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KING'S
College
LONDON

Music, language & identity in modern Greece

Defining a national art music
in the 19th & 20th centuries

Conference programme

8-10 May 2015

Athens



Welcome

On behalf of King's College London (Centre for Hellenic Studies), the Athens Conservatoire, and the British School at Athens we are delighted to welcome you to the international conference 'Music, language & identity in modern Greece: Defining a national art music in the 19th and 20th centuries'.

This is the first collaborative venture by three renowned educational and research institutions in the UK and Greece, each with its unique and long history in the study and promotion of Greek culture.

We would like to extend our warmest thanks to all those who have contributed to the planning, organising and running of the conference and the two accompanying concerts. We are especially grateful to our two sponsors, the one based in the UK, the other in Greece, for their generous financial support which has made it possible:

- ♦ The Schilizzi Foundation
- ♦ The Ouranis Foundation (Ίδρυμα Κώστα και Ελένης Ουράνη)

Venues

- ♦ Friday 8 – Saturday 9 May 2015:
The Athens Conservatoire, Aris Garoufalos Concert Hall,
17-19 Vassileos Georgiou II and Rigillis Street, Athens 106 75
- ♦ Sunday 10 May 2015:
The British School at Athens, 52 Soudias Street, Athens 106 76

Academic Committee

Roderick Beaton (FBA, Koraeas Professor of Modern Greek and Byzantine History, Language and Literature, Centre for Hellenic Studies, King's College London), Chair

Katerina Levidou (Postdoctoral Fellow, University of Athens, and Visiting Fellow, Centre for Hellenic Studies, King's College London)

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Speakers

- Burnham, Scott** (Scheide Professor of Music History, Princeton University)
- Chardas, Kostas** (Lecturer, School of Music Studies, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki)
- Christodoulou, Nikos** (Conductor and composer, Athens)
- Corbier, Christophe** (Centre de Recherche sur les Arts et le Langage (CRAL), French National Centre for Scientific Research (CNRS), Paris)
- Fitzgerald, William** (Professor of Latin Language and Literature, King's College London)
- Frolova-Walker, Marina** (FBA, Professor in Music History, University of Cambridge)
- Kardamis, Kostas** (Lecturer, Department of Music Studies, Ionian University, Corfu)
- Levidou, Katerina** (Postdoctoral Fellow, University of Athens, and Visiting Fellow, Centre for Hellenic Studies, King's College London)
- Lingas, Alexander** (Senior Lecturer, City University London, and Fellow, European Humanities Research Centre, University of Oxford)
- Mackridge, Peter** (Emeritus Professor of Modern Greek, University of Oxford)
- Maliaras, Nikos** (Professor of Historical Musicology, National and Kapodistrian University of Athens)
- Mantzourani, Eva** (Visiting Lecturer, City University London)
- Moore, Keith** (Composer, Athens)
- Pillinger, Emily** (Lecturer in Greek and Latin Language and Literature, King's College London)
- Rentzou, Effie** (Associate Professor of French and Italian, Princeton University)
- Romanou, Katy** (Associate Professor, Music, European University of Cyprus)
- Siopsi, Anastasia** (Professor, Department of Music Studies, Ionian University, Corfu)
- Tambakaki, Polina** (George Seferis Research Associate in Modern Greek and Comparative Literature, Centre for Hellenic Studies, King's College London)
- Tsetsos, Markos** (Associate Professor of the Aesthetics of Music, National and Kapodistrian University of Athens)
- Vlagopoulos, Panos** (Assistant Professor, Department of Music Studies, Ionian University, Corfu)
- Vouvaris, Petros** (Assistant Professor, Department of Music Science and Art, University of Macedonia)
- Xanthoudakis, Haris** (Professor, Department of Music Studies, Ionian University, Corfu)
- Xepapadakou, Avra** (Lecturer, Theatre and Cinema Studies and Musicology, University of Crete)

The Athens Conservatoire Archive panel

- Charkiolakis, Alexandros** (MIAM-Centre for Advanced Studies in Music, Istanbul Technical University)
- Daskalopoulos, Panayiotis** (independent scholar)
- Kourmpana, Stella** (PhD candidate, Department of Music Studies, Ionian University, Corfu)
- Papastoitsi, Tatiana** (Postgraduate student, Department of Music Studies, Ionian University, Corfu)
- Sampanis, Konstantinos** (Visiting lecturer, Department of Music Studies, Ionian University, Corfu)
- Seiragakis, Manolis** (Lecturer, Theatre and Cinema Studies and Musicology, University of Crete)

Keynote speaker

- Giorgos Couroupos** (Composer and Artistic Director of the Athens Concert Hall, MMA)

Round Table

- Abazis, Thodoris** (Theatre Director-Composer, the Athens Conservatoire; Artistic Director of the Patras Municipal and Regional Theatre)
- Beaton, Roderick** (FBA, Koraes Professor of Modern Greek and Byzantine History, Language and Literature, Centre for Hellenic Studies, King's College London)
- Kapsalis, Dionysis** (Poet, Director, Cultural Foundation of the National Bank of Greece (MIET), and member of the International Advisory Board, Centre for Hellenic Studies, King's College London)
- Stokes, Martin** (FBA, King Edward Professor of Music, King's College London)

