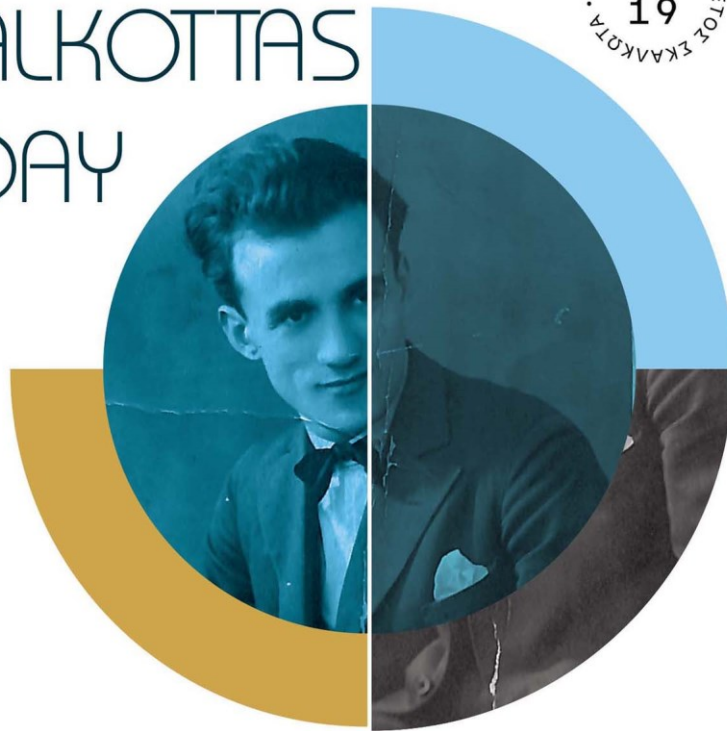


SKALKOTTAS TODAY

ΕΤΟΣ ΣΚΑΛΚΩΤΑ • ΕΤΟΣ ΣΚΑΛΚΩΤΑ •
20
19



ΣΥΛΛΟΓΟΣ ΟΙ ΦΙΛΟΙ ΤΗΣ ΜΟΥΣΙΚΗΣ

ΣΙΚΗ
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ΛΙΛΙΑΝ ΒΟΥΔΟΥΡΗ
ΣΥΛΛΟΓΟΣ ΟΙ ΦΙΛΟΙ
ΤΗΣ ΜΟΥΣΙΚΗΣ

The Friends of Music Society

“SKALKOTTAS TODAY”

Eds. Tatjana Markovic, Stephanie Merakos, Valia Vraka, Eva
Mantzouranis, Petros Vouvaris, Kostas Tsougras, Alexandros
Charkiolakis

Music Library of Greece “Lilian Voudouri”
of the Friends of Music Society

Athens
2025

“SKALKOTTAS TODAY”

A selection of papers from the Conference

November 29 to December 1, 2019

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at Megaron – the Athens Concert Hall

Organised by the Music Library of Greece “Lilian Voudouri” of the Friends of Music Society, Megaron—The Athens Concert Hall, Athens State Orchestra, Greek Composers Union, Foundation of Emiliios Chourmouzios—Marika Papaioannou, and European University Cyprus

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Behind the documents: past, present and future of the Nikos Skalkottas Archive

Valia Vraka

Nikos Skalkottas was born in 1904 in Chalkida and died in Athens in 1949. Today, he is classified as one of the most important Greek composers of the 20th century. In his twenty-five-year creative career, he composed a large number of works, but unfortunately many of them were lost when the composer returned to Greece from Berlin. Most of these works are still ignored today, with a small percentage being discovered several years later in antique bookstores, libraries, and universities. Now the existing 110 works are part of the Nikos Skalkottas Archive which is seated in the Music Library of Greece “Lilian Voudouri” of The Friends of Music Society (Music Library of Greece, n.d.).

1. Past: the creation of the Nikos Skalkottas Archive and its historic journey to date

Immediately after the composer's sudden death in 1949, his family, on the initiative of his wife Maria Pangalis-Skalkottas and his sister Kiki Skalkottas-Verdesopoulou, turned to the well-known musicologist Minos Dounias, the violinist Nellie Evelpidis and to John G. Papaioannou, and asked them to take care all the material of the composer's legacy. The three of them set up an informal Skalkottas Committee with the main purpose to disseminating his work (Papaioannou 1997, 30).



Skalkottas Committee: Minos Dounias, Nellie Evelpidis, and John G. Papaioannou.

According to their first detailed report, written in June 1952, they started working on 10 November 1949. Most of the manuscripts were collected from the house where the composer lived with his wife in Athens, as well as from the house of his sister Kiki and they were kept in the lockers of the Ionian Bank of Greece.¹

¹ The first detailed report of Skalkottas's Committee is a 7-page typewritten document, Athens, 1952.

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First detailed report, Athens 1952.

At the same time, a campaign to collect “missing” material was launched, through contacts with friends as well as calls through the press. Thus, a detailed list of 51 people was compiled that either possessed or provided information about the lost manuscripts; 31 of them helped one way or another.

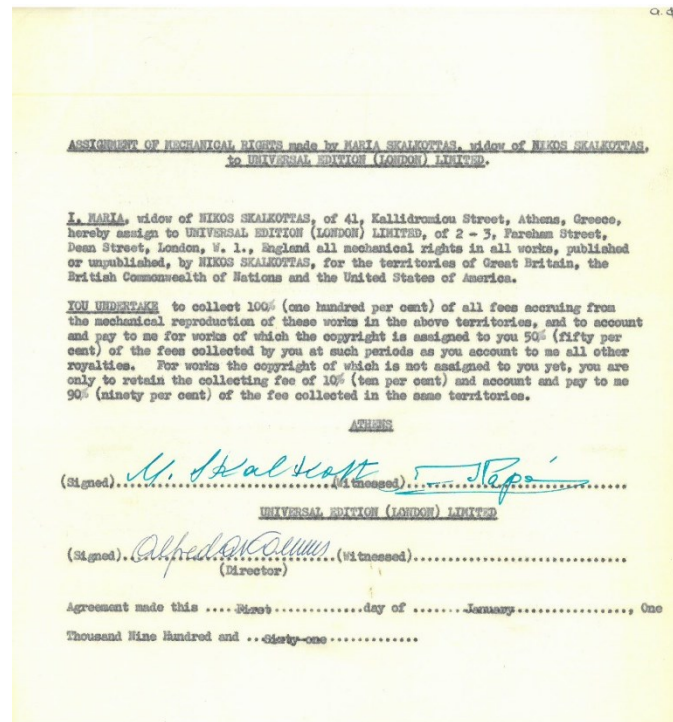
This initial effort was supported by the “Friends of the Work of Nikos Skalkottas” a movement which was established in early 50s, by prominent Athenians in civil and cultural society, such as Georgios Athanasiadis Novas, Kaiti Katsoyianni, Alexandra Trianti, and others. The priorities of this committee could be summarized as follows: a) launching the preparatory steps to archive and study the works and b) publish the works for performers.

In more detail:

i) Archiving: Nikos Skalkottas's general archive was divided into 7 separate special archives, with the most important of all, the *Preservation Special Archive* that included the manuscript scores, kept in treasuries. The *Special back-up Archive* was also created, that contained microfilms in case of destruction of the originals, and also in order to avoid the use of manuscripts daily. Furthermore, the Skalkottas Committee created the *Special Library Archive* as well as the *Audio Files Archive*, where all publications, editions, tapes, and discs related to the composer were collected. Finally, there were 3 special archives of administrative interest.

ii) Studying: The second pillar to achieve the Committee's objectives, as mentioned before, was the study of Nikos Skalkottas's work. All available information on generating, revising, and executing works was collected, but there was also an attempt to date the manuscripts by analyzing the handwriting, the type of paper, and the ink. At the same time, the fervent study of musical analysis began in order to identify the musical style of his works, as well as determine his creative development.

iii) Publications: With regard to the catalogue of works, the priorities were clearly defined. They dictated the gradual and progressive release of his works until all of them would become fully accessible for performance. However, realizing that this was a long-term project, a detailed and comparative study of the practical possibilities was compiled. Based on its results, it was decided to carry out 2 types of editions: a normal and a preliminary. By normal the committee meant the official editions by the publishing house, in this case, Universal Edition, while preliminary Editions were edited copies of Skalkottas's manuscripts, prepared by the committee in Athens (Papaioannou 1959, 3-4).



The contract with Universal Edition

iv) Concerts: Clear priorities were also set concerning the public presentation of Skalkottas's works. Thus, according to the First report from 1952, there should be an appropriate proportion between the easiest works for performers and the audience, and the most characteristic compositions that could impose Skalkottas's personality on a more demanding audience like critics and musicologists. This automatically meant that concerts were restricted by the Committee unless they met the required conditions.

Furthermore, for the dissemination of Nikos Skalkottas's work the Committee provided: a) composer's biography in French and English, b) a list of Nikos Skalkottas's works deposited at the National Library of Greece c) a call for the public dissemination of his work. This call was printed in 300 copies and distributed to music lovers.

ΕΘΝΙΚΗ ΒΙΒΛΙΟΘΗΚΗ ΤΗΣ ΕΛΛΑΔΟΣ



*Αριθ. 241 *Εν *Αθήναις τῇ 26-7 1951

ΤΟ
ΤΜΗΜΑ ΕΙΣΑΓΩΓΗΣ

βεβαιοί την παρά τ οδ. Μιν. Βασιλ. & ννα
εις διπλοῦν (κατά τὸν Νόμον 880) προσφορὰν τ οδ. 87

*Summary Catalogue of the
Works of Niko Skalkottas
(1904-1949) 25 of his 8th
197. —*

καὶ εὐχαριστεῖ
Alb. H.

The acquisition at the National Library of Greece

The results of the Committee's efforts were impressive. By June 1952, in less than three years, 17 works were edited in preliminary editions and more than 12 compositions – most of them in twelve-tone technique, indicating the Committee's clear preference. The effort continued unabated throughout the 1950s and the members who volunteered and helped increased rapidly.

In 1961, Dounias, Evelpidis, and Papaioannou considered that the increased responsibilities and activities of the committee needed a different operating framework, and thus formed an Association called "the Friends of the Skalkottas Society". The three aforementioned leaders, were members of the board of the Society. After the death of Minos Dounias, Nellie Evelpidis took over the presidency for a short time, to be succeeded by the composer Yiannis Konstantinidis and, in 1984, John G. Papaioannou. His name, even today, is related to Nikos Skalkottas more than anyone else's. During his presidency many works were published by Universal Edition and Margun and numerous concerts took place worldwide.

After the Society was set up and in order to make the material easier to access, the manuscripts were moved from the Ionian Bank lockers to Papaioannou's house and placed in archive storages, specially designed for this purpose. Furthermore, to avoid the risk of potential intruders, they put the following label outside their door: “For the Thieves: This archive contains no money, jewelry, or other valuable items that could be sold, but only papers and music documents”.



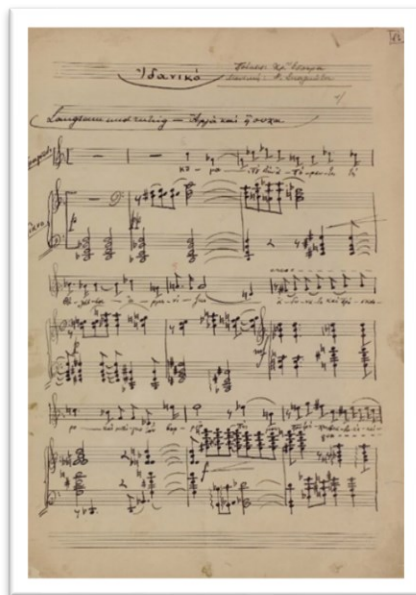
The Archive Storages

Following the death of John G. Papaioannou in 1999, the archive was handed to the Emilios Chourmouzos and Marika Papaioannou Foundation, where it remained for nearly 20 years. During this time, the archive had a permanent administrator, much of the archive was documented, music manuscripts were digitized in high resolution, and an electronic list of contents was developed. All these actions facilitated researchers greatly.

2. Present

Since June 2018, a new era has begun in the efforts to highlight and promote the work of Nikos Skalkottas, as the Emilios Chourmouzos-Marika Papaioannou Foundation deposited the full archive of the important Greek composer in the Music Library of Greece “Lilian Voudouri” of the Friends of Music Society. The first task was to divide the documents into categories of material, depending on their content. This process resulted in 9 Sub-Archives.

i) **Sub-archive of Music Scores.** Initially the manuscripts were arranged in 85 folders that had been carefully recorded in detail (eg. title, date, orchestration, etc) However, it was discovered that there was no match between the folders and the works. For example, it was common for one work to be divided into more than one folder, or a folder to contain more than one works. Subsequently, our first concern was to reorganize the content according to the General International Standard Archival Description scheme (International Council on Archives, n.d). Copies of manuscripts, transcriptions, and drafts were also included in these folders. The result was a new catalogue of archival material, where each folder obtained one composition and at the same time showed the creative process of the compositions.



Nikos Skalkottas, Idaniko from "16 Songs for mezzo soprano and piano", 1942.

ii) **Sub-archive of Texts,** including texts, letters, notes, catalogs, articles, and reports of the Society of Skalkottas's Friends, in handwritten or typewritten form, etc., placed according to their date.

At this point I would like to expand on the issue of letters. One striking feature of the archive we received is that it strangely does not contain a sufficient number of original letters to and from Nikos Skalkottas. In particular, only 8 were identified, a number that worries us, if we consider that the collection of material began shortly after his death. That means that members of his family, his friends and colleagues may have the letters in their possession. The most likely

explanation is that they deliberately avoided collecting his letters because of personal information they may have contained.

iii) **Sub-archive of Programs** includes a few concert programs with Skalkottas's works, while he was alive and many more concert programs that took place after his death with the efforts of the Committee and the Society.

iv) **Sub-archive of Editions and Brochures** contains invitations to concerts, posters, books, and scrapbooks, as well as press clips. These documents are entirely related to the activity after his death, except two items. One is Skalkottas's text *About the folk song*, which was published on July 22nd 1938 in the periodical *Neoellinika Grammata*. The other one is the newspaper *Mousikos Kosmos* published by the Panhellenic Music Association. With no link to the text, in the center there is a photo of Nikos Skalkottas with the following caption "Our distinguished composer and dear colleague Nikolaos Skalkottas whose Greek dances were performed by the Athens Conservatory Symphony Orchestra, proved one more time the endless treasures inside this exceptional musical physiognomy". The interest of this publication focuses on the fact that it was published in 1937, a time when Nikos Skalkottas appears completely ignored by his colleagues in Greece.



Nikos Skalkottas, "The folk song", *Neoellinika Grammata*, 22 July 1938



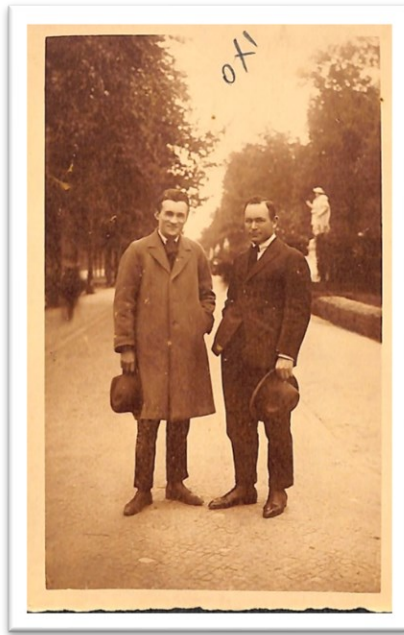
Cover page of the Mousikos Kosmos, January-February 1937

v) **Sub-archive of Music Editions** contains the three editions that appeared while he was alive and all the publications made after his death by both Universal and Margun.

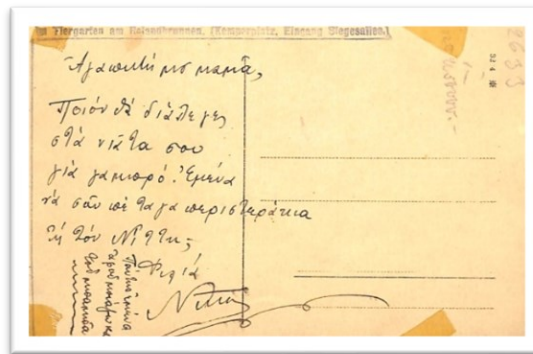
vi) **Sub-archive of LP Records** separated from other recordings due to their rarity and the archival value of their cover images.

vii) **Sub-archive of Digital Records** includes all the recordings originally made in the form of tapes, cassettes, or LPs in digital form.

viii) **Sub-archive of Photos.** The original photos are scarce, but there are several reprints and negatives. To properly document them, with the valuable assistance of experienced musicologists and musicians, we are in the process of identifying all the people appearing in these photos. In addition, special attention is being given to the pieces of information written on the back side of the photos, since they often reflect the mood and psychology of the composer.



Nikos Skalkottas in Berlin with one of his friends



*My dear Mom, who would you choose for your groom? Me, throwing you little pigeons, or Nitti?
Me anyway, since I look like daddy!*

ix) Sub-archive of Microfilm. A separate category was created because microfilms depict the state of the archive in the 1950s. Sadly, this means that some of the original manuscripts today are missing, mainly because in the early years it was common practice to borrow original material that in some cases was never returned.

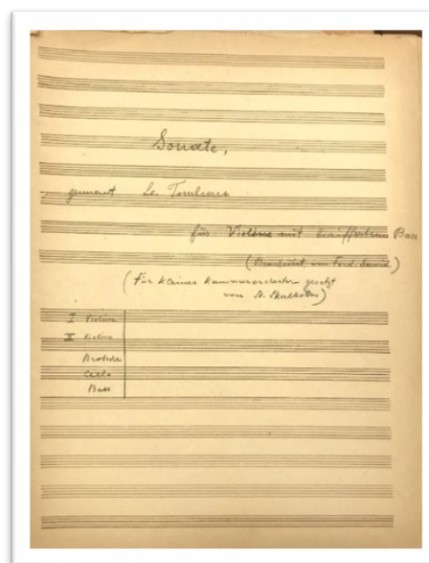
The undocumented part of the archive

A big part of Nikos Skalkottas's estate we received is undocumented material, kept in folders. On the cover of these folders was written some information about

their content. There are about 200 folders and each one of them may contain from a few pages to hundreds of different items, related to one of the following four categories: a) the whole history of the movement to save the Skalkottas's Archive and disseminate his work, statutes, assemblies, reports, receipts; b) correspondence with publishing houses concerning the publication of his works, and also with performers who would play his compositions; c) studies and codification of all of Skalkottas's works by John G. Papaioannou, that prove how much he was dedicated to that purpose; d) concert programs and publications about Skalkottas and his music published after his death.

During the documentation process of this unregistered material, some unknown rare documents have already been found, such as:

i) Photos from the field investigations carried out by the Committee on the places of origin of Nikos Skalkottas, or some of his original transcriptions.



Original transcription by Nikos Skalkottas of J.M. Leclair work "Sonata for violin and piano".

ii) The correspondence between the members of his family with the committee, showing their continuous interest in the composer's work and the long-standing trusting relationship that the family of the deceased had with them. One touching example is the postcard his mother Ioanna Skalkottas wrote on 27 March 1954, a few years before she died: "Dear children, now I am happy even

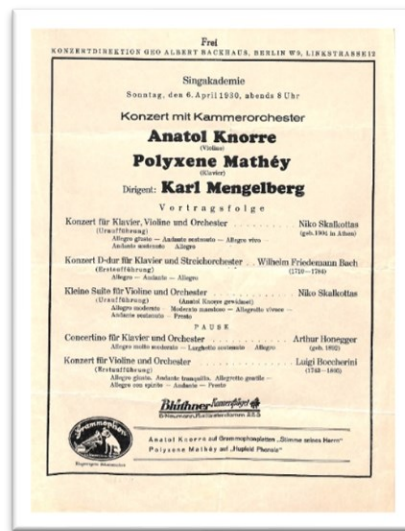
if I die, Nick lives on. You resurrected him. I cannot find words to thank you, but accept the blessing from the sad mother. With gratitude, Ioanna Skalkottas”.

Apayuyi va yu wadii
 wuon wai u'i arda'w
 wya wlyuis, o Nuu yu fu
 lu yu lu arad'uole
 Nizus di Epime ra sās
 xoufu yu ra sās wya

position sopra i xix
 cioè nei corvici e gubici
 dei xix
 M'ingomom
 Guaira Lugumia
 27.2.24.

A note by Ioanna Skalkottas, Nikos Skalkottas's mother, to the Skalkottas Committee, 27 March 1954

iii) Some of the original programs of the concerts held in Berlin, at the Prussian Academy of Arts (19 June 1929, 30 May 1930) and at the Singakademie (6 April 1930) during the period when Skalkottas lived there and studied with Schoenberg.



The program of the concert at the Singakademie, Berlin, 6 April 1930

iv) Several original letters related to the concert at the Singakademie were also discovered. The first one was written by Marika Papaioannou to her sister Kaiti, describing how she felt about that concert: “The concert was very interesting as far as the program was concerned. Unfortunately, Knorre was mediocre and rehearsals, for economic reasons, were scarce. Skalkottas’s works certainly lost half of their value because of the quality of the performance. Matthey played really well although the works were extremely difficult. Critics have found the opportunity through Skalkottas to hit Schoenberg, who has only enemies. One of them was telling me, ‘*I know what Skalkottas is worth and what he can do, that’s why I am attacking him. He has to leave Schoenberg*’”.²

There are also two letters that Skalkottas sent to Marika Papaioannou in the summer of 1930. In one of them he states: “The critics for our concert are shared. Depending on their opinion about music, each of us gets good or bad criticism. Above all, I am pleased that my mother is almost in good health, and that today I left Schoenberg forever”.³

d) Finally, I would like to mention the folder “American Skalkottas Committee”. That Committee was set up in California and seems to have had arranged the first LP recording with 12 of the 36 Greek dances, under the label of Fantasy. The committee was chaired by Gregory Millar Manousos, a Greek conductor, Robert Parr as a co-chairman and George Lekkas as a special secretary. The folder

² The original letter can be found in the Nikos Skalkottas Archive, Text Sub-Archive

³ The original letter can be found in the Nikos Skalkottas Archive, Sub-Archive of texts.

illustrates the background of this release, Universal's involvement and Papaioannou's dissatisfaction with the quality of the recording. This may explain why the other dances were not published despite the wishes of members of American Skalkottas Committee.

3. About the Future

The main purpose of the library is to make the Nikos Skalkottas Archive a research center of the composer's work and a reference point for those involved in his work. To this aim we have decided that the Skalkottas Archive, like all the other archives of our collection, will be open and accessible to the public. For that purpose, we are working tirelessly to provide everything that is needed for its optimal use.

More specifically our actions include:

- 1) Documentation and integration of all the material: all of the thousands of records will be documented and integrated into one of the mentioned sub-archives.
- 2) The incorporation of material already existing in the Library's collection into the Skalkottas Archive. Prior to the acquisition of the Skalkottas Archive, the Library already had a remarkable collection of original documents, which eventually proved to be unique. Thus, all these archival sources should be linked in order to complete the entire Skalkottas Archive. Among them are:
 - a) manuscripts recently found in Buffalo by musicologist Yiannis Tselikas and obtained in digital copies from the Music Library;
 - b) theoretical texts on Skalkottas's music (music style, new music literature) that came from a collector⁴;
 - c) letters to and from his wife and her mother in the Fall of 1948 when Nikos Skalkottas was in Thessaloniki for concerts, as well as photographs from the same period (this material came from the same collector as mentioned above);
 - d) programs of the concerts and theatre performances held in Greece in 1920 and 1921 before his departure to Berlin, as well as from the period after his return;
 - e) Skalkottas's articles in *Music Life* magazine and the articles written about him posthumously;
 - f) LP records;
 - g) material from the Library's other archives (George Chatzinikos's and Minos Dounia's Archives) linked to Nikos Skalkottas.

⁴ The Music Library of Greece bought all the archival material related on Nikos Skalkottas from the collector Andreas Hatzipolakis in November 2009.

There are other composers' archives in our collection that no one would expect to find original material such as the Mikis Theodorakis Archive where one can find an original transcription by Nikos Skalkottas of Manolis Skouloudis's work *Sacrifice of Abraham* (Skouloudis 1951).

Conclusion

Up until now, all the scores have been cataloged and placed in special archival boxes for proper storage and preservation. Furthermore, they have been digitized and are fully accessible through the Library's website.

Our future plans concerning the Nikos Skalkottas Archive involve searching for other lost material, revising Papaioannou's music catalogue and creating a new one, establishing a modern search tool. This way researchers from the global community can have access to Skalkottas's work.

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Digitizing the Nikos Skalkottas Archive

George Boumpous

The Music Library of Greece “Lilian Voudouri” has developed and allocated a rich digitized collection which consists of more than 330.000 documents deriving from Greek composers’ archives, special score collections and special published material (pic.1).

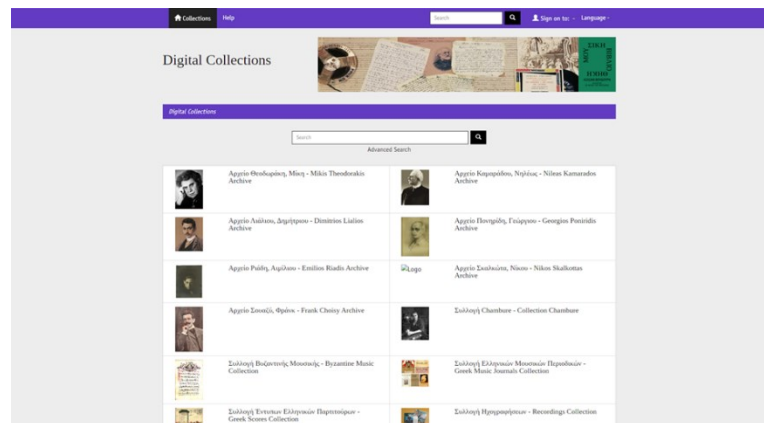


(pic. 1)

The Digitization procedure contains: the conversion of the analogue material (such as music scores, books, publications, sound recordings) into a digital format, the editing of the digitized object, their documentation, in other words the description of the digitized material according to international metadata standards, and the data input in a digital repository that offers a convenient way to store, manage, access and preserve the material (Hudgins and Mackin 2000, 189-204). Digitization allows for the preservation of the content of the material by creating an accessible surrogate, putting less strain on the original, while also facilitating the user’s access (Berger 1999, 146-151). In addition, it serves the

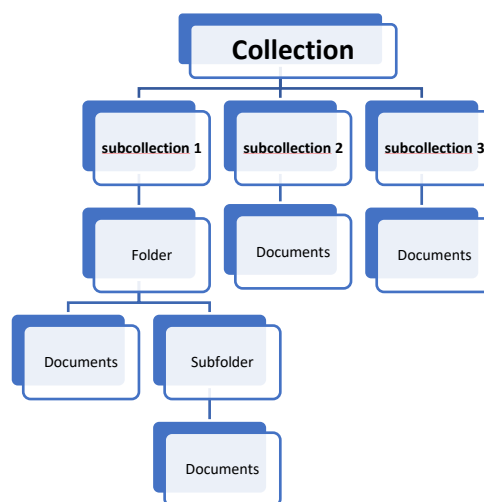
further dissemination and reuse of the material into broader digital collection consortiums such as Europeana (europeana.eu) as well as for educational applications (Paschalis 1999, 309-313).

Digital collections digital.mmb.org.gr (pic.2) is the main portal in which all the digitized items of the Library are contained. At this moment, the portal consists of 13 main collections, and more specifically 7 archives and 6 special collections.



(pic.2)

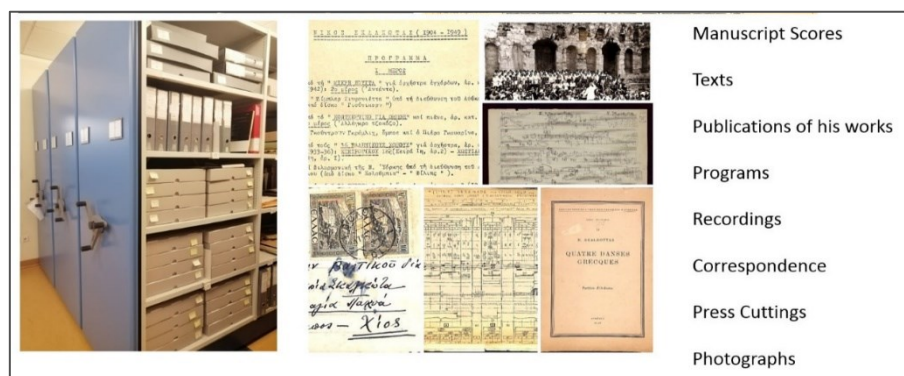
Every main collection may contain sub collections, folders, subfolders and of course the digitized items themselves (pic.3). This structure of the database is due to the effort to keep in the digital environment the classification of the analogue material, especially in the case of the Archives where it is essential to show the relationships between the documents.



(pic.3)

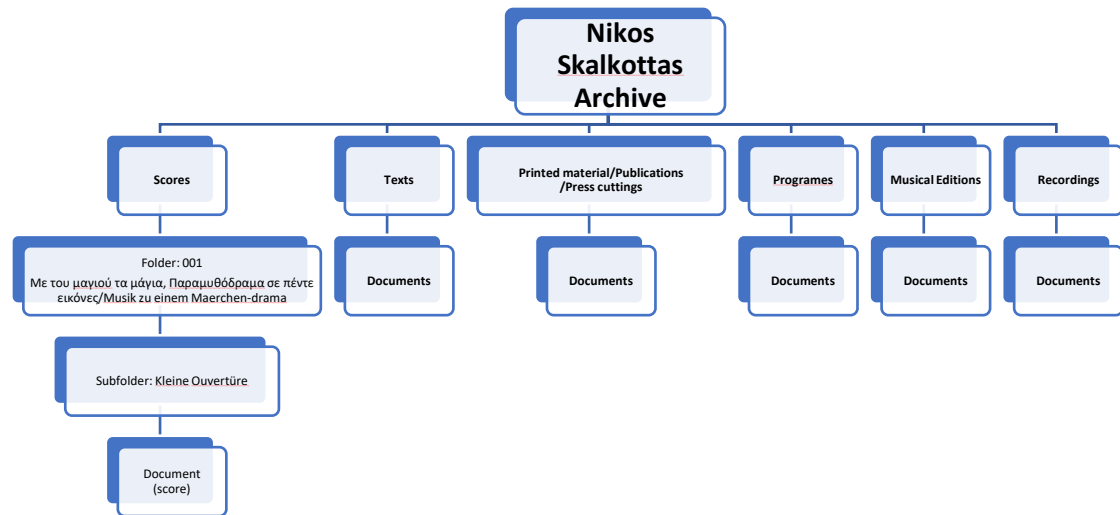
The Nikos Skalkottas Archive came to the Library in June 2018. After its acquisition one of the main goals was the digitization, documentation and making it available through the Library's Digital Collections portal. The digitization of the Archive was the main objective as it will contribute to the preservation of the original material as well as the dissemination of Skalkottas's work, thus helping researchers' instant access to the contents. Therefore, the study and editing of the Archive started in order to initiate the gradual affiliation of the Archive to the Library's Digital Collections.

The Archive consists of diverse material such as music manuscripts, printed music, sound recordings, texts, correspondence, concert programmes and photographs. (pic.4).



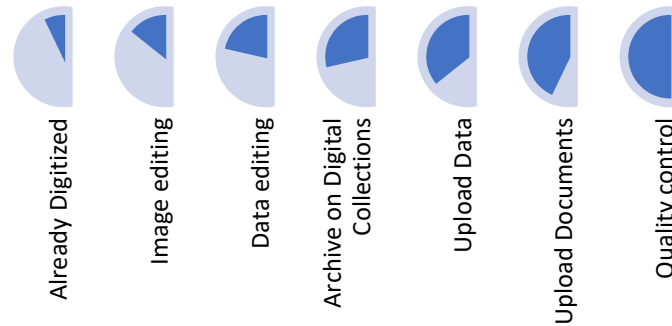
(pic.4)

The first step was to create the general structure of the archive within the Digital Collections Portal according to its analogue material classification. A new main collection was then created named "Nikos Skalkottas Archive", which was divided in 6 subcollections, each containing a specific type of documents: scores, texts, printed material/publications/press cuttings, programmes, musical editions and recordings. The scores subcollection is further divided into folders and subfolders. As the Archive is being processed, new divisions into folders and subfolders may arise for the rest of the sub archives, but this is something that the ongoing process on the archive will show (pic.5).



(pic.5)

The digitization procedure (pic.6) for the Nikos Skalkottas Archive started with the music scores which are the first type of material available through the Digital Collections Portal. The music scores have been digitized into big size jpeg images. The files were converted into pdf format for web publishing, in order to make the download easier and faster for the user. Furthermore, the compilation and completion of the data of the scores description in Excel sheets was carried out, in order to import them into the Digital Collections' Database. At the same time, the interface of the Nikos Skalkottas Archive was created in the Digital Collections Portal and its sub archives according to the material contained in them. Then the scores description data in excel files were imported successfully to the Digital Collections database, and the uploading phase for the digitized items took place. Upon completion of these tasks, quality control procedures will take place to make the Skalkottas Archive scores collection accessible for the public through the Library's Digital Collections Portal.



(pic.6)

The Nikos Skalkottas Archive Scores Collection consists of 108 folders and 322 subfolders. Each folder corresponds to one of Skalkottas's works and includes various forms of it such as sketches, notes, arrangements, instruments parts etc. Skalkottas's works, in the scores collection of the Archive, are presented in ascending order according to the catalogue number that Yiannis Papaioannou has classified them with. (pic.7).

Home Collections Help Search Logged in as library@megaron.gr Language

Digital Collections

Digital Collections / Αρχείο Σκαλκώτα, Νίκου - Nikos Skalkottas Archive

Search Advanced Search

Παρτιτούρες - Scores

Η Συλλογή Παρτιτούρων του Αρχείου Νίκου Σκαλκώτα αποτελείται από 108 Φακέλους και 322 υποφακέλους. Κάθε φακέλος αντιστοιχεί σε έναν τίτλο έργου και περιλαμβάνει διάφορες μορφές του υπό τη μορφή υποφακέλων όπως σχέδια της σύνθεσης, σημειώσεις, κειμήλια τρίτων, πάστες οργάνων κ.α...

Τα έργα παρουσιάζονται σε αύξουσα σειρά σύμφωνα με τον αριθμό καταλόγου Γ.Γ. Παπαιωάννου.

Οι τίτλοι των φακέλων αναγράφονται δίπλα αριθμός εμφανίζονται στο κειμήλιο. Σε κάποιες περιπτώσεις, προς διευκόλυνση των χρηστών έχουν προστεθεί οι μεταφράσεις τους σε μια ή περισσότερες από τις παρακάτω γλώσσες: ελληνικά, αγγλικά, γερμανικά. Σε αυτή την περίπτωση η μετάφραση σημειώνεται εντός αγκύλης.

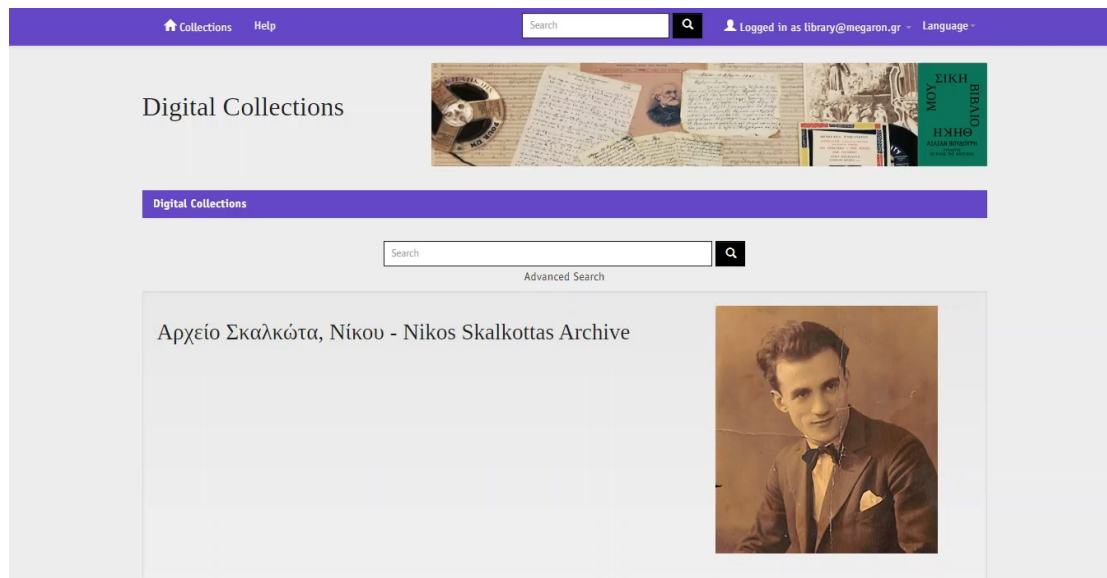
Στην περιγραφή των υποφακέλων/περικυκλωμένων έχουν αναγραφεί μόνο οι τίτλοι που εμφανίζονται στο πρωτότυπο.

Περιηγηθείτε στα μουσικά έργα του Αρχείου Νίκου Σκαλκώτα

001 Με του μαγιού τα μάγια, Παραμυθόδραμα σε πέντε εκώνες/Musik zu einem Märchen-drama	002 Ερρίκος Ε'
003 Σουίτα για μεγάλη ορχήστρα/ Suite für großes Orchester.[Πρώτη Συμφωνική Σουίτα]	004 Δεύτερη σουίτα για μεγάλη ορχήστρα σε έξι μέρη/ 2nd Symphonic suite
005 Εισαγωγή για ορχήστρα - Ouverture für Orchester.[Η επιστροφή του Οδυσσέα]/ The return of Ulysses	006 Μικρή σουίτα για έγχορδα όργανα / Kleine Suite Für Streichinstrumente
007 Δέκα σκίτσα για κουαρτέτο εγχόρδων / Zehn Stücke für streichquartett (Skizzen) / 10 Sketches for strings	008 Κλασική Συμφωνία / Klassische Sinfonie
009 Μικρή συμφωνία / Kleine Sinfonie / Sinfonietta	010 - 016 36 Ελληνικοί χοροί / 36 Greek dances
017, 018 Αρχαίον ελληνικών εμβατήριων	019 Η Λυγερή κι ο Χάρος
020 Μικρή Χορευτική Σουίτα / Kleine Tanz-Suite	021 Η Θάλασσα - Λαϊκό Μπαλέτο / Das Meer / [The Sea]

(pic.7)

A key element of every Digital Collection is the efficient search and retrieval of its contents. For this reason, a search box is available on every page of the Digital Collections platform, where the user can search for the document he is looking for (pic.8).



(pic.8)

For example, a researcher is searching the archive for passacaglia one of Skalkottas's 32 pieces for piano (pic.9). The search returns 5 results: A printed score of Passacaglia from Universal edition, a tape-recording containing Suite no 4 and Passacaglia, a Universal Editions Catalogue of 1955 containing passacaglia, the folder number 070 of the 32 pieces for piano, which in its contents includes passacaglia and finally a concert program of 1953 which includes passacaglia among other Skalkottas works.

Results 1-5 of 5 (Search time: 0.002 seconds).

previous 1 next

Item hits:		
Date	Title	Author(s)
1955	Passacaglia: Piano solo	Σκαλκώτας, Νίκος
[X.X]	4th Suite (1941) Op74 (I. Toccata - II - III. Polka - IV. Serenade)	Σκαλκώτας, Νίκος; Χατζηνίκος, Γιώργος
1955	UE-drucke Oktober 1955	-
1940	[32 Klavierstücke]	Σκαλκώτας, Νίκος
20-04-1953	U.S.P.S. Concert Series: Featuring Contemporary Greek and American Composers	Σκαλκώτας, Νίκος; Παπαλιάννου, Πάννης Γ.; Παυλός, Δημήτριος; Ευελπίδη, Νέλλη

(pic.9)

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If he only had known: The first attempts towards the publication of Skalkottas' works

Stephanie Merakos

Some of the most exciting moments in the life of a librarian or an archivist is the discovery of new documents that bring to light unknown information. This might never happen or it might happen often. The Nikos Skalkottas Archive has had an adventurous life since the death of the composer. Skalkottas was not very much interested to his legacy during his short lifetime, therefore, besides the manuscripts and some letters that were passed from the family to the Skalkottas Committee, right after the composer's death in 1949,¹ most of the material that it now holds, was accumulated by the members of the Committee and especially by John Papaioannou.²

¹ After the death of Skalkottas, his wife Maria Pangali and his sister Kiki Verdesopoulou, turned musicologist Minos Dounias, violinist Nelly Evelpidi and musicologist John Papaioannou and asked them to help gather the material of the composer and take care of it. The three of them on 10 November 1949, informally established the Epitropi Skalkotta [Skalkottas Committee], with the purpose to save and disseminate his work. The manuscripts were collected from the wife's and sister's houses and put in a safe in the Ionian Bank. At the same time the Committee made all efforts to collect relevant material from musicians and other people that might have or know about scores and other material of Skalkottas by personal contact and also by a call through the press. The effort of the Committee was supported by a group of people named the Friends of the works of Nikos Skalkottas. Their priorities were to save the manuscripts, as well as the publication and performance of the works. In 1961 the three members of the Skalkottas Committee, seeing that in order to continue their tasks they needed a new status, they formed an association named Etaireia Filon Skalkotta, [Society of Skalkottas Friends], with Minos Dounias as president and Nelly Evelpidi and John Papaioannou members of the board (other translations of the title of the Society are Society of Skalkottas Friends or The Friends of Skalkottas Society). After the death of Dounias, Evelpidi became the president, followed by John Konstantinidis. Papaioannou became the president in 1984, after the death of Konstantinidis. In 1961 the manuscripts were moved from the bank and put in specially designed fireproof cabinets at Papaioannou's house. He was actually the main power behind every move toward the promotion of the music of N. Skalkottas. In 2000, after Papaioannou's death, the Archive was obtained by the Aimilios Chourmouzos-Marika Papaioannou Foundation and was kept at the facilities of KSYME until June of 2018, when it was moved to the premises of the Music Library "Lilian Voudouri" of the Friends of Music Society.

² John G. Papaioannou (1915-2000) was a musicologist, pianist, music teacher and architect-urban planner. He graduated in 1935 from NTUA and received postgraduate training in England 1945-46. He headed many offices of the government, and also served as representative of Greece in international conferences on housing, erection and development, building materials, etc. He was also a pianist and co-founder (with Guenter Becker) and consultant of the Contemporary Music Laboratory of the "Goethe" Institute of Athens, vice-president of the International Society of Contemporary Music and the KSYME. He taught music history at the Athens School (1952-1967) and at Pierce College (1967-1969). As a pianist, he has given many world-class performances and overall presentations (with comments and performance) of major classical series (complete sonatas of Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, Schubert and many others). He organized many concerts, festivals (especially of

The main concerns of the Skalkottas Committee were to make his work known, consequently one of its first tasks was to have his works printed in order to be available for performances worldwide. Besides the only three works were published during Skalkottas' lifetime³ without any financial support from the state, the Committee and especially J. Papaioannou, managed to have a lot of orchestral, chamber and solo works published by Universal Editions in the 1950s and 1960s and later in the 1980s by Margun Music.

The correspondence between J. Papaioannou and the publishers, is part of the archive that is reserved now at the Music Library of Greece, and displays the great efforts that were taken, as well as the great difficulties that came up and had to be faced, towards publishing Skalkottas' music. The correspondence with the publishing house has never been described or catalogued before, so the full availability of the archive's material provides a great chance to see these details.

The collection of letters

The archive was only partially documented until 2018. The main concern and priority of the curators had been the promotion of the manuscripts for performances reasons. Other material such as programs, correspondence, critiques, editions, publications, notes, etc. had only been partially catalogued. The documents of interest in the case of Universal Editions was found scattered in many files, and were extracted to compile a thematic folder. The time span of the letters cover the years 1951 to 1968 with a gap between the years 1962 to 1965. It is almost sure that correspondence from these years must be in Papaioannou's archive.⁴ At the time of writing this paper, the access to this material was not possible, so the research on this matter will go on. Nevertheless, one can very well follow the process and the procedures that took place for the realization of the editions project of the Skalkottas Committee.

contemporary music) and other events and was one of the first to recognize the special musical personality of Nikos Skalkottas, whom he first met in 1928, when Skalkottas visited Athens during a break in his stay in Berlin, and then had constant contact with him after the composer settled permanently in Athens. He wrote monographs and critical notes on composers such as Nikos Skalkottas, Giannis Christou, Giannis A. Papaioannou, etc. He has published many articles in Greece and abroad, has given numerous lectures and has organized various series of shows, musicological and musical content, on the Radio.

³ The three works published during Skalkottas's lifetime were: a) Sonatina for Violin and Piano; the second movement, b) Quatre Dances Grecques [Four Greek Dances] and c) "I Lafina" [The Doe] a folk song arranged by Skalkottas.

⁴ John Papaioannou's archive belongs to the Aimilios Chourmouzos-Marika Papaioannou Foundation that is housed at the Athens Conservatoire. At the time of this research the correspondence that is part of the archive was inaccessible.

A total of 355 letters were collected and considered for this study. More specifically, the vast majority, one hundred and forty of them are written by Alfred Kalmus⁵ the director of Universal Editions, while sixty-nine come from the editorial team of Universal in Vienna. Papaioannou had kept forty-two copies of the letters he sent to the publishers, twenty-nine to Kalmus and thirteen to the Vienna editorial team. The matters that are discussed throughout the collection of letters are: choice of works, types and condition of copies of manuscripts and relevant difficulties, editing process, other editions, titles and naming of works, translation, analytical notes, provisional or preliminary editions, provision of copies to conductors, soloists or festivals, financial agreement and payments of rights to Mrs Skalkottas. Many matters, besides the editing process itself, are subject of interest in the correspondence. One of them is the handling of the intellectual property rights and the provision of the gains to Mrs Skalkottas that both Papaioannou and Kalmus considered very seriously and did their best to take care for her sake. Others refer to the finding of works by George Hadjinikos in Berlin in 1954⁶, provision of works to well known performers, conductors and festival directors such as Isaak Stern, Robert Kraft, George Hadjinikos, Antal Dorati, Peter Grandewitz and others.

The way to Universal

In 1946 Papaioannou met Walter Goehr⁷ a fellow student of Skalkottas at Schönberg's composition class in Berlin in 1927 and 1928, at a concert of the latter in London. Papaioannou after the concert congratulated Goehr who asked him about the "great" Skalkottas. Papaioannou informed him that he had passed away and Goehr expressed his sincere interest in Skalkottas's works. A few years later, the two men met at the

⁵ Alfred August Ulrich Kalmus (1889–1972) was an influential Austrian-born British publisher of modern music in Europe. He was the director of Universal Editions along with Alfred Schlee and Ernst Hartmann at the time of the publication of the Skalkottas works. Kalmus paid particular attention to such younger and more radical composers as Luciano Berio, Pierre Boulez and Karlheinz Stockhausen, as well as English composers such as Richard Rodney Bennett, Harrison Birtwistle, David Bedford, and Hugh Wood.

⁶ George Hadjinikos (1923–2015), a well-known pianist, conductor and teacher with an international career, found and bought four works by Skalkottas, from the old bookstore of Mr Ohmann in Berlin, as he mentions in three letters, dated 26 September 1954, 14 October 1954 and 4 November 1954. First he found a Piano Concerto (1931), a Quartet (n.d., Allegro giusto, Andante con variazioni, Allegro vivace), the Sonatina for Violin and Piano no.2 (14/10/1929, Allegro, Andante, Allegro) and after a month he acquired two copies of the Octet for Flute, Oboe, Clarinet, Bassoon, two Violins, Viola and Violoncello (1931).

⁷ Walter Goehr (1903–1960) was a German composer and conductor. He was a composition student in the class of Arnold Schönberg in Berlin, at the same time with Skalkottas. He started a conducting career and after working in Berlin he was invited to become music director for the Gramophone Company (later EMI), so he moved to London and worked as a staff conductor of the London Symphony Orchestra, for EMI. After the war he conducted for several recording companies based in Europe, such as the Theatre Orchestra of BBC. He was a skilful arranger and also instructed pupils in conducting.

Athens airport, on the occasion of Goehr passing through Athens, where Papaioannou showed him some works of Skalkottas (Papaioannou 1997, 24).

Goehr played an important and critical role in the rebirth of Skalkottas' music. He was actually the first to conduct dodecaphonic Skalkottas works after the composer's death. On March 18, 1951 he conducted in Athens the work *Mayday Spell*. Later, on November 2nd 1952, in a famous concert by the Athens State Orchestra at Orpheus Hall, he conducted *Largo Synfonico*, the fourth movement of the *Second Symphonic Suite*⁸ and on November 7th at Parnassos Hall, he presented string works in a concert that was supported financially by the British Council. He was actually the person who spoke to Alfred Kalmus, the general manager of Universal Editions, a very eminent publisher of modern music in Europe, and convinced him to print Skalkottas' works as a gesture to uncover the composer after his death. Another meeting with Marika Papaioannou⁹ later on, also had a very positive result to the continuation of the editions. Goehr was finally very much part of the team that edited the works because he was very experienced as an arranger, composer and conductor but mainly because of the trust he enjoyed on behalf of Kalmus.

The process as shown in the correspondence

The communication between Universal and the Skalkottas Committee through Papaioannou, start with a letter that Kalmus writes to Papaioannou on May 28, 1951. In this letter he describes his meetings with Goehr and M. Papaioannou and proposes to the Skalkottas Committee to undertake the publication of a) *Suite for String Orchestra* (AK 7), b) *Ten Pieces for Strings* (AK 8) and c) one *Suite of 12 Greek Dances for Orchestra* (AK 11), and possibly other arrangements of the Dances as well. It is obvious that from the very first attempt for collaboration the importance of the 36 Greek Dances is made clear.

Kalmus writes in this letter: 'I understand that it is the Committee's wish to give such works as the Greek Dances, which are more readily understandable and therefore easier to place, only to a publisher who will also do everything possible for the works which are more typical of the composer, I think that the two string works will already show the real style of the composer and it will take some time to make them well known and

⁸ *Largo Sinfonico* was published by Universal in 1959, UE 12793.

⁹ Marika Papaioannou-Chourmouziou (1904-1994) was a well-known Greek pianist and educator. She studied in Athens, Geneva, Paris and Rome and had an international career. She met Skalkottas in Berlin where they became friends, and along with her brother John G. Papaioannou made great efforts for the promotion of his work.

established in the repertoire'.¹⁰ In the same letter Kalmus also states the procedures of Universal regarding the promotion and the printing of the works. Universal would provide material and advertise, so that the work would get enough performances to be judged by the public and critics. After that Universal would decide what to do, that is whether they would go on with the printing. He also states the financial conditions between the company and Mrs Skalkottas, who was recipient of the profits from the editions and the performances. Universal will provide Mrs Skalkottas a) 20% for hire fees (loans to orchestras), b) 50% of performing fees (collected by performance right societies, assuming that Mrs Skalkottas is a member of the relevant greek society, c) 1/3 of fees for mechanical rights and d) 12% of the catalogue price on music sold to the public.

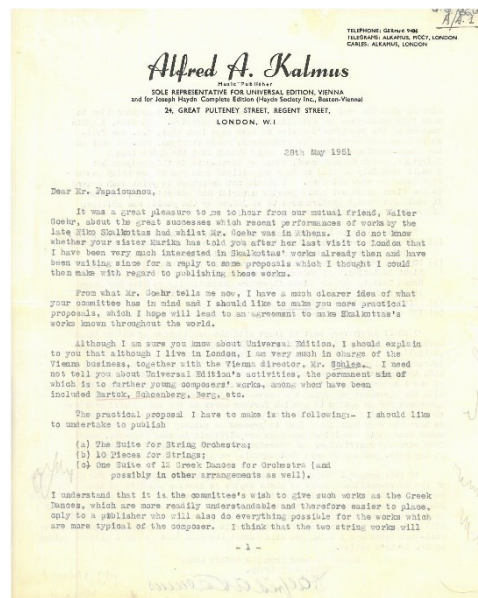


Figure 1. The first letter of A. Kalmus to J.G. Papaioannou, May 28, 1951

It is obvious, right from the very first letter, that Kalmus, without having seen any manuscript and based only on whatever Goehr had showed him, knew what, how, and why, he will have to do. Universal was to promote various types of works of Skalkottas, such as chamber music for small and large ensembles, piano works and duos for several instruments, and to present them in the best and most professional way. Kalmus wrote another letter in early July, which is not included in the archive or has not surfaced yet, and Papaioannou answers both letters on 22 October 1951. He opens with the phrase that is very common throughout this collection of letters, 'we are very sorry for being so late in replying your letter'. The reason for the delayed answer was that Papaioannou during this time researched all the possible ways of making copies of the Skalkottas

¹⁰ i.e. atonal and dodecahonic works

manuscripts, so that he could send them to Universal. Dying this time he took a sort of survey over various reproductive methods for the estimation of editing and other costs in order to give Kalmus the required information and of course forward the bill. The letter is seven pages long and goes through fifteen points that Kalmus had probably sorted out in his second letter. This is a usual procedure of communication between the two men, especially because in most letters there are many issues to be dealt with. According to this letter, the Committee agreed with the choice of works as well as to the fact that the editing would be done by Universal in Vienna, and it committed itself to inform the publishers about the cost for reproducing manuscript copies. However, most of these parameters were to change later. Papaioannou proposed the printing of two more works, namely the Overture for Orchestra (AK 5), for which Dimitris Mitropoulos has asked a copy, as he wanted to conduct it, and Mayday Spell, mainly because the Committee was already working on "preliminary editions" of these works.¹¹ It was Papaioannou's experience from the editing of this work that helped him calculate the procedure and the relevant cost for the copying.¹² Papaioannou also states that the archive does not have a set of 12 Greek Dances, even if the first series of 12 dances may consist of the four in the French Institute edition, and another eight dances that had to be copied from manuscripts.¹³ He actually proposes to start with the 3rd series of the 36 Greek Dances that was available in the archive in the 1948-1949 orchestration by the composer himself, asks for some advance payment to Mrs Skalkottas and expresses his concerns about names of works, translations of titles, indications, notes, texts, introductory and analytical notes, and asks for the publisher's advice.

And the games begin

Kalmus in his next letter of November 27, 1951 explains the usual procedures of his editing company which is different than the one Papaioannou had suggested. According to this letter, Universal receives the manuscript from the composer and does the editing at no extra cost to the composer.¹⁴ It is obvious that the costs that Papaioannou presented would make the publishing impossible, because Universal is not willing to cover any such costs, therefore Kalmus asks directly for copies of the manuscripts of the

¹¹ Papaioannou uses the term "preliminary editions" for the ones he provided to musicians for performance purposes. They were photocopies of the final manuscripts of Skalkottas or other handwritten scores by copyists, who edited the works under Papaioannou's supervision.

¹² Goehr actually performed Mayday Spell in Athens in 1951 from a preliminary edition of the work that Papaioannou had provided. Many other performances using such scores followed.

¹³ The French Institute of Athens had published Four Greek Dances in 1948, one year before the death of Skalkottas.

¹⁴ That meant that Universal would not pay for the copies.

three works. However, Universal was definitely interested to also publish the Overture for Orchestra, because Mitropoulos was so interested in it and because they could foresee a market for this work. No editorial notes would be added in the scores, as the publisher's intention was to produce practical scores and not scientific editions that, according to this letter, would only confuse the conductors.

As the two parties try to find a way to process their collaboration more problems appear. The condition of the manuscripts makes them unsuitable for copying mainly because of faint pencil writing and too many corrections from Skalkottas.¹⁵ So, they finalize the way Papaioannou will be sending the music to Kalmus and that is after the Committee in Athens has completed the editing. However, the two parties made exceptions and Papaioannou sent copies before having them edited in Athens, when suitable.

Nine months after the initial letter, in February of 1952, Papaioannou sent the transparencies and one blueprint copy of the Small Suite for Strings, which is later named Little Suite for Strings by Kalmus. The work takes three titles, Little Suite for Strings, Kleine Suite für Streichorchester, and Μικρή Σουΐτα για Έγχορδα, and it is very interesting to see how small things could make the editing difficult.¹⁶

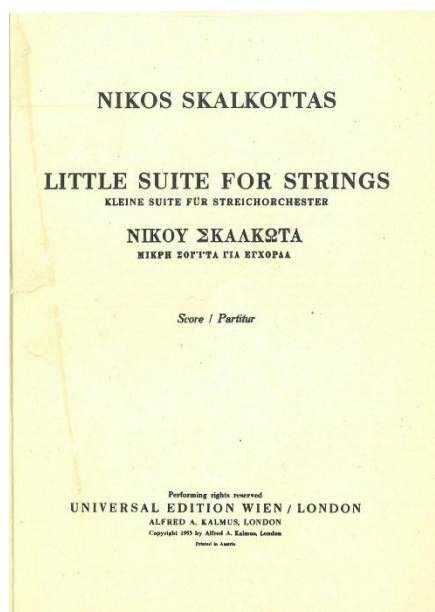


Figure 2. The first edition by Universal in 1953

The contract was finally signed in August 1952 stating, along with the collection of rights for Mrs Skalkottas, that Universal has the intention to publish as many works of Skalkottas as possible, but in order not to tie Mrs Skalkottas too long before they have

¹⁵ J.G Papaioannou to A. Kalmus, letter of 29 January 1952.

¹⁶ It took the publishers a lot of effort to incorporate the diacritics for the word "ΣΟΥΪΤΑ" in greek. The first public performance of the Little Suite was given on 1 September 1953 at the Venice Musical Festival.

given proof of their work, they have set five years, during which time they may have a first refusal. It is obvious from the very beginning that Universal was very interested in publishing the three sets of the 36 Greek Dances, while Papaioannou was insisting in publishing mostly other "more progressive works". In a letter dated June 20, 1952 there is a special note from Kalmus, describing that he will add in the contract Papaioannou's term as follows: 'It is understood that the Assignee will not publish the 2nd and 3rd series of the 36 Dances without an undertaking to publish simultaneously with each series one of the "progressive" works, to be defined and assigned under the conditions of this agreement at the time of publication of one of these series'.

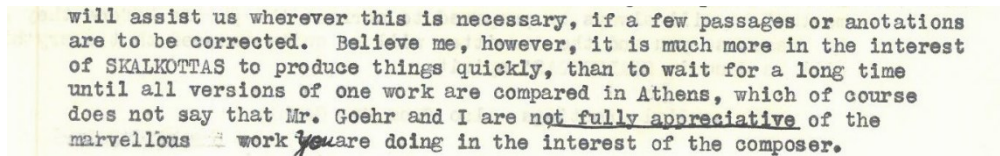
Delays

It is actually the condition of the manuscripts and the different approaches of Papaioannou and Kalmus that delay the editing process. Kalmus strongly suggests that it is in the interest of Skalkottas to produce things quickly, than to wait for a long time until all versions of one work are compared in Athens,¹⁷ and that he has to publish the ones that are the most impressive because a) it will make Skalkottas' name more popular much quicker than by works which are very difficult to distribute and b) it is also in the interest of the publisher not to have in the first place only works which will need a great deal of patience and personal persuasion with conductors, but also such works which everyone will perform without hesitation.¹⁸ Therefore, he asks to start the publication of the Greek Dances with the ones published by the French Institute since they were picked and edited by Skalkottas himself. The two parties have this conversation because Papaioannou sent other dances than those in the French Institute edition, namely "Hostianos", "Epirotikos", "Kleftikos", "Mariori mou" and two pages from "Kato stou Valtou". Finally, in 1953, 5 Greek Dances for orchestra were published, edited by Walter Goehr, based on the material that Papaioannou sent.¹⁹ As mentioned above, Universal agreed to publish the works after recommendations of Goehr, who had given Kalmus the assurance that the manuscripts were clear and easy to edit and print. That eventually proved to be far from the truth.

¹⁷ A. Kalmus to J.G. Papaioannou, letter of 23 February 1953.

¹⁸ A. Kalmus to J.G. Papaioannou, letter of 5 March 1953.

¹⁹ The 5 Greek Dances for Orchestra were published by Universal were Peloponissiakos I/3, Epirotikos 1 I/4, Epirotikos 2 III/2, Hostianos III/1 and Kleftikos III/3.



will assist us wherever this is necessary, if a few passages or anotations are to be corrected. Believe me, however, it is much more in the interest of SKALKOTTAS to produce things quickly, than to wait for a long time until all versions of one work are compared in Athens, which of course does not say that Mr. Goehr and I are not fully appreciative of the marvellous work you are doing in the interest of the composer.

Figure. 3. Letter of February 23, 1953

Papaioannou is always very careful and polite in his wording about the problems and the delays that come up and also very apologetic. After dealing with the manuscripts for about a year, he realizes that the difficulties with them were mainly the uncertainty of notes, uncertainty of alterations, actual coping errors from the particells that were used for the editing process, oversights in the extent of instruments, and uncertainties arising from changes by the composer in his manuscripts.²⁰ The processing therefore finalized as follows: a) two manuscripts should be considered for the editing, b) one of the two manuscripts should be the particell because it is considered to be the most carefully conceived and, c) after the comparison with the particell, the check should be done against the first in chronological order final manuscript. Papaioannou admits in that same letter that 'if he (Skalkottas) were living, he could have dealt with these problems very easily and quickly, correcting the proofs himself in a minute...' while later on Kalmus also realizes that 'the more we go into the publication of Skalkottas' works the greater are the problems involved'.²¹ They finally ended up sharing the editing process by sending transparencies and corrected copies and communicating with letters that many times took months to be answered.

Kalmus and Papaioannou had a totally different attitude towards publishing and promoting of the works. There was a contract of course, however there was a parallel activity of the Skalkottas Committee for which Universal had very strong negative feelings. Their disagreement about this parallel activity is obvious before even a single work was published. The first occasion of conflict was the performances of the Piano Suite no.4 by George Hadjinikos and the Piano Concerto no.2 played also by Hadjinikos under the direction of Hermann Scherchen, that were recorded on Radio Hamburg on September 24 and October 12, and broadcasted in October 12 and 22, 1953, respectively.²² Of course, Papaioannou had provided a "preliminary edition" of the scores, a fact that made Kalmus furious. 'Naturally we welcome with great pleasure

²⁰ J.G. Papaioannou to A. Kalmus, letter of 3 March 1953.

²¹ A. Kalmus to J.G. Papaioannou, letter of 26 November 1954.

²² The Piano Concerto no.2 was also broadcasted from BBC on 13 December 1954. Based on this recording, Hans Keller describes the great value of the work in his article (1954, 1041).

performances of works so far unknown, but it is of great importance that we should have an understanding about such performances of unknown works beforehand'.²³

Universal's tactics are totally different. It is the publisher who deals with conductors, orchestras and radio stations and can achieve renting fees. Therefore this activity should be controlled by Universal directly, which can also be checking the duplication of the recordings activity, in order to protect the rights of the composer. 'It should however be the rule that such materials should come either to London or Vienna so that our firm can make the agreements about hire fees and can also take all precautions with regard to tapes etc'.²⁴

This is one great example that shows the professional and the unprofessional handling of providing scores. There are many more other occasions among which is the first recording on of a set of 12 Greek Dances by the American record company Fantasy, in 1957. In this case Papaioannou sent scores, while he had signed a contract with Universal for the publication of the entire set of the 36 Greek Dances, which had not been realized yet. The publication of the LP record, *Nikos Skalkottas: Twelve Dances* was the initiative of the American Skalkottas Society, that was established in San Francisco, and its president George Lekkas.²⁵ This caused great anxiety to Universal, because firstly according to the contract they were the publishers of the work and secondly because the procedures towards collecting property rights in the United States were not followed properly.²⁶ The Skalkottas Committee had preliminary editions of several works, like the Sonate Concertante for Bassoon and Piano, the Concertino for Oboe and Piano,

²³ A. Kalmus to J.G. Papaioannou, letter of 26 October 1953. 'Naturally we welcome with great pleasure performances of works so far unknown but it is of great importance that we should have an understanding about such performances of unknown works beforehand, and I am sure you will agree with me for the following reasons: 1. it is generally known common desire of conductors, broadcasting stations, etc., to get world premiers because this contributes to the reputation of these people. However, once such performances have taken place the interest of other performances is much reduced if they can not anymore announce the world premiere. 2. I do not know whether you have placed the complete performance material of the Second Piano Concerto at the disposal of Mr Hadjinikos but I assume you have given this to him and I ask you kindly to confirm whether the material originates from you and what conditions you have arranged with Mr Hadjinikos in case of performances. 3. We as publishers are automatically in touch with the radio stations and can achieve hire fees corresponding to the general rules and we are also very careful in case the tapes being produced, because as you know, tapes can easily be duplicated and sent to other radio stations: they may even be used to produce recordings records and if all this is not properly controlled, great harm can be done to the mutual interest. we should have understanding about every new work of which you have an opportunity of a good performance or which for special reasons you desire to be performed.it should however be the rule that such materials should come either to London or Vienna so that our firm can make the agreements about hire fees and can also take all precautions with regard to tapes etc.'.

²⁴ Same letter

²⁵ It is the first recording of 12 Greek Dances for Orchestra, by Fantasy Records, a recording company based in San Francisco. Gregory Millar (Grigoris Manousos), conducts the Little Symphony of San Francisco. The recording was an initiative of the American Skalkottas Society and its president George J. Lekkas.

²⁶ A. Kalmus to J.G. Papaioannou letters of 17 January 1957 and 16 February 1957.

the Second Small Suite for Violin and Piano, the Duo for Violin and Viola, the Sonatina for Violoncello and Piano, the Tender Melody, the Serenade and Variations on a Greek Theme for Piano Trio, and had sent them to Universal for consideration. These editions were processed because the Committee was trying to promote them separately after receiving requests from artists and conductors. Eventually, most of these works were later published.

By 1954 only the first three works had been published, and *Antante Sostenuto*, the second movement of the Piano Concerto no.3, was ready to go to the printers for its first performance in Donaueschingen on 17 October 1954.²⁷

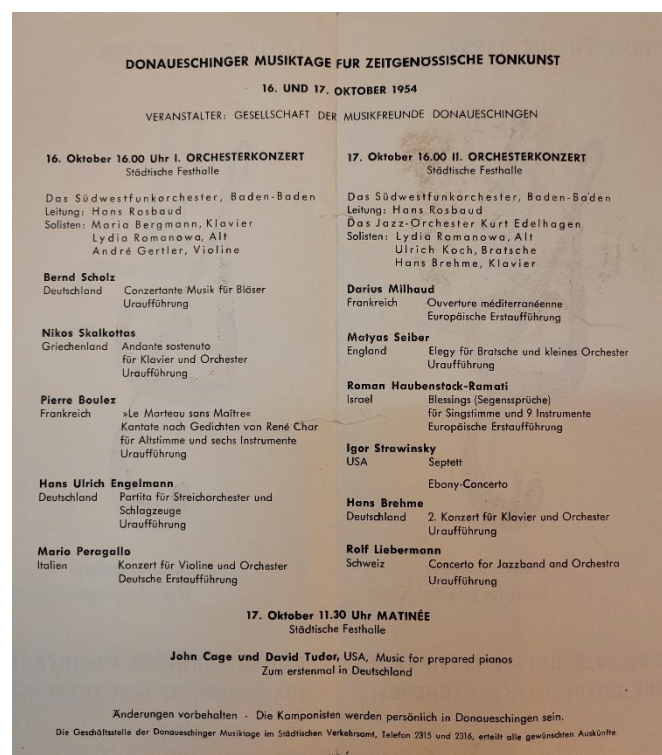


Figure 4. Program of the concert in Donaueschingen, 17 October 1954

Expenses had risen for Universal because Goehr had to be paid large amounts of money in order to correct the original manuscripts before the final transparencies were made. The publishing house had already put too much work and time to present an unknown composer to the musical world, and large amounts were spent without any guaranty for substantial commercial results in years. Before the publications even started, the task proved to be very difficult. Matters became even worse because of the many corrections and long communication about the large orchestral works. Kalmus, along with Goehr

²⁷ This was a two-day music festival which would introduce the works before 'a critical and understanding audience', according to Kalmus' words in a letter of 29 March 1954. The work was received with success but the opinions were divided and some of the critics did not pay any exceptional tribute to the composer.

came to the conclusion that Skalkottas did not write his manuscripts for the purpose of publishing, and decided to stick with Goehr's way of interpretations. Kalmus actually attributes the failure of performing Overture for Orchestra by D. Mitropoulos and also the "cutting" most of the Piano Concerto no.2, that was performed by Hadjinikos in Hamburg in October of 1953, to poor scores that Papaioannou provided without Universal's official edition.²⁸

Universal published a total of twenty-five works between 1953 and 1969. The first was the Little Suite (UE 12176) and the last one Concertino for Two Pianos (UE 14296) while two editions of the Sonata for Violin (UE 21467 and UE 14129) came out in 1997, after the death of A. Kalmus. The poor quality of the editions is proclaimed by every performer of Skalkottas' works. The correspondence between Papaioannou, as representative of the Skalkottas Committee and later the The Friends of Nikos Skalkottas Society, and the director of Universal Editions, show a very long process of working on this project. It is caused by the absence of the composer of course, the condition of the manuscripts, the difference in the point of view between the publisher and Papaioannou, the poor financial situation of the Committee, and the means of communication and reproduction of the time which allowed for very long periods of time for each edition.

One should not overlook however the fact that if it were not for John Papaioannou, Walter Goehr and Alfred Kalmus the world would have never known the brilliant works of Nikos Skalkottas.

²⁸ Letter of 23 March 55.

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20th Century Modernism & Skalkottas from a performer's viewpoint: Issues concerning aesthetics and performance

Danae Kara

Among the multiple issues that a pianist aspiring to tackle with Skalkottas performances the most prominent has been and still is a rudimentary one: locating the scores. My concert performances and recording of the Concertino in C and the Third Piano Concerto were preceded by a ten-year long unnecessary adventure. Any premiering performance per se presents the expected challenges that are more than welcome to any performer interested in decoding a composer such as Nikos Skalkottas who along with Dimitri Mitropoulos were the first Hellene Modernists. Twentieth-century Modernism, which in itself remains a kind of a definition against all that stands for crowd pleasing art, suited perfectly Skalkottas' idiosyncrasy and artistic goal. There is certainly a prerequisite for any performer embarking into the Skalkottian world: in his words "to develop a new way of playing", "a new line of virtuosity". Endeavour therefore becomes a condition. One has to start by unlocking the intentionally austere language to decipher the impermeable appearance of frighteningly dense textures, and to finally succeed in projecting the crystalline beauty of a masterfully organized material. This matrix which constitutes the very content of this music comes in many guises: in Tonality, in Atonality, in his own Twelve-Tone Serialism, in Abstract Expressionism, nevertheless always within a solid framework of Neoclassicism. Communicating through performance the inner link in Skalkottas' rigorous choices with the Hellenic axioms of Absolute Beauty, becomes a fascinating journey into the Aesthetics and their evolution in Western European Art Music.

Allow me an Introductory remark before I begin: What I am about to deliver concerns a subjective view by a performer, not a musicologist. In addition, my account concerns realities as experienced in earlier decades from late '70s to early 2000's.

It makes me very happy to see things are changing for the better and may this year's celebrations along with a cumulative activity of recordings, live concerts, and publishing prospects mark a turnaround to bringing Skalkottas in the foreground of the world concert stages.

Among the multiple issues that a pianist aspiring to tackle with Skalkottas performances the most prominent has been and still is a rudimentary one: locating the scores. More so, the printed score. My concert performances of the Concertino in C and the Third Piano Concerto were preceded by a ten year long unnecessary adventure. I am happy to see that this condition of the past is gradually changing in favor of the future performer. I shall run through my adventure in headline manner: through the mid-'80s and well into the 90s, my efforts to obtain copies of the piano concerti were met by failure in all levels of communication with the curator and guardian of the Skalkottas Archives. I was told at some point that these scores were no longer in Athens but in Boston with the Margun Publishers, run by the late composer Gunther Schuller and his wife Margo, after that it was Bote & Bock in Berlin and finally Boosey & Hawkes who provided me with Xeroxes of the manuscripts of both 3d & 4th piano concerti-solo part as well as orchestral parts- after the obligatory display of my recording contract. Later on, an agreement was drawn to be signed by both parties securing the mention of the publishing house on the recording's credit list. In the only available form that they were sent to me, these Xeroxed manuscript scores were a deterrent and a serious impediment as far as the learning time was concerned. To my amazement, the situation has not changed at all to this day and time, when I received an unexpected call last January 25th, 2019 from Daniel Barenboim's assistant kindly asking me that *since I have recorded the Third Piano Concerto would I help with the whereabouts of the score indicating where had I find the scores for my performance*, "because-and I quote- *Maestro Barenboim is very interested in performing piano concerti of this kind of instrumentation that suits the Pierre Boulez Saal concert series, in the Barenboim –Said Music Academy in Berlin.*" The incident reveals the fact that Boosey & Hawkes has not published the Third piano concerto for more than 2 decades now and like many other scores those by Skalkottas are left on shelves collecting dust. This unresolved

problem of the remaining unpublished major works by Skalkottas defeats the very purpose of all promoting efforts made for this major composer.

I shall continue now entering various aspects of my personal experience and to an extent subjective views concerning *world premiering* Modernist music. Any premiering performance per se presents the expected challenges that are more than welcome to any performer interested in decoding the music of a composer such as Nikos Skalkottas who along with Dimitri Mitropoulos were the first Hellene Modernists. To a performer embracing the Modernist world, it is self-evident that he-or-she will belong to, and be addressed to a “niche” of special interest groups of spectators & listeners. It cannot please audiences with the bias that music equals superficial fun or the bias that music should be sounding similar to the familiar past not exceeding the year of 1899.

Skalkottas inside the art music’s evolutionary process, or In defense of 12- tone music

Going a little back in history, it was during the years of 1910 to 1913 that three works signaled a radical change bringing the shock of the new identifiable later on by the term The Twentieth-century Modernism. The 3 works being Bartok’s *Allegro Barbaro*, Schönberg’s *Pierrot Lunaire* & Stravinsky’s *Rite of Spring* also signaled the diversity of styles that would coexist in Modernism (Primitivism, Polytonality, Atonality, 12 tone Serialism, and the Second Vienna School, Expressionism, Impressionism, Neoclassicism, Neonationalism, etc). This 20th century Modernism in music remains to our day a kind of a definition against all that stands for a crowd pleasing art. Modernism left behind all 19th-century axioms dealing not necessarily with beauty concepts as in the past, but with intensified inner truths, subconscious realities, no matter how disturbing, no matter how daunting they may seem. By the mere fact that this music is dealing with the intensified, exaggerated expression it enlarges stressful feelings which do not promise an *easy listening* experience- as in familiar music of the past. It is more about music that forces you to think rather than smile! And the new compositional techniques that had to be invented to carry this new vision of musical expression were equally bound to be quite advanced for the perception of the average listener if not the average musician as well. The mind battering 12 tone Serialism technique and Atonal music, in all their variants depending on the composer, admittedly are difficult to grasp at first hearing, with its stressful,

unresolved, relentless dissonant sound world. For sure this is not meant to be a *stroll in a rose garden*. We ought to be equally reminded that the new realities in the Western World did not look to be a *picnic* either. Justifiably so the sensitive artistic antennas in the break of the 20th century did capture the essence of the uncertainty, the anguish, and the ugly social realities heralding social unrest. The modernist view captured as well the essence of a new kind of isolation and alienation dawning on the artists in the new emerging socioeconomic conditions of the industrial world. They also had to pay the price of such isolation in the midst of an ever-growing fragmented and dysfunctional social web. Consequently, modernist composers were not to be embraced with wide acceptance by the large public. And if that was true in advanced industrial countries it was going to be deplorable for more ignorant audiences of the non-industrial countries. This advanced musical language has often been viewed- undeservedly though- as elitist, as inaccessible. Shouldn't we then ask ourselves if we have the right to condemn advanced knowledge in any field for that matter, from mathematics to physics, to economics, to the philosophy of law and justice, so on and so forth? Do we have the right thinking of them as elitist knowledge? The poet W. H. Auden once remarked that those who complain about the ambiguity or obscurity of modern poetry "should first examine their consciences and ask themselves with how many people and on how many occasions they have genuinely and profoundly shared some experience with another." Auden spent much of his literary career exploring through verse the nature of such shared experiences. Why then music should be excluded? It is a pity that we cannot have in music the wonder of the spectacularly successful science popularizers such as Carl Sagan or Brian Greene who can popularize science and physics for a broad mass public. Neither I find of an analogy with the charismatic Leonard Bernstein's pioneering televised series from the '50s to the early '70s and so many others that followed through the '90s such as from André Previn to Yehudi Menuhin, to James Galloway, all introducing the Western Art Music as well to the Non-Western Music to a large audience. There seems though to be no successful way in popularizing advanced music because at best you get *Carmina Burana* instead of *The Rite of Spring*! As for composers identified as *popularizers* –and that includes compositions such as *Carmina Burana*- they do introduce large numbers of people to a musical style, BUT! For every listener who moves on, hundreds of others stay with the popularizer. For every step of progress in art music gained by the serious minded composers, the thousands of mass audiences are left far behind; ironically, free to sustain their conservative tastes

and views about music. The process of catching up and raising to an informed audience level it has always been a much slower one. Understandably so, especially when the world we live in is one of multi fragmented social webs including inequalities in education and tremendous diversity of cultures not really meeting on common ground. An interesting contradiction here is that these varied audiences all over the western world, they may find it easier to see an art film by Eisenstein or Bergman or Tarkovsky than to listen to a performance of Skalkottas third piano concerto or Schoenberg's piano or violin concerto for that matter. Only the breathtakingly arresting *Rite of Spring*, escaped the ill fate by gaining the status of familiarity, growing in the hearts and minds of performers as a work that are thrilled to play, by virtue of the much-desired dazzling sensation and the strong impact which matches up to the standards for a "good seller" as viewed by concert organizers and record industry.

In general Modernism in music has suffered for a longer time the public's hostility than in the visual arts, or the theatre and literature. Comparatively, the broad public acceptance of artists from Picasso to Mirò, to sculptor Caro, to modernist architecture and designers, to the *stream of consciousness* literature, proved to be a reality in a few decades time. Not so in Music: there is some sort of bias in the public's collective expectation that refuted the music which depicted the "unrelieved, intensified dissonances" of our world.

Let me pause with a parenthetical thought concerning an instance of absence of this aversion towards the human affliction, the unpleasant side of human experiences such as the sensations of suffering and pain. I think of the painting by Matthias Grünewald *Crucifixion triptych for The Isenheim Altarpiece* (1512-15) in the chapel of Isenheim hospital. Although it is about a terrifying depiction of pain, patients were brought to it, to see as it was part of the patients' therapeutic effect. Then, in 1929-32 it was Otto Dix who created The *Dresden War triptych* 1929-32 based on the same one by Grünewald's. They both speak of the horror of humanity's crucifixion of unspeakable suffering. Art made not to charm but to daunt, to join the afflicted. Should one add Picasso's *Guernica* which can be found today as a poster in any teenager's room? Or Kafka's 1914 long story of *Penal Colony*, or even the more recent Francis Bacon's aesthetic views?

Negativity towards Music of Modernism with its demanding participation and painful soundscape may be understood in the light of our western society, in trying to cultivate a balance between a world of increasingly tough work conditions and leisure assuring private life, society grows inefficient sentence,

inclined to neglect the more contemplative pursuits, including mindful listening, listening to be challenged, or finding pleasure in challenge and curiosity.

Such audiences in their conservatism by calling it “*non-music, cacophony or ugly music*” it was as if denying somehow the right to the art of music to move on further up into new realms. The negativity is still surviving as an unspecified rumor in the back of the minds of cultural policies and decision making centers not to mention into the minds of even practicing musicians. Again ironically, they are easier to be impressed in post-war years, by the experimental sensations of the Avant-Garde to our present time Electroacoustic music. It seems it was easier for works of Cage or Stockhausen to be crowned with attributes such as “undisputable masterpieces” enjoying substantial promotional advantages, than cultivate familiarity with 12 tone composers, especially in cases as in the one represented by Skalkottas where historical circumstances could not have provided him with a supportive mechanism neither in his country nor abroad. Neither father figures as Schoenberg or Edgar Varese are represented in today’s mainstream regular orchestral repertoire. But no one can deny that it is Modernism’s sound-world which bore all the birthmarks of the industrial world including its two devastating World Wars, together with marching onwards with the torch of advancing musical thought further.

