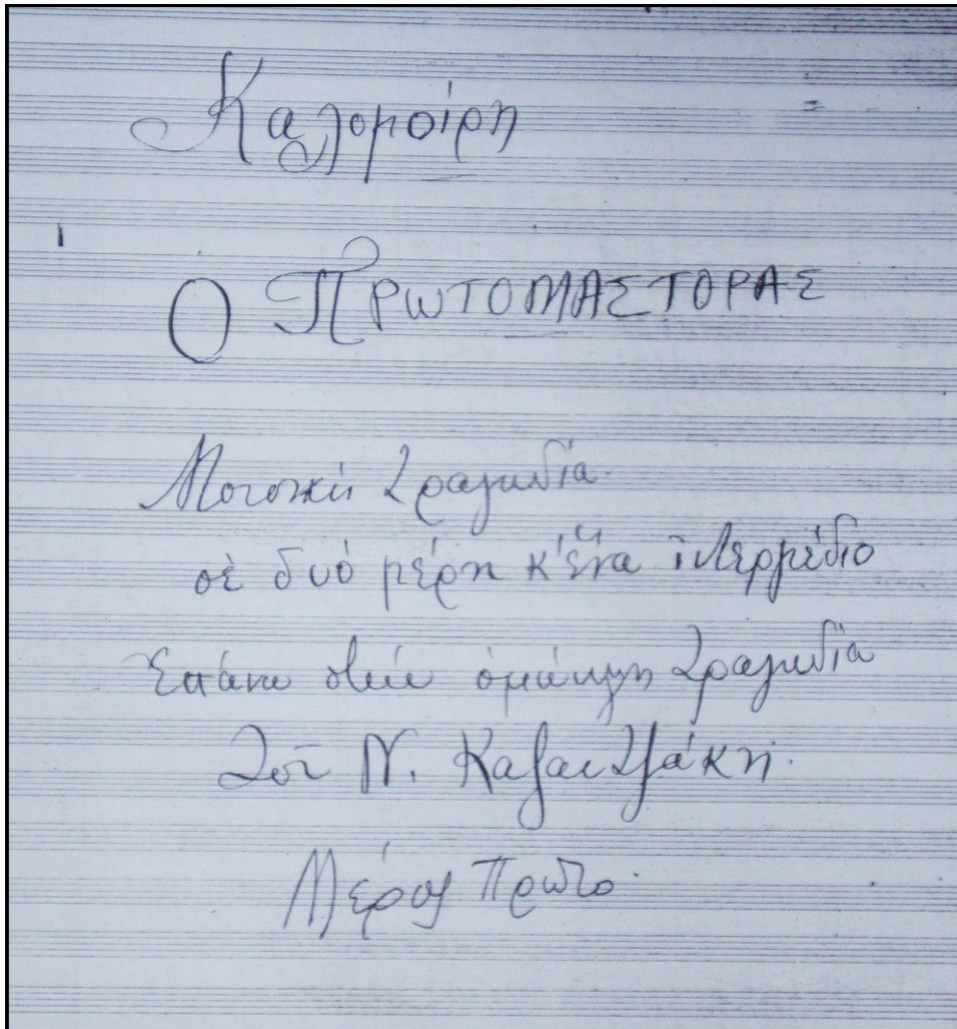


**WAGNERIAN INSEMINATION
IN MANOLIS KALOMIRIS'S ŒUVRE
THE CASE OF *O PROTOMASTORAS***

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Introduction

In this thesis I wish to present evidence of the influence of Richard Wagner on Manolis Kalomiris. I believe that both Richard Wagner's ideas and the formal design of his dramas can be traced in Manolis Kalomiris's visions and work. Kalomiris is a Greek composer who is considered to be a rather influential figure in the music-cultural development of Greece during the beginning of the twentieth century. It could also be said that his vision to create a Greek National School of music and his innovative music compositions set him apart from other composers of the time. His first music drama *O Protomastoras* reflects the music influences that he experienced during his studies in Vienna.

Wagner could be seen as one of the major influences on Kalomiris, as 1) in the introduction to *O Protomastoras* Kalomiris himself clearly states that the work in terms of music technique follows the Wagnerian paradigm,¹ 2) while contributing in the periodical *Noumas*, Kalomiris says that he admires and is inspired by Wagner on more than one occasion.²

In order to study the possible influence of Wagner's ideas and works on Kalomiris I will focus first on Kalomiris's publications and then in *O Protomastoras's* music structure. Through a comprehensive discussion of Kalomiris's contribution in the Greek periodical *Noumas* between 1908 and 1914, I will analyze his texts in order to reveal potential ideological filiations with Wagner's ideas. Then using a formal approach I will look at Kalomiris's first music drama for technical aspects of that could be attributed to Wagner's influence.