Full Conference Programme

Friday 8 May 2015

The Athens Conservatoire, Aris Garoufalos Concert Hall

17-19 Vassileos Georgiou II and Rigillis Street, Athens 106 75

- 2.00-2.45 **REGISTRATION**
- 2.45-3.00 **WELCOME:** **Nikos Tsouchlos**
- 3.00-4.30 **SESSION 1. RETHINKING NATIONAL MUSIC HISTORY *VIS-À-VIS* THE CANON OF WESTERN ART MUSIC (I)**
Christophe Corbier: Against Karl Otfried Müller: Ancient music, Dorism and Greek identity in Fétis and Paparrigopoulos
Keith A Moore: Arguing the sound of modern Greece: Silent histories and Platonic evolutions
Alexander Lingas: Byzantine chant and the canon of Western art music
- 4.30-5.00 **BREAK** (tea and coffee provided)
- 5.00-6.00 **SESSION 2. RETHINKING NATIONAL MUSIC HISTORY *VIS-À-VIS* THE CANON OF WESTERN ART MUSIC (II)**
Katy Romanou: Initiating national music history on the eve of 'the end of Music History': An impossible task
Markos Tsetsos: Nation and value in Greek music
- 6.00-6.30 **BREAK** (tea and coffee provided)
- 6.30-7.30 **KEYNOTE SPEECH:** **Giorgos Couroupos**
- 8.00-9.30 **CONCERT.** Academica Athens Orchestra
Conductor **Nikos Athinaios**
Programme Dionysios Lavrangas: Intermezzo Lirico
 Dimitrios Lialios: Serenade for String Orchestra
 Nikos Skalkottas: Five Greek Dances
 Pyotr Ilyich Tchaikovsky: Serenade for Strings

Full Conference Programme

Saturday 9 May 2015

The Athens Conservatoire, Aris Garoufalos Concert Hall,
17-19 Vassileos Georgiou II and Rigillis Street, Athens 106 75

- 9.00-9.30 **REGISTRATION**
- 9.30-11.00 **SESSION 3. MUSIC FOR A REBORN NATION: PRACTICES & IDEOLOGIES**
Haris Xanthoudakis: The ideal music for a reborn nation: Statements and reforms concerning musical art in Greece, 1800-1840
Avra Xepapadakou: *Recondita Armonia*: Opera, art song, and Greek poetry during the ‘long 19th century’
Kostas Kardamis: Of odes, anthems and battle songs: Creating citizens through music in Greece during the ‘long 19th century’
- 11.00-11.30 **Break** (tea and coffee provided)
- 11.30-1.00 **SESSION 4. COMPARATIVE CASES**
I. NATIONALISM & MUSIC – Marina Frolova-Walker: Managing national musics: Stalin Prizes for the Soviet Republics (1940-1952)
II. TWENTIETH-CENTURY MUSIC & CLASSICAL RECEPTION – William Fitzgerald: Classicism’s deadpan: Between boredom and sublimity in Erik Satie’s *Socrate*
III. THE MUSIC OF POETRY – Scott Burnham: Between cantation and incantation: Dylan Thomas aloud
- 1.00-2.30 **LUNCH BREAK** (sandwich lunch provided)
- 2.30-4.00 **SESSION 5. POETS & MUSIC**
Peter Mackridge: ‘Τα τραγούδια μου τα ‘λεγεσ όλα’: Poetry, language and song from Solomos to Seferis
Polina Tambakaki: Reading Polylys’ ‘Prolegomena’ (1859): Greekness, poetry and music
Effie Rentzou: Can surrealism sing? Nikos Gatsos and song-writing
- 4.00-4.30 **BREAK** (tea and coffee provided)
- 4.30-6.45 **SESSION 6. A CONSERVATOIRE FOR THE CAPITAL OF THE GREEK STATE: SNAPSHOTS FROM THE ATHENS CONSERVATOIRE ARCHIVE**
Stella Kourmpana: General presentation of the Athens Conservatoire Archive – A musical school for the middle class: Musical education as a national demand
Manolis Seiragakis: The teaching of drama in the Athens Conservatoire and the ‘Syngronymos Contest’ (1873)
Konstantinos Sampanis: The Athens Conservatoire Concerts (1874-1900): Mapping musical taste in 19th-century Athens
Tatiana Papastoitsi: *Andronica* (1905?) by Alexandros Greck: A rediscovered ‘national’ opera
Panayiotis Daskalopoulos: The Athens Conservatoire Orchestra under the direction of Armand Marsick (1908-1922)
Alexandros Charkiolakis: Mikis Theodorakis’ diplomas and early compositions
- 6.45-7.30 **BREAK** (tea and coffee provided)
- 7.30-8.30 **CONCERT:** Works for voice and piano from the Athens Conservatoire Archive, with the participation of students and teachers of the Athens Conservatoire
Songs by Georgios Lambelet, Dionysios Lavrangas, Alexandros Greck, Manolis Kalomoiris, Georgios Axiotis and Dimitri Mitropoulos