Why then, why when Modernist Music speaking of the same stuff abstractly is approached with caution or rejection by decision-makers such as concert agencies, concert managers –or should we call them mismanagers, programming directors, record companies, radio producers, or music journalists and reviewers, all perpetuating the myth of this music being “*recondite*”, “*perplexed*”, “*beyond one’s grasp*”, “*arcane*”, or “*incomprehensible*”. Another not a negligible contributor to the *bad name* given to the twelve-tone Serialism, it has been the suffering of the system in the hands of lesser composers in whose mind it was reduced to a formula recipe. The fact though remains that Schoenberg’s 12tone Serialism joined the immortality of the classics leaving plagiarists’ Serialism in a stench of disintegration. Schönberg entered the ESSENTIAL CANON by virtue of proving to be its guardian angel. And Skalkottas chose to be a disciple in this direction.

Modernist music met yet with another paradox as an adversary. The *paradox* was that whereas the audiences of the past centuries heard the latest of creations by the living composer, the 20th century audiences were pleased only by listening to the creations of the past, of dead composers. Following that, 20th century music

was being fractured by the emerging schism between “popular” and “art music”. There was a steadily growing rift between the ever-growing popular styles, originating in the first song industry (that of Tin Pan Alley)-ranging from popular song to *muzak* in later decades”- and “art music” styles which encompassed already a span of around 1400 years of cultivating the Art of Music. The ubiquity, the omnipresence of popular styles could partly be accounted for as a major deterrent in popularizing Art music in general. Patently and unequivocally radio program producers, record companies, record producers and directors have their share in the unequal treatment of 20th century modernist music. Parallel to these facts, as the decades pass, each popular genre pushes to broaden our notion of the *canon* by artificial means as well as real. On the one hand is JAZZ which having developed over a 100years history, *Jazz* established a musical art form with a deserved canon. On the other hand all popular idioms and over 70years old *Rock* has already inserted its own canon.

From the Side of the Performer: Performer and the Marketplace

Back to the lonely monastic figure of the performer: we the performers are trained in the ideals of the 19th century of serving great art, lofty ideals, attaining heroic status by virtue of hard work. Embarking into a *world premiering* of important and valuable therefore works of Modernist music the risk is manifold: to begin with a concert pianist entering the concert arena (should we call it *pianistic gladiatorial arena*) has to primarily express its personal artistic identity in such a way which can control as much as possible undesired pigeonholing, then, one has to get used to the idea, to finally accepting the fact that the music one has learned with much discipline, steadfastness, perseverance, love, and devotion is going to be unloved by the so called music lovers. As I mentioned before, it is that “niche” of special interest groups who will embrace it as well as open-minded producers such as the ones who have crossed my path. And the performer has still to get used to the idea that will stay in that *niche* with all its financial consequences. Of course, ART is not easy, never was, and never will be. Not easy for the practicing artist neither for the active audience. Life in Art teaches you that the *extraordinary* is bound to be difficult. Learning Skalkottas’ music and Mitropoulos’ as well you have a good chance of dealing with the *extraordinary*. It is my feeling that Skalkottas after joining the Berlin class of the greatest teacher of his time Arnold Schoenberg embraced the values and high principles of the Art of Music and was determined to actualize all the radical new

techniques that were possible to develop. It may be that attaining the, *extraordinary* was his real artistic ambition. He probably envisioned himself entering the canon. Such composers trained as defenders of the canon, willingly always go through the disciplines to develop high art as a primary need to expressing their identity as well as the “soul of their time, as only their ART can capture it. In my mind, Schoenberg is a perfect example of the agonizing artist, ferociously responsible to be true to himself, and true to his heritage. This ferocious responsibility to make conscious difficult choices risking the ultimate instead of repeating the past in some form or another, this ferocious responsibility could have been a shared value between Schoenberg and his pupil Nikos Skalkottas. Both willingly entered a new universe trying to establish new laws about it, in a way, as if trying to think of space in non-Euclidean terms. Both attracted admiration amongst the community of composers, - but attracted a much more limited public. Their music will always stand for a challenging experience both for the performers as well as the listeners.

It is the performer though who is caught in the middle between the fulfillment of an artistic goal and the pressure of filling capacity halls and be in tune with the marketplace demands. A marketplace where there is room only for all that can be reduced to consumer goods, products, labels, all with mandatory expiration dates. It is the performer who has to confront with conviction the views of concert agencies, views of the producers, views of conductors and orchestra directors all with their own agendas, in order to schedule a performance of the not so popular 12 tone music, compare to securely repeating classical standards of the past. And all is to be understood under the financial pressures of risking low attendance. This is especially true and crucial in our present time where we are witnessing the transformation of the artistic creation into a forcefully attractive consumer's product in order to get a chance in the marketplace, in order to align with, to obey to and operate by the industry laws. Coming to us musicians performers, we are the ones who against all odds choose to animate these musical works. We have our own unique insights into the mechanics of music and what the practice of music means in our lives today. We are working with our bodies and minds towards an ideal, and ironically, towards finding answers to questions nobody really cares to ask but we keep going in the hope that we will arouse someone's curiosity somewhere, someplace, sometime.

Concerning *Learning* from the Performer's side.

A Skalkottas score as his Third Piano Concerto with its multilayered textures, its complexity arising by the multitude of information about thought, feeling, and expressivity, does not lend itself for a quick sight-reading, au contraire it asks for a deep introspection. It is a highly virtuosic score in the full sense of the meaning and as such it represents a very desirable intellectual provocation to the pianist. In the performance universe the ever advanced technical impossibilities are valued as intrinsic part of the evolution of the performing arts. In this field, just as for learning this Third concerto, the ruthless application of the good old *repetitio* principle constitutes a sine qua non. It is this *repetitio* principle which breeds and nurtures familiarity, acts as a prerequisite for understanding, accepting, appreciating or rejecting-but always for a good reason, all aspects of this gigantic concerto. Ideally, this principle would equally be valid to the audience just as it is to the performer. Otherwise they meet on unequal terms. I envy the shared enthusiasm between singer & audience in popular music which occurs exactly because they both meet on common ground.

In my personal journey internalizing Skalkottas' music, I experienced the fact that tonal or atonal, all his works present the same challenging virtuosity to the performer. *Easy music for easy playing* is a foreign notion to Skalkottas, whose writing technique is constantly exploring and furthering technical boundaries. A preliminary work concerns the need to proceed with cautious editing of certain few spots for distribution between the hands the otherwise unplayable chords and comparing Exposition and Recapitulation sections when in doubt of manuscript uncertainties. However, compare to the complexity of his counterpointal texture in the domain of Rhythm his music remains a rather a conservative one. The performer will not meet any challenges in this respect. The challenge awaits the performer in the handling of the polyphony which is omnipresent in Skalkottas' music. My lifelong affiliation in playing Bach proved to be of a great advantage to doing justice to the modernist polyphonic textures. My first contact and learning Skalkottas' piano music started with his solo pieces from the collection "32 Piano Pieces" to his chamber music works and ended with the gigantic Third piano concerto and the tonal 4th piano concerto both admittedly of towering virtuosity and unmerciful difficulty. What distinguishes the tonal compositions, like few solo piano pieces and mostly the *Fourth Piano Concerto in C*-with its diminutive *concertino* name contradicting its length and difficulty-, these tonal compositions concern rather Skalkottas' view and

disposition towards the tonal choice: by his tonal music we are ushered into a world of weightlessness, light as a feather, of comparatively- thinner textures, of a total absence of that tempered and intense expression, in favor of an effervescent, lighthearted mood, of enthusiastic joyfulness, full of carefree simplistic tunes, which I personally find much less intriguing and expressive than his atonal themes. As a true master of his craft he seems to compose testing and tasting all possibilities presented by many different techniques, be it tonal, or atonal, or serial, in all their possible fusions—actually not far from his teacher Schoenberg’s example! As a performer in either case one has to enter cautiously into these works and be well equipped to sustain the challenge ahead. Undertaking the demanding task of learning the humongous third concerto—from a Xeroxed manuscript- it called for a kind of knowledgeable confidence, a hard earned “*musical thinking*”. That acquisition of *musical thinking* I owe it to my teacher at Juilliard, the legendary concert pianist and scholar Jacob Lateiner. He had studied with Schoenberg and integrated in his teaching the pressure of an extremely demanding and tough training. It has to be said that it was Jacob Lateiner who had commissioned to, and premiered Elliot Carter’s piano concerto known for its fiendish rhythmic complexity. Lateiner’s legacy includes reference recordings such as the Brahms –Paganini variations, Beethoven Sonatas, piano concerti and many more.

In trying to describe the learning process, I would say that the beginning resembles to facing with a huge block of marble from which through meticulous practice one may arrive to extract the sculpture locked into that marble block. One has to start by unlocking the intentionally austere language, to decipher the impermeable appearance of frighteningly dense textures, and to finally succeed in projecting the crystalline beauty of a masterfully organized material. By beauty I am referring to the elegance of the overall musical thinking, the beauty of the inevitability of his choices during the composing process, for example how he transforms a folk theme, a rebetika theme, or you take a look at a *series* and then compare to its transformation to a musical theme (3d pno cto, tender melody). The same elegance is to be found in his orchestration- his treatise on orchestration was not written in vain after all! To borrow a famous aphorism, his music can be felt as *frozen architecture* in the elegant way of his formal treatments.

All these characteristics that surface while learning the music are primarily of great practical value to the performer because they are the sine qua non traits for memorable music.

This translates that the Music at hand makes perfect musical sense, and the performer can render the human imagery of the music. It is necessary to me to find the positive correlation between the musical text and the human representation. All expression of human representation should be there in the music albeit with its modernist vocabulary, grammar and syntax, with its new articulation in expressing the human imagery. More so, I am referring to tracking the narrative contained in the music, the already existing story telling. As stated by Wilson Coker in his 1972 *Music and Meaning* I believe that every musical work must be intrinsically meaningful, both as an organized sign-complex and as an interpersonal gesture.

It is this that provides me with the thread which will lead me to the core of the musical meaning of the Skalkottian emotive writing. And although the harshness to endure this dissonant world during the learning process does not constitute exactly *fun sessions*, once the code of expression has been mastered, the work in the ear gradually transforms into a sound world of hummable melodies, of distinct sound pictures playing inside my head. This is the very stage when memorizing the music comes natural by itself. In my experience memorable music is the one that corresponds to patterns of human expression, to the workings of the human brain, with its routes and pathways of encoding, storing, retrieving etc. On the contrary, brainy, randomly assembled long strings of unrelated sounds, nonsensical sequences, constructing music by pre existing or arbitrary formulas, the sort of one dimensional compositions-THAT, I find hard to memorize! –, “mnemonists”, “memorists”, and the like, excluded of course!

During the final stage of internalizing the music to the level of being hummable and memorized this is when, in the words of the great pedagogue Heinrich Neuhaus that the Artistic Image of the work emerges. If all this substantial work was on the right track, this would be the moment for the surfacing of the desired artistic statement. And the emerging artistic image has to conform to the Skalkottian statement in the forward for the “32 Piano pieces” and I quote “*to develop a new way of playing*”, “*a new line of virtuosity*”. How do I comply with his command? The long process of painstaking familiarization slowly leading to internalization may ensure at some point reckoning the composer’s commands. Having walked through the Skalkottian musical landscape in all its reticent often

dogmatic harshness at the final stage *one feels at home* with the transcended into total abstraction musical narrative. The performer's emotion is to be expressed with a kind of Brechtian "alienation" meaning emotionally distanced. Such was my understanding concerning the Skalkottas' dictum "*to develop a new way of playing*", "*a new line of virtuosity*". The way I understand it, is that he wished so that the performer works towards transforming his/her reading, playing and hearing habits while developing the necessary new "tools" in expressing emotion, a new touch technique so to make justice to his music. My understanding of his dictum is to develop the virtuosity that can render the expressivity of his music in all its abstract concepts, and overcome the surface complexity by projecting the lucidity of his meanings, and developing an Ear similar to a Kazimir Malevich or Mark Rothko Eye.

In conclusion, to decipher and deliver the concepts of Abstract Modernism with virtuosity is just another duty for the performer that serves the purpose and obeys to the laws of *Werktreue* as it is understood in the Western European Art Music tradition. One learns Skalkottas just as one learns Bach or Mozart or Chopin.

As a Greek musician I feel the *Hellenicism* of the European modernist and neoclassicist Skalkottas, is to be found in the deeper layers of his music transfusing Hellenic art principles and attributes of the Hellenic Demotic Folk tradition primarily its *Ηθοϋς* with such a musical intelligence that make him a true Hellenic and Universal composer at the same time.

Last but in no way least, I would like to share the importance to us, practicing musicians, of that striking article by Skalkottas replying to the Athenian critics in 1931 who were failing to acknowledge the conspicuous tectonic shift in Hellenic Art Music that Skalkottas along with Dimitri Mitropoulos represented and to which we should always be indebted.

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This is a complete set of eight programs on four videos featuring music from every continent and ranging from Beethoven to plainsong, to jazz, to Irish jigs. Covers a huge range of music. Includes: The Quiver of Life, The Flowering of Harmony, New Voices for Man, The Age of the Composer, The Age of the Individual, The Parting of the Ways, The Known and the Unknown, and Sound or Unsound.

[BBC Four- Seeing Salvation, The Cross](#)

www.bbc.co.uk › [BBC Four](#) › [Seeing Salvation](#)

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Skalkottas at the movies

Petros Vouvaris

Introduction

The fact that Nikos Skalkottas worked as a freelance musician in silent-film cinema orchestras during his student years in Berlin is thoroughly documented; as is his reluctance to do so: in a 1926 letter to his friend Nelly Askitopoulou, he expresses his hope to attain a scholarship from the University of Athens, so that he can “live and work without having this sentence of [working at] the cinema” (cited in Mantzourani 2011, 30). Despite his resentment towards having to earn his living by playing in cinema orchestras, it seems improbable that this experience would have left no imprint on his creative outlook. Relevant evidence comes from a much later period of his life, after his eventful return to Athens in 1933. On one hand, there is his unpublished and undated essay entitled “I Nea Mousiki tou Kinimatografou” (The New Music for the Cinema), which, although it refers to the “talking cinema” and focuses on propounding the upgrade of the role of music in it, makes implicit references to the silent-film era and registers his overall interest in the medium.¹ On the other hand, there are pieces which bear titles and/or structural attributes that denote a more or less direct connection to the kind of music that might accompany a silent movie back in the 1920’s, most notably, three of the thirty-two pieces of his 1940 monumental *Zweiunddreissig Stücke für Piano (Klaviermusik)*: “IV. Katastrophe auf dem Urwald (Filmmusik)”, “XVII. ‘Die Frühständchen der kleinen Magd,’” and “XVIII. Fox-Trot – Der alte Polixist”.²

Despite the recently renewed scholarly interest in this filmic connection (e.g. see Ramou 2017), there has been little attempt to frame it with the specifics of the

¹ Kostis Demertzis dates the article sometime during the last years of the composer’s life, from 1946 to 1949 (Demertzis 1998, 50). I would like to express my gratitude to Kostis Demertzis for providing me with a transcription of the manuscript, whose exact whereabouts are sadly unknown today.

² The cinematic references of the titles of pieces XVII and XVIII are not as straightforward as that of piece IV. To the best of my knowledge, the earliest written association of these pieces to the genre of film music appears in Demertzis (1991, 120–123).

practice of providing a musical accompaniment to a silent film at the time of Skalkottas's stay in Weimar Berlin. This is the express aim of this essay in particular relation to the first one of the three afore-mentioned pieces, "Katastrophe auf dem Urwald (Filmmusik)". The reasons for this choice are obvious: "Katastrophe auf dem Urwald" is the piece with the most explicit association with the cinematic medium and it is also the one with the most enigmatic title, a title that compels us to open what Lawrence Kramer terms a "hermeneutic window" (1990, 9–10). So does Kostis Demertzis, who eschews the piece's main title (Catastrophe in the Jungle)³ and focuses in on its subtitle (Film Music) in order to interpretively associate the piece's rowdy and erratic mood not to the alleged cinematic scene of some sort of catastrophic event in the jungle but to the imagery of a toiling pianist improvising in a dark movie theater, its smoke-filled "stifling atmosphere" cut through by the beams of the film projector (Demertzis 1991, 104). Demertzis's statement is less of an interpretation and more of a cursory "constructive description", to use another one of Kramer's terms (2011, 52–54), largely dependent on the biographical contextualization of the piece. Whereas Demertzis's constructive description barely cracks the hermeneutic window open, the present essay will take his cue and attempt to fully open it up on an informed interpretation that is based on framing the piece with the historical and cultural context of its composition, as well as that of Skalkottas's experience as a working musician in a silent-film cinema orchestra in 1920's Berlin.

Remaking the past

The summer of 1940 marked the renewal of Skalkottas's interest in composing music for solo piano. The exemplary work of this period is of course *Zweiunddreissig Stücke für Piano (Klaviermusik)*, a collection of thirty-two pieces, frequently considered to constitute a cycle (Demertzis 1991, 94). Its bilingual preface (in Greek and German, both used rather awkwardly) expressly puts forth its modernist agenda: for one thing, it states its appropriately idealistic conception ("Both the length and the shortness of the piano compositions encompass a whole in themselves, a smaller or larger musical idea or musical sphere [*sic*]"); for another, it puts forth its properly revisionist aspirations ("This

³ Although the word "Urwald" is literally translated as "primeval forest", most scholars and editors prefer the word "jungle" (Skalkottas 1992, 12; Demertzis 1991, 102; Mantzourani 2011, 383; Ramou 2017, 295).

music for piano serves entirely exceptional goals, such as solo public performances of a special and new character, and of pianistic virtuosities of a new musical tendency [*sic*]”). In this respect, *Klaviermusik* may be considered an expression of Skalkottas’s take on the modernist project of remaking the past (Straus 1990), inasmuch as it aspires to realign the aesthetic orientation of musical genres traditionally linked to the pianistic medium with the stylistic framework of his post-tonal idiom.

Klaviermusik is customarily associated with the musical and cultural landscape of Weimar Berlin. Largely based on the biographical contextualization of Skalkottas’s creative activities in Athens in terms of nostalgic retrospection back to his idealized past (e.g. Vouvaris 2004), this assumption seems quite reasonable: apart from pieces that fall well within the canon of 18th- and 19th-century piano repertoire (e.g. “X. Sonatina”, “XI. Partita”, “XX. Berceuse”), there are also novel ones from mid-war popular musical culture (e.g. “XXV. Ragtime”, “XXVI. Slow-Fox”, “XXVIII. Blues”), which proliferate the pianistic canon beyond the high-art/low-art divide.⁴ As part of this popular culture, film music is represented in the collection by the three pieces mentioned before. The contribution of these pieces to the realization of the collection’s revisionist aspirations is bifold: not only do they canonize the obligatory musical accompaniment of 1920’s silent movies as a self-standing piece of art music, they also “modernize” its stylistic idiom by re-orientating it towards the direction of *Neue Musik*. Of the three pieces, “Katastrophe auf dem Urwald”, in particular, stands out with respect to an unrelenting expressionism (unidiomatic for Skalkottas’s overall restrained aesthetic and compositional outlook) that points stylistically back towards the sonic world of Schoenberg’s *Klavierstück*, Op. 10, No. 3 (Example 1). All the characteristic stylistic traits are there: volatile dynamics, frenetic rhythmic activity, dense chordal texture (suddenly thinning out and thickening up again), fragmented and angular melodic construction, all registered kinesthetically on the pianist’s body as arduous virtuosity and aurally in the listener’s ears as sensory overload. This does not mean that the piece is a stream-of-consciousness expressionistic explosion with little care for structural control. Even an offhand look at the score can reveal Skalkottas’s investment in ensuring his piece’s motivic coherence; for instance, the opening arpeggiated

⁴ In fact, allowing high-art and low-art pieces to rub shoulders with each other in the collection under the same modernist umbrella is probably the most effective way for Skalkottas to assert his revisionist outlook and his commitment to the utopian promise of musical modernism.

gesture, that descends onto a low trill, permeates the piece in more or less varied forms, all of which clearly share with each other the same lineage from a common *Grundgestalt* (Example 2). Nevertheless, these mutually coherent *Gestalten* are buried under a *wuchtig* [sic] (heavy) pile of agogic, textural, and dynamic rubble, thus becoming virtually inaudible. The piece is bestowed with Schoenbergian *Zusammenhang* (coherence); whether this practically translates into perceptible *Fasslichkeit* (comprehensibility) is another thing.⁵



Example 1. The opening two pages of Nikos Skalkottas's "Katastrophe auf dem Urwald (Filmmusik)" (Nikos Skalkottas Archive, Music Library of Greece "Lilian Voudouri", Digital Collections, <https://digital.mmb.org.gr/digma/handle/123456789/60643>).

⁵ For an overview of Schoenberg's ideas about coherence and comprehensibility, see Schoenberg (2006).



Example 2. Varied recurrences of the opening melodic gesture of Nikos Skalkottas's "*Katastrophe auf dem Urwald (Filmmusik)*".

Skalkottas with Schoenberg at the movies

The evident affinity of the piece's title with the catastrophic precariousness of its structural cohesion is but one way to interpretively account for it. Another one would be to link it intertextually to its most well-known predecessor, Arnold Schoenberg's *Begleitungsmusik zu einer Lichtspielszene: Drohende Gefahr, Angst, Katastrophe* (Accompanying Music to a Film Scene: Impending Danger, Fear, Catastrophe), Op. 34, as does Gunther Schuller in his introduction to the 1992 Margun edition of twenty-two out of the thirty-two pieces of Skalkottas's original collection (Skalkottas 1992). Schoenberg's piece was written between the end of 1929 and the beginning of 1930, and had an unexpectedly positive reception at its premier on 6 November 1930 at the Berlin Krolloper under Otto Klemperer (probably due to its programmatic nature, according to Dahlhaus [1987, 102]).⁶ Although Skalkottas could not have witnessed this success first hand (he was away in Athens from June 1930 to January 1931), he evidently spent much time working close to Schoenberg from the winter of 1929 until the summer of 1931 (during the same time that Schoenberg was working on *Begleitungsmusik*),

⁶ It was originally commissioned by the Heinrichshofen publishing house, which specialized in music for German silent movies (Fukuchi 2004, 3). The public performance was preceded by a radio broadcast with the Frankfurt Symphony under Hans Rosbaud on 28 April 1930 (Fukuchi 2004, 6).

assisting him with the musical preparation of his comedic opera *Von Heute auf Morgen* for a radio broadcast on 27 February 1930 in Berlin, the performance of *Gurrelieder* on 5 June 1930 at the Hochschule, and the performance of *Erwartung* on 7 June 1930 at the Krolloper (Mantzourani 2011, 35).⁷ It is worth noting that all of these works pertain to stage music, that is, music with clear dramatic intentions, save for *Gurrelieder*, which, nonetheless, was apparently considered by Schoenberg to be appropriate to be used for cinematic accompaniment.⁸ This means that Skalkottas's experience must have given him a good chance to ponder issues that pertain to dramatic music and, more specifically, to come in close contact with Schoenberg's opinions on these issues. What is irrefutably true is that Skalkottas was well aware of Schoenberg's *Begleitungsmusik* and this is proven by the fact that it is mentioned (albeit misquoted as "Film-Musik, Drama, Katastrophe etc.") in his undated and unpublished article "The New Music for the Cinema".⁹ In fact, it is the only musical work proposed in this article as a paradigmatic example for the appropriateness of *Neue Musik* for the cinema.

Besides the paratextual similarity of their titles, what the two pieces have in common is the fact that they were both written not for an actual film, but "for an imaginary and unfilmable sequence of emotions" (Neighbour, n.d.).¹⁰ More

⁷ In fact, according to the archives of the Arnold Schönberg Center (T77.14, http://www.schoenberg.at/schriften/T77/T77_14/T77_14_8.jpg), Skalkottas shared with Schoenberg and one of the Goehr brothers the orchestral rehearsals. According to John Thornley, Skalkottas boastfully mentions this close collaboration with Schoenberg in a letter to his benefactor Manolis Benakis in late December 1929 or early January 1930: "As you know, I am now Schoenberg's right hand, he entrusts me with all his tasks, the preparation of his works [for performance]" (Thornley 2002, 189).

⁸ In a letter from Barcelona on 13 April 1932 to Franz Schreker (who had conducted the aforementioned *Gurrelieder* performance) and screenwriter and director Eberhard Frowein, Schoenberg responded positively to their invitation to collaborate with *Comedia-Tonfilm*, the film-production company they represented, by proposing *Gurrelieder* as possible candidate to serve as film music, along with "newer" works, such as parts of *Pierrot Lunaire*, Op. 21; *Fünf Orchesterstücke*, Op. 16; and *Begleitungsmusik*, Op. 34 (http://archive.schoenberg.at/letters/letters.php?id_letters=6885&action=view&sortieren=id%20DESC&vonBis=0-19).

⁹ "Let us mention names of distinguished musical personalities abroad, like Arnold Schoenberg (Film-Musik, Drama, Katastrophe etc.), Eisler, Kurt Weill, Rudolf Gohr, Walter Gohr, Drausmann, F. Hollander, Whitmann, Ducas, Weiss, who achieved great success in their creative musical Art [sic] and opened up new paths in the new films of all artistic trends".

¹⁰ It is worth noting that Schoenberg's *Begleitungsmusik* ended up being used as musical accompaniment to an actual film in the 1972 short film of Jean-Marie Straub and Danièle Huillet *Einleitung zu Arnold Schoenbergs "Begleitmusik zu einer Lichtspielszene"*. In this sixteen-minute film, Schoenberg's music is combined with readings from two of his letters to Wassily Kadinsky, written in 1923, warning to the rising anti-Semitism in Germany, as well as with a Berthold Brecht speech on the connection between economics and fascism given in 1935 at the Intellectuals against Fascism

specifically, they share a comparative weak “degree of cinematic contamination” (Finocchiarro 2017, 200), inasmuch as they both register what Irina Rajewsky terms an “intermedial reference” to cinematography (Rajewsky 2005, 154; cited in Finocchiarro 2017, 4) that depends on “an external thematization achieved through paratextual means, rather than through concrete choices in the musical language” (Finocchiarro 2017, 210). This means that they both depend more on the workings of their own inner musical logic for the organization of their structural narratives and less on a progression of musical events programmatically suggested by an external filmic scenario implied by their titles. Instead, the programmatic allusions of each piece’s title may be regarded as constituting “a primary moment in the creative history of the work” (Dahlhaus 1987, 95–96) rather than the external regulative framework of its internal organization. In this respect, Schoenberg’s characterization of *Begleitungsmusik* as “Musik zu keinem Film” (music for no film) in a letter to Klemperer on 18 July 1930 (responding positively to the latter’s suggestion to have the piece paired with a commissioned abstract film) may be germane to Skalkottas’s “Katastrophe auf dem Urwald” as well.¹¹

Nonetheless, apart from the paratextual similarity of their titles and their comparable degree of cinematic contamination, the two pieces have very few characteristics in common. In fact, they differ both in terms of scope and timbral pallet: Schoenberg’s *Begleitungsmusik* is an orchestral symphonic poem, formally organized like a sonata (Finocchiarro 2017, 205), whereas Skalkottas’s “Katastrophe auf dem Urwald” is a short solo piano piece of 58 bars. If we were to look for a more pertinent precedent, we would have to turn to the lifeworld of Demertzis’s toiling pianist, whom we have left improvising in the dark, stuffy hall of a 1920’s Berlin movie theater.

The sound of catastrophe

During the 1910’s, Berlin was, along with Vienna, one of the most significant centers of upgrading the cultural position of cinema in the minds of European

International Congress in Paris. The film ends with “images of bombs being loaded onto a B-52 aircraft and then dropped on the rice fields of Southeast Asia” (Byg 1995, 154). By placing Schoenberg’s music within a rich intertextual **frame**, Straub and Huillet facilitate a compelling interpretation by associating the “threatening danger, fear, catastrophe” it connotes to the menacing woes of war.

¹¹http://archive.schoenberg.at/letters/letters.php?id_letters=1905&action=view&sortieren=id%20DESC&vonBis=0-19.

society from a means of plain entertainment to a kind of dramatic art, similar to that of the theatre. This upgrade took place gradually by means of producing films known as *Autorenfilme*, that is, films based on original or adapted scripts, written by renowned theatrical authors (Heller 1984, Diederichs 1990, Brockmann 2010). The consolidation of the artistic and cultural impact of cinema was advocated by a big part of the German-speaking intelligentsia, who argued that the absence of speech in the (silent by default) films at the time did not constitute an inherent shortcoming of the medium, which could threaten to compromise its artistic integrity, but an actual advantage, thus reinforcing its artistic superiority in comparison to literature and the theater: speech, with its clarity, reductiveness, and over-determinative capacity, does not have the same immediacy of expressive communication as does imitation and gesture, whose under-determinative corporality encourages those who witness them to perceive the essence of reality without the mediation of the coldly reductive speech (Friedell 1912; Elster 2004). After all, another medium, with equally under-determined semantic load, could additively fill the communicative gap left behind by the absence of speech: music (London 1936; Limbacher 1974; Bazelon 1975; Gorbman 1987).

The artistic and cultural upgrade of the cinematic medium during the 1910's was echoed by the upgrade of the music that was used to accompany it. Leaving behind the extemporaneous piano or organ improvisations, the practice of providing musical accompaniment to films gradually became more systematic and elaborate (Abel & Altman 2001). Music ensembles, varying both in size and instrumental constitution, and led by a music director, would perform a pre-determined series of pieces according to a cue sheet (e.g. see Example 3) (Cooke 2008; Wierzbicki 2009). These pieces were customarily drawn from collections that were published specifically for this reason and were usually referred to as "photoplay music" compilations (Altman 2004). These collections included transcriptions from the popular operatic and symphonic repertory, as well as pieces purposefully written to accompany filmic scenes according to their expressive character, all catalogued according to a series of standardized narrative situations or affective moods (Finocchiaro 2016). Whether pre-existent or freshly composed, these pieces largely fell under the stylistic idiom of post-romantic music, in accordance with the fact that, for most directors of cinema orchestras, the paradigm par excellence was Wagner (Flinn 1992), not only with respect to aspects of harmonic language, but also with respect to the use of the

techniques of *Leitmotif* and *unendliche Melodie* as means of ensuring a film's musico-dramatic continuity (Paulin 2000).

1927 Thematic Music Cue Sheet

ADOLPH ZUKOR and JESSE L. LASKY present
'METROPOLIS'
 Directed by Fritz Lang
 Adapted by Hanns Pollack
 An UFA Production
 Copyright © 1927 by UFA-Film AG, Berlin
 Foreign Rights Reserved

1 AT SCREENING (Overture Dramaticus (Snack)) 1 Min.
 2 (Title) WE LIVE IN A WORLD (Hörst du die Welt? (Gabriel Marie)) 1/2 Min.
 3 (Action) WHEELS REVOLVING (Flying Dutchman Overture (Wagner)) 1 1/2 Min.
 4 (Action) WORKMEN MARCHING (Machinen-Tänze (Ludwig Minkus)) 1 1/2 Min.
 5 (Title) AS DEEP AS (The Flight Of the Bumble Bee (Korakow)) 1/2 Min.
 6 (Action) DOOR OPENS - MARY AND CHILDREN (MÄRCHEN: Cavatina (Ludwig Minkus)) 2 Min.
 7 (Title) WHO WAS SHE? (LOVE THEME: Love Song (Wright)) 1 Min.

Metropolis 1927

Example 3. Opening pages of a cue sheet for Fritz Lang's 1927 *Metropolis* (available at: https://archive.org/details/Metropolis_cue_sheet/page/n2/mode/1up).

One of the most popular photoplay compilations in the 1920's, not only in Germany, but also throughout Europe and the United States, was Giuseppe Becce's *Kinothek: Neue Filmmusik*, published by Schlesinger in Berlin from 1919 to 1927 (Beinroth 2016).¹² The twelve-volume collection comprised hundreds of scoring segments, easily applicable to a wide variety of dramatic contexts and film subjects (Koepnick 2002). Pertinent to case of Skalkottas's "Katastrophe auf dem Urwald" is a half-a-minute piece entitled "Catastrophe - Katastrophales Ereigniß" (Catastrophic Event) from volume 3A (the volume's title is "Großes Drama" [Grand Drama]) (Example 4).

¹² The content of Becce's *Kinothek*, in short order, was licensed in the United States by Belwin in 1925–1926 (Wierzbicki 2009).



Example 4. Piano, violin, flute, and clarinet parts of Giuseppe Becce's "Catastrofe - Katastrophales Ereigniß" from *Kinothek: Neue Filmmusik*, volume IIIA.

This is not a singular coincidence. The term "Katastrophe" must have become a topos in the practice of cinematic music setting by the late 1920's, given the frequency with which it appears in titles of pieces included in photoplay compilations such as Becce's. In fact, it is used to characterize an entire category of pieces in the influential 1927 *Allgemeines Handbuch der Film-Musik* by Hans Erdmann, Giuseppe Becce, and Ludwig Brav (also published by Schlesinger in Berlin), a monumental two-volume work that theorizes and systematizes the employment of pre-existent music for the musical setting of cinematic scenes of specific narrative or emotional intent. In the thematic catalogue of the handbook's second volume (Example 5), the term "Katastrophe" is used to denote a class of pieces that are appropriate for the musical depiction of scenes whose "düster-ruhig" (dark-calm) mood (the triangle on the right stands for "ruhig", the abbreviation "dst" inside the triangle stands for "düster") falls under the sub-category "Höhepunkt" (high tension) of the broader category "Dramatische Expression" (dramatic expression, marked "DR").¹³ Two pieces

¹³ For a thorough discussion of the epistemological backdrop of *Allgemeines Handbuch der Film-Musik* and the way the thematic catalogue of its second volume is organized, see Fuchs (2016; 2019).

from *Kinothek* are included in this category (“Tragischer Einschlag. Gewitter” [entry 1] and “Erscheinung des Todes” [entry 2]), but not “Katastrophales Ereigniß”, which is deemed more appropriate for the following “Hochdramatisches Agitato” subcategory (Example 6), because of its “düsterbewegt” (dark-animated) mood (the circle on the right stands for “bewegt”) (Erdmann et al. 1927, 2, entry 13; cited in Fuchs 2016, 180). Interestingly enough, three pieces from *Kinothek* are included in this second category (the first one identified as “Höchste Gefahr” [entry 11], the other two not yet identified [entries 12 and 14]), all retitled as “Katastrophe” (entries 11 and 12) or some kind of derivative (“Katastrophe [anschwellend]” [entry 13] and “Entsetzen. Katastrophenhafte Flucht” [entry 14]) (Erdmann et al. 1927, 2; cited in Fuchs 2016, 180).¹⁴

DR

1
Becce 3, Kinothek III, 41 (11)
Andante mosso.

2
Becce 3, Kinothek III, 35 (5)
Andante largo.

3
Erdmann 1, Fant. romant. Suite I E
Largo maestoso.
Aut. Ziff. 3.

4
Leuschner 1, Ton und Bild Nr. 10
Vivo e feroce. Largamente ma non lento.
Ertl. Aut. Legnte. ma. n. lto. — <Vivo e feroce S. 3>.

5
Leuschner 12, Werwolf S. 9
Grandioso. L'istesso tempo.

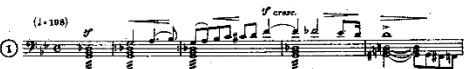
6
Massenet 31, Phädra Ouv. S. 1
Andante molto sostenuto. Più vivo.
And. sost.
Buchst. A → D. — Buchst. E → Z.

HÖHEPUNKT

Katastrophe.

Example 5. The beginning of the “Katastrophe” list in the thematic catalogue of *Allgemeines Handbuch der Film-Musik* (Erdmann et al. 1927, 1).

¹⁴ There are three more pieces entitled “Katastrophe” under the “Hochdramatisches Agitato” subcategory: one from Ruggero Leoncavallo’s *La bohème* (entry 15), one from T. R. Leuschner’s 1925 compilation *Ton und Bild* (also published in Berlin from Musikverlag Albert Schaper), one from the 1925 compilation *Preis-Kino-Bibliothek* (published by Heinrichshofen’s Verlag in Magdeburg), and one from Engelbert Humperdinck’s *Das Wunder* (specifically entitled “Jäher katastrophaler einschlag”) (Erdmann et al. 1927, 2; cited in Fuchs 2016, 180).

7 Massenet 40, Werther (Tavan) S. 1 <i>Andante. Maestoso. Plus lent.</i> Evl.: <And. T. 8-20> dasselbe 41, Prélude, Nr. 1 <i>Modéré.</i> Etwas verändert. — 1 1/2 Min. 8 Nevensen, Barque tragique S. 3 <i>Même mouvement. Poco più Anim.</i> <i>Più vivo. Lrg. path. Lrghto.</i> S. 3, Z. 3 —> Ziff. 8 oder Ziff. 17. 9 Puccini 3, Mädchen aus dem gold. Westen (Tavan) S. 21 <i>(Un poco meno). Andante mosso.</i> <i>Andante.</i> dasselbe 2, (Gauwin) S. 2 <i>Andante mosso.</i> 10 Rachmaninoff 4, Prélude <i>Lento.</i> Vgl. Nr. 285. — Bearbeitung Morena: D-moll.	Tragischer Höhepunkt. E. (29)  Katastrophe. (4)  Schweres Verhängnis. (1)  Nach der Katastrophe. Tra- gischer Höhepunkt. (19) 
11 69 Becce 3, Kinothek III, 37 (7) 144 <i>Agitato.</i> 392 825 12 Becce 3, Kinothek III, 38 (8) <i>Allegro agitato.</i>	Hochdramatisches Agitato. Katastrophe. (1)  Katastrophe. (1) 



Example 6. The beginning of the “Hochdramatisches Agitato” list in the thematic catalogue of *Allgemeines Handbuch der Film-Musik* (Erdmann et al. 1927, 1).

Skalkottas’s “Katastrophe auf dem Urwald” shares with the pieces of the “Hochdramatisches Agitato” category not only the brevity of a scoring segment,¹⁵ but also a common vocabulary of musical gestures, such as, mercurial dynamics, rhythmic drive, thick chordal texture (with frequent use of prolonged tremolandi), and angular melodic construction, the telling difference being, of course, its unmistakably expressionistic post-tonal idiom (e.g. Example 7, cf. Example 1). It is worth noting that even contemporaneous collections that professed to include modernist repertoire such as the *Vindobona Collection: Das moderne Meisterprogramm für jeden Kapellmeister* of 1927 and the *Filmona Film-Illustrations-Musik: Die neue Sammlung moderner* of 1929 abstained from including actual representatives of *Neue Musik*, limiting their scope to late-romantic music (Finocchiaro 2016, Tieber and Windisch 2014). Under this light, “Katastrophe auf dem Urwald” winks an eye at an *Albumblatt* from a *Kinothek* collection, albeit a truly modernist; it is as if Skalkottas picks up his own proverbial “broken glass by the roadside and holds it up to the sun so that all the [techni]colours are refracted” (Adorno 1992, 36).

¹⁵ Nikolaos Samaltanos’s recorded performance lasts a little less than one and a half minutes, that is, approximately as long as one of Becce’s *Kinothek* pieces (Skalkottas 2001).

2

PIANO

Kinothek 11

Situazione pericolosa

(AGITATO)

1 Min.

G. BECCE

Agitato

Copyright 1922 by Schlesinger, Berlin
Copyright 1925 by Schlesinger, Berlin

S. 10456 (11) S. O.

Belwin Inc., New York U.S.A.

Example 7. Piano part of Giuseppe Becce's "Situazione pericolosa" from the Belwin edition of Giuseppe Becce's *Kinothek: Neue Filmmusik* (available on: <https://www.sfsma.org/ARK/22915/situazione-pericolosa/>). The piece was entitled "Höchste Gefahr" in the original German edition and retitled as "Katastrophe" in the 1927 *Allgemeines Handbuch der Film-Musik* (cf. entry 11 in Example 6).

The stylistic and aesthetic realignment of film music had already preoccupied many representatives of musical modernism, who would see in it the potential to accomplish the realization of the Wagnerian vision of *Gesamtkunstwerk* (Frisch 2005). However, *Neue Musik* was totally excluded from the musical repertory used for the accompaniment of silent movies and this was in part due to the impracticable demands raised by its advocates, much more so than for reasons of aesthetic incompatibility. For instance, Schoenberg's failed attempt at the filmic adaptation of *Die glückliche Hand* in 1913, proposed by Emil Hertzka, director of Universal Edition at the time, had partly to do with the composer's unyielding demand to "match the length of the scenes to the timing of the score

with to-the-second precision”, something that would have been feasible in the context of music theatre but totally impractical in the context of cinema, “given the technical difficulties involved in structuring a ‘closed’ text (the visual sphere frozen in shootings) on the basis of an ‘open’ text (the live music performance)” (Finocchiaro 2017, 34). It would not be until the advent of the sound film that the precise synchronization between the rhythm of filmic action and the rhythm of music would be technically attainable. For Schoenberg, it was the sound film that bore the promise of reforming the cinematic medium by mutually elevating the aesthetic status of its two components, “whose declining quality the composer bemoans: the word must rise to the status of poetic composition and the musical accompaniment must acquire the dignity of art music” (Finocchiaro 2017, 201). Schoenberg expressed clearly his stance on the matter in a 1927 public lecture at the UFA studios, entitled “Der sprechende Film” (The Talking Film):

I do not want to consider the talking film as a mere addition of images, words and music, but as a new, self-sufficient tool for artistic expression. [...] And since German cinema, in general, has up to now been regarded as burdened down by thoughts and feelings, now that we are hopefully moving towards the possibility of addressing the true and deep thoughts and feelings of real artists, I expect that choices at the production level will not be determined solely by the economic potential of mass distribution—and hence that the German cinematic art will be able to reach a position that is consistent with the standing of its poets and musicians! (Schoenberg 2007, 390)

Interestingly enough, Schoenberg’s commitment to the idea of cinematic reform through literature and music is echoed by Skalkottas in his undated and unpublished essay “The New Music for the Cinema”, written approximately twenty years later:

The sound film, which came close to reality and, for many, has already left it behind, allows for a skillful musical accompaniment; from [cinematic] episode to episode, it already calls for the variety of musical chromaticism [sic]. This musical chromaticism is the new Art of construction, elaboration, [and] creation of musical

pieces, which, skillfully composed, leave the cinematic viewer and listener with a new impression. [...] The music that is nowadays written for the cinema has its own special ways, its own style, and is readily put together in its compact form; the short form intrigues us in the cinema with respect to the fast alteration of the episodic image, its harmony comes to the musician's imagination from untapped worlds and resources, and can predispose us wonderfully to an entirely new musical visual Art [sic].

If Demertzis's dating of this essay is correct, then at the time Skalkottas was writing these lines, a "new musical visual Art", similar to what Skalkottas describes, had already begun to emerge. Eminent composers such as Aaron Copland, Virgil Thomson, Sergei Prokofiev, and William Walton had started collaborating closely with equally renowned film directors and challenging the received conventions of film scoring (Marks 1996, 248).¹⁶ What these composers had in common was the fact that, although each one had his own idiosyncratic compositional style, they all shared a common tendency towards neoclassicism (in terms of tonality and form), nationalism (in terms of employing native tunes), and modernism (in terms of harmony, orchestration, and emotional tone) (Marks 1996, 255), the same traits that more or less characterized Skalkottas's own idiosyncratic style. Furthermore, they all reshaped their film music into concert works that became part of the canon, thus allowing their film-scoring experience to inform their compositional practice per se.¹⁷ Finally, their contribution was highly valued by the directors with whom they collaborated to the extent that the latter were at times willing to re-edit film sequences in order to accommodate the music.¹⁸ In this new favorable environment, it is no wonder

¹⁶ Copland collaborated with Lewis Milestone in *Of Mice and Men* (1939), *Our Town* (1940), *The Red Pony* (1940), and *The Heiress* (1949), and won an Academy Award on 24 March 1949, just six months before Skalkottas's tragic death. Virgil Thomson wrote scores for Pare Lorentz's pioneering documentaries *The River* (1936) and *The Plow that Broke the Plains* (1937), as well as for Robert Flaherty's *Louisiana Story* (the film score of which won a Pulitzer Prize for music in 1949). It should be noted that, just like Copland, Thomson too wrote lucid essays on film music (mainly as a music critic for the New York Herald Tribune from 1940 to 1954). Finally, Sergei Prokofiev collaborated with Sergei Eisenstein in *Aleksandr Nevskiy* (1938) and *Ivan the Terrible* (1942–1945) and its sequel (1946), and Walton with Lawrence Olivier in his Shakespearian films *Henry V* (1944), *Hamlet* (1948), and *Richard III* (1955) (Marks 1996).

¹⁷ Copland with his *Red Pony Suite*, Thomson with his suites from *Louisiana Story*, Prokofiev with his cantata from *Aleksandr Nevskiy*, and Walton with his suites from the three Shakespearian films mentioned before.

¹⁸ Notable examples are "the battle of the ice" from *Aleksandr Nevskiy*, in the case of Eisenstein-Prokofiev collaboration, and "the battle of Agincourt" from *Henry V*, in the case of Walton-Olivier collaboration (Marks 1996, 257).

Skalkottas wrote an essay in which he implicitly disclaims his own interest, wish, or intention to get involved in composing for the cinema and make his own contribution to the uplift and promotion of Greek cinema, in particular, and, through it, the uplift and promotion of Greek music.¹⁹ Written only a few years before this essay, “Katastrophe auf dem Urwald” may give us an idea of what Skalkottas’s actual film music might have sounded like, had he been given the chance to write for the cinema and had it not been for his premature and tragic death (notably, right at the brink of being acknowledged and appreciated in his native country as a modernist composer).²⁰ The question is, for what kind of scene in a 1940’s film would such a piece of music be more appropriate?

Epilogue: Welcome to the jungle

“Katastrophe auf dem Urwald” was composed at a time of great unrest for war-stricken Europe: it was completed on 21 June 1940,²¹ just a week after Nazi Germans entered Paris (14 June), ten days after Fascist Italy declared war on England and France (10 June), and only four months before Italy invaded Greece (28 October). It is worth noting that, on 15 June, Daut Hoxha, an Albanian bandit rebelling against Greek forces for the independence of his native Chameria, was brutally murdered (Elsie 2013, 206). The incident was exploited by Italy (which had annexed Albania on 7 April 1939 and declared it an Italian protectorate) to accelerate the deterioration of the already strained Greco-Italian relations, leading to the sinking of the Greek cruiser *Helli* by an Italian submarine on 15 August and the issue of Mussolini’s war ultimatum on 28 October (Fischer 1999, 74–76). Although the aggression of Italian imperialism had been considered by Greeks an ominous threat to the sovereignty of their state already since the 1910’s (Italian occupation of the Dodecanese in 1912, Italian invasion in Corfu in 1923), it was felt even more acutely during the 1935–1936 second Italo-Abyssinian War. The Greek press invested greatly on offering extensive reports

¹⁹ For example, in his essay, we read: “Greek dances develop their rhythmic perfection with a unique future wealth for the cinematic Art [*sic*]; in fact, they can surprise us with the variation of their beautiful rhythms and bring us to new artistic levels. Similarly, the Greek film-music production can give something new and interesting, can overwhelm the international music audience with unwavering successes and propagations [*sic*]”.

²⁰ 1949, the year of his death, saw an increase in the performance of his progressive works (Mantzourani 2011, 73).

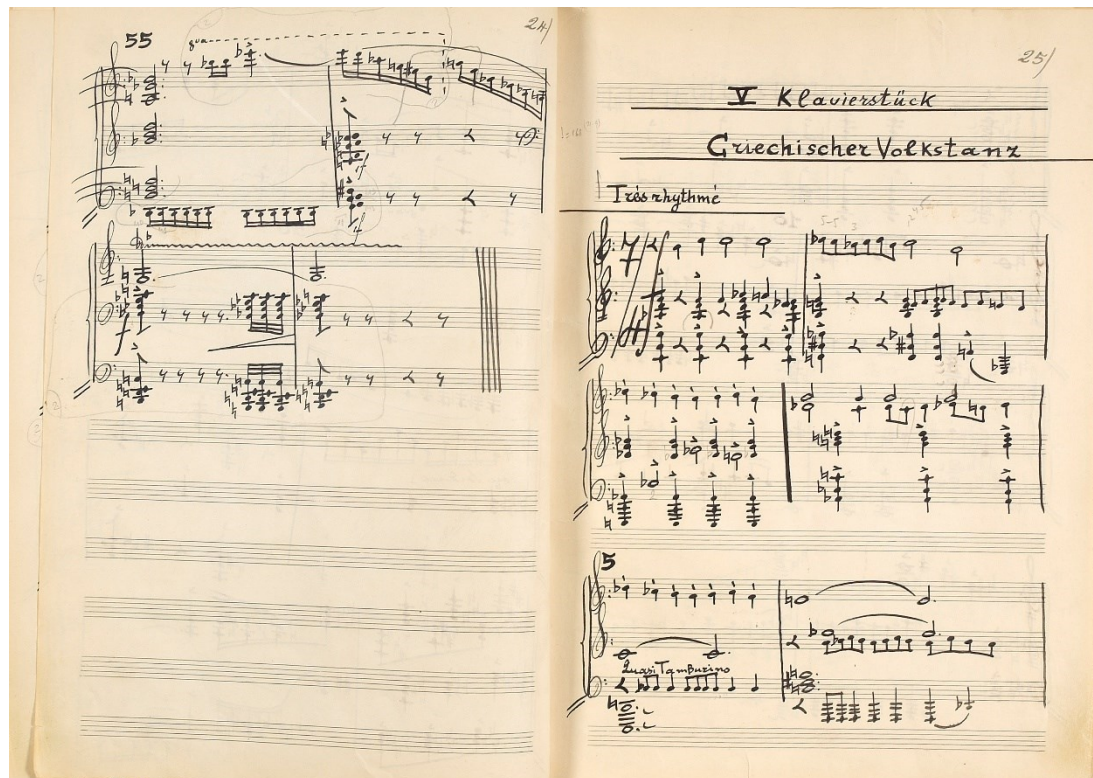
²¹ The date is not noted at the end of the piece in the manuscript, but at the end of the one that follows it (“Griechischer Volkstanz”) in both extant orderings offered by Skalkottas, as if forming a pair (Demertzis 1991, 97–99).

on the matter, projecting (and fueling) the implicit fear of Greek society for the turn that Italian expansionism might take against Greece towards the solidification of an Italian-dominated Mediterranean *mare nostrum* (Kallis 2002, Lecoeur 2015). An article in the Athenian newspaper *Eleftheron Vima* on 1 April 1936, entitled “O Chimikos Polemos” [The Chemical War] and signed by alias Fortunio, would express the disillusionment and awe provoked by the violation of the Geneva Protocol by the Italians and the atrocious use of chemical weapons against Ethiopians:

Chemical war is the masterpiece of the divorce of our civilization from morality. The war of sword, firearm, canon, or canister has always been monstrous, inhumane, raw, a projection of the jungle onto the human society, what have you. But what in that war had not yet been put into use were the findings of the laboratories of peaceful science. [...] In any case, it is terrible for the poor uncivilized tribes to get to know western civilization from venereal diseases and asphyxiating gases (Fortunio 1936).

In the summer of 1940, with the enemy at the gates, Greeks must have dreaded the possibility of Italians demonstrating a similar kind of brutality as they had done in Ethiopia only four years before. With its “hochdramatisches agitato”, “Katastrophe auf dem Urwald” gives sound to this imminent horror, setting up a “düster-bewegt” mood as modern as the mustard-gas tubes on the hands of Italian soldiers. After all, the term “Urwald” may well be read as a synecdoche of Greece, a reference to Skalkottas’s own idea of the Athenian jungle, a culturally arrested and savage society, no better than “a tribe of negroes” (Skalkottas 1931, 124), in a hostile city already metaphorically filled up with “a really poisoned air that is not easy to breath” (Skalkottas’s letter to Matla Temko, dated 27 November 1935; cited in Mantzourani 2011, 59). The interpretation of “Katastrophe auf dem Urwald” as the soundtrack to the imminent Italian invasion, framed by memories of the latest demonstration of Italian brutality in Ethiopia, does justice to Demertzis’s constructive description, only with a twist: it is not smoke that fills up the “stifling atmosphere” that the beams of the film projector cut through in a cinema hall, but poisonous gas on the battlefield. No wonder the following piece in the collection, probably composed as a pair with

“Katastrophe auf dem Urwald”²², is a brisk “Griechischer Volkstanz” in 7/4 meter and “très rythmé”, almost processional in its determined rhythmic regularity and its percussive timbral allusions (“quasi Tamburino,” see Example 8); a spirited yet sober, properly Greek counterattack in steadfast response to the atrocities of the preceding destabilizing aggression. End scene.



Example 8. Ending of “Katastrophe auf dem Urwald (Filmmusik)” and beginning of “Griechischer Volkstanz” (Nikos Skalkottas Archive, Music Library of Greece “Lilian Voudouri”, Digital Collections, <https://digital.mmb.org.gr/digma/handle/123456789/60643>).

²² See footnote 21.

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Lifting the Curtain: Nikos Skalkottas's Legacy and the Cultural Cold War

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'A Mozart of our time', 'The voice of a Mediterranean Bartók': These are the terms with which Nikos Skalkottas was described in the Call for Papers for the Skalkottas Today conference in 2019.¹ While these statements demonstrate attempts to situate the Greek composer within a historical lineage of widely celebrated composers of the Western art music tradition, making a case for greater recognition of his works in this context, they also offer a route into understanding the fraught critical reception of Skalkottas's oeuvre after his death in 1949. Enacting and exemplifying Cold War cultural antagonisms, Skalkottas's works were, much like with his contemporary Béla Bartók, partitioned into two primary categories.² In the first category were Skalkottas's twelve-tone and atonal works, promoted in relation to the composer's association with the Second Viennese School.³ In the second category were Skalkottas's tonal and folkloristic works, promoted largely by those focussed on rooting the composer's works firmly within the first generation of the so-called Greek National School of music. These categories signify the rival aesthetic ideologies prized on either side of the metaphorical Iron Curtain: Modernism in the United States and Western Europe and populism (as expressed in the doctrine of Socialist Realism) in the Soviet Union.

The partitioning of Skalkottas works took place despite the fact that he composed both atonal and serial and tonal music throughout his career without, as Jim Samson (2013)

¹ Transliterations of Greek throughout this article are based on the system outlined in the New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians (2001). Translations are my own unless otherwise stated.

² Whilst in Germany Skalkottas (1931a) expressed his admiration of Bartók's treatment of Hungarian folk songcalling the composer 'after Schoenberg, the most interesting and serious musician of our times' (163). See also Skalkottas (1931b, 112).

³ Following his graduation from the Athens Conservatory in 1920, a scholarship from the Averof Foundation allowed Skalkottas to continue his training in Berlin where he shifted his focus from performance to composition. Skalkottas studied composition under Kurt Weill, Philipp Jarnach and Robert Kahn and was, from 1927 to 1933, a member of Arnold Schoenberg's composition masterclass.

writes, 'any sense that he valued any one type more highly than the others' (330). For example, from 1931 to 1932, during his studies in Berlin, Skalkottas composed the twelve-tone Octet and First Piano Concerto alongside the first of what was to become a set of 36 tonal Greek dances (Mantzourani 2016, 4). Furthermore, a number of Skalkottas's works demonstrate the composer's attempts to combine atonality and tonality, suggesting that he did not necessarily conceive of the two forms as incompatible and opposed, despite being stylistically converse.⁴ Nevertheless, contradictory responses have pitted the two compositional approaches characteristic of Skalkottas's oeuvre against one another and produced an authenticity discourse expressed in claims that identify the 'true' and 'pure' Skalkottas in *either* his atonal *or* tonal works. Perceptions of Skalkottas's Greekness were also deeply implicated in these responses and similarly related to the rival aesthetic ideologies of the Cold War. Skalkottas's untimely death in the early stages of the Cold War meant that the composer could not influence the way his music was received and promoted nor respond to assertions regarding who the 'real' Skalkottas was and where he could be heard.⁵ It is the purpose of this chapter to interrogate this reception of Skalkottas's works. I highlight how the historiographical narratives prevalent in Skalkottas scholarship, the partitioning of his works and the privileging of his atonal repertoire at the expense of his tonal works and vice versa, reveals the extent to which Skalkottas's legacy has reflected the ideologies of some of its authors, shaped in the context of the cultural politics of the Cold War.

Whilst I will be scrutinising the rhetorical positioning in popular Skalkottas scholarship, drawing in particular on the writing of John G. Papaioannou and Manolis Kalomiris as well as John Thornley and Eva Mantzourani, I highlight the significance of this Greek-language and English-language research and critique. Indeed, this work has been crucial in preventing Skalkottas's works from slipping into obscurity, constructing a critical biography of the composer, interpreting primary sources, analysing Skalkottas's musical language and bringing his works to the attention of a wider readership (with however, an emphasis on his twelve tone and atonal work). The work of scholars including Katy Romanou, Kostis Demertzis, Petros Vouvaris and Ioannis Tsagkarakis for example, has also begun to cast new light on the contextual underpinnings of Skalkottas's works,

⁴ See for example *Eight Variations on a Greek folk theme for piano trio* (1938) and the Concerto for two violins and orchestra in which Skalkottas bases the thematic idea of the second movement on a popular rebetiko song by Vassilis Tsitsanis.

⁵ In this way Skalkottas's story parallels Bartók's who died in 1945 and was thus similarly unable to 'influence directly either the reception of his own music or any of the other events that determined the course of music history after the war's end' (Fosler-Lussier 2007, xiii).

challenging the ideologically-driven partitioning of Skalkottas's work in light of the historical dynamics of his era and the composer's own writings.⁶ Building upon the fundamental research of the aforementioned scholars, I highlight a requirement to re-examine Skalkottas as a historical agent and 'subject-in-community' (Haber 1994, 2), opposing pervasive narratives of Romantic genius to confront to the social, cultural and historical situatedness of his works. As a starting point in this direction, my research considers Skalkottas's self-proclaimed efforts in the 1940s to establish a more accessible musical style in the midst of Greek political and social upheaval.

Despite evidence that Skalkottas remained engaged with Greek political reality (even during his time in Berlin) and gave much consideration to the political relevance of his works especially during the German occupation, Skalkottas has been frequently described as and an isolated, 'politically naïve', enigmatic figure with a 'remarkable creative ability to detach himself from his surroundings' (Thornley 2008, 370-4). Mantzourani (2016) for example writes that 'until his death in 1949, [Skalkottas] composed his 'serious' dodecaphonic works in complete isolation, thus maintaining his high ideals and developing an idiosyncratic musical language' (1). The conductor Vladimiro Symeonidis (2021, 31:28) has also recently claimed that:

Skalkottas for me is an archetype ... [he] embodies, in a way, the image of the romantic artist, the one we have been taught in the history of music in conservatories, a composer, who continues to be constantly creative, despite the adversities and the tragic events he has to confront ... I think this image is certainly valid for the music of his last period.

Symeonidis acknowledges that 'that this was not probably the exact case with Skalkottas, because there are some gaps in his compositional route and, of course, he was

⁶ Skalkottas's writings in a series of undated and unpublished essays, considered to have been intended for the popular progressive literary journal *Neoellinika Grammata*, invite particular interest. These writings, which are housed at the composer's archive at the Music Library of Greek, indicate the composer's engagement with issues pertaining to the role and function of music within society and politically engaged music. The acquisition of the composer's archive by the Music Library of Greece in 2018 has enabled wider access to Skalkottas's autograph works and writings, and ongoing digitisation efforts promise to facilitate further research on the composer by scholars and researchers from around the world.

somehow influenced by the circumstances’ but nevertheless suggests that this image of the romantic artist should prevail (2021, 32:15).

We can trace the language of these representations to articles about Skalkottas published shortly after his death. Several articles emphasised the poor reception of Skalkottas’s works during his lifetime, criticizing the Greek musical establishment – of which, ironically, several of the authors were key figures – and portrayed the composer as a tragic victim of circumstance (Mantzourani 2016, 75-76). In an article in the newspaper *Acropolis* for example Skalkottas is described as a ‘quiet, modest and tireless worker in the service of Art [...] with the flame of the inspired artist. Modest, simple, affable with a deep faith and devoted to the highest artistic ideals’ (Vokos 1949).⁷ A subsequent article in *Eleftheria* perpetuates the image of a melancholic and detached figure, stating that ‘[Skalkottas] remained almost unrecognized in the margin, with sorrow and disillusionment filling his soul [...] indifference trampled heavily on him’ (Chamoudopoulos 1949).⁸

In their attempts to validate Skalkottas’s genius through an emphasis on his hermetic social isolation and melancholic mental state, these depictions succumb to the pitfalls of the Romantic notion of the autonomous artist, essentially divorcing the composer’s works from the political landscape and broader field of production in which they were created.⁹

Notwithstanding the pitfalls of the ‘romantic notion of the “composer” and its attendant ideology of the genius in the garret’ (DeNora 2004, 39), these qualities have, to varying degrees, been expressed in the two main musical historical narratives on Skalkottas referred to earlier. On the one hand was the narrative expounded by the musicologist John G. Papaioannou, a younger contemporary of Skalkottas. In several articles and a monograph authored after Skalkottas’ death, Papaioannou privileged the composer’s modernist music as his main work and relegated his tonal works to secondary status. For example, in a statement from an essay entitled *Greekness in Contemporary Creation* from 1984 that is typical of Papaioannou’s viewpoint, the musicologist declared that: ‘In my view Skalkottas’s [true] language lies in the late, great dodecaphonic works. Only here is Skalkottas great: capable of standing alongside the greatest composers of our century’ (134).¹⁰ According to Papaioannou, in his tonal works, and particularly those

⁷ English trans. by Belonis (2008, 464).

⁸ English trans. by Mantzourani (2016, 76).

⁹ For a discussion of the ‘empathetic emphasis put on Skalkottas’s portrayal as a melancholy subject’ and how this impacts the understanding of his music, see Vouvaris (2019, 196).

¹⁰ English trans. by Tsagkarakis (2013, 115).

composed in what Papaioannou calls the last period from 1946-1949, Skalkottas compromised his 'true' style, developed in Germany under the tutelage of Schoenberg, to appease the conservative and oppressive musical environment in Greece.¹¹

In 1961 Papaioannou founded the Friends of Nikos Skalkottas music society in order to safeguard the composer's archive and to preserve, study and disseminate his work in Greece and abroad. In accordance with Papaioannou's ideology, the musicologist also compiled the first catalogue of Skalkottas's works in which he essentially sorted the composer's works into atonal ('good') or tonal or folk-based ('less-good') categories (Romanou 2006). As Romanou (2009) points out, Papaioannou's championing of Skalkottas's modernist works can be understood in terms of the musicologist's prominent position within a number of Greek organisations established to disseminate and promote appreciation for modernist music in Greece in the 1950s and 1960s. For example, Papaioannou had a leading position in the Studio for New Music at the Goethe Institute of Athens in 1962, the Greek section of the International Society for Contemporary Music in 1964 and the Hellenic Association for Contemporary Music in 1965. Furthermore, in 1966 Papaioannou established a seven-day festival of Greek contemporary music, the first of which took place from 14 to 21 April 1966. Organisations and cultural events promoting a popular appreciation for modernism such as these received significant funding from U.S. institutions including the Cultural Office of the American Embassy and the Ford Foundation. Indeed, it is worth noting that as a result of the Truman Doctrine of 1947, as Mazower (2001) writes, 'Greece turned into the largest beneficiary per capita of American largesse in the world, receiving more than \$3 billion in military and economic assistance by 1967' (133). This financial intervention contributed to the introduction and promotion modernist music in Greece in the 1950s and 1960s, serving the Western front of the cultural Cold War in the attempt to turn public favour away from the aesthetic of accessibility and social utility of Socialist Realism, promoted in the Soviet bloc.

Papaioannou frequently credited himself with 'discovering' Skalkottas after the composer's death and rescuing his works from obscurity.¹² Papaioannou was indeed Skalkottas's 'primary posthumous advocate', having played an instrumental role in preserving, cataloguing and promoting the composer's archive after his death (Samson 2013, 330). As such, the image Papaioannou projected has continued to hold traction

¹¹ The suggestion that Skalkottas's true style emerged and flourished thanks to the composer's tutelage under Schoenberg is notwithstanding that, as Mantzourani (2016) writes, 'Skalkottas was in Schoenberg's orbit for only six months each year from 1927 to 1930 and then only sporadically in 1931 and 1932' (3).

¹² See for example Papaioannou (1998, 18).

in Skalkottas scholarship. We can note the lasting influence of Papaioannou's privileging of Skalkottas's modernist music in the fact that scholars have, as Tsagkarakis (2013) observes, 'traditionally shown much less interest in [Skalkottas's tonal works] than in his serial or atonal music' (114).¹³ This imbalance can also be identified in the posthumous performances and recordings of Skalkottas' works. For example, Skalkottas's Classical Symphony for Wind Orchestra, two harps and double basses (1947) only received its premiere in its entirety in 1982, by students at the Royal Northern College of Music under the baton of George Hadjinikos. In 1975 the symphony was broadcast on radio by the Greek Radio Orchestra under Choo Hoey before it finally received its Greek premiere in 2011 at the Athens Concert Hall, performed by the Athens State Orchestra under the baton of Byron Fidetzis. It appears that, as Kostis Hassiotis (2018) writes, 'not only Greek but also foreign wind orchestras, as well as musicologists and analysts, avoid in engaging this work, despite its high aesthetic value' (17), a lack of engagement we could attribute to Papaioannou's (1984) dismissal of the work as 'naïve' (134).¹⁴

On the contrary, Manolis Kalomiris, the eminent Greek composer and founder of the Greek National School of Music, championed Skalkottas's tonal works, citing in particular his *36 Greek Dances*, as responding to the requirements of Greek sonic national self-identification. In the narrative advanced by Kalomiris, Skalkottas was an avatar of Greek national spirit, having the idea of Greekness always at the forefront of his mind (Belonis 2002, 31). As such, Kalomiris paid greatest attention to Skalkottas's *Greek Dances* and other tonal and folkloristic works which, in his view, adequately exuded Greekness. In his obituary for the composer published in the newspaper *Ethnos* on 23 September 1949, Kalomiris writes that Skalkottas's works could be 'divided into large two groups' determined not chronologically but aesthetically. The first group primarily consisted of twelve-tone and atonal works which were, according to Kalomiris 'without any Greek colouration and completely under the influence of Schoenberg'. The second group, consisting of the *Greek Dances* and other tonal and folk-based works, represented when 'the internationalist Skalkottas finds himself [and] remembers

¹³ On this point, Tsagkarakis refers to the following scholarship: Mantzourani (2016), Papaioannou (1997), Zervos (2001), Hadjinikos (2006) and Alsmeier (2001).

¹⁴ As a counterpoint to this the dismissal of Skalkottas's tonal works, I welcome the recent release *The Neoclassical Skalkottas*, which contains the only easily accessible recording of Skalkottas Classical symphony, alongside other recordings of Skalkottas's late tonal works, performed by the Athens State Orchestra in 2018 under the baton of Ioannis Karampetsos. The musicologist Yannis Samprovalakis (2020) writes in the sleeve notes that the album stands testament to the composers leading status as a neoclassical Greek composer, despite 'his somewhat one-sided image of the 'modernist' or even 'national' composer, which does an injustice to his multi-layered *oeuvre*' (2).

Greece' (2). Kalomiris (1949) elaborates that, whilst the works composed 'in one period of [Skalkottas's] creation belonged to the camp of the internationalist composers, to those who believed that music had no borders or nations, with his later [tonal] works he vindicated in the most triumphant means all those who believe and work for the national Greek musical idea' (2). In a later article from 1950, Kalomiris laments the death of the composer occurring at precisely the time in which he was 'finding himself' and 'discarding the mantle of German hyper-modernist music' thus tapping into 'soul and deeper quality of Eternal Greece which gave him new wings to soar above untrodden heights' (2).

This perspective can perhaps be best understood as a part of a wider reaction against the promotion of modernist music in Greece by several nationalist composers who opposed the perceived formalism of the West and 'chose remain faithful to tonality and nationalist rhetoric and sought their alliances in the Soviet bloc' (Tsagkarakis 2013, 136). Indeed, as Romanou (2010) writes, Greece became 'flooded by Western Cold War cultural propaganda and money ... Avant-garde music, a great hit in Athens, had already downgraded the importance of Kalomiris and his old fashioned, romantic national school' (195). It is therefore perhaps unsurprising that Kalomiris 'paid a formal visit to the Soviet Union in 1956, Socialist realism being a new centre to aim at' (Romanou 2010, 195). Kalomiris's championing of Skalkottas's tonal works in this context demonstrates how two of the foremost qualities of Socialist Realism, *narodnost* (being national in character and rooted in folk art) and *dostupnost* (accessibility), resonated with the concerns and aspirations of the composers of Greek National School, seemingly unrelated to any desire to exalt communism and pledge allegiance to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Against the backdrop of cultural antagonisms of the Cold War, the national and accessible qualities of Socialist Realism came to be seen as opposed to the internationalist ideological and aesthetic stance of modernism. Indeed, for Kalomiris (1955), dodecaphonism was 'in its very nature anti-national, internationalist' and 'wherever dodecaphonism or otherwise the hyper-modernist system prevails, all national character is lost' (3).¹⁵

Scholarly engagement with Skalkottas's tonal music began in the mid-1990s and much of this has centred around the national character of his works and his situation with

¹⁵ Recent research has shed light on how Hellenicity did indeed feature as a prominent concern in the thematic basis of Greek modernist music for example, thus nuancing the conventional understanding of an outright distinction between an outward-looking, internationalist modernism and the ideals of the Greek National School of music. See Chardas (2014).

respect to the Greek National School.¹⁶ Particular attention has been given to Skalkottas's engagement with folk motives for example, with respect to the composer's own writing about his role as a Greek composer without however confronting the distinction between the national and the nationalistic; whether or not, and the extent to which, for example, the display of national characteristics in Skalkottas's works can be thought of as nationalistic statements of cultural superiority.¹⁷

The construction of Skalkottas's legacy after his death has thus primarily consisted of attempts to canonise him as a modernist icon and descendent of the Second Viennese School or as a Greek national(ist) composer whose Greekness is expressed in his tonal and folklorist works and his disavowal of 'German hyper-modernist music' (Kalomiris 1950, 2) in his later life. Skalkottas's oeuvre was in this way divided and purified of inconvenient elements that did not suit the prevailing narrative in a process of 'cutting the limb off to save the body'.¹⁸ As we have seen, much of this partitioning emerged, as Romanou suggests, out of the cultural oppositions of the Cold War, relating to the perceived connotative significance of composing modernist or populist music at different points in the twentieth century. Indeed, after his death scholars and critics were confronted with the task of reconciling Skalkottas's engagement with what Danielle Fosler-Lussier (2007) calls the 'two competing visions of modernity' (xi). These 'competing visions' embodied 'the contested cultural values' (Fosler-Lussier 2007, 164) that existed on either side of the metaphorical iron curtain and represented dichotomous ideas about how 'composers should relate to the rest of society, how their music should sound, and what the music should mean to its audiences' (xi). There were thus different political and ideological connotations to both modernist and populist compositional approaches in the early to mid-twentieth century, which related to the wider historical and political background (though these connotations did not remain fixed during this period). It reasonably follows that there could be crucial political differences in recognising Skalkottas as a modernist *and not* a populist composer and vice versa. The stakes became higher in the aftermath of the trauma and brutality of the Greek Civil War, which radically polarised society and left an enduring legacy of political hostility between left and right. Holding either position also had implications on the perception of Skalkottas's Greekness. Indeed, the two primary narratives on Skalkottas present competing notions of Greekness and how this manifested in Skalkottas works.

¹⁶ For a bibliography of scholarly engagements with the national element in Skalkottas's works, see Tsougras (2012, 87-88).

¹⁷ Indeed, as Richard Taruskin (2001) writes, 'Nationalism should not be equated with the possession or display of distinguishing national characteristics ... Nationality is a condition; nationalism is an attitude.'

¹⁸ This metaphor is borrowed from Fosler-Lussier's (2007) pertinent study on Bela Bartók (66).

On the one hand, Skalkottas's Greekness was seen as mediated through his association with Western Europe and his channelling of Western European musical trends.¹⁹ On the other hand, Skalkottas's Greekness was evinced in his engagement with Greek folk song, in music that was considered unadulterated by any external influence. These competing notions accorded with the respective rival aesthetic ideologies of the U.S. and Western Europe and the Soviet Union which each vied for primacy in the cultural Cold War.

Similarly telling were the attempts, featured within the aforementioned narratives, to stifle political discourse about the composer altogether, claiming him as a non-political, ahistoric figure in what Lydia Goehr (2011) elsewhere describes as a kind of 'displacement' that occurs 'when artworks are ... interpreted under an umbrella of aesthetic or artistic purity that somehow shields them from politics...' (180). In the context of Skalkottas's scholarship, it becomes crucial to remain mindful that, as James Garratt (2019) writes, 'Definitions of politics – what it encompasses and what is excluded from it – invariably reflect the context and political standpoint of the definer' (5). Indeed, emphasising the pervasiveness and inevitability of politics, Slavoj Žižek (1999) writes that 'In human society, the political is the englobing structuring principle, so that every neutralization of some partial content as "non-political" is a political gesture *par excellence*' (191).

Ultimately, efforts to curate and pigeonhole Skalkottas's music speak of strategic 'position-takings'²⁰ that locates the composer's works within an ideological-artistic binary produced in the context of the Cold War. More broadly speaking, they indicate a scholarly reluctance to confront composers' *messiness*; their mobility in between and across generic categories and binary historiographical frameworks which have featured prominently in Western musicological discourse from Beethoven to Shostakovich.²¹

In order to challenge these reductive approaches, there emerges the necessity to first of all recognise Skalkottas's frequently cited singularity, his autonomy and isolation, as produced and located within a mutually enriching and constitutive relationship with his 'community' which itself comprises of 'plural and possibly conflicting interests' (Haber 1994, 2). Elaborating on the existing Greek and English language scholarship, we can thus populate the prevalent narratives on Skalkottas with historical and biographical details which suggest new links between his music and writings and the social, cultural

¹⁹ Propagating the narrative that Greek identity was rooted in European musical traditions can also be considered in terms of debates regarding Greece's status as Balkan or European, that emerged from Greece's geographical ambiguity which situates it at a political and cultural crossroads between East and West.

²⁰ I borrow this concept from Wilson (2004, 5-28).

²¹ Recent works that have challenged these binary frameworks in relation with these composers include Nicholas Mathew (2013) and Fairclough (2019).

and political context in which they were created. In my own ongoing research, my emphasis in this respect is on Skalkottas's tonal works which, by virtue of the dominant historiographical narratives have been either dismissed as elementary and trivial or reduced to exercises in Greek sonic national self-identification. More specifically, I seek to nuance an understanding of the Skalkottas's so-called 'turn to tonalism' in the last years of his life by interrogating a connection between his works and writings and the promulgation of Socialist Realism in Greece. In so doing I extend the purview of the scholarly engagement with Socialist Realism in Greece beyond the association with nationalism, considering it instead as it promoted by the Greek cultural left: as the only suitable means of responding to reality, speaking to the masses and fostering participation in the midst of crucial political development. Such work seeks to give due credit to Skalkottas's intensifying engagement with the social and political dynamics of his era which comprises the political turmoil of the Metaxas dictatorship, the Italian invasion, the Nazi occupation and the subsequent period of civil war, seismic events which played a crucial role in shaping the cultural landscape. (Re)situating Skalkottas's works into this landscape suggests that there is much more to the composer's rich and diverse oeuvre than the prevalent historiographical narratives beholden to tensions of the Cold War era have yet revealed.

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Topics and the music of Nikos Skalkottas

Despoina Panagiotidou

Nikos Skalkottas composed in a wide range of different styles of his era. His musical oeuvre, as Thornley presents it, is defined by heterogeneity in tonal language due to its division into (a) tonal, (b) free atonal, and (c) twelve-tone works, and current scholarship has shown that the composer juxtaposed or combined atonal, postromantic, jazz, and folk styles (Zervos 2006; Mantzourani 2011). This use of disparate styles renders Skalkottas's practice compatible with the tradition of musical topics. In this paper, I argue that Skalkottas, using familiar styles and idiosyncratic modern stylizations of traditional styles, balances historicity and innovation in his music.¹

Musical topics

The notion of musical topics originated in Leonard Ratner's treatise, *Classic Music: Expression, Form, and Style* from 1980, and topical analysis has been considered one of the "success stories of modern musicology" (Caplin 2005, 113). It was designed to account for eighteenth-century music and has long been used as a powerful tool for the analysis of musical expression within tonal repertoires. Ratner defined musical topics as a "subject for musical discourse," proposed a "universe of topics" for eighteenth-century music and subdivided it into two major classes: *types* or "fully worked-out pieces," and *musical styles* or "figures and progressions within a piece" (Ratner 1980, 9). The first group consists primarily of dances, while the second includes signals, genres, styles, music from specific groups, and other figures.

Topic theory has been developed by Wye Jamison Allanbrook (1983) and Kofi Agawu (1991), and it was further extended towards semiotics by Robert Hatten (1994) and Raymond Monelle (2006). Danuta Mirka's introductory definition of topics in the *Oxford*

¹ The modernist aesthetic engages with historicism within twentieth-century composition. Composers wanted to distinguish their work stylistically from their predecessors and contemporaries, resulting in a multifaceted and diverse, yet distinct and continuous tradition in Western art music (Burkholder, 1983).

Handbook of Topic Theory as “musical styles or genres taken out of their proper context and used in another one” (2014, 2) reflects Ratner’s historical basis, and at the same time brings into play Hatten’s notion of “markedness” (Hatten, 1994). A topic appears as a segment of music marked off from its surroundings by several distinctive musical elements and stylistic parameters.

Topical approaches have also been proven productive with early modernist repertory analysis and interpretation. Just as Ratner’s topics, musical components in early modernist music constituted a source of meaning, expression, and means of communication in twentieth century. Danuta Mirka declared that “stylistic cross-references remain important factors in twentieth-century music, but the spectrum of such references and complexity of their sociocultural meanings exponentially increases” (2014, 47). The invocation of familiar styles or genres of music, either from the past or the present, abound in early modernism and they function as vague allusions or full-fledged appearances of topics.

The topical identification in the early-twentieth-century repertory is challenging, however, due to the radically different harmonic and rhythmic practices, as well as issues related to the stylistic language of modernist composers. In twentieth century, the recognition of a topic by the analyst proves problematic because of the abundance of practices and the different idiosyncratic musical features that create expressivity and meaning. The idea of a homogeneous musical soundscape, a “universe of topics” according to Agawu (1991, 30), from where specific stylistic elements are derived, ceases to exist in early modernist music. At the same time, the dialectical interplay between the archetypal and the idiosyncratic is retained, but the description of a “collective memory which perpetuates certain fundamental formulas from the musical past,” proves to be rather unconvincing for the constantly moving stylistic and aesthetic environments of the twentieth century (Grabócz 1998, 6). The practices of modernist composers’ parallels that of earlier composers, but in the sense of reinventing and redefining the traditional practices, not merely perpetuating preexisting conventions.

Nikos Skalkottas’s compositional language characterized by polystylism and unambiguous use of traditional forms fits the twentieth-century modernist aesthetic. In the work of Skalkottas a topic can be a quotation from preexisting music, or the title of the work. A topic can also consist of non-semantic elements like the pitch material and musical language being utilized and can be defined by the form of the piece and/or the genre, a verbal indication of expression, or a reference to another musical style. I argue that the identification and interpretation of topics in Skalkottas’s music enables an

account of the inner dynamic of the works and their expressive stance, while enhancing appreciation of the composer's modernist techniques and overall rhetoric.