More specifically, in Chapter 1 I will present biographical data about Kalomiris and his work. This chapter will also provide information about the reception of the composer's work from the audience as well as critics and scholars. In Chapter 2, I will focus on the ideological filiations between Richard Wagner and Manolis Kalomiris. I will illustrate that a Wagnerian insemination of Kalomiris visions can be argued based on a close analysis of the latter's ideas and beliefs, as presented in the music debate in *Noumas*, and their potential lineage as a discursive dissemination, that is, a synthesis of similarities and differences between

¹ [Kalomiris] Μανώλης Καλομοίρης, *Ο Πρωτομάστορας*. Vocal score (Athens: Γαϊτάνος, 1940), introduction.

² [Kalomiris] Καλομοίρης, "Η Τέχνη μου κ' οι πόθοι μου (Απόσπασμα)." [My Art and my thinking (Excerpt)], 5.

Wagner's beliefs and Kalomiris's visions. In this chapter I will also mention some underlined parts of Wagner's prose works noted by Kalomiris himself. After close research on Kalomiris's personal library located at the archive of MANOLIS KALOMIRIS SOCIETY (which is housed within the National Conservatory) and the house of Manolis Kalomiris in Athens, it turns out that Wagner's complete prose works, in the Breitkopf & Härtel 1911 edition, formed part of Kalomiris's library. Studying those texts, I found evidence that Kalomiris had read Wagner's writings because he had underscored some excerpts on these texts. So in Chapter 2, focusing on both Kalomiris's writings in *Noumas* and the underlined parts of Wagner's prose works, I aim to point out the possible association between Wagner's ideology and Kalomiris's visions. The final chapter will be dealing with technical aspects of Kalomiris's first music drama *O Protomastoras*. More precisely the focus will be on those technical aspects that can be associated with Wagner's formal design, and therefore could be attributed to Wagner's influence on Kalomiris. I will first present the characteristic traits that scholars, such as Anthony Newcomb³, attribute to Wagner's formal design and then I will use two examples from *O Protomastoras* to illustrate how some of these traits can be found in Kalomiris's work as well. First the Lament in Kalomiris's drama will be analyzed in relation to Frika's Lament in Wagner's *Walküre*, and then the love duet in *O Protomastoras* will be associated with the love duet in Wagner's *Tristan und Isolde*. Finally, in the conclusion bringing together the findings from Chapters 2 and 3 I will present that indeed Wagner has influenced Kalomiris.

³ Anthony Newcomb, "The Birth of Music out of the Spirit of Drama: An Essay in Wagnerian Formal Analysis." *19th Century Music* 5 (1981-1982): 38-66.

Chapter One

MANOLIS KALOMIRIS: A LIFE THAT HAD SO DEEPLY AFFECTED THE COURSE OF MUSIC HISTORY IN GREECE

As stated in the Introduction, the main aim of this thesis is to present evidence of the influence of Richard Wagner on Manolis Kalomiris. In order to do so, in the next two chapters, I will specifically consider the way the Wagnerian influence in Kalomiris's work can be traced first in Kalomiris's publications and then in *O Protomastoras's* music structure. Through a comprehensive discussion of Kalomiris's contribution in the Greek periodical *Noumas* between 1908 and 1914, I will analyze his texts in order to reveal potential ideological filiations with Wagner's ideas. Next, a formal approach will be adopted in order to reveal technical aspects of Kalomiris's first music drama *O Protomastoras* that could be attributed to Wagner's influence on his work. Before I continue with my analysis though, I will in this chapter present biographical data about Kalomiris along with information about the reception of his work from the audience as well as critics and scholars.

EARLY YEARS

Manolis Kalomiris⁴ was a man full of enthusiasm and ambition, who led a mission of the formation of music institutions in Greece that expanded a young nation's cultural potential, increased its music understanding, and enhanced its reputation through the European Continent. Born in Smyrna (known today as Izmir), Asia Minor, on 14 December 1883, during a period where political and national upheavals occurred in Europe and particularly in the newly-born state of Greece, Kalomiris was nurtured by his well educated family. Kalomiris's uncle, Minas Hamoudopoulos was responsible for raising him when he lost his father at a very early age, and was he who encouraged the young Kalomiris to study music and to follow a professional career. The young Kalomiris was surrounded by educated people with several of his relatives associated in one way or another with politics. Hamoudopoulos was an important figure in the political arena both of the Ottoman Empire

⁴ Also spelled: Manolis Kalomoiris or Manōlēs Kalomoirēs.

and the Greek state and thus provided Kalomiris the opportunity to become acquainted with politics.