Full Conference Programme

Sunday 10 May 2015

The British School at Athens, 52 Souidias Street, Athens 106 76

- 9.00-9.45 **REGISTRATION**
- 9.45-10.00 **WELCOME: Catherine Morgan**
- 10.00-11.30 **SESSION 7. MUSIC & ANCIENT GREEK DRAMA IN 20TH-CENTURY PERFORMANCE**
Anastasia Siopsi: On the question of the relationship between music and words in Greek productions of ancient drama during the first half of the 20th century
Emily Pillinger: Xenakis' estranged *Kassandra*
Kostas Chardas: Performing (ancient) Greek Modernism
- 11.30-12.00 **BREAK** (tea and coffee provided)
- 12.00-1.00 **SESSION 8. MANOLIS KALOMOIRIS & BEYOND**
Panos Vlagopoulos: Not Kalomoiris' National Music: The Aramis-Samaras project
Nikos Maliaras: Discussing conditions for Greek National Music from a different point of view: The case of Petros Petrides
- 1.00-2.30 **LUNCH BREAK** (sandwich lunch provided)
- 2.30-4.30 **SESSION 9. NIKOS SKALKOTTAS**
Nikos Christodoulou: Skalkottas' *36 Greek Dances*: Idea and form
Katerina Levidou: A museum of Greekness: Skalkottas' *36 Greek Dances* as a record of his homeland and epoch
Eva Mantzourani: A Greek icon? Opportunism, ambivalence and identity in the music of Nikos Skalkottas
Petros Vouvaris: Loneliness as style: Skalkottas reads *Esperas*
- 4.30-5.00 **BREAK** (tea and coffee provided)
- 5.00-6.30 **ROUND TABLE – CLOSING OF THE CONFERENCE**
Thodoris Abazis
Roderick Beaton
Dionysis Kapsalis
Martin Stokes
- 6.30-8.30 **BUFFET DINNER**

Abstracts

SCOTT BURNHAM

Between cantation and incantation: Dylan Thomas aloud

In this paper, I mean to address the music of one of poetry's great voices, by listening closely to several recordings of Dylan Thomas reading his own poetry. Focusing on his performances of two poems that contrast in content and style ('Fern Hill', 'And Death Shall Have No Dominion'), I will offer a musical analysis of pitch, tempo, rhythm, and form, attending throughout to melody, breathing, attack points, climaxes, and both local and global shaping. Along the way, I will also consider some of Dylan Thomas' own wry comments on the reading aloud of his poems.

KOSTAS CHARDAS

Performing (ancient) Greek Modernism

As I have shown in my recent research, Greek antiquity has a strong and growing presence within the Greek Modernist excursion of the early 1950s up to the 1970s. By discussing the outcomes of an ongoing research project on the ideas and practices that surrounded the act of performance during the Greek Modernist heyday of the 1960s and 1970s, this paper examines the physical/experiential, aesthetic/expressive and semantic exchanges between the performance of Greek Modernist musical works that have direct or indirect reference to Greek antiquity and the performance practice for ancient Greek drama.

ALEXANDROS CHARKIOLAKIS

Mikis Theodorakis' diplomas and early compositions

One could claim that Mikis Theodorakis possesses various identities: composer, politician, thinker, revolutionary, among others. In this paper I will focus on an aspect that has not been thoroughly dealt with so far, namely the years of his pupilage at the Athens Conservatoire. For this, I will be using the valuable resources of the Athens Conservatoire Archive. My main aim will be to trace back in time those elements that made Theodorakis the composer he later became. I will investigate the archival material for his educational history, in order to find important information about his compositional sources of inspiration during those early years, taking into account his teachers, colleagues and the atmosphere of the Athens Conservatoire at the time.

NIKOS CHRISTODOULOU

Skalkottas' *36 Greek Dances*: Idea and form

Skalkottas is a rare case of a pioneer composer who explored all modern styles of his age, atonal and tonal, at the same time. One of his greatest works, the *36 Greek Dances*, kept him periodically busy from the start to the end of his creative life. The work is unique in its conception and is fundamentally different from all folk-related dances by other composers, regarding both the form and the treatment of folk material. Its primary feature is its formal design: a) each Dance has its own individual form, and b) these 36 different forms, ordered in three series, are essentially 'monothematic'; formal evolution is generated by 'developmental variation' of the main theme and motifs. In 25 of the *36 Dances* Skalkottas refers to Greek folk songs, while in 11 he creates his own themes. He always uses the traditional melodies and their elements as thematic and motivic kernels to construct his own themes. The work has an enigmatic character in regard to its relation to folk music (even with the invented names of several dances) and in regard to its text (with the late revision of twenty dances being not finalised in a clearly-written score owing to Skalkottas' untimely death). An official, critical edition is lacking. Even in Greece, despite the popularity of a few dances, which are the most well-known Greek classical music pieces, the work remains elusive and almost unknown in its entirety. The paper focuses on aspects of the work's extraordinary originality regarding form, thematic construction, relation to folk songs and orchestration.

CHRISTOPHE CORBIER**Against Karl Otfried Müller: Ancient music, Dorism and Greek identity in Fétis and Paparrigopoulos**

The relation between ancient Greek music and Greek identity was self-evident to Romantic scholars. After Claude Fauriel's *Chants populaires de la Grèce moderne* (1824-1825), ancient music was regarded as the prototype of modern folksong: between antiquity and modern times, in the field of music, there was no rupture because of the continuity of Greece; music provided evidence to support this ideology. But what was ancient Greek music like? In the second half of the 19th century, two major historians, François-Joseph Fétis and Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos, answered this question by discussing the books of one of the most important German philologists, Karl Otfried Müller. Whereas Bourgault-Ducoudray and Gevaert agreed with Müller's theories about Dorian music and arts as the purest expression of Hellenism, these theories were vividly criticized by Fétis and Paparrigopoulos. In his *Histoire générale de la musique* (1869-1872), Fétis analyzed Greek music in the light of general history and anthropology. According to him, Greek music was not an aboriginal art but was deeply rooted in Oriental music. Like Fétis, Paparrigopoulos was also opposed to Müller's views on Dorian music. After he read Droysen's *Geschichte des Hellenismus*, Paparrigopoulos saw the 'Dorian mode' and the whole of Greek lyrical poetry as part of Oriental music, so that his analysis of ancient music in *Histoire de la civilisation hellénique* (1878) was closely linked to his ideological conception of the 'Great Idea' and of Greek identity in modern times.

