, *Greek Symphonic Music* (Thessaloniki: School of Music Studies, A.U.Th., 1993), 8 [in Greek].

²⁰ Rostagno, 159-160.

symphonic poems, each section is corresponding to the plot of the respective literary work by a specific theme on terms of a leitmotiv, which coincides with practices also found in Liszt's or Smetana's symphonic poems. Rodotheatos' works evoke an eclectic composer who creatively absorbed several influences from Italian, French and German romanticism.²¹

But it was not until the presence of Demetrios Lalas (1848-1911) and Demetrios Lialios (1869-1940) that we trace the first Greek composers directly related to the German romantic ideas. Lalas was a close friend and assistant of Richard Wagner, and it is certain that he contributed in the 1876 complete staging of Wagner's *Ring* in Bayreuth. Almost all his compositional output was lost during World War One, along with the sank vessel that had been transporting it from Thessaloniki to Italy, where they was to be published. The expected Wagnerian influences in his works are detected in a number of surviving choral songs.²² Lialios came from Patras and his musical training was completed not in Italy, as for the most Septinsular composers, but in Munich, Germany, a city where wagnerian ideas where very vivid. He was a pupil of Ludwig Thuille (1861-1907). His symphonic work *Mitternachtstraum (im Süden)* composed in 1891 is – according to Vyron Fidetzis – a work where the naturalist spirit of German “Zeitgeist” is embodied into the symphonic form.²³ Lialios subtitles the work as “Symphonisches Werk für Grosses Orchester” (“symphonic work for large orchestra”). Its four-movement structure has been described either as a large-scale tone poem or a programmatic symphony. If analysis should corroborate the second case, this means that Lialios' *Mitternachtstraum* could comprise the first Greek four-movement symphony.²⁴

²¹ For more information on Rodotheatos and his works, see: Konstantinos Kardamis, "Greece and symphonism. The case of Dionysios Rodotheatos through his symphonic poem *Atalia* (for wind band), 1879", in *Six Studies for the Corfu Philharmonic Society* (Corfu: Corfu Philharmonic Society, 2010), 111-126.

²² Giorgos Leotsakos, "Demetrios Lalas, Richard Wagner's Macedonian pupil and intimate", in *Wagner and Greece* (Athens: Athens Concert Hall, 1992), 207-245 [in Greek]. Also, Haris Xanthoudakis, "Composers, trends and the question of nationality in nineteenth-century musical Greece", *Nineteenth-Century Music Review* 8/1 (2011), 41-55: 53.

²³ Vyron Fidetzis, "Demetrios Lialios (1869-1940). A European composer from Patras", *Musicology (Μουσικολογία)* 10-11 (1998), 265-286: 266 [in Greek].

²⁴ By taking a closer look in Lialios' catalogue of works, we ascertain that the composer himself clearly distinguishes *Mitternachtstraum* as a "Symphonisches Werk für Grosses Orchester" (though not clearly a *symphony*) from several of his other symphonic works, as regards form. See for example the symphonic cycle *Erinnerungen*, comprising of: I. Teil: *Moriska - Die wilde Leidenschaftliche*. II. Teil. *Amalie - Die romantische, träumende*. II. Teil. *Giulia - Die heitere, spielerische*. Each one of these three orchestral works is subtitled as "Symphonisches Dichtung für Grosses Orchester" (symphonic poem, tone poem). See, Fidetzis, 273; also the link "Demetrios Lialios", Digital archive of Greek music of the Music Library of Greece "Lilian Voudouri" (<http://digma.mmb.org.gr/Collection.aspx?cid=9>) accessed on July 16, 2013.

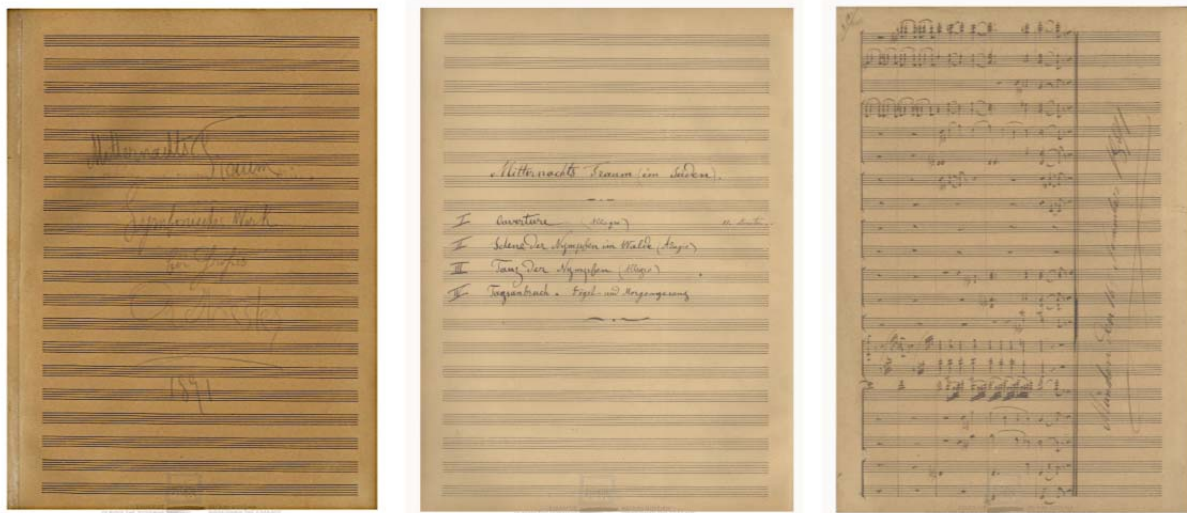


Image 2. Demetrios Lialios' *Mitternachtstraum (im Süden)* - (Munich, 1891). Probably the first Greek programmatic symphony. First, second and last page of the autograph. [©Digital archive of Greek music of the Music Library of Greece "Lilian Voudouri" (<http://digma.mmb.org.gr>)].

Political and social circumstances around 1880-1910 in Greece, urged the rising upper class of the intellectuals to foreground several issues of ethnological content and the perception of historical past, and employ them creatively in arts and letters. At that time, the terms "national", "Greek character" (of an artwork, etc.) and "historical continuance" rose all over, along with a general conflict concerning a *diglossia* (bilingual) situation that had occurred since the foundation of the modern Greek state, better known as the *language question*.²⁵ Greek art music seemed almost completely devoted to the quest of 'national' style and identity between 1910-1940, by combining a post-romantic to an early neoclassical style in form and genre, along with diversity on the elaboration of folk material.²⁶ Moreover, regarding genres and ensembles, symphonic music comprised an integral part of the compositional output of the Greek national school representatives.²⁷

For Manolis Kalomiris (1883-1962), the founder and main representative of the Greek National School, the symphonic form was an opportunity to develop his nationalistic ideas through the use of Western structures and the orchestral idiom.²⁸ The ideological context of his creative stimulus is clearly described, in his own words, by referring to his symphonies in 1955:

«These three symphonies are an important part of my creative life's work...They characterize my struggle as a composer to accomplish my mission: the creation of national music.

²⁵ Gerasimos Augustinos, "Greece and the Balkans between the World Wars: self-identity, the other, and national development", in *Greece and the Balkans. Identities, Perceptions and Cultural Encounters since the Enlightenment*, ed. D. Tziouvas (Aldershot-Burlington: Ashgate, 2003), 84–100.

²⁶ Giorgos Sakallieros, "Diverging from an established Greek musical nationalism: aspects of modernism in the works of Dimitri Mitropoulos, Nikos Skalkottas, Dimitrios Levidis and Harilaos Perpassas, during the 1920s and 30s", *Musicology (Музикологуја - Journal of the Institute of Musicology of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts)* 12 (2012), 183-206: 184-187.

²⁷ While, in example, chamber music did not; Yannis Belonis, *Chamber Music in Greece during the First half of the Twentieth Century. The Case of Marios Varvoglis (1885-1967)* (Athens: Hellenic Music Centre, 2012), 50-52 [in Greek].

²⁸ Bliss S. Little, *The Symphonies of Manolis Kalomiris (1883-1962)* (MMus thesis, University of Kansas, 1985), 27.

This musical art comes not only from folk music, but from our past, our desires, our imagination and stories, and our tradition, which is the tradition of the Greek nation».²⁹

Kalomiris' composing of his three symphonies spans between 1918 and 1955. The use of text, either sung or narrated, along with programmatic elements in all three of them, is essential for the composer to adduce his multiple symbolic references to the Byzantine tradition, the demotic language, the national soul and folksong material. Kalomiris' symphonies cannot be regarded within the context of the supremacy of symphonic music as an absolute form, as described i.e. by German philosophers of romanticism like E.T.A. Hoffmann, Heinrich Wackenroder or Ludwig Tieck,³⁰ but more as programmatic works deploying within a poetic context of multiple nationalistic ideas and symbols.³¹

Kalomiris' first symphony, entitled «Leventia» (literary translated as 'manliness', 'bravery' or 'pride with heroism and patriotism') was completed in 1920 and was devoted to the national poet Kostis Palamas. It was first performed in September 15, 1920 at the Herodus Atticus Theater at the foot of Acropolis, to the presence of Eleftherios Venizelos and King Alexandros. The performance took place at a time where the Asia Minor Expedition of 1919-1922 of Greece against Turkey, was at its culmination victorious point for the Greeks. At that time, this symphony comprised the musical symbolism of "Megali Idea" (Great Idea), a nationalistic concept that expressed the goal of unifying all ethnic Greeks into an extended Greek state spanning from Sicily to Asia Minor and the Black Sea, and from Macedonia and Epirus to Crete and Cyprus.³²

As regards thematic material form and structure, the «Leventia» symphony, as well as symphonies no. 2 and 3, all follow the classical four-movement pattern. Thematic material draws heavily upon elements of Greek folksong, however without the employment of authentic folk melodies. Kalomiris' themes often contain melodic patterns and embellishments, modulation units and cadential endings that derive from codified diatonic, chromatic and mixed Greek folksong modes, traditional meters and rhythms. This practice also affects the vertical sonorities and the harmonic vocabulary. Structurally, he employs ternary, binary or variation form for the inner movements of the symphony and sectional or cyclic form for the outer ones. Sonata form is generally not a constructive element in Kalomiris' symphonies.³³ The initial theme of "Leventia" symphony is elaborated as a cyclic pattern with its variations appearing in all three movements and is unified with the Byzantine hymn "Ta Nikitiria" at the finale.

²⁹Manolis Kalomiris, "The 'Palamas' Symphony: thoughts by the composer", introductory notes in *Manolis Kalomiris, 'Palamas' Symphony (Symphony no. 3 in D)* (Athens: Greek Ministry of Education - Greek Composers' Union, 1961), 7 [offprint, in Greek]. Translated by Bliss S. Little and cited in: Little, 27.

³⁰Anastasia Siopsi, *Music in Europe during the Nineteenth Century* (Athens: "Typothito"-Giorgos Dardanos, 2005), 44, 54 [in Greek].

³¹Olympia Frangou - Psychopedi, *The National School of Music. Problems of Ideology* (Athens: Institute of Mediterranean Studies), 143-148 [in Greek].

³²For more information, (i) on the chronicle of Asia Minor Expedition (1919-1922), see: Richard Clogg, *A Concise History of Greece* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 46-97; (ii) on the general concept of "Megali Idea" (Great Idea), see: Thanos Veremis (ed.), *National Identity and Nationalism in Modern Greece* (Athens: Educational Institute of the National Bank of Greece, 1999), 14 [in Greek].

³³As regards a general overview on the melodic, harmonic, instrumental, textural and formal characteristics of Kalomiris' three symphonies, see: Little, 18-36, 199-204 (conclusions).

Initial cyclic theme (Theme A) and a table of its variations in the first movement

1) mm. 5-8

2) mm. 306-307
Apassionato (♩ = 120)

3) mm. 432-433
Maestoso ma in tempo

4) mm. 452
Poco Moderato ma Maestoso c. Appass.

6) mm. 472-475
Agitato

7) mm. 497-500
a tempo ma poco Maestoso

I. Maestoso (mm. 1-8) - [piano reduction]

Musical example 1. Manolis Kalomiris, Symphony no. 1, "Leventia" (piano reduction), I. "Heroically and pathetically", mm. 1-8 [© Editions Michel Gaetano, Athènes, 1936]. The initial cyclic theme and its variations throughout the first movement.³⁴

The concept of Greek dance as a symbolic realisation of a Greek feast, is represented in the Scherzo, third movement of the symphony. Both the folk-like melody and folk-like performance are depicted here. The oboe, the clarinet and the violins are representative timbres of folk instruments like the shawm, the klarino, the lyre or the fiddle.

At the finale of the first symphony the use of a well-known Byzantine hymn (*Ti Ypermacho*) accumulates elements of Kalomiris' nationalistic ideology. The byzantine hymn appears as part of the art (and non-folk) national music tradition. The selection of the specific hymn applies to the concept of "Megali Idea" (*Great Idea*) and is also referring to the Greco-Turkish War (1919-1922) in Asia Minor, in which the Greek army forces had reached a temporary triumph in 1920.

Structurally, the elaboration of the Byzantine chant, both in orchestral and choral parts, shows a way of mixing monophonic Greek musical tradition along with polyphonic western-European art music and its techniques. Finally, the epic and solemn emotion that culminates in the dramatic finale of the symphony reveals Kalomiris' belated romantic nationalism.

The first exposition of the Byzantine hymn is purely monophonic through an orchestral unison, but then Kalomiris can't resist to presenting a four-part harmonization.

³⁴Cited in: Little, 176.

Musical example 2. Kalomiris, Symphony no. 1, "Leventia" (piano reduction), IV. "Ta Nikitiria", mm. 16-22.

Later on, the polyphonic elaboration is more evident as the byzantine melody is presented through contrapuntal texture.³⁵

Musical example 3. Kalomiris, Symphony no. 1, "Leventia" (piano reduction), IV. "Ta Nikitiria", mm. 99-108.

The second symphony of Kalomiris is entitled «of the Good and the Innocent People» and is the less familiar of the three, belonging to a period that the composer produced few works. The symphony employs a mixed choir along with the orchestra in the second and fourth movements while the scherzo is based on verses by the French writer Jean Richepin, which Zacharias Papantoniou translated into a Greek regional dialect and Kalomiris set for mezzo soprano. Impressionistic elements are more profound in this symphony, regarded as French music influences on Kalomiris. The employment of chorus is wordless and adds a unique timbre in the orchestration of the symphony, reminding Debussy's no. 3 of *Nocturnes* («Sirènes») or Ravel's, *Daphnis et Chloé*. The use of oboe d' amore, english horn, alto saxophone, xylophone, harps, celesta and muted strings, also result in differentiated layers of texture and timbre.³⁶

³⁵ For a broader analytical and aesthetic outline on the polyphonic elaboration of Byzantine chant in Kalomiris' first symphony, see : Giorgos Sakallieros, "Transitions of style and texture in Greek Art Music from the 19th century till 1950. A historical and critical approach", *Musicology (Μουσικολογία)* 20 (2011), 215-238: 220-223 [in Greek].

³⁶ Kalomiris' second symphony was first performed on January 10, 1932, by the Athens Conservatory Symphony orchestra, the Hellenic Conservatory Chorus and Elena Nikolaidi as mezzo-soprano. Dimitri Mitropoulos was the conductor.



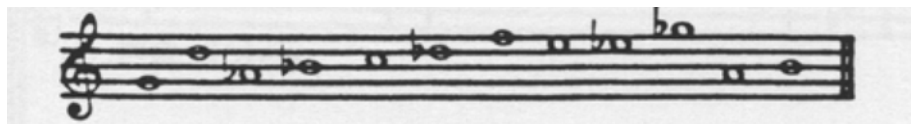
Musical example 4. Kalomiris, Symphony no. 2 "Of the Good and Innocent People" (1931). II. Moderato ma non troppo, mm. 15-20. Wordless use of chorus as an indicative impressionistic timbral effect [© Manolis Kalomiris Papers - Manolis Kalomiris Society, Athens].

The third symphony of Kalomiris is entitled after the national poet Kostis Palamas. Completed in 1955, it employs verses of Palamas' poems «Iambes and Anapestes» (in the first movement) and "The Dodecalogue of the Gypsy" (in the next three), who are performed by a narrator and not sung. Kalomiris, in his own words, denoted the close relationship between this work and the poet:

"Palamas' work was a true lighthouse of art that will give its light for the rest of the Greek nation's life [...] His poetry is like the sun is to nature [...] So I composed the "Palamas" symphony an altar and monument of my belief in the eternal Greek art and to the poet – maker that represents it".³⁷

In this mature work, Kalomiris accumulates all the musical elements that defined his unique style for over 40 years of composing, while employing novelties he used to exclude as non responsive to the ideal of national identity and Greekness. The belated example of twelve-tone melody in the scherzo of the symphony is a relevant example of such novelties.

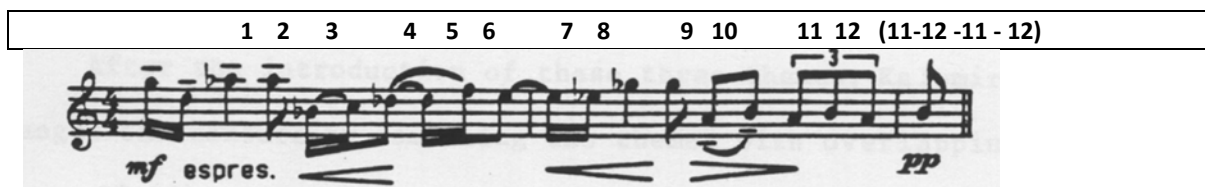
³⁷Kalomiris, 10-12. Translated by Bliss S. Little and cited in: Little, 34. First performance on January 22, 1956 by the Athens State Orchestra and Thanos Kotsopoulos (as narrator), conducted by Andreas Paridis (who was also the dedicatee).



Musical example 5-I. The twelve-tone row employed in the third movement of Kalomiris' Symphony no. 3 ('Palamas' Symphony).³⁸



Musical example 5-II. Kalomiris, Symphony no. 3, III. *Lento ma non troppo* (mm. 9-12). Flute solo doubled by cello solo two octaves lower (12-tone implementation).



Musical example 5-III. Kalomiris, Symphony no. 3, III. *Lento ma non troppo* (mm. 13-14). Clarinet solo (12-tone implementation).

Kalomiris is not the first Greek composer to apply twelve-tone technique in a symphony. Nor is Skalkottas, as many may presume. It is Georgios Poniridis' (1887-1982), *Symphony no. 1* that comprises a primal example of dodecaphony no later than 1935, during his stay in Paris. Poniridis in his long life adopted several idioms, from Byzantine melody to neoclassical modality, and from folk allusions to serial techniques. Much of his work is not known or properly researched yet. A combination of the drafts of his - probably uncompleted - first symphony shows clearly the serial pitch organization through melodic implementation.

³⁸ Cited in: Little, 187-188.

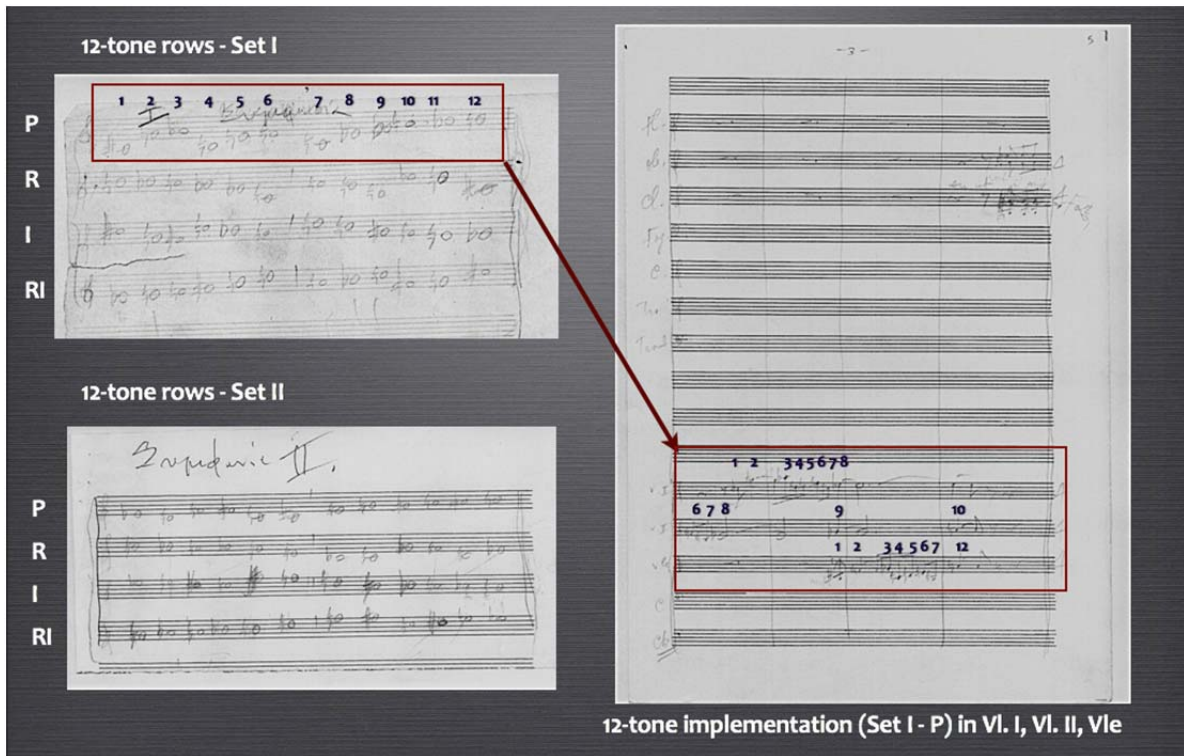


Image 3. Georgios Poniridis, *Symphony no. 1* (1935): drafts. [© Georgios Poniridis Papers - Music Library of Greece "Lilian Voudouri". Reproduced with permission].

As regards Nikos Skalkottas (1904-1949), both his *Classical Symphony in A* for woodwinds, harp and doublebasses, and his *Symphonietta in B-flat* are considered works of his late tonal period (1947-48). Quite interesting in its conception, though not named as symphony by the composer, is his orchestral overture, *The return of Ulysses*, a 30-minute one-movement twelve-tone work, written in 1942, possibly as an introduction to an opera that was never completed. The structure follows a large-scale sonata form with two extended thematic groups, a fugal development, a varied recapitulation and a culminating coda.³⁹ In a wider scope, this work could also be considered as a 20th century *sinfonia*, neoclassical in form and deeply expressionistic in its musical language. One can easily relate sound to image, from the very beginning, where the ostinato pattern of the strings, harp, oboes and flutes recalls the image of Ulysses' trireme in the sea and the constant rowing of his comrades.

After this brief encounter to prewar 12-tone symphonic attempts, let's go back to the Greek National School and its prime symphonist, the composer Petros Petridis (1892-1977). His stay in Paris (1913-1926) offered him the opportunity to come into contact with French music and its neoclassical aspects, especially as a pupil of Albert Roussel. Trying to adapt the modal features of French music to his own compositional style, Petridis came up with the idea of codifying the modes of Greek folk music in 1929. His references to Greek musical tradition mostly regard the polyphonic elaboration of the Byzantine chant and its adoption for large-scale works (oratorios and symphonies). Thematic process, modality and contrapuntal texture comprise core elements of his style that also maintain a distant link to the romantic German symphonic repertory.⁴⁰ At a first reading, Petridis symphonic works', in comparison to Kalomiris', sound more

³⁹ See also: Eva Mantzourani, *The Life and Twelve-Note Music of Nikos Skalkottas* (Farnham-Burlington: Ashgate, 2011), 307-317; Nikos Christodoulou, "Nikos Skalkottas - A centenary of his birth", in *Nikos Skalkottas - A Greek European*, ed. Haris Vrontos (Athens: Benaki Museum, 2008), 128-174: 168-172.

⁴⁰ Sakallieros, "Transitions of style and texture in Greek Art Music from the 19th century till 1950. A historical and critical approach", 224-227.

“westernized”. This is an example of the second movement of his first symphony, entitled “Greek”, where contrapuntal texture in strings is combined with pure lyricism and subtle modality.

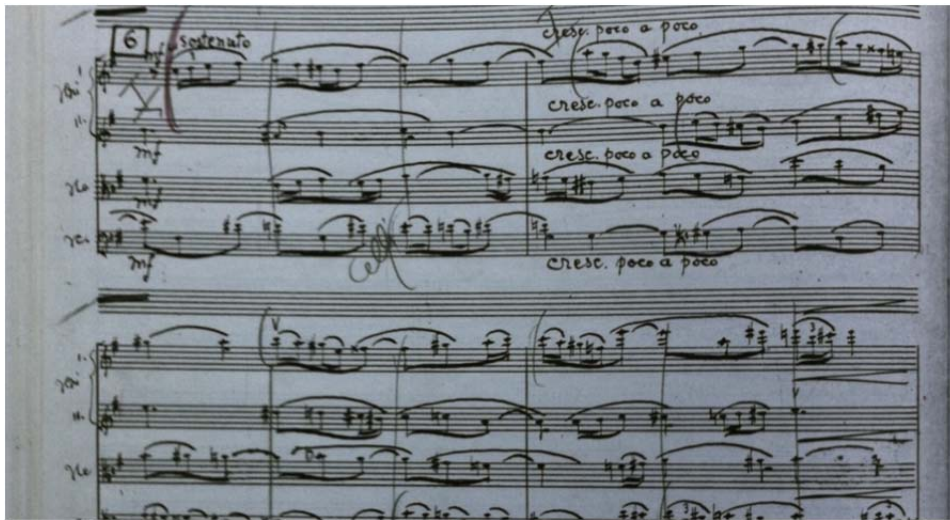


Image 4. P. Petridis, *Symphony no. 1 “Greek”* (1926-28). II. *Adagio molto cantabile*, mm. 15-20 (autograph by the composer) [©Library of Greek Radio Television - E.R.T. Repr. with permission].

The last movement of Petridis’ *Symphony no. 4 (“Dorian”)*, composed in 1946, calls for a comparison with the last movement of Kalomiris’ *Symphony no. 1 (“Leventia”)*, since both movements are structured through elaboration of the same Byzantine hymn (*Ti Ypermacho*). Differences in form and content can be easily detected. Instead of the solemn romantic nationalism of Kalomiris, Petridis combines the modal features of the hymn with contrapuntal techniques and thematic elaboration that he adapts into a form of variations, through continuous changes of timbre, dynamics and rhythm. The four-part harmonized version of the byzantine hymn *Ti Ypermacho*, is performed by the low brass section of the orchestra in slow tempo and low dynamics. While listening to it, one can sense the religious atmosphere, as, perhaps, a four-part choral is heard, coming from the pipes of a church organ.



Musical example 6. Petridis, *Symphony no. 4 “Dorian”* (1944-46). IV. *Andante maestoso*, mm. 149-163.

Emilios Riadis (1880-1935) and Marios Varvoglis (1885-1967),⁴¹ also members of the Greek National School, did not contribute much to the symphonic idiom. Their musical style was also shaped during their stay in Paris. Riadis' main compositional output includes a big number of song cycles (for voice and piano), where improvisatory modal melodic line, the use of chromatic tetrachords, the functional deconstruction of modal chord relations, and the refined use of timbre, construct a strong personal – quite impressionistic - musical language.⁴² Unfortunately, many of his works remained unfinished projects in multiple handwritten drafts, often difficult to recompose. Such is the case with the *Symphonie argeste* ("peasant" or "rural" symphony) a project that Riadis had conceived possibly as a four-movement programmatic symphony in pastoral style, but never completed. The remaining drafts are all piano reduction sketches.

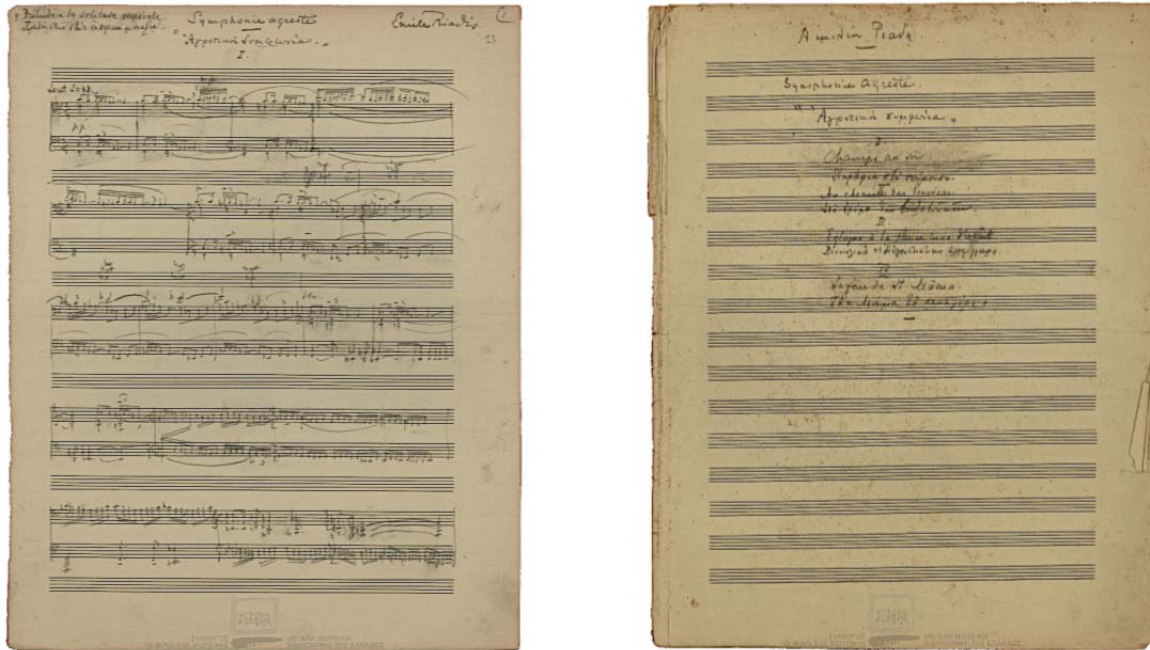


Image 5. Emilios Riadis, *Symphonie argeste*, handwritten drafts in piano reduction [©Digital archive of Greek music of the Music Library of Greece "Lilian Voudouri" ([http:// dig-ma.mmb.org.gr](http://dig-ma.mmb.org.gr))].

Between 1930-1950 most of the Greek composers born after 1900 revealed their first symphony. The quest of national identity is still evident in most works following the tonal idiom, either under different perspectives of neoclassicism blended with folk modality and chromaticism (as in Evangelatos, Nezeritis or Zoras) or with programmatic content (as in Margaritis), while the post-romantic element that defined the initiatives of Greek National School, especially in Kalomiris' first period until the 1920s, is gradually understated. Russian musical background is profound in the works of Kountourov (especially in orchestration), while Papaioannou's first symphony belongs to his early period before he encountered the modernist idioms of which he comprised the main originator in Greece, both as composer and teacher, after

⁴¹ More information on Varvoglis' life and works: Konstantinos Kentrotis, *Marios Varvoglis' Thematic Catalogue of Works* (BA thesis, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, 1998) [in Greek]; Katy Romanou, "Marios Varvoglis (1885-1967)", *Musicology (Μουσικολογία)* 2 (1985), 13-47 [in Greek].

⁴²As regards Riadis' musical style and its interrelations with French music, see: Dimitra Diamantopoulou-Cornejo, *Les mélodies pour une voix et piano d'Émile Riadis: aspects esthétiques entre les musiques française et grecque au début du XX^e siècle* (PhD diss., Université François Rabelais, 2001) [in French].

1950. Regardless of the employment of folk or Byzantine melodic material, the use of traditional meters and rhythms, or the implementation of folk performance practices, almost all composers adopt the four-movement symphonic pattern through thematic elaboration, binary or ternary forms for the inner movements and cyclic or sectional development units for the outer ones. This is an indicative table of Greek symphonies up until 1950.

Composer	Work	Date
Antiochos Evangelatos (1903-1981)	Symphony no. 1	1929
Loris Margaritis (1895-1953)	Epic symphony "Ulysses and Nausika"	1930
Theodoros Karyotakis (1903-1978)	Little symphony for strings	1942
Andreas Nezeritis (1897-1980)	Symphony no. 1 in G-dur	1943
Yannis Andreou Papaioannou (1910-1989)	Symphony no. 1	1946
Aristotle Kountourov (1897-1969)	Symphony	1947
Leonidas Zoras (1905-1987)	Symphony no. 1	1947
Menelaos Pallantios (1914-2012)	Symphony in B-flat	1948

Table. 1 Greek symphony within tonality and/or national identity until 1950, in the periphery of Greek National School.

World War II and the subsequent tragic events of the Civil War in Greece that lasted up until 1949, left deep marks in the soul of Greek people, who battled for almost a decade against occupational forces while being forced into taking sides in bloodstained political conflicts, where opposing parties militated against each other on power struggle. A new perspective of national identity, not deriving from folk tradition or historical continuance, but gradually initiated as an art-form of protest against any kind of political or military oppression on people's rights, is obvious in a number of Greek symphonies written after the mid-1940s by composers of a leftist ideology such as Alekos Xenos (1912-1995)⁴³, Dimitris Dragatakis (1914-2001)⁴⁴ and Mikis Theodorakis (b. 1925). To some extent, such works evince - along with the individual characteristics of each composer - a distant link with Russian neoclassicism of the 1930s and 40s, and especially Shostakovich.

⁴³ Alekos Xenos, *Symphony no. 1* ("of Resistance", 1946). Also see: Dionysios Boukouvalas, "Alekos Xenos' catalogue of works" (1912-1995)», *Musicology (Μουσικολογία)* 18 (2003), 165-207 [in Greek].

⁴⁴ Dimitris Dragatakis, *Symphony no. 1* (1959). Also see: Magdalini Kalopana, "Dimitris Dragatakis' catalogue of works", *Polyphonia* 16 (2010), 54-87 [in Greek].



Image 6. Three possible cases of three different works that may comprise Theodorakis' first symphony.

(1) Left up: Symphony no. 1, for two narrators, mixed choir and string orchestra (1944-45), cover page - Left down: first page of the autograph score. (2) Center up: Symphony in three movements, op. 10 (1947-48) for full orchestra, cover page - Center down: first page of the autograph. (3) Right up: First Symphony (Première Symphonie), for full orchestra (1948-1954), cover page - Right down: first page of the autograph.

[©Digital archive of Greek music of the Music Library of Greece "Lilian Voudouri" ([http:// digma.mmb.org.gr](http://digma.mmb.org.gr))].

In Mikis Theodorakis' catalogue of works, symphonies comprise a quite puzzling case as regards their numbering and chronology of composing. There are at least three works that could be described as Theodorakis' first symphony (see Image 6). After symphonies 2, 3 and 4 the numbering moves on to... symphony no. 7, while the symphonies no. 5 and 6 are peculiarly absent.⁴⁵

After 1950 Greek symphonic production is aligned with the quick spreading of musical modernism in Greece, which is largely promoted, artistically, educationally and economically, by indigenous and foreign cultural institutions during the 1950s and 60s. Jani Christou's and Yorgo Sicilianos' first symphonies⁴⁶ comprise prime examples of the new trends in post-war Greek art music where neoclassical structure is met with atonality or serial vocabulary and the gradual abandonment of the quest of national identity. Greek symphonists generally followed

⁴⁵ "Mikis Theodorakis", Digital archive of Greek music of the Music Library of Greece "Lilian Voudouri" ([http:// digma.mmb.org.gr/Search.aspx?col=1](http://digma.mmb.org.gr/Search.aspx?col=1), accessed on July 17, 2013).

⁴⁶ For Christou's *Symphony no. 1*, see: Anna Martine Lucciano, *Jani Christou, The Works and Temperament of a Greek Composer* (trans., suppl., catalogue of works, ed.) Giorgos Leotsakos (Athens: Vivliosynergatiki, 1987), 70-85 [in Greek]. For Sicilianos' *Symphony no. 1*: Valia Christopoulou, *Yorgo Sicilianos' Catalogue of Works* (Athens: Papagrorgiou-Nakas, 2011), 45-47 [in Greek].

the new trends (such as Papaioannou⁴⁷ and Dragatakis), while few remained close to the pre-war symphonic tradition (such as Konstantinos Kydoniatis). Generally, symphonic production after 1960 was decreased among Greek composers, due to the lack of interest by conservative urban audiences of symphonic concerts for musical modernism and the subsequent disinclination of indigenous state orchestras' organizations to perform or – furthermore – commission symphonic works by contemporary Greek composers. Up to this day, the performance of Greek symphonies by Greek orchestras is generally an exception to the standard classic and romantic Western repertory of symphonic concerts.



Image 7. Left: Jani Christou, Symphony no. 1 (1949-50), cover page [© Edizioni De Santis, 1953] - Right: Yorgo Sicilianos, Symphony no. 1 (1956), a page from the composer's autograph with handwritten notes by Dimitri Mitropoulos who premiered the work with the New York Philharmonic Orchestra, on March 1, 1958.⁴⁸

I would like to conclude my paper with an exceptional work. Harilaos Perpešsas (1907-1995) was an enigmatic and secluded figure of Greek art music.⁴⁹ A classmate of Skalkottas' in the prestigious Schoenberg masterclasses at the Prussian Academy of the Arts in Berlin in the late 1920s, Perpešsas abandoned musical expressionism and atonality quickly, and focused on cultivating a post-romantic idiom where mahlerian and straussian influences were creatively blended with french impressionistic evocations into neoclassical patterns, forming a unique musical identity. Unfortunately, very few works and drafts are preserved by this composer, approachable in today's research.

⁴⁷ Kostis Demertzis, "A discussion of the position of Yannis A. Papaioannou in the Greek National Music School, based on an analysis of *Vassilis o Arvanitis*", in *Yannis A. Papaioannou, the Composer, the Teacher. Quest and Avant-Garde*, ed. Kostas Chardas (Athens: Benaki Museum, 2004), 38-56: 41 [in Greek].

⁴⁸ Cited in: Yorgo Sicilianos, "Two occasions attesting to my personal contact with Mitropoulos in America" in: *Proceedings of the Symposium 'The art and the contribution of Dimitris Mitropoulos'*, ed. Nikos Christodoulou (Athens: Cultural Organization of the Municipality of Athens, 2000), 20-23: 20 [in Greek].

⁴⁹ For more information on the - still quite unknown - life and work of Harilaos Perpešsas, see: Peter E. Gradenwitz, "Requiem to a Forgotten Composer", *The Athenian* 272 (1996), 16-18; By the same author: *Arnold Schönberg und seine Meisterschüler. Berlin 1925-1933* (Wien: Paul Zsolnay), 184-198; Stratos. D. Heliadelis, "Harilaos Perpešsas, the unknown classical composer and philosopher from Siatista", *Eleimiaka* 43 (1999), 93-110 [in Greek]; Nina-Maria Jaklitsch (1999), "Manolis Kalomiris, Nikos Skalkottas, Harilaos Perpešsas – Greek composers of the 20th century, in between Greek tradition and western modernism", in *Proceedings of the First European Congress of Modern Greek Studies*, Band II, eds. A. Arghyriou, K. A. Dimadis & A. D. Lazaridou (Athens: Ellinika Grammata), 297-309 [in Greek].

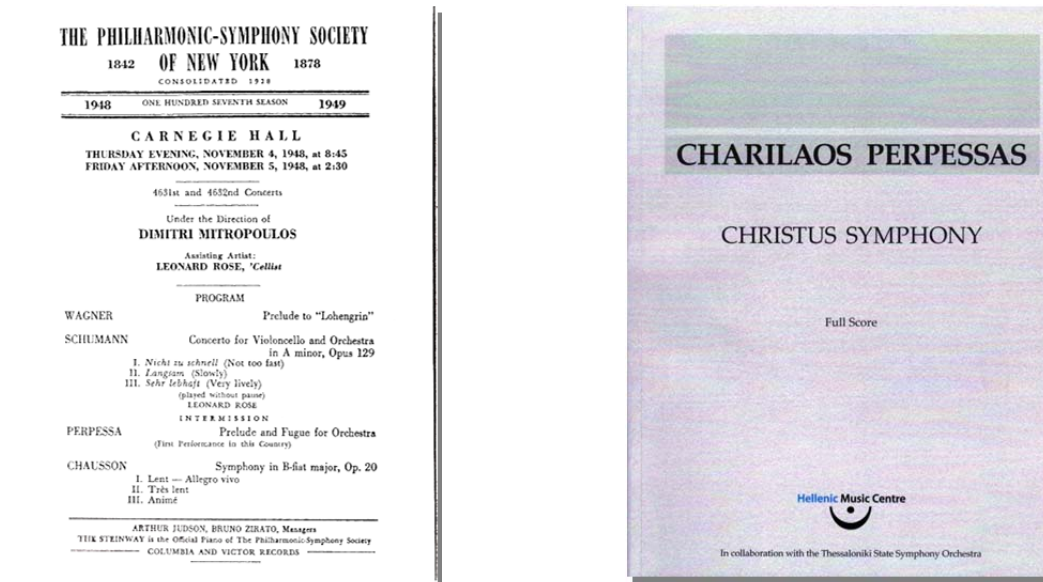


Image 8. Left: The program from the concerts of October 26 & 27, 1950, of the New York Philharmonic Orchestra, under Mitropoulos, where Perseas' *Christus' Symphony* was premiered. Right: The cover page of the recent edition of the work, by the Hellenic Music Centre editions (Athens, 2013).

In 1948 Perseas moved to New York. Mitropoulos, leading the New York Philharmonic Orchestra at the time, gave him a great deal of support. Although he led a secluded life, he was one of the very few Greek composers to achieve repeated performances of his works by prominent American orchestras. His *Prelude and Fugue in C* introduced him to the American audience when Mitropoulos performed it with the New York Philharmonic in November 4, 5, and 6, 1948. He then completed his *Symphony no. 2* under the title "*Christus Symphony*", which was performed twice in a concert season, by NYPh and Mitropoulos, in October 26 and 27 and in December 2 and 3, 1950. The Philadelphia Orchestra under Eugene Ormandy also performed this work in 1956. The recent Greek performance and edition of his *Christus' Symphony*,⁵⁰ revealed a kaleidoscope of contrasting timbres, fierce rhythms and dramatic gestures still unprecedented by a Greek composer of his time. This work comprises a rare and unique example of a Greek symphony, different from all similar works, tonal or atonal, within or outside the boundaries of the Greek National School, or postwar avant-garde or any other trend in Greek art music.

Although the lack of interest from Greek symphonic concert audiences and the disinclination of Greek orchestras to perform new symphonic works by Greek composers is still a reality, and this is probably not going to change within the following years mainly due to economical reasons, Greek symphonic production is still present towards the end of the 20th century and on the threshold of the 21st. Within diffusion and mixture of several different ideas, styles and trends in European and American art music over the last decades, the belated neoclassical impact of the symphony, conceived as an absolute or programmatic form more or less, still seems appealing by a number of Greek composers that attempt to reinstate tradition and innovation, each one with his personal musical language, technique and style. Theodore Antoniou's, *Symphony no. 1* (2002) and *Symphony no. 2* (2010), emerging after over forty years of composing, or Christos Samaras' *Symphony no. 1* (1998), *Symphony no. 2* (2010) and *Symphony no. 3* (2011), the latter employing, besides a full orchestra, mezzo-soprano and mixed choir parts, all comprise such examples. A broader study where the Greek symphonic production from the

⁵⁰Greek premiere: April 11, 2012, Thessaloniki Concert Hall. Thessaloniki State Symphony Orchestra, conducted by Alexandros Myrat.

19th to the 21th century will be researched historically, analytically and aesthetically, is essential and should be conducted within the academic musicological field. Such a project will define issues of Greek symphonism (regarding ensembles, composers and works), its interrelations and interactions with the consecutive indigenous and foreign musical trends over the years, while filling blanks on several fields of modern Greek music history, even generative ones.

Giorgos Sakallieros is a lecturer of historical musicology at Aristotle University of Thessaloniki (School of Music Studies/ Faculty of Fine Arts). He was born in Tübingen, Germany in 1972. Initial studies on classical guitar and music theory (National Conservatory of Athens) were followed by further studies on musicology at the School of Music Studies, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki (BA, 1996) as well as the Faculty of Music Studies, University of Athens (PhD, 2005). He also studied guitar performance, music theory and composition at 'Collegium Musicum' Conservatory in Thessaloniki (graduated with Advanced Diplomas in 1995 and 2005). He has presented papers in international musicological conferences and published in several musicological journals, collective editions and proceedings. He is the author of the book *Yiannis Constantinidis (1903-1984). His life, works and compositional style* (Thessaloniki: University Studio Press, 2010). His works, including orchestral, vocal and chamber music, have been regularly performed and have received awards in national composition competitions. He is a member of the International Musicological Society (IMS), of the Society of Interdisciplinary Musicology (SIM) and of the Greek Composers' Union.

Compositional techniques and the folk element in the music drama *The Afternoon of Love* of Marios Varvoglis

Stamatia Gerothanasi

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Abstract. *The Afternoon of Love*, music drama in one act and libretto by Marios Varvoglis based on a theatrical piece by Theodoros Sinadinos, was performed for the first time in the Greek National Opera of Athens on the 10th of June 1944. Varvoglis is regarded as one of the main contributors of the Greek National School of Music. The aim of the presentation is, after a thorough musical-dramaturgical analysis, to systematize and therefore contribute to the understanding of the compositional techniques that Varvoglis applies in the composition of the music drama¹. Special attention will be given (a) on the technique of *Leitmotiv* as a unifying parameter of the overall musical dramaturgical composition; (b) on the harmonic and chordal symbolization of the stratification of the music drama plot; (c) on the use of linear harmonical alterations as an agent of rendering dramatical tension; (d) on the use of collage-technique and (e) on the use of fuge as a dramaturgical symbol. The examination of folk element present in music focuses on the use of modal scales in the construction of the melodic lines and on the use of parts of original religious hymnes and folk songs. Undoubtedly the use of folk element as an expression of greek national identity is bounded with the theme and parameters of the libretto of the music drama. *The Afternoon of Love* is the only attempt of Varvoglis to compose a music drama and together with the lyrical drama *St. Barbara* (*Αγία Βαρβάρα*) are the only scenical pieces created by the composer².

The plot

The action of the music drama takes place in Greece around 1850 in the evening of Easter Sunday and for this reason it is also called *The Afternoon of Love*.

The characters are: Tasos, 35 years old, who belongs to the lower class and is deeply in love with Malamo, 19 years old. She is married to Thanos, 25 years old, who is a rich peasant. Tasos, blind from jealousy, takes revenge through Chrisavgi, mother of Thanos. He induces Chrisavgi in killing Malamo by telling her an old greek superstition: if a priest gets a couple married at the same day that he blessed a dead man, then in three months one of the two dies. Chrisavgi, in total desperation, kills Malamo in order to save the life of her son. She meets Malamo in a narrow passage on a rock near the sea and throws her down³. After a while fishermen announce that they have found a dead body in the sea. Chrisavgi thinks they found Malamo's body and before even recognizing it, she admits that she killed her. However, recognizing that the dead body belongs to her own son she falls dead.

¹ My research is based: (i) on the first of the four manuscripts that Sinadinos wrote (11 pages) (Archive of Theodoros Sinadinos, E.L.I.A., Athens, Greece); (ii) on the libretto that Varvoglis used for his music drama which is detached from the *Particell* of the musical drama (Library of the National Opera, Athens, Greece); (iii) on the vocal score (*Particell*) of the music drama (photocopy of the manuscript, Library of the National State Opera of Greece, Athens). According to Rentzeperi, a typed version of Varvoglis' libretto is found in the archive of the composer and belongs to his daughter Elisavet Asimakopoulou. There are some alterations being made on the libretto of the *Particell* concerning stage directions and words, see Rentzeperi, Anna-Maria "The Greek element in the vocal music of the composers of the National School of Music M. Kalomiris and M. Varvoglis". In www.muse.gr/muse-e.../A_M_Rentzeperi.pdf (accessed on June 29th, 2013).

² For information concerning the complete works of the composer, see Kentrotis, Konstandinos Thematic catalog of the works of Marios Varvoglis, Diploma thesis (Department of Music Studies, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, 1998) and Romanou, Kaiti "Marios Varvoglis [1885-1967]", *Mousikologia* 2 (1985), 13-47.

³ Varvoglis composes an *intermède* which expands into the situation in which Chrisavgi kills Malamo. It is a musical depiction of the murder which happens offstage.

Methodology of analysis

The musical-dramaturgical analysis, because of its interdisciplinary nature, needs, in the first place, to be systematized in two ways: in a structural analysis of the musical text and in an analysis of the poetic text (libretto). A combination of these two types leads to the so-called music-poetic analysis which offers a thorough insight into the relation of language and music. This complex relation has to be examined into two basic levels: the relation of music and language in a sound-musical level and the relation of music and language in a semantic level. The next step concerns the examination of the relation of language and music⁴ at the level of words, phrases and, of course, of the piece as a whole. The music-poetic analysis offers the basic structure for the next step which is the musical-dramaturgical analysis. This, in turn, takes into consideration the outcomes of the music-poetic analysis and combines them with the structural analysis of the dramatic text. For the systematization of the information, tables have been employed; they offer an overview of the coordination of tempo, rhythm, measure and meter, harmonical settings, musical structure and form, leitmotifs and orchestration with the structure of the plot, the dramatic text and the scenical directions. This overview is helpful for focusing on the specific parameters which function as unifying elements of the music drama and which also reveal the dramaturgical intention of Varvoglis.

Musical parameters as unifying elements of the music drama and as agents for Varvoglis' dramaturgical intention

1. *The technique of leitmotif as a unifying parameter of the overall musical dramaturgical composition*

The leitmotifs function as a second layer of narration of the dramatic plot. The immediate art of the libretto is reflected, commented and further enriched by the network structure that the leitmotifs build. The leitmotifs, through their constant variations, serve as a musical unifying parameter of the music drama but they also offer a thorough insight into the psychological state of the characters, they reveal information of the past and anticipate future events.

In the music drama the main leitmotifs are the following⁵:

(i) *Tasos' leitmotif*



Musical example 1: m. 2-4 of the orchestral introduction⁶

The leitmotif of Tasos is the principal leitmotif of the music drama. Morphemes of the leitmotif are presented individually through the course of the music drama. Untouched, most of

⁴ For an analysis of the relation of language and music in the *Afternoon of Love*, see Rentzeperi, Anna-Maria The relationship of music and language in the melodramatic work of Greek composers of the first generation of the Greek National School of Music Dionisios Lavrangas, Manolis Kalomiris and Marios Varvoglis, PhD thesis (Department of Music Studies, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, 2002).

⁵ Due to space restrictions, only the first appearance of each leitmotif will be noted. Their variations won't be included in this paper.

⁶ *Particell* of the music drama (Library of the National Opera, Athens, Greece).

the times, stays the first rhythmo-melodic motivic nuclear (the first three notes of the leitmotif) and also the mixture of the whole tone scale and the scale with the interval of the augmented second which characterizes the melodic structure of the leitmotif. The leitmotif is mainly presented from the brass winds. When Tasos speaks about Malamo, the leitmotif obtains a “softer” instrumental colour: it appears in the flutes and 1st violins.

(ii) *The leitmotif of the byzantine troparion Christos Anesti (trans. Christ has risen)*



Musical example 2: m. 24-25 of the orchestral introduction



Musical example 3: m. 26-27 of the orchestral introduction

Varvoglis presents the first phrase of the verse of the Easter troparion (for the celebration of the resurrection of Christ in the Eastern Orthodox Church) and also its cadence. The appearance of the hymn as leitmotif reveals the significance of the national element in this music drama.

(iii) *Malamo’s leitmotif*



Musical example 4: f. 8

The leitmotif of Malamo is presented in the part of flutes and 1st violins as an instrumental implication of the character’s purity. After the fight between Malamo and Tasos, the instrumentation of Malamo’s leitmotif changes: it appears in the horn and the bassoon.

(iv) *The beggar’s leitmotif*



Musical example 5: 3 meters before f. 6

The beggar’s leitmotif appears in the part of bassoon and english horn. After the death of Malamo (after the *intermède*) the role of the beggar changes. From a former outcast, he be-

comes the one who consolidates Chrisavgi and tries to help the fishermen. The instrumentation of the leitmotif changes accordingly: it appears in the flute.

(v) *The leitmotif of the music heard from the traditional feast-day*



Musical example 6: f. 24

The leitmotif is a remote variation of the theme of the dance “Lambri Kamara”. The dance belongs to the Easter songs of Megara and it refers to Easter Sunday; therefore it represents the music heard from the traditional feast-day (πανηγύρι).

(vi) *The leitmotif of death*



Musical example 7: f. 57

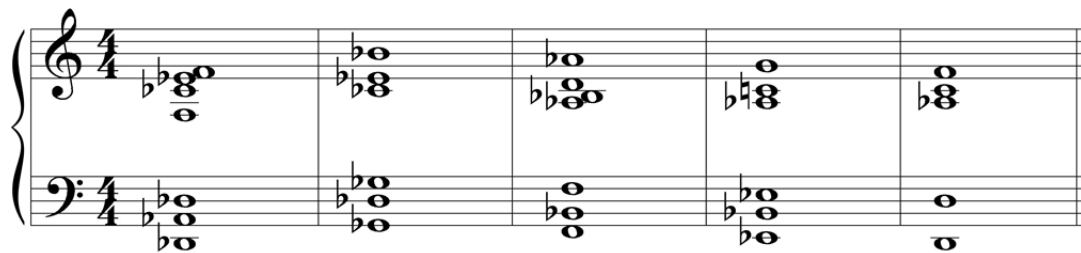
The leitmotif has a remote coincidence with motives of the melody of the byzantine troparion *Defte telefteon aspasmon*. The leitmotif functions as a *proikonomia* of the tragic turn of the plot.

2. *The harmonic and chordal symbolization of the stratification of the plot of the music drama*

(i) *The tempo of change of harmonic topoi and the tempo of change of the emotional state of the characters*

Varvoglis avoids the long duration in a tonal area and therefore blurs the tonal center with successive modulations. From a dramaturgical point of view, the frequent change of tonal center reflects the frequent change of the emotional state of the characters. The harmonic center is mostly implied and it is not confirmed with a cadence. The unfulfilled harmonic implications create a tension which is not defused but changes in the course of time. The unfulfilled love of Tasos for Malamo, which is actually the main dramaturgical motif, is reflected musically through the continuous and unexpected modulations: from the f. 15 where Tasos describes his vision to the beggar (he foresees Malamo coming out of the church), the part resembles a recitative that it is accompanied by chords with a duration of a half or a quarter note.

Tasos: the dead life to have again, possible can't be

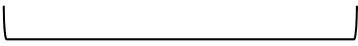



D 7/9 G flat major H flat A flat with F with minor 6th
 and with major 7th major 7th and 9th
 C flat major
 ↓
 bitonality

Musical example 9: f. 7

(ii) The deceptive cadence

Lento (f. 6): in this specific point of the plot the beggar asks for Tasos' charity. This act causes the reaction of Tasos (*charity I'm asking too but who can give it to me*). The implied tonality is that of D major. In m. 85, the expectation of D major is not fulfilled because in sm. 86 the 6th grade appears. In the drama the deceptive cadence signals the emotional state of unfulfilled needs. This state is also reflected through unexpected cadence and bitonality:

m. 85	m. 86
Tasos: charity I'm asking too	but who can give it to me
	
D 9	H minor
of D major	

(iii) Change in musical rhythm in combination to unexpected harmonic connections

Varvoglis changes the rhythm in combination with a thickening of harmony in emotionally intense dramatic situations. More specifically, when Tasos describes the beauty of Malamo (4 meters before f. 9) in his sentence *Malamo is the most beautiful woman of the village* (trans. *είν' ἡ ωμορφώτερη γυναίκα του χωριού*), Varvoglis changes the rhythm from 2/4/ to 6/8:

Τάσος
 εὶν' ἡ ὠ-μορ - φώ - τε - ρη γυ - ναί - κα του χω - ριού

Pno.
poco rit.
pp

A A C major 7 F major
 flat major 7 and 9 major 7 and 9 with augmented 5th
 C major (susp. dominant chord) with 7th and 9th

Musical example 10: 4 measures before f. 9

The change of rhythm is combined with a thickening of the harmonic pace from A flat major 7 and 9 → to A major 7 and 9 → to C major 7 and 9 (sus4) → that leads to C major 7 with augmented 5th.

(iv) Diminished and augmented triads

The chords with diminished and augmented intervals not only show the impressionistic influences of Varvoglís; they are also used to blur any implications of tonal center. The technique of blurring the tonality is combined with situations where characters lack a specific goal. More specifically, from f. 16, where one of the peasants urges Tasos to watch out for other girls in the village, in the orchestral accompaniment chords appear with augmented thirds which do not lean to any specific tonal direction. The lack of total direction reflects the aimless urge of the peasant because Tasos actually ignores him.

From f. 43 the outbreak of the storm is depicted through a rising and cathodic chromatic scale in the part of the wood-winds, which is a straight reference to *The flying Dutchman* of Wagner or *Salome* of Strauss.

Musical example 11: 1 measure after f. 43



Musical example 12: 3 measures after f. 43

Varvoglis plays with the tradition by using augmented triads which are succeeded by diminished triads. The originality of Varvoglis' compositional style at this point is to be found in the transformation of the tradition to something new and personal.

(v) The reharmonization of the melody

The melodic line of the peasant, from f. 16 where he urges Tasos to start looking for other beautiful girls, is on the diatonic scale of F major. The confusion of the tonal center through the chordal orchestral accompaniment leads to the reharmonization of the melodic line. Varvoglis reharmonizes the melody in order to convey a second layer of dramatic sense: the comment of the peasant (melodic line) is cancelled from Tasos' attitude (chordal orchestral accompaniment) who insists on his love for Malamo.

(vi) The traditional harmonic relations and the normality

The traditional harmonic connections constitute a rare technical aspect of the music drama because they characterize emotionally balanced situations like for instance the scene between Thanos and Malamo.

(vii) The white chord

In m. 24 of the *intermède*, a chord appears which is a combination of A minor and C major. The notes of the chord correspond to the white keys of the piano that is why it is called "white chord". The characterization "white chord" has also a dramaturgical aspect. The specific chord appears in the end or in the pick of a phase of the action with increasing dramatic tension. This phase begins from the end of Malamos' aria and concludes with the murder of Malamo by Chrisavgi. The offstage murder takes place in the *intermède*. From f. 46 of the *intermède* the non-existent tonic center is caused by the succession of diminished and augmented chords, alterations of the single melodic lines and collage-technique. The white chord appears in tremolo and pianissimo after Chrisavgi throws Malamo from the rock. After an intense dramatic phase both the dramatic and musical tension are defused through the appearance of this chord.

3. The use of linear harmonic alterations as an agent of rendering dramatic tension

The aria of Malamo follows the scene of confrontation between Tasos and Malamo. The dramatic tension is reflected through continuous harmonic modulations. Varvoglis does not imply, through these modulations, a specific harmonic center because these modulations are the outcome of alteration of specific notes of the individual orchestral lines. The orchestral texture is linearly constructed. When Tasos asks Malamo to hear his desperate calls for love (f. 46), D major 7 appears which leads, in the next meter, to A flat major 7 and 9. The seventh grade is sharp (F sharp) and the ninth grade instead of being flat is actually also sharp (A sharp). The chord sounds like a dominant but actually it is rather a confusing enharmonic modulation chord.

Moderato

Τάσος

Ma - λά - μω ά - κου - σέ με να σου πό δυό λό - για θε - λω!

Moderato

Piano

Musical example 13: f. 46

The emotional tension of the sheer confrontation is reflected through the appearance of A sharp and A flat together. The note of A sharp, which is anticipated through A natural, tends to H and the A flat tends to G. Therefore these two tensions of the same chord anticipate a solution not harmonically, but as individual melodic lines. The alteration, as a way of modulation, functions as a musical characterization of the specific dramatic situation. Moreover, the way Varvoglis notates the chord leads to this specific conclusion.

Musical example 14

4. *The use of collage-technique*⁷

In the confrontation of Tasos and Chrisavgi (from f. 58) Varvoglis tends to construct non functional chord successions. The collage-technique serves the dramaturgy of the scene in which Tasos narrates the old greek superstition to Chrisavgi. Tasos relates lies and stories which he constructs in order to convince Chrisavgi to kill Malamo.

5. *The fuge as a dramaturgical symbol*

The dance of the beggar (f. 36: allegretto) morphologically is an exposition of a fuge. The theme of the fuge is a remote variation of the theme of the dance “Lambri Kamara”:

⁷ The specific term has been proposed from Dirk Wedmann, Doz. in the Folkwang Universität der Künste, Essen.

f. 36→theme, f. 37→ imitation of the theme (interval of a fourth down), f. 38→the theme again in the tonic

According to the scenical directions, the beggar is trying to dance but because of his handicap, he falls down. The attempt of the beggar to coordinate his limps (entrance of the theme) is not successful (the fuge is interrupted). Generally in the compositions of Varvoglis the fuge and the fugato play an important role.

6. *The construction of the melodic lines*

The construction of the melodic lines is characterized by chromatism which questions the identity of the tonality of the melodic line. It could be assumed that the chromaticism of the melodies probably stands for the modal scales; it conveys folkloristic colour and therefore emphasizes the national element of the music drama.

More specifically, in the aria of Tasos (f. 8: *The blue eyed Malamo is the most beautiful woman of the village*), in the melodic line appears a d flat (one could say that the melodic line is a combination of diatonic and phrygian modus (see in the melodic line: 2 meters after f. 8 and the f flat in the melodic line, 2 meters after f. 9).

In the f. 12 (allegretto) in the melodic line of the oboe, an f sharp and c natural appear (it could be said that the melodic line is a combination of diatonic and dorian modal scale).

7. *The use of parts of original religious hymns and folk songs*

The use of original folk songs, dances and religious hymns functions as a symbol of national identity, values and collective memory. The folk element as an expression of Greek national identity is bounded by the theme and the parameters of the libretto of the music drama.

The first phrase of the byzantine troparion *Christos Anesti* appears almost always, either in the singing line or in the orchestral part, when the characters utter these holy words or refer to the Easter Sunday. The ritual character of the piece is therefore intensified through the repetition of these words and the citation of the byzantine melos⁸ (see, for example, 5 bars after f. 12 in the part of the clarinet, 3 bars after f. 21 and 4 bars after f. 41).

A remote coincidence of motives of the melos of the byzantine troparion *Defte telefteon aspasmon* mainly appears from the f. 57 until the end of the music drama⁹. It is this point of the plot where Tasos begins to narrate the old greek superstition and instills in Chrisavgi's mind the idea of killing Malamo. The troparion *Defte telefteon aspasmon* is part of the funeral service¹⁰.

In the "aria" of Tasos, from f. 19, Varvoglis is using Sinadinos' text which is actually a folk song. The melodic structure of the "aria" resembles that of the folk song *Παντρεύουν την αγάπη μου* (*Padrevoun tin agapi mou*: they marry off my love). Although the melodic structure

⁸ A compromise for the absence of a chorus which takes part to ritual procedures - a feature of the musical dramaturgy of veristic operas.

⁹ The first appearance of the leitmotif is at f. 32 when Malamo asks Tasos the reason why he looks so sad. The leitmotif has dramaturgically and formally a primary role in the confrontation of Tasos and Malamo from f. 50.

¹⁰ The focus on the appearance of the hymn *Defte telefteon aspasmon* and the melody of "Lambri Kamara" was inspired according to Romanou's note, where it is mentioned that Varvoglis is using the melody of the folk song *Padrevoun tin agapi mou* (they marry off my love), the byzantine melodies *Christos Anesti* and *Defte telefteon aspasmon* and the theme of the dance of Megara. The other melodies are Varvoglis' inspirations, see Romanou, "Marios Varvoglis [1885-1967]", 33. Special thanks are addressed to Ms. Maria Alexandrou who helped me in finding transcriptions of the byzantine hymns *Christos Anesti* and *Defte telefteon aspasmon* as well as valuable information of their performance.

is almost the same, the difference is to be researched in the structure of the melismatic gestures which characterize the spontaneity of the folk song concerning its performance and propagation.

A remote rhythmical coincidence of the motives of the melody of the dance "Lambri Kamara" is to be found when references are made to the festivities of the day.

A



Musical example 15: transcription of the first verse of the melody of the dance "Lambri Kamara" in 4/4

The dance of "Lambri Kamara" belongs to the Easter songs of Megara. It refers to the Easter Sunday (the day of Lambri) in which the music drama takes place.

In general, the imitation of greek folk songs is evident through the change of beat, the use of the beat of 2/4 or 5/4 which often occurred in dances, the appearance of instrumental passages that have an improvisational gesture and the appearance of *bordun*.

The music drama of Varvoglīs and the connection to the music drama of Wagner

The principle underlying Wagner's music dramas from *Das Rheingold* onwards - the idea of music drama in dialogue form - is based on the interaction of unfamiliar principles of syntax, tonality, melodic disposition and motivic procedures¹¹. The symphonic style of orchestral composition, as Wagner recognized, assists the dialogising of music and the musicalising of dialogue¹². A form of operatic dialogue which models its structure on dialogue in the spoken genre has a tendency to dissolve periodic syntax into musical prose¹³. But musical prose needs an orchestral foundation which ensures musical continuity in order not to be disintegrated into unconnected melodic fragments. In Wagner and also in Varvoglīs this necessary instrumental partner is the network/web of leitmotifs. The leitmotifs have therefore a dramaturgical and a formal function. The symphonic style, the network/web of leitmotifs, the emphasis on dialogue, the dissolution of quadratic syntax in musical prose, the delineation of an unseen action beyond the seen¹⁴ are elements that remind us of the dramaturgy of spoken theater. The above parameters characterize the music drama of Varvoglīs as well. It could be said that a comparison between the music dramas of Wagner and the music drama of Varvoglīs demonstrates that the national element is designated through the same compositional techniques.

¹¹ Dahlhaus, Carl "What is a Musical Drama?", transl. Mary Whittall, Cambridge Opera Journal, 1/2 (1989), 107.

¹² Dahlhaus, 103.

¹³ Dahlhaus, 104.

¹⁴ Especially when expressed by leitmotifs.

In Wagner, tonality appears primarily in the form that Arnold Schönberg called *floating tonality*: individual units are tonally founded in themselves and are linked together by technical means that originate in the tonal tradition. But the resulting overall form does not depend on the perception of a single tonal center and is not arranged according to a tonal pattern containing a logical system of correspondences and contrasts¹⁵. In Varvoglis' music drama, it has been shown that this also happens.

Varvoglis is adapting the theatrical text of Sinadinos and composes the libretto of his music drama whose dramaturgy comes closer to the one act veristic theatrical play. He is using demotic language and verse with free rhyme, he uses an original folk song, dance and religious hymns or elements that resemble the style of folk music as an expression of national element. The *Afternoon of Love* is a veristic music drama with obvious music-dramaturgical influences from the music dramas of Wagner.

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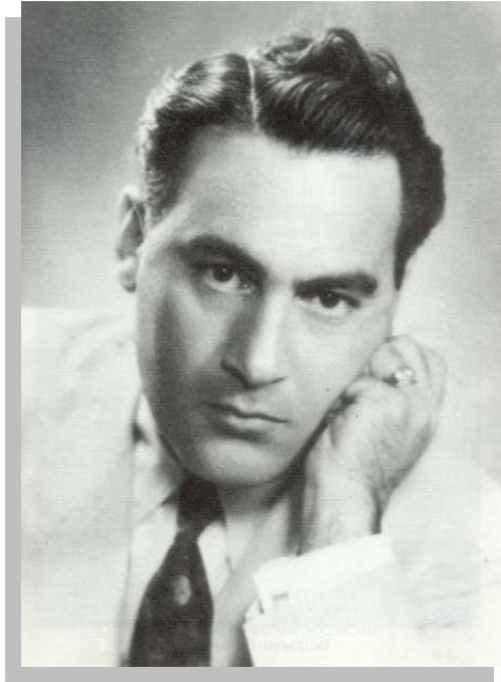
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¹⁵ Dahlhaus, 107.

The “Greek Element” in the work of the composer Georgios Kazasoglou (1908-1984)

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Georgios Kazasoglou belongs to the generation of artists (musicians and poets), which was forged by the great historical events and social changes occurred in the first 50 years of the 20th century, not only in Greece but also in the entire European continent and had an enormous impact on the artistic life of the time.

The turbulent 19th century bequeathed the nationalistic ideology of the Great Idea to the new founded Greek state, and the demands for a unified national culture based on the common Greek, the language spoken by the folk. The question-ability of a national aesthetic in the art, which derives and is strongly associated with the question of the Greek national identity in the society remains crucial and causes a series of debates between the intellectuals. At exactly that point voices coming from the musical world articulate the need for a national music along with the demands for a unified national literature. George Lambelet presents this need in his essay “*The national music*” dating from 1901¹, while some years later Manolis Kalomiris makes

¹ {Lambelet} Λαμπελέτ, Γεώργιος: “Η Εθνική Μουσική” {*The national music*}, Παναθήναια, vl.2, c.15, (1901) 82-90 & c.30, 126-131

a step further realizing that the time has come for the making of a national music based on the folk songs and on the technical means provided by the western music².

Georgios Kazasoglou was born at exactly the year of the legendary concert of 1908, in which Kalomiris set the milestone for the idea of a Greek Music. He came from a bourgeois- middle class family with Anatolian roots. The young Kazasoglou studied the violin and music theory at the *Hellenikon Odeion*, *Odeion Athinon* (Greek Conservatory and Athenian Conservatory) and the *Ethniko Odeion* (National Conservatory) next to the most important musicians of the time in Greece, as Manolis Kalomiris, Marios Varvoglis, Dionisios Lavraggas and Sofia Spanoudi. The leading representatives of the movement of the National Greek Music were among those. It was under their influence and of course due to the strongly nationalistic environment of the time that Kazasoglou's music and ideas reflect the tendency of musical nationalism, to that degree.

He produced a rich and complex compositional work for more than five decades. His oeuvre consists of chamber music, works for solo instruments and orchestra, film and stage music. Poetry plays a central part in Kazasoglou's compositions. A special place among his works holds a vast amount of about 124 songs written for choir or solo voice accompanied either by a piano, harp or by an orchestra. He drew mainly inspiration from the Greek poetry, which flourished in the first half of the twentieth century.

Although he served the idea of a national music, his personal style and musical language took a path of its own. As a music critic Avra Theodoropoulou (1948) remarks: “(Georgios Kazasoglou is) a restless and eclectic nature who doesn't want to submit himself to the school of any of our important composers. Like a bee he gathers music honey from each and every one of them and integrates it in his own special way. Thus Kazasoglou is a creation of himself rather than a product of any music school”³.

Georgios Kazasoglou may not be a “product” of any music school; nevertheless he is a “product” of his time. He appears in the musical scene in the early 1930s when radical changes occur. After the tragedy of 1922 Greece faces various social and political problems, which cause a return to tradition. A whole new generation of intellectuals coming from the middle class is trying to disengage from the Greek ethnocentrism of the previous years. The pompous and monumental expression of the Greek element is being rejected, the tradition and its role are being reassessed and the idea of *Greekness* is first established in this period⁴. Greek musical tradition guaranties, according to Kalomiris and Lambelet, the *Greekness* of a work, which should entail only those European musical elements, which underline it and do not by any means, threaten it.

² “μιαν αληθινή Εθνική μουσική, βασισμένη από τη μια μεριά στη μουσική των αγνών μας δημοτικών τραγουδιών, μα και στολισμένη από την άλλη με όλα τα τεχνικά μέσα που μας χάρισεν η αδιάκοπη εργασία των προσοδωμένων στη μουσική λαών, και πρώτα πρώτα των Γερμανών, Γάλλων, Ρούσων και Νορβηγών”.

(trans:) “ a real national music based on one side on the music of our pure folk-songs and on the other on all the technical means given to us by the constant labour of the musically advanced nations and first of all the Germans, French, Russians and Norwegians”.

{**Kalomiris**} **Καλομοίρης Μανώλης**, “Η ζωή μου και η Τέχνη μου” {My life, and my art}, (Athens: Νεφέλη 1988), 145-147 & {**Psychopedis – Fragou**} **Ψυχοπαίδη-Φράγκου, Ολυμπία**: “Η Εθνική Σχολή Μουσικής. Προβλήματα ιδεολογίας”, {The National Music School. Issues of Ideology}, (Athens: Ιδρυμα Μεσογειακών Σπουδών: 1990), 128

³{**Theodoropoulou**}, **Θεοδωροπούλου, Αύρα**, “Σύγχρονοι Έλληνες Μουσικοί. 8. Γεώργιος Καζάσογλου” “Modern Greek Musicians.8. Georgios Kazasoglou”, Αγγλοελληνική Επιθεώρηση {English-Greek Review}, Vol. 3, February (1948), 250-251

⁴{**Tziobas**} **Τζιόβας, Δημήτρης**, „Οι μεταμορφώσεις του εθνισμού και το ιδεολόγημα της ελληνικότητας στο μεσοπόλεμο“ {„The transformations of nationism and the ideology of Greekness in the inter-war period”}, (Athens: Οδυσσέας: 1989) 25-28

Inevitably this cultural environment affects the ideas of Kazasoglou. Most enlightening regarding his beliefs about a musical piece as a work of art appears to be the following quote, in the Journal “Αγγλοελληνική Επιθεώρηση” (“English-Greek Review”)⁵: “*Every truly worthy man of spirit places himself on his national territory and through that on the entirety-whole of the international life. The more substantial-essential and at the same time instinctive becomes this psychological placement of the spiritual man, who acknowledges his obligations towards his nation, the more intensively he becomes bearer of his culture wherever he may be. Only in that way can I understand the international aspect of a work, which has a specific origin, a specific home*”. This thesis reveals a strong belief that Nationalism is not only related to but becomes almost an absolute condition for internationalism, an idea which brings him closer to Kalomiris. National musical identity is closely associated with the national identity itself, and whatever threatens one of them inevitably threatens both of them.

At the same time the musical nationalism is being expressed in his work in all but a pompous way. He is being characterized as a composer who “*keeps his roots in the Greek soil*”, someone “*who doesn’t always need to thunder it out through the modes and the rhythms of the folk music but trying to express himself by feeling like a Greek and by not submitting himself to each and every foreign mode, which is most of the times extremely ephemeral*”⁶. In her remark Theodoropoulou connects the national character of a work with something more general and abstract. The expression “*feeling like a Greek*” is used without further explanation, leaving unanswered questions and creating a conceptual gap, which fills Kazasoglou’s own perception of musical nationalism.

Unlike Kalomiris, Kazasoglou never clearly describes the characteristic elements, which a national musical work should really entail. He expresses himself theoretically and lets his music present the specific elements, in which his ideas are translated. Factors such as the national duty, the self-identification of the artist-composer and the broader knowledge and use of his history and culture are presented as basic requirements, which will inevitably lead to musical works of art with a “*specific origin, a specific home*”. A special place among them holds the deeper understanding of the history and culture of one’s country. Kazasoglou accepts the division of the Greek history in three periods. As he characteristically admits “*Greece has two pasts and one present*”⁷. And by the expression “*two pasts*” he means the ancient Greek period and the Byzantine era. In many ways the use of the glorious past as source of inspiration emphasizes the “national” element. Modern Greece considers itself as the lawful heir of these two periods, whose developed civilization is understood as a cultural inheritance to the new founded state⁸.

The peculiar character of the Greek music derives – according to Kazasoglou - from the long history and tradition of the Greek nation and although the ancient Greek and the byzantine music have disappeared as complete musical systems, they have, nevertheless, survived in one way or another in the recent Greek music⁹. Their character and special musical style can only be

⁵{Theodoropoulou}, Θεοδωροπούλου, „Σύγχρονοι Έλληνες Μουσικοί“, 250-251

⁶{Theodoropoulou}, Θεοδωροπούλου, 250

⁷{Kzasoglou}, Καζάσογλου, Γεώργιος: “Η μουσική αναρχία εις τας εκκλησίας μας,Βυζαντινή ή τετραφωνία ?” {The musical anarchy in our churches. Byzantine (music) or four- voice-harmonization}, Ελληνικό Μέλλον, {Greek Future} (Athens 28.11.1938)

⁸{Siopsi} Σιώψη, Αναστασία: Σημσιολογικές ερμηνίες της παράδοσης που αναδεικνύουν τον Μανώλη Καλομοίρη σε ηγετική φυσιογνωμία της «Νεοελληνικής Εθνικής Μουσικής Σχολής» {Semantic interpretations of the tradition, which designate Manolis Kalomiris as a leading personality of the New Greek National Music School}, in: Τρία Κείμενα για τον Μανώλη Καλομοίρη),(Athens: 2003), p.21-22

⁹ {Karawia}, Καραβία, Μαρία: “Μια έρευνα του «Ανεξάρτητου Τύπου». Η ελληνική μουσική. Συνέντευξις με τους Έλληνας συνθέτας. 8. Γεώργιος Καζάσογλου” {A research of “Anexartitos Tipos”. The Greek Music. In-

fully understood and expressed from Greeks, who can correctly transmit it to the other nations. "Thus the Greek composer needs to have a broader, deeper and more serious background in order to understand elements of the Greek musical past, which are not easily understood by the other nations, and transubstantiate them through the Greek soul and express them through modern musical works {...}"¹⁰.

A closer examination of Kazasoglou's works reveals the transformation of these ideas into practical musical and non-musical means such as subject matters from the history and tradition of these periods or musical influences from the ancient Greek and Byzantine musical system (modes, the kind of harmonic accompaniment, the quotation of well-known melodies or the composition of original melodies inspired by the musical style either of ancient Greek music or the Byzantine church tradition). Characteristic examples are the music for various productions of ancient Greek Drama and works such as *Narkissos* (1944) for solo piano, the *Archaic Triptych* (1946), the *Symphonic Psalm: Kassiani: "A woman of many sins"*. *Symphonic Psalm for female voice and orchestra* (1955) based on the poetic text of the well-known Troparion of Kassiani: *Sensing Thy divinity, O Lord, a woman of many sins*, the *Byzantine Sketch* or the stage music for the theatrical play *Constantin Palaiologos* (1960), the *Byzantine Fantasy* (prelude of the play *Behold, the Bridegroom Cometh*: 1960) and lastly the symphonic poem *The Last Night of Byzantium. A symphonic Fantasy*, in which apart from the originally composed melodic material influenced by the Byzantine church modes, the *Kontakion* of the Annunciation of the Most Holy Theotokos is also used.

Even greater importance is given to the folk song. Its powerful influence can be detected throughout the work of Kazasoglou and in approximately every genre, with the exception of the opera, a field with lesser appeal to him. This strong influence derives from Kazasoglou's firm belief that the Greek folk musical tradition protected the so called "national soul" throughout the Ottoman occupation and contributed decisively to its very salvation.

This paper will concentrate mainly on this particular source of inspiration and the musical elements, which derive from them and are detected in specific works : the melodic - thematic material, its origin, preservation or treatment, the homophonic style, the kind of harmonic accompaniment, which is used and of course the instrumentation and the use of typical performance practices which imitate the traditional performance, as one more symbol and at the same time proof of the Greek character of the following pieces: *The Lyric Triptych. Arkadi* (1966), *The Choreographic Triptych* (1949), *Sonata for Violin and Piano* (1946, 1949), *The Prelude* of the film music "The She-Wolf" (1951) and the fifth Movement *Pastorale of the Suite N. 1 for flute, clarinet, bassoon and strings* (n.y.)

Original folk melodies are rarely used by Kazasoglou in his works. He agrees with Kalomiris' beliefs and prefers to compose original folk-like tunes for his own works¹¹. One of the most interesting utilizations of folk melodies is the case of the work *Lyric Triptych. Arkadi*, in which their treatment and symbolic power can be clearly shown within a larger musical conception

interview with the Greek composers. 8. Georgios Kazasoglou, *Ανεξάρτητος Τυπος* {Independent Press}, (Athens 14.10.1958)

¹⁰ {**Karawia**}, **Καραβία, Μαρία**: "Μια έρευνα του «Ανεξάρτητου Τύπου».

¹¹ Η επέκταση, ή εξέλιξη τής αισθητικής και τεχνικής γραμμής που μᾶς έκληροδότησαν οι ἄπλοι και ἄγνοι ἄγνωστοι λαϊκοὶ μουσουργοὶ σὲ μία νεοελληνικὴ μουσικὴ γλῶσσα, προικισμένη μὲ ὅλα τὰ στοιχεῖα τής λαϊκῆς μουσικῆς, ἀλλὰ συγχρονισμένη και ὀπλισμένη μὲ ὅλα τὰ τεχνικὰ μέσα και τὴν πρόοδο τής νεώτερης παγκόσμιας μουσικῆς. Ἡ ἄπλη μεταγραφὴ, και ἑναρμόνιση ἀκόμη, ἐνὸς λαϊκοῦ τραγουδιοῦ σὲ εὐρωπαϊκὴ παρασημαντικὴ δὲν μπορεῖ νὰ θεωρηθεῖ πῶς ἀποτελεῖ μουσικὴ δημιουργία.

{**Kalomiris**}, **Καλομοίρης, Μανώλης**: "Ο ἄγνωστος μουσουργός του δημοτικοῦ τραγουδιοῦ" {The Unknown Composer of the Folk Song}, in: Πρακτικά τής Ακαδημίας Αθηνῶν {Proceedings of the Athens Academy} (Athens: 1946), 274

with a particular underlying non-musical programme. The thematic of the work derives from the Cretan Revolt in 1866 against the Ottomans and specifically from the battle and siege of the monastery Arkadi. An introductory text follows the work and describes rather poetically the last hours of the besieged along with their emotions of despair, which at the end are put aside by the bravery, the thirst for freedom and the constant fight against the enemy, even by the self-sacrifice, the ultimate way of resistance. In this very text the composer refers to the use of the two Cretan folk songs: “*When will the sky be clear again*” (ποτε θα καμει ξαστερια) and “*but what’s wrong with you all here, what makes your heart so heavy*” (μα ιντα ‘χετε γυρου γυρου και ειναι βαρια η καρδια σας), adding that the first one was composed by Chainis¹².

The piece consists of three movements and bears programmatic titles¹³: *I. Heroic Elegy, II. Song and Meditation, III. Towards Death*. The two quoted folk melodies are used in the first and second movements.

The use of these songs is not a mere coincidence. Both of them correlate to the mood of the first two movements of the piece. Both of them belong to a kind of Cretan folk songs called rizitika, with a long tradition. The first one is acknowledged as a historic song and dates from the Venetian occupation of the island (13th-17th centuries). It was later transformed and reused in the period of the Ottoman rule (17th – 19th century) to express the desire of the enslaved to rise the weapons against the tyranny. In the first movement it is connected with the heroic element. It is used without much elaboration and symbolizes the anticipation of war, which will inevitably lead to freedom, the ultimate value and the only reason for fighting.

The song can be found in the collection of Psachos (1930)¹⁴ and much later in the collection of Cretan melodies of Antourakis¹⁵. Here, it is presented in a quite simpler but slower version lacking the ornamentation of Psachos’s transcription, though it is written in the same tonality (F Major). It appears four times in the middle section of the first movement (Lento assai) and only the first time (Mus.Ex.1 m. 42-57: melody: bassoon – accompaniment: strings) entirely. The other three appearances use only the first four measures of the melody.

¹²Kazasoglou has obviously made a mistake: chainis is believed to be the name of the singer or poet of this song; it is however the name used to describe the rebels against the Ottomans. In the Cretan dialect chainis stands for the rebel, the outlaw or the warrior, who never surrenders to the invader and always fights for freedom. {Antourakis} Αντουράκης, Γεώργιος: “Κρήτη. Τα τραγούδια της” {Crete. Its Songs}, (Athens 1991), 135

¹³The work was originally set for a string orchestra, the so called *First Version*, and was composed for the 100th Jubilee of the Cretan Revolution. The version for a big orchestra came a little later.

¹⁴{Psachos} Ψαχος, Κωνσταντίνος: “50 Δημώδη Άσματα Πελοποννησου και Κρήτης. Συλλογή Ωδείου Αθηνών” {50 Demotic Dongs from Peloponnese and Crete. Collection of the Athens Conservatory}, (Athens: Σύλλογος προς διάδοσιν ωφελίμων βιβλίων. Ιστορική και λαογραφική βιβλιοθήκη, 1930), 171-172 (Under the title: **Desire of a Cretan Warrior**)

¹⁵{Antourakis} Αντουράκης, Γεώργιος: Κρήτη. Τα τραγούδια της, 298

Mus.ex¹⁶.1: πότε θα κάμει ξαστεριά

The role of the folk song in this first movement is strongly symbolic and is combined with the other two melodic ideas: an opening dynamic one built upon the robust and vigorous rhythmical pattern of Pentozalis¹⁷, and a more lyrical one with a rather rhapsodic character. Both of them represent aspects of the Greek Character itself: while the first dynamic melodic idea could be characterized as a pure battle theme, the second one stands for the weak human nature, the fear and the despair. The two themes alternate and in the echo of the war-theme the melody of the folk song emerges in a serene pianissimo “*When will the sky be clear again*”, which symbolizes the heroic element and the desire for freedom. In order to emphasize this particular symbolization the composer uses the element of contrast on many levels: on a thematic one, by alternating the folk song (either in its full version or using only some parts of it) with the lyrical theme creating a vivid dialogue between them and indicating an obvious division between the fight and the desire for freedom and the feelings of fear and despair; and on a mere musical one, by the coexistence of two scales of contradictory character, which confirm the correlation and juxtaposition of the two existing moods : the F Major implied by the folk melody, and the f minor of the lyric theme played by the lower strings. At the end, the melody finds its way to the major key; the melodic material passes on to the violins, which this time present it in the tonality of the song, exactly at the end of the lyric “*when will the sky be clear again*”, thus underscoring the poem musically.

The use of the second folk song in the next movement with the title: II. Song and Meditation is subordinated to a similar symbolic use. The song “*But what’s wrong with you all here, what makes your heart so heavy*” (μα ιντα ‘χετε γυρου γυρου και ειναι βαρια η καρδια σας) belongs to the so called table-songs (τραγουδία της τάβλας) with a rather slow tempo and a majestic and ritual character. The main topic of the song is the savour of life’s joys before the ultimate time of death (in this concept personified and related to war). There is a certain dispute about the basic mode of this song¹⁸. Kazasoglou does not mention the source from which this version

¹⁶ The musical examples, which are taken from orchestral works, are reduced to two- or three-staff systems. Informations about the instruments used in each and every one of them are being given in the text or in the parenthesis.



¹⁷ Pentozalis is a Cretan folk dance with the following rhythmical pattern: . The meter is 2/4 and is considered to be a “war-like, heroic dance”. {Aetoudakes} Αετουδάκης, Δημήτρης: „Οι Κρητικοί Χοροί“ {The Cretan dances}, (Athens: 1982), 42-43.

¹⁸ Beau Bovy believes that the tonic centre is an A and Simon Karas a G although it is ending in an A. Drawn from the closing chromatic tetrachord A-B flat – C sharp – D. Psachos believes that the song belongs to the First Plagal mode of the Byzantine music beginning from *ke* (A) the so called Ειρμολογικός, which makes the last ending in A seem normal but unfortunately doesn’t justify the intermediate endings in G. Makris supports the opinion that the song is related to the music of the Byzantine period, thus bears characteristics leading to an older version of the First Plagal mode, beginning from *pa* (D). According to this belief the intermediate endings in G, along with the last one in A and of course the central notes D and C are perfectly matching the characteristics of the mode.

of the song derives and transposes it into the key of E flat Major. Two melodic ideas are dominating this short second movement (**Largo assai ma rubato**): a slow and evocative introductory melodic idea exposed by the lower strings (Vla, Vlc and Cb), creating a heavy and melancholic atmosphere and the melody of the folk song. The roles of the two thematic materials change later on. The first melancholic theme is being played by the lower strings and is used as an accompaniment of the folk song, which is now introduced by the English horn and doubled by the violin in a much slower tempo (Mus.Ex.2: m. 12-32). The type of the accompaniment resembles an ostinato, which is repeated almost perpetually. In this movement the symbolic use of the melody is particularly intense. The key of E flat Major, in which the folk song is written, as opposed to the e flat minor implied by the accompaniment, acts on a mere symbolic level and suggests the contradiction and juxtaposition of two different images: the savour of life, symbolized by the song, and the besieged just before the moment of the sacrifice, counting their losses, preparing for the inevitable, praying. In a way the melodic material of the introduction is drawing musically this bizarre silence before the great act.

Mus.ex.2: μα ιντα χετε γυρου-γυρου

Both folk songs are never thematically elaborated or altered. Their accompaniment varies from a very light counterpoint to the maintenance of the homophonic character by the use of a

{**Makris**} **Μακρής Ευστάθιος**: "Τροπικότητα και οκταηχία στην παραδοσιακή μουσική. Μερικές παρατηρήσεις στα ριζικά τραγούδια" {Modality and oktoechos in the traditional music. Some observations on the ritzika songs}, in: Πρακτικά μουσικολογικής συνάξεως 10 / 11. 11. 2000 (Μέγαρο Ακαδημίας Αθηνών) υπο τον τίτλο: Οι δύο οψεις της ελληνικής μουσικής κληρονομιάς. Αφιέρωμα εις μνήμην Σπυρίδωνος Περιστέρη {Proceedings of the musicological conference (10-11.11.2000) under the title: The two sides of the Greek heritage. Homage to the memory of Spiridon Peristeris}, (Athens: Δημοσιεύματα του κέντρου ερεύνης της ελληνικής λαογραφίας: 2003), 200-204

drone usually based on quintal chords, or the repeated appearance of the Eleventh chord (extended chord) or even a poly-chord containing the tonic, dominant and subdominant degree.

In the greatest part of Kazasoglou's works with a certain Greek character, originally composed folk-like tunes are common practice. The use of asymmetrical rhythms or typical Greek dances in a slower or faster version is not incidental. Following the broader use of "national dances" not only as special movements in bigger compositional works, but also as autonomous pieces, collections or even series of dances¹⁹, a common practice which occurred at the end of the 19th century and was resulting from the influence of the movements of National Schools in Europe, Kazasoglou incorporated these characteristic forms in many of his works. This applies also for two of his most important works, the *Sonata for violin and piano* (1946) and the *Choreographic triptych* (1949). In both of them we encounter the typical tempo of 7/8 (pic.1) as well as the rhythmical patterns of tsamikos (pic.2) and syrtos (pic.3). In the first case of the Sonata they are applied in the context of the so called absolute music, in the case though of the Choreographic Triptych in the context of a non-musical programmatic environment, in which every part is related to a specific image or scene.



pic.1: 7/8th dance



pic.2: tsamikos



pic.3: syrtos

The *Sonata for violin and piano*²⁰ has two versions: a three movement one (Allegro appassionato, Adagio cantabile and Allegro scherzando) 1946, and a revised one chronologically placed near 1949 with an added fourth movement (Allegretto comodo) between the Adagio cantabile and Allegro scherzando. In any case, the sonata contains at least one part with a folk dance. In the first version it is clearly the last part, in the second both the third and the fourth movement. The replacement of the Minuet or Scherzo by a folk dance with a strong national character is something most common within the movement of the National Schools in the second half of the 19th century.

¹⁹{Sakallieros}, Σακαλλιέρος, Γεώργιος: "Ο ελληνικός χορός ως είδος έντεχνης νεοελληνικής μουσικής δημιουργίας και μέσο έκφρασης εθνικής «ταυτότητας» μέσα απο συμφωνικά δείγματα γραφής του Π. Πετρίδη, Μ. Καλομοίρη, Ν. Σκαλκώτα και Γ. Κωνσταντινίδη" {The Greek Dance as a genre of the New-Greek musical Creation and as a way of expressing the „national“ identity through the symphonic examples of Petros Petridis, M. Kalomirs, N. Skalkotas and G. Konstantinides}, in: Πρακτικά του μουσικολογικού συνεδρίου 5-7. 05.2006 υπό τον τίτλο: Πλευρές της ελληνικότητα στην Μουσική {Proceedings of the musicological conference 5-7.5.2006 under the title: Aspects of Greekness in music}, (Athens: 2007)

²⁰Although the composer always dated with great detail all of his works, sometimes even his sketches, and both versions of the sonata bear no date at all. An answer to this problem provides a systematic catalog made by the composer and dating from 1950. It bears a reference to this particular work as well as the information, that it was originally composed in March 1946. As far as the second version is concerned, the date of the revision can be estimated through its first performance as a four movement piece in 1949.

A striking 7/8th dance constitutes the third movement *Allegretto commodo* of the second revised version presenting the originally composed folk-like melodic ideas. The characteristic rhythmical pattern of the 7/8th dance is accentuated in the bass line either by an arpeggio movement or by chords. It is clearly divided in two parts A and B (the second one with the tempo marking *Un poco più lento*), each of them consisting of a melodic idea constructed in the form of strictly four or eight bar-phrases (A: 1-8 and B: 9-12). The two themes have different characters: the first one is more vivid and dynamic whereas the second one has a more lyrical character. The mode used belongs - according to Kalomiris' categorisation of folk modes - to the second family. It is an A mode with a d sharp and an augmented second between the sixth and seventh note of the scale. The typical interval of the augmented second is brought out in the descending as well as ascending melodic line (g sharp – f or c – d sharp or d sharp-c) as a basic element of the melodic idea, thus underlining the Greek character of the piece. Repetition and the use of sequences prove to be essential building materials while the lacking of any thematic or motivic elaboration of the melodic ideas and the preservation of their homophonic character are considered among their most important characteristics. Directly deriving from the folk music the drone or sometimes an ostinato is preferred as the most suitable accompaniment. Instead of full chords, which are rarely used, the harmonic fifth a-e (first and fifth note degree) along with an arpeggio (a-e-a-c-e-d-f) consisted of a combination of two chords: an a and d minor, accompany the melodies of the movement.



Mus.ex.3: First melodic idea



Mus.ex. 4: Second melodic idea

The three-movement work *Choreographic Triptych: I. Images from the life on the Mountain, II. At the seaside pulling out the fishing-nets, III. Maypole-dancing on a crossroad* (1949), presents also an interesting use of specific dances and dancing patterns. The work has a piano and an orchestral version dating from 1949 and was choreographed and performed twice by Rallou Manou and her dancing group. Both scores bear programmatic titles, sometimes with additional scenes creating a kind of story-line which refers to each and every movement, a phenomenon not at all unusual in cases of musical pieces that are being choreographed²¹. The scenes are carefully chosen in order to present characteristic images of the life in the countryside, as typical Greek. This case is also related to the musical material used for this purpose. Originally

²¹i. *The lads with the shepherds - walking stick (gklitsa)*, ii. *The old shepherd*, iii. *The girl with the distaff*, iv. *The lad*, v. *dancing around the couple* – in the second, which presents scenes from the life at the sea side we have three images: i. *small waves*, ii. *Pulling out the fishing boat (trata)*, iii. *Dancing around the fishing-nets*

composed folk-like melodies are used instead of quoted folk songs, which also intend to prove the Greek character of the conception²².

Both tsamikos and syrtos are used as two typical mainland and island dances. The first one is the type of dance used in the opening movement *Images from the life on the Mountain* whereas the second section *At the seaside pulling out the fishing-nets* consists of a slow 7/8th dance marked as Andante and a more vivid syrtos marked as Allegretto.

Tsamikos could be related to typical bucolic images from the countryside, as it is easily heard in rural areas of the mainland and more specifically in Peloponnese, Central Greece and Epirus periphery. In the first movement *Images from the life on the Mountain* the main dance theme written in 3/4 and in the characteristic rhythmical pattern of tsamikos dominates the entire section (Mus.Ex. 5: m. 21-29: strings), which with the exception of a secondary dancing theme (Mus.Ex.6: m. 96-127) appearing only once in the piece, could almost be understood as monothematic²³.

Mus.ex.5: tsamikos (main dance theme)

Mus.ex.6. secondary dance theme

A very simple rhythmical or melodic ostinato or a drone constitutes a typical accompaniment of the melodies, which maintain their homophonic character. Pizzicato chords and single notes played by the strings, a common practice used by the composer, accompany both the first and

²² It is quite interesting, that this work was being presented by Rallou Manou just before the founding of the Hellenic Choreodrama. The second performance of this piece bears the title "Neohellenic Triptych" instead of Choreographic Triptych and it was presented along with the legendary first performance of the ballet "Marsyas" by Hatzidakis in Aigina. Right after that- as Rallou Manou confesses- the idea of the Hellenic Choreodrama was born. Thus in this performance the ideas, on which this dance company was based, can be detected, such as the presentation of the Greek life and its issues.

Bournelli Pagona: "Rallou Manou and her contribution to modern dance in Greece", *Research in Dance Education*, (9:1,2008), 55-75, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14647890801924642> (accessed on 21.04.2012)

²³ With the exception of an introductory melodic idea (5-22) and a secondary dancing theme in the measures 96-127, which doesn't appear again in the piece

second dancing theme. Of course, the reference to Petridis' ideas concerning pizzicato as the best accompaniment for the folk melodies is in this case obvious²⁴. Sometimes they are also accompanied by a simple melodic line forming a kind of a very mild counterpoint, which completes the main melodic idea.

The second movement of the piece offers the opportunity to observe the use of two other dances a slow 7/8th dance (adagio: Mus.Ex.7: bassoon: melody – accompaniment: strings: m. 27-35) and a 2/4 syrtos like dance (allegretto con moto). The largest is the first 7/8th section with the characteristic dancing theme.

Mus.ex.7: 7/8th dance theme

The Andante tempo marking is presumably chosen on purpose, to describe musically the second image: the pulling of the fishing boat. The theme of the dance appears three times (Mus.ex: 7-1). In two of them (first and third) they are accompanied by a drone and thus maintaining their homophonic character. The second presentation is actually a trio in the woodwinds (clarinets, oboes and bassoons). Although the clarinet is playing a drone (e and f sharp), the bassoon accompanies the theme with a mild counterpoint. The presentations of the theme present a kind of gradual increase in the dynamic and orchestration, from one instrument and accompaniment to a trio and then to the groups of the violins and the rest of the strings and woodwinds. Surely, there must be a relation to the choreography at that point.

²⁴ {Sakallieros}, Σακαλλιέρως, Γεώργιος: “Ο ελληνικός χορός ως είδος έντεχνης νεοελληνικής μουσικής δημιουργίας, (Athens, 2007)

Mus.ex: 7-1: 7/8th Dancing Theme

The Allegretto is related to the third scene: *Dancing around the fishing nets*. It is a fast dance in 2/4 with the characteristic syrtos rhythmical pattern (pic.3) played by the lower strings. The homophonic character is preserved throughout the presentation of the dance, which can be described as a fierce melody introduced by the violins and doubled by the woodwinds.

In the next two pieces the use of modes as well as the utilization of individual instruments and their technique shall be closely examined. The Prelude of the music for the film *“The She-Wolf”* as well as the last movement of *the Suite N.1 for flute, clarinet, bassoon and strings* are typical examples.

The story of the film *“The She-Wolf”* (1951) takes place in the Greek country side and is based on the ethographical description of the life of plain people in agriculture societies, where the urban culture has not yet intruded, and the folk tradition is still very strong, thus the Greek character remains pure and unspoiled. The musical themes used in the entire composition are rooted exactly in these basic elements and the originally composed folk-like melodies “create an extremely evocative atmosphere and fit perfectly to the spirit of the film”²⁵. The Prelude of the composition is heard during the titles of the movie. It contains characteristic folk-like melodies that are to be used and heard also later in the score. The use of two asymmetrical rhythms 5/4th and 7/8th marks two parts in the piece, which differ by the melodic material, which is based upon modes of the folk music, belonging to the second category of folk-modes according to Kalomiris’ categorization, with elements from the gypsy scales²⁶. Their main features are the multiple leading tones and of course the interval of the augmented second, which in this case play an essential melodic role, adding to the Greek colour of the piece. To be more specific, the first melodic idea introduced by the clarinet and the flute begins in the introduction (1-3) with a kind of scale beginning from G with the following note- succession: g –a –b flat- c sharp-d –e flat- f sharp- g, and one more beginning this time from A with the note succession: a-b-c-d sharp-e-f-g sharp-a resembling very much a D mode with one lower pentachord with a g sharp²⁷ (third Chroa) and a conjunct higher chromatic tetrachord. (Mus.Ex:8: m. 1-6: melody: clarinet and flute –accompaniment: clarinet II, oboe, strings and pic. 4).

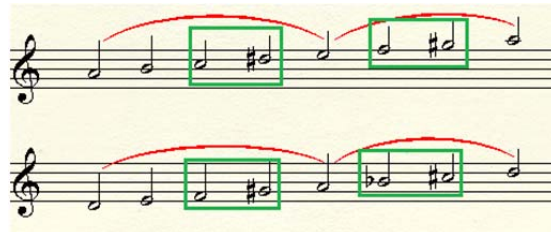
²⁵ (Unknown writer), „Η λύκαινα μια ταινία ηθών“, {*The She Wolf*, an ethographical film}, Η φωνή του Πειραιά, {*The Voice of Piraeus*}, (Athens, 04.04.1951)

²⁶ {**Kalomiris**} Καλομοίρης, Μανώλης: Τα θεωρητικά της Μουσικής. Ν. 3 Αρμονία {*Music theory. N. 3. Harmony*}, Vol. 2, (Athens: Γαϊτάνος-Κοκονετσής: 1993-94), 178-180

²⁷ Spyridon Peristeris in the introduction to the collection: *Ελληνικά Δημοτικά Τραγούδια* (Greek Folk-Songs: Athens 1968, Ακαδημία Αθηνών) present the folk modes used in the collected songs. In the paragraph about the D mode he presents the so called Chroas (Χρόες), which are basically variations of the diatonic form of the mode. In these variations specific notes of the scale are altered either by a sharp or by a flat. Peristeris catalogues four basic Chroas. Among them the third one presents the alteration of the fourth note with a sharp (G sharp). {**Spyridakis – Peristeris**}, **Σπυριδάκης Γ. Και Περιστέρης Σπ.** „Ελληνικά δημοτικά Τραγούδια τ. Γ. (Μουσική Εκλογή)“, {*Greek folk songs*}, (Athens: Ακαδημία Αθηνών. Δημοσιεύματα του κέντρου έρευνας της ελληνικής λαογραφίας: 1968), 24-25



Mus.ex.8: first melodic idea



pic.4: transposed D mode

For the harmonization of his melodies polytonal, quintal and quartal chords are used, while the use of fifths is obviously considered by Kazasoglou as the most appropriate accompaniment for a folk or folk- like melody for the additional reason that it directly proves the folk origin of the melody and of course confirms its Greek character. On the other hand, the use of poly-chords is a mean of combining basic chords of the scale or mode.

The impression of improvisation, as a direct influence from the folk music also plays an essential role and is achieved in two ways; the first one is more striking in the case of the second melodic ideas introduced in the 7/8th section (Mus.Ex.9: m.10-17: melody: bassoon, clarinet I, flute – accompaniment: clarinet II, bassoon, strings). The melodic idea does not appear from the first bars in its complete form. It consists mainly of a two measure phrase, whose repetition and moreover imitation by the woodwinds becomes its essential element. It is interesting though that the characteristic ascending perfect fifth, a rather common topos of Kazasoglou's folk- like tunes, is turned to a major or minor third during its imitations. Therefore, the mode heard during these transpositions of the phrase sway between the major and minor character of the melody, which along with the passing of the phrase from instrument to instrument contributes at the same time to the creation of the impression of an improvisation.

Kazasoglou uses here the lower pentachord of the diatonic version with the characteristic g sharp of the third chroa and combines it with a conjunct higher chromatic tetrachord. This mixed version of the D mode - here transposed a fifth higher (beginning from A) -, is also being noted by Nikos Malliaras in his book: *To Ελληνικό Δημοτικό Τραγούδι στην Μουσική του Μανώλη Καλομοίρη* (The Greek folk song in the music of Manolis Kalomiris) as a common version of the D mode, which is often used in many folk songs. **{Malliaras} Μαλλιάρης, Νικόλαος:** *Το Ελληνικό δημοτικό τραγούδι στην μουσική του Μανώλη Καλομοίρη*, {The Greek folk-song in the music of Manolis Kalomiris}, (Athens: Παπαργηγόριου Κ. – Νάκας. Χ: 2001), 256 and **{Kalomiris} Καλομοίρης, Μανώλης:** *Τα θεωρητικά της Μουσικής. Ν. 3 Αρμονία* {Music theory. N. 3. Harmony}, 178-180

Mus.ex.9: second melodic idea

The second way is mainly related to the orchestration. The striking improvisational character imitates a traditional woodwind instrument. All the elements used, such as the musical embellishments, aim to create the impression of a traditional performance and thus relate to the programmatic concept of the piece. This element is most intensively presented in the *Suite N. 1 for flute, clarinet, bassoon and strings*.

The whole work consists of 5 movements, each of them bearing not a programme this time but a special title, sometimes additional titles, which seal its particular character: *I. Humoresque, Playfully, II. Love song (confiding love), III. Dance (Happy and careless at the country side), IV. Lullaby (The mother is putting to sleep her little baby angel), V. Pastoral (on the country side)*.

Like in the Prelude of the film music *The She-Wolf* the choice of instruments is not a mere coincidence. Among the woodwinds are flutes, clarinets and bassoons which are related to the traditional recorders, the folk clarinet and the folk double reed wood instruments. The role of the violins is equally important, which is perfectly understandable, keeping in mind the use of the instrument also in traditional ensembles.

The opening four-measure melodic idea introduced by the bassoon is later ornamented first by the flute and then by the clarinet (Mus.Ex.10: m.1-4: melody: bassoon – accompaniment: strings).

Mus.ex.10: opening melodic idea

The use of appoggiaturas, mordents, gruppetti and rhythmical subdivisions are the most common practices that the composer uses here. Also the utilization of sustained notes, usually the fifth or the first note degree, which are interrupted by fast melodic figures or gruppetti, circling around this single note always returning to it or the use of the entire playing range of the instrument introducing melodic figures of great virtuosity or even the swaying of the tempo moving from quarter or half notes, duplets and eighth notes to sextuplets with sixteenth and

thirty-second notes imitate the traditional performance practice. The distribution of the instruments is clear: the clarinet (Mus. Ex.11: Clarinet's Variation) and the flute bear these quasi improvisational versions of the melodic idea, while the bassoon and the violins and violas play the melodic idea itself. These variations are sometimes so elaborated in altering the main melody to such a degree that it is not recognisable any more. That is why the main melody is simultaneously played either by the bassoon or by the first and second violins, creating the phenomenon of heterophony.

Mus.ex.11: clarinet's variation

Kazasoglou's musical nationalism did not only equal an attempt to contribute to the creating of a national music, it was actually a necessity related to the sense of duty of the artist in general towards himself and his country. Thus, the element of tradition transformed in musical means or even as a specific subject matter (heroic events of Greek history or bucolic scenes from the Greek country side) plays an essential role in his works. This role functions on two levels; on the level of the utilization of original folk tunes mostly as a symbol with an impact related to the characteristics of the Greek nation and on the level of the composed folk-like melodies with all their specific characteristics, which give to the piece its national colour. No matter how stereotypical the utilization of these elements may seem one shouldn't forget that Kazasoglou like most of the composers of this movement was born and grown up in urban environments and received a musical education according to the western models. The approach to their own musical tradition cannot stay unaffected by this. As Dahlhaus so masterfully observed²⁸, "the «national» music was speaking to the bourgeoisie and not to the folk, who created it according to its needs; their own folklore was for the middle class, inhabiting the cities still a «foreign» music, with which they were reacquainting". Nevertheless, Kazasoglou gives his own answer to the question of the Greek character of a piece. For him it represents an aesthetic factor and as he formulates it: "something strong and persistent, a characteristic element, which gives to the Greek phenomenon the typical Greek character"²⁹.

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²⁸ **Dahlhaus, Carl:** „Zwischen Romantik und Moderne. Vier Studien zur Musikgeschichte des späteren 19. Jahrhunderts“, (München: Musikverlag Emil Katzschichler: 1974), 90

²⁹ **{Kazasoglou}, Καζάσογλου, Γεώργιος:** "Η μουσική αναρχία εις τας εκκλησίας μας, Βυζαντινή ή τετραφωνία ?" {The musical anarchy in our churches. Byzantine (music) or four- voice-harmonization}, Ελληνικό Μέλλον, (Athens 28.11.1938)

was invited to give a speech on Georgios Kasassoglou and the Greek National School of Music for a course entitled: "Einführung in die neugriechische Kunstmusik" at the Institute of Musicology (Winter semester 2008, Dr. Mag. Nina Maria Wanek). She has worked as a musicologist at the Musical Archive of Georgios Kasassoglou in Karlsruhe (2006-2012) and also in Schoenberg Centre in Vienna (2011-12). Furthermore, she has collaborated with the Austrian-Greek Society in Vienna and she has organised various concerts and projects such as: Concert about Georgios Kasassoglou (2008), Metamorphosen (2010), the two-day Project "Dimitris Mitropoulos 50+1 Years afterwards"(2011) in collaboration with the Institute of Musicology of Vienna University. She is also working in the museum of the Old Musical Instruments in Vienna (Neue Burg). Her compositions have been performed mainly in Greece in various concert halls (Megaron-The Athens Concert Hall, Benaki Museum etc).

The Birth of Finnish music - Sibelius' *Kullervo* op. 7

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Abstract. Some contemporaries saw the premiere of Jean Sibelius' *Kullervo* op 7 on 28th April 1892 as the birth of Finnish music. On the one hand the lecture deals with the nationalistic background of the work and on the other hand it shows, how the »Finnish tone« in *Kullervo* is created by Sibelius.

Because of the long lasting Swedish and Russian foreign rule in Finland the country lacked the awareness of an independent history, culture and language. The national epic *Kalevala* and the landscape of Karelia took an important role in building the identity of the Finnish nation. The cultural movement influenced by *Kalevala* and Karelia is called Karelianism. It changed from a cultural to a political movement, which advocated the independency of Finland. Sibelius was also a member of an artistic group which focused on the cultural heritage of its country. The Russian Tsar banned the performance of Sibelius' famous composition *Finlandia* because of its political content.

Kullervo - a symphony for soloists, chorus and orchestra - is the first of numerous works of Sibelius, which is based on the *Kalevala*. In *Kullervo* the composer, who also collected folk songs in Karelia, refers to Finnish folk music. However he doesn't quote original folk songs, but he integrates individual stylistic elements of them into his own musical language. How Sibelius deals with that, will be shown on some examples from *Kullervo*.

The premiere of Jean Sibelius' *Kullervo* op. 7 in 1892 was called "The Birth of Finnish music."¹ First the article gives a short overview about the nationalistic background and the history of the composition. The main focus is on how Sibelius created a "Finnish tone" in *Kullervo*.

The Republic of Finland is not even a hundred years old. For nearly 600 years Finland was part of the Swedish kingdom. Therefore the upper and middle class spoke Swedish and Finnish. In 1809 Finland became part of the Russian Empire. In the beginning it was an autonomous Grand Duchy with own administration, army and currency. Swedish was still the official language but in 1863 Finnish became the administration language. Under Tsar Alexander III and Nikolaus II the autonomy was successive restricted and the Russification increased enormously. In 1899 Russian became official language, the Finnish army was dissolved and censorship established. Finland finally declared its independence in 1917.

Due to its political situation Finland lacked for a long time its own culture and even its own language. Especially under the increasing Russian influence Finland was searching for its own identity. "[...] a people's language usage, literature, and history must be built on cultural roots; where lost, those roots could be reclaimed through the poetry, songs, and other traditions of ordinary folk."² These roots were found in the isolated province of Karelia in Eastern Finland. For many centuries the province preserved its authenticity and was seen as a sanctuary of "Finnishness". Especially in the 1890s poets, painters and musicians had a great interest in the Karelian heritage and landscape. This phenomenon is similar to the European national romanticism movements and is called Karelianism.³

¹ Huttunen, Matti "Nationalistic and Non-Nationalistic Views of Sibelius in the 20th-century Finnish Music Historiography", in "Music and Nationalism in 20th-century Great Britain and Finland", ed. Tomi Mäkelä (Hamburg: von Bockel Verlag, 1997), 222.

² Goss, Glenda Dawn "Sibelius: a Composer's Life and the Awakening of Finland" (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2009), 39.

³ Goss, 148. The term "Karelianism" was coined in the 1930s by Yrjö Hirn, who accompanied Sibelius on his visit with the runo singer Larin Paraske (see below).

Since 1829 the physician Elias Lönnrot travelled eleven times to Karelia to collect ancient folk songs.⁴ From this material he created the *Kalevala* in 1835.⁵ A revised second edition was published fourteen years later. Lönnrot changed some of the ancient songs and added some self-written passages. Despite the actual creatorship of Lönnrot the *Kalevala* soon became the national epic of Finland. It represented a turning point for the Finnish culture and became an important factor in the creation of an identity of the Finnish nation. The *Kalevala* was a source of inspiration for many artists of the Karelianism movement. "In their art and writings, Karelianism emerged as the enlightening realization of the folk culture behind and amidst the characters, lines and images of the national epic."⁶

One of these artists was Jean Sibelius. He was fascinated by the *Kalevala* and the epic inspired him to numerous compositions,⁷ the first of them was *Kullervo*. Sibelius grew up in a Swedish-speaking home, but at the age of eight he was sent to one of the new founded Finnish-speaking schools. "In my home and its neighbourhood I heard only Swedish, but Finnish folklore had a remarkable infectious strength. And the Kullervo legend first captured my imagination."⁸

During his studies in Helsinki (1885-89) the composer got in contact with the well-known Järnefelt family. "Sibelius spent much time at the Järnefelt home, which had become a center for discussions on nationalist cultural and political issues and where Sibelius was drawn more firmly into the Finnish camp."⁹ In 1890 he was engaged to Aino Järnefelt and went to Vienna where he studied composition with Carl Goldmark. Here he occupied himself more closely with the Finnish epic. "I'm reading the Kalevala diligently and already understand Finnish much better."¹⁰ Sibelius began to compose *Kullervo* during his stay in Vienna in the spring of 1891. So far he had written only two smaller pieces for orchestra.¹¹ Because of that it is surprising that his opus 7 is a monumental work which lasts about 70 to 80 minutes. Quite often *Kullervo* is called a symphonic poem, but the composer himself called it a symphony.¹² With one exception no Finn had ever written a symphony before.¹³ *Kullervo* consists of five movements¹⁴ and is written for soprano and baritone solo, male choir and orchestra. The premiere took place in Helsinki on 28th April 1892. The members of the orchestra, mostly German musicians, started laughing when they saw their parts the first time.¹⁵ So the rehearsals were quite chaotic and the performance was only mediocre. But nevertheless it was a success for the young composer and some people said that he gave Finland its own music.¹⁶

What was the reason for that opinion? Mainly it was Sibelius' preoccupation with the Finnish folk music. "Sibelius does not directly borrow runic melodies in *Kullervo* but rather uses them as

⁴ The content in this paragraph on Lönnrot and the *kalevala* are based on Fromm, Hans Kalevala. "Das finnische Epos des Elias Lönnrot" (Stuttgart: Reclam Verlag, 1985), 348-352.

⁵ Complete title: "Kalevala: taika: Wanhoja Karjalan runoja Suomen kansan muinoisista ajoista" (Kalevala: or, Old Karelian Poetry from the Antiquity of the Finnish People). Goss, 40.

⁶ DuBois, Thomas A. Finnish Folk Poetry and the Kalevala (New York: Garland, 1995), 33.

⁷ For example *Lemminkäinen-Suite*, *Pohjola's daughter*, *Luonnotar*.

⁸ Sibelius, cited from Wilson, William A. „Sibelius, the Kalevala, and Karelianism“, in "The Sibelius Companion", ed. Glenda Dawn Goss (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1996), 53.

⁹ Wilson, 53.

¹⁰ Letter from Jean Sibelius to Aino Järnefelt, 26th December 1890, cited from Goss, 125.

¹¹ Overture e-major, Ballet scene.

¹² "Tawaststjerna, Erik T. Sibelius Volume 1 (1865-1905)", transl. Robert Layton (London: Faber and Faber, 1976), 107.

¹³ Axel Gabriel Ingelius 1847. Goss, 125.

¹⁴ 1) Introduction, 2) *Kullervo's* youth, 3) *Kullervo* and his sister [with baritone, soprano, male choir], 4) *Kullervo* goes to war, 5) *Kullervo's* death [with male chorus].

¹⁵ Tawaststjerna, 106.

¹⁶ Tawaststjerna, 106.

stylistic models, as a kind of reservoir of ideas from which he incorporated elements into his own musical language.”¹⁷ *Kullervo* is influenced by various types of Finnish folk music and there are also some Russian elements.¹⁸ This article focuses on the oldest folk tunes, the so-called *runos* (*runo* = song, poem). They were sung in an area which covered Finland, Karelia, Estonia and Ingria.¹⁹ Under the influence of the major-minor tonality *runo* singing nearly became extinct. Due to the isolated geographic position, *runos* survived only in Karelia. The folk songs were not written down, but passed on orally.

There are different styles of *runos* which also differ from region to region. The smallest group are the laments, which are sung only by women. They are melodically and rhythmically free and often use micro intervals as well as complicated rhythms.²⁰ In contrast to them are the more common plain *runos*.

Example 1 shows a typical *runo* from the province Karelia. Characteristic for these Karelian songs are the five-beat bar – in the southern regions the four-beat bar is more common – and the prolonged ends of the phrases. The range usually covers a fifth, sometimes a sixth. The melody is characterized by stepwise progressions and repeated notes as well as a monotonous rhythm.²¹ It is divided in two phrases, which has similarities to the antecedent and consequent phrases of a musical period. Normally *runos* are sung by a single person and without accompaniment. When two people are singing they alternate. Instead of a second singer the *kantele* can be used, a traditional plucked string instrument with mostly five strings.²²



Musical example 1: *Kilpalaulanta* (The song challenge), beginning²³

In comparison to this *runo* the main theme of the second movement of Sibelius' *Kullervo* is shown. In a letter the composer wrote that it is a lullaby.²⁴

¹⁷ Tawaststjerna, Sibelius, 109.

¹⁸ Tawaststjerna, 118 and Goss, 130.

¹⁹ Aho, Kalevi *Die finnische Musik* (Helsinki: Otava, 1996), 15.

²⁰ Kolehmainen, Ilkka "Finland (Traditional music)" in Sadie, Stanley (Hrsg.): "The new Grove dictionary of music and musicians", ed. Stanley Sadie (London, 2nd edition 2001), 864-865.

²¹ DeGorog, Lisa S. from "Sibelius to Sallinen: Finnish Nationalism and the Music of Finland" (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1989), 19-20.

²² Fromm, 372.

²³ Runo singer Iivo Lipitsä, recording of 1966. in: "The Kalevala Heritage. Ancient folksongs from Finland, Karelia and Ingria." (Helsinki: Ondine Records, 1995). Transcription by the author.

²⁴ "I have already written a lullaby and this theme will grow in intensity on each return." Letter from Jean Sibelius to Aino Järnefelt, 20th December 1890, cited after Tawaststjerna, 100.

The image shows two staves of musical notation in treble clef, key of D major, and 3/4 time. The first staff is labeled 'b. 1ff.' and the second 'b. 13ff.'. Both staves feature a melody with a triple meter feel, characterized by repeated eighth notes and sixteenth notes, often grouped with slurs and a '6' above them, indicating a sextuplet. The melody is based on a Dorian scale (D, E, F#, G, A, B, C).

Musical example 2: Sibelius: Kullervo (2nd movement, b. 1ff. and b. 13ff.)

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Despite the theme has a triple metre, it has some similarities to a runo. The melody is based on a Dorian scale, which gives it an archaic character. It has an ambitus of a sixth and a similar simple rhythm like the runo above.²⁵ Typical are also the repeated notes and the prolonged ends of the phrases.

In 1891 Sibelius visited the famous runo singer Larin Paraske. “[...] he listened to her with great attention and made notes on her inflections and rhythm.”²⁶ It is interesting that Sibelius wrote his lullaby after visiting Larin Paraske. There is no information about what she sang for him, but it seems obvious that she had an influence on Sibelius’ lullaby-theme.

The next example is taken from the third movement, which is with about 25 minutes the centre of the symphony. The soloists and the male choir here tell the unlucky story of Kullervo and his sister. Kullervo is on his way home, when he meets a young woman. He seduces her without knowing that she is his long-lost sister. Shocked about that, she commits suicide. In the final movement Kullervo returns to the same place and kills himself with his sword. The following example shows the first entry of the choir.

The image shows three staves of musical notation in treble clef, key of D major, and 4/4 time. The melody is characterized by a monotonous rhythm and an alternation between repeated notes and stepwise progressions. The lyrics are in Finnish and are written below the notes.

Kul- ler vo Ka- ler- von poi- ka, si- ni- suk- ka äi- jön lap- si,
 hi- vus kel- tai- nen ko- re- a, ken- gän kau- to kau- no- kai- nen
 läk- si vie- mä- hän ve- to- ja, maa- jy- vi- ä mak- sa- ma- han.

Musical example 3: Sibelius: Kullervo (3rd movement, bar 44ff.)

Translation: “Kullervo, Kalervo’s offspring, with the very bluest stockings, and with yellow hair the finest, and with shoes of finest leather, went his way to pay the taxes, and he went to pay the land-dues.”

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Here also several elements of the runos are found: Sibelius uses the typical five-beat bar of the Karelian songs. The melody is characterized by a monotonous rhythm and an alternation between repeated notes and stepwise progressions. The archaic character of the choir is supported by the Dorian mode and the singing in unison.

²⁵ The lombardic rhythm in bar four, which is not typical for a *runo*, is dropped in later repetitions of the theme.

²⁶ Yrjö Hirn, cited from “Tawaststjerna”, Sibelius, 98.

The opening phrase of the choir “Kullervo, Kalervon poika” recurs many times in the third movement and also in the final movement. Every time the phrase is varied in rhythm and/or melody. Here some of these variations are shown.



3rd movement, bar 44ff.



3rd movement, bar 61f.



3rd movement, bar 99ff.



3rd movement, bar 341f.



5th movement, bar 5ff.

*Musical example 4: Sibelius: Variations of the motif „Kullervo Kalervon poika“
© By Breitkopf & Härtel, Wiesbaden.*

This is another important aspect, which is characteristic for the Finnish *runos*. Because there is no cadenza-like end, the phrases are open-ended and can be repeated endlessly. Every repetition is varied slightly.²⁷ About the Finnish national epic *Kalevala* Sibelius said: “In my opinion the *Kalevala* is completely modern. I think it is nothing but music, theme with variations.”²⁸ As it is to be seen in example 4, he transfers this principle into his own music. Like a *runo* singer Sibelius repeats a phrase never literally but makes little changes in rhythm and diastematic.

One more reason for the “Finnish tone” is Sibelius’ skilled usage of the Finnish language. In the Finnish language the accent is always on the first syllable of a word. Because of that, old *runos* lack up-beats. Another characteristic is the specific use of vowels: A single vowel is pronounced short, a double vowel prolongs its pronunciation. For the musical setting of a Finnish text this is important, because the use of a long or short note can change the meaning of the text. If a composer for example chooses a long note for the word *tuli*, which means “fire”, he gets the meaning of *tuuli*, which means “wind”.²⁹

Sibelius’ *Kullervo* symphony was the first vocal composition which was based on a Finnish text. Despite attending a Finnish-speaking school the composer spoke Swedish, but his fiancée encouraged him to read and write in Finnish.³⁰ About his visit to the *runo*-singer Larin Paraske the composer said: “In her singing I mainly paid attention to how such a ‘rune singer’ uses Finnish [...] especially the way they prolong and stress the last syllables of a word. [...] In ‘Kullervo’ I

²⁷ De Gorog, 19. The whole recording of the song from which the beginning is drawn in example 1, is about eight minutes long.

²⁸ Letter from Jean Sibelius to Aino Järnefelt, 26th December 1890, cited after Goss Awakening, 125.

²⁹ Fromm, 375.

³⁰ Tawaststjerna, 76.

had used a natural stressing of syllables.³¹ This can be clearly seen in his composition. At the beginning of the male choir in the third movement (shown above in musical example 3), there are no up-beats in the music and the accents of the music are always in correlation with the text. So Sibelius had a distinct feeling for the relation between the music and the Finnish language.

Finally the aspects are summarized, which make *Kullervo* an authentic Finnish composition: Sibelius chose a text for his symphony, which is based on the Finnish national epic *Kalevala*. The *Kalevala* was important for the creating of a genuine Finnish identity. Beside it was the first time that a composer wrote a vocal composition in Finnish. And Sibelius had a very sensitive understanding for the characteristics of this language. The »Finnish tone« of *Kullervo* was also created by the influence of Finnish folk music. Sibelius didn't quote folk songs, but he used individual aspects of them which he incorporated in his own personal style. "Although [...] *Kullervo* does not quote any Finnish folk tune, there are themes in it that *could* be folk tunes."³²

All these aspects seem to be the reason, why the audience were able to identify themselves with the music. And why Sibelius' *Kullervo* symphony reached the heart of the Finnish people.

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³¹ Sibelius cited from "Sirén", Vesa "Kullervo". In: http://www.sibelius.fi/english/musiikki/ork_kullervo.htm (accessed on July 28th, 2013)

³² DeGorog, 45. Italics in original.

In search of “true” Finnish music. Some views on the epistemological and ontological aspects of constructing national music

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Abstract. During the Finnish parliamentary election campaign in 2011, the Finnish party Perussuomalaiset (the “True Finns”) gave rise to a debate by presenting a cultural policy program, which included criticism against the public funding of what the party called “pseudo-artistic postmodernists”. Instead the party spoke in favor of, Jean Sibelius and Finnish folk music, for instance, which they considered to represent a Finnish identity and origin.

The discussion of a genuine national culture and its manifestation in a canon declaration is common in several countries today. As a counter-reaction, several cultural workers, intellectuals, and academics have criticized this political tendency for its essentialist undercurrents. A constructionist view on identity formation and cultural value is often presented as a counterweight to what is seen as simplistic, populist tendencies.

This paper does not aim at presenting a final verdict on these debates, but rather discuss the logic of the approaches and some of the possibilities and possible limitations inherent in the arguments presented. While a criticism of naïve romanticized ideas of a true national music and its canonization is often justified, the criticism may also include complex and problematic characteristics. However, by utilizing a constructionist approach in a balanced manner, we can still benefit from the criticism as a means of understanding how national elements of music are born, interpreted and contextualized.

During the Finnish parliamentary election campaign in 2011, the controversial party Perussuomalaiset (the True Finns, also called the Finns Party), gave rise to a heated debate by publishing an election program in which the theme of cultural policy was given a prominent place.¹ In the program, the party, which is frequently described as a nationalist-populist one, stated in short that “Cultural appropriations must be targeted to reinforcing the Finnish identity.”² Among those artists that the True Finns perceived as particularly important to a Finnish identity were the painters Albert Edelfelt and Akseli Gallen-Kallela, and the composer Jean Sibelius; in other words artists of the so-called “golden era” of Finnish culture, an era that coincided with the national struggle for independence at the end of the 19th century. Folk music was also mentioned as characteristic of Finnish local culture, which, according to the election program, should be supported instead of what was called “Pseudo-artistic postmodernists.”³

The idea of a true national culture as the basis for a cultural policy is common in several countries today. In some cases, this idea is emphasized as part of general declarations, whereas in others the policy is concretized in a national canon of works.⁴ Thus, it is no surprise that in 2006 the head of the Finnish Parliament’s Committee for education and culture, Kaarina Dromberg, suggested that also Finland should compile an official canon of works. According to

¹ Perussuomalaiset r.p. *Suomalaiselle sopivin. Perussuomalaiset r.p.:n eduskuntavaaliohjelman* (2011). Accessible at <http://arkisto.perussuomalaiset.fi/ohjelmat/> (accessed on August 15th, 2013).

² Perussuomalaiset r.p. *Fitting for the Finns – The True Finns’ election programme for the parliamentary election 2011 /Summary* (2011). Accessible at <http://arkisto.perussuomalaiset.fi/ohjelmat/> (accessed on August 15th, 2013).

³ Perussuomalaiset r.p. *Fitting for the Finns*.

⁴ For Holland see: Entoen.nu (2006) *De canon van Nederland*. In: <http://www.entoen.nu/> (accessed on August 15th, 2013). For Denmark see: Kulturministeriet (2006) *Kulturkanon*. In: <http://kum.dk/Temaer/Temaarkiv/Kulturkanon/> (accessed on August 15th, 2013).

Dromberg, this would help a small country like Finland to treasure its own culture and identity.⁵ The suggestion was discussed both among politicians and in the press, but it was never carried through.

As a counter-reaction to these policy statements, several cultural workers and intellectuals have sternly condemned all attempts to present any formal definitions of a national culture. The main critical argument has been that such politically motivated classifications give a simplified picture of national culture as something old, local, static and immutable, when it in fact should be approached as something more fluid, heterogeneous, constantly changing, and being in dialogue with many other cultures.⁶

The juxtaposition of these two approaches could be summarized as a clash between essentialist and constructionist views. Both understandings of national culture are apparently very meaningful and important to their advocates, but they are nevertheless not wholly uncomplicated. As a researcher, I find it meaningful to approach these questions from a constructionist perspective. However, in my paper I do not aim at presenting a final verdict on these debates, but rather discuss the logic of the approaches and some of the possibilities and possible limitations inherent in the arguments presented. What we are dealing with is, after all, the most basic questions regarding social constructionism and the epistemological and ontological premises of these lines of thought. I believe that by being aware of these premises, we can increase our understanding of the consequences of current debates on national music in general.

Essentialist and constructionist views on national music

The most basic question regarding nationalist cultural policies and their limitations, is probably why, or how, something is understood to be national. An obvious point of departure could be what we might call basic facts, such as the origin or nationality of a composer. However, despite the reasonably logical general basis of this argument, it can also be problematic. For example Fredrik Pacius, who is the composer of the Finnish national anthem and who has often been called “the father of Finnish music”, was born in Germany and only later moved to Finland, where he died in 1891 when Finland was still a part of Russia. Also the so-called “golden era” of Finnish culture, to which also Sibelius is understood to belong, occurred at the end of the 19th century and thereby preceded the birth of the state of Finland.

The current self-understanding of Finnish culture is often based on a teleological understanding of history, in which there was a Finnish culture and nation already before the state of Finland had been born. However, exactly what this historical national culture consists of seems to vary. The True Finns, for instance, often emphasize the importance of the Finnish language as a key element of Finnish culture. However, Jean Sibelius’ native language was, in fact, Swedish and the same can be said about the other artists mentioned in the party program. This also often mentioned in criticisms of the True Finns’ language policy. It appears that Sibelius’ biographer Erik Tawaststjerna’s old comment about how Sibelius, against his own will, had been

⁵ Nisula, Anne “Kaanonista arjen kulttuuriin”, *Sivistys.net* 11.8.2006. In: <http://www.sivistys.net/?action=juttu&ID=1882> (accessed on August 15th, 2013).

⁶ See e.g. Rääkkä, Jyrki “HS-raadin vastaukset kysymykseen: Onko yhteinen kansallinen identiteetti onnistuneen monikulttuurisuuden perusta?”, *Helsingin Sanomat* 4.3.2011, and “HS-raadin vastaukset kysymykseen: Onko yhteinen kansallinen identiteetti onnistuneen monikulttuurisuuden perusta?” In: <http://www.hs.fi/tulosta/1135264256591> (accessed on August 15th, 2013).

appropriated by both sides in the language battles around the turn of the 20th century, has suddenly become true again.⁷

Apparently not only nationality or language seems to be enough when classifying somebody or something as national. After all, the so-called “Pseudo-artistic postmodernists”, whom the True Finns criticize, are of course also Finnish by nationality. Another paradox in this connection is that Sibelius and his artist colleagues of the 19th century, for example, spent much time in Central Europe in order to absorb new trends, which they then applied in their groundbreaking, often radical works of art.

One possibility would be to classify something as Finnish because of the structural elements of the music. Here we face the problem of defining exactly what can be termed Finnish and on what grounds. It is possible to claim that symphonic music – as a form, style and structure – was a relatively recent phenomenon to most of the Finnish population at the time when Sibelius composed his major works. As a rule, Sibelius did not use Finnish folk music in his compositions, for example, and his relationship to cosmopolitanism and nationalism has always been a complex issue, which has been debated and reinterpreted up until this day.⁸ Even in the case of folk music, it is hard to state exactly which scales or dances we should define as Finnish, as the various elements have moved across national borders. The oldest influences of course go back to a period when the whole idea of a Finnish nation, culture, or identification did not exist.

The primordialist ideas of a national culture are most likely based on the robust history of cultural nationalism and Herder’s ideas of a ‘Volk’ and its ‘Volksgeist’ (‘national spirit’ or ‘national character’), where each people was seen to possess its own cultural traits, which were manifested in the art of the people. However, despite the surprising resilience of these views, it is today very hard to approach the subject from a scholarly perspective without accepting that certain cultural elements have gained the status of national symbols as a result of a specific historical process, not because they would have been “Finnish” in some kind of pure form since time immemorial. The paradox is, of course, that the process looks very similar in most countries, even to the point that one could say that the whole idea of national culture is a highly transnational process. What we are speaking of here is Finland as an “imagined community”, to use the wording of Benedict Anderson.⁹ In this sense, “Finnishness” is a social construct, not a pure essence of some kind. Culture is not a stable, fixed monolith, which is created once and for all and can be traced to an origin comparable to a genetic heritage or to DNA codes. Instead national culture is something socially constructed and comes into existence as part of a process.

It is precisely this basic dividing line between social constructionism and essentialism that seems to separate debaters on many matters concerning the national elements of music. In Sweden, a fierce dispute along these lines broke out in the beginning of 2013 after author Kata-

⁷ Erik Tawaststjerna, *Jean Sibelius. Åren 1920-1957* (Helsingfors: Söderströms, 1997), 16-18; also Erik Tawaststjerna, *Jean Sibelius. Åren 1914-1919*, (Stockholm: Atlantis, Otava, 1996), 143 and pp. 153-155.

⁸ For recent debates on Sibelius’ relationship to Finnish folk music and the construction of a Finnish national music, see e.g. Heikkinen, Olli “Jean Sibeliuksen Kullervo ja Larin Paraske: Tarina suomalaisen sävelkielen synnystä osana kansalliskertomusta”, *Musiikki* 1/2012. For Sibelius and national language identity politics, see e.g. Mäkelä, Tomi *Sibelius, me ja muut* (Helsinki: Teos 2007), 41 and 49-53; Forsman, Rabbe “Packet vid stigens start. Jean Sibelius och finländsk jubileumsapologetik”, *Finsk tidskrift* 2008, No 1, 43-45; Murtomäki, Veijo “Sibelius Tomi Mäkelän pesuvedessä: sekasotkua ja outoja väitteitä perustellun säveltäjäkuvan asemasta”, *Musiikki* 2008, No 2, 114-115; Mäkelä, Tomi “Sibelius-kuva ja sen metamorfoosi ja sen metamorfoosi meillä ja muualla. Vastaus Rabbe Forsmanille, Bo Marschnerille ja Veijo Murtomäelle”, *Musiikki* 2008, No 2, 164.

⁹ Anderson, Benedict, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso 2006).

rina Mazetti had published a column entitled “Hard to find a true ‘Swede’”.¹⁰ Mazetti asked, for example, what was really originally Swedish about so called Swedish music, and emphasized how most of the folk music understood to be Swedish in fact originated from other places. The criticism she met showed a general discontent with her attempts to question national symbols, which had been taken for granted. The factual basis of her argumentation was not necessarily denied, but many seem to have felt that her comments were not only directed against simplified notions of national origins, but that they deprived those people who felt that they were Swedish of their identity. The most incisive reactions in social media stated that race is the defining factor of “Swedishness” and therefore also of Swedish culture and music.¹¹

As the election program of the True Finns and the public debates about how to define national culture show, essentialist views on nationalism are still popping up in such debates. In this respect a social constructionist approach to studying culture undoubtedly offers fruitful critical methodologies, which can problematize simplified notions of national elements. Nevertheless, it is worth bearing in mind that also social constructionism may be criticized.¹² This is particularly crucial in two areas: first when it comes to questions of epistemology, and second, when it comes to questions of ontology.

National music as a construct: epistemological dilemmas

We can start by asking ourselves basic epistemological questions, such as: what can be known or said about national music cultures, and how can we know what we think we know about the subject? A common idea in today’s music research is that music not only reflects an identity, but also participates in the construction of an identity.¹³ For example, music is often a key element of national identification; however, not only as a general symbol, but also as an institutional practice through the production and reception of sound, etc. On the other hand, exactly how music constructs national identity is not always easy to explain, and even among scholars focusing on this area of research there appear to be many varying opinions of how national identity comes into existence.¹⁴

Thus, it can be worth asking with what authority do we, as scholars, claim that an identity is constructed through music? And how can we claim that this happens as part of a complex, continuously ongoing and changing social process? If somebody else claims, like many today even do, that a national identity is a fixed, stable entity that has existed since time immemorial, can we deny him or her the right to feel that way? From a constructionist perspective the different views on a subject, or ways of knowing a subject are, after all, constructs. The various ap-

¹⁰ Mazetti, Katarina “Svårt att finna en riktig ’svensk’”, *Icakuriren.se* 2.1.2013, <http://www.ickuriren.se/Diskutera-Fraga/Katarina-Mazetti/Svart-att-finna-en-riktig-svensk/> (accessed on August 15th, 2013).

¹¹ See e.g. Nationell.nu “Katarina Mazetti: Det enda svenska är att vråla på kor.” *Nationell.nu* 4.1.2013. <http://www.nationell.nu/2013/01/04/katarina-mazetti-det-enda-svenska-ar-att-skrika-pa-kossor/> (accessed on August 15th, 2013).

¹² In this critique I have been inspired by, e.g., Hacking, Ian *The Social Construction of What?* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999) and Wenneberg, Søren Barlebo *Socialkonstruktivism – positioner, problem och perspektiv*. (Malmö: Liber, 2001).

¹³ For example Frith, Simon “Music and identity”, in *Questions of Cultural Identity*, ed. Stuart Hall & Paul du Gay (London: Sage Publications, 1996), 108-127.

¹⁴ See e.g. Rice, Timothy “Reflections on Music and Identity in Ethnomusicology”, *Muzikologija/Musicology (Journal of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts)* 2007:7, 17-38. <www.doiserbia.nb.rs/ft.aspx?id=1450-98140707017R> (accessed on August 15th, 2013), and Rice, Timothy “Disciplining *Ethnomusicology*: A Call for a New Approach”, *Ethnomusicology* 2010, 54:2, 318–25.

proaches are maybe constructed differently, but they are nevertheless all of them still constructs.

If we are to study different conceptions of aesthetic value judgments, or social ethics and ideals, constructionism and cultural relativism are most likely to form very fruitful approaches. After all, common social constructionist starting-points imply that we take a critical stance to knowledge that has been taken for granted, that we regard categories and concepts as historically and culturally specific, and that we approach knowledge as something that is sustained by social processes.¹⁵ Thus, a certain degree of “soft” epistemological relativism can help us free ourselves from preconceived ideas and by questioning existing norms, so that we can better understand how different persons understand music, for instance, or the relationship between their own national identity and music.

However, if we follow a “hard” epistemological relativist thinking consistently, we would not be able to judge the one or the other viewpoint as right or wrong. Moreover, we would not even be able to state that the constructionist view in itself is right. This would lead to an unfruitful nihilism or at least solipsism, and make our own analyses meaningless.

We should also remember that using expressions such as “nationalism” or “national music” force us to get involved with the constructions on a conceptual level in such a way that it can be asked whether we are really deconstructing, or merely reconstructing something. At the end of the day, we can pose the question whether it is possible to distance ourselves from the discourse we intend to study, or whether every individual, including each and one of us, is always a victim of its totality? If we exaggerate the power of discourse and deny the potential of the individual, we end up removing agency completely, including our own.¹⁶

The ontological problems of a constructionist approach

The problems of an uncritical application of a social constructionist approach are even more evident in the field of ontology. In the so-called science wars, many scholars from the natural sciences, but also philosophers, have criticized social constructionist ideas for rejecting scientific objectivity, methods, knowledge and, in general terms, realism. The criticism is based on the fact that an uncompromising constructionist view might go as far as claiming that not only our social life, but reality as we know it, and maybe even reality as such, is a social construction. This would inevitably lead to a situation where every reference to some kind of “facts” would become more or less impossible.

In most cases the debates about what is, or is not national music, become very emotional. Meeting the most absurd comments with proofs based on scholarly analysis of some kind of concrete evidence, for example, often feels like the only way of convincing the debaters that they need to re-examine their arguments. In order to do this, one has to accept that there exist, so to say, “simple facts” that we can refer to.

It is, consequently, hard to deny that certain cultural elements are grounded in some contexts to a larger extent than in others. Not even a changeable and processual construction such as musical identity is, after all, totally elusive. In other words, a denial of primordialism does not necessitate an absolutely relativist attitude, since ethnic attachments cannot be created *ex nihilo*.¹⁷ For example, the communications infrastructure previous to the 20th century, not to mention the one previous to the 19th century, makes it meaningful to say that certain musical

¹⁵ Burr, Vivien *An Introduction to Social Constructionism* (London: Routledge, 1995), 2-5.

¹⁶ See e.g. Giddens on the absence of agency in Foucault’s work, see Giddens, Anthony *Social Theory and Modern Sociology* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1987), 98.

¹⁷ Siniša Malešević *The sociology of ethnicity* (London: Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications, 2004), 177-8.

genres have a longer continuing history in one geographical area and social grouping than in another area or grouping.

Although these facts are often interpreted as evidence of the truthfulness of some nationalist discourse, they can just as often be used as counter-evidence against the most naïve populist tendencies. As was mentioned earlier, it is hard to create any single set of rules that could be used for classifying musical phenomena as national. From this perspective, it is possible to speak about facts that exist no matter how they are interpreted socially. However, it depends on the context what importance the social interpretations get.

Social constructionism offers, at best, a way of explaining the sociological framework for our understanding of “reality”, but it does not necessarily say anything about reality outside that framework. As the influential theorists of social constructionism Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann emphasize (from their sociological point of view), the sociologist is always stuck with the quotation marks when speaking about “reality”, whereas it is the philosopher’s job to ask where the quotation marks are in order and where they may safely be omitted; that is, to differentiate between valid and invalid assertions about the world.¹⁸ It is, consequently, within this sociological framework that social constructionism can be of great value.

Coda

In the beginning of my paper, I referred to the cultural policy program, which the True Finns presented during the parliamentary election in 2011. In fact, soon after the election the party admitted that they had given culture a prominent position in their program and used provocative formulations about postmodern culture simply in order to raise debate and get publicity.¹⁹ From today’s perspective one can only state that the True Finns succeeded in their attempts. Culture seems to be a good subject for debate; it makes people react emotionally although the financial weight of the subject is relatively small, as public funding of culture forms a minor share of the total state budget.

What this debate probably also shows, is that nationalist cultural policies and their manifestations in cultural canons are much more complex issues than the heated statements by the advocates and critics of the True Finns suggest. Not only are the definitions of what is or is not national music problematic. Political statements on cultural policy or cultural canons are complex because they follow the logics of public debates, political practices and party policies. They construct a national culture in a way which is not necessarily relevant from the perspective of cultural history, or follow the logics of cultural life in general.²⁰ This is probably most evident in the meager results that the party programs and national canons tend to have. Maybe this insight is one of the most important that a constructionist research approach can give us.

A large part of my argumentation has dealt with the epistemological and ontological problems that a simplistic application of a constructionist approach can lead to. This should, however, not be interpreted as a denial of the advantages of social constructionism in studying nationalism and music. On the contrary, I believe that we need to utilize the findings of social constructionism in analyses of cultural phenomena. Although it forms a problematic starting-point for an understanding of reality in general, I still believe that it is highly useful if we are to exam-

¹⁸ Berger, Peter and & Thomas Luckmann: *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge* (London: Penguin Books, 1991 [orig. 1966]), 14.

¹⁹ Rantanen, Miska “Soini: Postmodernizing taiteen paheksunta oli vaalikikka”, *Helsingin Sanomat* 13.12.2011.

²⁰ Compare Bjurström, Erling “Whose Canon? Culturalization versus Democratization”, *Culture Unbound*, 2012, Vol. 4, 257–274. Linköping University Electronic Press: <http://www.cultureunbound.ep.liu.se/v4/a14/> (accessed on August 15th, 2013).

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ine how certain ideas of the character of national music have been born and reconstructed. As long as the concepts, cultural categories and identifications exist in speech and acts, they are undoubtedly understood to be both real and relevant, and therefore they are also worthy of study.