A topical analysis makes possible the comparison of the material content between pieces such as the *Ten Sketches for Strings* (1940) and the *32 Pieces for Piano* (1940). Both of them are collections of miniature, character pieces. Their shorter movements include baroque, classical and popular dance-genres, ostinatos, melodies, textures, and dramatic effects which can be perceived as references to topics. Furthermore, Skalkottas made deliberate use of Greek dance-song stylistic elements establishing correlations with the folk tradition and urban life in twentieth-century Greece. In *Table 1*, a personal universe of topics for Skalkottas is presented in three different categories: dances, ethnicities, and styles.

Table 1. Topics in Skalkottas's Nikos Skalkottas's *Ten Sketches for Strings* (1940) and *32 Pieces for Piano* (1940)

Dances	Ethnicities	Styles and Forms	
menuetto	Greek	learned style	pastoral style
gavotte	Eastern – “Orient”	chorale	religious style
gigue	Balkan	chaconne	lullaby
galop	Latin-American	passacaglia	children's song
fox-trot	American	recitativo	blues
tango	French	singing style	jazz
waltz		fanfare	café music
kalamatianos		horn call	film music
tsamikos		military march	revue music
		funeral march	

Focusing on topics in Skalkottas's music provides ways to interpret the composers' reactions to specific social, cultural, and political contexts. For example, irony arises as a discursive function of topics in “Das Frühstandchen der Kleiner Magd.” (“The Morning Serenade of the Little Maid”), No. 17 from *32 Pieces for Piano*. With its fast tempo the piece plays with the expectations of the listener. It has little to do with a serenade-like song with allusions to strumming-figures reminiscent of guitar sounds. Dark and eerie topics are expressed because of the turbulent texture with the tremolos, rising scalar patterns and agitated motoric rhythm (see *Figure 1*).

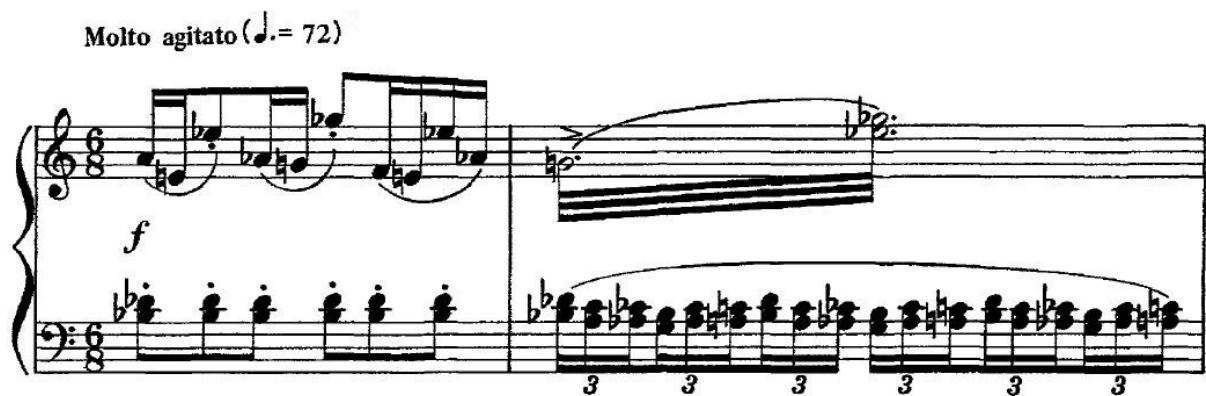


Figure 1. "Das Frühstandchen der Kleiner Magd.," No. 17 from the 32 Piano Pieces, mm. 1–2.

The 6/8 meter of the beginning alludes more to a lively gigue than a serenade. The dissonance between title and expected content extends further to include the appearance of another topic. The gigue is interrupted by instances of a static, articulated polka march (see *Figure 2*, mm. 43–46). The dance here is employed as a style, a fragment that emerges and quickly recedes. The 2/4 meter with a repeated B–A motive, appears three times delineating the form of the piece. It emerges first in mm. 25–28, returns briefly in mm. 44–45, and finally repeats again just before the ending of the piece in mm. 77–82. With its apparent metrical consonance, the 2/4-meter theme functions as the proper serenade according to the verbal indication in m. 77, "Ständchenartig, wie früher" ("Serenade-like, as before"). This serenade-like theme is reminiscent of cabaret or musical-theater music. While in Berlin, Skalkottas worked occasionally as a musician in cafés and silent film cinemas, playing the violin, and piano or directing small ensembles (Mantzourani 2011, 64–65). Apart from alluding to Berlin's popular music scene Berlin in the 1920s, the duple-meter theme can be perceived as having a menacing quality. Skalkottas employs the march with the homorhythmic texture to look to the past tradition, evoke the military topic, musically reacting to the imminent war of Greece with Italy in 1940.



Figure 2. “Das Frühstückchen der Kleiner Magd.,” No. 17 from the 32 Piano Pieces, mm. 43–46.

Two approaches for twentieth-century topics

There are not many pieces like the “Das Frühstückchen der Kleiner Magd.,” where contrasts of style are so clearly marked and audibly distinguishable. For this reason, I will employ two conceptually different approaches for twentieth-century topics, (1) Johanna Frymoyer’s generalized hierarchical model dealing with rhythm, and (2) Tom Johnson’s network of signifiers for the tonal-topic, dealing with pitch to explore movements from *32 Piano Pieces* and *Ten Sketches for Strings*.

Johanna Frymoyer suggests that “as tonality erodes, terms that were once marked, such as dissonance and unpredictability, become more commonplace and therefore unmarked in modernist repertory” (2012, 70). In an article with the title “Rethinking the Sign,” she proposes a generalized hierarchical conception of topics and maps specific characteristics of functional music, such as dances, into art music contexts (Frymoyer, 2017). Frymoyer presents her theoretical model according to which topics can be understood as hierarchic arrays of essential, frequent, and idiomatic characteristics showing ways that topics signify through correlation rather than imitation or quotation (see Figure 3).

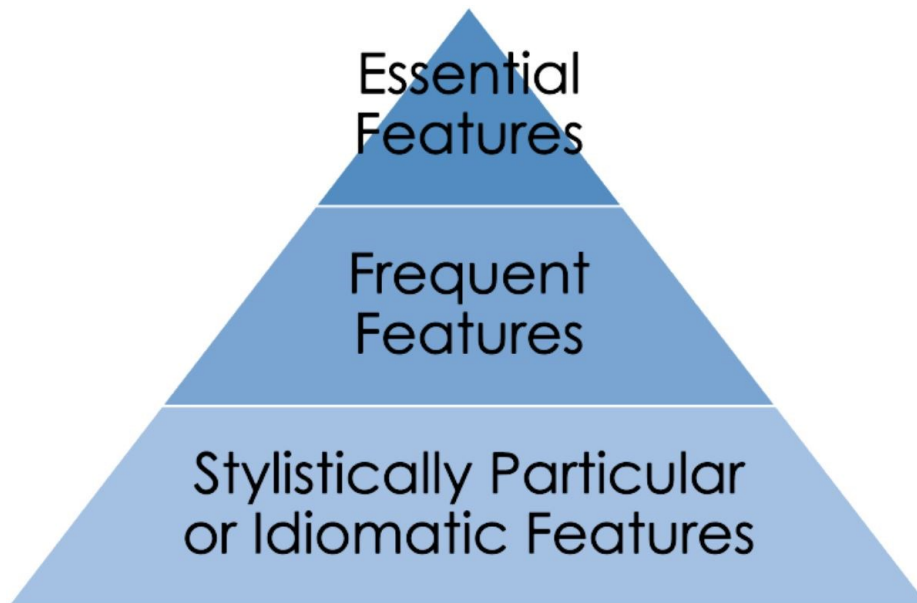


Figure 3. Hierarchy of musical characteristics. Adapted from Frymoyer (2017).

Essential features appear at the top of the hierarchy. They are the distinguishing features that a topic requires, but by themselves do not signify a topic. Frequent characteristics lie in the middle of the hierarchy. They form a broad category encompassing multiple possible stages in which further characteristics or nuances lead the listener to suspect the existence of a topic. Stylistically particular or idiosyncratic treatments of the topic lie at the bottom of the hierarchy. These are stylized gestures, features that appear in works of a particular style, composer, or compositional circle.

For example, the essential features of tango are (a) a prevailing duple metre in moderate tempo, and (b) the accompaniment patterns shown in *Figure 4*. The frequent features include (a) accented quartet notes, (b) rhythmic variance and differentiation, but also (c) timbral distinction in the context of the *habanera* accompaniment pattern with an arpeggiated, arch profile. The stylistic or idiomatic array constitute these musical characteristics that can define a different style or genre such as *tango-canción*, *tango-romanza* or other features idiomatic to a specific composer, such as Skalkottas.

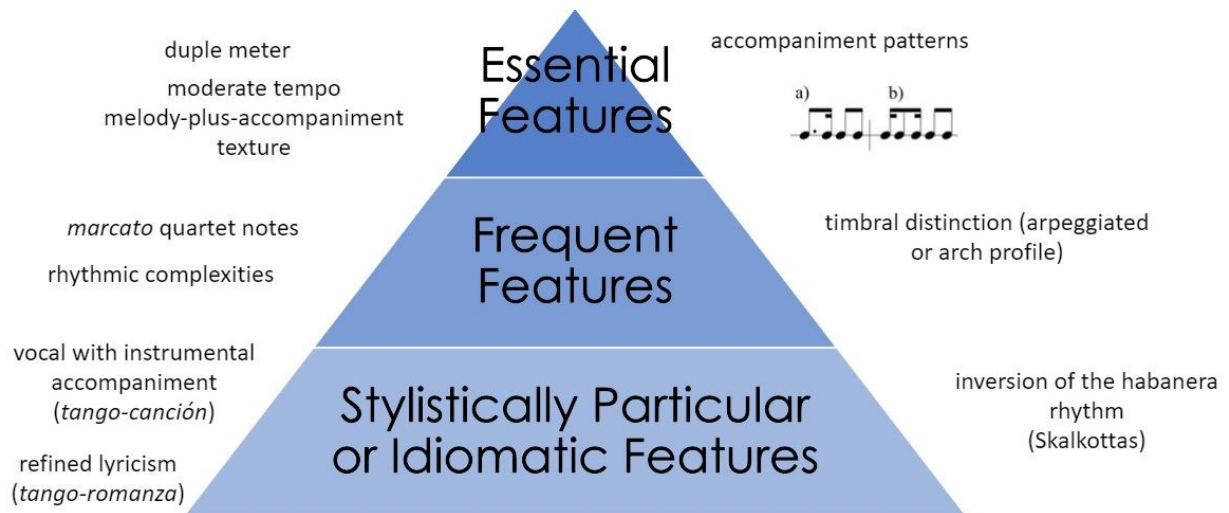


Figure 4. Weighted hierarchy of musical characteristics for the tango in Europe before the 1940s.

Skalkottas approaches the dance-genre of tango in the fourth variation of his *Short Variations on a Mountain Theme* (No. 3 from the *32 Piano Pieces*, 1940) with a sense of novelty, adding a variant to one of the tango's essential features. After a two-bar introduction, Variation IV begins with an arpeggiating trichord (037) and a tetrachord (0147) with a descending contour on the left hand (see Figure 5). In mm. 69–71 the composer inverts the arch profile up-up-down to down-up-up. The effect is a sustained tango token (*exemplar*) that conforms to the conventions of the twentieth-century type (*tango*) by presenting the essential characteristics. At the same time, it challenges and broadens the range of tango's expressive features, a dance that gives the title to No. 14 in the same collection of pieces. Skalkottas in "Short Variations" does not simply parody the tango by shifting its characteristic habanera accompaniment pattern. With his idiosyncratic treatment of the habanera, the composer adjusts it to his personal compositional style. Musical topics in the case of the "Short Variations" seem to play an important role as a connection, not only to tradition, but also to early twentieth-century stylistic trends, or to popular music. Furthermore, topics act as a site for continued musical innovation. Skalkottas connects a musical style from contemporary urban life (tango) with the Greek folk or pastoral element (mountain theme), within the frame of historicist modernism (form of theme and variations).

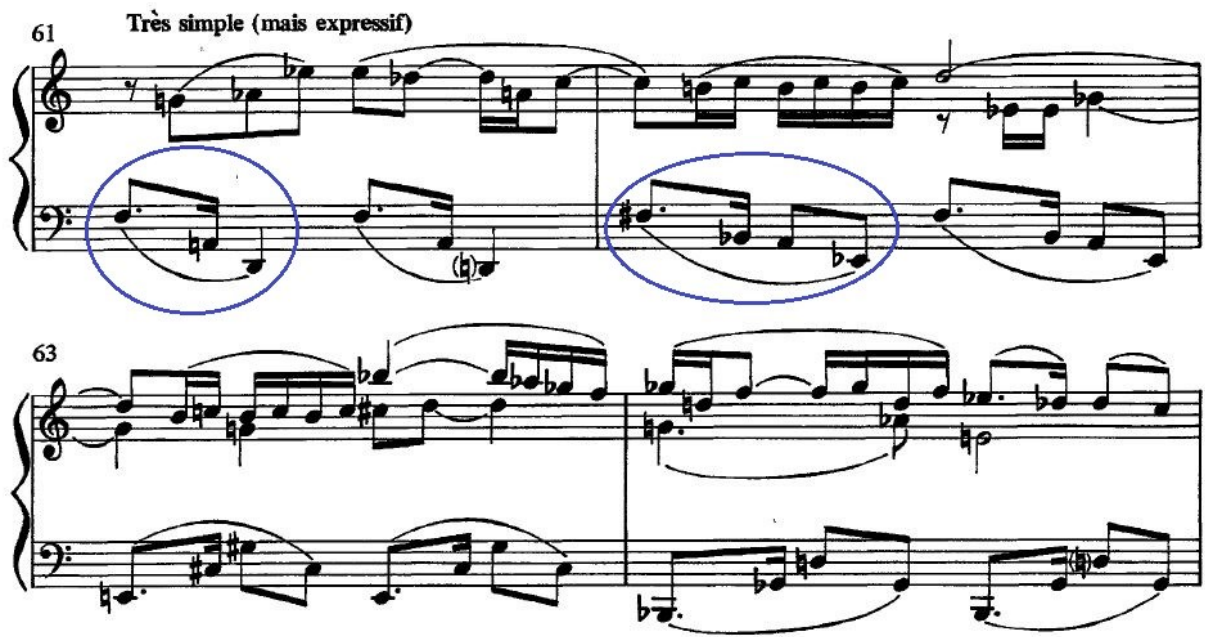


Figure 5. "Short Variations on a Mountain Theme," No. 3 from the 32 Piano Pieces, mm. 61–64.

The "Rondo" from the *Ten Sketches for Strings* alludes to the *syrtós kalamatianós* dance of the Greek folk tradition, through the use of the Greek dance's essential meter, that of the septuple time. The composer indicates on the score the "Griechischer Tanzrhythmus" and breaks down the 7/8 into its durational pattern of $\{3/8\} + \{2/8 + 2/8\}$. Also, his use of the parentheses illustrates the relationship between the second and third beats of the three-attack cycle (see Figure 6).

$$*) \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Rhythme de danse grecque:} \\ \text{Greek dance rhythm:} \\ \text{Griechischer Tanzrhythmus:} \end{array} \right. \left[\frac{7}{8} \right] = \left[\frac{3}{8} \right] + \left[\frac{2}{8} + \frac{2}{8} \right]$$

Figure 6. Rondo from the *Ten Sketches for Strings*, indication on the score.

In general, Skalkottas does not establish textural and grouping regularities for extended passages in the *Rondo*. After a short introduction which spans two measures without providing enough information about the meter, the first violin presents the melody of the ritornello repeating an F on the second and third beats of the larger three-beat cycle. The same melodic gesture is presented three bars later from the second violin. In m. 4, and despite the fast tempo, each of the eighth notes are demarcated (see Figure 7). Instead of presenting a homophonic texture, Skalkottas creates a complex

68). In the “Waltz,” Skalkottas imposes a duple meter over the supposedly triple-meter waltz, thus expressing irony through troping. Apart from alternating between 2/4 and 3/4 from the very beginning in the “Waltz,” Skalkottas plays with the grouping to create a duple effect even when there is not a change of meter (see *Figure 8*). This march-in-waltz topic expresses irony by combining two seemingly incompatible types, the waltz and the march. With a freer approach to rhythm and meter the march-in-waltz type presents a new expressive combination of two established topics of the tradition, thus connecting him with the historicity and innovation of modernism, as well as the practices of the members of the Second Viennese School, such as Schoenberg (Frymoyer, 2017).

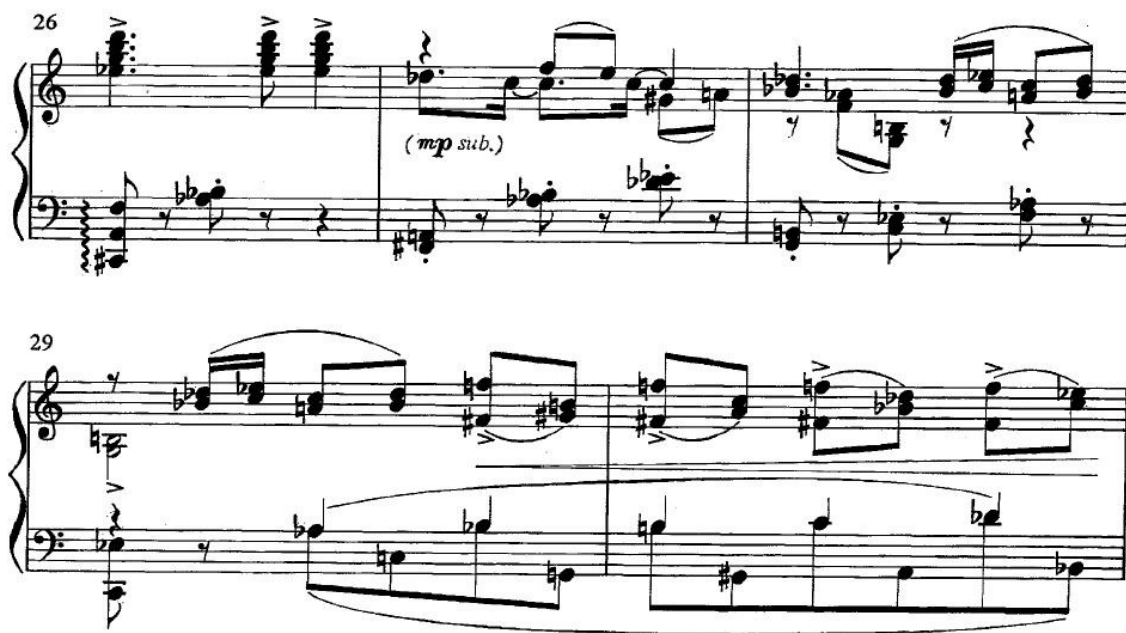


Figure 8. “Waltz,” No. 31 from the 32 Piano Pieces, mm. 26–30.

Another approach to twentieth-century musical topics is proposed by Tom Johnson (2017). Johnson focuses on pitch material and explores how tonality itself often functions as a topic in early twentieth-century modernist music by utilizing Stephen Rumph’s concept of *figura* (2014, 493). Through his interpretation of tonality as a topic, Johnson aspires to broaden topic theory’s orbit, as he is “interested in exploring what processes are involved in becoming-topic” (2017). He proposes the term “markedness reversal” to be applied for features of tonal music that are non-normative and marked in early modernist music. The markedness gain of tonal *figurae* in the beginning of the

twentieth century generates several tonal references and sociocultural meanings, which result in a malleable network of signification.

For example, towards the end of the Rondo, a tonal topic emerges in the second violin through the /E minor/ nature of the pentachord (01346), with E as a /tonic/ figura. The contour of the pentachord articulates the /tritone/ [D-sharp – A], which resembles the charged interval from common-practice tonal music, where it functions as an agent of motion and energy. It can signify simplicity, familiarity, and folk music, but also nostalgia, and pastness, according to Johnson's tonal-topic network for signifieds (2017). The centrality to E along with the repetition of the of $\{3/8\} + \{2/8 + 2/8\}$ functions as an agent of motion and energy just before the culmination of the piece (see Figure 9).



Figure 9. "Rondo" from the *Ten Sketches for Strings*, mm. 29–33 (violin only).

In the "Passacaglia" from the *Ten Sketches for Strings* the /melodic minor/ nature is combined with the recurrence of the ostinato, thus setting into a historic context the movement in two different ways, by pitch and thematic material (see Figure 10). The cello line incorporates the techniques of glissando and pizzicato, gives stability and plays with the /tonic/ figura, by setting the E or the C-sharp in the metrically strong beats (see Figure 11). In the end, a more potent signifier arises in the half-step motion, evocative of the motive variously named the *Seufzer*, *pianto*, or *sigh*. Tonality in the "Passacaglia" is combined with the *pianto* signification of sobbing or lament which expresses the pastoral genre.



Figure 10. "Passacaglia" from the *Ten Sketches for Strings*, ostinato figure.

35 (poco f, espress.) *piano* *dim.*

(mf) *dim.*

(mf) *pizz. (non div.)* *arco* *dim.*

(mf) *pizz. (non div.)* *dim.*

40 *(p)* *pp* *dim.*

(p) *piano* *pp dim.*

p *arco* *pizz. (non div.)* *pp*

p *pizz. (non div.)* *pp dim.*

Figure 11. "Passacaglia" from the Ten Sketches for Strings, mm. 35–40.

In the coda of the "Lullaby," No. 20 from the 32 *Piano Pieces* with the /arpeggiated/, /seventh chords/ *figurae* with a strumming-like character, Skalkottas expresses a nocturnal, dream-like nature that evokes the ethereal and the outwardly. Following Johnson's semiotic chart It can also result to familiarity, reminiscence and pastness, playfulness and saccharinity, but also bourgeois sentimentality (see Figure 12).



Figure 12. "Lullaby," No. 20 from the 32 Piano Pieces, mm. 59–65.

Concluding thoughts

Apart from Johanna Frymoyer and Tom Johnson's theories for twentieth-century topics, there are other ways for interpreting musical topics that could be applied to Skalkottas's music. Further research could combine topic theory with other interpretive approaches, including Michael Klein's notion of intertextuality (2005), the narrative theory as it configures in the work of Byron Almén (2008), and J. Peter Burkholder's encompassing model of associative musical meaning (2006). Furthermore, the focus on the act of listening can inform and at the same time deviate from the historicist approach of topical analysis since listeners do not necessarily need to orient themselves within an established topical soundscape. Each listener carries along their individual universe of sounds which originate from a free-flowing combination of their current and previous listening experiences, as well as the subsequent notions of anticipation and retrospection. Instead of imagining a homogeneous soundscape, an inclusive network of different musical worlds could be created, one that could afford multiple, even conflicting interpretations of the same stylized musical gestures.

Musical topics can effectively influence our understanding and/or our performances of Skalkottas's oeuvre, as topical parameters set the scene and tone and the scene for musical encounters. Furthermore, Skalkottas's idiosyncratic treatment of traditional and

contemporary styles suggest a personal compositional polystylism that brings into play historicity, and innovation. Musical topics represent the multiple aspects of his multifaceted musical inheritance, connecting the composer to the modernist aesthetic in the first half of the twentieth century. Understanding Skalkottas's compositional language through a topical lens demonstrates connections between his works and their historical and cultural contexts, resulting in a fresh hearing of his music.

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The Past as Future: The Paradigmatic Function of Nikos Skalkottas Within the Emergent Greek Musical Modernism (1950-65)

Kostas Chardas

In an interview in the newspaper *Anexartitos Tipos* in 1958 (Karavia 1958), the composer Yannis A. Papaioannou (1910-1989) echoed an idea that has been shown to be central in historical modernisms by older and more recent theoretical accounts: namely, that the modernist argument of historical necessity for eternal advancement also presupposes an organic perception of historical time.¹ In Papaioannou's words: "The authentic contemporary music, and I mean the works of genius composers, perfectly connects with the past, since it is the result of an evolutionary process" (Karavia 1958). Later in the interview he names one aspect of the recent Greek musical past with which the current musical scene connected itself: "I feel especially the need to emphasize that is consoling for us Greeks that a composer of a great calibre has been recently internationally recognized: Nikos Skalkottas" (Karavia 1958).

Papaioannou was a very active member of the emergent post-1950 modernist musical movement in Greece. He was particularly influential not only through his music, but, also, because of his inspiring educational activity on contemporary techniques. His reference to Skalkottas, who had died nine years before this interview, is far from accidental. Skalkottas was often at the centre of the public discourse on an emergent musical modernism in Greece of the period, most times in positive, but also, rarely, in negative terms. For example, George Leotsakos (b. 1935), a music critic in the press but also a composer during that period, in the newspaper *Mesimbrini* in 1962 judges Yorgos Sicilianos's (1920-2005) *Composition* for strings and percussion against Skalkottas's legacy: "this work includes some of the best Greek pages of music that have been written since Nikos Skalkottas" (Leotsakos 1962). Sicilianos himself, an influential composer of the era, made frequent references in his writings to Skalkottas as a

¹ This idea is discussed, for example, in Eysteinnsson (1994) and McClary (2015).

paradigm.² On the other hand, Mikis Theodorakis (1925-2021),³ in an interview in 1960 was openly critical when talking of what he felt as a cruel imposition of Skalkottas's modernism as the only possible option for the future of Greek music.⁴ In the last instance, Theodorakis reacts not to the music of Skalkottas, but to the dissemination of Skalkottas's artistic stance and creation as emblems for the emergent popularity of modernist idioms within the Greek composers of the era.

In the present text I propose to understand important features of the first phase of Greek musical modernism, which, I think, spans roughly from 1950 to 1965, against the main elements of Skalkottas's posthumous discovery and dissemination in the 1950s and the 1960s. My discussion is based on extensive background analytical work on music and texts of the period.⁵ In addition, I propose to situate the modernist organic perception of historical time, within the context of organicism as it was propagated in the Greek cultural environment of the era.

The man who was responsible for Skalkottas's posthumous recognition was another Papaioannou: the musicologist, pianist and architect John G. Papaioannou (1915-2000). J. G. Papaioannou with his untiring activities mainly as a musicologist, but also as an administrator of many institutions responsible for the dissemination of modernist music, essentially constructed the posthumous image of Skalkottas in Greece and abroad. Since the music of Skalkottas was in the 1950s mainly unpublished, unperformed and unknown, J. G. Papaioannou acted as the mediator of Skalkottas to the audience. In 1957 he published a very central text for the perception of Skalkottas within a book that offers one of the first general overviews of contemporary ("new") music in different states of Europe.⁶ Another instance in which Skalkottas was promoted as a modernist paradigm is given by the initiating activities of the Studio Für Neue Musik of Athens Goethe Institute. The Studio was founded in 1962 by the German composer Günther Becker (1924-2007) and J. G. Papaioannou. As part of the promotion of a modernist musical canon, the first concert of the Studio presented the Second Viennese School to the Greek audience, while the first concert with Greek works comprised

² For example, in a lecture entitled "The Greek School of Contemporary Music" given in 1970, Sicilianos argues that: "the [post-1950] Greek School of Contemporary Music was the result not only of a preparation on an international level, but also of a Greek tradition in contemporary music, which was created, from 1919 onwards, by two heroic, in their era, predecessors: Dimitri Mitropoulos and, mainly, Nikos Skalkottas" – reprinted in Sicilianos (2011, 272).

³ The early 1960s, apart from the formation of an institutionally strong modernist Greek movement in music, saw also the consolidation of the "popular art" (entecno laiko) movement by Mikis Theodorakis and Manos Hadjidakis (1925-1994). This was based on the idea of the assimilation of urban and folk Greek traditions in song-writing based on high poetry. See Chardas (2017).

⁴ See Pilichos (1960).

⁵ This research has been accomplished in preparing the entry for post-1950 Greek composers for *Grove Music Online* (Chardas 2019), and a chapter of Greek modernist composers (Chardas & Sakallieros, forthcoming).

⁶ For a later edition of the same text, see Papaioannou (1961).

only music by Skalkottas and Y. A. Papaioannou, within a symbolic recognition of both as pioneers within the emergent modernist environment.⁷ The English Bach Festival –whose events gained regular reports in the Greek newspapers of the period because of its Greek president Lina Lalandi (1920-2012) and the active participation of J. G. Papaioannou– inaugurated its activities in 1963 including, among the emphasis on Bach's music, works by Skalkottas. In 1969 English Bach Festival celebrated the 20 years anniversary of Skalkottas's death with the performance of 16 works by him.⁸

The text of 1957 exemplifies all the priorities that J. G. Papaioannou gave to Skalkottas's posthumous image, and, thus, to Skalkottas as was perceived by the Greek aspiring modernists in the 1950s. As Eva Mantzourani⁹ and other writers have also discussed, this mythologization of Skalkottas gave special attention to the uncompromising and heroic side of his character, as was reflected by the isolated evolution of his own compositional technique after his return to Greece, to his special and diverse musical abilities, and to his experimentation with new complicate elements of music construction (such as the use of blocks of many series which J. G. Papaioannou argues that can be easily grasped by the audience because of their clarity and transparency).¹⁰ The tonal elements of Skalkottas's music are underplayed, almost vanished, from this narrative. On the contrary, the text aims at situating Skalkottas firmly within the second Viennese school, although it reflects a recurrent theme in J. G. Papaioannou's accounts of Skalkottas: an antagonism with the main proponents of the second Viennese school, on the ground of complexity, in which Skalkottas is always presented as the winner.

The repertoire of what was perceived as the Greek musical avant garde up to 1965 carries many of these elements. Firstly, it places the twelve-note technique at the centre of public and compositional discourse. Interestingly enough, J. G. Papaioannou's account on what he promoted, at the end of this period, as the Greek School of Contemporary Music in a series of lectures held in Hellenic American Union in 1965, included four, out of six, lectures on Greek serialists (the programme of the lectures is reproduced in Image 1). My own analysis of the music of the period unearthed an unmistakable focus on aspects of musical construction, in which the twelve-note system seems as an inevitable element in claiming the modernist approach of the final result, as also J. G. Papaioannou does with his focus on different aspects

⁷ Detailed information on the activities of the Studio during the period 1962-1971 is given in Stamos (1971).

⁸ As is documented in the programme of the Festival.

⁹ See, for example, Mantzourani (2011, 2).

¹⁰ "Whereas in 'classic dodecaphony' difficult, bold, structural leaps (note – row – entire movement) are presented to the perceptive powers of the listener, Skalkottas subdivides this whole range into shorter, closer steps (e.g. note – note-group (within row) – row – complex of rows – entire movement), so that it becomes easier to grasp the gradual growth of the form from its consecutive elements, consciously or unconsciously." (J. G. Papaioannou 1961, 342).

and extensions of dodecaphony by the “mature” and “younger” Greek modernists in these lectures.

The adherence to classical formal moulds, and their delineation mainly by tonal elements in, otherwise, atonal and sometimes twelve-note environments can be understood not only as an influence of Skalkottas's neoclassic attitude to form,¹¹ but also as an effort, on behalf of Greek composers, to communicate with a big audience. The comprehensibility and immediacy of sound that J. G. Papaioannou promoted as merits of Skalkottas's music, can be detected as desideratum in many emblematic works of the period. For example, Y. A. Papaioannou's Symphony No. 3 of 1953, his Concerto for orchestra of the following year, and Sicilianos's Symphony No. 1 for orchestra of 1956 all start with the melodic presentation of a series, while, when the series is transformed, later in the piece, the new version is also firstly heard melodically, within an obvious effort for providing aural clues of the compositional process. This explicatory attitude is also discerned in the programme notes that Greek composers wrote for these and other works, in which they make special reference to how they incorporate twelve-note aspects in each work. Moreover, the use of the large symphonic forces up to 1965, also implied the belief that the emergent modernist cultural proposal is aiming at a wide public.

¹¹ This attitude is underscored by J. G. Papaioannou: “Skalkottas seems to devote only a small proportion of his efforts in creating entirely new formal structures. [...] What chiefly absorbs his interest is a reevaluation of classical forms, mainly of the sonata type [...]”. (J. G. Papaioannou 1961, 343).

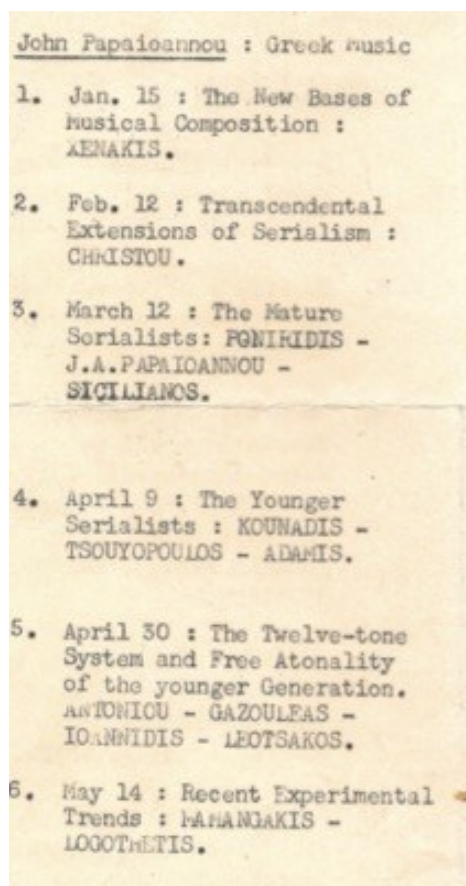


Image 1. An excerpt from the programme of J. G. Papaioannou's lectures on Greek music in Hellenic American Union in Athens, 1965

For the Greek composers of the period, Skalkottas was their only colleague who had conquered historical time. In many texts of the era, the notion of belatedness is often publicly expressed as an argument supporting the need of a cultural change.¹² As Marinos Pourgouris (2006) has argued, this notion is also discerned in the first steps of modernism in Greek literature by the Generation of the 1930s. The compositional routes of Y. A. Papaioannou, Sicilianos and others (such as Yannis Ioannidis (b. 1930)) present different interesting narratives of their wrestling with musical historical time as it was represented by dodecaphonic and serial methods: the twelve-note system was gradually assimilated in their music, while at the end of this period they all concentrated on total serialism in big symphonic works, such as Y. A. Papaioannou's Symphonies No 4 and 5. The fact that some of these works were performed within the newly established international Athens Festival –the “cosmopolitan sibling” (Lignou Tsamantani 2020, 62) of the Epidaurus Festival– at the Herodes

¹² See, for example, Sicilianos's texts from the period in Sicilianos (2011, 42-43, 292).

Atticus theatre by Greek and foreign orchestras, gave them the dynamic for a strong public outreach of their modernist claims.

In summary, Skalkottas's image, as was posthumously constructed and mediated mainly by J. G. Papaioannou, provided many elements for the public and artistic process of self-definition of the emergent Greek musical avant garde of the period 1950-1965. Skalkottas's music and myth acted paradigmatically and emblematically in issues such as the concentration on musical structural elements and the understanding of music making as an objective international cultural imperative, the struggle to tame, be part of and conquer historical time and the striving to communicate "new" constructive elements with a large audience, within a didactic attitude that aims towards an elevated cultural future.

In other words, Skalkottas, in his physical absence, played a decisive role for Greek music to regain what Susan McClary has recently argued for the Modernist project as the "lure of the Sublime". McClary (2015, 27-28) underlines how modernism essentially transformed the romantic aesthetic theory of transcendence: "A product of the new public sphere emerging in eighteenth-century England and, later, German-speaking domains, aesthetic theory posited a binary opposition between the Beautiful and the Sublime. The Beautiful emphasized pleasure, symmetry and order, while the Sublime reached beyond such domesticated sensations to simulate the wild untamable forces of nature".

As already said, the arguments of endless progress and historical necessity, imply an organic perception of history. It is very interesting, I believe, to connect this organic approach to Greek musical history, with J. G. Papaioannou's organic approach in architecture. As an architect J. G. Papaioannou was a close collaborator with Constantinos A. Doxiadis (1913-1975), the architect who founded and directed the Athens Technological Institute and designed, among other projects, the capital city of Pakistan, Islamabad. In their research they both specialized in ekistics, a discipline that today is called urban development. In the time of J. G. Papaioannou's promotion of Skalkottas as a pioneering exemplar for a Greek musical avant garde, he was also working with Doxiadis on two theoretical perceptions of urban development of an organic approach. In the early sixties, they developed the notion of Dynapolis and, later, up to 1974, the idea of Ecumenopolis.¹³ Dynapolis refers to the dynamic capacity of every city to organic growth, while Ecumenopolis embraces the parallel growth of different ekistic cells of various cultural physiognomies, towards a future union that, however, respects the cultural diversity of the cells from which it comprises. It is noteworthy that the change of interest of Doxiadis and Papaioannou from Dynapolis to Ecumenopolis paralleled the post-1965 increasing awareness of Greek musical modernism to embrace cultural

¹³ Doxiadis's most important texts are included in Doxiadis (2006).

meanings from Greek traditions, beyond those related to Skalkottas: the ancient Greek and the Byzantine.

As the present text tried to unearth, Skalkottas's music and icon supported not only the main musical characteristics of the first phase of the Greek avant garde, but, also, it discussed with wider ideas within the Greek cultural environment of the period. An example of the continuing and diverse influence of Skalkottas after 1965 is given by an event of historical significance for Greek musical modernism: the World Music Days of the International Society of Contemporary Music, which were held in Athens in 1979. As J. G. Papaioannou states in the introductory lengthy text of the programme of the festival, Skalkottas's double anniversary (30 years from his death and 75 from his birth) had been his main argument in persuading the international organizing committee to bring this festival to Athens. In addition, according to Papaioannou, the celebration of Skalkottas anniversaries also gave rise to the notion of National Days, that he proposed to the organizing committee and succeeded to incorporate in the World Music Days of 1979. The National Days were a series of concerts dedicated to music from specific states within the World Days. In this case, Skalkottas lay at the core of a proposal to the ISCM committee that essentially lead to the re-examination of ISCM's main ideological stance: internationalism.

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Nikos Skalkottas's *Second Sonata for Violin and Piano* (1940): The Dialogue of a Modern Composer with Traditional Sonata Form within an Atonal Musical Context

Vasiliki Zlatkou

1. Introduction

In October 1940, Greece entered the Second World War. According to Mantzourani (2011, 66), Skalkottas “remained detached from the struggle and the fighting around him, and the years 1940-45 represent one of his most prolific compositional periods”. More specifically, Mantzourani describes the specific time period as “the middle Athenian years” and comments accordingly: “It also marked a compositional phase in Skalkottas’s development in which the piano predominates, either solo or as part of chamber groups” (Mantzourani 2011, 5).

Nikos Skalkottas completes the *Second Sonata for Violin and Piano* in the year 1940, after his return to Greece. This work is an atonal composition, which he composed at the same time as his dodecaphonic works (Zervos 2001; Mantzourani 2011). Additionally, Mantzourani mentions that:

Throughout his compositional career following his early experimental works, he often composed twelve-note, atonal and tonal works simultaneously, or alternately, and occasionally he used different harmonic idioms in the same piece. (Mantzourani 2011, 4)

Skalkottas’s *Second Sonata for Violin and Piano* consists of three movements: *Molto allegro Marcato*, *Andantino*, and *Rondo (Molto Vivace)*. The first movement of the work is at the focal point of the present analysis and pertains to an idiomatic palindromic type-3 sonata form, which encompasses an exposition, a development, and a reversed recapitulation. In Skalkottas’s *Second Sonata for Violin and Piano*, sonata form—which is fundamentally a tonal form—comes to dialogue with atonality. However, it is widely known that atonality

undermines all tonal or functional implications. Nevertheless, Skalkottas uses the low register of the piano in the bass line to emphasize specific pitch classes, though without creating any sense of tonal polarization. More specifically, not only does the bass line begin with G at the beginning of the sonata, but also D and D major chord, which have an intervallic fifth relation with G, acquire instantaneous significance in crucial structural points. G and D exist only as mark signs, as remnants of the old sonata form. Mantzourani, in her book about Skalkottas, mentions:

Skalkottas uses individual pitches or pitch collections... in the outer voices, the bass line, which are often chosen to invite associations with traditional tonal compositional practices. (Mantzourani 2011, 136-37)

Due to complete lack of any tonal implication and functionality evident in the listening outcome, the musical analysis of the piece is totally based on the motivic elaboration of the musical material. However, the initial structural pitch class G and the associations it encourages with other pitch classes support significantly the general structural outline of the movement. The aim of the specific analysis is to promote the dialogue between traditional form and atonality, isolating at the same time different aspects of sonata form and examining their transformation or their complete alteration into this new harmonic environment.

2. Analysis of the first movement

2.1 Exposition (first half)

2.1.1 Primary theme

The beginning of the exposition introduces G as a primary structural pitch. Furthermore, the primary theme (m. 1-7), which consists of two phrases, enters as well (Example 1). The initial phrase (m. 1-4) of the theme is a sentence, which is divided into two halves: the first half (presentation, m. 1-2) comprises the primary thematic idea, performed by the violin, while the piano accompanies with simultaneities, which have D as a common pitch. The second half of the sentence (continuation and conclusion, m. 3-4) is marked by continuous semiquavers and a dotted rhythmic pattern, which concludes on D (intervallic fifth relation with G).

The primary thematic idea (m. 1-2) is constructed by four motives (a1, a2, b1 and b2). Motives a1 and a2 create the basic melodic idea of the piece, while motives b1 and b2 produce the 6-z44 [0,1,2,5,6,9] set.¹

Primary theme-1st phrase (b. 1-4)

Basic melodic idea

6-z44

3-10 (diminished chord)

D:5th intervallic relationship with G

Presentation

Continuation and conclusion

Example 1: Primary theme's first phrase (m. 1-4).²

In the harmonic background, the entire sonata begins with a simultaneity on the piano: the 6-z6 set [0,1,2,5,6,7] (Example 2). F sharp, which is the highest pitch of the 6-z6 simultaneity, combined with motive a1 of the violin, produce a 3-5 set [0,1,6] (F, F sharp, B), which contains two successive fourths: an augmented and a perfect one. The alternation of these two interval types is distinguishable in every aspect of the composition: melody, harmony, and formal structure.

¹ The pitch-class set 6-z44 [0,1,2,5,6,9] is the hexachord that forms Schoenberg's musical signature. More specifically, the prime form of this set delineates Schoenberg's last name: E flat, C, B, B flat, E, G = EsCHBEG = Schoenberg) (Nolan 2011, 143-44).

² All musical examples have been transcribed from the published musical score of the work (Skalkottas 1980).

Beginning of the sonata, b. 1

a1

3-5 [0,1,6]
(F, F#, B)

D

G

6-z6
[0,1,2,5,6,7]
(C#-D-Eb-F#-G-Ab)

Example 2: Initial simultaneity (6-z6 set) of the sonata and beginning of the violin melodic line (m. 1).

Besides presenting the primary thematic idea and the initial simultaneity, which later on acquire structural significance, the first phrase of the theme also establishes the primary structural pitch of the composition: G. Primarily, G enters as the lowest pitch of the initial simultaneity of the piece (6-z6 set), initiating a large-scale linear disposition of the 3-5 set [0,1,6] (G, F sharp, C sharp) in the extreme low register of the left-hand piano part (Example 3). This set leads back to G at the end of the first thematic phrase, emphasizing in the process the interval of augmented fourth. Skalkottas idiomatically uses multi-layer textures in his compositions. In this piece, the deepest layer of this texture contains important structural information, which is evident by the use of the low register in the left-hand piano part, as it has already been discussed in the introduction of this article.

Primary theme, b. 1-7

1st phrase, b. 1-4

Example 3: Primary theme's 1st phrase and beginning of the second phrase (m. 1-5).

The second thematic phrase (m. 5-7) enters with the repetition of a1 and a2 motives and proceeds through the use of developing variation (Example 4). However, motive a1 is performed earlier by the violin, before the completion of the first phrase's closure in the piano part. This kind of overlap occurs in almost every phrase of the piece and creates a sense of continuous fluidity. The second phrase ends with G flat on the violin, which is also the first and highest pitch on the right-hand piano part's initial simultaneity (F sharp / G flat). This way, a sense of structural completion is achieved, even though it is not evident in the listening outcome.

Example 4: beginning and end of the primary theme (m. 1 and m. 7).

2.1.2 Transitional section

The transitional section (m. 8-33) opens with the third entrance of the primary thematic idea and includes elaboration of the primary thematic material. It comprises three continuous phrases, in each of which certain notable structural events take place. The first phrase (m. 8-14) is performed exclusively on the piano. D, which has an intervallic fifth relation with G, gains structural—but not functional—emphasis, while the 3-5 set (E flat, D, A), with D on the upper layer, opens and closes the phrase (Example 5). The use of whole-tone and octatonic scales is also interesting in the middle and ending of the first phrase.

Transitional section - 1st phrase (b. 8-14)

Beginning (b. 7-8)

Middle (b. 10-11)

End (b. 13-14)

Example 5: Beginning, middle, and ending of the 1st phrase of the transitional section (m. 7-8, 10-11, 13-14).

The second and third phrases are interconnected via a descending cycle of fifths, which takes place in the lowest register of the left-hand piano part (Example 6). This cycle refers only to pitch classes and is neither continuous, nor comprehensible in the listening experience. However, it permeates the entire section, reaching its completion simultaneously with the beginning of the secondary theme. The cycle starts on G and ends on D flat, emphasizing once more the interval of augmented fourth. Nevertheless, there is an interruption of the cycle, just before the closing of the transitional section, which could resemble a medial caesura (Hepokoski & Darcy 2006). In measure 31, D and A enter on the left-hand piano part, while the violin completes its melodic route on C flat and E flat, creating the 4-z15 set [0,1,4,6] (E

flat, D, C flat, A). After this interruption, the cycle of fifths continues and just like in a medial-caesura fill, leads to D flat and the secondary thematic material.

b. 18

b. 31

Medial caesura

Medial caesura fill

secondary theme

oct2

4-4

6-21

4-27

3-5

3-8

4-27

3-9

4-19

4-26

7-27

4-z29

7-21

3-11

5K

4-z15

D

3-11

4-18

4-18

4-28

D D

G C F Bb Eb Ab Db/C#

Example 6: 2nd and 3rd phrases of the transitional section (m. 18-33).

2.2 Exposition (second half)

2.2.1 Secondary theme

The second half of the exposition introduces the secondary thematic area (m. 34-53), which consists of three phrases and creates a textural contrast with the primary theme, because of the complete absence of semiquaver notes. The secondary thematic area is organized in an ABA' form, where A and A' is the secondary theme and B includes motivic elaboration. The first phrase of the specific area (A: m. 34-43) is the secondary theme and is divided into two sub-phrases. The first sub-phrase (m. 34-37) includes the secondary thematic idea, which begins with E (Example 7a). Then, an ascending motion in the violin part (m. 37-39), composed out of alternating intervals of augmented and perfect fourths, leads to the re-entrance of the secondary thematic idea (m. 39-43), which is transposed and begins on A. The second sub-phrase (m. 39-43) emphasizes D in the lowest piano register, includes fragments of the octatonic scale, and ends on B in the violin part and the 6-z6 set in the piano part with D on the bass line (Example 7c). The 6-z6 set is also the initial simultaneity of the sonata.

Secondary theme
Main melodic line (violin)

1st phrase (b. 34-39)

ascending motion

molto espressivo (dolce)

basic idea

Secondary theme
piano accompaniment pattern

2nd sub-phrase, 39-43

b. 39

Basic idea

b. 40

b. 41 = b. 42

b. 43 end of secondary theme

oct2

oct2

oct1

4A 4P 4A 4P

3-11 3-11 3-11 3-9 3-9

6-z6 (b. 1)

(D+G)

4-12 4-19 4-26 [d7] 4-28

D F A C

Example 7: (a) The main melodic line of the secondary-theme's first phrase and the ascending motion performed by the violin (m. 34-39). (b) The rhythmic pattern of the piano accompaniment. (c) Analysis of the pitch-class content of the second sub-phrase (m. 39-43) and the end of secondary theme.

The second phase of the secondary thematic area (B: m. 43-49) re-introduces the main melodic line of the theme, which is shared among the piano right-hand part and the violin part. This phrase contains motivic elaboration, based on the secondary thematic material, and ends on a simultaneity, which is a conjunction of the 4-19 set [0,1,4,8] and the pentatonic scale (E flat, F, G, B flat, C). A bridge, with a chromatic ascend in the violin, brings back the secondary thematic melody for the third time.

The entire exposition closes with the restatement of only the first secondary-theme phrase (A': m. 50-53) and concludes with a 5-25 set, which is a subset of octatonic scale type 2 (Example 8). D is in the lowest register and C in the upper layer. The closing section is omitted, which seems quite reasonable, since there is no perfect cadence to be confirmed at the end of the exposition. The transitional section and the secondary thematic area include extended motivic elaboration, thus an extra section with developmental content might have been superfluous.

secondary thematic area
B: 2nd phrase (b. 47-49)
b. 47

A': secondary theme
1st phrase (b. 50-53)
b. 49 b. 50

End of
exposition
b. 53

(basic idea)
BI

4-18 3-12 3-9 3-9 3-11 4-26 3-11 7-20 5-35 5-tonic chrom. 5chord (Cb,C,Db,D,Eb) 3-5 5-25 oct2

ending of 2nd phr. (B)

initial pitch-class
(point of departure)

5th intervallic
relationship with G

Example 8: The end of the exposition, including the 2nd phrase of the secondary thematic area (B, m. 47-49) and the re-statement of the 1st thematic phrase (A', m. 50-53).

2.3 Development

The development (m. 53-96) is divided into four sections. The first section (m. 53-66) consists of an opening phrase (m. 53-54), which connects the exposition and development, and begins with the material of the secondary theme. The secondary thematic melody leads to a fugato (m. 55-66) (Example 10). The theme of the fugato begins with G in the piano right-hand part and is repeated three times (Example 9). It is constructed out of the rhythmic augmentation of motive a2 of the primary theme and a dance-like module (motive c), which ends with the interval of a seventh (motive b3). The initial unit of the development concludes with a bridge of retransitional character. It is based on the pitch prolongation of G (violin), D (piano right-hand) and D flat (piano left-hand). In measure 66, D flat leads to G, where the material of the primary theme and the initial simultaneity of the composition (6-z6 set) enter.

Ending of 1st unit
bridge with retransitional character (b. 64-65)

motif c a2 variation

C Db/C#

False recapitulation (b. 66-67)

Primary theme

a1 a2 b2 b2 6-z6 b2 6-z6

G

Example 11: The end of the 1st section of development (bridge with retransitional character: m. 64-65) and the false recapitulation (m. 66-67).

The third section of the development (m. 74-84) introduces a lyrical melody in the violin part (m. 74). This melodic line sounds like new motivic material, but it derives from pre-existent motives, which have been transformed (Example 12). More specifically, in measure 74, there enters a rhythmical augmentation, inversion, and melodic variation of a transitional-section motive from the exposition (m. 14). The piano accompanies with the beginning of motive a2 (semiquavers) in combination with motive b2 in rhythmic augmentation and variation, which serves as an accompanimental ostinato throughout the transitional section of the exposition.

Exposition

Primary theme

b2 b2 variation

Transitional-section motif

a2 b2

Development

Lyrical melody (violin, b. 74-83)

(rhythmic augmentation + melodic variation)

b2 b2

sul G

f

transitional-section motif
(inversion + rhythmic augmentation)

Lyrical-melody accompaniment (piano)

a2 (beginning) a2 (beginning) b2 variation

a2 (beginning) a2 (beginning)

Example 12: The motivic material of transitional section in exposition and its developing variation during the third unit of the development.

The development is completed with the fourth section (m. 85-96, Example 13). After an apostrophe (') in the musical score at the end of measure 84, a phrase with retransitional character emerges. This phrase is built on stepwise and arpeggio-like motions in the violin and piano parts, and repetitions of the ending of motive a2. Along with these elements, the fourth section begins with D on the bass line and A (intervallic fifth relation with D) on the upper melodic layer. Additionally, material from the beginning of the development re-enters (fugato) and the octatonic scale prevails in the melodic line (m. 92, Example 14). The re-appearance of the fugato at the concluding measures of the development provides for a more cyclical structure and unifies the entire development due to the lack of any return of a primary tonal area. The entire development closes with melodic liquidation, with D in the upper melodic layer, and A and E acquiring structural prominence. On the lowest layer, D arrives at the last minute before the beginning of the recapitulation.

Beginning of the 4th development-unit (b. 85)



Example 13: The beginning of development's fourth section (m. 85)

Fugato - development completion (b. 92-96) ending of development Recapitulation Secondary theme

b. 92 b. 93 b. 96 b. 97

fugato theme-1st entry (F#)

a2 variation

fugato theme-2nd entry (D)

a2 variation

oct1

oct2

6-27

4-z15

4-12

4-8

4-14

4-14

3-7

3-11

D (fifth interval relationship with G)

(basic idea) BI

oct0

oct2

oct0

F#

F

E

E

accompanimental
rhythmical motif
from the secondary
theme of the
exposition
(retransition of the
secondary motivic material)

Example 14: The fugato at the end of the development and the beginning of recapitulation with the secondary theme (m. 92-97).

2.2 Recapitulation

2.2.1 Secondary thematic area

The recapitulation opens with the secondary thematic area (m. 97-116), which enters in transposition and retains the three-phrase structure of the respective section in the exposition. This exception in tonal sonata form—wherein the secondary theme opens the recapitulation—is defined as “reversed recapitulation” (Rosen 1988, 286). Reicha also mentions that this phenomenon mostly applies in cases where the primary thematic material

has been excessively developed during development (Fulias 2007, 97). In Skalkottas's sonata, the false recapitulation of the primary theme during the exposition creates the need for an additional primary/secondary theme alternation and, since the primary theme has already featured prominently in the development, then, it seems quite reasonable to expect the secondary theme to open the recapitulation, thus restoring the balance between the two themes in terms of structural prominence.

The secondary theme begins on A, which has an intervallic fifth relation with E (Example 15). E is the initial pitch of the melodic line of the secondary theme. However, the transposing interval does not remain stable. This way, a motion towards C is brought about. The recapitulation of the secondary theme ends with the same 5-25 set, as in the exposition, with C appearing to be prevalent in the lowest register and at the upper melodic layer (C has an intervallic fourth relation with G).

The image displays three musical excerpts from a sonata by Skalkottas. The top excerpt, titled "Exposition secondary theme", shows a melodic line starting on E in the treble clef and a bass line starting on Db. The tempo/mood is marked "molto espressivo (dolce)". The middle-left excerpt, titled "Recapitulation Secondary theme transposed", shows the same melodic line transposed to start on A in the treble clef, with the bass line starting on F#/Gb. The middle-right excerpt, titled "Recapitulation end of secondary thematic group", shows the melodic line ending on C in the treble clef, with the bass line ending on a 5-25 set. The key signature for the recapitulation is one flat (Bb).

Example 15: The introduction of the secondary theme in the exposition and at the beginning of the recapitulation. Also, the ending of the secondary thematic group in the recapitulation.

2.2.2 Primary theme (three entrances)

After the completion of the recapitulation of the secondary theme, the primary theme follows. During the recapitulation, three entrances of the primary theme occur. The initial entrance is the same as in the exposition, but the order of the two thematic phrases is reversed (m. 117-122 and m. 129-134). Then, a secondary development (m. 134-149) follows. This section includes further elaboration of the primary and the secondary thematic material, and the re-appearance of the fugato melody, which is performed in parallel intervals of thirds. The secondary development concludes with an emphasis on D and the D major chord, even though this chord is part of a simultaneity and has no harmonic functionality.

After this secondary development, the movement closes with the remaining two entrances of the primary theme. The previous-to-last thematic statement (m. 149-152) emphasizes D (Example 16).

The musical score for Example 16 is presented in a two-staff format. The top staff is in treble clef, and the bottom staff is in bass clef. The key signature has one flat (B-flat). The time signature is 4/4. The score is divided into two sections: 'End of secondary development' and 'Primary theme'. The 'End of secondary development' section features a fugato melody in the right hand, performed in parallel intervals of thirds, and a bass line that emphasizes the note D. The 'Primary theme' section begins with a forte (f) dynamic and a D Major chord, which is highlighted by a box labeled 'D Major ch. ____'.

Example 16: The end of the secondary development and the beginning of the second-to-last entrance of the primary theme in the recapitulation (m. 147-149).

The last statement of the primary theme is the final coda (m. 152-158, Example 17). It begins with G in the bass line and the initial pitch-class set of the work (6-z6 set). This way, the entire first movement is structurally unified.

Example 17: The beginning of the primary theme in the exposition (m. 1) and the last appearance of the primary theme in the final coda of the movement (m. 152).

At the end of the first movement, G is transferred to the highest melodic layer, along with the octatonic scale type 0, which prevails in the harmonic background (Example 18). Therefore, the final coda of the first movement does not provide completion. Instead, it creates the need for continuation towards the forthcoming movements. This is a common feature in Skalkottas's first movements: the primary pitch of the composition moves to the upper melodic layer and the interval of a third gains great structural significance. Maximum formal completion is achieved beyond the borders of the first movement at the end of the entire sonata in the finale, which closes with G and D in the bass line.

Example 18: The end of the first movement and the last measure of the entire sonata.

3. Conclusions

According to Mantzourani, Skalkottas's *Sonata for Violin and Piano* includes many features from the composer's pre-dodecaphonic compositional time-period:

Skalkottas's early surviving Berlin works demonstrate the development of his harmonic language from advanced chromaticism to dodecaphonism, and they exhibit, in an embryonic form, many of the motivic, harmonic and formal techniques and compositional features employed in later twelve-note works. (Mantzourani 2011, 181)

The *Sonata for Violin and Piano* is not actually a dodecaphonic work, but it belongs among Skalkottas's mature compositions: although it incorporates techniques from the composer's early compositional time-period, these techniques have been transformed and adjusted in order to serve this new atonal environment. These techniques are the following:

The contrapuntal texture, which allows for multiple melodic layers: These layers are independent melodic lines, which have a more complementary or, in other cases, a contrasting character. The specific layers have various functions, such as that of a primary or a secondary melodic line, a homophonic or rhythmic accompaniment, a prominent bass line in the lower register of the piano part, and so on. Especially with respect to the prominence of the bass line, Mantzourani (2011, 182) detects this specific technique in Skalkottas's first string quartet, which is included in the compositions of years 1928-29. More specifically, she comments about the bass line in the piano left-hand part, which, in many cases, reaches an extremely low register. In this bass line, elements of sonata form and tonal implications—such as a single structurally significant pitch or intervallic fifth relations—are evident and blended with the atonal environment, as it has been demonstrated through the analysis of the first movement of the sonata and is mentioned in the introduction of the present article.

The ultimate use of chromaticism, which derives from the absolute equalization of the twelve pitch classes of the chromatic scale: Schoenberg defines this technique in terms of the "emancipation of dissonance" According to this technique, any pitch hierarchy or pitch centrality is completely absent:

In his Harmonielehre (1911), Schoenberg recommended both the avoidance of octave doublings and pitch-class repetitions, since these would produce an emphasis on a tone, which in turn, could be interpreted as a tonic. (Antokoletz 2014)

In Skalkottas's sonata, the intervals of minor and major sevenths (diminished eighth) predominate in melodic lines. This is evident in the secondary theme and in sections with developmental character (transitional section and development). This way, pitch repetitions—especially via octave doublings—are avoided and the atonal environment remains detached

from any “tonal” references or pitch hierarchies. G and D are pinpointed by the musical text as structurally significant pitch classes, but they are always introduced in isolated melodic layers and they are not prolonged. On the contrary, they appear only in crucial structural points, as the analysis demonstrates.

The issue of prolongation [...] is separate from the question of whether very large-scale lines can be heard and profitably analyzed, and the difference centers on claims of "presence" that underwrite the notion of prolongation.
(Harrison 2016, 90)

The use of referential pitch collections, such as the octatonic, whole-tone, and pentatonic scales: These collections—or fragments of collections—inform the construction of the pitch content of melodic lines and their subsets create simultaneities in the harmonic background. Nevertheless, these collections are used only as pitch-class sets or supersets and not as scales, undermining their comprehensibility in the listening experience. According to Haimo:

The use of indeterminate scalar segments is only one of many significant stylistic features that are clear holdovers from the earlier stages of Schoenberg's development. (Haimo 2006, 314)

The use of intervals of fourths and quartal harmonies: Quartal harmonies are mentioned in Schoenberg's book *Harmonielehre*. 3-5 and 3-9 sets, both based on intervals of fourths, predominate in Skalkottas's composition. Taruskin defines these pitch-class sets as “atonal triads” and mentions that these sets lay in the melodic and harmonic background of atonal musical works. More particularly, the alternation of perfect and augmented fourths is very characteristic in these environments (Taruskin 2010, 331). 6-z6 set, the initial simultaneity of the sonata, is built on perfect and augmented fourths in alternation. Furthermore, the highest pitch of this simultaneity and the initial two notes of the violin's melodic line create the 3-5 set (F sharp, B, F), a conjunction of a perfect and an augmented fourth. A well-known piano sonata that also begins in a similar way is Alban Berg's *Piano Sonata* (op. 1), composed in 1909, which introduces the primary thematic melody with a perfect and an augmented fourth, outlining melodically the 3-5 set (G, C, Fsharp). Berg's sonata is a post-tonal composition but shows, to a great extent, how quartal harmonies were embedded in various modern musical idioms.

The emphasis on specific music intervals such as intervals of thirds, in parallel disposition: Tsougras, in his article about Skalkottas's *Third Suite* ("Theme and Variations"), composed in the same year as the *Sonata for Violin and Piano* (1940), mentions that "specific intervals (mainly minor 3rds and major 7ths) are used more frequently, either vertically or horizontally, as accompaniment" (Tsougras 2014, 277). Haimo, in his book about Schoenberg, points out that the use of parallel thirds by Schoenberg initially appears in his early polyphonic works and "has long been a feature of Schoenberg's compositions" (Haimo 2006, 314):

[I]n earlier polyphonic works [...] Schoenberg had a tendency to pair voices together rhythmically. When he did so, he typically invoked the principle of localized consonance by having the voices move in parallel thirds or sixths.
(Haimo 2006, 262)

The use of chords with tonal implications, which however do not carry any harmonic functionality: One such example pertains to the D major chord, which is used in crucial structural points of Skalkottas's sonata (at the end of the transitional section and at the end of the recapitulation just before the final coda). However, this particular chord is always combined with other simultaneities or pitch-class sets, undermining any sense of pitch centrality in the listening experience.

The use of specific pitch-class sets, which acquire structural significance: Particularly, the 6-z6 set, which is the initial simultaneity of the sonata, is also re-introduced at the end of the secondary theme, the beginning of the false recapitulation in the development, the re-statement of the primary theme in the recapitulation, and the opening of the final coda. Schmidt-Beste, in his book *The Sonata*, comments that, in certain musical works, such as Skryabin's last sonatas, the tonal areas are substituted by specific simultaneities, which are significant for a better understanding of the musical structure. However, those simultaneities lack any functionality or tonal direction in the listening outcome (Schmidt-Beste 2011). This observation seems to hold in the case of Skalkottas as well...

Zervos, in his book *Nikos Skalkottas and the European Tradition of the Beginning of the 20th Century*, offers this comment for Skalkottas's compositional style:

[Skalkottas's writing], although seemingly intricate, is lucid and clear, while, from a formal perspective, it stands out for the clarity of the structural organization, verging on the boundaries of classicism, in a way that is characterized by the perfect compatibility between form and content. (Zervos 2001, 25)

The analysis of the *Sonata for Violin and Piano* seems to exemplify Zervos's comment, in as much as it evinces an intricate structure, brought about by atonality and a multi-layered contrapuntal texture. Nonetheless, the boundaries between the sections and phrases are quite clear: rests, accentuation, changes of texture, indications in the score, and the exceptionally distinctive heads of the two themes of the exposition, used as points of structural reference.

Furthermore, the false recapitulation in the development and in the secondary development of the recapitulation are two additionally interesting features in the first movement of the sonata. The preparation and re-statement of the primary theme, and the initial simultaneity in the development could create associations with Haydn's false recapitulations, but only in terms of motivic structure. Moreover, the secondary development includes further motivic elaboration of the secondary thematic material, which produces an overall formal balance due to the development's focus on the material of the primary theme. Nevertheless, Skalkottas's dialogue reaches its peak during the final coda, which does not take on the role of bringing the work to a sense of completion, but instead creates the need for continuation. G, structurally the most significant pitch of the entire work, enters the upper melodic layer at the end of the first movement and is transferred to the bass line only at the end of the entire sonata in the Finale. This way, the cyclical features of the sonata—rhythmic and melodic motives from the first movement are also evident in the other movements—are enhanced harmonically as well.

As regards the large-scale form of the first movement of the sonata, it is important to mention the arch-like form of the composition. The inversion of the two halves of the exposition in the recapitulation produces a palindromic structure. In general, Skalkottas introduces the two themes of the exposition in alternation throughout the movement: primary and secondary theme (exposition), primary theme/false recapitulation (development), secondary and primary theme (recapitulation). This way, a large-scale balance is achieved, which is helpful for the comprehension of the form, especially during the performance of the piece and the listening experience. Such symmetrical structures may also be found in the works of Schoenberg and Bartók in various ways.

In closing, Skalkottas achieves an outstanding amalgam of atonality and sonata form, which he seems to perceive in his own idiosyncratic way. However, all elements of traditional sonata form are evident in the musical text and arise through music analysis. These elements are not only met in a formal, textural, or structural dimension, but are embedded in deeper harmonic layers, creating some sort of "tonal" associations. However, these associations are not registered in the listening experience. Lerdahl, in his article "Cognitive Constraints on Compositional Systems", comments accordingly:

[T]he compositional grammar generates the sequence of events and the manner in which they are specified. Only the sequence of events, however, is available as input to the listening grammar: the listener hears the acoustic signal, not its compositional specification. (Lerdahl 1992, 99)

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Diatonic elements and pitch-class set genera in Nikos Skalkottas's *Concerto for piano, violin and orchestra*

Penelope Papagiannopoulou

Introduction

Nikos Skalkottas's *Concerto for piano, violin and orchestra* is his first double concerto, composed during his studies in Berlin (1930), where it was first presented. Concertos which may have been composed earlier are lost, but in general the composer showed a preference for this form in the following years, and his total oeuvre includes fourteen concertos or concerto-like works. However, scholars have rarely analyzed concertos (Alsmeier 2001, Sousamoglou 2008, Mantzourani 2011, Zervos 2016, Papagiannopoulou 2019). In particular, as far as the *Concerto for piano, violin and orchestra* is concerned, the absence of analytical papers is largely due to the late discovery of its partiel.¹

In general, in his later concertos the composer uses classical – especially romantic – forms. This concerto, however, differs from the next ones in that it is organized as a concertino in one movement with five parts² in arch form, each with a different rhythmic and metrical structure – still, at least in part, this clear division can be shadowed by a sonata-like formal plan with a reversed recapitulation.

With regard to the idiom, *Concerto for piano, violin and orchestra* is atonal, without any kind of serial organization. However, a prominent feature of the harmonic language of the work is the existence of diatonic elements in this atonal environment. In fact, this is a recurring feature found in the work of the composer and it either originates from Greek elements that he often includes or is a part of the inner structural harmonic organization. At the same time other

¹ The manuscript was found in the library of the music department of the University of New York in Buffalo by the musicologist Ioannis Tselikas in the 2010s. Now, a copy of this manuscript is included in the Skalkottas Archive at the Music Library of Greece "Lilian Voudouri".

² The term "part" will be used instead of "movement" because the concerto is structured in one movement as follows: *Allegro giusto, Andante sostenuto, Allegro vivo, Andante sostenuto, Allegro*, with no interruption between the parts.

elements explored in this first concerto are also recurring in his work, such as thematic and motivic development as basic structuring tools.

The diatonic elements

The present paper tries to approach the issue of diatonicism in this Concerto and the way that this factor is embedded in the overall atonal environment, using objective criteria in order to explain its harmonic language. On the musical surface, diatonic elements such as characteristic intervals, chords and tertian structures, specific motives reminiscent of tonal music, scale-like sequences and even pitch centers can often be found. The following examples include two passages from the concerto, which represent two different employments of diatonic elements.

The first one is a passage (m. 145–155) from the third part of the concerto: *Allegro vivo*. It includes tertian chords in the orchestral accompaniment, which seem to be related to each other in a specific chromatic progress, and other tertian formations in the melody of the violin and the piano accompaniment. However, all these chords are neutralized in a completely atonal passage. In fact, regarding only this specific passage, it seems that Skalkottas chooses to organize it with the tools of tonal music, and this is just a compositional decision which has to do with the technique rather than with the overall harmonic structure. This chromatic progress from G minor to F minor and back to G minor, again seems to have little functionality, and this is due to the multiple layers of the musical surface (five to six layers).

The image displays a musical score for measures 145 to 155. The top staff features harmonic annotations: 'Gmin/D' above measures 145-146, 'F#min/C#' above measure 147, and 'Gmin/D' above measures 148-149. The Piano part (bottom staff) shows complex chordal textures with blue boxes highlighting specific tertian structures. The Violin part (middle staff) also contains blue boxes around certain melodic phrases. A blue arrow points from a box in the Piano part to a box in the Violin part, indicating a relationship between the two. The score is written in a key with one flat (B-flat) and a common time signature.

Figure 1: *Allegro vivo* – m. 145–155

On the contrary, the second example, taken from the final measures of the concerto seems to give a different perspective. The predominance of $B\equiv$ at the end of the concerto is given clearly by using unison octaves which seem to reinforce its central role. Additionally, it is supported by the F minor chord (as a minor dominant of the $B\equiv$) which is formed in the main melodic line and repeatedly appears five times in mm. 246–248. Other elements that support the dominant–tonic relationship are the following (see fig. 3):

- The central role of the pitch class F at the lower layer of the orchestra (m. 248).
- The last pitches $B\equiv$ and A at the upper layer of the piano.
- m. 246–247: At the middle layer of the orchestra the repeated note A as a leading note to the “tonic” $B\equiv$.
- At m. 241 at the lower layer of the orchestra, the note A comes up like a conclusion of an ascending scale that starts at m. 239 and returns at the following measures (at the same layer).
- At m. 241, the melodic line of the piano ends on the same pitch A and a new chordal element ($A-E\equiv-F$), which stays at the front of the musical surface until m. 244 (see fig. 3). This element is reminiscent of the aforementioned dominant of $B\equiv$.

At the same time, the succession of all these notes reveals a diatonic succession $B\equiv, C, D, E\equiv, F, G, A$ (or $A\equiv$) – the $B\equiv$ major scale. Traces of these can also be found in the first measures of the work (for a complete description of diatonicism in these measures with prolongational plans, and for more diatonic elements at the concerto see also: Papagiannopoulou 2021). In

fact, according to the arch formal plan of the work, the final *Allegro* (in the form of A–Adevel.–A') is thematically identical to the initial *Allegro giusto*, which is organized also as A–Adevel.–A'. However, the formal correspondence is not the factor that justifies the existence of diatonic elements at the final measures. The employment of such elements is accomplished in a different way in each of these two parts of the work. For example, in the final *Allegro*, even if a centricity around $B\cong$ exists, which prevails at the end, it is not the only one. By almost the same means, the mode $\langle B, C, D (D\#), E, F\#, G, A \rangle$ exists as an event of the musical surface which coexists with the other one – the $B\cong$ (see fig. 3). The pitches of this last succession do not exist at the other and this fact creates what we call polarity between two large pitch sets, rather than bitonality or bimodality. The polarity in this case is vertical, as the two modes are presented simultaneously. On the contrary, in the first presentation of the thematic material (*Allegro giusto*) these two poles are not so clearly given and additionally they are presented more horizontally: $B\cong$ takes special positions in the musical surface at m. 1–4 and B at m. 5–6, etc. (see fig. 2).

Lastly, what is interesting about the basic idea of the work and the first thematic presentation is that the initial *Allegro giusto* starts with a four-measure phrase, which is identical to a theme of Skalkottas's tonal work, *Symphonietta in B $\cong$* . At the same time, the first measure of the concerto is reminiscent of the Greek folk song 'Ena karavi apo ti Hio' [*Ένα καράβι από τη Χιό*]. The assumption that these works are linked through the reference to a folk song may be proven correct, if we take into consideration that the two works were composed in different compositional periods. This reference in the work is implicitly connected to the diatonic elements, analyzed in the present paper.

Methodology and research purpose

These examples of diatonic elements presented above do exist at the musical surface but the functionality and the auditory potential of all these features is rather questionable. Regarding the multiplicity of musical layers and the chromaticism which results from them, many of the diatonic features are not heard at all. The question for each pitch center is whether it comes as a result of a harmonic progression or not, and the answer is different for different parts of the concerto. Additionally, another question is the existence of any hierarchical arrangement of the pitches included in a diatonic set found in the musical surface. The answer is either negative (in most cases) or positive, but this has nothing to do with the ability of a certain passage to enable the listener to experience harmonic conflict and resolution.

In any case, diatonic elements are undoubtedly a part of the harmonic language. What remains interesting about this fact is the extent to which diatonicism is significant for the harmonic language, and whether this significance remains unchanged from the start to the end of the work. The present paper will try to investigate this issue through the analysis. For this purpose, and due to the limited space of the present paper, two passages from the work are chosen: the first 9 measures and the last 11 measures of the work (m. 239–249). The analytical decision of choosing the first measures of the concerto is based on their formal significance. This initial material is the basic idea, which is varied and transformed in the following measures. Additionally, it seems interesting to investigate this passage, because it contains the aforementioned reference to the folk melody. The final measures are chosen in order to identify any modification in harmonic language, in comparison with the first presentation of the same material.

Taking into account the analytical requirements, the following analyses are based on the study of Allen Forte presented in the monograph-article entitled “Pitch-Class Set Genera and the Origin of Modern Harmonic Species” (Forte 1988, 187–270), which gives an objective frame of reference for harmonic materials, and provides an analysis tool which leads to a characterization of harmonic species in 20th century musical compositions according to twelve genera. Genera are formed according to certain rules, and they are based on one or two trichords, which are called progenitors.³ The first step for the analysis with genera is to complete a matrix, which is an overview of the sets distributed over the genera (the “complete matrix”). Next, in order to find the relative strength of every genus represented in the matrix, the analyst calculates the Status Quotient (S-Quo) (Forte *Ibid.*, 232) of each one, a real number that classifies genera in an index. The final step is to complete the “reduced matrix” after the application of the “rules for the interpretation of generic relations” (Forte *Ibid.*, 234). Each pitch-class set is assigned to only one genus and this final matrix describes the generic structure of a particular composition or a passage analyzed. In the following analyses we will try to show the way in which the generic elements that comprise the harmonic species change as the work unfolds.

³ Progenitor(s) is the trichord or the trichords which are contained in every member of the genus. Each member of the genus, as well as its complement, is a superset of the progenitor and, as a result, the progenitor is the basis for every genus (see, Forte 1988, 190–192).

To start with, according to the author's segmentation, the pitch-class set vocabulary of the passage (m. 1–9) consists of: three trichords, nine tetrachords, four pentachords and eighteen hexachords. This is a considerably large amount of pitch-class sets, but it seems to clearly reflect the variety that characterizes the initial material, which is anyway set in transformational and developing variational processes in both the first *Allegro giusto* and the final part of the concerto (*Allegro*). In fact, the pitch-class set content of the first measures of the work is representative of a large part of the concerto, due to the repetition of pitch-class sets in the following measures (m. 10–76) of the *Allegro giusto*, and partly those of the final *Allegro*.

Figure 2: Allegro giusto – m. 1–9

The pitch-class sets which comprise the set vocabulary of the passage (see I in this paper) are now distributed over the genera, forming as a result the following matrix:⁴

⁴ The intervallic content of pitch-class sets is the fundamental basis of the genera. According to the rules for genus formation, any set is reflected by its complement in the same genus; for example, for the pitch-class set 6-z36 the representative on the matrix is the set 6-z3.

4-10							x					
4-14										x		
4-z15	x	x										
4-17									x			
4-18	x		x						x			
4-23											x	
4-28			x									
4-z29	x	x										
5-2					x	x	x	x				
5-15	x											
5-26		x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x		x
5-28	x	x	x			x						x
6-1					x	x	x	x				
6-z3	x	x	x		x	x	x	x				
6-5	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x		
6-9	x	x			x	x	x	x		x	x	x
6-z10	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x		x
6-z12	x	x	x		x	x	x				x	x
6-z13	x	x	x			x	x		x			
6-14				x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
6-z19	x	x	x	x				x	x	x		
6-20				x				x	x	x		
6-21	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x
6-z25	x	x	x				x			x	x	x
6-z26	x	x								x	x	x
6-z28	x	x	x			x			x			x
6-31	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x
6-32							x			x	x	x
6-33	x	x					x			x		x
6-34	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x
34	20	18	15	7	9	16	17	15	15	16	9	15

Table 1: Distribution over the Genera.

From this first distribution over the genera, we can notice that genera G1 (atonal) and G2 (whole-tone), which belong to the hybrid atonal Supragenus I, have the greatest number of pitch-class sets included. However, these genera will not necessarily be prominent in the reduced matrix. Another early remark is that there are relatively many pitch-class sets attached to only one genus (singletons)⁵. For example, 3-5 and 5-15 are only attached to G1. The same happens with pitch-class sets 4-10 and 4-23 in G7 (chroma-dia) and G11 (dia) correspondingly. These singletons will eventually cause the engagement of these genera in the reduced matrix, regardless of their Squos.

III. Status quotients and rules for the interpretation of generic relations (m. 1-9)

The next step for the analysis is to calculate the Squos for every genus in this particular matrix, in order to find out the relative strength of each of them. These are the Squo indices in descending order:

.114: G10 (atonal-tonal)
.111: G7 (chroma-dia)
107: G8, G9 (atonal, atonal-tonal)
.104: G6 (semichroma)
.102: G3, G4 (diminished, augmented)
.098: G12 (dia-tonal)
.093: G1 (atonal)
.091: G5, G11 (chroma, dia)
.082: G2 (whole-tone)

Table 2: Squo indices in descending order.

The first observation in this Squo index is that differences between relative strengths are relatively slight. Additionally, the table includes two couples of genera with the same Squo. These two aforementioned factors will probably lead to the engagement of a large number of genera in order to define this specific harmonic species. However, the Squo indices finally show

⁵ Singleton is a pitch-class set that is attached to only one genus. There is also a related rule for the interpretation of generic relations: the “4. Rule of Singleton Extension”, according to which the existence of a singleton can cause the engagement of one genus in its entirety.

the prominence of Genus 10 (atonal-tonal) and the minor relative strength of Genus 2, which in the initial matrix had many representatives. Accordingly, minor relative strength has Genus 1, which had the most sets attached.

The next step for the analysis of generic relations is to assign each pitch-class set to only one genus according to the rules for the interpretation of generic relations. The atonal-tonal Genus 10 will retain all the pitch-class sets of the first matrix according to Rule 1 (*Rule of the greatest status quotient*). Additionally, applying Rule 2 (*Rule of intersection*, Forte 1988, 234), Genus 4 (augmented) is omitted from the reduced matrix because it is a proper subset of Genus 8 (atonal), which has a greater Squo. Accordingly, Genus 5 (chroma) is omitted as a proper subset of Genus 6 (chroma-dia). In the latter case, the two genera involved have a low value of Difquo (Forte *ibid.*, 223), which means that Genus 5 is not very different from Genus 6. Additionally, these two genera belong to the same Supragenus II (*ibid.*, 224–229). This is not the case for Genera 4 and 8, which have greater difference and belong to different Supragenera.

IV. The reduced matrix representation – remarks on the harmonic species of the 1st passage

Applying all five rules, the genera at the final reduced matrix are: G1, G3, G6, G7, G8, G9, G10 and G11.

	G1	G3	G6	G7	G8	G9	G10	G11
3-3					x			
3-5	x							
3-11							x	
4-4					x			
4-10				x				
4-14							x	
4-z15	x							
4-17						x		
4-18						x		
4-23								x
4-28		x						
4-z29	x							
5-2				x				

5-15	x							
5-26							x	
5-28			x					
6-1				x				
6-z3				x				
6-5							x	
6-9							x	
6-z10							x	
6-z12				x				
6-z13				x				
6-14							x	
6-z19							x	
6-20							x	
6-21							x	
6-z25							x	
6-z26							x	
6-z28						x		
6-31							x	
6-32							x	
6-33							x	
6-34							x	
Total	4	1	1	6	1	3	16	1

Table 3: Reduced matrix of generic relations.