PANAYIOTIS DASKALOPOULOS**The Athens Conservatoire Orchestra under the direction of Armand Marsick (1908-1922)**

When in 1908, Georgios Nazos, the director of the Athens Conservatoire, invited Armand Marsick (1877-1959) to come as a teacher of Music Theory (Harmony, Counterpoint, Fugue), Composition and Orchestral Conducting at the Athens Conservatoire, the institution's orchestra was an elementary student instrumental group. Marsick's presence at the Conservatoire was variously fruitful. In addition to his teaching – of which the most admirable example was his pupil (in both Music Theory and Conducting) Dimitri Mitropoulos – Marsick significantly contributed to improving the standard of the orchestra, which, in less than 15 years, became a high-level professional symphonic orchestra, that 'could stand anywhere' (in the words of Camille Saint-Saëns). This paper will try to present the multifaceted evolution of the orchestra – which was destined to become the Athens State Orchestra (KOA) in 1942 – as regards the number and the professional quality of the musicians, as well as the breadth and variety of its repertoire.

WILLIAM FITZGERALD**Classicism's deadpan: Between boredom and sublimity in Erik Satie's *Socrate***

In a characteristic gesture, both ironic and sincere, Satie claimed to have eaten only white foods while composing his 'Symphonic Drama' *Socrate* (1919). In this work, which sets the words of Plato to present a portrait of Socrates, Satie develops a unique approach to the ideal of classical simplicity. My paper will consider some of the characteristics of Satie's 'white classicism' in this decidedly undramatic but moving work. Where does the *eironeia* of ancient Athens meet the deadpan irony of avant-garde Paris?

MARINA FROLOVA-WALKER**Managing national musics: Stalin Prizes for the Soviet Republics (1940-1952)**

The Soviet nationalities policy of building cultures that are 'national in form, socialist in content' resulted in a situation where hugely diverse 'national republics' found themselves competing with each other on the same platform. In this paradoxical situation, the only recently nomadic cultures of Kazakhstan or Kirghizstan were expected to excel on the operatic stage next to the much more thoroughly westernized Georgia and Armenia, or even with the Baltic republics, which had highly developed symphonic and opera traditions. One perspective which makes this competition particularly visible is that of the Stalin Prizes, which were awarded annually from 1940 to 1952 and were from the beginning oriented not only towards celebrating the achievements of Moscow and Leningrad, but also towards rewarding the 'national' periphery. This paper will examine both the patterns of awards that emerge from published sources, and the behind-the-scenes discussions that are available to us through verbatim

Abstracts

transcripts. These sources throw light on a number of issues of musical nation-building: the value of ‘ghostwriter’ composers who created the first national operas for Central Asia, the routes taken towards the modernization and westernization of folk ensembles, the limits of the ‘socialist national’ which excluded many traditional forms of music-making, etc. They explain how the various republics’ achievements were measured against each other in the grand scheme of achieving equality in their cultural levels. The paper will also attempt to answer the question of why opera and folk-instrument orchestras became the focus of musical nation-building.

KOSTAS KARDAMIS

Of odes, anthems and battle songs; Creating citizens through music in Greece during the ‘long 19th century’

This paper will focus on a rather neglected genre of Greek art musical production, namely the numerous patriotic ‘anthems’, ‘odes’ and ‘battle songs’ that were composed from the 1790s onwards. The most prevalent aspect of these compositions was the combination of Greek (usually demotic) language with ‘western music’ prototypes in order to strengthen, formulate or, sometimes, impose the new ideas of citizenship adapted to the expectations of a non-homogenous Greek audience (which at that time were usually also the performers of these works). The earliest can be related to the Republican French presence in the Ionian Islands, although, for example, the so-called ‘Greek Marseillaise’ could also be heard in taverns in Constantinople and during the battles of the Greek Revolution or the festivities of King Otto’s era. Nikolaos Mantzaros’ setting of Solomos’ ‘Hymn to Liberty’ and the ‘Ode to Lord Byron’, or the patriotic songs of the Ionian Radical Party are other characteristic examples. In the late nineteenth century all the military or political developments offered the opportunity for the composition of new war songs. In the same spirit of the creation of citizens one might also include Spiros Samaras’ 1896 ‘Olympic Anthem’ and even similar works by Georgios Lambelet. The popularity of these compositions among both bourgeois amateurs and working-class enthusiasts, as well as the adoption of some of them in schools, made these compositions an ideal medium for the dissemination of ideas that otherwise would not have reached so widely throughout Greek society.

STELLA KOURMPANA

General presentation of the Athens Conservatoire Archive – A musical school for the middle class: Musical education as a national demand

The Athens Conservatoire was founded in 1871 by the Musical and Dramatic Association, and aimed at ‘the cultivation of Music and the creation and improvement of the National Theatre’, as one reads in the first of its statutes. However, from the beginning, interest was focused primarily on music rather than theatre. The foundation of the first musical institution of the Greek capital was a response to the need to provide a musical education for the middle and lower classes, since until then musical education had been only private and, hence, restricted to the upper classes. The three-year courses at the Conservatoire were offered free of charge to all, and there was even a special class for orphans (in collaboration with the Hatzikostas Orphanage). The relevant archival documents enable us to form an overall image of the social composition of the classical music audience in 19th-century Athens, an image that seems to contradict the widespread belief that classical music appealed only to the upper classes.