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Performing Norwegian National-Cultural Identity: Rhythmic Gesture as the Phenomenology of the Folk¹

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Abstract. In his keynote address, ‘Hearing the Nations in Chopin’,² Jim Samson reflected on the three key ingredients of musical nationalism: agendas, musical materials, and appropriations. These three areas do not only bear relevance for Chopin reception and nineteenth-century European nationalism, but also, in the context of the conference as a whole, effectively frame the broader themes of nationalism in music which emerged from this three-day international gathering. My paper is more closely allied to the categories of ‘musical materials’ and their ‘appropriation’ in relation to the expression of Norwegian national-cultural identity in the performance of Edvard Grieg’s later piano music. Focusing predominantly on the *Slåtter*, op. 72, I examine the interplay between the two aforementioned categories in recent (re)constructions of cultural identity through an empirical performance-analytical study of two pieces. This paper develops and extends my research on the performance practice of this repertoire. Building on both existing and new empirical findings, I investigate experiential and phenomenological aspects of rhythmic gesture in the musical performance of this repertoire, and the effect these have for the cultural performance of an alleged authentic Norwegian folk identity. I conclude by reflecting on the performativity of rhythmic gesture as a material of national-cultural identity.

The folk material: From creative resource to appropriation

Throughout his life, Edvard Grieg drew immense creative inspiration from Norwegian folk music, capturing the sights and sounds of his native land in his own works. As a form of *Heimatkunst*, his music can be understood within the broader cultural-political project dedicated to the creation and promotion of an independent Norwegian state in the nineteenth century. The resurgence of interest in indigenous Norse culture, especially the fusion between folk and art-music, played a significant role in the construction of nineteenth-century nationalist discourses.³ The inter-cultural marriage between a local idiom and cosmopolitan impulses in Grieg’s music still continues to incite impassioned debates about Norwegian identity, authenticity and ownership of the folk material. This tension can be most acutely felt in the reception of the *Slåtter*, op. 72. The work’s ambivalent genre status—Hardanger fiddle melodies arranged for the piano in a radically new modernist style—has been an enduring and provocative point of fissure among folk musicians, scholars, pianists and the wider Norwegian public.⁴

The op. 72 piano pieces are transcriptions of Hardanger fiddle tunes that originated in Telemark, a region in south-west Norway which for centuries has nurtured many significant local

¹ The paper was presented with this title on 18 January 2013 at the Megaron Mousikís, Athens. I would like to thank several conference delegates present during the panel session on ‘Aspects of Music Nationalism in North Europe’ (18 January 2013) for their helpful and constructive feedback on my presentation. In particular, I am grateful to Jim Samson, Helena Marinho, Josef Pfender and Esperanza Rodriguez-Garcia for their comments which I have sought to implement in this version of the paper. Any shortcomings remain, nonetheless, my own.

² Keynote lecture presented at the International Musicological Conference ‘The National Element in Music’, University of Athens, 18 January 2013.

³ Grinde, Nils. *A History of Norwegian Music*, transl. William H. Halverson and Leland B. Sateren (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1991), 73-142. Grimley, Daniel. *Grieg: Music, Landscape and Norwegian Identity* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, UK: The Boydell Press, 2006), 11-54.

⁴ Kleiberg, Ståle. ‘Grieg’s *Slåtter*, Op. 72: Change of Musical Style or New Concept of Nationality?’, *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 121/1 (1996), 46-57. Grimley, Grieg, 147-191.

traditions of Hardanger fiddle playing.⁵ Given their Hardanger fiddle origins and groundedness in a specific geographical location, the *Slåtter* dances are intimately linked to a particular sense of place, and hence regional-cultural identity, to a greater degree than any of Grieg's other folk-music arrangements, such as the earlier op. 17 or op. 66 piano pieces.⁶ The Hardanger fiddle, an instrument characterised by a heavily decorated body and sympathetic strings,⁷ is indigenous to Norway and has become emblematic of the way in which a particular regional identity and musical-cultural practice was elevated to the status of a national symbol by the end of the nineteenth century.⁸ Throughout the twentieth century, moreover, many campaigns have been devoted to the preservation and revival of this instrument, its symbolically endowed landscape and its performance practice, as part of a broader pastorally-grounded nationalism in Norway.⁹ By leaning heavily on the Hardanger fiddle, Grieg's op. 72 piano dances inevitably lie at the heart of wider debates about the status and significance of folk music as a symbol of Norwegian national-cultural identity. As Hardanger fiddler Johannes Skarprud claimed back in the 1950s, which was a key period in the consolidation of the Norwegian folk movement revival:

"Folk music is a true sapling of the Norwegian folk character [...]. The Hardanger fiddle has more and subtler tones than any other instrument [...] a repertoire so rich that our greatest composers, such as Grieg and Halvorsen and others, drew on these Norwegian sources and thereby made names for themselves well outside Norway [...] I wouldn't recommend giving up this folk music: the day we relinquish our Norwegian language and Norwegian tones, it's over for us as a people [...]. You can dance to an accordion or German fiddle; they have rhythm in them, but lack Norwegian feelings and beauty. They lack tradition; they're not ours. It is the Hardanger fiddle that is Norway".¹⁰

Despite their challenging modernist character, Grieg's op. 72 pieces have been praised for bringing a local tradition to a wider international audience. These evocative, rhythmic-percussive dances, which are cast in a mixed diatonic-modal harmonic idiom and can, as Grieg himself admitted, "sound so unnatural" and be "difficult to perform",¹¹ are highly regarded among contemporary Norwegian pianists both as prime specimens of Grieg's original compositional palette for the piano and as Norwegian ambassadors on the international stage. For the pianist Håvard Gimse the "originality of harmonies and rhythms in the *Slåtter*" and the opportunity to "present this lesser known repertoire to an international audience" were strong incentives for his 2001 recording project.¹² As another internationally renowned Norwegian pianist, Håkon Austbø, expressed it:

"These pieces are truly revolutionary in their use of the original material; the harmonies and rhythms are very intriguing, very unique [...]. Grieg certainly made piano pieces out of them, and there are lots of technically challenging things for the pianist including wide registers and intricate cross rhythms! [...] One has to consider what is notated, what is there in the text, and at the same time also relate this material to the Hardanger fiddle. But when you

⁵ Hopkins, Pandora. *Aural Thinking in Norway: Performance and Communication with the Hardingfele* (New York: Human Sciences Press, 1986), 213-237. Goertzen, Chris. *Fiddling for Norway: Revival and Identity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 25-36.

⁶ Grimley, Grieg, 147.

⁷ Hopkins, *Aural Thinking*, 117-152.

⁸ Goertzen, *Fiddling for Norway*, 3-24, 31-36. Grimley, Grieg, 148-150.

⁹ Goertzen, *Fiddling for Norway*.

¹⁰ Goertzen, *Fiddling for Norway*, 34-35.

¹¹ Grimley, Grieg, 161.

¹² Comments obtained during personal communication with the pianist Håvard Gimse on 24 November 2008. I am grateful to Gimse for participating in my study and granting me permission to use his responses.

do that, if you play the piano transcriptions and listen to the fiddle, well it almost does not seem the same music. And that has always intrigued me! [...] I have performed these pieces a lot outside Norway [...]. The fact that I am Norwegian makes me feel somewhat obliged to bring these pieces out even if they are better known nowadays than, say, fifty years ago".¹³

In 'making piano pieces out of them', Grieg was inevitably caught between an aural folk tradition and the score-based art-music tradition. Issues of intentionality in preserving this music as it was transferred from one instrumental idiom and adapted to the sound-world of another have cast a shadow over the work's troubled twentieth-century critical reception. Criticisms have been raised that Grieg's settings (and Halvorsen's violin transcriptions) are misappropriations of the original folk material. In certain respects, even Grieg's own comments in the first C. F. Peters edition of the work (published in 1903) supply a rather provocative statement implying the colonisation of folk music by art music:¹⁴

"My object in arranging the music for the piano was to raise these works of the people to an artistic level by giving them what I might call a style of musical concord, or bringing them under a system of harmony".¹⁵

It is such readings of external ownership of the folk material that have fuelled campaigns in recent times by the Norwegian folk community to re-claim the music's 'proper' origins.¹⁶ Central to this quest is an authentic performance style and in particular the idiomatic interpretation of the folk rhythms.

Rhythm in Hardanger *slåtter*: Performance, dance and the limits of notation

Rhythmic vitality is of the utmost essence in this genre. Since the original functional context of Hardanger fiddle *slåtter* was ceremonial dance music,¹⁷ the expression and experience of musical rhythm relates directly to physical gesture and body movement. As social anthropologist Jan-Petter Blom discusses *slåtter* rhythms communicate to the dancers the character of each dance, whether it is a *springar* (a fast skipping dance in triple metre), a *gangar* (a walking dance in duple metre), a *halling* (an athletic leaping dance in duple metre) and so on.¹⁸ During a dance the fiddlers' rhythmic gestures denote to the dancers the relative position of the body by articulating points of rising or falling. As Blom notes, "the patterned libration of the body's centre of gravity"¹⁹ is marked in performance by different metric-rhythmic accents which communicate intention of movement, such as anticipation, hesitation or arrival. According to Blom, conceptualising *slåtter* rhythms in terms of libration structures of the dance is especially relevant for this genre since our perception and internalisation of musical rhythm is intimately linked to the way in which we move our bodies in synchrony with the music. Much literature now exists

¹³ Excerpt taken from interview with Håkon Austbø on 27 October 2008. I am much obliged to Austbø for kindly granting me an interview in Oslo, and allowing me to use these comments in my study.

¹⁴ For a more extensive review of the critical readings of the work, see Volioti, Georgia. "Reinventing Grieg's Folk Modernism: An Empirical Investigation of the Performance of the *Slåtter* Op. 72, No. 2", *Journal of Musicological Research* 31/4 (2012), 264-266.

¹⁵ Nøkleberg, Einar Steen, ed. Edvard Grieg: *Norwegische Bauertänze, Slåtter Op. 72* (Munich: Henle Verlag, 1994), iii.

¹⁶ Grimley, Grieg, 163-166.

¹⁷ Hopkins, *Aural Thinking*, 137-140.

¹⁸ Blom, Jan-Petter. "The Dancing Fiddle: On the Expression of Rhythm in Hardingfele Slåtter", in *Norwegian Folk Music, Series I: Slåttar for the Harding Fiddle*, ed. Jan-Petter Blom, Sven Nyhus and Reidar Sevåg (Oslo: Oslo University Press, 1981), vol.7, 305-312.

¹⁹ Blom, "The Dancing Fiddle", 305.

to support both the cognitive-psychological basis of entrainment and its socio-cultural conditioning.²⁰ Furthermore, from a music-theoretical perspective various studies have sought to theorise metre and rhythm in phenomenological terms with due consideration for the kinetic and kinaesthetic (both expressive and gestural) aspects of musical rhythm and metre, and a conception of metric-rhythmic form as a process of becoming in performance.²¹

In seeking to represent schematically the elementary oscillating shape of rising and falling motion in *slåtter* dances, Blom identifies the smallest unit of a patterned flow of music with the dance beat. The dance beat encapsulates a full libration comprising: an upbeat gesture, or rising movement (*arsis*), where the energy is usually experienced upwards and forwards such as from stretching parts of the body in preparation for taking a step; and a downbeat gesture, or falling movement (*thesis*), where the energy may be experienced as gravity pulling downwards or as elastic resistance during flexing to lower the body.²² Figure 1 illustrates my adaptation of Blom's libration curve to a basic rhythm which could be either in triple metre (3/8) or duple metre (6/8).

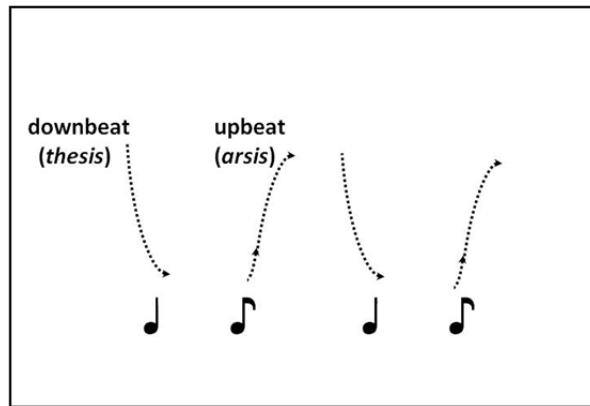


Figure 1. Adaptation of Blom's libration curve to a basic rhythm.

Hardanger fiddle *slåtter* are built on repetition and improvisation of basic rhythmic motives, but their performance is subject to metric-rhythmic asymmetry, such as unequal subdivisions of the beats within the bar and even the freedom to depart from a regular metre through the omission or insertion of a beat.²³ Inflection of the metre is a fundamental premise for the authentic function of this music, as it denotes unique regional musical identities and fiddler styles.²⁴ Metric-rhythmic asymmetry in this genre, therefore, is embedded in a rich semantic network whereby physical action in performance combines with corporeal imagery predicated

²⁰ For selected examples see: Cross, Ian. "The Nature of Music and its Evolution", in *The Oxford Handbook of Music Psychology*, ed. Susan Hallam, Ian Cross and Michael Thaut (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 6-7. Jones, Mari Riess. "Musical Time", in *The Oxford Handbook of Music Psychology*, ed. Susan Hallam, Ian Cross and Michael Thaut (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 83-87. Clayton, Martin, R. Sager, and U. Will. "In Time with the Music: The Concept of Entrainment and its Significance for Ethnomusicology", *ESEM Counterpoint 1* (2005), 1-45. Leman, Marc. "An Embodied Approach to Music Semantics", *Musicae Scientiae* 5 (2010), 43-67.

²¹ See, for example, Hasty, Christopher. *Meter as Rhythm* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997).

²² Blom, "The Dancing Fiddle", 305-306. It is also worth noting here the connection between patterns of rising and falling in this music and the Norwegian landscape. In her ethnographic studies Hopkins identifies the form of Hardanger fiddle music with the shape attributed to it by the fiddler. As fiddlers' narratives reveal this shape comprises impressions of peaks and troughs inspired by the contours of the Norwegian landscape, reiterating this music's natural habitat. Hopkins, *Aural Thinking*, 165-166.

²³ Blom, Jan-Petter, Sven Nyhus, and Reidar Sevåg, eds. *Norwegian Folk Music, Series I: Slåtter for the Harding Fiddle* (Oslo: Oslo University Press, 1979), vol. 6, 15-17. Hopkins, *Aural Thinking*, 171.

²⁴ Blom, "The Dancing Fiddle", 310-311. Hopkins, *Aural Thinking*, 187-211, 213-237.

on metaphors of gravity and motion even when the Hardanger fiddle music is not being danced to.

Irregular *slåtter* rhythms do not easily translate to nominal score values and Norwegian folk scholars repeatedly stress the limitations of conventional notation, encouraging instead direct contact with the folk tradition for an idiomatic interpretation of this music.²⁵ In the *springar* dance (in 3/4), no fiddler plays the triple metre as three evenly divided beats with the first beat carrying the dynamic stress.²⁶ Instead, a prevalent variant of the Telemark *springar* is a pattern characterised by the lengthening of the second beat²⁷ and the corresponding shortening of the third beat, which has a crisp quality functioning as an upbeat for the next bar (Figure 2). In their attempt to convey the idiomatic *springar* to pianists, the Norwegian folk scholar and fiddler Sven Nyhus and the Norwegian concert pianist Geir Henning Braaten advocate a radical re-scoring of the second dance in op. 72, 'Jon Vestafes Springdans'.²⁸ According to this edition, the first bar line in Grieg's arrangement, op. 72 no. 2, is shifted forward so that the piece now starts with an anacrusis (Figure 2). This re-scoring prompts the idiomatic emphasis of the second beat throughout the piece.

Figure 2. Schematic representation of asymmetric *springar* and re-barring of opening of op. 72 no. 2. Score adapted from *Slåtter Op. 72 for klaver-Redivert utgave eter Dahle tradisjonen på hardingfele* (M-H 2877), transcription: Sven Nyhus. By permission from Musikk-Husets Forlag A/S, Oslo, Norway (www.musikk-huset.no).

Idiomatic features of the *gangar* (in 6/8) include a swinging 2-in-a-bar pulse produced by uneven sub-beat durations including strong upbeat gestures (i.e., the last quaver of a triplet group especially at phrase boundaries), hemiola rhythms (i.e., a counterpoint between the 3/4 and 6/8 pulse) and irregular accents on metrically weak notes, such as quaver beats 2 and 5.²⁹

Given this recent search for authenticity through an idiomatic performance style, how is this narrative of aesthetic change inscribed in actual performances of Grieg's *Slåtter*? In order to

²⁵ Blom *et al.*, eds., *Norwegian Folk Music, Series I, vol.6*, 15-17. Blom, "The Dancing Fiddle", 305.

²⁶ Blom, "The Dancing Fiddle", 309.

²⁷ Emphasis on the second beat is a pattern characteristic of the triple metre in other European folk-based dance genres including many mazurka rhythms as well as sarabande and waltz dances.

²⁸ Nyhus, Sven, and Geir Henning Braaten. *Slåtter Op. 72 for klaver-Redivert utgave eter Dahle tradisjonen på hardingfele* (Oslo: Musikk-Husets Forlag, 2001).

²⁹ Blom, "The Dancing Fiddle", 307-308. Hopkins, *Aural Thinking*, 175-176.

address this question I have opted for a performance-analytical approach since to speak of music as an expression of national-cultural ideals is to speak of the links between sound and culture and to view musical meaning as socially constructed by all those who participate in the experience of musical performance.

Methodology

The main research question comprises two parts: a) how far do Norwegian pianists' performances exhibit idiomatic rhythmic gestures akin to an authentic performance style that approximates Hardanger fiddle practices; and b) by what means do such gestures function as putative iconicities which reference a folk identity. My objective is to combine the empirical analysis of rhythm and metre, by extracting and investigating timing and duration data from recordings, with phenomenological perspectives on the experience of these musical attributes as body movement during performance (e.g., patterns of rising and falling), thus accommodating, in part at least, the ethnomusicological (dance) context of the repertoire under investigation.

(i) Gesture as expressive timing in performance: Perspectives from empirical performance studies

A large number of psychological studies have established that expressive timing in performance communicates information about the cognitive representation of musical structure³⁰ as well as mood and interpretative intention.³¹ Expressive timing is not only linked to the prerequisites of the score (where a written text is relevant for performance), but is also the result of the physical actions, or patterns of movement, made by performers as they shape music through time. The close relationship between music and human movement has long been a subject of study in the empirical performance literature,³² and attempts have been made to produce a physical model of performance expression based on the kinematic implications of rhythm and phrasing.³³ Performed gestures, whether apparent or implied, convey and complement other movements or gestures, such as those perceived and interpreted by listeners as well as those a music analyst or performer may extrapolate from a score. Structured patterns of timing (and other performance parameters including dynamics and timbre), therefore, provide a basis for perceiving gestures through sound.³⁴ While ascribing meaning to musical gestures is strongly dependent on cultural context, including knowledge and familiarity with musical genres and performance styles, many commentators concur that such an activity is inherently performative³⁵ in

³⁰ Clarke, Eric. "Generative Principles in Music Performance", in *Generative Processes in Music: The Psychology of Performance, Improvisation and Composition*, ed. John Sloboda (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 1-26. Palmer, Caroline. "Mapping Musical Thought to Musical Performance", *Journal of Experimental Psychology: Human Perception and Performance* 15/2 (1989), 331-346. Palmer, Caroline. "Musical Performance", *Annual Review of Psychology* 48 (1997), 115-138.

³¹ Juslin, Patrik. "Cue Utilization in Communication of Emotion in Music Performance: Relating Performance to Perception", *Journal of Experimental Psychology: Human Perception and Performance* 26 (2000), 1797-1813.

³² See, for example, Shove, Patrick, and Bruno Repp. "Musical Motion and Performance: Theoretical and Empirical Perspectives", in *The Practice of Performance: Studies in Musical Interpretation*, ed. John Rink (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 55-83.

³³ Todd, Neil. "The Kinematics of Musical Expression", *Journal of the Acoustical Society of America* 97 (1995), 1940-1949.

³⁴ Windsor, Luke. "Gestures in Music-making: Action, Information and Perception", in *New Perspectives on Music and Gesture*, ed. Anthony Gritten and Elaine King (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2011), 45-66.

³⁵ Throughout this paper I take performative meaning to be action oriented, culturally embedded, and thoroughly embodied and corporeal. For an overview of some of the meanings of performativity in contemporary interdisciplinary performance studies discourse, see Davis, Tracy, ed. *The Cambridge Companion to Performance Studies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

that the social construction of meaning is largely open-ended and encompasses more than one plausible interpretation even for the enculturated listener.³⁶ This notion of performativity extends and spills over to the interpretation of metric phenomena during performance. As much of the analytical work of Alan Dodson demonstrates, the performer has “the capacity not only to clarify and reinforce the metrical structures suggested in the score, but also to manipulate them in unpredictable and sometimes unorthodox ways”³⁷ while as Hopkins’s ethnographic and perceptual studies of Hardanger fiddle demonstrate the perception of metre in this genre, whether through listening and/or dancing, is a thoroughly performative activity encompassing multiple responses.³⁸

(ii) *Combining theoretically-informed performance analysis with a phenomenologically-informed analysis of rhythmic gesture*

As already noted, rhythmic gestures in *slåtter* dances, such as performed accents, communicate the metric-rhythmic structure of the dance. Performance accents are relatively salient events which can alter, qualitatively and quantitatively, the musical categories of time, pitch, loudness or timbre implied by the notated score. Performed accents are phenomenal accents³⁹ from which we infer periodicity and a sense of musical metre.⁴⁰ Metre, as a dimension of musical structure and a source of performance expression complies with the generative theory of musical performance.⁴¹ Table 1 summarises these generative principles and how they are traced in the empirical analysis. In the current study I focus predominantly on timing data including performance tempo and relative beat durations. The former can supply information about the grouping of metric-rhythmic structure, such as the articulation of phrase units and the designation of phrase boundaries. The latter type of data can assist in characterising metrical cues, such as particular notes in the music which are given structural and/or expressive salience through the manipulation of their duration (e.g., agogic accents and articulation accents including *staccato*, *tenuto* etc.).

Metric-rhythmic gestures in *slåtter* dances communicate patterns of rising and falling motion which in turn relate to the kinaesthetic shape of this music in performance. In the ensuing analysis I combine quantitative timing data with listening observations seeking to elucidate the temporal becoming of the musical material and how it engenders variable experiences of rising-falling patterns which effectuate metre. By orienting my analysis towards phenomenological rather than purely chronometric time my aim is two-fold: a) to use the quantitative data as a heuristic tool for guiding and/or supplementing the aural experience; and b) to explore how metric-rhythmic gestures in performance, identified through particular timing patterns, spill over from the aural experience and map onto the body. Since, as Luke Windsor has noted, “in phenomenological terms gestures are communicated through the traces they leave on the en-

³⁶ In their introduction to an edited volume Gritten and King review gesture as a multifarious site for the flow of energy between different domains of experience (aural, visual, kinaesthetic). See Gritten, Anthony, and Elaine King, eds. *New Perspectives on Music and Gesture* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2011), 2. In the same volume, Windsor proposes that the relationship between sound and gesture is fluid depending on which musical agent (performer, composer or listener) is in question, while Gritten re-iterates gesture’s transformative potential depending on who and how we listen.

³⁷ Dodson, Alan. “Metrical Dissonance and Directed Motion in Paderewski’s Recordings of Chopin’s Mazurkas”, *Journal of Music Theory* 53/1 (2009), 58.

³⁸ Hopkins, *Aural Thinking*, 171.

³⁹ Parncutt, Richard. “Accents and Expression in Piano Performance”, in *Perspektiven und Methoden einer Systemischen Musikwissenschaft*, ed. Klaus Niemöller (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2003), 164-166.

⁴⁰ Clarke, “Generative Principles”. London, Justin. *Hearing in Time: Psychological Aspects of Musical Meter* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 19-20.

⁴¹ Clarke, “Generative Principles”, 17-21.

environment whether immediately on their production or preserved over time as in a sound recording”,⁴² the study of performance gestures from recordings is an ecologically valid and culturally viable method of analysis.

Performance parameter	Generative principle	Means of tracing principle in current study
Timing	(i) Changes in the temporal profile indicate the group structure, such as phrase boundaries where beats are lengthened (i.e., slower tempo). The tempo profile of a group or phrase usually resembles a parabola.	Use of beat tempo profiles and close listening.
	(ii) A note may be lengthened to heighten the impact of the note that follows by delaying its occurrence. The delayed note is usually at the beginning of a structural group.	Use of relative beat durations (inter-onset data only), beat tempo profiles and close listening.
	(iii) A note can be lengthened by increasing its duration (agogic accent) giving it more salience.	”
Dynamics	(i) Dynamic changes can convey metre through directed motion and grouping.	Listening observations only.
	(ii) Dynamic contrasts articulate group boundaries.	”
	(iii) Structurally salient events (e.g., metric accents, melodic/harmonic accents) may be dynamically intensified.	”
Articulation	(i) Graduated changes in articulation convey metre and directed motion within groups.	Relative beat durations (inter-onset data only) and listening observations.
	(ii) Group boundaries may be indicated through discontinuities in articulation.	”
	(iii) An important event may be accentuated by articulation.	”

Table 1. Summary of Clarke’s generative principles of musical performance.

(iii) Extraction and analysis of timing data

The recordings sourced in the current study were analysed using the sound editor Sonic Visualiser,⁴³ which facilitates comparative listening to multiple sound files, easy navigation within a sound file with adjustable playback controls, visualisation of spectrographic, dynamic and tempo data, and extraction of quantitative data which can be exported and analysed in a spreadsheet.⁴⁴ Beat timings (inter-onset intervals) were extracted by a process of manual tapping to each sound file followed by a plugin-assisted editing step.⁴⁵ Beat timings were expressed into beats per minute (bpm) and represented graphically in order to compare the temporal profiles of different performances in the sample. Beat timings were also converted into relative beat durations (i.e., each beat inter-onset expressed as a relative proportion of the containing bar) in order to compare the relative shapes of beat patterns within and across performances in the sample.

For the analysis of the *springar* dance, ‘Jon Vestafes Springdans’ op. 72 no. 2, my objective was to screen the sample for a specific beat pattern in the music—the putative lengthening of

⁴² Windsor, “Gestures in Music-making”, 60.

⁴³ Freely available from <http://www.sonicvisualiser.org>

⁴⁴ See, for example, Cook, Nicholas. “Methods for Analysing Recordings”, in *The Cambridge Companion to Recorded Music*, ed. Nicholas Cook, Eric Clarke, Daniel Leech-Wilkinson and John Rink (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 222-227.

⁴⁵ For full details, see Volioti, “Reinventing Grieg’s Folk Modernism”, 270-271.

the second beat within the bar akin to the idiomatic Telemark *springar* rhythm. For this purpose the timing data extracted from the corresponding sample of recordings were also analysed using a computational clustering method (Self Organising Maps) which groups the relative beat durations into representative bar-shapes, or clusters, within a sample.⁴⁶ The motivic-thematic construction of the second dance (in 3/4), which is built on the repetition and variation of the opening bar, lends itself more handsomely to a cluster analysis at the level of the single bar than the *gangar* (in 6/8), 'Tussebrureferda på Vossevangen' op. 72 no. 14. In the *gangar*, changes in the metre, especially hemiola rhythms, and working with six quaver beats per bar, do not yield easily intelligible clustering modelling at the single bar level. For this sample of recordings, therefore, the standard deviation values and the beat tempo profiles were used as initial indicators of the internal temporal variability in performance and, consequently, as evidence for unequal beat durations.

The generic data trends (whether in the form of a cluster map, a table of standard deviations or a set of beat tempo profiles) provide an overview of each sample and are used as a starting point for further analysis of individual performances. While reduced representations of performances, such as mean tempi, standard deviations or tempo graphs, have had a longer and less disputed existence in empirical performance literature, especially psychological studies,⁴⁷ in musicological literature the use of these tools still remains somewhat contested given the danger of abstraction often associated with such representations and the fact that these do not always map directly or indiscriminately onto listener experience. Clearly, we do not hear performances in terms of global measurements of tempo or a series of integers representing changing beat values. According to Franco Moretti's notion of 'distant reading', however, large data sets do make it possible to discover surprisingly interpretable relationships.⁴⁸ It is the job of the musicologist to bridge the gap between distant and close readings, or in this case distant and close listening. As Nicholas Cook and Eric Clarke assert, moreover, empirical data-driven approaches can bring rigour to cultural analysis, while culturally and historically informed analysis of empirical performance data elucidates layers of meaning which are at the centre of the musicologist's interests.⁴⁹

Results and discussion

(i) 'Jon Vestafes Springdans' op. 72 no. 2

The computational clustering method grouped the beat timings in the sample into four basic bar shapes (Figure 3). According to this generic model there are four main strategies for characterising the rhythms in 3/4 time. Pianists may: use equal beat durations within the bar (cluster 1); stress the second beat in the bar, akin to the idiomatic Telemark *springar* (cluster 2); prolong the third beat such as due to ornamentation on this beat within the bar and/or as a phrase final gesture (cluster 3); and emphasise the first beat such as due to ornamentation on this beat and/or to mark a downbeat gesture as, for example, at the beginning of phrases (cluster 4).

⁴⁶ For full details, see Volioti, "Reinventing Grieg's Folk Modernism", 271-274.

⁴⁷ See, for example, Clarke, Eric. "Empirical Methods in the Study of Performance", in *Empirical Musicology: Aims, Methods, Prospects*, ed. Eric Clarke and Nicholas Cook (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 77-102.

⁴⁸ Moretti, Franco. *Graphs, Maps, Trees: Abstract Models for a Literary Theory* (London & New York: Verso, 2005).

⁴⁹ Cook, Nicholas, and Eric Clarke. "Introduction: What is Empirical Musicology?", in *Empirical Musicology: Aims, Methods, Prospects*, ed. Eric Clarke and Nicholas Cook (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 3-9.

These possibilities can, of course, occur in any number of combinations as prompted by the music.⁵⁰

An inspection of the composition of each performance in terms of these four representative bar shapes provides a clearer overview of stylistic change from 1950 to 2007 in this sample of recordings (Figure 4). As can be seen from Figure 4, in the majority of pianists there is an abundance of the cluster which denotes more-or-less equal beat durations within the bar (red). Close and repeated listening to these recordings in Sonic Visualiser, confirms that most Norwegian pianists⁵¹ use a regular approach to rhythmic interpretation thus adhering to the notated rhythms in Grieg’s arrangement. However, two contemporary Norwegian pianists, Austbø and Ingrid Nyhus, whose recordings date from 2006 and 2007 respectively, exhibit the lowest concentration of the undifferentiated beat cluster and the highest amount within the sample of the idiomatic *springar* pattern (green). These data support that in recent years there has been a stylistic re-invention of the performance practice of this piece compatible with campaigns to reclaim the authenticity of Grieg’s *Slåtter*. What type of metre does the tendency to incorporate the idiomatic lengthening of the second beat effectuate, and how does this compare with other performances which do not? Below I examine a contrasting pair from this sample focusing in particular on the different experiences of metre.

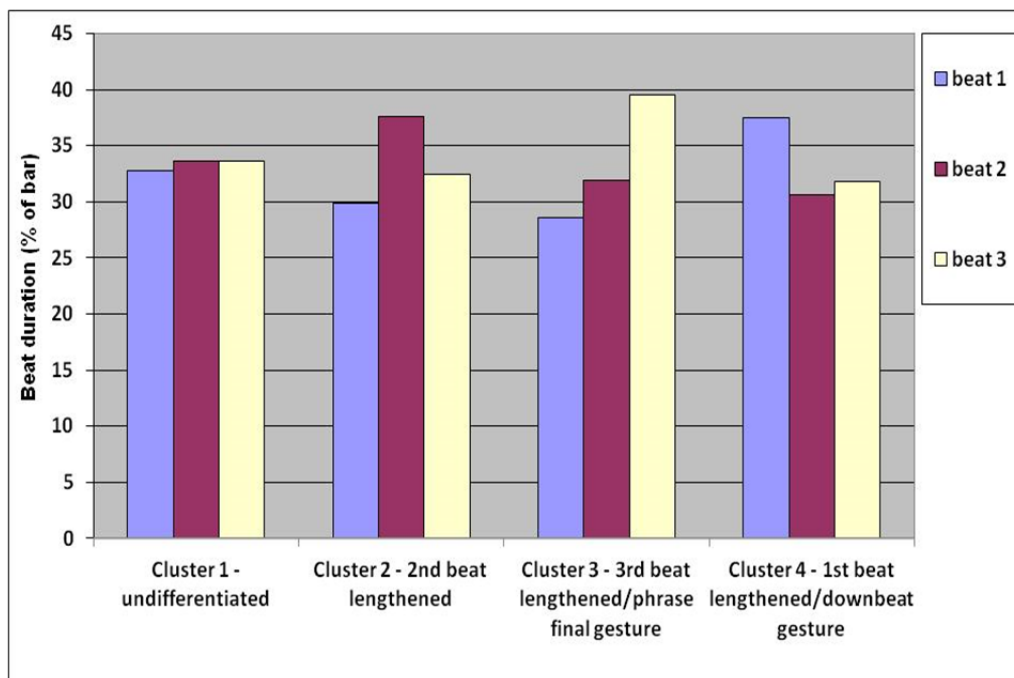


Figure 3.⁵² Relative bar shapes representing strategies for characterising the 3/4 metre.

⁵⁰ See Volioti, “Reinventing Grieg’s Folk Modernism”, 275-277.

⁵¹ The Norwegian pianists in this sample are Riefing, Lagesen, Knardahl, Nøkleberg, Braaten, Gimse, Austbø and Ingrid Nyhus.

⁵² Adapted from Volioti, “Reinventing Grieg’s Folk Modernism”, 276. By permission from Taylor & Francis.

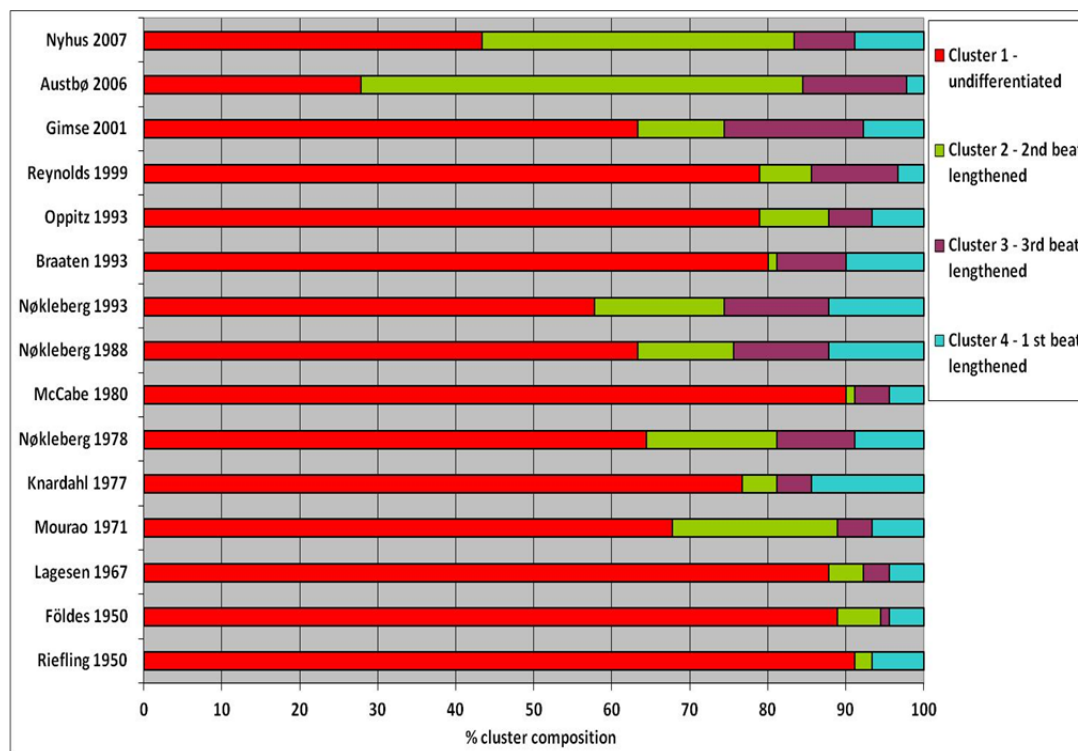


Figure 4.⁵³ Percentage cluster composition by individual pianist (beat tempo) op. 72 no. 2.

Eva Knardahl's 1977 recording reveals a spirited rendition of this *springar* dance yet her performance is, on the whole, imbued with a restrained poise, consistent with the prevalence of equal beat durations (77% of cluster 1), and a literalist adherence to the score.⁵⁴ In the opening bars of the dance, which establish the principal thematic material, there is an audible emphasis on the first beat and a dynamic accent on the third beat within the bar compliant with the primary metrical layer; namely the time signature, bar lines and notated accent scheme in Grieg's arrangement (Figure 5). Given that the beats in these opening bars are of relatively equal durations and that the dynamic accent on the third beat approximates a *tenuto*,⁵⁵ the feeling of rising on the last beat of the bar (i.e., the upbeat gesture) is both heavy and measured. The ebb and flow of the opening rhythm sinks purposefully downwards on the count of 1 (*thesis*), but with the placed dynamic accent on the third beat another down-stroke gesture may be experienced within the bar, and, hence, the sensation of lifting upwards (*arsis*) comes only after the count of 3 (Figure 5). In bars 4 and 6 the dynamic accent on the third beat is audibly more intense than the accent which denotes the downbeat (i.e., the first beat) in the proceeding bar. This marked gesture, which approximates a terraced intensification,⁵⁶ potentially gives rise to an audible metrical dissonance by blurring the precise 3/4 downbeat (Figure 5). The reversion from the sharpened fourth back to G natural in these bars is, rather ironically, contradicted by these antimetrical gestures in Knardahl's performance which bring out the harshness of the counter accents on the third beat of the bar. Overall, the qualitative character of this accentuation pattern in the opening six bars of Knardahl's performance potentially gives the *springar*

⁵³ Adapted from Volioti, "Reinventing Grieg's Folk Modernism", 278. By permission from Taylor & Francis.

⁵⁴ For additional observations concerning how Knardahl's interpretation espouses modernist performance values, see Volioti, "Reinventing Grieg's Folk Modernism", 279-280 and 285.

⁵⁵ The dynamic stress appears to be produced by attacking the note and pressing into the keys, not attacking and immediately clipping the note.

⁵⁶ My use of this term draws from Dodson's explanation and application of analytical terminology for metrical phenomena in performance. See Dodson, "Metrical Dissonance", 63-64.

rhythm a more prominent feeling of descent or staying low with the body, since the energy is channelled more into effectuating down-stroke gestures rather than inducing a springy metric pulse.

By contrast, in Ingrid Nyhus's 2007 recording a different oscillating pattern of rising and falling becomes apparent as a result of emphasising the second beat (40% of cluster 2) and also blurring the metric pulse with other idiomatic gestures. Her performance starts with an anacrusis and the metric stress falls audibly on the second beat thus effectuating a displacement of the notated metrical layer (Figure 5). Nyhus also varies the articulation of the displaced metric accent. While the down-stroke action of the second beat in bars 3 and 5 is bold and decisive in bars 4 and 6 it is given a more *staccato* touch, and, hence, the metric pulse oscillates with more lift or bounce at these points. In addition, at bars 4 and 6 there is an audible leaning into the slurred quavers (corresponding to the third beat); a lingering gesture which gives more emphasis to this beat and potentially blurs the precise downbeat of the displaced metric layer (Figure 5). The effect of this metrical dissonance in Nyhus's performance, however, is more supple and less harsh than that noted for Knardahl's performance at these places in the music. Overall, the qualitative character of Nyhus's metre in these opening bars has more swing and bounce than in Knardahl's performance, befitting the leaping elevations characteristic of the *springar* dance. (Another plausible perceptual scenario contributing to the springy quality of the metric pulse at bars 3 and 5 is that the scotch-snap rhythm which follows the heavy downbeat immediately counterbalances the feeling of descent in the opposite, upward, direction. The 3/4 pulse at these bars could be experienced as having a down-stroke phase which lasts for one beat and a rising phase which lasts for two beats. The dotted arrow at bars 3 and 5 in Figure 5 denotes this putative rising sensation starting with the scotch-snap and continuing over the next beat).⁵⁷ In the liner notes accompanying her CD Ingrid Nyhus claims to have based her interpretation on the 2001 re-scoring of the dance and on transcriptions of Hardanger fiddle recordings of two prominent propagators of the Telemark tradition; Knut and Johannes Dahle.⁵⁸ Notwithstanding obvious differences in instrumental sound, listening to the opening bars from Johannes Dahle's recording of the same piece⁵⁹ reveals a striking resemblance between fiddler and pianist in the characterisation of the metric scheme. By swinging the metre around the middle beat, therefore, this young Norwegian pianist seeks to approximate the folk tradition.

⁵⁷ Listener tests, involving different groups of listeners, with and without knowledge of the Hardanger fiddle tradition, would be desirable in corroborating the salience of these explorative observations and/or revealing additional perceptual possibilities. Furthermore, and in the context of forming and/or informing a performance interpretation, the empirical-phenomenological framework explored here may also provide a valuable creative resource for the performer who is approaching this repertoire for the first time.

⁵⁸ See liner notes accompanying Simax PSC 1287 CD (2007), 11-12. For further discussion of Ingrid Nyhus's performance and stylistic features of Johannes Dahle's playing from his 1953 recording, see Volioti, "Reinventing Grieg's Folk Modernism", 269-270, 281, 292-293.

⁵⁹ Musik-Huset Forlag 2642-CD, reissued 1993 (originally recorded 1953).

Figure 5. Comparison of qualitative character of springar metre in the opening bars of Knardahl's and Ingrid Nyhus's recordings of op. 72 no. 2. Score excerpt adapted from Edvard Grieg: *Norwegische Bauerntänze, Slåtter Op. 72* (Munich: Henle Verlag, 1994). By permission from G. Henle Verlag, Munich, Germany (www.henle.com).

Håkon Austbø's interpretation also reveals a springy, swinging metric pulse consistent with higher levels of the lengthened second beat (57% of cluster 2) than other pianists in the sample. However, his idiomatic metre, as already discussed elsewhere,⁶⁰ has a different qualitative character than Ingrid Nyhus's: a notable feature of the opening six bars is an overall lighter, crisp *staccato* action for articulating the metric stresses which denote a displaced layer, thus effectuating an even more uplifted, lingering bucolic dance.

While the interpretative causes behind Ingrid Nyhus's and Austbø's performances can be more closely allied to recent authenticity debates than the recordings of Norwegian pianists dating from, or near, the middle of the twentieth century, the empirical trend shown in Figure 4 conceals another tension. Authenticity discourses have not infiltrated to the same extent the styles of Norwegian pianists whose recordings date from the last couple of decades of the twentieth century. Even though Braaten, Nøkleberg and Gimse also have knowledge of the importance of a folk-inspired performance style for Grieg's *Slåtter* these pianists do not demonstrate a strongly idiomatic style and, hence, their closeness to the folk tradition is more evidently elaborated in their oral or written discourses.⁶¹ In order to extend my observations concerning stylistic change in the performance of Grieg's op. 72, I now turn to findings from the analysis of another dance in the set; a *gangar*.

(ii) 'Tussebrureferda på Vossevangen' op. 72 no. 14

This evocative piece narrates the goblin's bridal procession at Vossevangen. The opening *quasi* improvisatory introduction most likely depicts a serene mountainscape, and subsequently the gradually intensifying and decaying walking *gangar* rhythm personifies the little forest gnomes

⁶⁰ Volioti, "Reinventing Grieg's Folk Modernism", 280, 284.

⁶¹ Volioti, "Reinventing Grieg's Folk Modernism", 286-289.

who appear from the distance, get closer, pass by and eventually disappear.⁶² Effectuating a sense of distance is, after all, a common landscape device in Grieg’s piano music, as can be noted in other popular pieces depicting festive wedding processions including *Wedding Day at Troldhaugen* op. 65 no. 6 and *Norwegian Bridal Procession* op. 19 no. 2.

From the analysis of the timing data of this sample of recordings I am interested in evidence for unequal beat durations, akin to an idiomatic *gangar*, and their qualitative character in performance. As a starting point, a cursory look at the beat tempo standard deviations (SD) in this sample reveals that only certain recordings, dating from the last decade of the twentieth century and the first decade of the twenty-first century, yield higher values (Figure 6). These are the performances of Nøkleberg (1993), Austbø (2006) and Ingfrid Nyhus (2007). A higher SD potentially indicates greater internal variability in the temporal unfolding of a performance, such as an uneven beat structure due to localised *rubato*. This is briefly illustrated in Figure 6 with a comparison between Riefling’s profile (exhibiting the lowest SD in the sample) and the profiles of Nyhus, Nøkleberg and Austbø (showing the highest SD values in the sample). Internal variability in performance (and a higher SD value) can, of course, arise from articulating structural boundaries with greater temporal depth, such as prolonging beat durations at the beginning or end of phrases. Such gestures, however, may be attributes of a regular rather than irregular metric-rhythmic structure. The timing data, therefore, were supplemented with listening observations for identifying which performances accommodate an idiomatic *gangar* due to irregular beat stresses and unequal durations which are not supplied by Grieg’s score.

	Mean tempo (bpm)	SD
Riefling 1950	217	23.18
Lagesen 1967	224	27.21
Knardahl 1977	222	25.36
Nøkleberg 1978	230	35.44
Bekkelund 1980	209	27.48
McCabe 1980	198	36.87
Nøkleberg 1988	201	32.57
Nøkleberg 1993	207	51.32
Braaten 1993	195	36.61
Oppitz 1993	201	26.79
Andsnes 1998	212	25.43
Gimse 2001	199	33.07
Austbø 2006	231	69.68
Nyhus 2007	230	43.36

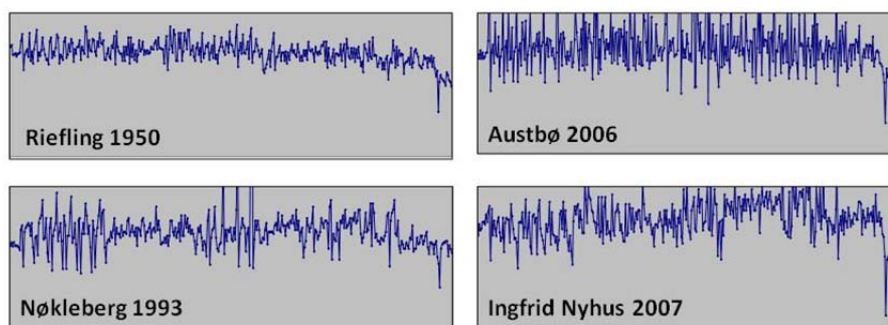


Figure 6. Mean and standard deviation values for recordings of op. 72 no. 14. Beat tempo profiles illustrating level of internal temporal variability in relation to highlighted SD values.⁶³

⁶² Nøkleberg, Einar Steen. *On Stage with Grieg: Interpreting his Piano Music*, transl. William H. Halverson (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992), 384-385.

⁶³ The Norwegian pianists in this sample are Riefling, Lagesen, Knardahl, Bekkelund, Nøkleberg, Braaten, Andsnes, Gimse, Austbø and Ingfrid Nyhus.

As an example of a performance which does not incorporate an idiomatic swinging metre, Robert Riefling's 1950 recording establishes the *gangar* rhythm in bars 3-15 with a regular 2-in-a-bar pulse and downbeat metric accents which are audible at recurring 2-bar intervals (i.e., the beginning of bars 4, 6, 8, 10, 12 and 14). In his recording, the opening thematic material is clearly articulated with a steady rhythmic flow as the dynamic momentum builds purposefully towards the *forte* of bars 12-13. Tapping one's hand or foot to the quaver movement of this performance confirms both the steady rhythms and Riefling's very forward-moving tempo (average beat tempo across bars 3-15 is 224 bpm) which is lacking in any exaggerated localised *rubato*. This may be corroborated from Riefling's beat tempo profile in Figure 7a which reflects increasingly shallower boundaries for the 2-bar grouping strategy: the marking of the metric boundary at the beginning of bar 6 entails a drop of 64 bpm, at bars 8, 10 and 12 a dip of 41 bpm, while at bar 14 a fall of 23 bpm. These gestures are consistent with what one hears in the performance; a temporally driven, gradually intensifying 12-bar phrase.

In Riefling's performance the placing of downbeat metric accents across bars 3-15 is, on the whole, packed within a tight metric-rhythmic framework. By contrast, in Nøkleberg's 1993 recording the characterisation of the downbeat metric stress has a more elastic quality. Although the opening *gangar* theme also has a clear 2-in-a-bar feel, Nøkleberg takes the performance at a slower tempo (average beat tempo across bar 3-15 is 203 bpm) and differentiates more clearly the upbeat gesture (i.e., two demisemiquavers and a semiquaver of the last quaver beat in bar 3 and similar bar types) from the proceeding downbeat gesture (i.e., the crotchet in bar 4 and similar bar types). The upbeat is executed crisply but with slightly more leaning into the semiquaver at the end, thus prolonging, or stretching, the upward trajectory of the rising gesture just before the agogic placing of the downbeat. It is this anticipation created by the trudge upwards before rolling onto the strong beat that gives the metric accent its elastic release⁶⁴ (Figure 7b). An inspection of the relative durations of these upbeat and downbeat gestures which make up the recurring metric stress across bars 3-15 in the performances of Riefling and Nøkleberg potentially corroborates this perceptual scenario. As can be seen from Figure 7b (black circular markings), in Nøkleberg's performance the upbeat gesture is consistently more elongated (although to a lesser degree just prior to bar 6) than in Riefling's performance. The average difference between the relative duration of the upbeat and downbeat gesture is 3.4 times greater in Nøkleberg's performance than in Riefling's.⁶⁵ In addition, and whereas Riefling maintains a less fluctuating profile of beat durations, Nøkleberg repeatedly articulates the end of the metric 2-bar unit (corresponding to the middle of bars 5, 7, 9, 11, 13 and 15) with greater temporal depth by lingering slightly longer on the acciaccatura-embellished third quaver beat (Figure 7b, yellow arrows). Overall, in Nøkleberg's performance the elastic potential of the metric downbeat at the start of the recurring 2-bar unit and the subtle hesitation at the end give the *gangar* rhythm a more lingering character than Riefling's rigid quaver pulse.

A supple rising-falling metric gesture and a gently swaying tempo befitting the walking *gangar* are performance features which highlight aspects of the changing conception of the *gangar* rhythm between mid and late twentieth century pianists who sound more idiomatic than the rest in the sample. Similar to the *springar* dance, however, the notion of an idiomatic style for this *gangar* conceals a range of interpretative options for performance.

⁶⁴ This corresponds to the second timing principle from Table 1; a note may be lengthened to heighten the impact of the note that follows.

⁶⁵ As already noted previously, such empirical observations invite further listening tests to corroborate their perceptual salience.

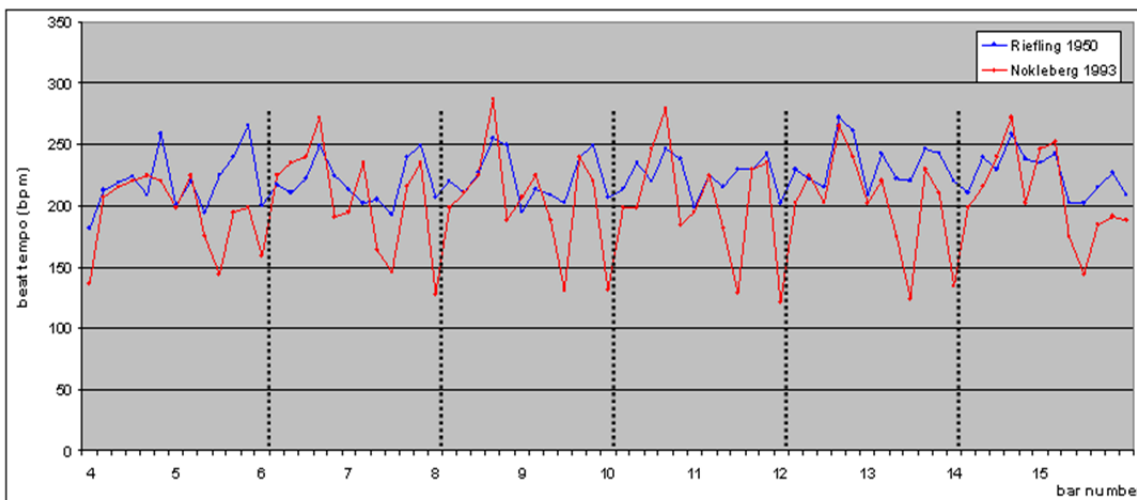
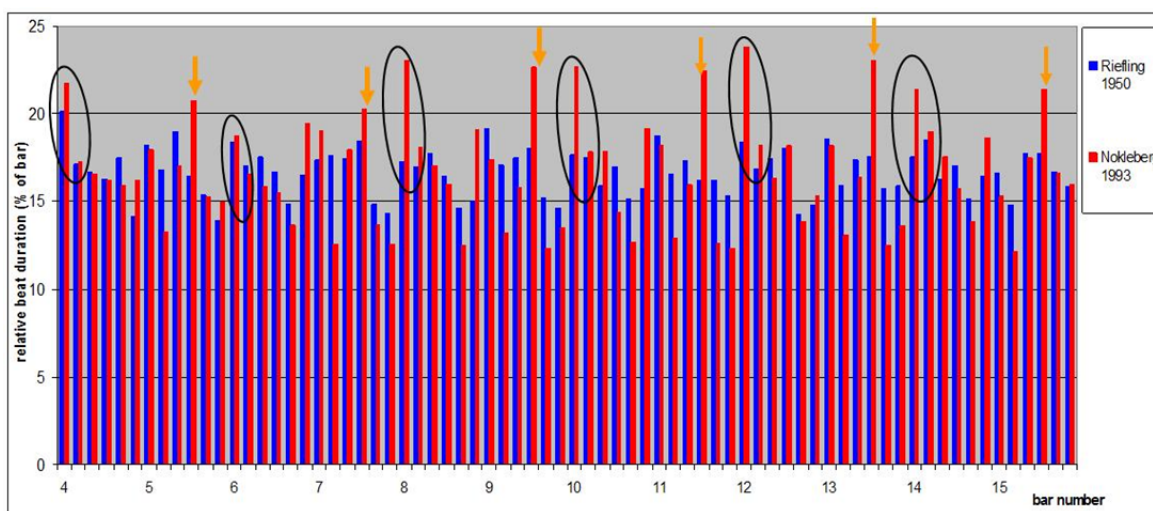


Figure 7 a. Beat tempo profiles of Riefeling and Nøkleberg, op. 72 no. 14 bars 4-15.



elastic
arsis/thesis

lingering
hesitation

Gangar theme

bar 4 5

Figure 7 b. Comparison of relative beat durations for Riefeling and Nøkleberg, op. 72 no. 14 bars 4-15. Score adapted from Edvard Grieg: *Norwegische Bauerntänze*, Op. 72. By permission from Henle Verlag.

In her recording Ingrid Nyhus brings out the upper voices in the right hand in the opening bars of the *gangar* theme (from bar 4 onwards) by giving them more *tenuto*, thus creating a sustained ringing tone reminiscent of the resonating timbre of the Hardanger fiddle (Figure 8,

red markings).⁶⁶ Gentle counter-stresses are audible on the quaver which is joined to the semi-quaver triplet (Figure 8, black marking), especially in bar 10 where Nyhus swings the tempo from that note ever so delicately bringing out an unexpected antimetrical hesitation.



Figure 8. *Gangar* op. 72 no. 14 bars 3-5. Score reproduced by permission from Henle Verlag.

Nyhus's interpretation of the first section of the *gangar*, on the whole, has a more subdued and mellow sound quality than either Austbø or Nøkleberg, thus portraying a performance aesthetic which not only effectuates the sense of distance implied in the opening section but also appears to convey more potently the dreamy, fairy-tale setting associated with this dance. A notable difference between Nyhus and the other two pianists is in the dynamic shaping of the first 15 bars of the *gangar* theme. Whereas both Austbø and Nøkleberg keep pushing forward the dynamic momentum by gradually increasing the loudness throughout this section, Ingfrid Nyhus holds back the implied *crescendo* at bar 8 with an audible dip in both tempo and dynamics, marking instead a lowering in the musical register with a gesture which approximates a *sotto voce* effect at this point in the music. In this way, Nyhus's *forte* at bars 12-13 does not reach quite the same tumultuous intensity as can be heard in the other two performances.

Another feature contributing to an idiomatic *gangar* is the execution of the hemiola rhythms in the second thematic section of the piece (bars 16-37). Austbø's recording provides a distinctive example of an angular counterpoint between the 3/4 and 6/8 metre. From bar 16 onwards the *gangar* is cast again in a tranquil *piano* setting. Yet, the docile 2-in-a-bar pulse is unnervingly inflected as Austbø abruptly rushes the entry of the fifth quaver (or third crotchet) in bars 17, 19 and 21. This performance gesture is clearly reflected in the pattern of relative beat durations shown in Figure 9 (dotted black markings). In Austbø's profile, depicted in green, the fourth quaver beat (corresponding to the second dotted crotchet chord in the left hand) is considerably shortened because the fifth quaver (corresponding to the G sharp in the melody) is given greater metric emphasis and, hence, poignancy. With this piquant upbeat gesture, the *gangar* metre acquires a quirky swing in Austbø's performance. By contrast Ingfrid Nyhus does not bring out these hemiola rhythms with the same rigour as Austbø, maintaining instead a more even sounding duple metre throughout this section.

⁶⁶ This pianist claims, after all, that her interpretation is based on Hardanger fiddle recordings, hence the tendency to emulate the polyphonic textures of the instrument.

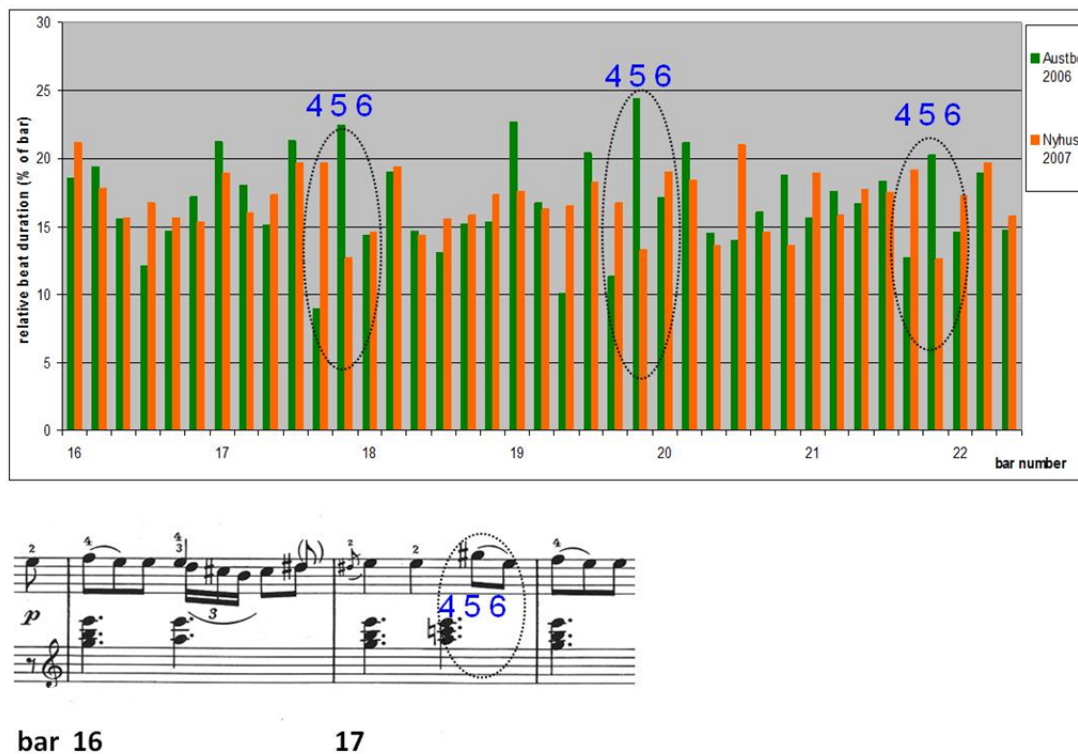


Figure 9. Relative beat durations for Austbø and Ingfrid Nyhus, op. 72 no. 14 bars 16-22. Score reproduced by permission from Henle Verlag.

The passage from bars 32-37 (Figure 10) also lends itself to an irregular beat structure, especially in Austbø’s recording. Across these bars the up-stroke gesture corresponding to the demi-semiquavers-semiquaver rhythm is audibly snappy and abrupt, the triplet chords, which sway the harmony through secondary dominant relations over the ostinato dominant pedal, are given unequal stresses, and thus the *gangar* pulse swings, overall, more erratically.



Figure 10. Op. 72 no. 14 bars 32-35. Score reproduced by permission from Henle Verlag.

‘Authentic’ rhythmic gesture and the performativity of cultural identity

The analysis of two *Slåtter* dances reveals that in recent years there has been a tendency towards a more idiomatic interpretation of Grieg’s op. 72; a finding which is compatible with authenticity discourses and campaigns seeking to re-claim the work’s ‘proper’ origins. The Norwegian pianists who approximate an authentic performance style introduce elements which are not supplied by Grieg’s text but appear to have their sources in the folk tradition. However, as the empirical observations have demonstrated, there is no single strategy for achieving irregular and idiomatic *slåtter* rhythms: Austbø’s ‘authentic’ interpretation of the *gangar* or *springar* sounds and feels different from that of Ingfrid Nyhus or Nøkleberg. The discourses of some of these pianists vividly illustrate with sensitivity and insight the malleability of attaining an idiomatic style. As Håkon Austbø expressed it when speaking about performing Grieg’s op. 72:

"[...] I feel there is definitely a double filter operating in Grieg's *Slåtter*. [...] The text is not enough for interpreting the *Slåtter*. The sound and the original features of the Hardanger fiddle are important too. One has to go to these sources and listen to the Hardanger sound. This sound is so rich, complex and different from the piano that it forces us to think critically about where this music came from.[...] When I recorded 'Jon Vestafes Springdans' I had to make choices. In the recording I try to respect both the text and the original—the authentic—version. [...] The idea of the re-barring is more about an intuitive feeling of the rhythmic flow of the music rather than a literal execution. [...] I guess this swing in the metre is a difficult feature to perceive and its interpretation varies.[...] With the *gangar* in 6/8...well, this is never a regular rhythm on the fiddle. See, here...[pianist plays passage from 'Tussebrureferda på Vossevangen' corresponding to bars 31-37]...I don't play these chords equally but more freely with a swing".⁶⁷

Concerning his endeavours to approximate an idiomatic style, Einar Steen Nøkleberg truthfully exposes some of the challenges of his encounter with the folk tradition:

"I simply could not understand the rhythm.⁶⁸ The fiddlers were keeping time by stomping their right foot, but how could this stomping help them when the beats were always uneven? [...] Their rhythms seemed totally different from those in my score".⁶⁹

As these accounts, together with the findings of my study, highlight, the ingredients of an allegedly authentic style cannot easily be modelled on a single musical template because the notion of 'musical material' prompting authentic performance practice inevitably implicates multiple components as well as variable modes of experiencing them: Grieg's text, the sound of the Hardanger fiddle as it is played today, Hardanger fiddle recordings by key exponents of the Telemark tradition, such as those used by Ingrid Nyhus, and, of course, a visceral understanding of the idiomatic rhythmic gestures that are integral to this genre as pianists' discourses illustrate. Moreover, as embodied and intuitive feeling, the performance of idiomatic metric-rhythmic elements appears to lie beyond the literal reading of any source. The Norwegian folk tradition could thus be seen to draw individual performers (and listeners) to participate with their own cultural imperatives and artistic insights too. In this light, the search for this music's 'proper' origins and an understanding of the authentic folk material(s) undoubtedly implicates multiple subjectivities. The double filter which exists between the fiddle tradition and the piano supplies a script, not a canonical text, for musical (and cultural) performance, thus functioning as a creative reservoir which expands interpretative options for this repertoire and its experience.

Finally I will conclude by briefly considering some broader ramifications of the function of rhythmic gesture as a material of national cultural identity. In the context of the constructed and discursive-linguistic nature of Norwegian nationalism,⁷⁰ 'musical-national material' takes on symbolic and potentially rather noumenal connotations. But in the context of actual performance, 'musical-national material' acquires a physical and corporeal existence. (This would also hold true for linguistic practice: the symbolic versus the physical manifestation of a language's phonemes as utterances performed in real-life speech.) The findings of the current study prompt me to propose a functional elision between the symbolic and the corporeal levels of signification of rhythmic gesture. Gesture in Grieg's op. 72 appears to have a hybrid role as a constituent of national-cultural identity in musical performance, serving both a symbolic func-

⁶⁷ Excerpt from interview with the author, 27 October 2008.

⁶⁸ Referring here to the idiomatic *springar*.

⁶⁹ Nøkleberg, *On Stage with Grieg*, 354.

⁷⁰ With particular reference here to the fact that Grieg's musical nationalism was grounded in the language debate. See, for example, Kleiberg, "Grieg's *Slåtter*".

tion, such as co-ordinating a sense of identity on a national and even supra-national level, whilst also becoming manifest as a variable physical utterance in specific performance contexts. One plausible mechanism by which gesture may function across both the symbolic and corporeal domains could be metaphorical mapping. As Ole Kühl proposes, gesture is a way of understanding music as a semiotic system, but the 'sound-to-gesture' pairing remains generic and is only ever fully instantiated at the embodied level of musical expression.⁷¹ In Grieg's *Slåtter* the mixed genre status potentially enhances the fluidity, or openness, of the 'sound-to-gesture-to-embodied meaning' chain. Since the piano idiom refers to, rather than reproduces exactly, the physical/gestural world of Hardanger fiddle *slåtter*, in semiotic terms the relationship between musical content and performance expression is not fixed: it may be indexical if the performed piano rhythms reproduce the fiddle rhythms, as for example in certain instances in Ingfrid Nyhus's or Austbø's recordings, or it may be symbolic in a rather abstract sense whereby piano performance alludes to, but is not directly motivated by, the Hardanger fiddle, as for example in the recordings of other Norwegian pianists who do not sound very idiomatic. In this repertoire, therefore, gesture's fluid metaphorical basis gives access to dynamic, imagistic modes of embodied experience relating to national cultural identity which are grounded in a range of expressive possibilities in musical performance.

Discography of op. 72 no. 2 and no. 14.

- Andsnes Leif Ove. EMI Classics 7243 5 56541 20; recorded 1998.
Austbø, Håkon. Brilliant Classics 93516/13; recorded 2006.
Bekkelund, Kjell. Deutsche Grammophon 2538 089; recorded ca. 1980.*
Braaten, Geir-Henning. Victoria VCD 19033; recorded 1993.
Földes, Andor. Mercury MG 10136; recorded ca. 1950.*
Gimse, Håvard. NAIM CD 059; recorded 2001.
Knardahl, Eva. BIS -CD-1626/28; recorded 1977.
Lagesen, Ruth. SONET SLPS 1408; recorded ca. 1967.*
McCabe, John. RCA Gold Seal GL 25329; recorded 1980.*
Mourao, Isabel. VOXBOX CDX 5097; produced 1993 (digital re-master from analog tapes recorded 1971).
Nyhus, Ingfrid Breie. Simax PSC 1287; recorded 2007.
Oppitz, Gerhard. BMG/RCA 82876 60391-2; recorded 1993.
Reynolds, Sylvia. Connoisseur Society CD 4231; recorded 1999.
Riefling, Robert. Simax PSC 1809; produced 1992 (original: Musica SK 15 517 [CTPX 16 896], recorded 1950.)
Steen-Nøkleberg, Einar. Caprice CAP 1153; recorded 1978.*
Steen-Nøkleberg, Einar. Simax PSC 1040; recorded 1988.
Steen-Nøkleberg, Einar. Naxos 8 550884; recorded 1993.

(* Transfer from LP provided by kind permission of the Norwegian Institute of Recorded Sound, University of Stavanger.)

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⁷¹ Kühl, Ole. "The Semiotic Gesture", in *New Perspectives on Music and Gesture*, ed. Anthony Gritten and Elaine King (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2011), 123-129.

MMus with distinction at the same university with a scholarship award from the A.G. Leventis Foundation, and before that obtained a first class BSc degree from Imperial College, University of London. She has published on empirical performance studies in *Musicae Scientiae* and another paper is forthcoming in the *Journal of Musicological Research*. She has been a visiting lecturer on undergraduate and postgraduate courses in 'Theory and Practice of Performance' and 'Techniques of Performance Studies' at Royal Holloway (2009, 2010-11), and over the past three years (2009-2012) has also supervised undergraduate courses in 'Aesthetics', 'Music and Science' and 'Studying Music and Performance' for the Music Faculty at the University of Cambridge. In 2010 she held a visiting Fellowship at the musicology department at Humboldt University, in Berlin, and currently she is undertaking research at the Centre for Performance Science, Royal College of Music. Georgia was born in Athens, Greece but grew up in the UK where her family moved whilst a young child, and where she completed her schooling and university education. She is bilingual in English and Greek.

Representing the Nation Some Observations on Musical Allegories and their Ingredients

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Abstract. It was Jacques Lacan who specified an ever-present authoritarian formative in human psyche which generates feelings of lack and desire in the subject and in that constitutes norms and identity. Lacan called this formative the “Big Other”. The Big Other takes shape as various symbolic orders. One of the most influential of these orders is the phantasm of the nation, of a national community which is self-reflexive – it exists only as long as it is believed in (to take up Slavoj Žižek’s notice¹). This belief is entrusted in the care of discursive instruments and forms which are of widespread use – if nothing else, music is such a device and for this reason is worthy of closer consideration.

In the following I will focus on a particular aspect of this conjunction which is the allegoric representation of nations in music. In doing so I will use a methodical approach Lawrence Zbikowski has suggested with his *conceptual blending*.² Laid therein is the regard of a piece of music in its interplay with its inscriptions, subscriptions, mottoes, in short: to take serious the components of music that are traditionally adjudged by hermeneutic musicology as being naïve or random elements of program music, hence to neglect. But quite contrary to this assumption these details should be considered essential as they let come into existence a cognitive interaction of literal and musical portions, in this case the allegoric conception of nations in music.

Musical Allegories and their Rhetoric

As a basic principle allegories are ambiguous³ for a precise layer is set into relation to an abstract one.⁴ The most common forming of such allegory is personification with its indicative implements like requisites, emblematic devices and attributes. This incarnation of allegory can be found first and foremost in visual and plastic arts in which it became important as a campaign mode of 19th century’s nation building. Analogous, there were produced plenty of symphonic works which are structured in almost the same manner as they can be divided into precise, pre-discursive layers and abstract ones (representations of particular nations).

In essence, there are two rhetorical devices that are noticeable in musical allegories of nations: metonymy (which substitutes effect for cause, the produced for the producer etc.) and synecdoche (which puts a part for the whole). Both tropes interlace in musical allegories. It is, for example, a metonymy in the first instance when certain musical instruments and their colors are used as signifiers for their human players and in succession for a nation. Such happens for instance in Ernest Bloch’s *Helvetia* (1929) that is started by a horn-call. Another example is the use of carillons as iconic signifiers of Belgium (this was done in two First World War-Compositions, Finnish Erkki Melartin’s *Impressions de Belgique* (1915) and in Edward Elgar’s *Carillon* (1914).

Furthermore, it is metonymic-synecdochic when supposed folkloristic idioms are employed to represent their human makers. Take *Русь* (*Russ*; 1864), Mily Balakirev’s second overture on

¹ Žižek, Slavoj Mehr-Genießen. Lacan in der Populärkultur (Vienna: Turia & Kant, 1997), 91.

² Zbikowski, Lawrence M. *Conceptualizing Music. Cognitive Structure, Theory, and Analysis* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 77-95.

³ Kohl, Katrin, *Metapher* (Stuttgart, Weimar: Metzler, 2007), 87.

⁴ Kohl, *Metapher*, 88.

„russian“ themes (that is to say imagined diatonic modes⁵) or take Bloch's *Israel* (1916), a symphony which comes up with allusions to Jewish synagogue-singing traditions as well as instrumental practices⁶ like the Shofar-Call⁷ to evoke the utopia of a Zionist nation (as a musical allegory Bloch's *Israel* has to be seen in the light of a series of emblems and insignia that antedated the actual founding of the state of Israel⁸). Folkloristic elements are likewise used in Cemal Reşit Rey's *Türkiye* (1973). Here some specific instruments like the Kemençe, but moreover local variants of the folk dance Zeybek are used to imagine national community as a union of “tribes” of same ancestry.

Folklore also played a role in musical allegories of Soviet republics which mostly were written – curiously enough – after 1945, when the so called “korenizacija”⁹, the Soviet cultural policy of funding and enhancing the Union's “autonomous” national republics, was abandoned long ago in favor of a rigorous russification. Of course never explicitly secessionist, these allegories nevertheless presented local idioms as identity building features and obeyed the doctrines of Socialist Realism at the same time. See Lydia Auster's *Eestima* (Estonia, 1945), Ghazaros Saryan's *Armenia* (1966), Dmitry Smolski's *Беларусь* (White Russia, 1968) or Fikret Amirov's *Azerbaijan* (1950).

Aside from such dramaturgies folkloristic idioms are often linked in musical allegories of nations with textual evocations of the would-be archaic (which, needless to say, serve as legitimations of national presence). For this compare Petko Staynov's *Тракия* (*Trakija*, 1937), in which antique Thrace is presented as an antecessor to modern Bulgaria. An indicative counter-example of this is Douglas Lilburn's *Aotearoa* (1940). Although Lilburn used as a title the Maori name for New Zealand (land of the long white cloud), he drew on European symphonic paradigms of the pastoral rather than to Maori music – he did the same in his other two allegories of New Zealand *Landfall in Unknown Seas* (1944) and *A Song of Islands* (1946), by the way.

Emblems

Aside from folklore national anthems suggest themselves as crucial devices of musical allegories. This is the case in *Austria* by Richard Strauss, written in 1929 based on lyrics by Austrian poet Anton Wildgans, intended to create a new national anthem of the Republic after former entries turned out unsuccessful.¹⁰ But Strauss went far beyond the norms of national anthems and wrote *Austria* for orchestra and chorus, enlarging it to a symphonic allegory of an ideal Austria, complete with rich instrumental details he applied to illustrate the economic and ideological qualities that were postulated as being “Austrian” over and over in the First Republic. So there is a “Wildbach” (a torrent) represented through harps and thirty-second notes, there are alpine smelteries symbolized in Appoggiaturas in the flutes and blows from fabric's hammers expressed through staccatos.¹¹ But the most significant element of *Austria* is the interpolation of a particular anthem that enters with the words “Immer noch blüht das Lied” (Still there blos-

⁵ Taruskin, Richard, “Nationalism”, in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie, 2nd ed. (London: Macmillan Publishers Limited, 2001), Vol. 17, 698.

⁶ Bloch, A. W. Binder “Symphony „Israel“”, in *The Musical Quarterly*. Vol. XXXVIII, No. 4, October 1952, 647-651.

⁷ Binder 1952. 649.

⁸ Shindler, Colin, “Israel. The Zionist Experiment”, in: *Histories of Nations. How Their Identities Were Forged*, ed. Peter Furtado (London: Thames & Hudson, 2012), 297.

⁹ Hoppe, Bert *Geschichte Russlands* (Stuttgart: Theiss, 2009), 132.

¹⁰ Letter by Anton Wildgans to Richard Strauss, Feb. 19th, 1929, quoted in: Wajemann Heiner *Die Chorkompositionen von Richard Strauss* (Tutzing:Schneider, 1986), 164.

¹¹ Wajemann, *Chorkompositionen*, 166.

soms the song):¹² This is the so called “Volkshymne” by Joseph Haydn which was a highly controversial subject at that time for it was claimed by many to be installed again as an official anthem of Austria (which happened in the very same year Strauss composed *Austria*). In using the “Volkshymne” the composer tried to amalgamate the old anthem’s popularity with his new allegoric musical effort.

Less spotlighted is the *Rule Britannia* in Alexander Campbell Mackenzie’s „Nautical Overture“ *Britannia* (1894), in which the emblem is introduced in a much more „organic“ way than in *Austria* and never outlives it welcome (Ex.1). Quite contrary to this in this most allegories that feature national anthems these emblems are inserted as capstones. Edward Elgar did so with the Polish anthem, the *Mazurek Dąbrowskiego*, in his *Polonia* (1916), as well as George Enescu with the Romanian Royal anthem *Trăiască Regele* in his otherwise nostalgic *Poème roumaine* (1898),¹³ not to forget Jean Sibelius and his series of historic tableaux *Karelia* (1893) which ends with a monumental arrangement of *Maame*, the Finnish anthem, signifying *Vanhan Suomen liittäminen jälleen Suomen ruhtinaskuntaan* (which is the reincorporation of Karelia into The Grand Duchy of Finland of 1811).



Ex.1 *Rule Britannia* in Alexander Campbell Mackenzie’s *Britannia* (1894)

Territorial references

Spatial evocations (like in Sibelius’s *Karelia*) epitomize aspects of musical allegories of nations that are seldom considered, but do play a bigger role than generally assumed, sometimes with surprisingly contradictory implications. Alfredo Casella’s *Italia* (1909) may instance for this. In his orchestral rhapsody Casella interpolated a couple of folk songs which he identified explicitly in the preface of the score. Contrary to what one would expect from the title *Italia* a mapping of these songs results in an imaginative space only of South Italy (with Denza’s *Funiculì, Funiculà* as a signifier for Naples; Ill. 1). Neither does Isaac Albéniz’ famous cycle of piano pieces *Iberia* (1905–08) suggests a totality of the Iberian Peninsula, but contents itself with Andalusia and the Comunidad de Madrid (Ill. 2). Same arises out of a mapping of Hamilton Harty’s *Irish Symphony* (1904) which features only coordinates in catholic Northern Ireland.

¹² Wajemann, Chorkompositionen, 166.

¹³ Lucian Ghişa, “The Romanian Symphonic Poem in the First Decade of the 20th Century“, *Journal of Science and Arts. Supplement No. 1* (12), 2010, 40.



III. 1: *Topographies in Alfredo Casellas Italia (1909)*

III. 2: *Topographies in Isaac Albéniz' Iberia (1905–08)*

Synecdoche or secession? Of course, such playing with partial geographies can also spring from ironic vagaries like in Vincent d'Indy's *Helvétia* (1882), in which Switzerland isn't allegorized through its usual, Lisztian associative landscape,¹⁴ the Vierwaldstättersee (III. 3), but through three waltzes named after three lesser known Swiss towns (Laufenburg, Schinznach and Aarau; III. 4).



III. 3 *Swiss Topographies in Franz Liszts Années de pèlerinage I (1855)*

III. 4: *Swiss Topographies in Vincent d'Indy's Helvétia (1882)*

But this is an exception that proves the rule. As matter of course spatial evocations in allegoric music is a good deal more likely to serve touristic purposes than deconstructive ones: Thus happens in Robert Allworth's *Australia* (1974), in which the listener is offered a whole series of famous sites of the continent, just like in a Baedeker. In comparison to such blatant musical travel guides Frederick Delius' *A Song of High Hills* must considered a single effort in an

¹⁴ Piatti, Barbara Die Geographie der Literatur. Schauplätze, Handlungsräume, Raumphantasien (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2008), 191.

national allegory from a touristic perspective. In that he tried to image Norway's verticalness by expanding the compass of orchestral and vocal forces' the latter wordless.¹⁵

Conclusion

Imagined communities (as Benedict Anderson has called them accurately in his famous study) are dependent on discursive devices. Such is music, especially when it features textual inscriptions, signifying idioms, forms and emblems that invite the listener pragmatically¹⁶ to read it as tropical, as allegory. Deciphering music in that way allows fantasizing about the symbolic order of the nation: its ethnicity, its territorial coordinates, its overall alleged qualities. It is the persuasive nature of music that these otherwise obvious figments become easily accessible. In the light of these risky distributive capacities of music one has to agree with Žižek who came to reason that you should "never trust music".¹⁷

Stefan Schmidl (b. 1974) studied musicology and art history at the University of Vienna (PhD in 2004). Since 2005 he has been research associate at the Department of Musicology at the Austrian Academy of Sciences. Apart from that he is a permanent lecturer in music history and applied music theory at the Vienna Conservatory Private University and also reads at the University of Vienna and the University of Music and Performing Arts Vienna. Beside that he participated in many international conferences (Greece, Italy, Portugal, France, Hungary, the Czech Republic, Slovenia, Serbia, Switzerland and Germany), presenting his research on various aspects of nation and identity building processes in music. His books include *Medium between cult and capitalism* (2008) and the first German-language biography of Jules Massenet (2012). Most currently he is writing his habilitation treatise on world imaginations in music.

¹⁵ Cf. Heldt, Guido "Delius' A Song of the High Hills und die Idee einer Vokalmusik ohne Worte", in: Frederick Delius, ed. Ulrich Tadday (*Musik-Konzepte 141/142*, München: Edition Text + Kritik, 2008), 53-81.

¹⁶ Kurz, Gerhard, *Metapher, Allegorie, Symbol*, 6th edition (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2009), 66.

¹⁷ Quoted from DVD *The Pervert's Guide to Cinema* (2006).

The contribution of the music associations to the dissemination of art music to the people in nineteenth-century Greece: the case of Athens and Piraeus

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Abstract. This paper points to the contribution of the music associations to the dissemination of art music among the lower social strata in nineteenth-century Greece, focusing on the music associations of Athens and Piraeus, the capital and the biggest port of the newly-established state respectively. Written sources, especially the daily press, the constitutions and the reports of the proceedings of the music associations in that period, make evident the necessity of making art music accessible to people. The music associations contributed to the musical education of the lower classes by organizing concerts and giving music lessons. The paper presents the kinds of music cultivated by the lower social strata and the reasons these were considered appropriate. The objective of the paper is to show that the above-mentioned activity of the music associations is part of a social demand of the time, according to which art music would be able to contribute to the moral cultivation of the working-class people, providing them at the same time with a means of livelihood.

Introduction

The first Greek music societies were established in the Ionian islands during the first half of the 19th century, before these islands were annexed to the Greek state. The most prevalent example is the *Philharmoniki Etairia Kerkyras* (Corfu Philharmonic Society), which was founded in 1840 and served as a model for the other music societies in continental Greece, since it was founded at least 30 years earlier.

During the same period, the establishment of the *Etairia ton Oraion Tehnon* (Society of the Fine Arts) (1844) is the most important among the few efforts for establishing music societies in Greece. The society was a short-lived one and included music and the fine arts.¹

The last three decades of the nineteenth century mark the second wave of establishing music societies in Greece with the foundation of many such societies. Many other societies are also founded in all civic centres, so that the Greek press speaks about *sylogomania* (*society-mania*) and *omilomania* (*association-mania*). These associations cover a wide spectrum of interests, with the associations of a scientific or educational character exceeding in number.² This paper emphasizes on the music associations of this particular period examining the associations of Athens and Piraeus and, specifically, those who contributed to the dissemination of the music to the people.

The music associations which are mostly recorded to have best contributed to the dissemination of art music to the people in the era examined are:

¹ About this society and some other minor ones, see Barbaki, Maria *The first music societies of Athens and Piraeus and their contribution* to music education (1871–1909), PhD diss., (Athens: National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, 2009), 23-25 (in Greek).

² Barbaki, *The first music societies*, 43, 71-75.

Association Name	Year of foundation
<i>Mousikos kai Dramatikos Syllogos</i> (Music and Drama Association)	1871
<i>Philharmoniki Etairia "Euterpi"</i> ("Euterpe" Philharmonic Society)	1871
<i>Mousikos Syllogos "Orpheus"</i> ("Orpheus" Music Association)	1879
<i>Philharmoniki Etairia Athinon</i> (Athens Philharmonic Society)	1888
<i>Omilos Philomouson</i> (Music-lovers' Society)	1892
<i>Mousiki Etairia Athinon</i> (Athens Music Society)	1897
<i>Athinaiki Mandolinata</i> (Athens Mandolinata)	1900
<i>Mousiki Etairia 'Melpomeni'</i> ('Melpomeni' Music Society)	1871
<i>Omilos Philomouson Piraios</i> (Piraeus Music-lovers' Society)	1892
<i>Piraios Syndesmos</i> (Piraeus Association)	1894

Music societies and the provision of free music education

Introducing music to the people is one of the objectives of most Greek music societies at the time. Music associations try to satisfy the demand for the spread of music to the people by two means, first by offering free or low cost music education and secondly by organizing popular concerts with a low price ticket. The first demand, i.e. offering free or low cost music education, is declared in many of the societies' constitutions.³ Even if free education was not always achievable for all, many music societies, mainly in their early life, offer free or low cost music education for some music lessons. An example of the music associations' intention to offer free education can be seen in the article number one of the first three constitutions of the Athens Philharmonic Society.⁴ In the fourth constitution of the Athens Philharmonic Society, written in 1894, free education is not declared anymore. Instead, the association declares that it has organized its music schools in such a way that they can be accessible to all social classes due to low prices.⁵ For the same reason the society offered free music lessons to 40 girls and 40 boys.⁶

In the "Euterpe" Philharmonic Society free singing lessons were taught to the female pupils of primary schools, as well as to destitute pupils of ecclesiastical music. Without fee, the society provided to the pupils the necessary instruments, as well as handwritten and printed music.⁷ Moreover, Spyros Bekatoros yields the information that the society had established night schools where the young were taught for free.⁸

The intention of the music societies to offer education to the lower social strata is also confirmed by the reports of the proceedings of some of them. One example is found in the proceedings of the Athens Philharmonic Society, where the society justifies its popular character

³ Barbaki, *The first music* societies, 119.

⁴ Regulation of the Athens Philharmonic Society (Athens: S.K. Vlastos, 1889) (in Greek). Constitution of the Athens Philharmonic Society (Athens: Anestis Konstandinidis, 1889) (in Greek). Constitution of the Athens Philharmonic Society, under the protection of Her Royal Highness, Princess Sophia (Athens: Anestis Konstandinidis, 1892). (in Greek).

⁵ Constitution of the Athens Philharmonic Society, under the protection of Her Royal Highness, Princess Sophia.

⁶ *Efimeris* newspaper 16 October 1894, 30 December 1894. (in Greek).

⁷ *Efimeris* 6 September 1874.

⁸ Bekatoros, Spyros A fundamental theory of European music (Athens: Dionysios Efstratios press, 1904), 163 (in Greek), *Efimeris* 6 September 1874.

by providing music lessons not only to the wealthy, but also to the poorer and by organizing concerts.⁹

The associations under consideration had the Corfu Philharmonic Society as a model, where in some cases participation in a music ensemble provided destitute pupils not only with music knowledge, but with elementary general education, too. An announcement by the society, published in the official journal of the Ionian State and dated 15 November 1840, calls for young people to join it, adding that it will offer lessons to anyone that cannot read or write.¹⁰

The music lessons which young people from low strata were being taught were vocal music and wind and plucked string instruments in order to form choir, wind band and plucked string band ensembles. As a result, a lot of popular choirs and bands were constituted in 19th-century Greece.

Their members were, on the one hand, professional musicians, mainly musicians for the military, and orphanage graduates; on the other hand, they were students of the music societies, coming from different professional backgrounds, including public servants, artists, students and even clergymen. However, they mainly came from the working class. Music lessons took place during evening hours, after people had finished their work. Apart from training in choral singing and playing musical instruments, participants were sometimes taught the basic rules of music theory. In some cases, in exchange for the free music training, these students had the obligation to entertain the citizens on Sundays and celebrations.

The 19th century choir movement for the people and the case of Greece

Throughout Western-Europe, church choirs had long been a source of music education for many young people. At the same time, a great number of choral societies of secular music, many members of which belonged to the lower classes, marked the music culture of 18th and 19th-century Europe and America. In the industrial area of Yorkshire, for example, sources reveal that up to 1890, when regional music life reached its zenith, there was a minimum of 350-400 choral societies with 350-450 members each. Regarding this particular area, Russel points out that choral singing gave great pleasure to millions of people of lower social classes.¹¹ Nineteenth-century Paris is another example of how choral societies aimed at extending the practice of singing among the working classes.¹² The rich choir tradition in Germany is well-known in Greece. Timotheos Xanthopoulos, who had attended music classes in Vienna, in an article written by him in the *Akropolis* newspaper, regards singing as the first and most important part of musical training. For this reason, he proposes the formation of a choral music society based on the model of the European and especially the German ones, since in Germany every factory had its own choral society ('*Gesangverein*').¹³

All over Europe, the working-class choir schools included mostly male choirs, since the presence of women in the public sphere was limited; this was particularly true for women of the lower class. By contrast, men from lower social strata participate widely in the formation of choirs. The presence of women in lower strata choirs is also reported as limited in Greece, too.

⁹ Athens Philharmonic Society. Report of the proceedings from 1 June 1893 to 31 December 1894 (Athens: Estia, 1895), 4 (in Greek).

¹⁰ Motsenigos, Spyros *Modern Greek Music* (Athens, 1958), 151 (in Greek).

¹¹ Russell, David *The Popular Musical Societies of the Yorkshire Textile District, 1850-1914: A Study of the Relationship Between Music and Society*, PhD diss. (York: University of York, 1979), 1, 48-51, 104-106, 176-177, 187.

¹² Di Grazia, Donna Marie *Concert Societies in Paris and Their Choral Repertoires c. 1828-1880*, PhD diss. (Washington University, 1993), 124.

¹³ *Akropolis* newspaper, 8 December 1888 (in Greek).

Concerning their age and their professional activities, there is limited information in the Greek sources; yet, the lowest age limit mentioned in sources is 9 years, while the highest age limit is not specified.

One reason for the massive participation of lower social classes in the formation of choirs was the introduction of vocal music teaching into public education in highly populated European cities during the early 19th century; this was combined with a simultaneous decrease in the number of church choirs by the end of the century, as a consequence of secularization.¹⁴ Furthermore, the participation of the lower social strata in music ensembles was reinforced by the middle class, since, through this participation, the upper classes could control the political behavior of the lower ones. On their part, through their participation in choral music societies, members of lower social classes demanded to be recognized as members of the bourgeoisie.¹⁵ According to Hobsbawm, another explanation for the participation of the petit bourgeois in choral societies is the move of the population to the cities, which resulted in the loss of rural civilization, an aspect of which is folk singing. To adapt to the new circumstances imposed by life in the city, people created many societies for their own self-improvement or self-training and participated in choral societies and workmen bands, thus replacing the abandoned traditional forms of music.¹⁶

The spread of the choir movement in 19th century Greece cannot be compared with corresponding movements in big cities in Europe and America, given the different level of music development and the lack of the social and political background, described above, which gave impetus to the choir movements in those countries. *Mutatis mutandis*, several music ensembles of amateurs emerge during that period.¹⁷

After the collaboration of the Athens Conservatory with the *Orfanotrofio Hatzikosta* (Hatzikostas Orphanage), a separate singing class was created in the Athens Conservatory in March 1873, comprised of 80 boarders of the orphanage, who formed a choir under the instruction and direction of Jullius Ennig.¹⁸

Another choir which consisted of young workers was a choir named *Horodia techniton kai viomichanon* (Choir of Craftsmen and Industrialists). The choir was created in 1889 in Athens under the aegis of the Music and Drama Association.¹⁹ A similar choir will be created again in the Athens Conservatory at the beginning of the 20th century under the new direction of the Conservatory held by Georgios Nazos, since 1891.²⁰ Music teaching was free of charge for the students of the above mentioned school. The same was applied by several music associations

¹⁴ For the introduction of vocal music in education, see Butt, John "Choral music", in the Cambridge History of Nineteenth-Century Music, ed. Jim Samson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 215-221, Russell, "The Popular Musical Societies", 121-128.

¹⁵ Harrison, Carol *The Bourgeois Citizen in Nineteenth-Century France. Gender, Sociability and the Uses of Emulation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 191, 209-221.

¹⁶ Hobsbawm, Eric J. *The Age of Capital 1848-1875*, transl. Dimosthenis Kourtovic (Athens: The National Bank of Greece Cultural Foundation, 2006), 449.

¹⁷ Barbaki, *The first music societies*, 210.

¹⁸ Report on the administration of the Georgios and Aikaterini Hatzikostas Orphanage in the year 1874 (Athens: Lakonia, 1875), 15 (in Greek).

¹⁹ Music and Drama Association. *Report of the proceedings from 1 January 1889 to 31 December 1890* (Athens: Anestis Konstandinidis, 1891), 11 (in Greek). Yiannitsiotis stresses that the term "industrialist" for many decades was referring to a multitude of professional activities such as artisans, workers, also including land workers. Yiannitsiotis, Ioannis *The making of the middle class in Piraeus 1860-1909*, PhD diss. (Athens: National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, 2001), 47, 86-87 (in Greek).

²⁰ Regulation of the Athens Conservatory (Music section) (Athens: P.D. Sakellariou, 1902), articles num. 1, 2, 10, 11 (in Greek). See announcements for the amateur school at *Embros* newspaper 29 August 1902, 23 August 1907 (in Greek).

to gifted destitute pupils. However, Georgios Nazos supports in an interview given to *Asty* newspaper that free teaching and popular conservatories have nothing to do with the development of a genuine artistic feeling.²¹ On the other hand, Nazos was strongly criticized for his point of view.

Another popular singing school choir was that of Music-lovers' Society, which was created immediately after the Olympic Games of 1896. The aim of the school was the teaching of the theory of music and the formation of a choir. Lavrentios Kamilieris was the director of the school and music lessons were free of charge.²² Music-lovers' Society was dissolved after a short life, but the choir continued its activity in 1898 under the aegis of a new association named Athens Music Society having the same director.²³ None of the choir pupils had previous musical training.²⁴ From 1899 onwards, Themistoklis Polikratis was the teacher of the choir.

One of the most well-known choirs of the time was that of the evening-school of the Piraeus Association, which was founded in 1894 and was reorganized in 1902. This association has been the largest music society of Piraeus until today.²⁵ The *Laiki Chorodia* (People's Choir) of the Association gave its first public concert in 1895. The choir broke up in 1897, because of the Greek-Turkish war and reassembled in 1902.²⁶

Many reports we have for these choirs mentioned, confirm the popular origin of their members, as well as their lack of music knowledge. Regarding the pedagogical method used for learning choral music and given the lack of music knowledge, we can conclude that it was based more on the listening ability and practice through repetition. At the same time the members of choirs were taught elementary knowledge of music reading.

Wind band and plucked instrument ensembles in the music societies

Many music societies also formed bands of wind instruments. One of the most well-known music bands in Athens was the Hatzikostas Orphanage band, supported by the Athens Conservatory. The institution had a band of 30 boarders, formed in 1874, after the collaboration of the Athens Conservatory with the institution's board of directors. This collaboration ended in 1876, during which period the pupils were taught inside the orphanage, and was taken up again in 1891. The teaching of this musical group was assigned to the Bavarian musician, Georg Gaidemberger, assisted by his compatriot, Franz Emken. Except for those, Panagiotis Aktipis, also taught in the orphanage.²⁷

²¹ *Asty* newspaper 27 July 1890 (in Greek) in: Drosinis, Georgios Complete works, vol 10 (Athens: Association for the dissemination of useful books, 2002), 456. (in Greek). See also *Asty* 30-31 May 1893.

²² *Efimeris* 20 August 1896, 24 October 1896, 25 October 1896, 26 October 1896.

²³ See for example announcements for student enrollments at *Embros* 8-26 September 1901, 4 January 1902, 3-9 February 1902, *Efimeris* 12-16 January 1898.

²⁴ Xronopoulos, Antonios, *Choirs. The polyphonic song in Greece (1843-1988)* (Athens, 1988), 28 (in Greek). References to the number and social origin of the students at the newspapers *Embros* 16 March 1901, *Efimeris* 15 January 1898, 3 October 1900, 11 October 1900, 17 October 1900 and *Agon* 1 June 1901 (in Greek).

²⁵ An article in *Sfera* newspaper, 16 June 1903 (in Greek) describes the society as, "academy of the people, where those who desire superior instruction, theoretical and practical, craftsmen and workmen, use the evening hours, which otherwise would be spent in a way harmful for their health and their wallet, in order to enrich their knowledge and to improve their technique".

²⁶ Kalogeropoulos, Takis. "Avramiades." *Dictionary of Greek Music*, vol. 1 (Athens: Giallelis, 1998) (in Greek), Bekatoros, 168, Yiannitsiotis, 233, *Embros* 23 June 1902, *Sfera* 16 June 1903.

²⁷ Report on the administration of the Georgios and Aikaterini Chatzikosta Orphanage in the year 1874 (Athens: Lakonia, 1875), 15 (in Greek). Details on music teaching in this ensemble can be found in: Barbaki, Maria "Music companies", wind orchestras in late 19th century Athens', *Polyphonia* 6 (2005), 7-34. (in Greek).

The *Mousikos thiasos techniton kai viomichanon* (Band of Craftsmen and Industrialists) was another band made up of young workers, also supported by the Athens Conservatory. The band was created after the attraction of a great number of pupils from the working classes, as a result of the successful performances of the Hatzikostas Orphanage band.²⁸ The establishment of the ensemble was held in the Conservatory during the academic year 1876-1877 and was justified by the conviction of the members of the board that in order to effectively cultivate the music feeling in Greece, the spread of music teaching into the working classes was needed.²⁹

During the short-lived collaboration between the Athens Conservatory and the “Parnassos” Literary Society a music band was established in the 1880s consisted of pupils of the *Scholi Aporon Paidon “Parnassou”* (School of Destitute Boys of the “Parnassos” Literary Society). By the end of 1884, the agreement between the Conservatory and the “Parnassos” society ended and the latter became responsible for the school band, which was under the direction of the Georg Gaidemberger.³⁰

The Athens Philharmonic Society also undertook the foundation of a school of band instruments. The school had two preparatory sections under the direction of Nazaro Serao. The written reports about the appearance of the band are dated since 1889. The members of the band had military discipline, according to a proceeding report of the society. A large part of the instruments was granted by the “Parnassos” Literary Society band that had been dissolved and the Ministry of Military.³¹ The Corfu Philharmonic Society band served as a model for this band, as mentioned above, according to the written reports of the society.³² The band of the society took over the organization of the music events of the Olympic Games in 1896, taking the lead of a music ensemble consisting of about 200 instruments, something unique for the time.³³

Another wind band instrument was that of the Athens Music Society. The school of the band started in October 1901 with the evening school of choir under Kamilieris direction.³⁴ The society had already had a band since 1898. The director of the band was Vincenzo de Mei. In its entry for the Athens Music Society’s band, Vovolinis’ dictionary mentions that one of the society’s objectives was to spread music to the people through the formation of a band which would give open-air concerts.³⁵

In Piraeus, the music school of the “Melpomeni” Music Society was active during the 1870’s. The school started its lessons in 1871 counting 12 pupils. The number of the people, coming

²⁸ Motsenigos, Spyros *Modern Greek Music*, 319.

²⁹ Music and Drama Association. *Report of the proceedings from 1 January 1876 to 31 December 1877* (Athens: Andreas Koromilas, 1877), 7 (in Greek). Further details in: Barbaki, “Music companies”, 7-34.

³⁰ Music and Drama Association. *Report of the proceedings from 1 July 1877 to 30 June 1880* (Athens: Andreas Koromilas, 1880), 8 (in Greek), Vovolinis, Konstandinos, *Chronicle of “Parnassos” (1865-1950)* (Athens: Parnassos Literary Society, 1951), 137, 150 (in Greek), Barbaki, ““Music companies”, 7-34.

³¹ *Athens Philharmonic Society term A’*. *Report of the Two-Year Administration Board for 1889 and 1890 as Given in a Society Meeting on 6 January 1891 by S. Spathis, President of the Society*, (Athens: S.K. Vlastos, 1891), 9 (in Greek), *Efimeris* 8 April 1889, 27 May 1891.

³² *Athens Philharmonic Society term A’*. *Report of the Two-Year Administration Board*. 8.

³³ Romanou, Katy, Maria Barbaki and Fotis Mousoulidis *Greek Music at the Olympic Games and the Olympiades (1858-1896)* (Athens: General Secretariat for the Olympic Games, 2004) (in Greek).

³⁴ On the pretext of the exams of the *Mousiki Etairia Athinon* choir, *Agon* newspaper, June 1, 1901, praises the efforts of the students and the director, Lavrentios Kamilieris, on account of the young men achieving “coordination” of voice into a common, harmonious singing after just six months’ efforts, while before that were characterized as “stiff and uncultivated”. Xronopoulos, Choirs, 28, mentions that none of the 50 students selected by Kamilieris had received a musical education and characteristically recounts his recurring advice to the examinees: “Clamare non est candare” (shouting is not singing).

³⁵ Vovolinis, Spyros and Konstandinos “Viomichaniki Epitheorisi”, *The Great Greek Biographical Dictionary* (Athens 1958), Vol. 1 (in Greek).

mainly from the working class, was gradually increased. The pupils were obliged to play on Sundays and on feast days in exchange of having free lessons.³⁶

Another band was that of the Piraeus Association. The first director of the band in the 19th century was Spyros Kaisaris, teacher of brass instruments in 1895. The band consisted of 25 instruments and made its appearances in Pasalimani and at Piraeus squares at a time when the Piraeus Philharmonic was about to dissolve, thus restoring the public image of the city.³⁷

A plucked string instruments ensemble was that of the Athens Mandolinata, which was founded in 1900 and was active for many years in the 20th century. An article written in *Embros* newspaper reflects the preference of lower classes of the time for plucked string music instruments, stressing that the association aims to disseminate the music feeling to the people promoting guitar and mandolin that are considered appropriate for this goal. They are much cheaper and easy to learn, according to the paper, than piano or violin.³⁸

Arguments about the usefulness of art music to the lower social strata

The idea of giving concerts for the people either in the open-air or in concert halls is strongly put forward in the Greek press. Athenian newspaper *Efimeris* points that, apart from free music education, a priority for many music societies was to organize concerts for the people with a low admission ticket, in order to spread music to the people.³⁹ Nikos Spandonis, a journalist of another Athenian newspaper called *Embros*, claims that the term 'popular concert' is related not only to the price of the ticket, which must be affordable, but also to the type of music, which is intended for untrained ears. He also remarks upon the inconvenience caused to working classes by the existing concert halls; this was due to their luxury, on the one hand, and their distance from the people's homes, on the other. In order to overcome these and other similar problems, he proposes a series of six measures, the most interesting of which are: a brief description of the music pieces to be performed; the use of primary-school classes as concert venues; and offering ticket proceeds to the Church.⁴⁰

As a result of the free of charge music lessons for the people of lower strata and the organization of concerts with a low ticket, people were encouraged to participate actively in many music events either as musicians or as audience. Official reports of the music societies reflect their intention to organize popular concerts. An example is a proceeding of the Athens Philharmonic Society. In this document the society points out that its popular character is expressed by organizing concerts. Similarly, the constitutions of "Orfeus" Music Society and Athens Philharmonic Society schedule the organization of popular concerts with a cheap ticket for petit bourgeois, similar to these of Europe. The same is expressed in the constitutions of the Athens Philharmonic Society and Music-lovers' Society.

The music used to be a leisure activity for workers. The concept of free time, one of the products of modernity, is formed along with the urban development and the rise of the middle class, mainly in the 19th century. Having free time presupposed having a job, with public holidays defining the time of people's entertainment. In this context, some entertainment clubs were deemed appropriate and some were not. Cafés and cabarets, "the two scourges of work-

³⁶ Kambouroglou, Pandoleon History of Piraeus from 1883 to 1882 (Athens: "o Asmodaios", 1883), 43 (in Greek), Sapounaki-Drakaki, Lidia "Working Class Education in Piraeus in the 19th Century. *Ta Istorika* 6 (1986), 387-415 (in Greek), Historical Archives of the Municipality of Piraeus, Folder 1878 A (in Greek).

³⁷ *Embros* 13 March 1905.

³⁸ *Embros* 5 March 1909.

³⁹ *Efimeris* 23 February 1893.

⁴⁰ *Embros* 4 December 1900.

ing-class society” were singled out as places where young apprentices could be led astray, as Weissbach remarks.⁴¹ The concert hall, on the other hand, was considered a weapon in the social battle against the immorality of music halls and similar places of entertainment, which were frequented by people from the lower social classes. The music societies’ contribution to the organization of concerts was decisive. Thodoros Hatzipantazis gives emphasis on the will for attracting these young from the lower classes in European music, given that most members of these classes were restricted to the Café aman.⁴²

Except for concerts, another argument for attracting young people to music societies was that their members could spend some of their free time there, enjoying themselves through learning music instead of damaging their health and their finances with harmful activities. The written reports about the contribution of music to the regeneration of the people are very frequent. Such reports are found in the constitutions and other documents of many music societies, as well as in the daily press.⁴³ This was an important reason why young people were encouraged to participate in music societies, not only in 19th-century Greece, but also in other European countries.⁴⁴

This concept of moral improvement through music, without, however, being connected to the poor, has its origins in antiquity and can be traced, among others, in texts by ancient Greek philosophers, especially Plato and Aristotle. The central idea emerging from their texts is that music has the power to improve the character of the listeners and turn them into good citizens. This view pervades European tradition, which has shown a strong interest for the ancient Greek culture since the Middle Ages. Greek intellectuals often appeal to the authority of the ancient Greeks in order to strengthen their view on the role music can play in shaping people’s morals. A typical example is the one of *Mousikos Syllogos ‘Appolon’* (‘Appolo’ Music Society). The aim of this society, as presented in a daily newspaper, was the education of Greek people and the refinement of Greek culture through music, in imitation of the ancient Greeks, who regarded music as a means of education rather than mere entertainment.⁴⁵ In 1821, the humanist scholar Adamantios Korais (1748-1833) published his edition of Aristotle’s *Politika* (Politics). In the *Pro-*

⁴¹ Lee Shai Weissbach, ‘The Jewish Elite and the Children of the Poor: Jewish Apprenticeship Programs in Nineteenth-Century France’, 136.

⁴² Hatzipantazis, Thodoros *The vaudeville*, vol. A’, 3d ed. (Athens: Estia Αθήνα, Εστία: 2002), 69 (in Greek).

⁴³ In a document by the Corfu Philharmonic Society, dated 4 August 1854, the society thanks the administration of the island for its financial aid and highlights the beneficial effects of music on morals, stressing that young poor people would otherwise be giving into debauchery and disrupting society. See Dimitrios Kapadochos, *Corfu Theatre in Middle 19th Century* (Athens: Kato Garouniotes of Athens Society, 1991), 112-113 (in Greek). There are many similar references to the cases examined too: An article in the *Estia* magazine, 30 March 1880 (in Greek), describes an orphan child of the Hatzikosta Orphanage that had turned over a new leaf even though he was considered a ‘lost’ case with the then-existing pedagogical methods. In another article written in *Embros* newspaper, 5 March 1909 regarding the Athens Mandolinata, its author claims that the occupation of the pupils with music deters them from the harmless habit of hanging out in ill reputed centres of amusement. See also *Athens Philharmonic Society term A’. Report of the Two-Year Administration Board for 1889 and 1890 as Given in a Society Meeting on 6 January 1891 by S. Spathis, President of the Society*, (Athens: S.K. Vlastos, 1891), 8 (in Greek), *Efimeris* 3 June 1878, 21 October 1891, 27 May 1891, 1 February 1892, 23 February 1893 the *Akropolis* 8 December 1888, *Agon* 1 June 1901.

⁴⁴ As highlighted by a French music association, the members of a music society can find real enjoyment in it through music, instead of seeking entertainment in taverns, where they damage their health and empty their wallet: Harrison, *The Bourgeois Citizen in Nineteenth-Century France*, 212, 123-156, Katharine Ellis, ‘The Structures of Musical Life’, in *The Cambridge History of Nineteenth-century Music*, ed. Jim Samson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 365.

⁴⁵ *Embros* 16 August 1903.

legomena (Preface), he stresses the role of music in shaping people's ethos and goes on to recommend the use of musical instruments, suggesting some that are not very expensive.⁴⁶

Apart from its contribution to the improvement of character, music also offered lower classes an opportunity to get a job. Articles in the press and announcements of music societies often promote this dimension of music education.⁴⁷ It is evident from several written resources that many choir and, mainly band members did eventually make a career in the music profession, as music teachers at public schools, or, more often, at military bands.⁴⁸

Conclusion

From the above reports and the aforementioned analysis, the interest of the music associations for the dissemination of art music in the popular strata can be inferred. This interest can be partially explained by the widely accepted view of the period for the contribution of the music education to the character formation for the lower social strata. These views pervade all 19th century educational systems, with their intensively moralizing character, resulting to the importance of the music lesson in these systems. Nevertheless, despite its moralizing character and the views about music towards this aim, the role of music is limited in the Greek education system. As Stavrou remarks, the Greek education is pervaded by the following contradiction: The role of music in the formation of personality is stressed, while its position in education is never substantial.⁴⁹ Thus, given that school education did not aim at the dissemination of art music to the people, we can deduce that the efforts of the music associations described in this article did not come to an end.

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⁴⁶ Politis, Alexis *The Romantic Years. Ideology and Mentality in Greece Between 1830-1880* (Athens: Mnimon, 2003), 97 (in Greek).

⁴⁷ See for example an announcement by the Municipality of Piraeus, dated 4 June 1871, which is found at the Historical Archives of the Municipality of Piraeus, Folder 1873 A. The same announcement can be seen in *Paligenessia* newspaper 14 June 1871 (in Greek). See also, *Georgios and Aikaterini Hatzikostas Orphanage 1874 Annual Review* (Athens: Lakonia, 1875), 14 (in Greek), *Efimeris* 14 April 1880, 2 March 1892.

⁴⁸ *Efimeris* 25 February 1879, 21 April 1879, 14 April 1880, 31 March 1886, 20 October 1887, Vovolinis, Chronicle of "Parnassos", 156-157.

⁴⁹ Stavrou, Giannis *Music teaching in Primary and Nursery Schools of Greece (1830-2007)* (Athens: Gutenberg, 2009), 114-115 (in Greek).

“Aria in idioma Greco” or Pending the Greek-speaking singers

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Abstract. The earliest known aria in Greek was heard in Corfu in January 1827, was composed by Nikolaos Halikiopoulos Mantzaros and -predictably enough- was entitled *Aria Greca*. It was performed by an Italian singer during her beneficial night and its characteristic was that in its score the Greek verses were written with letters of the Latin alphabet, in order to facilitate the soloist. Until recently it was believed that the aforementioned composition was a unicum and that the absence of professional Greek-speaking singers (especially those of the “fair sex”) was a factor that prevented the composition of vocal works of the operatic genre in Greek language. Nonetheless, the last few years research revealed several references to arias and other brief works of operatic character “in Greek idiom”, both original and translations of standard repertory works. Most of these compositions were once more performed during beneficial performances or charity galas. The paper will attempt to investigate the archival references and the works themselves (were available), will raise some questions regarding the practical use of such compositions from the Italian singers perspective, and will commend on the need for works related to the operatic genre in Greek in the Ionian theatres of the British Administration especially in a period, during which even the slightest reference to the Greek language was considered an emblem of national (self)determination.

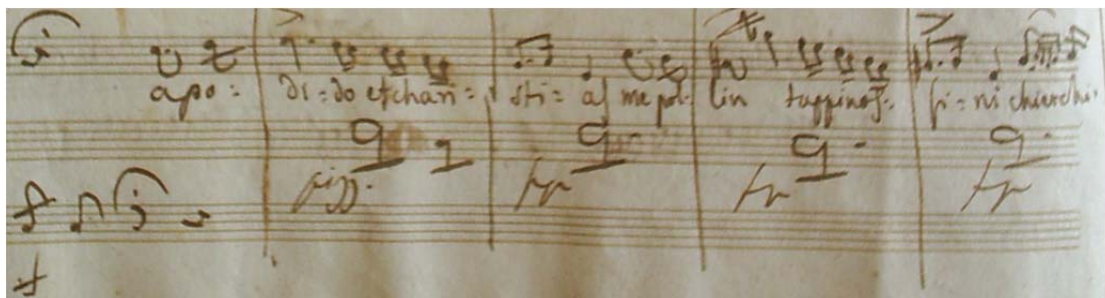
In February 1827 the governmental newspaper of the Ionian Islands published an unusually detailed review regarding the beneficial performance of Elisabetta Pinotti, the *primadonna* of Corfu’s Nobile Teatro di San Giacomo.¹ The author of this report presented two works by the Corfiot composer Nikolaos Halikiopoulos Mantzaros,² one cantata in Italian entitled *Minerva nell’ isola di Corfù* and an aria in Greek. The latter was especially commended and it was observed that the singer “conquered the interest of the spectators, not so much due to the pronunciation of a language totally unknown to her, but due to the sweet sensitivity, with which she knows to combine the sonorous variety of her voice” and concluded with the following remark: “We sincerely congratulate Mr Mantzaros and at the same time we beg him to offer us more compositions in modern Greek language, a language that lends itself so nicely to be set to music, and to be sure that his compatriots will acknowledge this [decision] and that they will highly esteem him.”

The title of this work predictably enough was *Aria Greca* [Aria in Greek], musically beared all the conventional characteristics of the current operatic music and its Greek verses were written in Latin letters, in order to facilitate the singer (Picture 1). *Aria Greca* is the earliest known concert aria that uses Greek language and that also proved in practical means that both the creation of compositions in Greek based on the “western musical cannon” conventions and the creation of Greek operas were both realistic aims. This seems to have been in the mind of the au-

¹ *Gazzetta degli Stati Uniti delle Isole Jonie* 425 (22.1/3.2.1827), 3. The article was spotted by George Leotsakos (“Nikolaos Halikiopoulos Mantzaros (1795–1872): Gia ena mikro tou egkolpio...” [Nikolaos Halikiopoulos Mantzaros (1795-1872): a brief handbook], *Moussikologia*, vol. 5–6 (1987), 228–271: 237–238 and commented in Xanthoudakis, Haris “O poetes tes *Aria Greca*” [The poet of *Aria Greca*], *Moussikos Loghos*, Vol. 7 (Summer 2006), 30–57.

² Regarding Mantzaros, see Kardamis, Kostas “From popular to esoteric: Nikolaos Mantzaros and the development of his career as composer”, *Nineteenth-Century Music Review* 8 (2011), 101-126.

thor of the aforementioned review, who-surprisingly enough- was not a Greek, but today has been identified as the Italian exiled patriot, educator and man of letters Vincenzo Nannucci.³



Picture 1: The opening bars of the vocal part from Mantzaros's *Aria Greca*. Greek verses are written in latin letters (The Benaki Museum Archives, Athens).

Nannucci was a connoisseur of the Greek language and thus he supported the cause of the use of Greek in art music's compositions. Nannucci knew music and it is reported that he has also been one of Mantzaros students.⁴ Furthermore, there is strong evidence that Nannucci had also been the author of *Aria Greca's* lyrics, a possibility that gives to the aforementioned report an ulterior motive. Nonetheless, Nannucci in this review underlined three major facts that would repeatedly surface every time that there was a discussion regarding the creation of a Greek opera, both as a work of art and as an establishment; the first was the lack of Greek speaking singers (especially female ones), the second was the constant demand for musical works in Greek by the audience and the third was the existence of Greek composers, as well as poets and librettists, willing to create such works. These three factors seems to have converged several times after *Aria Greca*, since the latter was not a unicum (as it has been considered until recently), but the pivotal point for the creation of similar compositions in Greek.

The national connotation of a language and the importance of its use in music was not new in the Ionian Islands in 1827. Already since late 18th century musical echoes of the Enlightenment and the French Revolution reached the Ionian Islands. In 1797 the Republican French themselves reached them as well, and they seem to have placed particular importance in the further propagation of the Ionians' national identity. Music and language played an important role towards this direction.

Greek demotic language (or at least the variety of this multifarious vernacular idiom that was spoken in the Islands) had already been a distinctive emblem of national identity in the Ionian Islands and, strangely (but not unexpectedly), Republican French found there an already existing genre of "national music". That was the adaptation of Greek verses on French revolutionary melodies, such as the *Marseilliese* or the *Carmagnole*.⁵

In this sense, the earliest species in Ionian Islands of what can be described as "national music" were directly related to the particular projection of "national language" as the most important and distinctive characteristic of a nation and its patriotism. It is indicative that in June 1798 the republican government of Corfu asked the citizens to compose "songs with alternative

³ Xanthoudakis, "O poetes tes *Aria Greca*".

⁴ Kardamis, Kostas Nikolaos *Halikiopoulos Mantzaros. 'Enoteta mesa sten pollaploteta'* ['Unity within multiplicity'] (Corfu: Society for Corfiot Studies, 2008), 151.

⁵ A detailed account in Kardamis, Kostas "Mousikoi apoechoi tis Gallikis Epanastasis sta Eptanisa" [Musical echoes of the French Revolution in the Ionian Islands], *O Eranistes* 26 (2007), 79–104.

verses in French and Greek according to the metre of the patriotic airs”,⁶ in order to be sung in the annual anniversary commemorating the arrival of the French. Some of these “Greek republican airs” also were sung as far as Constantinople⁷ and became well known among the fighters of the war for the Greek Independence (1821-1831).

Republican French left the islands in 1799, but their practices and their aims remained throughout the 19th-century. In this respect the use of Greek language was to play central role, both politically and culturally; poetry had already proved vernacular language’s creative dynamic [which was going to be culminated in the works of Dionyssios Solomos (1798-1857)], theatrical performances in Greek were taking place in Corfu since 1817⁸(and soon this was going to be common in the rest of the islands, especially among the *dilettanti* theatrical societies), translations of non-Greek literature and scientific books were offered in the Islands and translation’s competitions were organized.

Regarding music, in 1820s the projection of Greek language was the distinctive characteristic of salon music or choral compositions that were described as “national” and “patriotic”. Despite bearing Italian subtitles, such as “arie greche”, “arie nazionali” or “canzone greco”, these compositions used Greek verse, mostly in the demotic Greek (not only in the indigenous vernacular idiom, but also in other varieties of the Greek demotic). Given the political conditions and the British regime in the Islands, the subjects of the poems could vary from purely patriotic to standard “romantic” love themes. Regarding music itself, these compositions creatively assimilated reminiscences of opera, urban popular music, military music and salon music practices,⁹ featuring this way a large variety of results in accordance to similar genres in the rest of Europe. Nonetheless, the absence of folkloric musical elements in these compositions did not deprive them from being considered “Greek” and “national”. All the above compositions became extremely popular in urban salons, private concerts, as well as in the streets of the Ionian Islands.

Music in the theatres and the creation of opera was, however, a totally different thing. This required not only a composer and a librettist, but also a trained (or at least, modest) operatic troupe of Greek speaking singers. Composers and poets were already active in Ionian Islands in 1820s, but the presence of Greek speaking professional or semi-professional singers remained a problem, which had never been solved in its entirety. All these “arie in idioma greco”, either being original works or translations from the standard repertory cannot be seen outside the social and political endeavours of their time. This is why composers seem to have been waiting for Greek-speaking singers, without neglecting the need for music “in idioma Greco”, both as an aesthetic proposal and a social demand.

⁶ General State Archives-The Corfu Archives, Republican French 2, 6/47 (29 Prairial VI) and Republican French 11, 32.

⁷ Indicatively, Clogg, Richard “The ‘Dhidhaskalia Patriki’ (1798): an Orthodox Reaction to French Revolutionary Propaganda”, *Middle Eastern Studies* V/22 (5/1969), 87-115: 87.

⁸ A fact that was particularly commended by the local press; see, indicatively, *Gazzetta Jonia* 135 (25.1.1817), 1; *Gazzetta degli Stati Uniti delle Isole Jonie* 374 (14/26.3.1825), 1; *Gazzetta degli Stati Uniti delle Isole Jonie* 411 (31.10/2.11.1825), 1; *Gazzetta degli Stati Uniti delle Isole Jonie* 418 (19/31.12.1825), 1 and *Gazzetta degli Stati Uniti delle Isole Jonie* 425 (6/18.2.1826), 2.

⁹ With these in mind it is of particular interest that already in 1819 while being in London the poet Andreas Kalvos had conceived a project “to match in a common composition Greek poetry and Italian music”, see Pappas, Spiros N. “Andreas Kalvos. Agnosta stoiheia gia to filiko perivallon tou poieta kai gia tis scheseis tou me kalliternes tou Londinou kata tin periodo tis protis diamoni tou stin Agglia (1816-1820)” [Andreas Kalvos. Unknown facts regarding the poet’s friendly acquaintances and his relations with London artists during his early staying in England], *Porfyra* 147-148 (April-September 2013), 23-44: 25.

As it is to be expected, Ionian Islands were already experiencing their nationalistic awaking and the coming of the 19th-century found them being, successively, an independent Greek state under the protection of Russia, a Napoleonic satellite republic and, since 1815, an equally independent state under British Protection. It was during the latter administration that the Ionian Islands experienced the post-Napoleonic social and national developments in Europe, the expectations deriving from the Greek Revolution on the opposite mainland, the 1831 European revolutions and the 1848 “Springtime of the Peoples”, which also caused dramatic events on the Islands themselves. Ionian Islands were also a secure place for exiled Italian patriots, whose presence was particularly augmented after the suppression of the 1831 and 1848 revolutionary events.

The urban centres of the Ionian Islands were also experiencing their national upheaval in a moderate way compared to that of France and the German or the Italian states. This movement took also social character, especially in the rural areas which encountered problems related to agrarian issues. These problems were persisting even after the annexation of the Ionian Islands to the Kingdom of Greece in 1864. However, the latter development was considered as the inevitable result of the region’s national self-determination. Moreover, under these conditions the exiled Italians had every interest to support the use of the “Greek national language”, since Italian and Greek radicalism had at that time parallel ways of mutual interests.

As it is to be expected, Greek language –and especially that of the common people– in all these played a central role. In this respect the 1827 *Aria Greca* was important not because of its verses (it was just an aria that thanked the Corfiots for their attendance), but above all because the audience of Corfu’s theatre was ready –if not, demanded– to be thanked in the vernacular Greek idiom. The performance of Metastasio’s *Demefonte* in Greek also in Corfu’s theatre just a few weeks before *Aria Greca* during the annual charity gala¹⁰ is, in this context, far from being coincidental. Poetry and theatre had already demonstrated the creative abilities of vernacular Greek and now music joined the cause. The political timing of *Aria Greca*’s presentation should also be underlined; in January 1827 the Greek Revolution was in a critical point, Europe was contemplating it with sympathy, the Great Powers were going to take important decisions, the Corfiot noble Ioannis Capodistrias was going to be elected the first Governor of Greece and the naval battle of Navarino was only nine months away. With these in mind, the use of Greek in an emblem of the local administration (as it was the theatre of Corfu) through a discreet way without any other national connotations than the language itself, is important.

Gazzetta’s report was indeed right by referring to the aptness of the demotic Greek for musical setting. The syllabic and metrical similarities between the Greek and the Italian are obvious and greatly facilitated such an aim. Moreover, Ionian poets were also using poetic forms and metrical structures that were common in the rest of Europe and formed the core of the operatic librettos. It is also important that Mantzaros and later his students made an early contribution to the local repertory by setting to music Italian poetry either by their compatriots or by Italian poets. This fact contributed to the attainment of that critical experience in order to set Greek poetry to music.

However, despite the promising beginning, Mantzaros corresponded to the exhortations of the *Gazzetta*, not by composing operas in Greek, but by setting to music Greek poetry of several Ionian poets for the use of the Ionian Islands salons or the local choral ensembles. Later Ionian composers, such as Pavlos Karrer (1829-1896), created numerous such contributions, as well. Nonetheless, the basic factor for Mantzaros’s decision seems to have been the lack of Greek-speaking singers and the fact that they were easier found among the local nobility and

¹⁰ *Gazzetta degli Stati Uniti delle Isole Jonie* 470 (18/30.12.1826), 2.

high-bourgeois class or among the common people. Nonetheless, the former, despite being taught music on a more or less systematic basis, considered their appearance on a theatrical stage as a social degradation, and the latter did not have enough musical skills in order to form an operatic troupe. It is indicative that in Zakynthos (Zante) as late as 1812 even the prospect of an Italian *primadonna's* appearance caused several discussions.¹¹ Moreover, it is very interesting to mention that also in the urban choral ensembles during 1830s and 1840s there were parts using Greek verses in the Latin alphabet,¹² an observation that might indicate that on certain occasions non-Greek-speaking choristers must have joined them.

Mantzaros believed that the creation of art music in Greek language could be attained through the salons and the streets of the Ionian Islands, and not through the theatrical stages. However, this had as a result the earliest full-scale opera by an Ionian composer to be performed in 1854 and it still used a libretto in Italian (Karrer's, *Isabella d'Aspeno*). The first full-scale opera in Greek language was *O ypospifios* [The Parliamentary Candidate] by Spiridon Xyndas, which was performed in 1867. Nonetheless, vocal music in Greek language was to be heard in the theatres of the Ionian Islands several times in the years between, satisfying this way the demand of the public and the creative needs of the composers. Since the scarcity of Greek-speaking singers continued to be an obstacle, the will of the Italian singers to perform "in a language totally unknown to them" played a decisive role for the creation of such works.

There are several references to such compositions that were performed during the four decades that elapsed between *Aria Greca* and *The Parliamentary Candidate*. A common feature of these works is that they were presented during the beneficial performances of certain singers (usually during late January or February of the season), continuing this way the "tradition" of *Aria Greca*. Another characteristic is that most of them were composed by Spiridon Xyndas, the future composer of *The Parliamentary Candidate*, a student of Mantzaros, the most important songwriter in Greek language during 19th-century and in 1840 founder and teacher of the Corfu Philharmonic Society.

Here are some of these works; In February 1843 the soprano Annetta Garofoli during her beneficial night in San Giacomo theatre of Corfu sang a duet in Greek, which "stirred to the souls of the audience such enthusiasm that she was obliged to repeat it".¹³ In the summer of 1844 in the same venue another soprano, Teresa Mazzoli, presented as part of her *benefiziata* some compositions by Xyndas in Greek.¹⁴ Two years later, in 1846, the celebrated Carolina Sabatier-Unger on her way to Athens stopped in Corfu, where she gave some concerts, in one of which she sang together with Xyndas, and she also performed an aria in Greek by the same composer.¹⁵ It is of particular importance that one more exiled Italian patriot, Dr. Francesco Orioli, reviewed that concert and remarked that Unger, "this adopted young daughter of Greece ..., gave to her celestial notes a lineation in Greek dress, and spoke to the Muse of song, not in her native language, but in an idiom, from which it is directly derived" and he particularly underlined both the singer's splendid Greek articulation and the audience's enthusiastic recep-

¹¹ Holland Henry, *Travels in the Ionian Isles, Albania, Thessaly, Macedonia etc during the years 1812 and 1813*, 2 vols (London: Longman, 1819), vol. 1, 36.

¹² Such scores are held in the Music Archive of Spiros Motsenigos (National Library of Greece).

¹³ *Gazzetta degli Stati Uniti delle Isole Jonie* 635 (13/25.2.1843), 14. During the same night excerpts from *Belisario* and *L'elixir d'amore* were also performed.

¹⁴ Papadopoulos, Thomas *Ionike Bibliografia* [Ionian Bibliography] (Athens, 1998), vol. I, 517, n. 2958.

¹⁵ *Gazzetta Ufficiale degli Stati Uniti delle Isole Jonie* 71 (27.4 / 9.5.1846), 14-16. See also, "Una viaggiatrice all' Oriente o la Signora Carolina Unger Sabatier", *Il florilegio* I/I-II (30.4.1846), 15-16, "Nobile Teatro di San Giacomo – Corfù: La sera del 6 Maggio 1846", *Il florilegio* I/III (20.5.1846), 23-24 and "La bocca", *Il florilegio* I/IX (20.7.1846), 70-71.

tion.¹⁶ Later that year the “basso comico” of the Corfu troupe Giuseppe Scheggi not only performed an extended operatic scene by Xyndas in Greek regarding the jealousy of an old Greek peasant, but also appeared on the stage with the traditional costume of the local peasantry.¹⁷ The poet of this work was Antonios Manousos, who also showed an interest in the folkloric collections and was going to be a collaborator of Pavlos Karrer. It is also a matter of further research whether the two extended scenes by Xyndas depicting the peasantry of Corfu that were presented in 1857 were performed exclusively by Greeks. In any case these brief compositions constituted the core scenes of the 1867 *Parliamentary Candidate*.¹⁸ In this respect, it is also important that in December 1857 the baritone Luigi Bonafede during his beneficial night in the Zakynthos opera house presented an “aria in Greek language that caused fanaticism”.¹⁹ In 1860 Buonafede sang also an air in Greek in the Aegean Sea island of Syros during his *beneficiata* wearing a “foustanela” (the dress of the irregular militia during the Greek Revolution),²⁰ a choice that was particularly observed both by the local press and the audience, and that reveals certain tendencies in the operatic practices of 19th-century Greece. This is made more explicit by the fact that in February 1860 again in the Zakynthos opera house the young soprano Letizia Cristofani performed an aria in Greek wearing a “Greek dress”.²¹ With these in mind, it comes as no surprise that in Kephalos theatre of Cephalonia in February 1883 the soprano Giulia Soarez performed in her *benefiziata*, not only excerpts from *Faust*, *Un ballo in maschera* and *Il Guarany*, but also sang “in Greek and in Greek dress” a poem by Ch. Zalokostas set to music by the troupe’s conductor, Nicosia.²²

Within the aforementioned attitudes one should also approach the fact that in February 1839 in Corfu during the beneficial night of the bass Giovanni Lauri, Carlotta Orlandini and the Corfiot tenor Giovanni Comno performed the duet “Dunque io son, tu non m’ignammi” from Rossini’s *Barbiere* in Greek.²³ Moreover, in June 1846 again in Corfu Xyndas and Nikolaos Mankris (Xyndas’s collaborator in the endeavours for an opera in Greek) during a charity gala performance sang in Greek a duet from *Carlotta e Werther* by Carlo Coccia.²⁴ In 1853 Xyndas also performed a duet in Greek (possibly of his own composition) with the English singer Charles Braham, the son of the famous tenor John Braham.²⁵ It is also indicative that in December 1854 in Corfu the “buffo comico” Gaspare Pozzesi sang in his beneficial performance, among others, the famous “Missipipi aria” from Rossini’s *Pietra di Paragone* in Greek.²⁶ Nonetheless, it is not clear whether the excerpt of the patriotic opera *Markos Botzaris* by Frangiskos Domeneghinis

¹⁶ *Gazzetta Ufficiale degli Stati Uniti delle Isole Jonie* 71 (27.4 / 9.5.1846), 14-16: 15.

¹⁷ *Gazzetta Ufficiale degli Stati Uniti delle Isole Jonie* 103 (7/19.12.1846), 22-23.

¹⁸ According to the introductory remarks of the 1867 libretto of *O ypopsifios* [The Parliamentary Candidate]. Libretto Collection of the Corfu Reading Society.

¹⁹ Sambanis, Konstantinos G. “I parastaseis operas sten Zakyntho apo to 1835 eos ten ensomatosi ton Eptanison sto ‘Vasileion tes Ellados (1864). Meros B” [Opera performances in Zante from 1835 until the Ionian Islands’ annexation to the ‘Kingdom of Greece’. Part II], *Polyphonia* 22 (Spring 2013), 35-74: 47, citing articles from *Teatri, Arti e Letteratura* and *L’Arpa*.

²⁰ Sambanis, 47.

²¹ Sambanis, 57, citing *Teatri, Arti e Letteratura*, Vol. 73, n. 1823 (24.3.1860), 21.

²² Evangelatos, Spyros A. *Istoria tou theatrou en Kefallenia (1600-1900)* [History of the theatre in Cephalonia], (Athens, 1970), 207-208.

²³ «Teatri», *Teatri, Arti e Letteratura*, Vol. 31, n. 787 (28.3.1839), p. 32-33. This duet was presented two years after the performance of the patriotic cantata by the Corfiot Antonios Liberalis (1814-1842) entitled *L’orfano di Sulli* [The orphan of Sulli], which was sung by Antonietta Galzerani most likely in Italian. See, Niccolò Calichopulo Manzano, “Necrologia Biografica”, *Album Jonio* LII, Supplement (16.1.1842), 417-418.

²⁴ General State Archives-The Corfu Archives, Ionian State 480, 98 and 99

²⁵ “Mr. Charles Braham”, *The Musical World* XXXI-45 (5.11.1853), p. 699-700.

²⁶ “Teatri e notizie diverse”, *L’Italia Musicale* VII-9 (31.1.1855), p. 36 και “Teatri Stranieri”, *La fama del 1855* XIV-10 (1.2.1855), p. 39-40.

that was presented in Zakynthos in June 1849 has been performed by Italian singers. Its libretto, however, was in Greek and was written by Georgios Lagouidas, a Zakynthian poet of Italian descent. It also remains to be confirmed whether the 'farsa tragica', probably by Domeneghinis, that was presented in Zakynthos by the soprano Argentina Angelini during her beneficial night in January 1852 was in Greek.²⁷

From all these, it is obvious that the need and the ability to compose operatic music in Greek language was not a circumstantial choice, but on the contrary it was a continuous demand. On the other hand the predilection of the singers to perform these arias "in idioma Greco" during beneficial nights allows one more observation that is related to the day-to-day life of the era's operatic theatres. The singers were consciously exploiting the public demand for compositions in Greek, the composer's creative needs and the national momentum, in order to gain as much acclaim and profit as possible. The two peaks of the aforementioned compositions, that is to say the 1843-1846 period and the 1850s coincide with two important *momenta* of the Ionian Islands' history. The first is the period just before the 1848 events and the further awaking of the national self-determination, especially after the 1843 uprising in Athens that led to a constitutional monarchy in the Greek Kingdom. The second is the period immediately after the long-awaited adoption of the Greek language as the official language of the Ionian Government and the substitution of the Italian, as well as the years preceding the Crimean War. At the very end of this period was the annexation of the Ionian Islands to the Greek Kingdom (21.5/2.6.1864), which in the theatre of Zakynthos was enthusiastically heralded by the Italian troupe singing in Greek the opening verses of the *Hymn to the Liberty* by Mantzaros/Solomos,²⁸ a work that since August 1865 has been acknowledged as the Greek National Anthem.

These conditions do not mean that there were no attempts to train capable Greek-speaking singers in order to form a troupe. The most important initiative was taken in 1840 by the founders of the Corfu Philharmonic Society, where already since its foundation there was a singing class under Xyndas. However, this class comprised exclusively of male students of different age and social status.²⁹ Their appearance in several concerts, as well as their participation as choristers in the opera performances of Corfu's theatre and elsewhere, prove the effectiveness of the class.

Nonetheless, the training of female singers remained a problem; it is indicative that in October 1859 the Board of the Philharmonic decided to ask from the local government a permission to deliver vocal lessons to the young girls of the Corfu's Orphanage, a practice that bears similarities to the initial stages of the Italian conservatories' formulation. Among the reasoning of this proposal,³⁰ the Board stated that music "not only contributed to the moral formulation of the heart, but also could offer help to indigent young people, who after their training could provide an honourable way of life to themselves and their families." Moreover, it was stated that these benefits "could be expanded in the poor girls that have a natural inclination towards the art and could be trained to be experienced singers, of whom we have such a great need."³¹

²⁷ "Supplimento", *Teatri, Arti e Letteratura* Vol 57, n. 1421 (11.3.1852), p.17-18. See, also, Sambanis, 37.

²⁸ Sambanis, 72-73, citing *La Fama* 48 (1.12.1863) reporting the incidents in the theatre of Zante when the Ionian Parliament voted in favour of the annexation to the Greek Kingdom.

²⁹ Kardamis, Kostas *Eksi meletes gia ti Filarmoniki Etaireia Kerkyras* [Six essays for the Corfu Philharmonic Society] (Corfu: Corfu Philharmonic Society, 2010) and related archival material in the Administrative Archive of the Corfu Philharmonic Society (CPS/Ad).

³⁰ CPS/Ad, Board's Proceeding 7 (15.2.1859-28.5.1860), n. 50, 30.9.1859 and CPS/Ad, Correspondence 5 (22.10.1858-4.9.1871), n. 1743, 22.10.1859.

³¹ However, it is worth mentioning that Ionian Islands, and Corfu in particular, was the birth place of the famous contralto Elena d'Angri (1824-1886), a singer of Neapolitan origin, who was trained in Italy and made an international career [see Kousouris, Giorgos *Elena Angri: Enas agnostos thrylos tou lyrikou theatrou* [Elena

Despite the tempting idea and the fact that the girls would be again under the guidance of Xyndas, the local government seems to have evaded answering this issue.

With these in mind, the distribution of the 1867 *Parliamentary Candidate's* premiere is unconventional, if one approaches it through the operatic conventions of the time, but perfectly justifiable, if one approaches it through the conditions in the Ionian Islands. This earliest operatic work in Greek calls for five male and just one female singers. It is also indicative that in its premiere both the librettist Ioannis Rinopoulos and the composer sang, and that the female part was apparently held by a second generation Italian, Emilia Vianelli. It is also probable that Xyndas used people from his singing class in the Philharmonic.³² The opera was no romantic idealization of the past, but a realistic, despite comic, look into the current problems of the peasantry. Musically Xyndas had to be compose more accessible forms in order to meet the abilities of the available singers. So, it is not really unexpected that just five months after this premiere, in February 1868 (in the heyday of the Cretan Revolution), Xyndas composed one more "aria in idioma greco" for the Italian protagonist of the theatre of Corfu, Vittoria Pottentini.³³

The Parliamentary Candidate became emblematic for the continuous incapability to form a Greek opera troupe. In 1876 Xyndas's opera was the most obvious example that was brought forward, in order to support that despite the existence of competent and talented composers within the Greek Kingdom, the lack of Greek-speaking singers remained an important obstacle; "Look at the *Parliamentary Candidate* by Xyndas", the press underlined, "that has totally been neglected, because it uses Greek language".³⁴ A few months earlier, the most promising of the younger Greek composers, the Ionian Dionyssios Rodotheatos, responded to the questions regarding him not composing based on Greek language with a very straightforward answer, namely "because compositions in Greek are not supported".³⁵ The same was observed by the poet Kostis Palamas a decade later.³⁶ Nonetheless, it was widely acknowledged that operas by Greek composers using an Italian libretto demonstrated the emergence of the Greek opera according to the European prototypes. However, in order to be considered as national, operas had to be in Greek language.³⁷

Another emblematic figure of the Greek opera, Pavlos Karrer, again in 1875 encountered similar problems during the performances in Athens of his two operas based on the Greek revo-

Angri: An unknown opera legend] (private publication, 1999)]. Italy was also the place of the musical apprenticeship of the other 19th-century *primadonna* of the Ionian Islands, the Zakynthian Isabella Yatrà (c.1838-1916), the daughter of the painter Konstantinos Yatràs and his British wife, who led a more or less "domestic career" and in 1859 became the wife of Pavlos Karrer [Leotsakos, *Giorgos Pavlos Karrer. Apomnemonemata kai Ergografia* [Pavlos Karrer. Memoirs and Works], (Athens: Benaki Museum / Ionian University-Music Department, 2003), esp. 118-119].

³² In this context it is also important to underline that the Corfu's theatre 1867-1868 *impresa* had been entrusted to a special committee of the Corfu Philharmonic Society (see, Leotsakos, *Pavlos Karrer*, 129), a fact that should have facilitated the premieres of both *The Parliamentary Candidate* and Karrer's *Fior di Maria*. If not anything else, both composers were of Ionian origin, their talent had already been acknowledged and they had strong bonds with the Philharmonic Society.

³³ The aria's title is *Zesto ein'to mnima sou* [Your tomb is still warm] and its score is exhibited in the Museum of the Corfu Philharmonic Society. A few days before the same singer held the leading role in the world premiere of *Fior di Maria* by Pavlos Karrer (Leotsakos, *Pavlos Karrer*, 129-130). In 1883 Xyndas's composition was performed by Xyndas's daughter, Georgina, during a Philharmonic Society's concert (a copy of the programme exists in the Society's Archive).

³⁴ *Efimeris* III-24 (24.1.1876), 3

³⁵ *Efimeris* II-249 (6.9.1875), 3.

³⁶ Kostis Palamàs, "Komoï kai komazontes», *Estia* IX-490 (19.5.1885), 347-350.

³⁷ *Efimeris* III-24 (24.1.1876), 2.

lution, namely *Markos Botsaris* and *Frossini*. The “Apollon” theatre’s troupe (which was hired by its impresario, the aforementioned Antonios Manoussos) was an Italian one and the press made explicit reference that certain parts of these works will be performed in Greek,³⁸ obviously by using similar practices to those of Mantzaros half a century earlier. These conditions obliged Karrer to prepare two librettos, one in Greek and one in Italian. Karrer was also complaining that one factor for this negligence towards the Greek opera was connected to the unwillingness and the incompetence of the Greek politicians.³⁹

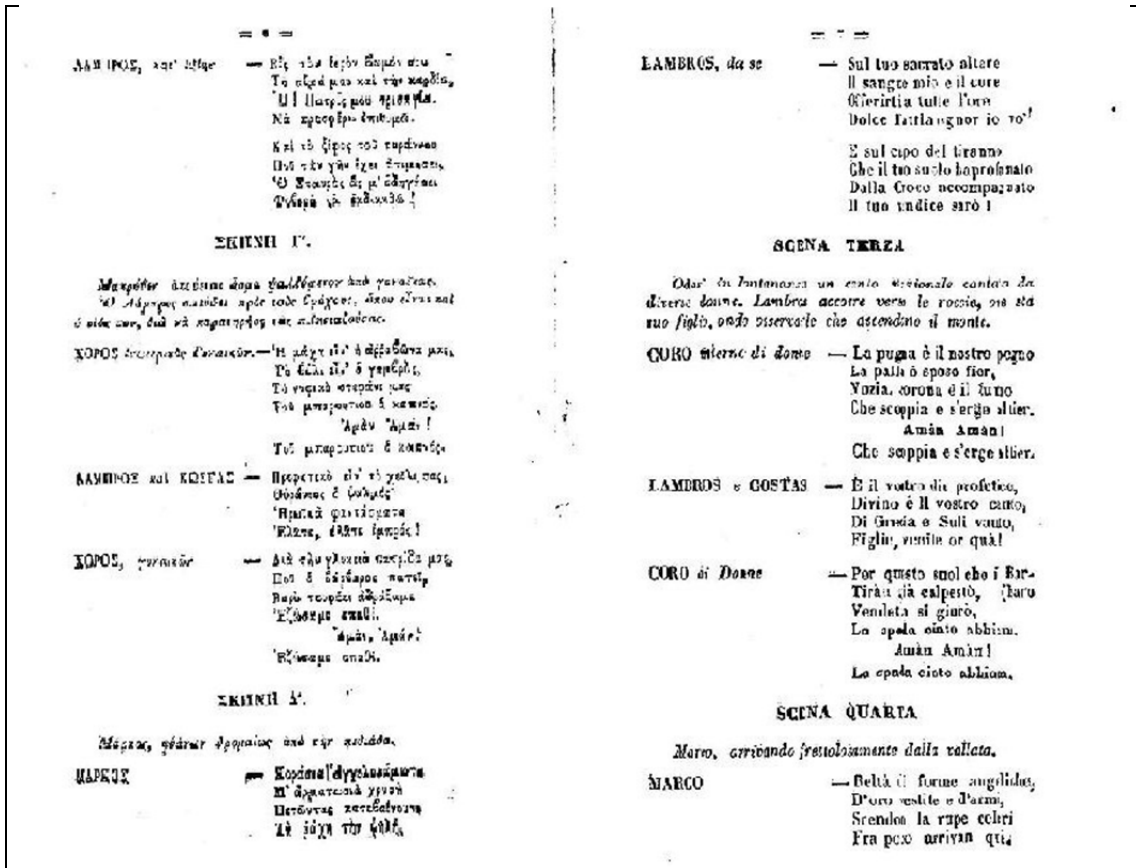
Nonetheless, in 1875 a new music establishment was making its initial steps; that was the Athens Conservatory and Karrer offered to this establishment a one-act patriotic opera on a Greek libretto by Manoussos, who was also one of the Conservatory’s teachers. The title of the opera was *Despo, the heroine of Suli* and Karrer saw in it an opportunity to create within the Conservatory the base of a Greek opera troupe. Its Board, however, stated right from the beginning that they were not ready to support such an endeavour and the situation remained unchanged also in 1882. *Despo* finally had its premiere in 1883 in Patras again by an Italian troupe (Picture 2). Professional Greek-speaking singers were still been expected. It was in 1888 that a Greek-speaking troupe was formed in Athens under a private initiative, in order to perform *Xyndas’s Parliamentary Candidate*, but again the female role was held by Caterina Bottarelli-Landi (the Italian wife of the Corfiot baritone Antonios Landis), who “sang with her usual virtuosity, pronouncing the Greek verses with her foreign, Italian accent”.⁴⁰ Nonetheless, that was the beginning of the Ellinikon Melodrama [Greek Opera Troupe], an establishment that exceeds the expectations of this paper. However, it should be noted that Dionyssios Lavrangas, the moving power of the Greek Opera Troupe in the eve of the 20th century had no problem to employ Italian singers to sing Puccini’s works translated in Greek, despite them “learning Greek by heart, just like parrots”.⁴¹

³⁸ *Efimeris* II-165 (14.6.1875), 1-2.