This is the final reduced generic matrix, which proves that the outstanding feature of this harmonic species is provided by Genus 10 (atonal-tonal), the progenitors of which are the trichords 3-4 and 3-11. The obvious predominance of G10 constituents is noteworthy in view of the large number of pitch-class sets in this passage. At the same time, a kind of generic diversity is created by other genera of the reduced matrix. In fact, the particular harmonic species of this passage is quite unusual because it is based on a large number of genera. Also, it is noteworthy that these genera included in this matrix introduce almost every Supragenus [G8, G9 and G10 constitute the Supragenus III (atonal-tonal), G1 and G3 belong to Supragenus I (hybrid atonal), G5 and G6 constitute the Supragenus II (chromatic), G11 belong to the

Supragenus IV(diatonic-tonal)], making the final conclusion about harmony even more complicated. However, the total number of representatives in each genus gives a clear view of harmony which can finally be characterized as atonal (G10 and G1), with some chroma-dia (G7) elements.

Although someone would expect that diatonic genera, such as G11 (dia) and G12 (dia-tonal), would have a greater number of representatives, considering the referential character of the initial melody, the diatonic-like pitch-structures, and the pitch-centric events of the musical surface, it becomes obvious that every such element of the musical surface of this passage serves as a diversity factor, and diatonicism is assimilated to the atonal harmony, which is achieved through the multiple layers of the musical surface.

V. The generic analysis of the final measures

The material of this section (analyzed above) is also used at the final measures of the concerto in a different context, in terms of texture and formal function. The initial thematic material is presented in this closing section transformed with motivization, in a dense texture which includes both soloistic instruments and the orchestra. The segmentation of the section gives a smaller number of pitch-class sets, in comparison with the first section.

Violin

Piano

Viola

The musical score for measures 239-249 features a Violin and Piano. The Violin part includes measures 244-249 with annotations such as 4-23, 4-27, 6-z10, 6-34, 4-14, 6-32, 7-25, 3-3, and 3-7. The Piano part includes measures 244-249 with annotations such as 4-z15, 6-z42, 3-8, 3-11, 6-5, 7-25, 4-14, 5-11, and 4-23. Dynamic markings include *ff*, *p*, *mp*, *f*, *pp*, and *pizz.*

Figure 3: Segmentation of m. 239–249.

In order to proceed with the generic analysis of this passage, the following hybrid matrix⁶ includes all previously presented steps of the analysis: the grey columns of the matrix indicate the columns of the reduced matrix and representatives with bold and capital X are the final representatives of each genus. All other x-marked cells indicate the initial distribution in the complete matrix and Squos are written at the bottom of the matrix between total numbers of representatives before and after (accordingly up and down) the application of the rules for the interpretation of generic relations.

	G1	G2	G3	G4	G5	G6	G7	G8	G9	G10	G11	G12
3-3						x		x	X			
3-7							x				X	x
3-8		X										
3-9											X	
3-11									x	X		
4-2					x	X						
4-14										X		
4-z15	x	X										

⁶ The type of hybrid matrix introduced here has not been used before either by A. Forte or by other analysts. However, it appears to be appropriate for the analytic purpose of this paper.

4-23											X	
4-27		x	X									x
5-6	x	X						x				
5-25	x	x	X				x					x
6-5	x	x	X	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		
6-z6	x	X										
6-z10	x	x	X		x	x	x	x	x	x		x
6-z12	x	x	x		x	x					X	x
6-z13	x	x	X			x	x		x			
6-z17	x	x	X			x			x	x		x
6-18	x	x	x				x	x	x	x	X	x
6-z24	x	x	x			x	x	x	x	x	X	x
6-z25	x	x	x				x			x	X	x
6-32							x			x	X	x
22	12	14	10	1	4	8	9	6	8	9	8	10
SQuo	.086	.099	.105	.022	.062	.080	.090	.066	.088	.099	.125	.101
		4	6			1			1	2	8	

Table 4: Matrix of generic relations.

The generic structure of this passage is significantly different from the previous one, not only because of the smaller number of sets included, but also regarding the components of the harmonic species. Genus 11, the “dia” Genus, with the tetrachord 4-23 as a singleton is the prominent feature in terms of genera, meaning that diatonicism which previously had a secondary role, now becomes significant. The progenitors of G11 are the trichords 3-7 and 3-9, which (together with the singleton 4-23) are outstanding and repeating sets of the musical surface in m. 239–249. Besides, the diatonic character is now being experienced by the listener because of certain elements of musical texture discussed previously. These elements are also emphasized by the composer through articulation. What is interesting about the comparison of these two matrices (Tables 3 and 4) is that Genus 10 (atonal-tonal), which in the first passage has such a great number of indices, in the second passage hardly gets into the final reduced matrix with the pitch class set 4-14, which is a singleton, and the trichord 3-11 which is presented only once. Similarly, G7 (chroma-dia) and G8 (atonal) are not at all included in the second matrix. The same happens with Genus 1, the atonal genus, which was relatively significant at the first matrix. In contrast, the number of Genera 2 and 3 constituents (whole-

tone and diminished respectively) is noteworthy, a circumstance which is based on chordal elements of the musical surface, and finally results in generic diversity. In fact, these two genera belong to the atonal Supragenus I, but they are not characterized as atonal genera. The clearly atonal genus is omitted from this matrix, and this is due to the tonal character of this specific harmonic species.

Finally, it becomes obvious that this harmonic species combines very different components in a compact way. Specifically, in terms of supragenera, the Supragenus IV, which is the one that diatonic tonal harmonies fall into, is combined with genera from Supragenus I primarily, and Supragenera II and III with fewer components. Diatonicism is thus combined with atonal harmonies and the previously significant clearly atonal genera are almost omitted. Additionally, comparing all genera included in the reduced matrix in terms of Difquo, couples of genera with relatively great difference occur, as G11–G3, G11–G6, G11–G9, and G11–G2. Through this comparison the genus with the greatest significance in the matrix (G11) is combined with genera that are very different to it. This is the feature that makes this harmonic species unique and also gives an objective explanation for this diversity that characterizes the pitch content of the musical surface of the passage.

Conclusion

Through the previously analyzed passages we realize the gradual harmonic transformation of the thematic material and draw conclusions about the characteristics of the harmonic species. The developing variational processes are those according to which all thematic elements are structured. At the same time, Skalkottas seems to be using the tools of tonal music in order to organize the atonal environment and this is a matter of compositional choice not only regarding the compositional technique, but also the harmonic structure of the work. Motives that occur during formal processes are being developed according to counterpoint rules – and are used liberally in terms of serial structure. The main theme may have Greek folk origin, but this characteristic has nothing to do with the motivic development thereafter or with the tonal or diatonic elements of the harmonic species. In fact, as can be understood from the analysis, diatonic elements have a significant function in the harmonic structure from the first measure of the work. But on the level of aural perception, through a) the lack of tonal hierarchy, b) the multiplicity of musical layers which exist simultaneously at the musical surface and c) the general atonal context, Skalkottas seems to be playing with the listener's expectations until the final section of the work and more specifically the last notes of the concerto. In terms of harmonic species, the initially clear predominance of the atonal-tonal genus G10 (with 16 representatives) is gradually diminished, and the outstanding feature of the final measure's

harmonic species is provided by the “dia” genus G11, among other constituents. The first clearly atonal statement, as the presentation of the material can be characterized, is gradually transformed to an environment in which diatonic elements take on a significant role, which is confirmed by the final notes of the piece.

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A New Critical Edition of Skalkottas's *Konzert für Violine und Orchester*

Eva Mantzourani

Nikos Skalkottas's *Konzert für Violine und Orchester*, known as Violin Concerto, in three movements (*Molto appassionato*, *Andante spirito*, *Allegro vivo vivacissimo*) belongs to the cluster of large-scale concertos written in the late 1930s. The surviving autograph scores are undated, although in the Archive Catalogue, compiled by John G. Papaioannou (1969), it is dated 1937/38. However, considering the version of the dodecaphonic technique that Skalkottas explores in the concerto, it seems likely that he composed it sometime in 1938, after the Second Piano Concerto and before the Third Piano Concerto.¹

In 2011 I went to Vienna to discuss with the directors of Universal Edition (UE) the possibility of producing the Nikos Skalkottas Critical Edition (NSCE), starting with those works for which UE owned the copyright. The aim of such an editing project was to provide a comprehensive record of Skalkottas's oeuvre, and to publish his works as authoritative performance texts, based on a meticulous study of all known sources and prepared in accordance with modern editorial and text-critical principles.

It was decided that we would start with a major orchestral work, the Violin Concerto, which was first published by UE in 1964. Similar to the other early published works, it contained several copyists' and engravers' errors, misreadings of the sources, and a liberal amount of unattributed interpretative performance instructions that were not Skalkottas's own.

Following several on-again, off-again attempts, the new edition of the concerto was eventually completed in 2019. It was given its world premiere on 8 November that year by the Athens State Orchestra, conducted by Ektoras Tartanis and with Ionian Ilias

¹ For a detailed discussion on the Violin Concerto's composition date, see Mantzourani (2011/2016, 282–287).

Kadesha playing the solo violin. This study presents the editorial decisions taken in the production of this new critical edition of Skalkottas's Violin Concerto.

The Art of Editing

As James Grier (1996) argues, "editing is the art of interpretation", as it "consists of a series of choices, educated, critically informed choices", as well as "the interaction between the authority of the composer, as transmitted in the sources, and the authority of the editor in the course of evaluating and interpreting those sources." (Grier 1996, 2–3). However, the authority of the composer can be "affected and limited by the social, political and economic institutions through which those sources are produced and disseminated." (:3). And here I would expand this argument, to include the effect these institutions have on the editor's authority; a point I will discuss further below.

In preparing an edition, an editor has to make numerous decisions, based on their critical perception of the work and its text. The editor's critical attitude towards the subject of their edition is based on an intimate knowledge of the piece, its style and its historical context (:180). The editor not only evaluates the sources, but they also exert their own authority by forming judgments about what these sources transmit. And in some cases, they must question the accuracy of a particular reading that is recorded in a source or sources.

Consequently, as Grier observes, "editing comprises a balance between these two authorities" (:3). However, the exact balance between the composer and the editor present in an edition is the direct product of the editor's critical engagement with the piece and its sources. When editors attempt to adopt an attitude of objectivity towards diverse source materials, Grier suggests that they can follow one of two approaches (:180):

- 1) They can merely represent all the ambiguous evidence and let the user decide. This course of action, however, constitutes dereliction of duty because such an edition does not help the user untangle the complex issues involved in understanding a piece of music, whether for the purpose of editing, performing or scholarly appraisal.

- 2) They attempt to resolve with finality every question. This course could also be counterproductive, as it may lead to the misrepresentation of evidence that is genuinely ambiguous, or it could not permit definitive interpretation.

Furthermore, many music editors express a reluctance to address the issue of their own authority, and some actively suppress it in their editions. One way to do so is not being transparent with their editorial choices when it comes to correcting errors and other editorial interventions (:7). For example, as is well documented, with interpretative or performing editions, particularly those produced during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, which include editorial performing instructions, the main problem lies not in the addition of such instructions, but that the performer/editor makes little effort to ensure that the printed text is faithful to the testimony of the sources_(:152).² And, I believe, this is exactly what has happened in the first, 1964 edition of Skalkottas's Violin Concerto, in which there is no indication anywhere of the editor's name. Furthermore, the score is inundated with performance instructions and dynamics,³ and there is no indication of the editorial interventions, or an accompanying Critical Commentary to explain the editorial decisions taken in this edition.

Publication history of the Violin Concerto's first edition (1964)

The editorial and publishing process of Skalkottas's Violin Concerto started in the mid-/late 1950s, and the piece was first published by Universal Edition (Vienna) in 1964 – 15 years after Skalkottas's death. Table 1 shows schematically the timeline for the concerto's publication process and first performances.

² Nonetheless, such interpretative editions are invaluable as they often record aspects of the performing style of important performers and constitute repositories of information about the performance and interpretation of the work.

³ These performance instructions and dynamics, I believe, alter Skalkottas's style and the sound he was striving to achieve in his dodecaphonic works. As he wrote in the manuscript "Notes to the First Symphonic Suite" (1935), "the appearance of the score is mainly transparent, its sound coming from a new world, another sphere".

1959–1960	Editing by Walter Goehr; UE editorial team, Vienna; John G. Papaioannou
Dec 1960	Engraved full score by A. Petrakides (Athens)
1962?	‘World premiere’ of the Violin Concerto: Orchestre de la Suisse – Romande (Geneva), George Barati (conductor), Lorand Fenyves (solo violin)
1962	First recorded performance: NDR–Sinfonieorchester (Hamburg, 14 May 1962), Michael Gielen (conductor), Tibor Varga (solo violin)
1964	First edition of the Violin Concerto was published by Universal Edition (London)

Table 1: Publication history of the first edition of Skalkottas’s Violin Concerto

In the surviving correspondence between John G. Papaioannou (who was instrumental in promoting Skalkottas’s music) and Dr. Alfred Kalmus (the Director of the London branch of Universal

Edition), there are references to the Violin Concerto from 1954 onwards.⁴ Although UE was interested in publishing it, due to the piece’s difficulty they delayed the editing process until the late 1950s. The editing was done primarily by the composer Walter Goehr (who facilitated the publication of a handful of Skalkottas’s works in the 1950s and was heading the editorial team at UE in Vienna), perhaps together with John G. Papaioannou, who had the final say. The latter was involved at all stages of the production and was responsible for correcting the proofs. Papaioannou had hired the young Greek composer Theodore Antoniou to correct any mistakes made by the copyist. According to Antoniou, “Goehr wrote several letters with suggestions and corrections, mostly simplifying difficult passages, most of which, however, were unnecessary [... while] the corrections for the strings especially were very wrong”.⁵ However, Antoniou, who was still a student at the time, did not feel comfortable challenging Goehr or Papaioannou, so he didn’t say anything.

⁴ Correspondence about the piece continued throughout 1961 and early 1962. The correspondence between John G. Papaioannou and Alfred Kalmus (though incomplete) is included in the Skalkottas Archive, currently kept in the Music Library of Greece “Lilian Voudouri” in Athens.

⁵ Personal communication with T. Antoniou.

Production record material at the Universal Edition Historical Archive in Vienna indicates that a few days after Walter Goehr's death on 4 December 1960, UE had received the engraved score of the Violin Concerto. Example 1 shows this 1960 engraved score of the concerto.

Example 1: Skalkottas, Violin Concerto – First and last pages of the 1960 engraved score by A. Petrakides.

The engraving was done in Athens by A. Petrakides.⁶ The production record card at the UE Historical Archive shows several freelance, copyeditors working on the Petrakides score,⁷ and from the surviving correspondence it can be assumed that Papaioannou was involved in the final editing and checking of the proofs. Also, the Papaioannou–Kalmus correspondence from 1959–1960 reveals that the edited material (based on the Greek engraving of the score) was produced in a hurry in order to be sent to the violinist Isaac Stern, who expressed an interest in performing the concerto. Stern did not ultimately perform it, and the material was used for the ‘world premiere’ of Skalkottas’s Violin

⁶ In the bottom right-hand corner of the last page there is the signature, in French: “Exec. graphique: A. Petrakides, Athenes”. This engraved score is in the Universal Edition Historical Archive in Vienna.

⁷ This full score (UE–0) is marked with “corrections by Schonberg und Becker”. The production record card includes the following names: Herr Durr, Herr Schonberg and Herr Becker, Herr Hartzell, and Herr Kramer. According to Katja Kaiser of the Editorial Department/Historical Archive at UE, “these people were freelancers and Mr. Karlheinz Fussl was the responsible UE-editor” (personal communication). I take the latter to mean ‘copy editor’, since the editing of the Concerto from the primary sources was done by Walter Goehr.

Concerto, sometime in 1962 by the Orchestre de la Suisse-Romande (Geneva), conducted by George Barati, with Lorand Fenyves playing the solo violin.⁸ It was also used for the first recorded performance of the piece, which took place in Hamburg on 14 May 1962. It was played by the NDR–Sinfonieorchester (Hamburg), conducted by Michael Gielen, with Tibor Varga playing the solo violin.⁹

Two years later, in 1964, the official first edition of the Violin Concerto was published by Universal Edition (London). The original, engraved score, produced in Athens, was used uncorrected with a title and a plate number added, but without the editor's name or the original engraver's signature.

New Critical Edition of the *Konzert für Violine und Orchester* (UE 2020)

The purpose of a critical edition is simply to transmit the text that best represents the historical evidence of the various sources (Grier 1996, 156). The evidence, however, is open to interpretation, so it is very likely that two editors will produce two different editions of the same work. In that respect, editing is analogous to performance. Margaret Bent (1986, 5) presents a position that characterizes my own approach to editing: "*Making a good edition is an act of criticism that engages centrally with the musical material at all levels, large and small*".

In this new edition of Skalkottas's Violin Concerto, published by Universal Edition (Vienna), with the title *Konzert für Violine und Orchester*, my aim as the editor has been to provide an authoritative performance text, prepared in accordance with modern editorial and text-critical principles. In this endeavour I received generous training and mentoring by UE's Director of Editing, Heinz Stolba; by the engraver, editor and

⁸ According to an entry in the conductor-composer George Barati's papers, which document his recordings, concert appearances and photographs, in '1962?' (with a question mark) he conducted the Orchestre de la Suisse-Romande (Geneva) in the 'world premiere' of Skalkottas's Violin Concerto, with Lorand Fenyves playing the solo violin. A 7" reel tape recording of the performance signed by Lorand Fenyves is in the Barati collection; see, GEORGE BARATI Papers, MS 94 (1913–1996).

Other early performances of the Violin Concerto include the first UK performance, on 16 November 1963, by the BBC Symphony Orchestra conducted by Antal Dorati with Lorand Fenyves playing the solo violin part. In 1966 Fenyves also made a studio recording with the CBC Festival Orchestra conducted by Antal Dorati, for a Canadian radio broadcast. The first commercial CD recording of the Concerto was released by BIS records in 1998 (BIS CD-904), with Georgios Demertzis playing the solo violin and Nikos Christodoulou conducting the Malmö Symphony Orchestra.

⁹ The performance is available on YouTube: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mNqpNgfunF8>

composer Helmut Schmidinger; and the UE's editors of Mahler works the musicologists Thomas Stark and Renate Stark-Voit.

However, as I have already intimated above, in the editing process, the authority of the editor is affected and limited by the economic institutions through which the sources are produced and disseminated.¹⁰ For example, in Skalkottas's case, the choice of the piece and the type of edition I wanted to produce, was influenced considerably by protracted negotiations between myself (the editor), and the publisher (the institution), who had the leverage of its support behind the project. My intention was to produce a pure, historico-critical edition, based on academic standards and theoretical frameworks. The publisher – that is, the Heads of Editing, Marketing and Promotions – wanted a commercially-viable, performing edition, with some supplementary Critical Notes to justify the title 'Critical'. They were not willing to publish a score that would stay in a library and be relevant perhaps only to theorists and musicologists. And, quite rightly, their valid argument was that the performers need to know what to play, not what is in the sources, or what the editor has decided to include in the score. The place for this information is the Critical Apparatus. In a Critical Edition, the Apparatus¹¹ constitutes a commentary on the printed text (Feder 1987, 140–151). Its primary purpose is to report those readings that affected the editor's deliberations on the final reading chosen for the printed text (Grier 1996, 173).

¹⁰ Among other consequences, certain decisions taken by the publisher might have an unintendedly negative effect on the editor's reputation. For example, in 1954, UE did not send the final proofs of 'Andante sostenuto' (from the Third Piano Concerto) to either Papaioannou or Goehr for the final check, thus printing the pocket score with several mistakes, and attributing the editing to Goehr, who was "surprised to see his name on the score as having revised the work" (Kalmus, letter to Papaioannou, 26 November 1954. The letter is kept in the Music Library of Greece "Lilian Voudouri").

¹¹ There are two possible positions for the Apparatus: either at the bottom of the page, as is customary in literature, or after the printed text, preferably in a separate volume (Grier 1996, 172). In the present edition of Skalkottas's Violin Concerto I prefer the latter arrangement for several reasons. It preserves a clean page, it minimizes page-turns, and allows the edition to function in photo-reproduction as the base text for other editions.

The new, critical edition of Skalkottas's Violin Concerto (*Konzert für Violine und Orchester* (UE 2020)), consists of the following items:

- 1) A Critical Edition of the full orchestral score, indicating all editorial interventions, together with a Critical Commentary and Textual Notes. This is being published both as a conducting score, and as a study score.
- 2) A performing version of the instrumental parts, with no indication of editorial intervention.
- 3) A Piano reduction with the Solo Violin part.

The presentation of the critical edition

In this edition, I abide by the idea that “the text of any critical edition is the editor's text” (Grier 1996, 169). Following scholarly editorial principles, I have made every effort to determine, on a critical and historical basis, what Skalkottas's text is; but that determination is irrevocably intertwined with my interpretation of the text in the various sources.

The first priority for a critical edition is clarity in the presentation of information to the user, including the editor's policies and procedures and the consistent application of their notification system. It is the responsibility of the editor to present disparate elements (such as pitch, rhythm, metre, instrumentation, tempo, dynamics, articulation, bowing, pedalling, registration, breathing, literary text), in such a way that the users can immediately comprehend and coordinate them (Grier, 156). In the new critical edition of Skalkottas's Violin Concerto the musical text and the Apparatus appear as follows:

Preface and Introduction

It establishes the aim of the critical edition, the historical context of the piece, and the publication history of the first edition.

The musical text – Orchestral score

The full score includes all editorial additions, indicated within square brackets [] (see Example 2). Apart from the orchestral score, there are also performing material, such

as the solo violin and the orchestral parts. The performers play from a clean text; if they want to find out about the sources, variant readings and whether the performance indications are Skalkottas's own or editorial additions, they can refer to the scholarly presentation of the full score and the accompanying commentary.

Konzert für Violine und Orchester

I. Satz

Nikos Skalkottas
(1904–1949)

Molto appassionato [♩ = 90–100–110]

1. 2. Flöte

1. 2. Oboe

1. 2. Klarinette in B

1. 2. Fagott

Kontrafagott

1. 2. Horn in F

1. 2. Trompete in C

1. 2. Posaune

Basstuba

Pauken

Schlagzeug

Molto appassionato [♩ = 90–100–110]

SOLO-VIOLINE

Violinen I

Violinen II

Bratschen

Violoncelli

Kontrabässe

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Example 2: Skalkottas, Violin Concerto – First page of the orchestral score with editorial additions.

The musical text (score) – Piano Reduction with the Solo Violin part

The Piano Reduction with Solo Violin follows Skalkottas's own reduction, which is a short score. Usually, in preparing a piano reduction, the editor needs to exhibit a light touch and capture the essence of the orchestral part without incorporating all its details, to

make the reduction playable (Grier 1996, 177). However, here, due to the dodecaphonic texture and polyphonic nature of the piece, none of the voices has been omitted nor any recomposition of the piece has taken place, which admittedly, makes the performance challenging, as for example, in bs. 60–63 of the first movement (see Example 3).



Example 3: Skalkottas, Violin Concerto – Piano Reduction with the Solo Violin part, bs. 52–63.

Critical Commentary

The Critical Commentary includes the description and evaluation of both primary and secondary sources, and a discussion of their classification and use.

A. Primary sources – Autograph scores

The principal sources for this new edition of Skalkottas’s Violin Concerto, each identified with the *siglum* (Aut), are: Aut–A, Aut–B1, Aut–B2 and Aut–C.

i) **Aut–A: Autograph full orchestral score** (Partitur, undated): Skalkottas Archive, presently housed at the Music Library of Greece “Lilian Voudouri” – The Friends of Music Society, in Athens. It is included in the “Nikos Skalkottas Archive/Marika

Papaioannou and Aimilios Xourmouzos Foundation". The original sources for the Violin Concerto are included in the file with number 2029.

ii) Aut–B1: Autograph draft of the short score (piano reduction with solo violin, undated): Skalkottas Archive, Athens.

iii) Aut–B2: Autograph fair copy of the short score (piano reduction with solo violin, undated): Universal Edition Archive, Vienna.

iv) Aut–C: Autograph fair copy of the solo violin part (undated): Skalkottas Archive, Athens.

B. Secondary sources

i) UE–0: 'Working' copy of the original Greek engraving of the full orchestral score with editorial corrections – Universal Edition (undated); plate number hand-written on the first page only: U.E. 13 269LW.

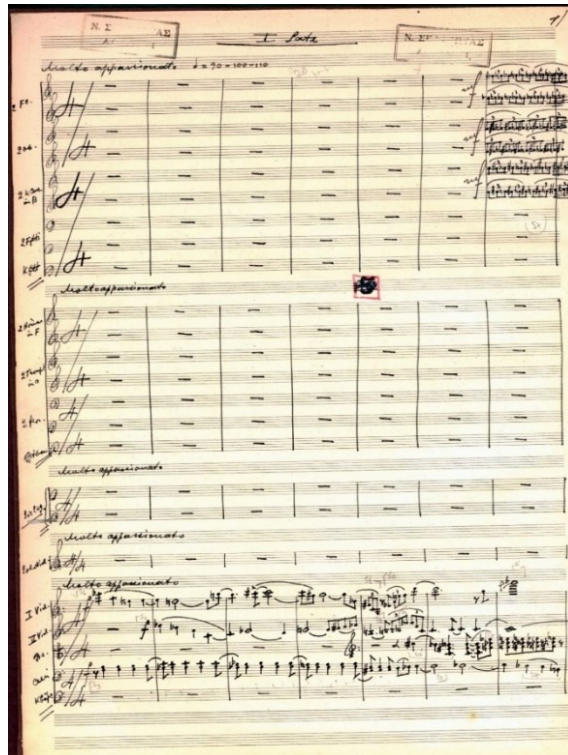
ii) UE–1: Full orchestral score (Partitur) of the first edition – Universal Edition (1964); plate number: UE 13 269LW.

iii) UE–M/Solo-VI.: Manuscript copy by an unknown copyist of the solo violin part of the first edition – Universal Edition (London) (1964); plate number: UE 35 152.

iv) UE–1/[part]: Set of orchestral parts of the first edition (for example, UE–1/Fl) – Universal Edition (1964); plate number: UE 13 270LW (partly engraved, partly handwritten).

Description of the sources

i) Aut–A: Autograph of the full orchestral score. In the Skalkottas Archive Catalogue this has been given the catalogue number A/K22.1 (See Example 4).



Example 4: Aut-A: Autograph of the full orchestral score, A/K22.1., p.1.

Throughout, Skalkottas writes each instrument on its own staff, which remains empty during rests; he also leaves one staff empty between each instrumental family. The music is written in two different inks: dark black and lighter grey/black. All *p* and *pp* dynamics are written in a different penscript from the rest of the letters and the text, and they, together with several other dynamics and performance instructions (such as *f*, *mf*, *dim*, *cresc.*, *>*) have been added, in a different faint pen, subsequent to the writing of the notes. There are occasional metronome additions and other markings in lead pencil, not in Skalkottas's hand. Skalkottas indicates the bar numbering at five-bar intervals on an empty staff between the woodwind and brass. In all autograph sources these numbers have been framed (either by squares or circles) in red pencil. It is very unlikely that Skalkottas himself drew the red frames around the bar numbers, given the fact that following a mistake in the bar numbering of the third movement (from bar 105 onwards), the bars have been crossed out and new numbers, not in Skalkottas's hand, have been written in the same red pen. It is likely that either a conductor or the editor of the first edition made these corrections and additions.

ii) **Aut-B1**: Autograph draft of the short score (piano reduction with solo violin). In the Skalkottas Archive Catalogue the manuscript number has been allocated as b3 (see Example 5).

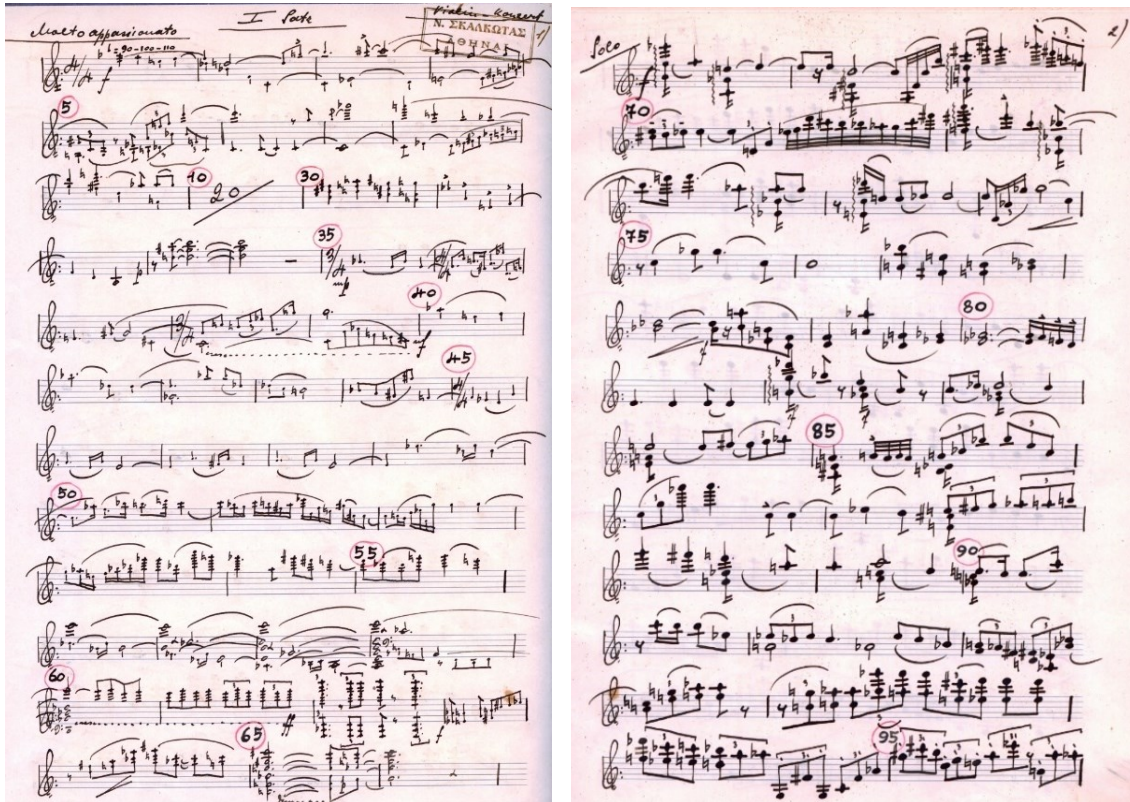


Example 5: Aut-B1: Autograph draft of the short score (piano reduction with solo violin), p.1.

This is clearly an early version of the short score, written casually, with several corrections and deletions of notes, additions of gestures and voices, but without any marking of the instrumentation, apart from the occasional indication for Timpani and *Tutti*. The handwriting is uniform and representative of Skalkottas's thin, oblique penscript, though casually written, suggesting that he was writing fast and making corrections and deletions in the process. The music is written predominantly in one dark ink. The piano part is written out on three staves, distinctly outlining the different voices of the orchestral polyphonic structure, largely through the direction of the stems. The solo violin part is written below the three piano staves. There are very few dynamic and other performance indications; those that are found are written in the same ink as the surrounding notes, further emphasizing the early compositional stage of this short score.

the voice-leading of the different independent voices. The solo violin part is written above the piano staves.

iv) Aut–C: Autograph fair copy of the solo violin part (see Example 7).



Example 7: Aut–C: Autograph fair copy of the solo violin part, pp.1–2.

Similar to Aut–B2, the autograph score exhibits the two different versions of Skalkottas's handwriting style, but in reverse order: i) the notation of the piano cues and the dynamics are written in his delicate, calligraphic and oblique writing style; ii) the notation of the solo violin is written in his thicker, round style, similar to that used in the piano part of Aut–B2. All the *p*, *pp*, and some other dynamics and performance indications have been added in faint ink, and written in his thin, calligraphic, pointed handwriting.

[illegible]

Example 8: UE-0: 'Working' copy of the original Greek engraving of the full orchestral score, p.36

The plate number is hand-written on the first page only: U.E. 13 269LW (see Example 1). Neither the title of the piece nor the name of the composer appears in this version. The corrections, mainly wrong accidentals, clefs and rhythms, as well as missing or misplaced dynamics, have been made in red pencil. It is notable that none of these suggested corrections have been transferred to the final printed score (UE–1).

Evaluation of the autograph sources

Although there is no record to indicate the compositional chronology of these autograph scores, given the quality of the handwriting, the sketchy and incomplete nature of Aut–B1, and the care taken with the presentation of Aut–B2, it is likely that Aut–B1 was written before Aut–A, while Aut–B2 and Aut–C were written/copied together at a later stage as a performing version of the short score. There is no written record of the editor of the first edition. However, taking into consideration the initials W.G. on the front page of Aut–B2, and the statement provided by Theodore Antoniou that Walter Goehr was involved in the editing of the piece, it can be reasonably assumed that Walter Goehr (who facilitated the publication of a handful of Skalkottas’s works in the 1960s), was the editor of UE–0/UE–1. It is likely that he only used Aut–A as his principal source, as UE–0/UE–1 repeat the same variant notes and other performance indications of the Aut–A only. The unknown copyist of the solo violin part (UE–M/Solo–VI.) must have used Aut–B2 (and perhaps Aut–C) as his principal source, since this was the copy sent to UE during the publishing process of the first edition; there are several identical variant readings of notes and/or dynamics and other performance indications between the two sources, which are different from Aut–A and even Aut–B1. The editor of UE–0/UE–1 did not appear to standardize the readings between the full orchestral score and the solo violin part. For this reason, neither UE–1 nor UE–M/Solo–VI. have been considered primary sources for this edition. However, I have consulted them, and I have noted in the Textual Notes their variant readings, or printing errors. The orchestral parts (UE–1/[part]) have not been considered of primary importance in this edition, and they are only mentioned if there is a discrepancy between UE–1 and the relevant instrumental part.

Editorial practice

The Editorial Practice section presents the editorial method used in this edition and its justification (see Example 9). This section deals with the notation, placement of dynamics and other agogic indications, accidentals, triplet markings, notation for the timpani, unison and divisi. Historical inquiry was part of the editorial process, and I used my knowledge of Skalkottas’s historical position derived from my extensive work on the composer. Similarly, critical and contextual evaluation and in-depth analysis of the musical text emanated from my work on Skalkottas’s dodecaphonic music.

Editorial practice

For this edition all sources have been examined comparatively and all variant readings have been noted in the Textual Notes. Variant notes occasionally appear in Aut-A; in CE these have only been changed when Aut-B1, Aut-B2 and Aut-C have unanimously provided a different reading, and/or by analogy with parallel passages (either exact or transposed) elsewhere in the score. When all primary sources agree but there is a variant reading in UE-1, the latter is taken as an editorial intervention or engraving/printing error. Added performance indications in UE-1, either shown within round brackets or simply inserted in the text without any differentiation from Skalkottas's own, are only occasionally discussed in the Textual Notes, since these did not influence the present edition. Variant readings in notation and performance markings in the printed instrumental parts (UE-1/[part]), although considered in the preparation of this edition, are only noted to support the present editorial decision for a particular reading. In order to establish the best reading of certain notes/passages, apart from autograph source similarity and, where appropriate, passage repetition, Skalkottas's dodecaphonic technique has also been taken into consideration.

In the Textual Notes the following conventions are used: i) 'As in' is used when something is added, emended or omitted to correspond with the same place in another source. ii) 'By analogy with' is used when something has been added (particularly dynamics and other performance indications), emended or omitted by analogy with another passage in one or more of the autograph sources. The analogy may be vertical, in the sense that something has been added or emended by analogy with one or more instruments in the same place in the same bar(s); or it may be horizontal, in the sense that something has been added or emended by analogy with one or more bars in a parallel place in the same instrument(s).

The pitch names are given according to the Helmholtz system whereby c^1 designates middle C; for example, C_2 – B_2 – B_1 – C – c – c^1 – c^2 – c^3 – etc.

Notation

The musical texts have been edited to conform to Skalkottas's notation and intentions, which are best illustrated in his autographs. The general guideline in this CE edition is to retain, as much as possible, the composer's notational practice. However, a limited amount of modernization and standardization has been carried

out (in accordance with current practice), such as, stem directions; triplet and rest presentation; articulation marks; and adjustment of the page layout by: i) omitting empty staves for instruments that are silent for long passages; ii) when appropriate, writing on a single staff wind instruments originally notated on two staves; iii) presenting on a single line each unpitched percussion instruments notated as notes on staves in the autograph of the full orchestral score (as for example in bar 193 of the third movement).

With a few exceptions, the CE maintains Skalkottas's words and spelling, and the mixture of German and Italian terms as they appear in Aut-A, Aut-B1, Aut-B2 and Aut-C. Deviations from this principle include the following: i) in the spelling of the instruments, the German letter β (as in *Baßtuba* and *Kontrabäße*) has been changed to *ss* (*Basstuba*, *Kontrabässe*); ii) Skalkottas's indication *sans sordino* has been standardized to *senza sordino* (or *senza sord.*).

The CE follows Skalkottas in indicating the solo part as Solo Violin. The name 'Celli' has been standardized to Violoncelli and symbolised by the abbreviation Vc. Other instruments are designated by their German names, as given by Skalkottas in his autographs. The only exception is Timpani, which has been standardized to the German term *Pauken*, and symbolised by the abbreviation Pk. Transposing instruments have not been transposed to sounding pitch in the score.

Occasionally, Skalkottas writes wrong rhythms in certain instrumental parts. In CE these have been corrected. For example, in bars 296ff of the third movement, certain melodic lines of the orchestral texture have been written as two quaver duplets and a single crotchet per bar in a 6/8 rhythmic passage; these have been corrected to two quaver duplets and a dotted crotchet to fit with the tempo indication and the other contrapuntal voices within each bar.

All editorial additions such as dynamics, agogic and other performance instructions are presented within square brackets [] in the full orchestral score. Curved parentheses are by Skalkottas himself. All other editorial decisions, as well as changes that cannot be shown by the use of square brackets, are discussed in the Textual Notes and Editorial Additions. However, in the individual instrumental parts, which are intended for performance, in order to make the scores easily readable there is no distinction between Skalkottas's original markings and the editorial additions. If desired, the parts should be read in conjunction with the Critical Commentary and the Textual Notes.

Skalkottas's enharmonic notation has been retained, as this frequently exemplifies the harmonic structure, and/or the set content of a passage.

Skalkottas's notation of slurs has been retained in order to demonstrate his phrasing, voice-leading, and set or set-segment recognition. Editorial ties, legato slurs and phrase markings are indicated with broken slurs (.....).

Skalkottas writes grace notes as crossed-out quaver notes. In CE this notation has been retained.

Skalkottas always writes crotchet rests with the older symbol c . In CE all crotchet rests have been standardized to the modern symbol z . Furthermore, in passages with 6/8 rhythm, three consecutive quaver rests (v v v) have been standardized to one dotted crotchet rest (z).

Skalkottas generally uses horizontal accents (>). However, he is inconsistent with the positioning of these accents; sometimes he writes them at the notehead, other times at the beam. In CE all accents and other articulation marks have been standardised and, following modern engraving practices, are always written at the notehead.

Single note or segment repetitions indicated with the symbol X are written out fully.

Skalkottas indicates bar-numbering at five-bar intervals. In CE, for clarity and to comply with the publisher's standards, bar-numbering is indicated at the beginning of each system.

Skalkottas generally, but not exclusively, underlines text such as titles, tempo indication, performance indications (such as *tutti*, *arco*, *pizz.* – the latter only occasionally), instrumentation within the score (for clarification, such as *percussion*); but he does not underline dynamics. For clarity, in CE none of the words have been underlined.

Overall, if any standardization is judged as compromising the intentions manifested in Skalkottas's autograph sources, the composer's original notation is followed as closely as possible in this edition.

Placement of < and > and other dynamic/agogic instructions

Skalkottas writes all the dynamic indications (particularly *p*, *pp*, *mp*, *mf*, *f*, *ff*) before the notes – to the left of the note or instrumental family – and usually at the end of the previous bar. When doubling instruments are playing simultaneously Skalkottas always indicates all the *f*, *ff*, and most of the *p* and *pp* dynamics, with one large letter covering both staves, implying that they apply to both instruments. In such instances, each instrument has its own dynamic mark in CE, without any indication of editorial addition. All dynamics, including the

term *dolce*, have been standardized and written in italics below the staff.

Skalkottas is inconsistent with the use of < and > and other dynamic/agogic instructions (such as, *cresc.* and *dim.*). He occasionally writes them above or below only one or a few instruments of an instrumental group playing either in unison or chordally. Also, he is not always careful with the length of the signs. Their appearance and length may also vary between the autograph sources. In CE, for consistency, the length and placement of < and > have been standardized. When deciding their placement, the following considerations have been taken into account: i) musical shaping and phrasing, and vertical uniformity of such shaping in the entire instrumental family; ii) analogies with corresponding passages in the music, particularly between Exposition and Recapitulation sections; iii) Skalkottas's handwriting; a) some instrumental parts appearing to be written more carefully than others, with the differences between them seemingly unintentional; b) inexact placement being due to lack of space between staves; c) Skalkottas's manner of writing dynamic markings usually before the main note.

Accidentals

Skalkottas's notation of accidentals is inconsistent. Generally, in his dodecaphonic works, he does not follow the practice of writing an accidental in front of every note; therefore, notes that do not have an accidental are considered to be natural (♮). Occasionally, however, he writes notes with a natural sign in order to differentiate them from similar notes with a different accidental in other instrumental parts in the same or adjacent bars. In CE accidentals have been written only where indicated by Skalkottas in his autograph scores, and are taken literally; i.e., a note written without a $\text{\#}$ or $\text{\flat}$ accidental is considered to be natural. The points at which the notation of accidentals in CE differ from that of the autograph sources are noted in the Textual Notes. Individual instrumental parts have been written to fulfil modern orchestral practice.

Triplet markings

Skalkottas indicates triplets in four different ways: i) occasionally, only with the number 3 over three notes grouped together 3 ; ii) with a horizontal square bracket and the number 3, 3 , suggesting that the triplet should not necessarily be played legato; iii) with slurs on the triplets, 3 , meaning that the triplet should be played legato; iv) occasionally, with the slur over two of the triplet notes 3 . In CE the triplets have been

Textual Notes for each movement

The Textual Notes section presents the results of the comparative examination of all sources and records all variant readings in the Textual Notes (see Example 10). It indicates any substantive changes made through conjectural emendation by giving the sources' readings considered to be corrupt and in need of emendation (see Example 11). Also, where the sources disagree in giving readings of nearly equal merit from which one has been selected for the text, the source of that reading is indicated with the other reading or readings of nearly equal merit and their sources. In order to establish the best reading of certain notes/passages, apart from autograph source similarity and, where appropriate, passage repetition, Skalkottas's dodecaphonic technique has also been taken into consideration.

In the Textual Notes the following conventions have been used:

- i) 'As in' is used when something is added, emended or omitted to correspond with the same place in another source, as for example in the first movement, b.37, Fl.2.
- ii) 'By analogy with' is used when something has been added (particularly dynamics and other performance indications), emended or omitted by analogy with another passage in one or more of the autograph sources. The analogy may be vertical, in the sense that something has been added or emended by analogy with one or more instruments in the same place in the same bar(s); or it may be horizontal, in the sense that something has been added or emended by analogy with one or more bars in a parallel place in the same instrument(s).

First movement: *Molto appassionato*

Bar	Instrument	Place in bar	Sources	CE
1			Aut-A, Aut-B1, Aut-B2, Aut-C: Metronome marking $\text{♩} = 90-100-110$, not in Skalkottas's handwriting. UE-I: $\text{♩} = 90$, poi 100-110	[$\text{♩} = 90-100-110$] within editorial square brackets.
1-19			Aut-A: Handwritten sample 'serial' analysis, in faint pencil, not in Skalkottas's hand (probably by John G. Papaioannou).	No serial analysis indicated.
2	VL I	last quaver	Aut-B1, Aut-B2: > over $\text{b}\sharp^2$ Aut-A: no >	> over $\text{b}\sharp^2$
5	Br.	4 th crotchet	Aut-A, Aut-B1, Aut-B2: No v over $\text{c}\sharp^2$ UE-I, UE-I/Br.: v over $\text{c}\sharp^2$	No v over $\text{c}\sharp^2$
6	VL I	last quaver	UE-I: ♯ over g^2 Aut-A, Aut-B1, Aut-B2: No ♯	No ♯
7	VL I	1 st grace-note	UE-I: v over grace-note g^2 Aut-A, Aut-B1, Aut-B2: No v	No v
8	Br.	1 st crotchet	Aut-A, Aut-B1, Aut-B2: $\text{d}\sharp^2$ UE-I: $\text{d}\sharp^2$ (clear error)	$\text{d}\sharp^2$
9	Br.	6 th quaver	Aut-B1: $\text{e}\sharp^1$ Aut-A, Aut-B2: om. ♯ (it is implied).	$\text{e}\sharp^1$
16	Br.	1 st note	Aut-B1, Aut-B2: $\text{f}\sharp$ Aut-A: Add. ($\text{f}\sharp$) in faint pencil, in parenthesis; not in Skalkottas's handwriting (unattributed editorial intervention). UE-I: ($\text{f}\sharp$)	$\text{f}\sharp$
17-19		3 rd beat b. 17 to 1 st beat b. 19	Aut-B2: <i>dim...</i> dynamic Aut-A, Aut-B1: no <i>dim...</i> UE-I: (<i>mp</i>) in Fl. 1 and Fl. 2.	[<i>dim...</i>] in Fl. 1, Fl. 2.
20	Vc.		Aut-B2: <i>p</i> Aut-A, Aut-B1: No <i>mf</i> UE-I: (<i>p</i>)	[<i>p</i>]
22	VL II	1 st quaver	UE-I: v over f^1 Aut-A, Aut-B1, Aut-B2: No v	No v
25	Kb.	3 rd beat, 2 nd quaver	Aut-A, UE-I: $\text{b}\sharp$ Aut-B1, Aut-B2: $\text{c}\sharp^1$	c^1 (because of the voice leading and counterpoint with the VL II melodic line).
37	Fl. 2	1 st two crotchet	UE-I: Semibreve rest (clear error).	Minim rest as in autograph sources.

Example 10: Textual Notes for the first movement, *Molto appassionato*, p.120

169 Solo-VI.

Aut-A: Wrong rhythm:



Aut-C, Aut-B1, Aut-B2: Wrong rhythm:



UE-I: Wrong rhythm as in Aut-1.

226 Kl. 1, Kl. 2 2nd crotchet beat

Aut-A, Aut-B1, Aut-B2: Wrong rhythmic gesture: 11 demi-semiquavers.



UE-I: Rhythmic gesture: Hemi-demi-semiquavers; add number 11.

Rhythmic gesture: Hemi-demi-semiquavers; add number 11.

288-89 Vc., Kb.

Aut-A, UE-I: Within the 6/8 rhythm of the passage, the rhythmic patterns are written as follows.



The rhythmic patterns follow Skalkottas's rhythmic intention and presentation.

Aut-B1: Implied quaver duplets.



Aut-B2: Clearly marked quaver duplets.



Example 11: Examples of editorial changes as they appear in Textual Notes

Notation

The musical texts have been edited to conform to Skalkottas's notation and intentions, which are best illustrated in his autographs. The general guideline in this CE edition is to retain, as much as possible, the composer's notational practice. However, a limited amount of modernization and standardization has been carried out (in accordance with current practice), such as, stem directions; triplet and rest presentation; articulation marks; and adjustment of the page layout by:

- i. omitting empty staves for instruments that are silent for long passages.
- ii. when appropriate, writing on a single staff wind instruments originally notated on two staves.
- iii. presenting on a single line each unpitched percussion instruments notated as notes on staves in the autograph of the full orchestral score (as for example in bar 193 of the third movement).

All editorial additions such as dynamics, agogic and other performance instructions are presented within square brackets [] in the full orchestral score. Curved parentheses are by Skalkottas himself. Overall, if any standardization is judged as compromising the intentions manifested in Skalkottas's autograph sources, the composer's original notation is followed as closely as possible in this edition.

Placement of and other dynamic/agogic instructions

Skalkottas is inconsistent with the use of and other dynamic/agogic instructions (such as, *cresc.* and *dim.*). He occasionally writes them above or below only one or a few instruments of an instrumental group playing either in unison or chordally. Also, he is not always careful with the length of the signs. Their appearance and length may also vary between the autograph sources. In CE, for consistency, the length and placement of and have been standardized. When deciding their placement, the following considerations have been taken into account: i) musical shaping and phrasing, and vertical uniformity of such shaping in the entire instrumental family; ii) analogies with corresponding passages in the music, particularly between Exposition and

Recapitulation sections; iii) Skalkottas's handwriting: a) some instrumental parts appearing to be written more carefully than others, with the differences between them seemingly unintentional; b) inexact placement being due to lack of space between staves; c) Skalkottas's manner of writing dynamic markings usually before the main note.

Editorial Additions

This section records all the editorial additions made by me, as editor, and it justifies the rationale for such additions (see Example 12).

Editorial Additions

First movement: *Molto appassionato*

Bar	Instrument	Place in bar	CE additions
5	Br.	Last crotchet	[<i>f</i>] (by analogy with the dynamics in the other string instruments).
7	Br.	1 st quaver	[<i>mf</i>] (by analogy with doubling Fl. 1, Fl. 2, Ob. 1, Ob. 2, Kl. 1, Kl. 2 in b. 7).
8	Vl. I	1 st crotchet	[<i>f</i>] (by analogy with Vl. I thematic gesture in b. 1).
9	Vl. II		[<i>f</i>] (by analogy with Vl. II counter-thematic gesture in b. 2).
14	Kl. 1	1 st crotchet	[<i>mf</i>] (by analogy with <i>mf</i> counter-melody in Kl. 2, and <i>p</i> in Fig. 1, Fig. 2, in b. 14).
16	Vc.	1 st beat	[<i>p</i>] (by analogy with Vl. I, Vl. II, Br. in b. 15).
17	Fl. 1	1 st beat	[<i>mp</i>] (by analogy with the dynamics in the strings and lower woodwind).
20	Vc.	1 st beat	[<i>p</i>] (by analogy with the dynamics in the preceding strings).
21	Fig. 2	1 st beat	[<i>mf</i>] (by analogy with Fig. 1 and Ob. 1, Ob. 2 in bs. 20–21).
23	Vl. II, Br.	1 st beat	[<i>cresc...</i>] (by analogy with Kl. 1 and Fig. 2 in b. 23).
24	Br., Vc.	1 st beat	[<i>f</i>] (by analogy with Fl. 1, Fl. 2, Ob. 1, Ob. 2, Kl. 1, Kl. 2, Vl. II in b. 24).
25	Kb.	1 st beat	[<i>f</i>] (by analogy with Vl. I, Vl. II, Vc. in b. 24).
30	Pos. 1	1 st beat	◀ (by analogy with doubling Pos. 2 in b. 30).
31	Tb.	1 st beat	[~] over C (by analogy with > the other two notes of the chord played by Pos. 1 and Pos. 2 in b. 31).
33	Kb.	1 st beat	[<i>arco</i>] to denote the revocation of the <i>pizz.</i> instruction, indicated in b. 24.

Example 12: First page of the Editorial Additions for the first movement, Molto appassionato.

First Performance of the new critical edition

James Grier (1996, 152) encourages scholars to collaborate with performers in their editorial endeavours to create an edition that presents a text of the highest quality and to which performers can add their interpretative marks. This is understandable, as “performers and editors constantly make decisions in response to the same stimuli (notation) on the basis of the same criteria (knowledge of the piece and aesthetic taste). Only the results differ: performers produce sound while editors generate the written or printed page.” (:6).

I followed this advice at the time of the first performance of the Violin Concerto’s new edition by the Athens State Orchestra in 2019. In order to improve the interpretative aspect of the edition, and fulfil the publisher’s requirements for a critical, but also commercially viable edition, during the rehearsals and post-performance reflection, I discussed at length interpretative performance issues with both the conductor Ektoras Tartanis and the soloist Ionian Ilias Kadesha, and incorporated in the text (and included in the Apparatus) those editorial performance suggestions and other additions, that felt appropriate for this scholarly performing edition.

Conclusion – Nikos Skalkottas Critical Edition (NSCE): Research and performance opportunities

To conclude, it is heartening that Skalkottas’s music has started attracting interest and engagement from scholars and performers at an international level. I believe that now is an opportune time for Skalkottas’ scholars to collaborate with performers in their editorial endeavours in order to create editions of Skalkottas’s works that present texts of the highest quality. There is a pressing need to complete the Nikos Skalkottas Critical Edition project, in accordance with the newest scholarly research, and in lines similar to those in the Sibelius Editing Project in Finland (in collaboration with the Helsinki University Library),¹² and the Carl Nielsen Collected Edition in Denmark (at the Danish National Library). A team of scholars, supported by appropriate scholarly and other

¹² One of the principal players of the Sibelius Editing Project has been the Helsinki University Library, which is also the National Library of Finland. The Helsinki University Library provided office space and material support and is a partner in the contractual arrangements. A second key player has been the Sibelius Society of Finland. The third key player has been the German publishing firm of Breitkopf & Härtel (see Glenda Dawn Goss (2004), “A Critical Edition for Jean Sibelius,” *Fontes Artis Musicae* Vol. 51, No. 3/4, Articles from IAML's conference in Tallinn, Estonia, 2003 (July-December 2004), pp. 358–366).

institutions (Library and an international publisher), could work collaboratively to establish the edition's high standards: its contents would represent rigorous scholarly and critical evaluation of all relevant primary sources and its editorial decisions would be fully documented in critical reports. The availability of Skalkottas's works in full score, with corresponding ancillary material (such as orchestral parts, extant short scores and programme notes by Skalkottas himself, Critical Commentaries and Textual Notes for each work), would offer new possibilities for performance, production and recording.

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Orchestrational periods in Nikos Skalkottas’ orchestral output and the role of orchestrations of tonal ballets for small orchestra

Kostis Demertzis

Ὅμηρον ἐξ Ομήρου σαφηνίζειν¹
Αρίσταρχος ὁ Σαμόθραξ

τί οὖν ἐστι;
προσεύξομαι τῷ πνεύματι, προσεύξομαι δὲ καὶ τῷ νοῦ·
ψαλῶ τῷ πνεύματι, ψαλῶ δὲ καὶ τῷ νοῦ.

Προς Κορινθίους Α΄, 14,15²

To begin with a true story

I will begin with an example, a real story, from my profession – which is that of a lawyer.

In a case, together with my client, we decided to complaint against a certain judge – for reasons, which are not relevant to what I have to tell you here.

¹ Explaining Homer from Homer (Aristarchus of Samothrace)

² What is it then?

I will pray with the spirit, and I will pray with the understanding also;
I will sing with the spirit, and I will sing with the understanding also.
(First Corinthians 14,15 (King James translation))

The text of the complaint was drafted by me (in cooperation with the client) and was signed by the client, who filed it, and I was he, who defended it orally before the competent authorities.

The whole thing was well conceived, well-coordinated, well performed.

It suffices, here, to tell that, in the end, we won the case.

One of the following days, I met, accidentally, with that particular judge, against whom the complaint was filed, in the yard of the Evelpidon First-Instance Court premises.

“Good morning, Mrs. President!”, I greeted her politely.

“How dare you! After what you have done!”, was the answer.

“But, you know, Mrs. President, the client...”

“Don’t tell that bullshit to me, you ORCHESTRATED all this!”

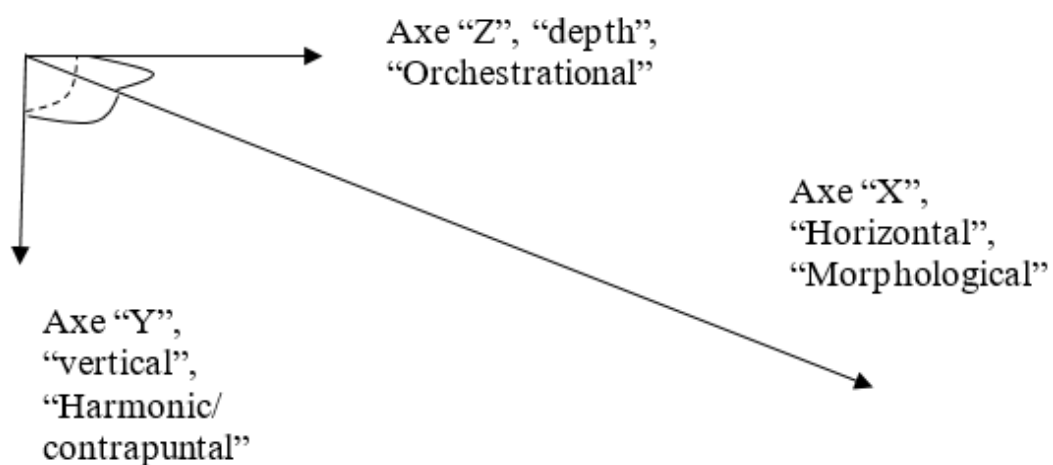
“You don’t even know how right you are, Mrs. President”, I answered, “you know, I am a Skalkottian orchestrator!”.

Let me now explain to you how this is done!

A representation of the “space” of the composition in a three-dimensional Cartesian coordinate system

In an introductory way, I would suggest that the Skalkottian musical thought is being developed along three axes – i.e. along three dimensions³:

- The morphological (say: the “horizontal”) one.
- The harmonic/contrapuntal (say: the “vertical”) one, and,
- The orchestrational (say: the “in depth”) one.



A first observation here concerns a working hypothesis: Skalkottas’ musical thought is three-dimensional, the orchestration being, for him, one of the three constitutional dimensions of the musical structure.

This assumption can be supported both, on Skalkottas’ musical works and on his “theoretical” writings.

I won’t attempt such an argumentation in this place⁴.

I restrict myself to the following comments:

- (1) During the “heroic” period of Skalkottas’ promotion by John G. Papaioannou as a contemporary, even as a vanguard composer, Skalkottas’ music was correlated, among others, with a concept of music expanding across a multi-dimensional space, involving more than three dimensions. Several musical variants, such as, for example, not only pitch, but also

³ This theoretical / methodological analytical perspective has been first written down in the “Part B” of my “Skalkottian Orchestration” book (Demertzis 1998, pp. 27-46).

⁴ For some cues and examples of such an argumentation, see Demertzis 1998.a, pp 27-46.

dynamics, note durations, toucher etc. have been considered as “dimensions” for the purposes such a multi-dimensional musical space analysis. Several ideas, as “total serialism”, or Xenakis’ architectural and mathematical concept of music, or even original musicologist’s contemplations on a mathematical basis (Papaioannou was, also, an architect), favored such views⁵. I think, yet, that such views are not supported neither on Skalkottas’ notes, nor on his theoretical writings.

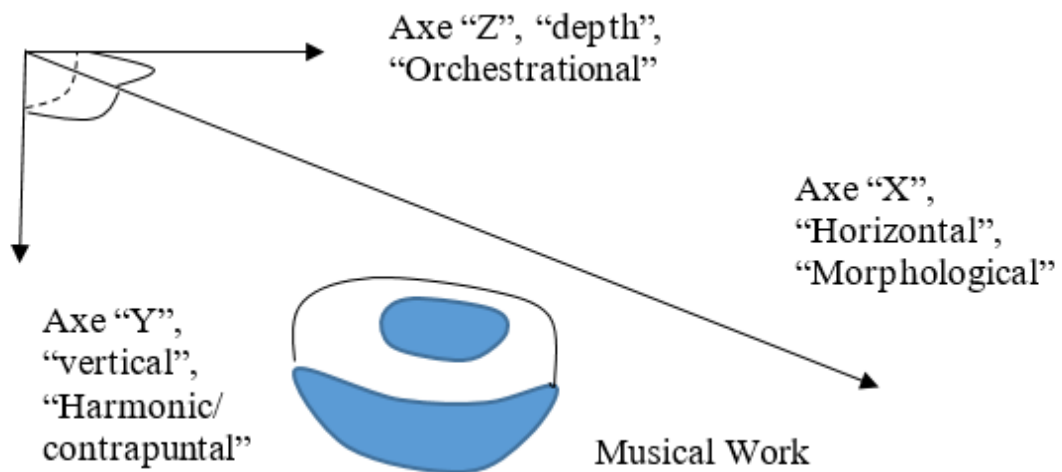
(2) It seems, instead, more convenient and fruitful to accept that Skalkottas did arrange all musical variants (including, of course, not only musical pitches, but also dynamics, toucher etc.) within the framework of a three-dimensional object, which is the musical work itself. For example, if we take “dynamics” as a variant, we can consider the following:

- Part of the “morphology” of the work depends on how dynamics is evolving along the horizontal axe,
- Part of the “vertical” organization of the musical material depends on how dynamics is distributed among the musical elements (harmonic or contrapuntal, or other) that coexist in the vertical direction, and
- Part of the “in depth” organization consists in the way that dynamics is distributed among the various orchestral groups and families to which is assigned, or which are derived by, a certain element of the vertical organization.
- In other words, not every variant, not every musical parameter represents a “dimension” of the Skalkottian musical thought and methodology.

All of the musical parameters – among which the musical pitch and duration are always the higher-ranked – are placed in the three-dimensional canvas, i.e. that of morphological evolution, of the vertical organization and of orchestration.

⁵ Papaioannou refers, really, to various “achievements” of Skalkottas in the direction of exceeding the typical dimensions of a traditional musical score. In Papaioannou, 2004.B, p.p. 23-25, he summarizes his observations as follows: (a) Skalkottas’ scores sound, sometimes, like a succession of “sound volumes” (as opposed to a simple “sound line” or a “sound surface”, the latter being understood as an achievement in the “Metastases”, by Yiannis Xenakis), (b) Skalkottas’ music should be analyzed through higher mathematics, like matrixes and fractals, and (c) Skalkottas combines, in his works, a parallel evolution of multiple “morphologically interesting parameters”, which interwind with each other like a “cable”, or “tresses”. In Papaioannou, 2004B, pp.. 95-97, there is a suggestion for analyzing Skalkottas’ music as multi-dimensional, referring to multiple “parameters” and “dimensions”, with which Skalkottas was “playing in a quasi-wonder-working manner”. In my paper, the installation of a 3-dimensional space does not refer to any “achievement”, nor to a specially Skalkottian method, but to an instrument of analyzing any score, although it might be more apt for analyzing some scores than others. If there is an assumption, here, this is that this instrument is apt for analyzing Skalkottas’ scores.

Hence, a Skalkottian musical work may be considered like a solid object, moving along the three-dimensional space designed as above. Something like that:



On that base, I would caution that, when speaking on the Skalkottian musical language, one has not only to do with musical structure.

It has to do with musical semantics.

And this is a field very much neglected – if not repelled – in the Skalkottian studies.

But this is, also, another story⁶.

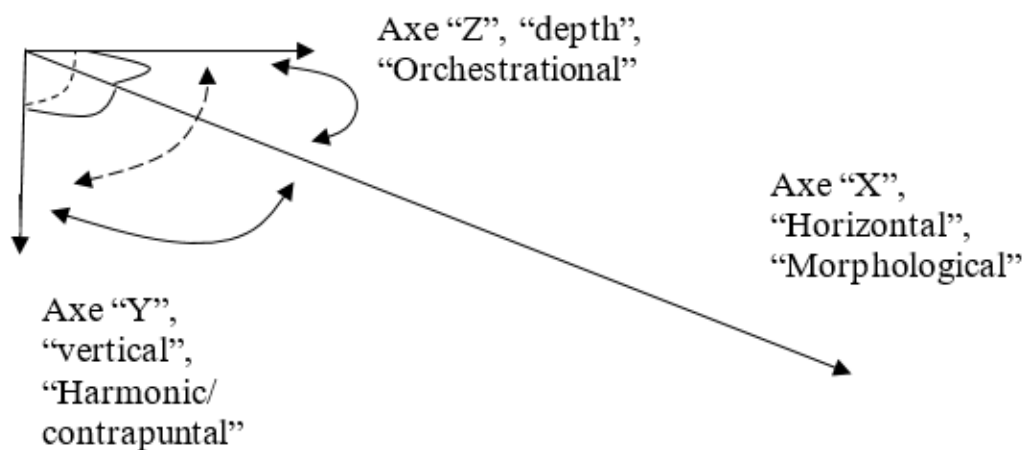
Returning to the musical structure, we can attempt fruitful exercises, henceforth, when dealing with Skalkottian works, in observing how the three dimensions of the Skalkottian musical space transform each one to each other.

For example:

- An element of the vertical organization may be transformed to an element of horizontal organization and vice-versa. For example, a chord may be transformed to a melody and vice-versa. A contre-sujet may be transformed in a main theme and vice-versa.

⁶ For a detailed inspection of the topics of the Skalkottian writings that point to musical semantics, see: Demetris, 1999.

- An element of the in-depth (orchestrational) organization may be transformed to an element of the vertical organization and vice-versa. For example, a melody may be orchestrated in several groups, one playing all the notes, and one playing fewer notes of it, so that, between them, several assonances are being produced.
- An element of the in-depth organization (orchestrational) may be transformed to a morphological element and vice-versa. For example, when a theme is being reintroduced, or repeated, it may be orchestrated in a totally different way, “developing”, thus, along the orchestrational axis. Reversely, the horizontal form may be developed while the orchestrational elements “correspond” (to use a Skalkottian expression⁷) to one another.



This is a sort of “theory of relativity”, which may yield a “theory of transformations” within the Skalkottian work.

Such a theory may be:

- (a) An absolute analytical instrument
- (b) An instrument to analyzing Skalkottian works
- (c) An instrument to approach actual patterns, which may be traced in the Skalkottian composition.

⁷ In his introductory text for a concert of “Chamber Music for Wind Instruments and Piano”, Skalkottas describes his Trumpet and piano Concertino as a “musical correspondence between the one instrument and the other”.

Periods of Skalkottian orchestration: an overview

We may sketch a simplified draft of the periods of Skalkottas' orchestrational technique in the following pattern⁸:

[early orchestrations: "Cretan Feast" and various scores, mostly lost]

- (1929) / 1935 (1st Symphonic Suite): Combinational by groups (staves)
- (1933), 1935-1936 (Greek Dances): Combinational by families
- 1937-1938 (2nd Piano Concerto, Violin Concerto): Hierarchized (classical)
- 1939-1941 and 1944-46): Treatise on Orchestration (Instrumentalist)
- 1939 on: tonal ballets for little orchestra: interventionist
- 1942 on: Ulysses Symphony (impressionistic features – "idoling" of compositional levels)
- 1946: 2nd Symphonic Suite: Skalkottian academism
- 1947 on: Classical Symphony (Rhetoric elements)

Early orchestrations (before 1929)

There is plenty of evidence that Skalkottas had a strong inclination towards orchestration just from the beginning of his devotion to composition.

From his early years, we have already the orchestration of a piano work by Dimitris Mitropoulos, "Cretan feast" (Κρητική Γιορτή, composed by Mitropoulos in 1919, orchestrated by Skalkottas in 1923-24) ⁹.

From his correspondence we have information about another orchestration of his, one of a Veracini sonate (in La) for violin, which Skalkottas orchestrated for his friend, Nelly Asketopoulou¹⁰. In other letters of this period we have, also, a reference to "Instrumentation" lessons with Jarnach¹¹.

⁸ I slightly simplify, summarize, develop, complete and update my own classification in Demertzis, 1998, pp. 103-108.

⁹ The "Cretan Feast", under the title "For Crete, feasts and joys" [Για τηνΚρήτη, γλέντια και χαρές] was performed by Mitropoulos in his diploma concert, in 1919 (Kostios, 1985, pp. 28 on. Its orchestration was wrought by Skalkottas early, about in 1922-1923.

¹⁰ Letters to Nelly Asketopoulou of 12/9/1925, 19/9/1925, 1/10/1925, 8/11/1925, 11/11/1925, 24/11/1925, 28-29/11/1925, 15/12/1925, 9/1/1926. From the letters of 11/11/1925 and 28-29/11/1929, it becomes evident that Skalkottas considers orchestration as a form of composition.

¹¹ Letter to Nelly Asketopoulou of 11/11/1925.

We have, also, recordings of professional orchestrations by Skalkottas, from 1929¹².

Some other testimonies about this period are, also, available to us, through Papaioannou's writings, relating Skalkottas as a quick, versatile, and original orchestrator in different musical genres ¹³.

1929 / 1935Q First orchestrational period: combinational by groups (staves) (1st Symphonic Suite, 2-pianos Concertino)

Yet, Skalkottas' first "mature" and clear-cut personal style of orchestration is being first attested in his 1929-/ 1935 large (six-part) orchestral suite.

¹² In his article "The composer Nikos Skalkottas and the tenor Kostas Mylonas", http://panagiotisandriopoulos.blogspot.com/2020/11/blog-post_13.html, Panagiotis Andriopoulos refers to two Greek folk songs ("Dhespo" and "Diamandoula") which Skalkottas harmonized, orchestrated and, probably, conducted, with Kostas Mylonas singing.

¹³ In Papaioannou,, 2004.A, pp. 157-158, Papaioannou records a story by Yiannis Constantinides, which took place in the Berlin period (before 1931). Constantinides had not time to orchestrate a work (of "light" music) that was commissioned to him, and turned to Skalkottas to help him. Skalkottas orchestrated the work (and prepared the parts) within one night, presenting him a highly original, yet successful orchestration of Constantinides' work.

In fact, Skalkottas, in the year 1935, after a period of depression, begun to RE-COMPOSE the works he had left to his landlady, in Berlin, which he himself considered rather lost. In this way, there can be traced a clear correspondence, not only between the titles, but also morphologically and stylistically, between the works of the two periods. We can trace, for example, essential systemic similitudes between the two violin and piano sonatinas from the Berlin period and the correspondent works of Athens¹⁵. The same yields for his string quartets.

Skalkottas begun, in Athens and in 1935, with a “total recall” of the style of composition he had left behind, in Berlin: the point at which, having completed his studies with Schoenberg, he had formed his personal style, within his master’s “school” wider musical expanse.

Tips for a theoretical background of this style may be traced in Skalkottas’ brief collaboration as a music critic of the Athens Journal “Musical Life” (Μουσική Ζωή, 1930-1931).

It is clear that Skalkottas, in this style, is especially attracted to the principle of “transparence” of orchestration¹⁶, and this is the case with these two orchestral works of his.

Papaioannou, the work was thoroughly re-written, from memory, in 1935, proving, thus, Skalkottas’ vast and exact, quasi-photographical, memory (Papaioannou, 2004.A, pp. 79-80). Newer evidence (letters to Temko, not yet available to this study) supports that Skalkottas had only sketched the work in Berlin, and through-composed it firstly in Athens, in 1935. The truth may lie in-between: the work may have been sketched and/or, composed to a certain degree of completion in Berlin, and re-composed in Athens, following the same system – in all dimensions: morphology, “harmonic/contrapuntal” and orchestration, since all material of the work had been left behind. The essential assumption, here, is that Skalkottas, in re-composing his work in Athens, followed the exactly the same system, which was first set up in Berlin.

¹⁵ Although Skalkottas considered his Berlin works rather lost, he used to take them into account when he numbered his Athens Works. Hence, his 1935 Violin and Piano Sonatinas were numbered 3rd and 4th, the 1st and 2nd being Berlin works, temporarily lost. His Athens string quartets were numbered 3rd and 4th, the 1st and 2nd being Berlin Works, his Athens Piano Concertos 2nd and 3rd, the 1st being a Berlin Work, etc. It was after the post-humus re-discovery of Skalkottas’ Berlin scores of the respective works, that one could examine in a comparative way the respondent scores, and trace similitudes and differences between the systems of the respondent compositions. By contrast, in 1935, Skalkottas did not number the Symphonic Suite he wrote down “2nd Symphonic Suite”, but 1st, citing, in his prologue, that this is a Berlin work. This fact suggest that the newer and the former score (whatever the latter was) are, essentially, “the same”.

¹⁶ “The main points of this system [twelve-tone] are ... the transparence of the musical writing ...” (“Musical Life”, issue 6, 31/3/1931), «The two Rhapsodies for violin and orchestra by Bela Bartok were, from a hearing point of view, more transparent and clear. Surely, orchestration plays here a major role ...» (“Musical Life”, issue 7, 30/4/1931).

Following this principle of “transparency”, along these works, a large orchestra is being written – and sounds – like a huge chamber music ensemble.

This is a style, also, which naturally fits with twelve-tone works, such as Skalkottas conceived and orchestrated them in those years.

It is, accordingly a “strict” orchestrational style, into which:

- (1) The basic orchestrational unit is the orchestral “group” (ομάδα), say, the line written on a single stave in the score. Piccolo, Flute[s], Oboe[s], ... horn[s], ... 1st violins, ... each of them being considered as individual groups.
- (2) Doublings are generally avoided. When doubled the one to another, individual groups form new, “composite”, groups (for example, a doubling of two oboes and a clarinet may be considered as a new group, a new sound)
- (3) No hierarchy is being established among orchestrational units. Orchestral “groups” (staves) are being considered, generally, quasi-equivalent the one to the other. For example, hierarchically the piccolo flute is being regarded on the same footing as the 1st violins.
- (4) The notion of orchestral “family” (strings, woodwinds, brass, percussion) is present and active. It may serve as a factor discerning the one group from the other for clarity purposes (e.g., one brass group may be opposed, horizontally or vertically, to one string group). For the same purpose, when voicing a series of chords, Skalkottas may assign the voices to the groups of one and the same family, e.g., in the brass, in the woodwinds, in the strings.
- (5) Yet, “orchestral families”, in this sense, represent a tendency of the orchestration, and not a principle. The voicing of chords into orchestral groups is not always based on “orchestral families”. We can observe, e.g., three-note chord progressions, where the voicing comprises a string line, a brass one and a woodwind one.

Skalkottas’ 1935 2-pianos Concertino (1935) is orchestrated in the same system, i.e. following the same guidelines, thus forming, along with the 1st Symphonic Suite, a pair of a work for orchestra and a concerto, both written in the same compositional (and orchestrational) style.

Konzertino für 2 Klaviere und Orchester (1935)

I Satz N. Skalkottas

Allegro

The first bars of the score of Skalkottas' 2-piano Concertino (1935). The thematic line is orchestrally conceived, as a succession of the oboe, the 1st violins and the flute. The inscription "a 2", over the oboe and the flute is not from Skalkottas' hand. Chords, also, follow an orchestrally conceived scheme: brass-strings-brass. Celli and Contrabass play in unison, forming a "composite" orchestral group. For the rest, "doublings" are generally being avoided.

1935-1936: Combinational by orchestral families (36 Greek Dances)

The term “orchestral family” means, here, an aggregation of individual orchestral groups by categories. Such orchestral families are the woodwinds, the brass, the strings, the percussion.

The orchestral family, in the first systematic style of Skalkottas is mainly a variable used either for discerning, either for unifying, musical groups to one another. Here, it becomes the main organizational factor forming, thus, the system in which Skalkottas firstly orchestrated his 36 Greek Dances in 1935-1936.

This style was also employed before 1935, since the first four Greek Dances were composed earlier, i.e. “Peloponnesian”, No. A/4, in 1930, “Enas Aetos” (One eagle), No A/1, “Cretan”, No A/2 and “Hepirotikos”, No A/3, in 1933.

In this style, the main organizational unit of the orchestra is not merely the group, but the orchestral “family”: the strings, the woodwinds, the brass, the percussion (especially: the timpani).

One can readily observe that, morphological units of each composition, are orchestrated in groups of one orchestral family, or of a combination of orchestral families. There are, in this sense, morphological units orchestrated in woodwinds only, in strings only, in brass only, in strings and brass, in strings and woodwinds, in winds (woods and brass) only, while the timpani, in some instances, are combined, or opposed, to these groups, as a fourth orchestral family by themselves¹⁷.

A full development of the combinational dynamics of such an orchestrational style may be found in the well-known “Klefticos”, Greek Dance No C/3.

¹⁷ In this 1935-36 orchestration of the Greek Dances no harp is used.

The image displays a handwritten musical score for the piece "Kleftikos" Greek Dance (No 1-3). The score is organized into two main systems of staves, each containing multiple parts for different instruments. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings. Below the staves, there are several Greek annotations that identify specific themes and instrument combinations:

- System 1 (Top):**
 - Θέμα Α, μ. 1 - 19, έγχορδα + χάλκινα + κρουστά
 - μ. 20 - 21
 - μ. 28 - 29
 - μ. 40 - 41
 - Θέμα Γ, μ. 43 - 51, χάλκινα
 - μ. 52 - 54
 - Θέμα Β, μ. 20 - 42, ξύλινα
 - Θέμα Δ, μ. 52 - 72 (αρχή), έγχορδα + ξύλινα
- System 2 (Bottom):**
 - μ. 61
 - μ. 69
 - Θέμα Δ, μ. 52 - 72 (τέλος) έγχορδα + ξύλινα
 - Θέμα Α, επαναφορά, μ. 73 - 90, έγχορδα + χάλκινα (στο μ. 72 συμπληρωματικό τούττι)
 - Θέμα Ε, μ. 91 - 98, ξύλινα + χάλκινα
 - κόντα C μ. 99 - 101, τούττι

Combinational analysis by orchestral families in "Kleftikos" Greek Dance (No 1-3). We may observe all possible combinations of three orchestral families, which are seven: (1) strings only, (2) woodwinds only, (3) brass only, (4) strings + woodwinds, (5) Woodwinds + brass (= winds), (6) strings + brass and (7) tutti (strings and woodwinds and brass). The percussion (especially timpani) are being used independently, in combination or against these main (three) orchestral families and their combinations.

Such an orchestrational technique does not differ too much from the “combinational in groups”, although the latter is implemented mainly to 12-tone compositions, while the “Greek Dances” of 1935-36 are tonal.

We can imagine even atonal, or 12-tone “Greek Dances” orchestrated in the same “combinational by families” style.

Yet, the fact that the “Greek Dances” of 1935-36 are tonal, allows doubling orchestral voices in the octave. This results in some very interesting compound sounds. Such a compound sound can be heard, for example, in one of the Cretan Greek Dances, the “It came to me last evening, in the dinner” (ήρθε μ’ οψέξ στο κολατσό», αρ. 10 of the 2nd series), in which the thematic voice is orchestrated in three different woodwinds playing in three different octaves.

For the rest, the two styles are to a great part mind-oriented, having in common the lack of an installed “typical” orchestral hierarchy among the different orchestral groups and families.

Such a hierarchy shall be introduced in the following orchestrational period, that of 1937-38.

1937-38: Hierarchized (classical) orchestrational style (2nd Piano Concerto, Violin Concerto)

Two orchestral scores composed about 1937-1938, the Violin Concerto and the 2nd Piano Concerto represent a substantial shift towards a more “hierarchized” concept of the orchestral score.

In this style:

- The strings represent the basis of the orchestral score. They play almost all the voices, and they are present during the most part of the score.
- The woodwinds serve as a variant, or as a complement of the string family. Sometimes they double the string voices, and sometimes they play simultaneously with the strings, conversing with them.
- The brass family is divided in two distinct subfamilies. The horns constitute the one of them, and contribute more often to the orchestral

texture, thus defining a typical “width of orchestration”, which might be labelled “till the horns” (strings, woodwinds and horns).

- The rest of the brass (say: “heavy brass”, i.e. trumpets, trombones, tuba) appear less, and mark the climaxes, the tutti, or aim to label a certain morphological unit by their presence.



Models of coexistence of orchestral families in Skalkottas' 2nd piano Concerto (1937). The strings are almost omnipresent. The woodwinds double the strings or complement them. A typical orchestrational width is being formed, from the strings, the woodwinds and the horns ("till the horns" width). "Heavy brass" are used as an important morphological factor, in order to culminate, or to reverse, the established orchestral hierarchy.

An orchestral hierarchy like this is definitely classical, giving to Skalkottian developments a Brucknerian-like ritual character.

This systemic shift in the orchestration technique may be explained as an influence on Skalkottas of his experience as an orchestra violinist.