KATERINA LEVIDOU

A museum of Greekness: Skalkottas’ *36 Greek Dances* as a record of his homeland and epoch

Over the last few years the recognition of Skalkottas – the most renowned Greek Modernist composer of the first half of the 20th century – as a representative of the so-called Greek National School of Music has been gaining ground. Despite the composer’s pronounced view that the use of Greek folk songs is not a prerequisite for the creation of truly Greek music, he did draw, himself, from the large pool of his country’s folk musical treasures in several of his works, the *36 Greek Dances for Orchestra* being the most celebrated among them. Composed as a compilation of dances from various regions throughout Greece, the work could be perceived as a museum of Greek folklore created by Skalkottas. But what do the *Dances*, as they eventually took shape, tell us about the way Skalkottas conceptualised his motherland? And how did he communicate artistically his distinctive perception of Greek identity? These questions will be examined through an analysis of Skalkottas’ views (as these were expressed in his writings) as well as his compositional choices (as exemplified through the exploitation of genuine folk songs

in the *36 Greek Dances*) *vis-à-vis* the musical, cultural and intellectual milieu of his time. One point of reference will be the debate among Greek composers on what constitutes legitimate ‘use’, or appropriation, of folk material in art music – the equivalent, in the realm of art music, to the Language Question and the Musical Question (the debate over ecclesiastical music). Another will be the advancement of folklore studies (a discipline whose own development was closely connected with the Language Question) in Skalkottas’ time.

ALEXANDER LINGAS

Byzantine chant and the canon of Western art music

The cultural position of Byzantine chant – the modern scholarly name for the historical and received repertoires of monophonic liturgical song employed from Beirut to Bucharest for worship celebrated according to the Byzantine rite – has been under constant negotiation since the introduction of a ‘New Method’ for its notation two centuries ago. Early stages of this process are, as Romanou has previously shown, already evident in the mixture of Ancient Greek, Byzantine, Ottoman and Western European elements of the *Great Theory of Music* by Chrysanthos of Madytos, one of the ‘Three Teachers’ who invented the New Method. This paper will follow the subsequent efforts of Greek and foreign musicians, churchmen and scholars to define the historical and received repertoires of Byzantine chant in relation to the canon of Western art (so-called ‘classical’) music. Some have been relatively straightforward attempts to assimilate Byzantine chant to the canon of Western art music through harmonisation or rejection of features perceived as relics of alleged oriental corruption. Opponents of these strategies of modernisation or restoration have often cast themselves as Orthodox traditionalists, but a closer examination of their writings and music will show how they too have adopted musical categories and imperatives from the ‘heterodox West’.

PETER MACKRIDGE

‘Τα τραγούδια μου τα ‘λεγεσ όλα’: Poetry, language and song from Solomos to Seferis

For several centuries until the late 20th century Greek poetry was frequently associated with singing. In the author’s introduction to the first printed collection of Greek folk poetry, Claude Fauriel’s *Chants populaires de la Grèce moderne* (Paris 1824), the claim was made for the first time that there existed a common Greek vernacular language that united the Greek people across considerable geographical distances, and that this common language had been developed through the spread of folk songs from one region to another. It is partly for this reason, as well as because of Herder’s assertion that the language and songs of a people embody its national soul, that the Greek folk songs came to be seen as the foundational texts of demotic Greek. It is no surprise that, in 1941, in his introduction to his comprehensive grammar of ‘Modern Greek (Demotic)’, Manolis Triantaphyllidis claimed that the morphological system presented in the grammar was based on the language of the folk songs as well as that of recent literary texts. Demoticists tended to conceive of language in terms of sound, in contrast to the purists, who conceived of it in visual terms. My paper will discuss the frequent tendency in Greek literature for authors to talk about their *written* poetry in terms of *song*, from Solomos in the 1820s to Seferis in the 1940s. I will relate this to the popular success enjoyed by musical settings of Greek poems.

NIKOS MALIARAS

Discussing conditions for Greek National Music from a different point of view: The case of Petros Petrides

Petros Petrides (1892(?)–1977) was a man of wide education and spoke many languages. He worked as a music columnist and critic, producing serious, penetrating, well-targeted and comprehensive writings in English, French, American, and Greek newspapers and periodicals. He based his aesthetic beliefs on solid argumentation and applied them with thoroughness and method throughout his entire career. These views had already found expression in his early writings, before he went on to declare his support for Kalomoiris’ ideas about Greek music. Petrides’ views were based on the belief that western European music at the beginning of the 20th century should return to the wealth of modality, this movement being already represented by Claude Debussy and his school as well as by some Russian composers of the Mussorgsky era. Petrides believed that the creation of a new Greek art music can be grounded on traditional modal melodies and, above all, on Byzantine music. This paper will attempt to record and review in some detail Petrides’ aesthetic and technical views on Greek art music, as they are conveyed in his theoretical writings and his musical compositions.

Abstracts

EVA MANTZOURANI

A Greek icon? Opportunism, ambivalence and identity in the music of Nikos Skalkottas

The engagement of Skalkottas' music with Greek folk song is well documented, and several studies have explored aspects of his Greek identity and elements of 'Hellenism' in his work. Yet Skalkottas was a reluctant nationalist composer who was seen in his time as the quintessential antihero of the musical establishment. Even though he occasionally expressed his desire to be seen as a Greek composer, and composed several works using elements drawn from Greek folk and popular music, he remained an outsider who was persistently associated with European Modernism. These works (the *Greek Dances* being the most well-known example) arose more from opportunism on Skalkottas' part than ideological conviction, and it appears that he did not regard them as highly as his atonal and 12-tone pieces. Although Skalkottas infused these populist pieces with Greek references, creatively employing identifiable images, sounds and literary themes, with a few exceptions he did not engage seriously with Greek poetry or literature. Indeed his own personal relationship with the written word appears at best ambivalent, judging by the poor literary quality of his writings and his apparent reticence in setting to music anything other than texts predominantly dealing with folk themes. In this paper I will consider Skalkottas' approach to and engagement with both the written word and the Greek folk element. In particular I will investigate how, and under what circumstances, he composed music that projected his perception of 'Greek heritage' and the 'Greek spirit' in both his instrumental works and his few songs.