³⁹ Leotsakos, *Pavlos Karrer*, 138.

⁴⁰ *Efimeris* XV-75 (15.3.1888), 2.

⁴¹ Lavragkas, *Dionyssios T’apomnomoneumata mou* [My memoirs], (Athens: Govostis, 2009), 132.



Picture 2a, b: Two facing pages of the bilingual (Greek and Italian) libretto of Karrer's Despo (Private collection).

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Samara's Way: Un Greco Vero

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Abstract. Kalomiris's disdain for Samaras was ultimately related to deeply different conceptions of patriotism. Samaras's Parisian friends included, among others, baritone Periklis Aravantinos (*aka* Aramis), scholar Dimitri Vikelas (the first president of the International Olympic Committee), Orientalist and 'helléniste' Count Queux de Sainte-Hilaire, and poet Paul Millet. These people were able to combine cosmopolitanism with pure patriotism, as well as a particular understanding of Greece's international role and history shaped by the dominant scientific racism ideology of the day. In artistic circles in France, esp. after the 1870 defeat, this could be also combined with strong anti-German feelings, which, in matters artistic translated as 'anti-Wagnerian', despite the fact that the same people were Wagner's admirers. If Samaras's natural cosmopolitanism allowed him to live like a French and pass for an Italian (one of Sonzogno's best), it is to the more scholarly members of the circle, -e.g. Vikelas and Millet- that one should turn in order to find signs of ideological commitment. This patriotism model enjoyed the sympathies of the European aristocracy, not least those of the Greek royal family. Conversely, the political ideal of the National School -and Kalomiris himself- was a liberal democratic one nourished by the idolization of Eleftherios Venizelos. For the National School the quest for identity was understood in terms of a quest for Greek elements in a new kind of music designed to catch up with the 'achievements of the musically developed nations'. (Needless to say, the move towards the separation of individual from collective identity was never consummated neither in the music of the National School nor in its homologue literature of the Demoticists). In Samaras the quest for identity clearly concerned the modern, bourgeois, alienated individual in the Veristic framework of a *fin de siècle* discontent; for this he should count as a forerunner of Greek -individualistic- art music, and, at the same time on a par with contemporary European art. After his return to Greece in 1911, Samaras's need for survival in a rather inimical environment directed him to what he considered safer choices, both aesthetically and ideologically: patriotic compositions like the *Address to Mother Greece* and the *Epinikia*, as well as the last operettas. In this sense, the comparison of *Rea* (1908) with *The Cretan Maid* (1916) is telling: on the one hand, the symbolically rich myth of Arian political unity in the heroic operatic genre; on the other, an irredentist Greek-Venetian operetta myth as the result of the up-to-the-minute triggering of the Union of Crete with Greece in 1913.

A line in a letter by Kalomiris to Varvoglis of 19 May 1916 referring to the founding of the Greek Union of Composers reads: "[...] the company [of the founding members] is really a motley group: Samaras is President, the Vice-President is Lavrangas, myself the Secretary".¹ How is one to refer today in Greece to Samaras? For all of us who have taken classes in the History of Music and, only in a mature age, we discovered the lost continent of 'modern Greek art music', the name of Spiro Samaras is connected with a humiliation. How is one to refer today to Samaras, either pretending that such a humiliation never existed, opting instead to focus on the highlights of what has been an undoubtedly glorious career; or arguing on his behalf against all those who humiliated him, thus running the risk of becoming part of the story one is trying to tell? I'll try to understand the contexts -both the friendly and the inimical ones- in which Samaras created; ultimately, I'll attempt to put forward a perspective regarding his placement in the history of the Greek and, more generally, of European music.

A. Samaras begun his studies at the age of twelve when he enrolled at the Athens Conservatory to study under Errico Stancampiano, a student of Mercadante.² In December 1881 he went to Paris to continue studies under Théodore Dubois and Léo Delibes at the Paris Conservatoire. In all of his life, Samaras' musical language exemplified the combination of Italian lyricism with

¹ Cited in: Leotsakos, 32.

² Garoufalas/Xanthoudakis, 29.

French harmonic and orchestrational *finesse*. In the concrete political situation of his times this had an *ipso facto* anti-German overtone. His first known composition is the *Pensée mélancolique pour la mort de D. Vourvachis* for piano (1877). Captain Vourvachis was the nephew of the famous Napoleonic General Bourbaki. He fought under the French in the Franco-Prussian war and upon his coming back he served as a sub-commander to the student military organization modeled on the Sacred Band of the 1821 War of Independence. Upon his tragic death in a duel in October 1877 he was elevated on a heroic pedestal, next to the War-of-Independence hero Kanaris, who had died in September of the same year (cf. the Obituary by the Rector of the University of Athens). An awe-inspired sixteenth-year old Samaras composed the *Pensées* in the elegiac and heroic parthenopean tradition mirroring the dominant Italian operatic style, with its alternation of virtuosic passage-work and grandiloquent 'arias without words', as it were; this was the style of many a 'fantasy' or 'reminiscence' on operatic themes, the only difference being that in Samara's case there was no pre-existing opera.

Another indication of the anti-German attitude in Samaras is to be found in the poetic ideology of Paul Millet (1848-1924), the chief librettist of his mature, and most fecund creative period. In these thirty-odd years (roughly from 1881 to 1908) the operas based on a libretto by Millet stand out: *Giovanna* (1892), *Storia d'amore* (1903), *La mademoiselle de Belle Isle* (1905), and, last but not least, *Rhea* (1908).

In the verse 'Prologue' to his *Premières Poésies* of 1874 Millet refers to the dull and boring modern poets who dwell at their 'Walhallas'.³ Shortly before that, he had criticized the modern urge to escape into the brumous landscapes of Nordic mythology, inhabited with the Odins, the Mimirs and the Wotans; and to declare his admiration for the classical models of Tibullus, as well as of a number of classical French poets of the sixteenth and the eighteenth centuries, such as Mathurin Régnier, André Chenier, and Charles Hubert de Millevoeye. This conservative aesthetics, whereby one could easily substitute 'anti-Wagnerian' for 'anti-German', was very close to the musical aesthetics of Samaras himself.

B The command to Samaras for the composition of the Olympic Hymn for the first Olympic Games of the modern era (1896) came as a consequence of his international fame, and the wish, on the Greek side of the Committee, to exhibit the musical progress of the relatively new Greek state; not least, it was due to Samaras' optimal relationships to the King and his friendship to Dimitri Vikelas, the President of the First Olympic Committee, and a companion of his Parisian life. "In Paris", writes Leotsakos, "he attended the most exclusive society circles: the salons of princesses De Leon, Bibesco and Brandcovan, and of viscountess de Frédern". His close friends included Aramis, *nom de plume* of the Greek baritone Periklis Aravantinos, the violinist Anemogiannis, and the afore-mentioned Vikelas. Very often, Samaras played cards with Aramis and Anemogiannis at the *Cercle de la Presse* or the *Club Anglais*; while in Athens, he used to play bridge in the company of King Constantine, at whose weddings his *Flora mirabilis* had been staged (1899) and to whom he dedicated his *Storia d'amore* (1903). His social acquaintances also included Countess Trubetzkoy and Jacques Damala, an actor of Greek origin whose Greek-god looks and extravagant lifestyle earned him a place next to his ten-years senior Sarah Bernard (both on stage and in the bedroom).

The personality emerging from these lines is one of a cosmopolite, somebody charming and thirsty for life, one who needed a respectable income to maintain his luxurious lifestyle; moreover, someone living out his European identity in a most natural way, i.e. without particular philosophical or ideological worries. One can only wonder, what could a man like this have to do with the obsessive quest for national identity which characterized Kalomoiris and his circle.

³ "Sans le moin souci de poètes modernes/ Qui dans leur Walhalla sont ennuyeux et ternes".

There is, however, a special ideological trait that not only differentiated Samaras from the Kalomoiris circle, but which connected him, at the same time, to almost everybody mentioned above: Aramis (and, through him, Bourgault-Ducoudray), Queux de Saint-Hilaire, the Greek King (probably), and Paul Millet: it is the typical contemporary mixture of cosmopolitanism and scientific racism. The latter refers to a corpus of theories and ideas developed during the nineteenth century by French, German, and British scholars, triggered by the great advances of Indo-European linguistics and evolutionary biology, all made to fit in a comprehensive Orientalist political and cultural agenda.⁴ Aryanism, an alias for (pseudo-)scientific racism, was the ideology of Bourgault-Ducoudray, Aramis, Vikelas and the whole movement for the renaissance of the Olympic Games, Queux de Saint-Hilaire, Ernest Renan, and probably of a lot of others in the immediate -or not so immediate- *milieu* of Samaras.⁵ What about Samaras himself? To be sure, Samaras was much more the artistic-*bon-viveur* than the sullen bookworm type; in this sense, it is more probable for us to find mere traces of such an ideological inclination than proofs of a hard-boiled sturdy engagement.

Such an indication one can find in the libretto of his opera *Rhea*. In the First Scene, after the People lauds Lysias as the one “la cui stirpe si destó”, Lysias replies: “People of Chios, the root which you laud is my own root: *quella degli Aria, padri del bel ridente suolo*”.⁶ Shortly before this, according to the directions of the libretto, Lysias held under his “heel of steel Zahra the defeated Saracen”. In the light of the ‘Aryan’ root of Lysias all these that mystified Leotsakos in his comments to the opera acquire a meaning: after having cited an excerpt in the dialogue between *Guarche* and *Spinola* (“G.: If the Greeks, who built the fortresses, help the Genovese, who possess them, peace will ensue and victory will be ensured”), Leotsakos comments: “the foreign conquerors need the Greeks to fight the Saracens. We are befuddled by this call for reconciliation of a subjugated Hellenism with the alien tyrant, even if this be against a common, dreadful foe”. The political message of the opera, I think, is clear: it is the need for an Aryan alliance of Greeks, Genovese, and Venetians (i.e. Western Europeans) against the feral and non-Aryan Saracens (i.e. the Turks). A look in a speech Vikelas delivered to the members of the *Cercle de Saint-Simon* in 1885 corroborates the above political argument: in it, Vikelas emphasized the historical mission of Byzantium as a safeguard of ancient Greek tradition till the moment it passed over in the secure hands of the (Aryan) West, to which Greeks are connected through “leurs instincts de race et tous leurs intérêts”.⁷ The Fall of Constantinople was the moment when the conditions were ripe for this cultural transfer and at the same time the moment of birth of the Modern Greek nation, which would eventually come to shed the Byzantine skin and be reborn to Hellenic consciousness. This is, *grosso modo*, the content of Vikelas’s vision. In the opera, set in medieval Chios, one cannot help noticing the ancient Greek names of the two lovers-protagonists (Lysias, Rhea); Lysias is enacting his Aryan identity by the symbolic submission of the Saracen in the Games as well as by exemplifying the Venetian-Genovese-Hellenic alliance against the non-Aryan non-Christian enemy. This message, enhanced by the antiquity-cult spirit of the first modern Olympics (and only two years away from the 1906 Athens Mesolympics and the International *Congrès des Orientalistes* of the same year), which, through a glance in the participating countries, could be called rather ‘Aryan’ than ‘International’, had an immediate political significance for Samaras who was already looking forward to his repatriation; on

⁴ See McCarthy, 545 for the argument that the global structures of scientific racism passed seamlessly in a kind of political neo-racism after the epistemological death of the former.

⁵ See Vlagopoulos 2012.

⁶ The otherwise careful Nikolaos Poriotis, who penned the Greek translation of the libretto, rendered "Aria" as "heroes" (ηρώων)-a sign of political correctness or of ignorance? One could only guess!

⁷ Bikélas, 32.

the other side, it exemplified his self-appreciation as a Greek *and* European composer at the same time.

C What about Samaras's position in the broader European context? Let me take a close look to *La martire* (1894). Based on a libretto by Luigi Illica, the opera is completely in sync with the contemporary *verismo* movement. Before that, the first important librettist in Samaras's work was Ferdinando Fontana (*Flora mirabilis*, *Medgé*, *Lionella*), a member of the Italian *scapigliatura* Avant-garde. A basic common trait of both *verismo* and *scapigliatura* was the reflection on the theatrical conventions and the notion of identity. For example, in Scene No 9 of the Second Act in *La martire* Natalia announces to Tristano the death of their daughter. He refuses to give her credence. Alas, the audience knows that this be true! "Con la piccina giuocan la commedia", mumbles the wine-loaded Tristano. "Commedia" is a word heard more than once, by Natalia too: "Portavo intorno la commedia mia!". It is impossible to overhear how the word rhymes with the finale of the *Pagliacci*: "Canio: la commedia é finita!": after this phrase, all three Canios, as it were, disappear from the scene: the singer who plays Canio, the *pagliaccio*, the pretending Canio. *La martire* ends with a scream: a raucous and manic Tristano breaks into the room where he believes Natalia and her imaginary lover hide to encounter only dead Natalia's glassy look, as the libretto is very keen to point out: the 'commedia' of Identity thanks to which the only identity is the one given to us by the others here is turned to the horror of the empty, dead Natalia's eyes whereon for the first time the real Tristano gets reflected. Again: *La martire* represents the peak of the perfect sync between Samaras and the contemporary artistic *milieu*. Let me add a detail pertaining to the history of the *Pagliacci*: Leoncavallo had to face charges of plagiarism addressed to him by the French playwright Catulle Mendès. Leoncavallo claimed that he drew on childhood memories, ones regarding a real case dealt by his father, a judge. The all too veristic game of lie and truth, or, in Pirandellian terms, *cosi é se vi pare*, would involve some years later Samaras as well: "According to Nikos Laskaris's *History of Modern-Greek Theatre* the famous aria 'Ridi pagliaccio' [...] is clearly modeled after a *romanza* in Samaras's lost *Lionella*".⁸

D More often than not, against all good intentions to undo the injustice done to Samaras by Kalomoiris and his circle, modern Greek musicologists have adopted Kalomoiris's value schema; thus, one tries to prove that according to the same value schema Kalomoiris's judgment does not stand: If Kalomoiris accused Samaras of being only nominally Greek but substantially Italian or French, one would need only to find elements of Greekness in Samaras to prove Kalomoiris wrong. But this to assess Samaras's achievement by the criteria of his National Music School detractors, and not by its own merit. On the other end, one has been tempted to look for stylistic novelties in Samaras, esp. in his veristic operas, which predate ('foretell') corresponding traits in, say, Puccini (and sometimes Strauss). This is again a reaction to the Kalomoirian stragem aiming to undermine Samaras's value as a composer (the vicious argument being something like this: a. A good composer is a Nationalist Greek composer, b. Samaras is not a Nationalist Greek composer, ergo c. Samaras is not a good composer).⁹

A more sober approach is in order. As I said before, Samaras's sync with contemporary European music peaked in 1894 with the veristic *La martire*: the quest for identity clearly concerned the modern, bourgeois, alienated individual in the Veristic framework of a *fin de siècle* discontent. After his return to Greece and *Rhea's* Greek *première* in 1911, Samara's need for survival in a rather inimical environment led him to more conservative, and, what he considered as, safer choices, both aesthetically and ideologically: patriotic compositions like the *Address to Mother Greece* and the *Epinikia*, as well as the last operettas. In this sense, the compar-

⁸ See Leotsakos, 19.

⁹ See Kalomoiris 1910.

ison between *Rhea* (1908) and *The Cretan Maid* (1916) is telling: on the one hand, the symbolically rich myth of Aryan political unity in the heroic operatic genre; on the other, an irredentist Greek-Venetian operetta plot as the result of the up-to-the-minute triggering of the Union of Crete with Greece in 1913. However, Samaras's output from the beginnings thru to *Rhea* should count as a model for Greek art music, and, at the same time, perfectly in sync with contemporary European art.

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Deriving from Eptanesos National images of Hellenic music theatre (1900-1912)

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Abstract. The paper focuses on the heralding of Hellenic opera towards the East during the 20th century under the prismatic dominating national ideas of the era. Among the daring pioneers, the Eptanesian Dionysios Lavrangas, Spyridon-Filiskos Samaras and Apostolos Konataratos have dominated the enforcing. Their work was distinguishably acclaimed by the nationally inspired populations even far beyond the narrow borders of the Hellenic kingdom. Starting with opera, the extended operatic actions --exercised by the very early operatic companies from Eptanisos under the baton of D. Lavrangas-- are forcefully presented to the theatres from Corfu to the East. As S. F. Samaras was gloriously fighting a duel with Giacomo Puccini in European scenes, his appeal to theatre audiences in the East increased until the final settlement of the composer in Athens being supported by the crown. Within the context of the upstaging and prolonging nationalism from Athens, the emphasis on national extensions for operatic activities (performing and composition) is set within the font of the West-European cultural domination during the 1st Balkanic war. Reference to national contents is not omitted when they are associated with operetta. The forwarding of the gender by the substantial royalist Apostolos Konataratos is considered to have highly enforced the contribution of national intentions to it. Having being performed by the Hellenic opera companies, operetta is nowadays examined under politico-historic and socio-economic aspect for its extraordinary presence in the Eptanesian repertoires.

Introduction

What could be said about Hellenic opera is that its cultivation was first acted in Eptanesos but it spread as emerging from the capital of the country. The civil centres around the periphery regions (Corfu, Ermoupolis, Patras and after 1912 Thessaloniki) were mainly based upon the Hellenic opera companies. They had followed the companies from abroad that had started the operatic activity on theatre stages.

Today one can study how the Hellenic opera companies spread the idea of national opera among the Hellenic populations in S.E. Europe as the phenomenon is sketched out by the sources. The eventuality is primarily connected with the vision of national completion and only later it received new symbolic contents. These contents are examined here within the historic bound defined by the establishment of National Lyric Stage (1939).

The process occurred in 20th century and was multi-dimensioned. Nowadays, the study is realized on a bibliography that offers a summation as view about Hellenic ideological and cultural as well as socio-politic aspects during the early 20th century.¹

¹ The bibliography compiles mainly from historic titles well known to scholars, starting from biographies of members of the Glyxbourg royal dynasty. Later in the lists were added : a) the Raptis, Michalis A. A Condense history of Hellenic melodrama and the National Lyric Stage, 1888-1988 (Athens: Livanis 1988) b) The Memoirs of Dionysios Lavrangas and Manolis Kalomoires c) A number of studies that brought into light researches in the archives of the Athens Conservatory, the two kalomoirean conservatories (Hellenic and National) and the State Conservatory of Thessaloniki d) Articles in art magazines of the era e) Newly published articles about newspaper archives of early 20th century.

Geography and presuppositions for the study

For a necessary limitation of the study one should define the expanding character of the Hellenic civil culture that set off towards the East at the early 20th century. Its strong minded prospects were enforced by affinities in the West if not by alien enforcing in the most multi-various dimension. When talking about national ideals it must be clear that this break-out would be seen not as a strict, imperialistic asperity and enforcement pressed upon semi-developed socio-economic structures. It would rather be seen as a oestrous moving cultural development, as it is documented nowadays by new researches about the era and the intellectuals substantiate.

Analytically :

- In the Aimos peninsula the initiatives by the Hellenic opera companies brought the genre in the Romanian court more than once and successfully. The performances were frequent also in cities of Russia, where strong theatrical relations were developed because of family bounds between the Tsars and the Hellenic dynasty at the ends of 19th century.²
- In Constantinople, the prominence of the Hellenic opera companies is documented since the Hellenic opera company of Ioannis Karayiannis performed in the imperial theatre and was decorated by the Sultan.³
- Smyrna is a particular study as musicological and teatrological researches recently disclosed. In the capital of Ionia the Mertika family of Hellenes artists developed noteworthy local activities of music theatre until 1922. It was mostly about the early *révue* tradition in Smyrna but they later approached the west-European operetta. It is still a question for scientists, researching existing musical and extra-musical documentation, the overriding ability to associate the culture about music theatre in Smyrna with the development of politics for national completion and the wide-spread dream for attachment of lands as an interconnected demand. Survivings of smyrnean music theatre after 1922, if not been seen as residuary tokens of Hellenism, could substantiate artistic loyalty of historic cradles of Hellenism into the boundaries of the Hellenic realm.⁴
- The presence of the Hellenic opera companies in Egypt was well accepted by the local audiences when the theatres of Kairo and Alexandria were included in the routes. The earliest known today record about activity of a Greek opera singer in the East derives from this country. The newspaper 'New Smyrna' published about Konstantinos Kostellos's participation into the Italian opera company performing in Egypt in 1877. His previously widely known participation in a performance of the opera *I popsifios Vouleftis* (=Candidate for a member of Parliament) by the Hellenic opera company of Ioannis Karayiannis, in 1888 is now presaged a decade.⁵

The study for developing processes of new-Hellenic operatic nationalism beyond the borders of the Hellenic kingdom during the 20th century is nowadays straightforward. The processes were obvious as a result of historic social ongoing in S.E. Europe. The deny of the authority of the Sultan and the gradual upraise of the neo-Hellenic civil ideals (inspired by west-European ideas) was effectuated under the, initially «blameless», vehicle of the Eptanesian opera honoured by Italian attestations of success. The paradox that the most unproschematic propelling of the Eptanesian operas as a national argument (while the distances from the national centre

² Apart from the widely known in the D. Lavranga's Memoirs there are newly found substantiations in the Kokkinis's archives.

³ Skandali Angeliki, "Opera performances in Constantinopole, 1850-1908", unpublished.

⁴ Skandali Angeliki, "Opera and operetta in Smyrna until 1922", *Mikrasiatika Hronika* 23 (2010), 175-197.

⁵ Skandali, Angeliki The process of opera in Greece during the 19th century, (Athens: Gutenberg 2001), 137-144.

of Athens were postulated them more perceivable) points towards the influential substance of Eptanesian culture amongst the forceful processes of the Hellenic nationalism that was doubtlessly impossible to be substituted by artistic powers in Athens (e.x. as dissimilarly we know from the history of the prose theatre).

Practically about the realisation of the artistic come-abouts abroad, the first role was given to the impresarios. For the Hellenic occurrence around the world –apart from early occasions by Ioannis Kokkinis-- prominent characters were the two men from the Ionian island of Kefallinia : Dionysios Lavrangas and Apostolos Kontaratos. The first is credited a «marathon race» for decades along S.E. Europe. The second is nowadays evident that he endured the «bas-tions» of comic opera during a historic curve of time: when the Hellenic opera discovered its humoresque face after a snowdrift of comic works that were successful in the cashiers as well as artistic events in central Europe.



Dionysios Lavrangas posing 1

Dionysios Lavrangas represents the early tradition of Hellenic opera that draws its definition for music taste from the Italian and French tradition of the late 19th century, although his contribution to the tradition of Hellenic comic opera after Samara's demise is still a question. Samaras on the other hand was keen-eyed about the elevation of Viennese operetta when in Athens both audience and critics had forgiven Offenbach for his previous on-stage blunt about ancient goddesses. Nevertheless, the palace continued to finance the centro-European operetta as well as the Hellenic opera companies.

In Smyrna the Hellenic (originated from the Hydra island) family of the impresario Zacharias Mertikas, did approached only the operetta but they seem today to have give long living continuity to elements of smyrnean aesthetics that form the puzzle of Hellenic presence in Asia Minor.

An analytic approach of the phenomenon for study mainly focuses on :

a. the search for mechanisms for bestowing of (operatic) nationalistic ideals and the following incorporation of extra-Helladic Hellenic populations into the system of the neo-Hellenic civil values who had east bounded the operatic expansion during the 19th century.

The most effective regularity was, as early as the beginnings of the 20th century, the *performances* of Hellenic operas by the Hellenes opera singers. Despite the fact that cooperation on

stage with west-European opera companies was never entirely abandoned when abroad, the search for prestigious zones of reference to the Hellenic audiences by the Hellenic opera companies succeeded as a part of an overall programme of national galvanization and approach of the hellenized populations. Although any particular differences of repertoire choices (mostly west-European in taste) between the west-European and Hellenic opera companies are not located yet, the dynamics that emerged by the urban population-carriers of national ideals was powerful. The tempt of Hellenes artists to the extra-helladic audiences was responding to expectations that are raised to the fantasiac about *national*, as the self-enumeration among those whose ambition was the incorporation to the national body of state through the participation into activities that derive from it.

Apart from the realisation of the ideal of the creation of Hellenic opera, signs of a progressive attitude (as for the civil tokens of the audience) should additionally be the new stances about the woman's position into modern life. The woman opera singer that acquires reputation through the art was raised up to a legal standing higher than any other respected art for women of the era. The practise did not culminated into ventetism, which was a characteristic for the prose theatre (the competitive ventetism between the actresses Kyveli-Kotopouli was rather boisterous) and the awareness about popularity was discreet in the realms of Hellenic opera.

b. the study of the contents of the ideology and aesthetics that were spread

The most decisive feature to explicate views about the ideological contents of the broadly perceived genre of opera is the study of the *repertoires*. The search into the sources of the conservatories discloses, for the purpose of a verdict about the character of the studies, that various -isms were present, depending the influences that exposed those who configured the «personality» of the provided knowledge. The frenchism of the Athens Conservatory seems that emerged for long also at the Hellenic Conservatory, though the elevated germanicism and the discovering of the national schools after the 1920s diversified the inclinations that are nowadays distinguished amongst the competitive powers. In spite the ceaseless interest about the creation of national operatic works, the Hellenic opera has never been hesitant. The surviving of the romantic Italian opera were obvious besides the Italian modernism of D' Anuzzio-Wolf Ferrari. In the meanwhile, French impressionism co-existed with the German megalithic idealism in a dose that listeners at the conservatory concerts could balance under conditions of concentration that the audience of before the war could expose.

As for the performances by the opera companies, the intentioned profit and the consequent tempting of the audience with easier and known operas makes the study of compelling of the repertoires a social matter. The desired appealed of operatic contents has to do with the repetition of familiar syllogic representations (concerning the subjects or the plots) but also the production and reproduction of new artistic *επισημάτων* that promote the ideological conception about art and the representation of aspects of social life through it. To which extend those expectations compromised to uttered will of the audience is nowadays studied in surviving forms of feedback located in social life aspects and ranges of ideological endowing with and conflict of ideas. Apart the press and magazines, the periodicals for arts and reviews are a prestigious zone of substantiation that is valued in the list of references.

When speaking about the repertoires, one could not omit the Wagnerian view about opera. This was critic to the Italian tradition that dominated for long the repertoires of the opera companies in S.E.Europe. It was introduced after the insisting visualisation of the German-bred Manolis Kalomoires. However, Wagner's operas were not broadly known for years and a good reason for this was the lack of large theatre stage. The librettist Zacharias Papantoniou critically

presented in his pages the scandalous support of Wagner by his prostate king, Ludwig B'.⁶ The presence of an aesthetics by the librettist Papantoniou, as it took over for the grace of the Wittelsbach dynasty, could «gaol» the operatic life even for decades after the departure of the king Othon. Today is an indication that the human resources of the light music theatre had seen the previous Wagnerian pioneering as a hope for invigorate artistic viewpoints. Queen Olga had attended a *Tanhäuser* performance in Vienna during 1873.⁷ However, in those early days of the 19th century it could only be a mix up if Wagnerian ideas associated with the established in the Hellenic theatre stage Italian opera.

A reference to the appearance of operetta is not useless. The empower of the impresario from Kefallinia, Apostolos Kontaratos (who maintained co-existence of opera and operetta in the repertoires of his companies) is explicable when taking into consideration the financing by the palace.

c. location of internal criticism against opera

It is beyond question the size of an absence : of any internal criticism for the appeal of opera as a ideological element as well as a part of the supposed concrete cultural program of nationalism. Opera knew competitive reluctance about its aesthetic value only by relevant genres, such the *révue*, which has been the most outspoken until nowadays. Kalomoires's and Samaras's comedies taste on the *révue* stage is understood as a non-deep criticism of the most widely held gestures for the music theatre that passed painlessly from the press columns. Nevertheless, the presence of a member of the Hellenic royal family at the theatre during a *révue* performance (the theatre company was that of Marika Kotopouli that the palace financed) is an indication that widely held music theatre could not be considered as a thread of the Hellenism since it was elevated as appealing to all possible social directions. The favour of prince Nikolaos from the light-hearted *révue* is depicted in his memoirs, perhaps for reasons related to the then financial misery of the Royal Theatre.⁸

Reluctance and criticism against opera seems that were not known among movements of ideological doubt in the blossoms of the Hellenic education. The connoisseurs and the leadership of the unsalvaged had to face the censorship of the Turks but later they were also influenced by the tempts of the music theatre : in Smyrna were long before 1922 operettas with oriental features that audiences known well.

If the popular operetta by Theofrastos Sakellarides and Nikos Xatziapostolou that overwhelmed the theatres received criticism by Manolis Kalomoires, controversies between the Eptanesian composers of opera and operetta were not mentioned. The kalomerian unwillingness for operetta based on accusations for ruining the music sense. However, these views never reached Smyrna. There, the local writers Sylvios and Karakassis advanced operetta in 1922 with articles into the smyrnean periodicals 'Tharros' and 'Armonia' without targeting opera. As the most serious among a number of music theatre genres, opera enjoyed respect. Perhaps only the culture of ancient theatre could compel it in terms of symbolic weight and cultural weight that could associate easily Greece with civilized Europe.

The breakout from West to East

The Hellenic operatic activities that were launched by the first opera company of Yannis Karayannis during the 19th century went along at the early 20th century. Although these companies

⁶ Papantoniou, Zacharias, Othon, (Athens : Dimitrakos 1934)

⁷ 'Vyzantis', 17/10 (1873), 2.

⁸ Nikolaos prince of Hellas Memoirs, (Athens : 1937)

performed not quite consistently the overall activity is well worth-noting. The companies used to perform in Athens, the peripheral cities and beyond the national borders.

Fine-voiced singers from abroad of Hellenic origins followed enthusiastically the opera companies offering to their success.⁹ Only a few is known about these opera singers performances in lyric theatres abroad as close to the formation of the First Hellenic Melodrama and the *Bohème* performance in Athens in 1900. Worth-mentioned is the basso Michalis Manzaras who participated the *Bohème* premiere at the *Teatro Regio* in February 1896 under the baton of Arturo Toscanini.¹⁰ His participation may coincide with the presence of princess Maria (daughter of King George I) in the theatre in the company of the royal couple of Italy.¹¹

A numeration of Hellenic contributions to W. European opera stage performances is not yet effective. It still remains notable the strive between the Eptanesian opera composer, Spyridon Samaras and Giacomo Puccini for the domination in the Italian opera theatres. They two composers enjoyed the support of powerful editors – the Sonzogno and Ricordi accordingly—and this favour guaranteed the success of their early operas. The Kokkinis's were an also elaborated artistic couple that brought in Greece their laurels from a number of royal courts of W. Europe as well as the court of the Tsar.

The spread of the Hellenic operas into the Hellenic kingdom and beyond it towards the Minor Asia and the East was the successful attempt of composers from Eptanesos after 1900. Spyridon Samaras's operas had been spread since the late 1880s.¹² Smyrna first met with the Eptanesian operas by Spyridon Xyndas and Spyridon Samaras in 1886.¹³ Constantinople came into knowledge with his *Flora Mirabilis* in 1886¹⁴ by the newspapers. Ermoupolis knew Samaras at the ends of 1901,¹⁵ after Dionysios Lavrangas had started his long while marathon-race in the theatres of S.E. Europe.

Later and until the Balkanic wars the efforts were more tentative and institutions for music cultivation strengthened the operatic art. The transformation of the Civic Theatre in Athens to an opera theatre and the proposition to Spyridon Samaras for an honorary undertake : the position of the Director of the Athens Conservatory as well as a wide-spread among the cultivated discussion about the characteristics of national music and the hereditary of folk music are understood as signs for increasing nation-centred notions about music.

⁹ The most prominent figure is the tenor Yannis Kokkinis who entered the Yanis Karayannis opera company in 1888 in Alexandria. During 1892-1895 he studied in Milan where he also married the soprano assoluta Stella Konstantinou-Kokkinis. They both entered the D. Lavrangas opera company in Athens in 1901. Stella Kokkini-Rink archives.

¹⁰ Michalis Manzaras sung several times under Toscanini during 1895-1898 in Italy. George Kousouris archives.

¹¹ Maria princess of Hellas, *Memoirs of the royal child Maria 1883-1933*, (Athens: 1951).

¹² In 1889 his opera *Flora Mirabilis* was performed in Corfu and Athens by a French opera company that included the work in the repertoire. Kokkini-Rink Stella, "Successes and difficulties for both the creators of the Olympic Games Hymne. Kostis Palamas's glory and the broad work by Spyros Samaras" *History*, 384 (2000), 108-113.

¹³ In 1886 his opera *Ipopsifios Vouleftis* (=Candidate for the Parliament) was performed by the Rodopoulos opera company and there were two revivals in 1888. In 1888 *Flora Mirabilis* was also performed. The next performance of an Eptanesian opera was in 1896 with the *Ipopsifios Vouleftis* again. Skandali, "Opera and...", 187-194.

¹⁴ Skandali, "Opera performances...", unpublished.

¹⁵ A performance of the opera *Martys* was successful in December 1901 by an Italian opera company. Eleftheriou, *Manos Theatre in Ermoupolis during 20th century*, (Ermoupolis, Municipality of Ermoupolis,1993), 111-112 and 116.

Spyridon Samaras's return

The Hellenic Melodrama, as the Hellenic opera companies were broadly known, continued its efforts for introducing opera in Greek audiences in urban centres beneath and beyond national borders during next decades. The repertoires constituted by European and Hellenic operas and new directors, as Spyridon Bekatoros, Markos Mastrekinis and Stefanos Valtetsiotis enforced the company.



The composer Spyridon Samaras

In February of 1907, newspapers in Smyrna published the latest news: in Athens the Hellenic Melodrama was being under renew. The lyric singer Nina Foka, originated from Smyrna, had participated a common decision made by artists and music teachers for the establishment of a music pedagogic institution, capable to cultivate “...the national music”. This should be correlated with the establishment of the National Music Society in 1907. This society worked with the Lottner Conservatory in Athens while a critic towards the Athens Conservatory had developed between music scholars.¹⁶ Apart from D. Lavrangas, commonly known for his great efforts about opera performance-making, the also Eptanesian Spyridon Samaras was then suggested as an appropriate man to the purpose. He was eminent and of well accepted artistic value and he was sincerely interested for the cultivation of national music.¹⁷

The crown favoured Samaras, first with the choices of an opera of him in 1898 and 1901. It was about the festivities for the marriage of the Prince Constantine and the opening of the Royal Theatre accordingly. Samaras's opera *Flora Mirabilis*¹⁸ was dedicated to the prince and the composer enjoyed noble support also in abroad.

Samaras conquered the Hellenic audiences, firstly in Asia Minor (Constantinople and Smyrna) and later in Athens. His first opera after coming back in homeland was his *Martys*. This was performed in *Theatre Concordia* in Constantinople under the baton of Alexandros Kyparissis. Leading singer was George Xatziloukas.¹⁹ The opera was later performed at the *Theatre Apollon* in Ermoupolis (season 1901-1902) by the Labruna Italian opera company.²⁰

¹⁶ Skandali, Angeliki, “Teaching lyric song in the Athens Conservatory and the Hellenic Melodrama by Dionysios Lavrangas”, *Polyphonia*, 14/2010, 92-127.

¹⁷ Skandali, “Opera and operetta...”, 173-195.

¹⁸ The librettist was Ferdinando Fontana.

¹⁹ Kokkini-Rink, Stella “Hellenic theatre in Constantinople and Smyrna”, *History*, 392 (2001), 68.

²⁰ Eleftheriou, *Theatre in Ermoupoli*, 111-112.

Samaras's favour by the palace (after the demise of the court composer Alexandros Katakouzinis) was evident after the recital in Paris by the tenor Pericles Aravatinos, in January 1903,²¹ honoured by the royal couple's presence. The «fashion» for folk music²² was furthered by an decisional trend for ordering Hellenic works to native composers.

Spyridon Samaras was in Athens during the spring of 1907. Interviewed by the newspaper 'Acropolis' he talked about the harmonization of the folk songs and the usage of this traditional music elements for his opera composing purposes.²³ The composition of his next opera, *Rhea*, has thus just started.

The composer were a member of the National Music Society and he served the commission that would study the examination of music issues. The society announced an opera composition competition to which Samaras did not participate.²⁴ Newspapers in Smyrna published rumours that Spyridon Samaras was going to be a candidate for the Directorship of the Athens Conservatory in 1907.²⁵ The heir to the throne invited him to a lunch, 'Amalthia' wrote. Prince Constantine during the lunch invited S. Samaras to permanently live in the kingdom in order to contribute the elevation of Hellenic opera.²⁶ During 1907 performances of Samara's opera *Mademoiselle de Belle Isle* were given in Athens, Constantinople²⁷ and Smyrna.²⁸ In 1911 his more traditional-like opera of all, *Rhea*, was performed in Athens by an Italian opera company,²⁹ one of those that enjoyed the Privy (palace allowance) for decades before the establishment of a permanent opera company.

It was also in 1907 when the newspaper 'Amalthia' in Smyrna published about the forming of a commission for the re-establishment of the Hellenic Melodrama. It was decided that every Greek opera singer should be invited from abroad as well as the announcement of opera composing competitions on "...Hellenic and byzantine themes..." under generous award. Two years later, in April 1909, D. Lavrangas's opera *Dido* was premiered at the *Civic Theatre of Athens*.³⁰ The opera company departed for one more successful tour along Greece and abroad.³¹

The operetta and its supposed national mission

After the Italian impresario Fedora's decision in 1911, the Hellenic Melodrama company staged its first operetta. It was *Perousé*, composed by Theofrastos Sake-larides. After a successful presence in Athens theatres, the company departed for a tour: Alexandria, Constantinople, Constance, Vraila, Odessa, again Constantinople.³²

In Smyrna probably it was that the acquaintance between the Hellenic Melodrama and the impresario Apostolos Kontaratos happened.³³ The impresario's name first appeared in news-

²¹ He was known as Aramis. In 1903 he presented to the audience in Athens folk song harmonized for orchestra and piano. Samaras knew Aramis since 1882 and offered him with harmonizations.

²² Romanou, Katy *Artistic hellenic music in newest times*, (Athens: Koultoura, 2006), 124.

²³ Romanou, Katy, *National music periegesis. Hellenic music periodicals as a source for research about neo-hellenic music history*, vol. II, (Athens: Koultoura, 1996), 269.

²⁴ Romanou, *National music...*, 270-271.

²⁵ Skandali, "Opera and operetta...", 192.

²⁶ Skandali, "Opera and operetta...", 192.

²⁷ Newspaper 'Amalthia', 14(27)/4 (1907), 19(2)/4 (1907) and 29(9)/4(1907).

²⁸ Skandali, "Opera and operetta ...", 192.

²⁹ Romanou, *Artistic...*, 154.

³⁰ Lavrangas, *Dionysios Memoirs*, (Athens : Govostis 1939), 200.

³¹ Lavrangas, *Memoirs*, 202-211.

³² Lavrangas, *Memoirs*, 218-226.

³³ Skandali, Angeliki "Viennen operetta in Smyrna. Pioneer of the spread of the gender in Greece-New documents from Mertikas archives", *Mikrasiatika Hronika*, 24(2011), 271-299.

papers there in 1911 and he was introduced as a theatre impresario in “*Serbia, Bulgaria, Romania and Egypt*”.³⁴ In March 1912 the Hellenic Melodrama was found in Smyrna having in its repertoire *Perousé*. This was prompting for Kontaratos and his later activities about operetta find there a probable start.



The famous impresario Apostolos Kontaratos

Dionysios Lavrangas writes in his memoirs that he was ignorant about operetta until the impresario Langadas tempted him with an operetta tour in the noble island of Corfu.³⁵ The composer was attracted by the operetta lightness but he was dedicated to high artistic standards and he did not risk his high esteem, valued here by music-historic criteria. He rather kept distances from light-hearted operetta works that spread along theatres during the 1920s and 1930s.

Nevertheless, operetta was not drastically down-estimated by the highly esteemed opera of those days. The palace supported mixed theatre companies and the strictly royalist A. Kontaratos enjoyed financial support as the crown patronizing was materially and symbolically enforcing for his activities. Theodoros Xatzipantazis writes that an approach between opera and operetta is referred to have happened earlier than the Balkanic wars, when S. Samaras met the journalist and literature man Polyvios Dimitrakopoulos who furnished him with his later operetta poem-texts.³⁶

The first operettas were influenced rather from *révue* and their interests were scholiastic.³⁷ *Perousé's* creation is probably correlated with the appearance of gypsies caravans in Athens, in 1911.³⁸ We can only assume that the composing of operettas derived from the ideal of creations of national works in every aspect of art. This confronts with demanding uprising of the Hellenic national and urban ideas of the era.

The co-existence of opera and operettas in the repertoires of European companies that performed in Greece was not unknown. The simple mimetic and the wish to expand is a logic demand for the Hellenic Melodrama in the frames of the upgoing nationalism. But finally, the Hel-

³⁴ Skandali “Viennen operetta...”, 289.

³⁵ Lavrangas, *Memoirs*, 229.

³⁶ Lavrangas, *Memoirs*, 195.

³⁷ Hatzipantazis, *Theodoros Athenian revue*, vol. A1, (Athens: Estia, 1979), 120.

³⁸ Hatzipantazis, *Athenian revue*, vol. A3, 334.

lenic Melodrama kept distances from operetta. This would serve as a prompt for a problematic about various aspects on the genre's extend of audience appealing.

The extra-musical elements for the perception of operetta were widely known in the newspapers. The early links of operetta with the newspapers was based in European reality during the 19th century but the appearance on stage of *révue* later during the 20th century monopolised the interesting for social and political criticism. The *Privy* was a donation to the newly born operetta. But Samaras's death in 1917 poses questions about possible magnitude for long standing of operatic work in the repertoires of the Hellenic Melodrama and the Kontaratos's Hellenic Music Company that are perhaps quite hypothetical nowadays, thus impossible to get an answer.

Dionysios Lavrangas wrote an article for the newspaper 'Eleftheron Vima' in March 1922. There he seems to denote operetta as "...a light melodrama..." that in Greece is correlated with the Eptanesian tradition of *comedylion* that later developed into comic opera. A decade later, the theatre critic Theodoros N. Synodinos, wrote in the periodical "Music Revue" that this light lyric theatre and especially Theofrastos Sakellarides's works has depended the "...music talent upon the success of the genre [...] but it cajoles the audience's weakness and this is not an idiom for genius artists...".³⁹ Operetta has never been accepted by the father of the Hellenic Music School, Manolis Kalomirois. He furiously denied the operetta practise of pasting famous melodies to form new music entities as a practise dangerous "...for eliminating folk songs and the sense of music colour...".⁴⁰

Conclusions

Spyridon Samaras, Dionysios Lavrangas and Apostolos Kontaratos were three major opera personalities that offered a lot to the cultivation of national forms of music theatre, mainly the opera and operetta. Their creative lives signalise the modern view about the procession of Hellenic opera towards the East. We are in able position to complete missing parts into the puzzle of suppositions about opera at the beginnings of the 20th century and we cannot but have a sincere picture about the contribution by the composers and impresarios from Eptanesos.

Dionysios Lavrangas was the architect, the unstoppably moving composer and impresario from Corfu to Alexandria while the noble Spyridon Samaras enjoyed the palace favour. He put things about traditional music element in Hellenic opera on a new base but his early death restricted his compositional glories as he left no descendants. Apostolos Kontaratos participated the Hellenic Music Theatre Company, scoping to perform both opera and operetta until the Balkanic wars and later and he was the one who can boast the operetta success of his time as a result of his good reputation in the palace and his strict directing of companies.

Distinguishes between the intellectual opera and the light-hearted operetta did not seem to interrupt or bring obstacles to the Hellenic trotting towards the East under the light of national ideal of the era. Nevertheless, the backstage is more complicated and fascinated that a paper could ever present. We are on the proceeding for a new view on the topic and we hope results of a detailed study will reach to interested opera lovers soon.

Angeliki Skandali, descended from Crete, was born in Athens. She has lived for long in Thessaloniki. Her conservatory studies include piano (with Basiliki Barzouka-Gaitanou), odiki and harmony at the Hellenic Conservatory (with Dimitris Raptis) and counterpoint and fugue at the Macedonian College (with Alkis Baltas). She possesses a degree for Band Orchestration (with Ioannis Kastrinos) from the Hellenic Conservatory and has attended classes of Or-

³⁹ Hatzipantazis, Athenian *révue*, vol. A3, 334

⁴⁰ Hatzipantazis, Athenian *révue*, vol. A1, 165.

chestra Conducting at the Hellenic Conservatory (with George Aravidis) and the Athens Conservatory (with Loukas Karitinos). She has studied composition (with Christos Samaras) at the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki. She has graduated (with Honours) from the Department for Music Studies of the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki. She continued with postgraduate studies in Musicology-Opera Analysis at the University of Leeds in United Kingdom. Since October 2010 she prepares a thesis at the University of Athens. She is a fellow researcher at the Department of Music Studies of the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki. She authors books about opera history and publishes articles about opera cultivation. Recently, she indulges private lessons in singing with the primadonna Yolanta di Tasso and composes chamber music in modern atonal idiom. She is a member of Royal Music Association and of Greek Historic Society.

Frederico de Freitas and musical nationalism in Portugal in the 1930 and 1940 decades

Helena Marinho – Andre Vaz Pereira – Maria do Rosario Pereira Pestana

This panel addresses musical nationalism in Portugal in the first half of the 20th century through the work and activity of Portuguese composer, conductor and essayist Frederico de Freitas (1902-80). As a composer, he demonstrated an unusual versatility, working within the scope of art music and popular music, including vocal and instrumental music, stage music (dance, theatre and vaudeville), soundtracks, and fado. This flexibility, added to the support he received from the Estado Novo dictatorial regime, established in 1933, explains why Freitas became one of the most relevant 20th-century Portuguese composers. His significance is identifiable in the wide appeal that many of his works, namely his film music, still hold in Portuguese collective memory. The study of his work and contribution for cultural activities is fundamental for the understanding of the construction processes of the regime's musical aesthetics, within the guidelines of the Secretariat for National Propaganda. This institution had a direct involvement with most fields of artistic production in Portugal, and a strong impact on artistic creation. This panel will present three different strands of research focusing on the nationalistic elements in Freitas' music and activity:

1. Art music and popular music – Aesthetics and interaction in Frederico de Freitas' orchestral production (Helena Marinho): this presentation will focus on selected examples of orchestral works (soundtracks, concert and dance repertoire), tracking the process of development of a cultural 'portugality' during the Estado Novo regime, as represented through the creation of a folk-inspired orchestral style.
2. Tradition and modernism – The works for piano solo and piano with string instruments of Frederico de Freitas (Andre Vaz Pereira): Freitas' works are often considered eclectic due to the variety of influences displayed, and the combination of modernist and traditional/folk Portuguese traits. This presentation will also address the role of the performers and concert societies that presented this repertoire in the promotion of nationalist repertoire and political ideas that encouraged the use of traditional elements.
3. 'Portuguese songs': Representing Portugal through song (Maria do Rosario Pestana): Freitas' activity as "Portuguese song" composer for the theatre and cinema was complemented by his association with the recording industry as musical director for the label His Master's Voice in Portugal, from 1930. The recorded repertoire included mostly fados and folk-like songs by Freitas and other authors, namely composers connected to the revista theatre, a Portuguese type of vaudeville. This research will address the processes of creation of paradigmatic representations of folk and fado in this context.

This panel's presentations depart from extensive archival research (manuscripts, autographs, correspondence, concert programs, phonograms and photos, newspaper and magazines), in order to map Freitas' contribution for the development and implementation of a national/nationalistic style associated with politically-sanctioned cultural activities, and the use of procedures involving the stylization of popular culture and the promotion of symbolic power (in Bourdieu's perspective), connected to the promotion of nationalistic values that matched the aesthetic guidelines of the Propaganda Secretariat. Thus, the interaction between the aesthetic frameworks of art and popular music became the marker of this period's cultural 'portugality'.

Nationalism in Frederico de Freitas' orchestral production

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Abstract. This paper addresses musical nationalism in Portugal in the first half of the 20th century through the work and activity of the Portuguese composer and conductor Frederico de Freitas (1902-80). As a composer, he demonstrated an unusual versatility, working within the scope of art music and popular music, including vocal and instrumental music, stage music (dance, theatre and vaudeville), film soundtracks, and *fado*. This flexibility, in addition to the support he received from the Estado Novo dictatorial regime – established in 1933 – explains why Freitas became one of the most relevant 20th-century Portuguese composers. The study of his work and contribution for cultural activities is fundamental in understanding the process in constructing the regime's musical aesthetics, within the guidelines of the Secretariat for National Propaganda. This institution had a direct involvement with most fields of artistic production in Portugal, and a strong impact on artistic creation. This paper will focus on selected examples of Freitas' orchestral works, tracking the process of development of a cultural and musical *portugality* during the Estado Novo regime.¹

In 1960, the Mayor of Lisbon invited the composer and conductor Frederico de Freitas (1902-80) (Figure 1) to create a symphonic work associated with that city, and the theme selected was the 16th-century Jerónimos Monastery. Rather than rejoicing over the invitation, Freitas was apprehensive about the task. In the initial stages of the compositional process, he asked his friend and fellow composer Manuel Faria (1916-83) in a letter: "Do you think I can join the word 'Jerónimos' with the word Symphony? How can they merge in order to function as a title?"²



Figure 1. Frederico de Freitas (Frederico de Freitas' Archives at the University of Aveiro).

Apparently, Freitas was unsure about combining a theme with a clear nationalistic background with the formal design of a symphony. The nationalist perspective was obvious: Jerónimos, a hieronymite monastery in Lisbon, stands as a testimony to the Portuguese travels overseas and their power in the 16th and 17th centuries, as a superlative example of monumental

¹ This research is funded by Fundação para a Ciência e Tecnologia, and FEDER/COMPETE.

² Freitas, Frederico to Manuel Faria (Lisbon, 9/11/1960). All Portuguese texts translated by Helena Marinho.

Gothic architecture, and functions as the national pantheon. Furthermore, in the 1960s, Freitas was no longer at the forefront of Portuguese musical creation, as a younger generation of composers represented the recent avant-garde developments.

Freitas was born in 1902, eight years before the monarchy ended and Portugal became a republic. In 1926, when a military coup established a dictatorial regime that would last until the reinstatement of democracy in 1974, Freitas was fully active as a composer. After 1974, age, ill health, and his association with the previous regime put a damper on his activities, but he continued to work, both as composer and conductor, until his death in 1980. More important than his capability to adapt to these changes – which entailed profound alterations to the political, social and cultural life in Portugal – was Freitas' unusual versatility as composer. His output includes works within the Western art-music tradition, but he became particularly well-known to the general public, from the late 1920s to the 1940s, as a composer of songs, and music for stage and films. Freitas is often considered as one of the most relevant Portuguese composers of the 20th century. His significance is identifiable in the wide appeal that many of his works, namely his film music, still hold in the Portuguese collective memory. The study of his work and contribution to cultural activities is fundamental in understanding the construction processes of the dictatorial regime's musical aesthetics.

This paper will thus address the procedures involved in creating a national style of music in this historical context, focusing on his orchestral output, and the 'Jerónimos' Symphony in particular.

The years in which Freitas was active were mostly simultaneous with the Estado Novo (New State) period, a dictatorial regime often associated with the political leadership of António de Oliveira Salazar (1889-1970), Finance Minister from 1926 to 1932, and Prime Minister from 1932 to 1968. The establishment of the regime in 1933 coincided with the creation of the Portuguese Secretariat for National Propaganda. This institution was led by António Ferro (1895-1956), a journalist who had actively participated in the modernist movements of the 1910s and 1920s in Portugal, and whose guidelines as head of the Secretariat had a strong impact on many fields of artistic creation until his retirement in 1949. The Secretariat particularly supported the production of artistic artifacts and events that combined modernist and folkloristic traits, including the visual arts, music, dance, literature and folk culture events. In spite of its limited funding, the Secretariat became the main cultural promoter in Portugal during this period, but its support of various artistic projects and folk culture events also had clear nationalistic and propagandistic aims. Ferro's influence was further emphasized with his nomination for the directorship of the National Radio in 1941. Ferro's persuasion ultimately overcame Salazar's general reservations regarding state support of artistic creation. In a 1938 interview, Salazar wondered "how far should State intervention go? Other examples have repeatedly proved that transforming artists and writers into civil servants amounts to an actual prohibition of creation."³ Nevertheless, Salazar supported the creation and activities of the Propaganda Secretariat.

Opportunities for art-music composers during the dictatorial period were therefore limited, and those regarding the performance of symphonic repertoire even scarcer, a fact that conditioned the creation of symphonic works. Performance prospects for orchestral repertoire were limited mostly to Lisbon, where two orchestras – the Lisbon Philharmonic Orchestra, created in 1937 (successor to an earlier orchestra of the same name), and the Lisbon Symphonic Orches-

³ Ferro, António Entrevistas a Salazar (Lisbon: Parceria A. M. Pereira, 2007), 156.

tra, founded in 1954⁴ – maintained activity, although this activity was somewhat irregular. The National Radio (Emissora Nacional) was the only institution that sustained professional orchestral ensembles on a regular basis, from 1935. That same year, Freitas became assistant conductor of the radio orchestras, but this fact did not necessarily allow for a more frequent inclusion of his works in the radio orchestra's programs. The composer's archives include several letters, written during the period he worked for the National Radio, both to friends and to the Radio administrators, complaining about the distribution of conducting tasks. Even the concerts conducted by Freitas seldom included his own works⁵, suggesting that the programming criteria were not necessarily set by the conductor or advantageous to Freitas as a composer.

In spite of the limitations during this period, Freitas composed works for orchestra throughout his career. His earliest known symphonic composition, the *Poema sobre uma Égloga de Virgílio*⁶ for string orchestra, was premièred in 1922, while he was still a student at the Lisbon Conservatoire, and the last work, *In Memoriam Alexandre Herculano*, was composed in 1977. Notwithstanding this remarkable time span, the Symphony 'Os Jerónimos', from 1962, is Freitas' only work clearly labeled as a symphony, as all the remaining works are designated different genres and categories. Some compositions are single-movement works labeled as symphonic poems or tableaux, or reminiscent of that format, such as the *Poema sobre uma Égloga de Virgílio*, the *Lenda dos Bailarins*⁷ from 1925, the first version of *Nazaré*⁸ from 1935, *Homenagem a Chopin*⁹ from 1949, or *In Memoriam Alexandre Herculano*. Freitas' output also includes suite-style works, such as the 1935 *Portuguese Suite*, the 1938 *Colonial Suite*, and the 1958 *Medieval Suite*. A large number of orchestral works were composed for dance performances, including *Ribatejo*¹⁰ (1934), *Muro do Derrete*¹¹ (1940), *Dança da Menina Tonta*¹² (1941), *Imagens da Terra e do Mar*¹³ (1943), *Nazaré* (1948), and *A Dama do Pé-de-Cabra*¹⁴ (1976)¹⁵. Considering the time span between the earliest and the last composition, the number of symphonic works by Freitas could be considered as limited, apart from during the 1930s and 1940s, the period coinciding with Ferro's direction of the Secretariat. The Secretariat commissioned several works for orchestral ensembles by Freitas, namely some of the dance works, and instrumental music for public events, such as open-air historical reconstitutions.

Many of the pieces mentioned above, namely the dance works, were commissioned for specific events or cultural presentations. Therefore, they may bear witness not only to the composer's thematic preferences, but also to the period's trends, conventions, and ideological restrictions. Freitas' works listed above also present implicit or explicit inspiration sources, and can therefore be considered programmatic. The programmatic contents followed preferred themes: with the exception of *A Dama do Pé-de-Cabra*, all the dance works, for instance, refer to contexts connected to rural or fishing villages and the livelihood of their inhabitants. Historical legends are also present (*Lenda dos Bailarins* and *A Dama do Pé-de-Cabra*), as well as the

⁴ Nery, Rui Vieira, and Paulo Ferreira de Castro *História da Música. Sínteses da Cultura Portuguesa* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional – Casa da Moeda, 1991), 168.

⁵ Cascudo, Teresa (ed.) *Frederico de Freitas (1902-1980)* (Lisbon: Museu da Música), 95-115.

⁶ *Poem on an Eclogue by Virgil.*

⁷ *The Dancers' Legend.*

⁸ A fishing village in central Portugal.

⁹ *Homage to Chopin.*

¹⁰ A rural region in central Portugal.

¹¹ *The Love Wall.*

¹² *The Silly Girl's Dance.*

¹³ *Images from Land and Sea.*

¹⁴ *The Lady with Forked Feet.*

¹⁵ Cascudo includes a preliminary catalog of Freitas' works.

inspiration of major Portuguese literary authors: Luís de Camões (ca. 1524-1580), the author of the *Lusiads*, an epic poem that portrayed the Portuguese discoveries, is quoted in the 'Jerónimos' Symphony, and Alexandre Herculano (1810-77), the author of historical Romantic novels, is the inspiration for *In Memoriam*. Representations of the nation, as a rural, historical, and imperial entity, are also suggested by the *Portuguese*, *Medieval* and *Colonial* suites, respectively.

The themes addressed and the documentation associated with the works (correspondence and texts published in the press, or included in the concert programs, by Freitas, Ferro, or other authors), display the association of the works with nationalistic themes, whether historically-, or folklorically-oriented. The same nationalistic perspective is found in the musical style(s) employed; Freitas' background provided varied tools and materials that could be of use in this context. Freitas is frequently referred to as an eclectic composer, and this eclecticism can be ascribed, on the one hand, to his multiple composing activities, within the scope of both art music and 'popular' music; on the other hand, Freitas also demonstrated an equivalent flexibility in association with projects connected to artistic presentations.

Teresa Cascudo points out the main perspectives in musical creation, during the 1930s, that are equally represented in Freitas' output: "the mythology of *fado* as the 'Portuguese national song'," "the renewed discovery of the tradition of rural music," "the musical portraits of personalities and events from Portuguese national history," and "the retrieval of the Portuguese art-music tradition."¹⁶ With the exception of *fado*, all these perspectives concur with the Secretariat's guidelines, and are represented, and occasionally combined, in Freitas' orchestral output, in order to present a specific type of national expression, a musical *portugality*.

Freitas was no stranger to the use of folk materials in orchestral repertoire. By 1935, Freitas was particularly active as a composer for stage and film, and created many examples of songs and instrumental pieces that represented stylized and paradigmatic examples of Portuguese traditional music styles for those contexts. In the late 1920s, he began working with *revista* theatre – a vaudeville-like genre that combined comedy sketches, dance and song –, composing songs and instrumental music for shows premièred between 1927 and 1937. He also composed songs and/or incidental music for several films, from 1931 to 1947, including music for the first Portuguese sound film, *A Severa* (1931), directed by Leitão de Barros. It was mostly as a *revista* and film composer that Freitas built his public reputation during the 1920s and 1930s, and many of the songs that he composed during this period, particularly the *fados*, became, and remain, well-known and frequently performed popular repertoire. The widespread use of recording technologies and radio in Portugal was also paramount for the diffusion of this repertoire.

Freitas' background as a classically-trained composer and conductor, and his comprehensive practical experience with different genres and contexts were surely important factors in the development of a personal style of orchestral writing. His stage and film activity provided composing/performing experiences and opportunities that contrasted with the problems affecting the dissemination of art music. Still, in spite of this adaptability that his career required, Freitas was able to develop distinct styles within his art-music output, and orchestral works such as the ballet *Muro do Derrete* (*The Love Wall*, 1940), and the 'Jerónimos' Symphony are examples of the different manners created by Freitas in order to represent a musical *portugality*.

Muro do Derrete, like most of Freitas' dance works, was composed for the dance group Verde Gaio, a state-endorsed company funded and administrated by the Propaganda Secretariat. The group was created in 1940, and its artistic director and choreographer was Francis Graça (1902-80), a life-long friend of Freitas. Francis had been active as a dancer from the late 1920s,

¹⁶ Cascudo, 33.

presenting artistic dance numbers during *revista* shows. Francis' performances, which were occasionally accompanied by music composed by Freitas, were at times met with some scandal and incomprehension. Francis also collaborated in several dance productions with António Ferro during the 1920s and 1930s. Most of these performances were based on anthological displays of stylized Portuguese traditional folk dances. This process of stylization of popular culture was to become central in António Ferro's later project of cultural *portugality*, which – inspired by Paul Valéry – he entitled 'spirit policy'. The Verde Gaio group became a logical sequence to these early projects: the group focused its activity on the presentation of choreographies of historical or 'popular' themes, accompanied by musical works by Portuguese composers.

Portugality, as envisaged by Ferro, and represented in the Verde Gaio productions, was grounded on two ideals: on the one hand, the exaltation of an imperial past and its embodiment through present achievements; on the other hand, the idealization of a poor yet untainted rural livelihood. In the case of the dance performances, as discussed by Luísa Roubaud, this dichotomy is represented through two different types of settings: historical dance productions; and plots set in rural or fishing villages¹⁷. *Muro do Derrete*, for instance, was set in the rural area around Lisbon, whose inhabitants are known as 'saloios.' An earlier study by Marinho¹⁸ related ethnographic studies from the same period of the composition of the ballet to the script written by Carlos Queiroz (1907-1949) – a poet connected to the second generation of the modernist movement in Portugal –, and to the piece's stylistic characteristics. The ethnographic studies confirmed a biased and pejorative view of the inhabitants of that region, with a description based on fixed and static characteristics, even though the 'saloio' region, in the late 1930s, did not present the social and cultural homogeneity suggested, if ever it had. Queiroz' script, nevertheless, used the same clichés. In this ballet, Freitas used stylized melodies and rhythmic figurations that reproduce characteristics associated with Portuguese traditional music, but combined them with compositional procedures (primarily regarding the orchestration) and connecting sections that implied an art-music style. As Marinho stated, "the music that depicts the *saloios* is, to some extent, a metaphoric attempt at the construction and reinvention of a social and geographical group of dubious definition, a group that actually belonged to a no-man's-land in the context of the imperial/rural dichotomy preferred by the dictatorial regime. Just as the people it depicted, the music shifts between registers and styles, and eludes types and classifications."¹⁹

When Freitas composed the 'Jerónimos' Symphony (Figure 2), 20 years later, nationalism remained an important issue for the regime, but the cultural agents and prevalent musical styles had undergone significant alterations.

¹⁷ Roubaud, Maria Luísa *Estudo Psicológico do Simbolismo na Dança Teatral: Análise dos Bailados Portugueses Verde Gaio (1940-1950)*, Masters Thesis (Lisbon: Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 1991).

¹⁸ Marinho, Helena "Composing for Dance during the *Estado Novo* Dictatorship: A Case Study", in *Music and Propaganda in the Short Twentieth Century*, ed. Massimiliano Sala (Turnhout: Brepols, forthcoming 2014).

¹⁹ *Ibidem*.

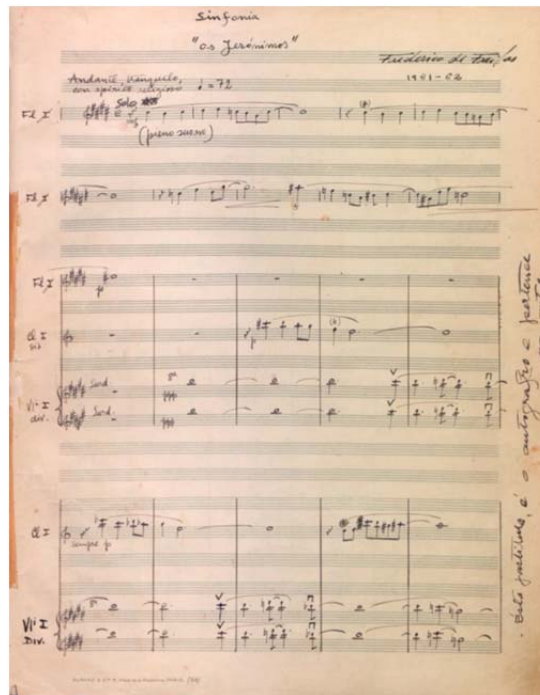


Figure 2. 'Jerónimos' Symphony, opening page of the autograph score (Frederico de Freitas' archives at the University of Aveiro)

Nationalism in music in Portugal was an issue addressed by cultural agents before the 20th century. The beginning of this century, however, witnessed a debate between, as Ferreira de Castro points out, “the defenders of a nationalistic type of aesthetic stance (inspired or not by folklore), and the defenders of a cosmopolitan or universalistic artistic alignment.”²⁰ This opposition was partly bridged in the late 1930s when, according to Manuel Pedro Ferreira, “the intellectual milieu was favorable to the idea of an essential contiguity and continuity between popular culture and erudite culture.”²¹ The cultural policy of the dictatorship period further advanced this fact, as composers “appropriated folk themes, removed from their regional context, and submitted them to an artistic manipulation,”²² a description that fits the aforementioned case of *Muro do Derrete*.

The symphony also proved to be an adequate basis for nationalistic expression in Portugal. Vianna da Motta (1868-1948), a German-trained Portuguese composer and virtuoso pianist, was the author of an early example that represents the connection between symphony and nationalism, the Symphony 'À Pátria' (To the Motherland). Motta was introduced to Liszt as a young boy, and became later one of the editors of Breitkopf's complete Liszt edition; he corresponded with Busoni and was acknowledged as one of the finest performers of his time. Notwithstanding the influence of German culture and music, Motta resorted to the inspiration of folk-like materials in some of his compositions, namely the final Scherzo of his 'Motherland' Symphony, a four-movement work which, according to Alexandre Delgado, displays the influence of “the inheritance of Beethoven's symphony via Mendelssohn, Schumann and Brahms; the programmatic music of the New German School; and the musical nationalism of the Russian Mighty Five.”²³ The context of this Symphony's première demonstrates how problematic it was to present a symphonic work: the piano version was played by the composer in 1894, it was

²⁰ Nery and Castro, 165.

²¹ Ferreira, Manuel Pedro (ed.) *Dez Compositores Portugueses* (Lisbon: Dom Quixote, 2005), 36.

²² Ferreira, 38.

²³ Delgado, Alexandre *A Sinfonia em Portugal* (Lisbon: Ministério da Cultura, IPAE, RDP, 2001), 37-38.

first performed in its orchestral version in 1897, in Oporto, and only in 1911 in Lisbon²⁴. The lack of regular symphonic series remained, as mentioned earlier, an obstacle for the furthering of the symphony as a genre in Portugal. This fact may have weighed additionally on Freitas' mind, considering that, up to 1960, he had never composed a full-blown symphony.

All the personal documentation suggests that the composition of this Symphony was a heavy chore for Freitas. A letter to his friend António Pinto Machado, on October 10th, 1960, mentions the invitation from the Lisbon City authorities for Freitas to write a large-scale work, but adds that the project was not as yet confirmed. But a letter sent only four days later to Manuel Faria confirms that by then Freitas was already struggling, having difficulties with "finding a path."²⁵

Letters sent to the Lisbon Mayor, requesting successive postponements of the completion deadline, confirm that the composition process was painstaking and lasted longer than the composer predicted. But the most revealing elements are actually found in the other letters addressed to Manuel Faria. In November 1960, Freitas acknowledged his doubts regarding form, writing that: "ever since I began, an enormous doubt has taken over my thoughts – what form? -. Construction and balance have always been a big difficulty and a constant doubt for me."²⁶ He was also worried about the title, mentioning the "tradition and history" implicit in the word 'Jerónimos', "as a traditional and fundamental monument in the history of the people."²⁷ Several letters sent to Faria in 1962 discuss the work on the Symphony, but the anguished and disbelieving tone prevails. Freitas complains about the intensity of the work, but admits to the pleasure he derives from working on the orchestration: "I feel a certain lack of interest, but I am pleased with the scoring work. The truth is that the score is very seductive for me. I distribute lines and rhythms, with some voluptuousness. And I recall that my orchestration skills have been very much praised, lately. –Maybe there is some intention in this, in order to undervalue life itself and music's essence! (...) Is my music solely the life of the outer clothing that I skillfully weave?"²⁸

Finally, a letter sent in early February 1962 celebrates the closing of this daunting task. Freitas praises the "religious spirit that is implied in this Symphony, which brought about its finale. And it was the Gregorian – the synthesis of its expression – which inspired the coda."²⁹ This source of inspiration was not novel in 20th-century Portuguese symphonic repertoire: we find similar instances of the use of Gregorian-chant inspiration in the 2nd (1926), and the 4th Symphonies (1952) of Luís de Freitas Branco³⁰, one of Freitas' teachers at the National Conservatory in Lisbon.

The work's first public performance was in October 25th, 1962, in a concert entitled 'Lisbon and music', promoted by Lisbon City Hall. The concert included only premières by Portuguese composers; besides Freitas, the Lisbon Symphonic Orchestra, conducted by Fernando Cabral, presented new works inspired by the city of Lisbon by Armando José Fernandes (1906-83), António Vitorino de Almeida (1940), and Jorge Croner de Vasconcellos (1910-74). In the concert program, a short text by the mayor, António França Borges, appealed to God's "support to the Portuguese in all the struggles that they are patriotically fighting," a support that he wished extended to the "Portuguese composers that create works of undeniable worth, which will last

²⁴ *Ibidem*, 45.

²⁵ Freitas, Frederico to Manuel Faria (Lisbon, 14/10/1960).

²⁶ Freitas, Frederico to Manuel Faria (Lisbon, 9/11/1960).

²⁷ *Ibidem*.

²⁸ Freitas, Frederico to Manuel Faria (Lisbon, 9-11/1/1961).

²⁹ Freitas, Frederico de to Manuel Faria (Lisbon, 2/2/1962).

³⁰ Cardoso, J. M. Pedrosa "Da inspiração gregoriana em Luís de Freitas Branco", *Gazeta Musical* XXIV/245 (1990), 14-22.

through time.”³¹ The program included also descriptive texts for each work, by an unnamed author. The notes for the ‘Jerónimos’ Symphony mention the construction of the monastery, symbol of “the discoveries’ immortal work, proving to the world the great spirit and the heroism of our race, equal only to our love of art and culture!”, as well as its connection to figures and the history of the overseas travels, and their “immortal glory and honor.”³²

The biographical notes for Freitas, by an anonymous author, are nearly apologetic, stating that “eclecticism is no longer a pejorative word,” and that Freitas was aware of “that diversity of paths, understanding that there was no disorientation or lack of unity, but a wider range of materials and a vaster horizon.”³³ The author of the biographical notes was certainly acutely aware that during the decade in which this concert was presented, it was no longer in fashion to utilize traditional musical materials as the basis or inspiration for compositions, and also that Freitas’ eclecticism was not valued by the current trends in musical composition.

In a typed text that Freitas added to the score’s autograph, which includes his own analysis of the work, the composer declared that he used the “traditional structure,” with “small alterations that do not affect the balance of the tripartite form of the work.”³⁴ Nevertheless, Freitas listed a number of characteristics that expanded on that seemingly stricter structure: the existence of a long introduction as basis for the genesis of the Symphony’s themes, the elimination of the interruptions between movements, the inclusion of an instrumental recitative in Gregorian style, the use of chorale and contrapuntal (including fugato) styles, the existence of one theme in which all the twelve tones of the scale are employed, the use of recurring themes in several movements (suggesting cyclic form). These characteristics suggest that Freitas was well acquainted with late 19th- and early 20th-century techniques and structures that were relevant for the symphonic format, and had applied them consistently in his own work.

Still, Freitas felt also the need to reinforce the nationalistic outlook in this analysis, mentioning, as “creative ideas” for the work’s composition, “the religious mysticism,” “the heroic legend,” “the tragedy,” and “the sea.”³⁵ He also stated that his ultimate intent was to “create the feeling that something is projected from the finite to the infinite,” because he believed that “the motives that made us proud about the Discoveries will never be finite.”³⁶ He concluded the analysis by dedicating the ‘Jerónimos’ Symphony “to the heroes of the travels, and to the craftsmen and anonymous people who also built Portugal of the Discoveries.”³⁷

Thus, *Muro do Derrete* and the ‘Jerónimos’ Symphony are examples of two contrasting manners of addressing nationalism in music. Both works aimed to represent *portugality* through music: in the first case, the music mirrored and reinvented a biased ethnographic construction; in the second case, symphonic form and structure were merged with programmatic and nationalistic content. The two works also represent two different times and ideological stances: *Muro do Derrete* was a paradigmatic examples of the creative manner in which Freitas adapted to the strict cultural guidelines of the Estado Novo, whilst ‘Jerónimos’, to some extent, stands as an example of the resistance of an enduring aesthetic and musical stance which struggles to survive.

³¹ Concert program: ‘Lisboa e Música’ (Lisbon: City Hall, 25/10/1962).

³² Ibidem.

³³ Ibidem.

³⁴ Freitas, Frederico de Sinfonia “Os Jerónimos” de Frederico de Freitas: Notas à Margem e Esboço de Análise (n.p. [Lisbon]: n.d. [1961-1962?]).

³⁵ Ibidem.

³⁶ Ibidem.

³⁷ Ibidem.

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Tradition and modernism: The works for piano solo and piano with string instruments of Frederico de Freitas

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Abstract. Born in Lisbon (Portugal), Frederico de Freitas was one of the most prominent composers and of the 20th century in Portugal. His works are often acclaimed as eclectic due to their variety of influences. These could often gather modernity with the roots of portuguese traditional repertoire in a wide variety of musical genres such as: ballet, cinema, theatre, fado, symphonic and chamber works. The recent donation of these manuscripts and concert programs to Aveiro University made possible a wider reflexion. Gathering tradition with modernism is one of the key elements of nationalist movements throughout Europe and is no exception in some of the composer's chamber works. This "portugality" can be found in some of the composer's chamber work for piano such as *Ribatejo* and *Nazaré* (ballet transcription), *Ciranda* (piano solo) *Canção Raiana*, *Canção Triste* or *Canção e Dança* (piano and cello) or *Nocturno* for piano and violin (based on portuguese poetry of Antero de Quental). Concert programs have showed some of the interpreters of these works such as Lourenço Varella Cid (premiered *Ciranda*), Jaime Silva and Regina Croner Cascaes (*Canção Triste*) Vasco Barbosa and Grazi Barbosa (*Nocturno*), Helena Sá e Costa, Nina Marques Pereira, Noémia Sarmento de Brederore, Lourenço Varella Cid, José Carlos Picoto or Florinda Santos. Meanwhile, political ideas that encouraged the use of traditional elements (portugality), concert societies that provided a favourable performing context and interpreters that premiered and toured with this repertoire are some of the key elements of this article.

Prelude

This article focuses on the influence of traditional music in Frederico de Freitas' solo piano works and chamber music with piano. This composer, considered eclectic due to the coexistence of multiple styles in his work, demonstrates a remarkable combination of modernist elements with traditional melodies in his chamber music production. This article also aims to address the role that performers and concert societies/promoters had in the promotion of this nationalist repertoire, and the political ideologies that encouraged the use of such traditional elements.

Chamber music (from the 1920s to 1940s): An eclectic approach to *portugality*.

The combination of tradition and modernism in works from the early 20th century that evoke *portugality* is one of the key elements in nationalist music, especially from 1920s to the 1940s. In the case of Frederico de Freitas, his production in various musical genres from ballet and *revista* (vaudeville or light theatre) to cinema, demonstrates the symbiotic connection between modernism and tradition, and the mutation of the latter's features through a modernist discourse. It is therefore important to reflect on the impact of this practice on art-music works, particularly chamber music works for string instruments and solo piano, and also to pinpoint the importance of *portugality* for chamber works with piano, especially in the 1930s and 1940s.

The rise of *portugality* in Portuguese art music, *revista* or cinema, is easily related to the "política do espírito" (spirit policy). This imported cultural policy was implemented by the dictatorial regime, led by António de Oliveira Salazar, and by the head of the Propaganda Secretariat, António Ferro. The "política do espírito" was based on three vectors: educational system, religious institutions and social media. Artists were encouraged to include Portuguese tradi-

tional elements in multiple art forms, thus creating a "national art"¹. In fact, art was an important vehicle used "by the State to explain to the people their identity"², creating a hegemonic conception of Portuguese society. This perspective led artists to produce according to these standards. We can identify these same characteristics (use of traditional elements) in the works of composers whose political affiliation differed to the hegemonic trends at that time, such as the paradigmatic Lopes Graça who, on several occasions, used traditional themes without political purposes. Therefore, the term nationalism, within the context of cultural policies implemented by the dictatorial regime, should not apply to all works containing traditional elements, due to the fact that the use of these elements became common practice for Portuguese composers. However, the inclusion of traditional elements was to ease the dissemination and performance of this repertoire through various cultural agents over the following decades. Teresa Cascudo refers to a process of "massification" and "re-portugalisation" of musical culture, so that "the Estado Novo [New State] was (...) the heir of the nationalistic aspirations of the 21th century"³, also mentioning its agents, such as the National Broadcasting Company and its Symphony Orchestra, the Musical Programmes Department, the reopening of the São Carlos National Theatre, the Verde Gaio group and the Musical Studies Office of the National Broadcasting Company. These agents "marked the presence of the musicians at the initiatives of the National Propaganda Secretariat and their manipulation according to the "spirit policy" vision, designed by António Ferro". According to Cascudo, Frederico de Freitas is a prominent agent:

"Frederico de Freitas had a leading role in all institutions, which were part of the process of reconstruction of "Portugality", following the principles expressed by António Oliveira Salazar on numerous occasions. His appeals for the discovery of the internal forces of the nation, ignoring foreign influences, had as its ultimate goal the creation of a Portuguese reality, identified with the State itself"⁴.

Maria de São José Côrte-Real also points out in her dissertation - on cultural policy and musical life in Lisbon during the transition from the dictatorship to democracy (1960 to 1980) - that "the sound image of *portugality* is consistent with the notion of national consciousness constructed by the rulers of the "New State", and partly depended on the effectiveness of the soundscapes' spirit (...) extolling the past, beautifying rural and urban popular expressions' in order to present them as typically Portuguese"⁵.

Thus, the attempt of creating a "national art" that represented Portugal as a traditional but modern country would be pivotal to the several musical genres that we find in Frederico de Freitas' output, and the composer's chamber music also reveals that same complicity. *Portugality* is, therefore, another vector of interest to add to Freitas' eclecticism, as referred to by authors such as Tomás Borba⁶, João de Freitas Branco⁷, Paulo Ferreira de Castro⁸, Otília Sá⁹, Alex-

¹ Salazar, António Oliveira Discursos (1929-1934). Vol. I. (Coimbra: Coimbra Editora, 1961), 262-266.

² Ó, Jorge Ramos Os Anos de Ferro – O Dispositivo Cultural Durante a "Política do Espírito" (1933-1949). (Lisboa: Editorial Estampa, 1999).

³ Cascudo, Teresa "Obra musical de Frederico de Freitas" In Frederico de Freitas (1902-1980), ed. T. Cascudo. (Lisboa: Ministério da Cultura - Instituto Português de Museus, 2003), 32.

⁴ Cascudo 33.

⁵ Côrte-Real, Maria São José Cultural Policy and Musical Expression in Lisbon in the transition from Dictatorship to Democracy (1960s to 1980s). (New York: Columbia University. PhD Dissertation, 2000).

⁶ Borba, Tomás "Frederico de Freitas", in *Dicionário de música*, ed. T. e. L.-G. Borba, Fernando (Lisboa: Edições Cosmos, 1962).

⁷ Branco, João de Freitas História da Música Portuguesa. (Mem Martins: Publicações Europa América, 1959).

⁸ Nery, Rui Vieira and Castro, Paulo Ferreira History of music – synthesis of portuguese culture. (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional – Casa da Moeda, 1991).

andre Delgado¹⁰, Teresa Cascudo or Maria de São José Côrte-Real in several publications, theses or historical summaries. The use of the term 'eclecticism' was criticized by Manuel Faria, who considered this term an inaccurate label, stating:

"[the critics,] if honest and competent (...) could not find better term than "eclectic" to define him, if in bad faith and empty demagoguery, tried to drag him to the trash of light music. (...) Frederico was indeed - an independent who never lined up in strange subservience to his path. Avid of all novelties, he never subordinated to them, but dominated them as simple work instruments"¹¹.

The composer avowed, at the end of his life, after a concert at the Portuguese Society of Authors: "I left the last session somewhat perplexed, not only by the surprise that my music from past times caused me, but also (and it is strange that this happens only now) by understanding now the evidence of my musical bi-personality – a phenomenon that I do not understand quite well!"¹².

In fact, Frederico de Freitas' chamber music unites several elements that can be associated with *Portugality*. Their modernist musical language followed the musical trends of the various genres in which he composed, but also the cultural dynamics and aesthetics of his time.

Music for piano solo and piano with string instruments and national elements in Frederico de Freitas.

Frederico de Freitas' chamber music output includes works for piano and violin, piano and cello, and piano, violin and cello trio. This research also included the works for piano solo (but excluded the works for violin and cello, piano and voice, string quartet or wind quintet). The works composed for those instruments reveal three distinct aesthetic/compositional phases. The works from the 1920s have a symbolist approach, related to French Symbolist music; the works from the 1930s and the 1940s have a strong nationalist component, including the use of themes and genres of traditional Portuguese music; and finally, in the late 1960s and 1970s, we find two serial twelve-tone works

Poetry was one of the first sources of inspiration for the nationalistic works of Frederico de Freitas. His Nocturne for piano and violin (inspired by the Romantic poet Antero de Quental's poem *Nocturno*) was written in 1923¹³. The focus on the Portuguese Romantic poet Antero de Quental proceeded to contrast with a typically Symbolist musical discourse (particularly the French music). Over the years from the 1920s to 1940s, Portuguese poetry was often present in chamber music, particularly in Portuguese song repertoire by composers such as Freitas Branco (*Três Sonetos de Antero*, 1934-41), Claudio Carneiro (*Redondilhas de Camões* for voice and string quartet, 1949), Lopes Graça (*Três Poemas de Adolfo Casais Monteiro*, 1931-34; *Duas Canções de Fernando Pessoa*, 1934-36; *Três Canções de Fernando Pessoa*, 1947-50; *Três Sonetos de Camões*, 1939), Joly Braga Santos (*Dois Poemas de Antero de Quental*, 1942; *Quatro*

⁹ Sá, Otilia Concerto para Flauta e Orquestra – Frederico de Freitas (Departamento de Comunicação e Arte da Universidade de Aveiro, Universidade de Aveiro, Master's Dissertation, 2004).

¹⁰ Delgado, Alexandre "Frederico de Freitas" in *Dez Compositores*, ed. M. P. Ferreira. (Lisboa: Publicações Dom Quixote, 2005).

¹¹ Faria, Manuel "Frederico de Freitas, o Independente da Música Portuguesa", in *In Memoriam. Separata do Boletim Autores*. (Lisboa: Sociedade Portuguesa de Autores, 1980).

¹² Freitas, Frederico in Rebello, Francisco Frederico de Freitas e a música ligeira in *In Memoriam. Separata do Boletim Autores*. (Lisboa: Sociedade Portuguesa de Autores, 1980), 18.

¹³ Freitas, Frederico Nocturno sobre um poema de Antero de Quental (violin and piano). (Aveiro's University Library - Frederico de Freitas' Archives, 1923).

Canções sobre poemas de Fernando Pessoa, 1943; Dois sonetos de Camões, 1944), or Filipe de Sousa (*Dois Poemas de Fernando Pessoa, 1949; Cinco Odes de Ricardo Reis, 1950; Dois Sonetos de Camilo Pessanha, 1950*).

For Frederico de Freitas, these decades were the most eclectic, composing for *revista* and cinema between the decades of 1920 and 1940, as well as composing complex and demanding chamber works such as the Sonata for violin, the Sonata for piano, the Theme and Variations for piano or even the ballets, inspired by the Portuguese tradition. The eclecticism of musical genres is the key element, since the adoption of the theme of *portugality* becomes common to all these genres in his musical production.

The works composed from 1930 to 1940 display a different approach to national elements, particularly in his chamber music. The influence of traditional music and dance had a huge impact on Freitas' works and can be seen through the combination of modern compositional languages and the elements inspired by traditional Portuguese music. We find these same elements in the chamber music of composers such as Francine Benôit (*Cinco Canções Portuguesas, 1944*), Freitas Branco (*27 Harmonizações de Canções Populares Portuguesas, 1943*), Claudio Carneyro (*Improviso sobre uma Cantiga do Povo, 1925; Mote Popular* for two pianos, 1938; *Canção do Figueiral* for two violins, 1946; *Tema Popular* for violin and piano, 1946), Armando José Fernandes (*Três Canções Populares, 1942*), Eurico Tomaz de Lima (*Chula do Douro* for two pianos, 1948), Lopes Graça (*Seis Canções sobre Quadras Populares portuguesas, 1934; Três Canções ao Gosto Popular, 1934-36; Canções Populares Portuguesas, 1939-42, 1942-46 and 1947-49*), Victor Macedo Pinto (*Sete Canções Populares Portuguesas, 1948; Três Sonetos de Camões, 1945; Três Canções Populares, 1948*), Berta Alves de Sousa (*Três Canções Populares Harmonizadas, 1937; Variações sobre uma Cantiga Alentejana, 1950*), Filipe de Sousa (*Canção Popular da Beira Baixa, 1949*), or even Jorge Croner de Vasconcelos (*Quatro Canções Populares, 1945*).

In Frederico de Freitas' case, these traditional characteristics are particularly present in solo piano pieces such as *Ribatejo* (1934)¹⁴, *Nazaré (gente do mar [people from the sea])* (1935)¹⁵ and *Ciranda* (1942)¹⁶, as well as piano and cello works such as *Velha Canção* (1930), *Canção e Dansa* (1939)¹⁷, *Canção Raiana* (1944)¹⁸, and *Canção Triste* (1947)¹⁹.

The first two pieces (*Ribatejo* and *Nazaré*) are early piano versions of a choreographic poem and of one of his Ballets. They were played in the piano version by Regina Cascais and danced by Francis Graça and Ruth Walden in 1939 in Teatro da Trindade in Lisbon²⁰. *Nazaré* tells us the story of two fishermen and ends with a sea storm tragedy in which one of them dies²¹.

We can also find elements of rural life in the ballet (initially a symphonic poem) *Ribatejo* and also in *Canção Raiana*. The "campinos" and the traditional melodies and dances are the main themes of both pieces. In the case of *Canção Raiana* for piano and cello, the manuscript of the

¹⁴ Freitas, Frederico *Ribatejo* (piano solo version). (Aveiro's Univesity Library - Frederico de Freitas' Archives, 1934).

¹⁵ Freitas, Frederico *Nazaré* (piano solo version). (Aveiro's Univesity Library - Frederico de Freitas' Archives, 1948).

¹⁶ Freitas, Frederico *Ciranda*. (Aveiro's Univesity Library - Frederico de Freitas' Archives, 1942).

¹⁷ Freitas, Frederico *Canção e Dansa* (Cello and e piano). (Aveiro's Univesity Library - Frederico de Freitas' Archives, 1939).

¹⁸ Freitas, Frederico *Canção Raiana* (cello and piano). (Aveiro's Univesity Library - Frederico de Freitas' Archives, 1944).

¹⁹ Freitas, Frederico *Canção Triste* (cello and piano). (Aveiro's Univesity Library - Frederico de Freitas' Archives, 1947).

²⁰ Cascudo, 190.

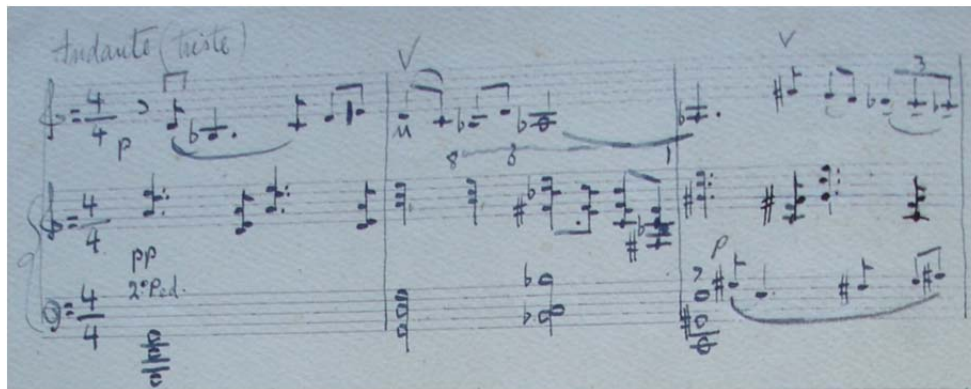
²¹ Concert programme: Graça, Francis *Nazaré* (Lisboa: Oficina gráfica, 1948).

cello parts features the indication "tipo de vira" ["in vira's style"]²², which, despite being a characteristic dance from the province of Minho, is also danced in Ribatejo.

Regardless of its modern compositional elements, *Ciranda* for solo piano also has its roots in traditional Portuguese music. In two of the concert programmes we can read: "in its attractive and spontaneous style, *Ciranda* is an agility pianistic piece that represents the round dances referred to in its title"²³ and also: "*Ciranda* is one of the many popular songs that he harmonized"²⁴. The use of traditional themes as a *leitmotiv* for his chamber works can also be heard in *Canção e Dansa, Velha Canção* or *Canção Triste*. *Ciranda* is a traditional song for the "eiras", which are the communal patios in villages where cereal seeds are separated from the leaves. This place also had a social function, hosting public events like messes or dances. *Ciranda* was also a choreographed song, danced in circle, and the lyrics provided instructions for its choreography.

Musical language's evolution through chamber music.

Frederico de Freitas lived through a great part of the 20th century and experienced the musical and aesthetic mutations that occurred in European art music; therefore, his chamber works also reflect these musical changes. The first period of the three phases previously mentioned includes works written in the 1920s, and reflects the influence of symbolic French music in works such as the *Nocturno* for cello and piano (1926), *Prelúdio e Fuga* (for trio), *Berceuse* (for piano and violin) or the *Nocturno* (on a poem by Antero de Quental) for piano and violin.



Musical example 1: *Nocturno* for violin and piano (ms. 1-3) - initial theme using a six-tone scale.

The main theme of the *Nocturne* for violin and piano is exposed in a six-tone scale using Ab, Bb, C, D, E and F# and harmonies with 6th, 7th and 9ths chords are constant throughout the work, also employing polytonality on several occasions (measure 5 or 44 with half-tone distance between the violin and the left hand of the piano).

The use of the pentatonic scale (measures 8 and 9) can also easily be related to the symbolic language of French composers at the turn of the century.

²² Freitas, Frederico *Canção Raiana* (cello parts). (Aveiro's University Library - Frederico de Freitas' Archives, 1944).

²³ D'Ávila, Humberto "Ciranda", in *Música de Câmara: Fundação Caloute Gulbenkian temporada 1976-77* (Lisboa: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1977).

²⁴ Concert programme: Without author. 1956, 29 of May. *Ciranda*. Viseu - Viseu's Club.



Musical example 2: Nocturno for violin and piano (m. 44) -
main theme with half tone between violin [G Clef] and piano's left hand [F Clef].

The second period, during the 1930s and 1940s, is characterised by the influence of traditional Portuguese songs. We find examples of this in *Canção Raiana*, *Velha Canção*, *Canção e Dansa* and *Canção Triste* for piano and cello, which present a modernist language, using also polytonality. In the case of the solo piano piece *Ciranda*, which was mentioned earlier, we find several modernist compositional methods. *Ciranda* is a traditional song that was also published in the first volume of César das Neves' song book *Cancioneiro de Músicas Populares*²⁵. Freitas' piece, however, is not a mere harmonization, but an original work that uses the traditional melody as the main theme. This theme is transformed harmonically (theme exposition), by adding rhythmic patterns and inverting intervals.

The third period is related to works from the late 1960s and early 1970s. This period is characterised by the use of twelve-tone serial technique²⁶ in works such as *Pentafonia*²⁷ (1975) for wind quintet, or *Tema e Variações*²⁸ [Theme and Variations] (also called *13 variations*²⁹ or *Andante with variations*³⁰ in several manuscripts) for piano and cello (1969).

Contexts, concert promoter organizations and performers

Concert promoters, performers and the musical context were paramount for the dissemination of Frederico de Freitas' chamber music in Portugal and abroad. During the first period, in the 1920s, we find a group of institutions and performers that presented first performances of Freitas' chamber music. An early composition, such as the Nocturne for violin and piano, had its

²⁵ Neves, César das *Cancioneiro de músicas populares*, Nº 69 V. 1. (Porto: Typografia Occidental, 1893), 130-131.

²⁶ Pires, Filipe *Pentafonia para quinteto de sopros* (analysis). (Biblioteca da Universidade de Aveiro/Espólio Frederico de Freitas, without date).

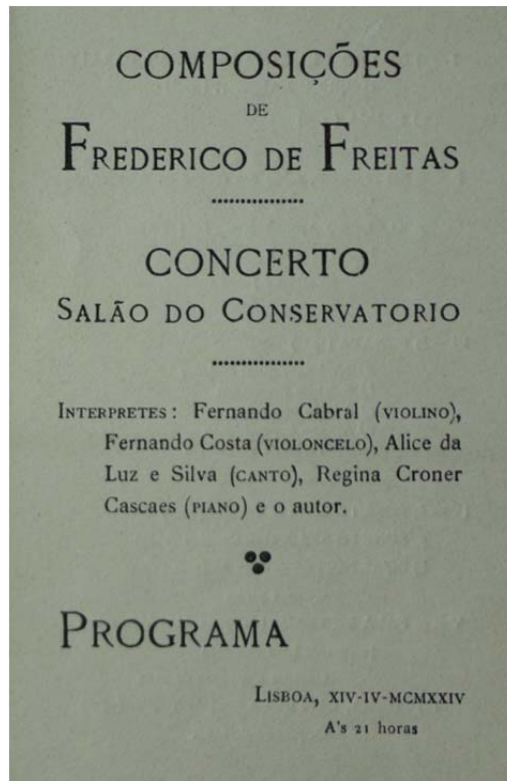
²⁷ Freitas, Frederico. *Pentafonia for wind quintet* (original manuscript). Aveiro's Univesity Library - Frederico de Freitas' Archives, 1975).

²⁸ Freitas, Frederico *13 Variações for cello e piano* (manuscript copy of original). (Aveiro's Univesity Library - Frederico de Freitas' Archives, 1969).

²⁹ Freitas, Frederico *13 Variações for cello and piano* (manuscript copy). (Aveiro's Univesity Library - Frederico de Freitas' Archives, 1969).

³⁰ Freitas, Frederico *13 Variações for cello and piano* (manuscript copy for cello). Aveiro's Univesity Library - Frederico de Freitas' Archives, 1969).

first performance in the Main Hall of the National Conservatory of Lisbon (1924)³¹ and at the Amateurs Academy of Music (1926)³².



Picture 1: Concert programme of 1924 in the Main Hall of the National Conservatory.

These two institutions educated some of the most prestigious Portuguese musicians (including the composer himself), and also some of the performers of his works. The first group of musicians who played these works included the violinist Fernando Cabral (1900-1976), the pianists Francine Benoît (1894-1990) and Regina Cascais. These three musicians were, at the time, students at the National Conservatory of Lisbon and performed some of these works with the composer himself.

The Nocturne for violin and piano was also dedicated to Fernando Cabral, who performed other compositions for violin and piano by Freitas, such as the *Allegro Apassionatto* or the Sonata for violin and cello. He played the Nocturne in 1924 and 1926 with pianists Francine Benoît and possibly Regina Cascais or the composer himself (it is not clear in the concert programme). Regina Cascais was a key element in the performance of several works, such as the Prelude and Fugue, *Canção Triste*, *Ribatejo*, *Nazaré* or the Nocturne for cello and piano. She was a student of Rey Colaço and Vianna da Motta and became pianist at the National Broadcasting Company, playing mostly chamber music repertoire³³.

³¹ 1924, 14 of April. *Nocturno (sobre um Soneto de Antero de Quental)*. Lisbon: National Conservatory Concert Hall.

³² 1926, Tuesday 2 of March. *Nocturno (sobre um Soneto de Antero de Quental)*. Lisbon: Amateurs' Academy of Lisbon.

³³ 1963, 15 of August to 8 of September. VII Sintra's Festival -Concert Programmes. Lisbon: Oficinas gráficas Manuel A. Pacheco.



Picture 2: Regina Croner Cascais.

A second phase, between 1930 and 1950, demonstrates the variety of concert contexts and societies. The Teatro da Trindade and Teatro Tivoli were two of the concert halls where public performances of *Ribatejo*, *Nazaré*³⁴, *Ciranda*³⁵ and the Nocturne for violin and piano³⁶ were held. In Teatro da Trindade, for example, in addition to art-music concerts, there were also performances of other works by Freitas, including musical genres such as vaudeville (*Feira da Luz* or *Bola de Neve*), operettas (*O Solar das Picoas*) or even ballets (*Muro do Derrete*). Concert societies such as the Chamber Music National Society also encouraged chamber music concerts at the Musicians' Union Hall. This society was created in 1919 by Fernando Cabral and Júlio Cardona, among others, with the objective of promoting chamber art music through recitals with prestigious musicians³⁷. The Amateurs' Academy of music continued to present chamber recitals and the National Radio Broadcasting Company recorded this repertoire. During this period, Freitas' chamber music was also performed at the Musicians' Union Hall (1947)³⁸, the Conservatory of Oporto³⁹, Setúbal⁴⁰ (promoted by the Alliance Française), the Amateurs Academy of Music⁴¹ and also in Brazil⁴² (1939).

Among the main performers of this phase (1930-50), we can point out two teachers from the National Conservatory of Lisbon: Lourenço Varella Cid (also President of the Musicians' Union), and Helena Sá e Costa (also a teacher at the Oporto Conservatory). They both played *Ciranda* on several occasions; it was premiered by Lourenço Varella Cid at Teatro Tivoli in 1942. Helena Sá e Costa, who played as soloist with Frederico de Freitas as conductor on many occasions, asked for the *Ciranda* score in a letter to the composer⁴³, and performed it in concerts in 1944, 1947, 1956⁴⁴, 1965⁴⁵ (in Madrid), and 1977⁴⁶ (at the Gulbenkian Foundation), with an additional

³⁴ Cascais, Regina *Ribatejo* and *Nazaré (gente do mar)*. (Lisbon: Trindade Theatre, 1939).

³⁵ Varella Cid, Lourenço *Ciranda* (1st public audition). (Lisbon: Tivoli Theatre, 1942, 9 of May).

³⁶ Manso, Paulo and Manso, Isabel *Nocturno (sobre um poema de Antero de Quental)*. (Lisbon: Trindade Theatre, 1941).

³⁷ Bastos, Patrícia "Sociedade Nacional de Música de Câmara", in *História da Música em Portugal no século XX*, ed. S. Castelo-Branco (Lisboa: Círculo de Leitores /Temas e debates e Autores, 2010).

³⁸ Silva, Jaime and Cascais, Regina *Canção Triste (sobre uma cantiga popular)*. (Lisbon: Musician's Union Hall, 1947, Friday, 14 of February).

³⁹ Sá e Costa, Helena *Ciranda* (Oporto: Oporto's Music Conservatory 1947, Saturday, 10 of May).

⁴⁰ Varella Cid, Lourenço. *Ciranda* (Setúbal: Salão de Festas do clube Setubalense, 1944, Saturday, 22 of April).

⁴¹ Sá e Costa, Helena *Ciranda* (Lisbon: Amateur's Academy of Lisbon, 1944, 18 of December).

⁴² Alencar, Nayde Jaguaribe de *Ribatejo*. (Brazil: Escola Nacional de Música da Universidade do Brasil - Centro Académico Leopoldo Miguez, 1939, Thursday, 26 of October).

⁴³ Sá e Costa, Helena *Ciranda* (Vizela, 1943, 14 of February).

⁴⁴ 1956, 29 of May. Viseu - Viseu's Club and 1956, 9 of July. Palácio Foz's Theatre.

⁴⁵ 1965, 2 of February. Madrid: Ateneu de Madrid.

performance in Oporto at the Museum Soares dos Reis⁴⁷ (no date included in the programme). *Ciranda* is also referred to in letters from Berta Alves de Sousa⁴⁸ and Mario Feninger⁴⁹.

Regina Cascais also presented several works during this period, namely *Canção Triste* (in 1947 with the violist Jaime Silva), and the Nocturne for violin and piano (1940) for the National Radio Broadcast. In Brazil, Nayde Jaguaribe de Alencar (Sá Pereira) also played *Ribatejo* in the Centro Académico Leopoldo Miguez. This pianist was an assistant teacher at the Brazilian National School of Music and dedicated her career to children's musical education⁵⁰.

After 1950 we can identify a third phase of concert engagements. With the creation of the concert promoter Pro-Arte, there was a broader decentralisation of the performances of the composer's repertoire. This organisation was created by Ivo Cruz in 1951, and ceased its activities in 1971, after his retirement. Pro-Arte had a total of 52 delegations throughout the country, and its main goal was to decentralise art- music, which was strongly polarised in Lisbon and Oporto. One particular aspect of these concerts was also the fact that the inclusion of at least one Portuguese work in recitals was mandatory⁵¹. The works investigated were presented in concerts promoted by the delegations of Marinha Grande⁵², Beja⁵³, Viseu and Castelo Branco⁵⁴.

Ciranda was also played at the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, in concert given by Helena Sá e Costa in 1977, as previously mentioned, and was also performed in three concerts in Spain (at the Royal Seminar of San Carlos and the Principal Theatre⁵⁵) and Madrid (at a lecture-recital in Ateneu de Madrid in 1965).

During this third phase we can find performances of two works (*Ciranda* and Nocturne for violin and piano) in particular. The duo, Vasco and Grazi Barbosa (violin and piano) presented the Nocturne in Zaragoza and Castelo Branco in 1967. This brother and sister duo presented the 100th Pro-Arte concert in Castelo Branco and was also the first duo to play in the Castelo Branco's Pro-Arte delegation. This 100th recital, which took place in the gymnasium of the Nuno Álvares High School in Castelo Branco, also had the objective of presenting art-music to adolescents and establishing a greater proximity between the musicians and the audience. Grazi Barbosa was a student of Helena de Sá e Costa at the National Conservatory and her brother, Vasco Barbosa (1930-), was also an external student of the National Conservatory and received scholarships to study in New York and Paris. He was also a violinist in the National Radio Orchestra⁵⁶, and a soloist under the direction of Frederico de Freitas. The Nocturne was also performed in concert by the duo Isabel Manso and Paulo Manso (brother and sister) on the 25th of January 1941 in Teatro da Trindade. Isabel Manso graduated at the National Conservatory, where she studied with Adélia Heinz (1924), and was also student of Vianna da Motta, performing at concerts of the previously mentioned National Chamber Music Society (1926). She gave

⁴⁶ 1977, 28 of January. *Ciranda*. Lisbon: Calouste Gulbenkian's Foundation - Hall 2.

⁴⁷ Without year, 15 of April. Oporto: Soares dos Reis' National Museum.

⁴⁸ Sousa, Berta Alves de *Ciranda* (Porto. 1945, 3 of November).

⁴⁹ Feninger, Mario *Ciranda* (Paris, 1958, 5 of March).

⁵⁰ Corvisier, Fátima Monteiro "A trajetória musical de Antônio Leal de Sá Pereira", *Revista do Conservatório de Música da Universidade Federal de Pelotas* nº4 (2011), 162-193.

⁵¹ Villalobos, Bárbara "Pró-Arte", in *História da Música em Portugal no século XX*, ed. S. Castelo-Branco. (Lisboa: Círculo de Leitores /Temas e debates e Autores, 2010).

⁵² Pereira, Nina Marques *Ciranda* (Marinha Grande, 1963, 17 of May).

⁵³ Brederore, Noémia Sarmiento de *Ciranda* (Beja: City Hall's Nobel Hall, 1960, Monday 14 of November).

⁵⁴ Barbosa, Vasco and Barbosa, Grazi *Nocturno (sobre um Soneto de Antero Quental)* (Castelo Branco: Highschool's Gymnasium, 1967, Wednesday 17 of May).

⁵⁵ Sá e Costa, Helena *Nocturno (sobre um Soneto de Antero Quental)*. (Zaragoza: Real Seminário de San Carlos e Teatro principal Without year, 10 and 12).

⁵⁶ Losa, Leonor "Vasco Barbosa", in *História da Música em Portugal no século XX*, ed. S. Castelo-Branco. (Lisboa: Círculo de Leitores /Temas e debates e Autores, 2010).

her first public recital in 1928, and later became a teacher at the National Conservatory of Lisbon. Her brother Paulo Manso (1896-1982), born in Figueira da Foz, where he began his studies, studied at the National Conservatory with Júlio Cardona. He continued his studies in France, Belgium and Germany, pursuing a concert career on his return to Portugal. He played with various musicians such as Luís Costa, Varella Cid or Francine Benoît, winning the "Moreira de Sá" Prize with his sister Isabel. He was also director of the Funchal Academy and a violinist of the National Radio Orchestra conducted by Frederico de Freitas⁵⁷.

Ciranda was also performed in concerts by other pianists such as Maria Teresa Nascimento Ferreira (in 1956), Noémia Sarmiento de Brederode (in 1960), and Nina Marques Pereira (in 1963). Maria Teresa Ferreira studied with Campos Coelho, and made her first public presentation in 1954 in the Pro-Arte concert series at Imaculada Conceição's High School. Noémia Sarmiento de Brederode graduated from the National Conservatory, and won the Luís Costa Prize at Oporto. Noémia studied in Lisbon with Vianna da Motta and Helena Sá e Costa, and was awarded a Gulbenkian Foundation scholarship to study with Alfred Cortot. She performed with the National Radio Orchestra, the Lisbon Philharmonic and the Oporto Symphony orchestras under the direction of conductors Frederico de Freitas, Ivo Cruz and Álvaro Cassuto. She also collaborated with the Cultural Music Circle and Concerts Society, performing at concerts promoted by Pro-Arte in various delegations throughout the country, and presented a concert of Portuguese in Biarritz⁵⁸. Nina Marques Pereira graduated from the National Conservatory of Lisbon and studied at the École Normale de Paris; she was awarded the Conservatory of Lisbon Official Award, the Beethoven Prize and the National Radio Broadcasting Prize. With a scholarship from the Institute of High Culture, she went to France, where she pursued the virtuoso diploma course, studying with Alfred Cortot. She was invited to play by the Cultural Music Circle, the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, the Portuguese Musical Youth, Lisbon City Hall, Pro-arte, and other entities, in addition to touring Africa, India, the Azores and across the continent⁵⁹.

Frederico de Freitas' works were not only interpreted by some of the most prestigious Portuguese musicians, but were also programmed and promoted by the main Portuguese cultural agents.

Sound recordings and its interpreters: from the National Radio Broadcasting to the modern edition.

This research, in addition to the analysis of various concert programmes or performances annotations present in manuscripts, also sought the recordings of the investigated works. An important part of Frederico de Freitas' musical path was linked to the National Radio Broadcasting Company in which he worked from 1935 to 1977 (with a short break between 1949 and 1953, when he conducted the Oporto's Conservatory Symphony Orchestra). The National Radio Broadcasting Company archives however, do not include full information regarding Freitas' activity as a radio orchestra conductor. The earliest register is a hand-written annotation in the score of the Nocturne for cello and piano: "National Radio Broadcasting Company 11/10/1940 Regina Cascais"⁶⁰. These annotations broaden the scope of sources of information regarding performances and recordings, as well as its interpreters. Most of the recordings in the radio ar-

⁵⁷ Coimbra, Arnaldo "Paulo Manso.", Album Figueirense (Artistas figueirenses), Year I nº 9.

⁵⁸ Concert programme Without/Author: Noémia Sarmiento de Brederode in Concertos camonianos integrados no ciclo de comemorações do quarto centenário da publicação de "Os Lusíadas", (1972).

⁵⁹ Concert programme 1963.

⁶⁰ Freitas, Frederico Nocturno for Cello and piano (Aveiro's University Library - Frederico de Freitas' Archives, 1940).

chives or live performances remain unedited⁶¹, as is the case of Helena Sá e Costa's recording from 1956, at the "30 years of Portuguese culture" festival. More recently, the National Radio also presented the composer's chamber works in several live concerts.

Thus, analyzing the various CD's, LP's and live performance recordings of the works for piano solo, and starting with *Ciranda* we note that this piece⁶² was recorded by Helena Sá e Costa⁶² (twice), Nella Maissa⁶³, Noémia Sarmiento⁶⁴, Nina Marques Pereira⁶⁵, Eurico Rosado (during a concert in which he also played *Dança* and *Quand elle marche on dirait qu'elle danse* by the composer)⁶⁶ and the aforementioned Maria Fernanda Wandschneider⁶⁷. With regard to the composer's works for solo piano, we also find records of the *Sonata* for piano played by Manuel Araújo at the concert for the centenary of the composer's birth celebration, *Seis Danças* performed by Nina Marques Pereira, *Embalando o menino doente* and *Jogo infantil* by Filipe Pires, *O Livro da Maria Frederica* by Florinda Santos (CD edited by Numérica in 1997) and Maurice Hinson (by the recording label Educo in 1974) and *Ingenuidades* by Artur Pizarro.

In the case of the Nocturne for violin and piano, the first recording reference comes from a small advertising brochure of the His Master's Voice recording label (reference ET 8), with the aforementioned Paulo Manso as violinist (without reference to the pianist). However, in the catalogue listings list provided by the Portuguese Radio Broadcasting Company, there is a register entry for an L.P.⁶⁸ with Paulo Manso and Campos Coelho (National Conservatory of Lisbon's teacher). That Nocturne was also recorded by the Grazi and Vasco Barbosa⁶⁹ and Lucjan Luc with Alexander Stewart⁷⁰ duos. Within the repertoire for violin and piano, the Sonata for violin and piano was also recorded (four times) by Vasco and Grazi Barbosa, and edited by Strauss: Portugalsom in 1995. This duo also recorded the *Três Peças Sem Importância* [three pieces without importance] and the *Dança do Palhaço* [Clown's dance] (version for violin and piano of the 1st piece of the composer's *Seis Peças* [six pieces] for piano solo).

The repertoire for piano and cello with traditional influences (*Canção Triste* and *Canção Raiana*) was also recorded and edited. The *Canção Raiana* was recorded in a live concert by Paulo Gaio Lima and António Rosado⁷¹. In the case of the *Canção Triste*, and despite the fact that its original version was for piano and cello, there are three recordings of the viola and piano version⁷² (the manuscript with the viola part was written by the composer). These recordings include a live concert by Isabel Pimentel and Eurico Rosado⁷³, an edited recording released on the

⁶¹ It should be noted the re-editing by the publisher Numérica in 1995 of a recording of May 28, 1969 of *Ciranda* by the pianist Maria Fernanda Wandschneider in the studios of the North-Centre Province of the National Radio Broadcaster, a CD with Portuguese repertoire for piano exclusively.

⁶² Sá e Costa, Helena 9 of July 1956. and Sá e Costa, Helena without date, ref.: CDT1118.

⁶³ Maissa, Nella: *Ciranda* by Frederico de Freitas Without date, ref.: DT3377.

⁶⁴ Brederode, Noémia Sarmiento *Ciranda* by Frederico de Freitas. Without date, ref.: CDT1324..

⁶⁵ Pereira, Nina Marques *Ciranda* by Frederico de Freitas. Without date, ref.: CDT1502.

⁶⁶ Rosado, Eurico *Ciranda* by Frederico de Freitas Without date, ref.: CDT20938.

⁶⁷ Wandschneider, Maria Fernanda, piano. *Ciranda*, by Frederico de Freitas. Ed. Numérica. CD. 1995 (Lisbon: National Radio Broadcast 1969).

⁶⁸ Manso, Paulo e Coelho, Campos, violin and piano. *Nocturno (sobre um poema de Antero de Quental)* by Frederico de Freitas. Ed. His Master's Voice. LP. Ref.: Lp78RPM: 78D01390. Without date.

⁶⁹ Barbosa, Vasco e Barbosa, Grazi, violin and piano. *Nocturno (sobre um poema de Antero de Quental)* by Frederico de Freitas. Without date, Ref.: CDT21359/A.

⁷⁰ Luc, Lucjan e Stewart, Alexander *Nocturno (sobre um poema de Antero de Quental)* by Frederico de Freitas. Without date, Ref.: CDT6245.

⁷¹ Lima, Paulo Gaio e Rosado, António *Canção Raina* by Frederico de Freitas. Live Concert. Without date, Ref.: CDT20615.

⁷² Freitas, Frederico *Canção Triste* (viola parts). (Aveiro's University Library - Frederico de Freitas' Archives, 1947).

⁷³ Pimentel, Isabel e Rosado, Eurico *Canção Triste* by Frederico de Freitas Without date, Ref.: CDT21556.

CD *Concerti per viola e pianoforte*, performed by Alexandre Delgado and Álvaro Lopes Ferreira⁷⁴ and a recording for the National Radio Broadcasting Company by Regina Cascais⁷⁵ in 1940. There are also recordings of the Nocturne for cello and piano by Helena Sá e Costa and Madalena Sá e Costa (four recordings), Jed Barahal and Christina Margoto (in “Antena 2 concerts”) and by Miguel Borralhinho and Luísa Tender (edited in 2009 by Dreyer Gaido).

Conclusion

The current research intended to reflect on the use of national elements in Frederico de Freitas’ chamber music production, highlighting the fact that these works, despite their modern language, contain in their essence elements inspired by the Portuguese musical tradition. Throughout the recordings of this repertoire, we can capture an overview of the past, as well as their present impact. Some of these works remain unrecorded, and are seldom performed, showing therefore the difficulties of dissemination in spite of the various cultural agents and performers. This is the case of Freitas’ chamber works such as *Allegro Apassionatto* (violin and piano), *13 Variações* (cello and piano), *Bagatelas* (piano solo), *Tema e Variações* (piano solo), *Canção e Dansa* (cello and piano), and *Prelúdio e Fuga* (trio with piano, violin and cello), *Ribatejo* (piano solo), *Nazaré (gente do mar)* (version for piano solo), *Duas Danças Antigas* (piano solo) among others.

The analysis of concerts promoters (such as Pro-Arte) activity, as well as that of performers, has shown how chamber music spread over the decades, interpreted by some of the most important Portuguese artists. They were also responsible for the “internationalisation” of these works and were the true messengers of Freitas’ chamber music.

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⁷⁴ Delgado, Alexandre e Ferreira, Álvaro Lopes, viola and piano. *Canção Triste* by Frederico de Freitas. *Concerti per viola e pianoforte*. Without date, ref.: CD16491. CD.

⁷⁵ Cascais, Regina, piano [no cellist indication]. *Nocturno* of Frederico de Freitas. (National Broadcast, 1940, 10 of November).

Between musical cosmopolitanism and modernized nationalism: the national element in the music of Yorgos Sicilianos

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Abstract. As the music of Sicilianos evolved over the years, so did his treatment of the national element in it. In the first, relatively short, period of Sicilianos's work his principal agenda as a composer was to renew the aesthetic of the so-called "Greek National School". In the mid 1950s he turned to modernist idioms, while at the same time focusing on classical antiquity as the principal means of defining a national identity in his music.

This paper explores Sicilianos's attitude toward the national element in music after 1954 by using two of the three categories suggested by Markos Tsetsos as the main alternative approaches available to Greek composers in the period following the dominance of the National School. The first approach is a kind of "musical cosmopolitanism", while the second consists in a "modernized nationalism beyond the Kalomiris tradition, and similar to that of the literary 'Generation of the '30s'" (Tsetsos, 2011, 119). I suggest that both these approaches played a role in Sicilianos's work after 1954, and that in effect he moved between the two. While his critical writings were largely dominated by the second approach, his music gradually moved towards the first approach, the key work in this respect being *Epiklesis*, opus 29, for narrator, male-choir, four women's voices and 12 performers (original text from Aeschylus' tragedy *Persians*) (1968).

Sicilianos treated the national element in his music using two main approaches. The first approach was developed during the first period of his work. During that period Sicilianos aimed to renew the aesthetic of the so-called "Greek National School" by seeking the point where "[Greek] folk song intersects with Byzantine chant", which he viewed as the "source of the song of [Greek] people".¹ The second approach was developed starting from the mid 1950s, that is, since the beginning of the second period of his work, when he experimented with modernist idioms and when his quest for a national identity led to an active interest in classical antiquity that endured for the rest of his life.

In this paper I explore Sicilianos's attitude towards the national element in music after 1954 by using two of the three categories, which according to Markos Tsetsos in his *Nationalism and populism in modern Greek music* were the main approaches available to Greek composers in the period following the dominance of the National School. The first approach is a kind of "musical cosmopolitanism", while the second consists in a "modernized nationalism beyond the Kalomiris tradition, and similar to that of the 'Generation of the 30s'".² I suggest that both these approaches played a role in Sicilianos's work after 1954, and that in effect he moved between the two. While his critical writings were largely dominated by the second approach, his music gradually moved towards the first approach. By examining *Epiklesis*, opus 29, for narrator, male-choir, four women's voices and 12 performers (original text from Aeschylus' tragedy *Persians*) (1968), I will support that this is a pivotal work that illustrates the tension between Sicilianos's critical writings and his music.

¹ Christopoulou, Valia "Yorgos Sicilianos and the Musical Avant garde in Greece", in Costas Tsougras, Danae Stefanou, and Kostas Chardas (eds.), *Beyond the Centres: Musical Avant-gardes since 1950. Thessaloniki, 1-5 July 2010, Department of Music Studies, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki. Conference Proceedings*, <http://btc.web.auth.gr/_assets/_papers/CHRISTOPOULOU.pdf>, accessed 20 December 2012.

² Tsetsos, Markos *Ethnikismos kai laikismos stē neoellēnikē mousikē: Politikes opseis mias politismikēs apoklisēs*, (Nationalism and populism in modern Greek music: Political aspects of a cultural divergence), (Athens: Sakis Karagiōrgas Foundation, 2012), 119.

The meaning of the term “musical cosmopolitanism”, which, in the aforementioned Tsetsos’s book, is defined as “internationalism that has renounced any national identity”,³ is more or less clear. This is not the case with the term “nationalism [...] similar to that of the [literary] ‘Generation of the 30s’”. Because of that, I will take here a small digression to attempt to clarify the meaning of the term “nationalism”.

According to Dimitris Tziouvas, who in his book *The transformations of nationism and the ideology of Greekness in the inter-war period* discusses the term extensively, “nationalism” has a different meaning from “nationalism”. Historically, nationalism in Greece was connected to the imperial concept of territorial expansion, while nationism was connected to the intellectual and cultural character of the nation.⁴ During the 30s there was a “transformation of irredentist nationalism into intellectual nationism and humanism”,⁵ which paved the way for the discussion of the concept of “Greekness” by the generation of the 30s. Two main features of this discussion are, first, that the representatives of the generation of the 30s avoid to specify a recipe of Greekness, and, second, that they define Greekness as something undetermined⁶ connected to the continuity of the Greek nation [ελληνισμός, Hellenism] seen in terms of nature and geography, rather than biology:⁷ “the climate and geography of the country are viewed as evidence of national particularity or cultural continuity”.⁸ Another distinctive feature of the generation of the 30s was the attempt to connect modernism with tradition.⁹ Thus, the members of the generation of the 30s were opposed both to the imperialist political nationalism and to cosmopolitanism, since they believed that “the abstract, intellectual nationalism is a way of communicating with humanity, that, if it is abolished by eradicating from within oneself the idea of the nation, one is left unstable, lost, without any base and any support”.¹⁰

In this perspective, particularly interesting is a lecture Sicilianos gave in 1974, entitled “Greek School of contemporary and avant-garde music”, in which he presents that “School” as a creation of the composers of the generation of the 50s.¹¹ Even if, for reasons whose exploration goes beyond the aim of this paper, that name was never established, and the existence of that “School” never gained recognition, it is nevertheless possible to detect an attempt by the composers of the generation of the 50s, similar to that by the literary generation of the 30s, to differentiate themselves from the composers of the previous generation and to gain self-consciousness.¹²

The two distinctive aspects of the nationism of the “generation of the 30s”, that is, first, the definition of the national element in abstract terms or in terms of nature and geography and, second, the attempt to connect modernism with tradition, can also be found in various writings of Sicilianos, in which the national element is a recurrent topic of discussion. For the first aspect, there is a characteristic passage in a lecture given in 1967: “The idea that we are moving

³ Tsetsos, 76.

⁴ Tziouvas, Dimitris *Oi metamorphōseis tou ethnismou kai to ideologēma tēs ellēnikotētās sto mesopolemo* (The transformations of nationism and the ideology of Greekness in the inter-war period), (Athens: Odysseas, 1989), 63-65.

⁵ Tziouvas, *Oi metamorphōseis*, 60.

⁶ Tziouvas, *Oi metamorphōseis*, 153.

⁷ Tziouvas, *Oi metamorphōseis*, 120.

⁸ Tziouvas, *Oi metamorphōseis*, 118-119.

⁹ Tziouvas, *O mythos tēs genias tou Trianta* (The myth of the generation of the 30s), (Athens: Polis, 2011), 20-21.

¹⁰ Tziouvas, *Oi metamorphōseis*, 64.

¹¹ Sicilianos, Yōrgos “Ēllēnikē scholē sygchronēs kai prōtoporiakēs mousikēs” (Greek School of contemporary and avant-garde music), reprinted in Sicilianos, Yōrgos *Gia tē Mousikē* (About Music), ed. Elli Giōtopoulou-Sicilianou (Athens: Mouseio Benaki and Hellenic Music Centre, 2011), 287-301.

¹² cf. Tziouvas, *O mythos*, 35, footnote 37.

towards a culture with an ecumenical nature, where the factors that influence and finally shape art create a uniformity of aesthetic demands as a result of a more universal reality, made me believe that the national element cannot be expressed any longer with external means, as was once the case with national schools, but only with the radiance of the personality of the agent of art himself, that is, the artist, which is different depending on his temperament, the customs of his place, and the natural environment within which he thinks and labours".¹³

The second of these two aspects, that is the effort to combine modernism and tradition, is the one on which Sicilianos insists, emphasizing at the same time that it is important to retain the national element in music: "I think that the composer, as a creative artist, is a peculiar mixture of, on the one hand, absolutely personal intense emotions, and, on the other hand, external, in general, stimulations and factors. As a human being he belongs of course to his time. Then, he has to feel that his roots are securely planted in his place, because, otherwise, he stands on unstable ground that disappears from under his feet."¹⁴ And elsewhere: "Of course, the time of the isolation of the nations has gone forever. [...] However, the agent of art himself, that is, the artist, needs roots in order to create; without roots he feels a stranger, suspended, temporary. He feels unsheltered, without historical and emotional bonds with the place he lives in or the people that surround him. He is like a tree that was planted on foreign soil and then had to be transplanted in a greenhouse to survive. An artist like that will produce tasteless fruits; and his seed will be weak. [...] It is imperative for us to feel Greek, if we want to survive culturally – and not only culturally! However, showing off our Greekness incessantly and everywhere becomes boring and monotonous even for us Greeks; becoming estranged from it [our Greekness], on the other hand, is unacceptable even to foreigners!"¹⁵

Of course, while in the antithetical pair of modernism and tradition the former term can be said to refer to contemporary musical trends, the meaning of the latter term is not as obvious: Greek "tradition" can refer either to the Byzantine and folk tradition or to the Ancient Greek legacy. From 1954 onwards, a time by which, as I mentioned before, Sicilianos is established as a modernist composer, he turns clearly towards the ancient Greek legacy. In two different interviews he points out: "Ancient Greek literature is part of my roots"¹⁶ and "I feel my Ancient Greek roots particularly strong".¹⁷ Nevertheless, as I have suggested in a previous paper, there are two distinct phases in the way Sicilianos treats ancient themes in the middle period of his work, that is, from 1954 onwards: "During the first phase [...] Sicilianos used references to folk material, which functioned as an element of continuity between past and present. During the second phase, which coincided with his use of serial techniques and the internationalisation of the Greek modernist trend, such references to folk material are completely absent, and Sicilianos aimed at a more organic connection between ancient Greek texts and his musical language".¹⁸

¹³ Sicilianos, "Ē mousikē mou tēs teleutaias dekapentaetias (1952-1967)", reprinted in Sicilianos, *Gia tē Mousikē*, 322.

¹⁴ Sicilianos, Interview, Tachydromos (1962), reprinted in Sicilianos, *Gia tē Mousikē*, 141.

¹⁵ Sicilianos, "Ēllēnikē scholē...", reprinted in Sicilianos, *Gia tē Mousikē*, 291.

¹⁶ Sicilianos, Interview with Valia Christopoulou, [September 1998]. In <http://www.mmb.org.gr/page/default.asp?id=1614&la=1> (accessed on December 27th, 2012). Reprinted in Sicilianos, *Gia tē Mousikē*, 188.

¹⁷ Sicilianos, Interview with Nikos Dontas, Kathēmerinē, 26.11.2000. Reprinted in Sicilianos, *Gia tē Mousikē*, 191.

¹⁸ Christopoulou "Modernism and Greek antiquity in the Work of Yorgos Sicilianos", in George Vlastos and Katerina Levidou (eds.), *Revisiting the Past Recasting the Present: The Reception of Greek Antiquity in Music, 19th Century to the Present*. Conference Proceedings, forthcoming 2013.

Epiklesis, on Aeschylus' *Persians*, for narrator, mens' choir, four womens' voices and twelve performers, opus 29, about which I will talk now, belongs to that second phase (it was commissioned by the Hellenic Association for Contemporary Music (ESSYM), and was premièred in the Third Week for Contemporary Music in Athens (22.12.1968)).¹⁹ I will start with a text by Sicilianos himself, one of his most important texts, in which he discusses *Epiklesis* extensively. In brief, Sicilianos describes the four basic elements that dictated his approach to the musical treatment of the original text: first, the "prosodic nature of Ancient Greek metre, with its inexhaustible rhythmic richness"; second, the possibility for serialization of rhythm and pitch; third, the sonic properties of the words of the Ancient Greek language; and, fourth, the structure of the text from which the musical form is derived.²⁰

Epiklesis, opus 29 was composed in 1968, a time by which Sicilianos had adopted serial techniques for the organization of pitch and rhythm. The composer's immediately previous work, the *Fourth Quartet*, opus 28, written in 1967, stands out from his oeuvre as the work in which his inclination for precompositional planning and strict organization reached its peak. In the *Fourth Quartet*, pitch is organized on the basis of a twelve-tone series, while rhythm is organized by means of two numerical sequences which are transformed to several ordered rhythmic sequences or rhythmic patterns.²¹ Throughout the whole work, these two elements are the basic material the use of which ensures organic unity.

So, the fact that Sicilianos uses "serialism" in *Epiklesis* is not something new in his technique. Rather, what differentiates *Epiklesis* from the *Fourth Quartet* is the fact that various techniques coexist and that, in that work, Sicilianos starts distancing himself from the strict organization of the material and from the imperative of organic unity.

The musical form of *Epiklesis* is based, as the composer explains, on the structure of the text: the first section corresponds to verses 628–632 of the Preamble of the chorus (bars 1–25), the second section corresponds to strophe a and antistrophe a (bars 26–82), and the third section corresponds to strophe c and antistrophe c and to verses 672 and 679–680 of the Epilogue (bars 83–144). From the pair of strophe b and antistrophe b only verses 649–650 are used, appearing in the second section, first in bars 30–34, and then in bars 79–82.

A constant throughout the work is the way Sicilianos handles the text rhythmically, using the Erasmian pronunciation. His handling is based either on creating correspondences by translating short and long syllables to analogous rhythmical values in various ways, or on indeterminacy. The types of correspondence vary but, with the exception of some deviations, there is consistency within each type, whether it is rhythmical recitation (the narrator's part) or song (the chorus part). The passages that are based on indeterminacy use several degrees of undetermined pitch or/and note values and at the same time explore the sonic properties of the words

¹⁹ Christopoulou Katalogos ergōn Yōrgou Sicilianou (Catalogue of the Works of Yorgos Sicilianos) (Athens: Panas Music, 2011), 81–82.

²⁰ Sicilianos, "Anazētōntas mia chamenē paradosē tragikēs mousikēs ē scholia gyrō apo tē melopoiēsē enos apospasmatos archaias tragōdias" (In Search of a Lost Tradition of Tragic Music, or Comments Concerning the Setting of an Ancient Tragedy Fragment), in *Chroniko* 72, iii, (Athens: Kallitechniko kai pneumatiko kentro Ōra, September 1971 – August 1972), 211, 213. Reprinted in an enriched version (date: February 1999) as "Anazētōntas tē chamenē mousikē paradosē tēs archaias ellēnikēs Tragōdias", in Yōrgos Sicilianos. *O synthetēs stēn prōtoporia tēs sygchronēs mousikēs*, 83–89 and in Sicilianos, *Gia tē Mousikē*, 375–385. See also Sicilianos, Programme note for *Epiklesis*, in the Programme of the Third Week for Contemporary Music, Athens, 22.12.1968. Reprinted in Christopoulou, *Katalogos*, 83.

²¹ Sicilianos uses a highly personal adaptation of the serial technique in which paired number sequences translate into ordered rhythmic values. For a more detailed discussion of the organization of rhythm in the *Fourth Quartet* see Christopoulou Yorgos Sicilianos – Life and Work, Ph.D. diss. (University of Athens, 2009), 128–141.

treating the ancient Greek language purely phonetically. With the exception of this element, that is the handling of the voice, the three sections differ in the degree of precompositional planning and of strict organisation of the material, and also in the elaborateness of the musical writing, which increase from one section to the next.

Specifically, in the first section different techniques coexist. The first six bars are atonal, bars 7–14 are based on a whole-tone scale, while in bar 14 the twelve-tone row appears that is used throughout the work. Organization of rhythm according to durational systems is not used at all in the first section. The second section can be further divided into two subsections, based on the handling of the material: bars 26–47 (corresponding to strophe a) and bars 48–82 (corresponding to antistrophe a). In the first subsection of the second section two different techniques coexist: a free atonal one (mainly in the chorus part) and a serial one which uses the twelve-tone row, while the organization of rhythm follows procedures similar to those of the *Fourth Quartet* (i.e., use of numerical sequences) but with several deviations from the rhythmical sketches, and, consequently, with a lot of liberties taken compared to the initial planning. In the second subsection of the second section the instrumental part has only percussion (in the composer's rhythmical sketch this section is entitled "Intermezzo for percussion"). As can be seen in the composer's sketches this subsection is based on an isorhythmic pattern of eighth notes, eighth-note triplets, sixteenth-note quintuplets and sixteenth-note septuplets; it consists of twelve beats and it is repeated unchanged twelve times. The final form of the work follows the rhythmical sketches with only a few deviations.

The most strictly organised part of the work is clearly the third section. Here, each of the six verses of the strophe c and, consequently, of the antistrophe c corresponds to a "rhythmic series", as Sicilianos calls it, or, in other words, to an isorhythmic pattern, which is applied with consistency not only in the voice part, but also, mostly, in the instrumental part. In the voice part, that is the part of the narrator and the chorus, the correspondence of each verse, as evidenced by a sketch that was found in the composer's archive (example 1) (it is not an autograph and its authorship is unknown) is the following: the short syllables correspond to eighth notes and the long syllables to quarter notes.

-19-

♩ = 120

Sostenuto (♩ = 76)

Example 2. *Sicilianos, Epiklesis*, bb. 109-114.

In the same section of the work, that is, the third section, the parts of the percussion, the horns and the trombones, which assume a complementary role in the whole texture, in some cases duplicate another instrument and in some other cases are written in a freer technique which does not seem to follow precompositional planning. In bars 117–124, however, as can be seen in the composer's sketches, the parts of the horns and of the 1st and 2nd trombones are based on an isorhythmic pattern which consists in sixteenth notes of sixteenth-note quintuplets, sixteenth notes of sixteenth-note septuplets and of eighth notes, in a sequence (built in a

way similar to that seen in the second subsection of the second section) that is repeated in its initial form four times by the horns, and in its retrograde form about three and a half times by the trombones (example 3).

-20-

Molto appassionato (♩=112)

Example 3. Sicilianos, Epiklesis, bb. 115-119.

The whole section is twelve-tone —based on the twelve-tone row that is used throughout the work— except, as in the rest of the work, for the part of the narrator, which is based on rhythmical recitation, and for most of the part of the chorus, which use various degrees of inde-

terminacy. Finally, for the most part of the third section, that is throughout bars 85–124, the second piano is “prepared” with a thin book in its interior.

In conclusion, an essential feature of *Epiklesis* is the utilization of different compositional techniques and of heterogeneous material within the same work: use of a whole-tone scale, atonal writing, use of a twelve-tone row, serial organization of rhythm either by means of numerical sequences (see *Fourth Quartet*) or by means of rhythmic patterns which are mostly derived from the Ancient Greek text, utilization of the Erasmian pronunciation and a consequent shift of emphasis from the semantic meaning to the sonic properties of the word, use of language as a repository of vocal sounds, indeterminacy, and prepared piano. With the exception of the twelve-tone technique and of serialism, these techniques appear for the first time in the work of Sicilianos; most importantly, they are the techniques that he will continue to develop and to experiment with in his works of the following decade. So, *Epiklesis* is a key work in two important aspects of the work of Sicilianos: his experimentation with techniques of the post-war avant-garde and his dialogue with international trends of his time. Of course, the choice of an Ancient Greek text is obviously connected to the national element. However, the techniques which belong to the post-war avant-garde, the Erasmian pronunciation, with the subsequent use of Latin characters for the text, and also, as a symbolic gesture, the use of English for the title, *Epiklesis*, and even for the directions on the autograph, signal a tendency to remove any “particular” national element and point towards a cosmopolitan musical attitude.

However, there is a tension between the attitude seen in the music of Sicilianos and the views expressed in his writings. In Sicilianos’s writings we see that his attitude towards the national element, at least on a theoretical level, is comparable to the nationalism of the literary “generation of the 30s”. Certainly, in Ancient Greek tragedy and poetry, which, from 1954 onwards were the major “national” sources of inspiration for him, Sicilianos finds not only a national element but also the values of universality and atemporality:²² “[Ancient Greek tragedy and poetry] were the first and only ones to deal with universal feelings and thoughts and to tell truths that never change: they were yesterday, they are today, and they will always be truths. And this was accomplished by Greeks, more than two and a half millennia ago”.²³ Finally, his attitude towards cosmopolitanism is not absolutely dismissive: “On the other hand, the argument that modern art, under the pressure of the levelling tendency of our culture today, was forced to get rid of its national character does not seem to me to correspond to reality absolutely.”²⁴ In other words, Sicilianos in his writings places a clear emphasis on the importance of the national element, emphasizes at the same time those aspects of the Ancient Greek legacy that offer a potential for internationalisation, and shows reservation towards cosmopolitanism without being absolutely opposed to it. His compositions, on the other hand, show that his quests are closer to cosmopolitanism than to a search for the national element. *Epiklesis*, being a work that combines an Ancient Greek text with intense musical experimentation, is the best place to see this.

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²² See also Christopoulou, “Modernism and Greek antiquity...”.

²³ Sicilianos, Interview with Michel Fais for the archive of the Centre of Literature and Arts, in Sicilianos, *Gia tē Mousikē*, 175.

²⁴ Sicilianos, “Ellēnikē scholē...”, reprinted in Sicilianos, *Gia tē Mousikē*, 291.

The National Element in Music

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Formation and Evolution of the National Element in Dimitri Nicolau's "Bis for two: op. 236, for Alto Saxophone and Piano

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Abstract. Dimitri Nicolau's idiomatic compositional style has not been profoundly evaluated yet, neither through analytical procedures, nor by systematic research on his vast compositional corpus. His musical portrait though, depicts him as an eclectic composer with an emphasis on melody-based compositions bearing intense neo-national references (implicit or not) and structurally related quotations. The aims of this paper focus on enlightening Nicolau's relation with the neo-national ideals and the way they are projected in his saxophone & piano piece, *Bis For Two*, commissioned for the 15th anniversary of Arno Bornkamp's and Ivo Janssen's duo. Besides that, a discussion will be also held over the formalistic nature of the thematic material, its unfolding throughout the composition and the relation it bears with the nationalistic attributes. Finally, a structural procedure (i.e. *signal theory*), which - by its own means - correlates cognitive and formalistic approach, will reveal Nicolau's notion on both textural and structural bonding parameters.

Introduction

Dimitri Nicolau (21/12/1946 – 29/03/2008) was a Greek composer born in Athens (Keratea) and eventually naturalized as an Italian citizen (Rome), due to his opposition to the regime of the Greek colonels (1967). Besides his musical (Greece, France) and cinematography studies (Italy) he had done researches in the field of popular and folk music with a particular interest in the Mediterranean and Balkan area. Apart from being a composer, D. Nicolau had also been active as stage director, cinematographer, director of photography, conductor, musicologist, professor of vocal theatrical technique and writer. Fundamental for his artistic formation was the acquaintance with the psychoanalytical theory of "Collective Analysis" by Massimo Fagioli. Since 1959, the year in which he began composing, Nicolau managed to acquire a vast catalog of circa 300 compositions including 3 operas, 5 symphonies for large orchestra, 2 cantatas for soloist – choir – actors – large orchestra, 63 saxophone compositions, numerous concerts for soloist and orchestra, many works for plucked string orchestra, soloist and ensembles, works for chamber ensemble, vocal compositions, ballet music, soundtracks for cinema, television and radio, children's songs and music and over 100 scores of incidental music for the theatre¹.

By summarizing some of D. Nicolau's basic compositional features we would advocate the

1. Melody based compositions with an idiomatic and characteristic intentness in the use of accents. Thus, a certain mixture of *melodic rhythm*, which is different by the other rhythmical layers of the composition, is produced
2. Constant melodic, rhythmic and textural re-shaping of the fundamental motivic material, as a structural process employed in the largest part of his compositional corpus
3. Alteration of archetypical national melodic formulas (i.e. folk tunes) and the presence of Greek folk-like melodies composed by Nicolau himself²

¹ For a detailed presentation see the composer's webpage (<http://www.dimitrinicolau.it/>).

² Concerning the fundamental ways that the Greek composers used to incorporate the folk element see Tsougras Costas, *Τα 44 Παιδικά Κομμάτια του Γιάννη Κωνσταντινίδη - Ανάλυση με Χρήση της Γενετικής Θεωρίας της Τονικής Μουσικής* [Yannis Constantinidis' 44 Greek miniatures for piano: Analysis with the use of

4. Appearance of quotations, always bearing structural significance and picked upon a vast variety of musical choices (popular & folk)
5. Re-working of traditional established forms (Sonata, Rondo, etc.) and the synergy of new structural insights with innovative instrumental combinations
6. Embodiment of a wide palette of sound production techniques (especially concerning the saxophone – i.e. slap tongue, flutter tongue, multiphonics, key clicks, etc.)
7. Dance-like compositional character in a variety of textural sceneries
8. Intense theatrical quality
9. Subtly woven musical humor

Historical Background on “*Bis For Two*”

D. Nicolau’s compositions have not been systematically analyzed yet and thus a great number of his musical attributes is not fully comprehended and evaluated. The author of the current paper has already dealt with D. Nicolau’s solo saxophone repertory in his master's thesis³ introducing some basic Nicolau’s compositional features via analytical results.

Bis For Two in particular, was commissioned in 1998 for the 15th anniversary of Arno Bornkamp’s (saxophone) and Ivo Janssen’s (piano) duo, as mentioned before. It was then edited by “SIAE – Italy” as the last composition of a six pieces output, labeled “*Easy Sax Dances – for Sax Alto & Piano*” op. 236. There are two fundamental reasons why *Bis For Two* could be listed as “representative” regarding Nicolau’s personal style. First of all it is due to the fact that *Bis For Two* falls entirely in the list of Nicolau’s compositional features presented earlier (Introduction 1-9). Second, it is because it was written during his last (5th) compositional decade (1959-2008), thus concluding and summing up a great number of the composer’s musical characteristics and structural notions.

Macrostructure

Bis For Two is a three-part composition (A – B – C). The first part (Fig. 1, red band) is a rondo-like form, the second one (green band) outlines the rondo’s evolution while the last part (blue band) departs from the initially presented material. The most striking of all the combined “national” aspects to be mentioned is presented during the A Section (rondo’s refrain) imposed by the saxophone’s melodic line. Other also important nationalistic attributes will be presented later on in this paper. In section A we can trace a correlation of diatonic, octatonic and modal (dorian, nikriz-neveser) thematic material which gradually resolves in a more diatonic environment with modal (dorian) reminders as the composition evolves to its end.

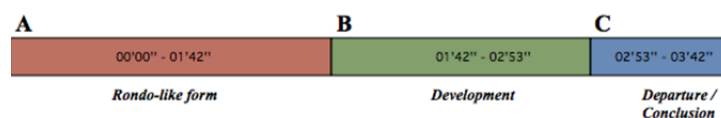


Fig. 1 Schematic representation of the overall sectional plan of *Bis For Two*. The noted time each section occupies is based upon a performance held by the paper’s author.

the *Generative Theory of Tonal Music*], (Thessaloniki: University Studio Press, 2003), 52, footnote 97 [in Greek, includes English abstract].

³ Diminakis Nicolaos, “*Δημήτρης Νικολάου: Ανάλυση Έργων για Σόλο Σαξόφωνο*” [Analysis of Dimitri Nicolau’s Solo Saxophone Works], (Master Thesis, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, September 2007) [in Greek].

Every part initiates with an introductory solo piano section. During the first two segments (A – B) one can easily grasp the rondo-like character of the composition since there is a noticeable textural balance between the five thematic representations (A1-A5) and the five interfering episodes (E1-E5). The second part ends with a transitory passage (*Golden Ratio Section*) of three interchanged solo-like sections for each instrument, which provides melodic material for the introductory (C1), the middle (C3) and the concluding (C5 “*Souvenir*”) sections of C. Section C2 and part of C3 (as a literal repetition of sections C1 & C2 in the piano’s part) is constructed texturally via “planing”⁴.

The most important aspect though, in both musical and non-musical parameters, is introduced as a quotation in C4. These two meters, constituting the reason for composing this piece (15th anniversary for a saxophone & piano duo), present in particular the first two sub-phrases of the «Happy Birthday» tune (“solo & accompaniment” texture in 4/4). The pianist sings twice, along with the saxophone’s plain melodic line: “Happy Birthday to us” instead of “Happy Birthday to you” !!^{5,6,7}

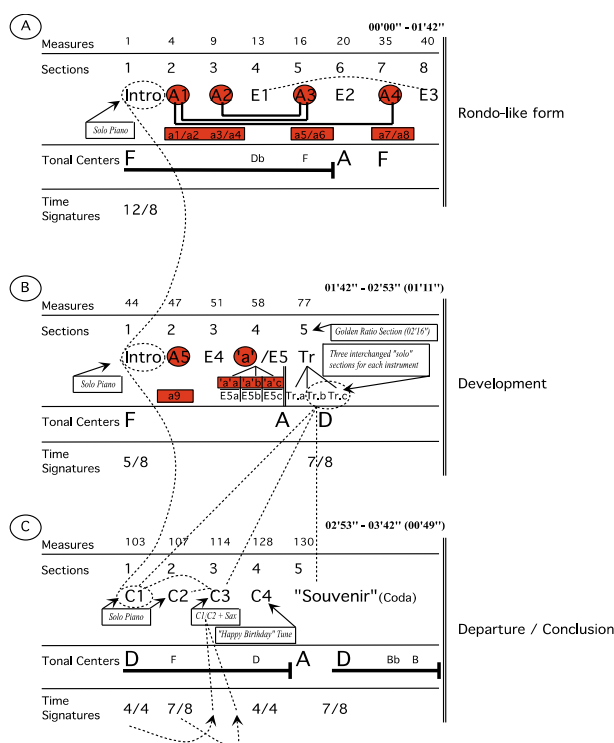


Fig. 2 Macro/micro structural plan presenting the fundamental characteristics of all the sections. Note that the sections in red color (rondo’s refrain) represent the most evident “nationalistic” element. Also bear in mind that both Tonal Centers & Time Signatures segments adumbrate only the basic and fundamental structures.