Such a “hierarchized” orchestration effects an overthrow of the previous two orchestrational styles, i.e. the “combinational by groups” (1st Orchestral Suite, 2-piano Concertino) and the “combinational by families” (36 Greek Dances), since a basic principle of orchestrating those previous works was the non-hierarchical relation between orchestral groups – or families.

Yet, these two previous styles take their place within this new style, as factors of freedom and enrichment – as well as “reversions” of the typical hierarchy.

Both, observance of the above hierarchy and reversion of it may be analyzed as kind of transmutation of an orchestrational principle (i.e. hierarchy of the orchestral groups and families) to a morphological one (development of the orchestral parameters along the morphological – horizontal, timely – axis of the musical composition).

1939-1941: Instrumentalist (Treatise on Orchestration and musical works related to it)

In about the year 1939, Skalkottas begun to compile his Treatise on Orchestration.

The year, both of the setting up and of the completion of this major theoretical work may only approximately be assumed – and this is the case with the most of Skalkottas’ theoretical writings, especially his “musical articles”.

Yet, this 165-page Skalkottian manuscript may be correlated with the musical works, which Skalkottas composed about the same period. Such a correlation implies an essential assumption on the NATURE of this work.

This Skalkottian writing do not represent review of works already composed – both by Skalkottas himself, or by other composers.

It represent ideas – germs of works TO BE COMPOSED IMMINENTLY.

The same yields on the nature of the Skalkottian “Musical articles”.

Well, more or less imminently, yet we can safely assume that the composition of the Concertino for oboe and piano (which inaugurated his well – known Concert

for winds and piano) was no other than the paradigm for the oboe range, from the 15th page of the Orchestration Treatise.

Oboe and piano Concertino
Piano part, m. 1 on

Range of oboe (paradigm from the p. 15 of the Treatise of Orchestration manuscript)

First notes of oboe part: m. 15 on

The theme of the Oboe Concertino (1939) is closely correlated with the paradigm of the Treatise of Orchestration (p. 15) for the range of oboe. Most likely, both, the relevant pages of the Treatise and the musical work may be assumed to be compiled by Skalkottas in 1939.

The relation between the “Theoretical writing” and the musical work may be considered clear and safe, here.

Skalkottas wrote his oboe Concertino and, as its extension, the first issue of the “Concert for winds and piano” under the direct influence of his own thoughts when he was writing the respective chapter of the Orchestration Treatise.

If the first issue of this little cycle of works for winds and piano (along with the draft of a program note for the concert for winds and piano) is dated in 1939, the same may be assumed for the first pages of the Treatise of orchestration.

One may observe that the Bassoon sonata, which complements this cycle, has been composed much later, i.e. about 1942.

This means that Skalkottas’ compilation of the Treatise proceeded faster than his musical respective compositions.

In a similar way, one can trace many links between works of the period 1939-1941(-42) and inscriptions of the Treatise of Orchestration.

Such links may comprise (except for the cycle of works for winds and piano):

- The 3rd piano concert – with an orchestra of 11 winds.
- The two major works by Skalkottas for strings (the “10 Sketches” and the “Little Suite”, linked with the chapter of the Treatise for the strings (pages 46-83 of the Treatise of Orchestration))
- The Duo for violin and viola and the Concert for violin, viola and wind orchestra, the first being a little study for the composition of the latter.
- The Concert for contrabass¹⁸.

All these works are, simultaneously, studies, probes and musical works, developing ideas of respective chapters, or thoughts, or paradigms, written down in the Treatise of Orchestration.

They are two main new characteristics of this new orchestrational period:

- Skalkottas dives in the special traits of each orchestral instrument, or instrumental family, which serve him, henceforth, as incentives of the musical inspiration for creating new works. The new works explore the potential of the special instrument or | (sometimes unusual) instrumental combination they are written for, and the latter assures the special character of each musical work.
- Skalkottas, in his Treatise on Orchestration, explores systematically doublings and combinations of instruments within or outside their own family. Hence, doublings are set loose henceforth in the Skalkottian orchestra, resulting in rich orchestral settings which sometimes are being considered (unofficially) by certain maestros as “heavy”.

In general, this orchestrational period is characterized by its variety of orchestrational concepts. These may vary from a style which avoids quasi-totally doublings, as, for example, the 3rd Concert for piano and winds, to heavy doubling, as, for example, in the Concerto for violin, viola and winds.

¹⁸ As much as the solo Contrabass part is concerned. The orchestra of this concerto belongs to the next phase of the Skalkottian Orchestration: the impressionistic one, along with the Ulysses overture.



3rd piano concerto – winds introduction. No doublings.



Concerto for violin, viola and wind orchestra: systematic doublings.

1939 on: interventionist (tonal ballets for little orchestra)

The years 1938-39 on are connected with one additional factor of evolution of the Skalkottian musical thought and praxis, composition and orchestration: the composition of little ballets, which are being commissioned by some ballet schools, in Athens, and are intended to be played immediately by little instrumental ensembles.

This factor differs from the previous one, i.e. from the systematic scanning of the orchestral instruments, for compositional purposes.

There, the composition is always serious, it is to be inscribed directly to the History of Music, it aims to express its historical moment and give messages to its ideal audience, it must be “contemporaneous”, “belonging to its own epoch”, in a clear way.

Here, the purpose is plainly practical, the composition serves the needs of the private organization which commissioned it. The compositions are mostly tonal, theatrical, and are to be played immediately by a small group of musicians, thus presenting a decent grade of instrumental difficulty.

These new circumstances set up a new field of freedom for the Skalkottian inspiration and craftsmanship. Sure, Skalkottas is a composer very much self-confident, he is paid for his work, and he is aware that he can do what he wishes with his compositions – all the more so, since these ones are not intended to be directly inscribed in the History of Music.

The only thing the composer can do, under such circumstances, is to enjoy this new kind of liberty, by doing the only thing he has learned well to do: writing good music. He manages to be eloquent, interesting and sometimes provocative in each of these compositions, by playing with the traditional rules and installing, instead, his own ad hoc rules for every composite – which differ from the one composition to the other.

Hence – in a way analogue to that of the “Treatise of Orchestration” creative phase - this intervention of little tonal ballets enriches the Skalkottian Composition with a new set of degrees of freedom, which add to the interest and unpredictability of the Skalkottian compositional output.

Many compositions of this kind may be latent or unknown today. This category may be extended to a large (and “obscure”) number of orchestrations which

Skalkottas did on a professional basis, often ghost-writing other composers, orchestrators and musicians.

And this is an area quasi-totally unexplored by modern scholarship.

We may cite, here, as a paradigm of this category of orchestrations the “Pagana” composition, which is the music that Skalkottas wrote for a pupils’ theatrical Christmas show.

A great percentage of this work consists of orchestrations of Igor Stravinsky’s and Bela Bartok’s children’s piano pieces.

Yet, the introduction seems to be rather an original Skalkottian composition. Here is the spartito of the introduction – a simple piano piece.



Piano form of the Introduction of “Pagana”.

And here is the orchestration of this simplicissimus musical idea by Skalkottas:

Score

Τα παγανά
The Gnomes
I. Πρόλογος
1. Εισαγωγή (με την αυλαία κλειστή)

Νίκος Σκαλκώτας
Nikos Skalkottas
(1904-1949)

Molto allegro e vivace

Flauto

Oboe

Tromba in Do

Piatto

Gran Cassa

Violino I

Violino II

Viola

Violoncello

Contrabbasso

8

Fl.

Ob.

Tr.

Vno I

Vno II

Vla

Vc.

Cb.

HMC

Orchestration of the "Pagana" Introduction by Skalkottas himself.

One may observe that the orchestrational axe has been used as an autonomous factor, in order to create an interesting "structure" in a composition to which no such structure existed before.

Such orchestral means of “carving” a form out of the initial piano line, are:

- The creation of a “tutti” initial measure, which “introduces” the form.
- The subsequent gradual retraction of most instruments, in a way that only the solo trumpet above the “composite” of violas and celli (doubled in the octave) may be isolated (first line).
- The doubling of the trumpet with the oboe in the second half of the trumpet thematic line, a purely orchestrational “fact”, which “divides” the initial trumpet line in two halves.
- The accumulation of the flute and the violin chords along the evolution of the second half, towards the end of this thematic unity.
- The enrichment of the harmony with the flute accumulating figures, although the note “sol” existed already in the initial harmony.
- The ending of the thematic unity in a tutti.
-

No indication of such an amazing enrichment of the compositional form with purely orchestral means is given in the initial piano composition.

In sum, Skalkottas, here, is working on his material like a sculptor, who is sculpting the form of the piece out of a note marble, by utilizing his orchestral means in an outmost free and imaginative way.

Needless to say – this spirit of composition undermines any sense of orchestral hierarchy.

1942 on: impressionistic features – “idoling” of compositional levels *Ulysses Overture*

The Overture for Large Orchestra “The Return of Ulysses to his Homeland”, AKA “Ulysses Symphony”, written and orchestrated about 1942, is the most accomplished of the Skalkottian orchestral compositions, the work which Skalkottas himself regarded as the most important of all his compositional output¹⁹.

¹⁹ In 15/4/1952 (two and a half years after Skalkottas’ death), Dimitris Mitropoulos’ friend, Kaiti Katsogianni, after having met with Nelly Eualpidi, writes to Mitropoulos: “I consulted with Mrs. Eyepidi. They are going to send you an “Overture”, which Skalkottas himself considered as his best work” (Kostios, 1985, pp. 2940296).

lowest note of the whole orchestra. This is a relatively new idea in Skalkottian orchestration, although it is foreboded in the Orchestration Treatise²¹.

- The careful and rich elaboration of the “harmonic” part, which begins with a perfect fifth, then extends to a double perfect fifth, and then condenses, or complements, the thematic line. The way of orchestrating this chord is relatively new: it implies a kind of reflections, an “idoling”²² of the harmony into various forms, which are being heard simultaneously. For example, the perfect fifth, which is given to the horns, is reflected to three different rhythmic figures, given to the harp²³, to the first and to the second violins.

- On the contrary, the contra-melody in the violoncellos is not doubled, is not “idoled”, it is simply contrasted, as a string line to the wind line of the main theme. This reminds us of the concept of a non-hierarchized, combinational by groups orchestrational mindset. This work, in a way, summarizes all the orchestrational periods of its composer, it is a work to which, consciously, the composer works “with great art and carefulness”²⁴.

Although, in this way, the initial Skalkottian intellectual mindset of a “lucid” orchestration is ever-present in the Ulysses Overture, one can trace here also a strong touch of impressionism, which is relatively new in the Skalkottian orchestra²⁵.

²¹ E.g. the tip included in the 128th page of the manuscript: “... intermittent musical parts, reprise of the same by another groupe of instruments ...” [the word “groupe” by Skalkottas, in latin characters in the manuscript].

²² In my book (Demertzis 1998, p. 140) I use the word “απείκασμα”, which is defined as follows: “parts in the orchestrated unit of a composition which are not written down in the initial composition, but are derived from the parts which are written down in the latter in the stage of orchestration”. This notion of “derived” parts is, here, translated as “idoling”.

²³ The Harp shall, henceforth, form an integral part of the Skalkottian orchestra, playing the role of “continuo”, especially by “binding” together the harmonic progressions which are assigned to other instrument groups.

²⁴ “Μετά μεγάλης τέχνης και προσοχής», p. 32 of the manuscript of the Orchestration Treatise.

²⁵ Emanating, from the concept of the “romantic” symphony, as this is sketched in the “musical article” “The Symphony”. In contrast, the “2nd Symphonic Suite” adheres to the concept of “classical symphony”, as this latter is portrayed in the same article and in the second part of the Treatise of Orchestration.

1944-46: Skalkottian academism (first four parts of the 2nd Symphonic Suite)

The 2nd Symphonic Suite, in all probability, integrates the cycle of the works which materialize ideas of the Treatise of Orchestration.

It may be shown that, its method of composition and of orchestration reflects the ideas developed in the second part of this theoretical work, i.e. the “general” part of an orchestration theory, which is contained of the pages 110 to 165 of the manuscript²⁶.

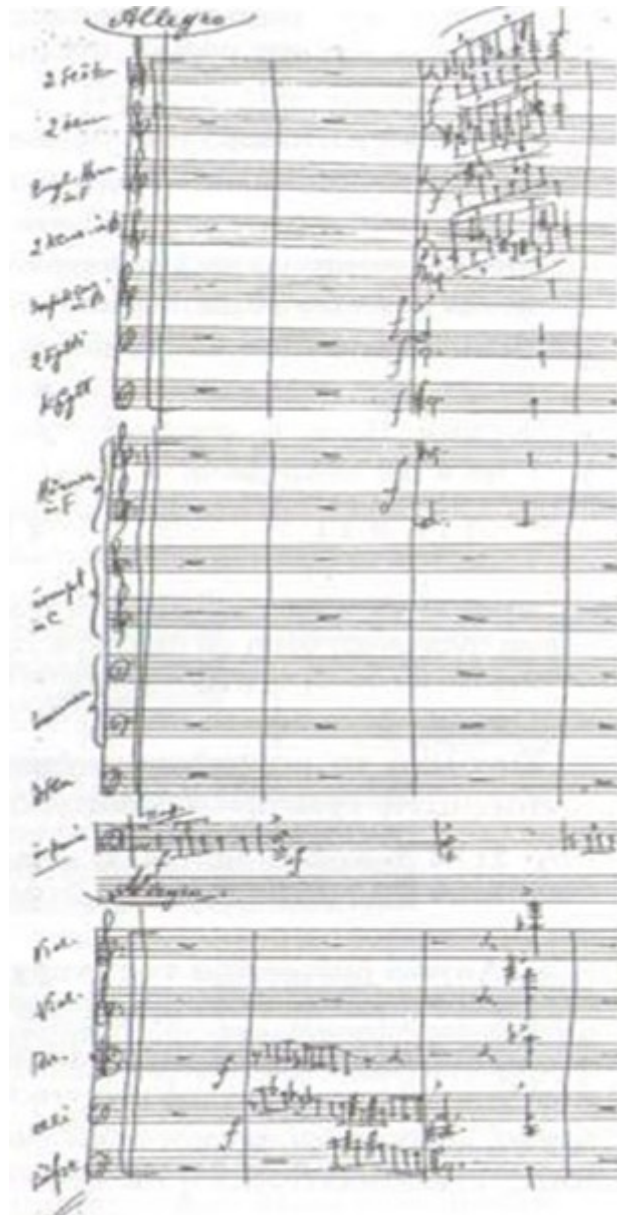
There are certain ideas which are strongly manifested in the whole concept of the score of the 2nd Symphonic Suite. We can cite, especially the following:

- The concept of the classical orchestra, consisting of “whole pages of composition, within which the arrangement of the orchestra is established within the sonic frame of one and the same image...” (page 145) and
- As concerns the initial part, the Overture Concertante, the concept of Bach’s orchestra as a succession of parts played by few instruments with parts played by more instruments, a kind of “oases and deserts of the sounds” (p. 122).

There is an evolution across this large symphonic work, both concerning the strictly “compositional” part (i.e. the horizontal and the vertical axes, as are recorded in the “particel”), as well as the orchestration.

The strictly “compositional” part is conceived, from the beginning, in orchestrational terms. It is an “image” of four compositional elements, which are assigned to the four orchestral families – the strings, the woodwinds and the brass, the fourth one being the timpani.

²⁶ A detailed documentation of this thesis is contained in my texts and articles written and published on the occasion of the performance of four parts of the 2nd Symphonic Suite by the Athens State Orchestra in November of 2019 and in January of 2020. They are now available in the “Parallel texts on Skalkottas” (Demertzis 2020, pp. 373-411, especially the pp. 385-387.



Initial characteristic "image", or disposition of instrumental families, in the 2nd Symphonic Suite.

In the initial characteristic "image", or disposition, in the first bars of the first part of the 2nd Symphonic Suite:

- The main "thematic" line is given to the timpani, which represent the percussion. It is static and forms an "axis", round which the other orchestral groups (organized by families) are being disposed.
- The strings move characteristically in a quasi-stepwise movement downwards.
- The woodwinds move characteristically in a quasi-arpeggio movement upwards.

- The “brass” are represented by a combination of horns and bassoons (“heavy brass” are not represented in this picture). They are, also, static.

The whole picture begins with a solo instrument (the timpani) and ends in a tutti chord (without heavy brass).

The whole 6-part symphonic work, subsequently, is “produced” from this inaugurating, fundamental idea, which is an idea equally compositional and orchestral.

The first part of the work develops this first iconic picture in the following way: a chain of thematic unities, each one set up as an “image”, or a characteristic “orchestral disposition”, is being articulated in order to contour a full, quasi-scholar sonata model. The “concertante” character is given by the quasi-regular alternation of solo “parties” with “tutti” ones, following the “Bach” model, as this one is being simplified in the general part of the Orchestration Treatise²⁷.

The following parts (Toccata, Promenaden-Marsch, Largo-Sinfonico, Theme with variations and Perpetuum mobile) implement the same structural methodology into different musical characters, or ideas (the “Sinfonico” being such a character, or an idea).

During this compositional process, the tonal material of the composition has been crystallized to the 16-rows canon, which rules the whole composition from the Largo-Sinfonico on. Every note of the three last parts (Largo-Sinfonico, Theme with Variations and Perpetuum Mobile) is being produced through a way of compositional development of 16 twelve-tone chords, which follow one another in the same order throughout the piece.

The “composition” of this work, in the partiel form, can, in all probability, be dated in the interval between the composition of the Fairy-drama “With the Spell of May” (September 1943) and the composition of the partiel of the 2-violine concerto (November 1944).

The orchestration of the four first parts, i.e. of the Ouverture Concertante, the Toccata, the Promenaden – Marsch and the Largo-Sinfonico, according to

²⁷ P. 123 of the Orchestration Treatise Manuscript.

Papaioannou, was completed in 1946²⁸. The orchestration of the last two parts (Theme with Variations and Perpetuum Mobile) was left unfinished, since Skalkottas, in 1946, opened another chapter of his compositional output, i.e. his post-war tonal orchestral works, which develop a totally different set of compositional ideas.

As regards the orchestrational style of the first four parts of the 2nd Symphonic Suite, one may observe the following:

- It is a style which recapitulates, epitomizes and, to some point, retrogrades to all the former orchestrational styles. It is to some point combinational (in groups and in families), and, yet, it is hierarchized in a classical pattern. It focuses to the instruments – especially in the first part – it uses (especially in the Largo-Sinfonico) systematically doublings and, to some extent, “idoling” of the structural chords. There is a clear impressionistic tendency in some orchestral pictures, especially in the developments, while in the most of them two other characters, a rather “constructivistic” and a strictly “thematic” prevail.
- It evolves, from part to part of the work, changing slightly its character.

As regards the discontinuation of the orchestration of this work in 1946, after the completion of the “Largo-Sinfonico”, we can assume both, “external” and “internal” factors. “External” factors, might be Skalkottas’ marriage with Maria Pangali, his moving from the house of his sister to the house of his wife, as well as his attraction to a thoroughly new style of composition and orchestration. On the other hand, there may exist, also, more “internal” factors, one of them being that the orchestrational idea of the Second Symphonic Suite, in this stage, i.e. in the stage of the completion of the “Largo-Sinfonico”, might have been exhausted. The Largo-Sinfonico represent the materialization of a kind of Skalkottian “academism”, where this particular orchestrational style, the one which gave rise to the composition of the 2nd Symphonic Suite, had given what it had to give. The initial “strict”, ascetic and hierarchized style of the score of the four first parts of the 2nd Symphonic Suite had evolved, along the orchestrated first four parts of the work, to their limits.

²⁸ According to Papaioannou’s list of Skalkottas’ works (Papaioannou, 2004B., p. 204).

In fact, in his following orchestral scores – including the orchestration of the 5th part of the 2nd Symphonic Suite, i.e. of the Theme with Variations, Skalkottas sets up a new orchestrational style, more rhetoric, less ascetic, richer and much more unpredictable than the “classical” style, in which he orchestrated the first four parts of the 2nd Symphonic Suite.

1947 on: orchestral rhetoric (Classical Symphony and subsequent orchestral scores)

The ideas which prompted the pass of Skalkottas from the stricter, ascetic style of the “2nd Symphonic Suite” to his next compositional style, say, that of the “Classical Symphony”, may be traced, both in the Skalkottian theoretical writings²⁹ and in his post-war musical production.

Such ideas are the following:

- The musical work evolves into two distinct fields. The one is “absolute”, and is organized through a set of “musical rules”. The other concerns “musical ideas”.
- In this connection, music, without losing nothing from its “absolute” quality (even if it is written for the theater), may, in the same time, narrate stories and express ideas and political messages.
- As such, the music has to reach the masses of people, which it has to educate on an evolutionary basis.

This new concept of music rules the last great part of the Skalkottian compositional output, i.e. the post-war Tonal Orchestra. This output is represented mainly by the Classical Symphony, the Echo, the Sinfonietta, the Concertino for Piano, the revision of the orchestration of the 36 Greek Dances, a new Greek Dance and the ballets, which are crowned by the grandiose setting up of “the Sea”, a sort of musical testament of its composer.

²⁹ The main “musical articles” into which such ideas are wrought and recorded are the “Collecting Ideas” (Περισυλλογή Ιδεών, 1939), “Theory and Praxis of the Musical Rules” (Θεωρία και Πράξη των Μουσικών Κανόνων), “The Power of Symphonic Concerts” (Η δύναμη των συμφωνικών συναυλιών), “How shall we write for the theater” (Πώς θα γράψουμε για το θέατρο).

In all these scores, Skalkottas forms orchestral “images” using special orchestral “rhetoric” elements, i.e. he exploits a typical and recognizable orchestral rhetoric, which he incorporates into his initial, “constructivist” conception of the musical score³⁰.

The score of the Classical Symphony gives us an idea of this novel, rhetoric setting of the new, post-war Skalkottian orchestra.

³⁰ Under this aspect, Skalkottas’ evolution reverses the principle which Umberto Eco puts in his “Theory of Semiotics” (1976) that “Rhetoric precedes Poetics” (referring to the respective Aristotelian works for Rhetoric and for Poetics). Contrarily, in Skalkottas, the poetic axes were initially set up in a “strict” manner, the latter meaning the elimination of the “rhetoric” elements. It was only at a later stage, in which rhetoric elements were incorporated, as it chanced, into an elaborated and solid, self-confident musical structure.



Introductory fanfare from the “Classical Symphony” for winds, two harps and contrabass section. It represents an expended concept of the orchestra, into which the rhetoric elements (look, for example, at the parts of the harps and of the clarinets) are being dispersed among the “structural” ones.

In this new orchestrational style – and, as it chanced, the last of the Skalkottas’ evolutionary process – some tenors of the former orchestrational styles are being, simultaneously, summarized and quasi-reversed:

- The orchestral groups and families are hierarchized, although the hierarchy is frequently reversed, in a manner to rend itself unpredictable.
- The orchestral texture is rich, sometimes “heavy” in orchestral doublings, and making frequent use of “idoling”, especially of the chordal processions.

- Impressionistic elements of the orchestra are prominent, along with the “rhetoric” ones.
- Orchestration is more “interventionist”, following the model of the orchestration of tonal ballets for little ensembles. Orchestration means are being used to carve new forms out of the material which is sketched in the partiel. The whole of the new score is more free and unpredictable.

This evolution empowered, also, the reprise, by Skalkottas, of the orchestration of the works, which had been left unorchestrated after the 1944. The Fairy-Tale “With the Spells of May”, the last parts of the 2nd symphonic suite and – had God let him live a little longer – the 2-violine concerto.

The half-finished orchestration of the 5nd part of the 2nd Symphonic Suite is Skalkottas’ last music manuscript. There is a clear-cut stylistic gap between the orchestration of the 4th part (the Largo-Sinfonico) and the 5th one. This gap represents the evolution from the one orchestrational period to the next one.

To sum up: a “Theory and Praxis of the Musical Rules”

An overview of the evolution of Skalkottas’ musical output from the one orchestrational style to the other helps us to understand the idea of “musical rules”, which is a basic concept of the Skalkottian composition.

Skalkottas himself had worded this notion of the “musical rules” as an instrument of musical composition in his “musical article” “Theory and praxis of the musical rules, which begins as follows:

“In music, we understand as “rule” the order that reigns in the horizons of the general spiritual conception. Such rules are the strictness, the freedom, the heaviness, the air³¹ and, in general, many musical detailed distinctions, which are not always presently understandable to us. A “theory” of these rules consists in the arrangement of these causes, which may result in a detailed canon³². This canon is understood as opposed to the general, and “practical” praxis of these same rules. We can present a strict order of such musical arrangements, and name it “theory of musical canons”, on the condition that we have penetrated this science. The musical rule may give to the musical reader who is interested

³¹ ὕψος: also, style, mien, touch.

³² Βιβλίον. Book, testament, also law.

for that the inspiration of a new musical creation. Such rules are the deep rules of the musical counterpoint, of the composition, of the theory, of the musical rhythm, and all this under instructions which one can assimilate if he searches in the horizons of the general music praxis. The difference between theory and praxis is derived from these same rules, and it creates a new situation”³³.

It seems a very plausible idea to approach the concept of the “musical rule” by searching the musical praxis of Skalkottas himself, the way we just did.

If the orchestrational styles differ from the one period to the other, it is the “musical rules” that differ from the one period to the other. Should we delve in a more detailed examination of these styles, we would reach the particular set of rules for every single one Skalkottian score.

Yet, the above, large-scale outline of periods in Skalkottian Orchestational style suffices to give us the notion of the musical rules, not only in their “theoretical aspect” but, also, in their “practical” one, i.e. as a theoretical frame which incites inspiration to new musical works.

³³ In the Greek original: «Εἰς τὴ μουσικὴ ἐννοοῦμε κανόνα τὴ τάξι που βασιλεύει εἰς τοὺς ὀρίζοντας τῆς γενικῆς πνευματικῆς ἀντιλήψεως, ὅπως τὴν αὐστηρότητα, τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, τὸ βάρος, τὸ ὕφος καὶ γενικά πολλὰς μουσικὰς διακλαδωτικὰς ἐπεξηγήσεις που κατ'ἀρχὴν δύσκολα μας γίνονται νοηταί. Ἡ θεωρία τῶν κανόνων αὐτῶν εἶναι ἡ διαβάθμιση τῶν πολλῶν αἰτιῶν που δημιουργοῦν μιὰ λεπτομερειακὴ βίβλο, κίολας σε ἀντίθεσι εὐρισκόμενῃ με τὴ γενικὴ καὶ "πρακτικὴ" πράξι τῶν κανόνων αὐτῶν. Μποροῦμε νὰ παρουσιάσουμε μιαν αὐστηρὴ σειρὰ μουσικῶν διατάξεων καὶ νὰ ὀνομάσουμε αὐτὴ "θεωρία μουσικῶν κανόνων" ἀφοῦ εἰσχωρήσουμε εἰς τὴν ἐπιστῆμην αὐτήν. Ὁ μουσικὸς κανὼν μπορεῖ νὰ δόσῃ εἰς τὸν ἐνδιαφερόμενον μουσικοαναγνώστη τὴν ἐμπνευσὴ μιᾶς ἀνώτερης μουσικῆς δημιουργίας, ὅπως οἱ βαθεῖς κανόνες τῆς μουσικῆς ἀντιστίξεως, τῆς συνθέσεως, τῆς θεωρίας, τοῦ μουσικοῦ ρυθμοῦ με ὁδηγίας που μπορεῖ κανεὶς νὰ ἐγκολπισθῇ ἀναζητῶν καὶ τοὺς ὀρίζοντας τῆς γενικῆς μουσικῆς πράξεως. Ἡ διαφορὰ μεταξὺ θεωρίας καὶ πράξεως ἀπεξέρχεται τῶν κανόνων αὐτῶν καὶ δημιουργεῖ μιὰ νέα κατάστασι»

It seems, on the other hand, that the “rules” which we have worded, a propos of each one of the Skalkottian orchestral periods, although “orchestrational”, in a strict sense, are, nevertheless, “musical” and, hence, “compositional”, in general.

As we have stressed from the beginning, orchestration is one of the three dimensions of the musical space, along which the Skalkottian work is evolving.

It is a dimension, both, relatively independent, and strongly correlated with the two other dimensions, the “horizontal”, timely one (= evolution of the musical work along the morphological axes) and the “vertical”, “harmonic/contrapuntal” one (= organization of musical events occurring simultaneously).

It is by force of this “relativity” principle, structuring the compositional space, that the “orchestrational” rules are, in an analogous way, to be found both, in the morphological axis and the vertical one.

These axes have to be studied – and organized – by themselves, anyway. Yet, it seems well founded the assumption that, along with his orchestrational styles, Skalkottas evolved also his morphological and his harmonic/contrapuntal styles, as the latter may be represented in a respective set of rules.

In the last analysis, a “musical rule” is raised to a height of abstraction (see, i.e., the rule “strictness”), which allows it to “rule” all the three axes, the “horizontal”, the “vertical” and the “orchestrational” ones, on an equal footing.

Under this aspect, “musical rules” are rules of a musical “grammar” that are set up ad hoc, in order to form and serve the composition of a given work. The composer follows strictly these rules, in the framework of a musical composition, in order to “speak” a “language”, into which “musical meanings” are being expressed.

On a constructive way, musical rules are a kind of compositional algorithms, valid along a given work.

A last icon: Siegfried's sword and the poetics of music

If one searches for ideas of a Wagnerian musical poetics in Wagnerian operas, he may come across interesting insights, even instructions, not only in the "Mastersingers of Nuremberg" openly "poetic" opera, but also in other of his operas. Under some aspect, the "poetic" dimension of the Wagnerian meanings may form a parallel "reading" of the Wagnerian operatic work.

I will focus, in this point, in such a parallel poetic meaning in the famous scene from Siegfried, i.e. the finale of the first act, into which Siegfried manages to rebuild his father's broken sword, using his own, impulsive and novel technique.

There is a mythical narrative, regarding this scene. It relates that the hero "who knows not fear" shall manage to rebuild the sword, hence Siegfried, who is fearless, managed to rebuild it, etc. Yet, this narrative should not absorb the attention of the listener of this opera from the "poetic" background of this scene.

Indeed, Wagner gives, along with the "mythical" narrative, a purely "technical" one. He explains the technique of the hero Siegfried's successful sword-remaking achievement in a "technical" manner, which, as such, is opposed to the failed attempts to the same direction of the dwarf Mime.

Namely, the sword which Siegfried inherited from his father had been broken into pieces.

Mime, the forger dwarf, tries to paste these pieces together, using a special alloy. This is the failed technique.

Siegfried, the hero, on the contrary, breaks up the pieces of the sword to smithereens, reducing them to their elementary bits, out of which he forges the sword da capo, following his free (and fearless!) inspiration and instinct.

The first cut of the new-forged sword, then, is to cut into two pieces the anvil onto which it itself was forged.

That idea is purely poetical, and especially fit for the musical poetics.

This is the way of forging a new musical work, not only by breaking the existing musical rules, but, moreover, reducing them to their elementary constituents, the "strictness", the "freedom", the "heaviness" ... in order to setting up a new set of rules.

This process is like setting and resetting up Aristotelian-like ontology, physics and metaphysics of music. It is this ontology, physics and metaphysics of music, which is, subsequently, materialized and sampled in musical works.

No use of trying to glue to each other ready-made pieces of theory, by using any sort of gluing alloy.

Which, by the way, seems to be the dominant academic trend throughout the modern area, both in the past and today, both in the theory and in the praxis of musical rules.

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Jazz References in Skalkottas's Solo Piano Works

Lorenda Ramou

As research on Skalkottas's oeuvre develops,¹ it reveals how fundamental it was for him to incorporate a wide array of influences from different musical genres and even to work on their integration within the same piece. In his chamber and piano music in particular, he makes an obvious statement in favour of the jazzy, dance music of his time (*Tanzjazz*). Additionally, we need to bear in mind that the composer's experience of this kind of music was that of a working practitioner, playing as he did in cinemas and cafés for a living. We, therefore, need to become acquainted with these idioms in order to be sensitive, both as interpreters and listeners, to the specific rhythms, accents and motives of *Tanzjazz* that are interwoven in his music.

I. Tanzjazz in the Weimar Republic years

Before examining its influence on Skalkottas's piano music, it is necessary to define the particularities of the genre as it was practiced during the interwar years in Germany. Owing to the unstable financial situation of the Weimar Republic after World War I and especially the hyperinflation that occurred in 1923, Germany was not an attractive destination for US artists. Subsequently, musicians and groups like Sam Woodwing, Chocolate Kiddies and Paul Whiteman and his orchestra, visited Germany only from 1925 onwards, playing a commercial, dancing jazz, and not the 'legitimate jazz' played in the USA by black musicians.

Soon after Paul Whiteman's symphonic jazz recordings were available in Germany, his style was a major influence on local orchestras. And it is within this context that Ernst

¹ For an overview of Skalkottas's piano works and more detailed information on his jazz influences, see: Ramopoulou (Ramou), Lorenda. 2017. *La musique pour piano solo de Nikos Skalkottas*. PhD dissertation, Paris: Sorbonne Université and Conservatoire National Supérieur de Musique et de Danse de Paris. It would be recommendable to add at least the most recent texts and books about Skalkottas, if one mentions research of his opus.

Krenek's *Johnny spielt auf* had its phenomenal success in 1927 and Kurt Weill composed *Royal Palace* (1927), *Mahagonny* (1927 – 1931) and *Die Dreigroschenoper* (1928). Jazz frenzy invaded Germany – and especially Berlin – by storm during the Golden Twenties and up to 1933.²

Composers were becoming acquainted with the new genre through the radio, live concerts, scores and recordings, and from 1926 they had at their disposal *Das Jazz-Buch*, the first ever jazz manual written by Alfred Baresel, which codified the features of the genre and was followed by the *Das neue Jazz-Buch* in 1929.³ Their position towards jazz was varied, ranging from a complete acceptance – as was the case for Krenek, Weill and Hindemith – to a total rejection, as was the case for Schoenberg and his circle.

II. Skalkottas's position and jazz corpus

Skalkottas was a pupil of both Weill and Schoenberg, so within his circle were composers on either side of the jazz divide. His position vis-a-vis the place of jazz can be compared to that which he held towards Greek folk music: a creative and fertile dialogue. In his (undated) article, "The New Music Literature", where he examines how a composer might handle the challenges of their era and that of different musical genres, he wrote about jazz:

*In parallel with the highest [musical] literature, one should learn about light writing, the operetta, the ditties, the revues and the short comedies; and jazz, which has influenced diverse musical fields, is further developed today and learning its musical sounds is not without merit.*⁴

² Among the bibliography concerning the definition of jazz in the Weimar Republic years, the following two entries were especially consulted: Gillian, Bryan Randolph, ed. 2005. *Music and performance in the Weimar Republic*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. and Alexiadis, Minas I. 2000. *Ernst Krenek's opera Johnny spielt auf and the influence of jazz in the European art music in the 1920s*. PhD dissertation, National and Kapodistrian University of Athens. (in Greek), [Αλεξιάδης, Μηνάς Ι. 2000. *Η όπερα του Ernst Krenek Johnny spielt auf και οι επιδράσεις της τζαζ στη λόγια ευρωπαϊκή μουσική κατά τη δεκαετία του 1920*. Διδακτορική διατριβή. Εθνικό και Καποδιστριακό Πανεπιστήμιο Αθηνών].

<https://thesis.ekt.gr/thesisBookReader/id/22180?lang=el#page/70/mode/2up> (access 30.11.2021).

³ Baresel, Alfred. 1929. *Das Jazz-Buch*, (Leipzig: Zimmermann, 1926). and Alfred Baresel. *Das neue Jazzbuch*, Leipzig: Zimmermann.

⁴ Skalkottas, Nikos. "The New Music Literature", manuscript ?, 7, [«Η νέα μουσική φιλολογία»], copy in Lorenda Ramou's archive. Skalkottas's unpublished articles can be found today only in copies in various private archives; it is unknown where the originals are located. [«Μαζί δε με την ανώτερη φιλολογία θα γνωρίσουμε και την ελαφρά, την οπερέττα, τα τραγουδάκια, τις επιθεωρήσεις και τις μικρές κωμωδίες· και η τζαζ που επέδρασε στους διάφορους μουσικούς κλάδους έχει σήμερα πολύ εξελιχθεί και δεν θάτανε άχρηστο να γνωρίσουμε κι αυτούς τους μουσικούς ήχους»].

We will consider the use of jazz and dance elements in Skalkottas's music and how this evolved from his first pieces written in 1924 to his mature cycle of 32 *pieces*. The Ragtime (legitimate) was not a dance, but this distinction was not clear to musicians in the Weimar Republic and so is also included in our list. In total, we find seven pieces which refer to *Tanzjazz* in Skalkottas's works:

- Suite (1924), III *Shimmy tempo*
- Sonatina (1927), III Finale 32 Piano Pieces (1940):
 - 14 Tango
 - 18 Foxtrot 'Der alte Polizist' (The Old Policeman)
 - 25 Ragtime
 - 26 Slow foxtrots
 - 28 Blues.

The main theme of the Tango also appears as an ironic reminiscence in the piece 3 Short Variations on a mountain theme (4th variation). Moreover, it is necessary to mention a 'camouflaged' piece: the Menuet of Suite n° 3, which has more in common with a tango than a menuet. Sound colour inspired by jazz orchestras might give a new perspective in the interpretation of 15 Little Variations (1927), especially in accompaniments reminding double bass broken chords and pizzicatos (var. I, II, XIII). Overall, references to jazz are found in approximately 10% percent of Skalkottas's pianistic body of work. This percentage demonstrates that they are not episodic references, but a constant characteristic of his compositional thought and his writing for the instrument.⁵

⁵ For a comprehensive idea of the extent of the references to *Tanzjazz* in Skalkottas, it is important to also mention the Tango and the Foxtrot from 1924 which respectively constitute the first movement of the first Suite for two pianos and the second (and therefore last) movement of the second Suite for two pianos; these are, however outside the scope of the present article.

III. The Early Works (1924–1927)

a. Suite (1924): III Shimmy tempo

The Shimmy is a dance characterised by a very rapid movement of the shoulders and the torso, which gained much popularity in the 1910s and the early 1920s, as a variant of the foxtrot and the one step. Judged to be indecent, it was heavily criticised and finally banned as a salon dance. It is difficult to establish a typology of the shimmy dance in art music; works such as Milhaud's *Caramel mou*, Martinu's *La nouvelle marionnette* or even the Shimmy in Suite 1922 by Hindemith do not feature common points in the use of syncopated rhythms and left-hand strum.

By indicating 'Shimmy tempo (♩ = 92)' for the final movement of the *Suite* of 1924, Skalkottas adheres to the usage made by German musicians, for whom the essential difference regarding salon dances was in their tempo.⁶ Skalkottas must have known Hindemith's Shimmy before composing the Suite; this is what can be supposed after comparing the two pieces, which underline interesting connections:

- a) Chromaticism in the principal themes of the two works and groups of chromatic quintuplets, ascending and descending:



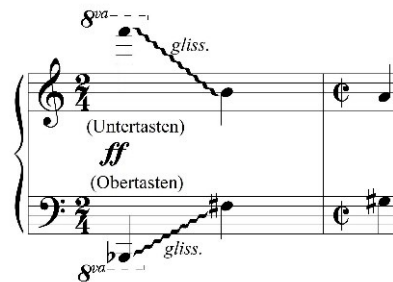
Ex. n° 1a, P. Hindemith, *Shimmy* (Suite 1922), [without indication of T°], mm. 4 – 5 [© Schott Music]

⁶ This concept is presented in Baresel, *Das Jazz-Buch*, 10. According to the usage of the time, One-step, Foxtrot and Blues formed part of the family of 'marches', having different tempos. In the *Threepenny Opera*, Weill also inserted these tempo indications as the 'Blues Tempo', 'Shimmy Tempo', 'Foxtrot Tempo'. His Shimmy tempo is slightly faster than that of Skalkottas, ♩ = 96.



Ex. n° 1b, N. Skalkottas, *Shimmy tempo*, $\text{♩} = 92$, mm. 73–76, composer's autograph, Skalkottas Archive, Music Library of Greece [S.A., MLG]

- b) glissandos for contrasting movements of the two hands, reminiscent of trombone glissandos, characteristic of jazz orchestras:



Ex. n° 2a, P. Hindemith, *Shimmy (Suite 1922)*, mm. 31 [© Schott Music]



Ex. n° 2b, N. Skalkottas, *Shimmy tempo*, $\text{♩} = 92$, mm. 22, S.A., MLG: we can observe the same arrangement with the left hand on the black keys ('schwarze Tasten') and the right hand on the white keys:

- c) a thickening of texture at the repetition of the principal theme, with an orchestral disposition:



Ex. n° 3a, P. Hindemith, *Shimmy* (Suite 1922), Breit, mm. 64 [© Schott Music]

Ex. n° 3b, N. Skalkottas, Breit, mm. 124/2–128 /2, S.A., MLG:

The two pieces are both constructed in a tripartite form; but that of Skalkottas is more extended and elaborated, with a symmetric formal design. We can note his desire to reconcile the tradition of art music with jazz: the middle part (B) is based on imitations of a contrapuntal treatment of voices. Even if the motivic material derives from the first theme, it constitutes a stylistic rupture, as well as an enrichment, which differentiates Skalkottas's *Shimmy* piece from that by Hindemith. Regarding its interpretation, it invites pianists to aim towards an orchestral timbre, where jazz band instruments, such as saxophones and trombones, would have a prominent role.

b. Sonatine (1927): Finale

The *Sonatine* was completed on 6 March 1927. During the same period, Skalkottas was steeped in the orchestration for the first operetta by his friend the composer Yiannis Constandinidis, *Das Liebesbazillus* [The Love Microbe], whose premiere was to take

place at Stralsund (Germany) on March 10 of the same year.⁷ Jazzy pieces were a big part of this operetta, which enjoyed great success. The Finale of the Sonatina is the most developed jazz movement of Skalkottas's first compositional period.⁸ It does not have a specific title; the rhythmic groupings (3+3+2) of its first part recapture the principal rhythm of the Charleston, two dotted quavers followed by one quaver,⁹ often against the regularity of a strumming bass (mm. 1–3 and mm. 73–74):



Ex. n° 4, N. Skalkottas *Sonatina, Finale*, mm. 1–3, 73–74, S.A., MLG

Main features of this movement:

- Piano writing is not the substitute of an orchestral thinking (as it was in the Shimmy)
- Fast speed (♩ = 108, just below the 112 which Baresel mentions as the foxtrot tempo)¹⁰ as more linear virtuoso passages are dominant here.

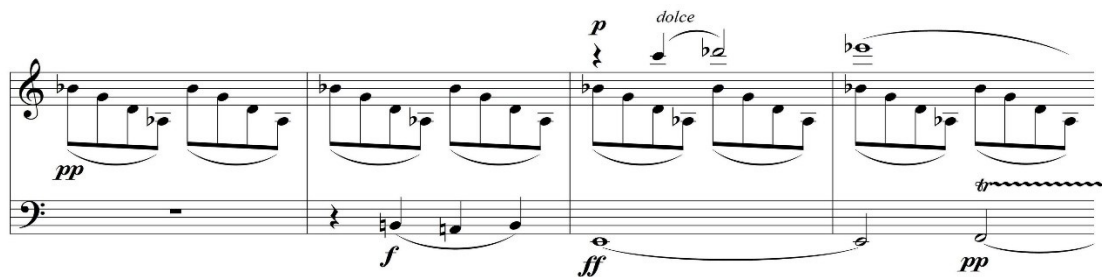
⁷ All information concerning the operetta is to be found in the concert program Yiannidis, Costas. 2009. *The Love Microbe*. Athens: Greek National Opera. [Γιαννίδης, Κώστας. 2009. *Το Μικρόβιο του Έρωτα*. Αθήνα: Εθνική Λυρική Σκηνή].

⁸ It is interesting to note here that the Sonatina for piano by Constandinidis, written at the same time as that by Skalkottas (1927), does not feature any jazz influences.

⁹ For the origins and rhythm of the charleston see Schuller, Gunther. 1986. *Early Jazz Its roots and musical development*. USA: OUP, p. 20.

¹⁰ Baresel, *Das Jazz-Buch*, 10.

- The alternation of bars containing different rhythmic groupings (3+3+2, 3+2+3, 4+4 etc.) is an added difficulty, which does, however, give the piece a great liveliness and vivacity.
- We encounter, as was also the case for the Shimmy, parts which, while principally deriving from the first theme in motivic terms, create a stylistic rupture. Here, the second theme suddenly introduces a romantic texture and a contrasting rhythmic regularity, reminiscent of Mendelssohn's *Songs without words*. This juxtaposition of styles and eras was to become a defining feature of Skalkottas's style:



Ex. n° 5, N. Skalkottas Sonatina, Finale, mm. 32–35

- The indication *improvisierend!* (ex. n° 8, mm.99) just before the coda is unique in Skalkottas's pianistic work. It is a false pretence; this part is written down, but it calls for a more irregular pulse and freedom in the phrasing, recalling a short piano solo within a jazz band:



Ex. n° 6, N. Skalkottas Sonatina, Finale, mm. 99 – 110, S.A., MLG

Some months after the composition of this piece, Skalkottas would change course in order to move towards atonality, with the 15 Little Variations; references to jazz would go on to become subtler and persist solely in his mature works, this time combined with atonality.

IV. Pieces with jazz influences included in the cycle of the 32 Piano Pieces

After 1927, Skalkottas did not compose works with jazz references until 1940. During these years, he was preoccupied with work inspired by demotic music (*36 Dances for orchestra, Death and the Maiden*), as well as the development of his own atonal language. With the cycle of the 32 Piano Pieces, he renewed his dialogue with jazz, as part of the overview of piano literature which he realised in the composition of this cycle. Nevertheless, we do not find in it any remnants of the Berlin style of jazz delivered in its original state. At the same time, the influence of the Athenian scene should not be underestimated; there, starting with his return in 1933, he would have definitely heard the tangos and foxtrots in fashion from the latest operettas and revues, genres which flourished in the city during the interwar period.

Many of the big hits of this scene were written by his friend Yannis Constandinidis who, under the pseudonym Costas Yiannidis, had a successful career in popular music. Constandinidis had brought with him all his experience from Berlin where he had played the piano in cabarets (such as the famous *Die Wespen* [The Wasps]), theatre orchestras and silent movie halls. Thus, one part of the music of this Athenian scene was fed by a composer trained in Berlin.¹¹ Let's examine the ways in which these diverse elements originating from different sources were combined in the corpus in question.

a. 14 Tango

The Tango is the first piece in the cycle of 32 which has a title relating to jazz.¹² Skalkottas was in contact with multiple facets of this genre, which was popular throughout the

¹¹ See Σεिरαγάκης, Μανώλης. «Βερολινέζικο καμπαρέ και αθηναϊκή επιθεώρηση», *Το Μικρόβιο του Έρωτα Γιαννίδης, Κώστας*. ό.π., σ. 31-35, [Seiragakis, Manolis. "The Berlinese Cabaret and the Athenian revue, The Love Microbe". Yiannidis, Costas. 31 –35].

¹² During the 1930s in Athens, fashionable dances such as the tango and the foxtrot were also considered a type of jazz. Stella Peppas, a pianist who had studied at the Hochschule in Berlin from 1920 to 1922 had written an article entitled 'The principal directions of contemporary music' in the Athenian magazine *Moussiki Zoe* [Μουσική Ζωή] 6 (March 1931): 126 –128, where she referred to Paul Whiteman "who had succeeded in subjugating the spontaneous and improvisational music of black Africans in North America into a stylistic system with set rules, which later established itself as a novel artistic source" [Ο P. Whiteman επέτυχε πρώτος να υποτάξει την αυθόρμητη και εκ του προχείρου (improvisé) μουσική των μαύρων της Β. Αμερικής εις τους νόμους ενός ωρισμένου style που αργότερα επεβλήθη ως μία νέα καλλιτεχνική πηγή].

1930s and 1940s.¹³ If we begin by examining examples of tangos from art music,¹⁴ and those by Skalkottas, we can find certain elements scattered across each piece, though without being able to establish a clear connection between any of them. In 1931, Costas Yiannidis founded a jazz orchestra under his name in Athens. The musicians came from other Athenian classical music orchestras and were of a high quality, as evidenced by the recordings which survive in the composer's archives.¹⁵ What is, in fact, striking in these recordings is the division of phrases in several levels of orchestration, which create a wholly complex texture, characterised by short motivic interventions of different groups of instruments. We can also see this type of arrangement between the different voices in Skalkottas's piece. At the motivic level, we can detect a kinship between the principal theme of his Tango with the song *As if it was yesterday* [Λες και ήταν χθες] (1938) by Yiannidis (which, in this case, is not a tango but a waltz).



Ex. n° 7a, C. Yiannidis, *Λες και ήταν χθες* [*As if it was yesterday*], 1938



Ex. n° 7b, N. Skalkottas *32 Piano Pieces: 14 Tango*, mm. 4–7

¹³ For a detailed description of tango in this decade, see: <http://www.walternelson.com/dr/tango> (access 30.11.2021), and Koufou, Angeliki. 2011. "*Tango culture in interwar Greece (1922-1940): a musicological and anthropological approach*". PhD dissertation. Athens: National and Kapodistrian University of Athens. [Κουφού, Αγγελική. 2011. "*Η κουλτούρα του τανγκό στην Ελλάδα του μεσοπολέμου (1922-1940: μια μουσικολογική και ανθρωπολογική προσέγγιση*". Διδακτορική διατριβή. Αθήνα: Εθνικό και Καποδιστριακό Πανεπιστήμιο Αθηνών.]

¹⁴ Such as Stravinsky's Tango from *The Soldier's Tale*, and *Tango* for piano, Satie's *Tango*, Milhaud's 'Fratellini Tango' from *The Ox on the roof*, Weill's 'Tango Ballad' from the *Threepenny Opera*, Schulhoff's Tango from the *5 Jazz Studies*.

¹⁵ Konstandinidis's archive is under classification at the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, Music Department.

Or again between the rhythm of the repeated notes in the principal motif of the song *Forget me'* [Ξέχασέ με] (1933) and the second part of the Tango by Skalkottas:



Ex. 8a, C. Yiannidis, *Ξέχασέ με* [Forget me], 1933, mm. 1–4



Ex. 8b, N. Skalkottas, *32 Piano Pieces: 14 Tango*, mm. 37–39

Skalkottas's Tango offers the interpreter a perfect opportunity for the use of an orchestral timbre on the piano, which is ubiquitous in his work. Considering that the model for the orchestration of the Tango could have been the type of jazz orchestra founded by Yiannidis in Athens, the work of the interpreter consists in attributing a distinct timbre to each different motif, in such a way as to be immediately recognisable to the listener, not solely through its rhythmic or melodic characteristics but also – and more importantly – through the quality of its sound. Each motif is like a distinct thread which contributes to the 'weaving' of the piece and its texture of small complementary touches. The rhythmic motifs, though deriving from the core structuring motif, acquire their own distinct identity, even while being superimposed.

The work on the rhythm and the construction of the form of this piece are the fruit of compositional techniques deriving from abstract music, but based on types of motifs which originate in light music and feature a sound inspired by jazz orchestras. It is this combination which defines, among other elements, the new style of piano pieces Skalkottas is introducing with this collection.

b. 32 Piano Pieces: 18 Foxtrot 'Der alter Polizist' (The Old Policeman)

Skalkottas proposes here a fashionable foxtrot in a film-inspired piece; we can only speculate on the possible connection of this piece with a film character – and our research on this point has been inconclusive – but the title remains evocative and inspiring.

Der alter Polizist is a 'hot' foxtrot, the fast version of this very popular dance (also called one-step) that spread in Europe after the Great War and which had its origins in the syncopated dances of ragtime. Skalkottas presents his material simply; it is a piece in which the introductory theme (mm. 1–5) and the two main themes (mm. 6–10, 25–30) reappear in various ways, enriched, interspersed with different bridges, but without being part of an elaborate formal work, or a progression towards a climax:



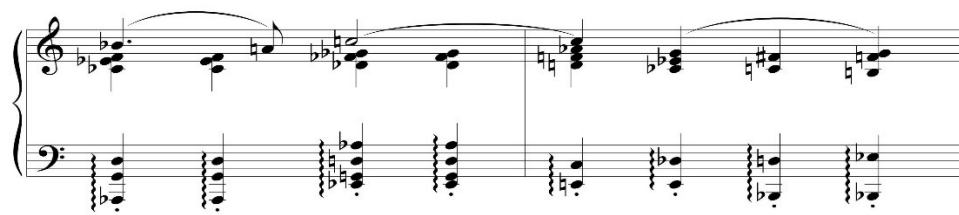
Ex. n° 9a, 'Der alte Polizist', Tempo giusto $\text{♩} = 120-140$, mm. 25–28



Ex. n° 9b, 'Der alte Polizist', Tempo giusto $\text{♩} = 120-140$, mm. 58–61



Ex. n° 9c, 'Der alte Polizist', Tempo giusto $\text{♩} = 120-140$, mm. 62–65



Ex. n° 9d, 'Der alte Polizist', Tempo giusto $\text{♩} = 120\text{--}140$, mm. mm. 66–69

The composer retains the characteristics of this dance, while reinterpreting it through atonal harmony: chordal introduction with accentuated off-beats, pumping bass, a simple accompanied melodic line that follows a bridge with a denser and freer texture. The tempo is as fast as possible for a 'hot' fox; it is advisable that an interpreter familiarize themselves with some period recordings for a better understanding of this style, which combines melodic suppleness with lightness of accompaniment and rhythmic liveliness.¹⁶

c. 32 Piano Pieces: 25 Ragtime (Tanz)

Ragtime is described by jazz historian Gunther Schuller as “another form of African-American music leading to the full bloom of jazz”. It would be a mistake to regard it as a genre preceding jazz, because the essential characteristics of the latter are totally absent from ragtime: its harmonic content comes from European music and not from the blues; improvisation and the feeling of swing are totally absent; it is entirely notated piano music and not music for jazz band or orchestra.¹⁷

*Ragtime is based on black dance music [...] It was conceived as highly functional music, as formalized communal dance music [...] This was the basic use of ragtime - rhythmic piano sounds converted into motion.*¹⁸

¹⁶ Here are two examples of the hot foxtrot recorded in Berlin in the beginning of the 1930s: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LswrWmQVR1U&index=39&list=PLAB1E5B08E4E46751> and <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kU09xlr41Zw> (access 30.11.2021)

¹⁷ Correspondence with the jazz pianist, musicologist and professor at the University of Athens Minas Alexiadis on 5 June 2016. For Greek readers, see more on the relation between ragtime and jazz in Alexiadis, *Krenek's opera Johnny spielt auf*, 70.

¹⁸ Schafer, William J., and Johannes Riedel. 1973. *The art of Ragtime form and meaning of an original Black American art*. Louisiana: Louisiana State University Press, 6 – 9.

In the confusion about jazz music in Germany in the 1920s (discussed at the beginning), ragtime was considered “a dance piece, which carries all the characteristics of jazz” and which “shifts the rhythm and at the same time the dynamics. This results in a variation of melody and harmony, which is then applied to jazz”.¹⁹ Becoming almost synonymous with jazz, it was played in Berlin by various large light music orchestras, to the delight of steppers, the dancers disseminating the one step, the basic step from which many variations came about.²⁰ Ragtime influenced the composers of art music: Skalkottas would surely have been familiar with these works, yet his piece is not inspired by the purity of Stravinsky’s Ragtime of the *Soldier’s Tale*, the simplicity of Satie’s Ragtime of the liner (*Parade*), the freedom of Milhaud’s *Three Rag Caprices*, or the explosiveness or, even the aggressiveness, of Hindemith’s Ragtime (*Suite 1922*). It is closer to the Berlin version of the genre we have just described (its title includes the word *Tanz*), while retaining an atonal harmony (with a chromatic first theme), excluding exact repetitions of the themes and raising the pianistic virtuosity to a very high level. Some of the classic characteristics of the genre are incorporated, such as the introduction in homorhythmic chords in both hands; the persistence of the pumps in the left-hand themes with a great deal of rhythmic variety; a thematic repetition with double notes or octaves; and the absence of development.

Skalkottas doesn’t always follow the phrasal ‘squareness’ of the popular ragtimes of his time. He prefers to build a climax, as well as a conclusive section, by using different textures and registers of the instrument; thus, the interpreter has the opportunity to search for a variety of timbers, according to each particular disposition. An overview of the different appearances of the main theme (A) makes this explicit:



¹⁹ Translated by Nikos Tsalikis. “Ein Tanzstück, das alle Merkmale des Jazz in sich trägt, nennt der Amerikaniker ‚Ragtime‘ als Gegensatz zu einem Tanzstück in ‚straight time‘ [...] Er verschiebt den Rythmus und damit zugleich die dynamischen Verhältnisse. Daraus ergibt sich eine Abwandlung der Melodik und Harmonik, die beim Jazz dann auch ohne rhythmische Begründung angewandt wird“. Baresel, *Das Jazz-Buch*, 10.

²⁰ Listen to some recordings of the era:

<https://www.discogs.com/Various-Jazz-In-Deutschland-Vol-1-Vom-Ragtime-Zum-Hot-Jazz-1912-1928/release/8526942> (access 30.11.2021).

<http://grammophon-platten.de/page.php?206> site showcasing the repertoire of jazz albums recorded in Germany containing, among others, ragtimes, with some pieces available to listen (access 30.11.2021)



Ex. n° 10, 'Ragtime, Sehr schnell, (from left to right) mm. 4, 8, 23, 27, 44, 59

d. 32 Piano Pieces: 26 Slow foxtrots

Slow foxtrot can be related to 'Der alte Polizist' as parts of a different (sub)genre: the first piece is a sweet foxtrot, while the second is a *hot* foxtrot.

*The foxtrot [...] was the most popular/widespread dance during the 1920s and 30s - and it was also the easiest. The basic steps were nothing more than a calm and graceful walk [...] Jazz at the time was generally classified as either "Sweet" or "Hot". The Sweet Jazz had a moderate to slow tempo, and a smooth, mellow sound. The Hot Jazz was moderate to fast tempo with a brash, bouncy, jazzy feel. Sweet Jazz made you want to glide and sway. Hot Jazz made you want to shake, shimmy, kick and spin. Within these categories, each piece had its own spirit, and the measure of a good dancer was the ability to match the dance to the music.*²¹

[The slow Foxtrot and the fast one] differ in mood but not in structure.²²

The comparison between the two foxtrots by Skalkottas confirms the classification offered by Nelson in the above quotation. The composer wishes to present his own version of the most representative versions of the jazz dances of his time, while maintaining the characteristics of each genre. There is, in fact, a very similar structure maintained between 'The Old Policeman' and the Slow Foxtrot, shown in the two themes after the initial introduction. The whole formed by the introduction and the two themes is taken up again in the last section of the two foxes, while their middle part is formed by variants of these themes, primarily differentiated in their texture. The Slow Foxtrot is more elaborate and technically challenging than 'The Old Policeman'. Although we could attribute to its main theme a kinship with the rebetika, it should be

²¹ Walter Nelson. "The Jazz Age Foxtrot", at <http://www.walternelson.com/dr/foxtrot> (access 30.11.2021).

²² Walter Nelson. "Hot Jazz Foxtrot (One-Step)", <http://www.walternelson.com/dr/one-step> (access 30.11.2021).

noted, that the dotted rhythm is an element that is also often present in the slow foxes of Berlin dance bands, or in the slow foxes of Yiannidis.²³ The main theme of the Slow Foxtrot develops in a context of an almost modal harmony, which differs for each of its appearances. In the middle section, ascending arpeggios on fifths accompany the theme.

In this piece, Skalkottas simply confirms his taste for a hybrid style, made up of the re-contextualisation of previously known elements. One of the most common motifs in piano literature, a theme played by the right hand accompanied by arpeggios on the left hand, combines the two advocated types of interwar music as they were perceived in Germany: on the one hand, *Tanzjazz* (right hand), on the other, atonality (left hand). And to further confuse the issue, if our hypothesis that the main theme relates to the style of the rebetika is correct, it should be construed as having an instrumental colouring reminiscent of a bouzouki.²⁴

The Blues is a second realisation of the idea that the composer has already developed in the Slow Foxtrot. In addition to the thematic and phrasal similarities between the two pieces, the middle section here also combines the main theme with a short accompaniment. The difference with the Slow foxtrot lies in the greater speed of the accompaniment and in its intervals, ranging from the chromatic movement to a few fourths and rarely fifths. The difficulty of the performance is increased (compared to the *Slow Foxtrot*) by the retention of an additional accompaniment part in the bass:

²³ Here, we recommend listening to the piece by Paul Goodwin *Maskenball im Gänsestall* (1932) <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4lQ1aljzvlk>, (access 30.11.2021). That of Yiannidis, though later, nonetheless informs us on the typology of this *slow fox* : *Τι σου λένε τα λουλούδια* [What the flowers tell you] (1947) <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pYRtSfMZ8dl> (access 30.11.2021).

²⁴ Charles Howard, renowned researcher of rebetika, had concluded during a private meeting that the main theme of Slow foxtrot and Blues cannot be related with any rebetiko song of the same period, although they bear certain features of the genre. Date of the meeting?



Ex. n° 11a, N. Skalkottas, 32 Piano Pieces: 26 Slow foxtrot, mm. 27–28



Ex. n° 11b, N. Skalkottas, Blues mm. 29-31

Traces of early works persist in the last bars of the Blues, coming from Shimmy tempo of the 1924 Suite, and from the finale of the Greek Suite:



Ex. n° 12a, N. Skalkottas, 32 Piano Pieces: 28 Blues, mm. 45–46



Ex. n° 12b, N. Skalkottas, 32 Piano Pieces: 3 Shimmy tempo, mm. 156–158



Ex. n° 12c, N. Skalkottas, Greek Suite, Finale, mm. 177

Skalkottas's *Blues* has no relation to the harmonic material of the blues of African-American musicians, nor to its form. The information that composers living in Germany in the 1920s could get from Baresel's *Das Jazz-Buch* was that the blues “derived from the family of marches” and was “a melancholy negro song” in tempo was = 76. This tempo does indeed seem well suited to Skalkottas's *Blues*, which is close to those written by composers of art music, and particularly to that of Erwin Schulhoff, included in his *5 Jazz Studies* (1926). Schulhoff's *Blues* is less elaborate than Skalkottas's, yet several elements are similar: the dotted rhythm and the alternation or concordance of this rhythm in both hands; the melodic design of the theme and its pitches; and the appearance of the short value strokes in the middle part, accompanying the theme.



Ex. n° 13a, E. Schulhoff, 5 jazz studies, II. Blues, mm. 1-4 [Universal Edition]



Ex. n° 13b, N. Skalkottas, 32 Piano Pieces: 28 Blues, mm. 1–2



Ex. n° 14, E. Schulhoff 5 Jazz Studies, II. Blues mm. 21–22 [© Universal Edition], to compare with N. Skalkottas, 32 Piano Pieces: 28 Blues, mm. 29–31 in ex. n° 11b

Our conclusion about the Blues is very similar to that about the Slow foxtrot: it is a piece that combines some of the conventions accepted in Germany in the 1920s and may have been written in knowledge of Schulhoff's homonymous piece. At the same time, the harmony of the theme can be explained as belonging to the hizaz mode, while its rhythm and melodic design resemble a rebetiko song, a genre that was part of Skalkottas's daily life in the Metaxourgeio neighbourhood where he lived. He was interested in the complexity that emanates, both at the level of piano virtuosity and at the level of mixing of harmonic language, through the coexistence - and complementarity- of modality with atonality and that of a musical genre of popular origin with the sophistication of art composition. The “melancholic negro song” met the pessimism of the rebetika in this “new piano style” where everything became possible.

Resuming our findings of each individual piece, we can conclude that Skalkottas in his early jazz-inspired pieces shows his awareness of other compositions of his time with similar characteristics, while in his later style he favours a more complex and personal stylistic mixture, standing in the crossroads between popular music, free atonality, rigorous formal construction and an elaborate compositional technique. The introduction of features emanating from dance music is never a simple imitation, not

even a direct borrowing, but the opportunity for a creative work which aims towards a new style of composition. The traces of songs of his Athenian milieu in the above examined corpus, confirm that Skalkottas was constantly absorbing all the different music genres from his environment, and was subsequently proceeding into a fine-tuned and personal elaboration, without any hierarchies between them.

Thanks to the Music Library of Greece for the use of the Skalkottas's autograph examples, Minas I. Alexiadis and Lambros Liavas for insightful information and access to private archives, Niki Krasaki and Chris Herbert Sakellaridis for editing matters.

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The *32 Piano Pieces* by Nikos Skalkottas: A Cycle or a Collection of Pieces?

Annini Tsioutis

This paper draws on the author's extensive doctoral research (Tsioutis 2019) on Nikos Skalkottas's *32 Piano Pieces*, using the autograph sources available at the Nikos Skalkottas Archive in Athens (The Music Library of Greece "Lilian Voudouri" n.d.). A brief presentation of the two existing autograph manuscripts and of the accompanying text, in Greek and German, is followed by selected examples from the work, which support the argument for considering the *32 Piano Pieces* a cycle, albeit one presenting considerable material difficulties in its interpretation. Through a comparative study of the manuscripts, it is argued that Skalkottas was conscious of the difficulties, and thus obliterated any indications that might restrict pianists to a compulsory performance of the whole cycle, thus offering new possibilities for interpretative and performative choices.

1. The autograph manuscripts

Nikos Skalkottas (1904-1949) composed the *32 Piano Pieces* in 1940 in Athens. Several pieces are dated at the end of the score; we thus know that the whole collection was completed during the summer months of that year (Thornley 2008, 384).¹ There are two existing autographs of the work, a draft copy and a later, fair copy (Papaioannou 1997a, 419-22). The draft copy contains the files numbered β2, β3, and β5, and the fair copy

¹ According to Thornley, the pieces were probably written "[...] between mid-June and mid-August 1940—many of the pieces are dated in the draft manuscript. Three of them have their dates followed by exclamation marks. 'Juni 21 – 1940!' was the date on which France capitulated and the eve of the armistice; 'Juni 24 – 1940!' was the date of the Italian armistice with France; this suggests that Skalkottas might well have been following the war news from France closely (perhaps because of his concern for Rudi Goehr, now living in Paris). It is unclear what historic event on '11 August – 1940!' may have prompted Skalkottas to mark this third date" (Thornley 2008, 384). For a visualisation of the dates on the score, see Examples 8 and 11.

contains the files $\beta 1,2$.² In both autographs, the music is essentially the same, down to the smallest details of articulations or dynamics, except for certain pieces, where some measures differ from one autograph to the other; the total number of measures of the piece is however maintained in both cases.³ There is also a third document, classified as $\beta 5$, a single hand-written page on which the composer wrote the titles of the pieces. These three documents present certain differences in the order of the titles, as well as in the titles themselves. Table 1 summarizes these differences.

² The numbering of the manuscripts follows the numbering presented in the Nikos Skalkottas Archive (The Music Library of Greece, “Lilian Voudouri” n.d.).

³ For a detailed comparison of the two existing autographs of the *32 Piano Pieces*, see Tsioutis (2019, 415-428).

AUTOGRAPH ⁴	DRAFT (β5)	DRAFT (β2, β3)	FAIR (β1,2)
Different title	I. <i>Intermezzo - Preludio</i>	I. No title ⁵	I. No title
	IV. <i>Filmmusik (Katastrophe auf dem Urwald)</i>	IV. <i>Katastrophe auf dem Urwald (Filmmusik)</i>	IV. <i>Katastrophe auf dem Urwald (Filmmusik)</i>
	IX. <i>Vierstimmiger Kanon (Kleiner)</i>	IX. <i>Vierstimmiger Kleiner Kanon</i>	VIII. <i>Vierstimmiger Kleiner Kanon</i>
	XVIII. <i>Foxtrot (der alte Polizist)</i>	XVII. <i>Foxtrot - Der alte Polizist</i>	XVIII. <i>Foxtrot - Der alte Polizist</i>
	XIX. <i>Etude Fantastique</i>	XIX. <i>Etüde Phantastique</i>	XIX. <i>Etüde Phantastique</i>
	XXI. <i>Romance</i>	XXI. <i>Romance - Lied</i>	XXI. <i>Romance – Lied</i>
	XXV. <i>Ragtime</i>	XXV. <i>Ragtime (Tanz)</i>	XXV. <i>Ragtime (Tanz)</i>
	XXXII. <i>Bauernschlussmarsch</i>	XXXII. <i>Kleiner Bauernmarsch</i>	XXXII. <i>Kleiner Bauernmarsch</i>
Different order	VIII. <i>Marcia Funebra</i>	VIII. <i>Marcia Funebra</i>	VIII. <i>Vierstimmiger Kleiner Kanon</i>
	IX. <i>Vierstimmiger Kleiner Kanon</i>	IX. <i>Vierstimmiger Kleiner Kanon</i>	IX. <i>Marcia Funebra</i>
	X. <i>Sonatina</i>	IX. <i>Sonatina</i>	X. <i>Sonatina</i>
	XI. <i>Partita</i>	X. <i>Partita</i>	XI. <i>Partita</i>
	XII. <i>Kleine Serenade</i>	XI. <i>Kleine Serenade</i>	XII. <i>Kleine Serenade</i>
	XIII. <i>Intermezzo</i>	XIII. <i>Tango</i>	XIII. <i>Intermezzo</i>
	XIV. <i>Tango</i>	XIV. <i>Passacaglia</i>	XIV. <i>Tango</i>
	XV. <i>Passacaglia</i>	XV. <i>Nachtstück</i>	XV. <i>Passacaglia</i>
	XVI. <i>Nachtstück</i>	XVI. <i>Das Frühstückchen der kleiner Magd</i>	XVI. <i>Nachtstück</i>
	XVII. <i>Das Frühstückchen der kleiner Magd</i>	XVII. <i>Foxtrot - Der alte Polizist</i>	XVII. <i>Das Frühstückchen der kleiner Magd</i>
	XVIII. <i>Foxtrot (der alte Polizist)</i>	XVIII. <i>Etüde Phantastique</i>	XVIII. <i>Foxtrot - Der alte Polizist</i>

Table 5. Differences in the order and titles of the 32 Piano Pieces, between draft and fair copies, and file β5.

⁴ The files are presented here from left to right, in what we believe to be their chronological order.

⁵ In both the draft and fair copies, the title of each piece is preceded by the word *Klavierstück* and a number. The first piece is a particular case, since, when the composer removes the title *Intermezzo – Preludio*, present on the manuscript page β5, it remains without a title, except for the indication *I. Klavierstück*. Other researchers refer to the piece by its character indication, *Andante religioso* (Demertzis 1999, 91-92; Hadzinikos 2006).

Some comments on Table 1:

a. In β5, the first piece is given an introductory title (I. *Intermezzo – Preludio*) and the last one a concluding one (XXXII. *Bauernschlussmarsch*). In the other manuscripts, these distinguishing, opening and closing, elements are absent.⁶ This is the only major difference in titles between the three existing versions, the others being rearrangements in the order of the words. The elimination, by Skalkottas, of textual references to the opening and ending of the cycle⁷ or collection, indicates that he was aware of the fact that the work in question was of extreme proportions. It is thus not surprising that he entitles the work *32 Piano Pieces*, without making use of the word “cycle”. By not specifying, textually, whether the work is conceived as a whole or simply as a collection of pieces, the composer leaves the choice to the pianist, and thus maximizes its chances of being performed. He adopts the same stance in the manuscript text, written in both Greek and German, which accompanies the music, entitled “Einige Bemerkungen zu den Klavierstücken / Μερικά παρατηρήσεις εις τα έργα για πιάνο” [Some remarks on the piano pieces].⁸ In this text, Skalkottas explains his novel approach to writing for piano, his wish that these pieces be presented in public, and that they be appreciated, not only by the audience but also by the pianists performing them. He exhorts the pianist to be parsimonious in the use of the pedal and assures him that all technical difficulties can be overcome, if he follows the music. The pianist is the “guiding artist” in this venture.⁹ Nowhere in this accompanying manuscript text does Skalkottas mention the word “cycle”, nor does he specify that the pieces constitute a whole, that they should be performed all together.

b. In the draft copy, Skalkottas numbers two pieces IX and then continues the numbering normally. This error changes the numbering of all subsequent pieces, until the composer catches up with the correct number at piece n^o. XX. *Berceuse*.

⁶ This is also noted by Papaioannou (1997a, 420).

⁷ When the word “cycle” is used, it is not in the same sense as when it is used in reference, for example, to works by César Franck, such as the *Sonata in A major* for violin and piano. Franck illustrated cyclic form in multi-movement works such as this, where elements returned and reappeared from one movement to the next, offering unity to the whole. This is not the case with the *32 Piano Pieces* (to be more precise, this has yet to be shown with respect to the *32 Piano Pieces*). If the work was conceived as a whole by Skalkottas—and indeed the aim of this paper is to provide arguments that it was—the recurring elements, motives, and rhythms, quotations from one piece to the next, are not potent enough to be recognized as such by the listener. The question, however, remains open; this paper, as well as the author’s personal research, is conducted from the point of view of the pianist. A combination of different approaches could only be beneficial not only for research per se, but also for the interpretation of the music itself.

⁸ For the full text in Greek and German, see Papaioannou (1997b, 298-300).

⁹ In German: “[...] der Pianist der führende Künstler ist”; in Greek: “[...] ο πιανίστας είναι ο οδηγών καλλιτέχνης”.

c. Notwithstanding the error in numbering noted previously, Skalkottas seems to hesitate as to which piece should come first, the *Vierstimmiger Kleiner Kanon*, or the *Marcia Funebra*. This hesitation implies, among other things, that one of the two pieces could play a structuring or *separating* role in the linear order of the pieces. If this is indeed the case, then this role of separation would be incumbent upon piece n°. VIII. *Vierstimmiger Kleiner Kanon*, which is a strict four-part canon. The writing is in complete contrast with anything preceding or following it. In the fair copy, Skalkottas places it in the 8th position, before the *Marcia Funebra* and after the *Reveria im neuen Stil*. If our hypothesis is indeed correct, the *Kanon* would then seem to divide the first section of the work (until piece n°. XV. *Passacaglia*) into two more or less equal sub-sections. This would then confirm that Skalkottas did indeed consider the 32 *Pieces* a cycle; conscious, however, of the arduousness of the task of performing such a long (and difficult) work, he arranges the pieces in such a way as to offer some kind of respite for the pianist. The aforementioned piece n°. XV. *Passacaglia* is regarded by researchers and pianists alike as the culmination of the work. Pianist and musicologist Christophe Sirodeau argued that the XV. *Passacaglia* is placed at the golden section of the cycle (Sirodeau 2001, 9-10). Costas Tsougras gives a complete analysis of the piece, including a recension of its (at the time) recordings, editions, and analyses (Tsougras 2011). In the second section of the cycle, the pieces following the *Passacaglia* are organized differently: there is no progression and culmination, and the pieces are combined in groups. A look at the 32 *Pieces* in their final order will help fuel the discussion further (Table 2).

I. <i>Klavierstück</i>	XVII. <i>Das Frühstückchen der kleiner Magd</i>
II. <i>Kindertanz</i>	XVIII. <i>Foxtrot – Der alte Polizist</i>
III. <i>Kurze Variationen auf ein Bergsthema südlichen Characters und prägnanter Dissonanz</i>	XIX. <i>Etüde Phantastique</i>
IV. <i>Katastrophe auf dem Urwald (Filmmusik)</i>	XX. <i>Berceuse</i>
V. <i>Griechischer Volkstanz</i>	XXI. <i>Romance-Lied</i>
VI. <i>Reveria im alten Stil</i>	XXII. <i>Gavotte</i>
VII. <i>Reveria im neuen Stil</i>	XXIII. <i>Menuetto</i>
VIII. <i>Vierstimmiger Kleiner Kanon</i>	XXIV. <i>Italienische Serenade</i>
IX. <i>Marcia Funebra</i>	XXV. <i>Ragtime (Tanz)</i>
X. <i>Sonatina</i>	XXVI. <i>Slow-Fox</i>
XI. <i>Partita</i>	XXVII. <i>Galoppe</i>
XII. <i>Kleine Serenade</i>	XXVIII. <i>Blues</i>
XIII. <i>Intermezzo</i>	XXIX. <i>Rondo Brillante</i>
XIV. <i>Tango</i>	XXX. <i>Capriccio</i>
XV. <i>Passacaglia</i>	XXXI. <i>Walzer</i>
XVI. <i>Nachtstück</i>	XXXII. <i>Kleiner Bauernmarsch</i>

Table 6. Order of the 32 Piano Pieces in the fair copy.

2. Groupings and couplings in the titles

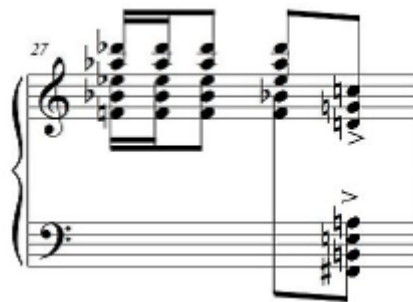
A simple look at the titles reveals couplings and groupings in the pieces. This is the case between n°. VI. *Reveria im alten Stil* and n°. VII. *Reveria im neuen Stil*. The evident relation between titles is reinforced by the indication, written by the composer at the beginning of the latter piece, “Ein wenig schneller und nicht zurückhalten” [A bit faster and without holding back]. He does not simply indicate that the piece should be played at a rapid tempo; if it is to be faster, then one must ask, faster than what? And if it is to be faster than the preceding piece, then this signifies that the tempo of the VII. *Reveria im neuen Stil* is defined in relation to that of the VI. *Reveria im alten Stil*.

Another coupling between pieces in the first section is that of n°. X. *Sonatina* and n°. XI. *Partita*, both titles referring to older musical forms and both pieces written in three-part form. In the case of n°. X. *Sonatina*, sections are clearly separated in the score by a double barline, a change of meter, and character indication, as follows: A in m. 1-19 (*Fliessend*, 6/4, dotted minim=120), B in m. 20-29 (*Andantino*, 4/8), and A' in m. 30-53

(*Fliessend*, 6/4, dotted minim=120), where section A' is the exact retrograde of section A, with a five-bar coda at the end.¹⁰ The piece n^o. XI. *Partita* employs a different device to differentiate sections: metrical alignment between the two hands.¹¹ Sections where the hands are not metrically aligned, as in Example 1, are separated by shorter passages in homorhythmic writing, which give the pianist respite and serve as aural indicators of the formal structure (Example 2). The formal structure of n^o. XI. *Partita* can thus be defined as follows: A (m. 1-33), B (m. 34-75), A' (m. 76-80), Coda (m. 88-99).¹²



Example 1. no. XI. *Partita*, m. 1-5.



Example 2. no. XI. *Partita*, m. 27.

¹⁰ For a detailed analysis of n^o. X. *Sonatina* see Tsioutis, 2007, 107-124.

¹¹ Also observed by Ramou, 2017, 203-207 and 240.

¹² Ramou (2017, Appendix n^o. 4C) proposes the following formal structure for n^o. XI. *Partita*: A (m. 1-27), A1 (m. 28-75), A2 (m. 76-99).

The second section of the work offers the opportunity to the researcher and pianist alike to let their imagination run wild. Pieces n°. XVII. *Das Frühstückchen der kleiner Magd* and n°. XVIII. *Foxtrot – Der alte Polizist* have been considered to refer to film music (Sirodeau 2001, 78; Ramou 2017, 289), making use of personae in their descriptive titles, a thought no doubt prompted by the title of piece n°. IV. *Katastrophe auf dem Urwald (Filmmusik)*,¹³ as well as by the known fact that Skalkottas himself worked in movie theatres, playing music to accompany silent films during his years in Berlin (Mantzourani 2011, 26 and 30).

Further on, pieces n°. XXII. *Gavotte* and n°. XXIII. *Menuetto* form a couple, not only because of the common reference of their titles to the Baroque suite, but also because of their form. Both of them are in a three-part Da capo form and the *Gavotte* is the only piece in the whole work with repeat signs (in the first section of A). This is compensated, in the *Menuetto*, by an almost exact repetition of the beginning of the piece, in m. 41-49,¹⁴ just before the *Trio*. In addition, both pieces end with the same rhythmic formula (compare Example 3 with Example 4).



Example 3. no. XXII. *Gavotte*, m. 37.