KEITH A MOORE

Arguing the sound of modern Greece: Silent histories and Platonic evolutions

The first decades of the 20th century saw a bitter schism erupt between Greek and Western scholars of Byzantine chant. The controversy surrounded the modern sound of Byzantine chant and what sort of origin stories should be applied to it. Western scholars (Tillyard, 1935) argued that Byzantine and European medieval chant possessed nearly interchangeable styles in the centuries preceding the Ottoman occupation, while Greek scholars (Psachos, 1917) argued that the tradition's contemporary sound could be traced back to Classical and late Antiquity. As Lingas (2003) has pointed out both sides attempted, in different ways, to wash away any role played by the Ottomans: Greek scholars washed the music of the passage of time to ensure the ownership claims of antiquity, while Western scholars washed the music itself to recover an 'older and cleaner' style. Since Jeffery (1992) a scholarly rapprochement has begun that also admits Ottoman-era development, but far-flung positions continue to appear in academic publications and public perception likely rests, now more than ever, with the jingoism of a century ago. This paper uses ethnomusicological tools proposed by Slobin (1993) and recent scholarly findings on the history of Western art music to demonstrate how an idealized view of classical music, which still carries popular and academic potency, contributed to the schismatic struggle over the sound of modern Greece. A short discussion of two post-rapprochement studies, one Greek and one Western, shows that this selective and professionally idealized view of classical music still spreads confusion.

TATIANA PAPASTOITSI

***Andronica* (1905?) by Alexandros Greck: A rediscovered 'national' opera**

The score of the opera *Andronica*, composed between 1900-1905 by the Corfiot composer Alexandros Greck (1876-1959), and believed to have been lost, was discovered in the archive of the Athens Conservatoire in April 2014. The libretto, written by the poet A[?] Vranas, is based on the novel *The heroine of the Greek Revolution* (1861) by Stefanos Xenos (1821-1894), and its action is set during the first years of the Greek Revolution (1821-1822). In spring 1905, aiming to stage his opera in Athens, Greck gave an interview in which he presented his views on Greek music and advocated the importance of the integration of folk motifs into the mainstream of the nation's musical language. The present paper will discuss his theory in the context of the creation of the Greek National School of Music and in comparison to the score of the opera.

EMILY PILLINGER

Xenakis' estranged *Kassandra*

Xenakis (1922-2001) was one of the most idiosyncratic and influential of 20th-century composers. A trained engineer who became embroiled in resistance and revolutionary activity in Nazi-occupied Athens, he escaped to Paris where he worked in Le Corbusier's architectural studio through the 1950s. Meanwhile he continued to pursue his musical studies and to explore his Greek national roots. With the support of Messiaen, Xenakis came to flourish as a composer whose work synthesized his knowledge of mathematics, architecture, and ancient Greek literature. Xenakis originally wrote the music for an English-language production of the *Oresteia* in Michigan (1966). When he re-wrote the music as a concert suite he arranged for the text, now in Aeschylus' Greek, to be sung entirely by the chorus. Then in 1987 Xenakis composed a new movement, *Kassandra*, to be added to the suite. In this piece a single baritone voice sings the part of both chorus and *Kassandra*, embodying the process of miscommunication itself. The singer portrays a challenge to the normal relationships between sound and sense, voice and body, man and woman, past and future, individual and community. These ruptures reflect the violent displacements and the personal and political sufferings of Aeschylus' *Kassandra*, Xenakis' *Kassandra*, and Xenakis himself: an architect in the world of music, a Greek refugee in Paris, and (as he described himself) 'a classical Greek living in the twentieth century'.

EFFIE RENTZOU

Can surrealism sing? Nikos Gatsos and song-writing

Nikos Gatsos' presence in Greek poetry is marked by his one published long poem *Amorgos* (1943). An idiosyncratic mixture of surrealist aesthetics, the ambition of the Modernist long poem, Greek folk song, and various genres from a millenary Greek tradition, *Amorgos* is a masterpiece of modern Greek poetry that seemingly stands alone in Gatsos' oeuvre. His poetic silence after 1943 has puzzled critics and readers alike, but has also propelled *Amorgos* into mythical dimensions. Gatsos' alleged silence, however, is perhaps the biggest myth surrounding the poet. Anything but silent, Gatsos wrote the verses for hundreds of songs set to music by various composers, mainly Manos Hadjidakis, Mikis Theodorakis, and Stavros Xarhakos. This paper sets out to discuss this prolific production, which has largely remained uncharted territory for literary scholars, as a continuation of the aesthetics of *Amorgos*. The privileging of popular song as a performative, collective act will be discussed in relation to surrealist aesthetics, an aesthetics that privileges both inter-medial forms of expression, and performativity as a revolutionary strategy with ethical and political dimensions. Against surrealism's engagement with visuality that led to some radical revisions of the visual arts paradigm in surrealist theory, Gatsos' intermediality turns instead to music, a domain notoriously ignored by the French surrealists. This turn to music, which seems to reject the surrealist orientation espoused in *Amorgos*, will be discussed, while the aesthetic, ethical, and political value of popular songwriting will be explored against the background of a historical moment in Greece marked by intense political developments.