⁴ About *planing* or *harmonic parallelism* see Kostka Stefan, *Materials and Techniques of Twentieth-Century Music*, 3rd ed. (New Jersey: Pearson Prentice Hall, 2006), 86.

⁵ See Fig. 8.

⁶ In Tamvakos Thomas, “Δημήτρης Νικολάου” [Dimitris Nicolau], *Antifonon* 8/1-2 (2005), 50-51 [in Greek], Yanis Papaioannou states about Nicolau: “[...] Another valuable element inside Nicolau’s music - element rare in the world of contemporary music - is the humor which is light, playful, discreet and Dionysian. This does not mean that Nicolau does not grow in depth and consistency, dramatic, tragic and far-reaching levels where that feel is needed” [transl. by the author]. The same statement is also reproduced in the composers webpage, in a collective catalog with comments and critics about D. Nicolau, in:

http://www.dimitrnicolau.com/Nuova_pagina_web/Comments.htm

⁷ About the “Happy Birthday” tune see Lester Joel, *Analytic Approaches to 20th century Music*, (USA: W. W. Norton & Company Inc., 1989), 43-44.

Microstructure

The basic thematic material of *Bis For Two* is, initially at least, defined by the

- First Chord (Introduction)
- Basic Motive
- Rondo's Refrain

These three thematic elements are all interconnected. Furthermore, the Basic Motive and the Rondo's Refrain are both related to the First Introductory Chord. It would be interesting to note that the "layered textures"⁸ produced by the blending of these elements, and the "additive structures"⁹ they also create, are at the same time indicative about two things:

1. One can always trace throughout the composition (acoustically and visibly) the different structural functions of each one of the three elements.
2. At the same time these functional differences are transformed as the composition evolves into structural bonding¹⁰ processes via Nicolau's idiomatic musical language.

First Chord

The transition from the first chord¹¹ (m. 1-3 / F-Ab-B-C) to the last one (m. 3 / F-G-Ab-C), during the composition's introductory section, holds a great significance in terms of melodic material. Harmonically we can acknowledge the passing from the first chord to the second as an F minor chord with an added 4aug. (F-Ab-C + B) leading to the same F minor chord with an added M2 (F-Ab-C + G). Besides their textural differences (tessiture, reiteration, etc.), they share a number of common features and at the same time present, fractal-like, the fundamental structural transition from diatonic and modal environments to a more diatonic collection.

Fig. 3 Introductory A section (m. 1-3) and the beginning of the rondo's refrain (A1 / m. 4)

⁸ See Lester, 40. The simultaneous coexistence of two or more textures is vertically acknowledged as the compositional time proceeds. The sum of all of the combined/layered textures in a musical piece basically produces a new "multilayered texture" that incorporates all their attributes.

⁹ See Williams, 153-155 and Morgan Robert P., *Twentieth-century Music*, (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1991), 48. In contradiction with the vertical character of the "layered textures", the "additive structures" occurring in a composition attain a horizontal mode of perception, thus their attributes are experienced through a continuous temporal unfolding.

¹⁰ Concerning the close underlying similarities among thematic material see also Lester, 58-59.

¹¹ About the significance of the first chord see "Signal theory and its implementation" in due course. Also concerning the use of triads in post-tonal music, see Straus Joseph N., *Introduction to Post-Tonal Theory*, (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1990), 91.

In other words, by omitting F, which stands out as the tonal center, the importance lays in the transition between the pc sets [014] and [015] (Fig. 4). Of course [014] is not able to hold any modal/nationalistic character yet, just because of the use of the 2aug. interval (B-Ab). It's the contextual references (like the rondo's main theme presented in the saxophone's part) that will reform the structural correlation between pc set [014] and the nationalistic/modal environments (maqam Nikriz-Neveser) as axiomatic and evident.

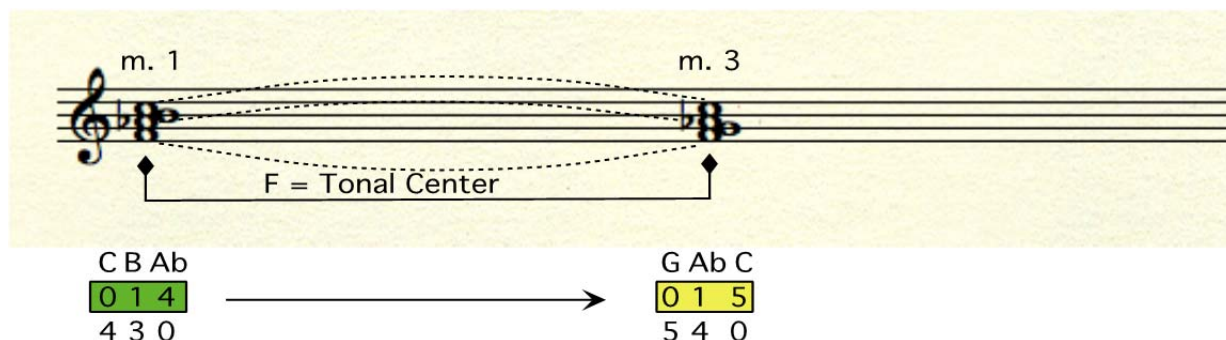


Fig. 4 Evolution from the pc set [014] into [015]¹².

The interchange of further tonal material included in these types, [014] vs [015], throughout sections A and B is constant and chaotic¹³. The simultaneous use of both pc sets, horizontally and vertically at the same time as well, is another matter of concern. The following figure (Fig. 5) presents the basic scale formations used in *Bis For Two* according to their use of the combined [014] & [015] (green color) or the [015] (yellow color) pc set type only.

¹² The term "inversional equivalence" is applied throughout this analytical approach (Fig. 7). The related by inversion pc sets are thus considered equivalent (see for example the *octave* and *transpositional equivalence* terms as well). See also Kostka, 182.

¹³ See Scarnecchia Paolo, "Dimitri Nicolau – An Interview: I am not a composer, I work as a composer" (Rome 1996), transl. Marie-Jeanne de Lange. In: <http://www.angelfire.com/nc/dimitrinicolau/intervista.htm>. In this interview D. Nicolau states: "The harmonic world of my music is difficult to predict. It has been pointed out to me more than once that the so-called harmonic scheme does not move according to mathematical or scholarly rules. Up to a certain point, I have found confirmation of certain intuitions in discovering the theoretical writings of Janacek". Also elsewhere in the same interview he quotes: "Popular music is harmonized by following only what the melodic line suggests. Thought one must return to the horizontal dimension and know how to discover the latent elements as well". Finally, "The idea of musical tension is very important and is suggested by the choice of intervals". Furthermore, in another interview, see Modelci Frederick, "Interview with the composer Dimitri Nicolau", [transl. by the author] (1988). In:

<http://www.dimitrinicolau.com/Intervista%20da%20Mondelci.htm>, he quotes: "I would say that folk music in general is the fundamental base which gives vitality to a composer's work, but it is not enough for an artistic creation. It must be integrated with the knowledge deriving from a profound and tangible relationship/comparison with the music of great composers. Since the composer is trying to express and communicate, it is natural that he seeks to integrate his knowledge with the new possibilities of materials and techniques that an instrument or an instrumentalist can offer. The "material", or the provided sound, from an instrument or voice is a source of an amazing daily inspiration; just think the original work of Janacek that long before Bartok was "recording" the internal sounds of the expressions of his language among the people. Every possibility offered by research in new techniques, is therefore a material worthy of attention and if appropriately considered in a composition, it may be crucial and evocative for the creation".

Diatonic Collection	F	G	Ab	Bb	C	Db	Eb			
Modal Collection (Dorian)	F	G	Ab	Bb	C	-	D	Eb		
Octatonic Collection	F	G	Ab	Bb	B	-	C#	D	-	E
Mode (Maqam Nikriz-Neveser)	F	G	Ab	B	C	Db / D	Eb			

Fig. 5 Scale formations used in sections A and B. During section C it is the diatonic collection (from the tonal center of D, along with some instances of dorian mode) that becomes prominent. Note that the scales with the green color present primarily the pc sets [014] but they also include [015], while the remaining two use only the pc set [015]. Also, note that maqam Nikriz is the dominant maqam, related to maqam Neveser. That's the reason why maqam Nikriz is being mentioned first.

Basic Motive

The second important element in the introductory part is the presentation and use of the basic motive (Figs. 3, 6 & 7). This one, deriving from the pc set [014], is constructed by the notes A-Ab-Gb-F [0134]. Its inversion presents the exact prime form since this set is symmetrical (see about “*Inversional equivalence*” in footnote 12), bearing symmetrical¹⁴ characteristics (m2 – M3 – m2). The variation of the basic motive’s ending via leading-voice techniques (F-E-Eb) gives rise to another significant structural procedure that will relate the introductory section with the C4 (“Happy Birthday” tune), which is placed just before the coda section (C5 - *Souvenir*) and stands out as the reason for composing this piece.

¹⁴ The concept of “centricity” (Straus, 89-107) projects *symmetry* as a fundamental tool in the composition’s structural formation in both micro/macro structural levels and can be traced in a number of diverse parameters as the composition evolves, such as:

- Rondo form (A-B-A-C-A-D-A etc.)
- “F” as a basic tonal center and at the same time as an inversional axis between the remaining tonal regions of the piece (Fig. 2). Note that all of the tonal areas represent minor chords except Db in m. 13, which stands out as the only macrostructural major chord formation.
- Combination of diatonic & octatonic scale
- Symmetrical subsets of the white-key diatonic collection (Aeolian/minor & dorian) creating an effect of *polymodality*. See Williams Kent J., *Theories and Analyses of Twentieth-Century Music*, (Florida: Fort Worth, Harcourt Brace & Company, 1997), 206-207.
- Diminished seventh chord structures (Williams, 195).
- Intervalllic inversions. See in particular in Fig. 7 the pc sets [0134] and [0257] respectively.

Additionally, In Kempf Davorin, “What is Symmetry in Music?” *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* 27/2 (1996), 155, Kempf claims about symmetry that: “*The most important, fundamental compositional principle, a kind of archetype of formal idea in music, is repetition and variation (or varied repetition). Repetition requires contrast and – vice versa – contrast demands repetition. Articulation of musical form can hardly be imagined without some sort of identity. Symmetry is a specific aspect of repetition*”.

Fig. 6 Analytical diagram of the first three meters depicting the transition from [014] to [015] and the evolution of the basic motive [0134-5-6].

Note that the first altered version (A-Ab-Gb-E) [0135] of the basic motive is the inverted¹⁵ beginning of the “Happy Birthday” tune, m. 128 (F#-G#-A#-B) [0245], in the saxophone’s - and voice’s - melodic line (Figs. 6 & 7). The rest of the “Happy Birthday” tune, m. 129 (F#-G#-B-C#) [0257], resembles the concluding chord, m.3 (F-G-Ab-C) [0237], of the introductory section (see also Figs. 3, 4, 6 & 7). After all, the same chord, in T4 \Leftrightarrow (A-B-C-E) / [0237], is produced, melodically this time, by the accented¹⁶ notes in the coda section (Fig. 8, C5 - *Souvenir*, m. 130-131). Thus, Nicolau manages to accomplish a net of bonding structural procedures and gives to the composition a circular character by associating the “outside-time” structures.

Rondo’s Refrain

The A Section (Rondo-like form) presents from the fourth meter the rondo’s theme (Fig. 3). This refrain is always played by the saxophone (except from the last time, 9th sub-phrase in section B, which is played by the piano) and carries the most evident “nationalistic” element of the composition¹⁷. In Figs. 5, 7, 12 & 14 we can observe that this melody falls precisely into the intervallic relations that are projected in the maqam Nikriz-Neveser, without of course bearing any microtonal references. It is a combined scale formation deriving from the diatonic and the octatonic collection with a simultaneous use of [014] & [015] pc sets. In the formation of the first rondo’s refrain (A1) (see bottom of Fig. 7) we can detect five fundamental set-type correlations derived from the basic melodic material in use. More specifically we can note down:

- The first chord (C-B-Ab) [014] first three notes & (Db-D-F) [014] structurally presented
- The second chord (D-Eb-G) [015] structurally presented
- All the sub-versions of the Basic Motive [014-015-016]
- The second version of the Basic Motive inverted (D-Eb-F-G) [0135]
- The inversion of [0135] which acts at the same time as the beginning of the “Happy Birthday” tune (G-F-Eb-D) [0245] in C4

¹⁵ The inversion is seen as a “real mirror reflection around a horizontal axis of symmetry” (Kempf, 161). See also the compositional uses of symmetrical sets in Glinka, Debussy and Bartok (Williams, 208-212).

¹⁶ About the accented notes, see also *Melodic evolution*.

¹⁷ In this subsection the primary conception is to focus only in the microstructural plan of the theme without any further references on its national features. Folk and popular music matters will be acknowledged in due course (see also Appendix).

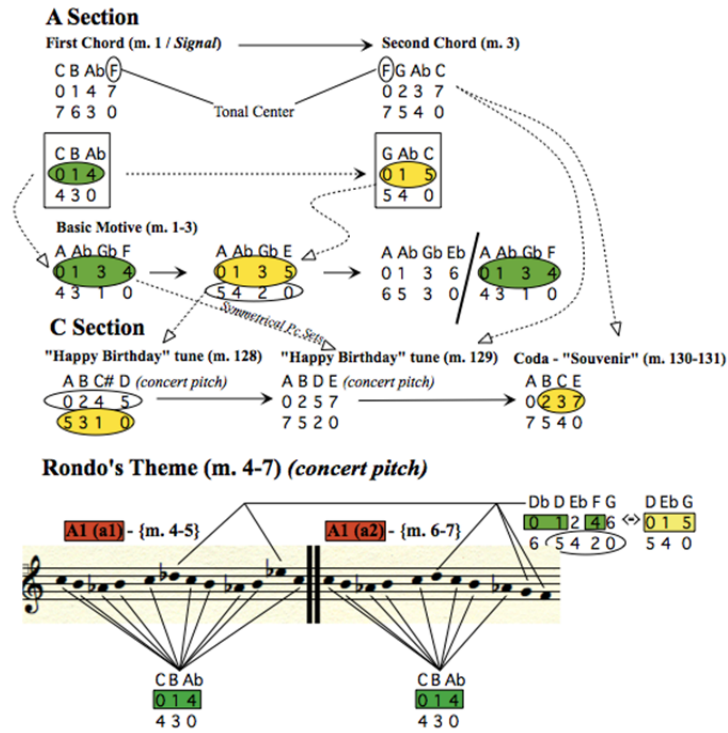


Fig. 7 The correlation between the introduction (A section / m. 1-3), the "Happy Birthday" tune (C4 / m. 128-129), the Souvenir (C5 – coda / m. 130-131) and the rondo's main theme in terms of pc sets.



Fig. 8 Sections C4 ("Happy Birthday" tune in 4/4 / m. 128-129) and the beginning two-meters segment of C5-coda (Souvenir / m. 130-131).

“Signal” theory and its implementation

M. Hicks discusses the role of intervallic *signals* in Ligeti’s music since the mid 1960s¹⁸. This theoretical approach, stretched to fit in a purely structural basis concerning *Bis For Two*, will provide the understanding for another textural pattern/schema that runs throughout the whole composition unifying almost everything. The only *signal* presented in this piece is the first chord (Figs. 3, 4, 6 & 7) of the introductory section (A). This is considered a *signal* for a number of different reasons such as:

1. It is constructed as a chord (see footnote 18), covering a total amount of 55 from the 136 meters of the composition. Besides that, this schema constitutes the first and the final sounding notes of *Bis For Two*. Bearing that in mind, we see that it is also the only textural pattern that manages to circulate the composition by preserving itself and presenting the lowest degree of motivic reformation.
2. Due the range – tessiture that occupies. The basic *signal*, covering the largest part of the rest of the chords (Fig. 9, m. 1-14 / 16-18 / 35-40 / 44-51) is the only pitch collection played a 15th higher (two octaves) from the written score (Fig. 3) thus occupying the piano’s highest “c” note¹⁹.
3. It preserves a list of common textural features throughout the sectional evolution (i.e. accented metrical patterns such as 12/8, 5/8, 7/8 mostly in eighths / range – tessiture / chord-like construction). Only the last two representations of the *signal* (see Fig. 9, m. 89-100 & 136 respectively) depict intense textural differentiations. Specifically, during m. 89-100 we are dealing with a rhythmic-accompaniment approach of the initial *signal* in 7/8 (3-2-2) and without tonal references since it’s projected via saxophone clicking and flamenco clapping²⁰ from each instrumentalist. Finally, in the concluding m. 136 we are presented with a single quarter, with the dyad (C-D) (one octave higher than writ-

¹⁸ Hicks Michael, “Interval and Form in Ligeti’s Continuum and Coulée” *Perspectives of New Music* 31 (1993), 172-190. Hicks specifically quotes: “Ligeti has remarked that “composition consists principally of injecting a system of links into naive musical ideas” in order to create a “musically consistent and linked network. The first task of an analysis, then, might be to identify both the “naive musical ideas” in his music and the “system of links” that binds them together. Examples of the former appear in what Ligeti calls “interval signals” which began to emerge in his work during the mid 1960s. These signals, he says, “were neither tonal nor atonal yet somehow, with their purity and clarity, they constituted points of rest. Consisting of single dyads or trichords, signals appear blatantly in the music, undiluted by extraneous pitches; they constitute stable points between areas of flux that are perceived as moving away from the last signal or toward the next. The dyads and trichords used as signals, the composer says, often contain octaves, perfect fifths or fourths, tritones, or major seconds, but rarely major thirds in connection with perfect fifths, because of the composer’s wish to avoid triadic sounds; he describes a “typical Ligeti signal” as “a fourth made up of a minor third and a major second or the other way around” (Hicks, 173-4). For a synoptical representation about the signals along with their blurring processes and intervallic roles see also Cambouropoulos Emilios & Tsougras Costas, “Auditory Streams in Ligeti’s Continuum: A Theoretical and Perceptual Approach” *Journal of Interdisciplinary Music Studies* 3 (2009), 119-137 and in particular see pages 122-123.

¹⁹ In Lester, 51 is quoted that “... Even in a solo piece, say for piano, different registers or articulations may create the effect of a range of timbres”. This parameter (range – tessiture), along with the timbral changes it evokes, would also constitute a major reason for admitting this motivic pattern as a *signal* in the “Auditory Streaming Principles” domain as well. See also about that matter, Cambouropoulos & Tsougras, 123-126 and Diminakis Nicolaos & Tsougras Costas, “Timbral & Textural Evolution as Determinant Factors of Auditory Streaming Segregation in Christian Lauba’s “Stan”, proceedings of the International Joint Conference IC-MPC/ESCOM (Thessaloniki, Greece, 23-28 July 2012).

In: http://icmpc-escom2012.web.auth.gr/sites/default/files/papers/254_Proc.pdf 254-262, and in particular see pages 258-259.

²⁰ See “The National Element in D. Nicolau’s *Bis For Two*”, *Quotations*, 3

ten, see Fig. 9) and without rhythmic features. Basically, the composition ends in m. 135 thus this last representation acts as a textural reminder of the introduction (A).

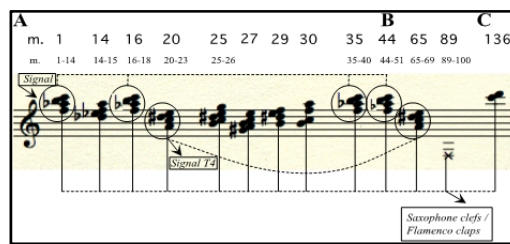


Fig. 9. Schenkerian representation of the initial Signal along with its evolution throughout the piece.

The “National Element” in D. Nicolau’s “Bis For Two”

Quotations

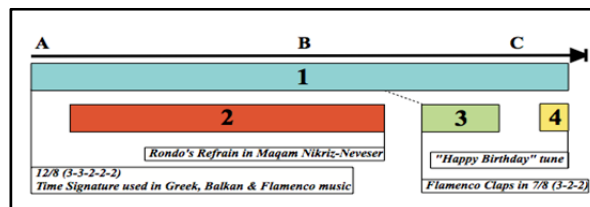


Fig. 10 Chart of quotations²¹ presented in Bis For Two

1.

The first quotation defines metrical attributes. The 12/8 meter occupying the largest part of section A projects a characteristic quotational duality. By that it is meant that Nicolau does not project explicitly the national features of his own country (*nationalistic ideal*) but tries to incorporate their attributes with other ones from the Mediterranean and Balkan area and thus “exploit” the diversity (*neo-national/ethnic approach*)²². The same metrical fraction is used with differentiated characteristics in three musical traditions. First, we include the folk music of the northern part of Greece which uses the metrical fraction of 12/8 (3-3-2-2-2) with multiple accental combinations. Second, comes the music of the Balkan region in general with a vast va-

²¹ About the quotations in general see Kostka, 158 / Cope David, *Techniques of the Contemporary Composer*, (Australia: Schirmer, Thomson Learning, 1997), 231-232 / Morgan, 410-422. Also, in Samuel Claude, “Interview with G. Ligeti” (1981), transl. Terence Kilmarten in *Ligeti in Conversation*, (London: Eulenburg Books, 1983), 119-120 there is a very interesting discussion held between Ligeti and Samuel on Ligeti’s “fake or synthetic quotations” and the “humorous interpolation” they provoke as opposed to Bartok’s “imaginary folklore”.

²² In Mircos Manuela, “Interview with Dimitri Nicolau: Music for the Mediterranean”, [transl. by the author] (1999). In: <http://www.dimitrnicolau.com/FOROELLENICO%201999.htm> Nicolau quotes: “Nationalism was born on a plot of disappointment and insecurity and has a lot to do with the desire to preserve values apparently exclusive”. Also, “(nationalism) is a “disease” that music can help to defeat, if properly understood. Based on my experience as a musician, if a composer wants to propose new things and be really creative, he can not be brought into question and crisis but on the contrary he must stay opened and willing to become an indispensable mindset”.

riety of such compounded meters and a lot more alterations of 3-3-2-2-2 pattern in the same time signature. Finally, in the other part of the Mediterranean Sea we can observe the use of 12/8 (again 3-3-2-2-2) in the *Buleria* of the Andalusian flamenco²³. The fact that the 12/8 meter is subjected to constant changes and modifications resembles more the music of the Balkan and Andalusian regions whereas time signatures such as 5/8 (3-2) or 7/8 (3-2-2 *kalamatianos*) directly indicate a somehow more “Greek” approach.

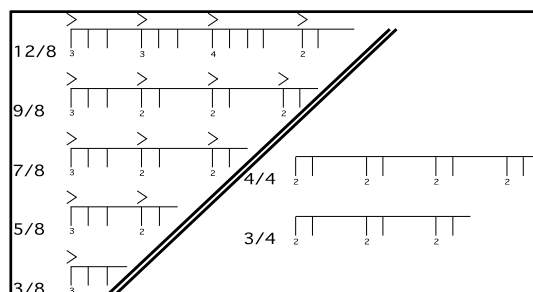


Fig. 1 Time signatures employed throughout the composition (see the basic ones in Fig. 2). It would be important to acknowledge the difference, concerning structure and diversity, between the binary and ternary rhythmical groupings.

2.

The second emerging quotation is the rondo's refrain in section A presented almost entirely by the saxophone²⁴. This melody along with the “Happy Birthday” tune in C4, stand out as the most recollective melodic lines of the entire composition. Even though the rondo's refrain is continuously subjected to slight modifications (melodic, rhythmic, textural, etc.) it accomplishes to maintain in every case its cognitive function, structural coherence and “national” role. It seems to be a melody constructed by the composer himself and not an original folk tune, even though no one could be absolutely sure about that or the extent of a possible interference. In section A the refrain is formed by four distinctive periods, A1 – A4 (with two sub-phrases each, i.e. a1/a2 – a3/a4 – a5/a6 – a7/a8), presented in a rondo-like form with interfering episodes (E1-E5). During section B, A5 includes a ninth practically unended sub-phrase (Fig. 2, a9) since there is no a10, which is played by the piano.

The modal environment is that of the Maqam Nikriz-Neveser (Figs. 5, 7 & 12). Lacking the microtonal intervallic relationships and the basic melodic patterns/formulas necessary to constitute the term “maqam”, this term is used here mostly as an *umbrella term*. Nevertheless, Nikriz is a common scale with a great number of well-known tunes in Greek, Ottoman and Arabic music. It is a mixed scale formation (chromatic & diatonic), produced by adding a whole tone under the maqam Hitzaz²⁵. Concerning specifically the Greek traditional music we would

²³ See also the 3rd quotation.

²⁴ See the structural evolution in the red colored subsections in Fig. 2. Also see the first representation of A1 (a1/a2) at the bottom of Fig. 7. Finally, in Figs. 3 & 14 (m. 4 and 16-19 respectively) see the saxophone's score.

²⁵ In Pennanen Risto P., “The Development of Chordal Harmony in Greek Rebetika and Laika Music, 1930s to 1960s” *British Journal of Ethnomusicology* 6 (1997), 65-116, is quoted: “According to Peter Manuel (1989: 78-9, 83), “the traditional modes came to be used essentially as mere scales”. He states that modern mainstream bouzouki music continues to use Hitzaz family (e.g. D-Eb-F#-G-A-Bb-c-d and raised fourth D-E-F-G#-A-B-c-d scale of maqam Nikriz) scales “with traditional harmonization patterns”, while most other dromoi have fallen into disuse. Manuel's description and conclusions seem not to be based on the analysis of recorded repertoire.

advocate that Nikriz is a very common scale in byzantine music (*Ἡχος πλ. 4^{ου} χρωματικός*), in folk music tradition (*demotic & laika*) and mainly in the urban popular tunes of *rebetiko* music as well. Maqam Neveser (as a combination of maqams Nikriz & Nihavent) is quite seldom to be seen alone as a constructional basis of a composition and also it does not acquire an exact scale formation in the Greek byzantine music²⁶.

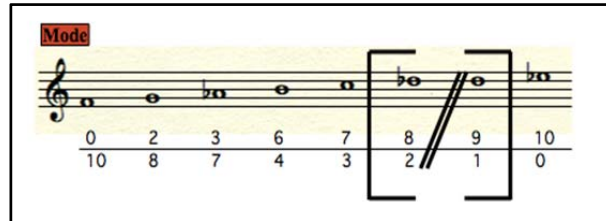


Fig. 12 Maqam Nikriz (F-G-Ab-B-C-D-Eb) & Maqam Neveser (F-G-Ab-B-C-Db-Eb). Note that the only difference, in an equally-tempered tuning system, is depicted between Db/D or m6/M6. This is also projected during section C, where the diatonic environment takes over the modal attributes, by switching a minor scale or an aeolian mode into dorian (D minor/aeolian ⇔ m6 // D dorian ⇔ M6).

3.

During m. 89-100 (see Figs. 9 & 2, section B, *Tr. b / Tr. c*) Nicolau employs flamenco clappings as the 3rd quotation in order to:

Provide a purely rhythmical accompaniment for the solistic instrument (Fig. 2, *Tr. b & Tr. c*)

Evolve the melodic/rhythmic pattern (12/8 3-3-2-2-2) of the initial *signal* (Figs. 3, 4, 6, 7 & 9) into a rhythmic effect of 7/8 (3-2-2)

By this multi-quotational interpolation the composer manages to combine once more, a traditionally Greek metrical reference (7/8 *kalamatianos*) with a traditional schema of accompaniment (*palmas* in Andalusian flamenco) and an “avant-garde” technique (key clicks) for the saxophone part, thus unifying even more his thematic material²⁷.

In the dromos equivalent of maqam Nikriz (with raised fourth and seventh), the raised fourth degree is frequently lowered even in new compositions. This detail in melodic movement implies that the dromos is not used as a scale to the extent Manuel believes; instead, some traditional melodic formulae and progressions have been retained” (Pennanen, 68).

²⁶ Mauroeidis Marios, *Οι Μουσικοί Τρόποι στην Ανατολική Μεσόγειο* [The Musical Modes of the Eastern Mediterranean], (Athens: Fagotto Books, 1999), 79-80, 158-159, 228-230 [in Greek]. Also, Voulgaris Eugenios & Vantarakis Vasilis, *Το Αστικό Λαϊκό Τραγούδι στην Ελλάδα του Μεσοπολέμου (1922-1940): Σμυρναϊκά και Πειραιώτικα Ρεμπέτικα* [The Urban Folk Song in Greece During the Interwar Period (1922-1940): Rembetiko Songs from Smyrna and Piraeus], (Technological Educational Institute of Epirus – Faculty of Music Technology – Department of Traditional Music / Fagotto Books, 2006), 25, 42, 50-51 [in Greek].

²⁷ In Mircos, 1999 Nicolau states: “The diversity should not be denied but rather enhanced”.

Fig. 13 Saxophone clicks and flamenco claps (*palmas* – 3rd quotation) in section “Tr. b” replacing the initially presented Signal.

4.

The “Happy Birthday” tune in section C4 (see Fig. 2, 7 & 8) represents the shorter in duration and at the same time the most significant quotation in the entire piece (see Introduction). This quotation though, intentionally fails to project any nationalistic feature. In fact it projects differences in a number of diverse textural factors (*solo & accompaniment* texture, singing part employed, first appearance of a well-known tune bearing a specific functional role) thoroughly cultivated up to this point. As Cope mentions: “Again, like eclecticism, quotations exploits the differences and not the similarities of the material presented, a contrast made more effective by a consistent musical environment in both of these examples”²⁸. On the other hand, we have seen how the “outside-time” structures (Fig. 7) relate the evolution of the basic motive to the “Happy Birthday” tune (i.e. in a macrostructural overview they unify the introductory sections with the compositions concluding parts). By summarizing we can note that the basic quotation (“Happy Birthday” tune) and the compositional plan present intense textural dissimilarities but at the same time are unified by the “outside-time” structures (after all, “The diversity should not be denied but rather enhanced” see footnote 27).

Melodic evolution

As mentioned before, at the paper’s introductory section, Nicolau treats the melodies constituting his compositions in a very delicate and sophisticated manner.

“Melody is a fundamental line, almost geometric, which is created from the succession of sounds. [...] It is not a constructional operation, but the structuring of a line built by the relationship of feeling along with what one actually feels, which is the risk of the melody itself”²⁹.

²⁸ Cope, 232.

²⁹ Scarnecchia, 1996.

Apparently in a composition bearing Mediterranean and Balkan neo-national quotations one would expect the use of glissandi or trills³⁰ in the melodic line as well. These are observed anyhow in the score and do play their functional role in the processing of the material. There are two other factors nevertheless, that need to be displayed and clarified:

- The idiomatic approach on matters of accented melodic treatment (i.e. Nicolau's concept of *melodic rhythm*)
- The way the above idiomatic procedure is fundamentally related to the real characteristics employed in the folk tradition (see the term "*tsakisma*")³¹

Concerning the first, Nicolau in his music tries to constantly change and evolve the initial presented material in every compositional aspect and ultimately progress it to its conclusion. Thus amongst others, he employs differentiated accents in diverse and strategic points in a melodic line which is presented more than once (always in a state of recontextualization³²). Observe for instance the accentual treatment in the development of the rondo's refrain in section A (A1-A5). By that he manages to create multiple rhythmic layers that coexist and combined produce the final sounding experience of each composition. This fact denotes a very personal "dance-like character" to his pieces since the metrical references are thus violated in a way and new ones are presented in order to give their place to something else as well. In a sense we could resemble the use of accents in Nicolau as heaving a characteristic resemblance to Piazzolla's use of accents in his musical proposition on the "reformation" of the traditional Argentinean tango.

"Returning to the issue of rhythmic variety I must say that especially in the music that I made I never "bent" the rhythm of the melody but I have always created a "melodic rhythm" in constant motion and change"³³.

Concerning the second (i.e. the term *tsakisma*), in relation to Nicolau's idiomatic procedure presented earlier it would be interesting to see how this fact correlates with other purely folk features presented also in the melodic line. The term *tsakisma* (which is a rhetoric device that has to do with the terms *tmesis* or *diacope*)³⁴ is referred to the interjected added words or phrases, mostly found at the endings of musical phrases. In the domain of instrumental music *tsakisma* is also in use acquiring somehow differentiated features depending on the composition's style or the performer's mood and abilities.

"The most original element of popular music is the one that is least seen: receiving the vital lymph, the secret, and letting it live in me, without vivisectioning it, without enveloping it with rationality. The changeability and the asymmetry caused by long passages of phrases, phrase rhythm, a rhythmic melody, a melodic rhythm. Stravinsky bends the rhythm of music, but rhythm must obey the articulation of the melodic line and its curve. It would suffice

³⁰ The ending of the introduction's basic motive (Fig. 3, m. 1-2) resembles an octave tremolo in the piano's score. Otherwise, the vast amount of mainstream trills/tremolos is indeed projected in the saxophone's melodic lines throughout the composition.

³¹ Chianis Sotirios & Brandl Rudolph, "Greece IV: Traditional Music", inside The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, 354. In: <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/11694pg4?q=greece+IV&search=quick&pos=1&start=1#firsthit>

³² About "recontextualization" see Hanninen Dora A., "A Theory of Recontextualization in Music: Analyzing Phenomenal Transformations of Repetition" Theory Spectrum 25/1 (2003), 59-97.

³³ Modelci, 1988.

³⁴ Lanham Richard, *A Handlist of Rhetorical Terms*, 2nd ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 49-50.

to take a look at the traditional clarinet performers of Epirus, in the north of Greece. The length of the musical phrases makes one think of them as improvisations with variations, but the duration from which this freshness emanates is based on the absolute mastery of the art of music³⁵.

Fig. 14 Employment of a pure musical nationalistic feature (*tsakisma* – yellow band) in the evolution of the rondo's refrain during section A. In particular Fig. 14 presents:

The rondo's theme (red band)

The Signal as accompaniment motive (blue band)

The basic motive in octaves (green band)

The rhythmic/melodic pattern that ends the previous episode (E1) and disrupts the rondo's theme during A3/a5 (purple band)

The *tsakisma* (i.e. interjected melodic phrase representing upwardly a minor scale or an aeolian mode and downwardly the *maqam Nikriz*, thus unifying the thematic material in use) (yellow band)

Specifically in Fig. 14 we can observe the unfolding of the third exposition (section A3/a5-a6, Fig. 2) of the rondo's, nationally oriented, melodic line. It is important to acknowledge the whole procedure here, in order to grasp the structural disruption of the rondo's refrain in each case (a5/a6). Note that the rondo's theme (red band) is completely interrupted in section a5 by the rhythmic/melodic pattern (purple band) that concludes the first episode (E1). During a6 though, the interruption by the *tsakisma* (yellow band) is only temporal³⁶, since the melody's ending (basically the tonic) is presented later on in the same meter (m. 19). The tonal material presented in the *tsakisma* is:

³⁵ Scarnecchia, 1996.

³⁶ Since both Greek traditional music and Nicolau's melodic formation are defined by melody-based compositions, this parameter (i.e. *tsakisma*) in this occasion could possibly resemble the anticipation projected to the listener by the cadential delay in the harmonic context of the Western classical tradition as well.

- An upward minor scale or Aeolian mode {[F]-G-Ab-Bb-C-Db-Eb}³⁷
- A downward maqam Nikriz formation {Eb-D-C-B-Ab-G-[F]}^{38,39}

Conclusion

Having seen the formation and evolution of the national features of *Bis For Two*, in combination with Nicolau's personal and fundamental musical characteristics (see Introduction 1-9), it is quite obvious that we are dealing with a Greek *neo-national/ethnic* composer. The *neo-nationalism* term needs more clarification since it acquires not only differentiations on musical factors, concerning nationalism, but raises philosophical and personal debates as well. The social occurrences and/or the political issues one's is faced with, presumably are reflected within his temperament. Thus, it would be surprising to see someone who deliberately "exiled" himself due to the fascist regime of Greek colonels (1967), to retain on the other hand an "old-school" nationalistic point of view. As quoted previously (see footnote 22),

"Nationalism was born on a plot of disappointment and insecurity and has a lot to do with the desire to preserve values apparently exclusive"

Nicolau's approach on nationality is evident of his desire to overcome this state and channel his love and enthusiasm for the folk/popular music through various and idiomatic procedures. The presentation of a well-structured thematic material and not some mere Greek scales or eastern maqams harmonized in a sense of "melody & accompaniment" texture along with the fusion of Mediterranean and Balkan musical features, reinforce Nicolau's *neo-national* identity.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank

- my supervisor, assistant professor Costas Tsougras, for his unremitting guidance and full support through numerous discussions on the analytical results and insightful propositions for the paper's formation
- professor Arno Bornkamp, who contributed a lot to the paper's completion by exchanging notions and ideas on D. Nicolau's character, musical idiom and in particular for his own commission on *Bis For Two*.

Appendix

In the appendix section it would be interesting to quote a number of Nicolau's statements about his relation to the folk and popular music.

- Music in those years was present in daily life, without distinction between genres. Popular music, for me, was music. There was no separation between "high" and "low" music, and in all public events, from country festivals to funerals, there was a certainty of identity, in a vi-

³⁷ As transposed from the Eb alto saxophone's scale (D)-E-F-G-A-Bb-C in the score.

³⁸ As transposed from the Eb alto saxophone's scale C-B-A-Ab-F-E-(D) in the score.

³⁹ Once more we can trace the significance that carries the correlation of diatonic and modal collections. Also, note the absence of the tonic (F in concert pitch, or D in the saxophone's score) inside the *tsakisma*. There is only the Fb (or Db respectively for the saxophone) pitch at the ending and the beginning of each scale formation. Thus, Nicolau manages to interject the concept of *polymodality* once more by not approaching the upper tonic and also to create a much more realistic national-like background/environment for the cognitive admission of the refrain's Greek melodic character.

tal and spontaneous way, not simply for the sake of preservation. Music was essentially vocal⁴⁰.

- It is difficult to separate oneself from popular music and to assimilate it without copying. To have an identity that is not rooted in conservation, but in inner certainty. If one believes in music, identity in popular music is a way of being and living, while conservators certainly do not believe in it⁴¹.
- Distinguishing popular music and art music is the schism due to Plato, the schism between emotion and intellect⁴².
- Popular music is a point of reference beyond this music. It affords you with a firm basis, which does not let you lose contact with the reality of the interhuman sound world, in other words: feelings and emotions⁴³.
- Music doesn't weep and doesn't laugh, but its identity is founded on temporal and spacial dimensions: there are compositions that create anguish, I mean there is that kind of music that acts against the listener and there is music that goes towards the listener. Popular music never acts against, even if it expresses sorrow, uneasiness or suffering⁴⁴.
- [...] My relationship with popular music (the common people and not popular in the sense of consumption and the audience) is essential. The music Greek develops mainly horizontally on the contrary of western music that, for instance, has been a development in the vertical direction and therefore also with the consequent development of harmonic voltages. This phenomenon has, consequently, development of complex rhythms that appear widely in all popular music⁴⁵.
- [...] there were very few radios and some gramophone in the homes of the wealthy. Those were the years between '40 and '50. I listened to a lot of everything that sounded like music, but it struck me particularly those spoken voices, especially when they had some mysterious and curious inflections that made the words sound exciting by giving it an indefinite inner movement but full of invisible in the eyes of concrete with as a hidden language in the speech sounds. After many years I have read that this research was the basis for the composition of Leos Janacek⁴⁶.

Nicos Diminakis was born in Thessaloniki in 1981. In 2007, he graduated from the School of Music Studies of the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki. During 2008, he obtained his saxophone diploma from the State Conservatory of Thessaloniki (class of Theofilos Sotiriades). In 2009 he received the 1st prize at the "1st Panhellenic Saxophone Competition". Since 2003, he has performed in many recitals and in concerts of chamber music (Macedonian Saxophone Quartet) and orchestral music (State Symphony Orchestra of Thessaloniki). His pursuits though, are extended to other wind instruments as well, like the Australian didgeridoo and the ottoman ney. In 2009, he was appointed as teacher of music in Greek elementary schools, where he systematically familiarizes his students with the practice of free improvisation. Since 2010, he is a PhD candidate in the School of Music Studies of the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki.

⁴⁰ Scarnecchia, 1996.

⁴¹ Scarnecchia, 1996.

⁴² Scarnecchia, 1996.

⁴³ Scarnecchia, 1996.

⁴⁴ Scarnecchia, 1996.

⁴⁵ Modelci, 1988.

⁴⁶ Gallucci Fabio, "Interview with Dimitri Nicolau", transl. by the author (2005).

In: <http://www.dimitrnicolau.com/IntervistadaGallucci2005.htm>.

PANEL: National opera and the heroic element
Discourse of heroism in the opera *Knez Ivo od Semberije* (Prince Ivo of Semberia, 1910) by Isidor Bajić¹

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Abstract. The paper considers how the historical hero from the First Serbian Uprising (1804–1813) against the Ottomans, Ivan Knežević (1760–1840), is depicted as a brave local ruler by the leading Serbian 19th-century playwright Branislav Nušić (1864–1938) in his drama of the same name. This drama was very popular both in Serbia and abroad, respected also by Lev Nikolaevič Tolstoj. Nušić wrote the libretto for Bajić's opera, stressing Prince Ivo's numerous virtues and fearless courage during the encounter with the Turk Kulin-beg, while purchasing Serbian slaves from him. The reception of the opera was very positive, especially due to the genre-scenes formed either like *horovod* with a national dance *kolo* or like oriental dance of harem women.

Theoretical understanding of heroism as a male martial virtue² is based on the code of manhood and chivalry.³ 'Hero' is defined firstly "in connection with 'Greek Antiquity', as a man of superhuman qualities, favored by the gods, or a 'demigod'. Secondly, it may mean 'illustrious warrior'.⁴ According to the psychological theories, heroism is a concern for other people in need – "a concern to defend a moral cause, knowing there is a personal risk, done without expectation of reward."⁵ Precisely this kind of heroism, passionate and caring – opposite to the usual image of the nineteenth-century national heroes in opera – is depicted in the theatre play *Knez Ivo od Semberije* (Prince Ivo of Semberija) by the leading Serbian playwright Branislav Nušić.⁶ This theatre play was a basis of the libretto for the opera under the same name, composed by Isidor Bajić (1878–1915) in 1910 and premiered at the beginning of 1911.⁷

¹ This paper is a part of the research conducted within the postdoctoral project *Opera and the idea of self-representation in Southeast Europe* supported from the Austrian FWF (Fonds zur Förderung der wissenschaftlichen Forschung, V143) at the Institute of Musicology and History of Art, Austrian Academy of Sciences Vienna. Its extended version will be included in a book dedicated to the national traditions in opera in Southeast Europe in the European context.

² **Gargett, Graham** *Heroism and passion in literature: Studies in honour of Moya Longstaffe* (Amsterdam & New York: Rodopi B. V., 2004), 8.

³ **Daly, Pierrette** *Heroic Tropes: Gender and intertext* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1993), 46

⁴ *Idem.*

⁵ Philip Zimbardo, "What makes a hero?," 2011. In: <http://psychology.about.com/od/socialpsychology/a/the-psychology-of-heroism.htm> (accessed on January 10th, 2013).

⁶ Nušić was also the librettist for the previous, the first performed Serbian opera *Na uranku* (At Dawn, 1904) by Stanislav Binički, dedicated to the Serbian-Ottoman relation.

⁷ Isidor Bajić was born in Kula or Wolfsburg, in Vojvodina, the Habsburg Monarchy (today in Serbia). Bajić studied music at the Music Academy in Budapest, with professor Hans von Kössler. Afterwards, 1901–1915, he taught at the Velika srpska pravoslavna gimnazija (Great Serbian Orthodox High School), where he founded a music school (1909) and initiated the publication of the *Srpski muzički list* (Serbian Music Magazine) and the *Srpska muzička biblioteka* (Serbian Music Library). He published two textbooks dedicated to the music theory and piano playing at the very beginning of the twentieth century. Bajić also collected Serbian folk melodies.

The opera is dedicated to a historical person – prince Ivan Knežević (1760–1840), called Prince Ivo, who was a ruler of the district of Bijeljina in Semberia, north-eastern part of Bosnia, placed between the rivers Sava, Drina, and Janja. During the Ottoman occupation, the Bijeljina nahije consisted of twelve villages. During the first Serbian uprising (1804–1813), in 1806, he gave his entire estate to the Turks in order to rescue and liberate the slaves captured in Serbia proper during the mentioned battles. His noble act made him a symbol of charity and patriotism.⁸ Witnessing this event, one of the most significant Serbian gusle player and author of traditional epics, blind poet Filip Višnjić (1767–1834) famous as Serbian Homer, wrote an epic *Knez Ivan Knežević*. Since both Knežević and Višnjić seen as heroes of Semberija, they are presented together at the coat of arms of the region.

In this, as well as in many other cases in Southeast European operas, discourse of heroism is expressed through the confrontation to the enemy embodied in Turks. Hence, the drama and opera are based on the story of the Turk Kulin-beg, who pursues a group of Serbian slaves through the area ruled by Serbian Prince Ivo. The prince and the local people try to release the slaves, offering to give the Turks all their money in return. Prince Ivo's heroic act of mercy is presented as a gradual renunciation of all his precious possessions. Ivo first gives away three bags of ducats, everything what his parents gained during their lives; then he gives away his house and entire state; afterwards follows what he calls "the holy thing of every hero" – his weapons (two silver handguns and a saber), which was accompanied by a funeral march; the next is his own coat ornamented with gold. Kulin-beg liberates all the prisoners except for the beautiful Stanka. Determined to free her as well, Prince Ivo takes the final step by giving away the most important family treasures, signifying Serbian identity itself: a silver icon and a *kandilo* (a kind of oil lamp, an Orthodox religious symbol). Witnessing this scene, his mother falls dying; and only after this, Ivo's biggest loss, does Kulin-beg release Stanka. Apparently, the group of the slaves signifies Serbs who are ready to sacrifice everything, including their lives in order to free themselves from slavery.

However, due to the historical circumstances the Turks are presented in a way rather different to the usual nineteenth-century Western depicting of the Other. Since Serbia was occupied by the Ottomans from the fifteenth to the nineteenth century, with the status of autonomous Principality from 1830 on, the long coexistence certainly left deep traces.⁹

Therefore, due to the orientalization of material culture in the Balkans, the image of Serbs (from Bosnia) is rather orientalized, and even presented in the theatre play with the help of numerous Turkish loanwords, describing first of all their clothing and footwear. For instance, the serfs wear the felt Bosnian clothes, the fez on head with a *saruk* (a kind of turban around it), red *jemenijas* (a kind of light shoes or slippers) on foot, and they smoke short Turkish pipe. The key signifiers of "Oriental" or Ottoman everyday life, smoking and drinking coffee, are also included in the opera: Ivo's people wait for Kulin and, as for a sign of their hospitality, they offer him a cup of coffee in *fildžan* (traditional Turkish cups) and a pipe called *čibuk* (*çibuk*).¹⁰

⁸ In 1809 he was leading the Serbian uprising in Semberia (Bosnia and Herzegovina) as a support to Karađorđe in Serbia, but was forced to withdraw and escape to Serbia.

⁹ The renowned linguist Vuk Stefanović Karadžić claimed that the "real" Serbian people are only peasants. "Those few Serbs, who live in towns... are called citizens and, since they look like Turks and live like Turks and, during the uprisings and wars either close themselves in the cities together with the Turks or escape to Germany with their money, they not only are not counted among Serbs, but the folk even despise them..." Danica. Zabavnik za 1827. Godinu (Vienna, 1827), 101.

¹⁰ Coffee achieved the status of the most important place in the Ottoman culture of drinking and its consuming caused some changes in everyday life of common people. As Otto von Pirch described his meeting with Hussein Pasha in Belgrade in his travelogue *Reise in Serbien im Spätherbst 1829*, smoking of aromatized tobacco along with drinking coffee was quite usual: „As the Turks normally swallow the smoke, they say: coffee and

Unusually for the West/Central European opera, (partly) oriental image is typical for both heroes, Prince Ivo and Kulin beg. Therefore, the discourse of heroism is articulated through the aspects of Orientalism or self-Orientalism. Contrary to expectations, Prince Ivo and his Turkish counterpart, Kulin-beg, are in a friendly relation, they respect each other and they are even twinned by personal agreement not to attack one another.

Prince Ivo himself is glorified as a calm and wise young men, so that his serfs say: “we all have grey moustache, but he is wiser than all of us”.¹¹ The people from his district express their happiness to have such a wise hero as their ruler and for that reason they are ready to give their last coins when he ask them to help their “brothers and sisters” from Serbia. Their admiration to Prince Ivo is even more noticeable when he himself gives away all his possessions. The outstanding appearance of Ivo results also from his clothes in a Turkish style: blue felt *čakšire* (trousers), golden ornamented waistcoat called *dečerma*, two silver handguns along a knife and a saber, red boots and a fur coat.

Instead of ten scenes of the theatre play, the opera contains eight of them. They could be grouped in the following way:

- Scene 1: Serbs and Turks; introduction, general context
- Scenes 2–4: “Serbian” scenes; genre scene (folk dance) and assembly with Ivo
- Scenes 5–7: “Ottoman” scenes; genre scene (Oriental dance)
- Scene 8: Serbs and Turks; slave trade, final tragedy.

The length of the scenes ranges from a short instrumental number (No.6) to a very extensive process of liberating the slaves (No.8), resulting in the lack of balance of the opera as a whole. The concept of shorter one-act tragedy without subsidiary actions, formulated under the influence of verismo opera is not quite successfully applied. However, the opera was very popular due to the patriotic topic and to the added genre scenes, which do not exist in the theatre play. The appealing genre scenes presented two camps through their identity signifiers. As such, they make us clear that, along the mentioned similarities, there are also significant differences between two sides. On the one hand, there is imaginary Serbian folklore, including *horovod* (dancing in circle and singing), and on the other an Oriental dance of harem women.

The Serbian-Ottoman dichotomy is introduced at the opening of the opera through the insuperable differences between Orthodox Christianity and Islam: the melismatic call of the muezzin alternates successively with a reference to the Orthodox chant performed by mixed choir, which is followed by the Messenger’s words: “Two religions are struggling here against each other”, as a general background. After the service at their Orthodox church, Serbs are gathering outside sing a song (*Ej, ko ti kupi to fustanče*) composed by Isidor Bajić and later accepted as a folk song, with accompaniment of the folk instrument *frula*, celebrating the name’s day of Ivan. Afterwards, they perform a national dance called *Serbian girl* (*Srpkinja*), about beauty and pride of Serbian women. Interestingly enough, this national dance is also the first example of dance notation in Serbia. Analogous to the folk music, the *kolo* includes vocal imitation of bagpipes with fourth leaps and drone tones, micro-structure based on repetition and transposition of two-measure phrases, in syncopated rhythm. As Monelle pointed out, this consequent (focal) repetition is defined as a music iconicity, in this case aimed to present a folk rite.¹²

čibuk are to be drunk.” Pirh, Oto Dubislav plem. Putovanje po Srbiji u godini 1829, transl. Dragiša J. Mijušković (Belgrade: Izdanje Akademije nauka, 1899), 21. Cf. also Kocić, Marija Orijentalizacija materijalne kulture na Balkanu. Osmanski period XV–XIX vek (Belgrade: Hesperiaedu, 2010), 341, 357.

¹¹ Nušić, Branislav Knez od Semberije, in: Nušić, Branislav Pučina. Tako je moralo biti. Kneginja od Tribala. Knez od Semberije. Dela Branislava Nušića IX. (Beograd: Jež, 1960), 288.

¹² Monelle, Raymond Linguistics and semiotics in music (Reading: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1991), 68.

The Ottomans are also presented by a dance. The using Dance of *čoček* (*Igra čočeka*) as the Ottoman identity signifier is interesting because it shows the early period of development of the dance, today recognized mainly as a part of Roma music tradition. *Čoček* is also a part of history of Ottoman military bands and it emerged as a dance in the Balkans at the beginning of the nineteenth century, precisely in the period when the action of the opera is taking place. *Čoček* was described as a female improvised dance, “utilizing hand movements, contractions of the abdomen, shoulder shakes, movement of isolated body parts /such as hips and head), and small footwork patterns, ... but its subtlety and restraint distinguish it from contemporary belly dancing.”¹³ The dance scene of *čoček* (Scene 7) in Bajić’s opera is introduced at the moment when Kulin-Beg comes to visit Prince Ivo. It is in characteristic 3/4+3/8, contains three parts A B A1, based on transposition of the same two-measures phrases respectively. Additionally to the punctuated rhythm, at the beginning of short phrases, the recognizable oriental sound is present due to the augmented second in melody. It is noteworthy that Bajić included trumpet players at the stage instead of drums and zurnas indicated in the drama on the occasion of appearance of Turks with slaves. In the Dance of *čoček*, however, at the stage are present trumpet and flute players, beside the orchestra, in which string instruments are dominant.

From the musical point of view, the two worlds (Serbian–Ottoman) in the opera are not thoroughly strictly separated. The lack of this clear (musical) separation is a result of the characteristics of Serbian traditional music. Namely, the scales of Serbian folk tunes, so-called Balkan mode or the Gipsy mode obtain an augmented second(s), which is one of the most perceivable reference to Oriental music. As the composer and the author of one of the most significant studies on characteristics of Serbian folk melodies, Petar Krstić, pointed out, that they have either Mixolydian seventh or, in case of the melodies in minor, they are in “all possible scales, most often in Oriental minor”, meaning natural minor with augmented fourth and sixth or the Balkan scale.¹⁴ However, the harmonization of folk tunes in major-minor system (instead of latent or potential specific harmonic echo) shows implied westernization of Serbian music since 1830s, when the first national composers studied in European centers. Hence, Isidor Bajić who studied at the Music Academy in Budapest, applied mainly the rules of Western harmony textbooks in all of his compositions. In this context it is not surprising – as it could seem at the first sight – that Prince Ivo’s leitmotiff is also recognizable precisely because of augmented second in melody.

¹³ Silverman, Carol “The gender of the profession”, in *Music and gender: Perspectives from the Mediterranean*, ed. Tullia Magrini (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2006), 127.

¹⁴ Krstić, Petar “Opet o harmoniziranju narodnih melodija”, *Muzički glasnik*, 1922/10, 1.



Example 1. Isidor Bajić: *Knez Ivo od Semberije*, leitmotif of Prince Ivo (Balkan minor)

Heroism is also expressed in depicting Kulin-beg. Moreover, his musical representation is actually more similar to the Western tropes of heroism: trumpet signals and a march – although, strangely enough in triple measure!



Example 2. Isidor Bajić: *Knez Ivo od Semberije*, March in 3/4 announcing Kulin beg's appearance

The reviews from the contemporary newspapers testify the positive reception of the opera. It is interesting to mention that, due to its popularity, the theatre play was translated into and

edited as an one-act drama *Der Gespan von Semberia* by the then famous author Roda Roda, and afterwards published in Vienna in 1903.¹⁵

Nineteenth-century opera – as it was a case here too – explicates the process of the construction and profiling national identity through the idea on self-representation, based on cultural memory. “The millennium of Byzantium left a profound political, institutional, legal, religious and cultural imprint. The half millennium of Ottoman rule gave the peninsula its name, and established the longest period of political unity it had experienced. Not only did part of Southeastern Europe acquire a new name during this period, it has been chiefly the Ottoman elements or the ones perceived as such which have mostly given rise to the current stereotype of the Balkans, so that it would not be an exaggeration to say that the Balkans are, in fact, the Ottoman legacy.”¹⁶ And in the memory of every nation their heroes from different historical periods occupy without exception an honorable place.

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¹⁵ Roda, Roda *Der Gespan von Semberia*. Drama in einem Akt. Autorisierte Bearbeitung des “Knez od Semberije” Branislav G. Nuschitschs (Wien: Österreichische Verlagsanstalt F. & Greipel, 1903).

¹⁶ Todorova, Maria “Introduction” in Maria Todorova, ed., *Balkan identities. Nation and memory* (London: Hurst & Company, 2004), 11–12.

PANEL: National opera and the heroic element
Identity under construction: The heroic opera *Petru Rareș* (1889) by
the Romanian Eduard Caudella

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Abstract. The opera *Petru Rareș*, composed by Eduard Caudella in 1889, was premiered in December 1900 at Bucharest. The plot, taking place at the beginning of the 16th century, deals very freely with the historical background: prince Ștefanița has usurped the throne of Moldavia and the legitimate ruler, Petru Rareș, lives unknown as fisherman. A hidden document reveals finally the identity of Petru whom he defeats the tyrant and accesses to the throne. This “first Romanian opera” (as it is called betimes) reflects the possibilities of legitimate succession, whether by divine inspiration in dreams or by written documents, and poses the question of the heroic role within the process of nation building, at a moment when the young national state Romania was still “under construction”, between the declaration of independency in 1877 and the territorial gain of Transylvania after World War I

The opera *Petru Rareș*, written by the Romanian composer Eduard Caudella, was premiered eleven years after its composition in December 1900 at the National Opera in Bucharest.¹ The libretto is based on a historical event of the early 16th century. My interest focuses on the role which this opera played for the process of identity construction of the Romanian society, and particularly on the importance of the heroic element.

For understanding the particularity of Romanian identity construction, we should first differentiate between heroism and martyrdom. Indeed both, the hero and the martyr, accomplish a great “heroic” act, but the act of the martyr amounts always to death. However the martyr intends with his doings, as means initially the Greek word “martyras”, to bear witness – to his faith, to his conviction, to the Truth. His death seems often, at first glance, senseless. There is no military or strategic result, at the best a propagandistic one. The hero in contrast accomplishes a great, superhuman act which has indeed made an impact – no matter whether he remains alive or whether he dies. But in such a heroic act, there is no statement (in terms of testimony). The victory of David in the Old Testament is heroic because the Israelites had really earned some benefits by the defeat of the Philistines – David’s act is heroic because a young man, only with a slingshot, dares to attack a giant soldier, armed to the teeth, and kills him.

The Romanian folk poetry knows a legend where the two categories – heroism and martyrdom – are interweaved one to the other in a very characteristic matter: the story of Miorița. This very old narration was arranged by the Romanian poet Vasile Alecsandri, in 1850, in the poetic form of a ballad which is still today a part of the canon of Romanian national literature². The Romanian philosopher and poet Lucian Blaga declared, in 1936, the “Mioritic” element even as the constitutive principle of Romanian identity³ – a theory I cannot discuss here furthermore.

¹ About Caudella and his opera see: Zeno Vancea, *Creația muzicală românească, sec. XIX–XX*, Editura Muzicală a Uniunii Compozitorilor din Republica Socialistă România, Bucharest, 1968, p. 94-106. Viorel Cosma, art. “Caudella, Eduard”, in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2nd edition, Kassel, Bärenreiter, etc., 2000, Personenteil 4, col. 451-452.

² Vasile Alecsandri, *Poesii populare. Balade (cântece păstorești)*, Jassy, Tipografia Buciumul român, 1852.

³ Lucian Blaga, *Spațiul mioritic* (1936), the second part of *Trilogia culturii*, Bucharest, 1944.

This legendary account of Miorița tells the story of three shepherds, representing three regions of Romanian settlement: Moldavia, Hungary (i. e. Transylvania) and Vrancea (i. e. Walachia). Two of them, from Walachia and from Vrancea, decide to kill and to mug the Moldavian shepherd. Miorița, the bellowed sheep of the threatened shepherd, alerts his master. But instead of saving himself, the shepherd waits quietly for the others come and kill him. He asks the sheep Miorița not to tell the truth to the other sheep and certainly not to his mother, but to tell them that he had married a wonderful princess, which we can easily recognise as Death.

In this legend, which is so characteristic for Romanian self-conception, the Moldavian shepherd is at the same time a hero and a martyr, or none of the two.

The Romanian opera in 19th century

The creation of a “National Romanian Music” begins in the 19th century after the end of the rule of the Fanariotes, at the moment when the two Romanian principalities become Russian protectorate⁴. At that time, Romania came, in a larger extend, in touch with Western European culture. Before, it was the liturgical Byzantine music which has dominated the public space, while at the courts of the boyars, gipsy bands struck up. The creation of a Romanian bourgeois culture was a long process. From the 1830s on following the Austrian model, military bands were founded in the towns; they played marches, potpourris of operas and Western dance music. The conductors were mostly Germans or Czechs.⁵ While during the 18th century most of the travelling troupes were Italian or French, the exchange with the Habsburgian culture (mainly Vienna) became more and more important. In the 19th century, there was also an increasing interest for “authentic popular” songs and melodies which were collected and published in – more or less arranged manner – for an urban public.

Following the example of Western European countries, music schools were founded in the two Romanian principalities, the first one in 1833 at Bucharest; they were directed by Romanians who had studied abroad⁶. The principal composers for the creation of a national music studied there, so as Andrei Wachmann (1807-1863) who conducted an orchestra with which he performed about 67 stage works, operas or vaudevilles. Wachmann and the Moldavian musician Alexandru Flechtenmacher (1822-1898) were the first composers who tried to create a proper Romanian musical language, even if it was in reality rather a middle European style, close to German romanticism.

It is certainly not a hazard if the first “really Romanian”⁷ compositions appear about 1848 in the context of the March Revolution. Flechtenmacher, a convinced supporter of the idea of national reunification, composed a few piano songs “in popular manner” and imitated the traditional dances (like the round dance *Hora*). He created in 1846 the overture *Moldova* where motifs and melodies of his Moldavian homeland were presented in rhapsodic manner⁸. However, this music doesn’t quit includes the frame of Western European art music, besides some characteristic intervals like the augmented fourth degree in minor scale. But this oriental element

⁴ The creation of Romanian National Music see: Beat Föllmi, “L’ ‘Autre’ dans la construction de l’identité. La recherche d’identité dans la musique roumaine du XIX^e et du début du XX^e siècle”, in: B. Föllmi e. a., *Music and the Construction of National Identities in the 19th Century*, Éditions Valentin Koerner, Baden-Baden and Bouxwiller, 2010, p. 143-149.

⁵ Even the Romanian term for *Kapellmeister* derives from the German word: *capelmaistru*.

⁶ Among them: Ioan Eliade Rădulescu, Ion Cimpineanu, Ioan Rosetti, Scarlat-Crețulescu, and Constantin Aristia.

⁷ In a review of Flechtenmacher’s overture *Moldova* in the journal *Albina Românească* in 1847 we read: “Muzica făcută de Alexandru Flechtenmacher [...] este încântătoare și adevărat românească.” (Flechtenmacher’s music is delightful and really Romanian.)

⁸ Some music examples in: Vancea, *Creația muzicală românească*, p. 57.

didn't affect the harmonic or formal dimension of the music. Flechtenmacher's operetta *Baba Hîrca*, based on a libretto of Matei Millo and premiered in December 1848 at Jassy, was immediately comprised as a political demonstration, as an authentic "Romanian oeuvre", depicting the rural milieu of the people.

Another important personality of the same generation is Charles Mikuli (1821-1897), originated from the Bukovina. Mikuli who was between 1844 and 1848 a student of Chopin at Paris, made a transcription of Romanian folkloristic melodies which he published between 1852 and 1867 in four booklets. He harmonised the traditional melodies in a very romantic manner for piano, like an imitation of that music which the rural gleeman, the "lăutar", plays on his fiddle. Mikuli was close to the liberal ideas of the 1848 revolution and he elevated the rural gleeman to a representative symbol of authentic Romanian folk tradition.

In the second half of the 19th century, the cultural and musical level of the Romanian society developed rapidly. After the Crimean War (1853-1856) and the Treaty of Paris, the two Romanian principalities elect in 1859 the same sovereign: Alexandru Ion Cuza who unifies the two principalities in one administrative union called "Romania". In 1866, Cuza is dispossessed and a foreign prince, Karl of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, is proclaimed sovereign of Romania. Karl declares in 1878 his country as independent from the Ottoman Porte and in 1881, he auto-proclaims himself as Carol I, king of Romania.

The modernisation of the country has still begun with Cuza and king Charles continues on this way: constitution, administration, land reform, urbanisation, transports, but also the creation of universities and conservatories. The first conservatory opens its doors in 1860 at Jassy under the direction of Francisc Serafim Caudella, and four years later the conservatory at Bucharest has been opened under Alexandru Flechtenmacher. The curriculum of these new musical institutions follows the French model. In 1868, Eduard Wachmann (the son of the mentioned Wachmann) creates the first permanent symphonic orchestra, in 1880, Constantin Dimitrescu the first string quartet. A musical criticism is emerging and several musical journals are founded from the 1870s on. But most of the musicians of the generation of the last third of the 19th century, the period of national independence, studied abroad, in Paris but also in Vienna or in Germany.

The composer Eduard Caudella

The career of Eduard Caudella (1841-1924) is a characteristic example for the cultural development of 19th century Romania. Already his father has been a musician; he moved from Vienna to the Moldavian capital Jassy. Eduard Caudella began his studies at the age of 12 in Berlin, and continued in 1857 in Paris where he studied with Delphin Alard and Lambert Massart; a year later, he studied in Berlin with C. Böhm, and finally in Frankfurt am Main with Vieuxtemps. Prince Cuza nominated him in 1861 as "Violinist of the court", and from that moment on, Caudella remained in Jassy as teacher and composer. From 1861 to 1875, he was also conductor of the orchestra of the Jassy National Theatre, and from 1893 on, director of the city conservatory.

Between 1872 and 1907, he wrote a couple of operas, operettas and vaudevilles on topics based on the Romanian history; even in his symphonic and chamber music, Romanian topics are dominant.

The music itself remains completely within the classical and romantic style; the little "exotic" coloristic elements come mainly from the Hungarian *verbunkos*. The augmented second appears frequently, but between the sixth and seventh degree in minor (it corresponds also to the European so-called "Gipsy scale"). In spite of his international training, we can not find in Caudella's music any influence of modern currents (as Gustav Mahler, Richard Strauss or Claude Debussy).

The opera *Petru Rareș* by Eduard Caudella

Caudella's opera *Petru Rareș* was written in 1889, but premiered 11 years later at the Bucharest National Opera.

The scene takes place at the beginning of the 16th century in the northern of the two Romanian principalities, in Moldavia, where the ruling sovereign, prince Ștefanița has made a deal with the enemies, Ottomans and Poles. In the first scene, the fisherman Petru Rareș confides to his sister Ileana that he had dreamed being himself the prince of the country. The noblewoman Tudora, whose husband was forced by Ștefanița to go in exile, appears together with her follower Marin. Both hope to dispossess the usurper Ștefanița and to bring on the throne the legitimate but unknown son of the former prince Ștefan the Great. Tudora and Marin know that a document written by the defunct prince must exist, but it is hidden in a castle in the hand of Ștefanița.

In the next scene, prince Ștefanița and his suite appear, coming from hunting in the forest. Petru Rareș is accused to be a poacher and should be killed on Ștefanița's order. Ileana begs Ștefanița to pardon his brother. Ștefanița frees Petru, but he demands in return that Ileana follows him as mistress. She accepts for saving her brother and leaves the scene together with Ștefanița and the noblemen. Petru Rareș swears to take revenge and follows the insurgents under the leadership of Tudora.

In the second act, Tudora and Marin make an unavailing attempt to liberate Ileana from the castle where she is captive. Meanwhile in a forest, Petru Rareș is ready to conduct the insurrection against the despot and assembles his soldiers.

In the last act, prince Ștefanița appears in the castle of Nikita where Ileana is imprisoned. She should give the names of the insurgents. Those are crept with artifice in the castle. Petru Rareș kills Nikita and liberates his sister. Tudora arrives with the document which reveals that the unknown son of the former prince Ștefan the Great is none other than Petru Rareș. As a proof, he has a tattooed cross on his arm – just as the letter mentions. The present boyars render homage to the new sovereign, while the usurper Ștefanița commits suicide.

The musical and dramaturgical model of *Petru Rareș* is clearly the French Grand Opéra, for instance the works of Meyerbeer. But Caudella deals very freely with the French model (he had not to respect the requirements of the Paris opera conventions). In contrast to the Grand Opéra, *Petru Rareș* has only 3 acts (and not 5 as usually) and the obligatory ballet is in the last act. On the other hand, the topic is typical for the Grand Opéra: a historical theme with intrigue and insurrection. Several elements – like for example the scene with the gleeman or the call to arms by the insurgents – are directly modelled on Meyerbeer's *Les Huguenots* – but surely, the musical skills of Caudella cannot get close to the Parisian original.

The historical background

The opera *Petru Rareș* is a free re-narration of historical accounts. The manner as it deals with sources is close to many other historical operas of the 19th century (Verdi's *Nabucco* for example).

It's characteristic for Caudella's opera that there is no sentimental love story at the centre of the plot, but a historical episode where freely invented scenes are placed around. The main theme of the opera is the succession of the Moldavian sovereign Ștefan II, also called the Great. He is till this day one of the most important figure of identification in the collective memory of Romanians, because on the one hand he fought with determination against exterior enemies,

primarily Ottomans (the Pope granted him the title “Athleta Christi”), and on the other hand he pursued the unification of the two Romanian principalities – without success.

After his death in 1504, his son Bogdan III followed him on the throne. After the death of Bogdan, his 11 year old son Ștefaniță Mușat, or Ștefan IV the Younger, became the next Moldavian sovereign in 1517. Prince Ștefaniță felt out with the Poles and devastated Walachia in 1526. He was an extraordinary intelligent and gifted young man who intended to unify the two Romanian principalities. He was allegedly poisoned by his wife and died on 12 January 1527 in Khotyn (today in Ukraine).

The opera figure Ștefaniță has less to do with the historical Ștefan IV. The operatic Ștefaniță is described as a completely negative character: he betrayed the Romanian country, he made a deal with the enemies (Ottomans, Poles, Cossacks) and he was an usurper. Even the age of Ștefaniță doesn't play any role in the opera (in reality he was only 22 years old when he died); his vocal range is baritone and not bass as it should be for a villain (this role is held by the bass Nikita, an invented character).

The title role of the opera is also historical: Petru Rareș. He is an illegitimate son of Prince Ștefan the Great. Petru Rareș was born between 1483 and 1487. We don't know nearly anything about the time before he acceded to the throne. According to the contemporary chronicler Ion Negulce, Petru Rareș should have been a fishmonger in the district of Galați near the Black Sea. He came to the throne in 1527 at the death of Ștefaniță.

Historically correct is finally only the fact that Ștefaniță became successor of Ștefan the Great as sovereign of Moldavia and that he died very early in obscure circumstances. Further that a son of an illegitimate union of Ștefan the Great appeared suddenly from nowhere and ascended to the Moldavian throne. By the way, the opera puts this episode in 1529, while the historical prince Ștefaniță, as we have seen, died two years earlier.

This very flimsy frame gives to the librettist Theobald Rehbaum⁹ and the composer a great liberty to adapt the motives of the acting characters and the details of the plot to their own intentions or to the expectations of the public. Except Petru Rareș and Ștefaniță, all characters are freely invented: Ileana the sister of Petru, the noblewoman Tudora, her follower Marin, and Nikita the henchman of the sovereign. Freely invented is also the very important element of the opera: the hidden document which reveals the identity of the legitimate pretender to the throne. And finally, freely invented is the whole story how the fishmonger Petru Rareș becomes the new sovereign, as well as the ignominious end of the usurper Ștefaniță.

So the opera doesn't really show a historical episode of the Romanian 16th century history, but rather the historical context of the time of its creation: the situation of the modern National State in the last decades of the 19th century.

Mythos and Logos

We will analyse the plot in this perspective: the libretto shows us two models of possible successions after the death of Ștefan the Great.

First of all, there is a dream in which Petru Rareș sees himself as the new ruler of the country. This is a pre-modern form of communication: it is the realm of the myth. Petru Rareș' dream is not presented as a modern dream in Freudian or Jungian sense. It's not the secret or the subconscious desires of the individual that become a manifesto. In his dream, we hear a mythic

⁹ The libretto is based on a novel by Nicolae Gane (1838-1916), a Moldavian politician and writer. Theobald Rehbaum (1835-1918), a German violinist and composer, wrote the libretto in German; the text was afterwards translated into Romanian by A. Stauermann.

voice, perhaps God or the Destiny, anyhow a transcendent Other. Petru Rareș is designated as the legitimate sovereign of Moldavia by God or the benevolent Destiny.

By the way, it is characteristic that this dream is not reported directly by the dreaming person himself, but by his sister Ileana who overhears her sleeping brother. Thereby, the dream steps outside of the mythic mist into the sphere of the clearly understandable discourse. Mythos becomes Logos.

But the mythic legitimacy in form of a dream has no concrete consequences. Nobody would coronate the fisherman Petru only for a dream. Even Ileana who is the only one that heard its content and has reformulated it in understandable words, is rather angry, because she fears to be separated from her brother if he will become a ruler.

The mythic, pre-modern model appears by the way at another moment of the opera. The usurper Ștefanița meets an old fortune teller woman who foretells his dethronement and the ascending of the legitimate son of Ștefan the Great. Ștefanița's henchman Nikita criticises his master's credulousness. But finally, the prophecy of the old woman will be fulfilled.

The second model of legitimate succession is a document. The dying sovereign Ștefan has written it and hidden at a secure place. It contains the proof of the legitimacy of Petru Rareș' succession on the Moldavian throne. The document will be found at the end of the opera. It certifies the real identity of Petru Rareș as the legitimate successor – and immediately all boyars accept him as the new ruler.

This is definitely a modern form of communication: it is the realm of the written world, of records, of administration. Legitimacy is an affair of documents and seals. But also in this modern model, elements of the opposite, the mythic model can be found. First, the document is hidden behind an icon; a reference that finally only God guarantees legitimacy, even those of written and modern documents. Second, the sign which proves the legitimacy of the pretender to the throne, is a tattooed cross on the arm. Another reference to the religious sphere even for an "administrative act".

These two models of legitimacy are not presented in the opera as antagonistic; they rather complement one another. Mythos does not contradict Logos, both speak with one voice. However, it seems that in the opera finally the documental proof is the real one which attests the Truth. The dream would be ineffective without the written argument.

The heroic element in the opera

However, this interpretation misconceives a central point of the opera: Petru Rareș has, at the moment when the document of Ștefan the Great is being revealed, still cleared up the situation by force. The castle of the tyrant is in his hand, and for the usurper Ștefanița, the game is over. Thereby, another model of historical effect becomes crucial: the heroic element. Let us first analyse this central motive by means of the acting characters and then pose the question of its function for the Romanian society in the 1880s.

The two protagonists of the opera are doubtless Petru Rareș and his sister Ileana. It's striking that Petru, after he has dominated the entire first act where the action is launched, disappears from the scene (and from the plot) and reappears only at the end of the 2nd act when he, after having another dream, goes with determination to action and fights in front of the insurgents against tyranny. Even in the 3rd act, he is absent for a long time. Petru and the insurgents triumph finally, but more by ruse – and not before Tudora comes and shows the document which proves the legitimacy of Petru. So the boyars acclaim him as new ruler for a written document and not for heroism, bravery or military force. His adversary Ștefanița kills himself, and finally, the main motif of Petru for fighting is a sentimental one: he wants to save his sister.

So, the heroism of the protagonist is very ambiguous. He is shown several times as a dreamer. Even if these dreams reveal themselves as a vision of the truth, they are nevertheless not attributes of heroic actions. Petru achieves his goal by ruse and not by military force. His only real determined action is the killing of the villain Nikita when he is brutalising Ileana. But Petru kills an unarmed man in surprise effect – not really a heroic action. The ambiguity of the “dreaming heroism” is subject of the scenes 10 and 11 of the 2nd act when the dreaming Petru sees himself as the new ruler of Moldavia:

Petru Rareş (speaks in his dream):

People bow before my face, because I am your new ruler...

(He wakes up)

Where I am? It was only a dream? Without any importance? My sovereignty on the people only a dream? I was the ruler, I went in the battle, I was in front of all. Crazy to imagine such things. Is it allowed to have such vain dreams? I am crazy to have such vain dreams!

I will defend my country with great courage, I will trust my star with strong faith. Wakefully, with endurance and power, that is what I want to be every time. I want that the fortune turns to me.

My courage should have the opportunity to be proud of me!

My country should have the opportunity to be proud of me!

Ileana is a different character. While at the beginning of the opera, the despot Ştefaniţa gives her the choice whether her brother will be killed, whether she will be his mistress, Ileana accepts to offer herself. The shame to give her body to the tyrant is here assimilated to death. “One of us two will die”, Petru says. The fact that Ileana is ready for this symbolic death of shame is indeed heroic, because it has a concrete result: to save another life, that one of Petru. And also at the end, when Ştefaniţa and Nikita menace her with torture and death, if she should not give the names of the insurgents, Ileana is ready to die heroically.

These two heroic models – Petru’s and Ileana’s – are not contradictory but complementary. Together the two models correspond to the “mioritic” principle of Romanian heroism: Petru sees his victory in dreams, like the Moldavian shepherd in the ballad sees the mystical wedding in dreams. Ileana represents the principle of offering herself like the shepherd does. At this point, it seems to me very consequent that Petru and Ileana are, at the same time, brother and sister and also lovers – even if the mythic dimension is turned into a logical one (after all they are only supposed to be brother and sister).

Caudella’s opera and the Romanian identity in the late 19th century

Let us finally place these results into the historical context of identity construction of the Romanian society within the new National state.

When the opera was composed in 1889, the question of legitimacy of the ruler was highly actual. As we have seen, Prince Cuza was elected at the same time sovereign of Walachia and Moldavia, whereby the two principalities were in fact unified. In 1866, Karl of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen became sovereign of Romania. But the country was still a vassal of the Ottoman Porte. In 1878, Romania seceded unilaterally and Karl declared himself king of Romania.

In contrast to other peoples of Central and Eastern Europe, like for example Greece, Romania obtains its independency not by heroic fight against the oppressors, but by diplomatic skill. This lack of historical heroism is explained in the opera: such as in the legend of Mioriţa, the heroic attitude is transformed and transcended.

Concurrently the opera shows also the transition of a mythic people into a modern National state based on administration: not the divine destiny revealed by dreams legitimises power and authority, but at the end a written document.

The omnipresent allusions to the legend of Miorița, where three shepherds are mentioned, refer to the absent third: this must be nobody else than the Transylvanian one – Transylvania, that part of the present-day Romania which was in 1889 (and also in 1900 when the opera was premiered) always Hungarian. This territory however came to the Romanian state not by ruse not by an administrative act, but by the force of arms during the First World War.

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PANEL: National opera and the heroic element

Bravery and Destiny: the heroic element in Manolis Kalomiris' *Konstantinos Palaiologos*

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Abstract. This opera was the swan song for Manolis Kalomiris (a work that he dedicated to the Greek nation) and consecutively an end-of-an-era work, the era of the Greek National School. *Konstantinos Palaiologos* recounts the last days of Constantinople, reflecting the heroic and devastating end of the Byzantine Empire. This paper will focus on characters such as Konstantinos and Charkoutsis that stand out as archetypal heroic figures.

The year that just passed has been marked by the 50th anniversary since Manolis Kalomiris' passing. With him, a whole era of the neo-hellenic musical world ended. An era that Kalomiris marked with his presence and his ideological perspectives that found way to flourish in the beginning of the 20th century. The composer declared his beliefs and dreams with his 1908 manifesto. Of course, he didn't remain just to that and produced a string of works that brought new perspectives to the light.

But before his passing, Kalomiris achieved to complete his final task and finish the composition of his last major work, an opera, a musical legend - tragedy as he preferred it to be called, based on the last days of the Byzantine Empire. *Konstantinos Palaiologos* is exactly that, a storytelling of the last moments of an empire that stands as a milestone to the ideological world of Kalomiris. The composer referred to the byzantine element, mainly the one connected to Christian religion, quite a few times during his lifetime with works such as Symphony no.1 *Levendia*, the symphonic poem *Death of the Valiant Woman* and others. He based a major part of his Hellenic identity to the Byzantine past, to the lost pride and grandeur of an empire that Kalomiris, at some point in his life, believed (along with the majority of the Greek nation) that it could be revived. His swan song was meant to be a work that would praise bravery, heroism, destiny and loss.

Kalomiris started composing *Konstantinos Palaiologos* in 1957 after a serious illness. He mentions on the foreword of *Palaiologos* edition: "And even if I didn't have a Smaragda to trap in *Palaiologos*' foundations, for my bridge to remain intact, I had my own self to put there. In the music of *Palaiologos* I gave everything I had inside me regarding strength, soul, heart, dreams, despair. Yes despair. Because when you see your dreams collapsing into debris, your despair becomes a creative force as Kazantzakis sees it".¹ This despair that Kalomiris mentions seems to be having a multiple meaning. Primarily, if one reads the final notes of the composer's autobiography, one will see that Kalomiris writes: "29 September 1958. Tonight I locked all my manuscripts and sketches of *Konstantinos Palaiologos*. I don't feel that I have the power anymore to deal with such a work. My resources have drained out. And moreover, pourquoi et pour qui?".² Kalomiris felt unable to fulfill the task and complete *Konstantinos Palaiologos*. Yet, he overcame this composer's block in the next few months. On a different and yet completely other level, despair may also be referring to a destiny that was not fulfilled, to dreams that collapsed in past years, probably during the Minor Asia expedition that wasn't completed success-

¹ Kalomiris, Manolis *Konstantinos Palaiologos* (Athens: Ethniki Liriki Skini [National Opera of Greece], 1961), 2

² Kalomiris, Manolis *Η ζωή μου και η τέχνη μου* [My life and my art] (Athens: Nefeli publications, 1988), 172

fully. Moreover, despair could also be referring to a life that is coming to an end, dreams that never came to fruition. The composer died just a year after the completion of the work and, remarkably enough, this was probably the only work of his that he didn't see being performed on stage.

Kalomiris doesn't let many things to be negotiated. He composes *Konstantinos Palaiologos* and with a generous gesture dedicates it to the Greeks, to the nation, to "those simple and good people who feel [...] the pulse, pain and the glory of the nation and race".³ His dedication bears a clear message and he offers it with an almost heroic manner to the whole nation that has suffered from the terrible loss and the dream that remained incomplete: to liberate the long lost heart of the Empire, Constantinople. Furthermore, one might even suggest that Kalomiris composes *Konstantinos Palaiologos* as a recapitulation of his life in a deeply symbolic manner. He is an Emperor in a kingdom that seems to be collapsing, his national school, this ideological building is at that time a monument, although successful and well respected, it remains a monument without any more soul in it. Kalomiris sees himself as a *Palaiologos* who has lost his kingdom.

In a more practical aspect of the work, one could examine the forces that are required in order to be performed; some 20 soloists are needed –apart from a large orchestra and choir- a fact that makes the opera difficult to be fully staged so often. It worth's mentioning that even Kalomiris knew the difficulties faced for the production of his work. He mentions so in the foreword of his score. Furthermore, Kalomiris provides a table of leitmotifs on the introductory pages, a fact that will prove to be of importance. For the composer, the reference to Byzantine Empire seems to have an inevitable connection with Christianity and religion. He uses it as a point of reference that reaches contemporary Greece and as a key-point for proving the inevitable and yet, so much wanted and missed connection with a glorious past. On the same page, where he provides the list of leitmotifs the composer also mentions all the material that he has borrowed and used from the Byzantine hymns. Orthodox dogma seems to be an inevitable connection between all those things that comprise what he sees as Hellenic in its wholeness.

Bravery and heroism in this work is not something that remains on the surface. One should not be lead to believe that characters in the opera are described extensively. On the contrary, I believe that some of them are not examined thoroughly and this has as a result a single-dimensional effect on them and, in a sense, a quite uneven result, with the composer avoiding adding perspectives that could blur the crystal-clear icon that he wants to create. One characteristic though that seems to be following, more or less, those present on stage is their heroic aspect, even by overshadowing other important features. The message is carried out through a sense of duty that those who are willing to defend Constantinople at these last moments of the Empire declare their willingness and determination to die instead of either surrendering or fleeing.

At this instant, I would like to focus mainly on three characters: Konstantinos Palaiologos, Charkoutsis and Anna Notara as they are outlined by Kalomiris.

Konstantinos Palaiologos is the indisputable hero of the work. He was the last Emperor of Byzantium, a mythical figure for whom a series of legends have been devised.⁴ Actually, Kalomiris makes use of these legends during the last moments of the work where Virgin Mary (that resembles Anna Notara) takes the dead body of Konstantinos in her arms and states that there

³ Kalomiris, Manolis "Forward to the piano reduction – A tribute to the Greek people" in http://www.kalomiris.gr/kalomi_files/001_synuetis/001_003_documents/docs_kalomiris/popups/i03.htm (accessed on 25 September 2013)

⁴ See also Nicol, Donald M. *The Immortal Emperor* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002)

will be a time in Hagia Sofia church when the Mass will be finished and the dead King who is now petrified will resurrect and liberate the city. The epic element in the music is obvious. It worth's noticing the extended use of chromaticism, something that resembles the People's leitmotiv.

Konstantinos Palaiologos proves to be a leader that is meant to rise to the occasion. Kalomiris assigns a total number of four different leitmotivs to the Emperor, namely: his own, his decision to fight and a variation of it and a leitmotiv that shows his will not to surrender. These leitmotivs are connected with the character but, more importantly, with the heroic aspect of Konstantinos Palaiologos.

It is interesting to see how the composer deals with the love story between Konstantinos Palaiologos and Anna Notara. Although there is a scene where the two declare their love to each other and the fact that Kalomiris assigns a certain leitmotiv for Love, this is actually a story that doesn't really develop and it is blended within the most powerful messages of heroism and fate. First, it is Anna who says that she is used to love Konstantinos since she was a young girl and that up to that moment she has been waiting for him. Then, Konstantinos makes a similar, although brief, love statement to her, talking about an ideal future that will, unfortunately, not be achieved. Although a love scene, again the main focus is Konstantinos statement that there is no other way for him but to fight and follow his destiny, a destiny that is above anything else and leads him to a certain death. Thus, the love element remains on the background, being discussed briefly. Anna decides to stay besides Konstantinos, fight next to him in the last battle and die honorably. Suddenly, the love becomes heroism maintaining this balance of death and chivalry.

Although Konstantinos doesn't have much hope for the fate of Constantinople, since he believes that the city is doomed to fall, at the same instant he never thinks of fleeing. He declares his pessimism in many occasions, even when he meets Charkoutsis.

Charkoutsis, is a Cretan who decides to offer his and the lives of his forty soldiers to the great cause, to defend Constantinople. Incidentally, Charkoutsis derives from Crete, like Eleftherios Venizelos, one of the great heroes in Kalomiris life.⁵ He is portrayed as an enthusiastic warrior not afraid of death. The leitmotiv that follows Charkoutsis bears a certain dance quality. One should note an interesting aspect: Charkoutsis talks about his driving force to come to Constantinople, fight and eventually die along with his compatriots for a higher cause. He says that his driving force is Freedom (in Greek *Lefteria*). If one is interested in reading between the lines one can clearly see that here is a case like that. The first name of Venizelos was Eleftherios and Charkoutsis is a Cretan like the former, and at that time dead, previous prime-minister. Kalomiris' universe becomes once more the centre of the work, revealing his sympathies and nostalgic trails. A world that has gone and cannot be regenerated although it remains alive within his heart.

Charkoutsis plays a more majestic role in that sense. He is the brave Cretan, a character full of manhood. It is interesting to see that Charkoutsis and his two warriors are the last three whom draw their swords ready for the final battle inside the Saint Sofia church just before the Ottomans gatecrash the main entrance.

All three of these characters measure a different kind of bravery. Palaiologos remains in his position and is determined to protect and defend his city, the heart of a great yet diminished Empire. He is the unquestionable King who prefers to die instead of fleeing. Anna shows her bravery mainly to her beloved one. She dies next to him to prove her love. Charkoutsis, is a

⁵ See Veremis, Thanos *Ελευθέριος Βενιζέλος: κοινωνία, οικονομία, πολιτική στην εποχή του* [Eleftherios Venizelos: Society, Economy and Politics at his time] (Athens: Gnosi, 1989)

warrior, a knight that lives his life by the sword and willing to die for something great. In a sense, he is a larger than life character who decides to die for an idea, for a lost but noble cause.

And where is Kalomiris in all these? Actually, one can identify more interesting aspects of Kalomiris' reality in many characters in the work. For instance, the unconventional Pyrovatis (torch holder) with his "holy fool" attitude or the priest that is lost inside the wall holding the communion and in other cases. But, let's focus on those three that have been discussed so far. Is he a Konstantinos Palaiologos who stands and fights? Is he a Charkoutsis who makes the great sacrifice, gives his life for a great cause? One could even state that he is an Anna Notara who decides to fight and die for somebody or something else that he believes in. In my opinion, Kalomiris is somehow a part of all these. One can identify him as the last of a series of composers who established an important musical movement, he is a Konstantinos Palaiologos, the last emperor...he is also a Charkoutsis, a free spirit who decides to fight and die just because he believes into something big, a knight of Wagnerian purposes. Finally, he bears some qualities from Anna Notara, an angelic ethereal figure, an Izoldean heroine that has as a sole purpose to prove his agonies for the Greek musical world.

Konstantinos Palaiologos has been a work of major proportions for Kalomiris. Although he suffered from poor health conditions, he puts all his efforts to complete it. If one would like to comment on the musical quality of the opera, one might say that this certain work is not of the same quality as other operatic works during his career. Characters seem not to be outlined as deeply as in other cases, whereas musically, *Konstantinos Palaiologos* seems to be one of the most modern works that Kalomiris wrote. Markos Tsetsos was the first that pointed out the use on behalf of Kalomiris some sets of 11-note leitmotifs, namely in the leitmotiv that describes Palaiologos and his willingness not to surrender and also on the Pyrovatis leitmotiv. Thus, Tsetsos mentions: "Moreover, the composer expands the sound palette reaching close to the atonal world: the leitmotiv under the title 'Konstantinos and his decision to fight' sets eleven different notes (namely Cb, Eb, C, D, Db, Fb, G, Gb, F, A, Ab), whereas on the second variation of Pyrovatis also sets eleven notes of the chromatic scale in the following order: C, F#, B, F, E, Bb, Db, G, D, Ab, C, D#".⁶

Finally, this work bears its own significance, and not only because it's the last composition by Kalomiris. It's the last major work of a cycle that has been identified as a Hellenic National School, an ideological and philosophical paradigm that came to a close with Kalomiris' death and after sixty years of continuous presence to the Greek musical work. *Konstantinos Palaiologos* bears, in a nutshell, all those elements that Kalomiris wanted to implement, codify and spread through his music and writings. These were identified as national elements but for him there were only one thing: Greek.

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⁶ I would like to extend my gratitude to Markos Tsetsos for sending me this exact passage from his forthcoming book (at the time that this article was written). Of course, the translation into English is mine and any mistakes or misunderstandings are solely my fault. This passage derives from Tsetsos, Markos *Νεοελληνική μουσική. Δοκίμια ιδεολογικής και θεσμικής κριτικής* [Neohellenic music. Texts of ideological and official criticism] (Athens: Papagrigoriou-Nakas, 2013), 51

The National Element in Music

During his time in Sheffield he was chief conductor of the University of Sheffield Students Symphony Orchestra, chief conductor of the String Orchestra of the Music Players Society and he has conducted all the major ensembles of the University of Sheffield. Also, he served as an assistant conductor in Sheffield Youth Orchestra. During his time in Greece he has conducted the Patras Conservatoire Chamber Orchestra and the Hellenic Group of Contemporary Music. He has published papers and articles in major Greek and foreign musical and musicological periodicals. He has participated in several international conferences presenting his research work. He has worked as a musicologist and a coordinator for educational projects in the Music Library of Greece "Lilian Voudouri" and from January 2013 he is a lecturer and Head of the "Erol Üçer" Music Library of MIAM (Center for Advanced Studies in Music) in the Istanbul Technical University.

Folk Clichés in Central-European Pastorellas in the 17th-18th cc.

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Abstract. “*Pastorella*” is a very special musical genre popular in central-European countries (Poland, Austria, southern Germany, Czech) in the 17th and 18th cc. There are numerous pieces preserved composed by professional musicians (partially anonymous) but all of them pretend to sound like a folk-style music. The list of elements used by composers is partly universal (like bourdon fifth in bas-line) but some other depend on local tradition (like augmented fourth and sixth—typical for Carpathians).

The interested issue is, the *pastorella* seems to be one of the first examples of deliberate stylization in Western Music. I plan to examine chosen examples of Polish, Czech and German *pastorellas* naming the differences as well as similarities within the genre. It will be also a good opportunity to point out the specific kind of devotion—a mixture of folk-beliefs with strictly catholic habits. The term “cliché”—used in the title— accurately names the implementation of the folk elements into a professional church music. The last point of the presentation will be devoted to define the dissimilarity between *pastorella* on the one side and “church concerto” on the other site.

Starting with definition...

The history of *pastorella* as a music genre is not very long. The first musicological remarks on it have been published in '60¹ and many collections of *pastorellas* have been found since then. “*Pastorella*” is a very special vocal-instrumental musical genre popular in central-European countries (Poland, Austria, southern Germany, Czech, Slovakia) in the 17th and 18th cc. It consists of one or more movements, usually for choir or soloists, and a small ensemble, using, additionally, various forms of (quasi)-folk stylization.

The last statement seems crucial for understanding this genre. The authors of *pastorellas* were professional musicians (not always the best quality, one must admit), who tried however to show their work as of “amateur” production, full of artificial simplifications, especially produced mistakes or awkwardnesses. *Pastorella*, therefore, (contrary to popular, instrumental “*pastorale*”) does not support the “Italianate pastoral” style which can often use: *siciliano* rhythms, 6/4 (6/8) time and melodies based on conjunction thirds and sixths (so called “lullaby melody”). Such elements were reserved for another pastoral style based on Arcadian philosophy, popularized by Jean-Jacques Rousseau’s ideals of rusticity and simplicity. The aim of pastoral style was thence to create the idyllic world, described as an idealized life of a peasant, natural and full of harmony. In music the most typical examples of pastoral ideology were various ballet/opera performances² and an instrumental *pastorale*. In all the works mentioned above (and others as well) a bucolic staffage have been used yet all of them were purely artistic, professional compositions, completed in accordance to one of the principal style of baroque/classical idea. Consequently, *pastorella* is the first genre which applies stylization as the fundamental element of its construction. We should understand the uniqueness of such construction, as the music theory of those times paid a lot attention to perfect composition and stylistic suitability according to given patterns.

¹ See Chew, Geoffrey The Christmas *pastorella* in Austria, Bohemia and Moravia PhD Diss. University of Manchester, 1968. The other interesting monographs are: Rawson, Robert “Gottfried Finger’s Christmas *pastorellas*” *Early Music* Nov. 2005, 591-606; Berkovec, Jiří České *pastorely*, Prague, 1987; Marchwica, Wojciech M. “Tradycja *pastorelli* polskich”, *Studia Claramontana* 11, (Jasna Góra, 1991) 230-242.

² Such as *Le triomphe de l’Amour* by Charles de Bey and Michel de La Guerre (1655) and J.-B. Lully’s *Les fêtes de l’Amour et de Bacchus* (1672).

As Marc Germer, who devoted to pastorella several articles, once admitted, “Even the earliest pastorellas, this rustic style may be distinguished from the more traditional, well-known Italianate pastoral style, established for the most part in the late Renaissance, with *siciliano* rhythms, 6/4 (or from the eighteenth century 6/8) time, and melodies in conjunct thirds and sixths in Larghetto or equivalent tempo. The Austrian equivalents by contrast include fast 2/4 time, unison passages, melodies with broken-chord figuration, ‘Lydian’ sharpened fourths, and other unusual chromaticism. Some features, such as extended pedal points, are common to both idioms.”³



Picture 1. Typical pastorella scene. Jacek Malczewski – *Jasetka*.

The crucial element of pastorella is the characteristic subject. It typically describes various shepherds’ activities related to the Christmas season like:

- annunciation of angels at midnight,
- the appearance of angels and their singing,
- awakening and the dialogue of the shepherds,
- offering of gifts to the baby Jesus or play/dance to celebrate the Newborn Child.

³ Germer, Marc “The Austrian pastorella and the stylus rusticus: comic and pastoral elements in Austrian music, 1750-1800” in *Music in the Eighteenth-Century Austria* ed. by David Wyn Jones, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1996), Cardiff conference materials, July 1991; Chapter 6, 133-196; quotation pp. 140-141. See also Germer, Marc *The Austro-Bohemian pastorella and pastoral mass to c1780* (New York: New York University 1989).



Picture 2. Typical pastorella scene.

(Władysław Skoczylas *Nativity Scene*, ~1910, watercolour, pencil on paper, 71 x 102 cm, private collection.)

The other described in pastorellas elements are:

- a visit of the Three Kings,
- lullaby (Kindelwiegen) (in Czech, “kolébání”, in Poland “kołysanka”),
- apocryphal stories.

The history of pastorella is strictly connected with baroque and classical period in Central-European countries. It starts in the mid-seventeenth century when so-called parochial culture based on ideology of sarmatism (in Poland) has come into sight⁴ and various local musical traditions became more valuable than the official “Italian” style. The first known mention of pastorella-related composition appeared in 1669 in a letter to the Prince Bishop of Olomouc, Karl Liechtenstein-Castelcorn. The earliest preserved pieces of the music can be however found in Poland. In Łowicz there was found the Anonym composition 1699, “Parvule pupule”. There is also a composition of 1704 by the glorious Polish composer Stanisław Sylwester Szarzyński “Gloria in excelsis Deo”, and – of the same period of the 17th/18th cc. break – “Vigiles pastores” by Kazimierz Jezierski. Among the first pastorellas are also those composed by: Gottfried Finger (1660-1730), Jan Dismas Zelenka (attested in Dresden, 1679-1745) or Johann Joseph Fux (1660-1741). Starting from the beginning of the 18th c. one can find numerous pastorellas both in Latin and in the vernacular languages within Austria, the Czech lands, Bavaria, Poland and other Central European territories.

Pastorella appeared as the music piece most useful for different parochial celebrations related to Christmas period. It was used for example to add a splendor to the main service during the Christmas Mass. Therefore, pastorella substituted previous genres – more appropriate for official liturgy or court celebrations like: “Sonate pastorali” by Johann J. Fux or Georg Muffat. On the other hand, the early dialogo/cantata manifestations like: G. Carissimi’s “Quasi aquilla” or “Salve Puellule” could have been used during meeting in *oratorio* houses – popular especially

⁴ Marchwica, Wojciech M. “Sarmatization of the Polish Christmas carol – posthumous success of the Jagiellonian dynastic ideology”, *Musica Iagellonica* 2012.

in the Northern Italy of the 17th c. Other examples of such compositions are: Giovanni Kapsperger's "I pastori di Bettelemme" or Octavio Catalano "Angelus ad Pastores VIII vocum Dialogus Pastoralis pro Nativitate Domini"⁵.

In German-speaking countries the popular tradition was to write "Gallimathias musicum" or "Quodlibet" – a kind of the free-form cycle mixing together: traditional motets, simple harmonizations of popular song-melodies, vocal-instrumental concertos and other pieces (sometimes instrumental). A good example of such a work is „Glückselig Fried und Freudenreich Musicalisch | New Jahres Wunsch | Dem Durchleuchtigen Hochgeborenen Fürsten von Herrn | Herrn AUGUSTO | Herzogen zu Braunschweig und Lüneburg / | Seinem gnedigsten Fürsten und Herrn unterhänigst mit | nachfolgenden Gesangen als... Hamburg 1645“ by Johann Schultz. This „Musicalisch Wunsch“ consist of seventh parts:

I. <i>Veni Redemptor gentium</i>	concert à 8
II. <i>Nun kom der Heyden Heyland</i>	concert à 8
III. Aus einem Musicalisch 4. stimmigen Ketzeln „Fuga in homophonia“ ein 8. stimmig / und/also 2. Chorig nachsend New Jahres Wunsch und Gesang.	
IV. <i>Ein Kindelein so löblich</i>	concert à 8
V. Weinacht Lidlein in bekandter Melodey mit 4. Stimmen	
VI. Quodlibet: <i>In dulci Jubilo</i>	Cantus primus
<i>Nun freut euch lieben Christen gmein</i>	Cantus Secundus
<i>Lobet den Harren alle Heyden</i>	Altus
<i>Ein kindelein so löblich</i>	Tenor
<i>Gelobet seistu JEsu Christ</i>	Bassus
darinnen zu letzt in allen Stiminen <i>Ubi sunt gaudia</i>	5. Vocum
VII. <i>Gelobet Seistu JEsu Christ</i>	2 Chorig Concert mit 8. Stimmen Componiert

The description of German *quodlibet* given above (the most interesting is the 6th part where each voice sings different text and melody of popular Christmas song) in its mode is slightly similar to pastorella but it does not include any element of folk stylisation and so it remains only the professional joke of J. Schultz for a colleague-musicians. The same character one can find in another "New Year wish" by Wolffenbüttel's *magister cappelle* Julio Johanne Weiland⁶. The interesting element of the entire composition is the "Engelgesang" for three voices with *basso continuo*, where angels – according to pastorella tradition – were given the local names: Christian, Hämsel, Küster. Such tradition of localizing biblical and geographical names was widely spread in pastorellas and Christmas songs composed after 1600.

⁵ Manuscript BRD Rp Pr-M Carissimi 28; it is a dialogo with narrator, angels, shepards and polychoral final part. For the bibliography of *Cantiones Natalitiae* see Noske, Frits The Cantiones Natalitiae, Essays in Musicology: a Birthday Offering to Willi Appel, (Bloomington (IN), Éd. H. Tischler, 1968), 123-130.

⁶ „Uns ist ein Kindgebohren à 13. in 3. Chor abgetheilet ... zum Neuen Jahr Nebst herzlicher Glückwünschen ... Julio Johanne Weiland / Wolffenbüttel 1. Januar Anno 1663“. The piece consist of following parts:
 Symphonia 3/2 – 2 Vni, 2 Vle, Bc *Uns ist ein Kindgeboren* 3/2 – 2 Canti, A, T, B, 2 Vni, 2 Vle, Bc
Und Er heist wunderbahr ♯ – pseudo-dialogue (come sopra)
Und ist ein Kindgebohren 3/2 – finale (come sopra)
Der Engelgesang ♯, 3/2, ♯ – 3 Canti (Christian, Hämsel, Küster) Bc
 Alleluja ♯ - tutti.
 Signature in Wolffenbüttel Herzog August Library „Gn. Kapsel 11(4)“.

Der Engelgesang

Der Engelgesang à 3. Cantus. Auff der Orgel.

* both e notes filled with black
** notes e♭, f filled with black

* notes a, g filled with black ** instead of fermata written longa

Musical example 1. J. Weiland *Uns ist ein Kind geboren* part fifth „Der Engelgesang“.

Pastorella – common musical distinctiveness

As it was stated above one of the most important musical distinctiveness of pastorella is *quasi*-folk stylization. The word “quasi” outlines the artificial, non-authentic use of folk music elements. What is also interesting, some of these stylistic features appeared in pastorellas despite their country of origin and so despite the real, local musical culture.

The first of such features is **shawm-and-bagpipe effects** – like in many Italian “pastoral” compositions. The use of figured melody over long-lasting bourdon fifths in bass was typical to imitate a peasant style throughout the whole Europe for several hundred years. It is therefore obvious pastorellas have to use it also. The same function have **long pedal points** which imitate the bourdon function of some folk instruments.

The more complex component of pastorella style was usage of “pastoral trumpet” (Alpenhorn, trombita) or imitation of such instruments. This instrument – contrary to its most popular name – is known also outside of Alps, called “national” in Switzerland, Austria (Tirol) and Bavaria – but not in French Alps. Looking more closely, one can find the same instrument in Ukraine – especially in Hutsul (Гуцули) region and in Ukrainian Carpathians (for example nearby Uzhhorod). The only difference is the name – this time it is *trembita*. We must not forget about Romania. Here it is also the “national” instrument, which preserved the old-Roman name *bucium* (called also *trâmbiță* or *tulnic*). In Poland the same instrument is always described as characteristic for regions of: Podhale (with Slavic name *trombita*), Pomerania (*bazuna*) and Wielkopolska (*ligawka*). It is worth noticing that the construction of all mentioned instruments is similar, as long as the musical scale and sound. One can find also the same instrument over the Pacific – the Australian Aborigines’ trumpet (*digeridoo*) is the same wind-instrument we

have met in Europe. It is however very typical for many of pastorellas to use this instrument as the sign of shepherds' presence



Picture 3. Various examples of usage the "Alpenhorn-like" instruments in: Switzerland (Sion), Romania, Australia and Poland (Podhale region).

The “**fanfare**” motifs which appear in some pastorellas are partly connected with “*tuba pastoritia*” mentioned above, but also with some local traditions. The general understanding of such feature is however illustration of Jesus’ King’s position – the “music for royal entrée” was one of the most universal element of European culture of those times.

The another universal element of pastorella is the **limitation of harmonic vocabulary** (especially in “lullaby” pastorellas). In some cases, a composer used only two chords for the whole piece – Tonic and Dominant. It is one of the most striking and easy to notice feature of pastorella style. In case of pastorellas written by better known composers it is possible to compare the harmonic style with other compositions – an artificial limitation of the harmony is then evident.

Composers of pastorellas very often try to simulate the clumsiness of folk authors with an **irregular structure of melody** and frequent **use of “Lydian” fourth** (sometimes also augmented sixths). Implementation of these melodic features aims to convince the listeners that the music is not a professional composition but only a slightly re-arranged folk-tune⁷. All such elements of coarse style however do not cover the whole piece but appear occasionally. The same function plays the **lack of formal complexity** (ABA or stanza form) – which is typical for simple songs.

It is also obvious that the authors of pastorellas **use popular Christmas carols’ melodies and texts** within their artistic works. On the one hand it is a good way to popularize the piece through the quotation of a popular song. On the other hand Christmas carols offer a great variety of topics, texts and melodies for multiple arrangements within more artistically developed form. Popular Latin songs and their national translations, songs in vernacular languages or dialects, countless variants of folk tunes and parodies of church hymns – all such songs were a fine sources for pastorellas’ authors.

The last universal attribute of pastorella is of formal nature. A majority of pastorellas is usually **divided into several short movements**. That brings the entire genre towards cantata, which also combined ensembles, instrumental parts, choirs and solo parts into the one logical structure. The simplest scheme of pastorella commonly includes: invocation of angel(s) (solo), some dialogs of shepherds (ensembles), possible dance and final joyful choir. The features mentioned

⁷ Jiří Berkovec had the happy inspiration of inventing the pseudo-Baroque rhetorical term *musica rusticalis*, an obvious analogue of *musica cameralis* and *musica theatralis*, for passages in pastorellas in a “rustic” style – see Berkovec, Jiří *České pastorely* Prague, 1987.

above allow to distinguish the pastorella within a group of religious vocal-instrumental concerts.

Pastorella – local styles & *allusive clichés*

In spite of the universal characteristics, pastorella includes also some local or national ones. Selected should be named common *allusive clichés* as they exist in almost all pastorellas, yet not always the same way. The catalogue of such *allusive clichés* includes:

- night-watchman song prescribed to angels choirs,
- “rocking” melodies within “lullaby” pastorellas,
- broken-chord fanfare motifs, (as tuba pastoritia/pastoralis),
- imitation of birds’ voices: cock (*gallus*) or hen (*pallin*), cuckoo and others,
- imitation of folk instruments f.e. bagpipe’s bourdon,
- textual clichés: liturgical quasi-quotations, names of shepherds', local scenery.

Some of the listed elements have been already mentioned, but they act differently within the various culture environments. For example “night-watchman song” – a very popular picture in southern German villages does not exist in Poland or Slovakia. Fanfare motives popular in Austria tend to be substituted north to Carpathian with “tuba pastoralis characteristic passages”. As for the imitation of folk instruments, composer pretended to notice the character of original folk-ensemble – sometimes it was an imitation of a particular instrument and other times it was a simulation of characteristic local performance technique. Instead of imitating birds’ voices in Poland, the implementation of old songs about birds’ wedding appears occasionally.

Of course textual clichés are different in every country or region. Typical Polish names like Kuba or Stach in Czech are substituted with Blažej or Jiří – the same concerns German or Austrian pieces. Despite the local language, also local songs are taking as the pattern for particular pastorellas. In one pastorella from Eastern part of Poland the shepherd is dancing the kazachok, as the most popular in that territory, singing in Ukrainian dialect.

Let’s have a look on Polish, national version of pastorella style. Among the most important clichés one can find:

- bourdon in bass and 2nd Vn,
- imitation of folk solo violin performances,
- imitatio tubarum at vocal part,
- strange chromaticism (augmented 4th/6th),
- basic harmony (T-D),
- use of texts/melodies of Polish Christmas carols,
- unexpected unison as the primitiveness / archaization.

The first two elements listed above should be treated together. The case is, Polish authors very often try to simulate the effect of folk ensemble wherein the second violin and bass play a harmonic role repeating chords or “empty fifths” while the soloist (first violin or other instrument) executes the main melody with numerous ornaments. We observe such disposition of instruments (fully false according to “official” music style) in many pastorellas.

The image shows a musical score for 'Kuba, surge' by Francesco Perneckher. The score includes staves for Violin I (Vln. I), Violin II (Vln. II), Organ (Org.), Bassoon (B.c.), Bass I (B. I.), Bass II (B. 2), Violin I (Vln. I), Violin II (Vln. II), and Organ/Bassoon (Org. B.c.). The score is divided into two systems. The first system (bars 26-35) features a red rectangle around the vocal parts (B. I. and B. 2.) and an orange rectangle around the vocal parts and Vln. I. The second system (bars 36-42) features a green rectangle around the Vln. I and Vln. II parts, and an orange rectangle around the vocal parts. The vocal parts have lyrics: 'Ku - ba, Ku - ba!' and 'no... no...'. The tempo marking 'Allegro' is present in the second system.

Musical example 2. Francesco Perneckher (-1769) *Offertorium de Nativitate DNJ Christi „Kuba, surge”*;
arch. CM sygn. II 202; bars 26-42.

The Musical example 2 displayed above allows us to see the characteristic disposition of voices (red rectangle). It also shows the other elements typical for Polish pastorella: *imitatio tubarum* at vocal part (orange rectangle) both in vocal part and in Vn I, the intention of archaization through unexpected *unison* of all ensemble (bars 37-40) and finally augmented fourth (green rectangle) repeated several times due to make stronger folk stylization. The same element is displayed in Mus. Example 3 below.

Violino I
Violino II

Basso

"Lydian" fourth

Soprano 1

Soprano 2

Basso

I my byś - my tam bie - że - li.

I my byś - my tam bie - że - li.

Anonim

Musical example 3. Anon. *Powiedzcie pasterze mili Mus. Sand. sygn. 360; bars 37-45 and 74-77.*

The other example shows how often the folk dances have been implemented into pastorellas. Ludwik Maader has suggested the use of mazur-dance in the very title *Mazurek o Bożym Narodzeniu „Tuszyc pasterze”*. In another anonym pastorella *Pasterze przy trzodzie* the whole third part is a vigorous kazachok. The example also shows imitative building of phrases – typical for folk stylization.

Violino I
Violino II

Basso

Anonim

Musical example 4. Anon. *Pasterze przy trzodzie Mus. Sand. sygn. 103; bars 100-119.*

One of the most characteristic elements of Polish pastorellas is an unexpected use of *unisono* in the entire ensemble. Quite often such monophonic fragment is also composed in minor mode – which probably could have sounded for the 17th and 18th composers very “archaic”. Such situation appears in many compositions but the best example is a choir of vagrants lasting over 70 bars in a d minor at the end of *Pasterze przy trzodzie* pastorella (Mus. Example 4). The same effect we face in the final chorus of *Offertorium de Nativitate DNJ Christi „Kuba, surge”* (Mus. Example 5) by F. Perneckher.

Musical score for Francesco Perneckher's *Offertorium de Nativitate DNJ Christi „Kuba, surge”*, bars 172-180. The score includes parts for Tenor (T), Bass 1 (B 1), Bass 2 (B 2), Violin I (Vln. I), Violin II (Vln. II), Organ (Org.), and Bassoon (B.c.). The lyrics are "Lu - men Coe - li gra - - - - - tum."

Musical example 5. Francesco Perneckher (-1769) *Offertorium de Nativitate DNJ Christi „Kuba, surge”*, arch. CM sygn. II 202; bars 172-180.

Pieces by Francesco Perneckher are good evidence of mixing the pastorella and “official” style.

Musical score for F. Perneckher's *Offertorium... „Kuba, surge”*, bars 110-117. The score includes vocal parts with lyrics and instrumental parts. A red rectangle highlights a section of the instrumental accompaniment.

Musical example 6. F. Perneckher *Offertorium... „Kuba, surge”*; bars 110-117.

As soon as composer forgets about the necessity of stylization, archaization and rustic elements it appear the elements of “official” Italian concerto style. It also shows the ability of Perneckher to write the good quality regular vocal-instrumental concertos. The next Mus. Example 6 shows the sequence of regular concerto technique with rapid *unisono*. Such contrast can be easily found in numerous pastorellas but there is another element. After another Angels’ call to awaken it appears a warning of wolf which can attack and hurt us badly. This danger may be understood both literally (the wolf attacking the sheep) and figuratively (Satan watching for the “lamb of God”). This scene is a key part of the whole *Pastorella*. The composer, who had forgotten for a moment about the pastorella style, has used the classical *pathopoiia* (marked with red rectangle) to symbolize rhetorically the pain of the wolf’s/Satan’s danger.

There are also other compositions by Perneckher which demonstrate similar implementation of Italian concerto style into pastorella like his *Offertorium pastorale* where we can find several long melisma on a word “laetantes” (“joyful”) and over ten-bars melisma on word “Jesule” – the central hero of the whole piece. Once again for 10 bars the composer has forgotten the idea of stylization.

Musical example 7. F. Perneckher *Offertorium pastorale* (arch. CM sygn. II 200); bars 102-112.

To avoid suspicions the Perneckher's pieces are exceptions here is another example of Józef Kobierkowicz, the magister cappelle in Clarmontana Monastery in Częstochowa, who's style was sophisticated and mature what we can easily notice studying his *Ego Mater* and *Justus ut palma florebitis*. Noticeably, in all his Latin pastorellas one can observe a simplification of music and some technical solutions not known in other pieces. The most remarkable are: fanfare motives and repetitions in creating the phrases, use of unison in vocal and instrumental parts simple duplication of motives instead of contrapuntal imitations etc. A good example of such a composition is *Salve puella* for A, T, 2 Vni, Bc.

Conclusions

Within the entire paper the basic statement has been proved that stylization as the constitutive element of pastorella genre. The alteration of musical style (towards quasi-folk solutions) may be observed within the output of professional composers like: Stanisław Sylwester Szarzyński, Józef Kobierkowicz, or Francesco Perneckher. All of them – and we can expect many others – quite intentionally have been changing their personal style to incline to the specific features of pastorella.

Stylization turned out to be an essential element of the pastorella as a genre – universal in various countries. However the way of folk-stylization is an object of national diversity. The opposition of pastoral artistic ideology and pastorella as the specific genre is a unique phenomenon of this time. Pastoral music based on artistic ideology without relations to local or folk culture – could be treated only as the set of rules implemented into “official” European musical language. Pastorella however is something more interesting – it is a marvellous example of creating the pan-national cultural heritage within the area divided geographically by high mountains (Carpathian), separated with various languages (of Slavic and German group) and based on different folk traditions.

Pastorella is one of the first examples – in music history – of fully deliberate stylization as the component of form. The pan-national common elements of pastorella are: the idea of genre, the function – as the secular celebration for Christmas time, the set of characteristic stylistic elements, the unconventional artistic manifestation of professional composers and understanding pastorella as stylization. One can find all this elements in any pastorella. On the other hand, it is easy to find national dissimilarities based on local musical traditions, set of texts, and melodies.

The National Element in Music

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German and French Violin School in 19th Century Germany

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Abstract. In some older German literature one can read that Louis Spohr was the creator of a German violin school "free from foreign intermixtures". Of course this does not mean that violinists close to Spohr were altogether uninfluenced by foreigners. On the contrary Spohr was deeply inspired by the French violinist Pierre Rode. But in the early 19th century in German musical periodicals and in letters exchanged by musicians one often finds the distinction between a German violin school represented by Spohr and a French violin school with German violinists influenced by Baillot, Lafont and also Paganini. This nationalistic approach in violin technique is neither directly linked to the politics to any other form of nationalism 19th century German music. Probably the New German School was the most important nationalistic factor. But Spohr and some other representatives of the German violin school, however, disliked the music of the New German School, labelling it deprecatingly as "music of the future". Moreover in some respects the New German School was rather influenced by the French violin school than by the German violin school.

"In the second quarter of the 19th century it seemed as if Germany was able to arrogate the Italian hegemony in playing the violin. In the person of Ludwig Spohr (1784-1859) Italy, however, had to witness a violinist who cultivated a pronounced German violin-playing, wholly free from foreign influences, thus founding a genuinely German violin school. [...] The fact that his style met with enthusiastic approval in the north, yet with only muted response in Romance regions only acknowledges what is typically German about his playing the violin."¹

The quote bears a very suspicious date of publication: 1934, one year after the takeover of the Nazi party in Germany. The author claims that Spohr was "free from foreign influences". Is this an attempt to hold Spohr responsible for National-Socialism? Far from it. The Swiss author of these lines obviously believed that the Italian Paganini was more important than Spohr.² A Nazi author would have either not have mentioned Jewish violinists or – more likely – have reviled them. On the contrary Isler declared that Spohr's pupil Ferdinand David made Leipzig the centre of studying the violin for a long time.³ Joseph Joachim "further developed Spohr's and David's heritage and embodied German violin playing at its purest".⁴ Isler spoke highly of Yehudi Menuhin "being an incomprehensible prodigy of nature"⁵ and Fritz Kreisler the "outstanding master among the violinists of the present time".⁶

The author of this quotation held the view that Louis Spohr was the creator of a German violin school "free from foreign influences". A glance at Spohr's autobiography reveals, that this

¹ "Im zweiten Viertel des 19. Jahrhunderts hatte es den Anschein als ob Deutschland die Hegemonie im Violinspiel Italien zu entreißen vermöchte. Ihm war in Ludwig Spohr (1784—1859) ein Geiger erstanden, der ein ausgesprochen deutsches, von fremden Einflüssen völlig freies Violinspiel kultivierte und eine eigentlich deutsche Violinschule begründete. [...] Daß sein Spiel im Norden begeisterten Anklang fand, in romanischen Gegenden jedoch nur geringen Widerhall, bestätigt nur das typisch Deutsche seines Geigenspiels" (Isler, Ernst "Instrumentalsolisten", in *Das Atlantisbuch der Musik*, ed. Fred Hamel and Martin Hürlimann (Berlin and Zürich: Atlantis-Verlag, 1934), 528).

² Isler, 529.

³ "Ferdinand David [...], der Leipzig für lange Zeit zum Mittelpunkte des Geigenstudiums machte" (Isler, 528).

⁴ "Joseph Joachim [...] führte das Erbe Spohrs und Davids weiter und wurde zum reinsten Typus deutschen Geigenspiels" (Isler, 531).

⁵ "Die Natur hat in Menuhin eines ihrer unbegreiflichen Wunder gewirkt" (Isler, 532).

⁶ "Fritz Kreisler [...], der überragende Meister unter den Geigern der Gegenwart" (Isler, 532).

cannot be true. Two of his five violin teachers were Frenchmen, namely the *émigré* of the French Revolution Dufour⁷ and the leader of the Brunswick court orchestra Charles Maucourt.⁸

Moreover his last teacher, Franz Eck, was only second choice for Spohr. He would rather have studied with Viotti, who did not accept students at that time. Finally Spohr recorded that performances by Pierre Rode influenced him very much:

“For the more I heard him play, the more was I captivated with his playing. Yes! I had no hesitation to place Rode's style of play (then still reflecting all the brilliancy of that of his great master Viotti,) above that of my instructor Eck, and to apply myself sedulously to acquire it as much as possible by a careful practice of Rode's compositions. In this I succeeded also, by no means ill, and up to the time when I had by degrees formed a style of playing of my own, I had become the most faithful imitator of Rode among all the young violinists of that day.”⁹

In his *Autobiography* Spohr stressed several times French influences on his violin playing. Is Isler's statement that Spohr was “free from foreign influences” wrong? Not totally. The opposing view of a German and a French violin school formed part of the ideas of Spohr's circle. Let us take a look at a letter from Spohr's pupil Adolph Hesse to Spohr:

“The violinist Ernst gave 9 concerts here [in Breslau] with success. He plays a lot, also tastefully and he is still one of the noblest among the virtuosos of the French School. But he played here too often, indeed for the benefit of his purse, but as he played the *Carnival of Venice* every time and Mayseder's variations in e very often, the interest of the professional musicians obviously flagged. [...] He played for me this and that from your *Vocal-scene*, but the grandiose German playing was not his genre. Nevertheless he develops in his own works a fine, full tone [...]”¹⁰

In Hesse's opinion Ernst is a distinguished representative of a certain musical style called “French School”. This school is in contrast to “German playing” which is necessary to execute compositions by Spohr such as his violin concerto no. 8, op. 47, the so-called *Vocal-scene*. Still, this “grandiose playing” belongs to the German school. Compositions like Ernst's *Carnival of Venice* op. 18 and Mayseder's *Variations* op. 45 are characteristic of the French school. But why did Hesse declare works by Ernst and Mayseder to be French? Obviously Heinrich Wilhelm Ernst's name is German. He was born in Moravia, which in the 19th century belonged to the

⁷ Spohr, Louis Lebenserinnerungen, ed. Folker Göthel (Tutzing: Schneider, 1968), Vol. I, 2; English translation: Spohr, Louis Louis Spohr's Autobiography (London: Longman, 1865), Vol. I, 2, online: <http://books.google.de/books?id=5kMIAQAAMAAJ&pg=PA2>.

⁸ Spohr, Lebenserinnerungen, Vol. I, 5; English translation: Spohr, Autobiography, Vol. I, 6, online: <http://books.google.de/books?id=5kMIAQAAMAAJ&pg=PA6>.

⁹ “Denn je öfter ich ihn hörte, desto mehr wurde ich von dessen Spiele hingerissen. Ja, ich trug bald kein Bedenken, Rodes Spielweise, damals noch ganz der Abglanz von der seines großen Meisters Viotti, über die meines Lehrers Eck zu stellen, und ich war schon eifrigst beflissen, sie mir durch ein recht sorgfältiges Einüben der Rodeschen Kompositionen, die ich von ihm bei Hofe und in Privatgesellschaften gehört hatte, möglichst anzueignen. Es gelang mir dies auch gar nicht übel, und ich war bis zu dem Zeitpunkte, wo ich mir nach und nach eine eigene Spielweise gebildet hatte, wohl die getreueste Kopie von Rode unter allen damaligen jungen Geigern.” (Spohr, Lebenserinnerungen, Vol. I, 66, English translation after: Spohr, Autobiography, Vol. I, 61, online: <http://books.google.de/books?id=5kMIAQAAMAAJ&pg=PA61>).

¹⁰ “Ernst, der Violinspieler, hat hier 9 Konzerte mit Erfolg gegeben, er spielt viel, auch geschmackvoll und ist, von den Virtuosen französischer Schule immer noch einer der Edelsten, doch spielte er zu oft hier, zwar für seinen Geldbeutel mit Vortheil, aber da er den Karneval von Venedig jedesmal und die Maysederschen Variationen in e sehr oft vortrug, so nahm das Interesse der Musiker vom Fach sichtlich ab. [...] Aus Ihrer Gesangsscene spielte er mir mehreres, indeß das grandiose deutsche Spiel war nicht sein genre, dennoch entwickelte er in seinen Sachen, [...] doch auch schönen kräftigen Ton [...]” (Hesse, Adolph Letter to Louis Spohr, Breslau January 31st, 1842, Spohr Museum shelf mark Sp. ms. ep. 1.2 <18420131>).

Austrian Dual-Monarchy. He studied in Vienna under Joseph Böhm. In Italy he met Paganini who influenced him very much.

Moravia, Vienna, an encounter with an Italian violinist. It is clear that Hesse defines the affiliation to the French violin school not by birth-place or ethnic origin, but by a certain manner of violin playing. Spohr himself explained one element of the “grandiose German playing” in an article for a German music journal:

“In his play Lafont combines beauty of tone, the greatest purity, power and grace; and he would be a perfect violinist, if, with these qualifications, he possessed depth of feeling [...] But feeling, without which a man can neither conceive nor execute a good adagio, appears with him, as with almost all Frenchmen, to be wholly wanting, for although he dresses up his slow movements with many elegant and pretty ornaments, yet he still remains somewhat cold. The adagio appears altogether to be considered here, both by artists and the public, as the least important part of a concerto, and is only retained perhaps because it separates both the quick subjects and increases their effect. To this indifference for it – as indeed the general insensibility of the French for everything that works upon the feelings – I ascribe also, that my adagio and the manner in which I played, made less impression than the brilliant allegro subjects.”¹¹

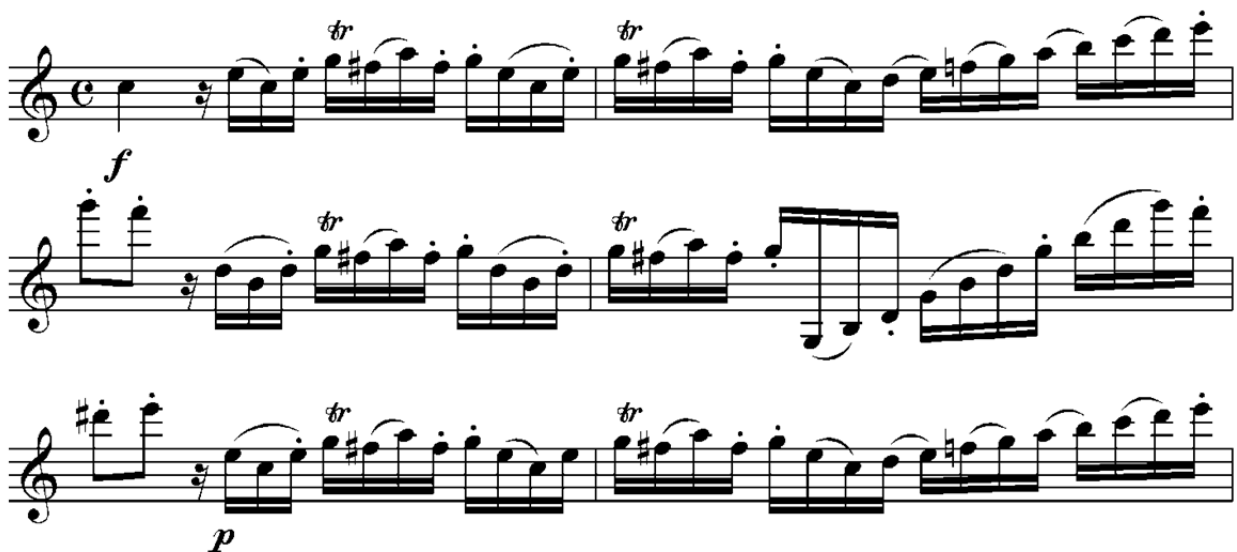
Spohr regarded the handling of the adagio as an important difference between the French and German school. While the French (in Spohr’s opinion) think that the adagio just separates the fast movements, the adagio is central for Spohr and many other German violinists. Especially for slow movements the “grandiose German playing” is necessary, which Ernst lacked when playing Spohr’s *Vocal-scene*. A look at an excerpt from the adagio of this very composition shows why a large sound is necessary as well as that this is not a piece to show speed of action in violin playing.

¹¹ “[Lafont] vereinigt in seinem Spiel schönen Ton, höchste Reinheit, Kraft und Grazie und würde ein ganz vollkommener Geiger sein, wenn er mit diesen vorzüglichen Eigenschaften auch noch ein tiefes Gefühl verbände [...] Gefühl aber, ohne welches man weder ein gutes Adagio erfinden, noch es gut vortragen kann, scheint ihm, wie fast allen Franzosen, zu fehlen; denn obgleich er seine langsamen Sätze mit vielen eleganten und niedlichen Verzierungen auszustatten weiß, so bleibt und läßt er doch dabei ziemlich kalt. Das Adagio scheint überhaupt hier, sowohl vom Künstler, wie vom Publikum, als der unwichtigste Satz eines Konzertes betrachtet zu werden und wird wohl nur beibehalten, weil es die beiden schnellen Sätze gut von einander scheidet und deren Effekt erhöht. Dieser Gleichgültigkeit dafür sowie überhaupt der Unempfindlichkeit der Franzosen für alles, was das Gefühl anregt, schreibe ich es auch zu, daß mein Adagio und die Weise, wie ich es vortrage, hier weniger Eindruck machte wie die brillanten Allegrosätze.” (Spohr, Louis “Briefe aus Paris von Louis Spohr. Vierter Brief”, Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung 23 (1821), 190, also online: <http://books.google.de/books?id=-BNDAAAACAAJ&hl=de&pg=PA189>; English translation after: Spohr, *Autobiography*, Vol. II, 128, online: <http://books.google.de/books?id=5kMIAQAAMAAJ&pg=RA1-PA128>).



musical example 1: Louis Spohr, *Violin Concerto No. 8, op. 47* (“Vocal-Scene”), *Adagio*, b. 9-19

Without a large sound passages like this tend to become boring. Complementary to the adagio with German “sentiment” is the brilliant allegro. This is something important for both, the German and the French schools. Thus, Spohr concedes Lafont “beauty of tone, the greatest purity, power and grace”. And in contrast to Spohr’s sentimental adagio his brilliant allegro quiet impressed the French audience.



musical example 2: Louis Spohr, *Violin Concerto No. 8, op. 47* (“Vocal-Scene”), *Allegro moderato*, b. 47-52

In the 1820s brilliant playing got a new, important stimulus. Paganini’s performing became popular outside of Italy and a lot of young violinists tried to follow his example. I already brought up that Heinrich Wilhelm Ernst was influenced by Paganini. Ernst for instance referred in the preface of the above mentioned *Carnival of Venice* to Paganini’s eponymous composition. And he used a lot of those techniques which brought glory to Paganini. Paganini influenced not only German violinists but also francophones like Bériot and Vieuxtemps, which were not French actually, but Belgians. And Spohr blamed them for using Paganini’s techniques. For example he characterised Bériot: „Bériot is a very elegant player but it is to be regretted that he does not have the heart to abdicate the Paganini drolleries, which, moreover, do in view of his

noble air and appearance”.¹² Spohr complained of the same when he reported about the playing of Ole Bull:

“He might have been (and perhaps it is not yet too late) a very important violinist, if he had been lead on the right track initially. So like many others Paganini’s example made him a charlatan and sorcerer on the noble instrument.”¹³

One important difference between the violin style of Spohr and his pupils on the one hand and of Paganini and his followers on the other is the use of harmonics. In his *Violin-school* Spohr only permitted natural harmonics of the octave, fifth and double-octave:

“All others, and especially the so-called artificial harmonics, should be rejected, as they differ entirely from the natural tones of the violin. To play entire melodies in these strange, heterogeneous tones, is to degrade a noble instrument.”¹⁴

Exactly these entire melodies in artificial harmonics were composed by Bériot, Vieuxtemps, Ernst and their idol Paganini. In Paganini’s first violin concerto this looks like this:

musical example 3: Niccolò Paganini, *Violin Concerto No. 1, op. 6, Allegro spiritoso, b. 94-101*

Spohr rejected not only the sound of harmonics. He also pointed to another problem of the use of harmonics for the sound of the violin:

“Indeed, even if harmonic playing were really a gain to art, and such an enrichment of the resources of the violin as good taste could approve, it would still be bought too dearly at the expense of breadth and sonority of tone, with which it is incompatible, as the artificial har-

¹² „Bériot ist ein höchst eleganter Spieler und nur zu bedauern, daß er nicht den Muth hat, den Paganini’schen Späßen, die ihn überdies bey seinem edlen Anstand und Äußeren, so schlecht stehen, [zu] entsagen.“ (Spohr, Louis Letter to Adolph Hesse, Kassel September 6th, 1838, Spohr Museum shelf mark Sp. ms. ep. 1.1 <18380906>).

¹³ “Er hätte (und es wäre vielleicht noch nicht zu spät) ein sehr großer Geiger aus ihm werden können, wenn er bey dem Beginn seiner Studien auf den rechten Weg geleitet worden wäre. So hat, wie so viele andere, auch ihn Paganini durch sein Vorbild zum Charlatan und Hexenmeister auf dem edlen Instrument gemacht.“ (Spohr, Louis Letter to Adolph Hesse, Kassel April 15th, 1839, Spohr Museum shelf mark Sp. ms. ep. 1.1 <18390415>).

¹⁴ „Alle anderen aber und besonders die sogenannten künstlichen Flageolet-Töne müssen, weil sie von dem natürlichen Tone des Instruments ganz abweichen, als untauglich verworfen werden. Es heißt daher das edle Instrument herabwürdigen, wenn man ganze Melodien in solchen kindischen, fremdartigen Tönen spielt.“ (Spohr, Louis *Violinschule* (Wien: Haslinger, 1833), 108n., online: <http://books.google.de/books?id=BM1JAAAACAAJ&pg=PA108>, English translation after: Spohr, Louis *Spohr’s Violin School*, ed. Henry Holmes, transl. Florence A. Marshall (London: Boosey, 1878), 97).

monics can only be produced on thin strings, from which a full tone can never be obtained.”¹⁵

The consequence of the brilliant play with artificial harmonics is the dispensation with the “full tone”, which is a must for Spohr’s adagio. The “French” harmonics exclude the “German” full or grandiose tone. Nevertheless the opposition of “French” and “German” is not quite right, for Spohr appeals also to French authorities in his reasoning against harmonics:

“In support of my opinion I can appeal to the greatest violinists of all times, such as Pugnani, Tartini, Corelli, Viotti, Eck, Rode, Kreutzer, Baillot, Lafont, and others, not one of whom has played in harmonics, after Paganini’s fashion.”¹⁶

Here we have not only to do with the opposition between a German school and a foreign one. The conservative musician Spohr defended traditional principles against alterations. Thus, we have not only a “geographical” argument (“German vs. French”) but also a “chronological” (old vs. new). We find a similar case with Adolph Bernhard Marx, one of the most important German music theorists in middle of the 19th century:

“Spohr – without doubt one of the greatest authorities on violin playing – confirms the opinion offered here, in that he does not want the use of harmonics to be more extended than explained above and he opposes Paganini’s opulent use of harmonics. On the other hand, we cannot sanction this intervention in artistic freedom.”¹⁷

Marx felt confirmed by Spohr’s authority on violin playing, when he permitted just a careful use of harmonics. When he qualified Paganini’s use of harmonics as artistic freedom this applies to the use in a solo-part not in an orchestral part:

“However, none of this tone rows is to be demanded with certainty in the orchestra, as little or lesser all other possible and partly more difficult [harmonics] or even the double harmonics. Thus, we are allowed to put all this aside.”¹⁸

¹⁵ „Ja, wäre das Flageolet auch selbst ein Gewinn für die Kunst und eine Bereicherung des Violinspiels, die der gute Geschmack billigen könnte, so würde es durch die Aufopferung eines großen, vollen Tons doch zu teuer erkaufte werden, denn mit diesem ist es unvereinbar, weil die künstlichen Flageolet-Töne nur bey ganz schwachem Bezuge ansprechen und auf diesem ein großer Ton unmöglich ist.“ (Spohr, Violinschule, 97) – Actually Spohr charged that Ole Bull had a “weak and childish sound”, which was caused by “his thin strings and an almost flat bridge” (“wie schwach und kindisch sein Ton ist [...] Die ganze Schuld davon trägt sein dünner Bezug und der fast ganz flach geschnittene Steg” (Spohr, Louis Letter to Adolph Hesse, Kassel 15.04.1839, Spohr Museum Sp. ms. ep. 1.1 <18390415>).

¹⁶ “Als Autorität für diese Ansicht kann ich die grössten Geiger aller Zeiten anführen, z.B. Pugnani, Tartini, Corelli, Viotti, Eck, Rode, Kreutzer, Baillot, Lafont u.a, von denen nicht einer in Paganinis Weise flageolet gespielt hat” (Spohr, Violinschule, 97, English translation after Spohr, Violin School, ?)

¹⁷ „Spohr – unstreitig eine der grössten Autoritäten für Violinspiel – bestärkt unsre Ansicht, insofern er (in seiner Schule) des Flageolettspiel überhaupt nicht weiter ausgedehnt wissen will, als wir oben in No. 320 angegeben haben und sich namentlich gegen den reichern Gebrauch erklärt, den Paganini vom Flageolet gemacht. Dies – als Eingriff in die künstlerische Freiheit – können wir nun wiederum nicht billigen.“ (Marx, Adolph Bernhard Die Lehre von der musikalischen Komposition, Vol. 4 (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1847), 274n., online: <http://books.google.de/books?id=W1AQAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA274>).

¹⁸ „Allein demungeachtet ist keine dieser Tonreihen (wie schon bei den ersten in No. 320 bemerkt) im Orchester mit Sicherheit zu verlangen, eben so wenig und noch weniger die sonst noch möglichen und zum Theil noch schwierigeren [...] oder gar das Doppelflageolet. Wir dürfen also dies Alles bei Seite lassen.“ (Marx, Lehre, 1st ed. 1847, 274n).

In a later edition Marx realised that the artificial harmonics were still used in orchestral scores:

“R. Wagner often uses harmonics in the orchestral scores of his dramatic works. But the harmonics are played by solo-violins, separated from the tutti-violins. Liszt and others followed him in this practice.”¹⁹

Probably Marx describes the harmonics in the first bars of Wagner’s *Lohengrin*. It is likely that Spohr would have rejected this example because of the extended use of artificial harmonics. But he also belonged to those conservative German musicians who disliked the music of the New German School and deprecatingly called it “music of the future”. These conservative musicians especially criticized the estrangement from traditional forms and too many and too harsh dissonances.

I suggest that the use of certain playing techniques such as harmonics also adds to the rejection of the New German School. To confirm this hypothesis it will be necessary to analyse the playing techniques in outstanding works of the New German School. Moreover, I would like to undertake research which violinists played prominent parts in the early performances of the New German School and to which schools they belonged to.

If it should be possible to confirm this hypothesis this would mean that the New German School which was regarded as the culmination of German music by German nationalists of the late 19th century and the whole 20th century was more influenced by the French violin school than by the German violin school.

Karl Traugott Goldbach studied composition (Dipl.-Mus., equivalent to MA), electroacoustic composition (certificate) and musicology (PhD, thesis: *The Tragical Ending in the German Opera of the Late Eighteenth Century*) at the Liszt School of Music in Weimar. He also received a MA(LIS) in Library and Information Science at the Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin. Since 2008 he is custodian of the Spohr Museum in Kassel, a museum dedicated to the life and work of Louis Spohr. 2008-2010 he was also visiting lecturer in Music History at the University of Kassel.

¹⁹ „Sehr häufigen Gebrauch vom Flageolett macht in seinen dramatischen und den dazu gehörigen Orchestersätzen R. Wagner; aber die Flageolettöne werden besondern Soloviolenen zuertheilt, die er dann neben den Ripienstimmen abgesondert führt. Liszt und Andre sind ihm hierin gefolgt“ (Marx, Adolph Bernhard *Die Lehre von der musikalischen Komposition*, Vol. 4 (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 3rd ed., 1860), 271, online: <http://books.google.de/books?id=--gsAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA271>).

Advances on Brazilian music for violin and viola pomposa

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Abstract. Although the most famous Brazilian contribution to the violin is the wood for its bow, this research aims to point out Brazilian advances on international composition for violin, viola and viola pomposa since the beginning of the 20th century. Listing of such advances stresses Brazilian contributions for performers, composers and musicologists. To assess the degree of novelty of the Brazilian contemporary compositions for solo and chamber music for violin and viola pomposa, it is necessary to historically contextualize the works, which are grouped into three chronological phases from the twentieth century: (1) technical innovation, (2) characterization of a national style, (3) expansion of the compositional and instrumental resources. On the technical side, Flausino Valle's score was one of the first to record the use of *sotto le corde*. On the stylistic characterization, Villa-Lobos, Guarnieri, Lacerda, Guerra-Peixe, Mahle and Santoro staged a strong ideological clash, resulting in the current background considered as "multiple language" by Prado. Contemporary authors, like Crowl, Paulinyi and Carvalho, seek expanded technique and different combinations of harmony, timbre and spatial layout. The landscape sketched in this article shows that Brazilian composers have worked on original ideas for technique and compositional language aiming an ultimate compromise with the feasibility on stage.

6. Historical background

Instrument invented by the same epoch in which Portugal started its colony in Brazil,¹ the violin has its history linked to Brazil because of the timber supply for the bows. Logging at South America determined the bow evolution with the introduction of wood with the necessary malleability and strength for lengthier and straighter bows. The old baroque bow, associated to the Corelli's ideals, was carved from snake wood, *Brosimum aubleti*, dense and beautiful Amazonic timber. Further, the bow maker François Tourte (1747-1835) embodied, in one model, all of the technique innovations available at his time, establishing a standard for the modern bow design and construction. He introduced the Pernambuco wood, *Echinata caesalpina*, a variety of Brazil wood with longer fibers and more resilient timber.² The longer and heavier modern bow, with more inertness at the point, suits better for the thicker and more powerful strings made since the 19th century and for the longer musical phrases of the classic and romantic styles. On the other side, the conservative tradition never accepted the use of generally denser tropical wood for the front and back parts of the violin body, which produces an aggressive timbre and promotes a new kind of aesthetics foreign to the Italian tradition.³

Despite the decisive importance of Brazil for the organological evolution of the bow by its timber supply, there are very few references about the repertoire development lead by Brazilian composers and players. The writings in English or other international languages have rarely focused on this subject. The Brazilian musical and violin history also suffers with the discrepancy between the information extracted from the chronicles and the shortage of the surviving

¹ David D. Boyden et al. "Violin". In: *Grove Music Online*. (Oxford Music Online, 2001). Available at: <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/41161pg1>> accessed in: March 12, 2010.

² John Dilwort. The violin and bow: origins and development. In: Stowell, Robin. *The Cambridge companion to the violin*. (UK: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 26.

³ Guido Pascoli (1905-1987) and other Brazilian makers have built many violins with tropical woods.

scores, especially from the period before the 18th century.⁴ The arrival of king Dom João VI to Brazil in 1808 allowed the development of the musical culture, while the gradual rapprochement with the French, started in 1816 under the influence of the Austrian composer Sigismund Neukomm (1778-1858), catalysed the violin school modernization in Brazil. The 19th century modified the musical life in Brazil, initially with the violin subordinate to the Neapolitan styled opera and sacred music as dictated by the Portuguese court taste, towards a constant increase of instrumental activities, like concerts and chamber music. In this context, Gabriel Fernandes da Trindade's (ca.1790-1854) three great concertant duets (ca. 1814) for two violins are worth to note.⁵ The violinist José Pereira Rebouças, born in Maragogipe (1789-1843), was perhaps the first Brazilian player to study at the *Conservatoire de Paris* in 1828, who returned to Bahia in 1833 with the diploma of *maestro*.⁶ No records of works written by him were found yet.

Sonatas and other pieces written especially for violin and piano started to appear at the end of the 19th century. For chamber music, one finds composers like Sílvio Deoindo Fróis (also from Bahia), Elpídio Pereira, Henrique Oswald and the violinist Leopoldo Miguez,⁷ whose mirrored violin duo is an amusing didactic piece. Flausino Vale⁸ cites Presciliano Silva and Manuel Joaquim de Macedo (Cantagalo, Rio de Janeiro, 1847; Cataguases, Minas Gerais, December 3, 1925). Macedo, the principal violinist of the Covent Garden orchestra (London) around 1867 and 1871, wrote several violin concerts, but many are lost.⁹

Regarding works especially written for solo violin by Brazilian born composers, it is astonishing they were composed so late in Brazilian history, dated to the early 20th century. The first known pieces for "violin alone" were written by Marcos Salles (Salvador, Bahia, 20/11/1885; Rio de Janeiro, RJ, 6/9/1965) and Flausino Vale (Barbacena, January 6, 1894; Belo Horizonte, April 4, 1954). Their works show the *solo* music establishment as a factor of the performer-composer prestige. Flausino Vale clearly stated that "the violin suffices just itself, waiving other instruments to accompany it",¹⁰ expressing an ideal of violin school autonomy (not independence) when related the European French-Belgian tradition.¹¹

Marcos Salles, Luiz Sarti's pupil in Belém do Pará and Federico Sarti's in Bologna, is the Brazilian born author of the eldest known caprices for solo violin.¹² The comprehensive and virtuosic technique adopted by Salles' bowings connects him directly to the French-Belgian modern violin school, explained by the fact that Federico Sarti was Henryk Wieniawski's pupil. His album of

⁴ Zoltan Paulinyi. *Flausino Vale e Marcos Salles: influências da escola franco-belga em obras brasileiras para violino solo*. (Department of Music, University of Brasília: dissertation, 2010), 44-49. First part available at <http://bdtd.bce.unb.br/tesesimplificado/tde_busca/arquivo.php?codArquivo=6686> Second part available at <http://bdtd.bce.unb.br/tesesimplificado/tde_busca/arquivo.php?codArquivo=6687> Accessed in November 14, 2011.