Kalomiris's love of the Greek tradition will later become apparent and be a key factor in his work. In his birthplace, Kalomiris took his first piano lessons (1890) at the Palladio Boarding School of the Paschalis brothers. His tendency towards composition is apparent in his preference to improvise rather than play the scales and etudes assigned by his teacher, Digenis Kapagrossas from Zakynthos.⁵ Until the age of 10 the young Kalomiris was growing up in Smyrna, one of the most important ports and commercial centers of the Ottoman Empire⁶. The economic growth of the city by virtue of the semi-colonial relationship between the Empire and the West is also reflected in the growth of the educational institutes.⁷ Their curriculum, following the European standards included English and French as well as music.⁸ Thus, the peaceful coexistence of the Muslim and the Christian Cultures provided young Kalomiris a pluralistic imaginary vocabulary for his future music compositions.

Two early influences, his piano teacher in Athens and his uncle, were of great importance to his musical development. Between 1894 and 1899 young Kalomiris continued his piano lessons with Timotheos Xanthopoulos (1864(?)-1942)⁹ in Athens, where he moved with his mother and his uncle for a short period. Kalomiris made ample use of the many opportunities to observe the musical life of the capital, and studied western music with one of the most prominent piano teachers of Athens at the time. The music culture in the new capital of Greece¹⁰ is marked by a profound transition from traditional to Western-style

⁵ [Kalomiris] Μανώλης Καλομοίρης, *Η ζωή μου και η τέχνη μου. Απομνημονεύματα 1883-1903* [My Life and my Art. Memoirs 1883-1903] (Athens: Νεφέλη, 1988), 25.

⁶ See: Léon Contente, *Smyrne et l' Occident, De l' Antiquité au XXI^{ème} siècle* (Montigny Le Bretonneux: Yvelin, 2005), 286-337.

⁷ See : [Soldatos] Χρίστος Σολδάτος, *Η εκπαιδευτική και πνευματική κίνηση του ελληνισμού της Μικράς Ασίας (1800-1922) Β': Η οργάνωση και η λειτουργία των σχολείων* [Educational and intellectual affairs of Greeks in Asia Minor (1800-1922) B': The organisation and operation of educational institutes] (Athens : Private publication, 1989).

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Timotheos Xanthopoulos was born in Smyrna and grew up in Constantinople. In an early age he went to Vienna to study piano and organ. His teachers were Anton Bruckner and Hans Schmidt. His piano diploma was signed by Johannes Brahms (1888). He later returned to Athens to teach at the Athens Conservatory (1909-1914). As an organist, he served for 20 years in the Chapel of the Palace and he was highly appreciated by King George (Greece). See also: [Kalogeropoulos] Τάκης Καλογερόπουλος, "Ξανθόπουλος Τιμόθεος," *Λεξικό της Ελληνικής μουσικής: Από τον Ορφέα έως Σήμερα* [Dictionary of Greek music: From Orpheus till Today], vol.4 (Athens: Γιαλλελής, 2001), 408-409.

¹⁰ Athens emerged as the capital of the independent Greek state in 15 December 1834. Aegina (1826-1828) and Nafplion (1828-1833) preceded.

urban one.¹¹ The arid social planning of the city was also reflected in the music culture as an attempt of the Europeanization of the musical life during the nineteenth century. The political authority considered the nation's sustenance and development feasible only by endorsing the European social and cultural model.¹² In addition the population transfer to the capital, mainly of peasants already living in conditions of poverty and cultural backwardness, brought their traditional culture blending the latter into the emerging embourgeoisement of Athens (concerning the environment, organizations and institutions, the composition and distribution of society).¹³ Kalomiris, as part of a bourgeois family from Smyrna, already a privileged position in the society of the time, experienced a privileged access to the musical life of Athens. Musical events, which included western classical music such as brass-bands (of the royal court and the army) performing in the center of the capital on special occasions, the Italian opera troupes and church polyphonic music in few churches in the center, where an experience that only a small segment of the population could have at the time.¹⁴ Furthermore, it could be argued that, the degree of experience of the music life could also be an indication of potential intellectual and cultural development of human character. It follows that Kalomiris's experience of the Italian opera in combination with his piano study with the German-educated Xanthopoulos could (at least partly) be the reason why he had the opportunity of becoming a leading and exuberant persona (as he is referred to by many musicologists).¹⁵ Being privileged in opposition to most of the Athenian audience (as part of a bourgeois family), Kalomiris had the opportunity to experience musical developments of his time and acquire a musical education, and therefore he had the experience that could lead to the development of an ambitious vision for the expansion of the nation's cultural potential.