KATY ROMANO

Initiating national music history on the eve of 'the end of Music History': An impossible task

'The end of Music History' refers, in essence, to the end of the influence of nationalism on music historiography, an influence that had led to cultural antagonism among European nations, had 'sanctified' music creation, gave to music histories the form of a series of biographies, and introduced 'purity' and 'authenticity' as the highest musical qualities. Since the end of the 20th century, Western musicology has adopted a critical attitude towards the unilateralism of 'nationalistic' music historiography, and today strives to conceive of a global music history, that will ignore all kinds of barriers erected among musics throughout Western music historiography. On the other hand, Greek academic musicology, established in the second half of the 20th century, with the aim of integrating Greek art music into the European tradition, adopted the canons and values of Western (nationalistic) music history. In the effort to impose these values upon the musical reality of modern Greece, it intensified two features of Greek musical culture that stood in the way of the intended integration: (1) the division of Greek music into

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two non-communicating fields: Church (or Byzantine) music on the one hand, and on the other secular music, which includes art music created on the model of Western music (secular and church); and (2) the inhibition of the creativity and education of the folk, as a result of the bourgeois determination to impose the aesthetics of ‘purity’ and ‘authenticity’ upon their music.

KONSTANTINOS SAMPANIS

The Athens Conservatoire Concerts (1874-1900): Mapping musical taste in 19th-century Athens

The first concert of the Athens Conservatoire was held in January 1874, only a few months after the first musical class took place at the Conservatoire in September 1873, and aimed at showing the students’ progress in music. From then on, the Athens Conservatoire would organize student concerts regularly (at least twice a year), with programmes accommodated to the students’ capacities. Those student concerts, along with the professional ones, performed by teachers or musicians invited by the Conservatoire, reveal (according to the programmes held in the Athens Conservatoire Archive) unknown aspects of the musical life in the Greek capital beyond the operatic scene, during the last quarter of the 19th century. As we will see, the musical taste of the time as far as symphonic music was concerned was largely shaped by the Athens Conservatoire concerts.

MANOLIS SEIRAGAKIS

The teaching of drama in the Athens Conservatoire and the ‘Syngronomos Contest’ (1873)

From the very first moment of its foundation, the Athens Conservatoire declared as its goals the best possible cultivation of the art of theatre, alongside the art of music. In this spirit, in 1873 it announced a competitive scholarship for study abroad. The scholarship was named after Andreas Syngros, who had provided the necessary funds. The stated intention was that the scholar would become proficient in the art of recitation, so that he would later return to Greece and teach in the Conservatoire, and in this way help to revitalise Greek theatre. The rationale for the contest reveals the difficulties experienced by the art of theatre in Greece at the time: acting and recitation were conflated, theatre was considered a branch discipline of literature, and essay writing the ideal criterion for determining one’s suitability for becoming a teacher of acting. Moreover, the belief that stagecraft could be better taught in the classroom than on the stage reflected the way in which the Athens Conservatoire sought to bypass the illiterate self-taught actors of the mid-nineteenth century and replace them with cultivated and well-educated artist-performers.

ANASTASIA SIOPSI

On the question of the relationship between music and words in Greek productions of ancient drama during the first half of the 20th century

Music in Greek productions of ancient Greek drama during the first half of the 20th century was mainly used to enhance the effective power of words, while there was a systematic tendency to avoid operatic forms. The text remained predominant in the majority of Greek productions of ancient drama. Such productions were received more positively, since they were thought to express better the spirit of ancient tragedy. On the other hand, in productions elsewhere in Europe, music was important in its own right: its role was to emphasise emotions by means of pure sound, and not by words alone; music, movement, colour, sound and rhythm had to be carefully co-ordinated. Even earlier, Wagner had claimed in theory, and had demonstrated through his music dramas, that the orchestra can act as a substitute for the chorus whenever the latter’s presence is deemed unnecessary. Wagner’s ideas on this matter were not well received in Greece, because modern Greeks felt that a predominant role should be given to language as a means of expression in ancient drama, or rather, that a balance should be achieved among the three arts of music, poetry and dance. A main cultural characteristic which strengthened the attitude along these lines is the importance accorded to language, which is evident in the continuous evolution of modern Greek culture. In the formation of ‘national consciousness’, Greek literature took on the role of the guardian of tradition and its works were received as national treasures. It makes sense, therefore, as I will argue in this paper, that the Greek character was thought to be better articulated in ancient tragedy by means of language, in order to depict the Greek ‘soul’.

POLINA TAMBAKAKI**Reading Polylyas' 'Prolegomena' (1859): Greekness, poetry and music**

Iakovos Polylyas is known above all for the edition of Dionysios Solomos' extant works (*Ta euriskomena*) in 1859, which definitively marked the poet's posthumous 'life and work'. The Introduction to the edition (Polylyas' 'Prolegomena') has been regarded as one of the foundational texts of modern Greek literary criticism, which also sparked the first purely literary debate in the modern Greek scene: that between Polylyas and Spyridon Zambelios over Solomos. In his text, Polylyas relates the growth towards maturity of Greece's first 'national poet', making special mention of another artist: the composer Nikolaos Mantzaros. As we are told, with his musical setting of Solomos' *Hymn to Liberty*, Mantzaros 'offered his nation the first Greek musical composition'. Polylyas' text not only promoted Solomos as the foundational figure of the modern Greek poetic canon, but also grafted onto it the diptych, as it were, of 'national poet-national musician'. My paper will investigate the vocabulary used by Polylyas about poetry and music in combination with the notion of Greekness. Special attention will be paid to the word *tragoudi* ('song'), which also appeared in the title of Zambelios' important essay 'Whence the common word *tragoudo* ("sing")?' I will also touch on the musico-poetic vocabulary in the critical texts by the 'national poet' Kostis Palamas (1859-1943), in the context of his support for Manolis Kalomoiris' effort to become Greece's 'national musician'.