⁵ They were recorded by violinists Maria Ester Brandão and Koiti Watanabe, *Gabriel Fernandes da Trindade: duetos concertantes*. (1 CD. São Paulo: Paulus, 1995).

⁶ Luiz Heitor Correia de Azevedo, *150 anos de música no Brasil (1800-1950)*. (Rio de Janeiro: Livraria José Olympio Editora, 1956), 24.

⁷ Azevedo, 101-105.

⁸ Flausino Rodrigues Vale, *Músicos Mineiros*, (Belo Horizonte: Imprensa Oficial, 1948), 22.

⁹ A comprehensive list of Brazilian composers for violin extracted from current known chronicles is found at Paulinyi, *Flausino Vale e Marcos Salles*, 56.

¹⁰ "o violino basta a si próprio, prescindindo de outros instrumentos para acompanhá-lo" - Flausino Vale *apud* Camila Frésca, *Uma extraordinária revelação de arte: Flausino Vale e o violino brasileiro*. (ECA-USP: dissertation. São Paulo, 2008) 137. All translations by the author.

¹¹ Paulinyi, *Flausino Vale e Marcos Salles*, 43.

¹² Research developed by Zoltan Paulinyi, "A afirmação do violino solo no Brasil com o álbum de seis Caprichos de Marcos Salles". In: *XX Congresso da ANPPOM... (Anals)*. (Florianópolis, 2010), 1097-1102.

“6 Capricci”,¹³ written in Bologna between 1907 and 1909, is a youth work in Italian style clearly inspired from Paganini, exploring the “*aria da capo*” form. Aside from exhibiting Salles' mastering of all modern bowing strokes, his album can be distinguished by the systematic modal alternations. Such procedure characterizes further Salles' works.

This historical introduction highlights the importance of Brazil in the bow organological evolution, a decisive factor for the sophisticated development of the right hand technique. Focusing on the compositional activity, 20th and 21st centuries concentrate the works related to this study. The next session addresses the objective of this article and explains the method adopted for this research.

7. Objective and methodology

The aim of this article is to sketch a landscape of internationally remarkable Brazilian compositions for violin, viola and viola pomposa in order to organize information about contemporary contributions to the international literature. The examples presented here show that Brazilian composers have pursued technical development both in performance and in theoretical aspects of music, but with a compromise with the feasibility on stage.

Pieces composed for viola and viola pomposa are included in this article because of the technique and organological similarities among these instruments. The viola pomposa is a five-stringed instrument from the violin family, in activity since early 18th century. With a size and timbre similar to the viola, it is usually tuned to C3-G3-D4-A4-E5 in modern use.¹⁴ The viola technical similarity, the growing market with Brazilian violas pomposas and the publishing on this subject encourage the inclusion of compositions related to these instruments. The examples include unaccompanied pieces, chamber and solo works, which emphasize an original feature on the instrument. The examples are preferably taken from clear facsimiles. Other medias like audio and video recordings are also cited whenever accessible. There are no claims to exhaust this subject here; on the contrary, the examples shall motivate further and deeper musicological research and stimulate original compositional activity.

By reason of an approximate chronological approach, the information organized in this study suggests a new musicological research line associated to the Brazilian history in compositions for violin, viola and viola pomposa. Violinists and violists will find references for improving their repertoire, promoting a better dialogue between the Brazilian and the international communities. Composers will consult and compare the state of the art on research about Brazilian music expression on violin. The contributions cited here can be grouped in categories that coincidentally follow chronological order:

1. development of original instrumental technique;
2. development of a characteristic (national) compositional style and form;
3. expansion of instrumental and compositional resources, increasing eloquence and expressive capacity of the work;

¹³ Salles' caprices facsimile is published in whole and analysed by Paulinyi, *Flausino Vale e Marcos Salles*, 62-84.

¹⁴ Many citations misuse the term 'viola pomposa', applying it to different instruments and causing a confusion dating back to the late 18th century, as explained by Zoltan Paulinyi, “The viola pomposa growing usage.” *No. 14 plus minus Contemporary Music Journal*, (Romania, n.16, October 10, 2010). Available at <<http://no14plusminus.ro/2010/10/10/the-viola-pomposa-growing-usage/>> accessed in November 9, 2010.

This article won't approach Brazilian music diffusion, which is an important and huge research domain. However, the cited and exemplified works may delineate remarkable contributions of Brazilian compositions within an international context. Compositions of the 20th century were collected from archives in Belo Horizonte, Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo and Campinas. Contemporary works were obtained directly with the composers after invitations and national calls during the last decade. Due to the high amount of the material received, the examples were selected considering their originality and relevance within the three categories above.

This article concludes with a notice and invitation to this continuous improving of this research line, useful for a better dialogue between the Brazilian and international musicological communities.

8. Brazilian contributions to the repertoire development.

The Brazilian chronological listing of original contributions stresses their grouping in three phases. In the first phase, the historical background session showed that Marcos Salles was one of the first Brazilian born violinists aspiring autonomy on the unaccompanied violin with works exploring modal alternations. His friendly influence was important for Flausino Vale's career, whose instruction "*sotto le corde*" added a remarkable page for the international literature. On the second phase, authors from Carlos de Almeida to Almeida Prado advocated nationalist ideologies applied to the violin. On the third phase, there are works by Guilherme Carvalho, Harry Crowl and Zoltan Paulinyi, who seek for technique expansion and new acoustical resources in the 21st century. The following resumed list highlights original features of each example.

3.1. Brazilian contributions: first phase, early 20th century.

Flausino Rodrigues Valle, alias Flausino Vale (Barbacena, Minas Gerais, 1894; Belo Horizonte, Minas Gerais, 1954), was a lawyer, folklorist and teacher of history of music. He learned the art of the violin with his uncle João Augusto de Campos, Manuel Joaquim de Macedo's pupil. Vale completed his studies in 1908, in four years and half after learning all Paganini's Caprices and Gaviniés' studies. He moved to Belo Horizonte in 1912, where he became a professional violinist. His friendship with Marcos Salles started in 1933. He assumed the History of Music and National Folklore cathedra at the *Conservatório Mineiro de Música* (Music Conservatory of Minas Gerais) in 1934.¹⁵ His performances were always admired by the press critics, but he rarely gave violin classes. Aside Vale was considered as a hick in Rio de Janeiro, Heitor Villa-Lobos (Rio de Janeiro, RJ, 1887; *idem*, 1959) referred to him as the "Brazilian Paganini". As a composer, he wrote dozens of original miniatures for solo violin, a style that can be described as a national landscape,¹⁶ characteristic of the transition to the modernism in Brazil. His most famous piece "Ao pé da fogueira" ("Around the bonfire") received some degree of publicity after an addition of a piano accompaniment by Jascha Heifetz, who also recorded and promoted it among his students.¹⁷ Maintaining the comparison with Paganini, Flausino Vale's pieces are usually shorter

¹⁵ For that cathedra, he published two books: Flausino Rodrigues Vale, *Elementos de folclore musical brasileiro*. 3rd edition. (São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional / MEC, [Coleção] Brasileira v. 57, 1978) and Flausino Rodrigues Vale, *Músicos Mineiros*. (Belo Horizonte: Imprensa Oficial, 1948). He also published poetry: Flausino Rodrigues Vale, *Calidoscópico (versos)*. (Belo Horizonte: Typ. do Diário de Minas, 1923).

¹⁶ Definition upon national landscape and biographical details about Flausino Vale by Paulinyi, *Flausino Vale e Marcos Salles*, 86-132.

¹⁷ Jascha Heifetz's masterclass available at <http://youtu.be/8mLwnSBuYko> accessed at November 15, 2011.

with simpler forms. Nevertheless his piece “Variações sobre a canção Paganini”,¹⁸ written in the 1930's, is remarkable by its size and the creative and demanding use of double stops even in harmonics, ending with a singular instruction “*sotto le corde*” (Ex.1), for which the player must drag the bow under the strings in order to play both the first and last strings simultaneously. It is probably the first written appearance of this instruction, which surprises the audience visually and musically.¹⁹ For the deterred player, Flausino Vale wrote a delicate *ossia* in harmonics for the last four bars.



Ex. 1: *sotto le corde* written by Flausino Vale in his Variations upon song 'Paganini', bars 112-114.

Although Flausino Valle's pieces truly express the Brazilian interior landscape, many other composers assertively developed a style that represents a national musical language connected to a dense ideological history. Such history can be started citing Alberto Nepomuceno²⁰ (Fortaleza, July 6, 1864; Rio de Janeiro, October 16, 1920), violinist, pianist and composer. Married to pianist Walborg Rendtler Bang, Grieg's pupil, in Oslo in 1893, Nepomuceno was a preeminent starter of the Brazilian nationalism in composition, under clear musical influence of his close friend Edvard Grieg since 1891.²¹ The next session analyses the ideological development of a Brazilian musical language linked to the violin tradition.

3.2. Brazilian contributions: second phase (remaining 20th century).

Villa-Lobos was an almost self-taught composer who wove the Brazilian musical modernism blending the French impressionism of the 1920s with folk national elements. He increased a myth around himself in order to increment the Brazilian national propaganda in Europe.²² Villa-Lobos became one of the most famous Brazilian composers quickly writing a large amount of compositions with his big and creative urge, successfully representing the Brazilian culture

¹⁸ Score fully published by Zoltan Paulinyi. “The first appearance of *sotto le corde* instruction at Flausino Vale’s Variations upon Franz Lehár’s song ‘Paganini’ for violin alone.” *No. 14 plus minus Contemporary Music Journal*. (Romania, June 10, 2010). Available at <<http://no14plusminus.ro/2010/06/10/flausino-vale-and-the-sotto-le-corde-technique/>> Access in June 24, 2010. Permanent link <<http://paulinyi.com/anexos/partituras/Vale-Variations-ZP2010.pdf>>

¹⁹ Zoltan Paulinyi. “Uso da técnica *sotto le corde* como elemento surpreendente e inovador em obra para violino solo de Flausino Vale”. In: XX Congresso da ANPPOM... (Proceedings). (Florianópolis, 2010) 1338-1342.

²⁰ Short biographical information available by the editor Silvertrust at <<http://www.editionsilvertrust.com/nepomuceno-string-quartet-3.htm>>, access on November 16, 2011. See also <<http://socialarchive.iath.virginia.edu/xtf/view?docId=Nepomuceno+Alberto+1864-1920-cr.xml>>

²¹ After the marriage in 1893, the couple resided for a time at Grieg's house “Troidhaugen” in Bergen, where Nepomuceno matured the idea of establishing a Brazilian national school. See also the acknowledgements.

²² For that reason, classical biographies like Marcos Antônio Marcondes. *Enciclopédia da música brasileira: erudita, folclórica e popular*. (São Paulo: Art Editora. 2a. edição, 1998) 817-823 and even Villa-Lobos own datings must be carefully read. See Paulo Renato Guérios. “Heitor Villa-Lobos e o ambiente artístico parisiense: convertendo-se em um músico brasileiro”. *Mana*, Rio de Janeiro, v.9, n.1, April 2003. Available at: <http://www.scielo.br/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S0104-93132003000100005&lng=en&nrm=iso> Access October 16, 2010.

abroad. His works, sometimes copied and edited with systematic revision mistakes, usually are technically quite demanding for the performer. Villa-Lobos three sonatas for violin and piano and his big “Fantasia de Movimentos Mistos” stand among his centrepieces.²³ The first Villa-Lobos' works avoided folk elements in order to please the high society of Rio de Janeiro in the 1910s, although he had many contacts with folk musicians and *chorões*.²⁴ For his second phase, Villa-Lobos planned his aesthetic aiming to build a truly national symbol, as stated in his interview about his choros: Villa-Lobos was sure to be considered the creator of a new special musical form, built spontaneously upon popular elements, rich on improvised exhibitions; a music played in a very sentimental way by the musicians.²⁵

It is possible that Flausino Vale had a little influence on Villa-Lobos style when writing for violin. The musicologist Régis Duprat²⁶ remembers playing a symphonic piece by Villa-Lobos at the 1950s, in which the composer also asked the *sotto le corde* technique, astonishing the players.

Carlos Viana de Almeida (Rio de Janeiro, 7/7/1906; idem, 31/7/1990) was an awarded violinist, conductor and violin/viola teacher. He completed his studies at the National Music Institute in 1928. He played during four years as a pianist of popular music, which allowed him to get in the recording market with some instrumental pieces and songs. He established himself in the concert music domain in 1932 with his “Caprichosa” scored for violin and piano.²⁷ His set of works represents a *carioca*²⁸ syncopated style, typical of the Rio de Janeiro folk music often represented at the concert music. An example is his “Fantasia Capricho” for solo violin (Ex.2).

The image shows a musical score for a violin piece. The title 'Calmo e Expressivo' is written above the staff. The score consists of two staves of music. The first staff starts at bar 6 and ends at bar 14. The second staff starts at bar 10 and ends at bar 14. The music is in 2/4 time and features a syncopated melody with characteristic folk style elements. The score is marked 'Calmo e Expressivo' and includes dynamic markings such as *f* and *p*.

Ex. 2: a passage from Carlos de Almeida's *Fantasia Capricho* in a syncopated and characteristic folk style of Rio de Janeiro, bars 6-14. Edited by Paulinyi after a manuscript copy found in ECA-University of São Paulo.

²³ Original version of Villa-Lobos' *Fantasia* for violin and orchestra is integrated to the international repertoire, as one listens to Heitor Villa-Lobos, (1921) *Fantasia de movimentos mistos*. Mexico: Orquestra Sinfônica Nacional. Soloist: M. Simons. Audio recorded after a radio broadcast, [2008]. Although Villa-Lobos led a major Brazilian educational program for teaching music, his works for violin set the boundaries of the feasibility focused in this article.

²⁴ See Guérios (2003).

²⁵ Listen a French interview with Heitor Villa-Lobos. “Qu'est-ce qu'un choro?” In: Villa-Lobos par lui-même. (3 CDs. EMI Classics, 1991). Read also José Ivo da Silva. *Fantasia em três movimentos em forma de choro de Heitor Villa-Lobos: análise e contextualização de seu último período*. (Instituto de Artes da Universidade Estadual Paulista: dissertation. São Paulo, 2008) 70-73.

²⁶ During an informal interview at the University of Brasília on August 30, 2010.

²⁷ Marcondes, 16.

²⁸ *Carioca* is an adjective related to anyone born in the city of Rio de Janeiro.

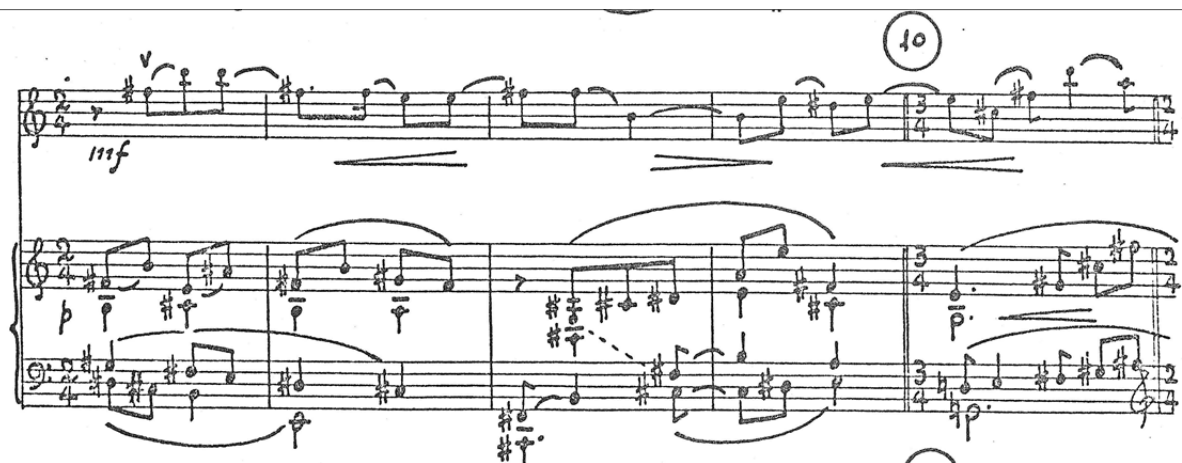
This syncopated and folk style in tonal/modal system was adopted by many others, including Arthur Bosmans (Brussels, 1908; Belo Horizonte, 1991) and Mozart Camargo Guarnieri (Tietê, SP, 1907; São Paulo, SP, 1993).

Bosmans, winner of the César Franck Competition in Liège (1933), emigrated to Rio de Janeiro in 1940 and moved to Belo Horizonte in 1944. He got Brazilian citizenship in 1953 and taught composition and orchestra direction at the Music School of the Federal University of Minas Gerais since 1965. His “Balada Rústica” (Rustic Ballad) for violin and orchestra explores interval discontinuities in a tonal context (Ex.3).



Ex. 3: first 4 bars of Arthur Bosmans' “Balada Rústica” for violin and orchestra, a piece that explores interval discontinuities in a tonal context. Facsimile of a posthumous edition.

Guarnieri was a composer, conductor and teacher. He studied with Ernani Braga, Antônio Sá Pereira and Lamberto Baldi. Close friend of the intellectual Mário de Andrade since 1928, who forged his cultural and aesthetic maturation.²⁹ Guarnieri was a follower of Villa-Lobos in his ideological efforts for embodying Brazilian folk elements in his own compositions.³⁰ Ex.4 shows Guarnieri’s style, which combines folk elements richly harmonized at the piano.



Ex. 4: Guarnieri’s Sonata n.º.3 (São Paulo, 1950) for violin and piano dedicated to Henryk Szering, bars 6-10. Characteristic syncopations appear at bars 9 and 10.

In this forged national language, one can cite many works from apparently antagonistic schools polarized around Hans Joachim Koellreutter (1915-2005) and Guarnieri. However, the comparison of the following examples suggests both authors had the same ideal for adopting

²⁹ Marcondes, 349-353.

³⁰ Guarnieri wrote many *choros* instead of concerts. In this way, I do not agree with Flávio Silva's suggestion that such change does not show a new form, but only in a musical language based on national elements. Compare with Flávio Silva, “Camargo Guarnieri e Mário de Andrade”, *University of Texas Press: Latin American Music Review / Revista de Música Latino-americana*, (v.20, n.2, Autumn – Winter, 1999), 184-212; available at <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/780020>> accessed in October 12, 2010.

national elements, although in different aspects of the populist ideal. This blended musical language became a characteristic style of Brazilian music during the 20th century, including composers for violin like Osvaldo Lacerda (São Paulo, March 23, 1927; São Paulo, July 18, 2011), César Guerra-Peixe (Petrópolis, RJ, 1914; idem, 1993) and Ernst Mahle (Stuttgart, 1929), a naturalized Brazilian composer, teacher and conductor, who moved to São Paulo in 1951.³¹ Mahle's violin duos, recorded by Duo Magyar,³² explore different compositional techniques, from free twelve-tone (Ex.5) to synthetic modalism (Ex.6).



Ex.5. Mahle's "Invenção" for violin duo (1956, bars 5-8) explores a free twelve-tone language.

Ex.6: First of Mahle's "Duetos modais" (1969, bars 1-4). Each dueto is written in a particular synthetic mode.

The shock between tonal/modal and atonal schools in Brazil was also a consequence of antagonistic political and aesthetical ideologies in the middle of the 20th century. That shock influenced many composers in different levels, but the most dramatic case was observed on Claudio Santoro's production.

Claudio Santoro (Manaus, 23/11/1919; Brasília, 27/3/1989) was violinist, Edgardo Guerra's pupil, and a well-awarded composer, Koellreutter's pupil between 1940 and 1941, whom he learned the twelve-tone system with. He wrote pieces in all kind of genres. His set of works can be divided in three phases:³³ the first and the last ones represent an odd twelve-tone system; the second is nationalist, between 1946/48 and 1960. The nationalist phase was associated to the communism, an ideology that favoured the music reception by the popular mass, because considered the twelve-tone system as a symptom of bourgeois decadence. His Sonata for solo violin (1940) illustrates his first phase (Ex.7), in which he used twelve-tone series often split in hexachords with increased techniques of permutation, omission and repetition inside the same

³¹ Marcondes, 469.

³² Zoltan Paulinyi and Karla Oliveto. *Duo Magyar: Rabeca moderna*. (1 CD. Brasília: FAC, 2002). Available at <<http://www.MusicaErudita.com>> , accessed in October 7, 2010.

³³ Marcondes, 710-712.

piece, exaggerating what Schoenberg would tolerate as digressions.³⁴ Santoro's objective was clearly to supple the twelve-tone system:

“My principle was not giving a strict technique, which could restrict the creative freedom, but use the technique in a free manner as an internal structural element of the work [...] The reason for twelve-tone usage is to structure my language (spontaneously atonal) in a system that I thought to uncork by myself.”³⁵



Ex. 7: Claudio Santoro's *Sonata for solo violin* (1940), bars 1-10 from the third movement, exemplifies his supple usage of the twelve-tone system after presenting the whole row.

Being more than an expanded use of the twelve-tone system, Santoro's compositions are soaked by a communist ideology rich in contradictions at the social Latin-America context. The geographical distances softened the contact between Brazil and Europe, isolating the country from the deep and traumatic experiences of the 20th century, which form indeed a meaningful set of events distant from Brazilian culture. The twelve-tone system, which promoted the non hierarchization of the tones, was initially defended as a national symbol for the proletariat and the collectivity. Nevertheless, it was rejected by its difficult collective acceptance. Subsequent cultural turbulence started by the Koellreutter's “*Música Viva*” Group in the 1940s, received the Camargo Guarnieri's antagonist manifest published as an “Open Letter to the Brazilian Musicians and Critics” in 17 December 1940.³⁶

Guarnieri's composition pupil, José Antônio Resende de Almeida Prado (Santos, SP, 1943; São Paulo, SP, 2010) studied piano with Dinorah de Carvalho and harmony with Osvaldo Lacerda. Recommended by Guarnieri, he studied with Olivier Messiaen and Nadia Boulanger in Paris (1969-1973). He taught at the State University of Campinas (UNICAMP, 1975-2000). Although Almeida Prado pointed out a clear preference for his “*Cartas Celestes*” (Celestial Maps) among his works for violin, it is necessary to cite his two violin sonatas in order to show a transition to a new language marked by style juxtaposition. Prado's 1st Sonata (1980, Ex.8, left) starts alter-

³⁴ Sérgio Nogueira Mendes. “Claudio Santoro: serialismo dodecafônico nas obras da primeira fase (1939-1946)”. In: *XVII Congresso da ANPPOM... (Anais)*. (São Paulo, 2007) [6]. Available at http://www.anppom.com.br/anais/anaiscongresso_anppom_2007/musicologia/musicol_SNMendes.pdf accessed at October 13, 2010.

³⁵ “O meu princípio era não dar uma estrita técnica, para restringir a liberdade criadora e sim usar de maneira livre a técnica, como elemento estrutural interno da obra [...] As razões do emprego da dodecafonía, foi procurar estruturar minha linguagem (espontaneamente atonal) n'um sistema que pensava desenvolver por mim mesmo.” (Santoro in the 1960s *apud* Mendes, [p.1]).

³⁶ “Carta aberta aos músicos e críticos do Brasil”: document title translated by Paulinyi. Read in Portuguese: André Egg. “A carta aberta de Camargo Guarnieri”. *Revista científica*, (Faculdade de Artes do Paraná, Curitiba, v.1, jan./dez. 2006). Manifests of “*Música Viva*” and “Open Letter...” were transcribed by Carlos Kater, *Música Viva e H. J. Koellreutter: Movimentos em direção à modernidade*. São Paulo: Musa/Atravez, 2001. Flávio Silva (1999) also provides accessible and contextualized transcription of the “Open Letter...”.

nating measures 7/8 and 3/4; it looks more contemporary than his 2nd Sonata (1984) in A major (Ex.8, right). Almeida Prado described this new phase in Brazilian music as possessing a “multiple language”, resulted from the “quotidian kaleidoscope” absorbed by the music:

“The young composers today have a multiple language. Nobody is completely nationalist, vanguardist or electroacoustic anymore. It’s a mixture. It is the global feature of this moment [...] This is multiplicity. This is the quotidian kaleidoscope, a mixture. The music embodied it [...] The young composers’ tendency is to incorporate the global aesthetics.”³⁷

The image displays two pages of musical notation. The left page is the score for 'Sonata n.1' by Almeida Prado, dated 1980. It is for violin and piano. The tempo is marked as 'Grazioso ff intenso!' with a tempo of quarter note = 132 (half note = 264). The right page is the score for 'Sonata n.2' by Almeida Prado, dated 1984. It is marked 'Allegro moderato (♩: 84)'. Both scores show complex rhythmic patterns and dynamic markings.

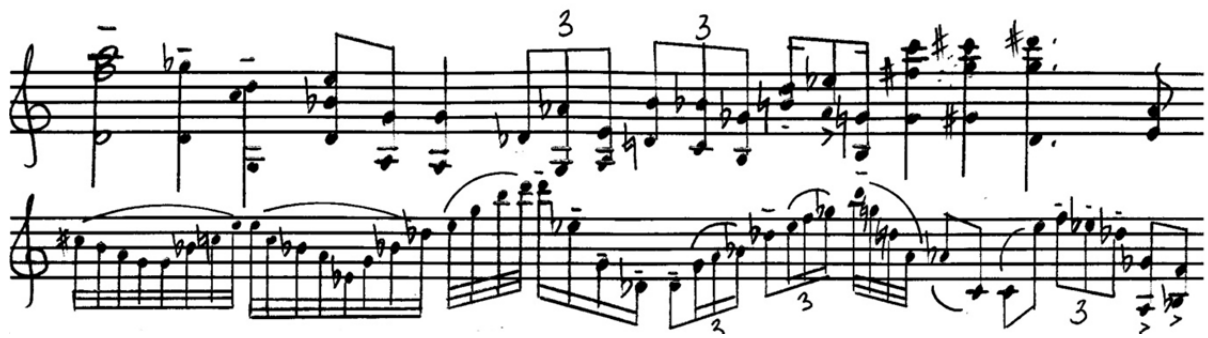
Ex.8: Almeida Prado’s earliest Sonata n.1 (1980, on the left) has a more atonal language than the Sonata n.2 (1984, on the right). Prado refers to this kaleidoscopic style as “multiple language”.

3.3. Brazilian contributions: third phase (towards 21st century).

While Almeida Prado pointed out the multiplicity as a current style characteristic of Brazilian composition, Harry Lamott Crowl Jr's (Belo Horizonte, 1958) pieces propose a personal language, different from everybody else's. He got his first musical instructions at the Clóvis Salgado Foundation in Belo Horizonte and studied composition at the Juilliard School of Music with Charles Jones at the end of 1970s.³⁸ He has developed a musicological research on Brazilian composers from the colonial period, a knowledge that forges an odd mark in his new works, explicitly concerning the form based on very old traditions. His style can be described as seeking for spontaneous and unexpected paths of musical phrases, as seen in his “Solilóquio III” (Soliloque III) for solo violin (Ex.9). Crowl’s works are remarkable because of new instrumental combinations like in his “Responsórios I” (Responsories I) with 2 piano parts added to the unaltered “Solilóquio III”.

³⁷ “Os jovens compositores de hoje têm uma linguagem múltipla. Ninguém é mais totalmente nacionalista, vanguardista ou eletroacústico. É uma mistura. É uma característica do mundo nesse momento.[...] Isso é multiplicidade. É o caleidoscópio cotidiano, uma mistura. A música incorporou isso.[...] A tendência dos jovens compositores é incorporar a estética global.” Almeida Prado apud Clayton Levy, “Amazônia leva música de Almeida Prado ao Carnegie Hall.” *Jornal da Unicamp*, São Paulo (Campinas), n.332, August 7-13, 2006. Available at <http://www.unicamp.br/unicamp/unicamp_hoje/ju/agosto2006/ju332pag4-5.html> Accessed at November 8, 2010. Translated by the author of this article.

³⁸ Harry Crowl. *Biography*. Available at <<http://www.harrycrowl.mus.br/bio.html>> access: November 9, 2010.



Ex. 9: facsimile of Harry Crowl's *Solilóquio III* (autograph, 2006) for violin, first two systems of p. 2.

More than personal and exclusive styles, original contemporary works explore advanced techniques on stringed instruments. There are two possibilities: (1) expansion of the instrumental technical limits by enlarging the interval and register ranges and (2) invention of new techniques, as the “*sotto le corde*” used by Flausino Vale (Ex.1).³⁹

An interesting extreme case occurs when the technical difficulties become a motivic element, as found in Guilherme Carvalho's piece. Born in 1964, he studied with Jorge Antunes in Brasília and with José Manuel López López in Paris. He is PhD by the Université de Paris VIII supervised by Dr Horacio Vaggione. Currently he teaches at the Université Paul Valéry (Montpellier III) in France.⁴⁰ His piece *Lema* (2004) gathers real harmonics with the impossible ones (Ex.10). Since *glissando* is a continuous finger slide over a string, it opposes itself to the quantised phenomenon of harmonic productions, since natural harmonics are produced only in specific points in a vibrating string. Thus, the violin produces noises juxtaposed to natural harmonics, a set of sounds that becomes a motivic element of such composition. The impossibility of sound production gets expressive power in the case illustrated by the *glissandi* of Ex.10.



Ex. 10: Guilherme Carvalho's *Lema* (2004) for violin. This passage juxtaposes impossible harmonics (within the *glissandi*) with natural ones; that combination is a motivic component of the composition.

Harry Crowl's compositions spontaneously call for the expansion of instrumental limits. His piece “*As impuras imagens do dia se desvanecem*”⁴¹ (1999) makes use of a large range for the viola, making the piece suitable for another instrument with expanded characteristic: the viola pomposa.⁴² In Ex.11, the *bariolage* occurs in a very high register followed by a huge interval jump, juxtaposing extreme registers in an uncommon procedure for the instrument.

³⁹ A feature also explored by Jorge Antunes. *Sons novos para os sopros e as cordas*. Brasília: Editora Sistrum, 2005.

⁴⁰ Biographical notes informed by Guilherme Carvalho in 2010.

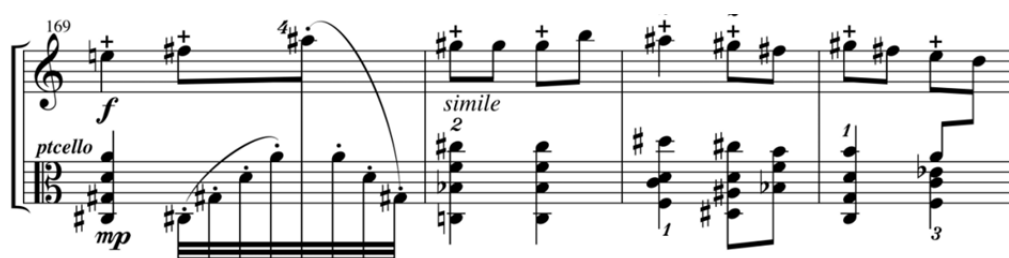
⁴¹ Title based on the verse “...the unpurged images of day recede...” by the Irish poet William Butler Yeats' *Bizantium*.

⁴² Zoltan Paulinyi, “Sobre o desuso e ressurgimento da viola pomposa.” *Per Musi*, UFMG, Belo Horizonte, n.25, 2012, pp.91-99.



Ex. 11: passage exploring an expanded use of the register in Harry Crowl's "As impuras imagens do dia se desvanecem" for viola [pomposa] (1999).

The viola pomposa receives growing attention from European and American composers, especially from the Brazilians.⁴³ Its hybrid nature allows an immediate expansion of the traditional violin and viola technique, like the simultaneous combination of bow and *pizzicato* in Paulinyi's "Toada" (2006) in Ex.12. Paulinyi also uses this resource in a larger period in his "Oblação"⁴⁴ (2007). In the concert genre, Harry Crowl's "Antíteses" (2008) for viola pomposa and orchestra is a historical reference in Brazilian music⁴⁵.



Ex. 12: Paulinyi's "Toada" (2006) for viola pomposa. Bars 169-176 simultaneously combine left hand pizzicato (upper system) with arco (lower one).

Although the secular development of the violin modern school, it is still possible to find new fingering patterns. Paulinyi's "Teia" ("Web", 2010) presents many uncommon pattern chains for the left hand in the solo literature for violin (Ex.13). This work also asks for feasible double-stopped *glissandi* in opposite directions, using the instrument high register to reach bigger intervals. Its version for viola pomposa is called "Toile" (2010): it is bigger because of the additional phrases over the added string.



Ex. 13: Paulinyi's "Teia" (2010) for violin, bars 3-12, exemplifies feasible double stop glissandi in opposite directions and uncommon fingering patterns.

⁴³ Paulinyi, "The viola pomposa", 2010.

⁴⁴ "Offering". Both Paulinyi's and Crowl's pieces cited here were premiered Paulinyi and recorded by Harry Crowl and Zoltan Paulinyi, *Imagens*, 1 CD, Brasília, independent edition, 2008. Available at <<http://images.musicaerudita.com>> accessed at November 17, 2011.

⁴⁵ Harry Crowl. *Antíteses*. Curitiba: 2008. First part available at: <<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IAoCMprrmKc>> Second part: <<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=59TSfHbbypc>> third part: <<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2MHjO959T6Y>> accessed on November 18, 2010.

Such *glissandi* in opposite directions and similar harmonic chains were employed in another Paulinyi's work of the same period, "Statu Viae" for two pianos and violin.⁴⁶ It is a meaningful coincidence to have two Brazilian works of this genre, which strengthens the chamber music repertoire in a singular way. "Statu Viae" (Ex.14) shows the "walking state" of the human being. That's why the piece asks for a dynamic placement of the players, including the pianos placed at opposite sides on the stage. The players must walk during the performance, eventually exchanging their positions. Furthermore, the score simulates sound sources transitivity whenever it alternates the thematic material between the distant pianos, which creates a stereophonic effect little explored in the piano duo repertoire. This fact reinforces the "*statu viae*" concept.

In Paulinyi's "Trio-choro" (2008) for violin, bassoon and piano (Ex.15), the exchange of players on stage promotes a real sound source displacement between the violin and the bassoon: it is a compositional technique that alters the auditory perception, apart from embodying visual elements in its structure.⁴⁷

Ex. 14: Paulinyi's "Statu Viae" (2009), rhythmical variations for two pianos and violin, bar 169. The score asks the pianos placement in opposite sides on stage, leaving the violinist alone in the centre and creating a stereophonic effect.

⁴⁶ Live recording available by Quarteto Amizade et al. *Vibrações Variantes*. 1 CD. Brasília: FAC, 2010. Available at <<http://www.MusicaErudita.com>> accessed in November 8, 2010. Video also available at: <<http://youtu.be/cf3ab3SiEiM>> for part I and <http://youtu.be/Umg_keVnwQQ> for part II.

⁴⁷ Zoltan Paulinyi. *Trio-choro*. Recital at Simon Bolívar Hall in London, December 7, 2009. Video available at <<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NY10CaPLazw>> accessed in: November 9, 2010.

Ex. 15: Paulinyi's "Trio-choro" (2008) for violin, bassoon and piano. Bars 319-321 indicate a spatial exchange between the violin and bassoon on stage.

Contemporary Brazilian composers explore the instruments technical limits in a similar effort as in the first historical phase, adding new compositional resources, such as original instrumental combinations and acoustic spatialization. These examples suggest an increase of Brazilian contributions for the international literature about the violin, viola and viola pomposa, both in technical research and in compositional production.

4. Conclusion and further research

The history of the violin is closely linked to Brazil, regarding both the bow and new compositions developments. The scarcity of preserved historical Brazilian scores for violin stimulates new research about the violin literature in Brazil by musicologists. Notwithstanding the patrimonial difficulties, it is possible to organize Brazilian contributions within three categories: technical innovation, style and compositional form statements engaged in nationalist ideology, search for new instrumental and technical resources. Such contributions, systematically found since the first half of the 20th century, allow one to sketch a historical landscape, whose examples show that Brazilian composers are concerned with new and feasible technical challenges.

This article suggests continuing this research on new categories. Further comparative studies with the international production of the same period may stimulate composers to the creation of new original works in the international context. Another research line is to study the reception of such contributions by the international community, promoting cultural diffusion and the literature enrichment.

Composers, performers and researchers that have related works to this subject are invited to send contributions directly to this author in order to improve this research line and promote international dissemination of literature for violin, viola and viola pomposa.

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A Dubious Mission: Skalkottas's Vision of Truly Greek Music and his *36 Greek Dances*

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Abstract. The employment of folk elements in art music is a most effective means through which a composer may imbue their work with national character. At the same time, the particular mode of manipulating the folk material may serve as an invaluable tool for penetrating a composer's distinctive perception of national identity. On the basis of these observations, my paper aims to put forward a more nuanced understanding of Nikos Skalkottas's vision of national music and Greek national identity by focusing on his idiosyncratic appropriation of Greek folk songs in his *36 Greek Dances for Orchestra*. Skalkottas's peculiar conceptualisation of national identity with reference to the Greek folk song will be reconstructed through analysis of his article on this topic. Subsequently, the implementation of Skalkottas's pronouncements with respect to the composition of truly Greek music will be discussed with reference to the case of his Greek Dance "Syrtos" (B/1), based on the composer's own transcriptions of the folk song employed, commissioned by Melpo Merlier for the Musical Folklore Archive. Skalkottas's approach will be contextualised with reference to the broader cultural milieu in contemporaneous Athens.

You are not promoting Greece by going to Paris wearing a *fustanella*. By using Greek themes, one could write music that would not be Greek at all, just as one could write Greek music without using any Greek theme.¹

Thus wrote the Greek modernist composer Nikos Skalkottas (1904-1949), student of Schoenberg's and proponent of the twelve-tone technique, yet best known mostly for his music that draws on the Greek folk tradition – especially his *36 Greek Dances for Orchestra* – in a letter to Manolis Benakis, his benefactor. The latter, having funded part of Skalkottas's studies in the German capital, had been urging him to exploit the Greek folk tradition in his work.² This was, after all, the prevalent composition approach in Greece at the time, in the context of the belated emergence of a National School of composers in the country, which, essentially, was founded officially by Manolis Kalomiris in 1908.³ The question of how Skalkottas could have envisaged the creation of Greek music without resorting to Greek themes is most intriguing and complex. Yet what I shall focus on is that exactly which he renounces in his letter: the musical exploitation of folk songs, which I shall approach with reference to an article of his on this topic and his *36 Greek Dances for Orchestra*. The *Dances* (composed between 1931 and 1936 and di-

¹ «Δεν προάγεις την Ελλάδα αν πας με φουστανέλα στο Παρίσι. Μπορεί χρησιμοποιώντας ελληνικά θέματα να γράψει κανείς μουσική διόλου ελληνική, όπως μπορεί να γράψει και μουσική ελληνική χωρίς κανένα ελληνικό θέμα.» Chatzēnikos, Giōrgos *Nikos Skalkottas* (Athens: Nefelē, 2006), 90-91. The ALA-LC transliteration system has been used in this article, with the exception of names that appear in Sadie, Stanley and Tyrrell, John (eds.) *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed. (Macmillan: London, 2001). Unless otherwise indicated translations are mine.

² On Skalkottas's correspondence with Benakis and his relationship with his benefactor see Thornley, John "'I Beg you to Tear up my Letters...' Nikos Skalkottas's Last Years in Berlin (1928-33)", *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 26 (2002), 178-217.

³ On Kalomiris's "founding" of the Greek National School of composers at a concert where his music was performed at the Athens conservatory in 1908, and a discussion of the "manifesto" through which the composer did so see Samson, Jim *Music in the Balkans* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 256-257, 313. Kalomiris was German-oriented, and essentially defined the Greek National School against the achievements of the nineteenth-century Ionian composers, who were reproached for relying heavily on the Italian musical tradition, which was portrayed as being commercial due to its popularity.

vided into three series of twelve) adopt a tonal language enriched with modal, folk-style material, and at least twenty-five of them are based on pre-existing folk tunes.⁴ My analysis aims to read Skalkottas's views on manipulating the folk song and his *Greek Dances* (through a brief discussion of the *Dance "Syrtos"*, the first one of the second series) in their contemporaneous cultural and intellectual contexts, thus aspiring to shed light on his particular vision of "Greekness" (*ellēnikotēta*).

Skalkottas's diatribe against the idea of using folk music as a tool kit in creating national art music could only have been hailed by his Austrian teacher. Indeed, Schoenberg condemned the exploitation of folk material in art music, and even spoke of a wall separating these two musical traditions: "Even Gypsy music, whose characteristic scales have become influential among several surrounding nations in the Balkans, though it is not as foreign to our ears, has been unable to penetrate the wall separating folk music from art."⁵ Of course, the folk material had been a primary means through which composers of the nineteenth- and twentieth-century National Schools of music engraved national identity in their work. They thus defined their music against the predominant Austro-German tradition, although, admittedly, what they were essentially doing was to embrace and build on it. In a way, it is exactly against those schools – particularly the Latin (French) and the Slav (Russian) –⁶ that Schoenberg, in his turn, identified his own national music through his aforementioned condemnation. His membership in the musical Austro-German lineage – which connected him to Bach, Mozart, Beethoven, Wagner and Brahms – sufficed to render his un-folklike style (including his twelve-tone music) purely national, in fact, a national music with claims to universality.⁷

Despite the divergence of approaches, in all these cases music – more specifically the use or rejection of folk music – was put at the service of building those cultural borders that nations needed in the nineteenth and the early twentieth century in order to justify and defend their political borders. And in disavowing the exploitation of folk music in his compositions Skalkottas was also defining and defending some borders of his own. For, in Greece of the late 1920s, the time when Skalkottas's letter probably dates, questions pertaining to the harmonisation of folk songs and their exploitation in art music predominated musical practice, with Kalomiris prescribing the manipulation of the folk material through the technical means of the "musically advanced peoples".⁸ Hence, what constituted the major method of creating national music for various National Schools of music since the nineteenth century was, in the eyes of Skalkottas, an indication of belonging, not to the nation, but to the conservative musical establishment. Therefore, his condemnation was effectively a way of self-identification with reference, not so much to geographical boundaries, but rather to temporal ones: it was a way of signifying his belonging to the future – although, admittedly, the European air of Skalkottas's suggestion to bypass the folk tradition also pointed forward temporally. So, at that specific instance of his career the use of folk music became a means of marking the borders between Skalkottas's artistic progressiveness and local traditional approaches which drew on Romanticism. In fact, the Greek composer was quite favourable towards Béla Bartók's recourse to Hungarian folk songs,

⁴ Christodoulou, Nikos "Nikos Skalkottas – A Centenary of his Birth", in *Nikos Skalkottas: A Greek European*, ed. Haris Vrontos (Athens: Benaki Museum, 2008), 152 and 154.

⁵ Schoenberg, Arnold "Folkloristic Symphonies", in *Style and Idea: Selected Writings of Arnold Schoenberg*, ed. Leonard Stein, trans. Leo Black (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 163.

⁶ Schoenberg, "National Music (2)", *Style and Idea*, 173.

⁷ See Gelbart, Matthew *The Invention of "Folk Music" and "Art Music": Emerging Categories from Ossian to Wagner* (Cambridge, UK and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 246.

⁸ Samson, 313. On the role of folklore – the compilation of folk song collections, in particular – in Greek national identification since the nineteenth century see Herzfeld, Michael *Ours Once More: Folklore, Ideology and the Making of Modern Greece* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1982).

which the latter used «μὲ νέες ἄρμονίες, σύγχρονες φόρμες καὶ μὲ μίαν μουζικάντικη φρεσκάδα» (with new harmonies, contemporary forms and musical freshness).⁹ The ironic tone of Skalkottas's renunciation of the Greek folk tradition as a compositional tool is a specimen of that caustic spirit which brought about his clash with the Greek musical establishment in the early 1930s, at the epicentre of which lay his modernist practices. The poor reception of his (now lost) *Concerto Grosso for Wind Orchestra* by the Athenian audience in 1930 instigated his attack of the local aesthetic conservatism, published in the musical journal *Mousikē zōē* (Musical Life). Small wonder, then, that following his return to Greece in 1933 – possibly due to financial difficulties and to the political upheaval in Germany – his Greek colleagues undermined his career as a composer, and led him to make a living as a violinist in local orchestras.¹⁰ Actually, the *36 Greek Dances* was the only work that the Greek musical community and audience embraced.

A closer reading of Skalkottas's letter to Benakis, though, suggests that the composer was not indifferent to the question of creating Greek music. As implied already, what he was attacking was the means employed by some Greek composers towards this end, not the cause of making truly Greek music itself. In fact, he was also soon to resort to folk music in his own works. The idea of composing music based on Greek folk material probably came to him in the late 1920s, since in a 1929 letter he asked Benakis to provide him with Greek folk songs in the hope, according to Eva Mantzourani, of attracting financial support from him.¹¹ Not much later, in December 1931, he was invited to contribute to a radio programme on Greek songs produced by the ethnomusicologist Kurt Sachs for the Berlin Radio, which resulted in his arrangement of some folk songs. Then in 1934, after his return to Athens, he was asked by Melpo Merlier, Director of the Musical Folklore Archive of the Athens French Institute, to transcribe some folk songs from recordings. Skalkottas transcribed 44 songs, eight of which became the basis for eight of his *36 Greek Dances*. Elements of folk music or folk-like elements subsequently found their way not only into some of Skalkottas's tonal compositions, but also in twelve-note works.¹²

Skalkottas actually wrote an article entitled "To dēmōtiko tragoudi" (The Folk Song), in which he exposed his views on the musical manipulation of folk songs.¹³ The choice of journal for its publication, *Neοellēnika grammata*, is not coincidental. Its contributors were progressive intellectuals, who were open to, followed, and reported on contemporary movements, without aligning themselves with any one of them specifically. *Neοellēnika grammata* was a collective effort of the so-called Greek generation of the thirties.¹⁴ The journal's profile might account for

⁹ Skalkottas, Nikos "Mousikē kinēsē tou Verolinou" (Musical Activities in Berlin), *Mousikē zōē* 5 (28 February 1931), 112. Katē Romanou has presented a comparative discussion of the two composers in a paper delivered at the conference "Bartók's Orbit. The Context and Sphere of Influence of his Work" held at the Institute for Musicology of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in 2006.

¹⁰ Mantzourani, Eva *The Life and Twelve-note Music of Nikos Skalkottas* (Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate, 2011), 44-47.

¹¹ Mantzourani, 49.

¹² See Zervos, Yorgos "Musical Idioms and Aesthetic Directions in Nikos Skalkottas' Work", in *Nikos Skalkottas: A Greek European*, 62 and 64.

¹³ Skalkottas, Nikos "To dēmōtiko tragoudi" (The Folk Song), *Neοellēnika grammata* 86 (23 July 1938), 8. For an English translation of Skalkottas's article see Levidou, Katerina "Rethinking 'Greekness' in Art Music", in *Crossroads: Greece as an International Pole of Musical Thought and Creativity. Conference Proceedings*, ed. Evi Nika-Samson, George Sakallieros, Maria Alexandru, George Kitsios and Emmanouil Giannopoulos (Thessaloniki: School of Music Studies – Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, 2013), 512-513. In: <http://crossroads.mus.auth.gr> (accessed on July 31st, 2013).

¹⁴ Tziouvas, Dēmētēs *O mythos tēs genias tou trianta* (The Myth of the Generation of the Thirties) (Athens: Polis, 2011), 30.

certain changes made to Skalkottas's original manuscript, which could have been aimed not only at the improvement of his idiosyncratic writing style, but also at the moderation of some elitist undertones, as we shall see.¹⁵ It is well possible that Skalkottas's collaboration with the journal resulted thanks to the music critic Minos Dounias, frequent contributor to *Neoellēnika grammata*, who was well disposed towards Skalkottas, although he did not really comprehend his atonal and twelve-tone music. Whether the article was originally composed for publication in *Neoellēnika grammata* or if it had been conceived earlier, at the time the *36 Greek Dances* were in the making, as it has been suggested,¹⁶ remains to be verified. But even if the essay was not conceived as an accompanying note to the *36 Greek Dances*, the recommended process of exploiting the Greek folk material outlined in it fully illustrates Skalkottas's compositional approach to this work, particularly those *Dances* that are based on existing folk tunes.

The picture Skalkottas delineates for the folk song in his article is unmistakably idealised. In fact, it is an interpretation we would have expected to get from a learned enthusiast of the folk tradition, rather than from a person who had been in close contact with folk music, as Skalkottas must have been thanks to his mother, who was a known singer of folk songs. Indeed, playing down the folk song's humble background, the composer underlines its perceived "noble origin" (ευγενής προέλευση) and "aristocratic tendency" (αριστοκρατική τάση), as we read in his manuscript; these phrases, with unmistakably elitist undertones, have been replaced in the published version by the phrase "noble (in the sense of refined) content" (ευγενικό περιεχόμενο), possibly in aligning the article with the journal's liberal profile.¹⁷ A certain degree of elitism, though, found its way into the published version, in which Skalkottas distinguishes between the folk (δημοτικό) and the popular (λαϊκό) song, the latter being lighter than the former genre. Moreover, the composer proclaims the folk song to be purely Greek. His substantiation of this position, however, is, to say the least, problematic. For him, any influences that one might trace may be explained on historical grounds, providing the reader with such an incomprehensible list of influences as: the Byzantine chant, ancient Greek scales, what he calls the "Jewish similarity with the free melody and theme" and various schools of music in modern times.

Skalkottas acknowledges the folk song's value, tracing it in its content, its themes, as well as in certain technical features. These are latent in the song, and await to be discovered and brought out by a great and competent artist, who would not compromise the folk song's spirit, style and beautiful content. Such manipulation, which constitutes, according to Skalkottas, a civilising process, aims at the folk song's modernisation, its endowment with a certain value for the future. The folk song may thus be appreciated by a "superiorly wide circle of listeners (great audience)" (σ' ένα ανώτερα μεγάλο κύκλο ακροατών (μεγάλο κοινό)) – in Skalkottas's manuscript a "superior wide circle of listeners, which actually equals the great audience" (ένα ανώτερο μεγάλο κύκλο ακροατών, ίσον μάλιστα με το μεγάλο κοινό) – as well as abroad.

Skalkottas's article fits like a glove his compositional approach to the *36 Greek Dances for Orchestra*, in particular those dances that are based on existing folk melodies. Indeed, the *Greek Dances* are no mere harmonisations of folk songs, but extract and exploit elements from them in creating more complex musical forms, in compliance with Skalkottas's guidelines in the article. While constituting a process of modernisation of the folk song, from the perspective of Western art music, the *Dances* are marked by a certain kind of neoclassical Modernism, exposing the composer's loyalty to traditional compositional procedures, on which he built while re-

¹⁵ Skalkottas, Nikos "To dēmotiko tragoudi" (The Folk Song), typescript, private collection.

¹⁶ Demertzēs, Kōstēs *Ē Skalkōtikē enorkhēstrōsē* (Orchestration by Skalkottas) (Athens: Ekdoseis Papazēsē, 1998), 288.

¹⁷ See Levidou, 512.

newing the Western musical language. At the same time, they reveal his adherence to the neo-classical ideals of balance and beauty.

The “Syrtos” dance, for example, is a remarkable exemplar of the way Skalkottas could make the most of the folk material.¹⁸ The folk song on which it is based, “Tha s’agapō tha s’agapō” (I Will Love You, I Will Love You) – which the composer transcribed himself for Merlier – performed by solo voice with the accompaniment of a lyra and a santouri, employs a melody (Melody I) and its variant (Melody II) – the latter shorter than the former, since it is essentially based on the second half of Melody I. These are repeated without any changes or slightly altered, according to the pattern shown in Table 1:¹⁹

Section	Melody
Instrumental	I, I, I
Vocal (1st verse)	II
Instrumental	II,II
Vocal (2nd verse)	I
Instrumental	I,I
Vocal (3rd verse)	II
Instrumental	II,II
Vocal (4th verse)	I
Instrumental	I, II, II, II, I, I
Vocal (5th verse)	II
Instrumental	II, II
Vocal (6th verse)	I
Instrumental	I,I
Vocal (7th verse)	II
Instrumental	II,II
Vocal (8th verse)	I
Instrumental	I,I
Vocal (9th verse)	II
Instrumental	II,II
Vocal (10th verse)	I
Coda	I

Table 1. Structure of the folk song “Tha s’agapō tha s’agapō”

The pattern according to which the two versions of the melody interchange throughout the piece – namely, subsequent to the opening instrumental section, each melody is presented initially by the voice, followed by two instrumental presentations – is only broken by a middle, longer, instrumental section that exposes a modified version of the melody’s variant, and, quite naturally, at the end of the song.

Skalkottas’s transcriptions of folk songs reveal his unsuitability for this task, and his brief descriptions of some of the songs expose his Western gaze: they focus on features such as the identification of themes, their length, the way they are divided into phrases, their repetitions, and changes in rhythm.²⁰ He also attempts some parallelisms with Western musical forms (such as three-part form, Lied form or Rondo-Lied form). Moreover, he is unable to identify the folk modes, thinking of tonalities instead. In this particular case, he did, however, incorporate elements of the folk modes Hijaz Kar and Hijaz into the dance, a fact that reveals his acute ear and aesthetics.

¹⁸ Skalkottas, Nikos “Trianta eksē ellēnikoi xoroι: epeksergasia gia orchēstra” (Thirty-six Greek Dances: Arrangement for Orchestra), private collection.

¹⁹ A recording of the beginning of the song is accessible at http://www.mla.gr/song_info?song_id=11694 (accessed August 15th, 2013).

²⁰ Some of these analyses have been published in Dragoumēs, Markos “Pente sifneikes melōdies apo tē syllogē tēs Melpōs Merlie se katagrafē Nikou Skalkōta” (Five Melodies from Sifnos, from the Melpo Merlier Collection, in Nikos Skalkottas’s Transcriptions), *Archeion euvoikōn meletōn* 22 (1978-1979), 32-64.

Skalkottas preserved and developed the folk musical material in the “Syrtos” dance, creating a free theme and variations form. The A major key he identified in “Tha s’agapō tha s’agapō” has been transformed into an expanded harmonic language building on a B major key, that has been enriched with modal elements drawn from the folk song. The melody and the variant of the folk song become two thematic ideas that are exposed at the beginning of the piece. The equivalent of the main melody moves in the tonic and that of the variant alludes to the subtonic and the subdominant of B major, thus, quite remarkably, its melodic contour (A-E-D#-B-C-A) almost overlaps with that of the folk song’s Melody II (C#-A-E-D-C#-Bb-C#-A), despite the dance’s tone centre being a tone higher than that of the folk song. (A reduction of the first three bars of the “Syrtos” is provided in Example 1; it is not known whether the author of these programme notes had consulted Skalkottas, who had by then joined the Athens Conservatory Orchestra, for this brief analysis). This material is followed by a number of variations – at times verging on development – through which it is elaborated thematically as well as harmonically. The “Syrtos” dance ends with a re-exposition of the main melody and its variant – in an elaborated form – through which we return to the initial B major area. The composer’s stated intention not to compromise the folk song’s style and spirit notwithstanding, the dance differs substantially from its folk origin in terms of character. Indeed, the rather modest, delicate and introvert (*moderato*, as Skalkottas marked) “Syrtos” (which in Greek indicates a dragging dance rhythm) has been transformed into an upbeat, energetic piece in faster tempo, which ends in a triumphal spirit.

6. Συρτός χορός.

Τὸ θέμα τοῦ χοροῦ αὐτοῦ εἶναι λαϊκώτατον καὶ πολὺ γνωστὸν, ἐδῶ ἰδιαίτερα ἐπεξεργασμένον δι’ ὄρχηστρα. Μὲ νέαν ἰδίαν μετρικὴν, καὶ ἀπλὴν ἁρμονικὴν διάταξιν, μᾶς δίδει ἓνα νέον μουσικὸν περιεχόμενον, ἓνα εὐκατάληπτον καὶ ἐνθουσιώδη ρυθμὸν Συρτοῦ. Ἡ μορφὴ τοῦ χοροῦ αὐτοῦ εἶναι ἀπλῆ, χαρακτηριστικὴ δὲ τῆς ὅλης τοῦ ἐξελίξεως εἶναι ἢ μικρὰ ἐπωδός, μετὰ τὴν ὁποίαν ἐπακολουθοῦν παραλλαγὰι τοῦ θέματος μὲ μικρὰ μουσικὰ ἐπεισόδια καὶ ἁρμονικὰς παρεκκλίσεις ἢ νέας χαρακτηριστικὰς ἐμφανίσεις.

1. 2. Violinen
Violen

Example 1. Programme notes for the “Syrtos” Dance for a concert at the Athens Conservatory on 12 January 1941²¹

²¹ Hellenic Literary and Historical Archive of the National Bank of Greece Cultural Foundation (ELIA-MIET), Performing Arts Documents Collection. The analysis of the “Syrtos” provided in these programme notes reads: “This dance’s theme is absolutely folk and well known, and is here being elaborated particularly for orchestra. Having a new metric and simple harmonic arrangement, it gives us a new musical content, a comprehensible and enthusiastic Syrtos rhythm. The dance’s form is simple, and what characterises the whole unfolding is the short refrain, which is followed by variations of the theme with short musical interludes and harmonic deviations or new characteristic appearances.”

Skalkottas's interest in creating "Greek" music through the exploitation of folk songs that are purely Greek – as they are effectively identified in his article – essentially aligns him with the cause of the Greek National School of music. However, his particular, quasi-neoclassical, way of negotiating the boundaries between the folk and the art musical traditions distance him from the predominant contemporaneous practices of his colleagues: on the one hand, the purist emphasis on the proper mode of harmonising folk songs, and, on the other hand, their romantic appropriation by alluding to folk musical elements. The latter was the approach prescribed by Kalomiris himself, for whom the technical means of the "musically advanced peoples" adopted by Greek composers were not to be too advanced.²² But, then again, as Jim Samson has noted, membership to the "club" of the Greek National School of music was more a matter of rhetoric than of style, and the actual role the folk tradition played in Greek nationalist art music varied from one composer to another, and so did, in practice, the ways of exploiting the folk material.²³ For instance, not even Kalomiris's outlook on the folk song was straightforward, since on one hand he proclaimed that folk melodies should not be quoted as such for the purpose of creating truly Greek music – that they should be elaborated through the technical means of the Western musical tradition – and, on the other, he did quote folk melodies in his work in certain cases.²⁴ These guidelines brought him at variance with other Greek composers, who endorsed the idea of producing national music by exploiting the folk tradition while remaining as faithful to the folk material as possible, and were particularly preoccupied with the question of its apposite harmonisation. Among them we encounter Georgios Lambelet – essentially the first one to set out the cause of creating Greek music, whose views, nevertheless, brought him into conflict with Kalomiris – and Yiannis Constantinidis.²⁵

So, how is Skalkottas's relationship with the national element to be interpreted on the basis of his article on the folk song and his *36 Greek Dances for Orchestra*? Dēmētrēs Tziovas's discussion of the various kinds of "Greekness" that have emerged among intellectuals in modern Greece may help shed some light, not only on Skalkottas's, but, more generally, on different composers' relationship with the "Greek" element as it arises through their approach to the folk song – and, by extension, their relationship with other nations too.²⁶ Tziovas's theory has so far been employed by musicologists in the study of the reception of Greek antiquity in music.²⁷ But the tools he offers may be usefully introduced in the analysis of Greek art music that

²² Samson, 316.

²³ Samson, 316.

²⁴ See Maliaras, Nikos *To ellēniko dēmōtikō tragoudi stē mousikē tou Manōlē Kalomoirē* (The Greek Folk Song in Manolis Kalomiris's Music) (Athens: Papagrēgoriou-Nakas, 2001).

²⁵ See Kokkonis, Georges *La question de la grecité dans la musique néohellénique* (Paris: Association Pierre Belon, 2008), 136-137 and Sakallieros, Giōrgos *Giannēs Kōnstantinidēs (1903-1984): zōe, ergo kai synthetiko yphos* (Yiannis Constantinidis: Life, Work, and Compositional Style) (Salonika: University Studio Press, 2010), 146-151.

²⁶ Tziovas *O mythos tēs genias tou trianta* and Tziovas, Dimitris "Reconfiguring the Past: Antiquity and Greekness", in *A Singular Antiquity: Archaeology and Hellenic Identity in Twentieth-century Greece*, ed. Dimitris Damaskos and Dimitris Plantzos (Athens: Benaki Museum, 2008), 287-298.

²⁷ Siōpsē, Anastasia "Ptyches tēs neoellēnikēs politismikēs physiognōmias mesa apo to rolo tēs mousikēs se anaviōseis tou archaiou dramatos tis prōtes dekaetias tou eikostou aiōna" (Aspects of the Modern Greek Cultural Character through the Role of Music in the Revival of Ancient Drama in the Early Twentieth Century), in *Ellēnikē mousikē dēmiourgia tou 20ou aiōna gia to lyriko teatro kai alles parastatikes technes. Praktika synedriou* (Greek Twentieth-Century Musical Output for The Lyric Theatre and Other Performing Arts. Conference Proceedings), ed. Giōrgos Vlastos (Athens: The Friends of Music Society, 2009), 112-126. In: <http://www.mmb.org.gr/files/2010/Praktika09sm.pdf> (accessed on April 10th, 2011); Christopoulou, Valia "Modernism and Greek Antiquity in the Work of Yorgos Sicilianos", in *Revisiting the Past, Recasting the Present: The Reception of Greek Antiquity in Music, Nineteenth Century to the Present. Conference Proceedings*, ed. Giōrgos Vlastos and Katerina Levidou (Athens: Hellenic Music Centre, forthcoming 2013) and Chardas,

draws on folk music as well. Tziovas identifies four types of “Greekness” in modern Greece on account of the particular sort of relationship developed with the past (especially Greek antiquity). The folk song, of course, is not a historical period. Yet, its symbolic content as an “ark” of the nation’s history and traditions, its perception as a symbol of the past, enables and legitimises my reference to Tziovas’s categorisation.

These four main ways in which Greek intellectuals have approached their past are:

1. The symbolic or archaeological way, which highlights the gap between the past and the present, and suggests that the distance could be bridged either symbolically (for instance through a process of purification, where historical accretions and modifications are purged from ancient monuments) or mechanically (for example through the creation of the artificial *katharevousa* language).
2. The organicist/holistic or romantic approach, that envisages the past as a living presence in the sense that, vestiges can be traced in modern cultural phenomena (an example being the demotic language).
3. The aesthetic or modernist approach, for which the past functions as an archetype, a deep structure that is reactivated and recharged by being exploited in artistic terms. Combining the monumental solidity of the first approach with the emphasis on the living presence of the second, its primary emphasis lays on the potential for transformation and recreation of the past. This approach was embraced by the progressive intellectuals of the generation of the thirties.
4. The ironic or postmodernist approach, through which the past is demystified.

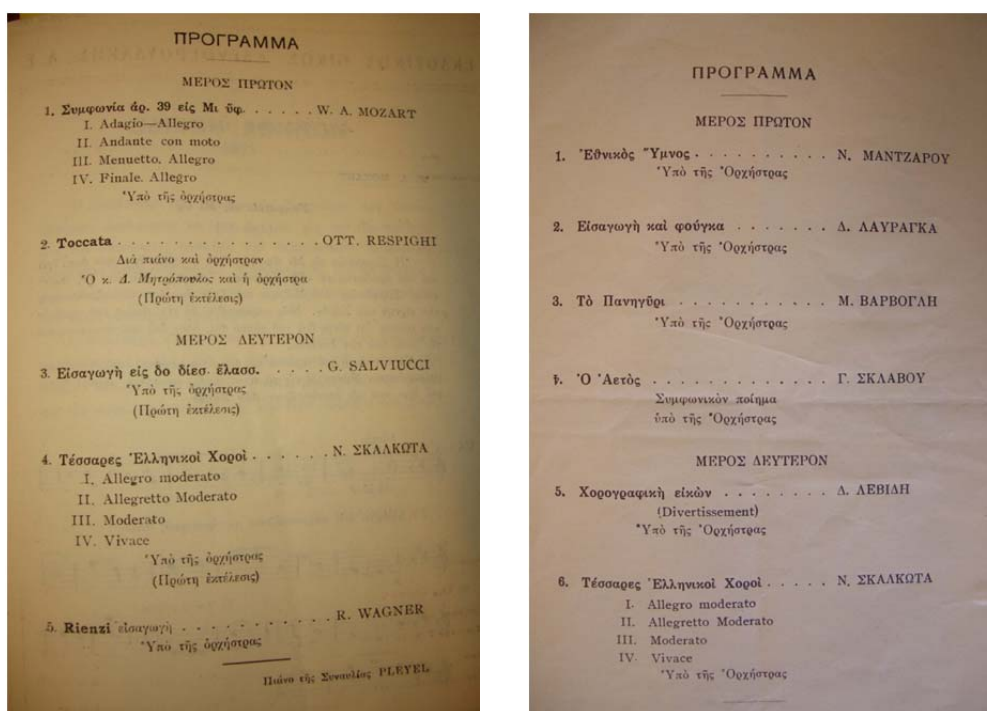
Tziovas himself points out that these are not the only possibilities, as well as the fact that sometimes overlaps between these categories may exist. Although a detailed discussion of the ways in which certain Greek composers match some of these categories would not be possible in the context of this essay, and while acknowledging the problems that occur when we try to make specific cases fit pre-existing theories, I shall risk a categorisation along these lines of some creative tendencies developed by Greek composers, with reference to their approach to the folk song. By prioritising the preservation of the folk song’s original form and the search for an appropriate way for its harmonisation, Lambelet and Constantinidis exhibited an archaeological outlook on the exploitation of folk songs in art music. Constantinidis even admitted to sacrificing his personal inspiration to the cause of safeguarding the national patrimony.²⁸ The distance such a stance cultivates between the self and the other (the Greek and the European) could prove anything but fruitful for the production of national art music that would aspire to succeed on the international level – and this is effectively the reason it met with Kalomiris’s disapproval. Such purism was matched by neither Kalomiris nor Skalkottas, who probably sensed the perils of creating music as artificial as the *katharevousa* language was. Kalomiris’s ideal of avoiding the direct quotation of folk melodies, and his proposal to develop a musical language that, while being essentially Western, would be enriched by folk music (for example folk rhythms, modes and the augmented second interval), could have placed him in the third category. Nevertheless, it could be argued that his conception of the past (mediated through the folk song) as a living presence relies on his romantic faith in the power of the national soul and

Kōstas “Greek Antiquity and Different Strands of Twentieth-century Greek Music”, in *Musical Receptions of Greek Antiquity: From the Romantic Era to Modernism*, eds. Katerina Levidou, Katy Romanou and George Vlastos (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, forthcoming 2014).

²⁸ Sakallieros, 150.

spirit, a faith cultivated by an organicist perception of historical continuity – enhanced, moreover, by a sense of spatial continuity of Greece with the East, which is only natural, given that he was born and raised in Asia Minor.²⁹ And this faith in the nation’s soul and spirit nurtured hopes that the national could prevail over other nations – as his dream to position modern Greek music at the forefront of a great Eastern musical school suggests.

Finally, Tziouvas’s third category appositely elucidates the case of Skalkottas, whose “Greekness” is constructed through an aestheticised approach to the folk song. Indeed, Skalkottas does not conceptualise the folk song as a monument to be safeguarded and restored, but rather as a deeper structure, demanding, not purist restoration, but reactivation and recharging through appropriate exploitation. From the perspective of the folk tradition, Skalkottas’s “Greekness” admittedly involves a dubious mission. The composer strips the folk song off its social and cultural contexts, playing down its popular origins, while aspiring to elevate it to a perceived higher cultural product. The text is significantly omitted in the *36 Greek Dances*, which are not even meant to be danced to, but should be performed in concert halls, on the radio and through the gramophone for the benefit of a greater local and international audience. It is telling that in their first few performances in 1934, the *Dances* appeared in the programme not with the titles that designate their local origin, but with Western tempo indications, as you can see in Example 2.



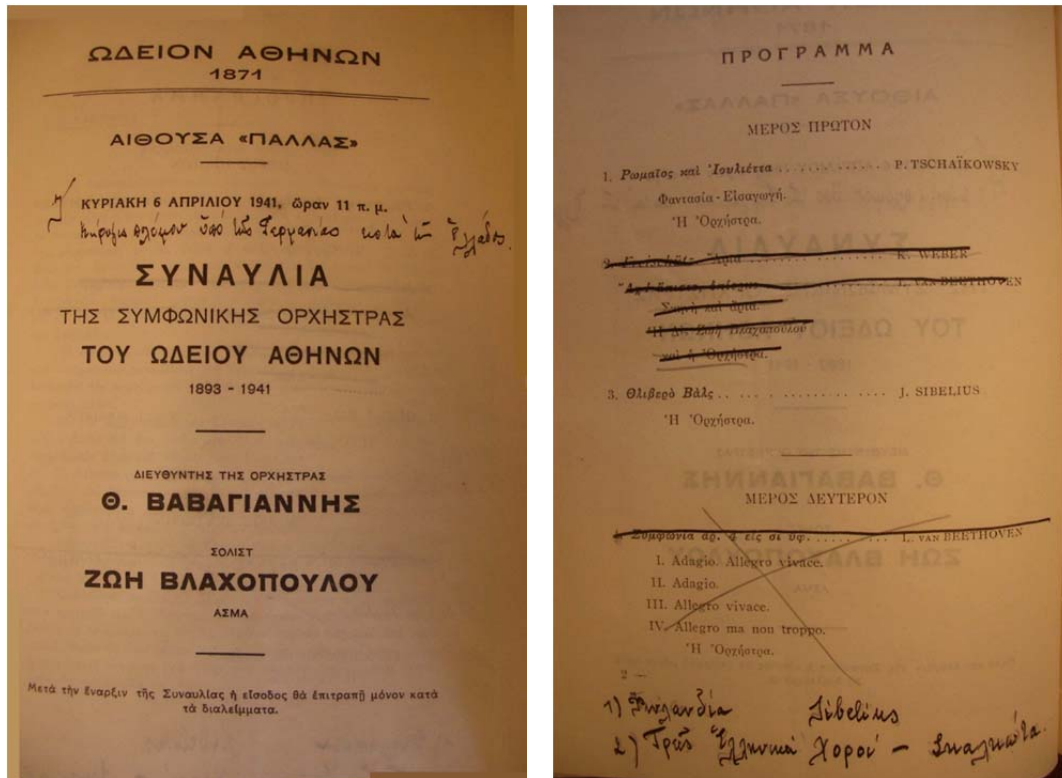
Example 2. Programmes of concerts given at the Athens Conservatory on 21 January 1934 (premiere of *Four Greek Dances*) and 25 March 1934 (notably, the 113th anniversary of the liberation from the Ottomans)³⁰

And it is this modern neutrality and monumentality that allowed them to be associated with the expression of patriotic sentiments at various occasions: when Germany declared war against Greece, three of Skalkottas’s *Dances* replaced – along with Sibelius’s *Finlandia* – Ger-

²⁹ See his comments that Greek music belongs to the musical family of Eastern nations quoted in Levidou, 509-510.

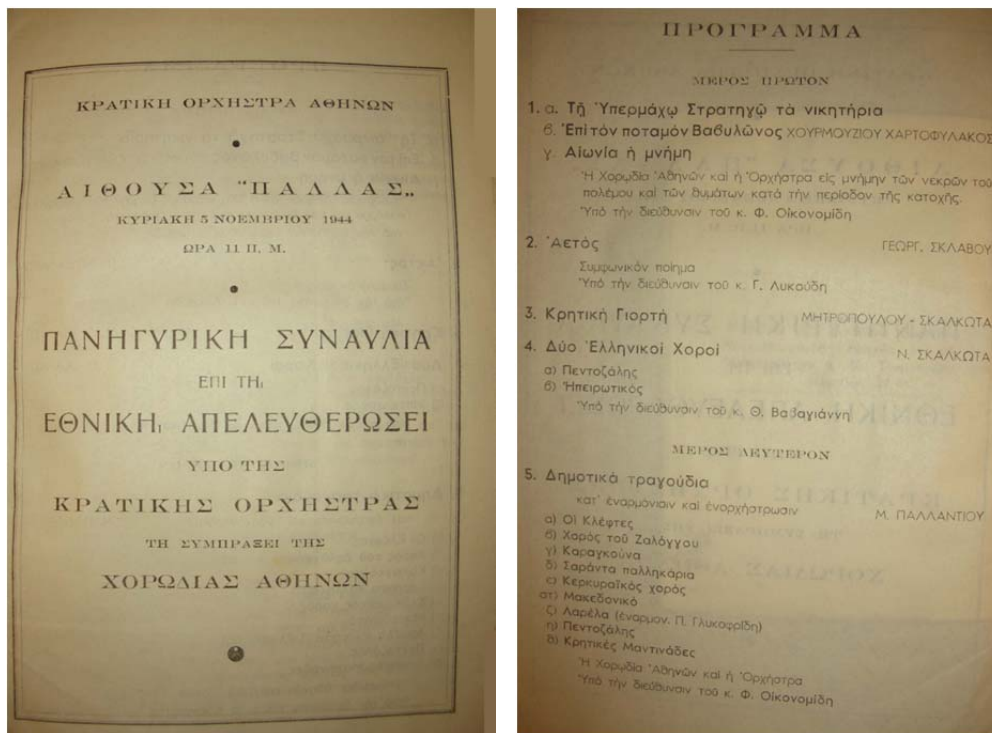
³⁰ Hellenic Literary and Historical Archive of the National Bank of Greece Cultural Foundation (ELIA-MIET), Performing Arts Documents Collection.

man works in the programme of a concert at the Athens Conservatory (Example 3); in the programme of the concert celebrating Greece's liberation from Germany (Example 4); various anniversary concerts of Greece's liberation from the Ottomans (Examples 2 and 5); the news TV programme *Epikaira* over the dictatorship of the late 1960s and early 1970s; the theme-tune of a short-lived right-wing Greek political party of the early 2000s ("Kinēma Eleutherōn Politōn"); and currently the jingle of the Greek Parliament TV channel's logo.

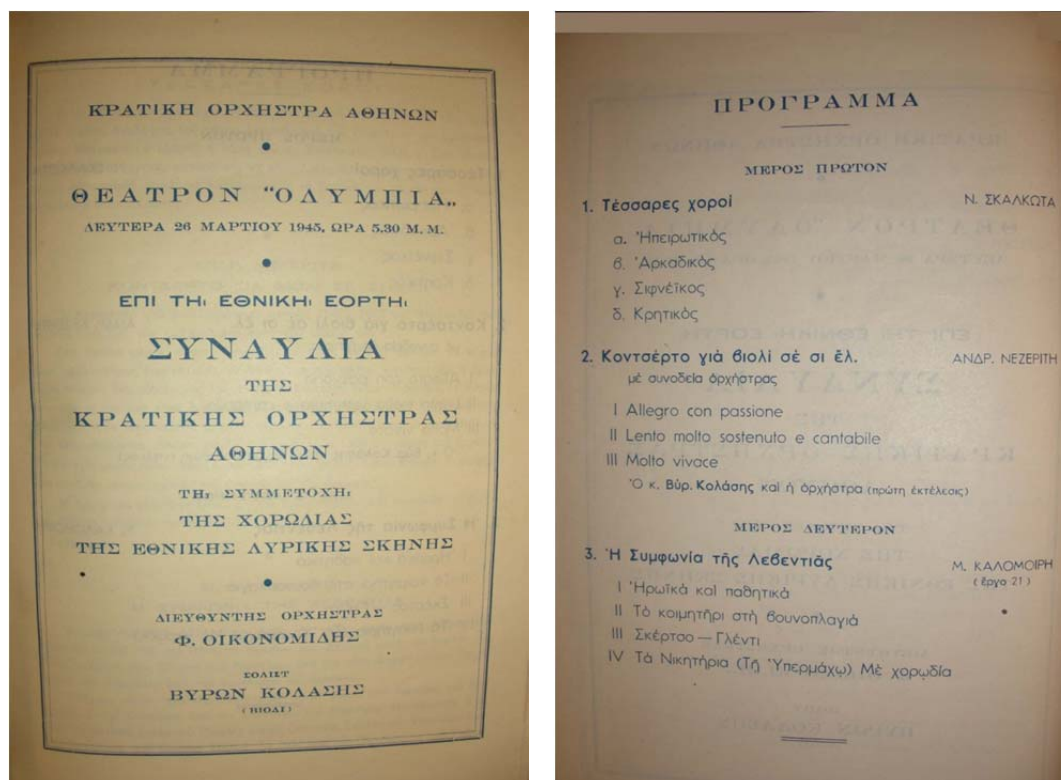


Example 3. Programme of a concert given at the Athens Conservatory on 6 April 1941³¹

³¹ Hellenic Literary and Historical Archive of the National Bank of Greece Cultural Foundation (ELIA-MIET), Performing Arts Documents Collection. The handwritten note on the first page reads: "Declaration of war by Germany against Greece".



Example 4. Programme of a concert at the Athens Conservatory on 5 November 1944 celebrating Greece's liberation from Germany³²



Example 5. Programme of a concert at the Athens Conservatory on 26 March 1945 on the 124th anniversary of Greece's liberation from the Ottomans³³

³² Hellenic Literary and Historical Archive of the National Bank of Greece Cultural Foundation (ELIA-MIET), Performing Arts Documents Collection.

Yet, from the standpoint of Western art music, Skalkottas's particular "Greekness" led to a most fruitful way of engaging with the folk tradition. For, the folk song's transformation and recreation through the *Dances* bridges the gap between the past and the present, while prioritising the latter. At the same time, it bridges the distance between the national and other nations, bringing the Greek into a constructive dialogue with the European musical tradition. Indeed, it is not only the folk song that is elevated to a perceived higher artistic form; Skalkottas's *36 Greek Dances* also seek to effect a modernist renewal of the Western musical language. By establishing a fertile dialogue, on equal grounds, with Europe through his specific understanding of "Greekness", Skalkottas essentially converged with the ideals and practices of the renowned generation of the thirties. And the scrutiny of the points of contact with this modernist generation and its particular conception of "Greekness" might shed light on Skalkottas's own vision of "Greekness", not only in the cases he drew on the Greek folk tradition, but, in fact, in his entire oeuvre.

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³³ Hellenic Literary and Historical Archive of the National Bank of Greece Cultural Foundation (ELIA-MIET), Performing Arts Documents Collection.

Nikos Skalkottas' *Thema con Variazioni (thème grec populaire)* from *Suite for Piano no. 3* - An analytical and compositional approach

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Abstract. Nikos Skalkottas, the highly acclaimed pioneer of Greek musical modernism, used folk or folk-like musical elements (melodic and rhythmic material) in a considerable number of tonal or atonal works, while employing a great variety of compositional techniques for the exploitation of the embedded folk elements. The present paper examines a representative of the category of "Theme & Variations" works that, although based on modal Greek folk melodies, are overall atonal. The piece under examination is the *Thema con Variazioni (thème grec populaire)*, second part of his *Suite for Piano No. 3* (1940). The analysis focuses on the harmonization of the original folk melody for the creation of the theme, on its transformation during the variations - while functioning as melodic and structural core -, as well as on the evolution of the musical texture throughout the unfolding of the variation form. The analysis reveals Skalkottas' outstanding capacity to fuse traditional formal elements with modern harmonic and transformational techniques and connects this category of piano pieces with his other atonal variation-type works (such as the *15 Little Variations* and the *Passacaglia*) not based on Greek folk tunes. Aside from the analytical approach described above, the paper also attempts a compositional one, with the latter based on the compositional and stylistic features disclosed by the former. The output of the compositional procedure is a piano miniature in the style of Nikos Skalkottas, based on a Greek folk tune from Macedonia. The step-by-step explanation of the compositional procedure complements and verifies the results of the performed analysis.

Introduction

Nikos Skalkottas (1904-1949) used folk or folk-like musical elements (melodic and rhythmic material) in a considerable number of tonal or atonal works, while employing a great variety of compositional techniques for the exploitation of the embedded folk elements. The present paper examines a member of the category of "Theme & Variations" works that, although based on modal Greek folk melodies, are overall atonal. This category comprises the following works:¹ *Eight variations on a Greek folk theme (8 Variationen über ein griechisches Volksthema)* for piano trio (A/K 43, 1938), *Short variations on a mountain theme (Kurze Variationen auf ein Bergsthema, no. 3 from the 32 Piano Pieces, A/K 70, 1940)*, *Greek Folkdance (no. 5 from the 32 Piano Pieces, A/K 70, 1940)*, *Thema con Variazioni (no. 2 from Piano Suite no. 3, A/K 73, 1940 or 1941)*, *Variations on the Rebetiko song by Vassilis Tsitsanis "Tha pao ekei stin Arapia"* (2nd movement of the *Concerto for two violins, A/K 24, 1944-45*). In the present paper, this category is represented by the *Thema con Variazioni* from the third Suite.

The *Thema con Variazioni (thème grec populaire)* is the second part of the *Suite for Piano no. 3* (the Suite comprises four pieces: Minuetto, Thema con Variazioni, Marcia Funebra, Finale), composed during the autumn of 1940 or the first months of 1941.² This was an intense creative period for Skalkottas, who was at the time feverishly exploring the composition of music for solo piano (in the second half of 1940 and the first half of 1941 he composed the *32 Piano Pieces*).

¹ The titles and dates come from Mantzourani's chronological worklist: Eva Mantzourani, *The Life and Twelve-Tone Music of Nikos Skalkottas* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 379-387. A/K denotes the catalogue number in the *Skalkottas Archive*.

² Thornley (John Thornley, "Skalkottas, Nikos", in *Grove Music Online*) writes that the *Suite no. 3* was composed in 1940, while Papaioannou [John Papaioannou, *Nikos Skalkottas* (Athens: Papagrigoriou-Nakas, 1997), vol. 1, 403 and vol. 2, 217] states that it was composed in 1941. Mantzourani, citing various sources, includes both years in her catalogue (*The Life and Twelve-Tone Music of Nikos Skalkottas*, 384).

es, the *Suites for Piano nos. 2, 3, 4* and the *Four Studies for Piano*, a total of 48 pieces or movements). The autograph of the *Suite for Piano no. 3* is part of the *Skalkottas Archive* (A/K 73),³ and the work has been published by Universal Edition⁴ and has been recorded for discography by Christodoulos Georgiadis⁵ and George Hadjinikos.⁶ References to this piece and the folk element it incorporates have been found in Papaioannou,⁷ Hadjinikos⁸ and Demertzis.⁹ These sources include references to the chronology and conditions of the piece's composition (Papaioannou, Demertzis - both emphasize the fact that the suite was composed during the outbreak of the war between Greece and Italy) or are brief verbal descriptions of its content (Hadjinikos, Demertzis). Demertzis also refers to the formal design of the piece, i.e. the gradual acceleration and return to slow tempo, and its textural density. However, none of these sources contains a full or selective analysis of the piece.

The identity and title of the folk song functioning as theme for the piece is not fully explicit, although Skalkottas declares this property at the title (in the autograph it appears as "thème greque [sic] populaire", and in the UE edition as "thème grec populaire"). Both Demertzis¹⁰ and Hadjinikos¹¹ acknowledge in their writings the melody's folk origin and its dramatic character, but neither provides the title or lyrics of the folk song. Hadjinikos, in an oral communication with the author of the present paper (summer 2012), said that the folk melody possibly originates from Epirus (a northwestern region of Greece) and is a tribute to Antonis Katsantonis (1775?-1808), a renowned Greek hero of the pre-Greek revolution period. The Funeral March that follows in the Suite also refers to the hero's death. The folk melody has a sober and mournful character.

So, the aim of the present paper is to provide a comprehensive study of the harmonization of the original folk melody for the creation of the theme, of the theme's transformation during the variations while functioning as melodic and structural core, as well as of the evolution of the musical texture throughout the unfolding of the variation form. The results of the analysis attempt to shed some light into one of the most interesting aspects of Skalkottas' music: the relation and equilibrium between tradition (classical form, Greek folk music) and innovation (contemporary harmonic, textural and transformational techniques). Also, the stylistic features provided by the analysis will serve as resource for the second aim of the paper, which is the composition of a piano miniature in the style of the category described above. The explanation of the compositional procedure will complement and verify the results of the performed analysis.

³ Haris Vrontos, ed., *Nikos Skalkottas - A Greek European* (Athens, Benaki Museum, 2008), 510 (the Annexe of this volume contains the full catalogue of works residing in the Skalkottas Archive).

⁴ U.E. 13611 LW.

⁵ Sutton Sound, 1980 (mentioned in Papaioannou, 182).

⁶ The recording was published in a CD bundled with the book: George Hadjinikos, *Nikos Skalkottas: A renewed approach to the musical thought and interpretation* [Νίκος Σκαλκώτας: Μια ανανέωση στην προσέγγιση της μουσικής σκέψης και ερμηνείας] (Athens: Nefeli, 2006) [in Greek].

⁷ Papaioannou, *Nikos Skalkottas*, vol. 1, 157, 251, 403 & vol. 2, 182, 327-28.

⁸ Hadjinikos, *Nikos Skalkottas*, 101.

⁹ Kostis Demertzis, *Nikos Skalkottas as composer for piano solo* [Ο Νίκος Σκαλκώτας ως συνθέτης μουσικής για πιάνο σόλο], (Chalkis: State Central Library of Chalkis), 150-151 [in Greek].

¹⁰ Demertzis, *Nikos Skalkottas as composer for piano solo*, 150.

¹¹ Hadjinikos, *Nikos Skalkottas*, 101.

Analysis of the Thema con Variazioni from the Suite for Piano no. 3

The analysis was performed through the study of both the autograph¹² and the UE edition, and focuses on:

- The folk melody and its formal, modal and structural characteristics
- The transformations of the melody in the Theme and its Variations
- The harmonization of the melody and its variations
- The layers of the musical texture and their motivic content
- The overall form and its dynamic evolution
- Any other specific or generic features pertaining to the specific piece and possibly to other pieces of the same or similar categories

Aspects of texture and harmony

The score does not feature any time signatures or measure barlines. Instead, the Theme and its Variations are indicated in brackets, after the tempo/character markings at the beginning of each part. According to these indications, the variation form unfolds without pauses between its parts as following:

Lento (Thème grec populaire), Adagio (Var. I), Moderato (Var. II), Allegro (Var. III), Presto (Var. IV), Libro (Coda). The acceleration of the tempo from the Theme (Lento) to the 4th Variation (Presto) is followed by a slow ad libitum Coda, featuring the varied recapitulation of the Theme.

The **Theme** (Lento) is essentially the harmonization of the folk melody (see fig. 1, upper voice, annotated in red color), and lasts for 15 quarter-note beats, which can be grouped metrically to 4+4+3+4 or 8+7. This metrical structure corresponds to the fifteen-syllable poetic metre, common in many Greek folk songs.

Lento
(Thème grec populaire)

Figure 1¹³

¹² As reproduced in: Papaioannou, *Nikos Skalkottas*, vol. 2, 327-8.

¹³ Figures 1, 4, 6, 8, 10, 12 are annotated excerpts from the UE edition of the piece. The pitches of the folk melody and its transformations are indicated with red circles.

The musical texture consists of three distinct layers (see fig. 2): melodic upper voice, contrapuntal middle-voice and accompanimental lower-voice. These three layers are depicted in figure 2, together with other analytical data. The melodic layer can be divided into four subphrases a, b, c, d, which overlap to produce two phrases: a+b, c+d. Each phrase represents a semi-autonomous segment of the Theme part. The middle layer contains eight-notes, quasi 2nd/4th-species counterpoint to the lower layer, creating sharp dissonances with the melodic layer, except in subphrase b, where parallel 5ths are formed. The accompanimental lower layer is rhythmically simple and consists of quarter-note events, either single bass notes prepared by appoggiaturas or sonorities. The single notes form the Ab major chord, whose parallel (Ab minor chord) relates to the implied tonality of the folk melody. Also, the Ab minor 7th chord is emphasized, while parallel perfect 4ths are used in subphrase c. An interesting feature is the melodic line Gb-F-D-Db-Cb, formed in the lower layer, which imitates the main melody notes Ab-G-Fb-Eb-Db.

The figure shows a musical score with three staves. The top staff is labeled 'theme' and is divided into four subphrases: 'a', 'b', 'c', and 'd'. The middle staff shows counterpoint with 'parallel 5ths' in subphrase 'b' and 'parallel 4ths' in subphrase 'c'. The bottom staff shows accompaniment with two sections marked 'aggregate' indicated by dashed lines.

Figure 2

Harmonic elements (see fig. 3): The pitches of the folk melody define an idiomatic 7-note scale, found frequently in Greek folk music: Eb-Fb-G-Ab-Bb-Cb-Db (this intervallic scale structure is commonly described as D chromatic scale and is related to the second plagal Byzantine mode).¹⁴ Its pitch space hierarchy projects Eb (^1) as pitch center, with Ab (^4) functioning as secondary center. The complementary pc set, containing the remaining pitch classes is [F, Gb, A, C, D]. The lower voice projects Ab as pitch center, and the central sonority is Ab-Cb-C-Eb (pc set [0,3,4,7]), while the middle contrapuntal voice stress pitches F-(Ab)-A-C (also pc set [0,3,4,7]) and the chromatic melodic pc cells F-Fb-Eb, C-Cb-Bb, D-Eb-E-F and A-Bb-B-C. The consistent use of descending semitones in the middle voice could be interpreted as a reference to Greek folk *moiroloi* (lamentation). The harmony is freely atonal, with no 12-tone series being identified, and is based on the construction of two full chromatic aggregates, one for each phrase of the Theme: aggregate 1 is formed in phrase a+b and aggregate 2 in phrase c+d. In both cases the pcs of the theme and counterpoint share a chromatic dyad (Eb-E in aggregate 1 and G-Ab in aggregate 2).

¹⁴ Nikos Malliaras, *The Greek folk song in the music of Manolis Kalomiris* [Το ελληνικό δημοτικό τραγούδι στη μουσική του Μανώλη Καλομοίρη] (Athens: Papargoriou-Nakas, 2001), 256 [in Greek].

Figure 3

In **Variation I** (see fig. 4) the melodic theme (folk melody) appears in the upper voice transformed through retrograde procedures and motivic embellishment (see annotations in fig. 3). Its four initial subphrases appear overlapped in inverse order as d+c+b+a, with free melodic ornamentation and with octave displacement (see fig. 5). The Variation incorporates a climax, created through a crescendo from *mf* to *f* and an abrupt melodic climbing of $2^{1/2}$ octaves to high Cb, after which it returns to the initial octave and dynamic level.

Figure 4

Harmonic elements (see fig. 5): There are three layers in the musical texture: upper-melodic, middle-chordal, lower-accompanimental. The middle layer features the alternation of two minor thirds (A-C, F-Ab) that are combined to create the sonority F-Ab-A-C (set [0,3,4,7]), also encountered in the Theme. The lower layer contains two types of harmonic events: [0,1,4] triads and their derivatives - [0,3,4], [0,3,4,5], [0,1] - and quartal sonorities, either with perfect fourths - [D-G-C-F], [G-C-F-Bb-Eb-Ab] - or with free fourths - [F-B-Eb-Ab-D]. Both elements relate to the harmonic devices used in the Theme, as the [0,1,4] triad is part of the [0,3,4,7] set, and the quartal harmony can be considered an evolution of the parallel 5ths and 4ths. Also, two full chromatic aggregates are formed again from the pitches of the phrases d+c and b+a.

Figure 5

In **Variation II** the theme appears in transposition by a tritone (T6) and as part of a polyphonic melody played by the right hand (see annotations in fig. 6). The musical texture has two layers, and the overall character is very sharp and rhythmic, with the energetic rhythm retained despite the gradual diminuendo that takes place in the second half of the Variation.

Figure 6

Harmonic elements (see fig. 7): In this variation three full chromatic aggregates are formed for each of the variation's three subphrases. The segmentation of the accompaniment to smaller cells is done differently, however some core elements are kept, like the use of parallel motion (this time with 3rds instead of 5ths or 4ths) and quartal sonorities with mixed-type fourth intervals (perfect, diminished, augmented).

Figure 7

Variation III is essentially a retrograde of the previous one (see fig. 8), but not in the same way as Variation I was a retrograde of the Theme. The musical texture is almost exclusively homophonic (one active layer), presenting the sonorities of Variation II in reverse order and vertically, while incorporating the buildup of another climax. The pitches of the melodic theme are woven in the musical fabric in such a way as to render the melody acoustically unperceivable, and the whole Variation tends to be heard as a climaxing segment with no reference to the initial folk melody.

Figure 8

Harmonic elements (see fig. 9): As already mentioned, the harmony of Variation III is the retrograde of the harmony of Variation II, but with reordering of the pitches of the sonorities and scattering of the initial melody at multiple registers and inner voices. The only element that remains intact is the parallel 3rds sequence in the second subphrase.

theme (R6)
 (version with all pitches in same octave - not in score)

quartal

3rds

aggregate

Figure 9

In **Variation IV** the initial melody is transposed once more by a minor third (T9), thus starting with C, and it is placed in the lower voice for the first time (see fig. 10). There are two layers in the musical texture: the lower one (in *f* dynamic), based on eighth-notes and carrying the transformed folk melody, and the upper one (in *p* dynamic), based on sixteenth-notes, creating a quasi 2nd species counterpoint and leading to another climax through crescendo and registral broadening. The first subphrase of the melody is repeated and then one of its pitches (G) is substituted by three neighbouring pitches (Bbb-Ab-Gb, green color in fig. 10). This is the only transformation of the pitch structure of the theme that occurs on the piece (unless we consider that G exists in the upper voice at this moment, so that the initial pitch structure is retained).

Presto (Var. IV)

p

f

Figure 10

Harmonic elements (see fig. 11): The formation of three full aggregates is once more the main harmonic procedure, with a different use of the same harmonic cells and sonorities as in the previous Variations, and with an emphasis in minor third relations (notated with vertical brackets in fig. 11). Apart from the last sonority, which is exclusively tertian, there are also instances of parallel minor 3rds in the second phrase and a semi-diatonic part at the beginning of

the upper layer, pertaining to the Eb Dorian mode. Also, due to the transformation of the main melody, there are two pairs of theme/complementary sets in this Variation.

Figure 11 consists of three musical staves. The top staff is labeled 'theme (T9)' and contains a melodic line with a '(non-transformed version - not in score)' label above it. Below this staff are two piano accompaniment staves. Brackets labeled '[0,1,2,3]' and '[0,1,3,4]' are placed over the piano accompaniment. A dashed line below the piano staves is labeled 'aggregate' and spans across three measures. Below the piano staves is a single staff labeled 'aggregate formation' showing a sequence of notes. At the bottom is a staff divided into four sections: 'theme set 1', 'theme set 2', 'complementary set 1', and 'complementary set 2'. Brackets connect 'theme set 1' to 'complementary set 1' and 'theme set 2' to 'complementary set 2'.

Figure 11

The **Coda** is a recapitulation of the Theme part and also a return of the initial mood, character, dynamic level and tempo (see fig. 12). The theme returns to its initial transposition, but this time only subphrase a is in the upper voice, and the remaining three are in a very low register. The three layers of the musical texture are essentially the same, but they are freely reversed (as in invertible counterpoint).

Figure 12 shows the 'Libro (Coda)' section. It consists of two piano accompaniment staves. The top staff is marked with a piano (*p*) dynamic. Red circles highlight specific notes in both staves, showing the inverted counterpoint structure. The bottom staff features a very low register accompaniment with notes also circled in red.

Figure 12

Harmonic elements (see fig. 13): The harmony of the Coda is the same as of the Theme, with the difference that, due to the placement of the main melody in the lower layer, the pitch center Ab that was apparent in the Theme, is now absent.

Figure 13

Aspects of form and character

The evolution of the overall form of the piece involves the following aspects:

Transposition and transformation of the theme:

[Theme & Var. I - related through retrograde] (melody based on Eb) - [Var. II & III - related through retrograde] (melody based on A) - [Var. IV] (melody based on C) - [Coda] (melody based on Eb).

According to this aspect, the six parts of the piece (Theme, 4 Variations, Coda) are organized in 4 groups, with the first two groups having 2 members related through retrograde transformation of the theme.

Tempo and character evolution:

Lento → Andante → Moderato → Allegro → Presto → Libro (Lento).

There is a gradual evolution from slow/somber to energetic/climactic tempo/character during the course from the Theme to Variation IV, after which the initial character is re-established. This creates a single expressive formal gesture (gradual buildup of climax - relaxation).

Number of layers and complexity of musical texture:

3 layers → 3 layers → 2 layers → 1 layer → 2 layers → 3 layers

As the tempo increases, the number of layers and the complexity of the musical texture decreases, with the minimum number of layers found in Variation III, which is essentially homophonic. Textural complexity returns at the Coda through Variation IV.

Summary of compositional and stylistic features

The present analysis reveals a balanced combination of traditional (theme & variation form, thematic/motivic transformation, folk melody) and modern (20th-century chromaticism, free atonality, multi-layer musical textures) principles and techniques. The disclosed compositional and stylistic features of the piece can be summarized as following:

- The theme is transformed in various ways, while retaining its intervallic structure and modal characteristics. Essentially, what is always kept is the abstract shape of the melody, while all its surface elements are liquidated. Thus, the theme is in principle a abstract *Basic Idea (Grundgestalt)* and not a rigid, fixed melody.
- The harmonization is based on the formation of full chromatic aggregates in every phrase of the theme. The aggregates are formed from smaller pc sets or intervallic cells, mostly quartal sonorities and certain pc sets ([0,1,4], [0,3,4,7], [0,1,6], [0,1,3,4]), while specific intervals (mainly minor 3rds and major 7ths) are used more frequently, either vertically or horizontally, as accompaniment. The harmony is free atonal (not serial), but with specific harmonic elements and allusions of pitch centrality.¹⁵
- The evolution of the form is based on the acceleration of the tempo, which is combined with the transition from sober to energetic character together with the decrease in the number of active textural layers, and on the buildup & relaxation of a single climactic/expressive gesture.

The above compositional features connect the *Thema con Variazioni* with other variational pieces by Nikos Skalkottas that are not based on folk tunes, such as the *15 Little Variations* (1927) and the *Passacaglia* (1940, no. 15 from the *32 Piano Pieces*). Moreover, the variational technique in *Thema con Variazioni* can be considered an evolution of the corresponding technique in *Passacaglia*, since it incorporates transformation and transposition of the theme, a technique not employed in the *Passacaglia*, which is based on an untransposed 11-note theme and 6 fixed harmonic fields (see figures 14 and 15).¹⁶

¹⁵ Mantzourani (The Life and Twelve-Tone Music..., 82) summarizes Skalkottas' harmony as following: "...his harmonic language is inclusive, incorporating tonal, post-tonal and twelve-tone elements ... Overt or disguised tonal harmonic relationships are deliberately used ... to highlight certain structural points, to allude a key and to achieve ... the all-important perceptibility of the thematic and harmonic shifts within a piece". Also, Skalkottas himself had written in a article in *Musiki Zoe* (1931) that the purpose of serialism is not the continuous circulation of the 12 pitch classes, but the creation of a coherent and restricted new harmony (cited in Mantzourani, 82).

¹⁶ These figures are included in the full analysis of the piece: Costas Tsougras, "Nikos Skalkottas' *Passacaglia* for solo piano: Tradition and innovation in equilibrium" [*Η Passacaglia για σόλο πιάνο του Νίκου Σκαλκώτα: Παράδοση και καινοτομία σε ισορροπία*], *Polyphonia* 18 (2011): 7-28 [in Greek].

Figure 14

Figure 15

Stylistic Composition

Subsequently, the present paper pursues a compositional approach, based on the compositional and stylistic features disclosed by the presented analytical approach. The output of the compositional procedure is a piano miniature in the style of Nikos Skalkottas, based on a Greek folk tune from northern Greece.

The variation technique employed for the composition is a hybrid technique extracted from the *Passacaglia* and the *Thema con Variazioni*, meaning that the conception of unaltered harmonic segments throughout the theme and all variations (*Passacaglia*) is combined with the formal design of slow theme-accelerating variations-slow coda (*Thema con Variazioni*).

The folk melody used as theme is a Greek lullaby, entitled "Υπνε, που παίρνεις τα παιδιά" (Oh Sleep, you who takes the children) (see fig. 16). The lullaby possibly originates from Asia Minor and is encountered with variations in many regions of eastern Macedonia (Thassos, Drama, Chalkidiki, etc). This melody was chosen for the stylistic composition because of the affinity of its modal structure with the folk melody of Skalkottas' *Thema con Variazioni*, since both melodies pertain to the "D chromatic mode" (characterized mainly by the augmented 2nd between scale degrees $\hat{2}$ and $\hat{3}$). The lullaby comprises four short phrases ending with fermata at the descending scale pitches G-F#-Eb-D.



Figure 16

Harmonic elements of the Study (Theme and Variations): The pitches of the melodic theme define a five-note scale: D-Eb-F#-G-A (C is not considered equally important compositionally, since it is used only once, as a neighbour tone to D) and they produce the "theme set" (the pentachord [0,1,4,5,7]). The remaining pcs (C#, E, F, G#, Bb, B, C) form the "complementary set" (the septachord [0,1,2,3,6,7,10] in normal order). These pitches can be arranged in such a way as to produce a descending scale similar to the theme's: F-E-Db-C-B-Bb-Ab. This sequence is subsequently used as a bass line or as a contrapuntal accompaniment to the main melody.

The **Theme** of the study is constructed as following (see fig. 17): For each one of the four subphrases, a full chromatic aggregate is formed by inputting all the complementary pcs in the middle staff, between the melodic subphrase (upper staff) and the bass line (lower staff), so that all 12 pitch classes are heard until the end of each subphrase. Then, these pcs are grouped so as to produce pairs with interval class 1 (semitone, major 7th) and 3 (minor 3rd).

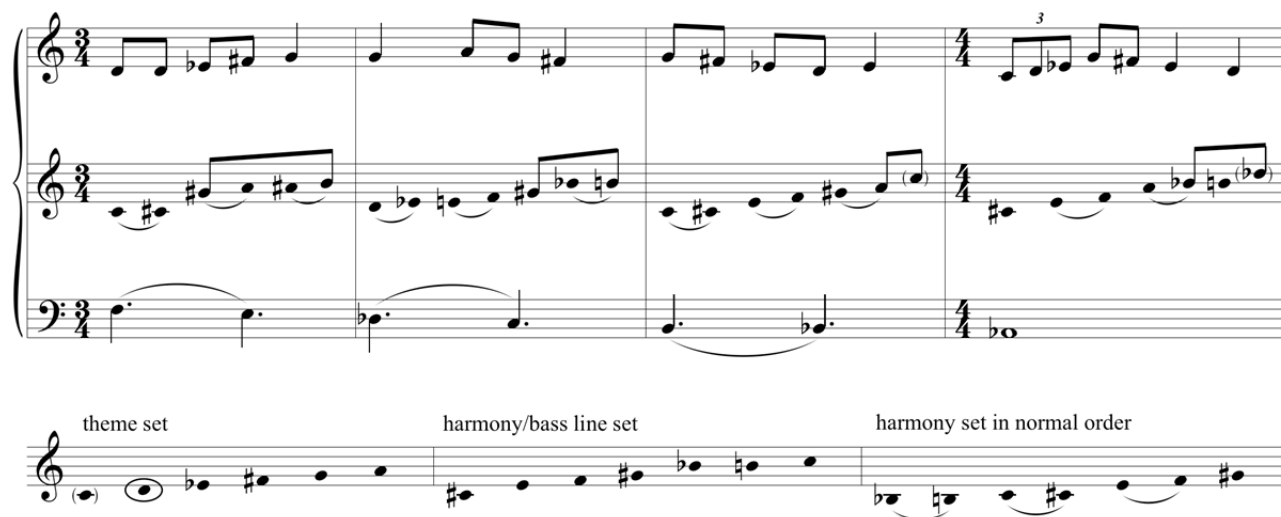


Figure 17

The musical surface of the Theme consists of four layers of musical texture (see fig. 18): Layer 1 is the bass line (in green color), layer 2 is the quartal-harmony chordal accompaniment, layer 3 is the folk melody (in red color) and layer 4 is another accompaniment pattern consisting of major 7ths and minor 3rds. The Theme has a very slow tempo ($\text{♩}=32$) and a mournful character.

Figure 18

Variation I (see fig. 19) also has four layers, with the theme placed in the lower register (red color) and reduced to its melodic skeleton: D-Eb-G-F#-Eb-D. The tempo has been increased to $\text{♩} = 48$ and the character is more rhythmic. The Variation starts the buildup of a climax by progressing from *p* to *mf*.

Figure 19

In **Variation II** the theme is transferred to the high register in free melodic transformation (only the pitch content is retained). The tempo increases to $\text{♩} = 64$, while the 3/4 meter and rhythmic pattern of the accompaniment denote the "Tsamikos" dance, a rhythmic element frequently encountered in Skalkottas' music.¹⁷

¹⁷ See Hadjinikos, *Nikos Skalkottas*, 105. Also Costas Tsougras, "The hellenism of Nikos Skalkottas's music: an 'national' or 'universal' composer?", in *Proceedings of the conference "Greek Art Music: Tradition and Globalization"* (Athens, April 2007), 19-25 [published at the Greek Composers' Union website: <http://www.eem.org.gr>] [in Greek].

Figure 20

Variation III (see fig. 21) includes the main climaxing procedure and incorporates two instances of the theme. In the first four bars the tempo is $\text{♩}=96$ and the theme is on the higher of the three layers, while in the remaining four bars the tempo accelerates, the theme is placed on the lower layer (the number of layers has also decreased to two). The energetic character is intensified through the continuous flow of sixteenth-notes and the dynamic level gradually increases from *mp* to *ff*.

Var. III
♩=96
mp
mf
f
accelerando
rall.

Figure 21

Variation IV (see fig. 22) continues the climaxing procedure and leads to its completion in the forthcoming part. It includes two layers, and the theme is placed (as a retrograde skeleton) in the upper voice of the chordal layer. The initial tempo is $\text{♩}=128$, but it drastically decreases to the initial Grave tempo for the full recapitulation of the theme.

Var. IV
♩=128
ff
rall.

Figure 22

The **Coda** (see fig. 23) features the return of the initial melody and tempo ($\text{♩}=32$) and -in contrast with Skalkottas's *Thema con Variazioni*, but in parallel with the *Passacaglia*- is the climax of the piece. It is essentially homophonic (one active layer), with the melody in octaves in the lower register, reinforced by parallel quartal chords (parallel harmony - planing). The piece ends with a full aggregate arpeggiation above the last note of the theme.

The image shows a musical score for a piece titled 'Theme' by Skalkottas. The score is in 3/4 time and consists of two staves: a right-hand (R.H.) staff and a left-hand (L.H.) staff. The tempo is marked as quarter note = 32. The score is divided into four measures. The first measure is marked *fff* R.H. and *fff* L.H. The second measure is marked *mf* and *rit.*. The third measure is marked *fff* R.H. and *a tempo*. The fourth measure is marked *rall.*. The left-hand part features a complex rhythmic pattern with many beamed notes, and four of these patterns are highlighted with red boxes. The score also includes various dynamic markings (*fff*, *mf*) and performance instructions (*rit.*, *a tempo*, *rall.*). The piece concludes with a double bar line and a final chord.

Figure 23

An important comment regarding the compositional approach needs to be made at this point: The general structure of the composed piece and the employed transformational processes were inspired from Skalkottas' model pieces (Thema con Variazioni, Passacaglia), but they were not identical to them, so that a fully explicit correspondence between the models and the produced miniature is unfeasible. Having said that, a certain deviation from any model is necessary in a compositional process, if the whole endeavor aspires to be a *creative* and not an *imitative* one. Moreover, the present analysis mainly revealed the structural, formal and transformational elements of the style. However, the elements of the musical surface (rhythmic units, motives, accompaniment patterns, placement and content of transitory passages, etc) are equally important for a successful stylistic approach, and they must be *invented* from the initial material according to the style, and not *copied* from existing pieces pertaining to the style.

Conclusion

The present analysis discloses Skalkottas' idiomatic compositional technique of fusing traditional formal elements with modern harmonic and transformational techniques. It also reveals the close association between the variation technique used in the "theme & variation" works based on Greek folk melodies with the parallel variation technique employed in his other atonal "theme & variation" works, not based on folk material. Moreover, the analysis shows that Skalkottas actually uses his personal harmonic, rhythmic and formal devices regardless of the initial compositional material, which is the folk element in this category of pieces. Congruently, the folk element does not alter the modernistic outlook and content of the composition, it is neutralized and absorbed by the modern *modus operandi*, thus producing a new coherent, amalgamated style, not pertaining to the nationalistic music being composed by the majority of Greek composers of the same period. In Skalkottas' style, the folk element is an organic part of a modern, rich and multi-faceted distinctive musical language,¹⁸ an unobtrusive but deep element of identity, character and meaning. So, it seems that at the time of the composition of the 3rd suite for piano, he had achieved the goal expressed earlier in a letter to Manolis Benakis:

¹⁸ For more about Skalkottas' multi-faceted musical language, see: Yorgos Zervos, "Musical idioms and aesthetic directions in Skalkottas' work", in *Nikos Skalkottas, a Greek European*, ed. Haris Vrontos (Athens, Benaki Museum, 2008), 50-87. Also, for more about Skalkottas' outlook and influences, see: Katy Romanou, "Nikos Skalkottas", in *Serbian & Greek Art Music*, ed. Katy Romanou (Bristol: Intellect, 2009), 163-186.

"... to discover the combination that I 've been seeking for such a long time, of a strict technique [applied to] our folk songs, but with a new content" (17 December 1931).¹⁹

In regard to the second aim of the paper, namely the compositional approach to Skalkottas' style, the step-by-step explanation of the compositional procedure complements, verifies and exploits the results of the performed analysis, while at the same time it practically corroborates the validity of the extracted stylistic features and the affinity between the variation techniques mentioned above. In addition, the suggested approach may be used as a pedagogical tool for both analysis and composition students.²⁰ Nevertheless, the main incentive to its implementation for the author of this paper has been the exciting and rewarding experience of attempting to creatively comprehend Skalkottas' music.

Addendum

In the process of the analytical study, a number of possible mistakes or oversights in the existing available scores of the piece were revealed:

- In the Universal Edition, a natural accidental has to be added at pitch G at the 4th beat of the left hand stave at the Moderato (Var. II). This accidental is present in the autograph.
- In both versions (autograph and published) there is a discrepancy regarding Variations II and III. As the analysis has revealed, the two variations have a strict retrograde relation, so there should be an exact correspondence between their vertical pitch content. However, there are two instances of differentiation: 1) At the 11th quarter-note beat of Var. II (left hand stave), pitch D is natural, while at the corresponding 4th quarter-note beat of Var. III (right hand stave), pitch D is flat. It is suggested that the D of Var. II should become D flat also. 2) At the 1st beat of Var. II (right hand stave), pitch E is natural, while at the corresponding 9th beat of Var. III (left hand stave), pitch E is sharp. It is suggested that the E# of Var. III should become E natural. Both suggestions/corrections have been applied to the analytical diagrams of figures 7 and 9. Of course, since these two discrepancies are also found in the autograph, there is a possibility that they were deliberate deviations from the strict retrograde relation.

Costas Tsougras (composer – musicologist) was born in Volos in 1966. He began his musical studies in Volos (piano, accordion and classical harmony) and continued them in Thessaloniki (music theory and composition with Christos Samaras). He studied musicology at the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki (bachelor and PhD in music analysis with Demetre Yannou) and at the Columbia University of New York (where he worked with Fred Lerdahl on his PhD project involving the use of the Generative Theory of Tonal Music on 20th-century modal music). He is assistant professor of systematic musicology and music analysis at the Music Department of the A.U.Th. and a member of Greek Composers' Union, ESCOM (European Society for the Cognitive Sciences of Music) and SMT (Society for Music Theory). He is the editor of "Musical Pedagogics", the GSME's (Greek Society for Music Education) scientific journal. He has published theoretical and analytical work at international and Greek journals (JIMS, *Musicae Scientiae*, *Polyphonia*, et al) or conference proceedings on GTTM, Modal Pitch Space, music cognition models, computational musicology, music by Greek contemporary composers (Xenakis, Kounadis, Skalkottas), etc.

¹⁹ The reference to this letter comes from Mantzourani, 49.

²⁰ Stylistic composition has been used for the training of composers for centuries. For a representative recent approach, see: Nicholas Cook, *Analysis through Composition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996).

Appendix - Scores

Facsimile of Nikos Skalkottas' *Thema con Variazioni* from the *Suite for Piano no. 3* (1940 or 1941). Reproduced from: John Papaioannou, *Nikos Skalkottas* (Athens: Papagrighoriou-Nakas, 1997), vol. 2, 327-8. The manuscript is part of the *Nikos Skalkottas Archive* (A/K 73).

THEMA CON VARIAZIONI

(300 lines (120)) (20)

(Thème grecque populaire)
sesto

mf *f*

I Var. Adagio

mf

II Var. Moderato

f

III Var. Allegro

f

IV Var. Presto

(4)

(2)

(3)

(3)

Costas Tsougras, "Lullaby (study on Nikos Skalkottas)" [part of *Three stylistic studies based on Macedonian folk melodies* for piano solo (2011)], in *Piano Pieces in memoriam Mary Papadopoulou (1923-2010)* (Thessaloniki: State Conservatory of Thessaloniki, 2012).

Νανούρισμα (σπουδή στον Νίκο Σκαλκώτα)

για σόλο πιάνο

Κώστας Τσούγκρας (2011)

The musical score is written for solo piano in 3/4 time. It consists of four systems of music. The first system, labeled 'Theme', begins with a tempo marking of $\text{♩} = 32$ and a dynamic of *p*. It features a melody in the right hand (R.H.) and a bass line in the left hand (L.H.). The second system, labeled 'Var. I', starts with a tempo of $\text{♩} = 48$ and includes dynamics of *mp*, *pp*, and *p*. It contains a *rit.* (ritardando) section. The third system continues the variation with dynamics of *mp* and *mf*. The fourth system, labeled 'Var. II', begins with a tempo of $\text{♩} = 64$ and includes dynamics of *mf*, *p*, *f*, *mf*, and *ff*. It features an *accelerando* section. The score includes various musical notations such as slurs, accents, and dynamic markings. The left hand often plays chords and arpeggios, while the right hand plays the main melodic lines.

Var. III
♩=96

mp

Leo. * *Leo.* * *Leo.*

accelerando

mf

* *Leo.* * *Leo.* * *Leo.* * *Leo.* * *Leo.* * *Leo.* *

f

f

Leo. * *Leo.* * *Leo.* * *Leo.* *

Var. IV
♩=128

ff

ff

Leo. * *Leo.* * *Leo.* * *Leo.* * *Leo.* *

Theme
♩=32

fff R.H.

fff R.H.

mf

fff R.H.

fff

Leo. * *Leo.* * *Leo.* * *Leo.* * *Leo.* *

rit. ----- *a tempo*

rall.

Aspects of hellenicity in Nikos Skalkottas's music

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Abstract. Until the early 1980s, musicological research on the work of Nikos Skalkottas had been confined to his atonal and mostly his twelve-tone compositions. Research on his tonal music, and especially on works containing elements derived from Greek folk music (older and recent), only started in the mid 1990s, thus revealing aspects of his work untraced till then. The way Skalkottas uses elements from Greek music (folk or urban popular) is not uniform, as is the case of other composers of the National School of music; rather, it varies from work to work, depending on the individual composition's musical idiom (twelve-tone or tonal), as well as the period the work was written.

In the present paper we shall attempt to highlight the kinds of Greek musical elements used and their interconnections with the European tonal and atonal/twelve-tone idioms, as well as trace any developments concerning the choice and the uses of these musical elements.

Although the music of Nikos Skalkottas is considered to belong to the tradition of the Schoenberg School and the composer himself is regarded as the main representative of atonality and the twelve-tone music in Greece, a great part of his work is not only tonal, but also inspired by the older as well as the more recent Greek musical tradition. The use of elements derived from traditional and, in general, folk musical tradition largely characterizes his work over time, from the relatively early *36 Greek Dances* (1931-1936) to the late *Classical Symphony* and the *Sinfonietta* of 1947 and 1948 respectively. That his engagement with the folk song is not occasional but rather deeply rooted in his concerns about the relationship between tradition and his contemporary art music creation also becomes evident from the two following events: (a) in 1934 he collaborates with the Folk Music Archive in Athens, directed by Melpo Merlie, writing down 44 Greek folk songs, some of which he uses in Series I and II of the *36 Greek dances*. (b) In about the same period, he writes an article on folk song; there, his views on the subject are clarified. In the text, one reads: "The noble origin of our folk song and its aristocratic tendency infuse us with a breath of civilization. This we can feel. However, it may not be enough to just sense it; we also have to gain a deeper, intellectual knowledge of it! [...] Is elaboration [of the folk song] necessary? It is necessary to the great composer, as it is to the purpose for which the song is written. [...] The character of folk songs is romantic and what characterizes them the most is their national lyricism [...] The elaboration of our folk songs is necessary to the great composer who wishes to deliver them ready, processed with the solidity of a future value [...] We hope that, over time, we shall deliver even a few of these songs, arranged in several ways, to a large, superior audience who will eventually propagate them to the foreign country and put them and their composer at a proper place [...] In private musical gatherings, in public concerts, on the phonographs and the radios, we might be able, in the future, to listen to our folk songs in the spirit of our time, in the tone of the future [...] We make a distinction between folk and popular song, the latter being more widespread than the former, as well as lighter in content and easier [...] Our folk songs are culturally rich and purely Greek [...] Folk songs should be delivered to the serious musicians, so that they can arrange them and elaborate them in as

many ways as possible, without altering their real tendency, beautiful content and strong character”.¹

As clearly indicated in several points within the text, Skalkottas firmly believes that the elaboration of folk songs is essential to the great composer, on condition that their real nature, style and content are not altered, so that it will be possible for them to be comprehended by a “superior audience”, “in the tone of the future” and with the “solidity of a future value”. Moreover, Skalkottas makes a distinction between folk and popular song, considering the latter to be lighter and easier in musical content than the former.

To which extent, however, should a composer elaborate a folk song so that its content and style are not altered? The answer to such a question lies, of course, beyond Skalkottas and concerns not only all Greek composers belonging to the Greek National School, but also composers of the European National Schools, from Mikhail Glinka (1804-1857) to Béla Bartók (1881-1945). Bartók’s music seems, indeed, to combine art and folk music in the most successful manner. It stands as a unified whole, the component parts of which cannot easily be traced and isolated: impressionist, romantic and expressionist backgrounds merge with Hungarian and, in general, Balkan folklore, thus creating a unified sonic universe where components do not fight, but rather complement each other.

Although at a completely different level, and despite its several phases of development, the music of Manolis Kalomiris (1883-1962) also seems to be unified and consistent. This consistence actually applies to the other members of the Greek National School as well: in spite of their differences, they all (a) compose tonal music, (b) use folk song and (c) try to incorporate it into the large-scale symphonic forms, using the compositional methods of Western European music; (d) where a traditional song is not directly used, they replace its actual melodic presence with its character, rhythm and scale (such is the case of Kalomiris), creating in this way a “diffuse”, less explicit although entirely present, state of “hellenicity”.

Unlike the aforementioned composers, Skalkottas begins, with the exception of some early works, as a composer of twelve-tone and atonal music; his first encounter with folk music comes with the *36 Greek Dances*, composed between 1931 and 1936, that is during a period in which the rest of his works are all twelve-tone. There is, however, a more important factor that differentiates Skalkottas from the rest of his contemporary Greek composers: while they express their hellenicity through the large-scale classical genres and forms, Skalkottas composes his large-scale works expressing himself via the twelve-tone and atonality (*Symphonic Suite No.1*, *Piano Concerto No.1* and *String Quartet No.3* are typical examples), letting his hellenicity emerge through short tonal pieces of high artistic value in terms of form, in which a perfect, indeed, connection is achieved between the European musical tradition and the Greek folk song. As the conductor and composer Nikos Christodoulou rightly states in his noted article “Nikos Skalkottas – A centenary of his birth”: “A primary, distinctive feature of the *36 Greek Dances* lies in their formal conception: a) each Dance has an individual form (the entire work appears as a study in thirty-six different forms), b) all these forms are essentially “monothematic”; melodic, rhythmic and formal evolution is generated by “developmental variation” of the main theme and its motifs. Usually in pieces of this type, a formal pattern such as A-B-A, rondo, minuet-trio or similar is expected – a pattern in which the sections of the form are thematically constructed. (...) The way in which the forms of these dances grow is essentially organic. The form is generated through the process of “statement-contrast/ development by motivic varia-

¹ Article entitled “The Folk Song”, retrieved from the Nikos Skalkottas Archive, kindly provided by Nikos Skalkottas Jr. The musicologist K. Demertzis places the article in 1935. See: Kostis Demertzis, *Skalkottas’s Orchestration* (Athens: Papazisis, 1998), 288.

tion”; it is characteristic that there is hardly ever any normal recapitulation of the “first section” (exposition). In most of the dances the recapitulation, or rather a final reappearance of the main idea, is never literal; it may appear in a varied form, interwoven in the development, elaborated, elliptical – but always in a new shape aiming towards a formal goal”.²

Of course, characteristics of this type (developmental variation, non-exact repetitions etc.) are present in large-scale works as well. However, they obey the rules of the classical forms, whether they be sonata, rondo or scherzo. In spite of his efforts to revive the classical forms and the innovations in many of his compositions, the classical norms eventually survive, within the context of Skalkottas’ neoclassical perception of music. On the contrary, in the miniatures – microforms of the *36 Greek Dances* (with an average duration of about 2’30’’) he feels free to innovate, combining two different musical traditions. The preservation of the “style and content” of the folk songs seems to demand a certain kind of form, at least in the present phase of his development as a composer (1931-1936). Considering that the three series of the *36 Greek Dances* have a total duration of 111 minutes, one could suppose that Skalkottas might have written, instead of them, three large-scale symphonic works, using the classical forms and infusing them with folk song: this is what composers of the National School, such as Marios Varvoglis (1885-1967), Petros Petridis (1892-1977) and Antiochos Evangelatos (1903-1981) actually did. The composition of such a systematically structured work, consisting of three Series, of which each one has its own characteristics (the first one being the most concentrated and laconic, the second one the most expanded and developed and the third shorter and essentially simpler), has led Nikos Christodoulou to draw parallels, in his previously mentioned article, between the three Series and the general pattern “(I) statement – (II) elaboration – (III) resolution/ peroration (which one might compare to “exposition – development – recapitulation”). Whether we accept such an interpretation of the *Dances* or not, it seems a given fact that Skalkottas uses 36 microforms to express his hellenicity through folk songs arranged “for a large, superior audience (...) in the tone of the future”. This, at least, seems to be his understanding of the folk song at that time. The way the composer uses folk song is remarkable, since the actual, original melody is not present in any of the 25 *Dances* based on folk songs. By using small motivic and thematic cores derived from the original and modifying melodic and rhythmic elements according to the “compositional needs” of each dance,³ by creatively intervening, that is, in the original, he creates a new, entirely personal sonic world, which is unprecedented to the music philology, in Greece as well as worldwide.

Until the late 1930s Skalkottas completely differentiates between the two worlds (tonality – atonality), which are, of course, aesthetically distant: through the twelve-tone music, he mainly expresses his neoclassical aesthetics, continuing the European tradition of large-scale works, while in his tonal *36 Greek Dances* he manifests his romantic side. As I have tried to show in a previous article (“Musical idioms and aesthetic directions in Skalkottas’ s work”),⁴ the real romantic world of the composer is fully revealed in a number of his tonal works and particularly in the *Dances* and his ballets. Although each *Dance* represents a different world, expressing a wide range of moods and sentiments, the prevalent element which characterizes the whole work is that of romanticism in all its aspects: lyricism, epic character, melancholy, romantic love, pride, life, and death are probably distinct aesthetic interpretative categories which become, through the composer’s creative ability, aesthetic categories able to address a “large,

² Nikos Christodoulou, “Nikos Skalkottas—A Centenary of his Birth”, in Haris Vrontos (ed), *Nikos Skalkottas: A Greek European* (Athens: Benaki Museum, 2008), 150.

³ Ibid, 155.

⁴ George Zervos, “Musical Idioms and Aesthetic Directions in Nikos Skalkottas’s Work”, in *Nikos Skalkottas: A Greek European*, 70.

superior audience". The attachment of the folk song with the romantic movement is clearly expressed in another text of Skalkottas, under the title "Collecting of ideas", written probably in 1939. There, he states: "What is more, in the songs we can also find that romantic thematic freedom which is so innovative; this is why the people have called romantic music 'the music of song, melody and the free great spirit'".

In 1938 he attempts for the first time to combine tonality and atonality and specifically a, if not folk, at least folk-like, theme and an atonal accompaniment of a twelve-tone structure, in the work *Eight Variations on a Greek folk tune, for piano trio*. The melody of the folk song is first played by the violin and is diatonic, contrasting the essentially chromatic accompaniment of the cello and especially the piano. In every bar ten to twelve different notes are present, thus creating an atonal context, without, however, enabling us to identify any twelve-tone row. That Skalkottas tries to bring tonality, of folk origins indeed, and atonality together is by no means accidental, since the main feature of the variations is the preservation of the character of the theme and, to a certain extent, of the accompaniment as well, while at the same time the cutting of the form into small parts and the degree of autonomy of each variation favor such an experimentation, which would be impossible in the case of a sonata form, where a continuous flow and great homogeneity are demanded. A main aspect of this *Trio* is that while during the whole work folk song and atonal accompaniment coexist, they are also independent and each has its own life: there is, indeed, no intention on the part of the composer, to merge these two separate sonic worlds into a unified, homogenous whole. Contrary to what happens in the *Trio*, in the variations of the second movement of the *Concerto for two violins and orchestra* (1945), Skalkottas seems to be actually aiming at the merging of the melody of the 'rembetiko' song *Kato stin arapia* with a free twelve-tone accompaniment. This time, the theme of the variations is not a folk, but a rembetiko, that is an urban popular song. What is more, in the case of the *Concerto* the theme is intensely chromatic in character (it is essentially based on a version of the chromatic mode of D of folk music) and matches a part of the accompaniment which is both diatonic and chromatic in character. Here, the two different worlds seem to be approaching and a more homogenous result is present, compared to the sonic world of the *Piano Trio*. At this point we ought to mention that the *Concerto for two violins* is in fact a milestone in Skalkottas' development for the following reasons: (a) it is his last twelve-tone symphonic work, (b) for the first time in a large-scale work of absolute music he uses a famous popular song to create five variations in a free twelve-tone context and (c) comparing this *Concerto* with the *Concerto for solo violin* (1938) it can be seen that to the vague expressionistic serialism of the latter, Skalkottas juxtaposes a kind of "tonalized" serialism of neoclassical and folklore, in the last movement, character of the former.

Beginning with the first point (a), we should mention that all his symphonic works written after 1945 are tonal, while the twelve-tone are restricted to chamber music. Concerning the second point (b), we may remark that the rows used both in the first and the third movement are rhythmically used in such a way that they are "tonalized", thus referring to themes and motifs of tonal music. Indeed, the main theme of the last movement is like an echoing of a folk or a folk-like song which Skalkottas could have turned into a twelve-tone melody. In my previous articles as well as in my book *Nikos Skalkottas and the European tradition of the early 20th century*⁵ I have tried to show that, from the *Sonatina no.4* for violin and piano of 1935 to the *Sonatina for cello and piano* of 1949 there can be seen a gradual "tonalization" of the rows, not in the sense of moving towards a tonal center (as in tonal music), but in that a specific note prevails (see, for example, the B flat and the B in which the first and the second thematic group

⁵ George Zervos, *Nikos Skalkottas and the European tradition of the early 20th century*, Athens: Papagrigoriou-Nakas, 2001.

close in the first movement of the *Sonatina no.4*) and, furthermore, in that the rows form chords consisting of thirds and are therefore in a way “tonalized” (see, for example, the *Sonatina for cello and piano* and the *Bolero*). This melodic-rhythmic “tonalization” of the rows favors the use of folk or folk-like melodies, which are integrated into the free twelve-tone Skalkottas uses in his late chamber music works. In certain movements from the *Little Suites* for violin and piano of 1946 and 1949 respectively and in the *Duo for violin and cello* of 1947, twelve-tone and folk or folk-like elements, either derived from the Greek musical tradition or created by himself, seem to be complementing each other and form a unified whole without particular aesthetic contrasts between the two musical languages; a “bartokian”, we may say, world emerges, in which there is no conflict between tonality and atonality. The final result that can be heard is neither tonal nor completely atonal, as it was in his first twelve-tone works of the 1929-1935 period. The main reason for this is, as mentioned above, the “tonalization” of the rows (now used in a much freer way) which is achieved not only through rhythm but also melody, especially when the composer alludes to a folk or even popular song.

As already mentioned, Skalkottas’ symphonic works written after 1945 are all tonal, each time in a distinct way: folk simplicity in *The Sea* (1949), playful cheerfulness in the *Characteristic Piece for xylophone & orchestra* (1949), tonal neoclassicism in *Piano Concertino in C* (1948), Greek color in *Classical Symphony in A* (1947) and *Sinfonietta in B flat* (1948). From the above-mentioned works we are mainly going to commend on the last two, because they are compositions of absolute music, in contrast to *The Sea*, which, being a ballet, could contain, if not prevented by the libretto, elements from Greek music anyway. Indeed, unlike the ballet *The Maiden and Death* (1938) which basically belongs to the European musical tradition, except for certain moments in which the folk element seems to prevail (see, for example, “Tsamikos Dance”), the music of *The Sea* is characterized by a folk-like and lighter romantic mood compared to his first ballet; this, besides, becomes clear even in the composer’s long foreword: “A series of live pictures, taken exclusively from the marine world and the beautiful sea, conveys a small fragment as a plot revolving around the fantastic, the extravaganza (dance-ballet) and often the popular motif, in traditions of life by the sea. The immense sea leaves all of us with an ambiguous tempest transformed into a deep feeling, a deep nostalgia – and it is even more so for the sea people who, even if they know the sea, they love it and they sing about it, the ambiguous tempest staying in their souls is like a deadly sadness [...] The tone of the music is popular from the beginning to the end, with a tendency towards the simplicity of dance, of rhythm and of the imagination of the ballet [...] In the orchestra the instruments are divided into solo parts of a simple character, simple rhythm and simple harmony”.⁶

In the excerpt above it becomes clear that Skalkottas created such music intentionally, at the level of composition, as well as that of aesthetics and style: “simple character, simple rhythm, simple harmony”, concerning composition, and “popular motif”, “immense sea”, “ambiguous tempest”, “deep nostalgia”, “deadly sadness” concerning aesthetics and style. The popular element – in the wider sense of the term – as well as the folk song (original or of folk origins) both characterize the last two large-scale symphonic works written by Skalkottas. As it can be seen in the foreword of the music manuscript, the *Classical Symphony in A* “is a dedication to the classical symphony. An inner admiration for the great form of the symphony”. For the first time, Skalkottas composes a symphony, tonal indeed, which follows the classical standards to a great extent and this is achieved through an idiom in which hellenicity is diffuse, sometimes vague, sometimes more specific, expressing itself through well-known folk songs. Popular ele-

⁶ George Zervos, “Musical Idioms and Aesthetic Directions in Nikos Skalkottas’s Work”, in *Nikos Skalkottas: A Greek European*, 72.

ment, romanticism and nostalgia for the past are present in the whole work and this can be also traced in the composer's introductory note, where he describes some of his themes as "folk psalmody, a song of the past, a song of the old times, passive like a popular romance, erotic and passionate, a revelry of harmonicas, lute and folk instruments". If, however, in *The Sea* the folk element is accompanied by "a simple harmony", in the *Symphony* harmony ranges from the simple to the highly dissonant, sometimes even polytonal. Such an example is the harmonic treatment of the well-known folk song *Ena nero kyra Vangelio* in the "Scherzo"; there, the melodic simplicity is inversely proportional to the harmonic and contrapuntal environment. In *Sinfonietta in B flat*, Skalkottas continues with what he started doing in the *Classical Symphony in A*: the work also consists of four movements, but is different from the previous concerning the following: (a) its form is mainly functional (b) the Greek element used is of folk rather than popular origins (see the themes in the first, second and third movement), (c) it is constructed in a cyclical form, since in the last movement there appear themes from the previous movements.

In general, in these two symphonic works Skalkottas seems to be adopting an expanded tonal language which he uses to accompany simple popular melodies, folk songs or songs originating from the Greek tradition, and this does not happen within the context of music for the stage (as, for example, in the ballets *The Maiden and Death* and *The Sea*), but at the level of absolute music. The adoption of large-scale symphonic forms, combined with the use of elements from the Greek musical tradition, refers directly to the works by composers of the National School, even if Skalkottas musically expresses his hellenicity in a very different way from his Greek colleagues.

Given the above considerations, Skalkottas appears throughout his life and evolution as a composer to have used elements derived from the Greek musical tradition, both in his chamber and his symphonic works. From the *36 Greek Dances* to the *Eight Variations on a Greek folk tune, for piano trio* and from the *Concerto for two violins and orchestra* to the *Little Suites* for violin and piano and the aforementioned large-scale symphonic works, one encounters several different ways of using this tradition, without being able to know the path Skalkottas would have eventually followed, were it not for his sudden death at the age of 45. This task becomes even more challenging given that his compositional path can hardly be characterized as linear, since throughout his life he wrote, at the same period, twelve-tone, atonal as well as tonal music. Of course, as already mentioned, the fact that his rows from 1945 on are in a way "tonalized" and that his compositions are tonal, may imply that Skalkottas would have turned to tonal writing if he had lived longer. That tonal writing might have been either one including elements from the Greek musical tradition or one closer to the world of Béla Bartók, as we can see in Skalkottas' late chamber works in which twelve-tone and folk tradition coexist.

Since it is difficult to come to a conclusion concerning the path Skalkottas would have eventually followed, and having this truly large in number and of high artistic quality work in our possession, we could wonder which of the many aspects of hellenicity encountered in his work is that which is incorporated the most into the European side of his music? Where does Skalkottas achieve to combine the two different musical traditions the best: in the *36 Greek Dances*, the *Concerto for two violins* or the *Symphony in B flat*? Differently said, using his own words: "How are we going to elaborate on them in all possible ways, without distorting their real nature, beautiful content and strong character?" Skalkottas answers the question through his work, since, as it turns, he uses all possible techniques towards this direction; which one is, however, one might wonder again, the best, namely the one which preserves the content of the folk song to the greatest extent? The answer to such a question is more relevant within the context of aesthetics rather than that of compositional techniques. Having a brilliant compositional technique, Skalkottas seems to be always successful. But, this success cannot only be re-

lated to the inner processes of composition. The task of combining two different cultures is beyond the skillfulness of the composer, however brilliant he might be, and it is for this reason that the final choice is not only technical, but also aesthetical and cultural. In our opinion, speaking entirely subjectively, the most successful aspect of hellenicity on Nikos Skalkottas' music, the one that fully preserves the content of the folk musical tradition is that expressed in the *36 Greek Dances*, in which the composer has achieved, for the first time in the course of modern Greek art music, to infuse new contents (folk songs) with new forms (original mono-thematic forms, elaborated using the technique of developmental variation). The acknowledgement coming from the audience and the critics, as well as the numerous musicological approaches that have been slowly emerging, support this view and prove that the quality of this work is equivalent to the great works of twelve-tone and atonal music, such as the concertos, the symphonic suites, as well as the string quartets and the *32 Piano pieces*.

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The national element in Grażyna Bacewicz's music

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Abstract. Poland is a country shaped by history. The difficult periods in the history were the Partitions, the Uprisings and the World Wars. During those periods Poland did not formally exist. The culture and history were then the elements which kept us alive as a nation. In those times, although it was forbidden by the censorship, artists “smuggled” Polish themes into their pieces. In the pieces from the romantic era (Chopin, Moniuszko, Wieniawski) the national element could be heard. It is not unusual, given the postulates of that era. This national element consists of the usage of scales, rhythms of Polish folk dances and quotations of Polish music (e.g. Christmas carols). The Polish element is not only present in the music of romantic era. In 20th century music, the tendency to use or draw inspiration from Polish folk music can be heard in works of such great composers as Paderewski, Szymanowski, Bacewicz and Lutosławski.

In my paper, I would like to dwell on the music of Grażyna Bacewicz (1909-1969) – a composer, a teacher, a virtuoso and a philanthropist. She was a contemporary artist, who in a specific way combined contemporary techniques with elements of Polish and Lithuanian folk music.

Using the examples such as the „4th violin concerto”, “Oberek I” and “Polish Caprice”, I would like to point out the existence of the Polish element in music of this composer, which I would search in rhythm, usage of scales and stylization. I would like to show that folk music is a repository of knowledge and still remains a rich source of inspiration.

Grażyna Bacewicz was a Polish composer, violinist, pianist and a writer. She was born in 1909 in Łódź, and died in 1969 in Warsaw. Her teacher, Nadia Boulanger, said with emotion:

„When as a young girl she came to Paris, she showed great talent, which was to develop constantly for many years. (...) Bacewicz's talent was fully formed in Warsaw by Kazimierz Sikorski was (...) Grażyna, as almost each of my Polish students, had received solid education, both classical and contemporary¹”.

Bacewicz divided her music into three stylistic periods:

„The first, adolescent, highly experimental, the second, mistakenly called neoclassical in our country and essentially tonal, and the third, to which I still stick. I have attained it in a way of development (not revolution)²”.

Nonetheless, in a *Bacewicz Grażyna* entry in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*³ and in *Encyklopedia Muzyki*⁴, researchers focus on describing her output as neoclassical. The composer herself objected to the “neoclassical” label:

„For ten years I have been watching a certain phenomenon in our musical environment that concerns me (I apologize for writing about myself) and I have to confess, that with every year that passes by, a bigger astonishment overwhelms me. In ancient post-war times my

¹ *Dla ludzi zawsze mam twarz pogodną... Grażyna Bacewicz*, [a documentary film], directed by D. Pawelec, screenplay by M. Gąsiorowska and D. Pawelec, Telewizja Polska – Program II 1999.

² Bacewicz, Grażyna a sketch of an answer for an unknown questionnaire, *Ruch Muzyczny* 7 (1969), 4.

³ Schaeffer, Bogusław “Bacewicz Grażyna” [an entry], in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. S. Sadie, (London: Macmillan Publishers Limited, 1980, v. I), 772-773.

⁴ *Bacewicz Grażyna* [entry], in *Encyklopedia Muzyki*, ed. A. Chodkowski, 2nd edition (Warszawa: PWN, 2001, vol. 1), 63.

output was labeled as neoclassical. In those times it was not baseless. But my work has undergone changes. (...) A label once given is still current for them [the researchers – author's annotation]. This way the actual state of affairs is distorted. For nine years I have found this fact amusing. Now it has stopped amusing me⁵”.

The label was born early – after her first international success in 1933, when she won first prize for her *Woodwind Quintet* in a competition organized by an association supporting women working as freelancers⁶.

In particular stylistic periods, Bacewicz adhered to her own techniques, which is why her pieces are quite uniform. But she was not content with what she had developed – she combined her favorite classical forms with sonoristic techniques, she made liberal use of dodecaphony, she used controlled aleatory and folk music, from whose rhythms and melodies she drew inspiration. She created her own musical style. Tadeusz Zieliński said:

„That composer, who avoided the most extreme means of the contemporary avant-garde, succeeded in creating a separate, autonomic artistic phenomenon, naturally combining certain contemporary achievements with the aforementioned aesthetic attitude. It is a phenomenon, interesting on an international scale⁷”.

In turn, this is what Witold Rudziński said about her output:

„We have to admire her enthusiasm, with which she absorbed new currents, and at the same time her instinct, which prompted her what to include in her arsenal of achievements, and what to refuse in order not to lose that which is the most important for every artist in the end: their own artistic countenance, own artistic individuality⁸”.

Bacewicz's output is a milestone in the development of Polish music in 20th century. In the article *Ostatnie utwory Grażyny Bacewicz (The last works of Grażyna Bacewicz)* Tadeusz Zieliński wrote that her output is one of the most important elements of Polish contemporary music and as we look closely at it, we will see that its role is indeed immense. He concluded that she created the next great tradition of Polish music, the first one after Karol Szymanowski⁹.

Polish composer, Tadeusz Baird, was impressed by the size and the affluence of her output too. He emphasized her ability to express herself in almost every musical form from the symphonic cycle to the instrumental miniature, at the same time creating unique style which was impossible to falsify, just as the most versatile masters of the past¹⁰.

What was extremely important were the roots – the folk music. It can be proved by a fragment of Małgorzata Gąsiorowska's book about Bacewicz, in which she writes that folk intonations were natural for the composer's workshop and many of her works were permeated with folk rhythm or melody¹¹.

In turn, in a documentary film about the composer states that:

„Folk intonations are a constant element of many of her works. Doubtlessly, the first impulse that lead the artist's imagination towards folk music were the accomplishments of Ka-

⁵ Bacewicz, Grażyna a quotation from letter to editors of *Informator Muzyki Polskiej*.

⁶ *Dla ludzi...*, [a documentary film].

⁷ Zieliński, Tadeusz A. „Ostatnie utwory Grażyny Bacewicz”, *Ruch Muzyczny* 12 (1972), 4.

⁸ Rudziński, Witold a memory of Grażyna Bacewicz, *Ruch Muzyczny* 7 (1969), 12.

⁹ Zieliński, 3.

¹⁰ See: Baird, Tadeusz a memory of Grażyna Bacewicz, *Ruch Muzyczny* 7 (1969), 6.

¹¹ Gąsiorowska, Małgorzata *Bacewicz*, (Kraków: PWM, 1999), 175.

rol Szymanowski. The author of *Harnasie* in his deliberations on national art, raised the authority of Fryderyk Chopin and many other great composers. This thought was later used by social realism ideologists, who recommended using folk quotations in concert pieces. The drawing from folk motives by Grażyna seems to be something independent of the conditions. Folk intonations sound as natural in her late 4th *String Quartet* as in her adolescent *Woodwind Quintet*¹²”.

We can find opinions that folk-based Bacewicz’s output is only an attempt at accommodating to the Polish political climate. Adrian Thomas wrote about that in a booklet:

„1951 was the highpoint of the Polish government’s Stalin-inspired doctrine of socialist realism in the arts. This demanded an overt connection to the lives and experiences of ‘the masses’, which usually meant a simplified language and often the use of native folk tunes. It also favoured monumentalism and an optimistic tone, especially at the end of works¹³”.

Whereas the composer spoke favorably about the government’s orders for music pieces („I prefer to receive them from the government than from a certain individual. Don’t think that we’re writing only mass songs. I receive orders for quartets, symphonies, concertos, pedagogical pieces”¹⁴), Wanda Bacewicz denied strongly the „subjection” of her sister:

„Grażyna was the only Polish composer that did not write any mass song or cantata. She wrote pedagogic pieces so terribly needed at that time. And she also wrote, but not because of an order, she wrote pieces based on folklore, such as the 3rd *Concerto* and there were many pieces of this type. But there also wasn’t anybody who ordered Bartok to write music based on folklore¹⁵”.

Similar opinion can be found in the entry Bacewicz Grażyna written by Steffen Wittig for *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik*¹⁶.

Now let us concentrate on three pieces by Grażyna Bacewicz – the 1st *Oberek*, *Polish caprice* and the 4th *Violin concerto*. The element common to the compositions, besides the folk inspiration, which I aim to prove, is the usage of violin as a primary instrument. It is mainly because of the fact, that she was violin player, but maybe usage of fiddle is another proof of folk influence?

Małgorzata Gąsiorowska said about the 1st *Oberek* and *Caprice* that they are „marvelous pieces for an encore”¹⁷. The title of the first composition itself suggests the influence of Polish musical tradition. *Oberek* is a national dance, whose name comes from the rotating dance movement. It is the fastest of Polish mazurka-rhythm-based dances. Its another name is *ober* or *obertas*. Lightness and agility, repetitions of melodic and rhythmic figures, a majority of tiny rhythmic values and figurations are characteristic of it. Its metre is $\frac{3}{8}$ or $\frac{3}{4}$.

Ludwig Erhardt wrote about this piece:

„Its simple and straightforward structure, exposing the violin part, is by no means equivalent with accessibility of this music to the player. Really fast tempo, frequent usage of dou-

¹² *Dla ludzi...*, [documentary film].