¹³ Skalkottas's teacher, Arnold Schoenberg, also wrote a piece of music for film, but without a film, entitled *Begleitmusik zu einer Lichtspielszene* op. 34, for chamber orchestra, in 1930 (Schoenberg 1990, 87). One can assume Skalkottas was familiar with the work, not only because it was premiered (in concert—a radio version had preceded it by a few months in Frankfurt) in November 1930 at the Krolloper in Berlin, but also because of the keywords provided by Schoenberg in the title of the work: *Drohende Gefahr, Angst, Katastrophe* (threatening danger, fear, catastrophe). Even though it is not specified where the catastrophe takes place in Schoenberg's work, in Skalkottas's one it is situated in a jungle.

¹⁴ Bar 41 of the *Menuetto* is identical to bar 1, bars 43-44 are transpositions of bars 7-8, and bars 45-48 are identical (in pitches) to bars 9-12.



Example 4. no. XXIII. Menuetto, m. 49.

Further on, the four pieces n^o. XXV. *Ragtime (Tanz)*, n^o. XXVI. *Slow-Fox*, n^o. XXVII. *Galoppe*, and n^o. XXVIII. *Blues* can be considered to constitute a group of pieces, whose titles refer to modern music and popular dances of the time.¹⁵ They all present common characteristics, typical of what was considered a jazzy style during the 1930s (Jameux, 2002, 504-508), such as syncopated rhythms (Example 5), walking bass (Example 6), sequences of dotted rhythms imitating swing (Example 7), and tremoli on the final chords (Example 8).

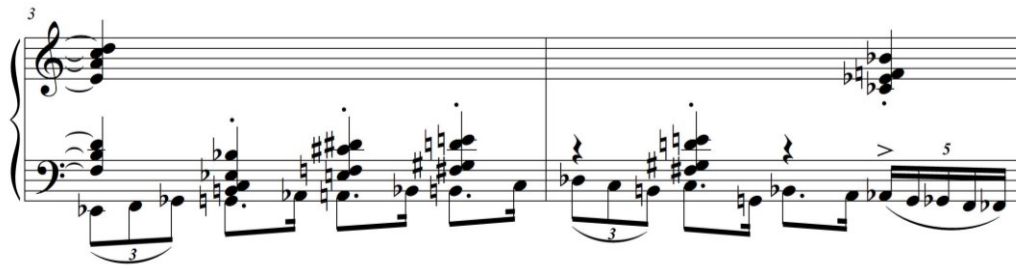


Example 5. no. XXVI. *Slow-Fox*, m. 13.



Example 6. no. XXVIII. *Blues*, m. 29.

¹⁵ Skalkottas came to know this type of music well during his years in Berlin (1921-1933), where he played in cafés, hotels, and nightclubs to earn money (Mantzourani 2011, 22-32). Similar titles are to be found not only in other works of Skalkottas, but also in the catalogues of many composers of the time, such as Igor Stravinsky (n^o. 6 from *A Soldier's Tale: Three Dances: Tango – Waltz – Ragtime*, 1918) or Paul Hindemith (*Ragtime* for piano and small ensemble, 1917).



Example 7. n.º. XXV. Ragtime (Tanz), m. 3-4.



11 - August - 1940!

Example 8. no. XXVIII. Blues, m. 46-47.

Finally the three pieces n.º. XXIX. *Rondo Brillante*, n.º. XXX. *Capriccio*, and n.º. XXXI. *Walzer* could be considered to refer to the tradition of romantic piano music, in the style of Chopin, Schumann, and Brahms. Upon closer inspection, beyond their titles, however, it is revealed that the *Walzer* is conceived in a different spirit than that of the two pieces preceding it. These are long (79 and 101 measures respectively), virtuoso pieces, covering a wide range on the keyboard and employing a large array of pianistic technical devices, whereas the *Walzer* is shorter (61 measures), with less technical demands and covering a range mostly on the middle and lower registers of the keyboard.

3. Further arguments in favor of the cycle

Closer inspection of the pieces reveals certain details which merit discussion. Consider the ending of the piece n.º. XIX. *Etüde Phantastique* (Example 9).

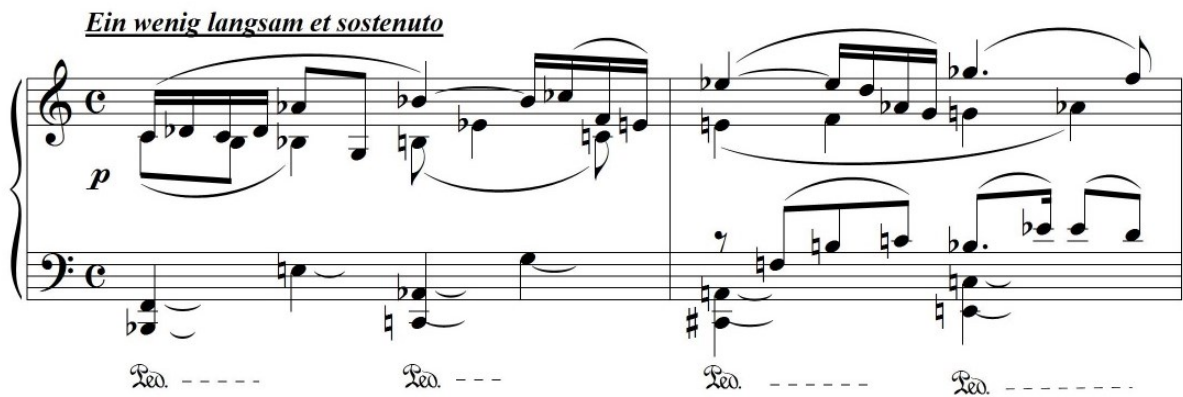


Example 9. no. XIX. Etüde Phantastique, m. 45-46.

Why does the composer place a fermata on the pause at the end of the piece? Perhaps to ensure that the last chord's distant resonance will linger on? There is another, more plausible explanation. The *Etüde Phantastique* is a vivid, rapid piece, with an indication *Con brio* by Skalkottas and the extravagant metronome marking of $\text{♩} = 182$. The ending is loud, the dynamics are *fortissimo* from m. 43 on, and the final *crescendo* culminates in a *sforzando* on the last chord.

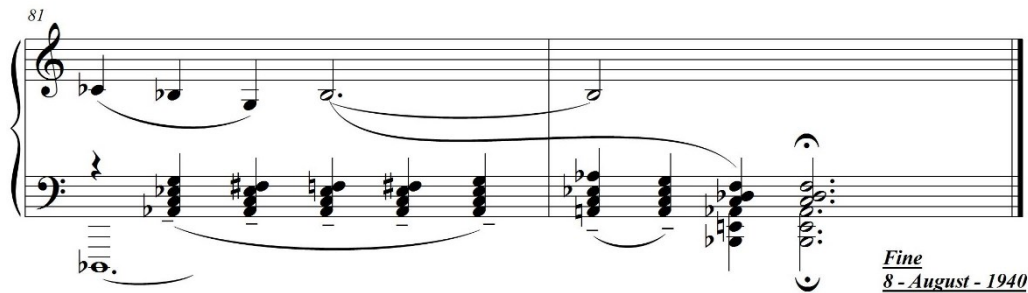
The following piece, n°. XX. Berceuse, is in complete contrast. It is slow and soft, with sonorities bathed in the sonorities of the sustaining pedal (Example 10). A look at the beginning of the Berceuse justifies the placement of the fermata at the end of the previous piece by Skalkottas, if one is to play the one piece after the other. Two subsequent pieces, as different in character and style as the Etüde Phantastique and the Berceuse, would see much of their charm and musical value diminished, were they to be hastily performed, the one after the other, without sufficient repose in between. The fermata in question gains in significance, if one notes that, in the entire 32 Piano Pieces, Skalkottas uses this symbol in total twelve times.¹⁶

¹⁶ One on the last chord of n°. II. *Kindertanz*, two in n°. III. *Kurze Variationen auf ein Bergsthema südlichen Characters und prägnanter Dissonanz* (one at the end of the theme [m. 4] and one at the end of the 1st variation [m. 14]), one in n°. VII. *Reveria im neuen Stil* (between m. 40 and m. 41), one on the last chord of n°. IX. *Marcia Funebra*, one on the last note of the right-hand part of n°. XII. *Kleine Serenade*, one on the last note of the right-hand part of n°. XIII. *Intermezzo*, two in n°. XIX. *Etüde Phantastique* (one in m. 44 and one on the pause at the end), one on the last chord of n°. XXI. *Romance-lied*, one on the last note of the right-hand part of n°. XXVI. *Slow-Fox*, and one on the last tremolo of n°. XXVIII. *Blues* (Example 8).



Example 10. n.º XX. Berceuse, m. 1-2.

Following a similar trail of reasoning, we can consider the coupling suggested above, between pieces n.º XXII. *Gavotte* and n.º XXIII. *Menuetto*, as justified by the fact that the piece preceding them, n.º XXI. *Romance-Lied*, ends with a fermata on the last chord (Example 11).



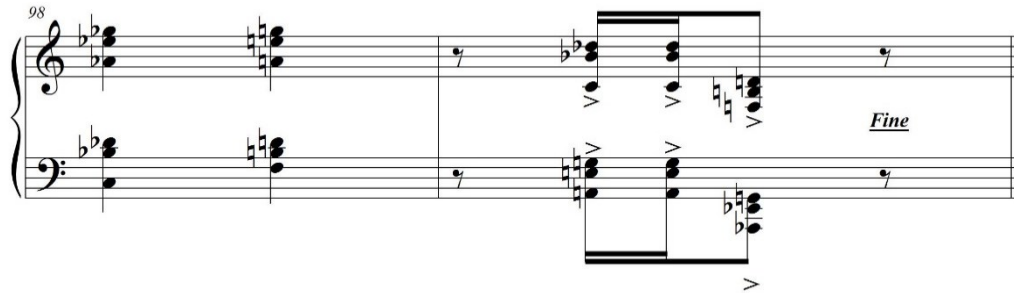
Example 11. n.º XXI. Romance-Lied, m. 81-82.

Finally, the grouping of the four pieces n.º XXV. *Ragtime (Tanz)*, n.º XXVI. *Slow-Fox*, n.º XXVII. *Galoppe*, and n.º XXVIII. *Blues*, suggested above, is further justified by the fact that the last piece ends not only with a fermata, but one that is specified to be *long* (“lunga”) by the composer (Example 8).

4. Recurring rhythms

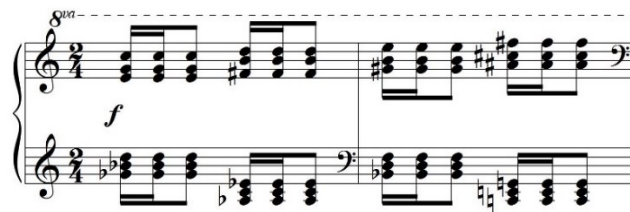
Skalkottas combines the anapaest or antidactylic rhythm (two short rhythms followed by one long one) and the dactyl (a long rhythm followed by two short ones). The result is a reversible rhythmic pattern, of which he makes abundant use, especially in ending gestures (see Examples 3 and 4 above). This combined rhythmic formula is easy both to play and to aurally grasp, as both long values—the one at the beginning and the one at

the end—are on the beat. However, in certain pieces the ending formulas are given in the original, anapaestic rhythm¹⁷, such as in Example 12.



Example 12. n.º. XI. Partita, m. 98-99.

In piece n.º. XXVII. *Galoppe*, the introduction and the coda are both based on anapaestic rhythms, played in rhythmic unison by both hands (Examples 13 and 14).



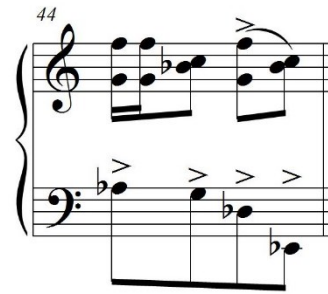
Example 13. n.º. XXVII. Galoppe, m. 1-2.



Example 14. n.º. XXVII. Galoppe, m. 90-92.

The coda is one octave lower than the introduction, followed by a brief concluding gesture. This certainly conveys a sense of unity to the piece, which makes use of the same rhythmic formula in some of its other structuring motives (Example 15, 16, and 17).

¹⁷ In pieces n.º. XXII. *Gavotte*, n.º. XXIII. *Menuetto* and n.º. XXXII. *Kleiner Bauernmarsch* the rhythmic pattern is reversible. This is not the case in other pieces using the rhythmic formula illustrated in Example 12: n.º. III. *Kurze Variationen auf ein Bergsthema südlichen Characters und prägnanter Dissonanz* (the endings of variations I and III), n.º. XXIV. *Italianische Serenade*, n.º. XXV. *Ragtime (Tanz)* and n.º. XXX. *Capriccio*.



Example 15. n.º XXVII. Galoppe, m. 44.

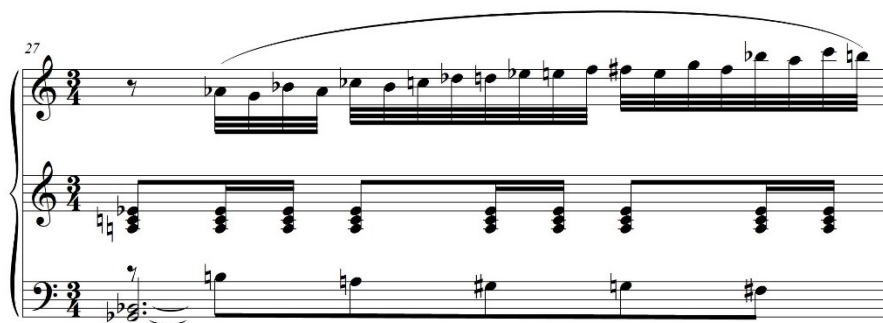


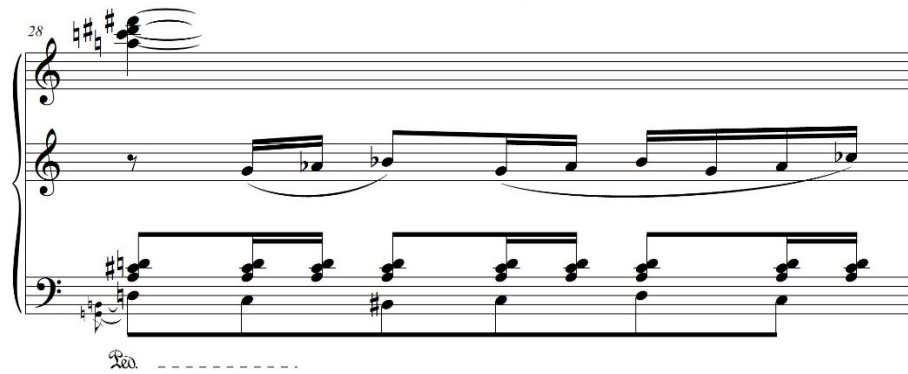
Example 16. n.º XXVII. Galoppe, m. 66.



Example 17. n.º XXVII. Galoppe, m. 74.

In piece n.º. XVI. *Nachtstück*, the dactyl is repeated in the middle register, as an accompaniment, throughout m. 27-35, until the return of the initial theme in m. 37 (Example 18).





Example 18. n.º. XVI. Nachtstück, m. 27-28.

5. Conclusions

The scope of this paper does not allow a demonstration of the various recurrences of rhythms and characteristic motives throughout the *32 Piano Pieces*, which support the claim for the extensive use of inter-quotation among the pieces.¹⁸ A focus on more salient elements has been preferred, combining musical examples with remarks on source material. What is striking, after this brief overview of chosen elements, is the way in which the composer chose to present the work, both in the score and in the accompanying text, more precisely, how he expressed his hopes and offered advice, all the while respecting the pianist's freedom of choice. This freedom of choice can be considered an argument in favor of, or as a consequence of the fact that the *32 Pieces* constitute an open work, in the sense put forward by Umberto Eco:

In fact, the form of the work of art gains its aesthetic validity precisely in proportion to the number of different perspectives from which it can be viewed and understood. These give it a wealth of different resonances and echoes without impairing its original essence [...]. (Eco 1989, 3)

In this sense, the titles given to the pieces by Skalkottas can serve as guidelines: ideas for the adventurous pianist who wishes to combine the old with the new, the established with the less well-known. These titles, whether they refer to ancient forms, popular dances, Greek traditional music, or romantic piano pieces, can be performed in tandem with works by other composers of different eras, styles, and schools. It is through this confrontation, this fruitful mirroring of cultures and traditions, that the true beauty of the music of Skalkottas can be heard.¹⁹ A music as rich as his in stylistic references,

¹⁸ For a discussion on quotations between the pieces themselves, see Sirodeau (2001, 10).

¹⁹ Lorenda Ramou's piano recital, entitled *Nikos Skalkottas and Interwar Jazz*, performed on November 27, 2019, at the Megaron Athens Concert Hall, is an excellent example of this practice. For the complete recital program,

borrowings, and influences, reflecting the composer's personal position as a Greek in Western musical (and not only) culture (Romanou 2009, 163-85), can only be appreciated when placed in the original context of its creation: an environment wreathed with multiple different influences, musical as well as extramusical, each of which are illuminated according to the combinations operated by the pianist. This way, what emerges is an open work of infinite possibilities.

which featured works by Skalkottas alongside selected pieces by Leo Ornstein, George Antheil, Igor Stravinsky, and Erwin Schulhoff, see "Overview: Skalkottas Year" (n.d.).

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European or Oriental? The Reception of Works by Nikos Skalkottas and Other Greek Composers in Berlin (1929–1939)

Tatjana Marković

Nikos Skalkottas (Νίκος Σκαλκώτας, 1904–1949) is one of the most significant twentieth-century European composers whose opus united the impact of the Second Viennese School and Greek traditional music. This amalgam is an outcome of his life, studies, and work in two cities: Athens and Berlin. His life path from the town of Chalcis on the island Euboea, where he was born in 1904, to Berlin via Athens determined his profile as a musician and composer.

Biographical coordinates: Germany as a promised land

Skalkottas spent more than ten years in Berlin, 1921–1933, and this was the period of his creative formation, marked by studies of the violin with Willy Hess (1859–1939) at the Hochschule für Musik – as a continuation of his violin lessons at the Athens Conservatory with Tony Schulze (1880–1954)¹ – and, after a key decision to dedicate himself to composition in 1923, music studies with Robert Kahn (1865–1951) and Paul Juon (Pavel Fyodorovich Yuon, 1872–1940), and composition with Kurt Weill (1900–1950), and Philipp Jarnach (1892–1982).² Finally, he attended Arnold Schoenberg's (1874–1951) Masterclass in Composition (1927–1932/3) at the Prussian Academy of Arts (Preußische Akademie der Künste).³ The young Greek was not only a brilliant

¹ More about Skalkottas's six years of studies at the Athens Conservatoire, as well as about his violin teacher Tony Schulze see Nina-Maria Wanek, "Tony Schulze: Nikos Skalkottas's first violin teacher", *Mousikos Logos* 4 (2019/2020), 55–84.

² He learned music theory with Kahn and Juon (1922–1924) during his violin studies, and his lessons with Weill (1923–1926) and Jarnach included counterpoint (1925–1927).

³ According to the administrative documents of the Prussian Academy of Fine Arts, Skalkottas attended Schoenberg's masterclass from October 1, 1927 to September 30, 1930. However, the Greek composer continued attending the masterclass until the summer semester 1932 as a guest student. Finally, Schoenberg

violinist,⁴ but also a very enthusiastic and successful composer, albeit one not immediately recognized in his homeland.

His studies in Berlin were made possible due to a scholarship from the Averoff Foundation that he received until 1928.⁵ Skalkottas's further stay in Berlin was mainly financed by another patron and later friend, Manolis Benakis (Μανώλης Μπενάκης, 1899–1977), who sent the composer a monthly grant until 1931.⁶ In 1933, Skalkottas went to Athens for a short visit, but it turned out that this would be his final return to Greece because he did not accomplish his military service; since he had planned to continue working in Berlin, he left there his personal belongings along with his manuscripts, which were mainly lost. His work is divided into three creative periods, in Berlin (1923–1933) and in Athens (II: 1933–1945; III: 1946–1949).⁷ Although composition was continuously in his focus,⁸ he also developed his career as a violinist and conductor in Athens, since his music would not be understood or recognized in Greece for several decades. While in Berlin he wrote around seventy mainly lost compositions, but in Athens there were “over one hundred masterpieces,” among them some of his most significant works.⁹

Skalkottas, like Manolis Kalomiris (Μανώλης Καλομοίρης, 1883–1962) or Petros Petridis (Πέτρος Πετρίδης, 1892–1977) in their respective ways, deeply respected German music tradition to the extent that he was ready to leave permanently Athens as his basis. As he mentioned several times in his letters (1925 and 1931), he was convinced that “it would be wrong” for him to return to Greece, as he saw that for him “development is possible only in the musical centres of Europe,” and he even called Greece a “graveyard

left Germany in 1933, approximately at the same time when Skalkottas went back to Greece. Archiv der Preußische Akademie der Künste (PrAdK).

⁴ Skalkottas completed his violin studies in Athens in 1918 with the highest distinction, and his violin teacher Willy Hess was astonished by his skillful playing and great talent. See Eva Mantzourani, *The Life and Twelve-Note Music of Nikos Skalkottas* (London and New York: Routledge, 2011), 18.

⁵ The Averoff Foundation was established and run by one of the greatest Greek benefactors Georgios Averoff (1815–1899), who was born in Epirus and later lived and worked in Alexandria. He financially supported the Athens Conservatoire, among other institutions in Greece and Egypt.

⁶ Mantzourani, *The Life and Twelve-Note Music of Nikos Skalkottas*, 39–42; Katy Romanou, “Nikos Skalkottas”, in *Serbian and Greek Art Music. A Patch to Western Music History*, ed. Katy Romanou (Chicago: The University Chicago Press, 2009), 167.

⁷ Valia Vraha and Stephanie Merakos, “The Archive of Nikos Skalkottas (1904–1949) at the Music Library of Greece ‘Lilian Voudouri’”, *Fontes Artis Musicae* 66/1 (January–March 2019): 52–53.

⁸ In one of numerous letters to his friend, the violinist Nelly Aksitopolou, he claimed: “I would be grateful if you could say this to all my compatriots: Composition is my only ideal and my only ideal is to learn to compose.” See Mantzourani, *The Life and Twelve-Note Music of Nikos Skalkottas*, 29–30.

⁹ Vraha and Merakos, „The Archive of Nikos Skalkottas”.

for a professional musician.”¹⁰ It is not difficult to imagine how he felt after the unexpected forced return to Greece in 1933, given his words in a letter (July 1925): “To return would be signing my own spiritual and musical death warrant.”¹¹ Moreover, in spite of the fact that he was offered a teaching position at the Athens Conservatoire upon the completion of his studies, Skalkottas decided to continue his stay in Berlin. This decision certainly did not diminish his love for and inspiration by Greek music proper.¹² In Berlin, one of the main European cultural centers, at the renowned Prussian Academy of Arts, the young composer was delightfully inspired by new, modernist achievements of musical life and institutions, and especially by his studies with Schoenberg. Above all, the city provided an environment open to new art, modernism with its rich artistic scene, incomparable with Athens, where the westernization (often Germanization) was slowly penetrating with newly-established music institutions. For instance, after his return to Athens, the former piano student in Munich, Georgios Nazos (Γιώργος Νάζος, 1862–1934) established the Athens Conservatory with a Germanized curriculum and staff from western Europe. Some of the music institutions were founded during the German occupation of the city, like the State Orchestra of Athens (nationalized Athens Conservatoire Symphonic Orchestra) and the National Theater.¹³ Exactly at the stage of the Greek National Theater Kalomiris’s Wagnerian first opera *O Protomastoras* (The Masterbuilder) was performed in 1943. However, as far as Skalkottas is concerned, it seems that he was not fully aware of the changing political climate in Germany, especially after 1933, when he was no longer in Berlin.

Skalkottas’s creative formation in Berlin

Before I consider the reception of the works by Greek composers premiered in Berlin in 1938 at the First Greek-German exchange concert (Austauschkonzert Griechenland–Deutschland), I will examine reviews of Skalkottas’s student works in the framework of the annual presentations of the composition masterclass of Arnold Schoenberg. These

¹⁰ John Thornley, “‘I beg you to tear up my letters...’ Nikos Skalkottas’s last years in Berlin (1928–33)”, in *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 26 (2002), 178–217.

¹¹ Thornley, “‘I beg you to tear up my letters’”.

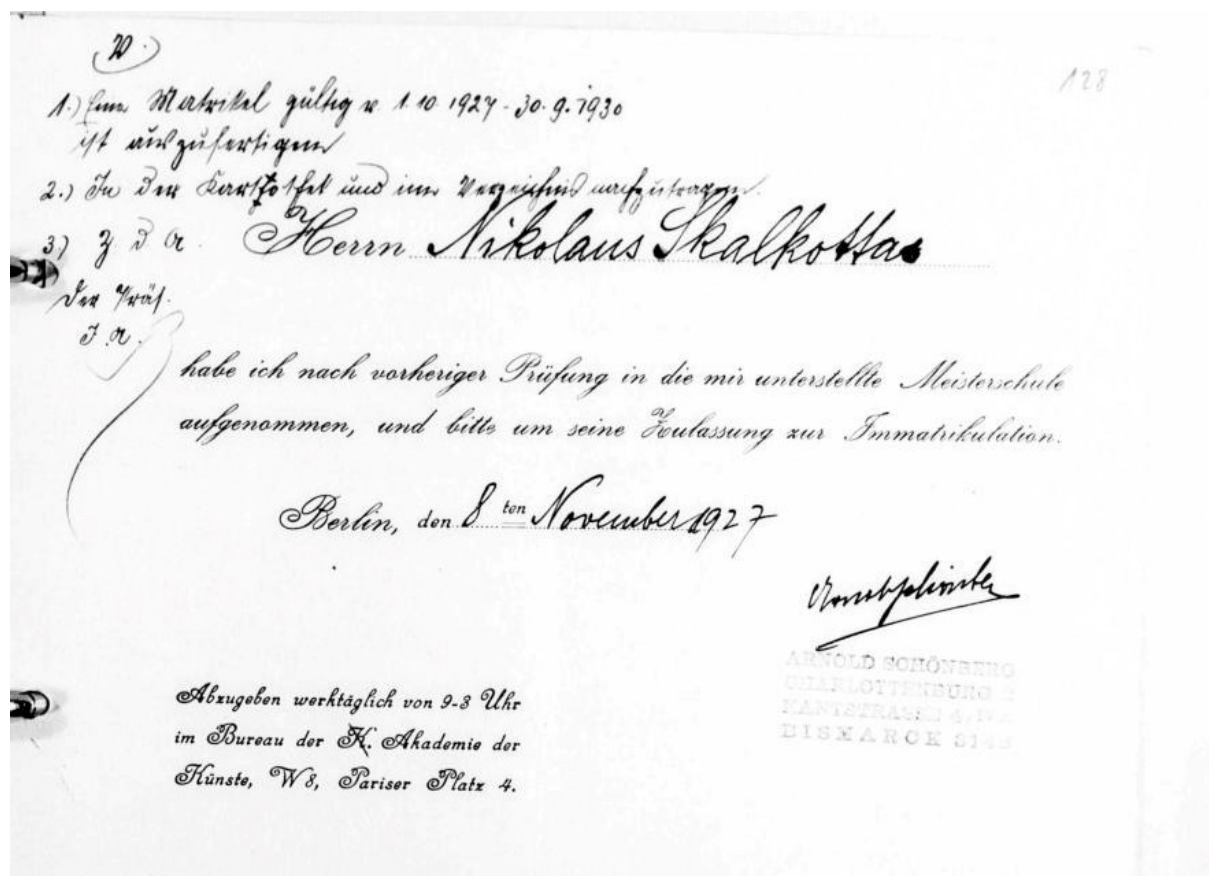
¹² See Katerina Levidou, “A Museum of ‘Greekness’: Skalkottas’s 36 Greek Dances as a Record of His Homeland and His Time,” in *Music, Language, and Identity in Greece: Defining a National Art Music in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, ed. Polina Tambakaki et al. (London and New York: Routledge, 2020), 178–195.

¹³ For more details about the foundation of these institutions, see Alexandros Charkiolakis, “Music and musical life in occupied Athens,” in *The Routledge Handbook to Music under German Occupation, 1938–1945*, ed. David Fanning and Erik Levi (Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 2020), 82–99.

critiques increasingly reflected the new cultural policy resulting from the overall power of the Nazi Party led by Adolf Hitler (1899–1945).

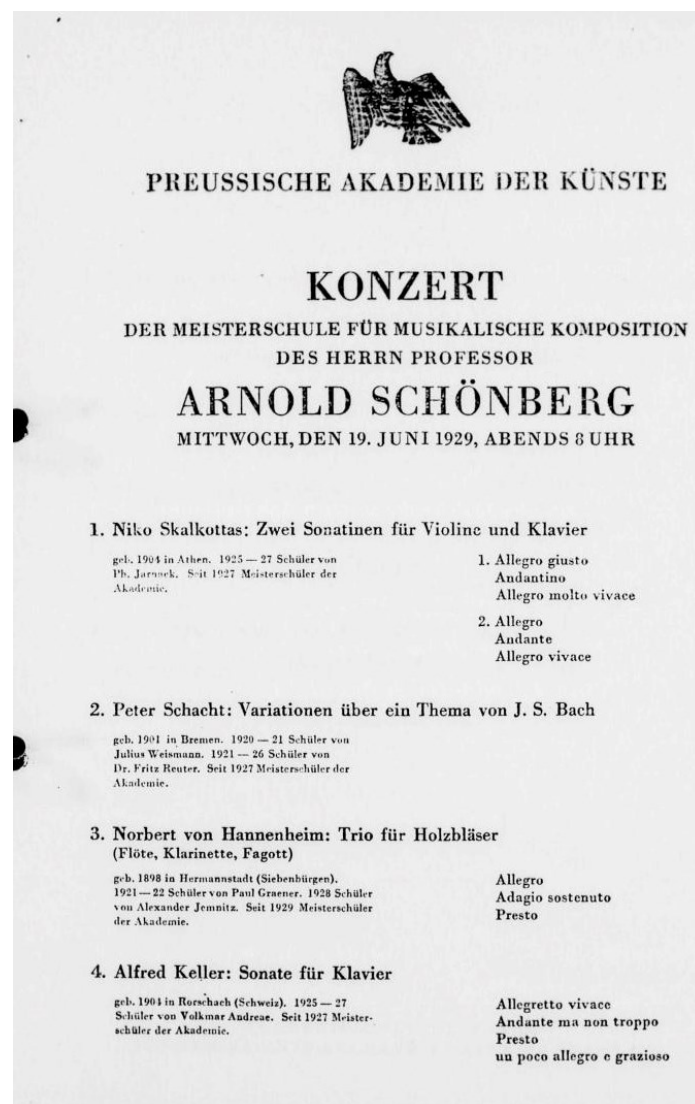
Schoenberg's masterclass concerts were important public events. They demanded serious preparations, as witnessed by the rich correspondence of the President of the Prussian Academy of Arts, who contacted various institutions and highly-positioned individuals in order to provide the necessary musical instruments, musicians/performers (for example the string quartet Knorre, with three wind-instrument players from the Städtischen Oper), and political support.

They started working together in 1926, and Skalkottas officially enrolled in Schoenberg's masterclass in 1927, as the following document confirms:



1. Arnold Schoenberg's confirmation that Skalkottas entered his masterclass, Archiv PrAdK

There were three concerts of chamber and orchestral works by Schoenberg's students of composition, in 1929, 1930, and 1931. The first concert was held on 19 June 1929 and included seven works by five composers, all men – Nikos Skalkottas (two compositions), Peter Schacht (1901–1945), Norbert von Hannenheim (two compositions, 1898–1945), Alfred Keller (1907–1987), and Josef Zmigrod alias Allan Gray (1902–1973). The concert began with two Sonatinas for violin and piano and concluded with a String Quartet by the youngest, a Greek composer, who also played violin. The concert program provided their years and birthplaces, as well as the main data about their studies in Berlin (see illustration no. 2): one can learn that Skalkottas entered Schoenberg's Masterclass in 1927, and had previously studied (1925–1927) with Ph. Jarnack (*sic*).



Ill. 2. Concert of the Masterclass of Arnold Schoenberg, 19 June 1929, program, Archiv PrAdK

The author of a concert review, under the pseudonym 'schr,' in the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* for 21 June 1929, emphasized that the Schoenberg masterclass concerts were among those music events which, along with the Berlin Festival (Berliner Festspiele), were very important and needed to be followed. He especially praised Skalkottas and his String Quartet:

*The most mature work was at the end of the program: String Quartet by Niko Skalkottas. The 25-year-old Greek wrote a very good, fresh, and resolute piece, stylistically coherent. [...] All three movements testify to the inner logic of one brought up to think in music, the stream of invention never breaks, and the form is very clear.*¹⁴

Such positive words about Skalkottas's style and invention, without any reserve, came unsurprisingly from one of the few anti-national-socialist critics, the German conductor, pianist, and composer from Moravia, Fritz Zweig (1893–1984). He had studied composition and theory of music privately with Arnold Schoenberg in Vienna, and also later in Berlin. Zweig built a successful career in different opera houses until 1933, when he lost his job in accordance with the new Law of Restoration of the Professional Civil Service (Gesetz zur Wiederherstellung des Berufsbeamtentums), one of the first anti-Semitic laws in Nazi Germany. He left Germany in 1934 and finally found exile in the United States in 1940, where he continued working in Los Angeles.¹⁵ All the reviewers praised Skalkottas as a violinist.

The next masterclass concert, including orchestral compositions, was held on 20 May 1930. For this occasion, the president of the Prussian Academy of Arts sent personal invitations to prominent persons from Berlin political and cultural life, some 1500 additional printed invitations, and engaged the orchestra for a fee of 1,718.60 RM fee (1500 RM for 60 musicians and their four rehearsals; for additional rehearsals they demanded 180 RM).¹⁶ Three composers presented their works: Winfred Zillig (1905–1963), and again Nikos Skalkottas and Norbert von Hanneheim. Their compositions were performed by the Berlin Symphony Orchestra, and while Zillig conducted his own

¹⁴ Fritz Zweig, "Musik und Musiker: Chronik der Konzerte," *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, 21 June 1929.

¹⁵ See Sophie Fetthauer, „Fritz Zweig,“ in *Lexikon verfolgter Musiker und Musikerinnen der NS-Zeit*, ed. Claudia Maurer Zenck and Peter Petersen (Hamburg: Universität Hamburg, 2006), https://www.lexm.uni-hamburg.de/object/lexm_lexmperson_00001132, accessed on 25 January 2023.

¹⁶ Archiv PrAdK.

composition, Skalkottas conducted the other two: von Hanneheim's Symphony for Orchestra and his own Concert for Brass Orchestra.

19



PREUSSISCHE AKADEMIE DER KÜNSTE

★

Orchesterkonzert

der Meisterschule für musikalische Komposition
von Professor Arnold Schönberg

Dienstag, den 20. Mai 1930, abends 8 Uhr, im Saale der Singakademie

★

Winfried Zillig Meisterschüler von 1926—1928
(geb. 1905 in Würzburg)

1. Serenade 2 (für Violine, Viola, Violoncello, 2 Klarinetten, Fagott, Cornet à piston, Trompete und Posaune)

I. Ouvertüre Lento
II. Ouvertüre Allegro molto e staccato
Variationen
Rondo Allegro molto vivace

Besetzung der Serenade:
Violine: Konzertmeister Alfred Indig. Viola: Heinz Weiden. Violoncello: Godfried Zeelander
Klarinette: Ernst Knobel und Hermann Schmidt. Baßklarinette: Max Staskiewicz. Cornet à piston
Fritz Linke. Trompete: Gustav Knake. Posaune: Robert Müller
Dirigent: Der Komponist

Niko Skalkottas Meisterschüler seit 1927
(geb. 1904 in Athen)

2. Konzert für Blasorchester

Allegro con brio
Andante cantabile
Allegro ben ritmato e molto vivace

Dirigent: Der Komponist

Norbert von Hanneheim Meisterschüler seit 1929
(geb. 1898 in Hermannstadt)

3. Symphonie für Orchester

Allegro vivace
Adagio
Allegretto
Molto vivace

Dirigent: Niko Skalkottas

Berliner Symphonie-Orchester

3. The letter from Hanneheim and Skalkottas to Schoenberg, Charlottenburg, 23 May 1930, Archiv PrAdK

Hanneheim and Skalkottas wrote to their professor to express their satisfaction with the audience's reception of the concert and with their individual works, and their profound gratitude for his friendly concession and support.

19



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Dirigent: Der Komponist

Norbert von Hanneheim Meisterschüler seit 1929
(geb. 1898 in Hermannstadt)

3. Symphonie für Orchester

Allegro vivace
Adagio
Allegretto
Molto vivace

Dirigent: Niko Skalkottas

Berliner Symphonie-Orchester

4. Concert of the Masterclass of Arnold Schoenberg, 20 May 1930, program, Archiv PrAdK

Three days later, the critic W. Sachse (Hans Wolfgang Sachse, 1899–1982) expressed his opinion about the concert mainly through the prism of the relation of young composers to their professor, claiming that Schoenberg's probably unintentional influence on his masterclass students was very obvious. Sachse referred negatively to the "preference for the grotesque" of young composers as "an area of the soul that is already close to the limits of the aesthetic intellect," which is dangerous "because these composers distanced themselves from the passionate, the heroic, and the lyrical feeling."¹⁷ Having in mind that Sachse composed music in the style of Max Reger (1873–1916) and Claude Debussy (1862–1918), it is understandable that he could not accept Modernism. Additionally, – after his initial rejection of the National Socialist ideology and the political consequences from the regime after he composed the well-known *Red Flag* (Rote Fahne, 1929), he agreed to cooperate with the ruling party and obviously accepted the overwhelming propaganda, in this case the criteria for music criticism promoted by Fritz Stege (1896–1967). Sachse evaluated all three works very positively, regarding the one by von Heinemann as the "most vital," and Zillig's Serenade no.2 as the most consequent stylistically. Furthermore, he pointed out: "The Concert for brass orchestra of the Greek Skalkottas is not composed quite so linear-dialectically (*linear-dialektisch*, which is a reference to Schoenberg's style, T. M.) and seems to be original because of the incursion of stimulating jazz rhythms."¹⁸

Sachse was also delighted by Skalkottas as a conductor, as well as by the orchestra, which magnificently (*hervorragend*) played technically demanding works. Precisely this aspect was emphasized in a review by 'sn,' who considered first of all the difficulties "not only for musicians, the members of the Berlin Symphony Orchestra, but even more for responsible and aware listeners" who were struggling to understand "the odd 'Melos.'" It is not an easy task, claimed the critic, "to free the ear of old harmonies" and overcome the unfamiliarity of melodiousness."¹⁹ The sounds and streamlined rhythm of Skalkottas's Concert for Brass Orchestra were positively evaluated. These works by three young composers were obviously too great a challenge for the critic who denied any

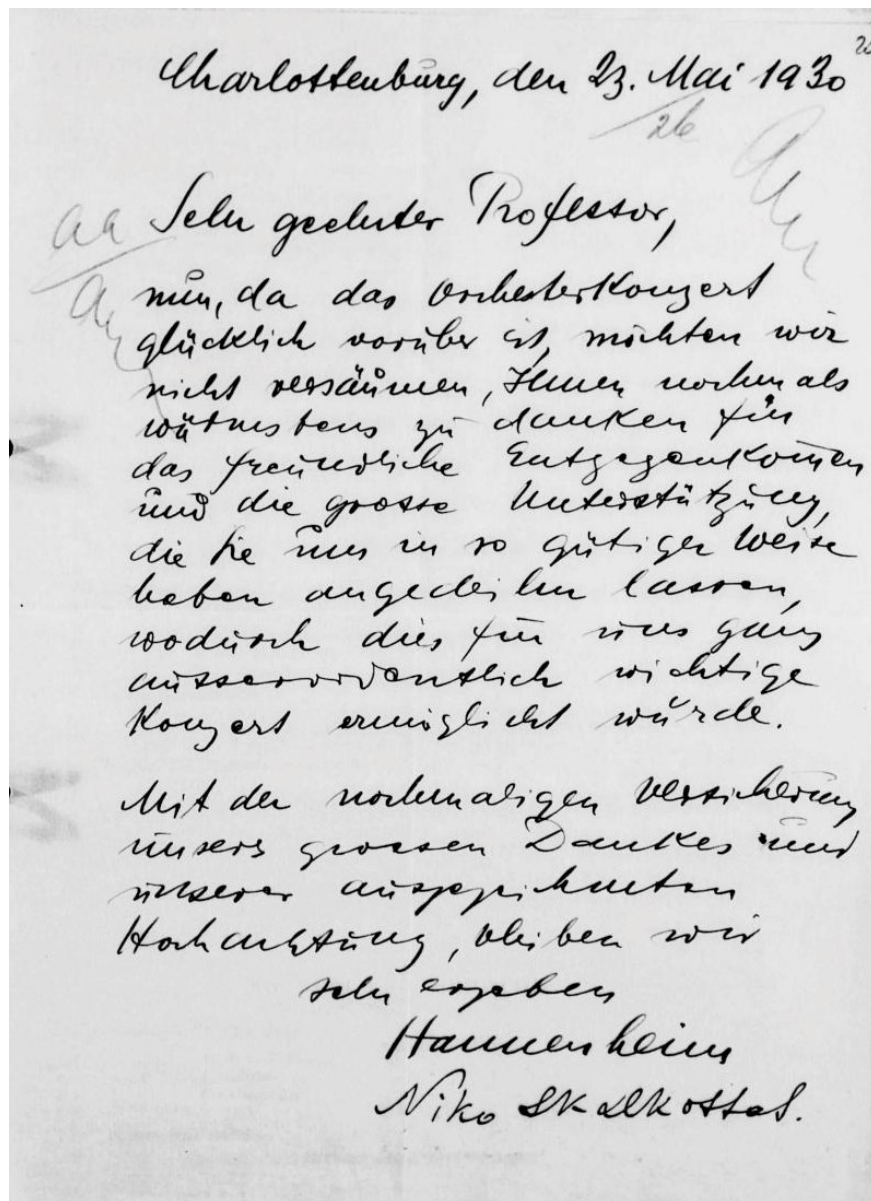
¹⁷ Dr. W. Sachse, "Kunst und Wissenschaft. Konzert der Meisterschule Schönbergs," *Steglitzer Anzeiger*, 22 May 1930. Grotesque was condemned in numerous writings during the national-socialist regime: "This musical degeneration was introduced in America, where the folk music of the North American Negroes had given the impetus for the emergence of jazz", so that the "unattractive, grotesque and provocative" jazz music was officially forbidden by the German radio. Mi/Bu. „Keine Jazzmusik mehr im Programm der Berliner Funk-Stunde. Pressenotiz des Presse-Informationsbüros der Funkstunde Berlin, 8/III/33. Typoskript, Deutsches Rundfunkarchiv. Quoted after: Fred K. Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker 1933–1945*. CD-ROM, version 1.2-3 (Author's edition: Auprès de Zombry 2005), 3383.

¹⁸ Sachse, "Kunst und Wissenschaft."

¹⁹ sn, "Schönberg-Schüler musizieren. Orchesterkonzert der Meisterschule für musikalische Komposition," *Berliner Dienst*, 27 May 1930.

quality of the music. He questioned Schoenberg's freedom as a teacher to cultivate his students, without calling into question his pre-eminent place in music history.²⁰ Skalkottas would encounter precisely such a lack of understanding of Modernism in music, which was an exception in Berlin, also in Athens.

Nikolaos Skalkottas's composition was performed once again at the annual program of the master class, on 2 June 1931, this time together with works by four other composers: again von Hannenheim, and Schacht, along with Erich Schmid, who was also conductor, and a female composer, Natalie Prawossudowitch.



Charlottenburg, den 23. Mai 1930²⁰

Sehr geehrter Professor,

Da nun, da das Orchesterkonzert glücklich vorüber ist, möchten wir nicht versäumen, Ihnen noch als Wärmstens zu danken für das freundliche Entgegenkommen und die grosse Unterstützung, die Sie uns in so gütiger Weise haben angedeihen lassen, wodurch dies für uns ganz ausserordentlich wichtige Konzert ermöglicht wurde.

Mit der nochmaligen Versicherung unseres grossen Dankes und unserer ausgesprochenen Hochachtung, bleiben wir sehr ergeben

Hannenheim
Niko Skalkottas.

5. Concert of the Masterclass of Arnold Schoenberg, 2 June 1931, program, Archiv PrAdK

²⁰ V. Z., "Musik des Tages. Arnold Schönberg als Lehrer," *Tempo*, 22 May 1930.

Skalkottas presented his Octet for woodwinds (flute, oboe, clarinet, fagot) and four strings in three movements, in which he played violin.

The reviews following the masterclass concerts were obviously responding not only to the works of young composers, but also to the general direction of musical life in the cultural center of Europe and beyond in the 1930s, leading to the confirmation of an anti-modernist, racist policy from 1933. They commented on different topics and were differently intoned.

Schoenberg was a highly respected professor among his composition students. He encouraged them to find their own ways of creative expression and not to hesitate to go beyond the border of the well-established tradition of Germanic (i. e., European) music. He counted Nikos Skalkottas among his most talented students. They both left Berlin in 1933, never to return. If Skalkottas had come back to Germany, as he so passionately wanted, he would have been very disappointed to realize that further work with his professor would not be possible and that his own style, which he developed in Berlin, would be banned.

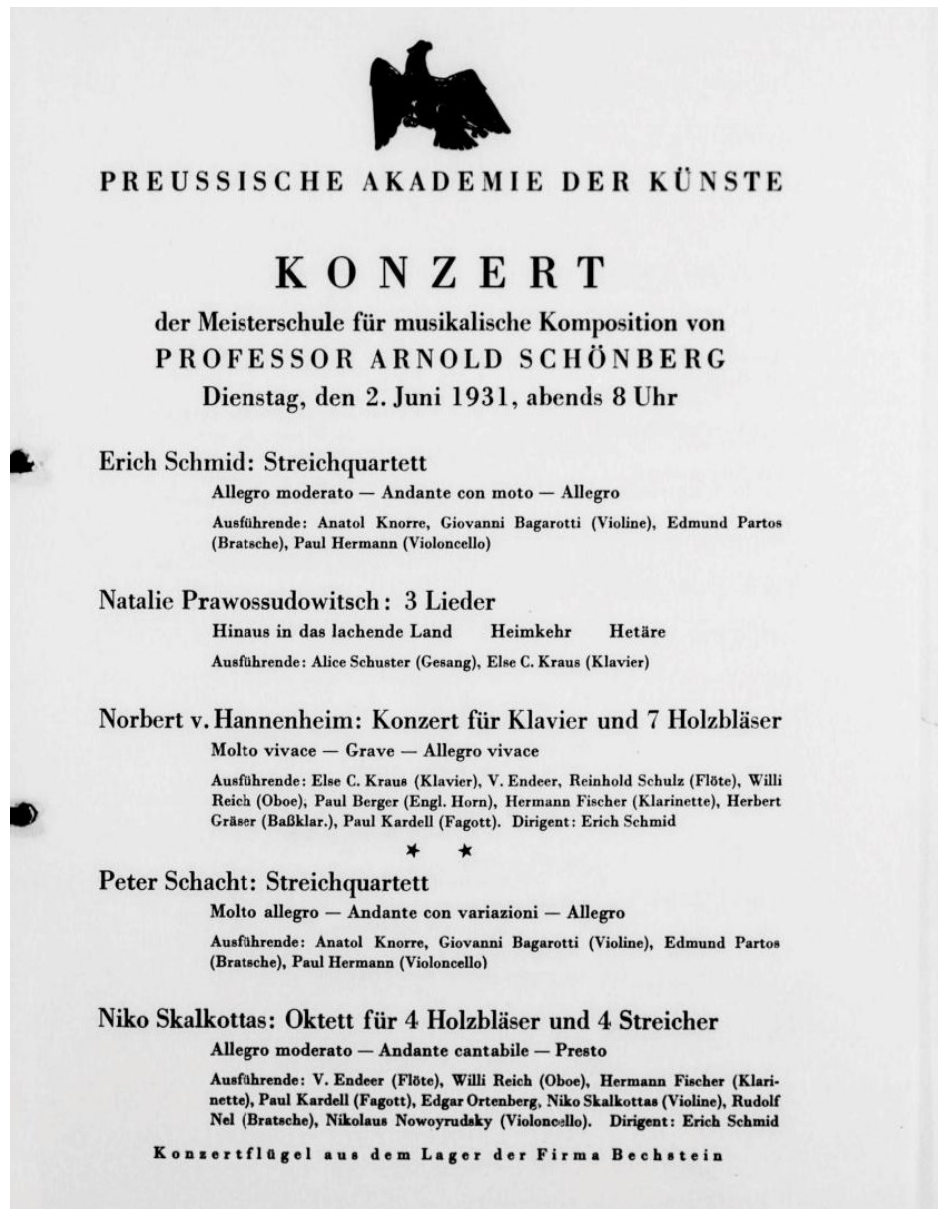
The First exchange concert Germany-Greece (1938)

An overview of contemporary Greek music

The First exchange concert in December 1938, its preparations, organizations, and reviews, presented contemporary Greek music through the following works by representative composers born between 1883 and 1904:

- 1) Antiochos Evangelatos (Αντίοχος Ευαγγελάτος, 1903–1981): Overture for a drama,
- 2) Emilios Riadis (Αιμίλιος Ριάδης, 1885–1935): Four songs,
- 3) Manolis Kalomiris (Μανώλης Καλομοίρης, 1883–1962): Symphonic concerto for piano and orchestra (1935/1936),
- 4) Petros Petridis (Πέτρος Πετρίδης, 1892–1977): Greek suite,
- 5) Nikos Skalkottas (1904–1949): Four Greek dances.

Their compositions were performed by the Berlin Philharmonic with the conductor Philoktetes Economides (Φιλοκτήτης Οικονομίδης, 1889–1957) and Petridis, who led the performance of his own work. Two soloists, the pianist Krino Kalomiri (Κρινώ Καλομοίρη, 1913–1982) and the singer Fani Aidali (Φανή Αϊδαλή, 1912–2004) performed in the compositions by Kalomiris and Riadis.



6. The first exchange concert Germany-Greece, December 1938, program booklet, Archiv PrAdK

This, “unusually lively and stimulating”²¹ concert was organized at the Prussian Academy of Arts in Berlin with the support of the Reich Ministry of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda (Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda). The Ministry was established in 1933, and its aim was defined by Josef Goebbels (1897–1945): „The people should start to think substantively, to react substantively and to put themselves at the disposal of the government with all their sympathy.”²² The ministry supervised a special Reich Chamber for Culture (Reichskulturkammer) including departments of contemporary theater, music, and arts. Its president was Goebbels, who used the German cultural exchange with foreign countries for the nationalist propaganda of the Third Reich. The German-Greek exchange concert was sponsored by the Greek ambassador in Germany (1933–1940), Alexandros Rizo-Rangavis or Rangabé (Αλεξανδρος Ρίζος-Ραγκαβής, 1880–1972), and planned a concert of Greek music in Berlin in 1938 and another one presenting contemporary German composers in Athens in 1939.

The direct initiative for this international exchange came from the Permanent Committee for the International Cooperation of Composers (Ständige Rat für die internationale Zusammenarbeit der Komponisten), presided by Richard Strauss (1864–1949), through regular international music festivals and exchange concerts presenting contemporary composers from almost 30 countries.²³ A significant contribution to the organization of this concert came also from Greek musicians who had connections in Germany, were active in certain institutions or were otherwise recognized in the Third Reich, like Petros Petridis or Manolis Kalomiris, among others. It seems that the precise suggestions for the compositions chosen to be performed at the first concert representing contemporary Greek music in Berlin came from Petridis.

The general framework – tonal compositions inspired by traditional music – was already determined, so that Petridis wanted to promote his own music, while Manolis Kalomiris was unavoidable as the founder and representative of the so-called Greek music national school and also as known to the German authorities. However, due to his and Petridis’s animosity, it seems that the Petridis succeeded in including in the program an incomplete Symphonic Concert by Kalomiris, so that only the second movement was performed. Philoktetes Economides was also not a surprising choice, since he was

²¹ Anon., „Griechische Orchestermusik von heute,” *Berliner Zeitung am Mittag*, 6 December 1938.

²² Winfried Ranke, „Propaganda,” in *Enzyklopädie des Nationalsozialismus*, ed. Wolfgang Benz et al. (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1998), 42

²³ Johannes Jacobi, „Griechische Musik in Berlin. Austauschkonzert in der Singakademie,” *Essener Allgemeine Zeitung*, 8 December 1938 (evening edition)

already active in both Berlin and Athens during the Third Reich and the occupation of Greece. Two soloists were also logical choices: Krino Zora-Kalomiri (Κρινώ Καλομοίρη, 1913–1982), the composer's daughter and the wife of Leonidas Zoras, one more musician engaged in the Third Reich; and Fani Aidali, a singer in the Berlin Volksoper.²⁴ Skalkottas was a composer who had studied in Berlin and was highly respected in German culture generally, but he could not have been represented by any work from this period since Modernism in music was deemed “degenerate” (including the works by his professor Arnold Schoenberg). Emiliós Riadis also studied in Germany, at the Royal Academy of the Art of Music (Königliche Akademie der Tonkunst) in Munich (1908–1910) before he left to Paris, where he studied 1910–1915 with Gustave Charpentier (1860–1956) and Maurice Ravel (1875–1937). Afterwards, he lived and worked in Thessaloniki. He was added to the list since he was inspired by Greek (Macedonian) folklore and his music had a characteristic “oriental” sound. The two young composers were chosen for their creative output exclusively: while Skalkottas left Germany and never supported the Third Reich in spite of his nostalgia for the years he spent in Berlin until 1933, Riadis, who was oriented towards French culture, died in 1935.

Like other forms of cultural exchange, exchange concerts were regarded as a precious contribution to German cultural foreign affairs since they provided a German presence in different countries and an occasion for self-propaganda. Accordingly, Herbert Gerigk's praised his colleagues from the government for the job they were doing:

*The ever-growing number of exchange concerts with most of the cultural states is one of the many proofs of the increasing rapprochement of peoples on the basis of mutual acquaintance. The Permanent Council for International Cooperation of Composers is primarily responsible for this fruitful work in the musical field. The Reich Ministry of Propaganda effectively supports this activity.*²⁵

²⁴ More details about the connections of the named composers and musicians with the Nazi Germany will be provided later, only in relation to this concert. For more details see: Katy Romanou, “Exchanging *Rings* under dictatorship”, in *Music and dictatorship in Europe and Latin America*, ed. Roberto Illiano and Massimiliano Sala (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), 27–64; the same paper with minor changes was published also under the title “Occupied by the most musical people of Europe: A musical Greek tragedy”, in *Crossroads: Greece as an intercultural pole of musical thought and creativity*, ed. Evi Nika-Sampson et al. (Thessaloniki: Aristotle University of Thessaloniki and International Musicological Society, 2013), 53–62; Charkiolakis, “Music and musical life in occupied Athens”.

²⁵ Herbert Gerigk, „In der Singakademie: Griechisches Austauschkonzert“, *Völkischer Beobachter*, 8 December 1938.

Herbert Gerigk's pompous title as "Leader of the music branch by order of the Führer for the supervision of the entire intellectual and ideological enlightenment of the Nazi Party" (*Leiter der Hauptstelle Musik beim Beauftragten des Führers für die Überwachung der gesamten geistigen und weltanschaulichen Schulung und Erziehung der NSDAP*) enabled him not only to surveil numerous anti-Aryan musicians, composers, musicologists, but also to ruin their careers and even to cause their assassination. Gerigk himself published an extensive list of Jewish or partially Jewish composers, musicians and others in notorious publication *Encyclopedia of Jews in Music* (*Lexikon der Juden in der Musik*, 1940) he published with Theophil Stengel (1905–1995), which was the basis for political persecution of the persons mentioned.

Since Goebbels was most interested in propaganda and used every opportunity for pursuit of this aim, especially by (mis)using Grecophilia, the first exchange concert was widely presented in the written media, and was broadcast on radio live with no abridgement.²⁶ Not once in the reviews was it emphasized that the "foreign" music and foreign musicians had at the time a significant role in the musical life of the Reich capital.²⁷ Subsequently, the concert reviewers mentioned the "foreign" repertoire of the musical institutions in Berlin: Puccini's (1858–1924) "masterpiece" *Gianni Schichi*, de Falla's (1876–1946) ballet *Dreisitz* (The Three-Cornered Hats), as well as the Italian Operette *Das große Kennen* (Rompicollo) by Giuseppe Pietri (1886–1946) and the Chinese opera *Schmetterlingstraum* (Butterfly's Dream) were performed at that time.²⁸ Furthermore, the "very friendly relation between Germany and Greece in the area of music" and beyond was emphasized – successful German musicians in Athens and also "the sharp strict person," Athen's general music director and distinguished conductor Dimitris Mitropoulos (Δημήτρης Μητρόπουλος; 189 1960), was a guest conductor of the Berlin Philharmonic.²⁹

In the numerous reviews published in Germany (Berlin, Potsdam Dresden, Nurnberg, Munich, Essen, Nordhausen, Rostock, Hamburg, Cologne,) and Austria (Vienna) in December 1938 and January 1939, there were rather different points of view, generally considering contemporary Greek music either as 'ours' or 'European' or as the 'other.' On the one hand, the following excerpts refer to the former group of critiques: "today's brilliantly trained and highly talented Greek men at work [...] can certainly stand

²⁶ Hermann Bender, „Austausch-Konzert Griechenland-Deutschland,“ *Potsdamer Tageszeitung*, 8 December 1938.

²⁷ Anon., "Musikleben der Reichshauptstadt. Ausländer konzertieren," *Nordhauser Zeitung*, 26 January 1939.

²⁸ Anon., „Viel ausländische Musik,“ *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten*, 13 December 1938.

²⁹ Jacobi, „Griechische Musik in Berlin.“

comparison with leading European musicians”;³⁰ “the young Greek composers know how to deal with virtuosity with the modern European orchestra palette; they succeeded in including innovations in harmony and are now trying to reshape and adjust folk music elements.”³¹

The discourses of the reviews in various German periodicals bear witness to the reception of contemporary Greek music in Germany on the eve of World War II (1938, 1939) from the perspective of the Third Reich’s cultural policy. It was profoundly marked by German Philhellenism, which was aimed at self-glorification, especially through mass celebrations like the Nuremberg Rallies or the Reich Party Congress (Reichspartei Tag, 1923–1938), the Day of German Art (Tage der deutschen Kunst) related to the Great German Art Exhibition (Große Deutsche Kunstausstellung, 1937–1944) in Munich, and similar events.

After the first two celebrations of the Reich Party Days in Munich (1923) and Weimar (1926), it was held in Nuremberg, and after the Party’s victory 1933 it became a grandiose festival. Troost’s successor and Hitler’s personal friend Albert Speer, who became the chief state architect in 1934, embodied the vision of German greatness in his projects, also inspired by Greek antiquity, i.e., Dorian monuments and ruins enlarged to the extent to accommodate more than 100,000 people (the Zeppelintribüne in Nürnberg).

In August 1936 Ioannes Metaxas declared a dictatorship and promoted it with his idea of the Third Greek Civilization. Only one month later, Josef Goebbels came to Athens and offered money for philanthropy, for German schools, and for exhibitions of German art, industry, and crafts.³² As Goebel’s diaries show,³³ the propaganda of the Nazi Party in staging the constructed image of the Third Reich was his greatest passion and obsession, so that ancient Greece was very inspiring for him, as in the propaganda movies by Helene Bertha Amalie, alias Leni Riefenstahl (1902–2003). Riefenstahl’s fascination with the Hellenic beauty embodied in Aryan corporeal supremacy found its expression especially in the movie *Olympia*, with footage of the Olympic Games in Germany in 1936 (released in 1938 on Hitler’s birthday), which opened with an Olympic hymn composed by Richard Strauss. The visual framework of this movie was the birthplace of the sports competition at the highest level: images of Greece, Dorian

³⁰ Alfred Burgaritz, „In der Singakademie. Begabungen griechischer Musik. Das griechisch-deutsche Austauschkonzert ries Begeisterung hervor,” *Berliner illustrierte*, 6 December 1938.

³¹ Anon., „Musikleben der Reichshauptstadt.”

³² Romanou, „Exchanging *Rings* under dictatorship,” 33.

³³ Joseph Goebbels, *Tagebücher 1924–1945*, 5 vols, ed. Ralf Georg Reuch (Munich: Piper Verlag, 2000).

ancient temples, archeological sites, ruins, and sculptures of perfect bodies. The German decathlon athlete Erwin Huber (1907–2003) was presented as Myron's Discobolus, Hitler's favorite sculpture, presented and appropriated by Germany.³⁴

Only one year before the First exchange concert Germany-Greece, the Day of German Art was established under the motto of 2,000 years of German history. The central point of the three-days long "monster festival" was a pageant "over 3 km long, lasting two and a half hours and comprising 6,403 costumed participants, 456 horses [...] as well as 26 floats."³⁵ This celebration included iconography inspired by the national past and ancient Greek mythology and arts: "Led by a drummer, architecture, painting and sculpture open the dance of figures. The float of Pallas Athena is next, followed by the Bavaria Rococo in silver and blue. Behind the float of Gothic march youths carrying the 'Haus Deutscher Kunst,' [...] Poetry, symbolized by Pegasus, the Meistersinger in singing competition" and others.³⁶ The vast House of German Art (Das Haus der Deutschen Kunst) proper was built according to plans of the late Paul Ludwig Troost for this occasion after a model of classical ancient Greek architecture, and Adolf Hitler personally opened it.

Hitler himself admired ancient Greece as an earlier Aryan civilization:³⁷ "the Greeks are always categorized as 'Indo-European' or 'Aryan' – the name came directly from comparative linguistics, though it did, often, also suggested physiognomic traits."³⁸ Aryans are recognizable for their perfect bodies, creativity, and refined inclination to the classical form, contrary to degenerated modernist art.³⁹ The superior race was modelled upon the ancient Greek and Spartan culture.⁴⁰

³⁴ Alastair Sook "The Discobolus: Greeks, Nazis and the body beautiful,"

<https://www.bbc.com/culture/article/20150324-hitlers-idea-of-the-perfect-body>, accessed on 25 January 2023.

³⁵ See Ines Schlenker, *Hitler's salon. The 'Große Deutsche Kunstausstellung' at the Haus der deutschen Kunst in Munich 1937–1944* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2007), 67.

³⁶ *Sonntag-Morgenpost*, 17 September 1933, quoted in Schlenker, *Hitler's Salon*, 52.

³⁷ Weikart, *Hitler's Ethic*; see also Johann Chapoutot, *Greeks, Romans, Germans: How the Nazis Usurped Europe's Classical Past* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2016); Katie Fleming, "The Use and Abuse of Antiquity: The Politics of Morality of Appropriation," in *Classic and the Uses of Reception*, ed. Charles Martindale and Richard F. Thomas (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), 127–138. Although both ancient Greek and Roman civilizations were objects of admiration, Greece remained the main source of inspiration for Germans.

³⁸ Suzanne L. Marchand, *Down from Olympus: Archaeology and Philhellenism in Germany 1750–1970* (New Jersey Princeton University Press, 2020), 304.

³⁹ Weikart, *Hitler's Ethic*, 78.

⁴⁰ "In the European and American context, the term Aryan started as a scholarly concept used to describe an ancient people who spoke related languages. With time, however, *Aryan* referred to a racial category. The Nazi regime adopted this as a core concept in their racist ideology." See <https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/article/aryan-1>, *Holocaust Encyclopedia*, accessed on 25 January 2023.

It is therefore not surprising that there were always inspiring references to ancient Greek culture in the reviews of the Greek-German exchange concert:

What do we know about modern Greek music? Almost nothing, although Greece has bequeathed to us since ancient times the basis of all harmonic hearing. Even today we find the remnants of Greek harmoniae in church rituals, and the polyphonic music of the Middle Ages would be unthinkable without the basis of Greek harmonic concepts. But [...] the heyday of their music sank into the past.⁴¹

The frequent and intensive use of percussion was interpreted as inspired by the ancient tradition,⁴² and even the names of the Greek composers are understood as “sound and music, which we highly associate with their memories of Hellas’ immortal ancient culture.”⁴³

The contemporary Greek music performed at the concert in Berlin was seen as a reference to the ancient Greek legacy as the origin of European culture:

Greek musicians and composers have given us in an orchestra concert [...] a surprisingly impressive concept of the awakening of a new, independent Greek music. This closes a wide-ranging circle: the new music of Greece today builds on the European musical heritage to which it itself laid the foundation in the last pre-Christian millennium, and thus receives back what it gave back then.⁴⁴

The loudest voice in the historical recollecting of ancient Greece belonged to Herbert Johannes Gigler (1895–1978). Known for his writings *Musik und Klima* (Music and Climate, 1923) and *Der Verfall der Musik* (The Decay of Music, 1924), Gigler based his racist approach to music traditions on the differences in landscapes, and glorified the

⁴¹ Herbert Gigler, „Neugriechische Orchestermusik. Meister ihrer Instrumente,“ Brief für das „Neue Wiener Journal,“ 12. Dezember, „*Neues Wiener Journal*, 13 December 1938.

⁴² Gigler, „Neugriechische Orchestermusik“. See also: Hans Martin Cremer, „Moderne griechische Musik. 1. Internationales Austauschkonzert in der Singak,“ *12 Uhr-Blatt*, 7 December 1938.

⁴³ Gigler, „Neugriechische Orchestermusik.“

⁴⁴ Josef Rufer, „Griechische Musik. Erster deutsch-griechisches Austauschkonzert,“ *Berliner Morgenpost*, 7 December 1938

great German masters,⁴⁵ concluding that there has not been (real) music after Max Reger. He denied any value to twentieth-century music,⁴⁶ and claimed that after Reger's death there occurred a gap that Richard Strauss and Schoenberg were unable to fill because they had broken all the rules of the great tradition.⁴⁷ Understandably, he cursed the "oriental" music of Mendelssohn and Mahler. "But one will look at the twentieth century with head-shaking. Little will be kept of it. For the foxtrots, jazzes and shimmys have been printed on bad paper. One will speak of a period devoid of music – and if one finds this and that, one will have to conclude that there was a Negro invasion. God knows how our century will be interpreted!"⁴⁸ And, as in the cited review of Greek contemporary music performed in 1938, he saw the gap between the ancient and actual Greek music, since the glorious days of Hellenism are gone. "Perhaps in ancient Greece there were similar sites of musical effect, of which today we have only obscure news and piles of rubble in olive groves on incomparable stands."⁴⁹

Unlike Gigler, Josef Rufer (1893–1985) was delighted by the new, independent Greek music of the time, as a triumph of the return to the past. Rufer had learned music theory with Alexander von Zemlinsky in Prague, and studied composition with Arnold Schoenberg first in Vienna (1919–1922) and then in Berlin, where he enrolled in Schoenberg's Masterclass in composition, and continued working with him as his assistant (1925–1933) also during Skalkottas's studies. Rufer not only remained in contact with Schoenberg for many years while his former professor was in exile, but expressed his loyalty by writing books on Schoenberg's music. As an heir of Schoenberg's family, Rufer catalogued the composer's works and was in charge of the edition of collected works by Arnold Schoenberg. Between 1928 and 1940 he lived in Berlin and worked for the periodical *Berliner Morgenpost*, where he published a review of the exchange concert. As Suzanne Marchand brilliantly explicated in her book on Philhellenism in Germany, the fascination with ancient Greece, from the eighteenth (Winckelmann, Humboldt, Schiller) to the twentieth century, "moved from left, to liberal, to right, and from the fetish of young outsiders to the credo of aged academicians."⁵⁰

According to the critics who wrote about the exchange concert, Greek music is comparable to other musical cultures "which also remained distant from the

⁴⁵ Related to this topic, see the chapter „Heroen der Musikgeschichte“ in Sebastian Werr, *Musikwissenschaft und Rassenforschung im Nationalsozialismus* (Munich: Allitera Verlag, 2020).

⁴⁶ Herbert Gigler, „Der Verfall der Musik,“ 357.

⁴⁷ Gigler, „Der Verfall der Musik,“ 357

⁴⁸ Gigler, „Der Verfall der Musik.“

⁴⁹ Herbert Gigler, „Musik und Klima,“ *Die Musik* 15/1 (1923): 516–521.

⁵⁰ Marchand, *Down from Olympus*, 6.

development of Western art music since the end of the Middle Ages”⁵¹ until they adopted western (German, French), and also Norwegian, Russian or “even Hungarian” music traditions.⁵²

In spite of the projection of the ancient culture, it was concluded that “the new Greek music is not inspired by ancient heritage, but by the models of modern musical nations.”⁵³ Debussy, the German Romanticists, Stravinsky, and Bartok were recognized as models of Mediterranean composers; Gigler referred to “an Asian flair” and found this mixture especially appealing.⁵⁴ In the light of his earlier writings and the context in which he mentioned “oriental or Asian” music, one can doubt that he was convinced that the music was indeed “appealing,” but he probably could not have criticized official institutions or Richard Strauss as in earlier times. Similarly, it was noticed that one can hear “Moorish echoes, then again one was reminded of Hungary or Russia, but also sensed much that was Asian in the tones.”⁵⁵ The “Moorish” and “Asian” sound of Greek music in the system of values of Hans Martin Kramer (1890–1953), the author and composer who shared the actual cultural policy and politics of racism, was certainly not at the top of the hierarchy. As not only a member of the Nazi Party since 1931, Kramer was engaged in Rosenberg’s Militant League for German Culture (the Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur was also called the National Socialist Society for German Culture 1928–1934). This anti-Semitic institution was officially aimed at cultural surveillance.

The amalgam of German, French, Russian (Čajkovskij, Mussorgskij, Stravinsky), Hungarian (Bartok), and traditional Greek music was mentioned in other reviews too, resulting in “something like ‘European music’”:⁵⁶ “they all seem to have learned from Stravinsky and to have gone through the school of Ravel.”⁵⁷

It is interesting to check which influences of European music are present in the works of the Greek composers: for Kalomiris and Petridis the greatest orchestra experts Liszt and Čajkovskij were appealing; while the younger generation was inspired by young Russians and French

⁵¹ Anon., „Griechische Orchestermusik von heute.“

⁵² Anon., „Griechische Orchestermusik von heute.“

⁵³ Gigler, „Neugriechische Orchestermusik.“

⁵⁴ Gigler, „Neugriechische Orchestermusik.“

⁵⁵ Cremer, „Moderne griechische Musik.“

⁵⁶ Dr. Fritz Brust, „Griechische Musik. Austauschkonzert Griechenland-Deutschland in Berlin,“ *Fränkischer Kurier*, 9 December 1938; idem, „Griechisches Austauschkonzert in Berlin,“ *Dresdner Nachrichten*, 9 December 1938 (morning edition).

⁵⁷ Brust, „Griechische Musik. Austauschkonzert Griechenland-Deutschland in Berlin“; idem, „Griechisches Austauschkonzert in Berlin,“ *Dresdner Nachrichten*, 9 December 1938 (morning edition).

*Impressionism; Evangelatos, Riadis, Skalkottas are more interested in the contemporary music language.*⁵⁸

German “influences” are recognized mainly in the works by Petridis and Skalkottas,⁵⁹ French impressionism in Riadis’s lieder.⁶⁰ In general, it is concluded that Greek music inclines to the romantic-impressionistic sound,⁶¹ which were the recommended stylistic coordinates in the Third Reich. In spite of unequivocal instances of various cultural transfers, it was concluded that there is by no means any kind of “imitation”⁶² which could diminish the “compelling power of originality.”⁶³

These words were written by two music writers who promoted the racist and anti-Semitic politics of the Third Reich. Alfred Burgartz (pseudonym Alfred Holtmont, 1890–1987), the author who regarded works by Greek composers as romantic-impressionistic, was also one of the German musicologists who were involved with Rosenberg’s office. His racist and anti-Semitic beliefs are evident in his writings on Mozart (as against the Aryan Mozart, he condemned da Ponte even physically) and Rudolf Wagner-Régeny (in one of the rare monographs published in Rosenberg’s book series *Schriftenreihe* in 1935).⁶⁴

Walter Abendroth (1896–1973), who emphasized the originality of the Greek music presented to the Berlin audience in 1938, was a well-known publicist in the Third Reich. In his article “Art music and nationality” (*Kunstmusik und Volkstümlichkeit*) he, like Gigler, denounced jazz as a negative result of the “race mixing” in America. The main target of his attacks was an “atonal music devil,” a Jewish product which, along with the barbaric harmonies of quarter tones and similar deviations, was unacceptable for the soul of the German people. This text was published in the main Nazi music journal *Die Musik* (established in 1901 and overtaken by the Nazis in 1933), which belonged to Rosenberg’s office and where Gerigk was especially active as a writer.⁶⁵

⁵⁸ Karl Westermayer, „Griechische Musik. Austauschkonzert der Akademie der Künste,“ *Berliner Tageblatt*, 6 December 1938 (evening edition).

⁵⁹ Anon., „Griechische Orchestermusik von heute.“

⁶⁰ Anon., „Griechische Orchestermusik von heute.“

⁶¹ Alfred Burgartz, „Berliner Musik und Theaterschau,“ *Rheinische Landeszeitung*, 14 December 1938.

⁶² Walter Abendroth, „Prickelnde Rhythmen – bunte Farben. Austauschkonzert Griechenland-Deutschland in der Singakademie,“ *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger*, 6 December 1938 (evening edition)

⁶³ Abendroth, „Prickelnde Rhythmen – bunte Farben.“

⁶⁴ See Erik Levi, *Mozart and the Nazis: How the Third Reich Abused a Cultural Icon* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011); idem, *Music in the Third Reich* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1994), 263.

⁶⁵ Michael Meyer, “The Nazi Musicologist as Myth Maker in the Third Reich,” *Journal of Contemporary History* 10/4 (October 1975: 649–665, here 654).

Analysis of the reviews also reveals the crystallization of the main characteristics of Greek music as they were defined in German written media: the striking originality comes from an orchestration recognizable for its “burning colors,” or “sound-painting expression” (*klangmalerischen Ausdruck*), polychromatism, with intensive, impressive, robust rhythms,⁶⁶ and an immensely lively, dynamically far-reaching sound imagination.⁶⁷ The use of brass and woodwinds in particular, as well as percussions, contributes to the specific and recognizable orchestration. “An impressive physical power of sound, expressed through even a six-man percussion section, is noticed in Petridis’ work and defined as a life joy,”⁶⁸ as Fritz Stege suggested.

Beside Gerigk, Stege became one of the most influential musicologists in Nazi Germany after receiving his doctorate from the University in Berlin (1922) and joining the Nazi Party in 1930. Besides writing his own publications, he was editor of the *Zeitschrift für Musik* (from 1933) and music reviewer of the *Völkischer Beobachter*, the main party newspaper. Already in 1932 Stege became head of the Literature Department within the Rosenberg’s Militant League for German Culture (Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur), one year later of the Association of German Music Critics (Arbeitsgemeinschaft Deutscher Musikkritiker), and afterwards also the press officer of the Reich Chamber of Music (Reichsmusikkammer) and the Reich Radio (Reichs-Rundfunk-Gesellschaft). By denouncing numerous colleagues, he “was responsible for the exclusion of colleagues who did not conform to the regime.”⁶⁹ Stege’s approach to the task of art was defined on the occasion of the German composers’ day in 1934: “It was not about the direction of art, but about its essence. The task of art is to express the German spirit [*Wesensart*]. Only if art is anchored in the people’s steadfast roots [*im Volkshafte*], could the people live in and with the arts; under these conditions the state is willing to take over and perform the duties of a patron to the artist.”⁷⁰ Stege was very critical of grotesque instrumentation, which obviously echoed in his opinion of Sachse (see footnote 16).

⁶⁶ Westermayer, „Griechische Musik. Austauschkonzert der Akademie der Künste“; Anon., „Griechische Orchestermusik von heute.“

⁶⁷ Kurt Westphal, „Griechische Musik der Gegenwart,“ *Rheinisch-Westfälische Zeitung*, 9 December 1938.

⁶⁸ Dr. Fritz Stege, „Im Zeichen der Kulturvermittlung: Griechische Tone – Exotischer Tanz. Zwei fesselnde künstlerische Veranstaltungen in Berlin,“ *Hamburger Tageblatt*, 9 December 1938.

⁶⁹ Klee, *Das Kulturlexikon zum Dritten Reich*, 586f, quoted in Werr, *Musikwissenschaft und Rassenforschung im Nationalsozialismus*, 32.

⁷⁰ Petra Garberding, “‘We Take Care of the Artist’: The German Composers’ Meeting in Berlin, 1934,” transl. Per F. Broman, in *Music and Politics*, https://web.archive.org/web/20131005080214/http://www.music.ucsb.edu/projects/musicandpolitics/archive/2009-2/garberding.html#_ftnref14, accessed on 25 January 2023.

Another source of the uniqueness of the new Greek music is traditional music, i.e. folk dance and song:

All five works had in common the peculiar melodic substance derived from Greek folk dance and song. It appears in the youngest of the five composers, Niko Skalkottas, in his four dances for orchestra, treated in a completely modern and extremely imaginative way. [...] Colorful and carried by a strong musical temperament, substantial and thoroughly personal in attitude, all these works testify to the equally happy and ambitious beginning of a musical rebirth of Greece on the broadest basis.⁷¹

Music by representative Greek composers was positively evaluated through the prism of nationalism, combined with “oriental” sound, ignoring the fact that the traditional music of Greece includes Asia Minor (recognizable from specific scales and not reduced to only the western major-minor system):

In the last twenty years a remarkable transformation has taken place in the musical expression of the East European peoples. While at that time the musical representatives of those countries had hardly reached the sound forms of the neo-Romanticists, today the modern Greek composers have achieved a style which grew out of their own soil, but which draws on all the means of modern sound design. It is not only the mastery of form, but also, to a large extent, the expression of an idiosyncrasy drawn from the folklore that puts their works in a particularly attractive light. A healthy, colorful world of feeling, often condensed to dramatic flush, combines with oriental splendor to form peculiarly attractive creations.⁷²

⁷¹ Rufer, „Griechische Musik. Erster deutsch-griechisches Austauschkonzert.“ See also Gerigk, „In der Singakademie: Griechisches Austauschkonzert.“

⁷² Friedrich Wagner, „Musik aus Griechenland. Deutsch-Griechisches Austauschkonzert“, *Steglitzer Anzeiger*, 7 December 1938.

The peculiarity of Greek music is sometimes contextualized within the “melodic and rhythmic characteristics” of the songs and dances of the Balkan countries.⁷³

This more or less clearly expressed otherness or orientalism – and also self-orientalism resulted from the approach to German music as universal – is also defined in the following way: „The blue sky of Greece, the serious, strict beauty of the mountain landscapes, the passionate, all beautifully open character of the people, breathe in the music of contemporary Greek composers. [...] It is, in spite of some known elements, alien music to which the German ear has to become used.”⁷⁴

This otherness is formulated as exoticism: the oriental, Asian, or Moorish sound of Greek music, mainly through harmony and the use of scales specific to Balkan music traditions. Several reviews mentioned that contemporary Greek music partially belongs to European music but is pervaded with Oriental motives – as a matter of fact, the metaphor is of a colorful carpet made of European and Oriental motifs.⁷⁵

The First exchange concert Germany-Greece (1938):

Reviews of works by individual composers

Apart from the general characterization and evaluation of contemporary Greek music presented at the First Greek-German exchange concert, there are also numerous observations of individual works. In most cases, the reviews provided at least a short comment about the five works for orchestra respectively, sometimes evaluating one of them as the most appealing or stylistically and technically most accomplished. Nikos Skalkottas's *Four Greek Dances* (out of *Thirty-six Greek Dances*) were praised without exception by the leading and less prominent Nazi reviewers. Only one reviewer remembered Skalkottas as a former Berlin student of Schoenberg's composition masterclass, and he emphasized the change of the composer's musical language: “Skalkottas, the only one known: he is well known to us from the time he studied in Berlin, at that time he was working with linear chamber music style. He has changed a lot. His Greek dances are unique studies for orchestra.”⁷⁶ It seems that the work by the

⁷³ Westermayer, „Griechische Musik. Austauschkonzert der Akademie der Künste.“

⁷⁴ Dr. Vogl-Langmann, „Griechische Komponisten. Das 1. Austausch-Konzert Griechenland-Deutschland in der Singakademie,“, *Berliner Morgen-Zeitung*, 7 December 1938.