¹¹ [Romanou] Καίτη Ρωμανού, *Έντεχνη Ελληνική Μουσική στους Νεότερους Χρόνους* [Greek Art Music in Modern Times] (Athens: Κουλτούρα, 2006), 117.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ibid., 109.

¹⁴ Ibid., 110.

¹⁵ For instance, Yiannis Belonis, when referring to Kalomiris, he states that: "An exuberant persona, full of enthusiasm and ambitions, Kalomiris succeeded in obtaining high funds for serving the school's goals and became highly established in the artistic environment during the first half of the 20th century." Yiannis Belonis, "The Greek National Music School" in *Serbian and Greek art music: a patch to Western music history*, ed. Katy Romanou (UK: Intellect Books, 2009), 125.

Kalomiris's uncle was appointed Secretary of the Turkish Embassy in Athens during this period. He was, according to Ioannis Dambergis (1862-1938),¹⁶ considered to be a close to the Prime Minister of Greece, Charilaos Trikoupis (1832-1896), and had the privilege of consulting Trikoupis on matters of foreign policy.¹⁷ Consequently, we must reckon with the possibility that the reformist ideas that Trikoupis's Party represented was an early influence to Kalomiris's later political and cultural inclinations – in contrast with the stifling constraints of the royalists. Moreover, the profound Greek nationalism experienced by young Kalomiris, as exemplified in the ideology of the *Μεγάλη Ιδέα* [Great Idea]¹⁸ is closely interwoven with the ideological substructure of the Greek History and consequently the mission of the Greek nation.¹⁹ A mission that, according to Ioannis Kolletis (1773-1847)²⁰ and advocated by the majority of the political and academic world, Greece, at the time, was “destined to civilize the East” (“προώριεται να εκπολιτίση την ανατολήν”)²¹. Apparently, the ambitiousness of Kalomiris's character is closely related to the grandiose nationalistic ideas, explicitly cultivated in the last half of the nineteenth century in Greece, which he will later serve through his music compositions as well as his social and cultural position.

In 1899, his family moved to Constantinople where he attended the Greek-French Hatzichristos Lyceum (1899–1900) and continued his piano lessons with Sophia Ioannidou – Spanoudi (1878–1952) who introduced him to the Greek poetry of Kostas Palamas (1859-1943).²² In Greece at that time there was *diglossia*, a situation where two types of languages were spoken simultaneously: *katharevousa* (literary “purifying language”)²³ and demotic

¹⁶ Ioannis M. Dambergis, Greek writer and journalist, was a supporter of the Liberal party. He was also a director of Venizelos's political bureau. A position that led to his arrest (Nov. 1916) and imprisonment for almost three months with the accusation of high treason. See also: “Ιωάννης Μ. Δαμβέργης” [Ioannis M. Dambergis], Εθνικό Κέντρο Βιβλίου [National Book Center of Greece], accessed December 10, 2010, <http://www.ekebi.gr/frontoffice/portal.asp?cpage=NODE&cnode=461&t=148>.

¹⁷ [Dambergis] Ιωάννης Δαμβέργης, “Πιστόλιον του αγώνος (Αναμνήσεις της περυσινής Εκθέσεως επί τη ΚΕ΄ Μαρτίου)” [“Gun of the fight” (Memories from the last year's Report on 25th of March)], *Εκλεκτά Μυθιστορήματα* 1:22 (1885): 174-175.

¹⁸ Megali Idea is the “vision that aspired to the unification of all areas of Greek settlement in the Near East within the bounds of a single state with its capital in Constantinople.” Richard Clogg, *A concise History of Greece* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 3.

¹⁹ [Dimaras] Κωνσταντίνος Δημαράς, *Ελληνικός Ρωμαντισμός* [Greek Romanticism] (Athens: Ερμής, 1982), 383.

²⁰ See: [Dimaras] Κωνσταντίνος Δημαράς, “Της Μεγάλης Ταύτης Ιδέας” [“The Great Idea”], in *Ελληνικός Ρωμαντισμός* [Greek Romanticism] (Athens: Ερμής, 1982), 405-418.

²¹ As quoted in [Dimaras] Δημαράς, *Ελληνικός Ρωμαντισμός* [Greek Romanticism], 387.

²² According to Britannica Encyclopedia, Palamas was the “first poet to express the national sufferings and aspirations of the Greeks” For more information on Palamas see: Encyclopædia Britannica Online, “Kostas Palamas,” accessed December 19, 2010, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/439159/Kostis-Palamas>.