¹³ Thomas, Adrian the note about 4th *Violin Concerto* in a CD booklet: *Grażyna Bacewicz violin concertos nos 2, 4 and 5*, (Chandos Records Ltd., 2011), 6.

¹⁴ Bacewicz, Grażyna a quotation from a letter to her brother Witold, quoted by Gąsiorowska, 185.

¹⁵ *Dla ludzi...*, [documentary film].

¹⁶ Wittig, Steffen Grażyna Bacewicz, [an entry] in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik*, Personenteil v. 1, (Weimar: Bärenreiter Verlag, 1999) 1271.

¹⁷ Gąsiorowska, 191.

ble-stops stylized in a folk-like manner, varied articulation – all this is a virtuoso exam, that only a composer-virtuoso could make up for a performer¹⁸.

References to the Polish dance are seen mainly on the rhythmic side of the piece. This work is in $\frac{3}{4}$ and tempo *presto*. It is based on movements of eighths. There are, like in the original folk dance, irregular accents on second and third beat in a bar. Not only does the accompaniment have to complete chords, but also underline these accents. We can see it, e.g. in the 7th bar.

Example 1. Irregular accents in 1st Oberek – bars 5-10¹⁹

Repetitions of melodic and rhythmic schemes are characteristic of this composition – we can imagine dancers performing rotating figures. The composer uses parallel fifths (bars 29, 30)

Example 2. Parallel fifths in bars 29 and 30.

Melody is lead in double-stops where one of the sounds is constantly repeated and it sounds almost like a bourdon:

¹⁸ Erhardt, Ludwig a comentary to: Bacewicz, Grażyna Dwa oberki na skrzypce i fortepian, in *Miniatury skrzypcowe* no. 96, (Kraków, 1971), quoted by Gąsiorowska, 192.

¹⁹ Examples 1-5 are based on: Bacewicz, Grażyna, *Dwa oberki* (Kraków: PWM, 2010), examples 6-8 are based on Bacewicz, Grażyna *Kaprys polski* (Kraków: PWM, 2003), example 9 is based on Bacewicz, Grażyna *IV Koncert skrzypcowy* (Kraków: PWM, 1998), the author of this paper has PWM's permission.



Example 3. Melody lead in double-stops – bars 5-16.

These are the methods to make the work folk-like. There are also elements of contemporary composition techniques. The composer juxtaposes keys without modulation – e.g. D-major, B-sharp minor and A-sharp minor. There are tritons in the accompaniment:



Example 4. Tritons in the accompaniment – bars 35-36.

The composer uses such articulation as *spiccato*, pinch harmonics and chords played *pizzicato*, in which there are simultaneous sounds with and without alteration (e.g. G 3, E-sharp 4, D-sharp 5, E 5 or G 3, A-sharp 4, E 5, G-sharp 5).



Example 5. Chords played pizzicato. Bar 26 and 34.

These newer elements are characteristic of Bacewicz's musical language.

Polish Caprice is a virtuoso piece for violin solo. It begins in slow tempo (*Andante*) in $\frac{3}{4}$, though the melody seems to sound in $\frac{2}{4}$ at the beginning. The melody is based on a heptatonic

Example 9. Stylization of Polish national dance – Krakowiak in second theme of III Movement.

Undoubtedly, Grażyna Bacewicz's work is worth analyzing and listening to. While the figure of female virtuoso was not something new in the 20th century, the figure of a female composer was surprising. Witold Rudziński dared to say:

„I often said that she was the greatest composer since, well... Safona's times. And she was indeed, because no female composers up until her times had been so outstanding, and in the romantic period they never left the living room²¹”.

In turn Eugenia Umińska wrote:

„She proved that composing is not only the domain of men! After all she proved inarguably that she can not only equal them, but stand in the very first row of the world's most prominent composers²²”.

Grażyna Bacewicz's output is a proof that folk music can be, also in the 20th century, an inexhaustible source of inspiration. Such a simple, sometimes primitive folk music material can be used for studying the sounds' secrets. This is not a material that leads, as the composers of Young Poland were afraid of, to backwardness of the music and to its stagnation. It can be quoted or stylized. Grażyna Bacewicz's output shows the national element as constantly attractive and as an inexhaustible source of inspiration. Her works prove that basing on a material that is characteristic of one's own country we do not have to give up contemporary techniques or our own musical language.

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²¹ Rudziński, 10.

²² Umińska, Eugenia a memory of Grażyna Bacewicz, *Ruch Muzyczny* 7 (1969), 10.

Beauty and singularity or national message? Elements of Podhale and Kurpie folk music in 20th century Polish compositions

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Abstract. Several times in the 20th century, folk elements, especially from the two ethnic and geographic regions of Podhale and Kurpie, have inspired the imagination of Polish composers. The fascination of Podhale folk songs and dances started with the creative output of Karol Szymanowski, who based his ballet “Harnasie” on Podhale folk music, and continued in the music of Jan Ekier, Michał Kondracki, Zygmunt Mycielski, Grażyna Bacewicz, Henryk Mikołaj Górecki and Wojciech Kilar.

The second, equally strong, source of inspiration was the folk music of the district, Kurpie, which lies northeast of Warsaw. This folk music inspired the music of Karol Szymanowski, Roman Maciejewski, Kazimierz Serocki, Bolesław Szabelski and Andrzej Panufnik.

Although the beauty and singularity of the folk music of these two regions of Poland, Podhale and Kurpie, surely aroused the curiosity of Polish composers, it was the national element so strongly rooted in these folk repertoires that provided them such meaningful material for creating music.

In this paper I will describe some examples of the musical repertoire influenced by Podhale and Kurpie folk music. I will demonstrate how the folk elements were used in these compositions, how they helped to create the form and the meaning of the works. Finally, I will propose ways in which these 20th century art compositions based on folk elements, then and now, communicated nationality to Polish listeners.

Several times in the 20th century, folk elements have inspired the imagination of Polish composers. This tendency to incorporate folk elements in art music started with the creative output of Karol Szymanowski, who based his ballet “*Harnasie*” on Podhale folk music, and his two opuses of “*Kurpian Songs*” on Kurpie folk music.

This music was a source of material and inspiration for several succeeding generations of Polish composers. Different stages of development of Polish 20th century music were more or less conducive (favourable) to make use of folk elements in art music.

Before the Second World War, Roman Maciejewski incorporated the Kurpian material into *Kurpian songs* for mixed choir a cappella, 1929, as did Michał Kondracki (*Little Mountaineers’ Symphony “Pictures on the Glass”* for 16 instruments, 1930 and *Kurpian Suite* for orchestra, 1933) and Jan Ekier (*Highlanders’ Suite*, 1935),

In the 1950s under the Iron Curtain, even though the state prescribed normative esthetics, the neoclassical style continued. Within this style the folkloristic trend was developed and explains why the composers of art music took inspiration from folk culture. This period gave rise to such works as:

- Andrzej Panufnik’s *Sinfonia rustica* (1948, folk music of Kurpie),
- Zygmunt Mycielski’s „*Polish’ Symphony*” (1951, folk music of Podhale),
- Bolesław Szabelski’s „*Third Symphony*” (1951, folk of Kurpie),
- Tomasz Kiesewetter’s „*Mountaineers’ Symphony*” (1952),
- Kazimierz Serocki’s *Second „Symphony of songs”* (1953, folk of Kurpie).

Symphonic poems by Wojciech Kilar, such as: *Krzesany* (1974) and *Siwa mgła [Grey mist]* (1979) surely belong to the most famous compositions of the final 25 years of the 20th century. Both use the “*Sabala note*” (Sabala melody), treated as a quotation or as a starting point for composer’s elaboration.

Polish composers devised different ways of elaborating and using folk materials. Polish scholar Krzysztof Baculewski enumerates four such methods:

1. elaboration of folk material without strong changes in order to give a melodic or formal folkloristic basis to the whole piece¹;
2. folk quotations incorporated in art music²;
3. stylization of folk music;
4. the creation of specific folk or even a national atmosphere in the mode of folk, without exact folk elements (direct quotations or borrowings).

Generally composers chose one or more of these methods. Sometimes, as Szymanowski did, they used all.

Let's consider some examples.

Folk music of Podhale

Szymanowski

Szymanowski's relationship with folk art evolved throughout his life. At first, he was against incorporating folk elements into art music, and this negative attitude might be understood as a result of the "academic" usage of folk music by other Polish composers, his contemporaries. In the last period of his creativity – in his national period – Szymanowski changed his opinion. He stressed the values and vivacity of folk songs; he treated them as the "eternally beating heart of the race [...], which an artist, close to the soil of his culture, should create anew in the form of a perfect, generally intelligible work of art"³.

Especially during composing the ballet „*Harnasie*” (1923-1931) he stressed the richness of Polish "barbarity" hidden in Polish folk⁴. He added that this music must be heard when drinking with mountaineers if one is to understand what's going on⁵.

Szymanowski generally was against the mechanical or photographic incorporation of folk elements into works of art, but in special situations he saw the procedure as unavoidable⁶. In this way he explained the incorporation of original quotations of Podhale folk songs into his ballet "Harnasie". He took the authentic folk melodies from the collection: "Music of Podhale" by Stanisław Mierczyński.

It is worthwhile to note that "Harnasie" proves Szymanowski's deep knowledge of mountaineers' folk music, customs, and ceremonials and this authenticity is an important point of reliance for the dramatic action of the whole ballet, which as a whole is not strongly convincing.

¹ Baculewski, Krzysztof *Współczesność* [Contemporarity], part I: 1939-1974 (Warszawa: Sutkowski Edition Warsaw, 1996), 158.

² Baculewski, *Współczesność*, 158.

³ Szymanowski, Karol „Wychowawcza rola kultury muzycznej w społeczeństwie” [Educating role of musical culture in society], in Karol Szymanowski. *Pisma* [Karol Szymanowski. Texts], Vol I. *Pisma muzyczne* [Musical texts], ed. Kornel Michałowski (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1984), 269.

⁴ Szymanowski, O muzyce góralskiej [About mountaineers music], in K. Szymanowski. *Pisma*, 107.

⁵ Chybiński, Adolf Karol Szymanowski a Podhale [Karol Szymanowski and Podhale], 3rd ed. (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1958), 21.

⁶ Michałowski, Kornel, *Karol Szymanowski. Katalog tematyczny dzieł i bibliografia*, (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1967), 225.

The values of Podhale folk music especially attractive to Szymanowski was the multiplicity of “notes” (that is, melodies), but also their diversity and changeability⁷. In “*Harnasie*”, Szymanowski quoted these mountaineers melodies *in crudo*, he based some parts of the ballet on them, but he also developed and transformed the quotations. Taking inspiration from folk music, he created completely new art music fragments⁸.

The presence of original quotations in “*Harnasie*” is really strong and very intense. The vocal dimension of the ballet (in solo and in choral parts) is almost entirely based on quotations. We can find the considerable number of examples:

- the song opening the third scene of the Tableau No 1 (*Marsz zbójnicki [The Tatra Robbers’ March]*) – melody starting with the text: *Hej, idem w las [Hey!, I am going into the woods]*, the same melody is used in the fourth scene (No 30, 31, 34 in the Score) and in the eight scene (No 95 of the Score);
- the song opening the seventh scene of the Tableau No 2 (*Taniec góralski [The Tatra Highlanders’ Dance]*) – No 44 in the collection of Mierczyński “*Music of Podhale*”);
- the famous tenor solo in the last, nine scene (*Epilogue*) - quotation of the song *Powiedz ze mi, powiedz [Tell me, tell me]* (bars 3-17);
- the second part of the same tenor solo in the nine scene (*Epilogue*) – quotation of the melody no 53 from the Mierczyński’s collection *Muzyka Podhala* (bars 3-17);
- the choral scene opening the Tableau No 2 = the sixth scene: *Wesele [The Wedding]* (bars 8-17) - noted by Szymanowski as *Eli nuta [Note of Ela]*;
- the choir’s ending of the sixth scene (*Cepiny [Entry of the Bride]*);
- the whole choir’s sixth scene: (*Pieśń Siuhajów [Drinking Song]*) – based on the song *Jo za wodom, ty za wodom [I’m across the water; you’re across the water]*);
- the middle, choir’s part of the eighth scene (*Napad harnasiów. Taniec [Raid of the Harnasie. Dance]*) – melody to the text *Spotkolek cie w lesie, widziolek cie w polu [I met you in the forest, I saw you in the field]*.



Musical example 1. Stanisław Mierczyński, *Music of Podhale* no 92 – *Chatubiński's March*.

⁷ Nowacki, Kazimierz Rola folkloru góralskiego w „Harnasiach” [Role of mountaineers folk in „Harnasie”], in Karol Szymanowski. Księga sesji naukowej [Karol Szymanowski. Materials from the musicological conference], (Warszawa: Uniwersytet Warszawski, 1964), 211.

⁸ Nowacki, Rola folkloru, 212.

Musical example 2. Karol Szymanowski, *Harnasie*, third scene, *The Tatra Robbers' March*.

Musical example 3. S. Mierczyński, *Music of Podhale no 44*.

Musical example 4. K. Szymanowski, *Harnasie*, seventh scene, *The Tatra Highlanders' Dance*.

Musical example 5. S. Mierczyński, *Music of Podhale no 53*.

The image shows a musical score for the ninth scene of *Harnasie*. It includes a tenor solo part with lyrics in Polish: "cy mie ra-da ul - dia, cy ko-go in-se - go? Kie-bys ty tak sa mnom, ja - ko jo sa to - bom". The instrumental parts for Violin I & II, Viola I & II, and Cello/Double Bass are also shown, with dynamic markings like *pp dolce* and *pp*.

Musical example 6. K. Szymanowski, *Harnasie*, ninth scene, Epilogue.

The music of Podhale was also woven into the instrumental parts of “*Harnasie*”, as transformed quotations. Szymanowski used the technique of montage – a technique specifically binding two different melodies (or their fragments) into a new one. There also is a technique specific to the mountaineers’ singing practice⁹.

Examples can be found:

- in the opening melody of “*Harnasie*” (based among others on *Sabala note*);
- in the tenor solo part of the last, ninth scene;
- in the predominant melody of the *Taniec zbójnicki* [*The Tatra Robbers’ Dance*].

The image shows a musical score for the first scene of *Harnasie*, marked "Andante tranquillo". It features a flute solo part with the instruction "solo improvvisando" and dynamic markings like *pp dolce* and *pp*. Other instruments shown include Oboe I, Clarinet I in A, Arpa, and Violoncelli I.p.

Musical example 7. K. Szymanowski, *Harnasie*, first scene.

The image shows a musical score for the fifth scene of *Harnasie*, specifically bars 34-38. It is marked "Poco sostenuto". The score includes parts for Flute I, Oboe I and II, and Cor I. Dynamic markings include *f dolce espress.* and *ff*.

Musical example 8. K. Szymanowski, *Harnasie*, fifth scene, *The Tatra Robbers’ Dance*, bars 34-38.

“*Harnasie*” makes reference to tunes of the folk instrumental bands of Podhale (*Taniec góralski* [*The Tatra Highlanders’ Dance*]).

‘*Harnasie*’ is, as I’ve said, almost completely based on Podhale folk culture. The original quotations, improvisational transformations and developments of folk elements such as melodies or rhythm, remained close to highlanders’ performance practice¹⁰ and became a method for Szymanowski to express his composer’s individuality¹¹.

⁹ Nowacki, *Rola folkloru*, 215.

¹⁰ Nowacki, *Rola folkloru*, 221.

¹¹ Nowacki, *Rola folkloru*, 223.

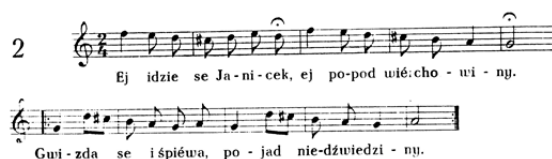
Podhale folk music so strongly influenced Szymanowski's imagination that he also used it in other compositions, such as the *String Quartet No 2* op. 56 (1927) or *20 Mazurkas* op. 50 (1924-25). In the second part of the quartet No 2, Szymanowski quoted the song used in "Harnasie" in Tableau No 2, beginning with the words *Pocciez chłopcy...* [*Money boys, find the money*] and the third part is based on *Sabala's note*. The highlanders' *Sabala's note* was used also in the first mazurka in Szymanowski's op. 50.

Grażyna Bacewicz

The Polish woman composer Grażyna Bacewicz referred to Podhale folk music in her third *Violin concerto* (1948). The composer admitted that she tried to take from Podhale folk not only the general atmosphere, but also melodic, harmonic, and rhythmic features typical for it¹². Both subjects in the second movement and the subsidiary theme in the third movement are based on original folk melodies of Podhale (the second subject of the second movement is *Sabala's note*: *Ej idzie se Janicek, ej pod wierchowiny*, noted by Adolf Chybiński in his collection "Od Tatr do Bałtyku" [*From Tatra Mountains to Baltic Sea*] as number 2¹³). However, the other fragments of music (apart from clear quotations) also referred to Podhale folk. It is especially obvious in the exposed Lydian fourth, use of the Podhale scale, and in building musical phrases in a descending direction¹⁴.

Musical affects based on Podhale folk music are not as clearly hear in Bacewicz's music as in Szymanowski's; they are more rearranged than they are stylized. Bacewicz's interest in Szymanowski's sources of inspiration (within Podhale folk and generally in his musical poetics) was explained by a musicologist with the fact that she herself as a violinist very often played Szymanowski's music (especially his 1st *Violin concerto*¹⁵).

2



Ej idzie se Ja-ni-cek, ej po-pod wiecho-wi-ny.
Gwi-zda se i śpięwa, po-jad nie-dźwiedzi-ny.

Musical example 9. *Sabala note* from Adolf Chybiński's collection *Od Tatr do Bałtyku* [*From Tatra Mountains to Baltic Sea*], no 2.



Musical example 10. G. Bacewicz, *Third Violin Concerto*—second theme of second movement.

Wojciech Kilar – *Kzesany*

Wojciech Kilar further developed the use of folk ideas Szymanowski had begun, in "Kzesany" Kilar's symphonic poem of 1974, but he implements Szymanowski's, according to the musicolo-

¹² Gąsiorowska, Małgorzata Bacewicz (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1999), 175.

¹³ Gąsiorowska, Bacewicz, 176.

¹⁴ Gąsiorowska, Bacewicz, 176.

¹⁵ Gąsiorowska, Bacewicz, 178.

gist Zofia Helman, by way of newer means of composing, such as aleatoric improvisation¹⁶. Kilar's main aim was not to create a stylization of Podhale music but to build the emotional climate recalled by the contact with highland music.

Precisely speaking, "Krzesany" is a cycle of mountaineers' dancer preceded by an invocation. He quotes Podhale folk songs and dances to create the climate of the Tatra robbers' and mountaineers' music. The second phase (bars 74-566), which has the character of dance, begins with the "Sabala's note" from Stanislaw Mierczyński's collection "Muzyka Podhala" [Music of Podhale]. Next, one hears a reminiscence of the song *Hej idem w las* [Hej, I am going into the wood]. The final climax of the composition is based on the dance *Do zbójnickiego, do zwyrtu* (from bar 711), also from Mierczyński's collection.

Similarly with Szymanowski's "Harnasie", "Krzesany" by Kilar is strongly rooted in Podhale folk music and is inspired by the idiom of authentic, original folk elements.



Musical example 11. S. Mierczyński, Music of Podhale, no 3 – Sabala note no 3.

gng gr $\frac{2}{4}$ (♩ = ca 90)

MF quasi MP (80) [lungo poss.]

1

vn I 2

3

Musical example 12. W. Kilar – Krzesany – quotation of "Sabala note".

¹⁶ Helman, Zofia „Dylemat muzyki polskiej XX wieku – styl narodowy czy wartości uniwersalne”[Dilemma of 20th century Polish music – national style or universal heritage], in Dziedzictwo europejskie a polska kultura muzyczna w dobie przemian [European heritage and Polish musical culture in the time of changes], ed. Anna Czekanowska (Kraków: Musica Iagellonica, 1995), 190-191.



Musical example 13. S. Mierczyński, *Music of Podhale*, no 101.

The image displays a full orchestral score for Musical example 14. At the top, it is marked 'Molto rustico, con gran forza e vigore' and 'FFF' (fortissimo). The conductor's part is labeled 'ptti a 2' and is in 2/4 time. The orchestration includes:

- vn I (Violin I) 1-12
- vn II (Violin II) 1-12
- vi (Viola) 1-4 unis.
- vc (Violoncello) 5-7 unis.
- vc (Violoncello) 8-10 unis.
- cb (Contrabasso) 1-4
- cb (Contrabasso) 5-8

 The score shows rhythmic patterns for each instrument, with some parts featuring sustained notes and others more active rhythmic figures.

Musical example 14. W. Kilar – *Krzesany*, quotation of *The Robber's Dance*.

Folk music of Kurpie

Szymanowski

Szymanowski was impressed by the richness and the beauty of Kurpian melodies. He wrote that “the melodies are marvelous”¹⁷. Archaic subdialects of the Kurpian dialect were also important for the composer. He wanted to preserve intact in his music the originality and beauty of the Kurpian dialect (“intact”¹⁸).

Three times, Szymanowski used the folk music of Kurpie as a source of inspiration: in *6 Kurpian songs* for a choir *a cappella* (issued 1929 without any opus number), in *12 Kurpian Songs* for voice and piano op. 58 (in three books 1934-1935) and in *Kurpian song* for violin and piano (printed in Vienna 1931). Both vocal collections were inspired by texts from the priest Władysław Skierkowski’s “*Puszcza kurpiowska w pieśni*” [*Songs of the Kurpiowska Forest*].

Szymanowski used quotations of folk songs of Kurpie as follows:

¹⁷ Chylińska, Teresa Karol Szymanowski i jego epoka [Karol Szymanowski and His Time], vol 2, (Kraków: Musica Iagellonica 2008), 360.

¹⁸ Chylińska, Karol Szymanowski i jego epoka, 360.

Titles of Szymanowski's songs	Songs of the Kurpiowska Forest by priest Władysław Skierkowski
1. <i>Hej wołki moje [Hey, my oxen]</i>	<i>part I no 45</i>
2. <i>A chtoż tam puka [Who is that knocking?]</i>	<i>part I no 29, melody no 28</i>
3. <i>Niech Jezus Chrystus [May Jesus Christ be praised]</i>	<i>part I no 64</i>
4. <i>Bzicem kunia [Whip on the horse]</i>	<i>part I no 39</i>
5. <i>Wyrundzaj się [Deck yourself, my lass]</i>	<i>part I no 19</i>
6. <i>Panie muzykancie [Master musician, please play a waltz]</i>	<i>part I no 17</i>

Table 1. Six Kurpian songs for a choir a cappella by Szymanowski

Titles of Szymanowski's songs	Songs of the Kurpiowska Forest by priest Władysław Skierkowski
1. <i>Lecioły zórazie [Les blancs cygnes]</i>	<i>part II book I no 366</i>
2. <i>Wyśta burzycka [Dans les nuages]</i>	<i>part I no 55</i>
3. <i>Uwoz mamó [Mère, me diras-tu?]</i>	<i>part II book I no 377</i>
4. <i>U jezioreczka [Dans le murmure]</i>	<i>1st quotation: part II book I no 239 2nd quotation: part II book I, no 238</i>
5. <i>A pod borem [L'heure avance]</i>	<i>part II book I no 371</i>
6. <i>Bzicem kunia [Hé, va dinc]</i>	<i>part I no 39</i>
7. <i>Ściani dumbek [Dans la forêt noire]</i>	<i>part II book I no 128</i>
8. <i>Leć po głosie po rosie [Va, chanson]</i>	<i>part II book I no 127</i>
9. <i>Zarzyj ze kuniu [Va, mon cheval]</i>	<i>part II book I no 380</i>
10. <i>Ciamna nocka ciamna [Nuit d'été, nit sombre]</i>	<i>1st quotation:: part II book I no 132 2nd quotation: part II book I no 131</i>
11. <i>Wysły rybki wysły [Les poissons se jouent]</i>	<i>part II book I no 288</i>
12. <i>Wszyscy przyjechali [Les beaux gras s'assemblent]</i>	<i>part I no 42</i>

Table 2. Twelve Kurpian Songs for voice and piano op. 58 by Szymanowski

It is worth noticing that Szymanowski was inspired by two songs from the cycle of Skierkowski collection when he wrote *U jeziorecka [Dans le murmure]* and *Ciamna nocka ciamna [Nuit d'été, nit sombre]*. The inspiration was so compelling, in fact, that Szymanowski based his 17 songs on 19 different quotations of folk melodies from Kurpie.

In all his Kurpian songs Szymanowski tried to emphasize typical features of Kurpian folk music. First of all, the composer was interested in original material that contained the strongest archaic features, so he chose the simplest melodies with clear archaic traits. He transformed authentic melodies by interpolation, transposition, and fragmentary repetition. As a result, this authentic music, characterized by primitive features, contrasts in Szymanowski's songs with elaborate harmony; polyphony; dynamic, agogic accents; and specific articulations. The primary element for his art music was the texture. The result is extraordinary.

Bolesław Szabelski – 2nd and 3rd Symphony

Bolesław Szabelski also used folk elements in his 2nd and 3rd symphonies, but used them differently. The folk melodies of Kurpie became the starting point for the composer's own creative development.

The *Second Symphony* by Szabelski (1929-1932) belongs to the first phase of his creative output, the phase inspired by late romanticism. This phase exhibits similarities with Szymanowski's music¹⁹. This fact is unsurprising, because Szabelski was a student in Szymanowski's composition class in the Warsaw Conservatory of Music²⁰. The *Second Symphony* was written as a tribute to Szymanowski and was inspired by the collection *Songs of the Kurpiowska Forest* by the priest Władysław Skierkowski.

The presence of the folk music of Kurpie can be heard as *in crudo* quotations, and also in the different transformations of Kurpian motives. Szabelski usually started by quoting authentic folk melodies and then developing them in improvisational, ornamental, or figurate procedures. Sometimes the composer shaped his own melodic line, following the typical features of its archaic folk model. The similarities between authentic folk melodies from Skierkowski's collection and melodies Szabelski transformed is easy to follow.



Musical example 15. Władysław Skierkowski - *Songs of the Kurpiowska Forest*: song „Pocóżście kawaliry...”



Musical example 16. B Szabelski – *Second Symphony*, bars 37-40.



Musical example 17. W. Skierkowski - *Songs of the Kurpiowska Forest*: song „Wszyscy przyjechali..”.



Musical example 18. B. Szabelski, *Second Symphony*, bars 60-61.

¹⁹ Markiewicz, Leon *Bolesław Szabelski. Życie i twórczość* [Bolesław Szabelski. Life and creativity], (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1995), 137.

²⁰ Markiewicz, II Symfonia Bolesława Szabelskiego. Inspiracje – warsztat – stylistyka [Second Symphony by Bolesław Szabelski. Inspirations – craftsmanship – stylistics] (Katowice: Wydawnictwo Śląsk, 1988), 7- 32.

Kurpian folk music is also an important source for melodic motifs in the *Third Symphony* (1951) of Szabelski²¹, especially for the second subject of the first movement and in the character of the melodies of the third movement. The folk elements borrowed by the composer are not stylized but transformed by his own individual procedures. Sometimes the archaic folk models are subordinated to baroque figurations (typical for this *Symphony*) and to contrapuntal or other polyphonic transformations.

Musical example 19. B. Szabelski, *Third Symphony*, first movement.

Musical example 20. B. Szabelski, *Third Symphony*, third movement.

Final remarks

In 1965 the Polish musicologist Zofia Lissa said that quotations taken from folk music cannot be taken as musical quotations at all²², because original folk melodies belong to the “common goods”²³ (national heritage) and are not staying “outside” the composers’ musical language²⁴. As a result, she claimed, we cannot distinguish quotations from the transformed musical material.

I differ with Lissa in this, however. The reason is that we, as listeners representing the Polish culture, *can* distinguish what primarily came from folk music and what did not; what is idiomatic in the musical language of a given composer and what is foreign to it; what is idiomatic and what is symbolic.

²¹ Markiewicz, Bolesław Szabelski. *Życie i twórczość*, 53.

²² Lissa, Zofia, *Szkice z estetyki muzycznej* [Sketches of esthetics of music], (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1965), 310.

²³ Lissa, *Szkice*, 310.

²⁴ Lissa, *Szkice*, 310.

Polish composers of the 20th century, searching for something special to enhance their artistic language, took special interest in folk elements of the Podhale and Kurpie ethnic regions.. They settled on something authentic, original, and so deeply rooted in Polishness that it may even sound archaic. The severe beauty and singularity of this folk music was of primarily importance for the Polish composers of the 20th century.

The deep Polishness rooted in the folk music of Podhale and Kurpie is usually seen to result from Poland's historical heritage. People who, past and present, live in these two ethnic regions (Podhale and Kurpie) nurture a deep feeling of independence, of freedom. These people never had been noblemen or peasants, but were free settlers with sanctioned laws and autonomy who were directly under authority of the monarchs²⁵. This independence and the dissimilarity of Podhale and Kurpie habitants to people in other areas of Poland is expressed in their culture and in the beauty and singularity of their folk music.

It is for these reasons that the folk music of Podhale and Kurpie aroused the curiosity of Polish composers. But it was the national element so strongly rooted in these folk repertoires that provided them such meaningful material for creating music.

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²⁵ Chylińska, Karol Szymanowski i jego epoka, vol. 2, 361.

When Progress Fails, Try Greekness: From Manolis Kalomiris to Manos Hadjidakis and Mikis Theodorakis

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Abstract. I am based on the theory of Pierre Bourdieu about the “Rules of the Art” and the “Taste” to claim that: the ideal of “Greekness” in Greek Music played a similar, though not identical role, to the one the ideal of “Progress” played in the Western Art, as they both functioned as an establishing-channel for the younger artists. But whereas the avantgardistic “Progress” of the Western Art takes place in the area of what Bourdieu calls “high symbolic capital”, the identity-related “Greekness” in the Greek music moved gradually from the area of high symbolic capital to that of the middle symbolic capital. I concentrate on the key-composers Manolis Kalomiris (1883-1962), Manos Hadjidakis (1925-1994) and Mikis Theodorakis (1925).

Western Art in general, as well as a specific part of Greek Music, which had a pretension to the status of Art, seem to have evolved under the same functioning law, that of the revolution. But whereas the motivational principle of the revolutions in Western Art has been that of “Progress”, some Greek composers, who were educated in Western Art Music, revolted for the sake of “Greekness”. Among these composers, Manolis Kalomiris (1883-1962), Manos Hadjidakis (1925-1994) and Mikis Theodorakis (1925) were supposed to express the Greekness par excellence, at least at the top of their career.¹ But the more “Greek” the music of the two latter composers sounded, the less “artistic” –and at the same time more popular and commercial- it became. Hence, Greekness in music fell gradually away from the area of the pure, autonomous Art; in other words, from the area of the high symbolic capital.

In order to understand the evolution of Greek music under the ideal of Greekness would be helpful to look into the theory of Pierre Bourdieu. In “The Rules of Art” Bourdieu describes the “artistic field” of the 19th century France by focusing mainly on literature. In Bourdieu there are two ways of cultural production with contrasting principles: the one of the autonomous, “pure” art and the other of the heteronomous, “commercial”, market-oriented art. The producers of the first one accumulate high symbolic capital,² in other words, primarily achieving the recognition of other cultural producers, while the commercial producers are recognized mainly from the wide audience and therefore accumulate high economic capital.³

According to Bourdieu in the area of autonomous Art a “permanent revolution”⁴ takes place that produces the different artistic generations, which are not equal to the biological generations and are moreover separated through the “degree of consecration”. These are: “defined by the interval [...] between styles and lifestyles that are opposed to each other - as “new” and “old”, “original” and “outmoded”. These arbitrary dichotomies are often almost empty of meaning, but are sufficient to classify and give existence to [...] groups designated - rather than defined - by labels intended to produce the differences that they pretend to enunciate”.⁵ So, in

¹ On this paper I am focusing exclusively on their early career years of the three composers.

² In Bourdieu the symbolic capital is opposed to the economic capital. The higher symbolic capital a piece of art enjoys, the lower the economic capital it brings and vice versa.

³ Bourdieu, Pierre *The Rules of Art: Genesis and Structure of the literary field*, trans. Susan Emanuel (Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1995), 113-140.

⁴ Bourdieu, 239-242.

⁵ Bourdieu, 122.

order to exist, a “new” artistic generation must oppose itself to the “old” one and succeed to make it appear “outmoded”, by using this “Thesis-Antithesis” schema. To the arsenal of such symbolic strategies belong not only the differences in the artistic style per se, but also discourses about art, like manifestos.

In countries where Art Music during the 20th Century was well established and had a long tradition, the new artistic generations took a place in the artistic field by revolting under the ideal of Progress.⁶ For instance, during the first half of the 20th Century, Schoenberg “emancipated the dissonance” as part of an inevitable historical process⁷ and later on happened what Dahlhaus so aptly describes: “The musical progress is not identical to the scientific progress, but to the philosophical [...] which contributes rather to the discovery of the problems, than to their solution. It’s undeniable that composers like Boulez [1925], Stockhausen [1928-2007], Nono [1924-1990], Kagel [1931-2008], who are believed to be the avant-garde, have expanded the musical thought”.⁸ So, if the “progressive” postwar Western Art Music was discovering problems, at the same time the music in Greece was solving the problem of the Greekness. Two of the three main actors in this story, Manos Hadjidakis (1925-1994) and Mikis Theodorakis (1925), belonged to the same generation with the avantgardistic composers, previously cited in the Dalhaus-Quotation.

All three composers were the most influential people in Greek music life during the 20th Century. Kalomiris dominated in the first half of the 20th Century, while Hadjidakis and Theodorakis gained influence in the second half. Apart from the “Greekness” in their music, their career shared another three common factors. Firstly, all of them made alliances with artists outside the musical field, secondly all of them had some sort of relationship to politics, and thirdly, all of them, at least tried, to establish new musical institutions or change the old ones.

1. Manolis Kalomiris and the National School of Music

Back in the very early 20th Century Greece, there was no distinction between “serious” and “light” music, in other words between (Western) Art music and non-art music. As national music was perceived that of the Greek Orthodox Church, which had also a secular use next to the Greek folk music, the Demotic Song. What was called “European” music in Athens was the music of the Greek composers from the Ionian Islands, whose style was influenced by the Italian music.⁹

Manolis Kalomiris, who studied music in Vienna, had the same principles with the other National Schools in Europe and thus was aspired to the musical idiom of the late Romanticism with inspirations from the Greek folk music. As he succeeded to become the “father” of the Greek National School of Music and establish it in the Athenian music life in the first quarter of the 20th Century, a new westernized understanding of music emerged. From then on, folk mu-

⁶ The Art since modernism has generally been understood in terms of progress. For instance, when a person interprets an artwork: “seems to stare into an ordered past, to see what has been created and to place the new achievement within the context of a historically advancing process”. See Doorman, Maarten *Art in Progress: A Philosophical Response to the End of the Avant-Garde*, transl. Sherry Marx, (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2003), 63.

⁷ About Schoenberg and the ideology of progress, see Gur, Golan “Arnold Schoenberg and the Ideology of Progress in Twentieth-Century Musical Thinking”, *Search Journal for New Music and Culture* 5, Summer 2009. In <http://www.searchnewmusic.org/> (accessed on November 10th, 2012).

⁸ Dahlhaus, Carl “Fortschritt und Avantgarde”, in *Carl Dahlhaus Gesammelte Schriften in 10 Bänden*. Bd. 8., ed Hermann Danuser (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 2005), 21.

⁹ Romanou, Katy “Westernization of Greek Music”, *Зборник Матице српске за сценске уметности и музику* 28-29, 2003. In <http://www.maticasrpska.org.rs> (accessed on September 23th, 2012).

music acquired a sacralized position in the artistic field. It became the “soul of the nation” as tradition, and thus stayed outside the distinction between “serious” and “light” music,¹⁰ which in the meantime had already emerged. At the same time, the music of the Greek composers of the Ionian Islands was excluded from Athenian music life, despised in the public discourse as “Italian”, non-Greek music, even if those composers were also using elements or inspiration from Greek folk music in some of their compositions.

In a country like Greece, where the perception of music as Art didn’t have any historical roots, the rhetoric of Kalomiris about Art Music (as National Music) would likely have been unsuccessful, if it wasn’t related to such a central issue as that of the national identity, which concerned the Greek society. But how Kalomiris succeeded on that? Firstly, Kalomiris proclaimed the demotic language as the unique language suitable for a true National Music.¹¹ Demotic Language was mainly supported by most of the intellectuals and important Poets, like Kostis Palamas (1859-1943). Secondly, Kalomiris, like the most supporters of Demotic Language at that time, supported and was being supported by the leading liberal politician Eleftherios Venizelos (1864-1936).¹² Hence, Kalomiris gained back symbolic support from the literary field, as well as material and political support from Venizelos. Kalomiris used all these to promote his ideals about music and in addition, to create and provide some of the institutions needed for establishment of Art Music, such as music education and concerts. But the main thing that we must keep in mind is that Art Music in Greece emerged from the exclusion of another music idiom, not because it was believed to be outdated, but because it was not believed to be purely Greek.

2. Manos Hadjidakis and the Light Song

Although the talented Manos Hadjidakis had started to compose according to the principles of the National School (i.e. the piano pieces “For a small white Seashell”, 1948), he couldn’t make a career in this direction, because he was lacking an accomplished conservatory-based musical education and thus, the accompanying prestige.¹³ A typical career for a conservatory-educated composer would be either to teach in conservatories and write Art music in the style of the National School, or to compose a not so “artistic”, though relatively recognized music, like Light Songs and music for Revues or both of them.¹⁴ But Hadjidakis didn’t have the chance to release his own albums with Light Songs until 1959. That was the year he had already gained popularity through his compositions for films, which were supposed to be even more “commercial” and

¹⁰ The idealized folk music as tradition wasn’t really aesthetically judged, because it was supposed to be “naturally” beautiful, as an expression of the organic genius of the nation. In Greece, as well as in the central European countries, both Art and Folk music were understood as “pure” and “authentic” in contrast to the popular music, which was supposed to be just commercial, corrupt and “low”. About the connection between “art”, “folk” and “popular” music, see Gelbart, Matthew *The invention of "folk music" and "art music": emerging categories from Ossian to Wagner* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 257.

¹¹ Demotic language was the so-called language of the people, opposed to the Katharevousa, a cultivated imitation of Ancient Greek, which was the official state language at that time.

¹² Venizelos was a leading political figure and prime minister of Greece for seven times in the period from 1910 until 1933.

¹³ Not only his rivals condemned him for his lacking of accomplished music education, but also the music critic Sophia Spanoudi -former piano teacher of Manolis Kalomiris- who supported Hadjidakis, insisted him to continue his music studies. Although she admired his talent, in her critic for the first performance of his piano pieces “For a Small White Seashell”, she criticized him for writing mainly commercial Film-Music. See Spanoudi, Sophia “Ένας νέος συνθέτης (A young composer)” *Τα Νέα* 21/1 (1949), 1-2.

¹⁴ The Light Song at that time sounded like that of the internationalized style of Western Europe, as a result of using European orchestration, dances, rhythms, and tonal melodies. The Western Art Music educated musicians recognized it as an acceptable popular music, which was at the same time “European” and not too commercial and had an acceptable minimum standard of musical “qualities”.

thus less “artistic” than the Light Songs. Even Hadjidakis himself condemned his Film-Music as “commercial” and released albums with more “artistic” and sophisticated Light Song versions of his Film-Music-Songs. But how Hadjidakis transcended his lack of “artistic” prestige?

Initially in 1949, Hadjidakis differentiated himself from the principles of the National School through his speech about a popular kind of music, the Rebetiko,¹⁵ which was related to the lower social classes. He blamed the Demotic Song,¹⁶ source of inspiration for the National School, to belong to the past and thus unable to express the modern life in the cities. On the other hand Rebetiko was proclaimed to be the only “true” music to express the Modern Greek life. Moreover, according to Hadjidakis Rebetiko was the only music able to express Greekness, with the capacity of unifying ancient, medieval-byzantine and modern Greece: “The Rebetiko succeeds to unite in a marvelous way lyrics, music and motion. From the song as composition to its performance, the conditions are instinctively prepared for this triple expressive coexistence, which at times, on reaching perfection, resembles the form of ancient tragedy. [...] But in order to explain this important extension of Byzantine music into Rebetiko songs, we have only to look at the similarities between the decline of Byzantium and today as state of decadence. [...] Rebetiko songs are genuinely Greek, uniquely Greek”.¹⁷

This was a major dispute against the Demotic Song. It must be a unique or at least a rare moment in the music history of nations with “National Schools of Music”, when the folk music of a nation is condemned as unable to express the “soul” of the said nation. For Hadjidakis, the Demotic Song, the “sacralized” Greek folk music was unable to fulfill its function! Furthermore, the despised Rebetiko, this popular song that was condemned not to be even Greek, but Turkish (i.e. not European) was claimed by Hadjidakis to express Greekness par excellence! This popular song suddenly enjoyed the “sacralized” status of the folk song.

About ten years later, in 1960, Hadjidakis was one of the most famous and successful Light Song composers in Greece. The key to his success was that he decorated the Light Songs with elements from Rebetiko especially through the rhythms and orchestrations. In an Interview he said about his music: “If you are interested now to learn about my career in the Light Song, I would say that my initial point was the truth of the Rebetiko song and the Byzantine music. I took elements from both and I moved forward to the Greek Tragedy and after I gave them a new meaning, I came back to the Light Song with the ambition to unite it with the so called serious song, just like Kurt Weil have done to the German song”. At the same Interview he blames the other Light Song composers for plain imitating the European Light Song: “The other composers are too inhibited towards the equivalent music of other countries”.¹⁸ So, Hadjidakis didn’t just claim that his music was more “Greek” than that of the other Light Song composers, but also more “artistic”¹⁹ and thus it was for those both reasons more “authentic”.

¹⁵ The Rebetiko, in contrast to the Light Song, wasn’t an accepted kind of popular music by the Western Art Music educated musicians and many people who belonged to the higher classes. It was supposed to be decadent and “Turkish”. It was believed that Greek music should be “European” because Greece belongs to Europe, as the Light Song composer Takis Morakis in an Interview had expressed (*Τα Νέα*, 11/7/1960). Generally at that time in Greece, “Europe” was a model of cultural life and state development, in contrast to everything supposed to be “Turkish”, meaning orientalist devalued as primitive and worthless.

¹⁶ The Demotic Song is called the Greek folk song, which has the status of Traditional, “sacralized” Greek music, which expressed the Greekness par excellence.

¹⁷ Hadjidakis, Manos *Interpretation and Standing of the Modern Folk Song (Rebetiko)*, in <http://www.hadjidakis.gr/> (accessed on Mai 21th, 2011).

¹⁸ Hadjidakis, Manos “Δεν υπάρχει πια λαϊκό τραγούδι (There is no popular song anymore)”, Interview, *Ταχυδρόμος* 2/7 (1960), 16-17.

¹⁹ When I use the term “artistic” I refer to a bit more sophisticated, mind-oriented, more “serious” music, in contrast to the body-oriented, “light” and popular music.

Same way Kalomiris was related to Palamas, Hadjidakis too was related to the so-called Generation of the 30s, a modernist group of artists active in the fields of literature and paint that expressed the Greekness in their art. But this Greekness was not introvert, but cosmopolitan. Hadjidakis had said, that when he was composing the music for the Ballet “Six Popular Dances” (1951), the painter who made the Stage Design, Yiannis Tsarouchis said: “Petrushka must learn to dance Zeibekiko and we must convince Romeo and Juliet to die by dancing Chasapiko”,²⁰ referring at the same time to Rebetiko dances and to the Russian Ballets of Diaghilev.

Hadjidakis, like Kalomiris, had also a politician as supporter, who was also supported by him. It was the conservative politician Konstantinos Karamanlis, who became four times prime minister of Greece between 1955 and 1990. Hadjidakis benefited directly or indirectly from Karamanlis’ political power.

Although Hadjidakis gained popularity and prestige by composing “Greek” Light Songs, he never lost his interest in Art Music and used his influence to establish some Institutions related to avant-garde music such as the Composition Contest (1962) which awarded the 1st prize to Iannis Xenakis and the second to Anestis Logothetis, as well as the Experimental Athens Orchestra which promoted avant-garde music.

So Hadjidakis received great popularity by introducing “Greek” Elements in the Light Song and claimed himself authentic in contrast to the “imitators” of the European Light Song. At the same time beside the folk song, the Rebetiko song became the new sacralized national music.

3. Mikis Theodorakis and the “artistic-popular” song

At first glance, Mikis Theodorakis could have been a successful composer of the National School.²¹ Many of his concerts received positive reviews. But the fact is that one can hardly find a successful composer of the National School who belongs to the same generation with Mikis Theodorakis. The most composers of his generation belonged to the avant-garde, which was promoted in Greece through the American and West European cultural Institutes within the context of the Cold War. They also hardly had at that time chances for a career in Greece. For Theodorakis, it was also clear, that there was barely sufficient audience for the Art Music in Greece and he blamed the underdevelopment of Greece for this. So he needed to find out another way to communicate with the public.

Theodorakis, as a peculiar²² communist at that time, merged his political and music-aesthetical values in a very personal way: “When the people was divided [during the civil war], the Synnefiasmeni Kyriaki [a well known Rebetiko] was something that united everyone, because they could all sing it together”.²³ So Theodorakis didn’t only shared the same thoughts with Hadjidakis about the Greekness of Rebetiko, but he also believed that Rebetiko could arouse more than just aesthetic pleasure and could furthermore unite all Greek people.

In 1960 he set music to the poem of the communist -but broadly recognized- poet Yiannis Ritsos, *Epitaphios*, based on Rebetiko dances. This was released firstly in one version under the

²⁰ Romanou, Katy Έντεχνη ελληνική μουσική στους νεότερους χρόνους (Greek Art Music in Modern Times), (Αθήνα: Κουλτούρα, 2006), 253.

²¹ Theodorakis was an uprising composer at that time, who studied not only in Greece, but in Conservatoire de Paris under Olivier Messiaen and Eugene Bigot, too.

²² Peculiar because most communists in Greece at that time counted Rebetiko as despised popular music and a kind of „musical opium“

²³ Theodorakis, Mikis *Για την ελληνική μουσική* (About Greek Music), (Αθήνα, Καστανιώτης: 1986), 212. This Interview originally published in the left party organ newspaper Avgi on March, 23 1961.

orchestration of Hadjidakis and two weeks later, under the orchestration of Theodorakis. Hadjidakis orchestrated it in his known personal way, while Theodorakis was based on the Rebetiko Orchestra and Rebetiko voices. It was a scandal that he set poetry, namely Art, to the Rebetiko music, a kind of music that according to the dominant values was derogatively characterized as commercial and underground. But the Rebetiko *popular* song had for Theodorakis, as well as for Hadjidakis, the “sacralized” status of *folk* music, so it was ideal for inspiring and being element of Art.

But Theodorakis, in contrast to Hadjidakis and the National School, didn't just believe that folk music was just a raw material to inspire the individual composing genius, but that the individual genius of the composer himself could express the “collective” par excellence by composing “authentic” popular/“folk” Rebetiko-like music: “How can my ambition to become a popular/“folk” (λαϊκός) composer be compatible with the fact that I am an Art Composer? [...] It was my need for direct communication with all the people. [...] I have done nothing more than to transcribe the melodies that all of you have heard using your imagination, but you weren't aware of. Therefore this is original folk music, where the intervention of the composer is similar to that of the monk who transcribes the voice of the Holly Spirit”.²⁴

At the same time, Theodorakis also understood the Greekness in an international context, reminding the National School by saying: “For the modern Greek popular/“folk” (λαϊκό) music Bouzouki has the same significance as the guitar for the Spanish Flamenco and the Balalaika for the Russian Song [...] Therefore it's a national musical instrument with a specific and original character”.²⁵

Differently from Kalomiris and Hadjidakis, Theodorakis believed that both Demotic (folk) and Rebetiko (popular, with a “sacralized”, “folk” prestige for Theodorakis and Hadjidakis) were not just expressing a “primitive” Greekness that could only be capable of inspiring Art, but that an Art composer by writing “authentic” popular (Rebetiko-like) music could make it also artistic and capable of expressing Art, just as the Poem *Epitaphios* of Yiannis Ritsos did. But Theodorakis' version was a refined, more “European” and “artistic” version of Rebetiko song. Only tonal “European” harmonies were used, instead of modal tones and “Turkish-sounded” elements. There were also used exclusively “serious” Rebetiko and folk dances.²⁶ Theodorakis named this kind of song “artistic-popular-song” (έντεχνο λαϊκό τραγούδι), which from then on is generally believed in Greece to express the Greekness par excellence.

Theodorakis didn't support and was supported by politicians like the other two composers did, but he himself became a politician and as a matter of fact an elected Member of the Greek Parliament with the left-wing party at that time. However he did establish ties with other Artists, especially from the dominant literary field, like the other two composers as well had done. During the first decades of his career, he also used his influence in order to change the institutions concerning the Art music and to make them accessible to the wide public. One of these Initiatives was the *Small Athens Orchestra*, which had low-price tickets for students and workers. This orchestra also played Baroque music, whereas the *Athens State Orchestra* still focused on the Classic-Romantic Repertory. But the main “invention” made by him was the “artistic-popular-song”, which made Art-Poetry accessible to a wider public.

²⁴ Theodorakis, 172-173. Originally published in *Avgi* on Oktober, 6-8 1960.

²⁵ Theodorakis, 176. Originally published in *Avgi* on Oktober, 6-8 1960

²⁶ For instance, Theodorakis never used *tsifteteli*, a dance related to the “seductive” bodily expression of female sexuality. Hadjidakis also never used it, unless he wrote his commercial film-music. Both Hadjidakis and Theodorakis never mention it when they talk about their beloved Rebetiko dances, although this dance belongs to the basic Rebetiko dances.

4. Conclusion

All three Manolis Kalomiris, Manos Hadjidakis and Mikis Theodorakis have been educated in Western Art Music and in the beginning all tried to launch careers as Art Composers. All three tried and sometimes succeeded in establishing institutions related to Art Music. All three of them gained symbolic support from the literary field and material support from the politic field. But their career and sound differed. Kalomiris succeeded establishing himself as the father of the Greek National School of Music. Hadjidakis transformed the “European” Light Song to “authentic” Greek Light Song and Theodorakis invented the “authentic” Greek song, the “artistic-popular-song”.

Perhaps it was the lack of a wide audience for Art Music and the few positions in this field that forced the said composers not to develop their music according to its inner structure, but according to extramusical values. For this reason maybe they transported their acquired values in the direction of the light and rebetiko song. At that time in Greece, Art Music enjoyed the highest symbolic capital. The acceptable popular music was the Light Song and the despised rebetiko had the lowest symbolic capital. The two latter composers transferred the ideal of Greekness to the light and rebetiko song, hence this ideal moved gradually from the area of the high symbolic capital, to that of the middle, because the new “artistic-popular-song” of Theodorakis was understood as something between Art (high symbolic capital) and popular music (low symbolic capital).

But this “artistic-popular-song” wasn’t the mostly favored music among the lower classes. It was popular between students and young intellectuals, who didn’t have any Western Art Music education. This can be explained through Bourdieu, who so aptly expressed: “nothing more clearly affirms one's 'class', nothing more infallibly classifies, than tastes in music”.²⁷ So, the new emerging middle class, which had a good background in literature but at the same time no proper Art Music education found expression in the music of Hadjidakis and Theodorakis which reminded them of their parent's musical taste (i.e. rebetiko), on which they were grown up and in the meanwhile had become very familiar with. At same time the music of Hadjidakis and Theodorakis with Poetry Lyrics or at least sophisticated lyrical text and their more mind-oriented music expression, corresponded to their through education acquired cultural capital.

Finally, as Art Music played a rather peripheral role the Greek artistic field, it was mainly the taste of the intellectuals from the literally field -who were usually lacking “European” music education- that dominated the public discourse about the “authentic” Greek music and led to the establishment of the “artistic-popular-song”, as the unique valid way of expressing the Greekness par excellence.

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²⁷ Bourdieu, Pierre *Distinction: a social critique of the judgement of taste* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1984), 18.

Theories establishing the Greek National Music, the use of traditional element and the 'rembetiko' in Greek popular music in the 1950s and 60s. Some remarks on a special kind of political-artistic populism.

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Abstract: The Greek National School of music was founded in the beginning of the 20th century, with a slight delay compared to those of Central Europe. Its prime figure was Manolis Kalomoiris, who, along with other representatives of the National School stated his views about the theoretical principles upon which it had to be founded. Those principles were closely connected to similar theories concerning other European national schools, but they also stressed upon the special characteristics of the Greek case and the close relation to the modes, rhythms and melodies of the Greek demotic music. On the other hand, Greek genuine traditional music continued to develop normally during this period. This is a phenomenon which does not coincide to what happened in other European countries. A few years after World War II, after the decline of the National School, some new kinds of simple popular music emerged. The "Rembetiko" song was born in the lower social margin, but gained an elevated status and was widely acknowledged as "national" or "traditional" during the 1950s and 60s. The widely popular, high quality Greek commercial music of this period uses almost the same or similar theories to those established by the National School in the beginning of the 20th century, in order to corroborate its theoretical basis and win a higher aesthetic classification. This paper aims to state some remarks, to analyze and explain this phenomenon through an examination of a special kind of political-artistic populism, which relied on this basis and developed to part of Greece's contemporary national ideology.

In order to demonstrate my thoughts and views on my topic,¹ I will have to run through almost the entire history of Modern Greek music in more than one of its aspects. I shall start with a brief demonstration of the elements constituting a so called Hellenic music identity and show some so called Hellenic musical elements and the way the above have been used in the course of the development of Greek art music in the last two centuries. While speaking on this subject, I think that we should not forget to mention the fact that, during this time, Greeks did not only seek their musical but their national identity as well. In my view, this latter still goes on today.

I believe it is widely accepted, that the first attempt to create art music on Greek soil (except for Byzantine church music), was carried out in the group of seven islands in the Ionian Sea, called the *Heptanesos*, and started in the beginning of the 19th century. This small but very active group of islands in western Greece had the privilege never to have lived under Turkish rule. During this time, the Heptanesos lived under British political rule and under a very strong Italian cultural influence, which extended to social structure, habits and organization. The way of education, cultivation, interpretation and appreciation of art music was carried out here in exactly the same in which it would normally be carried out in any distant from the large north Italian cultural centres Italian province. We can witness the appearance of at least two or even three

¹ My thoughts expressed in this paper were often fertilized or initialized during my discussions with Dr. Markos Tsetsos, a colleague of mine at the University of Athens. Tsetsos has studied this matter in detail and published a thorough and detailed analysis in his monograph, Μάρκος Τσέτσος, *Εθνικισμός και Λαϊκισμός στη Νεοελληνική μουσική. Πολιτικές όψεις μιας πολιτισμικής απόκλισης*, Αθήνα 2011 [Markos Tsetsos, *Nationalism and Populism in Modern Greek Music. Political Aspects of a Cultural Divergence*, Athens 2011]. See also his *Νεοελληνική μουσική. Δοκίμια ιδεολογικής και θεσμικής κριτικής* [Neohellenic music. Essays on ideological and institutional criticism, Athens 2013].

generations of composers, who did in Heptanesos exactly the same thing they would do in Italy, that is, they committed themselves almost exclusively to opera and musical genres related with or depending on it.² The aesthetic models followed in this course could not be much different.³

Nevertheless, many Heptanesian composers also tried to demonstrate their Greek identity and nationality through their music. It was precisely the period, when this nationality became very concrete, due to the Greek revolution of 1821. The musical aesthetics, styles and forms followed were clearly Italianate, as is the case, for example, with the first setting of the Hymn to Freedom by the composer Nicolaos Mantzaros, set on a poem by Dionyssios Solomos; both works were composed respectively only a few months or years before the official declaration of Greek Independence in 1830. Soon, some composers, such as Pavlos Carrer, did not only use Hellenic subjects, but also dared use some Greek traditional musical elements, such as modes, melodic formulas or rhythms in their operas and songs.⁴

Those attempts carried out by Heptanesian composers, however, never became part of some theoretical treatise. They were pleasant, characteristic musical episodes within a generally Italianate atmosphere. They certainly possess their special interest in this context, but little more than that. However, in the course of the next few decades, things will change in a radical way. As we approach the beginning of the 20th century, the spiritual environment will distance itself from any dependence on Ancient Greek Civilization and efforts to demonstrate and prove an alleged racial and cultural relation of modern Greeks to the ancients in any possible way. The discovery of Byzantium and its acknowledgement as a very important middle age step of Greek history rendered the use of non-Ancient Greek cultural elements as acceptable. They could also be allowed to serve as creating factors of the national identity of the Modern Greeks. The simple, spoken demotic language was no longer banned from cultural life. Elements of byzantine and of more recent tradition, such as legends, fairy tales, way of life, and habits of rural societies could now form a motive for artistic creation.

The next step, using traditional elements in music, could easily be taken. Greek Traditional music of any kind acquired the right to play an important role in art music production, thus sending any foreign or non-Greek elements into a distant and humiliating exile. Some Heptanesian composers gave the starting shot for this. They settled in the Greek mainland and they no longer looked towards Italy, but towards the Athenian centre instead. These were followed by other composers of non-Heptanesian origin, who were eager to claim an important role for themselves. This led to the foundation of the Greek National School of music, which emerged under the leadership of Kalomoiris in the first decade of the 20th century. Among demotic language, fairy tales and legends, the religious tradition of orthodoxy and some elements of Greek demotic music would be used, but this happened in a rather superficial way and their usage did not base on a preceding deep ethnomusicological study. Most composers only used their empirical knowledge of Byzantine or Greek demotic music in their works. Thus there was no theoretical support for their views on traditional demotic music and the way those could be used in

² For a detailed presentation of this phenomenon see Καίτη Ρωμανού, *Ελληνική έντεχνη μουσική στους νεότερους χρόνους*, Αθήνα 2006, [Katy Romanou, *Greek Art Music in Modern Times*, Athens 2006], p. 47 ff.

³ See on this in some detail in: Νίκος Μαλιάρας, Το κίνημα των Εθνικών Σχολών στην Ευρώπη και το Ελληνικό του αντίστοιχο, στο: *Ελληνική μουσική και Ευρώπη. Διαδρομές στον Δυτικοευρωπαϊκό πολιτισμό*, Αθήνα 2012, [Nikos Maliaras, *The Movement of National Schools in Europe and its Greek Counterpart*, in: *Greek Music and Europe. Paths to Western-European Culture*, Athens 2012], p. 93 ff.

⁴ See Maliaras (as above), p. 94. A well-known example is the song of "Gero-Dimos", which was widely thought to be a demotic, whereas in reality it is a "demotic-like" song, composed by Pavlos Carrer of Zakynthos and set on a poem by Aristotelis Balaoritis; see Φοίβος Ανωγειανάκης, *Η Μουσική στη Νεώτερη Ελλάδα*, [προσθήκη στη μετάφραση της Ιστορίας της Μουσικής του Karl Neff] Αθήνα 1960 [F. Anogeianakis, *Music in Modern Greece - appendix to Karl Neff, History of Music*, Athens 1960], p. 568, note 1.

art music.⁵ This was a point for which those composers were attacked in later years, but I suppose it could not have been otherwise in those times. Greece was a totally different case than, say, Hungary of Bartok and Kodaly.

The style and aesthetics of the Greek National School based on the intense claims for political, national, cultural, social and economical renovation, which was dominant during that time. It was also supported by the national enthusiasm created by the victorious national wars of the period. But it was also supported by theoretical texts, demonstrating the creative framework, the ways of function and the targets established by its representatives. In my view, this is one crucial difference between the National and the Heptanesian School: The latter did not bother to codify its aesthetic views into any theoretical treatises.

Accordingly, the music of the National School had also become a vehicle for an entire aesthetic ideology, long before it had produced its first important works, and transformed this ideology into real music. This latter was not only a basis but as a commitment as well, at least in comparison to the Heptanesian school. The aesthetic and ideological conflict was unavoidable; nevertheless, many composers of Heptanesian origin had to take parts and confine with the leading ideology of the time or at least lead a careful coexistence with it, for shorter or longer periods of time.⁶

I have already expressed myself on this conflict (which was personalized in the so called conflict between Kalomiris and Samaras) otherwise and there is no reason why I should repeat myself now.⁷ The aesthetic ideology of the National School seems to have led the way until the outburst of the Second World War (1939). This was precisely the time, when it acquired an international acknowledgement. There are several concerts and opera performances of Greek works in Berlin at this time. This was of course a part of a certain cultural policy implemented by the Third Reich during this time. But this didn't seem to have bothered the Greek composers in question.⁸

The world following the Second World War was a totally different world in every thinkable aspect. On the level of international politics, the power balance was radically changed. The former war allies became enemies and former enemies were now new allies. In Greece, the end of the war and the beginning of the cold war was reflected on the outburst of the destructive civil war of 1946-1949. The consequences of the civil war were much more important than the war itself, because they divided and they are still dividing Greek society.

The post war world is different in respect to art as well: its purpose, its perception, its form or any other aspect of it. By this time, the high creative period of the National School was over,

⁵ Manolis Kalomiris and Georgios Lambelet among others stated their views about the ways demotic songs should be harmonized. Those views based, however, primarily on aesthetic principles and not on a deeper study of byzantine and modern Greek modality. The same is true about categorizing Greek modes, an attempt carried out by Kalomiris. See Nikos Maliaras, *To Δημοτικό τραγούδι στη μουσική του Μανώλη Καλομοίρη. Μια ιστορική και αναλυτική προσέγγιση [The Demotic Song in the Music of Manolis Kalomiris, A historical and Analytical Approach, Athens 2001]*, 17 ff.

⁶ On this see in detail Ολ. Φράγκου-Ψυχοπαίδη, *Η εθνική σχολή μουσικής. Προβλήματα ιδεολογίας*, Αθήνα 1990, [Olympia Frangou - Psychopedi, *The National School of Music. Problems of Ideology*, Athens 1990] esp. p. 70 ff.

⁷ S. Νίκος Μαλιάρας, Μεταξύ Κέρκυρας, Κρήτης και Αθήνας. Η Κρητικοπούλα του Σπύρου Σαμάρα και οι προεκτάσεις της, στο: Νίκος Μαλιάρας, *Ελληνική μουσική και Ευρώπη* [Nikos Maliaras, Among Kerkyra, Crete and Athens. The Operetta "Cretan Girl" by Spyros Samaras and its Perspective, in: *Greek Music and Europe* (as footnote 2)], p. 105-118. S. also Γιώργος Λεωτσάκος, *Σπύρος Σαμάρας (1861-1917). Ο μεγάλος αδικημένος της έντεχνης Ελληνικής μουσικής. Δοκιμή βιογραφίας* [George Leotsakos, *Spyros Samaras (1861-1917). The Great Injustice done to Greek Art Music. A Biographical Attempt*, Athens 2013], p. 512-517.

⁸ See Maliaras (as footnote 2), p. 102-103.

partly as a result of those crucial and radical changes. Already with the beginning of the war, its aesthetic criteria were sometimes considered over-nationalistic. Its love for elements of the tradition could be easily misunderstood for coinciding with the policy and the cultural ideals of the dictatorship of Ioannis Metaxas (1936-1941). Some of its representatives were even considered collaborators of the dictators and of the German occupation forces.⁹

It is well known, that the winner of the civil war was the anti-communist, or so called national side. This caused a lack of political balance in Greece for a long time. A great spectrum of political views was then forbidden, their representatives were accused without mercy. This established a new national and social split, a large part of the society living in the social and political margin. The winners' side really went on conducting the civil war with "peaceful" means in the following years. The contrary is true, however, as far as cultural life is concerned. Less than a decade after the end of the civil war, the leftist cultural ideology was dominant in Greece.

In the following, I will have to turn towards an area which is outside what we usually call art music. It is possible that, in things I will refer to now, an important role was played by the great ascend of mass media in the post war world, which provided the public with an easy access to any kind of commercial music product available. This music product is conveyed and widely distributed through mass media and bears the characteristics of what we call "Popular music". It has obviously many forms and kinds. One form had already been met with in the form of the so called urban or "external" (meaning "non religious") music of post byzantine Constantinople;¹⁰ It was also to be found in the "cafe aman" or "cafe chantant" around the turn of the 20th century. In the 1910s it is also to be found in the Athenian operetta, then a very popular kind of musical theatre.¹¹

The models for this kind of song are various. They are partly oriental, deriving from music played in the cafes of the great cities of the declining Ottoman Empire and the eastern Mediterranean, such as Smyrna, Constantinople, Alexandria etc. The models can also be occidental, following the prototypes of the Viennese or the Parisian operetta. In some cases, song-composition intended to remind some traditional Greek musical colour, those songs appearing to be "demotic", as we occasionally say. A great number of those songs were composed in the 1920s and 30s and they promptly entered the commercial circuit of entertainment and popular music together with actual demotic songs, which were arranged, orchestrated and executed with an operatic manner. The word "executed" could be understood in more than one way here, however, as far as demotic songs are concerned. Several important composers of the pe-

⁹ See many interesting and so far unknown stories about Kalomoiris's actions during German Occupation of Greece in the unpublished dissertation by J. Belonis: Γιάννης Μπελώνης, *Η Μουσική δωματίου του Μανώλη Καλομοίρη*, (Τμήμα Μουσικών Σπουδών Πανεπιστημίου Αθηνών), Αθήνα 2003 [J. Belonis, Chamber Music by Manolis Kalomoiris, Diss., Music Dept. of the University of Athens 2003], p. 52-67.

¹⁰ See Ρωμανού, *Έντεχνη ελληνική μουσική* (ο.π.) [Romanou, *Greek Art Music*, (as above)], p. 24. Giorgos Smanis wrote a very interesting dissertation on this subject: Γεώργιος Σμάνης, *Η Εξωτερική μουσική και η θεωρητική της προσέγγιση* (Τμήμα Μουσικών Σπουδών του Πανεπιστημίου Αθηνών), Αθήνα 2011 [G. Smanis, External Music and its theoretical approach, Diss., Music Dept. of the University of Athens 2011], which still remains unpublished.

¹¹ See Νίκος Δοντάς, *Εκατό χρόνια Ελληνικής Οπερέτας. Από το Παρίσι στην Αθήνα και σε όλο τον κόσμο, στο: Εθνική Λυρική Σκηνή (επιμ.), Θυμίσου εκείνα τα χρόνια. 100 χρόνια Ελληνική Οπερέτα. Αφιέρωμα στον Θεόφραστο Σακελλαρίδη* (πρόγραμμα παραστάσεων στο θέατρο «Ακροπόλ» την περίοδο 2007-2008) [Nikos Dontas, One hundred years of Greek Operetta. From Paris to Athens and throughout the World, in: Greek National Opera (ed.), *Recall those Years. 100 Years Greek Operetta. Hommage à Theophrastos Sakellariadis* (program-book for the 2007-2008 season)], p. 15 ff. See also for some detail: Μανώλης Σειραγάκης, *Το ελαφρό μουσικό θέατρο στη Μεσοπολεμική Αθήνα, 1, Τα γεγονότα και τα ζητήματα*, Αθήνα 2008 [Manolis Seiragakis, *The Light Music Theatre in Middle-War Athens, vol. 1, Facts and Issues*, Athens 2008], p. 83 ff.

riod, such as Kalomoiris and Scalkottas were also involved in those demotic song arrangements.¹²

After the Second World War some new kinds of popular commercial music of the period made their acquaintance with the Greek public. Among those, we find jazz music, North-American entertainment music, as well as South- or Latin American dance music. This went in accordance with the country's taking part among the nations of the western world during the first years of the cold war. When we hear the most popular songs of the late 40s and early 50s, recorded in sound recordings as well as films, one can hardly find anything reminiscent of any kind of genuine Greek musical colour.¹³

But there seems to be another kind of Greek song that we haven't yet mentioned. It is the "rembetiko" song. This kind of song had existed and had been heard for several decades before the time we are discussing. It registers a more stable existence after the coming of the Greek refugees from Asia Minor in the early 1920's. One could not really characterize it as commercial or popular in those early times. It was a kind of musical expression of a relatively small part of society which led a life in the social margin, not unrelated to the so called low criminality and drugs. Nevertheless, it was a kind of song that expressed human pain of being persecuted and socially marginalized. Soon, the rembetiko song abandoned the narrow circle of the refugees and was more widely distributed. It finally managed to enter the world of commercial discography.¹⁴

The leadership of the Left Wing had initially denounced the rembetiko. It was considered a phenomenon of decline of the bourgeoisie. But politicians of the Left eventually had to accept the new reality of the wide distribution of those songs. The final "legalization" of the rembetiko song was however not accomplished by any leftist intellectual, but by one of the leading bourgeois musicians of the period, Manos Hatzidakis, in a famous lecture with which he addressed the public in the year 1949. Hatzidakis recognized in the rembetiko a continuation of the late and post byzantine musical tradition and a so-called genuine Greekness. But he mainly emphasized on its emotional content, which expressed, in Hatzidakis' view, an intense but unfulfilled herotism, which is the feature giving the rembetiko not only a Greek but an ecumenical character as well. He also recognized what he called a tendency to deny and avoid reality with any possible means.¹⁵

But, in my opinion, if we really want to be correct, it is really very hard to find any real elements of Greek musical identity in the rembetiko. If we exclude the Greek verses and the historical and social connotations they imply, there are hardly any real Greek musical features to

¹² See the author's remarks on the song «Βασιλική προστάζει» [Vassiliki demands] in his: *Το Ελληνικό δημοτικό τραγούδι στη μουσική του Μανώλη Καλομοίρη. Μια ιστορική και αναλυτική προσέγγιση* (Ελληνικές μουσικολογικές εκδόσεις 1), Αθήνα 2001 [Nikos Maliaras, *The Greek Demotic Song in Manolis Kalomiris's Music*, Athens 2001], p. 62-63, The author attempted a reconstruction of this lost song in his «Βασιλική προστάζει»: Ένα χαμένο τραγούδι του Μανώλη Καλομοίρη και η προσπάθεια αποκατάστασής του, στο Τμήμα Μουσικών Σπουδών (επιμ.), *Συμβολή στη μνήμη Γεωργίου Στ. Αμαργιανάκη*, Αθήνα 2013 [Nikos Maliaras, "Vassiliki Demands". A Lost Song by Manolis Kalomoiris and a Reconstruction Attempt, in: Department of Music Studies (ed.), *In memory of Giorgos Amargianakis*, Athens 2013], p. 196-225. Also see some similar arrangement attempts by Nikos Scalkottas commented upon in: Παπαϊωάννου, Γιάννης Γ., *Νίκος Σκαλκώτας, 1904-1949. Μια προσπάθεια είσδυσης στον μαγικό κόσμο της δημιουργίας του*. Αθήνα (2004) [J.G. Papaioannou, *Nikos Skalkottas, An Attempt to enter the Magic World of His Creation*, Athens (2004)] vol. 1, p. 405-406.

¹³ A listing of such songs, documented with verses, frontpages and other various documents can be found in Λιάβας, *Το Ελληνικό τραγούδι από το 1821 έως τη δεκαετία του 1950*, Αθήνα 2009 [L. Liavas, *Greek Song from 1821 until the 1950's*, Athens 2009], p. 180 ff.

¹⁴ See a report on these facts in Λιάβας [Liavas], as above, p. 222 ff.

¹⁵ The text of this historic lecture is published by Λιάβας [Liavas] as above, p. 254 ff.

recognize. The modes and scales are actually of Turkish, Persian or generally oriental origin. This is true for most of the rhythmic or dance patterns as well. The terms used to name those rhythm or dance patterns are also of oriental origin: zeibek, carsilama, abtal, ciftetel (rhythm or dance patterns), rast, usak, hidjaj, hidjaj-kar, sabah (modes), to name just a few. Any relations of origin of the rhythms and modes from Greek antiquity or Byzantium referred to by Hatzidakis might be real and would form an object of scientific research today. But I do not think that they were really used in this sense by the composers of the rembetiko. The central musical instrument used in the rembetiko, the Bouzouki, originated from the Hellenistic pandouris, but returned to Greece in its Turkish form, name, tuning and playing technique. This is not bad, of course. But I think this fact has to be clearly pointed out.

The legalization of the rembetiko by Hatzidakis and its distribution to wider social layers within the Greek society was not accomplished without some cost for the genuinity of this form. The subjects of the social margin, such as criminality and drugs were gradually pushed to the margin themselves. Other subjects, such as unfulfilled love and a special kind of folk knight-hood of the poor but brave and morally integer young man came to the foreground (levendis, assikis, or mortis). The rembetiko had a way to express those ideals in a more deep and genuine way, that could not be achieved by the light Latin dance songs of the 50's, referred to above. In this way, the prewar rembetiko gradually gave its place to the more "civilized" and harmless *archondorembetiko*, or "noble rembetiko", which was more capable to make its way towards Greek middle class society.

Those developments would follow their own way as a special kind of commercial and popular music functioning in a certain commercial circuit and in society in the same way as it happened everywhere in the world and especially in Europe and in North America. But things changed in Greece when Mikis Theodorakis decided to create a new kind of Greek song. He used many elements from the commercial music of his time and gave special emphasis on elements originating in the rembetiko song, as being the kind of song most complying to his political beliefs. In this way, the rembetiko has not only been totally legalized. It also came to the foreground by the most important representative of the leftist art ideology on Greece. Theodorakis gave a very special place to the characteristic instrument, the bouzouki, as the most recognizable feature of the rembetiko. His innovation was that he combined those features of commercial popular music with the very sensitive art poetry of several great Greek Poets, in order to create some non-commercial features for this kind of song as well. This also complies with the leftist ideology. It is not a matter of chance, that the first poems arranged by Theodorakis were those of Jannis Ritsos, a symbol poet for the Left Wing Party.

Theodorakis only used but a few and superficial elements of the rembetiko. Those are mainly the bouzouki and some common rhythmic patterns; but he neither used genuine oriental scales nor any other features of the rembetiko musical structure. His target, as he himself put it, was to allow wide masses of people to approach high quality art poetry created by Seferis, Elytis or Ritsos, using the means of some easily accessible music.¹⁶

It is quite probable that my opinion on this music is of no interest to anyone. Nonetheless, I would like to express it in words. I think that this task undertaken by Theodorakis and the musical works created in this course, despite their popularity and commerciality, and despite the fact that many composers imitated him and followed his aesthetic view, stayed afar from achieving its targets. If we try to examine this music in relation to the poetry, attempting to investigate the word-melody relation, I think we will find that music does not comply with this

¹⁶ The views and acts of Theodorakis are commented upon thoroughly in a penetrating discussion by M. Tsetsos, *Nationalism and Populism* (s. above, note 1) p. 152 ff and esp. 166 ff.

really high quality art poetry. I think it is a kind of music with very mediocre melodic inspiration, basing on eternally repeated stable rhythm patterns, without any rhythmic variety. In my view it cannot correspond to the beauty and sensitivity of the poetic expression. The word-tone relation is often very loose not only in terms of content, but in terms of placing the stressed syllables in the right place in the melody as well. It is no wonder, that the poets themselves were not satisfied with those works of Theodorakis, especially in the beginning. This is well known and documented at least for Ritsos and Seferis.¹⁷

The attempt of trying to bring art poetry near the wide masses was in my view accomplished against the poetry. But it was even more accomplished against music itself and against elevating the aesthetic criterion of the masses. On the contrary, when Theodorakis created his music without feeling obliged to serve any political ideology or any extra-musical aim, things were different. When Theodorakis showed belief in his mere artistic criterion, then he produced some real masterworks. This is the case both for his works belonging to strictly art music as well as for his popular songs. I think that Greek song is a very interesting kind of popular music with a great deal of exclusivity on Greece and it has to be rightly appreciated within this framework.

The developments I referred to will play an important role during the years following this period. In the early 60's, Greece attempted to establish a new, post war and post-civil-war cultural identity and a new self-consciousness. Despite many problems of democracy and social representation existing in Greece, many Greeks managed to live in kind of prosperity hardly comparable to the past. Political leadership of the period aimed to the development of tourism and tried to profit from the booming cinema business. Several Greek cinema people became international stars, such as Irene Papas, Melina Merkouri, Manos Hatzidakis etc. Some films, such as *Zorba the Greek* (basing on a famous novel by Nikos Kazantzakis), demonstrated Greek bravery and a special Greek way of life. It became a big international success and this strengthened a new self-consciousness among the Greeks, who felt they could now abandon their miserable Balkan isolation and acquire a European and international identity. This new image was also commercially and touristically exploitable. It was again a piece of high literature, a novel by Kazantzakis that became the vehicle for a commercial venture. And it was Mikis Theodorakis again, the person who composed the music for this film.

I am confident, that the first thing to be remembered from this movie is the world famous music by Theodorakis, the "Zorba syrtaki". It has been heard millions of times, it has been recorded in hundreds of sound recordings, it has been danced in taverns throughout the world. It has also been the prototype for hundreds of similar compositions that are sold at touristic kiosks under the title Greek bouzouki and Greek syrtaki, among traditional Greek kilt wearers, plastic Parthenon models and little ouzo bottles.

I can already sense some hostile response. "What is the problem with you? This is music for the wide public. Thousands of people like it and are very fond of it. If you don't like it, you don't have to listen to it. Just go on with your sterilized studies about Kalomoiris and Scalkottas, about Papaioannou and Xenakis and let the rest of the world enjoy Theodorakis' music". If this was the sole problem, it would be perfectly OK with me.

But, unfortunately, there seems to be more than that! Since the late years before the dictatorship of 1967, and much more since the fall of the "Junta" in 1974 this music is normally con-

¹⁷ Jannis Ritsos's rejection or at least sceptical attitude has been documented in an interview for a foreign TV channel (in 1983) and published in a CD booklet containing Mikis Theodorakis's Epitaphios and Epiphaneia [EMI 7243 593489 2 6], in 2003. This piece of information is to be found in the very interesting yet unpublished dissertation by Evangelia Skarsouli, presented before the Philology Dept. of the University of Athens in 2012 (p. 133, note 312). Seferis's scepticism regarding his poem «Αρνῆση» ("Refusal") is also well known.

sidered exclusively to be the sole and only genuine Greek music. All Hellenic state or private institutions keep it under their permanent auspices and protection, they support it, they provide all financial and other means to interpret it. This happens, unfortunately, in disfavor of any other Greek music production and often against any other trend of artistic expression. As I already mentioned, this is considered the only music deserving to be called Greek! I can remember that, a few years ago, there was an instrumental ensemble called the State orchestra of Greek music, under the direction of Stavros Xarchakos. This was not a chamber ensemble, much less a symphony orchestra. It was a group of popular music, including Bouzouki, drums and some other instruments of the kind. This is the way those things are looked upon in modern Greece. And when, as a recognition of his high artistic quality, Mikis Theodorakis was appointed artistic director of a large Greek symphony orchestra (it was the Orchestra of the State Radio and Television), then, this orchestra did not find a single note to play that was written by any composer other than Theodorakis!

As a result of all this: Before the decline of the national school of music, the quest for a national music identity for Greece was a matter of theoretical dialogue among composers, who could experiment with their works; nowadays it became a discussion, in which the criterion of commerciality of public appeal and of vote collecting (another word for false democracy, if you will) plays the main role.

And what is going on with music composed by less commercial Greek composers? This music struggles to achieve a scarce and sporadic promotion by state institutions, in analogies which are obviously against it, whereas it has been practically excluded from any other public institutions. In other words, it is convicted to an existence between life and death, under the auspices of state non-support, social non-acceptance and a permanent non-promotion by the mass media. It even fails to retain its actual name, since no one dares call it the way it should be called, that is, "Modern Greek Art Music". This term is namely reserved for the music by Theodorakis and his followers.¹⁸

Dear Friends, please forgive me for taking parts against the majority. But I find it as my duty to raise a voice of protest against this situation. A time has to come, when words should acquire their true meaning and values their true value. The terms, as far as they are used to form scientific arguments, cultural policies, or platforms of education systems, should base on real historical facts rather than serve economical or political purposes. And institutions themselves, as far as they form the basis for social and cultural procedures, should function far from cheap opportunistic views, as is the case with most serious countries.

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¹⁸ The author expressed his views on this subject in some detail in a conference organized by the Music Library of the Athens Concert Hall, within the framework of the 9th Greek Music Festival, in May 2013.

Resistance through Dancing: The National Poetics of Cretan Performance

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Abstract. Forms of musical expression on the island of Crete have been connected to the fight and the numerous rebellions against the Turks. In more recent times, an active resistance was raised against the German invasion during the Second World War.

The predominant belief among Cretans is that the art of dancing originated in Crete. Legends related to the origins of Cretan performances pertain to two major dance forms, the *syrtos* and the *pedozalis*. Both of them have been “mythologized” as part of Cretan musical folklore, functioning as a local history lesson.

In 1991, Theoharis Xirouhakis, Professor of Physical Exercise, Dance Instructor and Choreographer, created the dance “The Battle of Crete” in order to honor all those who fought and gave their lives in that fight that took place on May 20, 1941. Moreover, in 2009, Mr. Xirouhakis created the “Meraklidikos” dance to portray joy and *kefi* (high spirits), wishing to embody the spirit and the essence of being Cretan (--*meraklis* meaning the satisfied connoisseur who embodies artistry in all of his actions).

Comparing older and newer folk dance forms, one realizes how the performing myth-making tradition repeats itself. All compositions underline the significance of history for the Greeks and their strong connection to a place, the island of Crete. Patriotic stories are being performed to show the concrete links between past and present and are thus transformed into living communal memories which constitute a rich source of knowledge and identity, speaking for a national poetics of Cretanhood.

Forms of musical expression on the island of Crete have been interpreted historically and connected to the fight, the resistance and the numerous rebellions against the Turks (particularly in reference to what is widely perceived in Greece as a “tainted” Ottoman past), who landed on the island in 1645, conquered it in 1669 and controlled it until 1898. In more recent times, an active resistance was raised against the German invasion during the Second World War. During such periods, in order to claim their land, Cretans sang and danced.¹

Crete became part of Greece only in 1913, its inhabitants having managed to remain autonomous through a “rebel” attitude. Certain musical pieces suggest Cretans have to protect their land and be strong because their ancestors fought for it as well.² Music informs our sense of place³ and this is also the case with Cretan music. Here, I argue how Cretan dancing is a social activity that still provides a means by which people recognize identities and how places, such as the island of Crete, become “ours” through dancing.⁴

Nowadays, the predominant belief among Cretans is that the art of dancing originated in “their” island. In fact, Cretans were extolled by Greeks as exceptional artists and acknowledged as masters of dance,⁵ a common belief being that the best Greek dancers today are the descendants of those people.⁶ Cretans are mentioned in Homer,⁷ Hesiod and Euripides as danc-

¹ Hnaraki, Maria. “Souls of Soil: Island Identity through Song”, in *Island Songs*, ed. Godfrey Baldacchino (Lanham, MD: The Scarecrow Press, 2011), 171.

² Hnaraki, “Souls of Soil: Island Identity through Song”, 171-2.

³ Stokes, Martin *Ethnicity, Identity and Music: The Musical Construction of Place* (Oxford: Berg, 1994).

⁴ Hnaraki, Maria *Unraveling Ariadne’s Thread: Cretan Music* (Athens, Greece: Kerkyra Publications, 2007), p. 64.

⁵ Sachs, Curt *World History of the Dance* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1937).

⁶ Makreas, Mary *Cretan Dance: The Meaning of Kefi and Fighoures* (M.A. thesis, Indiana University, 1979), 18-22.

ers, whereas their mythical role has been much enlarged by later “classical” writers such as Plato and Apollonius of Rhodes. For example, it is believed that Theseus, while coming back from Crete, performed with his colleagues a dance that resembled the turns and the curves of a labyrinth.

Another popular myth on the island of Crete is that, in order to conceal the cries of baby Zeus, so as his father Kronos not to find and thus devour him, the ancient inhabitants of Crete, the Kourites, performed a vivacious, leaping dance, the Anoyanos *pidihtos*, still performed at the historic town of Anoya that is located at the foot of Mt. Psiloritis (otherwise known as Mt. Ida), the tallest mountain on the island.⁸ Rhyming couplets performances, *mandinades*, namely improvised, fifteen-syllable, in iambic meter, proverbial, rhyming distiches, devoted to Zeus accompany such music and dance rites, raising monuments in history and memory while simultaneously shaping what “being from Crete” is.

More legends we trace on two major Cretan dance forms, the *syrtos*, a dragging dance, and the *pedozalis*, a leaping dance. Both dances have been “mythologized” by local history and are part of the Cretan musical folklore. More specifically, it is acknowledged that the Cretan *syrtos* was developed in the Chania province, most likely in the region of Kissamos, and spread to the rest of Crete from there, hence the name of the dance *Chaniotikos* (namely, in honors of its place of origin). There is one characteristic melody labeled as the *protos syrtos* (or *Chaniotikos*)⁹ that is considered to be the original one from which the dance sprung and was created.

It is believed that in ancient times that dance served as a necessary means of expression and encouragement in war cases. Moreover, a local legend says the dance was coined as *protos syrtos* and was composed by Cretan soldiers who participated in the failed defense of Constantinople against the Ottoman Turks in 1453. The Sultan allowed the Cretans to return home due to their bravery, which resulted from their refusal to surrender for several days after the City’s fall. In turn, they settled down in the region of Kissamos and kept performing those melodies till the mid-18th century. That same year, a wedding was organized at the Chania village of Loussakies to gather key local leaders and plan a rebellion against the Turks.¹⁰

In fact, the first musical rendition of that dance is attributed to Triantafyllakis, the violinist from the village of Loussakies, Kissamos, Stefanos Triantafyllakis or Kioros¹¹ who reworked the three hundred-year old melody, giving the opportunity to the performers to create a dance as both a symbol of the revolt and a way of honoring the memory of the Cretan warriors of 1453.¹² The *Chaniotikos syrtos* became popular in that region and was performed until the Greek revolution of 1821.¹³ It then spread to the rest of the island, carrying its revolutionary and epic character, particularly during the two World Wars, by being varied in both style and expression.

7 Significant is the description of Achilles’ shield in the Iliad when Homer, amongst others, remarks that the labyrinth was Ariadne’s ceremonial dancing ground, “a dancing-floor where young men and women were dancing” (590-606).

8 An invocation of Mt. Ida (Psiloritis) stands for strength, endurance, honor and pride. Because that mountain has served as a stronghold of revolution and a rampart of freedom, it is perceived as the soul of Crete.

9 The melody that generally follows it is called the *protos* (first) *Kissamitikos* (from Kissamos).

10 According to tradition, that rebellion was discovered by means of treachery and, hence, put down.

11 Tsouchlarakis, Ioannis “The traditional dances of Crete”. In:

<http://www.tsouchlarakis.com/English.htm#Dances> (accessed on August 15th, 2013).

12 League, Panayotis “Rewriting Unwritten History: Folklore, Mass Media, and the Ban of the Cretan Violin”. In: <http://chs.harvard.edu/wa/pageR?tn=ArticleWrapper&bdc=12&mn=4885> (accessed on August 15th, 2013).

13 The “Greek War of Independence”, also known as the “Greek Revolution” was a successful war of independence waged by the Greek revolutionaries between 1821 and 1832.



Syrtos (Image 1)

The second dance under examination, the *pedozalis*, is perceived as an ancient, *pyrrichean* dance form, namely a war dance that served to test the footwork and agility of the dancers in ancient times. Its present form and name are attributed to the period of the Daskaloyannis Revolution (1770-1). According to local legend, the organizer of a great Cretan rebellion, Ioannis Vlachos or Daskaloyannis (1730-1771), invited the same violinist, Triantafyllakis, to attend the meeting of the local chieftains who were planning the rebellion, and to compose a dance for them as the symbol of the revolt. That is why the dance has ten steps which commemorate the day of the meeting (October 10, 1769), namely when the people of Sfakia (south, western Crete), made the decision to go ahead with the revolution against the Turks, and therefore its music consists of twelve music phrases (parts) in honor of the twelve leaders of the revolt.¹⁴

The name of the performance, namely “five stepped dance”, is purely symbolic and stands for the fifth attempt to free Crete from the Turks (even though there are more steps). Tradition says that, until the early 1960s, the people of the western Crete, while dancing the *pedozalis*,

¹⁴ Tsouchlarakis, web.

used to call out the name of the captain that corresponded to each musical phrase, in this way honoring the memory of Daskaloyannis, his chief comrades and their revolt.¹⁵



Pedozalis (Image 2)

Theoharis Xirouhakis, Professor of Physical Exercise, Dance Instructor and Choreographer, founded in 1978 the first school for the instruction of Cretan Dances in Chania-Crete under the name “Giving birth to the gallant men of Crete” (*Levedoyenna Kriti*). As he states, this attempt of his “sprang out of pure love for the brave dances and the beautiful Cretan traditions”.¹⁶ Over 20,000 students, as young as four and as old as seventy, have graduated from this school and have participated as dance teachers and lead dancers in many Cretan associations both in Greece and abroad.

“The Battle of Crete” was created in 1991 in order to honor all those who fought and gave their lives in that historical battle that took place on May 20, 1941. Horrifying pictures and re-

¹⁵ Among those who took part in the Daskaloyannis Revolution was the great war-chief Iosif Daskalakis or Sifodaskalakis from the village of Ambadia, Rethymno. Sifodaskalakis survived the revolt but was crippled in his left leg. According to tradition, some years later, Captain Sifis wanted to dance the *pedozalis*. The musicians and dancers adapted the rhythm of the dance steps to that of a lame man. This performance became part of the tradition of the Amari-Rethymno province as “koutsambadianos” or “ka(r)tsimba(r)dianos” (Tsouchlarakis, web).

¹⁶ All quotes from Theoharis Xirouhakis relate to my personal communication with him during summer 2011.

ports such as the ones related to the Massacre of Kondomari¹⁷ inspired Mr. Xirouhakis to create that dance. Since his childhood, “the historic battle was an event carved in his fantasy mostly due to the narrations he himself heard at the coffeehouses of his village where he also encountered and had the chance to speak with several wounded villagers”. Those atrocities were the reason that, when the celebrations for the 50 years from the Battle of Crete took place and a singing competition was established by the Prefecture of Chania, he asked to participate by creating a dance.

Mr. Xirouhakis based the dancing figures on moves he “witnessed in mountainous villages where the tradition is kept authentic”. While choreographing, he spoke and danced with old, outstanding dancers, and collaborated with folklorists, university professors and specialists in teaching folk dances. He utilized all of those resources and simultaneously added his own, personal character, “embodying it to the dance meter, ethos and style”.

The music of the dance is composed by young Cretan music artist Dimitris Vakakis¹⁸ and its lyrics by Mr. Xirouhakis. Its lyrics are in the traditional *mandinades* format and translate as follows: “Black birds have covered the Cretan sky and old Mt. Psiloritis has roared. All together, the brave ones of Crete, old men, women and children, burst forth like lions for the sacred idea, in order to show to the barbarians that Crete cannot be taken over, and that, even when burnt by enemies, its soul remains invulnerable. So as to spread out to the whole world the message that the Cretan neck does not bend to foreign rule; it was born free and will live free, so hear this well in both East and West!”

The “Battle of Crete’s” melody starts slower and becomes faster when the lyrics repeat. This allows the creation of a dance that is both dragging and leaping. Several dancing figures take place such as the so-called “cuttings or little heels”, namely when the music cuts off and the dancers hit the heels of their shoes, the high jumps, the turns and the plain slaps on legs. Its choreography consists of three parts. Part one is called “attack and defense” and shows the spontaneous resistance of the Cretan people who used whatever they could find in order to fight. During the battle scene, the dancers do not hold hands so as to show “readiness for attack, alert”. Part two is the “hand-to-hand fight”. As a wild animal¹⁹ reacts to an enemy which approaches its lair and threatens its young by stamping its legs and attacking with fury, similarly the Cretans react to the all-powerful enemy who approaches and threatens their existence: they stamp three times so as to frighten it. With loud cries, the body-to-body fight follows and, finally, the destruction of the enemy ensues. Lastly, the warriors make two turns in order to check and see whether more of the enemy appears.

As soon as the warriors realize that the danger is over, they celebrate their triumph in the third part, with fast, *pyrrichean* (in the mood of a war) steps, one turn and a frantic moment of jumping movements which takes place on the spot. This is the way the choreographer, Mr. Xirouhakis, chose to depict the celebration of the Cretan soul’s victory that did not succumb to the war’s fury. According to him, “oftentimes, the body may have been proven weak to the Germans who knelt before a number of major European powers, but the soul of the Cretans did not break; it rather struggled, remained straight and thus won”. On the DVD series, Mr. Xirou-

¹⁷ It refers to the execution of male civilians from the village of Kondomari in Chania-Crete by an ad hoc firing squad consisting of German paratroopers on 2 June 1941 during World War II. The shooting was the first of a long series of mass reprisals on the island of Crete and was orchestrated in retaliation for the participation of Cretans in “The Battle of Crete.”

¹⁸ Born in Chania in 1974, he allegedly expressed an interest in Cretan music when he was two years old.

¹⁹ In Cretan music, the wild goat serves as a metaphor for the rebel heart that does not succumb to any yoke and breaks free even from the prison of the mind (Ball, Eric “Folkism and Wild(er)ness: Observations on the Construction of Nature in Modern Greek Culture”, *Journal of the Hellenic Diaspora* 32/1-2 (2006), 7-43).

hakis concludes “his-story” with the following: “Till the sun rises and strikes Mt. Psiloritis, Crete will stand up, fight and feast... I am from Crete, an island that does not bend, does not age, and, when enslaved, it will always be free in order to offer freedom lessons”.



Battle of Crete (Image 3)

Meraklis in the local, Cretan dialect stands for the happy enthusiast who shows affection to his object, in other words, the satisfied connoisseur who also embodies artistry in every action. In 2009, Mr. Xirouhakis created the “Meraklidikos” dance to portray joy and *kefi* (high spirits). The dance, which is part of the 3rd DVD of the series “Soul of Crete”, is filmed at the Church of Santa Irene at his native village of Gramvousa and Mr. Xirouhakis conceives of it as a manifestation of “all who love Cretan tradition and its gallant dances”.

“Meraklidikos” is a rhythmic, pleasant dance, conducted in small and sharp, jumping steps. In combination with its music accompaniment, a joyful and “high spirited” temperament is created. Its steps are simple and easy so that anyone can perform it. The dance has many vivid musical turns and figures such as the “little heel”, the “high strikes and jumps”, the “dimension” and the unique “*meraklidiki*”, which gave its name to the dance. All movements accentuate the grace and the gallantry of the dancer who, in order to execute them well, needs to pay careful attention to the details of the dance. Another goal of this dance is to excite the first dancer and thus create the mood for improvisation.

The music of the dance is composed by *lyra* player Alexandros Xirouhakis²⁰ and the lyrics mostly by his uncle-choreographer, Mr. Xirouhakis²¹: “When the *meraklis* is born, God gives him the grace, thus no one can ever deprive him of it. The *meraklis* always distinguishes himself because of his dancing steps: they are modest, gallant, as if he is painting! The *meraklis* gives joy and makes a table-feast proper: he is always the first in manners and ethics, a bastion of the

²⁰ On the DVD and on the Cretan lute, Manolis Balomenakis performs.

²¹ The first verse is traditional, and the last composed by Nektarios Leounakis (Xirouhakis, Theoharis. Series of interviews and personal communication during July-August-September. Chania and Heraklion, Crete, 2011.)

heart. The eagle²² and the *meraklis* do not cry when suffering; instead, they turn their pain into song and perform it”.



Meraklidikos (Image 4)

When Cretan dances are performed, the legends are being reincarnated, reminding one of the Greek struggles for freedom. In a sense, they function as a local history lesson, as, oftentimes, elders take time to explain to the younger audience the deeds of their ancestors, referring to specific names, facts and places. This way, the past unites with the present constituting the ethics of gallantry (*levedia*, *palikaria*) and love of honor (*philotimo*), thus the essence of being Cretan diachronic. Most of those stories do not remain only on oral terms, in informal conversations that may take place in such social spaces as coffeehouses. In addition, they are used as part of the formal education of the young; they are proudly presented as authentic in local history books and other media, such as websites, assuring that the ideals of Hellenism and Christianity will continue to be honored and respected.

A basic form of communal communication consists when Cretans dance together. What is enacted and created through musical activity is the collective interaction which develops in the group's socialization, and which, through the performance, activates the thick web of social relationships synthetically expressed with the term *parea* (namely, group of friends). Through the feast, the *parea* celebrates itself and its members, developing, through the chosen practice of

²² Cretan eagles are unique to the Mediterranean, biologically strong birds, that reside on steep rocks, harsh mountainous and gorge-type areas. They are symbols of freedom and independence, oftentimes portrayed in Greek folk poetry.

singing and dancing, a relationship shaped according to an ideal of cooperation and socialization of the group's values.²³



Parea (Image 5)

A feature of Cretan music and dance, namely the traditional ritual-protocol of dancing in an open circle with the intermingling of genders and ages, establishes and fulfills the concept of community.²⁴ As the dancers lose themselves in the dance, as they become absorbed in the unified community, they reach a state of elation in which they feel themselves filled with energy beyond their ordinary state. At the same time, feeling themselves in complete and ecstatic harmony with all the fellow-members of their community, the dancers experience a great increase in feelings of amity and attachment towards each other.²⁵

²³ Hnaraki, Maria. "From Homeric Poetry to Cretan Balladry: The Daskaloyannis Song" *Papers in Ethnology and Anthropology* 18/7 (2011), 123-132: 127.

²⁴ Hnaraki, 2007, 99.

²⁵ Hnaraki, 2007, 101.



Circle (Image 6)

Furthermore, the touching that takes place in those types of Cretan dances conveys a sense of camaraderie, unity and strength. Dancing, in this sense, also gives one the feeling of security. By touching, the dance produces a condition in which the unity, harmony and concord of the community are at a maximum and in which these feelings are keenly felt by every member. Holding hands with others effuses happiness and security.²⁶

The performance requires extreme precision in the processes of the rendition of the dancing figures. Such a complexity emphasizes the ritual character of performing Cretan dances, implying that their particular communicative code is shared by the dancers. They, in turn, find in this dancing genre a performative outlet for their own collective identity, which requires an in-depth knowledge of the oral tradition of the group.²⁷

The legacy of past revolutionary times can still be felt through the notion that Crete is free, self-sufficient and “tough”. While the dances transmit an interpretation of the past, they are also a tool for learning the central values of Cretanness.

Bottomley²⁸ suggests that “collectivism is literally embodied in the form of dance and the shared code of communication between dancers”.²⁹ She views Greek circle dances as a ritual of solidarity, offering a “cultural hegemony” opposing Ottoman rule. In fact, dancing performed as cultural survival is an important practice signifying the sense of national identity and independ-

²⁶ Hnaraki, 2007, 101. This feature of Greek music is particularly beneficial for emotional stability as both listening to and performing music in a group setting functions as a successful means for emotional self-regulation, expression, and relaxation.

²⁷ Hnaraki, “Souls of Soil: Island Identity through Song”, 177.

²⁸ Bottomley, Gillian. “Cultural, Multiculturalism and the Politics of Representation”, *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, 8/2 (1987), 1-10: 7-8.

²⁹ Bottomley, 1987, 7.

ence because it becomes a representation of both the expression of resistance to domination and the expression of freedom; what Bottomley terms as “the spirit of resistance”.³⁰ In this context, Greek folk dancing serves to strengthen cultural identity in modern times, especially amongst the Greek diaspora communities. Through performance, the ordinary folk manage to retain their cultural heritage and collectively remember it by commemorating the dances of old as national heroes and celebrating the value of nationhood.³¹

The above compositions underscore the significance of history for the Greeks as well as their strong connection to a place, the island of Crete. Mythologies surrounding gods and heroes are being reborn through music and dance performances to show the concrete links between past and present through a chronological continuation, preserving one’s tradition. Their stories remind us that history repeats itself and it is in the past, therefore, that one needs to look before proceeding further. Greek myths are performed, underlying the existence, from antiquity to today, of a whole ritual and not a mere poetic text or melody, something that enables their re-incarnation into “folk” or “artistic” tragedies, with “catharsis” as an ultimate goal.

All works mentioned create sound- and memory- scapes that travel as one to the island of Crete. They function ecopsychologically, creating a strong sense of place and belonging, which is not only physically and geographically but also ideologically specified. Conclusively, this deeply felt sentiment also defined as *topophilia* (love of place)³² transforms those performed experiences into living communal memories, which constitute a rich source of knowledge and identity and speak for a dancing poetics of Cretanhood.

“Islands and islanders can serve as subjects with a clearer (though still in their own way messy) relationship with local identity and the external order”.³³ As Cretans realize that “no man is an island”, they are conscientiously returning to their roots, using Cretan dances as a way of doing so. Through that pathway, they are confident that, in order to examine their souls and thus know themselves, they would have to keep performing Cretan dances.

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³⁰ Bottomley, Gillian *From Another Place: Migration and the Politics of Culture* (Sydney, Australia: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 86.

³¹ Riak, Patricia. “A Cultural Interpretation of Greek Dance”, *Journal of the Hellenic Diaspora* 33/1 & 2 (2007), 39-59: 52.

³² Solomon, Thomas James *Mountains of Song: Musical Constructions of Ecology, Place, and Identity in the Bolivian Andes* (Ph.D. thesis, University of Texas, Austin, 1997).

³³ Baldacchino, Godfrey. “Introduction: Singing, Islands, and Island Songs” in *Island Songs*, ed. Godfrey Baldacchino (Lanham, MD: The Scarecrow Press, 2011), xix-xli: xxix.

Greek Music: From Cosmopolitanism, through Nationalism to Populism

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Abstract. This paper highlights the social, economical, institutional, ideological and political factors that determined the negative social reception of the nationalist enterprise in Greek art music and hindered the integration of western art music in Greek culture. Both failures gave ample way to the prevailing of a very peculiar kind of musical populism centered on the musical and theoretical work of Mikis Theodorakis and his followers. The factors in question include among others: the lack of central state music institutions (conservatories, symphonic orchestras, operas and so on) and public funding of art music before and during the formation of the national school of music; the lack of interest for art music and for the profession of the musician in the low and middle classes, motivated by a meager or even inexistent general musical education and coupled with the lack of an *aesthetic* approach to western art music during the same period; the reluctance of the protagonists of the national movement in Greek music to defend its case in public terms and their eagerness to do so in private ones (founding of many private music institutes); the catalytic role the charismatic personality of Mikis Theodorakis played in the postwar endorsement and enforcement of a highly populist conception of music, substantiated in his “art popular song” (έ-τεχνο ελληνικό τραγούδι), within social conditions ripe for the emergence of populist rhetoric and movements.

The study of Greek music has primarily focused on issues of historiography,¹ music analysis and theory,² turning sporadically to aesthetics and ideology³ and scarcely to the history of music institutions.⁴ Today, the development of musicological research and criticism in Greece allows for the formulation of some further questions concerning the social, political and economical factors of Greek music. The discussion of these questions however will prove fruitful provided that an overall narrative is supplied, itself structured in reference to some essential concepts of

¹ (Books in Greek) Bakounakis, Nikos *The Phantom of the Opera. The Reception of Melodrama in Greece* (Athens: Castaniotis, 1991); Kostios, Apostolos Dimitris Mitropoulos (Athens: M.I.E.T., 1995); Romanou, Katy *Excursion in National Music. Greek Music Journals as a Research Source in the History of Greek Music* (Athens: Cultura, 1996); Skandali, Angeliki *The Course of Opera in 19th Century Greece and the Constitution of Urbanity* (Athens: Gutenberg, 2001); Leotsakos, Giorgos Paulos *Carrer: Memoires and Catalogue of Works* (Athens: Benaki Museum and Ionian University, 2003); Romanou, Katy *Greek Art Music in Modern Times* (Athens: Cultura, 2006); Kardamis, Kostas Nikolaos Chalikiopoulos Mantzaros: “Unity in Multiplicity” (Corfu: Society of Corfu Studies, 2008); Themelis, Dimitris *Studies on Greek Music. From Tradition to Synchrony* (Athens: Papagrigoriou-Nakas, 2009); Sakallieros, Giorgos Giannis Konstantinidis (1903-1984): *Life, Work and Style* (Thessaloniki: University Studio Press, 2010); Belonis, Giannis *Chamber Music in Greece in the First Half of the 20th Century* (Athens: Center of Greek Music, 2012).

² (Books in Greek) Zervos, Giorgos Nikos Skalkottas and the European Tradition of the Opening of the 20th Century (Athens: Papagrigoriou-Nakas, 2001); Tsougras, Kostas *The 44 Children Pieces of Giannis Konstantinidis: Analysis Based on the Genetic Theory of Tonal Music* (Thessaloniki: University Studio Press, 2003); Foulías, Ioannis *The Two Piano Sonatas of Dimitris Mitropoulos: From Late Romanticism to the National School* (Athens: Papagrigoriou-Nakas, 2011).

³ (Books in Greek) Psychopedi-Frangou, Olympia *The National School of Music. Issues of Ideology* (Athens: Institute of Mediterranean Studies, 1990); Siopsi, Anastasia *Three Essays on Manolis Kalomiris* (Athens: Papagrigoriou-Nakas, 2003); Tsetsos, Markos *Nationalism and Populism in Greek Music. Political Aspects of a Cultural Divergence* (Athens: Sakis Karagiorgas Foundation, 2011).

⁴ (Books in Greek) Kyriazikidou, Panagiota *Music Schools in Greece: Institutional Frame and Classroom Reality* (Thessaloniki: Paratiritis, 1998); Kostios, Apostolos *Union of Greek Composers: 75 Years* (Athens: Papagrigoriou-Nakas, 2007); Markos, Tsetsos *Greek Music. Essays of Ideological and Institutional Critique* (Athens: Papagrigoriou-Nakas, 2013).

historical interpretation. Needless to say, the constitution of such a narrative presupposes the rejection of relativist, nominalist and deconstructionist methods as long as they invalidate conceptual frames enabling the truly critical understanding of historical processes. Negating any binding normativity, such methods result in fact to the tacit confirmation or even adoption of the allegedly criticized historical agents' perspective. The deconstruction of concepts can inadvertently concur with positivism in the vindication of historical processes and their outcomes.

In the case of Greek music, the outcome of its history is the rising of a peculiar kind of popular song, the so called "entechno", to the status of high art unanimously recognized by both society and the state and functioning as a privileged medium for the aesthetic expression of nearly all social strata, the intellectuals included. The other, negative aspect of the situation is the absolute marginalization of art-music, even in its national form. This marginalization is expressed in the lack of public professional music education,⁵ in the correspondent inflation of the number of private music institutes⁶ as well as in the quantitative deficiency and qualitative inefficiency of the rest of the existent public music institutions.⁷ Despite being one of the oldest European national states, the first to secede from the Ottoman Empire (1821-1830), Greece obtained its first state symphony orchestra and opera only in the 1940s, during the German occupation, and its first fully organized concert hall in the 1990s. Another facet of the situation is the repeatedly observed late constitution of a national school based essentially on 19th century aesthetic premises.

The etiology of this situation, which I have elsewhere described as a "cultural divergence",⁸ is highly complex. For many decades after the attainment of its political independence, Greece lacked a productive, principally industrial,⁹ national¹⁰ upper class willing to subsidize or put pressures on the state in the direction of establishing central music institutions of national and, if possible, public character. The novel Greek bourgeoisie, generated as a rule by a redistribution of incomes through the wages of a proportionally great number of public servants and functionaries,¹¹ represented a loose aggregate of traders, middlemen, incomers and financiers,

⁵ With the exception of the university departments of music studies, oriented in the most part in musicology, there exists not even one central state conservatorium, music academy or higher music school in Greece. Full professional music education is provided by private music institutes, the so called "odeia", supervised not by the Ministry of Education but by the Ministry of Culture. Cf. Baltzis, Alexandros "Music Schools and their Evolution: Sociological Parameters", *Mousikologia* 17 (2003), 105-139.

⁶ According to Baltzis, 106-107, "in 2000 [...] a total amount of 800 *odeia* and music schools [...] operate in whole Greece; [...] within 30 years their number increased 4.606%, i.e. from 17 to 800".

⁷ After the closing down of Chatzidakis' Orchestra of Colors and quite recently of the Music Ensembles of ERT (National Radio Symphony Orchestra, Orchestra of Contemporary Music, Choir), Greece, a country of more than ten million inhabitants, has left with only two permanent symphony orchestras (Athens and Thessaloniki State Orchestras) and a single opera institution (Greek National Opera).

⁸ Tsetsos, *Nationalism and Populism*, 15.

⁹ For the late and anemic industrialization in Greece and its reasons, see Dertilis, Giorgos *History of the Greek State 1830-1920* (Athens: Hestia, 2006), 602-603.

¹⁰ Poulantzas, Nikos *Social Classes in Contemporary Capitalism*, transl. N. Miliopoulos (Athens: Themelio, 2008), 87: "Talking about a national upper class we mean the indigenous part of the upper class which, being in a way and to some point opposed to the foreign and imperialist capital, occupies a relatively autonomous position in the political and ideological structure representing thus its own unity. In reference to the class structural determination, this position is not restricted to the class placement, nevertheless it acts upon it: in situations of anti-imperialist and nation-liberating struggle the national upper class can adopt class positions that place it among the 'people' and make it sensitive towards some kind of alliance with the popular masses".

¹¹ Tsoukalas, Konstantinos "State and Society in 19th Century Greece", in *Aspects of the Greek Society in the 19th Century*, ed. Dimitris Tsaousis (Athens: Hestia, 1998), 45 & 48: "[...] the percentage of the wage earners or of those drafting in every way money and assets from the state is huge, the greatest in Europe [...] during the whole 19th century. [...] The state appears as the main wage payer, the main distributor of economic surplus [...] permanent or transient access to which has nearly the half population of the cities [...]"

interested in the flow of merchandise and capital rather than in their production. Deprived of a cultural physiognomy of its own, this poorly educated and aesthetically uninitiated new bourgeoisie soon acquired the traits of a cosmopolitanism based on cultural mimicry: "Athens [...] expressed in the most characteristic way the meaning westernization acquired in Greece: it had nothing to do with modernization, but rather with an utterly superficial vitiation of mores, an uncritical mimicry, the notorious 'aping' in all aspects of Greek life, the disastrous misapprehension of the western civilization".¹²

On the other hand, the political personnel of the country during the major part of the 19th century -a century highly crucial for the establishment of central music institutions- represented in fact a mechanism of producing and reproducing political clientele modeled upon ottoman political practices.¹³ The populist conduct of this personnel and its distrust for the western cultural institutions, especially for costly ones like those of art music, could hardly contribute to a public treatment of the music question. Unlike music, only figurative arts and architecture could hope for such a treatment due to their aptitude to unambiguous representation of the monarchy and the state. The foundation of the privately financed -and for many years not professionally oriented- Athens' Conservatory in 1871 gave institutional expression to the diachronic choice of the Greek state to treat western art music as a private affair. This negative music politics was also expressed in the permanent lack of opera infrastructures, symphony orchestras, choirs, chamber ensembles and so on. In an environment of social, political and institutional indifference or even hostility vis-à-vis western art music any serious development of a national tradition of musical composition was simply unthinkable.¹⁴ The middleman physiognomy of the Greek upper class and its smatter cosmopolitanism had decisively determined the music orientations of the state. At the same time, the masses flocking into the cities from the countryside, deprived of any musical education whatsoever, provided with fresh audiences the miscellaneous establishments of musical entertainment, from the ephemeral operetta houses to the café chantants and café aman.¹⁵

In the threshold of the 20th century the Greek musical space appeared extremely segregated. The primary division into two musical spheres, the eastern and the western namely, articulated unambiguously the basic ideological division of the Greek society. Nevertheless each of these two spheres was in turn divided into one art and one folk "hemispheres": the eastern sphere was divided into the hemisphere of the official music of the Orthodox Church and that of the demotic music and the western sphere was divided into the hemisphere of art music and that of the popular one, with additional divisions within each hemisphere: characteristic enough is the controversy in the field of Byzantine music among the partisans of pure monophony on the one side and those of polyphony on the other. Under these conditions Manolis Kalomiris' endeavor functioned as an attempt to nationally unify the segregated space of Greek music, always though in terms of western art music.

The intelligent composer managed to integrate the musical otherness of the eastern sphere by transcending first of all its musical heterogeneity through reduction of this heterogeneity to some common melodic and rhythmic topoi. Then, on the footsteps of the Wagnerian aesthet-

¹² Skopetea, Elli *The 'Exemplary Kingdom' and the Great Idea. Facets of the National Problem in Greece (1830-1880)* (Athens: Polytypo, 1988), 244.

¹³ Lyrantzis, Christos *The End of the 'Tzakia'. Society and Politics in 19th Century Achaia* (Athens: Themelio, 1991), 29-35 ("Cliental relationships and social classes").

¹⁴ For the difficulties Eptanesian composers like Carrer and Xindas faced in their effort to establish a national tradition of art music in Greece, cf. Leotsakos, Paulos Carrer.

¹⁵ Chatzipantazis, Thodoros *Lovers of the Asian Muse. The Flourishing of the Athenian Café Aman in the Years of King George I Rule* (Athens: Stigmi, 1986) and Liavas, Labros *The Greek Song from 1821 to the 1950s* (Athens: Emporiki Bank of Greece, 2009), 49-58.

ics, he exploited the unifying potential of myth and legend, in an attempt to transcend the particularities and ramifications of history. In the plane of theoretical discourse, Kalomiris articulated for the first time with explicitness the basic principles of the romantic musical nationalism, achieving its synarthrosis with the central nationalist discourse of his times: the Great Idea (Μεγάλη Ιδέα) of the political unification of the nation,¹⁶ the predestination of Greece to acculturate the Orient, the idea of the historical continuity of the nation from the antiquity through Byzantium to the present. Kalomiris' nationalism is primordialist, as long as it endorses the priority of the cultural entity of the nation over the political entity of the state; then, it is organist, as long as it endorses the idea of the emanation of each culture from its own natural soil; finally, Kalomiris' nationalism is racial, as long as it identifies the nation with the race.¹⁷ In close connection with the aforesaid, the music aesthetics of Kalomiris is typically romantic: it gives priority to emotion and extra-musical poetic content rather than to structure, to inspiration rather than to construction, to particularity rather than to generality and, in his case, to the particularity of the national element in music, regardless if it is achieved through the material and formal generality of western art music.¹⁸

Nevertheless, despite the fact that in his artistic and theoretical work he materialized with the greatest possible consequence and fullness the principles of music nationalism becoming thus its Greek leader; despite the fact that he was the first Greek composer to compose music in nearly all genres, among them in that of symphony; despite the fact that in his time he was the only musician so widely accepted by bourgeoisie, intellectuals and politicians, that every possible music post was accessible to him, Kalomiris today is hardly known by anyone except a tiny part of the educational elite, his music is rarely played and even not critically edited, there is not even one biography written on him. Fifty years from Kalomiris' death music historiography ought to investigate the reasons for such a fate, unparalleled in the music history of any other modern state.¹⁹

My personal approach to this unique historical phenomenon led me to the following conclusions. First and foremost, in contradiction to a fundamental premise of the nationalist dogma and despite his access to nearly every political administration, Kalomiris dissociated the idea of national art music from the national, namely public or, if you like, state *institutions* required for its production, reproduction and propagation. Founder of an army of private music institutes, the so called "odeia", Kalomiris decisively contributed to the stabilization and development of 19th century patterns of private music education,²⁰ while his attempts to inflict by any means his basically conservative aesthetic views, being barely tolerant of any other,²¹ sharpened the

¹⁶ Cf. Kremydas, Vasilis *The Great Idea. Transformations of a National Construct* (Athens: Typothito, 2010).

¹⁷ For a detailed discussion of these notions, see Smith, Anthony D. *Nationalism. Theory, Ideology, History* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2007).

¹⁸ Tsetsos, *Nationalism and Populism*, 71-85.

¹⁹ Indicative of the situation is the following statement by his granddaughter Hara Kalomiris on the occasion of the anniversary year 2012: "I would like to underline once more the continuing indifference and neglect surrounding the work of this great artist -and generally the work of the representatives of our national music school- by the official State. An important question besides is the absence or if you like the extremely deficient presence of our art music in the international music life. Believing that the real inheritor of Kalomiris' work is no other than the Greek people, as the composer himself believed, I am convinced that the propagation and promotion of this work represents a major issue in the music life of our country", in: *To Vima Online*, 2-4-2012, <http://www.tovima.gr/culture/article/?aid=451455> (last access August 29th, 2013).

²⁰ Cf. Oikonomidou, Maria, "For the Greek Children. Music Educational Institutions, Aims and Ways of Materializing the Kalomirean Vision for Music Education", in *Manolis Kalomiris, Fifty Years After*, eds. Maliaras, Nikos and Charkiolakis, Alexandros (Athens, Fagotto Books, 2013), 179-210.

²¹ Characteristic is his negative outlook on atonal and dodecaphonic music, expressed among others in his ambiguous attitude towards Nikos Skalkottas. Cf. Belonis, Giannis "Skalkottas as viewed by Manolis Kalomiris",

endemic in Greek musical life severances and rivalries,²² obstructing thus his own long-term unanimous recognition. Second, the artistic value of Kalomiris' music, being surely higher than that of the majority of his colleagues, was not yet high enough to provoke that interest of the international artistic and scientific communities which could ensure and keep alive his posthumous recognition in his homeland too (as for example in the cases of Maria Kallas, Dimitri Mitropoulos and Nikos Skalkottas²³). Third, the unconditional recognition of Kalomiris was hindered as well by his political opportunism, expressed in his conversion from an ardent admirer of Venizelos to a supporter of Metaxas' dictatorship and an institutional associate of the German occupation authorities, keeping at the same time, as it seems, secret contacts with the Left for purely utilitarian reasons.²⁴ Finally, the demand for an integration of the segregated space of Greek music found a quite different realization in the work of Mikis Theodorakis, this time in terms of popular song. The effect of the so called "art popular song" (έντεχνο λαϊκό τραγούδι) on the musically uneducated masses and the politically progressive intellectuals was so catalytic, that it gradually erased from the collective memory any past achievement of the national school of music, even its very historical existence.

In the core of Theodorakis' endeavor lied actually the reconstruction of the main vocal genres of western art music in terms of popular song. His song-cycles, his "song-rivers" and the so called "meta-symphonic" music, namely his popular oratorios (*Axion Esti, Canto General*), materialized this atypical artistic program. The social acceptance of the coupling of popular song with modern poetry was largely conditioned by the post-war exit of the rebetiko song from its social margin and its admission into the entertainment establishments of the new post-war economic elite, which to a large extent resulted from the redistribution of incomes and values that occurred in the period of the German occupation and the civil war. Needless to say, an essential precondition for this admission was the drastic readjustment of rebetiko's versification.²⁵ In addition the new economic elite, lacking the education and culture of the pre-war one -which meanwhile and for the first time in Greek history had obtained the qualities of a national industrial upper class-, was incapable to provide ideological, not to say economical, support to the crumbling national school of music. Within the new post-war cultural dichotomy only modern music could enjoy strong artistic representation (Christou, Sicilianos, G. A. Papaioannou, Dragatakis), even some kind of ideological tolerance not extraneous to cold war art politics.²⁶ In the end however popular song in its "art" form was determined to prevail.

The reproach of populism was soon stated against Theodorakis' project mainly by representatives of the communist left-wing, at that time yet inspired by the principles of Soviet music

Polyphonia 1 (2002), 32: "In an article dated 5-4-1950 Kalomiris himself appears to apologize for the fact that while it was in his power to help Skalkottas he nevertheless made no efforts in this direction, being 'immerged' in his own views and his own problems".

²² Legendary is the one with Georgios Lambelet. Cf. Parpara, Chrysi "The Polemics of the Journal Mousika Chronika (1925, 1928-1932) Against Manolis Kalomiris. Issues of Greek Music History", Polyphonia 10, 65-93.

²³ Demertzis, Kostis "Nikos Skalkottas: An Portrait", in A Homage to Nikos Skalkottas (Athens: Megaron Concert Hall, 1999), 29: "It is doubtful whether we would talk today in Greece about Skalkottas, if some foreigners like Walter Goehr [...], Hans Keller [...] and many others were not enthusiastic about him. Foreigners were besides the first academic researchers of Skalkottas [...] [and] the principal interpreters of his work [...]".

²⁴ Belonis, Giannis "Manolis Kalomiris and the Dark Side of the Period of the German Occupation and the Civil War", Polyphonia 4 (2004), 7-21.

²⁵ Liavas, 225 f.

²⁶ Romanou, Katy History of Greek Art Music (Athens: Cultura, 2000), 167-168; Romanou, Katy "Style and Ideology. The Cold War Mixture in Greece", Polyphonia 12 (2008), 77-85; Fleischer, Hagen "Great Powers' Strategies of Cultural Penetration and the Greek Reaction", in Greece 1936-1949. From Dictatorship to Civil War, ed. Hagen Fleischer (Athens: Castaniotis, 2003), 87-120.

politics.²⁷ This reproach though never ever since gained any serious theoretical analysis and justification. The theoretical debate on populism blossomed during the 1980s becoming extremely current nowadays by theoreticians such as Margaret Cannovan,²⁸ Pierre-André Taguieff²⁹ and Ernesto Laclau.³⁰ Laclau tried to formulate a general theory of populism avoiding the empiricism of method and approaching the populist phenomenon in terms of its logical constitution. According to Laclau, a populist political incorporation emerges through the “hegemonic representation” of a mass of disparate democratic demands, associated negatively in a “chain of equivalences” under the common denominator of being unfulfilled. This incorporation process results in a split of the political space into two antithetical fronts: the one of the people and the other of the elite. The rhetoric of the hegemonic representative of a populist front is necessarily vague and fluctuant exactly because it is called to represent an inhomogeneous and ever changing amount of demands. The real political aim of every populist front is, according to Laclau, the part, i.e. the people, to become the whole by overthrowing the elite.

An examination of Theodorakis’ writings in the light of Laclau’s theory of populism reveals the fundamentally populist character of the composers’ argumentation. The new genre of art popular song functions exactly as a symbolic “hegemonic representative” of disparate musical traditions: the byzantine, the demotic, the folk and the popular, associated in a “chain of equivalences” under the common denominator of their opposition to the aesthetic principles and institutions of the musical elite, namely those of western art music, contemporary or not. The avoidance of a clear definition of what actually “art popular music” is reflects that vagueness, essential to the populist rhetoric. Further, the element of hegemonic representation is symbolically represented in the new “art” form of popular music by the learned modern poetry (Elytis, Seferis etc), inaccessible to the popular musician: according to the logic of populism the hegemonic representative of the people must differ educationally, even socially, from the people when the final aim of the populist movement is the downfall and replacement of the elite. Obviously, after the accomplishment of this downfall, within the new political (here musical) space the contrasts and divisions of the former situation could be dialectically reproduced once more. Today the “people” symbolized by the art popular song, having triumphed ideologically, financially, even institutionally over the “elite” symbolized by the western art music, functions as a new symbolical “elite” opposing itself to the symbolical “people” of the commercial popular song.³¹ With the difference, of course, that the new musical elite has meanwhile ensured the unreserved recognition of the society and the state.³²

One conclusion obtainable from the preceding necessarily abbreviated historical narrative is that the course of Greek music from cosmopolitanism, through nationalism to populism was not contingent. It was determined by the peculiar structure of the Greek society, namely the middleman character of its upper class and the rural and petit bourgeois character of the rest of the population, by the permanent lack of a serious general music education and the private nature of the professional one, by the chronic inexistence of artistic and academic public institutions of music and finally by the diachronic predominance of the populist element in every manifestation of Greek public life, from politics to art, explicitly or implicitly.

The populist articulation of the public discourse in Greece is also not contingent. It has much to do with the nature of the political configuration of a nation of family-centered small owners,

²⁷ See Alekos Xenos’ remarks in Theodorakis, Mikis *On Greek Music* (Athens: Castaniotis, 1986), 214-220.

²⁸ Canovan, Margaret *Populism* (London: Houghton Mifflin Hmh, 1981).

²⁹ Taguieff, Pierre-André *L’illusion populiste. De l’archaïque au médiatique* (Paris: Flammarion, 2002).

³⁰ Laclau, Ernesto *On Populist Reason* (London and New York: Verso, 2007).

³¹ As Theodorakis himself indirectly points out in his book *Star System* (Athens: Kaktos, 1984).

³² Tsetsos, *Nationalism and Populism*, 182-196 (“The Dialectic of Musical Populism”).

for which the social ascent of its members is achieved by the utilization of the public system of education and the possibilities of cliental access to the mechanisms of power and redistribution of public resources.³³ The constitutive logic of a society of this kind is hardly compatible with principles of the bourgeois ideology like meritocracy, autonomy, independence, rationalism, mediation, being at the same time very compatible with the exactly opposite ones: lack of meritocracy, heteronomy, dependence,³⁴ irrationalism³⁵ and immediacy, very characteristic of a rural-originated petit bourgeoisie. Especially the last principle, namely immediacy, appears not only as the sacred fetish, the latent myth of the dominant political, social and artistic discourses in modern Greece, but also as the essential catalyst for the absolute ideological triumph of the so called "art popular music".³⁶

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³³ Tsoukalas, Konstantinos *Social Development and State. The Constitution of the Public Space in Greece* (Athens: Themelio, 1999); *Dependence and Reproduction. The Social Role of the Educational Mechanisms in Greece (1830-1922)* (Athens: Themelio, 2006).

³⁴ From family, acquaintance, politicians, political parties and so on.

³⁵ "The organization of the state norm along the principles of the bourgeois Rule of the Law is a necessary though in no way sufficient condition for the rational function of the bourgeois State. As long as capitalism remains a secondary form of production the 'rationalization' of the organization can not be materialized and the choices, employments or promotions occur not with those 'rational' criteria of pertinence or necessity in view of an 'extrinsic' utility but with the irrational and peremptory criteria of a private negotiation", Tsoukalas, *Social Development and State*, 342.

³⁶ Cf. Tsetsos, *Greek Music*, 113-118 ("Greek Irrationalism and Music Populism: The Construct of 'Art' Popular Song").

International vs. national? Issues of (Hellenic/Greek) identity within Greek musical modernism (1950s - 1970s)

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Abstract. Modernism in music was constructed in post-1950 Greece in opposition to the nationalist ideas, which had been institutionally strong within Greek musical life and composition from the beginning of the twentieth century. The dichotomy national / international was at the core of musical discourse in the 1950s and 1960s from proponents of both sides, while it seriously influenced the historiography of Greek music. However, Greek antiquity (the Hellenic side of Greek identity, as the latter was developed since the eighteenth century), had a strong presence in the music, ideas and institutional support of modernist ideas. For example, many modernist composers utilize ancient Greek texts and / or ancient Greek themes, or make overt use of elements derived from ancient Greek drama.

The appraisal of the dichotomy national / international becomes difficult with regard to the use of Greek antiquity in Greek modernist music: the Greek antiquity is loaded with a tremendous weight within the Western musical tradition (having a strong international appeal within this tradition), while at the same time acted as a strong element in the post-World War II rethinking of Greek identity in Greek politics and arts. With analytical reference to the very use and the theoretical perception of Greek antiquity in musical extracts and texts by Greek modernists (Yorgos Sicilianos, Yannis Papaioannou, Iannis Xenakis), the present paper reveals ideas central to nationalist ideology (such as cultural / historical continuity, authenticity and the idealization of the past) and, thus, proposes to rethink the standard schema of Greek musical historiography.

The decades from the 1950s up to the 1970s saw the advent and institutional consolidation of modernist idioms in Greece. Modernism in music was constructed in opposition to the nationalist ideas of the self-defined Greek National School; the latter had been institutionally strong within Greek musical life and composition from the beginning of the twentieth century. The dichotomy national vs. international was at the core of the discourse on music in the 1950s and 1960s from proponents of both sides. For example, Manolis Kalomiris (1883-1962), the father-figure of the so-called Greek National School, in his influential book *Form in Music*, of 1957, attacks the advent of modernist idioms and especially dodecaphony. His rejection focuses on the international character of modernist idioms, which, he argues, is essentially anti-national.¹ On the other side, Yorgos Sicilianos, one of the first proponents of musical modernism in post-1950 Greece, in his many public statements in the 1960s gives emphasis to the need for the contemporary Greek composer to provide an international / universal perspective to his music.²

¹ More specifically, Kalomiris argues that: "The twelve-note system, according to its own nature and its own restrictive rules, is antinational, it is international. Since it abolishes the sense of tonality and imposes the development upon the twelve-note series, automatically it also abolishes the folksong, every free melodic inspiration as well as every elaboration of modes except for the elaboration of the merciless twelve-note series." Kalomiris, Manolis *Morphology of Music, Second Book, Forms in Classical and Newer Music* (Athens: Michail Gaitanos, 1957), 55.

² The following text, in which Sicilianos uses third singular for himself, offers a good summary of his attitude: "Sicilianos belongs to that group of musicians who ... are following contemporary musical trends with the conviction that the music of our time, as an artistic manifestation, has abandoned the framework of the so-called national school, and has acquired a more universal and more human character". Slonimsky, Nicholas, "New Music in Greece", *The Musical Quarterly* (special fiftieth anniversary issue: "Contemporary Music in Europe: A Comprehensive Survey") 51/1 (1965), 229.

This emphasis on the pole national / international has served as the basis for the periodization offered by the historiography of Greek music. Post-Second-World-War Greek modernist music is usually perceived through its emphasis on the internationalist notion of the avant-garde.³ For example, in a quite recent account of Greek musical modernism, John Svolos argues that: "Greek Musical Modernism came in total rupture with the musical nationalism of the institutionally established National School".⁴

However, Greek antiquity had a strong presence in the music and ideas of modernist idioms. More specifically, many modernist composers used ancient Greek texts in their many vocal works, found inspiration on ancient Greek themes in works for instrumental ensembles, or made overt use of structural elements or expressive elements derived from ancient Greek drama.

First Hellenic Week of Contemporary Music (1966)

- *Trittys* for guitar, santouri, percussion and two double basses by Nikos Maman-gakis
- *Odysseia* (Odyssey) for instrumental ensemble by Anestis Logothetis
- *Eros Anikate Machan* (text from Sophokles's *Antigone*), for choir
- *Second Hellenic Week of Contemporary Music (1967)*
- *Medea*, molologue for soprano, violin, cello and percussion by Dimitris Terzakis
- *Meli* on poems by Sappho for baritone and chamber ensemble by Theodore Antoniou
- *Amorsima-Morsima* for 10 instruments by Iannis Xenakis
- *Third Hellenic Week of Contemporary Music (1968)*
- *Anaparastasis: artonkatithanikteronomighirin* (text from Aeschylus's *Oresteia*) by Janni Christou
- *Tetraktys* for string quartet by Nikos Mamangakis
- *Report to Elektra* for soprano, French horn, viola and piano by Dimitris Dragatakis
- *Ionikon* for mixed choir by Yannis A. Papaioannou
- *Epiklessis II* for narrator, male choir, 4 female voices and 12 performers (text from Aeschylus's *The Persians*) by Yorgos Sicilianos

Table 1. Works with reference to Greek antiquity performed in the first three Hellenic Weeks of Contemporary Music

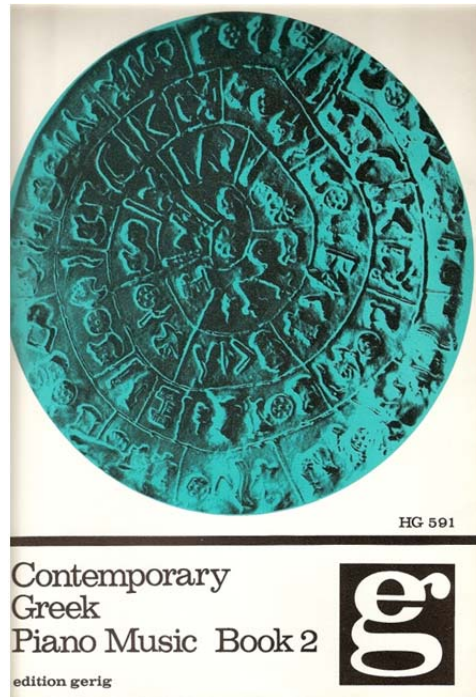
Some of the works with these characteristics that were performed during the first three Hellenic Weeks of Contemporary Music are listed in Table 1. The first Hellenic Week of Contemporary Music was held in Athens in 1966 and was meant to become the annual cornerstone of the activities of the Hellenic Association for Contemporary Music. The works presented by Greek composers in these Weeks were representative of the Association's aim to create a canon of Greek modernist works.⁵

³ For example, in a quite recent account of Greek music history, this is presented in four chapters under the titles: "The Ionian Islands", "The Greek National School", "Nikos Skalkotas" and "Chrétou, Adamés, Koukos: Greek Avant-Garde Music during the Second Half of the 20th Century". See Romanou, Katy (ed.) *Serbian and Greek Art Music, A Patch to Western Music History* (Bristol: Intellect Books, 2009).

⁴ Svolos, John "Greek Musical Modernism: Origins and Descendants", *Polyphonia* (2009), 175.

⁵ The Hellenic Association for Contemporary Music was the main institution promoting modernist idioms in Greece from its inception in 1965 onwards. It also encompassed the Greek Section of the International Socie-

The choice of the word Hellenic instead of Greek in the English version of the title of the Hellenic Association for Contemporary Music reflects, I believe, the significance given by Greek modernists in the ancient Greek past. This predilection for ancient Greece as an agent of national self-definition is also expressed by the cover of the two books entitled Contemporary Greek Piano Music. These books were the Greek contribution to an ambitious project of the 1960s by Edition Gerig, which presented contemporary piano music from different countries. As shown in Picture 1, the disc of Phaistos played the role of defining Greek ancestry in these two books.



Picture 1. Phaistos disc on the cover of Contemporary Greek Piano Music

As Peter Mackridge discusses in his intensive study of the relationship between the Greek language and modern Greek national identity: “The development of Greek identity since the eighteenth century has been complicated by the fact that Greeks used three different names for themselves”: *Romaioi* (or *Romioi*), *Graekoi* (Greeks) and *Ellines* (Hellenes).⁶ In his detailed account of the multiple and changing meanings of these terms, Mackridge points out that the term Hellenes in Greek (*Ellines*) has initially been connected with the increasing weight given to the ancient Greek past in the early formation of Greek identity,⁷ while he clarifies that in his own book he occasionally uses “‘Hellas’ / ‘Hellene’ / ‘Hellenic’ in cases where the relevant author is stressing the unity of the ancient and Modern Greeks”.⁸

However, the appraisal of the dichotomy national / international becomes difficult with regard to the use of Greek antiquity in music, and in particular in Greek modernist music. On one

ty for Contemporary Music. The Association organized five Hellenic Weeks of Contemporary Music: in 1966, 1967, 1968, 1971 and 1976.

⁶ Mackridge, Peter Language and National Identity in Greece 1766-1976 (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 48.

⁷ “...The change of name [to Hellenes] provided the modern Greeks with a new history and new models for behaviour (the great intellectual, military, and political figures of Classical Greece) – in short, a new identity of which they could feel proud and of which they could aspire to be worthy. ... The period between the late eighteenth century and the early nineteenth is marked by the transition from the ‘genos of the *Romaioi*’ to the Hellenic *ethnos*”. Mackridge, Language and National Identity, 51-52.

⁸ Mackridge, Language and National Identity, 55-56.

hand, Greek antiquity is loaded with a tremendous weight within the Western musical tradition (having, for the Greek composers, a strong international appeal within both the theory and praxis of this tradition) while it also had a strong presence particularly within early European modernism.⁹ On the other hand, ancient Hellas acted as a strong aspect of self-definition in the post-World War II rethinking of Greek identity in Greek politics and the arts.

Mark Mazower argues that a great emphasis on ancient Greek monuments was given within the post-Second-World War promotion of Greece as a worthy cultural touristic site. Mazower states: "As mass tourism met high-prestige state-sponsored excavations, post-war archeology entered the service of the national state as never before".¹⁰ In fact, Greek modernist music had a multifarious presence in the artistic side of the promotion of Greek antiquity by the Athens and Epidaurus Festivals, while Greek National Tourism Organization was a stable sponsor of the Hellenic Weeks of Contemporary Music. More specifically, many modernist composers wrote music for ancient drama stagings in Epidaurus, while some emblematic Greek modernist works were performed by Greek or foreign orchestras in the 1960s at Herodes Atticus Theatre in Athens.¹¹

In the present study I propose to rethink the standard schema of Greek musical historiography through a critical approach, albeit not exhaustive, to the very use and theoretical perception of Greek antiquity in musical extracts and texts by three representative Greek modernists: Yorgos Sicilianos (1920-2005), Yannis A. Papaioannou (1910-1989) and Iannis Xenakis (1922-2001). While the first two were active members of the historical foundation of Greek modernism,¹² Xenakis initially acted as a symbol of an internationally acclaimed Greek modernism, while, after the end of his political exile from Greece in 1975, he also had an active role in this movement. Analysis will focus on the expression of three central notions within nationalist ideologies: the belief in the cultural / historical continuity of the nation through ages, the idea of authenticity and, finally, the process of idealizing the past through its use as a potent agent in taking decisions in the present. In other words, while on a first reading Greek antiquity seems to have functioned as a way out of the nationalist agenda, I will argue on how the identification of a Greek / Hellenic self remained an issue, despite the big change in stylistic resources in post-1950 Greece.

The claim of continuity of Greek culture from the Hellenic past to the present through the Byzantine period has been, and still is, a stable element within the construction of Greek identity from the mid-nineteenth century onwards.¹³ A clear verbal expression of this idea is found in the programme notes written by Xenakis for the *Mycenae Polytope* of 1978. There he argues that the ruins of Mycenae "remind the Greeks both of their stunning historic continuity through at least 3600 years, and of their resulting obligation to create original life forms worthy of the five summits of their past: the achaean (mycenean), the archaic, the hellenistic, the byzantine".

⁹ See Danuser, Herman "Rewriting the Past: Classicisms of the Inter-War Period", in *The Cambridge History of Twentieth-Century Music*, ed. Nicholas Cook and Anthony Pople (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 260-285.

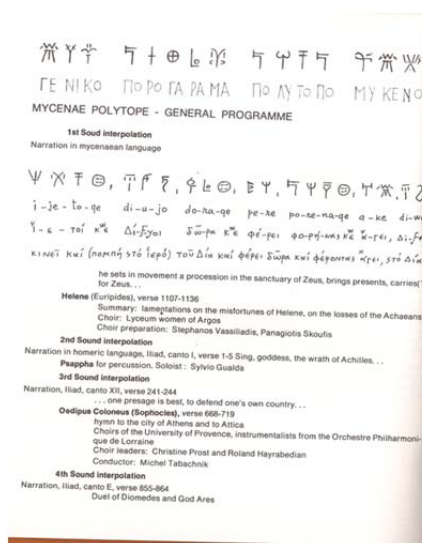
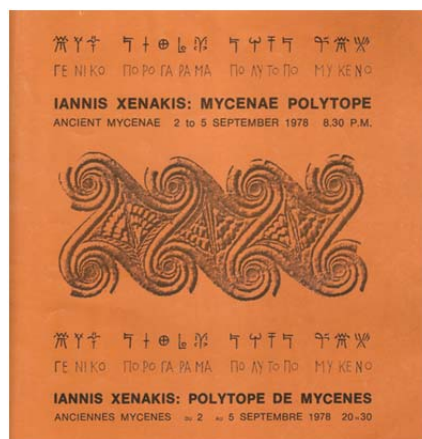
¹⁰ Mazower, Mark "Archaeology, nationalism and the land in modern Greece" in *A Singular Antiquity, Archaeology and Hellenic Identity in Twentieth-Century Greece*, ed. Dimitris Damaskos and Dimitris Plantzos (Athens: Benaki Museum, 2008), 39.

¹¹ For example, Papaioannou's Fifth Symphony was performed by the Cincinnati Symphony Orchestra in Herodes Atticus Theatre within the 1966 Athens Festival.

¹² Both of them were founding members and served as presidents of the Hellenic Association for Contemporary Music.

¹³ For a concise discussion of the construction of a tri-partite schema for the Greek national history (comprising ancient Hellas, Byzantium and modern Greece) see Peter Mackridge, "The Heritages of the Modern Greeks", *British Academy Review* 19 (Winter 2011/12), 14-16.

As shown in Picture 1, this notion is implied even by the cover of the programme through the use of Mycenaean script and ancient Greek in successive lines, while it becomes clearer inside the booklet, where the narrated text is presented.



Picture 2. From the programme of Xenakis's *Mycenae Polytope*

The same attitude, the perception of Greek antiquity as the beginning of a long route through epochs, is discerned in musical terms in two works with ancient Greek themes by Sicilianos: *Tanagraea* (1957) and *Bacchae* (1959), both initially for dance and drama performance. In *Tanagraea* there is the only quotation of a Greek folksong in Sicilianos's output, which is used in order to depict an ancient Greek dance. Less overt references to Greek folksong we find in *Bacchae*. As Sicilianos mentions in the programme notes of the orchestral version of the work that was first presented in 1960: "There are often heard [in the piece] tunes that, without at all copying the Greek folksong, they are paralleling it. I thought that this was the only remaining resource so as to convey in music the folk basis that surely exists in every worship which here is the root of the myth".^{14 15} A similar attitude towards the past is discerned in Xenakis's approach to *Oresteia*, which was first performed in 1966. Commenting the musical material of this work in the text "Antiquity and Contemporary Music" of the same year, Xenakis underscores that

¹⁴ Reproduced in Christopoulou, Valia Catalogue of Works by Yorgos Sicilianos (Athens: C. Papagrorgiou – H. Nakas Co, 2011), 62.

¹⁵ Here I believe that Sicilianos implicitly expresses the Herderian notion of identifying the national soul with folksong. By letting himself to 'parallel' intuitively folksong he acts as the spokesman of a continuing tradition through ages.

folksong from Greece (but also from the Balkan Peninsula, in general, and from Asia Minor and Cyprus) and the Byzantine musical tradition provided what he considered as being closer to the ancient Greek musical climate.¹⁶

It is worth noting that in Papaioannou's twelve-note 'absolute' music of the period 1959-1965, before his turn to ancient Hellas for extra-musical inspiration, reference to the Greek folksong is often, but considerably more covert: the fast movements of many of these works utilize additive metric patterns such as 5/8, 7/8 or 8/8, distinctive metric shapes within this tradition. For example, in the eighth movement from the Suite for piano of 1959 the alternation of 7/8 (divided in 3+2+2, the metric shape of the national dance 'emblem': the *Kalamatianos* dance) and 8/8 becomes the main structural feature in delineating the sonata form design. As shown in Musical Example 2, the main difference between the first and the second 'themes' of the sonata form shape is metric: the first is in 8/8 and the second in 7/8.

The image shows a musical score for a piano piece. It is titled 'Vivace' and is in 8/8 time. The score is divided into two systems. The first system shows the beginning of the first theme, marked with a first ending bracket and a dynamic marking of *mf*. The second system shows the beginning of the second theme, marked with a dynamic marking of *sf*. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings.

Musical Example 1. Papaioannou, *Suite, VIII: The beginnings of the first and second themes of the sonata form design*

As many theorists of nationalism have argued, authenticity takes multifarious meanings within nationalist ideas. In the Greek modernist music under discussion, the quest for authenticity towards mainly the ancient Greek past is discerned in many compositional decisions, such as the use of the original ancient texts and the various attempts to revive them into the present (e.g. with the Erasmian pronunciation), as well as the love for Aeschylus, who symbolizes the 'authentic' form of ancient Greek drama.

In a lecture of 1967 Sicilianos refers to his approach to the ancient Greek text for his work *Stasimon B*, underlying the different stimulus of his approach in comparison with what he describes as "stylized" approach of Stravinsky to ancient Latin text in *Oedipus Rex*.¹⁷ Greek composers used the ancient text mainly not as an element of underlying the distance from the past, but in searching ways to revive it into the present, underlying its meanings with contemporary musical resources. In his ensuing music, Sicilianos found the solution to originality in Erasmian pronunciation, while Xenakis in the programme notes of the *Mycenae Polytope* emphasizes that: "The music to Helene and to Oedipus Coloneus follows faithfully the prosodic melody of

¹⁶ "Did antiquity leave any traditions alive? Do we have to quarry for these resources? ... It seems that some of the ancient traditions still live in certain Greek traditional tunes and in others from the Balkan Peninsula, from Asia Minor and Cyprus, as well as from the Byzantine song. Thus, here are the musical climates that are closer to the ancient one". Xenakis, *Iannis Texts on Music and Architecture*, ed. Makis Solomos, transl. Tina Plita (Athens: Psychogios Publications S.A., 2001), 108.