⁷⁵ Anon., „Musikleben der Reichshauptstadt“; Dr. Erwin Kroll, „Berliner Konzertleben,“ *Schlesische Zeitung*, 21 December 1938 (morning edition); Anon., „Viel ausländische Musik“; Cremer, „Moderne griechische Musik“; Anon., „Musikleben der Reichshauptstadt.“

⁷⁶ Westphal, *Griechische Musik der Gegenwart*.“

youngest of the representative Greek composers was a most appropriate conclusion to the concert, due to the passionate lively exhilarating dances with their characteristic rhythms, orchestration, and harmonies close to Bartok's or Stravinsky's treatment of folk melodies and diatonics.⁷⁷ Furthermore, the dances are mentioned as fresh and exciting in a highly interesting rhythm,⁷⁸ witty, concise, natural and brilliant,⁷⁹ playful and entertaining,⁸⁰ by a sound poet (*Tondichter*).⁸¹ Among other positive aspects of the youngest of the five Greek composers, Stege pointed out that the Greek dances by Skalkottas were natural and unspoiled, brilliant and recognizable for their instrumental humor," which was quoted in the *Neues Wiener Journal*.⁸²

Skalkottas's music "made up the evening's program, its igniting effect on the audience could have been directly observed in the bobbing up and down of the tips of their feet and in the joyfully tense expressions on their faces."⁸³ Burgartz concluded his review by declaring that this composition was to be recommended to German conductors.⁸⁴

The songs of another young composer, Emilios Riadis, who died three years before the concert was held, were characterized as "the most tender" music presented at the concert.⁸⁵ "The highly gifted, melancholy lyricist"⁸⁶ was inspired by Greek traditional music like Kalomiris and Skalkottas, and partially Petridis. The exquisite vocal melody of the songs is pervaded with augmented seconds, accompanied with the master ostinato, especially in "Odalisque."⁸⁷ Riadis's recognizable lyric melancholy was defined as "a peculiar magic."⁸⁸ His musical language was, without exception, connected with French Impressionism.⁸⁹

⁷⁷ Anon., „Griechische Orchestermusik von heute.“

⁷⁸ Burgartz, „In der Singakademie. Begabungen griechischer Musik“; Brust, „Griechische Musik. Austauschkonzert Gr-Deutschland in Berlin“; idem, „Griechisches Austauschkonzert in Berlin“; Wagner, „Musik aus Griechenland“.

⁷⁹ Dr. Fritz Stege, „Griechische Töne – Exotischer Tanz,“ *Hamburger Tageblatt*, 9 December 1938.

⁸⁰ Stege, „Griechische Töne – Exotischer Tanz“; Burgartz, „Berliner Musik und Theaterschau“; Cremer, „Moderne griechische Musik.“

⁸¹ Gerigk, „In der Singakademie: Griechisches Austauschkonzert.“

⁸² Stege, „Griechische Töne – Exotischer Tanz.“

⁸³ Vogl-Langmann, „Griechische Komponisten.“

⁸⁴ Burgartz, „Berliner Musik und Theaterschau.“

⁸⁵ Abendroth, „Prickelnde Rhythmen – bunte Farben.“

⁸⁶ Burgartz, „In der Singakademie. Begabungen griechischer Musik.“

⁸⁷ Stege, „Griechische Töne – Exotischer Tanz.“

⁸⁸ Wagner, „Musik aus Griechenland“; Brust, „Griechische Musik. Austauschkonzert Gr-Deutschland in Berlin“; idem, „Griechisches Austauschkonzert in Berlin.“

⁸⁹ Anon., „Griechische Orchestermusik von heute“; Gerigk, „In der Singakademie: Griechisches Austauschkonzert.“

The four orchestral songs of Riadis are also based on the specific scales with “Oriental” echoes. Maybe the scales of the former Byzantine and Ottoman musical cultures were precisely the reason why the Greek suite, but also Riadis’s songs, would sound alien to a German listener.

Interestingly enough, Westphal identified the impact of Russian early Impressionism (Frühimpressionismus), that is, the “songs from Mussorgsky’s *Boris*” on Riadis’s vocal works.⁹⁰

The composition of Antiochos Evangelatos, who was also the conductor of the Radio Orchestra, was commented to a somewhat lesser extent. His “concise, brisk and incendiary,”⁹¹ “powerful,”⁹² and “colorfully effective”⁹³ Overture to a drama was praised for its orchestration, its “instrumental splendor, full of the strongest brass outbursts.”⁹⁴ Additionally, Fritz Brust emphasized the southern character of the composition, close to opera verismo.⁹⁵

It seems that the way Petridis’s and especially Kalomiris’s music were evaluated is much more intriguing, since both of them were very ambitious to be recognized in Germany, i.e. Berlin, which was seen as the cultural center of Europe. This eagerness to pursue their careers in Germany seems to lead them beyond the ethnic borders.

Due to his music and presence in Germany, Petros Petridis was already known to some of the Nazi reviewers, one of whom mentioned the composer’s interview at Radio Berlin.⁹⁶ According to the critics, he conducted his Greek suite himself passionately. This suite – which was performed at the International Festival of Contemporary Music in Baden-Baden in 1936 – as Gerigk pointed out, “confirmed his reputation as an imaginative, brilliantly orchestrating tone poet.”⁹⁷ The Greek suite for symphonic orchestra contains five movements describing the phases of a Greek peasant’s life. Among them, the Lullaby and also a dance (*hasapiko*) and Pastorale were

⁹⁰ Westphal, „Griechische Musik der Gegenwart.“ Westphal obviously had in mind music of the opera *Boris Godunov* by Modest Mussorgsky.

⁹¹ Gigler, „Neugriechische Orchestermusik. Meister ihrer Instrumente“; Burgartz, „In der Singakademie. Begabungen griechischer Musik.“

⁹² Cremer, „Moderne griechische Musik.“

⁹³ Burgartz, „Berliner Musik und Theaterschau.“

⁹⁴ Westphal, „Griechische Musik der Gegenwart.“ See also Gerigk, „In der Singakademie: Griechisches Austauschkonzert.“

⁹⁵ Dr. Fritz Brust, „Griechisches Austauschkonzert in Berlin,“ *Dresdner Nachrichten*, 9. December 1938 (morning edition).

⁹⁶ Burgartz, „Berliner Musik und Theaterschau“.

⁹⁷ Gerigk, „In der Singakademie: Griechisches Austauschkonzert“.

distinguished.⁹⁸ In the last-mentioned movement Westphal found even a reference to the ancient Greek *aulos* produced by an English horn.⁹⁹ The Suite was stylistically located between late Romanticism “spiced with harmonic modernisms”¹⁰⁰ and Impressionism.¹⁰¹ Along with its brilliant orchestration and refined rhythms, Petridis’s work was characterized in terms of specific scales.¹⁰²

*Despite the use of some familiar elements, it is a strange music, which the German ear must first get used to. But if it already captivates immediately through the versatility of its instrumentation, through the interesting, gripping rhythms, it wins very quickly through the spiritual fullness that carries and moves it. This also applies to a great extent to the songs of Emil Riadis.*¹⁰³

Manolis Kalomiris’s recognizable Symphonic piano concerto (second movement)¹⁰⁴ earned the highest marks from numerous German reviewers.¹⁰⁵ Krino Zora-Kalomiris (Κρινώ Καλομοίρη, 1913–1982) played solo piano. There was some confusion about the announcement of this composition in the press: namely, the extensive second movement – Variations, Fugue and Finale on a Greek folk tune (as described in the manuscript of the composition) – was played at the concert. Alfred Bürgartz obviously did not understand it and wrote in his review that “the Symphonic Piano Concert in c minor was planned, but instead of this, the Orchestra Variations on a folk tune, Double fugue and Finale with piano obbligato was played” (!).¹⁰⁶

⁹⁸ Gígler, „Neugriechische Orchestermusik. Meister ihrer Instrumente“; Brust, „Griechische Musik. Austauschkonzert Gr-Deutschland in Berlin“; idem, „Griechisches Austauschkonzert in Berlin“; Cremer, „Moderne griechische Musik“.

⁹⁹ Westphal, „Griechische Musik der Gegenwart“.

¹⁰⁰ Jacobi, „Griechische Musik in Berlin“.

¹⁰¹ Stege, „Griechische Töne – Exotischer Tanz“.

¹⁰² Burgartz, „In der Singakademie. Begabungen griechischer Musik“; Burgartz, „Berliner Musik und Theaterschau“.

¹⁰³ Vogl-Langmann, „Griechische. Komponisten“.

¹⁰⁴ Burgartz, „Berliner Musik und Theaterschau“.

¹⁰⁵ Among others, see Burgartz, „Berliner Musik und Theaterschau“; Burgartz, „In der Singakademie. Begabungen griechischer Musik“; Stege, „Griechische Töne – Exotischer Tanz“.

¹⁰⁶ Burgartz, „Berliner Musik und Theaterschau“.

*This work shows particularly vividly the original joy of the Greek musicians in the pure sound, which is unleashed with all the expressive possibilities of a large orchestra. Even the piano, whose solo part the grand pianist Krino Zora-Kalomiri performed with admirable technique, plays only the role of a subordinate instrument in this music, which is completely tuned to lurid colorfulness.*¹⁰⁷

As usual with contemporary Greek music, his “richly colored orchestra [was] strongly attuned to the effect of brass wind instruments” and the virtuoso solo piano part was treated as one of the orchestra lines.¹⁰⁸ The impact of the French music tradition (“neo-French activism”)¹⁰⁹ is recognized in the “strangely floating sonorities,” which inspired Kurt Westphal to call Kalomiris a Greek Ravel.¹¹⁰

The title of the second movement of the Concerto, as Kalomiris wrote in the manuscript score, is “Variations, Fugue and Finale on a Greek folk tune,” and both the variations and the fugue are two extensive parts within the movement. According to the composer’s concert program note published on the occasion of the work’s premiere in 1937, one can understand this movement as a self-portrait in sound: the melody “Ο Λύγκος ο λεβέντης ο αρχιληστής (Lygos the valiant, the chief robber) personifies Kalomiris himself.¹¹¹ He was inspired by the female voices and songs of his family: this melody he had learned from his grandmother as a child in Smyrna, and he returned to it several times during his life. During his studies in Vienna, he met Max Reger and, out of admiration for him, he wanted to write variations and a fugue based on this melody, which was accomplished in the Symphonic concerto. Moreover, within the variations, Kalomiris interpolated a dance interlude with a “development of the Cretan ‘sousta’ pattern as basis of linear and contrapuntal development; contrasting dynamics and colourful instrumental participation.”¹¹² The inspiration by a folk tune, the dedication to

¹⁰⁷ Jacobi, „Griechische Musik in Berlin.“

¹⁰⁸ Gerigk, „In der Singakademie: Griechisches Austauschkonzert.“

¹⁰⁹ Burgaritz, „In der Singakademie. Begabungen griechischer Musik“; see also Burgartz, „Berliner Musik und Theaterschau.“

¹¹⁰ Westphal, „Griechische Musik der Gegenwart.“

¹¹¹ The suggestion of a literal translation of the title by Sakallieros seemed not to be quite correct (“Lynx the Gallant”), see Giorgios Sakallieros, “The Symphonic Concerto for Piano and Orchestra (1935) by Manolis Kalomiris: Reaffirming the National-Ideal Topos Through the (Old) Western Canon,” *New Sound* 54 (2019): 68–89. For that reason, I consulted Alexandros Charkiolakis and am grateful to him for the translation given in the text: it is based on an episode from the life of Tasos Lygkos, who was falsely accused of murdering his sister’s beloved, which caused an interruption of his own love relationship, even when the truth was revealed.

¹¹² Sakallieros, “The Symphonic Concerto, 82.

Max Reger, and the skillfully written Western counterpoint form were precisely the means promoted in Nazi Germany. Several of the aforementioned German musicologists, music writers, or composers had praised Reger.

Furthermore, Fritz Brust (1884–1963), one of the musicologists loyal to the regime of the Third Reich who was famous for his “vitriolic criticism,”¹¹³ praised Kalomiris as a person with the “the strongest compositional will” (*der stärkste kompositorische Wille*)¹¹⁴ in his review in the *Fränkischer Kurier*. We could add – it was not only compositional. Kalomiris dominated musical life in Athens for a long time after successfully promoting his concept of a national Greek musical identity with his early operas based on the Megali idea, the demotic language, and the Eastern (Asia Minor) music legacy, and also when he changed his ideology and, among other things, accepted the cultural policy of the Third Reich and praised Hitler’s New Germany. It cannot be just a coincidence that Brust used the term ‘will’ (*der Wille*), which is among the most significant characteristics of the “new human” (*der “Neue Mensch”*) in Hitler’s Germany.¹¹⁵ This supreme hero embodied intellectual and corporeal strength and, as such, it was also praised in Leni Riefenstahl’s movie *Triumph des Willens* (Triumph of the Will, 1935), a documentary about the Nazi Party Congress in Nuremberg in 1934. It is a narrative understandable in this city, where Brust published his review.

In his short review of the concert, Fritz Brust addressed all five new works at once and pointed out that young composers are following their ways recklessly and tidy up the melodiousness in music. “With them, some listeners were also happy to hear the blasts that blew up the old foundations.”¹¹⁶ Let me mention only one of his reviews of Schoenberg’s stage works, *Erwartung* and *Das glückliche Hand*, published one year prior to the German-Greek concert: Brust concluded that the both compositions “must be considered as failures, despite the impressive means with which they were written,” and he called Schoenberg’s style an anomaly and deviation. Finally, he pointed out: “Schoenberg still has quite a few fanatical followers” who confirmed their support with

¹¹³ See Marc D. Moskowitz, *Alexander Zemlinsky: A Lyric Symphony* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2010), 273.

¹¹⁴ Brust, „Griechische Musik. Austauschkonzert Griechenland–Deutschland in Berlin“; idem, „Griechisches Austauschkonzert in Berlin.“

¹¹⁵ “The way to salvation, to redemption – for which the ‘Führer’ stands – leads via biological regeneration. It is the prerequisite for everything else: racial health as the basis for will, toughness, discipline and fighting spirit, for willingness to perform and sacrifice, but also for great cultural creations from the ‘Aryan’ spirit; furthermore: for political loyalty and identification with the ‘national community’; for faith and fanaticism in the service of the Reich, which is already there, but above all is yet to come.” See Albrecht Betz, „Der ‚Neue Mensch‘ im Nationalsozialismus“, *Deutschlandfunk Archiv*, 7 November 2010.

¹¹⁶ Brust, “Aus dem Berliner Musikleben.”

loud applause, “but they found very clear contradiction.”¹¹⁷ It is not difficult to recognize the forthcoming official condemnation of modern music in Germany.

The First exchange concert Germany-Greece was only one of numerous cultural events confirming the close relation between the two countries on the eve of the Second World War. Precisely the year of 1938 was very fruitful in this respect, especially in promoting German arts and culture in Athens: there was an exposition *Strength through Joy* (*Kraft durch Freude*) followed with promotion of the actual German literature.¹¹⁸ Greek school pupils visited Germany; German archaeologists received permission to continue their excavations in Olympia; and Richard Wagner’s *Der Ring der Nibelungen* was performed in Athens by the Frankfurt State Opera. Moreover, Kalomiris’s second opera *To Dachtylidi tis Manas* (*The Mother’s Ring*, 1917) was performed at the Berlin Volksoper in 1940, and the conductor was Leonidas Zoras. In 1939, when it was decided that his opera would be staged in Berlin, Kalomiris’s delight was so overwhelming that he praised his “great musical motherland,” Hitler’s New Germany, Josef Goebbels, and even claimed that in Germany he realized the greatness of ancient Greece in Berlin.¹¹⁹ The performance of the Kalomiris’s opera in the capital of Germany he praised so enthusiastically was very positively evaluated by Fritz Stege in the main music journal of the Third Reich, the *Zeitschrift für Musik* (established as *Neuzeitschrift für Musik* by Robert Schumann in 1834), edited by the member of the Nazi Party. Although the critic was not sure whether a Greek “national opera” (*eine ‘Volksoper’ griechischen Stils*) could exist at all, when “the influences on the geographically unfavorably situated country for centuries, are mainly of Byzantine (Turkish-Arabic) origin, in addition to the occidental styles of Hungary, Italy, Russia, including Slovenes, Serbo-Croatians and Bulgarians as members of the South Slavic tribe”, problematic because of its heterogeneous “racial-psychological” profile.¹²⁰ After mentioning three original folk

¹¹⁷ *Allgemeine Musikzeitung*, 20 June 1930.

¹¹⁸ “Formed in 1933 ten months after Hitler’s ascent to power, *Strength through Joy*’s (KdF) mission was ostensibly geared to providing for the population’s leisure, but was also simultaneously directed to cultural production, and aimed at providing middle-class cultural practices to the working class at subsidized costs. KdF organized concerts, plays, and art exhibitions, provided tennis, horse riding and sailing lessons, and most significantly provided vacation travel to those who would otherwise not be able to afford it. [...] As a testament to the organisation’s popularity, by the year 1938 over 13.5 million people had attended its staged cultural activities, performances, concerts, exhibitions, educational evenings, sporting events and tours.” See Daniel Grincer, *Architecture as Cultural and Political Discourse: Case studies of conceptual norms and aesthetic practices* (London and New York: Routledge, 2016), 131.

¹¹⁹ Kalomiris published his articles about the performances of German music in Athens and also some of the Greek concerts in Berlin in the journal *Ethnos*, as a music critic for more than thirty years. For more details about his articles related to Germany in the 1930s see Romanou, “*Exchanging Rings* under dictatorship.”

¹²⁰ Fritz Stege, „Berliner Musik“, *Zeitschrift für Musik* 4 (April 1940): 206–207, here 206.

tunes used in the opera *The Mother's Ring*, Stege praises the elements of Dorian mode, as well as the double harmonic scale as Kalomiris's "compositional strength". Obviously referring to the Greek-German exchange concert, the reviewer concluded: "While the contemporary Greek music known to us is astonishingly progressive and individual, Kalomiris tends to a contemplative recollection in moderate harmony and an instrumentation modeled upon Wagner, whose joy of sound is to be acknowledged."¹²¹

Third Reich administrative rule in Athens/Greece, as in other occupied countries, had the aim of controlling local cultures and musical life through the state institutions they established and ran with the help of Greek collaborators. One of these institutions was the Administrative higher board for music, where Kalomiris, Petridis, and Economides were engaged. Due to this and their other activities, Manolis Kalomiris and Petros Petridis were the best-known twentieth-century Greek composers of the Third Reich.¹²²

Exitus acta probat?

Judging by the life and work of some composers, musicians, and music critics who were engaged in the government and other institutions of the Third Reich or were Nazi collaborators, the frightening answer to our initial question would be – yes. It is already known that numerous German musicologists and musicians who supported or were engaged by the Nazi authorities continued their careers immediately after World War II without obstacles. Even the most notorious of those mentioned here, like Herbert Gerigk or Fritz Stege, denied all responsibility for their notorious activities: Gerigk was writing and publishing books and articles until his death in 1996; Stege was a music critic in Wiesbaden, where he was teaching in his own private music school. He even received an award from the Hessian Choral Association (Hessischer Sängerbund) for promoting folk music. Likewise, Walter Abendroth, Theophil Stenge, and Hans Martin Kremer remained active until their deaths much later, after the war, along with many others, even university professors and internationally famous musicians, who were not mentioned here.

Similarly, the reputations of Petros Petridis and Manolis Kalomiris remained untouched, as was also the case with Philoktetes Economides and Leonidas Zoras. They are still celebrated in Greek national histories of music, without any mention of their unacceptable and unethical activities in Athens occupied by Nazis or in Nazi Germany

¹²¹ Stege, „Berliner Musik“, 207.

¹²² See Charkiolakis, "Music and musical life in occupied Athens," 85–86.

proper. According to Myrto Economides, who discovered personal documentation of Kalomiris, and Katy Romanou who wrote about it, he sent letters of apology to various authorities, explaining that he had not committed any crimes and naming some of his colleagues who also supported Hitler's Germany and represented its cultural policy by their activities in both countries. Even more hypocritical is the fact that Kalomiris became a regular member of the Athens Academy and also the president of the Union of Greek Composers in 1945. He was the director of his private National Conservatoire until 1948, and remained chair of its administrative council until the end of his life.

Exitus acta probat? The answer should have been and always remained – no.

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Wit and *Sprachkritik* in the Formative Years of Nikos Skalkottas

Panos Vlagopoulos

1. *Wit and Sprachkritik*

At the turn of the (twentieth) century the German-speaking world (mainly Vienna and Berlin) was home to some of the most diverse manifestations of modernism: the *Junges Wien* with, among others, authors Hermann Bahr, Arthur Schnitzler, and Hugo von Hofmannsthal; Freudian psychoanalysis; public intellectual Karl Kraus; the Berlin *Dada* movement with artists Hannah Höch, Raoul Hausmann, and Georges Grosz; the *Novembergruppe* and *Bauhaus* movements; Berlin Cabaret and cabaret poets Otto Julius Bierbaum, Christian Morgenstern, Richard Dehmel, Gustav Falke, and comedian Karl Valentin; architects August Endell and Adolf Loos; the Vienna Circle and young Wittgenstein; Jena logician and philosopher of language Gottlob Frege; philosopher of language, Fritz Mauthner and philologist Gustav Wustmann; last but not least, progressive composers, among them Gustav Mahler, Frank Schreker, Alexander von Zemlinsky, Philipp Jarnach, Felix Petyrek, Ferruccio Busoni and Arnold Schoenberg and their *Meisterschüler*.

If we were to name a single denominator to all these manifestations of the effervescent German-speaking scene, I would suggest something to the effect of “language crisis and/or critique” or, to use a single German keyword: “*Sprachkritik*”; whereby “language” should refer not only to language itself, but also to the multifarious languages of science and art, as it were. Morgenstern’s poems, Hofmannsthal’s *A Letter*, and Mauthner’s voluminous *Beiträge zu einer Kritik der Sprache*, Schoenberg’s atonal music – all explore language limits in their respective art forms; all start out to delve into uncharted territory, while at the same time turning a critical eye on traditions, rules and constraints.

This is for example an excerpt from Hofmannsthal’s *A Letter* ([1902] 2000), better known as the ‘Letter of Lord Chandos’:

My case is briefly this: I have lost completely the ability to think or speak coherently about everything (50). [...] [A]bstract words, of which a language must avail itself as a matter of course in order to bring out an opinion, disintegrated in my mouth like rotten mushrooms (51). [...] Everything was braking up in pieces, pieces in other pieces, and nothing could be brought under one concept (52). [...] All in all, this is a kind of feverish thinking; thought, however, in a material more immediate, more liquid, more glowing, than words (58).¹

The *Letter* showed at the same time the awareness of a crisis and being a work of literature, a way to address it. But so did Mauthner's linguistic skepticism, Morgenstern's wit, and Schoenberg's forays in atonality.

In two letters written in this very Berlin of the 1920s (Skalkottas 1925a), the young Nikos Skalkottas includes his own translations in Greek of two poems from the famous *Galgenlieder* collection by Christian Morgenstern (1871–1914). The very choice of these Morgenstern poems (the *Trichter*, with its obscene allusions, the *Knie*, with its playful pacifistic anarchism), as well as their translation, were only the tip of the iceberg regarding Skalkottas's eccentric, modernist, at times even anarchist take on matters linguistic, social, national, and, of course, musical. The impact of both Morgenstern-type and, later, Schoenbergian (musical) "language-critique" on the young composer should have had liberating effects – from restraints musical, linguistic, and ideological. Skalkottas metabolized these two sources of influence and inspiration in his concrete approach to music which for at least some of his early compositions could be described as "atonality *qua* nonsense". In this paper, I will substantiate this claim first by looking more closely to its presuppositions in Arnold Schoenberg's notion of a *musical thought* or *idea* (musikalischer Gedanke), then by gleaning pieces of evidence from Skalkottas's correspondence and his *Fifteen Little Variations* for piano (1927) composed during his fertile Berlin years.

¹ "Mein Fall ist, in Kürze, dieser: es ist mir völlig die Fähigkeit abhanden gekommen, über irgend etwas zusammenhängend zu denken oder zu sprechen (50). [...] [D]ie abstrakten Worte, deren sich doch die Zunge naturgemäß bedienen muss, um irgend welches Urteil an den Tag zu geben, zerfielen mir im Munde wie modrige Pilze (51). [...] Es zerfielen mir alle in Teile, die Teile wieder in Teile, und nichts mehr ließ sich mit einem Begriff umspannen (52). [...] Und das Ganze ist eine Art fieberisches Denken, aber Denken in einem Material, das unmittelbarer, flüssiger, glühender ist als Worte (58)". (Hofmannsthal [1902] 2000, 58). All translations are mine.

2. Schoenberg and the Semantic Tradition

There is no doubt that the notion of a *musical idea* has been the central notion around which all of Schoenberg's historical and compositional arguments evolved. Despite Schoenberg's lifelong struggle to define this central notion, that much should be nevertheless clear:

- a. For Schoenberg, the laws of musical thought were the laws of thought *simpliciter*.²
- b. Musical ideas inhabit a platonic heaven, a Fregean "third realm", because
- c. They be imperishable,³ and thus, independent from the fact that somebody has them.⁴
- d. They be applicable to works of music *as a whole*.⁵
- e. They be objective (in the sense of Fregean thoughts, i.e., imaginary but objective), which makes them *comprehensible* by all humans.⁶
- f. *Style* be the complementary notion to the notion of *Idea*: it denotes all things pertaining to historical and/or subjective constraints which have to do with (the distinct level of) the *presentation* of ideas.⁷
- g. Both understanding and making others understand objective musical ideas connected Schoenberg – or so he thought – with his audiences, his pupils, and the great composers of the past, against the – typical for so-called Second Viennese Modernism – perceived threat of *solipsism* (see, Methlagl 1994, 111–123).

² "Das musikalische Denken unterliegt den *Gesetzen und Bedingungen unseres sonstigen Denkens* und hat hiebei noch die aus dem Material ergebenden Bedingungen zu berücksichtigen" (Neff and Carpenter 2006, 303); Schoenberg's emphasis.

³ "*An idea can never perish*"; Schoenberg's emphasis (Schoenberg 1975, 123).

⁴ In general, it is Gottlob Frege, I would argue – not Wittgenstein – that one should turn to for similarities with Schoenberg's notion of *musikalischer Gedanke*.

⁵ Cf.: "I myself consider the totality of the piece as the *idea*: [i.e.,] the idea which its creator wanted to present" (Schoenberg, *Ibid.*).

⁶ This is the crux of the central Schoenbergian notion of "Faßlichkeit".

⁷ "Style" denotes for Schoenberg all external qualities of which the composer is unwittingly the bearer only by being a man of his age (and "Lebensform", as Schoenberg would have it), cf.: "Every man has fingerprints of his own, and every craftsman's hand has its personality; out of such subjectivity grow the traits which comprise the style of the finished product" (Schoenberg 1975, 121).

As Schoenberg was trying to solidify his *Idea*-notion, he was at the same time highly critical – at times, biting sarcasm – of the ideas of others. His main target – the analogue to him of what the journalists were to his spiritual icon Karl Krauss – were the “pseudo-historians” (Schoenberg 1975, 116), i.e., people such as musicologists and music critics, unable to distinguish between the notion of style and that of idea; people who could not realize, say, the modernity of a Bach, and the quaintness of a Pfitzner work, for that matter, only because of their being unable to distinguish what is compositionally *modern* from what is chronologically *new* (or *outmoded*).

What is important is that, for Schoenberg, musical ideas were inextricably linked with an acute sense of the very work’s placement along a chronological musical–evolutionary axis, whereby, as far as mediocre samples are concerned, stylistic evidence is all there is; conversely, masterpieces of music wear stylistic evidence on their sleeve, as it were, around a core of substantial – and never to wither – musical ideas. Stylistic chronological awareness and an ear for what is deep and meaningful in music would then be indispensable to a compositional approach in the direction of a critical musical language; “critical” in the Adornian sense of being aware of the current state of the musical material. In the same manner as nonsense poetry was used by Morgenstern and others to debunk traditional language’s association to worn-out ideas, a critical progressive musical language could use similar techniques to debunk tonal stereotypes, ones laden, more often than not, with conservative or reactionary ideological connotations.

3. Wit and Sprachkritik in the Formative Years of Nikos Skalkottas

Try to aurally imagine the following nonsensical and macaronic text, pretending for a moment you do not care for either comprehension or the lack of it:

*Ο ούριος άνεμος που πνέει και που τρέχει σε μερικά ‘Maenneken [sic]
Pis’, γίνεται καταφανής ότι οι διάφοροι τύποι της μουσικής και ιδία Rag!
Τότε μόνον γίνονται πληρέστατα πλήρεις όταν πληρώνονται τα
πληρώματα στην πλώρη του βαποριού που εκπλήρωσε την πλοιάδα [sic]
του πλυσίματος μαζί με το φέσιον και μέσον του ουρήματος και ανερίου
πνεύματος, με λίγες ακτίνες Χ για τις οποίες ο Ξενόπουλος αν δεν
απατώμαι ολόκληρο δράμα έχει γράψει κ’εγώ κ’εσύ και η Νέλλη και η
Σοφία, αμήν. Komm, wir wollen ein wenig Deutsch sprechen. Nicht? For
one of several who perished in infancy. You are off your head. Και σε
ρωτώ και Σένα: ποια η γνώμη σου περί τρελλοκομείου; Ο Θεός είναι*

μεγάλος, σήμερα ήπιε πολύ Likoer [sic], εξ ου και η ατελείωτη ψιλή
βροχή. Δεν ντρέπεσαι καϋμένη Νίκο, τι λόγια είναι αυτά. [...] Μόνο και
μόνο τέτοια γράμματα θα με ευχαριστούνε! (Skalkottas 1925a).

Even an attempt to translate of such a text is unthinkable, one consisting in a juxtaposition- of words-which-mocks-syntax; words selected basically on behalf of their phonemic (i.e., sound) qualities. Texts such as this, as well as the Greek translation of the two Morgenstern poems from the *Galgenlieder*, when considered together with the eccentric relationship to language documented in his correspondence, articles and unpublished theoretical texts, all call for a questioning of the Skalkottas case against the backdrop of the particularly German tradition of *Sprachkritik*.⁸ On one hand, the cultural *milieu* in Berlin during his stay was imbued with manifestations of this tradition – again: Morgenstern’s poetry, Mauthner’s linguistic pessimism, Wustmann’s sarcasms, Valentin’s and the *Überbrettl*’s biting humor.⁹ On the other hand, it is also of importance that Skalkottas was coming to Berlin from a particularly poor background, both socially and educationally, which additionally was beset by a severe language problem, one amounting, -even on individual level, to something like a split linguistic conscience between “katharevousa” and “dimotiki”.

All in all, I would suggest that Skalkottas’s linguistic expressive idiosyncracies which have duly puzzled researchers reflect the combined effects of a flawed school education *plus* split linguistic consciousness, on the Greek side, *and* an alertness to language-*qua*-medium, as far as the alert *milieu* of the inter-war Berlin language-critical scene is concerned. In the light of this, it would be of interest to consider a possible convergence between his linguistic and his compositional attitudes, especially in his formative Berlin years: if wit and nonsense was a means of leading language to its representational and semantic limits (e.g., *Galgenlieder*), and if tonality is seen as a language, then musical wit and nonsense could be used as a means to subvert both tonality and its occasional conservative connotations: the direct result of such a procedure would then be atonality.

⁸ One can even argue for a certain preference – above all in his letters – for a kind of so-called “toilet humor”, particularly explicit or hidden references to urination. For the modest needs of this paper suffice it to point to excerpts from the above cited example: “Ούριος ... Maenneken Pis ουρήματος ... ψιλή βροχή”. A more comprehensive documentation, as well as attempts to psychoanalytical interpretations, have to wait for a future occasion.

⁹ Schoenberg himself, apart from his time in the *Überbrettl* cabaret, was the bearer not only of the well-documented music-critical approach, but also of a language-critical one in the line of Karl Kraus.

4. Atonality as Nonsense

During the first decade of the twentieth century Schoenberg's march to atonality followed necessary – or so he thought – successive steps in an unescapable evolutionary logic. On the other hand, in the 1920s atonality presented young Skalkottas with nothing less than a way to reach a next level of self-improvement and expression: from being a precocious instrumentalist from a relatively poor social and general artistic-life background to being an aspiring composer-intellectual within the new rich cultural environment provided by Schoenberg and Berlin. During this time of creative reorientation, he was experiencing crisis on various levels as he was growing aware of the means, linguistic and musical, to address it or, what is more, to overcome it. I will be looking to his *Fifteen Little Variations* for piano, a sparkling and feverishly youthful work from 1927, not in the set-theoretical or generally music-theoretical kind of approach that is usually taken as more suitable to similar works, but in a frame of mind I would like to call generally [“common-] language critical”.

The “Thema” (see Example 1) is but the nonsensical guise of otherwise elementary musical elements: the simple eight-bars period, built with the “nonsensified”, as it were, versions of a triad and a quartal chord; the melodic bridge leading to the second phrase is repeated in the coda/bridge leading to “Var.” I, extended through focusing on and repeating the downward third interval, creating a subtle reference to the opening bars of the first of Schoenberg's *Three Pieces* op. 9; thus turning this music to a kind of an intimate manifesto.



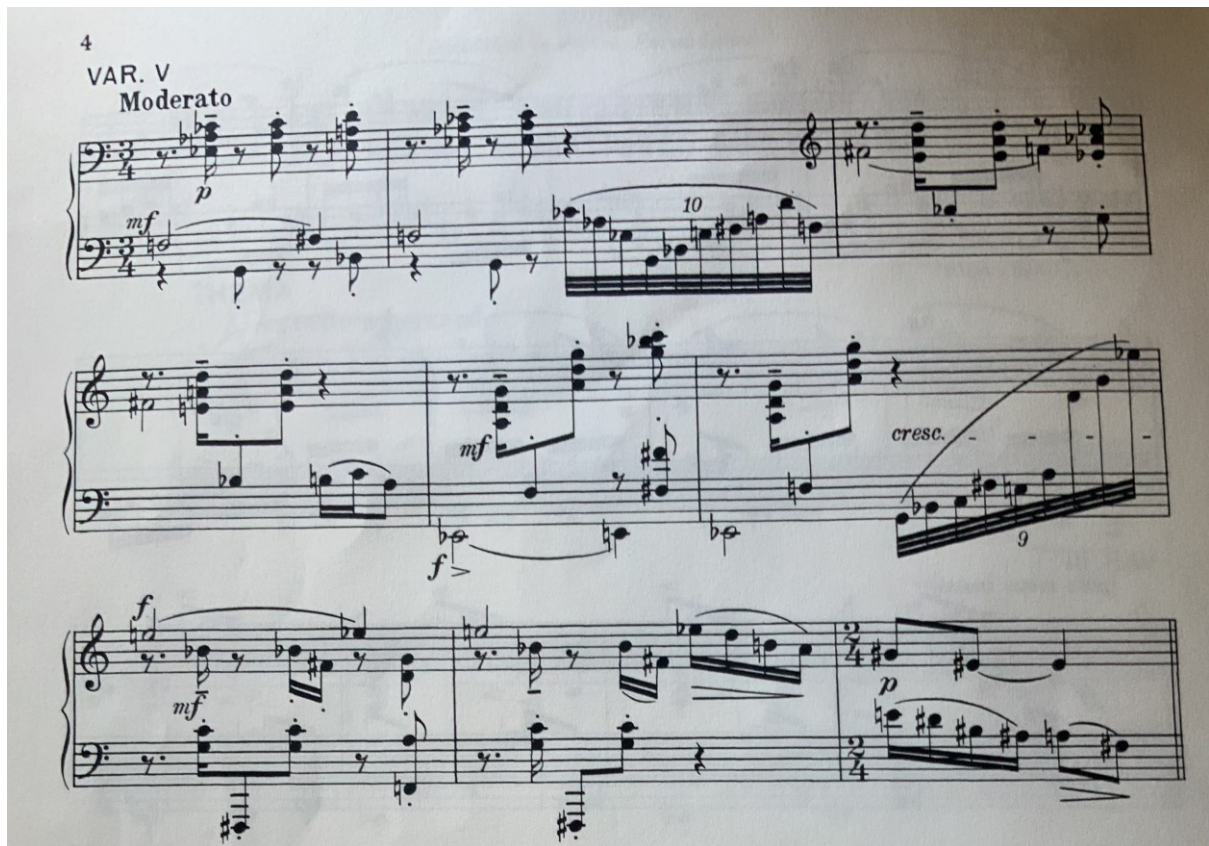
Example 1. *Fifteen Little Variations* for piano – “Thema”.

The nonsensical approach is intensified by the nonsensification of specific traditional Greek music markers, such as the “tsamikos” 6/8 dance pattern in “Var. III” (see, Example 2) and “Var. V” (see, Example 3), as well as typically modal melodic inflections in “Var. VIII”, to which one must add a mock march rhythm in “Var. IV”. What represented for young Skalkottas a conservative established musical language (i.e., the language of the National School of Music) is estranged in a process characterized by elements such as irony and humor, even prayer (see “Var. VII” and the concluding “Lento” – part of the last Variation – in other words, the work’s *coda*).¹⁰



Example 2. *Fifteen Little Variations for piano* – Variation III.

¹⁰ Humor’s relationship with prayer in modernism has been often noted, especially in the German-Protestant tradition (see Hartung and Kleinert 2017); a relationship leading back at least, in literature, to Jean Paul.



Example 3. *Fifteen Little Variations for piano* – Variation V.

In the “Thema”, critical distance is achieved through the use of elementary-grammar building-blocks, such as the triad or even the quartal chord: their nonsensification is brought about mainly through the additional notes of the left hand. Furthermore, the nonsensical atmosphere is only enhanced by the fact that after the lapidary thematic use of these nonsensified chords, the melodic element appears as a characteristic of the bridge – and not of the subject – to the second phrase, and of the bridge leading from the end of “Thema” to the beginning of “Var. I”.

The way this second bridge is expanded has an immanent dialectics: the right-hand alto phrase gets repeated by a left-hand tenor phrase, but “wrongly”, i.e., up a semitone- according to Schoenberg’s most precious compositional principle, according to which, no repetition be a repetition of the exact same. Unlike Schoenberg’s early atonal/pantonal language, with half-heard Wagnerian references which could be assessed as the *implosion* of tonality, Skalkottas’s approach in the *Fifteen Little Variations* for piano, even as it remains faithful to Schoenberg’s *cri de guerre*, uses atonality as nonsense, deconstructing established musical language both in general, as well as in one of its particular dialects: the music language of the National School of Music.

Appendix

A. Christian Morgenstern (1871-1914), from the *Galgenlieder* (1st edn. 1905):

Die Trichter

Zwei Trichter wandeln durch die Nacht.
 Durch ihres Rumpfs verengten Schacht
 fließt weißes Mondlicht
 still und heiter
 auf ihren
 Waldweg
 u. s.
 w.

Das Knie

Ein Knie geht einsam durch die Welt.
 Es ist ein Knie, sonst nichts!
 Es ist kein Baum! Es ist kein Zelt!
 Es ist ein Knie, sonst nichts.

Im Kriege ward einmal ein Mann
 erschossen um und um.
 Das Knie allein blieb unverletzt –
 als wärs ein Heiligtum.

Seitdem gehts einsam durch die Welt.
 Es ist ein Knie, sonst nichts.
 Es ist kein Baum, es ist kein Zelt.
 Es ist ein Knie, sonst nichts.

B. Skalkottas's Translations

Τα Χουνιά

Πηγαίνουν μέσ'τη νύχτα δυο χουνιά.
 Απ'του κορμιού τους το κλεισμένο σχήμα
 πέφτει το φεγγαρίσιο φως
 ήρεμα και φαιδρά
 στο δρόμο τους
 και τα
 λ.

Το γόνατο

Ένα γόνατο πηγαίνει μοναχό μέσ'τη Ζωή.
 Είν'ένα γόνατο και τίποτ'άλλο.
 Δεν είναι δέντρο. Δεν είναι σκηνή.
 Είναι ένα γόνατο και τίποτ'άλλο.

Στο πόλεμο κάποια φορά ένας άντρας
 Πληγώθηκε βαριά, βαριά ως πέρα.
 Το γόνατο έμεινε μονάχα απλήγωτο,
 Λες κ'είτανε κάτι ιερό, σπουδαίο.

Κι από τότε πηγαίνει μοναχό μέσ'τη Ζωή.
 Είν'ένα γόνατο και τίποτ'άλλο.
 Δεν είναι δέντρο. Δεν είναι σκηνή.
 Είν'ένα γόνατο και τίποτ'άλλο.

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Roberto Gerhard and Nikos Skalkottas: Divergent Lives

Niall O'Loughlin

1. Introduction and background

In 1948 Arnold Schoenberg confidently asserted that, as far as he had heard, of the hundreds of his composition pupils, only ten had become composers.¹ Today only five would be seriously considered in that category: after the names of Anton Webern, Alban Berg and Hanns Eisler, two more stand out: Roberto Gerhard and Nikos Skalkottas.²

Roberto Gerhard was born as Robert Gerhard y Ottenwaelder in Valls in Catalonia in 1896, with distinguished German-Swiss and French-Alsatian parents.³ Nevertheless, he considered himself Spanish, or rather Catalan, and later called himself Roberto Gerhard (with a soft “G”).⁴ He studied music privately in Switzerland and in Munich before returning to Barcelona in 1914 at the outbreak of World War I. Importantly he studied piano with Granados (1867-1916) and became the last pupil of Felipe Pedrell (1841-1922), whose work in collecting and organising Spanish folk music was immensely important both to Catalonia and to Gerhard’s musical development. After composing a Germanic song-cycle and a Piano Trio showing the influence of Debussy, Ravel and Falla, he applied successfully for study with Schoenberg, presenting his epigrammatic *Dos Apunts* (“Two Sketches”) for piano and the atmospheric but contemplative *Seven Haiku* for voice and ensemble of 1922 as evidence of his capabilities. He studied with Schoenberg privately in Vienna from 1923 to 1925, then as part of Schoenberg’s masterclass in Berlin from 1925 to 1928.

Nikos Skalkottas was born in 1904 in Chalkis in Evia to working class parents. In his early years he showed great promise as a violinist, attending the Athens Conservatoire from 1914 and in 1921 gaining a travelling scholarship to study violin with Willy Hess in Berlin. For reasons possibly connected with his own ultimate ambitions or his reported

¹ Arnold Schoenberg. 1975. “The Blessing of the Dressing”, *Style and Idea*, London: Faber, 386

² The other five are Karl Rankl, Winfried Zillig, Norbert von Hannenheim, Gerald Strang and Adolph Weiss.

³ Joaquim Homs. 2000. *Robert Gerhard and his Music*, Sheffield: Anglo-Catalan Society, 19.

⁴ In Catalonia even now he is normally referred to as Robert Gerhard, a minor source of confusion.

discomfort with playing the violin intensively, he transferred to various other teachers. Some were for the violin, but later others for composition, with Kurt Weill (in 1926 or possibly earlier),⁵ Philipp Jarnach (1925-1927) and ultimately, Arnold Schoenberg, in his masterclass from 1927 until 1931.

A number of questions now arise, for which possible answers will appear as the lives of these two composers developed. What did Gerhard and Skalkottas learn from Schoenberg and how did it affect their future composing activities? Were these activities similar and in what way did they differ? What other factors were involved in the development of their composing careers? Were any similarities between the two younger composers the result of their studies with Schoenberg or were they the result of other factors?

We have statements from all three composers that can help to build a picture. To start to answer these questions, it is helpful to be clear what Schoenberg claimed he was teaching his pupils. From the extensive writings by Schoenberg on the subject of teaching composition in its many aspects, one can extract two main features: the importance of understanding traditional elements, particularly form, and the way twelve-note music would or should be used. On the first point, he was very clear:

“You use the row and compose as you had done it previously.” That means: “Use the same kind of form and expression, the same themes, melodies, sounds, rhythms as you used before”.⁶

Gerhard elaborated on this: “Schoenberg felt a deep reverence for the masters of the past. Their works were his constant terms of reference, both in his creative work and in his teaching”.⁷ His second point is that, despite his very dogmatic approach to some aspects of composition, he totally respected the composer’s individuality:

All my pupils differ from one another extremely and though perhaps the majority compose twelve-tone music one could not speak of a school. They all had to find their way alone, for themselves. And this is exactly

⁵ There is some uncertainty about the years when Skalkottas studied with Weill. Mantzourani, 2011, 19-20 notes some inconsistent dates in the articles of John Papaioannou and derives other clues from the writings of John Thornley and others.

⁶ Arnold Schoenberg. 1975. “Schoenberg’s Tone-Rows”, *Style and Idea*, London: Faber, 213.

⁷ Roberto Gerhard. 2000. “Schoenberg, 12-note music and serialism”, *Gerhard on Music*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 111.

*what they did; everyone has his own manner of obeying rules derived
from the treatment of twelve tones.*⁸

Gerhard added further to his picture of the effect that the master composer had on him with his remarks: “During lessons Schoenberg talked a good deal, rationalizing everything that could be rationalized, trying to get to the heart of the matter [...] No word was spoken then, one just looked on. It was in this way that I had some of the greatest and most vividly illuminating experiences with Schoenberg as a teacher”.

2. New works

To gain some idea of the musical and development effect that Schoenberg had on his two students, two works from the time of their latest studies with Schoenberg are compared, the Wind Quintet of 1928 by Gerhard⁹ and the Octet of 1931 by Skalkottas. Both relatively modest works, the Quintet lasting just over 17 minutes and the Octet about 12 minutes, but also showing their newly acquired techniques developed and extended in totally different ways. They have Schoenberg’s desired connection with tradition, but also his insistence on personal choice in the interpretation of his method.

While Gerhard studied in Vienna, Schoenberg was composing his Wind Quintet op.26, his first substantial work using his twelve-note technique, yet it also employed the classical forms of the 18th and 19th centuries. The published score is explicit in its of the almost academic formal analysis of the work written by the conductor of the first performance, Felix Greissle,¹⁰ the father of the dedicatee, the composer’s grandson. It was virtually certain that Gerhard followed with his own wind quintet as one of the first of his pieces arising from his studies with Schoenberg.¹¹ As has been pointed out by many commentators,¹² Gerhard used a seven-note row in most of the work, with ingenious free workings of the remaining five notes of what is in effect a twelve-note

⁸ Arnold Schoenberg, “The Blessing of the Dressing”, *Style and Idea*, 386.

⁹ The famous performance in Barcelona took place in 1929 (see below).

¹⁰ See Arnold Schoenberg, 1925, *Quintett für Flöte, Oboe, Klarinette, Horn und Fagott*, etc., Vienna: Universal, preface.

¹¹ Diego Alonso Tomás. 2013. “Unquestionably decisive: Roberto Gerhard’s Studies with Arnold Schoenberg”, *The Roberto Gerhard Companion*, Farnham: Ashgate, 25-26.

¹² See for example Ates Orga. 1973. “The Works”, *Schoenberg/Gerhard Series*, London: London Sinfonietta, 78; Peter Paul Nash. 1981. “The Wind Quintet”, *Tempo* 139, 5-11; Gabriele Lendle. 2015. *Zwölfton technik als neue Form von Tonalität*, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 13; Rachel E Mitchell. 2017. “The Wind Quintet as Manifesto: Tradition, Modernism, Vision, Identity”, edited by Monty Adkins and Michael Russ. In *Essays on Roberto Gerhard*, 153-82. Newcastle-on-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars.

series. Not only does it fulfil Schoenberg's suggestion that his pupils should develop their own variants of his twelve-note method, but the work also uses the same kind of forms, melodies, counterpoints and textures as he used previously. Nash is explicit in his list of similarities between the two works, as well as the places where Gerhard did something deliberately different from Schoenberg. Mitchell goes even further making a case that Gerhard's Wind Quintet is a statement and presentation of the techniques that he was going to use in his composing career.¹³ What is only hinted at in the early writings about the work is the Catalan connection: Gerhard's Quintet has a rhythmic exuberance that comes from this link. As Nash slips in very appropriately: "Gerhard's early pre-Schoenberg background, as pupil of Granados and Filipe Pedrell, cannot be discounted",¹⁴ and Ates Orga concludes similarly.¹⁵ More recently the Catalan melodic connections are noted very strongly.¹⁶ Mitchell identifies some particularly significant folkloric elements in the second movement, including some in thirds,¹⁷ while she explored the reconciliation of folk and 12-note music in some detail.¹⁸

Schoenberg's effect on Skalkottas is similar. Instead of the Wind Quintet being the model, however, it is the Suite op.29, completed in 1926, with its combination of woodwind and strings, that seems to have interested Skalkottas most of all. One work which represents the most immediate influence of Schoenberg is the Octet for wind and string quartets, dating from 1931, "a seminal work and a paradigm of both Skalkottas's approach to formal structure and his 12-note compositional thinking".¹⁹ It is the kind of music which works simultaneously on two different levels. The immediate effect on the listener is one of a carefully scored work of divertimento-like character with occasional folk-like melodic lines, with an emphasis on lyricism, rhythmic vitality and motivic development. The formal organisation is very much on the lines advocated by Skalkottas's teacher, presenting memorable melodies. Skalkottas did not use Schoenberg's *Hauptstimme* and *Nebenstimme* terms to indicate principal and subsidiary voices, but always emphasised a prominent melody either by contrasting dynamic marks or the word *hervor* ["standing out"]. The textures are always carefully handled,

¹³ Mitchell. "The Wind Quintet as Manifesto", *Essays on Roberto Gerhard*, 153-82.

¹⁴ Nash: 'The Wind Quintet', 10.

¹⁵ Orga: "The Works", 78, in Atherton, 1973.

¹⁶ See Mitchell 2009 and 2017.

¹⁷ Rachel Mitchell. 2009. *An Examination of the Integration of Serial procedures and Folkloric Elements in the Music of Roberto Gerhard (1896-1970)*, PhD Dissertation, University of Texas at Austin, 35-38.

¹⁸ Mitchell, 2009, 38-50.

¹⁹ Eva Mantzourani. Autumn 2004. "Nikos Skalkottas: Sets and Styles in the Octet" *The Musical Times*, vol. 145, no.1888., 73.

with a mixture of counterpoint and chordal/harmonic writing to emphasise the structure, which, accordingly, follows the conventions of classical formal planning.

That was the impression given when the first recording of the work was issued in 1966.²⁰ There was the underlying feeling that Skalkottas had derived his melodies and harmonies from a 12-note series, but not much attention was drawn to this aspect at this stage or even when the score was published the next year.²¹ Behind the immediately entertaining sound, however, there is a much deeper level, with a comprehensively elaborated working of sets and note-rows that is breathtaking in its scope. This was revealed comprehensively by Eva Mantzourani in her pioneering article in *The Musical Times* in 2004.²² The first movement uses a free version of serial music in which not all the notes of a 12-note series are used, somewhat similar to Gerhard's 7-note rows in his Wind Quintet. The second movement is entirely 12-note, "based on a different group of 12-note sets", while the third uses various transpositions on different levels, possibly to make a parallel to the connected keys of traditional tonality. The important point here is that both Gerhard and Skalkottas made imaginative leaps from Schoenberg's "basic" 12-note technique.

3. Bringing the new music home

It was a desire on the part of both composers to show the fruits of their studies to their compatriots, Gerhard in Barcelona and Skalkottas in Athens. They both needed some kind of reassurance that their time abroad had been fruitful and encouragement that they should continue on this course of developing the ideas and techniques of European modernism. It is perhaps no surprise that by and large they both faced a negative reaction.

After Gerhard finished his studies with Schoenberg, a concert was organised on 22 December 1929 in Barcelona which consisted of a number of his compositions. The two works that represented his adventurous side were the Concertino for strings, arranged from a String Quartet, and the Wind Quintet of 1928. By way of contrast Gerhard also included a number of Catalan folk song arrangements and two *Sardanas* for ensemble which derived from folk bands which commonly played in the Catalan towns and villages. Among the audience was the influential 63-year old composer, conductor and music

²⁰ EMI Gulbenkian Series. 1966, ASD/ALP 2289. London: EMI.

²¹ Universal Edition, London, 1967.

²² Eva Mantzourani. Autumn 2004. "Nikos Skalkottas: Sets and Styles in the Octet". *The Musical Times*, vol. 145, no.1888, 73-86.

critic Lluís Millet (1867-1941) who disliked both the Concertino and the Wind Quintet, because they did not represent, in his estimation, the future of Catalan music and were considered discordant and fragmentary. His devastating attack on the works, especially the Wind Quintet, appeared in *Revista Musical Catalana*, the official journal of Orfeó Català, the conservative choral society founded nearly forty years earlier by Millet and the folk composer Amadeu Vives (1871-1932).²³ This prompted a stinging response from Gerhard in the local weekly newspaper *Mirador*, an avant-garde platform for the arts, that extended to four articles in which he argued in great detail why he thought that Millet and his group were mistaken.²⁴ Millet replied again even more viciously to which Gerhard answered definitively in his fifth article. The main point here is that Gerhard did not accept the criticism, but stood by his music, gathering around him a group of like-minded musicians. By way of concession Millet did approve of the Catalan songs and the two *Sardanas*, perhaps a signal to Gerhard about how he could keep out of trouble in the future. In any case or possibly because of this, Gerhard now put on one side any further serious developments of Schoenberg's 12-note music, while concentrating on less controversial music that derived from Catalan and other Spanish folk music.

The position in which Skalkottas found himself was somewhat different. He of course wanted to perform his music in Athens and receive approval from his compatriots for what he was doing. First, however, he had to perform publicly in Berlin. On 19 June 1929, his First String Quartet and the First and Second sonatinas for violin and piano were played at the Prussian Academy of Arts.²⁵ The reports from the Berlin music critics were generally favourable, but two further concerts elicited a mixed response. After the scheduled completion of his studies with Schoenberg in June 1930, he travelled to Athens, staying until January 1931, before returning to Schoenberg's masterclass as a guest. It was during this period in Athens that he experienced the most serious setback to his progress. Just like Gerhard a year earlier in Barcelona, Skalkottas's music had something of a rough passage. At concerts in Athens, the First and Second Sonatinas for violin and piano and the String Quartets Nos 1 and 2 met with a suitably cautious response, disguised by compliments about Skalkottas's conducting ability, but the Concerto for wind orchestra was treated very harshly. While Gerhard had made a strong and civilised response in a fully supported academic context, Skalkottas was clearly very distressed (and probably depressed, too) about the situation. Gerhard had kept his

²³ This is briefly summarised by Meirion Bowen in *Gerhard on Music*, 41.

²⁴ See the English translation in *Gerhard on Music*, 41-49. The whole controversy is presented in detail by Mark E. Perry in "Early Works and Life of Roberto Gerhard", *The Roberto Gerhard Companion*, 15-21.

²⁵ Mantzourani. 2011. 35.

dignity, expressing his disagreement with Lluís Millet in firm terms in a journal that was supported by artists of all modern disciplines. Skalkottas on the other hand made his protest in a different form. As Eva Mantzourani wrote: “By way of some small revenge he did something he lived to regret”.²⁶ In an article in March 1931 in the periodical *Musiki Zoë*, he made a scathing attack on Greek musical institutions, not just the critics as Gerhard had done, but also the orchestra and the Athens Conservatory.²⁷ The immediate sequel to this was for him to leave Athens and travel back to Berlin, with the intention of remaining there. Clearly he was not ready to embark on a public composing career using his experience of Schoenberg’s teaching, certainly not in Greece. The political storm clouds were brewing, however, making life in Berlin equally difficult. It is easy to sense that he was confused about what to do next, a supposition that is corroborated by the reports of his deteriorating mental and physical health, and problems with his personal life. By 1933 the difficult German political situation in effect forced him to return to Athens where he would have to face the consequences of the new situation.

4. The folk music solution

The reaction by the two composers to the resistance to their new music was mixed, in some ways the same and in others different. Gerhard had made his protest in a dignified manner, while Skalkottas had not. The former knew that there would be resistance to the new music, so he proceeded with caution, while the latter, being less cautious, was in a compromising position, knowing that he would probably have to earn his living as a performer, as a violinist or conductor, rather than as a composer. Both composers turned to the native music of their home countries.

In his promotional concert in 1929 in Barcelona, Gerhard had carefully placed in the programme an arrangement of a set of six Catalan songs and two *Sardanas*, instrumental folk pieces with features from local dance music. Certainly his Concertino and Wind Quintet had created antagonism among the traditional musicians, but the reaction was softened by the presence of the songs and the dance-derived pieces. For two reasons Gerhard chose then to pursue the path of folk related music: he had enormous respect for the work of his teacher Felipe Pedrell and wanted to continue his legacy with music that he clearly loved, and secondly he realised that the musical environment was too hostile to risk his reputation by composing modernist music. In

²⁶ Mantzourani. 2011. 45.

²⁷ Mantzourani. 2011. 45-6. It appears that Skalkottas blamed the editor of the journal for provoking him to make such a vicious protest.

the event it proved to be very fortunate, because it was a fruitful source of inspiration. During the 1930s Gerhard was able to support the Republican cause in Catalonia in this period of unrest, but by 1939 and the victory of General Franco in the Spanish civil war, he knew that he would have to leave Spain for his own safety.

His first task had been to develop his arrangements of Catalan and other Spanish folk music. It must be said that his handling of the folk melodies was sensitive in the extreme. There was no sign of inappropriate harmonies or unstylistic anomalies that had disfigured many well intentioned such developments in the great rush to present national folk music to the “art music” public. Tonality was kept unobtrusive, chromaticisms were sparingly used and any elaboration was suitably modest. In 1931 Gerhard orchestrated the six songs from the 1929 concert as a model for how these things could be carried out. The *Sardanas* had been given the same level of attention, with a sense of respect and restraint that retained the character of the originals without adding any spurious layers of harmony or counterpoint.

Gerhard’s second aim was to explore his Catalan musical heritage, sometimes assisted by the folk song connections. The first work to arise from this was the Cantata *L’alta naixença del rei En Jaume* (The Noble Birth of the Sovereign Lord King James), a collaboration with his friend the Catalan poet, Josep Carner (1884-1970). This was derived by Carner from a complex event from the early 13th century about the conception of King James I. Gerhard’s music was tonal and full of melodic lines derived from Catalan folk music.²⁸ David Drew summed up the musical features concisely: “Of the serial methods and the (intermittent) Viennese flavour of the Wind Quintet there is no trace whatever in the *Cantata*”.²⁹ Gerhard followed this with a number of ballets and colourful orchestral works which used similar musical techniques.³⁰

What was Skalkottas to do next? After his return to Greece, he had very little support, having alienated most of the musical establishment in Athens by his article.³¹ As a talented violinist he would probably be able to make something of a living as an orchestral player, but like Gerhard it was virtually impossible for him to compose in the modernist style that arose from his studies with Schoenberg. There was an answer to his immediate creative problems. He had composed a Greek Dance for orchestra in 1931, which at the time was almost certainly incidental to his work, but it may sown the seeds of his next pieces. Although in 1933 he was suffering severe mental anguish, he

²⁸ Julian White. March 1993. “National Traditions in the Music of Roberto Gerhard”, *Tempo* 184. 2-13.

²⁹ David Drew. December 1981. “Gerhard’s Cantata: a note on the music”, *Tempo* 139, 17.

³⁰ Ariel (1934), Albada, Interludi i Dansa (1936), Soirées de Barcelone (1936-38) and Don Quixote (1940-41).

³¹ See note 26.

managed to compose three more Greek Dances. In 1934 he transcribed, with some difficulty, 44 Greek folk-songs from field recordings, some of which he used later in his own music. In 1935 he completed the first set of twelve *Greek Dances* and in 1936 the second and third sets of twelve dances. These clearly helped him to gain confidence with his public, although they were not simply transcriptions of the originals dressed up with suitable or unsuitable accompaniments, but fully developed works which used the melodic material in an almost symphonic way. They were relatively short, mostly two or three minutes long and only rarely longer than five minutes. What is interesting is that, with transcriptions, revisions and arrangements, Skalkottas was involved from time to time with these works for the rest of his life.

5. Twelve-note music in secret or escape from the war

At the same time, however, he became involved in a secret mission to use his teaching from Schoenberg to the best of his considerable ability. While Gerhard had allowed his modernist ideas to remain in the background for the period of Spanish unrest and the early years in England, on the other hand, from 1935 for about ten years, Skalkottas plunged into a period of intense composition using a variety of twelve-note techniques, some of which he had developed himself. All this was done, mostly at night and in secret, in any spare time that he had while he was playing in one of the Athens orchestras. The results of this huge effort are amazing, with a number of concertos and some outstanding chamber music. The most significant works are two Piano Concertos (No 2 of 1937-38 and No 3 of 1939) and the Violin Concerto of 1938, as well as the String Quartets No 3 of 1935 and No 4 of 1940. A closer examination of the two quartets and the Violin Concerto reveals the extent of his progress.

The String Quartet No 3 is a predominantly melodic work and one which makes great use of traditional forms, features strongly encouraged by Schoenberg. Many of the melodic shapes are for single instruments with various counterpoints, while some are for two or three instruments using a wide variety of imitation rather than strict procedures such as canon. The contrasts of different textures, dynamics and melodic and accompanimental shapes are sometimes extreme. A mock Viennese waltz at the end of the last movement could almost have been written by his teacher.

The opening of the work tells a very different story, however, with a thorough going strict twelve-note technique. In it an overlapping series of long notes, descending at first by semitones, then whole tones, and finally minor thirds sees the composer running

through all twelve tones, in a manner quite unlike Schoenberg. Eva Mantzourani³² in a comprehensive analysis of the work, sees this as a presentation of four sets working simultaneously on different layers. She also points to very important “insertions and repetitions of segments” (p.102), “simultaneous appearances of set segments in contrapuntal contexts”, with important harmonic tonal implications (pp.109-11), and derived sets (pp.115-16), some of which are not found in Schoenberg’s music. The analysis of the set and formal structure shows almost forensically the way that Skalkottas developed the ideas of Schoenberg.

Once he was comfortable again with 12-note technique in its basic or strict form, Skalkottas became more flexible in his approach. This is clear in his Violin Concerto in which his performing and compositional techniques came together inspirationally. In many ways, it presents the synthesis, development and extension of the numerous features of his chamber music and a liking for strongly characterised and extended melodic lines. In addition to thematic clarity, there are well balanced textures, vigorous rhythms and an opaque brilliance, all within a classical concerto structure. Its set structure is very complex,³³ but in a specific way that retains the melodic character of the themes. This is often related to the absence of octave transpositions, making the formal structure clear to the listener.

The String Quartet No 4 from 1940 is nearly twice as long as Quartet No 3. Its large scale is seen by Kostas Demertzis³⁴ as a preparation for large scale works like the overture *The Return of Odysseus* and the two Symphonic Suites. While 12-notes techniques are used, there is a new freedom in Skalkottas’s writing. Like the Violin Concerto it employed a *flexible* 12-note technique.

6. Perhaps a retreat

Skalkottas moved further away from strict 12-note writing in a number of works. Anyone looking for consistent development of musical techniques at this stage will be disappointed, because the changes that were happening in Skalkottas’s style did not follow a chronological course. If we backtrack to 1939, Skalkottas responded to a request from the oboist N. Fortounas with the short Concertino for oboe and piano (possibly intended for orchestra but never attempted, except later by Gunther Schuller).

³² Mantzourani. 2011. 213-232.

³³ Mantzourani. 2011. 284-85, presents a comprehensive analysis of the set structure of the first movement.

³⁴ Georgios Demertzis. 2000. “String Quartet No.4”, booklet for recording BIS CD-1074. Djursholm, Sweden: BIS, 6-7.

The technique of the piece has been described by John G. Papaioannou as “his then new non-serial method”.³⁵ This is a useful label though it hardly does justice to the composer’s writing. The idea that it is close to Stravinsky is surely exaggerated: the spidery counterpoint does have some similarity to the Russian master, but the frequent punctuation with heavy closely-spaced chords reminds us more of the works of Schoenberg. The influence of Kurt Weill cannot be dismissed, especially in the companion quartets of the next year. Stravinsky is also suggested in the brief *Concertino* for trumpet and piano, composed possibly as late as 1943. Although not a virtuoso work it expects the trumpeter to be able to span a wide range of notes in a very fluent manner. The surprise here is the *Sonata concertante* for bassoon and piano, from 1943, which makes staggering technical demands of the bassoonist, with an almost unplayable flexibility over the full range of the instrument. While the *Concertinos* last about 10 minutes each, this 25-minute *Sonata* is exceptional in length.

The question that we might be led to ask is whether this avoidance of 12-note technique even in a flexible form is something that the composer was now going to pursue in the interests of producing extended compositions that would be more acceptable to the musical public. We note that he composed a number of openly tonal works in the years 1947-48, the *Classical Symphony in A*, *Sinfonietta* in B flat and the *Concertino* in C for piano and orchestra. There is no obvious single explanation for this. Almost certainly he wanted a public for at least some of his music and also a peaceful family life. Eva Mantzourani writes: “About his tonal pieces, judging by his early letters to Askitopoulou, Temko, and Benakis, he [Skalkottas] must have wanted to be appreciated and accepted by his compatriots”.³⁶ At the time there was no interest in Greece for anything other than tonal music. The suggestion that the communists pressured him to write tonal music is speculative,³⁷ as there appears to be little or no credible evidence for this.³⁸ It may be, however, that like Gerhard during 1936-39, Skalkottas wanted to avoid the problems with being on one side or the other in a civil war.³⁹

That Skalkottas returned to 12-note writing in 1949 may have been the beginning of a new phase in his music, a development which poses more questions than it answers. The most straightforward interpretation is that he was not certain about which line he

³⁵ Nikos Skalkottas. 1982. *Concertino*, score. Newton Center: Margun, iii.

³⁶ Personal communication, December 2019.

³⁷ Eirini Diamantouli. 2019, made this point in her paper “Through the lens of Socialist Realism: Skalkottas in the 1930s and 1940s”, *Skalkottas Today* Conference, Athens, 29 November to 1 December 2019.

³⁸ The evidence from Slovenia during the Yugoslav civil war that was taking place in the middle of World War II shows active participation by some composers, who dropped all “serious” music and supported the Partisans with rousing songs and marches. There is no evidence that Skalkottas was ever involved in that sort of activity.

³⁹ Gerhard’s friend, the poet Lorca, was murdered by the Nationalists for being on the “wrong” side.

should take and particularly in the years 1945-49 when he was using this range of different techniques. His use of 12-note techniques in his last year may have been a new beginning, matching the new developments in Gerhard's music. We shall never know.

Gerhard must have been very relieved to be in comfortable surroundings in his new home in Cambridge in England. While his experience with Schoenberg was kept on one side during his last ten years in Spain, it was natural that at first at least he continued on the same path. With his Catalan background and extensive experience of Spanish music, it seemed a sensible move for Gerhard to use this in the first instance, as Joaquim Homs explained: "In the course of the Gerhard's first years in England, it made a lot of sense for him to highlight the ethnic aspect of his music, since it might lead to further opportunities for work".⁴⁰ This, of course, is only part of the story because World War Two made life very difficult for everyone in England. The opportunities for performances of new music were very limited with some of the scheduled events abandoned because of the war. There was an additional problem, however, that the reading committee for music in the BBC was extremely conservative in its outlook, rejecting advanced works on merely subjective grounds. On the other hand there was an enthusiasm for music that was influenced by Spanish folk music.⁴¹ At all events Gerhard was able to produce a number of works with Spanish links and furthermore he was able to expand and/or rearrange works when different resources were available and while he was finding his feet in a new country. As part of his university fellowship he was under no pressure to compose to order and had no teaching commitments.

One notes in this connection that the ballet *Don Quixote*, which was composed originally in 1940 and developed into a number of suites and a final full orchestral version over the next few years, falls exactly into this category. Gerhard derived its plot from the novel by Cervantes and incorporated into it many Spanish rhythms and Spanish-sounding melodies. At the same time, however, it has themes which are treated in a serial manner throughout the ballet. The main theme of the Introduction to the ballet, for example, uses the twelve-note row that he devised for the work, but in order to give the melody a "Spanish" character he added various "passing notes", in effect disguising the twelve-note basis for the theme.⁴² *Don Quixote* was soon joined by another Spanish related ballet, *Alegrías: Divertimento flamenco* of 1942. The ballet *Pandora* was

⁴⁰ Homs. 2000. 42.

⁴¹ See Gregorio García Karman: "Roberto Gerhard's BBC Sound Compositions", *The Roberto Gerhard Companion*, 308. An example of the problem is that the Wind Quintet was rejected for being "advanced ... extremely difficult and [...] ugly".

⁴² Details are given in the booklet for the recording of the orchestral suite from the ballet on ASD 613 and ALP 2063. London: EMI, 1965 and by Homs, 2000.

composed in the years 1942-43 and first performed in Cambridge in 1944. The music has a strong expressionist sound, but still has some melodic motifs that sound Spanish.⁴³ Like many pieces of this time it exists in a number of different versions, suggesting adjustment to new performing situations or a desire to refine and develop new techniques.

There were many settings of Spanish words, including the *Cancionero di Pedrell*, an arrangement for soprano and chamber orchestra of eight Catalan folksongs collected by Pedrell, in tribute to his teacher, first performed in 1942. Gerhard's major tribute to Pedrell, however, came in 1941, the centenary of his birth, with the three-movement Symphony *Homenaje a Pedrell* ("Homage to Pedrell") for orchestra which used themes from Pedrell's unperformed opera *La Celestina* of 1904. Gerhard offered the work to the BBC for performance in 1941, but it was not accepted. He then withdrew the work, but subsequently allowed the first performance in 1954 of the third movement, now entitled *Pedrelliana*. The complete work was rescued posthumously from the manuscript scores and first performed with cuts in 1972 and subsequently recorded complete.⁴⁴ The composer himself also paid tribute verbally to Pedrell at about the time of the original composition: "What Pedrell considered to be his main purpose in life was the re-awakening of Spanish consciousness as a musical nation: and to this end he would have us regard equally his work as a scholar and as a creative artist".⁴⁵ The same could also be said of Gerhard.

It was in 1945 that Gerhard moved into one area held very dear by Pedrell, but not much noted by writers on this composer. Pedrell was very keen to establish a school of Spanish opera that used Wagnerian principles,⁴⁶ and Gerhard wanted to pay tribute to this ambition in his only opera, *The Duenna*, which was to occupy him in the years 1945-48. There was a clear Spanish connection in the topic chosen for this opera, which was an adaptation of Sheridan's play of the same name. In order to create the Spanish atmosphere Gerhard used folk melodies from all over Spain,⁴⁷ using features that appeared in his music during the previous decade. Gerhard was very attracted by the

⁴³ These are noted by David Drew March 1993 in "Gerhard's *Pandora*", *Tempo* 183, 14-17.

⁴⁴ On the British Chandos label CHAN 9693. Colchester, UK: Chandos Records, 1998.

⁴⁵ This is the conclusion to a tribute to Pedrell that can be found in Roberto Gerhard 2000: "A note on Felipe Pedrell", *Gerhard on Music*. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 39-40.

⁴⁶ See especially Pedrell's *Por nuestra música* Barcelona. n.d. [1891], also in a French translation *Pour notre musique*. Paris, n.d. [1893] which spells out the ideas behind his opera *Les Pyrénées*.

⁴⁷ Julian White. March 1993: "National Traditions in the Music of Roberto Gerhard", *Tempo* 184, 9-10, notes the interesting point that, although the action takes place in Seville, Gerhard used melodies in the opera from all over Spain, including Catalonia.

beauty of Sheridan's English and not at all concerned by the fact that most of the text was in prose.⁴⁸

7. Skalkottas's Eclipse and Gerhard's Breakthrough

While the later 1940s were totally different for Skalkottas and Gerhard, what is clear that the year 1949 was critical for both of them. After composing a group of non-serial but atonal chamber works and a group of tonal orchestral works, although he was still heavily involved in the revision of many of his Greek Dances, Skalkottas embarked on a new series of enterprising works mostly for cello and piano that show a return to 12-note working. This operates on a number of levels, with the composer's now almost familiar melodic invention which uses a number of new features. Perhaps the most important one is his reconciliation of 12-note techniques and tonality. The extensive use of thirds and triadic chords is very much a feature of these works, in particular the piece called *Tender Melody*, which in places sounds almost diatonic. Eva Mantzourani gives the section in her book on this group of pieces the subtitle "Tonal Serialism", a clear indication of the dual aims of these works.⁴⁹ A more important factor is found in the new dimensions of the 12-note technique. The *Serenata* exploits inversion in a way that Skalkottas largely avoided in his earlier works, and now made it a determining factor of form, although his loyalty to Schoenberg's ideas of form remained with him. Again in the same work his use of melodic cells is skilfully used to manipulate the course of his melodic line. The longest of these works, although modestly entitled *Sonatina*, extends the use of small melodic cells to build up larger structures. A number of musicians familiar with the workings of the composer's musical progress have hinted that these developments might have been a sign that, just like Gerhard, Skalkottas was ready to launch himself into a new phase of his music, producing a synthesis of all his previous experience, in larger more extended works, particularly for orchestra. Clearly this can only ever be speculation, but the evidence of Gerhard's parallel sudden flowering of a new style, incorporating new 12-note techniques and reducing those of Catalan and Spanish elements, must surely add some support to this idea. Obviously Skalkottas would have had to work in a strongly supportive environment to fulfil the promise of these modest but very distinctive late works, and that did not seem immediately likely.

⁴⁸ BBC broadcast given in advance of the radio transmission of the opera in 1949, "The Duenna", *Gerhard on Music*, 81-83, also revised 1951 on pages 83-87.

⁴⁹ Mantzourani. 2011. 319-36.

In some ways totally different but in other ways showing some clear similarity, Gerhard gently broke free from his overt Catalan and Spanish influences in order to follow what must have been latent in the years since 1931, the full development of his music taking into account his experience with Schoenberg in the 1920s. By the year 1949, Gerhard may have felt able to achieve a synthesis of these techniques by using a strikingly modern style that incorporated all that he wanted from Schoenberg's teaching without losing sight of the music of his native land. After spending ten years in England, this was probably the moment at which Gerhard began to apply the lessons he had learned over the previous decade concerning his modest attempts at using his own derivative of Schoenberg's twelve-note technique. Skalkottas, too, had been experimenting with various other methods before relaunching his work on 12-note music.

The turning point is the *Capriccio* for solo flute of 1949. Despite the fact that it is a relatively small-scale work, it would appear to have great significance in Gerhard's output. The twelve-note row is divided into two interconnected hexachordal sub-rows, the second of which is a transposed retrograde inversion of the first. This set a precedent for Gerhard with its interconnectedness between the two hexachords. As a monophonic piece, *Capriccio* gave the composer the opportunity to work solely on the melodic aspects of twelve-note technique: numerous melodic shapes that are found all through Gerhard's music appear in different parts of the work. For example, the opening of the *Vivace* section⁵⁰ is closely related to a subsidiary theme of the first movement of the First Symphony. Following that work, the String Quartet No.1 of 1950-55⁵¹ displays the composer's vibrant variety of rhythms and uses in its first movement "Gerhard's idiosyncratic, permutational twelve-note technique, with hexachordal areas functioning in the manner of tonal regions in a conventional sonata movement".⁵² This, of course, has some connections with the seven-note rows that he used in the Wind Quintet of 1928. The *Three Impromptus* of 1950, also serial, present a blend of Spanish-derived rhythms and twelve-note technique which integrates melodic and harmonic elements. In the Concerto for piano and string orchestra of 1951, Gerhard extends the techniques found in the *Three Impromptus*, with his imaginative mixture of Spanish idioms and serial techniques.

This development reached its climax in the outstanding Symphony No.1, composed in the years 1952-53 and first performed at the influential ISCM Festival in Baden-Baden in 1955 directed by the leading contemporary music conductor Hans Rosbaud. It

⁵⁰ See the published score: Roberto Gerhard. 1964. *Capriccio*. London: Mills Music, 2.

⁵¹ Of three earlier works, the first two are lost and the third was only rediscovered after the composer's death. See above, note 8.

⁵² Julian White. 1999. In notes to the recording on MSVCD 92032. Preston, UK: Metier.

received its British premiere on 14 February 1962 in a performance in London by the BBC Symphony Orchestra conducted by Rudolf Schwarz. The delay in achieving a performance of Gerhard's symphony in his adopted country is an indication of the extent to which conservatism dominated the British musical establishment.

The symphony is normally discussed as a transformation and implementation in abstract form of all the techniques that we have investigated earlier: the serial technique and the Spanish rhythms, though the latter were very greatly underplayed. This was the idea presented by Colin Mason in his pioneering article of 1962,⁵³ which prepared audiences for the first British performance. Mason's thoughts were also to be found in the documentation with the first recording of the work in 1965, where he wrote, "the greater part of his output consists of absolute music, such as the First Symphony recorded here".⁵⁴ This view was strengthened, in the same context, by the verbal introduction to the symphony written by the composer himself, in which he discouraged any comment on the music or any decoding of the symphony, and also warned the listener against seeking traditional formal landmarks in the work: "I was concerned with the possibility of evolving a large-scale work as a continuous train of musical invention that would progress – much as a poem progresses – by the strength and direction of its inherent potentialities alone, growing and branching out freely, without being forced into predetermined channels". This was reinforced by a schematic analysis of the work which included extensive musical quotations.⁵⁵ Just as in the solo flute *Capriccio*, Gerhard divided his twelve-note rows into two hexachords. The symphony lent itself very readily to detailed analysis of the kind that was then being used in connection with the works of Schoenberg and Webern.⁵⁶ It was suspected at the time that the symphony had much more significance, but without any evidence from the composer, the suspicions remained unproven. Mason very fairly concluded his article in *The Musical Times* with the words: "... it is as the work of a Spanish composer that it will be remembered – as one of the masterpieces of Spain's musical history, perhaps as her first

⁵³ Colin Mason. February 1962. "Roberto Gerhard's First Symphony", *The Musical Times*, 99-100.

⁵⁴ On ASD 613 and ALP 2063. London: EMI, 1965, BBC Symphony Orchestra conducted by Antal Doráti. This was the first commercial recording of any of Gerhard's music. It was recorded under the auspices of the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation as the first in an important series called *Music Today* of new or recent works that were considered worthy of recording, but otherwise would not be recorded.

⁵⁵ It appears from discussions between Julian White and the editor of this recording, David Drew, that the composer himself was ultimately responsible for this section. See Julian White. March 1998: "Symphony of Hope", *The Musical Times*, 21-22.

⁵⁶ See, for example, the detailed analyses by Darren Sproston: "The Serial Symphonist", *The Roberto Gerhard Companion*, 227-56 and April 2009 "Serial Structures in Roberto Gerhard's First and Second Symphonies", *Tempo* 248, 21-34.

symphonic masterpiece, and perhaps also as one of the most original symphonic masterpieces of its generation".⁵⁷ This clearly represented the consensus at the time.

However, there remained the problem that the music barely disguised a tone of stormy violence. How could this music not have some kind of extra-musical dimension? Was there something more to the music than the composer had revealed? Was it simply "absolute music" as Colin Mason had proposed? Since Gerhard's death there have been numerous suggestions that this vivid and sometimes violent music has some kind of hidden programme. For example in 1995 David Drew wrote of the work: "if Gerhard's [symphony] can ... be heard as a kind of war symphony, it is surely in a less specific sense than Stravinsky (or the Shostakovich of the Eighth Symphony) can have intended ... the battles with which we are concerned are also the battles between life and death, consciousness and unconsciousness".⁵⁸ In 1998, Bernard Benoliel went even further: "Here all is anger, anguish, and a forlorn brooding which seethes with impending violence. ... Most frightening of all in Gerhard's case, it is the threat of near destruction of his creativity and humanity – the fascist within".⁵⁹ These strong words seem now to have a strong element of truth, because, also in 1998, a carefully argued article by Julian White⁶⁰ proposed a programmatic connection between Gerhard's Symphony and events portrayed in the novel *L'Espoir* ("Hope") by André Malraux chronicling the Spanish Civil War between July 1936 and March 1937. The circumstantial evidence for this interpretation is extensive and very strong, it leads all in one direction and makes very specific the generalised statements made by Drew and Benoliel. If this is the case, and it is difficult to disprove, it suggests that the symphony acted to purge the ill feelings that Gerhard had toward the then current régime in Spain and set him on the final stage of his compositional quest.