MARKOS TSETOS**Nation and value in Greek music**

In the domestic debates about Greek art music the normative argument, the one concerning aesthetic value and artistic merit, remained always exiguous if not absent. On the other hand, 20th-century Greek musical nationalism adopted, within the framework of a long-established modern state, the main aesthetic principles of the secessionist nationalisms of 19th-century central Europe, which focused primarily on the urgent issue of cultural identity as a precondition for political autonomy. In this paper I will discuss the social and ideological parameters of this ambiguous situation. I will track the formation of social classes and the public space in Greece and examine how this peculiar formation determined the main ideological orientations of state and society and modeled the structural antinomies of Greek nationalism, in the realm of both politics and music.

PANOS VLAGOPOULOS**Not Kalomoiris' National Music: The Aramis-Samaras project**

Different though they were, composer Spiros Samaras and singer-collector-harmonizer Periklis Aravantinos (*aka* Aramis) shared a common aesthetic and ideological background *vis-à-vis* Greek folk songs. Taking their lead from the composer, collector and harmonizer Louis-Albert Bourgault-Ducoudray, they approached Greek folk-song by way of a mutual benefits argument: the monophonic music of the (Aryan) folk-songs would largely benefit from polyphonic (Aryan) Western European music, and vice versa. Their aim was a new visionary synthesis, towards which folk-song harmonizations were but the first step. However, their relaxed cosmopolitan and/or orientalist frame of mind was compatible with a variety of possible musical realizations. Conversely, Kalomoiris exhibited a typical modern-Greek identity angst, as he strove to measure up to the musical achievement of the 'musically-advanced nations' (his words). His more urgent vision could not tolerate the use of folk music either as a prop for musical realism or in the guise of folk-song harmonizations as a step to anything more elaborate: 'pristine' folk-song, both musically and linguistically, was for him only the raw material for the formation of art music. Attacks on Aramis, which peaked during his presence in Athens in 1903, as well as on Bourgault-Ducoudray and Samaras, were critical for the self-understanding of the emerging National School of Music.

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PETROS VOUVARIS

Loneliness as style: Skalkottas reads Esperas

Commonly regarded as his most substantial contribution to the song genre, Nikos Skalkottas' *16 Tragoudia* for mezzo-soprano and piano was composed during the spring of 1941, based on selected poems from the book *Opos Oloi* [Like Everybody] by Chrissos Evelpidis (*aka* Chr. Esperas). The anteriority of text over music seems to legitimize a conventional reading that asks how the latter expresses the former. Be that as it may, an inverted reading that focuses on the ways in which the musical setting might be thought to inform the construction of textual meaning proceeds from the acknowledgement of music's critical impulse. In line with such an approach, the present paper takes a critical look at the musico-poetic construct of selected songs from Skalkottas' work and offers a critical interpretation of these pieces within the historical context of their production and (non-)reception. Framed in particular by an appeal to the composer's life (hi)story as intertext, the proposed reading aims at putting forward a defensible account of the possible ways in which Skalkottas might have appropriated Evelpidis. Far from essentializing its claims, this account probes the relevance of Adorno's notion of '*Einsamkeit als Stil*' (used in his 1948 *Philosophie der neuen Musik* apropos of Schoenberg's pre-12-tone expressionism) in engaging with the non-12-tone post-tonal pieces that Skalkottas composed after his reluctant return from Berlin to Athens in 1933.

HARIS XANTHOUDAKIS

The ideal music for a reborn nation: Statements and reforms concerning musical art in Greece, 1800-1840

This paper offers an overview of the evolving ideas about the form of music most suitable for the nascent neo-Hellenic world, expressed and/or put into practice from the time of the late Enlightenment (c. 1800) to the first official opera performance in Athens (1840). Attention will focus on the role of the intellectuals Adamantios Korais and Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos, the composer Nikolaos Chalikiopoulos Mantzaros, the amateurs Konstantinos Kokkinakis and Nikolaos Flogaitis, the first president of Greece Ioannis Kapodistrias, and the philhellene Friedrich Thiersch.

AVRA XEPAPADAKOU

Recondita Armonia: Opera, art song, and Greek poetry during the 'long 19th century'

Greek vocal music of the long 19th century encompasses a panorama of the literature of the period. Folk song, vernacular poetry, Ionian romanticism, the first and second 'Athenian School', ethnography and Modernism constitute historical landmarks and aesthetic currents of Greek poetic creation, which left an indelible mark on the musical production of the period. The present paper aims to investigate the relationship between words and music, in search of the harmonies and disharmonies between music and poetry. At the same time, it focuses on key theoretical issues of the period, such as the musicality of language, the quest for national identity, the influence of folk music, and the language question.

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Image: detail from Nikolaos Gyzis (1842-1901): Study for the painting 'Harmony', 1893. Oil painting, 0.11 x 0.11 m. (Inv. No. 23260)
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