¹⁷ See Sicilianos, *Yorgos, For Music* (Athens: Benaki Museum – Hellenic Music Centre, 2011), 325.

the attic language of the 5th century. I have taken into consideration current research on this subject".¹⁸ Noteworthy is that Xenakis uses microtones in this and other works with ancient Greek theme, in an obvious reference to the enharmonic genus of ancient Greek music theory.

Musical Example 2. Papaioannou, *Music for the film Acropolis of Athens, V, Seikilos Epitaph*

Another example of the love for authenticity is given by Papaioannou's music for the documentary *Acropolis of Athens*, which was directed by Roviros Manthoulis and was completed in 1960. This film of evident pedagogical purpose was intended for an international audience. Libraries of many American universities bought it in the 1960s. The notion of authenticity is initially served by the decision for the music to contain only orchestrated and harmonized versions of the most complete of the extant extracts of ancient Greek music (of course, we don't know who made this decision). However, the decisions regarding orchestration belong surely to Papaioannou and they serve both the notions of continuity and authenticity. For example, as seen in Musical Example 2, the first of the two versions of *Seikilos Epitaph* that are heard in the film utilizes English horn (which carries the melody throughout with obvious reference to ancient Greek *avlos*),¹⁹ guitar (with obvious connotations), santouri (which stands for ancient Greek *psalterion*) and cello (the only instrument the presence of which seems to be dictated by Papaioannou's decision to provide a firm Western harmonic clothing to the ancient Greek fragment). Papaioannou treats this and the rest of the ancient Greek excerpts in the same way he had treated the Byzantine hymns fifteen years earlier:²⁰ he provides harmonic clothing based almost exclusively on the mode of the excerpt (here, the Phrygian ancient harmony).

Respect is, I believe, the keyword in order to understand the modernists' approach to ancient Greek past, respect which in many cases becomes an obvious endeavor to heighten the present through the idealization of the past. Within this process elements of the ancient Greek past become the structural material for musical decisions with contemporary outlook. The an-

¹⁸ Programme of Iannis Xenakis: Mycenae Polytope (Ancient Mycenae, 2-5 September 1978), 11.

¹⁹ The use of the English horn here parallels its often presence in the works by the father-figure of the Greek National School of Music in emulating *zournas*, a typical instrument in Greek folksong tradition.

²⁰ See Chardas, Kostas and Alexandru, Maria "Functions and Images in Greek Art Music Utilizing Byzantine Echi", in *Musical Structure Proceedings of the Fourth Conference on Interdisciplinary Musicology (CIM 08)* (Thessaloniki: Department of Music Studies, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, 2008), ed. Emiliou Cambouropoulos, Richard Puncurt et al. In <http://web.auth.gr/cim08/> (accessed on December 20th, 2012).

cient Greek past represents in these cases the cultural roots. The compositional process is similar to what David Cooper describes for Béla Bartók as a process “‘outwards’ from the peasant music, rather than inwards from the European frame”.²¹ However, the great difference here is that the national material is not the folksong, but the actual ancient Hellenic logos and its cultural expression through ancient Greek drama and literature.²² Elsewhere I have shown in detail how some structural and expressive elements of Greek modernist music of the 1960s up to the 1980s can be read as emanating from the ancient Greek drama.²³ This process is particularly characteristic in certain works by Sicilianos. In the work *Epiklessis* of 1968 this outwards process comprises the following steps, as is shown in the sketches: at first, Sicilianos ‘translates’ the rhythm of the (original ancient Greek) text in contemporary rhythmic notation; then he abstracts rhythmic series from the notated rhythms, which he later applies to certain fragments of the work. In a much later piece, *Mellichomeidi* of 1980, the lyrical inheritance of the ancient Greek text by Sappho becomes for Sicilianos the archetype for the decisive turn of his music in the last decades of his creative career towards a deeply expressive melodic musical idiom.

The last example to discuss here is *Polla ta Dina* by Xenakis.²⁴ Written in 1962 as a concert piece and based on the second ode from Sophocles’s *Antigone*, *Polla ta Dina* encapsulates all the above-mentioned perceptions of Greek antiquity. Firstly, the ancient text lies at the core of the work. It is recited on a single note throughout by a children’s choir, on a simple rhythmic scheme that respects the pulse and the form of the text. Of course this texture could be seen as an agent of underlining the alienation of the text from the present. From this viewpoint the text becomes untouchable, like an ageless ancient Greek sculpture. However, I believe that this texture also strengthens the fact that the meaning of the text seems to be the *raison d’être* of this piece. The choice of a children’s choir alludes to the notion of purity, that David Meltzer has discussed in particular with regard to the boy’s voice in Karlheinz Stockhausen’s *Gesang der Jünglinge* and in general in connection with post-war avant-garde.²⁵ In *Polla ta Dina* the voices of the children on the protean note A stress the authentic, ageless and pure ideal of the man’s power, which is the theme of the text. A complicated instrumental score surrounds this middle A. Two kinds of texture underline the meaning of the text: static chords are mainly connected with the expression of unfading ideals, while glissandos of different compass and length provide a musical depiction of man’s multifarious activities and struggles with natural elements. Both textures meet when the text says “That’s man, so resourceful in all he does, Without resource he meets nothing that will come in the future - only death, that alone he cannot shun” (“παντοπόρος· ἄπορος ἐπ’ οὐδὲν ἔρχεται τό μέλλον· Ἄιδα μόνον φεῦξιν οὐκ ἐπάξεται”).

At this moment, the most lengthy, massive and uniform in upwards direction glissando in the work prepares the word future (μέλλον), which is however highlighted by the thinnest instrumental texture so far, on the notes A and Bb, in an extraordinary musical way to connect the future (dissonance) with what has represented past in the present context (the note A).

²¹ Cooper, David, “Béla Bartók and the Question of Race Purity in Music”, in *Musical Constructions of Nationalism*, ed. Harry White and Michael Murphy (Cork: Cork University Press, 2001), 28.

²² See Siopsi, Anastasia *The Neohellenic Cultural Physiognomy through the Role of Music in Revivals of Ancient Drama* (Athens: Gutenberg, 2012) for how ancient Greek speech has been functioning as the most stable (almost torturous for music and dance) aspect of claiming national identity in the revivals of ancient drama in Greece.

²³ Chardas, Kostas “Seeking the Perpetual, Claiming the New: Greek Modernism and Ancient Greek Logos”, in the Proceedings of the Conference *Music and Language* (Athens: Department of Music Studies, University of Athens, forthcoming).

²⁴ This work was published by Edition Modern in Munich in 1962.

²⁵ Metzger, David *Musical Modernism at the Turn of the Twenty-First Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 30-62.

Later, the instrumental texture stops completely only when the text refers to the inability of man to face death, in an obvious identification of the composer with the man.

It is noteworthy that the note A of the text is gradually given priority in the accompaniment of the second strophe, a priority which is confirmed at the end, since it provides the basis of the stunning sonority that gives the final stasis of the piece. This is, I think, an excellent musical way so as to show the continuing power of past ideas into the present. Moreover, the priority to note E in the musical setting of the first strophe might be seen as alluding to the notion of continuity in two ways: it is the structural framework of the tetrachord of ancient Greek music theory, but, also, the most structural dynamic element within Western tonality.

In general, what is important, I believe, in order to understand the peculiarity of the Greek modernist adventure in music, is that the above-mentioned perceptions of ancient Greece essentially unearth a wider belief in the concept of tradition and in the linear perception of historical time. These notions could provide, I think, a potent interpretative tool in understanding apparently paradoxical elements of stylistically immensely different Greek modernist music, such as the structural use of Byzantine elements by Michalis Adamis and of folksong elements by Dimitris Dragatakis, as well as the need of the seminal composers for Greek modernism to traverse in almost a faithful chronological order all the stages of what was perceived as the progress of the European music. More specifically, both Papaioannou and Sicilianos first employed the twelve-note technique and then experimented with serial techniques, aleatoric elements and extended instrumental sonorities, essentially offering through their output individual versions of the development of the European modernism.

To conclude, my argument here is neither that we should equate the modernist phase of Greek music history with that of the Greek National School, nor that the above-mentioned elements hold for every single period or work of the Greek modernist composers. I rather propose that the issue of national self-definition remained in the agenda within the post-1950 Greek modernist adventure, and this is an issue that parallels the Greek modernist adventure with its 'archetypal' early German modernism.²⁶ By turning their interest to ancient Hellas Greek modernists expressed the European modernist concern with the elemental and the protean, in other words they express what Hermann Danuser calls 'ancient universalism' for interwar European modernism. However, through the notions of cultural continuity, authenticity and the idealization of the past, ancient Greece also expresses for Greek modernists the eternal and timeless Hellas within a different quest of Greekness in comparison with the perception of Greekness by the Greek nationalists and, also, with the anti-Western promotion of the Hellenic past during the late nineteenth-century.

In short, for Greek musical modernists, Hellenicity can be understood both as an element of inclusion within a European historical continuum and as an expression of a Hellenocentric attitude, an attitude which is also discerned in other transplantations of modernist ideas in Greece, such as in literature.²⁷

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²⁶ The nationalist element of early German modernist movements is discussed in Frisch, Walter German Modernism: Music and the Arts (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2005), 8.

²⁷ See Tziouvas, Dimitris "Introduction" in Greek Modernism and Beyond, ed. Dimitris Tziouvas (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1997), 2.

music of the twentieth century. His book *The Music for Solo Piano of Yannis A. Papaioannou up to 1960: An Analytical, Biographical and Contextual Approach* was published in 2010. He is a lecturer at the Department of Music Studies of the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki. He is working on the critical editions of Papaioannou's piano music for Nakas Editions. He is also an active pianist (he has recently recorded Papaioannou's music for Naxos).

“Russianness” in Music as an Other National

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Abstract. For the practice of composing a conscious reproduction of native or non-native national style is traditional. As the object of attention of European composers (B. Bartók, J. Brahms, B. Britten, E. Lalo, I. Strauss, ect.) are constantly featured national specificity of Russian music. At the same time the "hit accuracy" ranges here from a maximum of accuracy (as a rule, when finding a composer in his native national culture) to a very distant resemblance.

Among the issues about the development of Russianness as other-national, let's focus on only one of them: *the reasons* which encourage European composers in one form or another to turn to Russian culture and to make it the subject of a creative image. In general, the reasons can be grouped as follows: *out musical* and *musical*. I refer to *out musical* primarily major historical and cultural processes in Europe, due to which there was the migration of musicians and exchange of cultural achievements; the great historical events of public interest, which were reacted by musicians (the War of 1812); the biographical reasons of interest of European composers to Russian musical culture (long-term residence of foreign musicians in Russia and their short visits to the country). Properly *musical reasons* for reference to the Russian culture are numerous and varied: polystyle creative landmarks, stylization, citation and other.

Thus, a certain image of Russian music heard by the European musical "ear" is formed.

Conscious reproduction of national or other-national features of musical style for compositional practices is traditional. “National / foreign” is often treated by the European at the continental style level (term of Catherine Ruch’evskaya), when other-national is seen as eastern (Japanese, Chinese, Indians) or as western – Americans (personalized by jazz, as we can say, Ravel, Debussy, late Rachmaninoff).

At the level of the style of the national culture there are also intensive interactions. As other-national origin in European music Russian music often appears. This phenomenon gives rise to many questions. One of them is the historical evolution of interest in the specifics of Russian music, with its “flows” as it is evident in the XVIII – early XIX centuries, and with fades. The other is the degree of adequacy, that is, variations under the “hit exactness” from the maximum accuracy (usually with organic joining of West European composer to the Russian national culture) to very distant similarity (when the “Russianness” is seen more as an exotic). As one more question I’ll name the ways and means of capturing Russian origin.

Not turning further on the fan of questions that determine the development of the problems of Russianness as other-national, let's focus on only one of them: *the reasons* which encourage European composers in one form or another to turn to Russian culture and to make it the subject of a creative image.

In general, the reasons can be grouped as follows: *out musical* and *musical*. I refer to ***out musical*** primarily **major historical and cultural processes** in Europe, due to which there was the migration of musicians and exchange of cultural achievements. These processes were mutual, but uneven. Thus, in the XVIII century there was truly a grand inflow of foreigners to Russia. Following the Italian opera groups composers appeared, many of whom came into contact with Russian music. For the entertainment of the imperial court and the aristocracy, and for teaching music Ferdinando Antonolini, Francesco Domenico Araja, Catarino Camillo Cavos, Domenico Cimarosa, Baldassarre Galuppi, Giovanni Paisiello, Pietro Pettoletti, Giovanni Verocai came here from Italy; Johann Leopold Fuchs and Ferdinand Haase – from Germany; Irish composer John Field, French opera composer François Adrien Boieldieu, Spanish Vicente Martín y Soler, and

many others – from other countries¹. This inflow weakens later in XIX century, when the domestic music generates own specialists, but does not run at all.

Serious motivations of careful attention to the life of the Russian man and his culture were **great historical events of public interest**, which were reacted by musicians. At the beginning of XIX century that was undoubtedly the War of 1812 between Russia and Napoleon's troops. In program instrumental rhapsody compositions of that time alternating episodes of warfare developed. For example, the capture of Paris is shown in "The historical piece", called "The Battle of Saint-Chaumont and the entry into Paris of Their Majesties the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia at the head of the allied forces" of the Italian composer and music publisher Antonio Francesco Gaetano Saverio Pacini (1778 – 1866), published in the 1814 in St. Petersburg. Events are accompanied by feelings of grief from the loss or the joy of victory, distinct in piano fantasies of German pianist, conductor and composer Daniel Steibelt (1765 – 1823) "Image of Moscow in flames" and "The Return of the Russian cavalry to St. Petersburg on October 18, 1814", in the musical picture of Italian conductor and violinist Giuseppe Truffi (1850 – 1925) "On the war stogneys (August, 5, 1812)" in words of M. Lentovskoy (published in 1903). The Italian composer, conductor, organist and vocal teacher Catarino Camillo Cavos (1775 - 1840) celebrates the feat of the Russians in the "Patriotic verses of Russian troops who returned victorious from France" (1815). During the War of 1812, and then a century later, during the celebration of the anniversary of its glorious end, it performed and published many military ceremonial marches of the authors largely unknown at present.

This is what the program of one more "musical picture" – "Epic of 1812" for piano Composition 164 by actual member of the Society of European composers Vladimir Christian Davinhoff, which has consistently been discharged in the note text:

"The French army is close to Moscow. Napoleon's entry into Moscow. Disturbing bells of Ivan the Great [campanile]. Napoleon rode joyfully to the Kremlin. Muscovites, weeping and wailing, set fire to the whole capital. Napoleon is despairingly retreating. Ringing of Kremlin bells informs people about the beginning of a thanksgiving prayer. Alleluia, Alleluia, Glory to Thee, O God, Alleluia, Alleluia, thank you, God. Alleluia, Alleluia, Glory to Thee, O Lord. Amen. Hurrah! Hurrah!" (Picture 1).

In such "musical pictures" or "historical pieces", "war pieces", which continue the tradition of "Wellington's Victory, or the Battle of Vittoria" by Ludwig van Beethoven, and going back to "musical battles" of Sweelinck, Frescobaldi, Froberger, Janequin and English virginalists, simple plot quite schematically unfolds, receiving exemplary music solution that strengthens theatrical element in them.

Other military triumphs of Russia are marked by music premieres. Giuseppe Sarti (1729 – 1802) willingly wrote such works, who coincided to the capture Ochakov of the Russian army the oratorio "You, God, praise" (Te Deum) (1789) for three hundred singers and instrumentalists, church bells and cannons². Russian life enters to these and similar pieces by program titles, as well as many onomatopoeic-illustrative details.

¹ The huge number of musicians, who worked in Russia for a long time and even moved there, are called fine art expert, who for half of XVIII century has seen life at the courts of the Russian emperors, Jakob von Staehelin (Staehelin, Jakob von. Music and Ballet in Russia of XVIII century. Leningrad: Musical Ed., 1935) and leading expert on Russian music Nicholay Findeyzen (Findeyzen, Nicholay. Essay on the history of music in Russia since the end of XVIII century: in 2 vol. Moscou – Leningrad: Musical State Ed., 1928-1929).

² To have more information about the music associated with the events of World War II in 1812, see the publications Natalia Ryzhkova "Musical battles in Russia" (The Art of Music: Theory and History 1-2, 2011, 127-141), "Battle music in Russia" (Ancient Music, 2/16, 2002, 34-46) and "Music of the War of 1812" (Ancient Music 3/17, 2002, 26-29), as well as the article "The National War of 1812 in the Russian music (search for

Such outstanding political actions were historically significant, as the coronations, state or private visits of the regnant persons to European countries. They have also become the reason for the emergence of musical compositions. A number of “Russian” opuses caused by socially important event belongs to Johann Strauß, whose relationships with Russia could be the subject of a separate study. Cantata “The genius of Russia” (1797) by Giuseppe Sarti for the coronation of Paul I, the piece “The Joy of Moscow: the solemn march on the occasion of the entry of Their Imperial Highness sire cesarevitch Alexander Alexandrovich and monarchess Maria Feodorovna” by the German composer and pianist Ferdinand Beyer, Marsh on the coronation of Alexander II for Piano, Op. 35 (1856) by Adolph von Henselt and other works “on occasion”, that are confined to any event of national importance, are usually pragmatic, “etiquette” in nature. They solemnly declaratively celebrate major public figure or the Russian people and usually don’t present the special artistic value.

In subject, connected with Russia, the figure of Tsar Peter I has acquired a prominent place which his oratorio “Peter the Great” (1831) by music theorist, teacher and composer Johann Leopold Fuchs was dedicated. European composers clearly came to the liking of the episode (probably fictional) from the Russian past, described by Voltaire in his “History of Peter I”: during the Great Embassy to the Netherlands in 1697, the young tsar studied shipbuilding in Saardame under the name of Ivan Mikhailov and worked as a carpenter. Under this plot there was written comic operas “Peter the Great” (1790) by André-Ernest-Modeste Grétry, “Youth of Peter the Great” (1794) by Joseph Weigl, “Tsar the carpenter or woman’s dignity” (1814) by Karl August Lichtenstein, “The Burgomaster of Sardam” (1818) by Henry Rowley Bishop, “Peter the Great, the tsar of Russia or Livonian carpenter” (1819) and “The Burgomaster of Sardam” (1827) by Gaetano Donizetti, “The North Star” (1854) by Giacomo Meyerbeer, drama-buffoon “Peter the Great, or torments of jealousy” (1824) by Nicola Vaccai, operetta “The Tsar and the carpenter” (1837) by Albert Lortzing, and other works. It is easy to see that all theatrical versions are designed in a comic vein, and do not qualify for the serious deepening in Russian history or an ambiguous personality of the Russian Tsar.

Less important ones were the **biographical reasons** of interest of European composers to Russian musical culture – those occasions, dictated by their life, biographical circumstances. Czech musician Štěpán Rak was born in 1945 in the Ukrainian village, was abandoned by parents, chosen by the Soviet troops and was brought to Prague by tank, where he was grown by a family of local residents. Becoming a world-renowned guitarist and composer, he devoted several pieces to Russia for his instrument (“Russian Waltzes”, “Russian Caravan”, “Russian Thought”, “Balalaika”).

Foreign musicians, who **lived for a long time in Russia**, naturally turned to the Russian topic. Having been invited to Russia on tour or court service, they were here to stay for a long time, or even forever. They wrote for the opera stage, church, cabin pastime and teaching music. Growing into the culture of their adopted country, and making a significant contribution to the transformation of musical life in Russia, such composers and performers sometimes rightly positioned of researchers as essentially Russian. And it is to a large degree justified that the musicians having foreign names of their ancestors, but actually grew up and were educated in Russia, who made his artistic career here are called Russian: Franz Xaver Blyma (1770 – 1822), Ivan Chertzelli or Kerzelli (1760 – 1820), Iohann Leopold Fuchs (1785 – 1853), Josif Genishta (1795 –

primary sources)” Nadezhda Tropina, which contains a directory of music dedicated to the War of 1812 (Source Studies at the school 1/10, 2011, 121-138).

1853), Ferdinand Haase (1788 – 1851), Nicola Kubishta (1799 – 1837), Andrey Sychra (1773 – 1850), Arnošt Vančura (1750 – 1802).

The fate of Giuseppe Sarti is as a good example. In 1784 he was appointed court Kapellmeister of Catherine II and came to St. Petersburg. Here he worked until 1801 as a court musician at first, then in the south of Russia for Prince Potemkin, and after his death, he returned to the imperial court. Here he's got operas, a lot of lush and grandiose celebration oratorios, cantatas, sacred concerts, including "Russian oratorio" for soloists, double chorus and orchestra (1785). Together with Vasily Pashkevich and Italian violinist and composer Carlo Kanobbio (1741 - 1822), who moved to Russia in 1779, he wrote an opera "The initial management of Oleg" to a libretto by Catherine II (1790). Sarti was the author of the many number of arrangements of Russian folk songs.

The life circumstances of Johann Strauß were noteworthy in this regard. Composer came to Pavlovsk from 1856 for 10 years and arranged the musical seasons, which attracted all the Petersburg nobility and members of the royal family. Creative response to the impressions of Russia and known vicissitudes of his personal life became dedicated to Princess Olga "Olga"- Polka, Op. 196, polka-quasi-gallop "Pavlovskaya" Op. 184b, polka-mazurka "Minx" Op. 226, dedicated to Olga Smirnitskaya in which Strauss was in love with, polka-mazurka "On the Volga" Op. 245, fantasy "In Russian village" op. 355, "Russian march-fantasy" Op. 353, the waltz "Farewell to St. Petersburg" op. 210, "Violet mazurka" Op. 256 on Russian themes, quodlibet "An offering to the Russian public", and other works.

Not only long stay in Russia, but even **short visits** to the country stimulated interest in its culture. This pattern is quite evident in the biography of a famous Italian guitarist Mauro Giuliani (1781 - 1829), who visited Russia in 1822 with tours and wrote Six Variations on a Russian song "Give me your hand, ma'am" Op. 64, and large Spanish guitarist and composer Fernando Hóse Sor (1778 - 1839), which appeared in 1823 in Moscow with his wife, a dancer and choreographer who was invited to act in the play and to perform of ballets, and has responded to the impressions of the trip in his play "Russian Souvenir" Op. 63 for Two Guitars, based on the Russian lyrical and dance-tunes.

Ferenc Liszt traveled to Russia with performances on three occasions (1842, 1843 and 1847), which was contributed by a lot of deep personal attachment to the Princess Caroline Wittgenstein (Ivanovskaya). In 1842, as a young but well-known musician in Europe, he saw a performance "Ruslan and Liudmilla" by Michael Glinka, praised the opera, and wrote a piano transcription of the "Chernomor's March", which was included in his repertoire. He met with the "brilliant dilettantes" (Robert Schumann) Knyaz Vladimir Odoyevskiy and Count Michael Wielhorsky, made the friendships with members of the "Mighty Handful" ("The Five"). Creative continuing of these contacts was in transcriptions³, publications, and concert performances of works of Russian musicians and even joint creative projects⁴.

Irishman Arnold Bax (1883 - 1953) was also not indifferent to Russian culture. Romance with Russian girl forced him to visit in 1910 Russia (St. Petersburg, Moscow, Ukraine) and in that regard to compose a number of piano pieces with one or another penetration of Russian: Sonata No. 1 in F# minor (1921) Two Russian Tone-Pictures (1912) and other. Subsequently this topic has not left the musician and returned to the ballet (for outstanding Tamara Karsavina) "The Truth about the Russian Dancers" (1920), where the main character is a Russian ballerina.

³ F. Liszt Instrumental and vocal works by Russian composers arranged for piano.

⁴ After reading "Paraphrase on the continuing theme" – variations of A.P. Borodin, Ts.A. Cui, A.K. Liadov and N.A. Rimsky-Korsakov, on the Borodin's polka theme called by V. Stasov "Tachi-tachi" (1878-1879), and went to the delight – Liszt himself wrote several variations. Supplemented "Paraphrases" were published by M.P. Belyaev in Leipzig in 1893.

An eminent English composer Benjamin Britten, a friend of Dmitry Shostakovich, Mstislav Rostropovich and Galina Vishnevskaya, repeatedly visited the USSR (1963, 1964, 1971). The result of one of these trips was a song cycle "The Poet's Echo" on words of Alexander Pushkin, Op. 76 (1965), written for Galina Vishnevskaya and Mstislav Rostropovich, and composed for Rostropovich Third cello Suite, Op. 87 (1971), where are used Russian folk melodies.

It is necessary, however, to say that between the duration or frequency of staying in Russia of musician and creative predisposition to its culture direct dependence is not established. Often foreigners who served in the royal court and exported its culture (Baldassarre Galuppi, Tommaso Traetta, Giovanni Paisiello, Domenico Cimarosa, Vincenzo Manfredini, François Adrien Boieldieu), were creatively indifferent to Russian music. Observations show that the biographically caused treatment to Russian culture give mixed results, and the "Russianness" can be quite superficial, very indirectly – through a program or a Russian verbal text – getting into music.

Properly *musical reasons* for reference to the Russian culture are numerous and varied. Among them are the following. Composer can be moved by the wish to catch and pass the specific features of different national styles of music, including Russian. **Polystyle** creative landmarks are typical for Dutch composer and pianist Joseph Ascher, of whom among "Danse espagnole", "La plainte indienne", "Danse nègre", opus "Muscovite. National Dance" for piano naturally looks. The French composer Édouard-Victoire-Antoine Lalo next to "Spanish Symphony", "Norwegian Rhapsody" and "Norwegian fantasy" has "Russian Concert" for violin and orchestra, Op. 29 (1879) and "Russian Songs" for cello and piano (Lento from Concerto, Op. 29). Carl Czerny (1791 - 1857) gave his piano pieces with opuses 181 - 192 the general name: "12 Large brilliant and distinctive national rondos", which brought together rondos German, English, Romani, Spanish, French, Hungarian, Italian, Polish and others and also - as opus 189 - Russian.

It is particularly natural that interest in different cultures presses to polystyle concept of a work, kaleidoscopic multi-style coverage of sources, among which Russian is also listed. In that case, a special creative task becomes musical "map of the world". In Ludwig van Beethoven's "10 varied subjects for Piano with accompaniment of flute or violin", Op. 107 along with Tyrolean, two Russian melodies sound. In opus 158 "Songs of Various Nationalities" more multielement, multinational whole was composed by him from the Danish, German, Tyrolean, Polish, Portuguese and other songs, including four Russian there.

French pianist and composer, Austrian-born Henri Herz (1803 - 1888), who in 1859 went on tour in Russia, has a series of polkas "Les Belles du Nord" ("Northern Belle") Op. 140 for Piano four hands, made in the tradition of instrumental laconic portraits of women circulated in the French music (for example, in suite by François Couperin "Les Nations", 1726: La Française, L'Espagnole, L'Impériale, La Piémontoise). This series included: [La Belle Bohémienne](#), Polonaise, Moscovite, Allemande, Hongroise, Suédoise.

English composer, conductor and teacher, Granville Ransome Bantock (1868 - 1946), traveling around the world, tried his hand at different styles, making it a creative task in the "Celtic Symphony", "Celtic poem," "Old English Suite", "Scottish Rhapsody", "Four Chinese Landscapes". He undertook a large-scale project "100 folksongs of all nations" for voice and piano (published in 1911). English, Scottish, Irish, Welsh, French, German, Austrian, Tyrolean, Hungarian, Gypsy songs and tunes of many other nations in Europe, Asia, America, Africa, sound in English. Among them are 6 Russian: "Over fields and over meadows", "O'er the distant lonely mountains", "In the shade of the garden strolling and other". About his interest in Russian culture attest Suite of five pieces "Russian Scenes" for small orchestra (1899) and Suite "Russian Melodies" for brass band (1942–43).

There is truly grandiose idea of Johann Strauß, composed for the festival "Musical evening entertainment for the Slavs", "Slavic quodlibet" Op. 39 (1847): he joined in the play more than twenty Moravian, Bohemian, Czech, Serbian, Polish and other melodies, among which tune of romance by Alexander Varlamov "Red Sarafan" is signified under No. 6. The evening was attended by over a thousand guests, representatives of the Slavic peoples. Under the comment of "Vienna universal theatrical newspaper" from March 31, 1847, "it was very interesting; when against the general applause increase was arising from a single house, then another, when each group of Slavic people heard the melody of their homeland".

We also recall such a serious anthology of folk and professional music designed for the children learning music as "Microcosmos" (1926 - 1937) for piano of Bela Bartok, who thoroughly studied the folklore of different peoples. Here pieces number 40 "South Slaviness", No 43 "In the Hungarian style", No 58 "On the East", No 68 "Hungarian Dance", No 74 "Hungarian song", No 90 "In the Russian style", No 113 and 115 "Bulgarian rhythms", No 127 "New Hungary song", No 148 - 153 "Six dances in Bulgarian rhythms" almost side by side.

Russianness can act both as a special creative activity in **stylization**. In such cases, the same is usually not only manifested in the title of the program, which includes the word "Russian", but also involves reproduction music and language appropriate signs. Examples of this kind – piece No. 7 of the third cycle of "Three Miniatures for Piano Trio" (1908), "Russian Waltz" by English composer, violinist and conductor of the theater "Covent Garden" Frank Bridge, "In the Russian style" of twenty-four frequency cycle of plays "Variegated cavalcade" op. 30 (1840?) for violin and piano by German violinist, composer, conductor, teacher, Ferdinand David, which was arranged for piano Ferenc Liszt as "Russian Song" (Musical example 1).

Interpretation of "Russianness" deserves special discussion. There are reviewed two trends. One of them is the understanding of "Russianness" rather as historical and geographical realities, rather than the corresponding ethnic identity. That is why, therefore, the Russian Empire in the late XVIII – XIX centuries absorbed the Ukraine and Poland, while composers might well call as the Russianness, for example, the Ukrainianness. So, in works of Ludwig van Beethoven, Daniel Steibelt, Johann Strauß as "Russianness" appears the Ukrainian melody "The Cossack went for the Danube". Based on the same considerations Arnold Bax names the second play of "Two Russian Tone-Pictures" for Piano (1912), "Gopak. National Dance", despite belonging of gopak to the Ukrainian culture. For Štěpán Rak in "Russian Thought" for guitar in the second half of the twentieth century, the "Russianness" came together in Ukrainian and Polish song genre of *thought* and occasional intonations of the Ukrainian folklore. The full title of the work by Czech-born Arnošt Vančura is symptomatic: "Russian Symphony on the Ukrainian themes". As the personification of Russianness and sometimes Polish culture acts: in the "Russian Dance" from "The Bat" (1874) by Johann Strauß and in piano piece "Muscovite. National Dance" by Joseph Ascher Polish mazurka is easily recognizable.

Another trend is the opposite: it is the wish to capture the ethnic specificity and even detailization of "Russianness", such as "Cossackness" ("Cossack Dance", No 5 from Suite "Russian Scenes" of five pieces for small orchestra by Granville Bantock; piece No 3 "In Russia: Cossack cavalry attack" from the cycle "War Pages" for piano in four hands, Op. 25 by Alfredo Casella), as "Gypsiness" (association by Ferenc Liszt in "Two Russian melodies" for piano (1842), "Nightingale" of Alexander Alyabiev and "Gypsy Song" ("You would not believe how you're cute") by Peter Bulakhov).

Of course, the question, of how Western composer is sensitive to an alien culture, how Russianness is adequately reproduced, is inevitable. This question requires a special study. So far, covering a large block of stylization samples, we can say that their range extends from the pseudo-Russian style to bold authorial transformation of original national style (in the piece No

90 "In the Russian style" from the piano collection "Microcosmos" of the Hungarian composer Bela Bartók – Musical example 2).

The development of musical wealth of Russia with **the citation** becomes the creative task also. Its solution involves the introduction in the new opus of well-known musical themes as folk and professional origin, their "test" in the European tradition. The simplest way to learn "Russiannes" (as, indeed, any other national origin), is, of course, numerous variations on folk and authorial themes for piano and other instruments.

Sometimes cited melodies unite in some endlessly variegated kaleidoscope as in potpourri "Offering Russian public" (1864) of Johann Strauss, which are connected to themes of both operas and "Kamarinskaya" by Mikhail Glinka, the popular songs of the time, folk melodies.

Analysis of borrowings shows that among some of them there are very favorite ones by very different musicians. This hymns by Alexei Lvov, "God, Save the Tsar", romances "The Red Sarafan" by Alexander Varlamov and "Nightingale" by Alexander Alyabiev, lixes "Kamarinskaya", the Ukrainian song "The Cossack went for the Danube". Some of them were so popular that were considered as nearly national. Just so "The Red Sarafan" by Alexander Varlamov was interpreted in the names of their opuses by many Western authors. Virtually, for a long time the theme of romance played the role of "hallmark", "emblem" of Russian music. National-state status Varlamov's melody is confirmed by the experience of Austrian pianist Sigismond Thalberg, who connected in the "Variations on the two Russian Songs" Op. 17 (1836) for piano the theme "The Red Sarafan" and the national hymns "God, Save the Tsar".

On the other hand national hymns "God, Save the Tsar", from 1833 to 1917 symbolized Russia itself, freed from the verbal text of Vasily Zhukovsky, often loses its ritual pathos and sounds like a household song or placed into the context of modest household music. This happened in the "Russian mazurka" "Queen" by the French composer and conductor Louis-Gaston Ganne, in the beginning of which after fanfare the theme "God, Save the Tsar" is held twice, and then bright, playful salon music, not connected with it, appears. It is clearly that front genre is relegated to the playful salon instrumental music and in "Fantasy on Russian national hymns" by Italian composer Pietro Pettoletti (1795 – 1870) op. 15, supposed to guitar. Carl Czerny found it possible to place at No. 7, "Russian anthem" among the "Waltz of the elves," "The Little Drum," "Venetian Carnival" and other program pieces in a piano cycle "The amusement of young lovers, young and brilliant entertainments in the form of a rondo and variations for piano" Op. 825. Dashing dancing is heard in the sound of national anthem in the penultimate section of the quadrille "Nicholas", Op. 65 (1849) by Johann Strauss.

The initiative of the composer generates other interesting projects as well. In the piece "Russian Funeral" (1936) for brass band and percussion Benjamin Britten resorted to citing the proletarian song "You fell a victim to the fatal struggle", popular since the 1870s and is also known as "Russian funeral". This theme opens the work and is subjected the symphonic development. It is replaced by a dashing and assertive "the theme of war," that in the process of its development logically leads to the final sound of the funeral lament. It is easy to see that symphonization of social song is in the line the creative trends of Russian composers, and, above all Glinka, and further his followers. The piece of Britten echoes the XI Symphony of Dmitri Shostakovich Op. 103 "1905" (1957) quoting of the melody and its inclusion in the ritual funeral context in which it needed to composer in the third, the "funeral" part "Eternal Memory".

Thus, a cursory review which we have undertaken shows that Russian culture is very attractive for Western composers. Their interest was based on both objective processes and events, as well as on the personal quest, experiments, and special creative assignments. They are seeking ways to "entry" in an alien for them musical environment and, on the contrary, the methods of initiation of the "Russiannes" to the European traditions. Thanks to the efforts of many com-

posers in the Western world, certain image of Russian music formed, heard by the European musical “ear” and the music of Russia enriches by the cultural conquests of Europe.

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Examples



Picture 1. Vladimir Christian Davinhoff. “Epic of 1812” Op. 164 for piano, the title page

Andante [He sneva]

mf

dim.

Un poco più lento [Немного медленнее]

The image shows the first system of Liszt's "Russian Song" for piano. It consists of three systems of music. The first system is marked "Andante [He sneva]" and begins with a mezzo-forte (*mf*) dynamic. The second system is marked "Un poco più lento [Немного медленнее]" and features a piano (*p*) dynamic. The score includes various musical notations such as slurs, ties, and dynamic markings. There are also some handwritten annotations in the bass staff, including "2", "3", "4", "1", and "1" with arrows pointing to specific notes.

Musical example 1. Ferenc Liszt. "Russian Song" for piano

Pesante, $\text{♩} = 88-84$

90

f, marcato e pesante

The image shows the first system of Bartók's "Microcosmos" for piano, No. 90. It is marked "Pesante, $\text{♩} = 88-84$ " and begins with a forte (*f*) dynamic, "marcato e pesante". The score is in 2/2 time and features complex rhythmic patterns, including triplets and sixteenth-note runs. The notation includes various musical symbols such as slurs, ties, and dynamic markings. There are also some handwritten annotations in the bass staff, including "2", "3", "4", "5", and "2" with arrows pointing to specific notes.

Musical example 2. Bela Bartók. "Microcosmos" for piano. No 90 "In the Russian style"

Patriotic and Folklore Discourse as a Communication Tool in Serbian Choral Music before the Second World War

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Abstract. During the nineteenth century greater part of Serbia was still under Ottomans occupation, while its main cultural centers were in Habsburg Monarchy. Dreams of liberation and unity were on the top of national political agenda and flavored each aspect of cultural life. Folklore and patriotic narratives became dominant artistic discourse. Serbian classical music, at that time dominantly vocal and performed by amateurs, had the same preferences. Its role was not purely artistic, but it also served as a tool for emphasizing the dominant nationalistic and patriotic patterns. For dissemination of these ideas the most appropriate channel was choral music. It involved "army" of singers and targeted broadest audience. Its main characteristics were amateur interpretative framework; basic musical language; traditional textual templates and devotion to national themes. Choral composers used folklore and patriotic discourse to enhance communicativeness of their work throughout whole nineteenth century. This practice was dominant till the First World War. After it, overall tendencies towards modernism influenced on choral music too. It was not the main musical genre anymore, and its role has been transformed. However, choral music was still very popular among the broadest audience. Choral composers knew that and despite of modern impulses, kept in touch with the tradition and through it "flirted" with the audience.

This paper investigates how, in what manner and to what extent choral composers' tendency towards communicativeness shaped the choral genre in Serbia from mid nineteenth century till the Second World War.

"Music and singing have direct influence on the sense of hearing and feelings, and due to that, on the patriotic feeling as well. Music can raise national consciousness and it has strength to arouse and maintain the national pride." In the eight decade of the 19th century, Dragutin Blazek, a Czech music teacher who lived in Serbia, used these words in order to point out clearly and unequivocally the role and position of music, primarily choral singing, in the Serbian society of that period. The power of music to influence a person's emotional world is directly transported onto one actual type of emotions, and that is love towards the mother-country. Accordingly, it seems that music had a prominently communicative function directed towards audience and the performers themselves, and its sole purpose was raising the national conscience.

This status of music in the 19th century is closely-nit to the turbulent socio-political circumstances. The major part of Serbia was still under the Ottoman occupation, whereas some of the leading cultural centers were located in Hapsburg monarchy. The most Serbian people practically lived in two different empires (Ottoman and Hapsburg), that is to say, outside their mother country. That is the reason why the dreams of liberation and unity were the priorities of the national political agenda, flavoring each aspect of cultural life. Folklore and patriotic narratives became a dominant artistic discourse. All the segments of art were fulfilled by the national engagement: literature, painting, architecture, and music as well. In the Serbian culture of the 19th century, the category of national was predominant even over the category of religious: according to the words of a Serbian musicologist, Ivana Perkovic: "the transcendence was substituted by the horizon of national and social expectations".¹

¹ Perkovic, Ivana From Angel Singing to Choral Art: Serbian Choral Church Music in the Period of Romanticism, (Belgrade: The Faculty of Musical Art - Signature, 2007), 47.

The foundation of Serbian artistic music (in the European sense of understanding that notion) was laid during the mid 19th century, when turbulent historical circumstances shaped all the art forms. One of the key moments in the process of Serbian musical development of this period was related to the appearance of the first formally educated musicians. Due to the lack of music professionals, they were, at the same time, composers, choir conductors, music teachers and music life organizers. Considering the fact that there was no continuous classical music tradition in Serbia, it was the amateurs who dealt with performing, and it was choral music that had the absolute primacy among all the music genres. It involved “an army” of singers and targeted the broadest audience, on account of which it was suitable for achieving communication with a lot of people. Choirs existed both in rural and urban environments, thus enabling a great number of Serbians to take part directly as active participants in the development of their own culture.

Statutes of vocal societies of that time testify that the choir missions were, without an exception, directed to uniting Serbian people and bringing closer Southern - Slovenian nations. By means of choral music, composers themselves could most directly give their contribution to attaining the current national and political aims. The most convenient tool for emphasizing national and patriotic patterns was exactly the patriotic and folklore discourse. Choral composers used it to enhance communicativeness of their work throughout the whole nineteenth century. This practice was dominant till the First World War. After it, overall tendencies towards modernism influenced choral music, as well. No longer was choral music the main musical genre, and its role had been transformed. However, choral music was still very popular among the broadest audience. Choral composers were aware of that, so in one part of their creative work they were still committed to the traditional musical expression and traditional themes.

The object of this paper is to shed the light on the patriotic and folklore discourse of Serbian choral music, examining the significance of their communicative function. More precisely, this paper aims at showing in what manner and to what extent the tendency of choral composers towards communicativeness shaped the choral genre in Serbia from the mid nineteenth century till the Second World War.

19th century

Choral literature and singing, on which musical professionalism in Serbia was based on, had not only the artistic, but also a very important socio-political role. This segment of the musical art development in Serbia was to a certain extent close to the courses of the choral genre development in Europe Carl Dahlhaus states that the development of the 19th century choral music was marked by sociability, educational function, and citizens' participation.² This was also true for Serbia. However, concrete historical circumstances additionally influenced on the development path of Serbian choral music of that time.

Therefore, among the romantic musical artists in Serbia, the most prevailing topics were those in which people's aspirations towards attaining national ideals were reflected. On the one hand, those were the compositions written to the patriotic verses of Serbian poets, and on the other hand those were the pieces inspired by folklore. By composing and interpreting these compositions the communication with the broadest auditorium was established, with the aim to support and promote the current state political aims.

² Dahlhaus, Carl *Nineteen-Century Music*, transl. J. Bradford Robinson (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 160-167.

Patriotic discourse

In the domain of works composed to the verses of patriotic poetry, the dominant thematic orientation of Serbian composers during the 19th and at the beginning of the 20th century was in line with the up-to-date themes in the literature of that period. The rhetoric of this poetry was predominantly marked by a political context, and it had its musical counterpart in the hymns and battle calls, as the most popular choral subgenres. The hymns were dedicated to the significant individuals or institutions of the Serbian present and past. As Tatjana Markovic, prominent Serbian musicologist, underlined in her works, hymns were almost always the tool for emphasizing the affiliation of an actual personality or an institution to “the glorious Serbian nation.”³ Besides hymns, compositions known as “battle calls” as well as compositions thematically oriented towards freedom, suffering of Serbian people, unity, uniting of Serbian people etc. were also popular. Composers found the inspiration for writing patriotic pieces in the poetry not only of the leading romantic authors such as Jovan Jovanovic Zmaj (1832-1904), Djura Jaksic (1832-1878), Jovan Sterija Popovic (1806-1910), but also in the work of less famous authors.

The message of the lyrics was the essential element of these compositions, while the artistic aspect was in the background. Most of the pieces had recognizable pattern, and to a certain extent were even similar in terms of their musical characteristics: distinctive melody motives; rhythmization; facture; as well as within the formal framework. Most of the pieces were homophone, with symmetric form and in a rather basic harmonic language. Typical melodic motions were leaps of the fourth and fifth, or the repetition of tonic or dominant motions which create a fanfare-like battle call. Compositions were often in a duple meter, expressing the character of a march. The use of dotted quarter notes additionally underlined associations to soldier bravery and heroism. All the musical means were directed towards the most distinct text articulation possible, which contributed to the communicativeness of a work through stimulating the patriotic feelings among the audience.

Compositions with patriotic content were written not only by Serbian authors, but also by Czech musical authors who lived in Serbia. The contribution to the domain of Serbian choral literature was given by professional, educated musicians such as Kornelije Stankovic (1831-1865), Jovan Pacu (1847-1902), Davorin Jenko (1835-1914), Robert Tolinger (1859-1911), Mita Topalovic (1849-1912), Josif Marinkovic (1851-1931) but also by the composers - amateurs such as Josif Slezinger (1794-1870) and Nikola Djurkovic (1812-1875). In the overall opus of compositions with patriotic content the most prominent and popular were ones written by Davorin Jenko, Robert Tolinger and Josif Marinkovic.

Folklore discourse

Folklore discourse, of course, did not directly express the texts provoking the achievement of national ideals. Nevertheless, folk melodies were associated with the autochthonous quality of a composer’s musical expression, with his nationality, and also with the plethora and value of the national heritage. Thus, the folklore compositions, just like the patriotic ones, were very popular among the vast auditorium and the choirs gladly sang them. Choral composers of the 19th century Serbia were creating in folklore discourse in three different manners: simply harmonizing the folk melodies; grouping artistically processed folk melodies into larger wholes that

³ Markovic, Tatjana *Transfiguration of Serbian Romanticism: Music in the Context of Cultural Studies* (Belgrade: University of Arts, 2005), 177.

formally resemble a suite; and by composing choral works, without choral quotations, but in the folklore spirit. There is almost no Serbian composer who has not tried his skill at the folklore choral genre. On this point, I would like to refer to the creative work of the coryphaeus of Serbian musical romanticism- Stevan Stojanovic Mokranjac (1856-1914). In his opus he had successfully reconciled on the one hand the aspiration towards communicativeness in accordance with the ideological context, and on the other hand the artistic expression of high aesthetic values.

The major part of the creative work by Mokranjac was based on tradition: either on the folk musical idiom, or on the traditional church music. Most of his opus was accomplished in choral genre, at the same time maintaining a close connection between composing and melographic work. Mokranjac was writing down folklore songs for his pieces by himself, thus he was obtaining them directly from the people, and he was not using the folk song anthologies which already existed. By that quality he was not alone in the Serbian music world, but what singled him out from the rest of his contemporaries was the fact that he enriched the prominent nationally-coloured style with high artistic qualities.

The synonyms for his contribution to Serbian choral music are *The Garlands* (in Serbian, *Rukoveti*): artistically processed folk songs connected into organically unique wholes, similar to the suite form. This poetic name, which describes this collection of songs as a bunch of flowers tied into a bouquet, represents a metaphor for the beauty of those songs and the firmness of their connection. In *Garlands*, Mokranjac tightened the national direction in Serbian music, which is the reason why he is considered to be the founder of musical romanticism in Serbia, thus he is often called “the father of Serbian national music.” He offered a deep insight into the spirit of folk melodies and he emphasized, by means of artistic stylization, all the values hiding in the work of an anonymous folk artist. Another Serbian composer, a student of Mokranjac, Milenko Zivkovic described *The Garlands* as “a musical epic in which all our people and landscapes are lauded, our tempers and customs, the destined connection of our man to the mother-country.”

Each “garland” includes a few songs from one specific geographical area. Mokranjac used songs both from Serbia in the borders of that period- before the Balkan Wars, and broader: so, there are for example *garlands* subtitled “From Kosovo,” “From Montenegro,” “From Bosnia...” By this choice of songs, the composer unequivocally pointed out to the broadness of his national comprehension, but to more than that, as well. In this way, Mokranjac used an indirect way to offer support to the dominant political aims. A musicologist Biljana Milanovic precisely states that “Symbolic geography of his *garlands* was supporting the official ideology of expanding the state of Serbia.”⁴ Accordingly, *The Garlands* had a highly distinguished communicative function. That confirms the fact that the compositions of non-patriotic background served as a means of communication and that they attained non-artistic aims, as well.

Finally, composing of concrete *garlands* was driven by actual political circumstances. The most obvious example was the 14th garland “From Bosnia” which Mokranjac composed soon after annexing Bosnia to Austro-Hungarian state in 1908.

A distinctive indicator of cherishing the communicative function of choral music may be also found in the compositions which Mokranjac wrote purposefully, for guest performances abroad. In other words, due to the fact that he was a conductor of one the most significant Serbian choirs of his time, prior to departures on guest performances he used to compose works in

⁴ Milanovic, Biljana “Stevan Stojanovic Mokranjac and Aspects of Ethnicity and Nationalism” in A gift to Mokranjac, ed. Ivana Perkovic-Radak and Tijana Popovic-Mladjenovic (Belgrade, Negotin: Department of musicology - Faculty of Music in Belgrade, Cultural Center Stevan Mokranjac in Negotin, 2006), 33-54.

the form of *garlands*, based on the folklore of the host country. That is how before the concert held in Budapest in 1894, the composition "Hungarian Folk Songs" was made; on the occasions of tour across Russia he composed "Russian Folk Songs" (1896), and prior to the concert held in Bucharest "Romanian Folk Songs" were created (1909). By composing these pieces and by their performance in front of the foreign audience, Mokranjac assigned to himself a role of a unique musical ambassador of his own country. That is how he spread the communicativeness of his music outside the tight national framework.

20th century

Stepping into the 20th century, Serbian music entered a gradual process of modernization. At the very beginning of the new century, the seed of modernization was sown, which in the years following the First World War was developing and branching into a lot of vanguard trends. However, not only composers were the sole factors of modernization. The most important precondition for accepting new tendencies in the performance art such as music, was substituting the amateur interpretation framework by the professional one. That happened in Serbia in the years following the First World War. The first professional orchestras, chamber ensembles and opera theatre were established. This transformation towards professionalism was the obvious indicator of a dynamic change in the romantic heritage of Serbian music. It had a great impact on the composers educated in the centers of European musical vanguard - Prague, Munich and Leipzig. For the first time in Serbian history, they had an opportunity to cooperate with professional musicians, and that was a great challenge for their creativeness. Professional musicians and ensembles, as well as composer inventiveness, led to the emergence of new genres, primarily instrumental, and the artistic improvement of the existing ones.

Contemporary tendencies did not by-pass choral music. Modernization influenced it, but in a specific manner. When compared to the previous period, the role and representation of certain choral subgenres had definitely been transformed. Namely, the significance of patriotic discourse had diminished; folklore and sacred music discourse were redefined and moving towards a more inventive treatment of folk and church melodies; whereas lyrical choral genre was significantly asserted. However, through many levels of choral music development composers still "kept in touch" with the past. The most obvious reason for this was that this genre, unlike others, was still primarily performed by amateur groups. Broad spectrum of admirers and active participants in choral music – mostly amateurs, provided the biggest musical "army" in the history of Yugoslavia. Composers had that in mind, and through adaptation of their musical language and by choosing appropriate themes, they flirted with this "choral army". Naturally, there are also examples of choral compositions with highly vanguard characteristics, but they are rather rare. Expressing their tendencies towards new styles composers rather left to the genres which implied a professional performers and whose audience was more narrow and profiled.

Despite many peculiarities of the folklore and patriotic discourse development of choral music during the first decades of the 20th century, I will consider their communicativeness, through the prism of a textual model. I will try to show the way in which composers approached the choice of lyrics for their choral works, and what the specific features and causes of that choice are. Also, I will pay a particular attention to a significant prevalence of choral works composed in the folklore spirit, to the texts of the artistic poetry inspired by folklore and tradition.

In an attempt to determine which poetry to use as textual templates for their works, most composers saw tradition as a strong basis. The most frequently used poetry in choral discourse between the two world wars was the one originating in the age of romanticism, along with the more contemporary poetry, but with a prominent traditional note. Composers in their choral

works were consistent in avoiding modern poetry which they characterized as a blank verse, asymmetric form and other anti-traditional characteristics. Nonetheless, in other genres- for example in solo songs - musical artists very often chose the poetry of their contemporaries. The reason for a difference in treatment, in these poetic bases of these two vocal genres of Serbian music from the first half of the XX century, was undoubtedly connected to the broadness of the auditorium the choral creative work addressed. Composers had this in mind and they subordinated the choice of textual model to the same. If we take into consideration the choral genre as one of the most communicative one among all the other musical genres, it becomes quite understandable why there is the absence of modern, vanguard and by all means distinctively anti-communicative texts in choral works of the composers who created in-between wars.

Folklore discourse

In this part of the paper I will refer to some actual poetic bases of choral compositions which originated in the first half of the 20th century. Without an exception, the most prevalent was the poetry of Milorad Petrovic (1875-1921), the poet who was creating at the end of the 19th and in the first decades of the 20th century. Even though that was the period of general modernization, this poet consistently resisted to it, founding its creativity in an anachronous romantic poetic tradition. His whole literature was based on the folklore expression and creating in folk spirit, so that it seems that each of his songs represents a direct transposition of folk speech. That is the reason why this village teacher and a poet named his first collection of poems "A Country Girl," after which he received a nickname that accompanied him throughout his creative life-path. The fact that there is practically no composer who did not provide with sound some of his verses, speaks for itself about his popularity.

Musical language of these compositions was completely in accordance with the text - in the folklore spirit, but without the quotations from the actual folklore songs. At first glance, what can be perceived is the similarity of melodic element with the melodic of folk songs. Melodic lines of the majority of these choral works are characterized by ornaments, along with the frequent application of Balkans minor as the scale basis, and at the same time stressing out the augmented second movement. Tonally-harmonic elements of the listed compositions are also close to the folklore ones. Certain composers, such as Petar Krstic (1877-1957), upon the creating of these pseudo-folklore choral compositions tried to bring their composition technique closer to those which Mokranjac used in his *Garlands*. Considering the authority Mokranjac had among his followers even after his death, these techniques, even though they were not original, could ensure the positive reception of the mentioned compositions.

It is interesting to point out that those composers who were also vanguard in some other segments of their opus chose for some of their works the verses from *The Peasant Girl*. Choirs were glad to sing these compositions and they included them in their repertoires, which indicate the success of accomplishing their communicative function.

Patriotic discourse

In the domain of choral music patriotic discourse, the 20th century brought changes on the level of the equality of artistic qualities of the poetic and musical components. In the period of romanticism, the poetic element of choral compositions was often on the higher aesthetic level than the musical one, whereas in the first decades of the 20th century, the artistic value of these two components was generally made equal.

Composers of this period most often chose the poetry of the romanticism. Thus, poetic inspiration of these authors was very similar to the inspiration of their predecessors who were

creating in the 19th century. Nevertheless, composers who were generally aspiring towards modernization of their artistic language, like Miloje Milojevic (1884-1946), Petar Konjovic (1883-1970) or Stevan Hristic (1885-1958), often accompanied the chosen romantic verses by significantly sharpened musical expression: late-romantic one enriched with expressionist or impressionist elements. The relation to the tradition which was an important factor in establishing the communicativeness of choral works, in these cases was maintained only on the level of textual model.

An interesting peculiarity of the patriotic choral discourse in the first decade of the 20th century is perceived in frequent interventions the composers were performing on the chosen poetic texts. The reason probably lies in the fact that most of this poetry originated in the previous period - in the 19th century, and thus in different political circumstances. Once the general social circumstances and the political priorities changed, the verses which once had had the purpose to awake national conscience were no longer up-to-date.

For instance, in the choral composition *Eagle* (1913) to the patriotic text by Aleksa Santic (1868-1924), the composer Kosta Manojlovic (1890-1949) changed all the nouns with the "Serbia" root into appropriate non-national entries. This Santic's patriotic poem originated in 1890, at the time when strengthening the national consciousness was one of the leading social and even artistic ideas. On the other side Manojlovic was writing his choral composition more than two decades later, on the verge of forming the Kingdom of Serbians, Croats and Slovenes. When pan-Slavism overpowered Serbian nationalism, the composer left out from the song transparent national entries, such as "Serbian nation" or "Serbian." This example points to the aspiration of the composer to follow the current social circumstances by their works, and to communicate by means of the same with as broad auditorium as possible.

At the very end I would like to refer to one of the greatest choral manifestations in Serbia in the period from the 19th century to the Second World War. The event was The First Competition of Serbian Union of Singing Societies held in the city of Sombor before the beginning of the First World War in 1914. Seventeen choirs took part in this competition, and on the central concert of this manifestation each choir presented itself with one composition. Each of them performed only the pieces of folklore or patriotic discourse.

In conclusion, it could be said that choral art genesis in Serbia up to the Second World War (and after it as well) was not determined exclusively by musical language, nor any other exclusively artistic category. In no case was the choral music closed inside its own composing and technical regularities, but it was without an exception conditioned by the whole social context. The crucial factor for forming choral genre was the level of possible communicativeness, and the most adequate device for its realization in the context of Serbian cultural climate of that period were the compositions of folklore and patriotic discourse.

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Two Approaches to Expressing the National Element in the Works by Composers of the School of Dmitry Shostakovich

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Abstract: The school of Dmitri Shostakovich was a trend in Russian music, which began in the second half of the twentieth century as a creative development of the traditions inherited from the Master. A strong nationalistic style was one of its important features.

This school employed two approaches to the expression of the national element. The first one, based on the method used by Shostakovich, featured no direct reference to either folklore or the Orthodox music. The folklore quotations and folkloric genres were not typical of it. Its main feature was a nationalistic mindset of composers. One should regard this approach as an *indirect* one. Boris Tchaikovsky, Vyacheslav Nagovitsin and Galina Ustvolskaya effectively used it in their works.

The direct approach was quite different. It featured a close connection with folklore, including an active use of folkloric quotations and arrangements of folk melodies. This approach largely aligned with the *neo-folk wave*, a Russian artistic trend of the period. The *direct* approach is characteristic of the works by Georgy Sviridov, Gennady Belov and Vadim Bibergan. In addition, these composers have created quite a few works in the genres of the Orthodox music - a bearer of the national spirit in traditional opinion.

In the era of globalization, which erases national uniqueness in all spheres of life, the experience of the school of Shostakovich is very valuable. It has demonstrated a way of combining achievements of international music with the features of national cultures.

Before discussing the stated problem, we should define what the *school of Dmitry Shostakovich* is. What are its origins, scale and artistic significance, and what are its main typological features.

The school of D. Shostakovich emerged due to a powerful impact of his music on other composers. This school began take form in Russia since late-1930s and later it developed into an impressive trend (1950-60s). In 1978, the Russian musicologist L. Berger pioneered the use of the term *school of D. Shostakovich* in her presentation "Shostakovich and His School in the Context of Slavic Music Culture" at the symposium "The Contribution of Slavic Peoples into the Music Culture of Europe" (Brno, 1978)¹. From mid-1980s on, the problem of the impact of Shostakovich's traditions has been included into the international artistic context. In this connection, we should note the role of the International Symposium "Shostakovich and the World Musical Process" (Köln, 1985).

As early as in mid-1970s Leo Mazel, a leading Russian music scholar, noted that the phenomenon of "Shostakovich's influence on other composers" would be a relevant avenue of research². The Russian music culture in the latter half of the 20th century saw the rise of many traditions, which began due to Dmitry Shostakovich's impact on his contemporaries and composers of later generations. Some forty years on the death of the Master has not only proved

¹Berger, Iubov Epistemology of Arts: Artistic Work as a Way of Knowledge. "Archeology" of Arts Studies. Knowledge and Styles of Arts (Moscow: Russian world, 1997), 402.

In Russian: Бергер, Л. Эпистемология искусства: художественное творчество как познание. «Археология» искусствознания. Познание и стили искусства. – М.: Русский мир, 1997. – 402 с.

² Mazel, Leo "The Thoughts on Historical Contribution of Shostakovich's Works", in D. Shostakovich: Articles & Materials, ed. Grigory Shneerson (Moscow: Sovetsky Compositor, 1976), 56–72.

In Russian: Мазель, Л. Раздумья об историческом месте Шостаковича. Д. Шостакович: Статьи, материалы. – М.: Советский композитор, 1976. – С. 56–762.

unmistakable significance of his work but its capability as well to enter into a *quasi-dialogue* (the definition by the philologist Yu. Smirnov) with the most various musical styles and trends.

Music by Shostakovich co-opted features of many 19th and 20th century styles and creatively transformed them. Without formally joining any artistic trend of his period, but benefiting from their expressive potentials (including those of neo-Classicism and neo-Romanticism, Expressionism and Serialism), Shostakovich employed his **unique nationalistic** approach to any world art tendency.

His contemporaries, young people especially, appreciated an emotional response to global events in the art of the composer as well as the relevance of his ideas and imagery that had nothing to do with the political conjuncture. However, Shostakovich was one of few composers whose life and work scholars tended to analyze in the stiff political context, the vectors of discussion being sometimes opposite.

It is an axiom, though, that Shostakovich's work expressed the tragic of the 20th century; therefore, tragic collisions obviously predominate in his music. However, his work also show a wide range of positive imagery, intimate and chaste lyrical expressions, philosophic meditations, and multi-faceted jocular attitude towards life, the latter being among the origins of his astounding mastery in expressing characters. All these account for diversity and great scope of Shostakovich's traditions, which provided dissimilar composers an impetus to create.

Other features of Shostakovich's style, also present in the complex of his traditions, include the dominance of an introvert type of thinking and reflexive imagery; intellectual psychologism; and *informative saturation of the text* (the definition by E. Ruchievskaya)³. At the same time, we discover in his music a wide range of languages, an interaction, according to V. Vasina-Grossman, between the lines of *lofty musical abstraction* and *ultimately intuitive, visual characterization*. Overall, the above caused the *synthesis of elite and democratic features in the artistic thinking* of the Master⁴.

A highly individualized character of thematism, which was typical of classical music, kept playing a key role in Shostakovich's work, especially, when he dealt with expression of mental processes. That was an origin of his expressive modal development with its obvious tendency to an "aggravation" of minor. Of extreme importance was his development of melodies, his aspiration towards structural asymmetry of melos and abundant reflections of spoken language in his music. In the style of Shostakovich, the depth of polyphonic thinking was certainly relevant as a principle way of growing ideas.

Certainly, music by the composer features a great variety of polystylistic methods, his virtuosic treatment of foreign material in form of stylization, quotation, *melodic hint* (the term by A. Alekseev), inclusion of *melodic patterns* (in Russian: *intonasyonnye modeli* – the term by E. Ruchievskaya), allusion (the term by D. Ligeti) etc. This results in semantic saturation and diversity of intertextual links in Shostakovich's works.

Shostakovich has displayed a new interpretation of classical genres and compositional patterns, of which the symphonic cycle and the forms of sonata and variations were his favorites. A

³ Ruchievskaya, Ekaterina "Classical Features of Creativity", Musical Academy. Moscow, 1. (1999), 146–151. In Russian: Ручьевская, Е. Классические черты творчества. Музыкальная академия. – М., 1999. № 3. С. 146–151.

⁴ Vasina-Grossman, Vera Masters of Soviet Song. Moscow: Musica, 1980, 249.. In Russian: Васина-Гроссман, В. Мастера советского романса. – М: Музыка, 1980. – С. 249.

non-Avant-guard master, he has successfully demonstrated the possibility of being an innovator within the framework of *Post-Classical* trend (our term – G. O.)⁵.

His pedagogy, which was an activity of Shostakovich almost all his life long, enhanced the impact of his music on other composers. The very personality of Shostakovich was an important influence: his high morals, ultimate professional standards, wide scope of views, great interest in all contemporary events, intolerance to evil, false and envy, and unfailing readiness to help in professional and human spheres.

That was how the school of Shostakovich took shape – a trend in Russian music in the latter half of the twentieth century, which creatively developed traditions established by the Master. It brought together many gifted composers with various degree of talent: Boris Tishchenko, Vyatcheslav Nagovitsyn, Gennady Belov, Orest Yevlakhov, German Okunev, Boris Tchaikovsky, Vladislav Uspensky, Dmitry Tolstoy and others. Among the group, there were composers who were unique stylistically, for example, Galina Ustvol'skaya. Some masters demonstrated a strong adherence to Shostakovich traditions, like Boris Tishchenko and Viatcheslav Nagovitsyn. Others did not explicitly follow those traditions. Still others even denied their association with the school as Galina Ustvol'skaya and Georgy Sviridov did. However, all composers of the school of Shostakovich shared certain preferences in genres, imagery, stylistic ideals, principles of thematic work, formal and textural aspects etc.

Any school welcomes an exchange of energy and information between its representatives, as well as their desire to be in a state of direct or indirect, conscious or subconscious dialogue with other members of the group. The phenomenon holds true for the school of Shostakovich. It resulted in *mutual influences* and *exchange of ideas* in addition to the influence of the Master. This process was especially prominent when a particular member of the school featured an outstanding creative potential.

The style of any representative of the school of Shostakovich is an integral unique system, having nothing to do with that of an epigone or eclectic. Each composer of the group developed the complex of traditions, which resonated with his or her personality. The appearance of three branches within the school evidences for a multiversity of Shostakovich traditions; one can designate them as *the philosophical-dramatic*, *genre-characteristic* and *lyrical-romantic* ones.

The *philosophical-dramatic* branch demonstrated by works of G. Ustvol'skaya, B. Tishchenko and V. Nagovitsyn features summarized imagery, tragic perception of the contemporary world through a drama of ideas (as seen in their expanded concepts), and an intense pathos of dynamics.

The *genre-characteristic* branch revealed itself in compositions by O. Yevlakhov, G. Okunev, G. Sviridov, G. Belov, V. Bibergan, V. Uspensky and others who favored a characterization principle, up to simulation of the sounds of the outer world; their works often were programmatic music with clear genre semantics. It is the array where we find the majority of *neo-folk* compositions.

The expressive language of the *lyrical-romantic* branch typical of compositions by B. Tchaikovsky and D. Tolstoy (the number of examples in this case is the least of three) rooted in early 20th century Russian music, primarily, A. Glazunov and A. Lyadov, as well as in interpretations of that music by Shostakovich.

⁵ We mean the trend in composition of the post-WWI period, which developed classical traditions. Major-minor thinking remained the basis of sound patterning of this trend, though some individual interpretations of the principle featured much freedom.

However, the common feature of all the branches was a dominant role of *the reflective nature* of their imagery; this semantic priority evidences for the fact that *the superior position of this sort of imagery was a core typological feature of the school*.

The style of the school is conspicuously nationalistic. We shall discuss it in two aspects: as an influence of folkloric traditions and as that of national sacred genres - the Orthodox liturgy.

The school of Shostakovich has developed two different approaches to the national element. The first one goes back to the works by Shostakovich and does not directly relate to folklore or the Orthodox music. Quotations of folk music or folkloric genres are not typical of the approach. For example, it was only thrice that Shostakovich himself quoted Russian folk songs, his versions being but a travesty: *Ah vy, seni, moiseni* in his vocal set *Satires* and *Ya na gorku shla* along with *Svetit mesiac, svetit yasny* in his operetta *Moscow-Tcheriomushky*.

One can also detect an influence of Russian ecclesiastic music in works by Shostakovich, despite that he never wrote religious compositions. For example, melodic patterns of the Ancient Russian sacred style – *znamenny raspev* are “incrusted” in the most tragic movements of his B Minor Second Piano Sonata, namely, the second (Largo) and the third (Moderato) ones. The reflection of the imagery typical of Russian ecclesiastic music is clear in his string quartets (# 8, 15 and others)⁶.

The point of this approach was a nationalistic mindset expressed through specific interpretations of music fundamentals (most notably, melody, tonality, harmony and texture) and music forms as well as through dominant imagery and methods of its representation. Despite the breadth of the artistic context, classical Russian music and literature along with works by contemporary Russian writers were of particular importance in the development of musical imagery and music language. In the case of Shostakovich that included Leskov and Gogol’ works in his operas (*Katerina Izmailova*, *The Nose* and *Gamblers*) and lyrics by Krylov, Pushkin, Tsvetaeva, Blok, Dostoevsky, Sasha Tcherny, and Yevgeny Dolmatovsky in his chamber vocal music.

One should call the approach an **indirect** one. It is very typical of the works by Boris Tchaikovsky, Vyacheslav Nagovitsyn, and Galina Ustvol'skaya. Thus, Galina Ustvol'skaya's compositions feature neither folklore quotations nor evident sign of ethnic genres. However, her musical language subtly incorporated melodic patterns found in Russian folk songs of lament, ritual songs and incantations as well as in an Ancient Russian ecclesiastical style – *znamenny raspev*. Particularities of her melodies and monody structure, her tendency towards *monorhythm* (the term coined by Valentina Kholopova to define progressions of notes of equal value, which are typical of the Russian church music)⁷ and the absence of bar-lines signal that some features of Ancient Russian canticles and other national ritual music are present in Ustvol'skaya's works (Example 1).

⁶ See a more detailed discussion of the problem in: Ovsyankina, Galina “Imagery and Expressive Features of Sacred Music in Works by Shostakovich” in *Life of Religion in Music*, ed. Tatjana Hoprova (St. Petersburg: St. Petersburg Conservatory Press, 2007), 114–126.

In Russian: Овсянкина, Г. Образно-выразительные черты культовой музыки в творчестве Д. Шостаковича *Жизнь религии в музыке* / Ред. Т. Хопрова. – СПб: Издательство Санкт-Петербургской консерватории, 2007. – С. 114-126.

⁷ Kholopova, Valentina *Russian music Rhythmics*. (Moscow: Sovetsky Compositor, 1983), 280.

In Russian: Холопова, В. Русская музыкальная ритмика. – М.: Советский композитор, 1983. – 280 с.

Example 1. The Sixth Piano Prelude G. Ustvolskaya



Znamenny raspev



However, the composers of the school of Shostakovich also developed a different approach to expressing the national element, namely, a **direct** method. It featured a close connection with folklore, including frequent incorporations of folk quotations and arrangements of folk tunes. The more so than in the case of the indirect method it employed allusions to and assimilations of Russian folk songs and instrumental melodies, and the use of folkloric genres. Moreover, the goal of the method was to voice contemporary ideas and imagery through an up-to-date representation of the national element rather than to produce a stylization. The concept aligned with *the neo-folk wave*, a Russian artistic trend formed in 1960s. The **direct** method was typical of Georgy Sviridov, Gennady Belov and Vadim Bibergan.

Due to the long history of Russian state and the expanded geography of the country, Russian folklore differs considerably depending on its period and region. As for the composers of the school of Shostakovich, they largely benefited from North Russian rural folklore, particularly, the 20th century one, and the Orthodox choral singing, Sviridov also evincing great interest in the folk lyrical music of urban suburbs. For instance, few music quotation are present in six movements of Vadim Bibergan's concert suite *Rusскиye Poteshki (Russian Merry Songs)* composed in 1968, though the composer used folkloric verses. However, both instrumental and vocal parts of the work masterfully recreate a hilarious atmosphere of Russian folk theatrical improvisations, which involves the entire community. The composer's fascinating score pulled together rare and somewhat exotic Russian instruments, which one is unlikely to listen to anywhere except for a Russian village in a moment of merry-making (such instruments include wooden spoons, rattle-boxes, a saw and a wash-board).

Gennady Belov must have pioneered the use of some rare rural folklore genres in piano music with his eight-movement piano cycle *Village Album* of 1962. Each of the genres reflects a particular episode of peasant life and the relevant imagery. The approximate translations of those Russian "exotic" genres are as follows: *An Instrumental Solo*, *Fast Chastushki (A Chatter-song)*, *Romance* (not an art-song genre but a folk lyrical song influenced by urbane culture), *Harmonica Passages*, *A Song of Lament*, *Seesaw Couplets*, *A Doggerel Song*, and *A Spring Call*. It is interesting that the last piece, *A Spring Call* (in Russian *Веснянка*) is dodecaphonic with twelve-tone row pervading both vertical and horizontal dimensions of its texture (Example 2). This composition demonstrates a possibility of combining national style with the achievements of the 20th century Avant-guard.

Example 2. A Spring Call G. Belov



The cycle freely combines folkloric melodies and the ones composed in folk manner. However, the composer does not stylize the latter after the archaic but gives them quite a modern outlook. For instance, in *A Song of Lament* he uses two themes: a folkloric and his own ones (Example 3). The melody in folk style by the author opens the piece (the right hand part). The authentic folkloric theme appears later in the left hand (see the latter half of the piece from the third bar on, Example 3).

Example 3 *A Song of Lament* G. Belov (the first theme by the author)



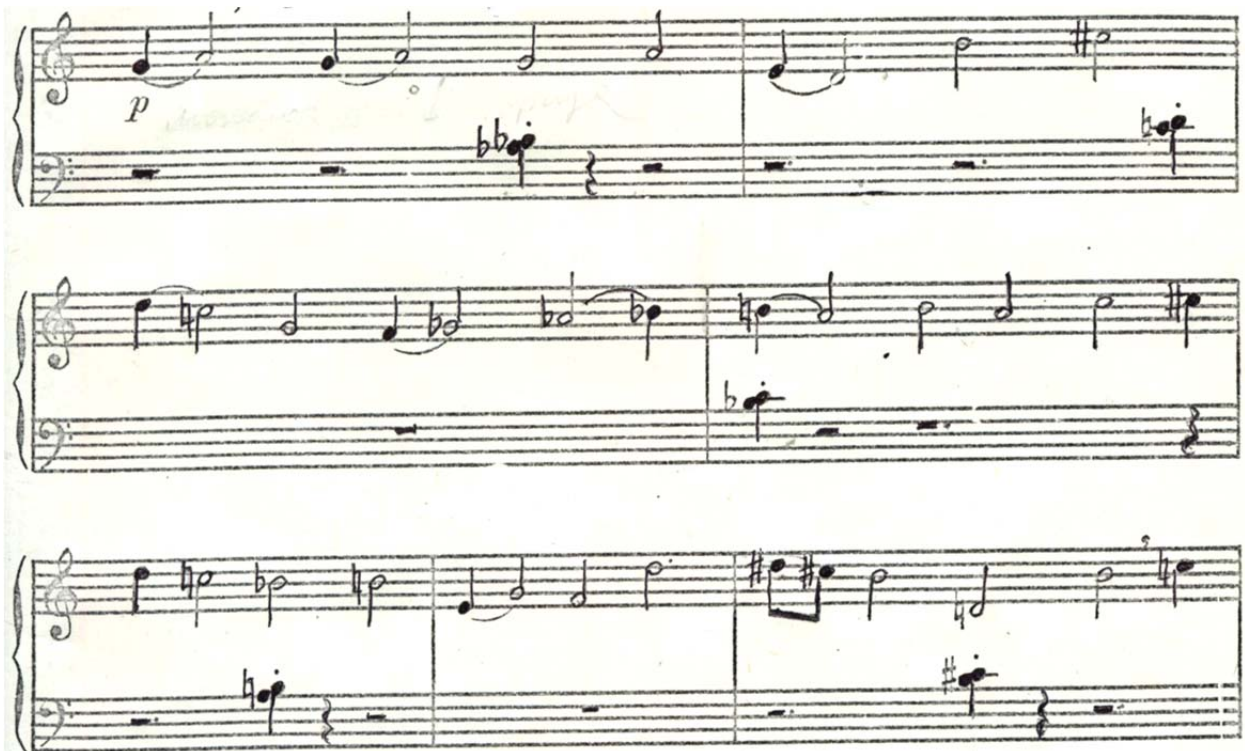
(the second (folkloric) theme)



The composers, who used the **direct** method, also worked in the genres of the Orthodox music - an iconic representation of national spirit; they produced quite a few works in those genres. Elements of Russian sacred music also penetrated into their non-sacred compositions. First, we should mention *Canticles and Prayers* by Georgy Sviridov - a remarkable ecclesiastical choral cycle in twenty-seven movements. The composer worked on it during the last decade of his life but failed to complete. G. Belov has produced eight sacred compositions, many of which are large-scale works. In 2004, the Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia awarded him the First Prize and the Medal for the best Orthodox composition, thus encouraging his *St. John Chrysostom Vespers* for mixed choir *a cappella*. In addition, many works of the composer do not formally relate to sacred music but are close to it, particularly, his Choral Concerto with chimes *Dedication to M. P. Mussorgsky*

Some composers of the school of Shostakovich used both **indirect** and **direct** methods, namely, Boris Tishchenko, Orest Yevlakhov, and German Okunev. For instance, Boris Tishchenko employed the direct method in his vocal-instrumental suite *Palekh* and the indirect one – in the final movement of his *Third Piano Sonata* (the episode marked *Piu mosso, legato* in the middle section), where he interpreted the genres of Russian droning song and lamentations over the dead (Example 4).

Example 4. Sonate # 3 (finale) B. Tishchenko



In addition, one can encounter Oriental motives in the music of the school of Shostakovich. Thus, German Okunev pioneered the use of Kyrgyz folklore in piano music with his *Twelve Piano Preludes* composed in 1960 where he managed to create a colorful psychological picture-cycle due to his original interpretation of the ethnic music. The composer chose to avoid stylization or musical quotations. He interpreted Kyrgyz folklore in the traditions of European piano music and his own style as witnessed by his lyrically serene *Prelude # 1* in C Major.

Kyrgyz folklore enriched his melodic language, added new genre features; its influence revealed itself in piano texture as imitations of some folk instrumental playing techniques as well as resulted in certain peculiarities of formal structure. For example, in the *Prelude # 6* in

D Major, which recreates an atmosphere of folk music making, the bass motive imitates a low pluck-string instrument, and dynamic expansion in variations of the principal motive produces an exiting effect (Example 5).

Example 5. Prelude # 6 G. Okunev

In the era of globalization, which erases nationalistic touches in all spheres of life thus impoverishing human psychology and spirituality and bringing to naught the diversity of art languages, the experience of the school of Shostakovich is very valuable. It has demonstrated that a possibility exists of putting together achievements of world art and national cultures. The experience shows us once more how wide is the range of the expressive potentials of the national element and how it can enrich familiar European music genres with both new imagery and expression.

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Hellenic nationalism: a three part drama and its musical accompaniment. Outline of a cohesive, Hellenic musical history.

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Abstract. In the following paper, placing 19th century as central point, we are going to establish the submission about the existence of a Hellenic, cohesive musical history as a certain fact. We observe it to walk side by side with the broader history of Hellenic element for which historiography detects two crucial gashes (in 1204 and 1821 correspondingly) as well as a gash of less depth in 1922. Such supervisory has been achieved due to a corpus which the researcher managed to elevate from obscurity during the elaboration of her PhD dissertation, through which the submission of such history is conversely being proved. Furthermore, we will prove that it is not a peripheral musical civilization but a different aspect of the European musical civilization, deserving an equal, international care and research.

During 19th century, a group of books about music, written in Hellenic language is been published in Hellas, for which, in order to be understood, no line of the already established musicological knowledge –as it has been proved by the researcher– cannot be fruitful. On the contrary, it was their endistancement from the mythology that surrounds them (a result of their neutralization after the lapse of time and the fragmented way of our contemporary musicological thought) the affirmation to everything that they actually are as historical objects, the beginning of a journey into a multi-dimensional problem that we can name, in a figural way, as ‘cohesive Hellenic history’. It was there, that an aspect of our musical stuff started to float to the surface, as an altered aspect that this context has made possible and the first planning of a ‘Hellenic musical history’ had already its basic ground.

This incorporation is the outline of our plan as it is going to be presented in the next lines. Much to our insufficiency of many unsolved procedural matters –mainly, the lack of a concise Hellenic musical bibliography, as we shall see– this history may not be allowed to be written in our time. In any case we have to and, we have the scientific proof to ideate it, not only as a local, peripheral phenomenon but furthermore, as a different aspect of our European cultural history.

A sort parenthesis may be allowed before we proceed, so as to clarify some points. Firstly we are going to use anachronisms which are necessary for the shake of normal flow of our syllogism: there is no doubt that some words, like *Hellas*, have not a common use in 19th century, or very often they bear a different meaning, when we meet them. The reader can use Table 1, where our corpus has been presented, as a guide; any further reference to these books will be in short form, mentioning only the main title and the reference’s page number in square brackets next to it. Considering the fact that this text is an extension of other announcements that the researcher has already presented the reader will be provided with footnotes, which will help him/ her to clarify some inexplicit points (because the researcher is taking them as granted).

1

First of all we have to exhibit this particular group of books and see if there any reasons for this group to be characterized as concise and Hellenic:

- 1830 Nickolaos Flogaites, Concise grammar or elementary principles of Music with adjustment on Guitar (Athens: National Typography).
- 1875 Julio Hennigg, Treatise on vocal music, meaning course on singing according the method of the German teacher G. Kympaeros (Athens: Ch. N. Philadelphus Press).
- 1880 Panagiotis Gritsanes, Elements of vocal music among with appropriate songs in order to be used from youths studying vocal music at public schools (Athens: Press of Anestis Konstndinides).
- 1892 Georgios Steph. Douckas, Elementary theory of music, among with first courses on harmonics (Athens: Anestis Konstadinides Press). Also in 1898, as a revised edition.
- 1894 Themistokles Polykrates, Theoretical book of the late music with addendum about ancient music (Athens: Anestis Konstadinides Press).

Table 1. *Corpus*

A first degree of their banding derives from the fact that all of them, pertain to the same taxonomical category, which the researcher has define as “musical grammar”.¹ In order to visualize the produced sound they all use the image on the notational signs that we use until today to European musical notation, which they name in a different way correspondingly:

1830	Nickolaos Flogaites. He is using Hellenic letters, in the following way:		
	Ecclesiastic technique	Concise grammar	European technique
	Pa	A	a
	Bou	B	b
	Ga	Γ	c
	Di	Δ	e
	Ke	E	f
	Zo	Z	g
	Ne	H	h

This particular scheme is not presented by N. Flogaitis but it is the one that derives from the interpretation of his grammar.

¹ The first presentation of the term and its use was in a relevant announcement of the researcher during the International Musicological Conference “Greece as an intercultural pole of musical thought and creativity” (Thessaloniki, Teloglion Foundation of Art, 6–10 June 2011). Summarily, the researcher claimed that we have to understand the meaning of the word “grammar” mainly as presenting a certain methodology (not an exclusive philological category) which is the result of Logos’ administration of a given polymorphous reality. *Concise grammar...*, of N. Flogaites was presented and explained as being precisely the first chronologically sample of a Hellenic musical grammar. In support of this claim an article followed, where it was proved, that the guitar that N. Flogaitis is presenting, is not an existed musical instrument but a matrix of elements. Proceedings of the International Musicological Conference are available on line, in: <http://crossroads.mus.auth.gr/proceedings/> (accessed on August 1st, 2013). English version of researcher’s announcement is also available online, in: <http://crossroads.mus.auth.gr/wp-content/uploads/2011/04/Naussica-Tsima-Concise-Grammar.pdf>. (accessed on August 1st, 2013). See also, Naussica Tsima, “Power is in your hands. The draw of a guitar and its interpretation as a matrix”, *Musical Hellenomnemon* 12 (May–August 2012) 3-12.

The National Element in Music

- 1875 Julio Hennigg. He provides comparative names, which, beginning from C4, are:
In the Hellenic way: Fa Di kE Zo nE pA Bou
In the German way: c d e f g a h
In the Italian way do re mi fa sol la si
- 1880 Panagiotis Gritsanos. Beginning from sound C:
To Re Mi Fa Sol La Si To
- 1892 Georgios Steph. Douckas. Beginning from sound C:
Do Re Mi Fa Sol La Si
- 1894 Themistokles Polykrates. Exactly like Douckas. He brings the term *notes* but he is also recognizing the “custom practice” of naming them as sound-signs [p.2]

Table 2. Names of sounds

Along with this first degree of cohesion we can also detect and a first degree of some Hellenic character, if we consider the following two points:

First, they are all have been published in Hellas, a fact worth to notify and not at all a matter-of-course, considering the difficulties that Hellas is experiencing during 19th century: it begins as a half independent morpheme with uncertain future and it is suffering during the whole 19th century from numerous practical problems –not to forget the two bankruptcies that took place during the same period.² The conditions mentioned above are by no means on the side of creativity. And we must note that our musical books’ number is an evidence for a prolific creativity considering moreover: a) books that are mentioned to music in a broader sense, for example, books about dance, b) books that use neumes and c) various collection of songs, where we can frequently find in their Prefaces some short of music-theoretical guides.

Second, all the previously mentioned musical grammars have been compiled by using Hellenic language. It is a fact of equivalent gravity and not at all a matter-of-course too. Hellenic language is for 19th century an under exploration field and this is true especially for everything that we can call scientific terminology. So, here we have a traceable attempt for the creation of a musical language that would be Hellenic as a result of pure Hellenic musical thought.

Finally we must also consider the following factor both as bond of their cohesion but also as an evidence of their Hellenic character too: all these books take under consideration or, at least they do not reject in an obvious way the Ancient Hellenic and/ or the home sacred element (under the meaning that each writer gives to these words). This approach is quite different from the European one, because here it means that someone is going to reckon with the two elements that exist in the core of the Hellenic national identity.³

² To begin with there is a difficulty for quittance of Revolution’s loan (and also the loan of the year 1833) and later, we have two following bankruptcies, in 1843 and 1893. It doesn’t mean that each previous is the reason for the next one; this is simply their order. An overall presentation from Spyros Tzokas, *Development and modernization at Hellas in the end of 19th century. Sub-development or depended development?* (Athens: Themelio, 1998).

³ Hellenic intelligentsia of that time, even in Hellenic Enlightenment, never separates itself from this two elements. We can not make a full reference here, but it worth noting, that one of phenomenon’s causes, is the fact that that this was the context in which Hellenic Revolution was considered to be a necessity. One point we must always in mind though, speaking of antiquity, is the fact that it is a fallacy to believe that there was an immediate effect upon contemporary Hellas, because many Ancient Hellenic texts were –and still are– unknown, or transmitted to Hellenic though by foreign researchers. So it was not rare back then, that many inaccuracies were written, for example, N. Flogaitis is believing that two distinct personalities, Pythagoras and Aristoxenus do find each other in a common line [p.B’]. Purpose of this observation is not to reduce the value of these texts (for the rest of Europe is a time of discoveries on the same field too) but to emphasize the strength of that factor, which functions although no one can have a specific, correct idea about it.

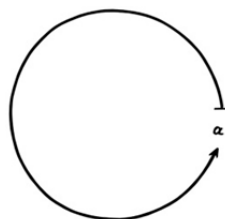
So we do not only have in front of us a research field, but also an extremely interesting one, because the existence and the personality of these books proves that a) 19th Hellas is not a passive receiver of some European musical theory and b) there was an attempt for the creation of singular, Hellenic musical theory that it is not the exclusive privilege of the later so called Byzantine music.

This discovery was not exactly the end of the researcher's questions but the very beginning of them. Well, how it is possible such a cohesive corpus to be so full of contradictions that an inner, equally cohesive logic is unable to provide their beseeeming categorization. To be precise, there is a wide context of criteria that negate each other, although each one separately has an accurate apply in praxis. Let's see a simple example:

Tacking as granted that we do have a cohesive corpus, J. Hennigg (1875) must be the continuity of N. Flogaites (1830). He actually is: no one can deny that with *Concise grammar...* we do have the establishment of the tradition for the use of the image of European notation and the *Treatise on vocal music...* is in any case continuing to walk on this path. But these two grammars are so different and diverse among them that surprisingly, they can not be considered parts of a common row – a fact already obvious from their titles.⁴

It was the need to provide answers to such problems and also the question about these books' fate that forced the look of the researcher to the history of hellenic element in a broader sense. As we shall see it was a recourse procedure that has solved many zoning problems and it was also a very helpful tool for the formation of these musical testimonies' identity, whereas strict musicological observations do correspond with pure historical (political and social) ones – a confirmation of a much wider Hellenic and concise character of these books.

We shall precede immediately the final conclusion of our syllogism here, so as to watch below its logical formation. During the period 1821–1833, the collective body that we are going to call henceforth Hellenic element has to carry through a conflict and a jump. There is a scheme –and, whoever is familiar with psychiatrics will immediately understand its Lackanic derivation– which, as we will try to prove, is a successful visualization of the phenomenon that we examine here:



We observe that there is a procedure of emerge, which rather violently is being interrupted, because of it is impact to some factor.⁵ At the point of impact we must place the fact of Hellenic Revolution in 1821. Until 1833 there is a gap where a transition must occur: this means that we have to pass from Empire's conditions to the ones of State and this is in relation to the fact that we have to pass from Rum Millet to the society of citizens. This effort will be named during that period as a transition from genus to ethnos which should be labeled according to intelligentsia as Hellenic.

As Paschalis M. Kitromilides has pointed out, Liberalism (as politics), will failure to incarnate the liberal vision of Hellenic Revolution and to provide for it the suitable political (as social)

⁴ N. Flogaitis is talking about one "Music"; J. Hennigg for "vocal music" exclusively.

⁵ In psychoanalysis, this "a" means the object of "tragic loss".

structure.⁶ Music as a carrier of national elements that provide coherence –which can correspondingly channel to an extensive basis– is kneaded with this procedure and it is also sharing the same, political search. Speaking of music the same scheme means that there is a failure of transformation between the previously existed rich, heterogeneous but united musical act to an equally united musical theory –at least to that percentage, that would allowed us today to speak of a common musical knowledge. The final, unfulfilled goal was, a common, meaning about a national musical civilization to be established, precisely as the result of the liberal, State of civilians.

2. Realities of 19th century: the center of Hellenic history

First, let's watch this history of Hellenic element through some of its important dates.⁷ Center of Hellenic history is 19th century. In 1821, after almost four centuries under Ottoman Empire's occupation, Hellenic Revolution blew suddenly up; it is going to be over seven years later. The blowing of Hellenic Revolution is considered to be the end of Hellenic Enlightenment. The so called Kapodistrian period is following, meaning the period of I. Kapodistrias' running of Hellenic State for which historiography, in a very characteristic manner, is using the expressions 'transitional period' and/ or 'vacuum'. It is going to last from 1828 until his murder in 1831. After a period of anarchy the tree 'Protecting Powers' made Hellas obey to absolute monarchy, choosing as king Otto I in 1833 –the year that also constitutes the beginning free Hellenic state and the beginning of Hellenic Romanticism that will last almost until the end of this century. We can half the period 1833–1897 standing upon the year 1864, because it is the year of the voting of Hellenic Constitution. As a prologue to 19th century we can identify the year 1774.⁸

Respectively our corpus is divided into two periods: in the first we find exclusively Nickolaos Flogaites; all the others are phenomena of the second part of Hellenic history. Of course we can trace some elements of N. Flogaites thought in P. Gritsanes and Th. Polykrates –but they are quite modulated because they are produced in a different environment.⁹ Apart from this line a new beginning will start with the case of j. Hennigg. It is the year that signals the entrance of Hellenic middle class to the march of musical events and hence we observe the disconnection between music and philosophy that we meet in N. Flogaites as a tool of a moral (civil) and direct rehabilitation. On this line we find G. Douckas who will affirm the gash: a distinct European music is a fact as a middle class' affair; an indigenous musical praxis is also a fact and it is following its own separate path. Analytically:

⁶ Paschalis Kitromilides, *Hellenic enlightenment. Political and social ideas*, 3rd reproduction, transl. Stella G. Nikoloudi (Athens: MIET, 2009). Especially, 498-514.

⁷ Many books have been written about Hellenic History but the researcher finds as the most useful on many aspects the book of Nickos Svoronos, *Survey of Neohellenic history*, 13th ed., transl. Aikaterini Asdracha (Athens: Themelio, 2007). The way he divides Hellenic historical periods has been proven to have an application on musical thought too and it is his plan that is proposed here. About musical information invaluable help was provided by the research of Professor Katy Romanoy, especially her book, *Hellenic art music* (Athens: Kouloura, 2006) and her published PhD, *Perambulation in national music*, 2 vols. (Athens: Kouloura, 1996). Much of the conversation about the artificial character of contemporary Musicology's distinction when considering Hellenic 19th century has been stated for the first time in these two books. See for example, Katy Romanoy, *Hellenic art music*, 10-12. Many of her suggestions –based on published articles of that period– are proved accurate by the research on musical books.

⁸ In 1774 the Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca is signed –a fact that it is considered the prologue of Hellenic Revolution.

⁹ It is quite interesting the fact that a very good way for someone to understand N. Flogaitis, is to walk the opposite way, because Th. Polykratis is actually a full form of N. Flogaitis' concise grammar.

Around 1828 we find inside the boundaries of Hellenic State a group of people that exercises an extremely rich and farraginous musical praxis, as a result of its multi-cultural associations until that time; the most important to be mentioned here is that, although its complexity, this praxis was understood in a cohesive, common way as something that belongs to these people (the later Hellenic nation).¹⁰ When I, Kapodistrias came to this morpheme which was not actually a free and clear as state yet (and there was also a possibility of not being one in the future) the ultimate subject matter was the creation of a common trust-basis between the government and the people, meaning between whatever it is consider vision of a liberal state on the one hand and public demands on the other. The Trojan horse was of course the word 'Nation': elements that can create solidarity and they are pre-existing, there now being elaborated and they are being projected all over again, in a way that they will serve a superior idea capable of ironing out any centrifugal forces. In this context music was unable to be unrecognized.

For this reason, despite all the huge, practical problems our first musical grammar will be compiled by an insider of Logos and an expert in Law, the legist N. Flogaites. Until then, music was taught from the liturgical books Octoechos and Phsaltirion, with the use of Trochos (pentachord) system and the neumes. N. Flogaites, in his effort to construct a Hellenic musical method –which actually will be a blend of our home technique and of some short of the European one– he acts by fumbling his way, among various common points between these two techniques. Whereas he can find a common point he is roofing the inner diversities by constructing an upper meaning; in this way all the inner controversies seem simply as different aspect of the same thing. In order to establish scientifically these superior meanings he is looking at Ancient Hellas, which he is considering as the mother of both techniques –or, to whatever he believes that ancient, Hellenic musical theory is– and of course the undisputable laws of mathematic science. It is noteworthy that the connection with a deep knowledge of Hellenic language is still so powerful around 1830s that he actually writes down the words for these superior meanings with their first letter as a capital one, like Climax for example (!).¹¹

However, three years later Enlightenment's dream for a libertarian society is going to be lost for ever when the new political body constitutes a kingdom; in this new context *Concise grammar...*, as well as the ideology that surrounds it, will be lost in forgetfulness for a long time. Now it is a new starting point; it is the time that Hellas will be quite familiar with words such as 'law' or 'rule'. In this new environment we shall see in 1834, the teaching of music through statutory

¹⁰ It is important to emphasize on plural number, because very often in histories, there is an exclusive highlighting of the ottoman element and in this way the fact that in every day life Hellenic genus (as Rum Millet) is closer to Arabic ant to Hebraic element is neglected. That is way many times in Turkish texts, especially to novels, there is often a common reference on the co-existence of these populations. Especially for this matter see, Heracles Millas, *Images of Hellenes and Turks. School books, historiography, literature and ethnical stereotypes* (Athens & Alexandria: 2001). During our main research about musical grammars we traced numerous testimonies about a musical life so reach but still so cohesive in a way tat it unimaginable to us today. Nowhere can we trace our contemporary distinctions, for example, the differentiation of ecclesiastic and cosmic musical element. To mention only one of these testimonies we have to mention the two volume novel of Stephanos Xenos, *The heroin of Hellenic Revolution*, which is first published in London, in 1861. This book, totally unknown to contemporary Hellenic Musicology, is of s great importance, not only as being the first Hellenic historical novel, but also because for many-many years, it was the only information source about Hellenic Revolution for foreign readers.

¹¹ This word means something common for both techniques, meaning the uninterrupted succession of sounds (not with leaps). The succession of sounds from this Climax, in order the various climaxes to be produced is determined by mathematical laws [p.2-3]. Even the names of the sounds are superior meanings for example, A is actually pa without the letter "p" which is either way an affixed letter (we do know that ecclesiastic technique uses the first seven letters of Hellenic alphabet for sound-naming upon which, either vowels or consonants are being added, in order to have syllables).

services in elementary school. The precise title is “Vocal Music” and we can not be sure what it means, because no specific book about teaching is mentioned.¹² In any case, music’s class is in the boundaries of Hellenic State by no doubt a polymorphous phenomenon which is determined in any particular case not by State’s policy, but by the teacher, the percentage of participation as well as the educational level of students and of course the available means. It is quite perhaps understandable, that such a complex educational procedure, leads to many answers if we pose the question about the kind of musical knowledge.

When J. Hennigg’s musical grammar is being published (1875) Otto has already been de-throned (1862) but it was actually the confusion problem which was enriched during his regime the one that J. Hennigg as well P. Gritsanes, have to solve out. Two facts around 1850s are enough to peak hence the publications of musical grammars: i) the inconvenience that the publication of G. Lesbios’ method had ruffled an inconvenience that was supported by the appearance of four voice choruses singing traditional church music in Athens around 1870, and ii) the enosis of Ionian islands with main Hellas in 1864 which will bring in Athens their own special musical activity. Our question is old: how can we manage this rich but still heterogeneous musical morpheme that Hellenic society is presenting to us as activity, so as to transform it to a cohesive (of course, in a directional way) knowledge. The answer is (almost) the same: an indigenous and a foreign element will meet up again under the roof of grammatical method.

Speaking of the musical grammars of J. Hennigg and P. Gritsantis they do present a great difficulty of interpretation, without the knowledge of their historical context. One part of their personality is extroverted because of an incidence of great importance in Hellenic social history: in 1875, a great victory of Hellenic middle class will be archived, which is now coming on the surface and it is going to give its battle against the old, oligarchic castes.¹³ This fact will allow the entrance of a different type of personality in the field of musical thought, which will be the carrier of middle class’ ideology. Even the conditions that allowed the publication of the *Treatise on vocal music...*, exist because of the promotion of such kind of interests: it is the first Conservatoire of Athens (1872) where we find J. Hennigg to work as teacher of vocal music and as a monitor-person when his musical grammar is being published, as a small note under the book’s title informs us. Now on, music, as J. Hennigg and P. Gritsanes are telling us, is an “art”.¹⁴ But they also bear an introverted part, because of the renewed interest about Hellenic musical reality. This was a result of Konstandinos Paparigopoulos’ Hellenic History: with its publication Byzantium takes its correct historical place and contemporary, common musical life gains part of intelligentsia’s interest, as being part of an endless continuity. Despite their differences these two grammars make clear that there is a strong connection between Hellas as a State and Hellenic communities outside it, in places such as Konstandinoupolis, Vienna and Alexandria.

In order to solve the problem J. Hennigg will act like a surgeon, meaning in a diverse manner than the one we do find in N. Flogaites. This is clear without too much reading: whereas N. Flogaites uses letters, J. Hennigg uses numbers that do precede the image of sounds upon the stuff and their names. It is safe to assume that J. Hennigg makes an attempt to rationalize the use of human voice (which is the ultimate ‘musical instrument’ of that time) and everything

¹² There is a special mention on the first paragraph of the Royal Decree considering the organization of elementary education. See in Alexis Dimaras ed., *The unachieved reform*, vol. I (Athens: Hestia, 2007) 45.

¹³ It is the year of Hellenic parliamentarianism by Trikoupis. Hence, each king is obligated to ask for the parliament’s permission in order to form a government.

¹⁴ As a “beautiful art” in J. Hennig [p.9] and as a “musical art” in P. Gritsanes, which we must be taught in a free manner, without prejudices [p.ε’]. It was a venturesome action, especially in case of P. Gritsanis, if we think that it was only a few years ago, that even a little hint that could bring destabilization of religious beliefs, it was enough to send some in prison for a lifetime.

else will just follow.¹⁵ In P. Gritsanēs' method which is aiming to be taught at public school we find traces of N. Floghaite's mood and direction.

During the last phase musical matter is an exclusive case of middle class and our two leading personalities are both students of Alexandros Katakouzinos. They both compile their methods after Athens Conservatoire's reorganization by G. Nazos (1891) who became its director. With G. Douckas we observe a clear change. He states that his work should be the capstone of every theoretical effort before him [p.ζ']. It is uncertain what he actually means because his grammar quite different. For example we do read in the Preface that for the very first time we do have a grammar, written in the Hellenic language and published in Hellas, which uses translated foreign terms and references to foreign music theorists [p.ε'–ζ'. References to Wüllner, Danhauser and Richter]. Nothing more need to be said in order to understand that something is happening here, which would be unthinkable during 1830s. So he is rather a swerve. Th. Polykrates on the other hand thinks that his grammar is the most complete of both G. Doukas and J. Hennigg [p. στ'. He is mentioning them as the exclusive theoretical sources of its time, together with some theoretical notes of Maltos in *Terpsichore*]. So, who is telling the truth?

The answer is 'both' –but the actually make their point considering on different directions. It seems that when G. Douckas decides about the context of his grammar, it is rather late for the use of some sort domestic notation: things in Europe are quite far and complete on this subject, so there was a serious danger of local isolation. This doesn't mean that he is not considering the term 'Hellenic' but he drives it to a different point of view: the use of Hellenic themes in organic music, but written under the rules of Harmony. Th. Polykrates is providing a model which is Hellenic and it is useful for a Hellenic cultural phenomenon, meaning Hellenic tragedy and the way that music should be applied to it. So, G. Douckas is bringing something foreign having as its purpose to elevate our local musical creation in an understandable way for both sides; Th. Polykrates is elevating something local to be used by foreigners.

Unfortunately the lack of documents in a corpus manner, forces us to stop here. With both G. Douckas and Th. Polykrates the conversation about musical elements is over, as we can already see from their titles: we do not have theories of elements but elementary theory, not only basic, but also of less importance. In 1903, a *Treatise on Harmony* will be published by Dionysius Lavragas –a teacher in Athens Conservatoire– where no theory for elements is provided, proving precisely the derogation of term's meaning as something fixed.

It is quite interesting what is happening in society during all this period, where Hellenic population is transmitter and receiver of an extremely rich but also so contradictory musical environment, that it is stretched to confusion. Aggelos Blachos is writing in one of its texts that by law, public singing by these "musical gangs which are singing aloud" must be forbidden and he is adding: "they allegedly are singing and they are chanting as they believe so in chorus style the European melodies".¹⁶ Obviously our effort for transition is a fact and our trauma is a fact too.

¹⁵ J. Hennigg's precise logic would be envied by contemporary theorists dealing with the so-called "set-theory". The first display of sounds is not upon the staff but numbers do precede as 1, 2, 3, etc. Many exercises are of this kind: "beginning from an A, students should sing 1,2,3 3,3,3" and so on. Looking a contemporary book of "set-theory", for example John Rahn, *Basic atonal theory* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1980) many observations of its preface, could have been written by N. Floghaite's too, for example the suggestion that there is no label that prejudices if a piece of music is good or bad" etc.

¹⁶ Aggelos Blachos' "Street singers" is an article first published in the *Paper of Discussions* (20 January 1894) and can be found in his book *Analecta*, vol. I (Athens: P. D. Sakellariou press, 1901) 415-416. He actually doesn't use the word sing, but the Hellenic verb «μέλω» which is neither sing nor chant, but something in between –a very characteristic word of what was going on.

3. Realities of Hellenic element's history: our limits

As we saw, there was an attempt for the co-existence of various different elements, under the roof of Logos and it is a quite singular event because of the singular elements that exist in Hellenic national identity, as well because there was already a pre-existed musical technique of a different type. Well, did they live happily ever after? We might not be able to move further at this point but if you are a Musicologist, living somewhere at Athens' center, where is a great possibility to be raised from your sleep in the middle of the night because of the unidentified screaming of some singer's voice, you can only feel discouraged; no "musical gangs which are singing aloud" exist nowadays, but car's stereo with even higher volume... Researcher's generation is not facing the problem of confusion because of a multi-language musical environment but has its own problem too, that is 'functional illiteracy': scientists with great knowledge, still not useful to this given society and many of them (like the end of 19th century) are forced to emigrate. Proving that musical history apart from being cohesive is also common with social and political one at least for 19th century (meaning that the wanted transition from musical experience to musical knowledge shares the same environment with the transition from genus to ethnos and ultimately the transition from Rum Millet to Hellenic state) is quite safe to assume that this is also true for our days. This is actually true, but this hypothesis contains a fallacy if we do not take the year 1922 under consideration.

Our contemporary history is indeed considered to be part of all history written after the year 1833. As a prologue, we trace the year 1774. Meanwhile, during all these years there is also one more gap of lesser depth, but bearing its own meaning, in 1922. Referring to that year the majority will think the destruction of Asia Minor –a very painful fact for Hellenic consciousness. Obviously because of its great emotional depth two major situations that this fact creates are often being neglected:

i) Asia Minor, being totally evacuated from Hellenic element means that a major factor, crucial during 19th century, is now deactivated: this is external Hellenic communities. Now on, all Hellenic population is gathered in the given boundaries of Hellenic State.

ii) Boundaries of Hellenic national basis are for the first time after Revolution the same with the boundaries of Hellenic territory.

There is indeed a similar effort of Hellas after 1922 to understand her own self grounded on the same ethnical elements but this effort is a de facto different one.

Speaking of our history's origins we have to go back, at least, in 1204, where we have the occupation of Konstandinoupolis by Franks. There, a phenomenon is starting which historians recognize as a first phase of Hellenic nationalism; its progress will be interrupted after the occupation of its three centers, meaning Konstandinoupolis (1453), Mystras (1460) and Trapezounda (1461). Whatever is functioning in order a cohesive body to exist as Hellenic element during Ottoman Empire (firstly as genus and then as ethnos) has back there its origins. This should be the beginning of our cohesive musical history too. These elements are what N. Floghaitis is finding as a broader discussion about Hellenic identity in 1830s; his grammar is the answer and the collision point. While he appears as the starting point (and he is, from the technical point of view) he is in fact the end of an epoch (from a functional point of view). That is why he is different from all the rest writers who belong to the renewed national idea of 19th century –an idea that is also pushing theoretical writing of that period, but in a distinct way. Finally these elements, altered once again are also active after 1922.

As the reader might have notice, our research is forced to stop around 1900. This is the cause of a major problem in Hellenic historiography that has to do with absence of a cohesive

Hellenic bibliography hence.¹⁷ It is a happy occasion that in our time Hellenic musical history of 19th and 20th century has gain an enormous interest. If someone looks the history of Hellenic element it is a totally understood phenomenon: it is about 100 years after 1909 and 200 after 1821 our time for conflict and transition –a situation that poses questions about our role in history. Maybe the final writing of the history being proposed here is unable to be achieved; but, it would be more than enough, if we could solve such crucial problems, merely because its importance is clear to us.

4. Instead of an epilogue

We watched in this paper the existence of an indigenous, cohesive music-theoretical thought, as a possibility and finally as a fact, that given time and space allowed and also as a transmitter and receiver of a certain musical reality. After many years of obscurity, these books can make their way to recognition if we realize their correct way of their function, as musical grammars. Accordingly, we have in front of us a great challenge: to compile a musical bibliography, equally cohesive where, musicological laws will co-exist with librarianship's ones.

Hellenic challenge is not a 'home market' matter. It's much possible that many other music-theoretical books, published around Europe, still remain unknown, or misunderstood because of their false categorization. We establish our suggestion upon the following syllogism:

To realize that we are dealing with musical grammars in Hellas is at the same time recognition that we have an effort here between liberalism and conservatism, with Logos being the weapon of the first camp: a grammar is a pure, logical construction and by this way Hellenic Enlightenment tried to replace mythological constructions that pre-existed. Well, this was not a Hellenic phenomenon; it is European one and independently of its various ethnical colors it uses the same weapon, meaning Logos, too. A new enterprise for contemporary Musicology arises here and we do not mean only the Hellenic one: the compilation of a cohesive, European history of musical thought by the above mentioned perspective. Our time is a time of a common, European discussion for the discount of Logos to Ratio and rationalism; of a common, European discussion about liberty. Each scientist who feels to be a freeman has to make a clear point, by his work, to which side he or her stands for.

Let's close here, with our study case. It is a fact –as we can today evaluate the situation that from these two conflicts Hellenic element is actually getting out weaker: we can see that it is actually loosing gradually its power from N. Flogaitis' intension to be the personality that forms a way of musical thought (to be taken under European consideration too, at that time) to G. Douckas' intension to preserve some Hellenic character by the use of certain themes. It is also true that great civilizations are not eternal: they remain alive as long as a given society takes care of them. Our future is not a promising one and no God's hand or some good luck will definitely help us. Luckily human beings have not a determined behavior and no superior plan can pre-define our way of acting. As long as we realize our trauma and try to cure it as being nothing more than a moment that we can differentiate, by making different choices.

¹⁷ A relevant speech has been made by the researcher while attending the 1st Meeting of Young Scientists (Megaron Athens, Lilian Voudouri Music Library of Greece, 2 November 2012). The researcher managed to cover some of this distance at least for 19th century but there are still much more to be done. In any case this bibliography should be compiled as musical grammars show, by musicologists familiar with both techniques, ecclesiastic and European one and also have some knowledge of Ancient Hellenic practice. Books that use neumes can not be excluded as being just a different type of grammatical methods. Knowledge on 19th century is presenting different categories than the already known and a different reality than the one provided by a contemporary taxonomy.

The National Element in Music

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The Implications of Resonance: Spectralism and the French Music-Theoretical Tradition

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Abstract. The recent, predominantly French approach known as “spectralism,” music that takes spectrograph readings as basic harmonic materials, is – as its practitioners have long asserted – in many ways quite innovative. Nevertheless, in the writings and music of such spectralist pioneers as Tristan Murail and Gérard Grisey there are surprising echoes of certain aspects of French music theory going back centuries. The derivation of chords from harmonic spectra originates with Rameau in 1726 and continues through the twentieth-century giants who taught Murail and Grisey, Olivier Messiaen and Henri Dutilleux. This concept, though French in origin, is not unique to French music theory. More interesting, and more specifically French, is the view that resonance also imbues chords with principles of harmonic progression, often construed as a metaphorical dynamism. Several specific principles and techniques outlined in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century French theoretical texts are revived in twentieth-century spectralist composition. This paper discusses three of these techniques in their canonical theoretical explications and modern compositional manifestations. The theoretical work of Descartes, Rameau, Catel, and Momigny is compared to the compositional work of Murail and Grisey. Close relationships between these musicians indicate a legacy that holds across the centuries, revealing the inherent French national characteristics of spectralist music.

In the early 1970s, a group of young French composers, most prominently Tristan Murail and Gérard Grisey, two recent graduates of the Paris Conservatoire, launched a new musical style. In a series of manifestos, they positioned themselves, as Eric Drott has observed, using the language of radical Leftism that followed the May 1968 student protests.¹ They rejected the musical techniques that dominated music of the time, especially serialism, and declared what they called a “revolution”² in music, claiming that they were writing the music “of tomorrow.”³ It was a style at once radical and, as will be discussed below, surprisingly reminiscent of the French heritage that fostered it. Gérard Grisey, the quiet philosopher of the spectralist revolution, summarized its perspective in a sentence:

We are musicians and our model is sound, not literature, sound, not mathematics, sound, not theatre, the plastic arts, quantum physics, geology, astrology, or acupuncture.⁴

In other words, this new style takes as its basic premise the physical structure of sound itself. It involves the analysis of sounds using spectrographs that can distinguish and chart the many distinct components of any given sound. In particular, one aspect of sound that these composers frequently exploit is the fact that any instrumental sound includes numerous separate frequencies, called “partials.” The pattern and relative intensity of these partials in any sound is

¹ Drott, Eric. “Spectralism, Politics, and the Post-Industrial Imagination”, in *The Modernist Legacy: Essays on New Music*, ed. Björn Heile (Burlington, VT.: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2009), 39-60.

² Murail, Tristan. “The Revolution of Complex Sounds”, trans. Joshua Cody, *Contemporary Music Review* 24/2-3 (2005), 121-135.

³ Wilson, Peter Niklas. “Vers une ‘écologie des sons’: *Partiels* de Gérard Grisey et l’esthétique du group l’Itinéraire”, *Entretemps* 8 (1989), 56.

⁴ “*Nous sommes des musiciens et notre modèle, c’est le son, non la littérature, le son, non les mathématiques, le son, non le théâtre, les arts plastiques, la théorie des quanta, la géologie, l’astrologie ou l’acupuncture.*” Qtd. in Wilson, 55.

called that sound's "spectrum," and therefore, this style has come to be known as "spectralism," or "spectral music."⁵

Example 1. The harmonic series built on E, approximated to the nearest sixth of a tone.⁶

As a quick example of the techniques of this style, let us turn to what is perhaps its most famous passage. The opening of Grisey's 1975 *Partiels*, the third movement of his orchestral cycle *Les espaces acoustiques*, is built upon the spectrum of a Trombone playing a low E. Since the trombone's spectrum, like that of most wind, brass, and string instruments, is built on the harmonic series, Example 1 gives the beginning of the harmonic series built on E, approximated, as Grisey approximates it in the score of *Partiels*, to the nearest sixth of a tone. Example 2 gives the first page of the score of *Partiels*. After the trombone and bass play the generative fundamental E, the rest of the ensemble enters with partials of the harmonic series of that E, including some higher partials not shown in Example 1. The order of entrance of the instruments, the choice of partials, and their relative dynamics conform to the order of appearance and relative intensity of the partials of the spectrum of the trombone's sound. That is, the timbre of the sound of the trombone is the basis of the ensemble's harmony, rhythm, and dynamics.

⁵ Fineberg, Joshua. "Guide to the Basic Concepts of Techniques of Spectral Music", *Contemporary Music Review* 19/2 (2000), 81-113. See also Jérôme Baillet, *Gérard Grisey: Fondements d'une écriture* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2000), *passim*.

⁶ From Rose, Francois, "Introduction to the Pitch Organization of French Spectral Music", *Perspectives of New Music* 34/2 (1996), 7.

PARTIELS pour 18 musiciens

←  → Sans rupture, comme surgissant du Trbn ←

Réguler plusieurs fois en variant légèrement
le niveau de l'ensemble avant d'arrêter
la contrebasse pour les trois ou 4^{es} mesures

Et piccato *ff*

ppp *f*

ppp *f*

Quartier Plénière

Violon 1 et 2
Violon 1 *pp*
Violon 2 *p*
Violon 3 *pp*
Violon 4 *ppp* *mp*

Violoncelle *f*

Contrebasse *ppp* *f*

quasi pianissimo

* Trichord sur le chordet. Les notes quasiment une 8^{me} au dessus

Example 2. Gérard Grisey, *Partiels* (1975), beginning.

1 2 3

4 5 6 7

8 9 10 11

♯ = quarter-tone sharp; ♭ = eighth-tone flat; 1/6 ♭ = sixth-tone flat

Example 3. Reduction of the opening of Grisey's *Partiels*.⁷

Example 3 presents, in its first measure, a reduction of Example 2 into a single chord, and then shows the sonorities that follow Example 2, similarly reduced. The first chord, the sonority of the beginning of the piece, is formed precisely from selected partials of the harmonic series,

⁷ From Callender, Clifton. "Continuous Harmonic Spaces", *Journal of Music Theory* 51/2 (2007), 322.

and the first chord to follow it fills out the spectrum a bit more fully. The remaining chords are progressively derived from these first sonorities by successive transposition of selected notes downward by octave; transposed notes are indicated in the example using blackened note-heads.

The result of this is the progressive distortion of the harmonic series, a move from harmonicity (defined by correspondence with the harmonic series) to inharmonicity. Note that the principle of octave equivalence is not operative in this piece; the transposition by octave does not give the effect of changing registers, but of distorting the spectrum using the interval between its two lowest partials. Grisey associates this move with destabilization, and towards the end of this passage, other elements of the music, such as wide tremolos and an increasing use of instrumental techniques that create rough noises, reinforce the sense that this music becomes increasingly unstable.⁸

Studies of the origins of spectralism generally look in one of three directions, though these groups overlap to some degree. Some studies discuss earlier composers who use chords built from the harmonic series; this is both true and especially pertinent in the music of Olivier Messiaen and Henri Dutilleux, both of whom were mentors of Murail and Grisey.⁹ Other studies examine the relationship between spectralism and earlier composers who explore connections between timbre and harmony; the most significant precedents in this regard are Edgard Varèse and André Jolivet.¹⁰ Finally, the processual aspect of spectral music – its use of gradual transformation from one state to another, as from harmonicity to inharmonicity in the opening of *Partiels* – is linked to the music of Giacinto Scelsi and György Ligeti.¹¹ All of these relationships are convincing and are supported by the writings of Murail and Grisey.

However, in addition to these techniques borrowed from their contemporaries or immediate predecessors, the spectralists' "revolution" ended up recapturing something very old, and this link to the past is revealing of spectralism's national heritage. A number of aspects of spectralism, including several ideas forming its general outlook, as well as various specific techniques used in spectralist music, correspond to French music theories dating back centuries.

Most important is the invocation of Nature, represented by the natural properties of sound, as the force behind harmonic content and harmonic progression. The first theorist to relate the structure of triads to the harmonic series was Jean-Phillipe Rameau, in his 1726 treatise *Nouveau système du musique théorique*.¹² This alone is probably not so characteristically French – though the idea originated in France, it was to be adopted by numerous theorists of many nationalities in the eighteenth, nineteenth, and early-twentieth centuries.¹³ More characteristi-

⁸ Wilson, 58-60.

⁹ For a fine discussion of this influence on spectralism, see Anderson, Julian. "Timbre, process, and *accords fixes*: Dutilleux and his Younger French Contemporaries", *Contemporary Music Review* 29/5 (2010), 447-461.

¹⁰ Anderson, Julian. "A Provisional History of Spectral Music", *Contemporary Music Review* 19/2 (2000), 10-12.

¹¹ Anderson, "Provisional History," touches upon this connection. For a more thorough discussion, see Murail, Tristan, "Scelsi, De-Composer", *Contemporary Music Review* 24/2-3 (2005), 173–180.

¹² Cf. Christensen, Thomas. *Rameau and Musical Thought in the Enlightenment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993),

¹³ Of particular note is the long German tradition of acoustically infused music theory, stretching roughly from Hermann von Helmholtz in the mid-nineteenth century to Paul Hindemith in the mid-twentieth century. This tradition was primarily concerned with the derivation of triads (in particular, the proposition of various acoustical derivations of the minor triad) and with explanations of consonance and dissonance, generally not suggesting, as both the spectralists and the various French theorists cited here do, that resonance both generates chords and furnishes a dynamic force driving harmonic progression. Hindemith's *The Craft of Musical Composition* (New York: Associated Music Publishers, 1942) is a special case in many ways, proposing acoustical derivations of a great deal of musical phenomena, including progression. Grisey cited as influential Hindemith's use of the psychoacoustic phenomena of combination tones (Anderson, "Provisional History", 9-10).

cally French is the pursuit of the *implications* of resonance to explain syntactical connection and progression between chords and, indeed, as the source of musical dynamism generally.

For Rameau, consonant triads were a direct result of resonance – he called this the *corps sonore*, or “sounding body.” But all dissonances, for Rameau, were also tied to resonance. In Rameau’s theoretical work, dissonant chords are understood as combinations of thirds, typically the addition of thirds to perfect triads. Even suspensions are generally understood, via his principle of supposition, as tall, perhaps incomplete, stacks of thirds. In other words, these dissonances are created by taking the most common constituent interval of the triad and compounding that interval in various combinations. That is, inharmonic sonorities, those not directly formed from harmonic resonance, which are considered dissonant and unstable, are derived from harmonic sonorities, which are consonant and stable. This is quite like the opening of *Partiels*, as shown in Example 3, in which the opening, stable, harmonic sonority is progressively distorted by the transposition of its partials by one of the intervals in the harmonic sonority. Therefore, a basic syntactical polarity is founded, in both cases, by harmonicity and inharmonicity, and inharmonic chords are systematic distortions of harmonic chords.

However, for both Rameau and the spectralists, harmonic sonorities are not only considered stable. For both, the seeds of movement are contained with resonance itself. One of Rameau’s signal contributions is the principle of the fundamental bass. The succession of chord fundamentals – what are usually referred to today as chord “roots” – must proceed by intervals contained within the *corps sonore*. Two quotations from Rameau’s *Generation harmonique* illustrate this principle:

The impression received from the fundamental alone gives us a sense of the new sound which can succeed this fundamental.¹⁴

Since the sounding body causes only the octave, fifth and major third of the fundamental sound to resonate, we know only these intervals. And consequently we have no other intervals to succeed this fundamental.¹⁵

In other words, the resonance of the fundamental produces both a chord and momentum towards the next chord. Essentially, as a result of this, Rameau has two basic models for harmonic motion. Either an overtone of a chord can become the fundamental of the chord that follows it, or the fundamental of a chord can become an overtone of a chord that follows it. Chord progression – the means by which music proceeds through time - is thus a result of implications inherent in the sounding body.

Nonetheless, the core metaphorical concepts – particularly dynamism – laden upon resonance in the French tradition, as outlined in this paper, are generally absent from this German tradition.

¹⁴ “. . . ce n’est que de l’impression reçue de son Harmonie que peut naître en nous le sentiment de ce nouveau Son qui peut lui succéder.” Rameau, Jean-Phillipe, *Génération harmonique* (Paris: Prault, 1737), 39. The translation given is from Hayes, Deborah. “Rameau’s Theory of Harmonic Generation: An Annotated Translation and Commentary of *Génération harmonique* by Jean-Phillipe Rameau”, PhD diss. (Stanford University, 1968), 66.

¹⁵ “Puisque le Corps sonore ne fait résonner que l’Octave, la Quinte & la Tierce majeure du Son fondamental, nous ne connoissons que cela, & par conséquent nous n’avons point d’autres intervalles à faire succéder à ce fondamental” Rameau, 40; Hayes, 67.

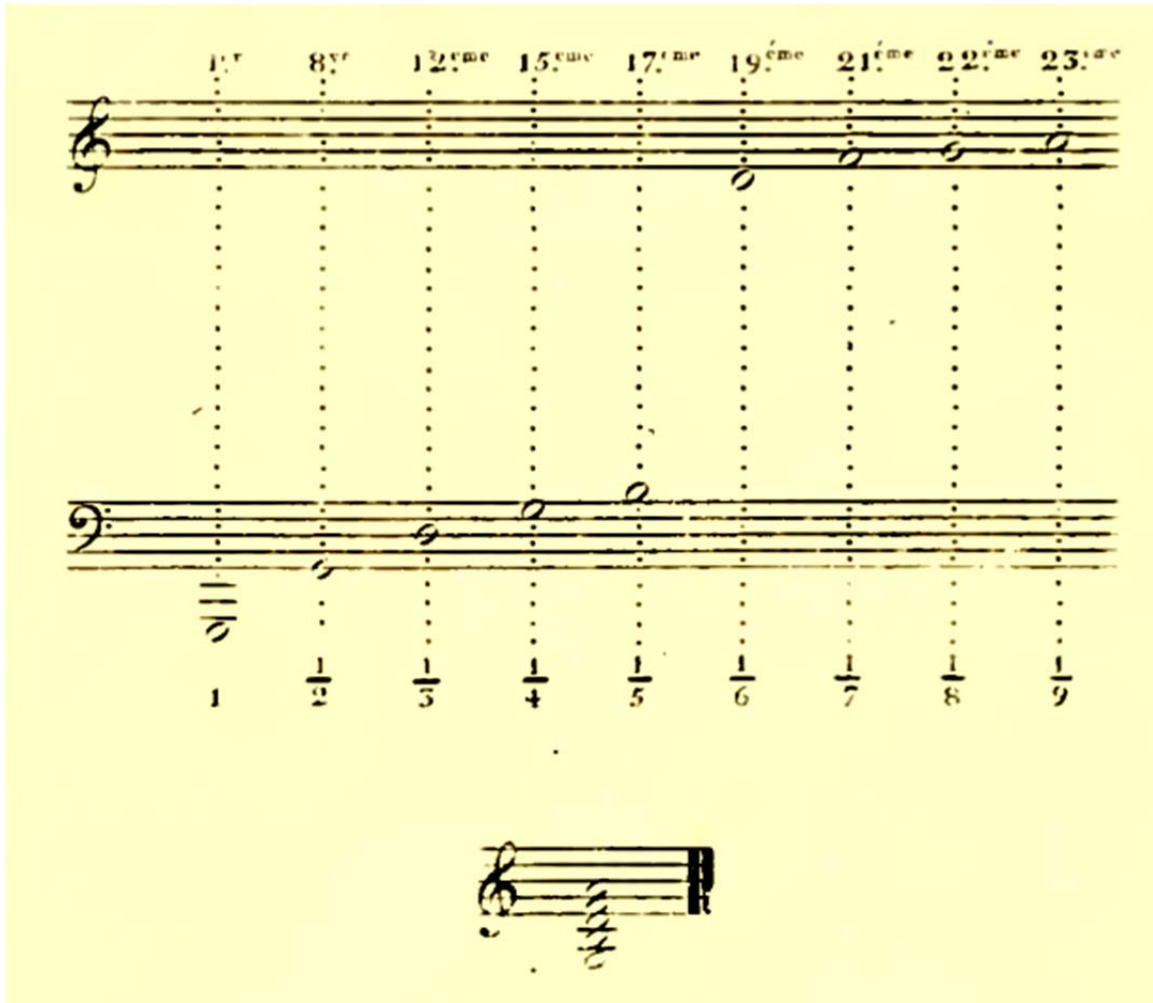


Example 4. The transformation of an overtone into a new fundamental in Tristan Murail's *Territoires de l'oubli* (1977).¹⁶

The process of transforming overtones in one sonority into fundamentals in the next, or vice versa, is a feature of several spectralist pieces, including *Partiels*. Example 4 is taken from Tristan Murail's essay "The Revolution of Complex Sounds," which demonstrates this technique in his 1977 *Territoires de l'oubli*. The figure marked "a" on the left of the example is repeated several times. These notes form the spectra, the harmonic series, shown to the right of that. The only pitch found in three of the four spectra is G3, which is enlarged in the example. This impels the inclusion of G as an attacked note, a new fundamental, in the next stage of the process, marked "b" on the right side of the example. In this way, process and succession are determined by resonance. This enacts Murail's claim that he can "extract dynamism from sound."¹⁷

¹⁶ From Murail, Tristan. "The Revolution of Complex Sounds", 128.

¹⁷ Murail, Tristan. "Target Practice", trans. Joshua Cody, *Contemporary Music Review* 24/2-3 (2005), 151.



Example 5. Charles-Simon Catel's "seul accord qui contient tous les autres."¹⁸

Rameau only considered the harmonic series up to the fifth partial, claiming that was all he could hear; this, conveniently enough for him, limited resonance to triads. In the decades following Rameau, several theorists began to look at the higher partials of the harmonic series. One such theorist was Charles-Simon Catel, whose 1801 *Traité d'harmonie* was the first harmony textbook of the Paris Conservatoire, and thus set the agenda for French theoretical pedagogy for generations to come.¹⁹ Catel invoked resonance through the ninth partial, as can be seen in Example 5; this generates the dominant ninth chord.²⁰ Subsets of this sonority, the chords contained within this sonority, are called "simple": all other chords are considered composites of simple chords, and thus require preparation. This relates, even more closely than for Rameau, dissonances to natural resonance: they are derived from overlapping resonant spectra.

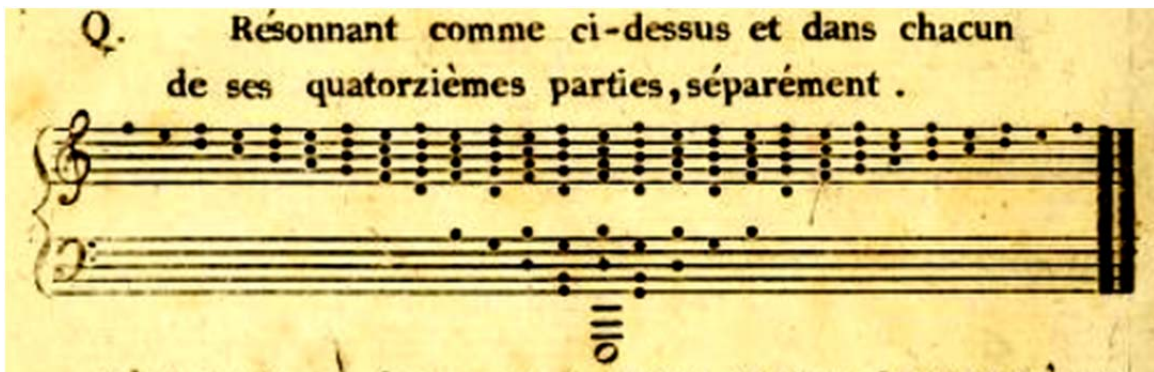
An even more committed use of upper partials, resulting in a particularly clever interrelation of resonance, chord, scale, and chord progression, is found in the *Cours complet* of Jérôme-Joseph de Momigny, published serially from 1803 to 1806. Momigny derives the major scale from the overtone series, as had several French theorists, including Denis Ballière de Laisement

¹⁸ Catel, Charles-Simon. *Traité d'harmonie* (Paris: Imprimerie du Conservatoire de Musique, 1802), n.p.

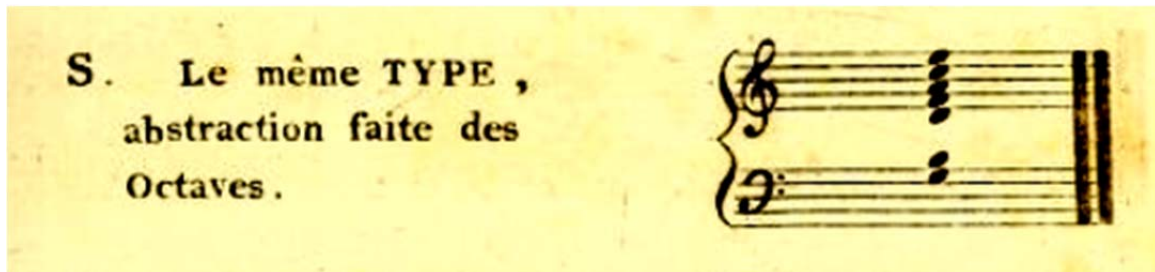
¹⁹ Cf. Peters, Penelope. "French Harmonic Theory in the Conservatoire Tradition: Fétis, Reber, Durand, and Gevaert", Phd diss. (Eastman School of Music, 1990).

²⁰ Catel also considered as basic the dominant ninth chord with a minor ninth. Though this is not supported acoustically, it allows Catel to include chords such as the diminished seventh chord as "simple."

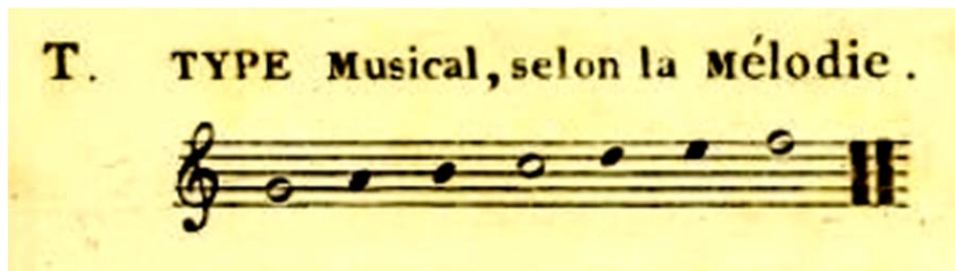
and Thomas Jamard, in the later eighteenth century.²¹ Momigny's process is shown in Example 6.



Example 6a. Jérôme-Joseph de Momigny's *Type du système musical*: the first fourteen partials of the dominant of a key.²²



Example 6b. Momigny's *Type de la musique*, formed from ex. 6a with octave duplications removed.²³



Example 6c. Ex. 6b condensed into a single octave.²⁴

First, Momigny traces the first fourteen overtones of the dominant of the key; he calls this the *Type du système musical*, and his diagram is shown in Example 6a. He then successively removes octave duplications from this *Type*, arriving at Example 6b, which he calls the *Type de la musique*. He understands the *Type de la musique* as appearing in ascending order, emanating from the fundamental. It begins with the triad G-B-D, which is described as representing “equi-

²¹ Ballière de Laisement, Charles-Louis-Denis. *Théorie de la musique* (Paris: Didot et Rouen, 1764); Jamard, Thomas. *Recherches sur la théorie de la musique* (Paris: Jombert, 1769).

²² Momigny, Jérôme-Joseph de. *Cours complet d'harmonie et de composition*, Volume 3 (Paris: the author, 1803-6), 4

²³ Momigny, 5.

²⁴ Momigny, 5.

librium.” With the addition of F and A, “movement is established,” and it becomes an unstable dominant ninth chord. This then leads to – and is resolved by – the uppermost C, E, and a presumed high G, restoring equilibrium. Note that this entire process, from the stable G Major triad, through the dissonant Dominant Ninth Chord, resolving finally into the C Major Triad, happens instantaneously, as the result of the resonance of any given pitch. That is, the basic harmonic cadence, which becomes the model of progression for Momigny, is suggested by natural resonance.²⁵

Having discovered the source of harmonic motion, he then condenses Example 6b into a single octave, forming a major scale beginning on its dominant; this is shown in Example 6c. Therefore, for Momigny, resonance is the source of harmonic content, the impetus of harmonic progression, and the origin of the scale.

Scales are foreign concepts to most spectralist music: spectral harmony generally doesn’t support the octave equivalence and repeating patterns that scales require. But one of Grisey’s last pieces, the 1994 *L’icône paradoxale* – which, admittedly, generally seems to relax much of spectralist practice – does indeed use scales, one of which is shown in Example 7. And, as for Momigny, this scale is derived from harmonics, transposed to fit within a single octave. The particular harmonics used are listed below the scale. These partials are not the same as those of earlier theorists – Grisey is working here with a spectrum that uses only odd partials, which results in numerous microtones – but the concept is essentially analogous.



Example 7. A scale derived from partials in Grisey’s *L’icône paradoxale*.²⁶

Now of course, there are obvious limits to the analogies one can draw between late-20th century radicals and harmonic theorists of the 18th and 19th centuries. Perhaps most notably, modern technology has allowed an understanding of each sound’s particular structure and features; until the twentieth-century, most musicians’ conceptions of sonic structure didn’t extend much beyond an idealized harmonic series, naively assumed to apply equally to all sounds. Nonetheless, as this paper outlines, there are indeed several surprisingly durable ideas regarding the source of harmonic content and harmonic progression. For the earlier theorists and the later composers, both certain musical objects, like sonorities or scales, and more abstract ideas about musical dynamism and progression, are a result of following the implications of natural resonance. Indeed, one can trace these ideas even further back in French culture, all the way to the very dawn of the Enlightenment, to the first sentence of the first volume René Descartes completed, his 1618 *Compendium of Music*, which begins, “the basis of music is sound”²⁷ – by which he means, as Thomas Christensen has noted, the physical nature of sound itself, and not the metaphysical numerical conceptions that had grounded music theory for millennia.²⁸ Though musical practice has changed in the last four hundred years, the deep similarity be-

²⁵ Cf. Bent, Ian. “Momigny’s ‘Type de la Musique’ and a Treatise in the Making”, in *Music Theory and the Exploration of the Past*, ed. Christopher Hatch and David Bernstein (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1993), 309-40.

²⁶ From Sullivan, Timothy R. “Gérard Grisey’s *Quatre Chants pour franchir le seuil*: Spectral Music on the Threshold”, PhD diss. (University of Michigan, 2008), 65.

²⁷ Descartes, René. *Compendium of Music*, trans. Walter Robert (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1961), 11.

²⁸ Christensen, 77.

tween Descartes's idea that "the basis of music is sound" and Grisey's "we are musicians and our model is sound," and the shared nationality of Descartes, Grisey and most other spectralists, and the numerous theorists who bridged the centuries with similar ideas, has convinced me that building music from the model of nature, and particularly looking to natural resonance as the source of both harmonic content and progression, is a deeply French idea.

I'll conclude by addressing three related questions. How might knowing of these historical connections change our understanding of spectralist music? Were Grisey and Murail aware of these connections? And finally, given these connections, what can we make of their claims of revolution?

There are various ways in which knowledge of its historical roots can affect listening to spectral music, but one interesting effect actually concerns rhythm, not harmony. Grisey wrote often about what he called "dilated time" – the sense in which time in much of his music is felt as extended, or elongated.²⁹ The relationship between sonorities in his music and traditional harmonic conceptions seems to suggest that these sonorities should proceed at something like the rate of traditional harmonic rhythm. Their general pace, as seen above in *Partiels*, is several orders of magnitude slower than this. Considering traditional harmonic rhythm as a frame of reference indicates how rhythm in this music is not just *slow*, but vastly slower than would be expected – in other words, elongated or "dilated."

Secondly, Grisey and Murail leave hardly any hints in their writings that they were drawing from historical sources, and there appears to be no reason to expect that they were getting these ideas directly from the sources themselves. Nonetheless, Grisey and Murail, as well as many other spectralists, received a conservative education at the Paris Conservatoire, and may well have imbibed some of these concepts there.³⁰

Finally, if spectralism is so historically rooted, what can we make of the claims of radicalism and revolution found so frequently in the writings of Grisey and Murail? These things should not be considered contradictory. Rather, their revolution appears to be like many other revolutions in twentieth-century music: not an attempt to move forward by destroying the past, but a radical fixation on a particular element of an earlier practice. Despite the novelties of certain aspects of Rameau's theories, he ended up fitting them into the prevalent musical language of his time. The spectralists, in contrast, take similar premises but pursue them to radical new ends. An analogy might be drawn to Arnold Schoenberg's focus on motive, another old idea, to the extent that it led to atonality.³¹ We can therefore agree with its practitioners that spectralism is revolutionary, even while acknowledging that it is a revolution that contains within it its history and its national heritage – if only as a distant resonance.

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²⁹ The most extensive statement of this principle is in Grisey, Gérard. "Tempus ex Machina: A Composer's Reflections on Musical Time", trans. S. Welbourn, *Contemporary Music Review* 2 (1987), 239-275.

³⁰ The historical roots of Conservatoire pedagogy are discussed in Peters, *passim*.

³¹ Cf. Schoenberg, Arnold. "Brahms the Progressive", in *Style and Idea*, ed. Leonard Stein, trans. Leo Black (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975), 398-441.

“Feeling” vs. Appropriation: the Limits of Musical Signification in Bartók’s *Mikrokosmos*

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Abstract. Béla Bartók’s use of folk music style is a rich and popular topic among musicologists, theorists, and composers. However, establishing the precise relationship in his music between what Bartók calls “folk spirit” on one hand, and his cosmopolitan musical sensibility on the other, has proven difficult. Addressing this ambiguity entails differentiating between mediated appeals to ideology and instructional efficacy, and immediate appeals to the sense of hearing. Applying Peircean semiotic concepts, with alterations as discussed by Turino and pedagogical concerns addressed by Varró and Lampert, can help to answer just those concerns. *Mikrokosmos: 153 Progressive Pieces for Piano*, considered from a semiotic perspective and in reference to Bartók’s published essays on folk music, reveals a sensitivity to the limits and subtleties of musical signification that is less evident when reading his essays on their own.

For Bartók, the signifying element of the appropriated folk music in *Mikrokosmos* does not index nationalist sentiment; rather, it elicits “the feeling: ‘this could not be written by any but an Eastern European musician.’” Rather than encouraging what Turino describes as reductive “domestication” based on a symbolic or Third relation, parts of *Mikrokosmos* evoke a feeling, a First relation. The terms “appropriation” and “domestication” have in common the abstracting, obscuring function of Abbate’s “gnostic”; neither adequately describes the dynamic of signification at work in *Mikrokosmos*. By heeding Turino’s observation that music’s signified objects tend to “remain undifferentiated and simply felt,” we can better calibrate our reading of Bartók’s varied engagement with folk music.

Introduction

Bela Bartók is known for many achievements beyond his well-earned place in the canon of 20th century composers, foremost of which is probably his ethnographic work. Bartók’s compositional engagement with folk music is already a widely studied phenomenon, but the richness and density of interrelations between the two areas of his work still have much to tell us. Revisiting the influence of folk music on Bartók’s *Mikrokosmos: 153 Progressive Pieces for Piano* from the vantage point of Peircean semiotics, I will interpret these connections through pedagogical method. In particular, the self-evident value of music that signified a particular region’s identity or “spirit” was a strong theme throughout his career, and certainly was by the time he had published *Mikrokosmos*.

Of course, calling up ‘folk spirit’ as an inspiration for a composition might simply seem to be a convenient escape from difficult questions prompted by a changing, modern world. Lynn Hooker, for example, has argued for the salience of nation and race to contemporaneous debates over modernist aesthetics¹; modernity’s suitability for Hungarian national representation was very much a current question in Bartók’s Hungary. To this concern, Bartók wrote that Hungarian-informed music “will give to anyone who listens, and who knows the rural backgrounds, the *feeling*: ‘this could not have been written by any but an Eastern European musician.’”² Bartók proclaims music’s capacity to directly reference “Eastern European”-ness, but also hedges by suggesting it is a feeling and not a clear message. Furthermore, for *Mikrokosmos* the

¹ Hooker, Lynn. *Modernism Meets Nationalism*, PhD Diss. 2001.

² Bartók, Bela. *Béla Bartók Essays*. Ed. Suchoff, Benjamin. (London: Faber & Faber, 1976), 396. Italics added. This essay came at the end of his life, being written in 1944. This counterindicates a more nationalist reading that would deemphasize the word “feeling.” The late date of the writing requires that we read the statement in light of Bartók’s contemporaneous, and more cosmopolitan, statements.

necessities of piano pedagogy and playability at times required compromises that were irrelevant to a Hungarian national ideology or aesthetic. This area of compromise is precisely the location of interest for a rigorous interpretation of musical folk idiom in the *Mikrokosmos*.

One way to articulate the presence and salience of 'folk spirit' in a rigorous manner is through Peircean semiotics. With terms introduced by Charles S. Peirce and developed by Thomas Turino, describing the nature of music's signifying action becomes a more circumscribed and hence more manageable task. Peirce's three types of signification (Icon, Index, and Symbol) are differentiated by their level of abstraction. In a semiotic interpretive sense, there is little difference between the reductive abstraction of music (which Turino and Abbate refer to as "domestication") and what Carolyn Abbate calls the "flight from music as performed." I want to suggest that the Gnostic and Drastic impasse that Abbate poses can be navigated by focusing on the goals and necessities of practical pedagogy in addition to hermeneutics, and furthermore that the formalist approach that she critiques does not have to be as inflexible as its detractors might think.

Peircean Semiotics

Before addressing Abbate's critique of what she calls an overly Gnostic interpretive orientation, I will briefly explain the subset of Peircean signs that Turino uses, and which I am borrowing. Symbols (or Thirds) require both an object and an interpreter in order to be seen as a sign. A Symbol is any sign that relies on an interpreter to give it its meaning; the word "book," for example. Indexes (or Seconds) only require an object. An example of an Indexical relation might be that of smoke to fire, or of a weather vane to wind; there is a real and necessary relation between the sign and the object such that there is no prior information that an interpreter needs to identify the signified object. An Icon (or a First) requires nothing outside of itself to be intelligible as a sign; it resembles its object directly. An example of an icon is the feeling of blueness, or heat; it means what it is and nothing beyond that. The further extrapolation of Peirce's ten-term semiotic system is less directly relevant to this inquiry and so will be omitted here.

Parsing the semantic action of music into three modes of relation between sign and signified (iconic, indexical, and symbolic) can help us describe the levels on which we might possibly experience "Hungarian-ness." First, polymodal pitch organization is a feature of many of the etudes in *Mikrokosmos*, and this could be heard as an indexical sign in the Peircean framework. In other words, the distinctive sound of vernacular modes indexes, or signifies, the usual context in which those vernaculars are heard, even when those modes are used in unorthodox ways. Turino calls this process "semantic snowballing"; indices become associated with meanings through multiple co-incidences over time. In this case, specific modes index a specific vernacular style of music.

Continuing one step further, vernacular musical style often coincides with expressions of nationalistic sentiment. Being co-present with a political message, the folk style itself thus acts as an index of that political content. Turino writes: "due to the very density of the objects called forth by the sign, we experience layers of feeling which will tend to remain undifferentiated and simply felt. *The emotional power of such signs depends on the salience of the objects indexed.*"³ Being highly relevant to an individual's sense of self and place, nationality and its political overtones will indeed be salient and evocative. Nationalistic meaning, then, should display an especially strong affinity for symbolic description (again, "domestication").

³ Turino, Thomas. "Signs of Imagination, Identity, and Experience: A Peircian Semiotic Theory for Music" in *Ethnomusicology*, Vol. 43, No. 2 (Spring - Summer, 1999), 235

Lastly, *Mikrokosmos* encourages an interpretation of its folk-derived content on a symbolic level as well as an indexical level. Both as a composer and as an ethnomusicologist Bartók was sensitive to the limitations of the signs he used; his rigorous approach to issues of notation⁴ suggests an awareness of the tendentious nature of musical signification. Bearing this in mind, his use of certain symbolic representations of Hungarian identity (modal harmonic profile, rhythmic pattern, phrase structure) hints at the “folk-spirit” in the background, without insisting on a specific interpretation as such.

Ben Curry has argued that a great deal of Western listening practice has been specifically oriented towards the suppression of indexical reference to the world.⁵ In conventional thinking, the iconic, direct experience of sound itself is the only reliable way to apply semiotics to music. One can argue that this suppression judiciously reigns in overly-zealous interpretation, or that it prevents a useful conversation regarding musical meaning. In either case, treating listening practice from a semiotic standpoint affords an opportunity to reexamine how musical style means, and in particular how a folk-music style means.