In this artistic aim he was greatly helped by two people, David Drew⁶¹ and William Glock.⁶² Drew had studied much of Gerhard's music and made every effort to publicise its attraction and merits, as writer, journal editor⁶³ and publisher; Glock, as the editor of the short-lived but influential magazine, *The Score*, had produced in 1956 an issue devoted entirely to the music of Gerhard which helped to prepare the musical public

⁵⁷ Colin Mason. February 1962. "Roberto Gerhard's First Symphony", *The Musical Times*, 100.

⁵⁸ Booklet for the recording on Valois V 4728. 1995. Barcelona: Auvidis Ibèrica, 17.

⁵⁹ Booklet for the recording on CHAN 9599. 1998. Colchester, UK: Chandos Records, 6.

⁶⁰ Julian White. March 1998: "Symphony of Hope", *The Musical Times*, 19-28.

⁶¹ David Drew was a director of the publisher Boosey & Hawkes which acquired the rights to Gerhard's music originally published by Keith Prowse and Mills Music.

⁶² Glock was knighted in 1970 for services to music in the United Kingdom.

⁶³ Note especially the issue of *Tempo* No. 139, December 1981, edited by Drew and dedicated exclusively to Gerhard's music.

for his music, at the time virtually unknown.⁶⁴ In 1959 Glock became the Controller of Music of the BBC and was thus in a position to champion Gerhard's music in a practical way with commissions and performances. Another serious problem for Gerhard was the small number of published works.⁶⁵ The other challenge was the complete absence of recordings until 1965. The British companies EMI and Decca gradually put this right with recordings of three of the symphonies, the Concerto for Orchestra, the cantata *The Plague* and some of the chamber works. It was only long after Gerhard's death that recordings appeared from Spain and other mainland continental countries, and from other British recording companies.

Gerhard's output after the First Symphony was considerable. There were three further symphonies, with a nearly complete major revision of the Symphony No.2 in addition, two other important orchestral works, a large-scale cantata, *The Plague*, after Albert Camus, and nearly a dozen chamber works for from two to ten players. This outpouring was probably the result of the fact that Gerhard had now refined his serial technique to a form that took what he wanted from Schoenberg's teachings and had absorbed all that he was able to accept from the ideas that were being embraced by the Central European avant-garde, especially Boulez, Stockhausen and their colleagues. We might expect that Gerhard had completely abandoned elements of his Spanish influence, but now these have become part of a totally integrated style, one that blends them into the serial, mostly non-melodic textures.

While Gerhard's last twenty years were crowned with a harvest of outstanding orchestral, chamber and electronic works, his reputation did stay secure. It was only when the interest in his music became international with the rehabilitation of his music in Spain and numerous performances in the United States, that his status was assured. Skalkottas has had to wait much longer, but with the commemoration of the centenary of his birth in 1904 and that in the 70th year of his death, a huge increase in the interest and studies of musicological community, the recording of a large quantity of his music in commercial recordings, the future is encouraging.

⁶⁴ William Glock. ed., *The Score* 17. September 1956.

⁶⁵ Initially a very few works were published by Mills Music and Keith Prowse (all were taken over by Boosey & Hawkes) and later more than a dozen works by Oxford University Press.

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George Seferis on Nikos Skalkottas or Little Stories of a Re-Evaluation: Greek Modernism and the “Generation of the Thirties”, Cultural Maps and Feminist Circles

Polina Tambakaki¹

“I was writing without even suspecting the tragic case of our unique Nikos Skalkottas”

George Seferis (1962), note to “Monologue on Poetry” (1939)

[...]

How many were the unhappy Christmas spent by Skalkottas

How many

How many

unhappy Christmas of Poets

Miltos Sachtouris, “The Unhappy Christmas of Poets” (*Sinking*,
1990)

¹ The following abbreviations are used for works by Seferis: D1-3 = *Dokimes* [Δοκιμές], 3 vols. (Athens: Ikaros, 1974, 1992); M1-9, *Meres* (*Days*) [Μέρες], 9 vols. (Athens: Ikaros, 1975-2019); 6N = *Ἐξὶ νύχτες στην Ακρόπολη*, ed. G. P. Savidis (Athens: Ermis, 1974), 6NE = *Six Nights on the Acropolis*, translated and introduced by Susan Matthias, with a foreword by Roderick Beaton (River Vale, NJ: Cosmos, 2007). Translations are mine, unless otherwise noted; in the latter case slight changes might have been made.

1. Introduction

In the section “Greeks...” of his book *Music in the Balkans* Jim Samson provides an overview of modern Greek music beyond grand narratives, through little stories concerning four turning-points in modern Greek music history (Samson 2013, 254-61).² The last two turning-points relate to modernism in music around and after the 1950s, associated with individuals such as, on the one hand, Manos Hadjidakis and Mikis Theodorakis, and, on the other, Jani Christou, Iannis Xenakis and Yannis A. Papaioannou. In this section of Samson’s book Nikos Skalkottas (1904-1949) and Dimitri Mitropoulos (1896-1960) appear only in passing, associated to “earlier ventures into musical modernism in Greece”. The reason for this brief mention is that “neither composer made real inroads to musical life in Greece itself” (Samson 2013, 259-60). In the little stories included in this section of the book one finds telling references to the so-called literary “Generation of the Thirties”, whose starting point has traditionally been related to the publication of *The Free Spirit* by George Theotokas in 1929. Again, the “Generation of the Thirties” appears in the section “Another Way: The Failure of Greek Modernism”, later in Samson’s book, where the cases of Skalkottas and Mitropoulos are discussed (Samson 2013, 325-31).

George Seferis (1900-1971), a poet-diplomat and the first Greek Nobel laureate (in 1963), was one of the leading figures of the “Generation of the Thirties” – if not *the* leading figure, according to most narratives of twentieth-century Greek literature. At the same time, he was a poet known for his special relationship to music. The most famous international testimony to this relationship is Seferis’s Preface to Igor Stravinsky’s *Poetics of Music* (1969).

The present discussion deals with Seferis’s unique reference to Skalkottas as part of a re-evaluation of the interwar cultural life: Seferis singled out Skalkottas, in retrospect, as the Greek composer closer to his own poetic efforts, visions and aspirations. The paper argues for the need for a global approach to “Poets” (see Sachtouris’s poem in the motto of the present paper), which aims to situate Skalkottas – “the classic case of the outsider”, in Samson’s words (2013, 326) – in the general cultural context of interwar and immediate post-war Athens, where Skalkottas lived and worked from

² For the term “little stories” see, for example (Samson 2013, 34): “Much of what follows might well be classified as little stories [...] they are really big stories. They are just not much reported. But they only really come into their own, and reveal something of the world that engendered them, when we set them alongside – counterpoint them against – the grand narratives that have shaped our broader understanding of that world”.

spring 1933 until his untimely death in September 1949, at the age of 45. In the discussion Seferis's references to Mitropoulos will also have a central role.

2. 1939 and 1962: Seferis's "Dialogue" and "Monologue on Poetry", Skalkottas and Mitropoulos

In his "Chronicle of a Decade" (written at the beginning of the 1960s; first published in part in 1973), Odysseus Elytis (1911-1996; another prominent member of the "Generation of the Thirties" and the second Greek Nobel laureate for literature, 1979) provides an account of his poetic trajectory up to the composition of the *Axion Esti* (1959), and at the same time a personal overview of "an epoch's spirit" (Elytis 1995, 53). The "Chronicle" focuses mainly on the decade around the Second World War, that is, on a central period of Skalkottas's last Athens period, 1933-1949. In Elytis's text Seferis appears in a way that points to a sort of genealogy within the "Generation": "Seferis was truly the last teacher, since no one has replaced him to this day" (Elytis 1995, 90). The phrase relates to a series of essays Seferis exchanged with the philosopher Konstantinos Tsatsos in 1938-1939, namely the "Dialogue on Poetry" (dated "August 1938") and its follow-up, the "Monologue on Poetry" (dated "May 1939"),³ in which Seferis argued for artistic freedom against predefined criteria and drew a highly influential distinction between "European Greekness" and "Greek Greekness".⁴ Elytis wrote about the impact of Seferis's essays: "He would lend form to a fluid situation and determine the ultimate development of our country's literary affairs" (Elytis 1995, 90).

Before looking at Seferis's reference to Skalkottas in a note he added to the "Monologue on Poetry" much later, it is worth raising the question whether Skalkottas had been aware of those discussions about poetry and artistic production in Greece, while he himself was writing essays, such as "The School of Modern Composers" (starting with the phrase: "any composer can follow their own school") or "Collection of Ideas".⁵ Although a definitive answer seems rather impossible, the validity of such a question lies in the fact that we do know, for example, that Skalkottas were visiting the house of his friend Nelly Askitopoulou and her husband Chryssos Evelpidis, and that he composed the song cycle *Sixteen Songs* in 1941 on verses by the latter (under the literary pseudonym Chr. Ésperas).⁶ Chryssos Evelpidis was a close friend of members of

³ With a further short follow-up, "The End of a Dialogue" (1939).

⁴ On the distinction and the question of the Renaissance, see Tambakaki 2023b.

⁵ On Skalkottas's essays and their dates, see Zervos 2008, 56 and 58.

⁶ On Skalkottas and Esperas, see Vouvaris 2019.

the “Generation of the Thirties”. Theotokas, for example, included him among “those I respect and like”, as he wrote in his Diaries in 1940 (Theotokas 2005, 164). That same year Evelpidis published a book on the genre of the novel (Ésperas 1940), which Theotokas reviewed for the journal *Neoellinika Grammata* in February 1941.⁷ In that same journal Skalkottas had published his article on folk song in July 1938.

Music in “Monologue on Poetry”. In “Monologue on Poetry” music plays an important role. Seferis reacted to the fact that Tsatsos condemned atonal music (all the more so, based on his intuition, according to Tsatsos himself) and remarked (D1.107):

It is hard for me to understand how we can discuss such a question in front of an audience who have a distressingly one-sided musical sense and are hypnotized by the names of performers as if they were the measure of art. In the corridors of concert halls or in the columns of music criticism [...] not a word is said about music.

Seferis continued by making references to specific pieces of atonal music of which he had experience or knowledge himself, mentioning Schoenberg, Markevitch, and Berg (see below), and clarifying: “These are undistilled impressions which I do not trust” (D1.108).

Seferis had attended music performances during his student years in Paris (1918-1924); he had had a secret relationship with the music critic Loukia Fotopoulou, lasting with vicissitudes from around 1926-1927 to 1935; and his London period 1931-1934 was for him a period of musical apprenticeship as an ordinary listener (Tambakaki 2011, 48-105), when he “was struggling so much with music”, as Seferis said retrospectively (D8.262, “15 June [1962]”). It was this relationship to music that made him confident to argue in the “Monologue” that “the only real performance of modern music I happened to attend [in Athens] was Stravinsky’s *L’Histoire du soldat*. Ten people attended. Five of them talked nonchalantly as in a café” (D1.108; see also M7.187; Kardamis 2010; Sakallieros 2016, 85-89). In the second edition of his collected essays, *Dokimes*, published in December 1962, Seferis added a note clarifying that the performance of *L’Histoire* “was given by Dimitri Mitropoulos”, also providing a sample of negative

⁷ See also Hadjinikos 2006, 113, with emphasis on Chryssos Evelpidis’s “visionary” *Πολιτεία των νέων* (1962).

reviews from the period (1926) from Katy Katsoyanni's archive. "Two exceptions", Seferis noted: "Eleni Chalkoussi and Galatea Kazantzaki" (D1.479-80).

The section on music in the "Monologue on Poetry" is rounded off with the phrase: "If they want to console themselves the poets who complain should think of those who wish and deserve to make true music in Greece" (D1.109). At this point, again in the second edition of *Dokimes* in 1962, Seferis added the following note: "I was writing without even suspecting the tragic case of our unique Nikos Skalkottas" (D1.480). Two years before, in 1960, in an entry in his diaries, Seferis had written down in detail what George Hadjinikos told them about Skalkottas, in one of his visits to London, where Seferis served as the Greek Ambassador from 1957-1962 (M7.160-61).

The "Unique Cases" of Skalkottas and Mitropoulos in Retrospect. Skalkottas is the only Greek composer singled out and praised by Seferis, in a way which can only be matched with what Seferis wrote in the Preface to Mitropoulos-Katsoyanni letters in 1966 (Mitropoulos 1973), six years after Mitropoulos's death: "The fate of Mitropoulos was, I think, unique in the chronicles of new Hellenism" (D3.180). But Seferis spoke only of Mitropoulos as a conductor, although he was certainly aware of Mitropoulos's "ventures into musical modernism" (in Samson's words), back in the 1920s and 1930s. Although this is in accordance with what has been called Mitropoulos's "self-cancellation as a composer" or, in other words, the fact that Mitropoulos-the-conductor himself did not speak about Mitropoulos-the-composer (Vlagopoulos 2011), it is worth noting that in Seferis's library one finds the score of Mitropoulos's *10 Inventions* (Yannadakis 1989, 68), published in 1927, on poetry by C. P. Cavafy and with a dedication to the literary critic Alkis Thrylos, literary pseudonym of Eleni Negreponi (later Ourani, after her marriage with the poet Kostas Ouranis, c. 1930).⁸ Mitropoulos composed *Inventions* in 1925-1926 and performed them publicly in 1927, at the Athens Conservatoire, and privately in 1933, in the couple Ouranis's house, in the presence of Cavafy himself. In between, the poet Takis Papatsonis (who helped Mitropoulos by providing the French translation of three of Cavafy's poems) had repeatedly expressed his strong support for Mitropoulos's settings (Xanthoudakis 2006 and 2010a; Markydimas 2021, 60-61 and 70) (see also below).

Precision even in evasiveness is a hallmark of Seferis both as a literary figure and as a diplomat (Papadopoulos 2019). In his Preface to Mitropoulos-Katsoyanni letters he thus

⁸ The Kostas and Eleni Ourani Foundation was founded by the Academy of Athens in 1972 on her bequest.

took pains to clarify through a single word that he spoke about Mitropoulos as he knew him personally: “I got to know Dimitri Mitropoulos *truly* in the last years of his life, during my short stays in New York” (emphasis added) (D3.182). The word “truly” indirectly but clearly points to the past, to a previous knowledge, which might have been partial, vague or immature – and certainly not totally “true”. But it is again worth noting that, speaking about his love of jazz in his conversation with Edmund Keeley in Princeton in December 1968, Seferis said: “I remember once I said to Mitropoulos: ‘For me, my dear maestro, jazz is one of the few ways left for us to express feeling without embarrassment.’ That was in ’35. No, ’34” (Keeley 1986: 84). Although we do not know whether in 1968 Seferis was aware of Mitropoulos’s participation in a 1957 performance together with Duke Ellington or of Mitropoulos’s text on “Jazz and Musical Progress”, published very shortly after his death in 1960 (Vlagopoulos 2011), a sense of familiarity between the poet Seferis and the maestro (and still composer) Mitropoulos emerges from that discussion back in 1934-1935.

In any case, a reappraisal of views similar to that about Mitropoulos is detectable in Seferis’s note on Skalkottas, we saw above: “I was writing without even *suspecting* the tragic case of our unique Nikos Skalkottas” (emphasis added). The verb “suspect” points both to a previous lack of knowledge about Skalkottas and/or a sort of misjudgement on Seferis’s part, at least up to 1939, when he wrote “Monologue on Poetry”.

Seferis’s authoritative voice was that of a poet, not of a musician. In the “Monologue on Poetry” he defined himself as “an ordinary listener to music of good faith without technical knowledge but with real love of the art of sounds” (D1.108). It is through this perspective that Seferis’s uniquely positive statements on Skalkottas and Mitropoulos are important in any examination of the interaction between music and literary modernism in Greece and in any attempt to situate Skalkottas in the “epoch’s spirit”, in Elytis’s words (see above). A crucial question relates to the cultural maps of Europe and their role in the modernist ventures in interwar and immediate post Second World War Greece.

3. France and Germany on Seferis’s and Skalkottas’s Cultural Maps: The Case of Nikos Kazantzakis and Scholarly Self-Reflexivity

Speaking of the Nikos Hadjikyriakos-Ghika Gallery, Benaki Museum, Angelos Delivorrias pointed out how specific rooms “demonstrate the intellectual and artistic production of the Greek interwar period, underlining, indirectly but clearly, the predominantly French

affinities of its pioneers. Only a few among them are distinguished for their German cultural background” (Delivorrias 2011-2012: 58). Among the latter Delivorrias mentioned the composers Yannis Constantinidis and Nikos Skalkottas and none from the field of literature.

Differences within the literary “Generation of the Thirties” were as deep as in the distinction drawn by Elytis in his essay “Romanos the Melodist” (published in 1975) between “prismatic” and “plane” expression: of the two only the former, Elytis argued, was part of “the Greek tradition as we understand it today”, and was found “in Romanos and again in the great modern Greeks until George Seferis of *Strophe* (*Turning Point*)” (Elytis 1999, 50). This means that Elytis left out of “the Greek tradition as we understand it today” all of Seferis’s output except for his first collection *Strophe* (published in 1931). The exclusion is provocative indeed, but what interests us here is that, however great the differences within the “Generation”, all its members shared a Mediterranean perspective, which was contrasted to a Northern European one (that of “the Black Forest”, in Seferis’s words in the 1939 “Monologue on Poetry”; D1.97).⁹ The Second World War made this contrast even sharper, not only on a Greek but also on a global level. Suffice it only to think the role of the German language in foreign language acquisition: if until the beginning of the twentieth century German was (together with French) one of the dominant languages, “virtually no country has chosen German as its first modern foreign language in the secondary educational system since 1945” (Cha 1991: 29, with Tambakaki 2023a: 22).

Kazantzakis and German expressionism. The case of Nikos Kazantzakis is perhaps the most instructive in relation to the challenges posed in scholarship by the question of French and German cultural backgrounds in interwar and immediate post-war Greece. Older than the members of the “Generation of the Thirties”, Kazantzakis technically does not belong to it. But his major works come exactly from the interwar and post-war period, and in the bibliography, he has often been viewed as the opposite pole of the “Generation of the Thirties”. Between the two poles what prevailed is generally silence (Dimiroulis 2010); and, as far as Seferis is concerned, negative views about Kazantzakis found in his private writing (letters and diaries) have been explained mainly on the basis of personal antagonisms (Beaton 2011).

⁹ On such a Mediterranean perspective in relation to Lorca, see Bonaddio 2023 with Tambakaki 2019a.

This is not irrelevant to the fact that Kazantzakis's relation to modernism has been viewed either as non-existent or as bearing traits akin to Anglo-American high modernism, that is, to the strand of modernism by which Seferis was influenced (Beaton 2009).¹⁰ Yet, in both cases, the question of "the agency of the researcher" or "the importance of scholarly self-reflexivity" is raised (Middleton 2003, 13), since modern scholarship is related to a "World Republic of Letters" in which English is the dominant language: how might this Anglo-centred approach account for blind spots in the study of authors who had, for example, an intimate relationship to German modernism?¹¹

As a matter of fact, in the bibliography on Kazantzakis, his relationship to German (and Russian) modernism has not received attention so far. It is only worth quoting here what Kazantzakis wrote in a card he sent to his wife Galatea Kazantzaki from Berlin, on 27 November 1922, about the leading expressionist painter Oskar Kokoschka:¹² "I'm sending you this card by Kokoschka because I felt so much pleasure when I saw this painting the other day, and I wanted to spread a little pleasure to you. Its beauty is indescribable" (Bien 2012, 128).¹³

As far as music is concerned, the name of Kazantzakis has mostly been linked to that of Manolis Kalomiris, the composer who is associated with the second turning-point in Samson's little stories (Samson 2013, 256). Kalomiris was indeed greatly involved with Kazantzakis's work and the two men shared many common elements (see, for example, Tsagkarakis 2019). But references in the latter's letters and a few photographs suffice to provide glimpses of his personal connections and shared interests with both Mitropoulos and (indirectly) Skalkottas. For example, around the period when Skalkottas orchestrated Mitropoulos's (1919) *Cretan Feast*, c. 1924 (Mantzourani 2011, 21 and 34; Kostios 2008, 218), we see Kazantzakis together with "his friend Mitropoulos" (as Kazantzakis wrote to Bohuslav Martinu in 1957) in a photo from a group excursion to Knossos in Crete.¹⁴ The *Cretan Feast* in Skalkottas's orchestration was first performed at the Athens Conservatoire in 1928 and has been viewed as having played a key role in the conception of Skalkottas's first composed *Greek Dance*, the *Peloponnissiakos*

¹⁰ See also Dimiroulis 2010: 88: "Kazantzakis was not attuned to the modernist movements that had dominated the European scene for the last two decades".

¹¹ On theories and relevant debates about World Literature, see, for example, Casanova 2007; Apter 2013; Spivak 1999; Ganguly 2021; Tambakaki 2023a.

¹² Kokoschka painted a famous portrait of Schoenberg in 1924. On the relationship between Kokoschka and Schoenberg, see, for example, Stein 1987, 242-3.

¹³ On expressionism in Kazantzakis's *Zorba the Greek*, see Tambakaki (forthcoming).

¹⁴ See also Bien 2012, 214, letter to Eleni Samiou (future Kazantzaki), around 10 or 11 October 1924: "On my part, in order to remind you, I'm sending you one [photo] with Mitropoulos etc. at Knossos".

(Kostios 2008, 218-19). There are also photos which show Kazantzakis in the company of the sisters Katy and Marika Papaioannou (for example, from Kazantzakis's trip to Cyprus in 1926), that is, two of the Papaioannou siblings (the third being John G. Papaioannou) who appear in almost every study on Skalkottas and his reception.¹⁵ And again, we see Nelly Askitopoulou-Evelpidi and her husband, Chrysos Evelpidis (Chr. Ésperas; see above) in photos from Kazantzakis's last trip of his life, to China, in 1957.

Kazantzakis lived (with intervals) in Berlin from September 1922 to December 1923, where he wrote *Askitiki – Salvatores Dei*. Just before arriving in Berlin, he wrote to Galatea: "The things printed every day in Germany are indescribable. [...] The momentum of today's German mind is indescribable. Really, if there is a certain provocative value for someone to live in the midst of an intellectual whirlwind, Berlin is today's central vortex" (letter dated "9 August [1922];" Bien 2012, 104).

Berlin and Paris as Cultural Centres in Skalkottas and Seferis. Mitropoulos lived in Berlin between 1921 and 1924; for him Berlin was "the Eldorado of music" (Xanthoudakis 2010c, 11). Skalkottas arrived in Berlin in 1921 and settled in Lankwitz neighbourhood, home (among others) to Yannis Constantinidis, Nelly Askitopoulou and Marika Papaioannou. From Berlin Skalkottas wrote to Benakis (Thornley 2002, 202 and Hadjinikos 2006, 126):¹⁶

For me there is no problem about "tonal or atonal"; my concern, as a Greek, is for me to make my music as strongly capable as I possibly can for export abroad, i.e. for it to be [positively] compared with the musical, aesthetic products of other peoples. Neither you nor I wore Greek kilts when we came to Berlin, nor when you went to France, in order to display our nationality. We all wore city clothes like the Europeans.

¹⁵ Suffice it only to mention the Skalkottas Archive as part of the Emiliós Chourmouziós–Marika Papaioannou Foundation, from 2018 at the Music Library "Lilian Voudouri": <https://dspace.mmb.org.gr/mmb/handle/123456789/23141>. See E. Kazantzakis 1968, 135 (and *passim*), where Eleni Kazantzaki (second wife of Kazantzakis; see above, n. 14) wrote about "my two closest friends, Ketty and Marika."

¹⁶ In the latter (Hadjinikos 2006, 126) we also find Skalkottas's phrase: "We do not have a Palamas in music".

Again (Hadjinikos 2006, 90-1):¹⁷

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.

Skalkottas's phrases chime with key phrases in Seferis's essays "Dialogue" and "Monologue on Poetry". Yet at the centre of Seferis's European cultural map was not Berlin but Paris. Seferis lived there for six years, having arrived in the summer of 1918, at the end of the First World War (and just a few months after the publication of Jean Cocteau's *Cock and Harlequin: Notes Concerning Music*, where one reads, for example (Cocteau 1921, 15): "I am not attacking modern German music. Schoenberg is a master; all our musicians, as well as Stravinsky, owe something to him, but Schoenberg is essentially a blackboard musician"). Seferis's French background is evident even when he speaks of his discovery of Eliot in London, "some days before Christmas 1931" (Seferis 1966, 166; D2.10): "But there was also another old acquaintance of mine who made me feel a special affinity to Eliot: A Frenchman whom I came to love very much soon after arriving in Paris as a student at the end of the First World War – Jules Laforgue" (Seferis 1966, 168; D2.12).

The way in which Seferis spoke of atonal music in his 1939 "Monologue on Poetry" is in the same vein. When he referred positively to Berg's violin concerto he did so by reference to the French poet Pierre Jean Jouve: "I think that I offer a real help to the readers by suggesting that they read the article written by the poet Pierre Jean Jouve about the violin concerto dedicated to *The memory of an angel*" (D1.108-9).¹⁸ In the text, Seferis had already mentioned Schoenberg: "I happened to have listened to Schoenberg conducting some of his works. I have the impression that if I knew his work better I would not have accepted him" (D1.108).

Seferis's modern musical world was basically French or French-connected. It is indicative what he said in a talk he gave in French towards the end of the Second World War (in

¹⁷ On Skalkottas and Greekness, see Mantzourani 2019 and Levidou 2019.

¹⁸ Seferis refers to Jouve 1937. Cf. also M9.204-5 ("Tuesday, 21 October" [1969]) on the Skalkottas Exhibition organized by the Hellenic American Union ("a composer who is compared in Europe with Alban Berg"), with Hadjinikos 2006, 113 (a comparison between Skalkottas's *Double Bass Concerto* and Berg's *Violin Concerto*), and 210 (quoting from Hans Keller, "Nikos Skalkottas: An Original Genius"; see also Mantzourani 2013).

February and March 1944, first in Cairo and then in Alexandria) on “the intellectual commerce between France and Greece” (D3.81-2):

This is a pregnant theme, which awakens harmonics in all minds and in all gentle souls – whether you are among the white marbles animated by the sun, or in the verdant gardens of l’ Ile de France; whether you listen to music by Rameau, Debussy, Erik Satie, or you are in a small Cycladic port.

Satie’s *Gymnopédies* had already left its clear mark on Seferis’s short 1935 collection *Gymnopaidia*, whose first poem was entitled exactly by a Cycladic island: “Santorini” (see Tambakaki 2002).

4. Greek Modernism and Feminist Circles

Following his two concerts in Athens, on 23 and 27 November 1930, Skalkottas published his article “Music Criticism” in the journal *Musical Life* in March 1931. Among many other severe comments, he wrote: “The majority of Greek music criticism (i.e. Athenian) is represented by amateurs or non-musicians”, reminding us of what Seferis wrote in his “Monologue” a few years later: “In the corridors of concert halls or in the columns of music criticism [...] not a word is said about music” (see above). Skalkottas did not miss to refer to critics who “parrot French chauvinistic views” (Skalkottas 2008, 324).

Skalkottas’s 1930 Athens concerts had received scathing reviews, and, according to Polyxene Mathéy-Roussopoulou, while his *Concerto for Wind Orchestra* was being performed some in the audience were reading newspapers like in a café.¹⁹ Again what Seferis wrote in the “Monologue” about the 1926 Athens performance of Stravinsky’s *L’Histoire du soldat* can easily be brought to mind: “Ten people attended. Five of them talked nonchalantly as in a café” (see above).

¹⁹ See Mathéy in an interview for the film *Η επιστροφή του Οδυσσέα*, directed by Kostis Alefantis (ERT, 1997) (at 26.15’), with Ramou 2008, 418. In the reviews, Skalkottas’s concerts were also compared with the 1926 performance of Stravinsky’s *L’Histoire du soldat*: “The first ‘invasion of the barbarians’ in Greece was the *Soldier’s Tale*”; see Ramou 2008, 422. Mathéy participated as a soloist in Skalkottas’s first concert at the Olympia Theatre. See also Mantzourani 2011, 42-5.

Although we cannot be certain about what specific concerts Seferis attended in Athens from February 1925 to August 1931 (that is, from his return from Paris until he left for London, on his first diplomatic post abroad), the case of Skalkottas could not have been unknown to him. As we saw above, what Seferis wrote in the “Monologue” presupposes a certain knowledge of musical life in the Greek capital; and his relationship with Fotopoulou had certainly played a key role in it. Following Fotopoulou’s sudden death in August 1939, a short volume with some of her texts was published. But there are more pieces to be identified and collected. Fotopoulou, who like Skalkottas collaborated with the Melpo Merlier archive, also signed her texts as Loukia Loukidi (at least until 1933 when the divorce with her husband, the painter Tassos Loukidis, was issued; Garitsis 2018, 310). Under this name, for example, she wrote an article on Andrés Segovia for *Musical Life*, published in April 1931,²⁰ that is, in the next issue of the journal after the one including Skalkottas’s “Music Criticism”.

Fotopoulou had studied in Paris but her musical map was much larger and more multivocal and flexible than that of Seferis.²¹ And a larger European cultural map, beyond the distinction between French and German backgrounds, was also a trait of the feminist circles, in which Fotopoulou actively participated.²² The role of feminist circles in the cultural life of interwar Greece needs to be studied systematically, also in relation to the challenging question of “modernism and gender” (Scott 2006).

Let us only look at the Board of the “Greek League of Women’s Rights” for the year 1925. I will pause at four names. The musician Avra Theodoropoulou, chair of the Board, was also strongly involved in the literary life of the period; she wrote during Skalkottas’s lifetime: “In each era new paths are opened by daring pioneers. One such pioneer is Nikos Skalkottas” (Theodoropoulou 1948: 314-15). Among the members of the Board, we find the literary critic Eleni Negreponi or Alkis Thrylos (see above), who is remembered (if at all) in scholarship today mostly for her unfortunate views against, for example, Seferis or Sachtouris (Garantoudis 2009). Yet she proved right in her strong support of Cavafy, when she wrote, for example, in 1932: “How many have admitted that he [= Cavafy] is the ONLY Greek poet whose work is capable to conquer the international public if it is properly translated?” (Thrylos 1932, 65), as she proved right in her support of Mitropoulos’s *Inventions*, which were dedicated to her. As we saw, it

²⁰ See <https://digital.mmb.org.gr/digma/handle/123456789/60267>; also Paraschos 1939, 322 and Garitsis 2018, 310-11, on Fotopoulou’s reviews in the newspaper *Politeia*.

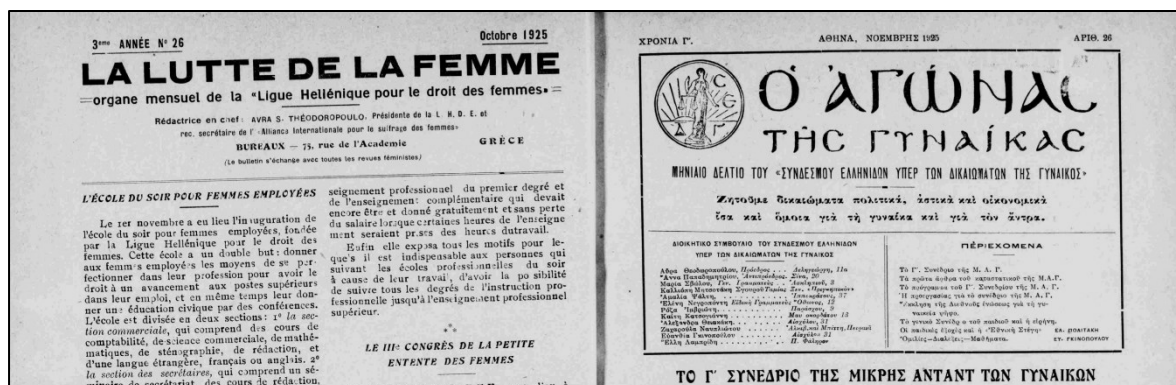
²¹ As is shown in Seferis’s letters to her with comments, for example, about Richard Strauss, whom he calls “Your Doktor”: M2.72. On Fotopoulou, see Garitsis 2018, 307-18, with Paraschos 1939.

²² For example, in 1937, she was one of the founding members of the “Women’s Association of Arts and Letters”; see Garitsis 2018, 311.

was in her salon that in 1933 Cavafy listened to Mitropoulos's settings performed by the composer himself.²³ As for Katy Katsoyanni, another member of the Board, we have already referred to Seferis's Preface to Mitropoulos-Katsoyanni correspondence. Another member was Elli Lambridi, the so-called "first Greek female philosopher." The case of Lambridi is of particular importance since recent publications have added important pieces of information on literary and cultural circles in interwar Athens.

5. Elli Lambridi, *Six Nights on the Acropolis* and Interwar Athens

Lambridi was a childhood friend of Loukia Fotopoulou, and in her autobiographical novel *Portrait of a World – Days of the Conservatoire* Fotopoulou appears as a central character under the name of Elli Kostourou.



Among other pieces of information, in the appendices of the book we find the programme of a concert in 1916, where the names of Fotopoulou, Lambridi and Mitropoulos appear one alongside the other (Garitsis 2018, 502 with 205-7). Again, in letters by Lambridi to Seferis from the years 1928-1929 we read about frequent literary and philosophical meetings taking place in Lambridi's house, in which Seferis participated, together with her sister Ioanna or/and Fotopoulou, or about an excursion to Sounion organised by Lambridi in full moon, exactly like the visits to the Acropolis described in Seferis's novel *Six Nights on the Acropolis* (Lambridi 2016, 165 and 167).

Seferis's novel, published posthumously in 1974, was based on manuscripts from the years 1926-1928. When in 1954 he worked on the novel's final form, Seferis noted: "I tried to remain strictly faithful to the manuscripts and to exclude ideas and feelings

²³ On the ardent support to Mitropoulos by her mother, Maria (née Lüders, first Chair of the "Greek League of Women's Rights"), and her father, Miltiadis, see Sakallieros 2016, 179.

created by people and things after the '30s" (6N.255-6). The young protagonist, Stratis, is an alter-ego of Seferis: sections of the novel are identical to entries from Seferis's diaries and in the note to the novel Seferis wrote: "Psychology remains in the years '25-'28" (6N.256). The novel is thus situated in the period after Seferis's return from Paris up to his appearance as a poet in 1931 with his collection *Strophe*, during which he also attended Stravinsky's *L'Histoire du soldat* in Athens. It relates to a period of which he wrote in another later entry in his diary: "I walked up in my life very lonely, without any help (but who has it?), except for two people outside the literary world, and my persistence. [...] The years up to '36 were very difficult" (M5.152-3; "15 March [1950]"). Fotopoulou seems to have been one of these two people.²⁴ In Seferis's diary, in the entry for 19 March 1926, we also read about his French cultural background: "Always the same agony, the same despair looking at my condition: a man of another race rooted in French culture – this creates a host of problems that get mingled with each other and torture me. I must check my ideas again with strict judgement" (M1.47). The question of his coming from Smyrna after the Asia Minor disaster of 1922 also enhanced his sense of the outsider. Already in the opening of *Six Nights* we find "Stratis [who] hails from the Ionian city of Klazomenai and studied in the glorious city of Paris" thinking "how very lonely he was in Athens" (6NE.27 and 8).

Although the novel's autobiographical aspect is undeniable, no secure identification of individuals is possible: for example, whether Longomanus – a negatively presented figure – alludes to Sikelianos and/or Kazantzakis.²⁵ And central cultural events of the period 1926-1928, such as the Delphic Festival of 1927, are tellingly missing. However, Kazantzakis-Lambridi correspondence provide unexpected images of everyday life concerning intellectual circles of the period. For example, we read (Kazantzakis to Lambridi, 1927): "Please, try with Pounta [= Alkis Thrylos] or Seferiadis [= Seferis] etc. to find for me a few books I need" (Kazantzakis-Lambridi 2018, 141). At another point we read (Lambridi to Kazantzakis, 1927): "The day before yesterday Seferiadis, Loukia, Nazos and Prevelakis gathered in my new cell and we spoke a lot of nonsense in succession" (Kazantzakis-Lambridi 2018, 137) – a phrase which, among other things, brings to our discussion Georgios A. Nazos, a figure little known in scholarship, whose book *Vestiges* [Ἰχνη] (1950) was published posthumously. The three introductory notes to the volume by Sikelianos, Papatsonis and Paraschos provide further valuable

²⁴ The other must have been Seferis's friend George Apostolidis.

²⁵ About the relationship Sikelianos-Kazantzakis, see Prevelakis 1990, 141-210 (chapter 3: "The Chronicle of a Friendship").

information about interwar intellectual circles.²⁶ In his letters to Lambridi we also see Kazantzakis's anxiety over the progress of his project for creating a commune in the monastery of St. John the Hunter for people of letters and the arts. Among the members of the "Association of St. John the Hunter" we find Mitropoulos (Kazantzakis-Lambridi 2018, 21-2).

Six Nights on the Acropolis, diaries and letters such as Lambridi's, and Nazos's *Vestiges*, relate to stories beyond grand narratives about the "Generation of the Thirties", with their clear-cut distinctions, enmities, or friendships, and shed new light on tensions and interconnections which co-existed in the cultural life of interwar Greece. They help us sketch a much more multivocal world in which to situate both young Seferis's loneliness as he was trying to find his poetic voice in "our bucolic Athens" (D1.48) of the 1920s after his return from Paris, and young Skalkottas's disappointment in his two visits to Greece during his Berlin period: in 1928 during the dengue fever epidemic (of which Seferis also wrote; for example, M2.96 with M1.107, "5 August 1928"), and then at the end of 1930, when he also gave his two unsuccessful concerts (see above): "I'm very disappointed with my country", Skalkottas wrote in 1928 (Thornley 2008, 340).

Re-Evaluations. On the first pages of *Six Nights on the Acropolis*, the protagonist Stratis expresses his reluctance to accept Cavafy as a model poet: "I haven't really studied Cavafy's work [...] and I haven't sorted out my ideas regarding ages of decline", he replied to admirers of the Alexandrian poet (6NE.44). Clearly, Stratis did not share the enthusiasm Mitropoulos felt when he composed his *Inventions* and wrote to Cavafy in 1926: "Be certain that my Music is so modern as the fresh atmosphere emerging from your songs. Mr Antonios Benakis listened to them and is able to tell you his impression" (Merakou 2000, 146). Nor did he share the views of Kazantzakis, who visited Cavafy in Alexandria and wrote in 1927: "In [Cavafy's] songs body and soul are one [...] Cavafy has all the traits of an exceptional man of decadence" (Kazantzakis 1965, 79). One year later, in 1928, Kazantzakis wrote to Cavafy: "Cher Maître, I introduce Ms Lambridi to you warmly. [...] she loves Your art and wishes to know your subtle personality which is unique in Greece" (Kazantzakis-Lambridi 2018, 242).

²⁶ See also Xanthoudakis 2010b. In literary scholarship there is a general confusion between Georgios A. Nazos (1895-1948) and Georgios N. Nazos (1862-1934), the Director of the Athens Conservatoire, both from the island of Tinos and most probably relatives; see for example, Bien 2012, 497 with 461; Kazantzakis-Lambridi 2016, 98. See also Makrydimas 2021, 86.

In an interview towards the end of his life, looking back to the period in which *Six Nights* is situated, Seferis said: “I did not bear any sort of admiration for Cavafy. I am very sorry to say this, but we are referring to the years 25, 26” (Seferis-Philippe 1991, 77). I suggest that we see the note on Skalkottas which Seferis added in 1962 to his 1939 “Monologue of Poetry” – “I was writing without even suspecting the tragic case of our unique Nikos Skalkottas” – as another “I am very sorry to say this, but we are referring to the year 1939”. Since then, and especially after Skalkottas’s death in 1949, Seferis had had the opportunity to learn about him from musicians and musicologists, and to draw analogies with his own efforts and visions. We have already mentioned the long note he kept in his diaries in 1960 on what Hadjinikos narrated about Skalkottas. Another entry from January 1962 shows how his knowledge of atonal music as an ordinary listener had been enhanced since 1939: “Webern (*6 Stücke*) – which I listened to for the first time. It reminded me of Paul Klee – finesse of lines and dance of things” (M8.230). Although he might not have attended it, Seferis must also have learned about the premiere of Skalkottas’s *Sixteen Songs* on poetry of Ch. Éspéras which took place in London in March 1962, that is, four months before Seferis left the British capital in August 1962.

Concerning Mitropoulos, as we saw, Seferis never referred to him as a composer, either in his Preface to Katsoyanni-Mitropoulos letters or elsewhere. But it must be noted that until 1966, when Seferis wrote the Preface, the modernist composer Mitropoulos had not been discovered and re-evaluated by musicians and musicologists either.²⁷ This was crucial for Seferis, whose need for apprenticeship and guidance by experts was paramount in order to be able to go beyond “undistilled impressions” (as he said in the “Monologue on Poetry”).

6. Conclusion: The literary and musical “Generation of the Thirties”, Myths and Realities

The question of the “Generation of the Thirties” as myth or reality is central to cultural studies of twentieth-century Greece (see Tziovas 2012 and Tambakaki 2015). Independently of whether mythical truths or truthful myths relate to narratives about “successful” or “unsuccessful” authors or musicians, there are links and aspects that

²⁷ See the short mention of Mitropoulos’s compositions in Avra Theodoropoulou’s obituary (Theodoropoulou 1960); also Dounias 1960 (quoted in Vlagopoulos 2011): “as for Mitropoulos’s compositions, the last word has not been said. Our duty is to be aware of them and study them. We might discover then that they are much more worthy than we think”.

need further investigation, and fleeting references and pregnant silences in texts of the period that can shed new light on the aspiration and fates of poets or musicians beyond clear-cut distinctions. The study of the relationship between Seferis and Skalkottas provides many examples or “little stories” towards this direction.

Both Skalkottas and Seferis relate to early ventures into modernism in interwar Greece. They were both involved in European modernist movements, although of different (and at times mutual hostile or antagonistic) strands or traditions: Skalkottas had a German cultural background, while Seferis a French one. They both aspired to explore how to make their music or poetry respectively “as strongly capable as [they] possibly [could] for export abroad”, in Skalkottas’s words; and they shared a sense of loneliness in “beautiful [interwar] Athens”, again in Skalkottas’s (ironic) words (Thornley 2008, 340). The note on Skalkottas which Seferis added to the 1939 “Monologue on Poetry” in the 1962 edition of his *Dokimes* – “I was writing without even suspecting the tragic case of our unique Nikos Skalkottas” – was a retrospective statement he made – now as a recognized poet and public figure – about the kinship he felt with the charismatic composer, who had died untimely and generally neglected, in 1949. It was also an expression of regret by Seferis at not having recognized Skalkottas’s case earlier, in the tense atmosphere of the interwar period.

By 1962 Seferis had re-evaluated his views on Skalkottas with the help of musicians (such as George Hadjinikos) and had included him – the only Greek composer – in his personal canon of Poets. The moment Seferis referred to Skalkottas’s “unique case” was not musically neutral: Manolis Kalomiris had died only a few months before the publication of the second edition of *Dokimes*²⁸, while at the same time Mikis Theodorakis’s settings to music of Seferis’s poetry, *Epiphania*, were circulating widely (about which Seferis expressed reservations in private).²⁹ The context of Seferis’s reference thus made Skalkottas’s unique case emerge in the sharpest possible way.

²⁸ The second edition of *Dokimes* was published in December 1962; Manolis Kalomiris died on 3 April 1962.

²⁹ On Seferis’s relations to Theodorakis, see, for example, Tambakaki 2019b, 55-64.

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Nikos Skalkottas, Concerto for Violin, Viola, and Wind Orchestra (A/K 25): Premiere Critical/Urtext Edition

Georgios Zacharias

Background

In 1948, just a year before his untimely death from an acute but easily preventable case of hernia,¹ Skalkottas was asked to produce a biographical note that would accompany the publication of four of his 36 Greek Dances. This publication was sponsored by the Institute Français in Athens and was regrettably the only one of Skalkottas's works that was published during his lifetime. In this catalogue, which is now more commonly known as the Merlier Catalogue,² Skalkottas states 1942 as the year of composition of the Concerto for Violin, Viola and Wind Orchestra. This date however is probably an oversight by the composer, as he mentions the work as 'completed' in one of the composer's letters to Chrisoula Askitopoulou, dated December 1940. Papaioannou's catalogue states 1939–40 as the most probable period of composition (A/K25).

All indications point to the fact that by 1940, Skalkottas had switched his creative focus to compositions that were based on wind instruments. In truth, he had long envisioned – and by 1941 completed – a concert programme that was designed to showcase the capabilities of the modern wind instruments (Papaioannou 1997, 208). The complete programme included two quartets for piano, oboe, trumpet and bassoon (A/K40 and A/K40a), a Concertino for Oboe (A/K28),³ a Sonata *Concertante* for Bassoon and Piano

¹ Skalkottas died on the 20 September 1949, at the age of 45. According to Papaioannou, the day before, he intentionally hid the excruciating pain from his wife Maria Pagali who was due to deliver their youngest child (his youngest son Nikos). The following day, it was tragically too late for his life to be saved.

² The catalogue was named after the French Octave Merlier, the then director of the Institute Français. He was married to the Greek Melpo (Merlier) who was a close acquaintance of Skalkottas. Melpo Merlier had engaged Skalkottas in recording and notating Greek folk tunes in a long-lasting preservation project. This project evidently influenced Skalkottas in producing his own Greek Symphonic Dances. The catalogue survives in the Skalkottas Archive

³The Concertino for Oboe survives only as an Oboe and Piano reduction. Skalkottas did not have the chance to orchestrate it before his death.

(A/K67) and a *Concertino* for Trumpet (A/K68).⁴ Brief but complete programme notes on all of the pieces that were included in the 'winds concert' were produced by Skalkottas in the form of an essay under the title Chamber Music for wind instruments and piano. In his brief presentation of these compositions to his audience, Skalkottas mentions his notion of 'musical correspondence' between the instruments involved. This term probably signifies his understanding of a unified sound idiom that transcends the timbres of winds.

It is therefore safe to assume that within 1939, in tandem with his most extensive theoretical text, the *Treatise on Orchestration*, he sets upon composing a large-scale concerto to reiterate his point that winds and solo strings sounds could blend with each other effortlessly and at the highest level of technical accomplishment. Hence, it is not surprising that the first composition of his to demonstrate this transcendental sound was the Concerto für Violine, Viola und Orchester von Blasinstrumenten [sic]. None of the six surviving manuscript sources on the Concerto provide any clues as to the dedicatee of the work. Nevertheless, John Papadopoulos – the composer's violist colleague in the Athens State Orchestra – is a safe prime candidate (Papaioannou 1997, 249, vol.1). The former was a graduate of the Leningrad Conservatory and a contemporary of Shostakovich. He was given a rather inadequate position in the last stand of the viola section, neighbouring the last second violin stand, which Skalkottas occupied in 1939. Their mutual respect and friendship rapidly developed, eventually forming a violin and viola duo. The collaboration of these two fine instrumentalists who had studied abroad may have created a sense of jealousy amongst their orchestral colleagues, which Skalkottas was quick to confide to Papadopoulos: 'Take good care they [the rest of the orchestral musicians] do not realize you are a good musician because they will call you crazy. (Papaioannou, *Ibid.*, 106).

Skalkottas's personal resentment towards these orchestral colleagues and their *de facto* discrimination against the introduction of new and advanced compositional methods was mentioned in his *Treatise on Orchestration* (n.d., 52):

And above all – by no means – could we profiteer along with the orchestra director into a – so to speak – literal rendition of difficult parts; nor should we, of course, fall victim to an unholy mob that impedes the

⁴ As with the Concertino for Oboe, the Concertino for Trumpet survives only as a Trumpet and Piano reduction. It is one of his compositions that Skalkottas did not have the chance to orchestrate before his death.

execution of these difficult parts and to young, talented, experienced violin soloists who are not yet accustomed to the orchestral nuisances.'

There are two concertos with similar orchestrations of which we may assume that Skalkottas was at least aware. Firstly, Stravinsky's famous Concerto for Piano and Wind Instruments, which was completed on 21 April 1924 and premiered in the Paris Opera House on May 22 of the same year. It is plausible to suppose that Skalkottas, who was studying orchestration under Weill at the time in Berlin, was acquainted with the work. Indeed, there is photographic evidence that survives in the Skalkottas Archive and portrays Skalkottas during visits to his fellow colleagues and friends in Brussels and Paris in the mid-1920s. Furthermore, Skalkottas makes a special reference to Stravinsky in his essay titled 'Orchestration' (n.d.), that is clear evidence of his comprehensive knowledge of the latter's particular language:

Igor Stravinsky – in his orchestrations – is simpler than Schoenberg, the influence of R. Korsakov is apparent in the score, and it develops in his [Stravinsky's] works into a new modern school, the instruments of the orchestra transform the difficulties into a bright success that carries the originality of writing of this new composer. Stravinsky is a great virtuoso of the orchestra and he searched with patience and clear thinking for a new musical logic of the future. (n.d., 7–8).⁵

Thankfully, history has recorded a rare glimpse into Stravinsky's compositional mind-frame in the form of a statement that was released to music critics in New York after the American premiere of his Concerto for Piano and Wind Instruments (28 December 1928):

The short, crisp dance character of the Toccata, engendered by the percussion of the piano, led to the idea that a wind ensemble would suit the piano better than any other combination. In contrast to the percussiveness of the piano, the winds prolong the piano's sounds as well

⁵ Skalkottas's essay, 'Orchestration' is a different document to his extensive 144-page *Treatise on Orchestration*. The essay entitled 'Orchestration' was probably written during his studentship in Berlin and is limited to 12 manuscript pages.

as provide the human element of respiration. (Stravinsky and Craft 1979, 252).

Understandably the above comments would not necessarily apply to a Violin and Viola Concerto. Nonetheless the principle of a wind-ensemble sufficing for and entirely substituting a full symphonic orchestra is clearly portrayed.

The second example, arguably the most interesting and relevant composition that predates Skalkottas's concerto, comes in Kurt Weill's 1924 Concerto for Violin and Wind Orchestra, Op.12. This is the year when Skalkottas turned almost exclusively to composition instead of a solo violin career. Skalkottas's orchestration studies under Weill seem to have played a catalytic role in crystalising in his mind the importance of the wind sound. Weill's concerto is obviously written for a modest chamber wind orchestra and cannot be compared in orchestral volume to that of Skalkottas. However, it is probable that it functioned as the mental springboard for Skalkottas's concerto, fifteen years later: Weill's concerto was the first of its genre that demonstrated how a solo stringed instrument could successfully stand against the sonic support of winds.

Brief analysis of the Concerto's structure and orchestration

The Concerto was composed during a period of intense restructuring and redefining of the principles of serialism in Skalkottas's mind. By 1940, it had already been seven years since he had seen or heard of his composition professor and architect of the serial system, Schoenberg. For Skalkottas, these years were spent in cultural seclusion in the Greek capital. Although he was a fervent researcher of 'new tendencies' in music – repeatedly encouraging his *Treatise on Orchestration* readers to follow suit – he had understandably hardly any communication with the unfolding course of music in Europe and overseas. This lack of cultural discourse could have adversely affected his compositional development; however, it matured into one of his strongest and lasting attributes. In his *Treatise of Orchestration*, he wrote that 'a composer's duty' was to continue one's 'invention that leads to both known and unknown paths of the musical sonic universe' (n.d., 1). Skalkottas, in an act of self-preservation therefore continued re-inventing his compositional language and principles independently, thus creating an idiosyncratic serial system. The thematic, episodic, and accompanying material is laid out in fractal serial fragments that appear to be meticulously dodecaphonic. In fact, they are based on incomplete fractal series that create the impression of dodecaphony. This

kind of a free, fractal-based serialism was the outcome of Skalkottas's inner struggle to create a system that would have the mathematical structure, beauty, and self-consistency of serialism, without sacrificing the reciprocating warmth and proverbial feeling of tonal romanticism. The resulting melodic material that combines serial with tonal elements manifests itself in a single manuscript page that outlines the thematic material of the entire concerto (TO) (see Figure 1)

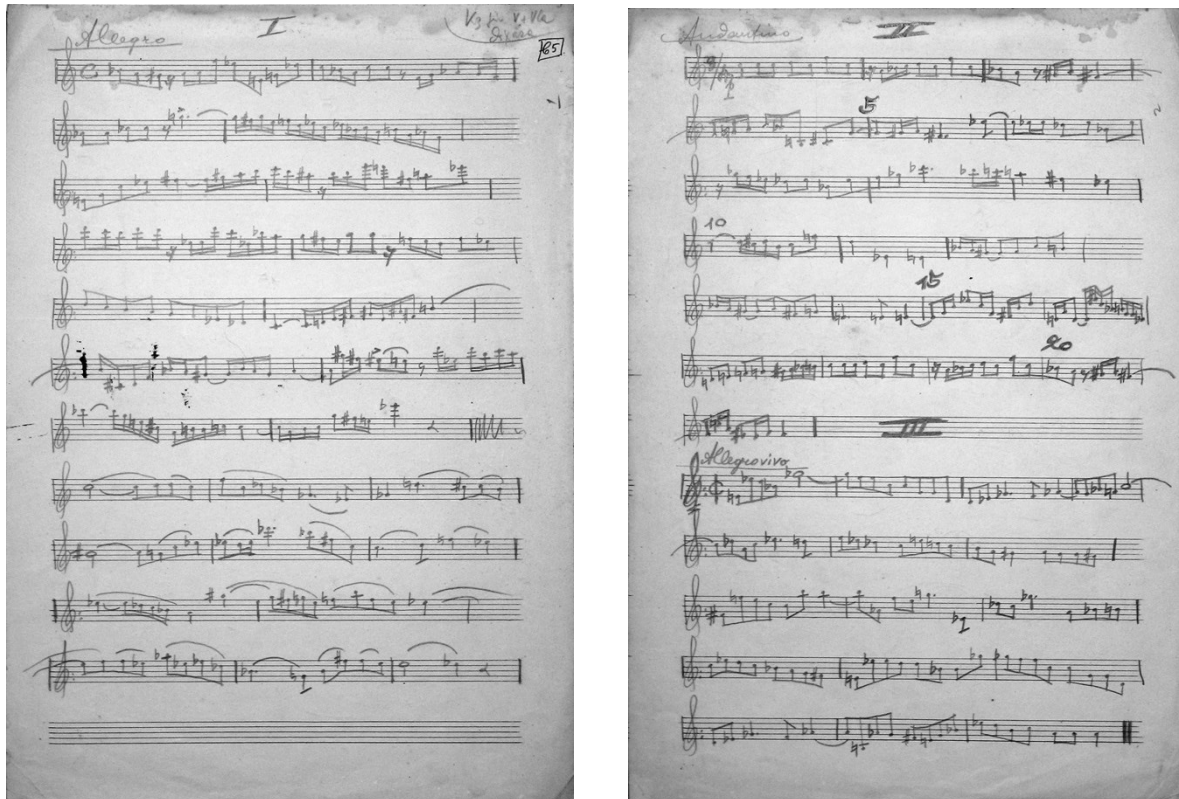


Figure 1: Thematic Outline Manuscript (TO); both sides of the single page manuscript

In structural terms, Skalkottas adopts the classical sonata form, possibly to allow for a better familiarization of the listener with the Concerto's contents. The first movement begins with a full orchestral exposition – of both the main and the subordinate subjects – that is followed by the soloists's full exposition. The recapitulation ends with an impressive double cadenza that concludes in a final short coda based on the main thematic material. The contradiction of the characters of the two subjects is extraordinary and offers an exceptional Skalkottian paradigm: The frantic, march-like main subject is characteristic of repertoire designed for a wind orchestra (or the closely related military band), while the second subject arguably draws upon the composer's

familiar jazz repertoire.⁶ Skalkottas's sarcastic underscoring of the then occupying Nazi forces, who had banned jazz music as decadent and perverted, is tantalisingly obvious.

The second movement is composed in a familiar arch-like A-B-A' form, where the muted brass section dominates the two feet of the arch: A and A'. Skalkottas achieves a brilliant coherence throughout the movement with the characteristic double-dotted rhythmical patterns that bridge the heavily contrapuntal B section to the A-feet. The final third movement is written in an unregimented but concise sonata form, drawing on elements of the opening movement's juxtaposition of a march-like and a jazz-style character. Its serial language and form notwithstanding, the truly distinctive element of this Concerto is its orchestration. It remains the only double-string concerto with wind orchestral accompaniment. In comparison to its two predecessors – discussed above – the Skalkottian orchestration is on an entirely different scale. The orchestral ensemble consists of a triple woodwind section with an additional high clarinet, a brass section that includes six horns, three trumpets and a high cornet, three trombones and two tubas, a double bass section and full percussion suite. Remarkably, this is the first instance in music literature when a saxophone section (Soprano, Alto and Tenor) appears to be used as part of a concerto orchestration. Since the late nineteenth-century, composer's interest in the characteristic sound of the saxophone family had gained momentum. Richard Strauss was one of the first composers to score for this instrument; four saxophones are eventually scored in his *Symphonia Domestica*, Op. 53 1903–04, although he initially intended to include saxhorns instead. In the same period Debussy composed his *Rapsodie pour Saxophone et Orchestre*. Berg followed with the saxophone in *Lulu* (1935) and Milhaud composed his *Scaramouche* for alto saxophone and orchestra, Op. 165 in 1937. All the aforementioned composers are tantalizingly mentioned by Skalkottas in his *Treatise of Orchestration*:

⁶ According to Papaioannou, Skalkottas had worked as a violinist in jazz bars in 1930's Berlin.

On the table of the many interesting examples, we could likewise judge, so as to bring into our musical attitude the great musical and instrumental factors of the interesting musical orchestral art of a great composer such as C. Debussy, A. Schoenberg, I. Stravinsky, W. Vogel, A. Berg, D. Milhaud, P. Hindemith and of many other great masters of the art of orchestration, who will demonstrate to us – through their examples – every new pathway and methodology of their own music school, which we could – as Greeks – accept and take into serious consideration (n.d. MS, 165).⁷

It is highly improbable that Skalkottas knew any of Berg's or Milhaud's compositions post-1933, the year he returned to Greece. Nevertheless, the fact that he holds them in such high esteem as orchestrators is indicative of the possible influence their orchestration styles had already had on his own work.

Manuscript sources

There are six known manuscript sources of the Concerto for Violin and Viola, all housed in the Skalkottas/Papaioannou Archive. Their comparative examination formed the basis of the present critical edition:

1. A full Orchestral Score version of the concerto which will henceforth be referred to as the OS (orchestral score): This is a meticulously prepared hard-bound book of 90 manuscript pages. The size of the paper used is approximately that of a standard B4. The content is written in dark blue ink and bears a very limited number of soft pencil marks (i.e., the metronome indications on each movement).
2. A full piano-accompaniment version of the concerto which will henceforth be referred to as the PR (Piano Reduction): This is a meticulously prepared soft-bound book of 68 manuscript pages. The size of the paper used is approximately that of a standard A4. The content is written in soft pencil throughout.
3. A full piano-accompaniment version of the concerto which will henceforth be referred to as the SK (sketches): This copy of the concerto appears to be the earliest surviving copy of the concerto as it has obviously not been intended as

⁷ Skalkottas, in his *Treatise on Orchestration*, also mentions Strauss and Ravel (page 73 of the manuscript).

a 'clean copy'. It is a collection of 71 manuscript pages written in soft pencil, with occasional markings in red soft pencil (mostly bar and page numbers). The manuscript paper used in this case varies considerably in type and size. Most pages are in an approximate A4-size. However, there are a few cases of B4-size paper and a paper fragment. It is worth pointing out the case of the digital picture file SK I 142–154. Skalkottas apparently originally used this B4-size paper for writing down the final bars of his song for voice and piano titled *Κάποτε* [Once upon a time]. After the completion of this song, he used the remaining empty manuscript page to write down bars 142 to 154 of the concerto's first movement. He clearly identified the two pieces by circling the title of each. This arguably points to the fact that the concerto could have been composed shortly after the completion of *Κάποτε*.

4. A score for the violin soloist which will henceforth be referred to as the VN. It includes only the solo violin line and small-print entry cues. This is a meticulously prepared soft-bound book of 19 manuscript pages. The size of the paper used is approximately that of a standard A4. The content is written in dark black ink with a very limited amount of soft pencil additions that are discussed in the critical edition below.
5. A score for the viola soloist which will henceforth be referred to as the VA. It includes only the solo viola line and small-print entry cues. This is a meticulously prepared soft-bound book of 20 manuscript pages. The size of the paper used is approximately that of a standard A4. The content is written in dark black ink with a very limited amount of soft pencil additions that are discussed in the critical edition below.
6. A single manuscript page (approximately A4 in size) that outlines the subjects of all three movements. It is written in soft pencil. An abbreviated indication of the title of the concerto appears in soft red pencil on its top right-hand corner (not in NS handwriting).

Regrettably, there is no independent dating of the manuscript sources by the composer that would allow their placement in chronological order. However, it may safely be assumed that the earliest surviving complete draft of the concerto is the SK. It was obviously written without any particular concern about its presentation, and it therefore gives the impression of a complete sketch. This is probably the reason why Skalkottas produced at a later stage the almost identical PR, a piano-accompaniment version of the concerto that is better presented. The OS was also based on the SK, since the latter is the only one of the two piano-accompaniment versions that bears several

orchestration indications. There is no safe way to place the TO, VN and VA in chronological order as they do not appear to identify consistently with one of the OS, SK, or PR.

Editorial method, conundrums, and solutions

The underlying hypothesis behind the edition is that it is humanly impossible for any single manuscript source to be entirely error-free. Skalkottas was composing and copying in a pre-computer era, often under the most adverse conditions that allowed scarce access to primary resources such as ink and staff-paper, or even sufficient electrical light at night. According to his wife's account, he would often spend the night composing or clean-copying in a small candle-lit room of their house, using cigarette paper for his sketches. This is the main argument against an edition that is based on a single source, despite the obviously tidy orchestral manuscript score of the Concerto. Therefore, the need to compare all the surviving manuscripts critically became imperative to decipher the composer's intentions.

For this purpose, the priority was to digitise the surviving sources in question. In 2005, the Skalkottas Archive consisted basically of a secure vault that preserved the manuscripts in relatively humidity-free and light-free conditions. At that point a very limited number of the piano and symphonic works had been photographed on an old-fashioned microfilm in an attempt by Papaioannou to preserve them and make them widely available. I was kindly given permission by Michel Bichsel, the then director of the Archive, to take high-definition digital pictures in natural light of all the manuscripts that were relevant to the Concerto. The second stage was to digitally decontaminate the pages of all the pollution, humidity and noise artefacts that had accumulated on their surface over the prior sixty years and render their content as clear as possible.

The third stage was the edition of the scores on computer software. The recreation of each bar was achieved after its critical comparison in all the manuscript sources. As expected in cases of multiple manuscript sources, there were numerous inconsistencies between them. In short, these inconsistencies varied from a relatively straightforward differentiation in dynamic markings to a complicated differentiation in the actual pitches indicated. In the latter incidents, the editorial principle was that the intended version was the one present in most of the manuscripts and the one that adhered to Skalkottas's idiomatic notation system. If this initial approach failed to produce a secure outcome – due to a non-existent 'majority version' – the editorial decision was based on the

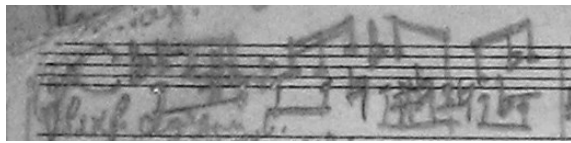
melodic and harmonic properties of the passage as well as the performance characteristics of the instruments involved.

This painstakingly slow procedure led to an unforeseen outcome. Through the examination of the individual manuscripts, the disposition, mood and thinking of Skalkottas at the time of copying was becoming evident through his handwriting and pen strokes. It would take a specialist graphologist to analyse in detail these slight differentiations. Suffice it to say that Skalkottas's handwriting arguably provides a tantalising insight into his inner compositional thinking. For instance, Skalkottas appears to have always taken extra care while setting on paper important thematic or serialistic elements to avoid a possible misunderstanding by the performer/editor. Conversely, secondary elements, such as instrumental doublings and overall dynamics, seem to have been copied hastily at times, perhaps to accelerate the entire copying process. Notwithstanding the possible facilitation of the manuscripts' production by Skalkottas through accelerated copying, the resulting inconsistencies have caused several editorial difficulties that could only be addressed by a comparative examination of all the surviving sources.

Examples of editorial problems and critical decisions

Pitch Discrepancies

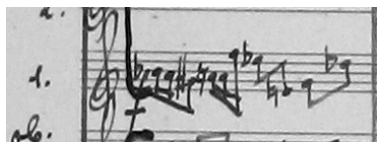
On several occasions – though not consistently – Skalkottas reads the notes at face-value; therefore, an accidental that appears in a bar does not necessarily apply to all the successive notes of identical pitches. For instance, let us examine the opening bar of the Concerto, shown in Example 1a:

Example 1a: *First movement, b.1.*

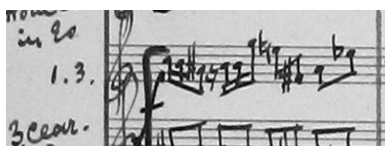
(SK)



(PR)



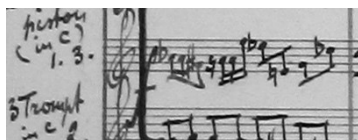
(OS; Oboe 1)



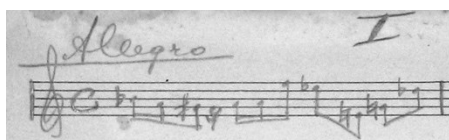
(OS; Clarinet 1)



(OS; Alto Saxophone)



(OS; Trumpet 1)



(TO)

The second g_4 could be interpreted as $\#g_4$ because of the earlier $\#g_4$ in the same bar. None of the Oboe 1, Clarinet 1, Alto Saxophone and Trumpet 1 that are given the passage in the OS bear a $\sharp$ on the second g_4 (concert pitch). Similarly, the second g_4 in the SK and the PR bears no $\sharp$. On the contrary, the $\sharp$ on the second g_4 is clearly indicated in the TO. The latter version is probably the intended one as it makes sense in Skalkottas's dodecaphonic language to which the movement belongs. This is therefore the version adopted in the Critical Edition:

Example 1b: First movement, b.1 (Critical Edition).

Oboe 1

Clarinet in B $\flat$ 1,3

Alto Saxophone in B $\flat$

Trumpet in C 1,3

There are several occasions where Skalkottas appears to have made mistakes during the copying procedure from the SK (or PR) onto the OS. Therefore, the OS version should not be trusted entirely, without first consulting the other available manuscript sources.

Example 2a: First movement, b.124.

The image displays four musical staves, each representing a different manuscript version for the first movement, measure 124. The staves are arranged vertically. The top staff is labeled '(Orchestral Score manuscript, OS; Contrabassoon)'. The second staff is labeled '(Tenor Tuba)'. The third staff is labeled '(Bass Tuba)'. The fourth staff is labeled '(Double Bases)'. A bracket on the left side of the first three staves is labeled with a question mark '?'. Below these are two more staves, each labeled on the right: '(Sketches manuscript, SK)' and '(Piano Reduction manuscript, PR)'. The notation shows various accidentals (sharps, naturals) for the second q-beat across the different versions.

As shown in Example 2a, c_2 (second q-beat) is indicated as $\#c_2$ in the OS (Contrabassoon, Tenor Tuba, Bass Tuba and Double Bass). However, in both the PR c_2 appears as natural while in the SK Skalkottas notates it with a $\natural$. Upon close examination of the intervallic relations of the notes as they appear in the SK and the PR, it becomes obvious that Skalkottas's intention is to create the second-beat chord by the transposition of the first-beat chord by a minor third upwards. This detail can only become evident in the SK and PR versions. The OS version is probably a copying oversight of Skalkottas that nevertheless disturbs his original plan.

The Critical Edition therefore adopts the version of the SK and the PR, as shown in Example 2b.:

Example 2b (continuation): First movement, b.124 (Critical Edition).

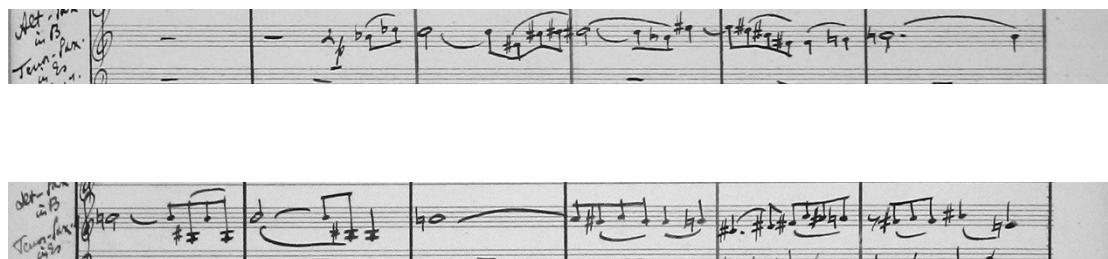


Incorrect and Obsolete Transpositions

In the case of this Concerto, Skalkottas notated the OS manuscript as a transposing score. Due to the sheer size of the composition, it is understandable that some of the transpositions that Skalkottas notated might be incorrect. These mistakes are easily identified when there is a non-transposing instrument that is doubling the transposing one (i.e., a Bassoon that is doubling the Bass Clarinet). However, when the transposing instrument is given a solo line, the only way to verify its transposition is by comparison to the SK and PR (see Example 3a).

Example 3a: First movement, b.188–195; Tenor Saxophone.

OS:



SK:

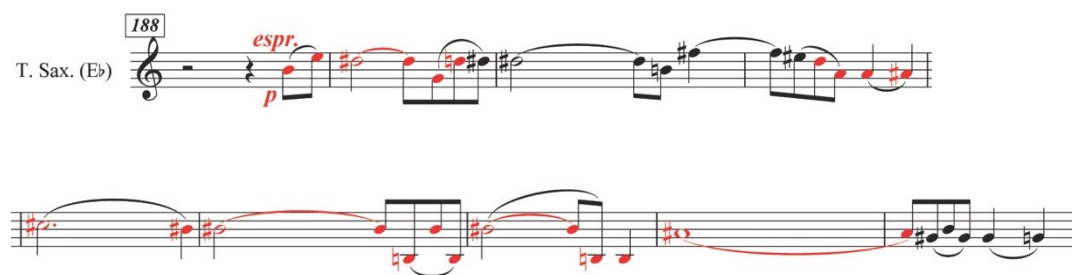


PR:



Upon comparison of the above manuscript sources, it becomes obvious that Skalkottas transposed the solo line given to the Tenor Saxophone a minor instead of a major sixth upwards. The Critical Edition was amended accordingly, as shown in Example 3b:

Example 3b : First movement, b.188–195; Tenor Saxophone (Critical Edition, first draft).



It should be noted that Skalkottas is using an obsolete combination of transposing keys for the Saxophone Trio: Soprano in C, Alto in B $\flat$ and Tenor in E $\flat$. Due to the extremely high range of the Soprano Sax in the score, which is required to double the piccolo flute in certain passages, the instruments have been adapted to modern standards: Soprano in B $\natural$ switching to Sopranino in E $\natural$, Alto in E $\natural$, and Tenor in B $\natural$.

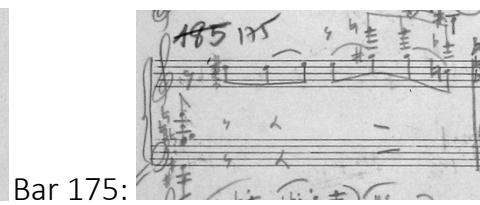
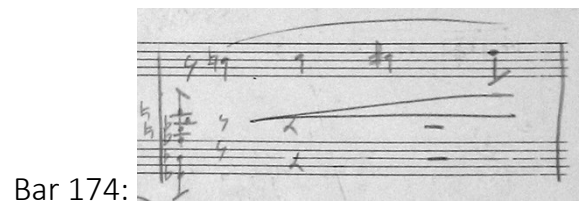
In the case of the French Horns, Skalkottas adopted the – now obsolete – old Germanic notation system, which requires the horns to be notated one octave lower than their normal transposition when playing in the bass-clef. In the present edition, the modern notation system is adopted that dispenses with this additional lower-octave transposition.

Missing notes and passages

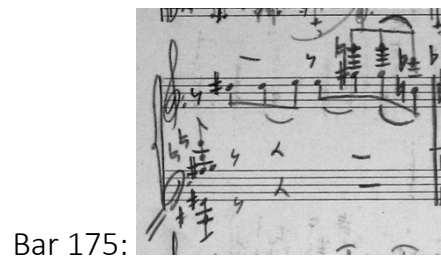
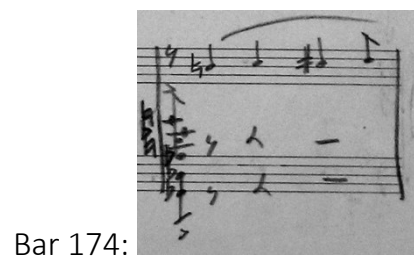
There are a few instances where several notes or even entire passages are missing from one or more of the manuscript sources. In these cases, the only way to complete the score as probably intended by Skalkottas is by the examination of available complete manuscripts and of any other similar passages in the composition, should the latter exist (see Example 4a).

Example 4a: First movement, b.174–175.

SK:



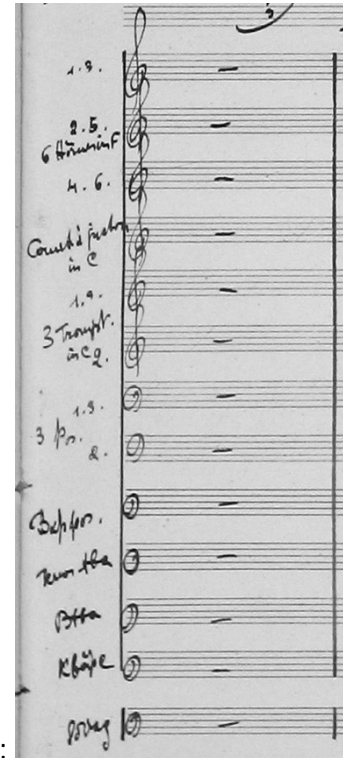
PR:



OS, Brass section:



Bar 174:



Bar 175:

Skalkottas has apparently overlooked the brass section of b.175 in the OS. The chord on the first beat of 175 that appears in both the SK and the PR is entirely missing from the OS. By comparing the voicing of the chord to its preceding one in b.174 and the manner the latter was instrumentally distributed in the OS, the orchestration can be safely completed, as shown in Example 4b.

Example 4b: First movement, b.175

Brass section (Critical Edition).

Blurred Passages

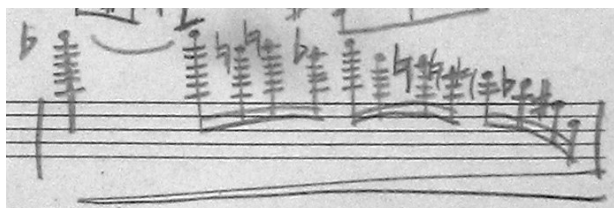
There are several occasions where the blurred appearance of a passage, or the condition of one of the manuscript sources, renders the examination unfeasible. As shown in Example 5, the OS would have been entirely inadequate on its own. The version of the Critical Edition is derived therefore from the SK and the PR.

Example 5: First movement, bar 249; solo violin.

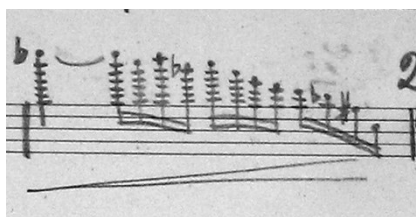
(OS):



(SK):



(PR):



Critical Edition



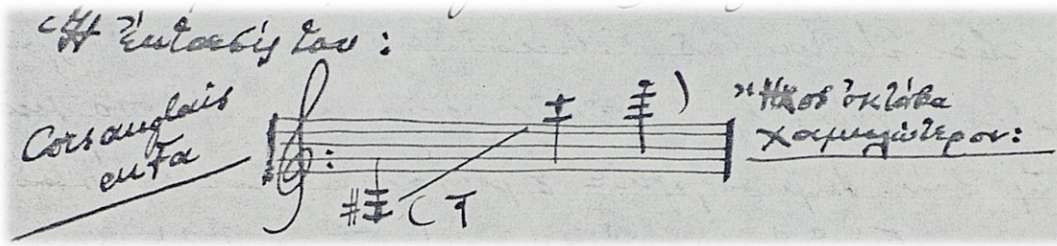
Instruments out of range

There are several instances when Skalkottas is pushing the instrumental range to the extreme, rendering the passages fiendishly difficult to perform, at times certainly impossible. There can be little doubt that in each of these cases, he was fully aware of this paradox. One can only hypothesise as to why he did not correct them or offer alternatives; perhaps he was proving a point that the complex serial structure and compositional inspiration should always take precedence over the technical abilities of the instruments of his era, in the hope that future instrumentalists and instrumental technological advancements would allow their execution. Then again, one can argue that he was a man in his late 30s and possibly having every intention to revisit his scores at some point, obviously unaware of his cruel fate ahead that cut his life short at the age of 45. It is arguable that in these passages Skalkottas is conversing directly with the individual performers, inviting them to offer their solutions based on his strict musical ideas.

Example 6: First movement, b. 33–36; OS: *Cor Anglais en Fa*.

The image shows a handwritten musical score for measures 33-36 of the first movement. The score is for a woodwind section, specifically the English Horn in F, which is required to double the Tenor Saxophone. The notation is complex, featuring many accidentals and a dense, fast-moving melodic line. The instrument is clearly out of range for the passage.

As shown in Example 6, the English Horn in F, which is required to double the Tenor Saxophone in this passage, is clearly out of range, something that Skalkottas himself points out in his *Treatise on Orchestration* (20)



In the critical edition, it has been decided that the only viable option is to split the English Horn with a Bass Oboe between two players, conveying the decision to the performers and conductor:

An even more compelling example – coming from an expert solo violinist and violist such as Skalkottas – is the Viola part of b.163, third movement, where some of the double stops are physically impossible as both their notes are found only on the C-string (see Example 7):

Example 7: Third movement, b. 161–166; SVIa.

Crucially, this is not an oversight but an intended paradox, as it is diligently reproduced on each of the manuscripts. Inverting the thirds into sixths would have solved the predicament but at the same time disrupted the meticulous spacing of the serial fractals. In the critical edition it has been reproduced as in the original, honouring Skalkottas's evident intention to let the performer decide.

Endnote

A comprehensive editorial process might appear as a tedious routine of comparing manuscripts and pictures. The repetitiveness and complexity of the project aside however, this process has allowed the exploration of Skalkottas as a person: his handwriting appears at times rejuvenated – perhaps optimistic – with broad and vivid note-shapes and dynamic markings. Then again, there seems to have been days when the surrounding circumstances were not as helpful or encouraging: small note-prints, blurred and hasty notation, obvious repetitive mistakes, and oversights. It is regrettable that there is little – if any – possibility of safely pinpointing the production of these pages to specific events in Skalkottas's life. This would have allowed us to examine Skalkottas under an entirely new perspective, his everyday life, and the way it influenced his everyday composition. The unfeasibility of such a research approach notwithstanding, Skalkottas's manuscripts reveal a person of utter dedication to his Art.

The ultimate test for any music edition is its public performance by expert instrumentalists who offer invaluable feedback on its critical outcomes and recommendations. Prior to its publication, this edition was used in the Concerto's world premiere recording with the London Philharmonic Orchestra on 6 January 2020 (Martyn Brabbins – conductor; Georgios Zacharias – violin, Alexandros Koustas – viola), which will be released under BIS. The feedback received was incorporated into the final editorial proof.

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