Pedagogy

In the abstract, these hypotheses cannot tell us much about whether folk borrowing can signify. Indeed, Abbate warns us against abstraction, and the Peircean system is abstract in the extreme. But the interpretive scenario shifts when we are dealing with specific goals of piano instruction, and on that register semiotics’ Gnostic claims of objectivity are simply less consequential. While the semantic content of the etudes might include nameable referents such as a folk ballad or a particular dance step, *Mikrokosmos* is also concerned with communicating physically embodied technique to the piano student. The signifying element is not gone, but is necessarily less totalizing because the music also exists simply to teach. We can use this dual valence to examine what is communicable through symbolic channels, and what is better addressed through iconic relations, or the “experiential states of individuals.”⁶ Abbate has observed that in performed music there is an undeniable phenomenal aesthetic experience without a concurrent “simultaneity of sound and sense” that is vulnerable to deconstruction. A method of bridging the gap between Abbate’s Drastic and Gnostic might include discussing musical material that revolves around experiential states and is grounded in instruction on a physical instrument. To that end, I will discuss Bartók’s process in composing *Mikrokosmos*, study No. 77.

Before writing *Mikrokosmos*, Bartók co-authored a technique book with Sandor Reschofsky entitled *Zongora Iskola (Piano Method)* in 1913. After it proved unsuccessful in Bartók’s judgment, the *Piano Method* served as a test case for *Mikrokosmos*, the latter being a much broader and more meticulous effort. Margit Varró, a pedagogue and colleague of Bartók’s at the Budapest Academy of Music, used the *Piano Method* in her private instruction, providing feedback to Bartók that would have substantial impact on the development of some pieces in *Mikrokosmos*. Most importantly, it was Varró’s working knowledge of the *Piano Method* that allowed her to give Bartók observations and corrections that directly influenced the later work. Accord-

⁴ Suchoff, Benjamin. *A Guide to the Mikrokosmos of Béla Bartók*. (Music Services Corporation of America, 1956), 24. According to Suchoff, Bartók’s description of expressive markings in *Mikrokosmos* can be seen as a kind of “dictionary of music,” and almost all the pieces use three separate tempo markings (tempo marks, metronome marks, and time of performance).

⁵ Curry, Ben. “Time, Subjectivity and Contested Signs” in in *Musical Semiotics: A Network of Significations*. Ed. Sheinberg, Esti. (Burlington: Ashgate Publishing, 2012), 157.

⁶ Turino, 252

ing to Varró herself, at least, Bartók “was not a born pedagogue...his heart was not in it.”⁷ That he nevertheless published several extensive pedagogical works is evidence of a musical inspiration that negotiated between the needs of the student and the desires of the composer.

The musicologist Vera Lampert has given a consequential account of the exchanges between Varró and Bartók regarding *Mikrokosmos* as they weighed the various contingencies of pedagogy. Lampert traces the genesis of No. 77 to exercise No. 97 in the *Piano Method*, finding substantial evidence of Varró’s influence on the process by cross-referencing Bartók’s annotations on the *Mikrokosmos* sketches against Varró’s margin notes in her copy of the *Piano Method*. A passage from the earlier version (Fig. 1) prompted Varró to write: “the child gets confused by the similarity of the figuration on one hand and the lack of exact sequences on the other.” In what seems to be a response to this comment, the later version rewrites the shifting accent pattern in 2/4 by mixing the meter (Fig. 2). As Lampert points out, he changes the most incongruous passage to 3/4 and replaces a more complex harmonic accompaniment in the left hand with melodic homophony. The result is smoother voice leading and more intuitive metric rhythm, while using implied chords within a modal framework to retain the sense of harmonic motion.



Figure 1



Figure 2

Benjamin Suchoff has also noted that the four-sixteenths and eighth-two-sixteenths rhythmic schema in both versions are typical of Romanian bagpiping style.⁸ This is a simple feature of the music, and even combined with the predominant parallel octave melody it does not convincingly signify folk atmosphere. However, as I have already noted, that signifying action is compromised by instructional orientation, and so object-sign-interpretant connections will necessarily be more obscured. The etude, in other words, acts in a multivalent fashion: as an icon of good technique and counterpoint, as a provisional index of Romanian bagpiping music, as a symbol that signifies achievement to the very young student, and so on. In fact, the rigorous regimentation of music instruction is certainly part of what makes the Gnostic “knowledge

⁷ Varró, Margit. *Contributions to Béla Bartók’s Biography*. Paper presented at the meeting of the Midwest chapter of the American Musicological Society, March 1949, 2.

⁸ Suchoff, Benjamin. *Bartók’s Mikrokosmos*. Oxford: Scarecrow Press, (2002). p. 168 n2

based on semiosis and disclosed secrets, reserved for the elite and hidden from others,” as Abbate describes it.

One can argue that *Mikrokosmos* No. 77 is an improvement over *Piano Method* No. 97 because it more clearly demonstrates certain elements of musically sophisticated performance. This assessment comes not from any aesthetic judgment of the music, but from Varró’s evaluation of its instructional utility. The concision of the *Mikrokosmos* version is thus a result of pedagogical pressure as well as stylistic choice, undertaken as much to smooth the student’s path forward as to demonstrate a specifically Hungarian aesthetic idiom.

Thus, No. 77 shows that the two goals are not mutually exclusive. Indeed, from this perspective it is unsurprising that examples of musical folklore and musical pedagogy have a similar formal simplicity. Marina Ritzarev suggests something similar in suggesting that instruction is a primary social function of folklore.⁹ The more easily graspable or memorable a tune or story is, the more resilient to the process of oral transmission it becomes; and thus the more efficient and instructive it is as a demonstration of basic forms and idioms.

Index and Symbol

We find a more complicated case of vernacular idiom in the well-studied *Mikrokosmos*, No. 150 from the set “Six Dances in Bulgarian Rhythm.” Elliott Antokoletz has traced through Bartók and others the use of folk idiom in compositional practice, both as a marker of national identity and as an alternative creative process¹⁰. For *Mikrokosmos* in particular, he shows that Bartók uses “polymodal coordination” to build symmetrical pitch-sets, such as octatonic scales.¹¹ By using E Lydian and E Mixolydian, Bartók achieves a chromatic harmonic profile which coheres by virtue of the tonic pitch class, as well as the preponderance of common tones.

The distinctive and unvarying Bulgarian metric scheme is another means by which Bartók maintains the unity of study No. 150—Timothy Rice has argued that Bartók employs archetypal melodic and structural patterns “to create a formal structure reminiscent of traditional Bulgarian instrumental performances.”¹² Rice goes on to suggest that this set of six studies is “a creative response to the principles that underlie Bulgarian meter,” and that Bartók’s work brings out the latent musical potential in those principles.¹³ Combined with sequential elaborations and the continuing development of motivic left hand gesture (Fig. 3-5), the Bulgarian patterning adds a prominent signifying dimension to the relatively predictable compositional development. The title of the set (“in Bulgarian Rhythm”) gives the piece an explicitly referential character, which strengthens and clarifies the signifying action of the music as analyzed.

⁹ Ritzarev, Marina. “Vladimir Propp’s theory of the fairy tale: Its relation to sonata form” in *Music and the Arts: Proceedings from ICMS 7*, Ed. Tarasti, Eero, 2006. As Ritzarev points out, the prominent instructional dimension of Mozart’s sonata in C Major K309, and the Opus 5 sonatas of J.C. Bach, among others, is noted in Oxford Music Online’s entry on Sonata.

¹⁰ Antokoletz, Elliot. *The Music of Béla Bartók: A Study of Tonality and Progression in Twentieth-Century Music*. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1984), 251

¹¹ Antokoletz, 251.

¹² In “Béla Bartók and Bulgarian Rhythm,” in *Bartók Perspectives*. Ed. Antokoletz, Fischer and Suchoff. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), Timothy Rice explains: “The opening right-hand melody could be a Bulgarian dance melody, so closely do its minor tetrachord, constant motoric rhythm, and repetition of a one-measure motif followed by a cadence mimic Bulgarian melodic principles...The second phrase [duplicates] the most characteristic structure of Bulgarian song melody...The piece goes on to...create a formal structure reminiscent of many traditional Bulgarian instrumental performances.”

¹³ Rice, 201



Figure 3 (mm. 23-30)



Figure 4 (mm. 52-57)



Figure 5 (mm. 86-90)

As the piece progresses, a complete octatonic collection develops from the opening melodic modal fragments. The restatement of the first theme in mm. 23-30 begins by immediately working through developing variation: the two pitches not in either mode (F and G, introduced by the right hand in mm. 24 and 26) are products of chromatic development and variation through repetition. The development only partially constitutes a departure from the folk modal framework— chromatic alterations remove the direct, unambiguous indexical function from the modes, while the rhythmic profile and phrase structure preserve the character of the music.

Despite the densely chromatic voice-leading that makes the piece a fingering exercise (see Fig. 4), the Lydian-Mixolydian polymode makes harmonic sense, especially to a young student who will spend significant time on each hand, one at a time. This further demonstrates the overlap of Bartók's pedagogical thinking and his compositional sensibility; the pianist's necessarily ambidextrous execution is neatly mirrored in the piece's polymodal construction.

The flexibility of Bartók's approach in this example is noteworthy. The pedagogical aims of *Mikrokosmos* change the intended audience, and give occasion for Bartók to combine an artis-

tic idea like “folk-spirit” with the practical concern of imparting technique and musicianship. The necessarily subtle semantic content of solo piano music (that is, its consistent timbre and lack of audible language) also allows Bartók to explore alternative pitch and rhythmic structures without maintaining fidelity to specific songs in all respects.¹⁴

Conclusions

As many theoretical studies of Bartók’s work have established, there is a clear link between polymodal melodic construction and the extended twelve-tone harmonic language that is characteristic of Bartók’s body of work. However, the indexical relation between modal melodic construction and “folk spirit” is problematic, because it requires co-occurrence of the object and the sign. In addressing the specific buildup of semantic content over a listener’s lifetime, Turino suggests that meanings gradually accrue to an individual’s sense experiences, and to the group of which the individual is a part. The elevation of folk music by nationalist listeners, therefore, imputes to it a potent indexical capacity, to the point that it begins operating as a symbol whose ground or actual relation to the referent is merely conventional.

Given the cultural nature of the subject, the Thirdness aspect of semiotic relations is unavoidable. One result of this dynamic is that music listeners who require folk music to directly symbolize a nationalized “folk” drastically simplify both the musical content (operating as the sign) and the politically-defined folk itself (operating as the referent). This is so despite the Bulgarian style of *Mikrokosmos* No. 150, and corroborates the generally accepted notion that Bartók’s interest in folk style was comparative in orientation, and wider in scope than a parochial preoccupation with markers of Hungarian national identity.

Apropos of the Peircean relation between sign and interpretant, Bartók’s attitude towards his own musical score reveals a nuanced understanding of the semiotic dynamics at play. Writing to Boosey & Hawkes, he absolutely refused to accept an editor’s suggestion of “Progressive Piano Pieces in the Modern Idiom” for *Mikrokosmos*’s subtitle, writing “I would never do that; to make excuses for the ‘modernity’ etc....Think of it: in 20 or 40 years this work will cease to be ‘modern.’ And what does it mean ‘modern’? This word has no definite sense, and can be misinterpreted, misunderstood!”¹⁵ In addition, Benjamin Suchoff observes that Bartók was exceedingly specific in his performance tempi,¹⁶ and he was in general highly skeptical of the capacity of sound recording to capture the total effect of folk song.¹⁷

Bartók’s mindfulness of his music’s limitations might seem to be in tension with strident claims for folk music’s importance that he made throughout his career. These positions can be reconciled by understanding his statements as those of a composer and trained musician, rather than those of a polemicist. In order to avoid overreaching claims to meaning, he modifies his claims toward more observable aspects of the sounding music, rather than those sentimental or political aspects that are harder to state concretely. More to the point, he was acute-

¹⁴ Incidentally, Edward Gollin (Gollin, Edward. “On Bartók’s Comparative Musicology as a Resource for Bartóki-an Analysis,” in *Integral*, Vol. 22 (2008), 59-79) has argued that Bartók’s ethnomusicological work can have specific analytical ramifications, and comes to a similar conclusion by suggesting that the similarity between the structural attributes of *Evening in Transylvania* for solo piano and those of tunes found in the Transylvanian region “explains how Bartók’s original tune projects a distinctively Transylvanian character” (66).

¹⁵ Quoted in Suchoff, *Bartók’s Mikrokosmos*, 23

¹⁶ Suchoff, *Bartók’s Mikrokosmos*, 32

¹⁷ Bartók, *Béla Bartók Essays*, 325: “In the process of notation that very essence of peasant music is lost....The harsh characters cannot possibly render the subtler shades of rhythm, of intonation, of sound-transitions, in a word all the pulsing life of peasant music. The record of peasant music is as it were the picture of its corpse.”

ly aware of the persistent “wildness” of live performance, and unwilling to reduce music to a Gnostic abstraction.

When Bartók writes about Hungarian music, then his style means exactly everything he intends it to mean; above all, the music will give a “*feeling*” of Eastern European roots.¹⁸ Bartók is identifying a strongly felt association that does not reach the level of semantic clarity necessary to identify it as a Third, even though he is assuming an interpretant with specific prerequisite knowledge. The signifying element in the appropriated folk music is not acting directly as a marker of national identity; rather, it is only indirectly engaging with the domesticating impulse to Thirdness. Effectively, Bartók’s music simultaneously derives from and discounts the influence of vernacular musical idiom, allowing the listener’s experience to collapse into Firstness. The performed music is simultaneously acting as both a symbol and an icon. This reading accounts for, and respects, the position of the interpretant, especially because the performer supplies that interpretant. At the same time, the multiple valence of the music’s semiotic functioning does not concede meaning-production entirely to the interpretant.

We can see Bartók’s folk inspiration creating the opportunity for the operation of a symbolic representation to covertly impact the operation of indexical and iconic meanings. But this dynamic is extremely problematic, as Curry has pointed out. Abbate has gone farther in her advocacy, rejecting even the idea that we can know musical experience from a hermeneutic distance. Without entirely giving up an ability to interpret, an engagement with undomesticated, “wild” issues such as pedagogical practice might give us a better view of what kinds of knowledge claims are judicious in the area of folk idiom and signification.

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¹⁸ See quotation from introduction, footnote 2.

Folk-music allusion as Pēteris Vasks symphonic works style mark. Some issues about the national element in the music of contemporary composer

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Abstract. This article mainly focuses on the one specific question about folk-music allusions in the symphonic music of Latvian composer Pēteris Vasks. Several symphonic works by P. Vasks reflects interesting imitation or Latvian folk-music quasi quotation (for example, such symphonic compositions as *Lauda per orchestra* /1986/, *Concerto for English Horn and Orchestra* /1989/, *Concerto per violoncello ed orchestra* / 1994/, *Distant Light*, *Concerto for violin and string orchestra* /1997/, *Symphony No. 2 for large symphony orchestra* /1998/). Overall these are the cases who display the composer's ability to create likeness with Latvian folk-music. However this aspect of the provokes ask the following questions.

What kind local (Latvian) traditions regarding the folk-music use (in general) represented by P. Vasks? Why at the end of 20th century and 21st century early composer chooses to create folk music allusions but not directly quote folk-music concrete examples? What symbolizes the folk-music allusion in the postmodern period (the question of national identity and music)?

The article will offer answers to the asked questions. At the same time it will offer to get acquainted with a more or less well-known P. Vasks symphonic works examples.

Pēteris Vasks (b. 1946) is the most internationally recognized Latvian composer of the early 21st century. Several of his music works have been first-performed as well as recorded on CD in different countries. The regular publishing house of his music proves to be *Schott Music* in Germany. Its stylistic identity with the tendencies of Neoromanticism and *New Spirituality* in its turn has been acknowledged in different publications (mainly in Latvian press). The composer himself has also voiced his views to be perceived as related to the romantic as well as artistic concept: "Music is the most powerful of all the muses, since it reaches the divine most easily. Yes, music is an abstraction, but sounds are able to express the spirit. That cannot be expressed in words. All around me the flesh is spoken about, but I want to shout: Where is the spirit, the soul? Souls are as overgrown as the jungle. That is why in my sounds I try to uphold a beam of light"¹.

This publication mainly focuses on the one specific question about folk-music allusions in the symphonic music of Vasks. Several symphonic works by Vasks reflects interesting imitation or Latvian folk-music *quasi* quotation (for example, such symphonic compositions as *Lauda per orchestra* /1986/, *Concerto for English Horn and Orchestra* /1989/, *Concerto per violoncello ed orchestra* / 1994/, *Distant Light*, *Concerto for violin and string orchestra* /1997/, *Symphony No. 2 for large symphony orchestra* /1998/). Overall these are the cases who display the composer's ability to create likeness with Latvian folk-music. However this aspect of provokes ask following questions.

What kind local (Latvian) traditions regarding the folk-music use (in general) represented by Vasks? Why at the end of 20th century and 21st century early composer chooses to create folk music allusions but not directly quote folk-music concrete examples? What symbolizes the folk-

¹ In: <http://www.lmic.lv/core.php?pagelid=747&id=293&> (accessed on July 7, 2007).

music allusion in the postmodern period (the question of national identity and music)? This article will offer answers to the asked questions.

Tendency of Neoromanticism in Pēteris Vasks' symphonic music

In general within 1979–2012 Vasks has composed twenty one symphonic music works:

- 1979 Cantabile per archi
- 1982 Vēstījums (Message) for large string orchestra, percussion, two pianos
- 1983 Musica dolorosa for string orchestra
- 1986 Lauda per orchestra for symphony orchestra
- 1989 Concerto for English Horn and Orchestra
- 1991 Symphony No. 1 Balsis (Voices) for string orchestra
- 1994 Concerto per violoncello and orchestra
- 1996 Musica adventus for string orchestra
- 1996 Adagio for string orchestra
- 1997 Tālā gaisma (Distant Light), Concerto for violin and string orchestra
- 1998 Symphony No. 2 for large symphony orchestra
- 1999 Vientuļais eņģelis (Lonely angel), meditation for violin and string orchestra
- 2001 Viatore for string orchestra or organ
- 2002 Musica appassionata for string orchestra
- 2005 Symphony No. 3 for large symphony orchestra
- 2006 Sala (Island), Symphonic Elegy for orchestra
- 2008 Concerto for Flute and Orchestra
- 2009 Vox amoris, fantasy for violin and string orchestra
- 2009 Credo for orchestra
- 2010 Epifānija (Epiphany) for string orchestra
- 2012 Klātbūtne (Presence), Concerto for cello and string orchestra

On the whole, his music, well-known not only in Latvia, but in other countries as well, distinctly reflects the development of his particular style alongside with elements of Neoromanticism in it. Neoromanticism predominant in the symphonic music by Vasks attracts interest on the part of the listeners within the framework of global perception. However, not less interesting and essential proves to be the local cultural and historical context, linked with several specific local traditions in Latvia.

A great number of less internationally-known mid- and later-generation composers, currently living in Latvia (aged 40 and older), among them Romualds Jermaks (1931), Romualds Kalsons (1936), Leons Amoliņš (1937), Maija Einfelde (1939), Imants Kalniņš (1941), Pēteris Butāns (1942), Vilnis Šmīdbergs (1944), Pēteris Vasks (1946), Georgs Pelēcis (1947), Pēteris Plakidis (1947), Juris Karlsons (1948), Aivars Kalējs (1951), Imants Zemzaris (1951), Selga Mence (1953), Arturs Maskats (1957), Ilona Breģe (1959), Indra Riše (1961), Rihards Dubra (1964), Andris Vecumnieks (1964) and others, basically present in their music (symphonic in particular) classically traditional music language expression, organically synthesising it, not too radically, with features of the Modernism of the first half of the 20th century in diverse individual variations. Neoromanticism is the most broadly represented tendency in the music of the above-mentioned Latvian composers in various classical genres².

² See, for example, Klotiņš, Arnolds. "The Music of Latvia (A Brief Historical Overview)". In: <http://www.lmic.lv/core.php?pageId=754?pageId=754&id=4489&&subPageId=756&action=showSubPage>

Due to this fact, music of these composers substantially differs from the music of Latvian composers of the youngest generation (till forty years), among which the most outstanding personalities are, for example Rolands Kronlaks (1973), Mārtiņš Viļums (1974), Gundega Šmite (1977), Santa Ratniece (1977), Andris Dzenītis (1977), Ēriks Ešvalds (1977) and Jānis Petraškevičs (1978). The creative searches of these composers are notable for their more radical approach to the adaptation and creation of concepts of new music languages and expressions. Gradually Latvian composers of the youngest generation have, in their own and specific way, taken over the music culture process of the classical genre. However, in the sense of aesthetic and stylistic position, the more traditionally oriented older generation of composers in Latvia still holds a notable balance in the field of their music creations³.

Thus, overall in this period also witnessed the inflow of different style tendencies in music, for instance the *New Spirituality*, Minimalism, Polystylism and in particular Neoromanticism. All the above-mentioned Postmodernistic tendencies reflect a rather wide gallery of stylistic synthesis, retrospectivity and intertextuality.

In this paper the term *intertextuality* is used in the meaning that became widespread since the 1960s owing to the regular publications by French linguist Julia Kristeva on the issues of Postmodernistic culture, art and aesthetics⁴. Altogether, when analyzing processes, occurring in aesthetics and art, the term intertextuality is used as an established synonym for such denominations as *context*, *tradition* and *allusion*. At the same time, intertextuality is considered also as an expansion of such an idea which is already familiar. Intertextuality is based on the idea that one text can be explained by another, that it can be expressed in other words and so proceeds endlessly. Owing to the circulation of codes any text potentially acquires qualities of quite a different text. However, without over-accentuating the meaning and significance of the concept of intertextuality, one may conclude that within the period of Postmodernistic culture the works of art are characterized by a particularly tense manifestation of intertextual meaning, which is often tended towards the creation of poetic and stylistic allusions with the styles of previous epochs. In instrumental music, however, owing to its absolute abstract and verbally untranslatable nature, just the diversity of styles proves to be one of the most vivid manifestations of intertextuality. Besides, provided the abstract music text itself is basically directed towards the creation of retrospective stylistic allusions, its stylistic prototype can be perceived as the main object, which is indicated to, played upon and further developed by the musical text of a particular work. This reference not only refines the notions, concerning stylistically contextual qualities of either one particular or several music compositions but also provides for fruitful initiative towards decoding of a particular text and evaluating its aesthetic qualities⁵.

Briefly representation of Neo-romanticism tendency in Vasks symphonic music can be defined as follows. It is the methods of musical expression characteristic of the style of Romanti-

(accessed on January 9, 2013); Kudiņš, Jānis. "Neoromanticism as a dominating tendency in the symphonic music of Latvian composers in the last third of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century. The local causes for its topicality in the context of European music history", in *Principles of music composing: National Romanticism and Contemporary Music*, ed. Rimantas Janeliauskas (Vilnius: Lithuanian Academy of Music and Theatre, Lithuanian Composers' Union, 2011), 152–165.

³ See, for example, Petraškevičs, Jānis. "New Times. New Paradigms?" In:

<http://www.lmic.lv/core.php?pagelid=754?pagelid=754&id=4485&&subPagelid=756&action=showSubPage> (accessed on January 9, 2013).

⁴ Moi, Toril (ed.). *The Kristeva Reader* (Columbia University Press, 1986).

⁵ See, for example, Klein, Michael L. *Intertextuality in Western Art Music. Musical Meaning and Interpretation* (Indiana University Press, (2004); **Versekēnaitē, Audra**. "*The tendencies of intertextuality: Lithuanian music of the last decade of the 20th century*", in **Creative Tendencies of Contemporary Music**, ed. Jānis Kudiņš (Latvian Academy of Music, 2009), 29–44.

cism, developed in 19th century music, with the inherent principles of creating drama and form, have turned out to be topical and significant in the music creations of the last third of the 20th century. However, different novelties of musical language, which had emerged under the influence of the aesthetic ideas primarily of the first half of the 20th century (among them the principle of dodecaphony and its varied modifications, an extensive search for artistic modelling of the sound timbral acoustic phenomenon, free notation techniques of musical material layout within space and time) within the framework of Postmodernism in the music works of every single composer have originally and diversely synthesized with separate elements of classical Romantic music language (among them tonally harmony, textural, compositional, genre) of the previous centuries⁶.

Using such musical language to highlight the inconsistency characteristic of the Romantic world outlook among different drastically contrasting spheres of imagery, the desire to postulate the existence of some ideal and eternal category of beauty in human consciousness, several composers of the last third of the 20th century have assigned a different meaning to the notion of the 19th century Romanticism. Not only to reveal in the Romantic way one's emotional experience, but also to renew interest in the musical values and beauty of by-gone days, not eluding from subjective, artistic interpretations and reflections of feelings, rooted in personal experience, at the same time actively synthesizing different ways of expression and approaches – that is, possible, the hidden *motto* of the Vasks symphonic music creations, reflecting the tendency of Neoromanticism.

Folk-music allusions in Vasks' symphonic works

One can observe three related though slightly differing tendencies of style in the so far composed symphonic music by Vasks. The first tendency may be illustrated by such his first compositions as *Cantabile per archi* (1979) and *Musica dolorosa* (1983) which are characterized by an introvert, lyrically resigned and meditative musical expression. The second tendency, tended towards dramatic culmination, composer gradually began to effect it in his early works *Message* for two pianos, string orchestra and percussion. And the third tendency, in its turn, was most clearly postulated in *Lauda per orchestra* (1986) with its characteristic lyrically-epic and musical-ly-imaginative expression. It is a straightforward orientation towards the symphonic poem genre of the 19th century which nowadays has acquired various stylistic layers of musical expression.

It is interesting to note that in the opus *Lauda per orchestra* the composer wants the listener to perceive various allusions for stylistic solutions characteristic of the music of Romanticism, including also melodies which resemble Latvian folkdances, obscuring them with contemporary music means of expression. Furthermore this work Vasks composed as a tribute to the famous Latvian politician folklore researcher Krišjānis Barons, who lived in the 19th century second half and 20th century early. In this work the first time was demonstrated folk music allusion (see Table No 1).

⁶ The proposed finding is based on the conclusions that have been expressed by other musicologists, for example, Pasler, Jann. "Neo-romantic", in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (18) (London: Macmillan Publishers Limited, 2001), 756–757; Trentmann, Franck. "Civilization and its Discontents: English Neo-Romanticism and the Transformation of Anti-modernism in Twentieth-Century". in *Western Culture (Journal of Contemporary History, 1994/29)*, 583-625; Wehnert, Martin. "Romantik un romantisch", in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Kassel Basel, 1998), 464–507.

Exposition		Development	Reprise-Coda
First theme	Second theme	First th. Second th. First th. Second theme	First theme.....
<i>Canto</i> – chorale music allusion	Latvian folksong/dance melody allusion	..... First th. culmination peak!	.....silent final sound
<i>a moll</i>.....(<i>d moll</i>)		<i>e moll</i> <i>d-a moll</i> <i>d moll</i> <i>a moll</i>	<i>h moll</i>

Table No 1

Overall here for the first time manifested another characteristic sign in Vasks music style. This sign can be described as an allusion of choral chant. And interesting that in *Lauda* this two signs – allusions of folk dances and choral chant – in the central culmination sounding together (allusion of Latvian folkdances music, who represent rhythmical pulsation and melody in strings and woodwinds and allusion of quasi chorale chant, who represent brass instruments), thus manifested idea of this work⁷.

The fusion of both above tendencies – lyrically meditative and lyrically-epic expression in Vasks symphonic music – can be seen in the Concerto for English horn and symphony orchestra, composed by Vasks at the end of the 1980s, but ten years later we come across it in the meditative reflection, postulated in the first symphony *Voices* for string orchestra (1991) and in the concerto *Distant Light* for violin and string orchestra (1997). It is essential to note that in the Concerto for English Horn so far the only time is quoted a one concrete Latvian folk melody (*Pūti, pūti, vēja māte! / Blow, blow, mother of wind!*) as theme of variations in the second part of this four part composition.

In its turn, in the **Concerto for cello and symphony** orchestra one can see a marked desire of the composer to reflect in the form of extended mood of expression not only a relaxingly contemplative, but also a deeply conflicting expression. It is interesting to note that in the Vasks five-movement Cello concerto has already reached the boundary, which unmistakably reveals the romantic world outlook in an artistically conceptual form. Overall, the five movements of the Cello concerto (*Cantus I, Toccata I, Monolohi, Toccata II, Cantus II*) portray two contrasting worlds – *Cantus I* and *Cantus II* interwoven with lyrically- expressive singing, as well as *Toccata I* and *Toccata II* with their tense, dissonant and chaotic continuum with a wave-like development. A unique dramaturgical resolution in the above composition is the pathetic cadenza of cello solo in the middle of the composition which acquires a specific meaning of a dramatic monologue. It symbolizes the metaphoric seeking for the ideal and its deliberate denial in the above Cello concerto (see Table No 2).

⁷ Culmination peak in *Lauda per orchestra* timing (approx., depending on interpretation) is from 9’05” till 14’15”.

<i>Cantus I</i>	<i>Toccata I</i>	<i>Monologhi</i>	<i>Toccata I</i>	<i>Cantus II</i>
Lyrical canto	Citations and <i>quasi</i> citations (allusions) from P. Vasks, O. Messiaen, D. Shostakovich music	Cadenza of cello solo – lyrically-dramatic canto	Citations and <i>quasi</i> citations (allusions) from P. Vasks, O. Messiaen, D. Shostakovich music. <u>Peak of dramatic culmination.</u>	Lyrical canto, transformation of lyrical and majestic hymn. Hidden citation of folksong <i>Blow, wind!</i> (fragment)

Table No 2

While the end of this composition has placed a fragment of very popular Latvian folk song melodies hidden citation:

PŪT, VĒJIŅI!

Kurzemes melōdija

Vidzemes melōdija

Example No 1

This Latvian folk song – *Pūt, vējiņi!* / *Blow, wind!* – has a special role in Latvian history. The second half of the eighties in the 20th century, when in Latvia took place process to renew an independent state, the folk song *Blow, wind!* became to the unofficial anthem of Latvian. Also, the same composer has said that the hidden citation of folk song in his Cello Concerto he has used deliberately. It is a symbol of Soviet occupation ending in Latvia⁸. However, this song citation reflects very interesting approach. Excerpt of songs melody is deeply hidden in the texture and orchestration, it not possible immediately to hear. However the sound it produces a peculiar effect. And in a sense this example illustrates how the modern composer demonstrate the national element in his music – as allusion rather than directly⁹.

Final example is **Second Symphony** of Vasks. The Second Symphony it was written towards the end of the nineties and symbolizes the period of maturity of composers' creative effort.

⁸ Such comment composer made in an interview to Latvian Radio in November 1994.

⁹ Hidden quotation of Latvian folk song *Blow, wind!* melody in Cello Concerto overall timing (approx., depending on interpretation) is from 23'25" till 24'50".

The National Element in Music

This period witnesses Vasks as an internationally recognized composer of Latvia who possesses a unique stylistic individuality of his own.

Symphony is an extended one-movement composition. The dilemma characteristic of the Romantic world outlook is exposed by means of gradual interaction of two themes, providing an insight into more and more nuances of controversy. On the whole, the composition of the symphony creates association with the principles of forming classical sonata alongside with exposing, development and repetition of both principal themes, characteristic of it in a transformed way in the reprise. Of particular importance dramatically proves to be the episode, suggesting a new theme just in the very centre of the composition (see Table No 3).

Exposition			Episode	Development	Reprise	Coda
1st exposition	2nd exposition	3rd exposition	.....	.....	...	...
till no. 17	from no. 17 till no.29	from no.29 till no.42	from no. 42 till no. 49	from no.49 till no. 56	from no. 56 till no. 73	from no. 73
first theme second theme till no.5 57 7-14 14-15 a b a link no.15-	first th. second th. no.17-22 22-24 24-29 b.....	first th. second th. no.28-33 33-35 35-42 b a b	new theme (1) no 44.c- 47- 48.c. Voice culmination of life (peak) and its rupture	.....	first th. second th. first th.- no.56-63 63-69 69-71 71-.....73 transform. into chorale the link funeral march, culmination	new theme (2) elegy, sorrow, dots
a moll ... e moll e moll.....	e moll a moll cish moll	c-es-h moll e moll....	D dur.....	.....	a moll ... e moll ... e moll..... a moll.	h moll.....

Table No 3

Symphony as an epic or psychologically aggravated *musical drama*, as a dramatic and monologous message or an extended symphonical narration (e. g. P. Tchaikovsky, A. Dvořák, G. Mahler, J. Sibelius and others) is an obvious benchmark towards interpreting the Second Symphony by P. Vasks. By all means, reflecting resounding directly or indirectly disclosing that particular experience in the development of the large-scale symphony genre which is represented by such outstanding 20th century composers as A. Honegger, D. Shostakovich, W. Lutosławski, H. Górecki etc. One of the elements of this common experience is concentrating the classical cycle of a symphony, comprising four movements, into a composition, consisting of one movement. As we can see from particular research work, dedicated to the symphony genre, even such an extended one-movement structure of a symphony still preserves the most essential features, characteristic of the genre in question which are inherent in the symphony by P. Vasks as well.

At the time that he finished his comprehensive research work dedicated to contemporary symphony music, Russian musicologist Mark Aranovsky (1928–2009) concluded convincingly – not considering the often contrasting stylistic development process visible in the first half and the second half of the 20th century, the symphony is still able to confirm its endurance both in the perception of the composer and the listener. From four classic and archetypal symphony aspects of the musical image of Man – Man at work (*Homo agens*, first movement, sonata form), Man deep in meditation (*Homo sapiens*, second movement, lyrical meditation), Man in an active playing situation (*Homo ludens*, third movement, dance or scherzo), and Man in society (*Homo communis*, fourth movement, rondo), consecutively reflect the four movements of

the cycle – the expression of the genre in the second half of the 20th century, in the most diverse stylistic contexts and compositional resolutions, two aspects have been accented most often – *Homo agens* and *Homo sapiens*¹⁰. This approach – to represent Man at work (*Homo agens*) and Man deep in meditation (*Homo sapiens*) – is also characteristic of P. Vasks Second Symphony.

It is interesting that the initial conflict situation owing to acute and intense emotions, is provoked in such a way that the listener is as if immediately drawn into the very epicentre of different events. The offensive disposition of the first theme becomes evident through the active use of ostinato principle and percussion thus complementing the theme with expressive march motives, based on the Hypophrygian mode. The specific qualities of just that theme already at the very beginning allow perceiving the particular mode of expression as a mirror reflection of an overall anxiety or to a certain extent even potential threat. It goes without saying that the beginning of the symphony with exposition of the first theme raises a question if manipulating with certain clichés of musical language will not provoke simplified visual associations. However, just the lyrically-elegiac music and the classified chamber-like narration of the second theme do not allow to transform everything into a common Postmodernistic farce.

Example No 2

The second theme of the symphony confirms a portrayal of deep contemplation. This is particularly brightly expressed by a descending melodic phrase in the background of the organ-point in the voices of the flute and other instruments of music. It can be perceived as a natural reaction, something like catching one's breath after the aggressive offence in the first theme. The second theme can be perceived as the voice of the composer himself, as a deeply individual

¹⁰ Aranovsky, Mark. *Symphonic searching* [in Russian] (Moscow, 1979).

message which serves as a perfect background for the aggressive and threatening mood of the first part. On the whole, either of the first and the second themes is repeated three times in succession, thus making the conflict still more intense and pronounced.

The image displays a page of musical notation for 'Example No 3'. It consists of two systems of staves. The top system features a vocal line (soprano and alto clefs) and a piano accompaniment (treble and bass clefs). The vocal line begins with a long, sustained note, followed by a series of notes with a melodic contour. The piano accompaniment provides a harmonic and rhythmic foundation. The bottom system continues the vocal and piano parts, with various dynamics such as 'pp' (pianissimo) and 'p' (piano) indicated. A box containing the number '6' is placed above the vocal staff in the second system. The notation includes various musical symbols like notes, rests, and slurs.

Exam-

ple No 3

As indicated earlier, the Second Symphony by P. Vasks possesses qualities of the genre of symphonic poem which are reflected in the exposition of the main themes in conformity with the principle of intertwining development and in the extended part of the episode, suggesting a new theme (see Table No 3). The latter is setting up a notion of a rather slow and contemplative introvert affect with a potential of expressive and dramatic development. It is significant that in his Second Symphony P. Vasks creates the third theme as an alternative to the previously mentioned conflict situation, partly quoting the music material of one of his other symphonic works. The central episode of the symphony is based on the theme, borrowed from the music of the second movement *Voice of Life* from the First Symphony *Voices* (1991) by P. Vasks. The sounding of this musical material the same as in the First Symphony also creates an impression of a unique birth of a particular image the, mysteriously little by little filling the texture with expressive exclamations in various voices in the background of the ostinato melodic motif, created predominantly by strings (violins, cellos, double-basses) till culmination is reached.

The image shows a musical score for a symphony. The top section includes percussion parts: Timpani (Timp.), Wood blocks (Blocchi di legno), Temple blocks, and Claves. Below this is the Piano (Pno.) part. The bottom section features string parts for Violins I and II (VI. I, VI. II), Viola (Va.), Violoncello (Vc.), and Contrabasso (Cb.). The score includes dynamic markings like *mf* and *poco a poco crescendo*, and a tempo change from 2/4 to 4/4. A rehearsal mark '46' is visible at the end of the string section.

Example No 4

The music of the culminating part is typical for the individual style of P. Vasks. In several of his symphonic opuses the composer makes use of a saturated orchestral sounding of *tutti*, thus providing for a background to highlight the timbres of cello, several winds (usually flute, oboe and English horn) and percussion. The musicologists of Latvia denominate such an elevated and laudatory mood in the music by P. Vasks as *canto* (Klotiņš, 1987). On the whole the themes of these *cantos* reveal the entirety of both the contemplative and romantic musical expression. Such *canto* in the symphonic music by the above composer often symbolizes the bitter awareness of the improbability of any romantic dream which always remains only a dream, far from reality and problems of the world. As it is often observed in the romantic music of the late 19th century, the theme of the lyrical *canto* in the episode of the Second Symphony is abruptly interrupted (see Table No 3).

Then comes development, where the first theme is presented in a still more acute and dissonant manner. It is becoming more intense, splitting into different motives and dissipating into the voices of separate instruments. The part of reprise in the composition of the symphony proceeds with intense further development. The exposition of the second theme arouses a misleading sensation of anti-culmination. It should be valued as a spectacular but only momentary dramatically change, as an offset to confirm the principal concept. Before exposition of the general culmination the direct speech which is so characteristic of P. Vasks music makes itself evident in the layout of the choral texture. It is followed by the first theme, now transformed into the funeral march which is confirmed by a tangible slowdown of the tempo and metro rhythm as an essential part of a funeral procession in the voices of brass instruments and percussion (see Table No 3). It seems that in this sorrowful and tragic mood the symphony has reached its end. However, it has not. To increase the drama and the feeling of surprise the composer immediately makes the listener to switch over to a quite unexpected and different coda which presents a recapitulating and significant mode of expression. In the diatonically lucid *B minor* scale of the coda on the organ point of the tonic, the voices of clarinets, oboes, flutes, and the bassoon bring forward flashes of a theme deeply related to the melody of the Latvian folksong like twinkling of a star.

Example No 5

It is the timbre of the oboe (association with a reed-pipe in Latvian folk-music) that allows perceiving this melody as related to the Latvian folksong alongside with such elements as the diatonic base of the melody, gradually ascending flow and coverage of the melody within the interval of sixth. And also the mood of the melody the likeness of which with Latvian folk-music is easy to perceive and understand for those who familiar with it. At the same time this melody displays the composer's ability to create likeness with Latvian folk-music. However, there are several elements which mark a distinction between the author's creation and an absolutely authentic folk-music, among them accentuated triple time, syncope's the melody contains and the sorrowful mood and nostalgia of the minor key. By means of these elements the composer is able to give an insight into those stylistic layers which testify to the Latvian folk-music, being affected by the genre of German and Russian popular songs in the 19th century¹¹.

It is interesting to note that the distinct allusion in the coda of the Second Symphony for Latvian folk-music highlight those moments which have deliberately or instinctively motivated the above composer to seek for particular stylistic solutions. The last third of the 19th and early 20th century witnessed the prevalence of the aesthetics of Romanticism and style with a marked tendency to integrate various elements of Latvian folk-music in the music creations of Latvian composers. This was the time when numerous music pieces and arrangements of folk-songs were written, the music being similar to the melodies of folksongs, however, not identical. The main factors which predetermined the popularity of such an approach were both the demand on the part of Latvian audience and experience of particular composers. In the late 19th century almost all most well-known Latvian composers were graduates of St. Petersburg state conservatory and more or less influenced by the ideas of Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov (1844–1908) concerning the need to gather, study and integrate in their music elements of Latvian folk-music. Later this influence proved to be most steady and long-lasting in the music crea-

¹¹ Coda in the Symphony overall timing (approx., depending on interpretation) is from 37'00" till end.

tions of Latvian composers in the first and second half of the 20th century, the symphonic music of P. Vasks being no exception.

Some cognitions

However, in contrast of the first half of the 20th century, the end of this century and the 21st century early Latvian composers, among them also Vasks, choose allusions principle. Basically, it is because of any past style cannot be repeated verbatim. While in the Post-modern period style allusions principle is one of the most dominant. In this perspective, tendency of Neoromanticism, what represents also Vasks' music, is also seen as a style of allusions expression option. And, as shown in example of Vasks symphonic music, folk music allusions symbolizes the romantic ideal that is perceived more as a metaphor.

Of course, the internationally well-known music in varied classical genres, displaying the tendency of Neoromanticism by Latvian composer Vasks has to be evaluated with a critical eye. At times, the characteristic stylistic retrospectivity of Neoromanticism can raise doubt about the artistic vividness and originality of a particular work of music. But, in this context, can be expressed in the following cognition – nowadays the adaption of the form of expression approving the 19th century Romantic style and its transformation into a new model, became one of the tools with which art of the classical genre directs the attention of a technocratic society to the degradation of classical values, and an attempt to realize these values as significant ethic and aesthetic imperatives, creating in itself the courage, in the pragmatic context of life in the new era, to not avoid the expression of one's own subjective experiences in a lyric, spiritual, singing form, what represents also folk music allusions.

In addition, it should be noted that issue about folk-music use in Postmodern period is acquired new meaning. For instance, 19th century Romantic period reflects, firstly, the interest about concrete folk-music examples citation and, secondly, folk-music allusions in Romantic general style context. But in the Postmodern period the folk-music allusions exists in another cultural context. In this period it reflects peculiar *the simulation of the duplicate*. It is folk-music allusion in music style who represents allusions of Romanticism style. Of course this situation provokes pose such question – whether in reality folk-music allusions represents reference to concrete folk music? In my opinion, if we analyze Vasks symphonic music, the stylistics elements of these allusions comprise characteristic motives of Latvian folk-songs and dances. Also composer's comments about his music and this music reception in Latvian audience set one's seal to this notion. Even if allusion always is a little non concrete!

It is interesting to note that after Second symphony Vasks in his later symphonic works as bright allusions principle is no longer used. Over the past decade the composer as own music individual style mark reflect allusion of choral chant. Thus, now in Vasks music more prevalent tendency of *New Spirituality*. But, with romantic pathos and emotional expressiveness, which is different from, for example, a Vasks good music friend's Estonian composer Arvo Pärt's (1935) style. However, the above examples of allusions is a good reason for the discussion about the national element in music of contemporary composers.

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Elements of Folklore in the Requiems of Latvian Composers

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Abstract. Sometimes national as a representative of paganism is contradicted with sacral (Christian) outlook. Both sacral and national life wisdom prove to be a significant heritage of every nation. The 20th century has drawn together once detached parts. In this report it is proved by three *Requiems* of Latvian composers.

Viktors Baštiks (1912-2001) *Requiem* (1979). The basic textual material – Holy Scripture in Latvian has been closely connected with the Latvian poetry and folksongs. Composer does not use the canonic text, however, some motifs of *Requiem mass* are used: *Requiem aeternam*, *Benedictus*, *Tuba mirum* etc. It also includes quotations – folksong *Karavīri bēdājās* (*Soldiers grieved*) and Lutheric choral (1614) with the basic text in German *Valet will ich dir geben*.

Georgs Pelēcis (*1947) *Requiem latviense* (*Latvian requiem*, 2006). Composer widens the basic idea of canonic mass, combining the aspect of death in Christian Church and Latvian folklore. The traditional cycle in Latin is supplemented with Latvian funeral folksongs. The subjective attitude to death in folklore contrasts the objective view of church.

Ilona Breģe (*1959) *Requiem* (2010) is based on the traditional cycle in Latin. However, composer selects Latvian orphan folksong *Ej, saulīte, drīz pie Dieva* (*Go, dear Sun, soon to God*) and the tunes of it can be heard as a quotation in several episodes as well as in connection with the basic intonation of medieval sequence *Dies irae*.

The theme of the paper is sacral and national interaction, the meeting of two worlds in the requiems by Latvian composers.

Sometimes the national and the sacral are viewed as basic contrasts, where the national, representing the heathen, is seemingly opposed to the sacral world outlook.

However, owing to the alterations in the awareness and thinking of society in the 20th century, the two once isolated traditions have drawn closer to each other: „Postmodernism allows to view the synthesis of different traditions as an essential element of postmodernistic culture”¹. The art of music has perceived these notions of postmodernism in a very straightforward way: „The essence of postmodernism in music unfolds itself in an extremely extensive interaction of components of musical thinking, stored up in the long existence of music history”². That is the reason why the stylistic palette of music may incorporate features of the most diverse styles, frequently being linked with the technique of polystylistics. Musicologist A. Sokolov (referring to P. Boulez) characterizes polystylistics as a technique that has been upheaved to the level of an idea: „This is the way of one’s discerning the world, both visionary and auditory”³. It is just within the above world outlook that the sacral viewpoint can combine with the national one.

In music both spheres are linked by their traditions and the power of music expression. Besides, both the sacral and the national wisdom of life proves to be significant heritage of every single nation. National identity – that is the language, understood by the people of one’s own and perceived even without words, the language which addresses you in a very straightforward way. Sacral awareness is also concerned with deep layers of human awareness and

¹ Kudiņš J. „Stila jēdziens un tā uztveres īpatnības 20. gadsima modernisma un postmodernisma periodu mūzikas izpētes kontekstā”, in *Mūzikas zinātne šodien: pastāvīgais un mainīgais. Zinātnisko rakstu krājums*, ed. I. Grauzdiņa (Daugavpils Universitāte: Saule, 2009), 8-34.

² Григорьева Г. „Новые эстетические тенденции музыки второй половины XX века. Стили. Жанровые направления”, in *Теория современной композиции*, ed. В. С. Ценова (Москва: Музыка, 2007), 23-39.

³ Чигарёва Е. „Полистилистика. Определение. Эстетические основы полистилистики”, in *Теория современной композиции*, ed. В. С. Ценова (Москва: Музыка, 2007), 431-433.

senses. The interaction of both world outlooks can become apparent in diverse manifestations, various genres and relations.

Most vividly the interaction between sacral and national tradition finds expression in the vocal instrumental music. That is a advantage of the genre, as the presence of verbal text favours a more distinct and unambiguous perception. Whereas in the sacral genres of vocal instrumental music the notion of interaction makes itself evident quite openly and vividly because the traditions of sacral genres have established a stable basis for the contents of the relevant genre.

Owing to its specific origin and message as well as its particular meaning in the liturgy and music, the requiem is one of the most colourful genres of sacral music. Notions, pertaining to the requiem, namely those of life and death, are topical nowadays and will remain such eternally, regardless of the kind of social consciousness. It certainly refers to the folklore as well, it being the part and parcel of the national wisdom of life.

The genre of the requiem in Latvian music exists for approximately one hundred years and this period has witnessed the creation of 12 requiems, most of them, however, being composed within the late 20th and the early 21st centuries.

The **Requiem by Viktors Baštiks** (1912-2001) (1979). The text is based on the fragments of Holy Scripture in Latvian alongside with the poetry by Latvian poets Ludis Bērziņš and Leonīds Breikšs and Latvian folksongs. The music work is dedicated to Latvian exiles who left their Motherland at the end of World War II (V. Baštiks was one of the most distinguished Latvian composers in emigration who lived in the USA). However, regardless of this social and political motives, the music work in question simultaneously discloses another world outlook which is based on religion and trust in God. The lyrics of the Requiem by V. Baštiks makes one reflect on the human lifespan, on one's nothingness when confronted with eternity and on the omnipotence of God. And commemorating those who lost their lives, fighting for freedom, this requiem presents the motif of piece and contemplation of eternal life. The music composition by V. Baštiks mostly discloses light images, permeated with hope and belief, only slightly touching upon the theme of death and eternity.

The requiem consists of ten parts. This cycle is very special (unique) because it lacks any textual material of the canonical requiem, however, every single part of it, having been given by the composer a title, in most cases linked with the text of the part. Still, the text is intermittently complemented with such individual motifs of the requiem as *Requiem aeternam*, *Benedictus*, *Tuba mirum*, *Dies irae*, *Lux aeterna*.

The requiem also embraces citations like intonations of the folksong „Soldiers Grieved” (*Karavīri bēdājās*)



Musical example 1, intonation of latvian folksong „Soldiers Grieved”

and the melody of the lutheran chorale, the latter of which was composed in 1614 by Melchior Teschner *Valet will ich dir geben*. These elements function as signs (symbols) which accentuate national identity alongside with spirituality, thus providing for a more direct understanding of the message of composer. A similar aim is achieved by *Pater Noster* in latvian, which is integrated in the final part.

Both the well-known chorale and *Pater Noster* present themselves in the above Requiem as particular witnesses of the collective awareness. These are signs, which testify to the unity of

the christian community and at the same time serve as a symbol for part of the Latvian nation, living in exile. It is not in vain that beside the part of *Pater Noster* in the score we find a remark added by the composer which says: „common singing intended.” That is one more possibility for the author to disclose his national identity.

A bright example of musical expression, imagery and structure is the 3rd part of the Requiem, entitled „ In the Garden of Stillness” to commemorate warriors for their Motherland. The text is taken from several sources, such as passages from The Book of Ecclesiasticus ("The Book of Sirach"), words taken from Latvian folksongs and poetry by L. Bērziņš. In this part one can several times discern intonation from the folksong „Soldiers Grieved” (*Karavīri bēdājās*) – both in the call of the trumpet at the beginning of the relevant part and the part of piano and organ, as well as singing of the choir later. Melody, performed by the soloists, is not the citation of a Latvian folksong, but an authentic melody by the composer which integrates such means of music expression, frequently encountered in Latvian folksongs, as the mode of natural minor key, changing metre and gradual development of the melody.

The image shows a handwritten musical score for piano and organ. It consists of five staves. The top staff is for the voice, with the lyrics "Rie-rē vi-gu nie-sas ir" written above it. The tempo is marked "Andante". The key signature has one sharp (F#). The time signature is 3/4. The piano part is marked "mp" and the organ part is marked "mf". The score shows a melodic line in the piano part that is influenced by a Latvian folksong.

Musical example 2, intonation of latvian folksong in piano and organ part (from composer's manuscript)

The image shows a handwritten musical score for trumpet. It consists of two staves. The top staff is for the trumpet, with the tempo marked "Andante" and "Moderato". The key signature has one sharp (F#). The time signature is 4/4. The score is titled "Miera dārva" and includes a circled number "3". The dynamics are marked "mp", "mf", "f", and "mf". The score shows a melodic line in the trumpet part that is influenced by a Latvian folksong.

Musical example 3, the call of the trumpet (from composer's manuscript)

On the whole, the requiem is permeated by Lettonism in various forms, among them language, poetry, imagery and intonative structure.

The requiem *Requiem latviense (Latviešu rekviēms)* by **Georgs Pelēcis** (*1947) for mixed choir, four soloists, organ and instrumental group (2006). The composer has extended the basic idea of the funeral mass, combining two world outlooks – that of the Christian Church and the notion of death, as viewed by the Latvian national consciousness. This basic idea is reflected in the structure of the requiem. The traditional canonical cycle in Latin is complemented by five Latvian funeral rite songs, resulting in an extended music composition. The specific character of both spheres makes itself evident in the choice of performers. The traditional parts of the requiem are performed by four soloists (soprano, two countertenors and bass), mixed choir and organ, whereas folk music is presented by an instrumental group (flute, clarinet, violin, cello, latvian national instrument *kokle*) and the traditional singer. Besides, the author has envisaged to place instrumental group in the altar part of the church, while the choir and the soloists are standing as usually, traditionally on the balcony with the organ. Such an arrangement of performers according to the concept of the composer symbolizes the idea of disassociating in the introductory part, convocation in the development of the requiem and confluence in one whole entity in the final part of the requiem – *Sanctus* when the soloists, the choir and the organ are joined by the instrumental group.

Musical example 4, Excerpt from *Sanctus*

Thus, on the one hand, the music of the requiem is characterized by such traditional features as a full cycle of the requiem, preserving the Latin language for the text, alongside with the involvement of its performers, such as soloists, choir and organ within the framework of the canonical parts. On the other hand, it clearly displays unambiguous and individualized qualities, namely, presence of the elements of Latvian folklore in the thematism and instrumentation, a timbrally unique composition of the performing quartet of soloists (soprano, two countertenors and bass) and certainly the very concept of the requiem as such.

The **Requiem by Ilona Brēge** (*1959) for mixed choir, soprano solo, tenor solo and wind orchestra (2010). This requiem was composed in line with the traditional canonical requiem cycle with the text in Latin and is the only requiem in Latvian music to be performed by wind orchestra. It should be noted that such means of musical expression as timbral colouring and the intensity of sound are applied in a multitude of different ways.

Particularly specific means of intonative music language and imagery to permeate the requiem prove to be intonations of the Latvian folksong „Go, dear Sun, soon to God” (*Ej, saulīte, drīz pie Dieva*). In several episodes of the Requiem it sounds both like a direct melodious citation (for example with the text *Lacrimosa*), and at the same time creating an

association with the basic allusion of the medieval sequence *Dies irae*. The text of the folksong is a serene story of an orphan child who applies for help to God. Thus, in the Requiem by I. Breģe one can observe interaction of a prayer and sorrow, both of them rather intense. This technique provides for a more profound subtext which can be understood only by such a listener who is familiar with Latvian folksongs.

Let us take for instance the episode *Lacrimosa* from part 2 of this requiem - *Dies irae*. In this fragment the canonical text *Lacrimosa* first goes together with the original melody by the composer, whereas in the later development of music the ancient text is presented by tenor solo and then the choir, performing the melody of the Latvian folksong. Both themes are linked by a narrow the fourth range melody where focus on the small third comes to the foreground in the scale of the natural minor key or eolic mode.

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La - cri - mo - sa di - es il - la, qua re - sur - get ex fa - vill - la

Musical example 5, Original melody by I. Breģe

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La - cri - mo - sa di - es il - la, qua re - sur - get ex fa - vil - la

Musical example 6, Latvian folksong „Go, dear Sun, soon to God”

It is just the use of these intonative elements which creates associations with the basic intonation of the medieval canto *Dies irae*.

Di - es i - rae di - es il - la,

Musical example 7, Medieval sequence *Dies irae*

So, one can conclude that the merging of the sacral and national aspects in the above music works is mostly displayed by means of such polystylistic means as citation and allusion. However, in the requiems by different composers this fusion of sacral and national presents itself in diverse ways, applying various techniques. What unites them is the genre – the sacral genre which determines the imagery and the contextual pattern of the relevant music work. But the sacral genre is at the same time complemented by the national element, the latter as regards the music and textual material, being interpreted by every individual composer differently. V. Baštiks makes use of various texts in Latvian, among them also the music intonations and lyrics of folksongs and chorales. G. Pelēcis combines texts in Latin with citations of Latvian folksongs, applying them in parallel spheres of development. Whereas I. Breģe combines Latin text with the melody of a Latvian folksong. Thus, owing to the variety of techniques applied in every single opus, all three music works in some respect could be regarded as Latvian requiems.

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Searching for American Identity: Nationalism and Anti-Semitism in American Music Societies, 1918-1939

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Abstract. American composers during the first half of the twentieth century often strived to create a sense of national identity in their music, which frequently resulted in their participating in organizations that promoted these ideals. These included the Society for the Advancement of American Music, the Society of Native American Composers, the League of Composers, the Pan American Association, and the Cadman Creative Club, of which composers Charles Ives, Amy Beach, Howard Hanson, Carl Ruggles, and Charles Cadman were members. Lulu Sanford Tefft, the “Chairman of Musical Americanization” within the Cadman Creative Club not only championed American music, but took the debate into the political arena by claiming that indigenous works would teach American values and insulate the United States from “insidious” foreign influences—an environment that allegedly dominated American popular and art music. Tefft distrusted foreign musicians, whose Eurocentric compositional biases, according to Tefft, permeated American music. She later went a step further by helping to form the Society for the Advancement of American music, whose president Frank Colby took part in shaping a bylaw that not only forbade foreign-born musicians to participate in the organization, but also included anti-Semitic policies when accepting American-born composers attempting to join the group. Charles Ives not only expressed dismay when he heard about jingoism and racism within this organization, but also threatened to withdraw his membership. This essay will address issues of political and musical nationalism as well as anti-Semitism within these music societies and assess the level of involvement of American composers who favored these societal bylaws, as well as those musicians whose careers were impeded by these regulations.

In a search for a national identity in their music, American composers during the first half of the twentieth century frequently participated in organizations that promoted these ideals. These included the *Society for the Advancement of American Music*, the *Society of Native American Composers*, the *League of Composers*, the *Pan American Association*, and the *Cadman Creative Club*, of which composers Charles Ives, Amy Beach, Howard Hanson, Carl Ruggles, and Charles Cadman were members. Lulu Sanford Tefft, dubbed the “Chairman of Musical Americanization” within the *Cadman Creative Club* not only championed American music, but took the debate into the political arena by claiming that indigenous works would teach American values and insulate the United States from so-called insidious foreign influences—an environment, she alleged, that dominated American popular and art music. Tefft distrusted foreign musicians, whose Eurocentric compositional biases, according to Tefft, permeated American music. She later went a step further by helping to form the *Society for the Advancement of American music (SAAM)*, whose president Frank Colby took part in shaping a bylaw that not only forbade foreign-born musicians to participate in the organization, but also included anti-Semitic policies when accepting American-born composers attempting to join the group. Charles Ives, when hearing about jingoism and racism within this association, threatened to withdraw his membership. This essay will address issues of political and musical nationalism and anti-Semitism within these music societies between the two world wars and assess the level of involvement of American composers who favored their societal bylaws. These bylaws, instituted in the name of American music, impeded the careers of composers such as Aaron Copland, Frederick Jacobi, Louis Gruenberg, Minna Lederman, Claire Reis, and Alma Wertheim. During the 1920s, musical nationalists within these associations criticized foreign and Jewish-American composers influenced by modernism, often a code word referring to atonal music that allegedly had its roots in Europe or music influenced by blues and jazz idioms; many of these composers who were decried were based in New York. Some of these associations on the West Coast felt threatened by

the perceived hegemony of Jewish New York-based modernist composers. Other organizations, based in New York, included members who were anti-Semitic composers unsuccessfully trying to get their own compositions performed and used Jewish musicians as scapegoats. Members of groups from both coasts discussed hearing so-called Jewishness in twentieth century works through atonality and jazz and blues idioms, as well as through concert music described as grandiose, dramatic, and tragic, using Mahler's symphonies as a template. These trends were, in part, inspired by significant cultural and aesthetic shifts that had taken place in the United States during the earlier part of the century. When the United States entered World War I, members of the Chaminade Club, a local Boston women's organization, demanded, as a patriotic gesture, that all concerts by the Boston Symphony Orchestra begin with the American national anthem, "The Star Spangled Banner." German-born music director of the Boston Symphony Orchestra Karl Muck, previously employed in Germany by Kaiser Wilhelm II, ignored the request and later labeled the song inartistic. Former American president Theodore Roosevelt was "shocked, simply shocked to learn that anybody can apologize for Muck on the grounds that ["The Star Spangled Banner"] is not artistic, but only patriotic. No man has any business to be engaged in anything that is not subordinate to patriotism. If the Boston Symphony Orchestra will not play [the piece], it ought to be made to shut up. If Muck will not play it, he ought not to be at large in this country."¹ The result was a federal government investigation a year later to determine whether Muck represented a wartime danger to America. Muck was then arrested without formal charges, imprisoned as an enemy alien by the federal government, and deported in 1919. The investigation by the Justice Department concluded that Muck possessed "pro-German sympathies and [made pro-German] utterances, and his close association with the state leaders of Germany before the war suspicious. It would be dangerous for him to be permitted to remain at large."² During the 1920s, xenophobia flourished in a nationalist attempt to promote American composers and performers and to provide employment for American-born citizens. This situation was exacerbated during the Great Depression of the 1930s, when many American musicians became unemployed.³ In 1933, twelve thousand out of fifteen thousand union members in the New York City area were out of work due to economic issues or technological change.⁴ This hardship was directly addressed in a 1936 article in the *Los Angeles Examiner* entitled "U.S. Cash Spent on Alien Art," whose author called for the performance of works by American composers when reviewing Verdi's *La Traviata*:

"American dollars are being expended this year to develop musical art in this country. American composers are working and waiting patiently for a hearing of their own compositions. And last week, the government financed a grand opera production, at what was obviously considerable cost, and presented an old Verdi opera, on an even older French theme, sung in Italian. The performance supplied, to be sure, temporary entertainment for some two or three thousand persons. But did it do anything for native creative art? Did it provide anything novel for either listeners or singers? It did not. . . . The opera already has been sung here many times and will be given again and again by opera companies for years to come....

¹ Author Unknown, "Colonel Would Intern Dr. Muck as Alien," *Boston Herald and Journal* (November 3, 1917); scrapbook collected by Marcus Carroll; reprinted in Tischler, Barbara, *An American Music: the Search for an American Musical Identity* (Oxford, Great Britain: Oxford University Press, 1986), 79.

² Author unknown, "Dr. Muck Sent Back to Germany," *The Boston Globe* (August 21, 1919), 1; reprinted in Tischler, *An American Music: the Search for an American Musical Identity*, 81-2.

³ According to the American Federation of Musicians, by 1929, five thousand performing musicians lost their jobs to film "talkies," which was then intensified by the stock market crash. See Tischler, *An American Music: the Search for an American Musical Identity*, 135.

⁴ McDonald, William F., *Federal Relief Administration and the Arts* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1969), 587; reprinted in Tischler, *An American Music: the Search for an American Musical Identity*, 135.

If these United States are to sponsor music of grand opera caliber, it would be interesting to build it along lines which will make for a stronger and more comprehensive national taste in music. . . . "Pretty good for dollar opera," a comment heard frequently during the performance of last week, is not sufficient basis for approval. The dollars which clinked into the box office did not begin to pay for such a lavish—and not always dexterous [sic]—production. If funds are to be supplied by the national treasury for the purpose of providing grand opera, how much more significant if the operas were selected from American works, and so cast and staged that they may become a compelling feature of local cultural life. If *The Music Project* contemplates a continuance of such operatic ventures, how doubly interesting the productions would be [if they] exploited native language, composers and traditions."⁵

This critique emerged in light of an increasing number of concert compositions with Native-American and subsequently African-American elements as a result of various composers' search for an American identity (in part inspired by Antonin Dvořák's public challenge to American composers). Yet American composers still had difficulty in getting them performed in American opera houses and symphonic halls. According to a study of thirteen major American symphony orchestras performing between 1919 and 1925, only 5.3% of compositions performed were written by Americans. By 1939, this figure had quadrupled.⁶ These statistics reflected the popular perception that European composers were superior to American ones (and concomitantly the superiority of European instrumentalists performing within the United States). As a result, American music societies began to consider excluding European performers and composers from the concert hall. And as American composers increasingly began to include indigenous elements in their works, musical nationalists questioned whether foreign-born Americans could effectively captivate this American identity.⁷ Nationalism for some composers and association members during the 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s had racial and ethnic undertones. Regional groups, such as those from Southern California that consisted mostly of white middle-and upper class Republican women, tried to discourage the performance of atonal twentieth century European compositions or American atonal works.⁸ These groups promoted composers that emphasized tonal works with a sense of American identity. One such group was the *Cadman Creative Club* of Los Angeles, organized in 1926, which included member Arthur Farwell and honorary national president Charles Cadman, for whom the organization was named. Cadman's musical nationalism championed American regional tonalists over European atonal modernists. Chairman of Musical Americanization within the group, Lulu Tefft, argued that indigenous works would teach American values and "insulate [the United States] from insidious foreign influences that will creep in and gnaw at the foundations of all the institutions that we have so laboriously built up"—a state of affairs that purportedly controlled American music.⁹ Tefft simi-

⁵ Lawrence, Florence, "U.S. Cash Spent on Alien Art," *Los Angeles Examiner* (November 1, 1936). The *Music Project* consisted of Federal Assistance during the Great Depression, which helped musicians find gainful employment.

⁶ Author Unknown, "Bulletin of the American Composers' Alliance," reprinted in Canon, Cornelius Baird, "The Federal Music Project of the Works Project Administration: Music in a Democracy" (PhD Dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1963), 174; also reprinted in Tischler, *An American Music: the Search for an American Musical Identity*, 151.

⁷ Such was the case in instrumental music and opera, the latter with issues surrounding English texts.

⁸ Dane Rudhyar's 1927 review of a concert containing Imre Weisshaus's music celebrated the positive "virility" of modernist music, one of many such remarks by male composers during the 1920s that alienated concert audiences consisting largely of women. Gendered language applied to modernism often led to gender allegiances.

⁹ Tefft, Lulu Sanford, "American Music Values," *Music World* (August, 1931); also see Tefft, Lulu Sanford and Louis Woodson Curtis, "The Society for the Advancement of American Music," *Music World* (March, 1932);

larly mistrusted foreign conductors and orchestral musicians, whose anti-American vision, according to Tefft, began to permeate American opera: "There are [operas] [that] need careful handling that unquestionably grasp the American point of view. ... Such a task takes deep loyalty and cannot be entrusted to an alien ... Thank God [foreign musicians] have not as yet wholly robbed us of our birthright of individual national expression."¹⁰ Tefft went a step further in 1930 by participating in the formation of the *Society for the Advancement of American Music* (SAAM) together with composers Mary Carr Moore, Charles Cadman, and Richard Drake Saunders.¹¹ SAAM required that members be American-born. This was also the case with the *Society of Native American Composers* (SNAC), an organization that included Charles Ives, Amy Beach, Howard Hanson, and Carl Ruggles. Composer and SNAC member Richard Saunders stated: "The real fact is that European trained artists have long held a virtual monopoly, which they are desperately afraid of losing. If the American public takes to American works, it will obviously soon progress to taking up American performers, and third-rate Europeans who have long flooded this country will find their jobs non-existent."¹² The president of SNAC, Frank Colby, helped shape the bylaw similar to the one found in the *Society for the Advancement of American Music* forbidding foreign-born composers to participate in the organization.¹³ Although more inclusive members within the group temporarily dissolved this rule, others eventually reinstated the ban. Opera composer Mary Carr Moore subsequently became secretary-treasurer and supported the native-born bylaw. In her 1936 article in *Music and Musicians*, she wrote:

"If we preserve the American tradition, we *must* go forward on the *native* basis ... A new group is being formed, composed of American composers of Southern California who have written works in the more serious form ... It is hoped that ... this group will eventually succeed in gaining the attention of opera conductors, most of whom are foreigners and cannot know of the material available, unless it is brought to their attention ... The general attitude of the thoughtless [is that] America has achieved nothing ... in the larger forms ... undoubtedly due to lack of information, and possibly of interest on the part of European conductors ... Until the country as a whole is willing to accord the same interest to its own composers to the extent of insisting on well-rehearsed performances and enough repetitions to familiarize the hearers with the musical content, the American composer is in danger of smotheration [sic]. How many listeners were sympathetic to the works of many, now considered great, at first hearing: History tells the story ... I am a great believer in the wisdom and the responsibility of every national group, not only in preserving the folk songs of its country, but also, in recognizing its national characteristics ... America is composed of such a wide heritage from

reprinted in Smith, Catherine Parsons and Cynthia S. Richardson, *Mary Carr Moore, American Composer* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1987), 177.

¹⁰ Collation: Tefft, Lulu Sanford, "What's the Matter with English?," *Music World* (Los Angeles, November, 1930); reprinted in Smith, Catherine Parsons and Cynthia S. Richardson, *Mary Carr Moore, American Composer*, 177; Tefft, Alson, "American Music Values," *Music World* (August, 1931). According to Tefft, healthy American operas included Mary Moore's *Narcissa*, Howard Hanson's *Merry Mount*, Charles Skilton's *Kalopin*, and Leslie Grossmith's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.

¹¹ The pledge of the organization, as it appeared in their 1934 bulletin, entitled "American Music Notes," states: "I, a native born American, desire the *Society for the Advancement of American Music* and shall lend my support to further its best interests;" see "American Music Notes" (printed brochure in Box 4), *Fannie Charles Dillon papers* (Music Library, University of California, Los Angeles); reprinted in Smith, Catherine Parsons and Cynthia S. Richardson, *Mary Carr Moore, American Composer*, p. 178. The society sponsored music composed by women, including honorary member Eleanor Freer, Mary Carr Moore, and Amy Beach. In fact, out of nineteen works performed for the club between 1930 and 1937, nine were composed by women.

¹² Saunders, Richard Drake, "California Composers Organize," *Educator* (1936), 12; reprinted in Smith, Catherine Parsons and Cynthia S. Richardson, *Mary Carr Moore, American Composer*, 179.

¹³ Seventeen out of twenty-seven of the composers in the *Society of Native American Composers* later joined the *Society for the Advancement of American Music*.

so many national backgrounds, that it is difficult to segregate that which is ourselves, and that which had been implanted.”¹⁴

Moore’s description of “that which is ourselves, and that which had been implanted” calls in to question American identity—that is, how “ourselves” is defined, possibly alluding to Anglo-Saxon paradigms historically embedded within the American consciousness. Contemporary musicians and writers restated such nationalist ideals. *Society for the Advancement of American Music* member and composer Richard Saunders asserted:

“The musical rise of every country is directly traceable to the efforts of a nationalist group. As long as music is purely an imported article, the public as a whole will take comparatively little interest in it. The germinator [sic], the motivation, and to a certain extent the treatment of a musical subject must reflect a distinctively nationalistic psychology if it is to be more than a mere longation [sic] of some other national school ... There are now symphonic orchestras available, and moreover symphony orchestras which have no prejudice against American music but which are willing to lend a helpful hand.”¹⁵ By the 1940s, nationalists aimed their disdain at Russian modernist composers, claiming their works were “pro-communist.” Ethel Dofflemyer, who participated in the *Society of Native American Composers*, expressed concern about the “bugbear of communist propaganda” in Shostakovich’s *Symphony no. 7*: “[The work] announced itself the ‘Gettysburg speech’ of Russia written in music, for it definitely conveyed the birth and development of Russian communism. ... Make no mistake--this is a work written for a definite purpose;”¹⁶ this rhetoric became more direct during the Cold War. Even as late as 1943, Adolph Weiss, president of the *Society for Native American Composers*, continued to debate whether foreign-born—even longtime residents and naturalized citizens, as well as Jewish-American composers, could be considered “American” and therefore hold office in the organization. The controversy grew increasingly more public. When Weiss asked composer Charles Ives to become honorary national president, Ives responded with a financial contribution and column in their newsletter. However, when he heard about their jingoistic and racist views, he penned a forceful letter of rebuke: “Recently a report of some serious criticism of the society has reached me—it is, that this society is against all Jews, and also pro-Fascist. I cannot believe that this is true—but, if it is, accept my resignation immediately. These kinds of medieval group prejudices...are among the greatest curses in the world today...Also, I hear that the society is prejudiced against the negro composer, which I hope is unfounded—for it is the concern of a society of music to hear the color of the composer’s tones—and not the color of his skin.”¹⁷ Adolph Weiss and Mary Carr Moore reassured Ives. Despite the anti-Semitic undertones to their replies, Ives nonetheless appeared satisfied. Moore later explained her perception of the group’s philosophy:

“I agreed (in 1936) as to the desirability of perpetuating the music of Americans, or at least one generation ... This was in 1936, [when] there was no thought of antagonism to the music of other countries ... We are ... friendly with the composers of foreign extraction who

¹⁴ Collation: Moore, Mary Carr, “New Composers Group Formed,” *Music and Musicians* (August, 1936); also see Moore, Mary Carr, “Radio Interview by Naomi Reynolds on Station KMPC,” Moore Archive (January, 1944); reprinted in Smith, Catherine Parsons and Cynthia S. Richardson, *Mary Carr Moore, American Composer*, 179, 182.

¹⁵ Collation of unidentified clipping (probably from *Hollywood Citizen-News*) in scrapbook no. 13, Moore Archive; Saunders, Richard Drake, “California Composers Organize,” *Education* (1936), 12; and Saunders, “New Group to Back Music of America,” reprinted in Smith, Catherine Parsons and Cynthia S. Richardson, *Mary Carr Moore, American Composer*, 179-180. Saunders was a critic for the *Hollywood Citizen-News*.

¹⁶ Clement, Henri Lloyd, *Co-Art Turntable* vol. 2, no. 9 (September 1942); reprinted in Smith, 183. Dofflemeyer used the pen name Henri Lloyd Clement.

¹⁷ Letter from Charles Ives to Henri Lloyd Clement [Ethel Dofflemeyer], *Charles Ives Collection* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Music Library, March, 1943).

have come to the United States, having been forced to flee their own countries. We have ... as a nation, extended toward them, hospitality, and welcome ... It is therefore [acceptable] to complain if we desire ... to preserve our own traditions, in our own land, in our own way. That is the privilege of any country, in regard to its own art and music.”¹⁸

American nationalism, fueled by economic, political, and artistic apprehension of foreigners, was combined with anti-Semitism during the first half of the century. Many Eastern European Jewish migrants came to American shores between 1900-1924, and many Americans perceived these working class immigrants as socialists or communists. During the 1920s, following the Russian Revolution, many Americans used the word *Bolshevist* to describe Russian Jews with alleged pro-communist sympathies. The Red Scare of 1919-1920, a series of labor strikes in the United States followed by letter bombs sent to prominent individuals, frightened citizens into thinking these events a prelude to revolution. This led Senator Clayton Lusk to authorize four hundred soldiers to devastate the New York branch of the socialist daily newspaper *Call*, where they destroyed files and confiscated records. Former American presidents Woodrow Wilson and William Howard Taft signed a statement denouncing this “organized campaign of anti-Semitism.”¹⁹ Congress nonetheless drafted legislation in 1924 in which unlimited immigration into the United States would be abolished. Many non-Jewish American citizens, including members of SNAC and SAAM, accused Jewish composers during the 1920s and early 1930s of being communist and involved in organizations that promoted worker’s causes. In actuality, many composers, such as Aaron Copland, were not members of the party out of fear of not getting their works performed. However, various musicians, including Copland, were members of the *Composer’s Collective* and attended weekly sessions in loft spaces provided by the Communist party. Copland also wrote a song during the early 1930s for the communist journal *New Masses* entitled “Into the Streets, May First,” and declared that “composers will want to raise the musical level of the masses, but they must also be ready to learn from them what species of song is most apposite to the revolutionary task. A song for the masses must appropriate a vehicle for communicating the political message of the day-to-day struggle of the Proletariat. There are those of us who wish to see music play its part in the worker’s struggle for a new world order.”²⁰ Copland’s comment is problematic considering that his modernist works composed during the 1920s were largely inaccessible to those masses undoubtedly uninitiated in modernist music.²¹ Nonetheless, anti-Semitic Americans were quick to conflate Jewish composers or performers with socialist leanings and dissonant modernism, rather than with the Socialist Realism to which Copland referred.²² Some composers also perceived Copland’s music as Jewish, a sub-text for not being authentically American. Henry Cowell, Virgil Thomson, Roger Sessions, Edgar Varése, Daniel Gregory Mason, and Lazare Saminsky focused their attention on Copland’s modernist music from the 1920s and early 1930s. They called attention to its “Jewishness,” specifi-

¹⁸ Mary Carr Moore letter to Charles Ives, *Charles Ives Collection*, Yale University (March 22, 1943); reprinted in Smith, Catherine Parsons and Cynthia S. Richardson, *Mary Carr Moore, American Composer*, 184.

¹⁹ Author unknown, “Wilson and Harding Defend Jews,” *The Independent*, vol. 105 (January 29, 1921), 118; reprinted in Dinnerstein, Leonard, *Anti-Semitism in America* (Oxford, Great Britain: Oxford University Press, 1994), 83.

²⁰ Copland, Aaron, “Workers Sing!,” *New Masses* (June 12, 1934), 28; reprinted in Tischler, *An American Music: the Search for an American Musical Identity*, 111.

²¹ These works include *Music for the Theater* (1925), *Concerto for Piano and Orchestra* (1926), and *Piano Variations* (1930).

²² Nonetheless, his comment became a prelude to tonal works composed during the latter 1930s and early 1940s, including *Billy the Kid*, *Rodeo*, and *Appalachian Spring*. Anti-modernists often championed Wagner’s music, including composers in Los Angeles, where there were a number of German-American composers. Many important German-American clubs in Los Angeles included the Turnverein Turner Hall, the Apollo Club (a German-American choral society), and the Ellis Club.

cally its Russian-Jewish style, referring to Copland's use of jazz and atonality. Isaac Goldberg, in *Aaron Copland and His Jazz*, wrote: "The ready amalgamation of the American Negro and the American Jew goes back to something Oriental in the blood of both."²³ Henry Cowell, in articles for the German publication *Melos*, described Copland's piano work *The Cat and the Mouse* as Jewish, with Copland's jazz-influenced works representing "Negro music seen through the eyes of Jews."²⁴ About Copland's modernist *Piano Variations*, American composer and music critic Daniel Mason also compared Copland's Jewishness to African-American culture: "It is significant that both Negro and Jew are dispossessed people who have become, in a cosmopolitan urban society, representatives of modern man's uprootedness."²⁵ This linking of African-American culture with Jewish-American society was typical for the period. Many critics even argued that Copland's Jewish background *predisposed* him toward jazz.²⁶ These writers discussed five points of similarity during the 1920s: first, American Jews of Russian background played an overt role in the dissemination of jazz and jazz-related idioms; second, the writers perceived a similarity between Eastern-European Jewish and African-American folk music; third, there were parallels between the way commercial entertainment depicted African-American and Jewish culture; finally, both cultures had been historically persecuted.²⁷ Thus critics defined Copland's and other Jewish composers' works as quintessentially "Jewish," in part, by their jazz and blues elements.²⁸ Critics used additional criteria for hearing so-called Jewishness in Copland's music. English musicologist, music critic, and composer Wilfred Mellers compared Copland with Mahler and Schoenberg in relationship to "loneliness and rootlessness" associated with Jewish stateless existence.²⁹ Roger Sessions compared Copland to Mahler: "It is interesting to note the occasional Jewish character of Copland's music, approaching in this respect the spirit of ... Mahler, though with his own idiom and feeling."³⁰ Composer and critic Daniel Mason claimed that Copland's Jewishness prevented him from writing genuine American music. Mason framed this

²³ Goldberg, Isaac, "Aaron Copland and his Jazz," *American Mercury*, vol. 26 (September, 1927), 63; reprinted in Pollack, Howard, *Aaron Copland: The Life and Work of an Uncommon Man* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press), 518.

²⁴ Cowell, Henry, "Amerikanische Musik?," *Melos*, vol. 8-9, no. 9 (1930), 362-365; reprinted in Pollack, *Aaron Copland: The Life and Work of an Uncommon Man*, 519.

²⁵ Mellers, Wilfred Howard, *Music in a New Found Land* (Great Britain: Oxford University Press, 1964), 85; reprinted in Pollack, *Aaron Copland: The Life and Work of an Uncommon Man*, 518.

²⁶ Many of Copland's works composed during the 1920s contained jazz elements, including *The Cat and the Mouse*, *Piano Concerto*, and *Music for the Theatre*. *Piano Concerto* (1926) contains jazz rhythms, blues elements, and declamatory elements that often parallel those found in shofar calls. *Music for the Theatre* is divided into five movements: "Prologue," "Dance," "Interlude," "Burlesque," and "Epilogue." "Dance" contains jazz characteristics, including muted instruments, vamps, and microtonal slides, as well as a quote from the popular song "The Sidewalks of New York (1904)." "Interlude" contains blues elements and "Prologue" contains elements found in Copland's earlier works containing jazz. "Burlesque" was inspired by the comic actress in the *Ziegfeld Follies* Fanny Brice, who often portrayed Jewish immigrant characters with Jewish mannerisms and dialect. Pollack, in reference to modernist atonality, stated that "E.B. Hill might privately describe *Music for the Theater* as 'usual clever Hebraic assimilation of the worst features of poly-tonalité,' but wouldn't say that in print." Virgil Thomson also focused his attention on Copland's "very Jewish music" and its economy of means. See Pollack, *Aaron Copland: The Life and Work of an Uncommon Man*, 519-20.

²⁷ Howe, Irving, *World of our Fathers* (New York: Hancourt Brace Jovanovich, 1976), 562-3; also see Douglas, Ann, *Terrible Honesty: Mongrel Manhattan in the 1920s* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 1995), 358-64; also see Berman, Paul, ed., *Blacks and Jews: Alliances and Arguments* (New York, Delta, 1994).

²⁸ This includes George Gershwin.

²⁹ Mellers, Wilfrid, book review of Rothmuller, Aron Marko, "The Music of the Jews: An Historical Appreciation," *Musical Times*, vol. CCLC (August, 1954); reprinted in Pollack, *Aaron Copland: The Life and Work of an Uncommon Man*, 519.

³⁰ Sessions, Roger, "An American Evening Abroad," *Modern Music*, vol. 4, no. 1 (1926-27), 34; reprinted in Pollack, *Aaron Copland: The Life and Work of an Uncommon Man*, 519.

in terms of Anglo-American paradigms: “The insidiousness of the Jewish menace to our artistic integrity is due to the speciousness, the superficial charm and persuasiveness of Hebrew art, its brilliance, its violently juxtaposed extremes of passion, its poignant eroticism and pessimism,” which he contrasted with an American character, marked by “poignant beauty of Anglo-Saxon sobriety and restraint...the fine reserve so polar to the garrulous self-confessions, the almost indecent stripping of the soul.”³¹ Mason’s equating passion and eroticism with Jewishness is clarified by the comments of Sessions and Mellers: that Mahler’s Post-Romantic confessional style established the paradigm for Jewishness in music. For Mason, this was a pretext for anti-Semitism and for promoting Anglo-Saxon American culture. Mason also argued that Boston Symphony Orchestra concerts containing Copland’s music were European, exotic, and “a little less representatively American.”³² Even Jewish writer and composer Lazare Saminsky, an expert in Jewish music, criticized Copland’s modernist music as Judaic. He alleged that Copland’s works developed from ghetto culture and assimilationist aspirations, in contrast to “Hebraic” music based on ancient traditions.³³ Saminsky attacked Copland’s *Vitebsk* of 1928,³⁴ which, he

³¹ Mason, Daniel Gregory, *Tune In, America* (New York: Knopf, 1931), 160. Also see Mason, “Is American Music Growing Up?” *Arts and Decoration* (November, 1920).

³² Mason, Daniel Gregory, *Tune In, America* (New York: Knopf, 1931), 28; reprinted in Pollack, *Aaron Copland: The Life and Work of an Uncommon Man*, 519.

³³ Saminsky, Lazare, *Music of the Ghetto and the Bible* (New York: Bloch Publishing, 1934), 118. Saminsky quotes Boris de Schloezer: “As one studies the work of composers of Jewish origin ... one establishes the existence of certain common traits to be found in ... Ernest Bloch of the United States, in Arnold Schoenberg of Austria, in Darius Milhaud of France--traits that suggest a vague spiritual parentage between these artists whose personalities seem, however, so different. All four of them ... are expressionists, whose music is deeply saturated with psychology; they are subjective musicians, lyric poets whose art is an effusion, a passionate confession often violent, exasperated, not without a certain declamatory, theatrical exaggeration, often also sentimental.” See de Schloezer, Boris, “Darius Milhaud,” *La Revue Musicale* (1925); also see Saminsky footnote, p. 92. Saminsky also quotes Paul Rosenfeld: “Paul Rosenfeld has seized on Ornstein’s Yiddish nucleus very accurately: ‘The Jewish spirit come up into the day from out the basement and cellar rooms of the synagogue where it had been seated for a thousand years drugging itself with rabbinical lore, refining almost maniacally upon the intention of some obscure phrase or parable, negating the lure of the world.’” See Rosenfeld, Paul, *Musical Portraits*; also see Saminsky, 119. Saminsky himself expands upon this topic in the following collation: “A composer can no more flavor his music with nationalism to order than he may add a cubit to his stature ... Nationalism is a kind of musical sub consciousness which may be instinctively called to the front, but never deliberately mobilized ... Another Hebrew American group also draws its distinction from a typical but a rather new racial color. It is composed of musicians whose tonal mind is clearly traceable even when their creative level cannot be gauged with assurance ... Aaron Copland and George Gershwin, of whom I speak, constitute the decidedly Yiddish constellation among the composers of this country. There is not a drop of the Hebraic in their music, not a cell of the blood of Jacob. This music abounds in ghetto *raffinement* or regeneration, whatever you may call it. It abounds in a rampant Judaic breath (Judaic as opposed to Hebraic). Scriabin was able to alter Ornstein as little as Mahler plus jazz to galvanize Copland, or Rimsky-Korsakov plus the Broadway folksong, to disarray the native substance of Gershwin Gershwin himself confessed to me: ‘While I actually do not know much about Jewish folksong, I think that many of my themes are Jewish in feeling although they are purely American in style.’ This statement is remarkably correct from either of its angles... A gifted American, Theodore Chanler, quotes: ‘Someone has said that Aaron Copland’s musical ideas are like pennies shrewdly invested rather than pearls advantageously set.’ His trio *Vitebsk* (Study on a Jewish Melody) seems to embody an artisanship that smacks of “penny-investing,” and not an especially shrewd gamble either. Let no one say that this is a chance work, a passing improvisation drawn up in a moment of affection for a lovely Jewish melody. A Copland work is a scheme rather than a composition. It is usually a highly painstaking and protracted venture. He sometimes spends years in weaving one single small work. He does not trust his intuition and composes neither swiftly nor spontaneously. All the Copland calculation is there, even in the subtitle ‘a study,’ a sort of insurance against criticism. But even this safety device does not ward off or mitigate the impression of an insipid, petty and unimaginative treatment of a fine Jewish folksong...Copland’s *Trio* is singular in a repulsive impropriety of garb. Its Jewishness is musically shallow, and its motives opportunistic. After the subtle, poised and finished mastery achieved by Bloch ...in [his] treatment of Hebrew Melos, [Copland’s] *Study on a Jewish Melody* sounds like sheer effrontery ... [Cop-

claimed, contained “Jewishness [that was] musically shallow, opportunistic, [and] exploitative.”³⁵ Copland rarely and only much later discussed his own music in terms of being Jewish.³⁶ About his own *Piano Variations* (1930), he said:

land] touches Jewish Melos furtively. His is a back-door sort of communion; he does not wish, or is not able, to consecrate himself in earnest, deep submergence in the song of his race. He should leave it and return to the pranks of polytonal jazz. And yet, the role of a master in jazz sublimation is not Copland's own, either. He has tried to wrest the coronet from Gershwin...Stylization on the jazz pattern, the condensing of the jazz spirit into a cultured form, and even the peculiar neurotic exhilaration of jazz, is not native to Copland...His interest was a policy, a temporary pose greedily taken during the jazz storm of the ... twenties. It is a relief to know that the unsavory, shrieking cartwheels from *Music for the Theatre* is the artificial, the casual Copland ... The wistful, earnest and delicate slow Melos of this piece is the best and the Jewish Copland. This somber melopeia reflects the something stately and still and subtle which is the charm of Copland the man. Copland is of an observing, an absorbing nature, rather than a creative one. In this he is a sort of miniature Mahler; this kinship in mentality is perhaps the reason for Copland's Mahler worship.” Saminsky, Lazare, *Music of the Ghetto and the Bible*, 100, 118-125. Also Chanler, Theodore, *American Composers on American Music, a symposium edited by Henry Cowell*, Stanford University Press, 1933.

³⁴ Vitebsk is a city in Belarus. Its official founding year is 947. In the 12th and 13th centuries Vitebsk was the capital of a principality that thrived at the crossroads of the river routes among the Baltic and Black seas. During the First Partition of Lithuanian-Polish Commonwealth in 1772, Vitebsk was annexed by the Russian Empire. During the 19th century, four million Jews fled the area for the United States. According to the Russian census of 1897, out of the total population of 65,900, Jews constituted 34,400 (52% percent). During World War II, the city was under the Nazi occupation. Much of the old city was destroyed in the ensuing battles between German and Red Army soldiers. Many Jews fled to Russia's interior once the Nazis conquered the city. Those 16,000 Jews who remained behind were imprisoned in a ghetto and most were then systematically killed. *Vitebsk* is also a chamber work in which Copland develops a Yiddish folk melody he heard in a 1925 production of S. Ansky's play *The Dybbuk* (1914). S. Ansky was a Russian-Jewish collector of Jewish Hassidic folktales. His name was a pseudonym for Shloyme Zanvl Rappoport (1863-1920). Gershwin pondered the idea of adapting the play as an opera in 1928. The story contains young rebellious Jews who reject a strict father-figure, a stifling ghetto, and stern Jewish religious devotion, in favor of forbidden love and new identities. Irving Howe suggests that jazz represented a generational break from the customs of the past, manifested in East European terms in *The Dybbuk*. Ansky also had socialist affiliations and the play contained many political implications, one of the reasons why it was very popular in New York during the 1920s. See Howe, *World of our Fathers*, 562-3. Leonard Bernstein composed *The Dybbuk* as a ballet in 1974. See Pollack, *Aaron Copland: The Life and Work of an Uncommon Man*, 143. In *Vitebsk*, Copland claimed that “it was my intention to reflect the harshness and drama of Jewish life in White Russia.” See Copland and Vivian Perlis, *Copland: 1900-1942* (London: Faber and Faber, 1984), 162; reprinted in Pollack, *Aaron Copland: The Life and Work of an Uncommon Man*, 142. Pollack reminds readers that Marc Chagall was born in Vitebsk and Copland once referred to the composition's fast section as having a “Chagall-like grotesquerie.” Ansky's play for the Warsaw premiere contained incidental music composed by Joel Engel, who included the Hasidic song “Mipnei Mah” (“Wherefore, O Wherefore?”) to open and close the play. Ansky, S., *The Dybbuk*, trans. S. Morris Engel (Los Angeles: Nash, 1974), pgs. 7-9; reprinted in Pollack, *Aaron Copland: The Life and Work of an Uncommon Man*, 144. The text to “Mipnei Mah”: “Wherefore, O Wherefore Has the Soul Fallen from exalted heights to profoundest depths? Within itself, the fall contains the ascension.” Engel included the incidental music to *The Dybbuk* in a suite entitled *Hadibuk*. This song contains a three-note motive that suggests a minor triad, also heard in Copland's *Vitebsk* as a declamatory proclamation within the two outer ‘A’ sections, followed by developmental material of this theme in the central ‘B’ segment. Pollack suggests that this motive is comparable to one in Copland's *Organ Symphony*. The two ‘A’ sections are slow in tempo and contain their own ternary substructures. The ‘B’ section contains a fast tempo, which reflects Leah's dance with blind and crippled villagers and vaguely resembles Engel's incidental music to the “Bettertanze” scene. The work contains quarter tones together with iambic pentameter and descending intervals, arguably evoking the shofar calls depicted in the exorcism scene of *The Dybbuk*. This is a self-consciously Jewish work, unlike other works by Copland discussed in this essay. A shofar is a horn, traditionally a ram, used for Jewish religious purposes. For Lazare Saminsky, Copland's style contained “faint Slavonic colors,” using Copland's *Music for Radio* as an example; Saminsky, Lazare, “American Phase of International Music Festival Revealed New Talent,” *Musical Courier* (July, 1941), 19; reprinted in Pollack, *Aaron Copland: The Life and Work of an Uncommon Man*, 144.

³⁵ Pollack, *Aaron Copland: The Life and Work of an Uncommon Man*, 144. Pollack's book cites Ruth Gay's memoirs that suggest that for New York Jewish immigrants, positive references to open spaces were derived from

“In addition to the ... need to find a musical language that would have [an] American quality, I had also a—shall we say Hebraic—idea of the grandiose, of the dramatic and the tragic, which was expressed to a certain extent in the *Organ Symphony*, and very much in the *Symphonic Ode* ... I think now, however, that the [*Piano*] *Variations* was another version of the grandiose, except that it had changed to a very dry and bare grandiosity, instead of the fat grandiosity of a big orchestral work that lasted twenty minutes.”³⁷

When writing to Leonard Bernstein about the sketches to Bernstein’s *Jeremiah Symphony*, Copland echoed his own remarks about his *Piano Variations*: “There are certain drawbacks ... to adapting a Jewish melos ... It was clever to have adopted the ‘Jewish’ manner in this piece and thereby justify the romanticism of the piece ... except that it [has become] a very dry and bare grandiosity.” Copland described Mahler as being “the assimilated Jew par excellence,”³⁸ while mentioning that Schoenberg’s “Jewish side” is found in his idealism, fighting spirit, intransigence, and purist nature. He referred to Bloch as the epitome of “Jewish inspiration,” and praised Milhaud as the “best example of a Jewish composer.”³⁹ Copland expanded upon this latter claim: “The nostalgia, subjectivism, violence, and strong sense of logic [is characteristic of Milhaud’s] Jewish blood and Jewish spirit. In Milhaud’s compositions ... we have proof that a composer can remain profoundly national and at the same time profoundly Jewish.”⁴⁰ Despite these comments, very few composers included musical detail when describing Jewishness in music.

Not all composers of twentieth-century modernist music were Jewish, of course, just as not all anti-Semites were anti-modernist. Composer Carl Ruggles was anti-Semitic, despite his modernist stance and socialist leanings.⁴¹ He joined the *Pan American Association of Composers*: when this organization thought of increasing its membership, Ruggles argued that many prospective members were Jews and he was therefore opposed to the proposal. He wrote a letter to composer Henry Cowell criticizing musician Arthur Berger and other prospective initiates as well as members: “It is a great mistake to have that filthy bunch of Juilliard Jews in the Pan American. They are cheap, without dignity, and with little or no talent. They will no doubt cross you Henry—I’m sure in every way. My advice is to promptly kick them out before it is too late.”⁴² He wrote another letter expressing dissatisfaction with the increasing number of Jewish émigrés from Europe becoming well-known American orchestral conductors and soloists. Cowell replied to Ruggles, reassuring him: “How you will shine among the Jews!”⁴³ Writing to com-

new overcrowded tenement life as many were often nostalgic for the open landscapes of their youth. Saminsky also cited the main ideas in Copland’s *Piano Concerto* as similar to shofar calls and suggested that the slow fourth movement *Pas de Trois* of *Dance Panels* contains a theme in the opening similar to the popular setting of the Sabbath hymn “Lecha dodi;” See Pollack, *Aaron Copland: The Life and Work of an Uncommon Man*, 522.

³⁶ Copland did mention his use of a Jewish folk song in *Vitebsk*.

³⁷ Cone, Edward T., “Conversation with Aaron Copland,” *Perspectives of New Music*, vol. 6, no. 2 (1968), 64.

³⁸ Copland, Aaron, “Jewish Composers in the Western World, Lectures,” CCLC (1951); reprinted in Pollack: *Aaron Copland: The Life and Work of an Uncommon Man*, 523.

³⁹ Pollack, 523.

⁴⁰ Pollack, *Aaron Copland: The Life and Work of an Uncommon Man*, 522-4.

⁴¹ Ruggles, who grew up in Marion, Massachusetts, once remarked: “I haven’t been in [Marion] for twenty-five years, but they tell me it hasn’t changed a bit. It’s very restricted. Not like Provincetown and other parts of the Cape—all messed up, where a lot of cheap Jews go.”

⁴² Letter from Carl Ruggles to Henry Cowell (June 21, 1933); reprinted in Ziffrin, Marilyn J., *Carl Ruggles: Composer, Painter, and Storyteller* (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1994), 136. Arthur Berger (1912-2003) was an American composer of Jewish descent who studied with Walter Piston at Harvard and Nadia Boulanger in Paris. He was also a member of the *Young Composers Group*.

⁴³ Letter from Henry Cowell to Carl Ruggles (December 5, 1931); reprinted in Oja, Carol J., *Making Music Modern: New York in the 1920s* (Oxford, Great Britain: Oxford University Press, 2000), 218.

poser Edgar Varèse, Ruggles exclaimed: What a stinker Kike [Koussevitsky] is, and the dirty little rats he surrounds himself with."⁴⁴ He also referred here to Krenek, Hindemith, and Schoenberg, despite the fact that some of Ruggles' closest friends and supporters, including Schoenberg, were Jewish. Ruggles' close friend Charles Ives at times ignored his prejudices out of loyalty, but at other times criticized his racist comments. Ruggles' friend and composer Lou Harrison broke off his friendship because of an event in New York in which Ruggles used anti-African-American and anti-Semitic slurs. These verbal assaults were common in New York associations, including the *International Composer's Guild (ICG)* and the *Pan-American* organization, the latter attracting several composers, including Carl Ruggles, in part, because of its exclusionary practices.⁴⁵ These practices, used in part to exclude Jews, led Jewish composers, such as Frederick Jacobi, Louis Gruenberg, Minna Lederman, Claire Reis, and Alma Wertheim, to defect and form the *League of Composers*.⁴⁶ Virgil Thomson retrospectively referred to the *League of Composers* as the "League of Jewish composers." Edgar Varèse described the organization's social gatherings as "those delicatessen parties."⁴⁷ It is likely that much of this anti-Semitism among non-Jewish New York-based modernist composers was due to the frustration and difficulty in getting their own compositions heard while using Jewish-American composers as scapegoats.

Although many societies and composers promoted musical nationalism, others questioned the validity of only American-born composers performing American works. Critic Bruno Usher, a writer who emigrated from Germany following World War I, countered arguments that had been leveled against Jewish-American and foreign influences in American music:

"I am wondering whether the spirit of true Americanism as distilled in the ink of official signatures necessarily differs when used in the bureau of vital statistics from that of the immigration office. Sometimes I wonder, too, whether the real nationality of music does not come with the emotional perception and expressionnal [sic] objective of the composer, rather than with the mere facts of locality of birth . . . I have not been able to discover the "American" quality. In fact, had the members of SNAC been able to characterize a style as specifically "American" that applied to the work of every working American composer, they might have avoided couching their discussion in such starkly and unattractively nativist terms. It must be said, though, that no such term or phrase has yet been coined, nor has an unoffending code word been devised for such a style. Even among the relatively small group of composers directly involved in any of these . . . societies, the diversity of interests involved would almost certainly have overwhelmed even the best intentions."⁴⁸

Despite Usher's and others' sentiments, the American government began supporting American atonal and jazz-based compositions in greater number during the 1930s under the auspices

⁴⁴ Letter from Carl Ruggles to Edgard Varèse (August, 1948); reprinted in Ziffrin, *Carl Ruggles: Composer, Painter, and Storyteller*, 193.

⁴⁵ Marilyn Ziffrin Interview with Lou Harrison, Aptos, California (March 21, 1975); reprinted in Ziffrin, *Carl Ruggles: Composer, Painter, and Storyteller*, 195.

⁴⁶ These five figures founded the *League of Composers*. Frederick Jacobi was an American composer and teacher who subsequently taught at Juilliard. Louis Gruenberg was a Russian-born American composer and pianist. Claire Reis became president of the *League of Composers* for twenty-five years. Minna Lederman became the founder of the music review magazine for the *League of Composers* entitled *The League of Composers' Review*. The name was changed to *Modern Music* in 1925. Alma Wertheim became the patron of Boston Symphony Orchestra conductor Serge Koussevitsky and subsequently wrote for *Modern Music*.

⁴⁷ Varèse, Louise, *Varèse: A Looking Glass Diary* [Carol Oja Interview with Virgil Thomson] (New York: W.W. Norton, 1988) 186; reprinted in Oja, *Making Music Modern: New York in the 1920s*, 217-18.

⁴⁸ Usher, Bruno David, *Pasadena Star-News* (October 26, 1940). Usher's comments came from a review of a concert sponsored by the society given on October 23, 1940.

of the Works Project Administration, which financed symphony orchestras to perform more American music. By the time America entered World War II, administrators of music projects had discovered they could obtain annual congressional appropriation more easily by emphasizing American composers. WPA-financed composers were then asked to report on what American music they had performed in the form of lists and regular reports to Congress. Yet between the two world wars, much of the disagreement over acceptable American music and inclusionary or exclusionary practices remained for some a moral imperative. And regional associations continued to link American nationalism with the promotion of tonality and aversion to modernism.⁴⁹ In the wake of World War II, those interested in promoting American tonal music fought an increasingly losing battle. Anti-modernists lost ground in what was otherwise a largely ethnic and political debate. An interest in American identity linked to tonal compositions waned as serialism began to grow in popularity. This coincided with a new wave of Jewish immigrants during and after World War II, this time largely from Germany and Poland. And many of these immigrants were musicians who played a pivotal role in the training of American instrumentalists, as the meaning of being American began to evolve yet again.

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⁴⁹ As one composer at a Forum-Laboratory concert remarked: "I would like to have you people know that I believe in God. I believe in the sanctity of the home. I believe in the Constitution of the United States, and by thunder, I believe in the C Major triad." See Foster, George, "Record of Program Operation and Accomplishments: The Federal Music Project, 1935-1939;" and the "WPA Music Program, 1939-1943" (Washington, D.C.: WPA Music Program, Interior Division, National Archives and Records Service, 1943), 134; reprinted in Tischler, *An American Music: the Search for an American Musical Identity*, 146. The Forum-Laboratory Concerts contained works by living American composers who were present and they often expressed views on a broad range of topics in Question and Answer segments. This quote is a reply by a composer who was criticized for writing music that was tonal.

Portraying Persian Patriotism in Aref Qazvini's Compositions During the early Years of 20th Century

Arman Goharinasab & Azadeh Latifkar

Introduction

Aref Qazvini (1882-1934) who was a poet, musician and singer arose in an important turning point of Iran history had the chance to be one of the few intelligent witnesses who observed the Iranian movement toward modernity. Iranian movement toward modernity and freedom began in mid-18th century and continued during the whole 20th century. Mohammad Tagi Bhar, Iranian poet and critic, in one of his lectures on the modern situation in Iran stated that "now (1946) we stand at the crossroads of our history, one way toward obsolescence and being stagnant and the other toward novelty and progress. Each poet and writer who lead the people toward future, motion and life while his art be more realistic and compassionate, his works will be more valuable for posterity."

Aref was neither a politician nor a well-educated man. He was simply an artist and an honest patriot who tried hard to create art works expressing a pure love for his homeland. Shafiei Kadkani believed that Aref's poetry is pure emotions while the focal point of these emotions is his profound sense of patriotism. Bahar described him as the poet of common people. He was also called the national poet because his simple and honest language. Moreover his memorable patriotic tasnifs (songs) made him an influential figure in Iran contemporary history.

Before Aref Tasnif was a vulgar form in Persian music and its main themes were lampoons. In mid eighteenth century, Sheida, musician, made several lyric tasnifs and then Aref became the first person who composed tasnifs with sociopolitical themes. And for the first time he performed them in public concerts rather than in private ceremonies. Therefore, tasnif was raised from ordinary people to elite class and was given social content. (Shafiei Kadkani, 2012) He composed more than twenty seven tasnifs according to his anthology printed in Berlin in 1924. Most of them narrate the history of 14 years struggle for freedom, martyrs, and the moments of hope and despair. While the first tasnif composed with hope toward a future of freedom and progress, the last one was regret for beginning a new age of dictatorship.

In his personal life Aref was a true patriot. In his diaries he always swore to Iranian blood and honor. He and many of his contemporaries tried hard to establish a new concept of homeland in early 20th century and urge people to be sensitive to the events went on to their countries. Aref played an important role in the process of modernization and provided simple and memorable tasnifs full of love and honesty.

Last years of Qajar Monarchy and development of New Ideas

Nasser al-din Shah, the last powerful king of Qajar dynasty was assassinated by Mirza Reza in 1896. It had been told that the body was brought to the palace, seated by the window of the royal carriage to make people believed that he was still alive. After fifty years of reign the throne must be abdicated to the ill prince Mozaffar al-din shah while the country was unrest. Groups of demonstrators called constitutionalists were fighting for freedom and constitutional monarchy in the streets of Tehran. Finally Mozaffar al-din shah issued the command of constitution in August 1906. The first parliament codified the constitution in the following December

and the Shah signed it five days before his death while the prince Mohammad Ali Mirza was strongly opposed to it.

Accordingly conflicts began between the constitutionalist and the monarchist. Mohammad Ali Shah bombarded the parliament building in 1907 and hanged some constitutionalist leader so a year of minor dictatorship began. Finally in 1908 self-governed troops from different part of country conquered Tehran. The shah was dethroned and escaped to Russia and the 12 years old Ahmad Shah became the last Qajar king. Then the second parliament established but the quarrels continued. Finally in 1925, after the coup d'état of 1921 that overthrew the Qajar dynasty, when the revolutionist were expecting a republic system, Reza Shah named himself as the first king of Pahlavi dynasty.

The Iranians' demand for constitutional monarchy and then the republic rooted in their relationships with Europeans begun in 17th century during Safavid era. This affected many aspects of Iranian life, their arts, clothing, life style and the most important their thoughts. The elites of Iranian society had become familiar with western concepts such as democracy, different political orders and freedom of speech. The next stage was when the Iranian students who were sent to Europe to get modern university educations in various fields, from medicine to painting and music. Moreover many books were translated from European language into Persian and from 1837 newspapers published in Iran spreading the novelty seeking ideas.

Many poets, writers and educated people were among the constitutionalists in the last years of 18th century. A new literature emerged in that era which addressed the public more than the small group of elites. So the traditional complex literally forms were replaced by simple forms understandable for the public. Additionally some simple art forms were developed. For instance tasnif was transformed from a lyric form into an impressive political vehicle by Aref. Furthermore, lyric and mystical contents were replaced by new sociopolitical themes. Words such as freedom, democracy, homeland, women's right and so on were used in different contexts and meanings. For instance the word freedom had been used for hundreds of years in Persian literature and referred to being free from the worldly matters. On the other hand, during the constitutional revolution it borrowed its meaning from the western thought of freedom and so referred to sociopolitical freedom.

Another important concept was nationalism. Considering that Iran had consisted of several ethnic communities which were united under their common Islamic beliefs and various religious minorities had lived for years in peace. The intellectuals began to give definitions of homeland and nation proper to modern age and new governmental system they required.

The European archeologists' excavations in eighteenth century revealed building and artifacts from pre Islam era. This motivated them to write about a national Iranian Identity more definitely. This Archaic identity appeared in the works of poets and writers such as Mirzadeye Eshghi (1893-1924) the current religious Identity based on Islamic rituals. Moreover for many constitutionalists the Islamic traditions were considered as obstacles in the way of democracy and freedom of speech and the women's right. Mirzadeye Eshghi and Aref belonged to this group while other intellectuals such as Bahar defined the Iranian identity as a combination of Islamic and pre Islamic ideas. Whether how they defined their homeland, the public thought was not aware of meaning of homeland until Aref began to perform his patriotic tasnifs.

Aref's Life and Political Events

The Young Rebel (1882-1908)

Aref was born in Qazvin, in a stressful and traditional family. His father was a barrister. According to Aref in his autobiography, he was a dishonest person who decided to make young Aref to

become a Nohe-Khan (someone who sings religious poetry in a sad voice for people to cry for martyr of Islam.) He believed that by making his son dedicating himself to a religious job, his own sins would be forgiven. Thus Aref was trained Persian singing and traditional calligraphy to become ready for that serious task. After a while the son was well prepared and began to sing in religious mourning ceremonies called Rowzeh. His exceptional talent in music, his initiative in poetry besides his beautiful voice appeared in that years when he wrote poems, composed songs and also sang them. Although, Aref did not show any compassion for his father and criticized him in harsh words and disrespectful actions, this is the only point that in his autobiography the father was respected for providing all he could for Aref's education. However the young rebel left the job detestably after his father death and began a life of debauchery. Finally after a love failure, he left Qazvin to Tehran.

During the first years of his settlement in Tehran, Aref rose to fame among Qajar noble families and leading men of that time. He was introduced to Mozaffar al-din shah in order to serve as a royal valet in the Qajar court. This Inglorious position was even more detestable than his former job. "When many of my friends were saying congratulations to me, I was thinking of a solution to escape", he wrote in his diaries. Finally he set free from that honor by his influential friends. In 1906 when Mozaffar al-din Shah signed the constitution Aref was among the constitutionalist and then became famous because of his revolutionary poems and tasnifs.

These two situations well described the process of development of his revolutionary character. The first stage took place in Qazvin and began merely as a rebellion reaction to his father's religious view. For Aref his father was the symbol of dictatorship of the central government and rigid religious Persian society at the end of 19th century. His rejection of religious dogma was reinforced by the national ideas among Iranian elites of that time. The national identity arose according to archeological investigations revealing Iranian pre Islam culture and history as we mentioned before.

The second stage happened in Tehran, when he was being invited to different ceremonies in noble and aristocratic families. There he could directly observe the degeneration of the monarchy. This is clearly obvious in his resistance to become a royal valet. The opposition toward monarchy also was a core concept in constitutional revolution.

Years of hope and fear (1908-1919)

The constitutional revolution inspired Aref's life and work. He believed that fulfillment his ideals and ambitions were tied to the political situation of Iran. Therefore he became more involved in political activities and joined the Social democrats party (Sadrinia, 2005). By composing various patriotic tasnifs and performed them in concerts in Tehran, he became the voice of revolution. One of his famous tasnifs composed in that era was "tulips have been raised from the blood of the patriot youth."

He was completely aware of his inspiration on Persian music and the Iranian society and wrote it several times in his autobiography. Many critics and literary historian also insisted on that point. "Although his poems and tasnifs were composed according certain sociopolitical events, sometimes they became the source of some events changed the way of them." (ibid) He performed and criticized despite being sometimes hidden and sometimes beaten and the constitutional Ideals seemed more and more far away.

Visiting Istanbul during the First World War became a valuable and at the same time a distress experience for him. Istanbul shaped Aref's ideas on homeland and he was also inspired by Turkish nationalism. A man in his 30s with bitter experience in personal life, frustrated from political evolutions became involved in some sociopolitical experience in new established Turkish republic. During his last years in Hamedan he insisted in his manuscript that he wanted to write

his Istanbul diary but, up to now no evidence of such a diary had been found. All we can understand about Istanbul experience is through his poems and several *tasnifs*. The point is that he returned more and more depressed and worn out from his immigration journey according to saeed Nafisi one of his contemporaries.

Despite this depression the Istanbul musical experience resulted in more perfect concerts (Sadri, 115) and also opened his eyes to limitations. He complained about the lack of music notation and also his decision about establishing a school of music. "After travelling to Istanbul and visiting Turkish *Dar ol-alhan* (House of Music) and listening to their Songs which seemed to be a combination of Persian and Arabic music, I wished I could establish a music school in Iran"

Years of Depression (1919-1925)

For Aref this period began with despair and wrath then a ray of hope appeared and at the end an absolute despair arose. He put on concerts in different towns such as Tehran, Tabriz and Hamedan and frankly criticized the social situation and political figures. Four main events of this era were reflected in Aref poems and *tasnifs*. The first was his objection to Angelo-Persian agreement of 1919. The public opinion about this agreement led to its denouncement by the parliament. The next event was the coup led by Reza Khan in 1921 that put an end to Qajar dynasty. Everybody was talking about a republic government so Aref composed the Republic march *tasnifs* and put on one of his most crowded concerts in 1923 in support of the government. It seems that finally his dreams would come true and the republic system would put an end to oppression and despotism. However the republic project defeated. The oppositions were killed by the central government, Patriots such as colonel Pesyan whom Aref believed that was a true Iranian patriot and the savior of Iran. And finally in 1925 Reza Shah was crowned as the first king of Pahlavi dynasty.

Years of Silence (1925-1934)

After "the metamorphosis of the constitutional revolution by Reza Shah" Aref was still looking for freedom in his homeland though he became so sad and despaired. He became more unsociable and then was exiled to Hamedan and lived alone with his dogs. He lost his voice because of a bronchial disorder and that made him more and more depressed and finally died in penury.

"Love, Freedom and Iran"

Aref composed his first lyric *tasnif* in 1897 for an Armenian woman. The second *tasnif* became his first patriotic one describing the conquest of Tehran by the constitutionalists in 1908. From 1908 to 1924 he composed more than twenty seven *tasnifs*. His works highly reflected a wide scope of sociopolitical events which took place during years of victories, defeats and also described many influential characters or unknown martyrs of that time or simply reminded them in the preface of each *tasnif*. In this part we try to cast a light on different aspects of the sense of patriotism in Aref's *tasnifs*.

Poet as a Patriot

"There have been few moments that I lived without love since I was a young man up to the time that I fell in love with my homeland. After this if I loved someone or became interested in something, this was because of my love to my homeland and I am pleased because I know if I die for the sake of my lover, she has been born in my homeland, too." The poet's romantic and patriotic feelings are obvious from this text written in his autobiography. As we mentioned before Aref was born in the time of passionate feelings for homeland and freedom. Moreover it would not be an overstatement that his *tasnifs* and concerts was a unique way through which

ordinary people became involved in those feelings about homeland. He was called the national poet of Iran in his time and this honorary title was given to him because of his patriotic poems and *tasnifs*. For Aref "the homeland is not only a limited geographical area. It is the history and the culture of our ancestors.

Being aware of his effective work, he wrote that "if I had done nothing in Persian music and literature, I have composed patriotic *tasnifs* when only ten out of thousands knew the meaning of homeland in Iran. Most of the people considered homeland as the town or village where they have born." Aref blended his talent in poetry and music with what he inherited from the Persian mourning singing traditions, and used a new vocabulary in describing patriotic feeling. To be more precise, we must point to some words in his *tasnifs*, besides many harsh words such as betrayer that he used to criticize the statesmen and politicians, some words such as martyr, cry, tulip flower, and blood became prevalent through his works in Iranian vocabulary on Patriotism. He also accompanied the love themes within sociopolitical themes but "He was the first Iranian who performed songs with social content instead of lyric themes in public." (Farhad, 1996)

Khaleghi (1906- 1965) the musician who attended one of the Aref concerts in 1922 wrote: "one of the characteristics of Aref's song is their sense of melancholy which is the main feature of all his *tasnif*. This clearly illustrates the depressed spirit and a discontented man who composed them." (Khaleghi,?) Despite a few of his *tasnifs* describing the victorious moments or excitements for new situations, such as Republic Marsh, the others illustrated a despair Situation caused by failures in the movement of a nation toward freedom.

Therefore Aref was a perfect example of an Iranian patriot: his hopes and disappointments, depressions, his passions, his true love to homeland, the feeling of being deceived, and his irritation by unfaithful and profit-seeking politicians. Shafiei Kadkani believed that Aref is the representative of that part of Iranian spirit who knows what he does not want and does not know what he wants. (Shafiei Kadkani, 2005)

Describing Patriots and Political Figures

In spite of being a pessimist his heart was open to true patriots such as Colonel Pesyan. An honest man who died in a battle with the usurper central government in 1921. His death brought profound despair to Aref so he composed a mournful *tasnif* (no.22) which was performed in 1922 in a concert in Tehran. He also wrote poems about colonel and his patriotic action as Aref truly believed in him and once had said that his plans were the solutions for Iran problem. Khaleghi described the Grand Hotel concert in 1922. Where Aref performed the "Cry" *tasnif* composed in memory of colonel Pesyan: "The effective voice of Aref and mournful song told the story of a sad nation who had strived for the cause of freedom with no result. The same as the colonel Aref was disappointed that night too, while colonel had lied under the cold soil, Aref remained alone and depressed.

The 3rd *tasnif* "tulips have been raised from the blood of the patriot youth" Aref pointed to the unknown martyrs of constitutional revolution. This sad and at the same time critical *tasnif* is one of his most famous *tasnifs* and still is performed in various sociopolitical events. Additionally, the last *tasnif* in his anthology was dedicated to Sattar Khan and Bagher Khan two national character of the revolution.

Narration of Political Events

In Persian culture, music and songs were very important vehicles to send a message and also spread an idea throughout the society. A story from Sassanid court (7th century) tells us how Barbad, a great musician of that time, made the King aware of the death of his beloved horse

through a musical performance. This tradition continued throughout Persian history and always there were Gosans who were Musicians and singers narrating poems and stories travelling from town to town.

Shafiei Kadkani (2005) describes Aref as the last one remained from Gosan tradition because of what was gathered from music and poetry and good voice in him. He also had the chance to live in the turning point of the history when new concepts needed a media to spread in the society. Although newspapers had been published in Iran for about 50 years before the revolution, the strong oral tradition still shaped the public thoughts. That is why Aref's *tasnifs* became a strong media for spreading modern ideas. He was among the pioneers in performing concerts in Iran. His performances were one night only and the following day the critical *tasnif* were sang in the streets. He strongly believed that *tasnifs* must be composed in simple and memorable musical forms. So everybody could be able to memorize and sing them.

Consequently some of his works are classified as critical narrations of revolutionary events. Such as *tasnif* no. 2 which described the conquest of Tehran or *tasnif* no. 8 and no. 9 which referred the return of Mohammad Ali Shah from Russia and his defeat in the Tehran battle. In these *tasnifs* the composer criticized political figures as betrayers to the homeland or he expressed his love for the homeland and looking for solutions to improve the social situation. "What is remained from Aref's poetries resulted from his pure sadness and happiness which is similar to the sadness and happiness of Iranian society during its history." (Shafiei Kadkani, 2012) His sensational expressions of his love to Iran besides his anxiety for revolution's ideals especially freedom, became a great motivation for Iranians who love their country from the time of constitution era up to now.

Conclusion

We want to refer to the Bahar's statement on the modern Iranian writers and poets' task in the early years of twentieth century, mentioned in the first paragraph of this essay. Considering Aref's poetries and compositions, he had done the task successfully not only in his works but also in his personal life. His true love and feelings, expressed in his work, inspired his own time and also influenced the future generations. Homeland and love play the first roles in Aref's life and musical compositions, and in most cases homeland appeared as the beloved one for him. Moreover according to Aref, patriotism means an unlimited love for one's country and being sensitive to what happened to people, culture and the soil.

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Koreanized *Lied* or Korean Art Song? Searching for National Elements in *Gagok*

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Abstract. One of several vocal genres developed since the import of Western music to Korea, *gagok* (Korean art song) is the most popular classical music genre in the country. Composed primarily for solo vocal and piano accompaniment, these songs were frequently performed in public and private concerts, and aired regularly on the radio. More recently, however, due to similarities with nineteenth-century German *Lied* in format and lyrical texts, and with Italian art song in the focused interest on melody and simple harmony, *gagok* has often been criticized as a mere imitation of foreign and outdated music. In this paper, I reconsider this assessment, based on *gagok*'s characteristics and potential beyond its surface similarities to foreign vocal genres. Arguing how the lyrical elements of Korean song texts differ from the aesthetics of Romantic art on which the German *Lied* was based, and tracing what kinds of Western or 'national' musical elements might help express distinctively Korean sentiment in song, I make a case for the originality and Korean-ness of *gagok* and address how the musical hybridity of the genre makes Korean art song aesthetically unique.

One of several vocal genres developed since the import of Western music to Korea in the late nineteenth century, *gagok* (Korean art song) established its position as a popular classical music genre between the 1920s and 1980s. Prior to the development of *gagok*, Korea had two important vocal genres with Western 'song' traits: *chansongga* (Christian hymn, imported and disseminated by American missionaries), and *changga* (school song, spread by the Japanese colonial school system); as *gagok* gained unprecedented popularity in the 1920s and 1930s, it became the defining 'art' genre in vocal music. Mainly composed for solo voice with piano accompaniment, these songs were frequently performed in public and private concerts, and were a staple of mid-twentieth century radio in South Korea.

In the 1980s, the musical world of South Korea was frequently criticized as excessively domination by Western musical styles; likewise, *gagok* was considered insufficiently national, and dubbed an imitation of Western art song, specifically the German *Lied*.¹ Certainly, the genre's format, with its careful combination of vocal and piano parts and close relationship to the development of lyric poetry, is very similar to the German *Lied*; indeed, the early *gagok* composers claimed the *Lied* as their model. However, beyond these surface similarities, the complexities of *gagok* suggest a distinctively Korean aesthetic. Furthermore, the historical process of the genre's development, prosperity, and gradual fall are all related to composers' effort to foster national characteristics in song.

When we discuss nationalist elements in music, it is usually in terms of 'folk' or 'traditional' musical elements manifested within standard Eurocentric parameters. The inclusion of such national (or traditional) musical elements is certainly part of the compositional intent in many examples from *gagok*. However, in the case of Korea, which accepted Western music at the end

¹ The first critic provoked this is Lee, Kang-sook [I,Gangsug], *Yeolrin Eum'ak'ui Segye* (Seoul: Mineumsa, 1980), 272. I will follow the system of the Revised Romanization of Korean, the official Korean language Romanization system in South Korea proclaimed by Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism, for Roman transliteration of Korean language hereafter, with the exception of person's name. For the person's name in Roman character, I referred to Korean Art Song International Edition (Seoul: Korean Art Song Research Institute, 2011), which is the first important Korean *gagok* edition for foreigners.

of the nineteenth century and developed its own music history based on the social process of Westernization and modernization, I believe that nationalist elements are best discussed from multilateral perspectives. In this paper, therefore, rather than seeking examples of Korean elements within Western formats, I attempt to define *gagok* as a complex construction of historical, musical, aesthetic, and social circumstances of Korean society, overviewing the specific issues appeared during the process of the genre's development, and further assert that these complexities are themselves the defining national element distinguishing *gagok* as inherently Korean.

Historical Peculiarity in Establishing the Genre

In Korean music history, the term *gagok* refers to two genres: the first is a traditional vocal setting of *sijo*, a Korean fixed form of poetry, usually accompanied by an orchestral ensemble of Korean traditional instruments; the second, the focus of this paper, is a modern vocal genre usually consisting of voice and piano accompaniment and primarily based in Western musical language. The latter *gagok* was likely a terminological borrowing from Japan during its colonization of Korea in the early twentieth century—*gagogku* is the Japanese translation of 'art song'. Thus the modern *gagok* has less relation to the traditional Korean genre than to the Japanese incarnation.

The rapid indigenization of Western elements into Korean music at the end of the nineteenth century was most obvious in the vocal genres; *chansongga* and *changga* both exhibit direct influence by Western music. *Gagok* was distinguished from these by carrying the implication of increased 'artistic' compositional intent. The process of establishing the genre suggests the peculiarity of *gagok* in the historical context in which it developed. Korean scholars pinpoint the start of the genre differently according to their particular perspectives: While Nan Pa Hong's *Bongseonhwa*, composed in 1920, is generally considered the first *gagok* in terms of the characteristic independence between lyrics and music (Example 1),² some scholars argue that three songs composed in 1937 by Soung Tai Kim are the first in terms of the composer's artistic intent.³ Here, the parallels to the development of the German *Lied* are particularly useful in assessing the foundations of modern *gagok*. In the Western tradition, 'art song' is defined by 1) the autonomous, separate establishment of lyric poetry and (piano) music; and 2) the composer's intended stylistic departure from vocal genre precedents.⁴ *Bongseonhwa* is musically closer to Christian hymns, but its melody and poetry were separately composed; more significantly, the content of the text, expressing the emotional sentiment aroused by living under Japanese oppression through the metaphoric expression of 'a pitiful balsamine under the fence', is essential to the work's lyricism, a hallmark of later *gagok* repertoire.

² One Korean critic pointed out its melodic similarity to the second movement of Mozart's *Sinfonia Concertante* for Violin, Cello and Orchestra in E flat major, K. 364/320d, and, furthermore, asserted that the origin of *Bongseonhwa* is a German melody. Kim, Jeom-deok, "Hanguk'ui eoneul'ui eum'ak. Hanguk gagok'ui silsang", *Eum'ak Pyeongron* 1 (1987), 57. However, this claim appears based on the short motive at the beginning of the Mozart piece, and the musical unfolding of this cell greatly differs between the two pieces.

³ Kim, Jeom-deok, *Hangukgagoksa* (Seoul: Gwahaksa, 1989), 32. Cited from Kim, Yonghwan, "'Hanguk Chooecho'ui Yesulgagok'e Gwanhan Sogo" (A Study on the Assessment of the First Korean Art Song), *Eum'ak gwa Minjok* 20 (2000), 253.

⁴ Oh, Munseok, "Hanguk Geundae Gagok'ui Seongribgwa Geu Seonggyeok" (The Establishment and the Characteristics of Korean Modern Art Song), *Hyeondaemunhak'ui Yeongu* 46 (2012), 118.

Although the *gagok* written in the 1920s do not have clear musical similarities to German *Lied*,⁵ *gagok* composers in the 1930s were explicit about their use of the German genre as a model. Many musicians studied abroad, mainly in Japan and the United States, where they

Example 1: *Nan Pa Hong, Bongseonhwa (Balsamine, 1920)*

were exposed to German *Lied*; although a foreign genre, these composers were attracted to the sentiment of the Romantic art, absorbing it into their own musical aesthetics. Song Tai Kim declared that, “during the period of study in Japan, I was interested in German Romanticism, eagerly studying and analyzing the lieder by J. Brahms, H. Wolf, R. Strauss in the late Romantic period, and under that influence I wrote these songs.” However, while he noted that “the organic relationship between song and piano part shows the German *Lied*’s construction, and I called this song an ‘art song,’ which I think is the first time a Korean used this term,” he further stated that, “I did not merely imitate their example, but composed independently after considerably digesting and internalizing those examples.”⁶

Modeling his compositions on the nineteenth century *Lied*, Song Tai Kim incorporated many of its defining stylistic elements (Example 2): Independence of voice and piano; accompaniment reflecting the sentiment of lyrical poetry; musical form based on the poetic content of the poetry. The composer’s intention is explicitly to create an ‘art song’ in the German tradition. However, a crucial aspect of that tradition is also the pursuit of artistic uniqueness; the process of digesting and internalizing received precedents in establishing an individual, personal style is essential to the artistic self-consciousness expected of composers. The reworking of the German model to reflect his own aesthetics and influences—which included his national heritage—was as critical to Song Tai Kim’s ‘art song’ as the *Lied* model itself.

⁵ Notably, the term ‘gayo’—songs more refined than children’s song and more artistic than popular song—was used more frequently than *gagok* for this type of song in the 1920s. Min, Kyungchan, “Hanguk Geundae Yang’aksa Gaeron” (An Introduction to Western Music History in Modern Korea), Dong-Asi’a wa Seoyang’eum’ak’ui Suyong (Seoul: Eum’akseggye, 2008), 109. This suggests that clear definitions or distinctions regarding the genre had not yet been firmly established.

⁶ Cited from Kim, Younghwan, “Hanguk Choecho’ui Yesulgagok’e Gwanhan Sogo,” 254.

Another event significant for the development of art song in Korea and its received influence from the German model is the composition of *The Long Way* ('Meon-gil' in Korean) by Se-hyeong Kim, considered the first song cycle from a Korean composer.⁷ Its rich harmonic color, treatment of figuration, and independent piano were key elements leading to critical evaluation of the work as a predecessor of Korean art song.⁸ Beyond these

Example 2. Soung Tai Kim, *Bada* (Sea, 1937)

features, the use of the song cycle format itself should be considered the most important signal of indebtedness to German *Lied*, notwithstanding its English text—poems by Gilbert G.

Moyle—and composition while Se-hyeong Kim was studying in the United States. Defining elements of the German song ‘cycle’, such as thematic relationship within the text and motivic cross-referentiality in the music, were not strong components of Se-hyeong Kim’s compositional approach; however, the novelty in Korea of composing four songs as a set highlighted his artistic intent, and the work is regarded as a significant achievement by music critics in Korea.

Despite the proclaimed and clear influence on *gagok* of the philosophy behind the German model as well as its more surface techniques, *gagok* composers are seen as borrowing only the musical format and style of the genre, without consideration for or understanding of the social, aesthetic, and historical context of the birth of German *Lied*. The importing of German Romantic style is thus considered superficial, with Korean composers apparently relying on an old genre from a foreign country rather than developing distinctive national elements or personal artistic imperatives. Moreover, I believe that the later criticism of *gagok* as a mere imitation of foreign genre is an expression of dissatisfaction with its supposedly superficial reception of the Western format. As a result, although the similarities to the German *Lied* in this early stage of

⁷ Lee, Sang Geun, “Uri Gagok Siron” (1955), reprinted in Eum’ak gwa Minjok 6 (1993), 13.

⁸ Kim, Yonghwan, 259.

gagok development are considered useful in examining the genre's roots, the level—and importance—of Korean composers' understanding of the foreign genre needs to be reemphasized.

While the early *gagok* composers might not exhibit a thorough understanding of the German counterpart, their major concern was always how to create an artistic song containing Korean elements. Even as Soung Tai Kim claimed influence from German *Lied*, he considered his efforts creatively independent, as manifested through the inclusion of Korean musical elements—such as the traditional Korean mode, and the perfect fourths/fifths characteristic of Korean traditional music. Although the early stage of *gagok* loosely worked with foreign precedents, composers consistently proclaimed their aesthetic autonomy and their constant consideration of how to convey national character through music. The later history of *gagok* also reflects individual attempts at making the genre as Korean, instead of an effort to thoroughly understand its foreign model.⁹ The confusion in assessing the first Korean art song, and arguing which element was the most important in the assessment show its historical peculiarity in establishment of the genre, and foreshadow the issues the Korean art song composers had to challenge through the later development of the genre.

Musical Differentiation: Adopting National Musical Elements

Gagok began to gain popularity among Koreans in the late 1930s and 1940s as composers attempted to adopt Korean national elements into the genre. Composers including Soung Tai Kim, Gi-young Ahn, Du Nam Cho, and Sun Nam Kim developed individual styles utilizing traditional Korean musical elements, most prominently the pentatonic scale—which comprised the component pitches of the modes in Korean traditional folk songs—and the adaptation of *jangdan*, the rhythmic patterns used for Korean traditional music.¹⁰

Indeed, these were called “newly composed folk song” due to the distinctively Korean musical features.¹¹ However, the pentatonic scale, though based on traditional mode, retains a fundamental relation to the major and minor modes of Western music, and the harmonic progressions based on those scales have limited variation. The harmonic language is thus confined to the basic progressions found in Western tonal music. The piano part in Du-nam Cho's *Sanchon* (Example 3), while important in terms of delivering the rhythmic pulse derived from *jangdan*, plays a few chords in a diatonic scale, and is relegated to an accompaniment role.

Such use of Korean folk or traditional musical elements is indeed less indicative of the ‘Korean-ness’ of *gagok* than is its hybridity of various influences. While using German *Lied* as an initial, if sometimes superficial, template for creation, *gagok* also absorbed musical traits from Italian art song, American hymns, and Japanese popular song, all of which were accessible and appealing to the educated Korean public in the first half of the twentieth century. As those elements were isolated and incorporated into the composition of Korean art song, the musical style transformed in accordance with Korean aesthetic preferences. The prioritization of melo-

⁹ The overall history of *gagok* has been discussed by several Korean scholars: Kim, Mi-ae, *Hanguk Yesul Gagok* (Seoul: Siwasihaksa, 1996), Kim, Jeom-deok, *Hanguk Gagoksa* (Seoul: Gwahaksa, 1989), and Kim, Gwang-sun, “Hangukgagoksa”, *Eum'ak Yeongu* 7 (1989), 15-55, are the most prominent among these.

¹⁰ Musical characteristics derived from traditional Korean music are usually categorized from melodic, rhythmic, and harmonic perspectives: 1) The melodic category embraces the use of Korean mode and *sigimsae*, a way of ornamenting a tone or tones; 2) the rhythmic concerns the use of *jangdan*, various rhythmic patterns; 3) the harmonic comprises attempts to develop and adopt heterophonic harmony other than the triadic sonority of Western music.

¹¹ At this point, *gagok* was still referred to by other terms, as in the 1920s. I believe this reflects the unstable status of the genre in this period. Refer to footnote 5 of this paper.

dy led to an emphasis on the tunefulness of the vocal part; this resolved into a somewhat *bel canto* singing approach, which requires a broader pitch range than the German *Lied*. For the same reason, the piano part was not perceived as an equal partner to the voice, nor considered capable of expressing poetic content; therefore, as the

느리지않게 민요풍으로 춤추듯이 (not too slow as if dancing in a Korean traditional style)

Example 3: *Du Nam Cho, Sanchon* (Mountain Village, 1958)

genre became popular, the piano part was gradually replaced with orchestral accompaniment, creating a louder sound more appropriate for performances with a larger audience. These foreign elements were specifically selected for their reflection of Korean musical tastes.

In that assimilation, the genre may appear to lack the artistic imperative cherished by contemporary European composers; however, the ready acceptance of diverse foreign elements shows the ability of the Korean art song to make any musical idiom nationalistic—provided it can express Korean sentiments.

Problems in Adopting Korean Language to Western Musical Style

One of the major issues criticized in claiming *gagok* an imitation of German *Lied* regards the relation between language and music. Although music was set to a poetry written independently, it was difficult to match the nature of the Korean language to Western musical idioms. Consideration of musical elements in poetry—such as accent, rhythm, and articulation—is extremely important in art song; thus, how to set Korean language to Western-style melody was one of the most important issues in the development of the genre. This problem and creative efforts at addressing it are evident in the trend of setting the traditional fixed form poetry *sijo*, which concurred with the *sijo* revival movement in the literary field.

The *sijo* revival movement emerged in Korean literature during the late 1920s and early 1930s, after the 1920s establishment of modern poetry in Korea; its role in *gagok* reinforced the importance placed on language as a fundamental factor differentiating the genre from its Western counterparts. *Sijo* is a fixed form of three verses, with a fixed syllable format for each verse, derived from the Joseon period. As *sijo* was a genre significant to experiments in traditional *gagok* regarding the relationship between poetry and song, the newly written yet tradi-

tionally formed poetry was an obvious contributor to the development of a new nationalistic song genre.¹²

However, adapting literary national elements to the Western musical idiom was no more successful artistically than the incorporation of Korean modality and rhythm. As the poetry has a fixed form, the musical rhythm was confined to that pattern. Furthermore, the Korean language does not have strong accents or distinctively recognizable differences in the length of vowel sounds; therefore, rhythm and accents were expressed in simple format, largely triple meter, and unable to accommodate the addition of rhythmic complexities reflecting the nature of the language, such as is critical in the development of the German *Lied*. Certainly, these elements contributed to the accessibility of *gagok* to a Korean audience; yet their limitations helped convince the following generation that the genre lacked the artistic ambitions characteristic of the art song genres of European countries in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Yet while this matching of Korean language and song through *sijo* revival turned out musically unsatisfactory, the use of newly written poetry based on *sijo* as text for *gagok* reinforces the resolutely nationalistic bent of *gagok*'s development. The *sijo* revival and subsequent *gagok* composition based on *sijo* thus evidences a surface inadequacy of *gagok* as art song—the failure to find a creative component corresponding to the role of the German language in the *Lied*—while simultaneously rebuking the argument that *gagok* is insufficiently 'nationalist' in its creation.

Nationalistic Sentiment: Aesthetic Dimensions of Korean Art Song

A further argument for *gagok* as a national genre is the emotion and sentiment expressed through the songs. As mentioned above, what made *gagok* a true Korean art song in the early stages was not its artistry or musical elements, but its lyrical content. Unabashedly nationalistic texts delivered the sadness and sorrow shared by Koreans under the occupation by Japan, and later, in the division of the country after the Korean War. Many *gagok* written in the 1920s and 1930s implicitly described the frustration and despair for Koreans subjected to Japanese colonization; expressing a communal condition, these songs encouraged fraternity and group identity. Due to this emphasis on emotional content derived from the peculiar social context, *gagok* is sometimes termed "*minjok gagok* (national art song)"¹³ or "*seojeong gagok* (lyric art song)."¹⁴

Generally speaking, *gagok* subjects encompass many topics typical of German *Lied*, such as the pleasure or pain of love and a longing for nature;¹⁵ however, the expressive model emerges from a hugely different aesthetic concept, prioritizing what Koreans call *han*—the deep sorrow and grief derived from Korea's painful history, particularly the period of Japanese colonization and the Korean War. This sentiment is a kind of cultural heritage, a shared experience for Koreans; *han* is central to Korean-ness, and as such, its centrality to *gagok* defines the genre as fundamentally nationalist for Koreans. Indeed, the presence of *han* in Nan Pa Hong's *Bongseonwha* underlies the argument for that song as the first modern *gagok*. Likewise, a song composed by Ihl-Nam Chang after seeing a memorial tree for unknown soldiers who died during the Korean War, was enormously popular during the 1970s and afterwards, and became a fixture in the

¹² Oh, Munseok, "Hanguk Geundae Gagok'ui Seongripgeu Geu Seonggyeok", 123.

¹³ Sin, Jeong-suk, *Hanguk Yesul Gagok e'ui Jeopgeun* (An Approach to Korean Art Songs), MA Thesis: Seoul National University, 1981. Cited from Yonghwan Kim, 259.

¹⁴ This term is still frequently used for Korean art song in general, without serious implications for genre definition.

¹⁵ Korean Art Song International Edition (Seoul: Korean Art Song Research Institute, 2011) categorizes their selections of representative Korean art songs as My Homeland, My Heart, My Soul, Love Songs, and My Dear Songs.

classic *gagok* repertoire (Example 4). The musical language does not exhibit any traditional elements: the harmonies are straightforwardly tonal; no form is imposed; the musical expression in piano accompaniment is never exaggerated; the melody is simple and natural. However, the song is considered one of the most nationalistic pieces in all of Korean music, as it delivers sentiments unique to and shared by Korean people.

Han is as synonymous with *gagok* as *Sehnsucht* is with the *Lied*, though their deeper implications differ. Korean audiences recognize the sentiment as the defining element of the genre, more important even than its musical elements. Because it engages with and supports the shared Korean experience of *han*, *gagok* is the most important contemporary art music genre associated with an indigenous characteristic. The confining of the genre's lyrical content to *han*-related topics allows the Korean public to embrace *gagok* as thoroughly Korean, overlooking the Western components of the musical language.

The image shows a musical score for a song. It consists of two systems of music. The first system has a vocal line on a treble clef staff and a piano accompaniment on a grand staff (treble and bass clefs). The second system also has a vocal line and piano accompaniment. The lyrics are in Korean. There are markings for 'a tempo' and 'rit.' (ritardando) in the score.

Example 4: Ihl-Nam Chang, *Bimok* (*Wooden Cross at an unknown Soldier's Grave*, 1969)

This profound sentimentalism essential to *gagok* was an element that led Korean music critics to assess the genre as an imitation of foreign art, by relating it to the intense emotional expression of the Romantic era in which the *Lied* developed. However, this assessment also derived from a superficial understanding of Romantic art as an expression of emotion. Defining the emotional elements that construct Romantic art is not a simple matter; as with *han*, emotional and spiritual complexities of *Sehnsucht* are an intrinsic part of German culture. Moreover, that concept is only one of the many aesthetic dimensions that played a role in the creation of the German art song genre.

Rather than criticizing its intense sentimentalism, or pointing to the shallowness of the resemblance to the *Lied*, *gagok's* comparison to Western art song should be assessed in terms of whether the emotional content of poetry is properly delivered through the artistic song form. From this perspective, the musical style and expression of *gagok* may not register as notably creative or artistic; yet it is significant that composers found ways to express uniquely Korean sentiment through a Western medium. While the heavy sentimentalism remains *gagok's* defining characteristic, many poets and composers vary the subject and expression to broaden its artistic dimensions; these efforts in turn demand a new kind of contemporary art song.

Social Context: Struggling with Modernity

In seeking a more contemporary direction for the Korean art song, poets have struggled with what national sentiment beyond *han* can be expressed in their artistic product; composers likewise wrestle with how to express the new (national) poetic element through music, and how to overcome the artistic criticisms encountered by earlier *gagok*. *Gagok* composers ultimately have been hemmed in by the idiosyncrasy between their received musical language and the times in which they lived: While modernism was the keyword of twentieth-century Korean society, the musical product remained mired in stagnant and stale idioms. Many composers in the 1950s and 1960s, including Sang Geun Lee, Un Yung La, Sun-ae Kim, and Byung Dong Paik, attempted to break away from major/minor tonal language by developing expressive musical idioms reflecting the peculiarities of the Korean language. Irregular rhythms and phrasing, use of dissonance, and a wider range of emotions were duly judged contributions to the search for national elements in music, reflecting a clear artistic intention on the part of composers to create a distinctively national style distinguished from and overcoming Western musical idioms. More specifically, *gagok* creators began to seek out artistic imperatives to create a new style musically rendering the poetic content, as was essential to the creation of German *Lied*.

For example, the works of Byung Dong Paik show the compositional challenges between the 1950s and 1970s. In the early stages of his career, Paik attempted to write songs encompassing Korean traditional musical element and lyricism based on national sentiment; however, his period of study in Germany led him to appreciate the experimental modern musical languages of Western countries as well.¹⁶ Having returned to Korea, his compositional process became deeper and more concrete, focused on the strengthening the expression of poetic content, balancing the partnership between piano and voice by giving a more independent role to the piano, and experimenting with the expressivity of the Korean language (Example 5). None of these efforts could be considered an attempt to merely imitate a foreign art; they are rather part of a deeply nationalistic quest to make *gagok* a fully realized artistic genre that is both rooted in multiple traditions and keeps abreast with contemporary musical developments.

Of course, in following the artistic imperatives of the times, composers risked losing their core audience: The amateur music lovers who listen and play the repertoire either in concerts or at home. Modernizing efforts for *gagok*, although looked upon favorably from the perspective of nationalist art, were overshadowed by works using simpler, more lyrical and accessible musical language.

At issue is the difference between ‘modernity’ as understood by the general public and by artists. In Korean society, “modern” implied Westernization. While composers pursued artistic imperatives by developing new, genuinely national musical languages, the general public wanted to consume *gagok* as a cultural symbol. Regardless of artistic concerns, the general public considered the genre modern, Western, advanced—and inherently artistic, due to its origins in a Western art genre. Consumers of *gagok*, dismissing traditional music culture as hackneyed and pre-modern and pop culture as inferior, enjoyed the genre as a way of reflecting their modern tastes. This socio-cultural element contributed greatly to the exceptional popularity of *gagok*, even as other classical genres remained marginalized.

¹⁶ Park, Yoonkyung, *Baegbyoungdong Gagok’e Gwanhan Yeongu: 1990 Nyeondae Jagpum’eul Jungsim’euro (A Study on Byung Dong Paik’s Gagok: Focusing on the Works in the 1990s)*, MA Thesis, Seoul National University, 1999, 20-31.

Example 5: Byung Dong Paik, *Gok! Sindongyeop (Lamenting! Shin Dongyeop, 1973)*

Nonetheless, *gagok* dramatically fell in popularity during the late 1970s, as American pop culture emerged as the newest form of imported Western culture; and as in many other societies worldwide, the interest of youth in the pop culture supported and spread by mass media, rather than ‘art’ genres, drastically reduced the audience for music deemed too old-fashioned. I believe the discrepancy in conceptions of musical modernity between composers and audiences also contributes to this situation: While composers are driven to continually search for and develop modern art song forms, other forms of Western culture replace the once-modern symbolism of *gagok*. Yet as *gagok* has now been enshrined as classical repertoire, it is regularly performed by Korean singers,¹⁷ and enjoyed by general audiences for its delivery of a distinctive sentiment that cannot be found in other art song genres—or, indeed, in other cultures.

Certainly, there are elements of the musical style that can be criticized; the assessment of *gagok* as an imitation of German *Lied*, however misguided, derives from musical dissatisfaction in much of the *gagok* repertoire. Nonetheless, the issues discussed in this paper suggest that an impetus for a truly Korean music was an essential factor in establishing the genre as culturally autonomous and indigenous; there can be no denying the Korean-ness of the Korean art song.

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¹⁷ Not only Korean singers, but also famous Western singers like Plácido Domingo and Barbara Bonney often perform *gagok* repertoire. <<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TWDkh061ruw>>, <http://www.koreatimes.co.kr/www/news/art/2010/01/143_59685.html>