²³ According to Peter Mackridge: “[in the early nineteenth century] *katharevousa* represented an attempt to purge the modern language of words which it had taken from foreign languages and reinstate much of the

(literary “the people’s language”).²⁴ Kalomiris became acquainted with the popular linguistic idiom and the Greek folk song, a fact that marked his thinking on the miscellany of the folk with the western harmonic principles. In particular, it was the arrangements of Greek folk songs that Kalomiris attended at one of Aramis’s concerts in Constantinople and the reading in the demotic language of Ioannis Psycharis’s²⁵ *Το Ταξίδι μου* [My Journey] and Kostas Palamas’s poetry. Greek poetry, and especially the poetry of the progressive circles of the Greek society at the beginning of the twentieth century that used the demotic language is influential both on Kalomiris’s use of linguistic idiom and his stance regarding the role of music in the formation of the Greek nation.

LIVING ABROAD

His departure to Vienna in August 1901 happened immediately after his graduation from the Greek – French Lycée of Chatzichristos, in Constantinople, at the age of 18. At the Konservatorium für Musik und darstellende Kunst²⁶ he completed his studies with Wilhelm Rauch and August Sturm, studied theory and solfège with Ferdinand Foll, harmony and counterpoint with Hermann Grädener and history of music with Eusebius Mandyczewski.²⁷ During his five years’ stay in Vienna, until 1906, he was fascinated by Richard Wagner’s music dramas and became impressed by Gustav Mahler’s (1860-1911) music. He attended performances of the Vienna Court Opera and the concerts of the Philharmonic Orchestra, conducted by Gustav Mahler.²⁸ Clearly, Kalomiris “saw a successful way of utilizing one’s

lexical and grammatical wealth of the ancient language which had been lost or altered during the previous two millennia.” Peter Mackridge, “Katharevousa (c. 1800-1974) an obituary for an official language” in *Background to contemporary Greece* vol.2, eds. Marion Sarafis and Martin Eve (London: Merlin, 1990), 26.

²⁴ According to Peter Mackridge: “demotic [...] is the ordinary spoken language that developed naturally from the *koine* (common language) of Hellenistic and Roman times.” Mackridge, “Katharevousa,” 25-26.

²⁵ Ioannis Psycharis (1854–1929) was a leading ideologist of the “demotist” movement. In *Το Ταξίδι μου* [My Journey] Psycharis writes: “[t]he language question is a political question: what the army is trying to achieve for our physical frontiers, the language wants to achieve for our intellectual frontiers: both must go far and increase their scope. Together we shall prosper some day.” [Psycharis] Γιάννης Ψυχάρης, *Το Ταξίδι μου* [My Journey] (Athens: Ερμής, 1971), 201.

As a result of statements like the previously mentioned one, *Το Ταξίδι μου* [My Journey] is seen as a manifesto that “inaugurated the demotist movement.” Mackridge, “Katharevousa,” 29.

²⁶ Nina-Maria Jaklitsch, *Manolis Kalomiris (1883-1962) - Nikos Skalkottas (1904-1949) - Griechische Kunstmusik zwischen Nationalschule und Moderne* (Tutzing: Schneider, 2003), 142.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 149-150.

²⁸ [Kalomiris] Καλομοίρης, *Η ζωή μου και η τέχνη μου*. [My Life and my Art], 64; Jaklitsch, *Manolis Kalomiris (1883-1962) - Nikos Skalkottas (1904-1949)*, 145-146.

national heritage and folk culture in Mahler's songs"²⁹ an experience already felt in Constantinople but now he was also introduced to "all the technical means endowed upon us by the ceaseless efforts of people proficient in music"³⁰. In 1903 he met his future wife, Charikleia Papamoschou, a fellow student at the Conservatory, who appears to be an important 'intermediate person' to Kalomiris's acquaintance with *Noumas's* ideology during his stay in Vienna. His wife's sister, Alexandra was working as a private teacher at Alexandros Pallis's³¹ (1851-1934) house in Liverpool. Thus she provided Kalomiris, through her sister, with *Noumas's* issues and books written in the *demotic* language.³² The 'demotic idea'³³ was evidently in constant formation in him; enhanced by his contact with people sharing similar beliefs as well as with dissident groups,³⁴ in Vienna, and his contact with the Greek reality during his summer visits to Constantinople to see his family. During this period, he attempted to compose his first works, three songs for voice and orchestra based on his own lyrics. Under the influence of a renewed patriotic effusion, he titled these works: *Μελαγχολία* [Melancholy], *Ανακρέοντειον* [Anakreonteion], *Μπαγιαντέρα* [Bayadera], – and *Ανατολίτικη ζωγραφιά* [*Oriental Painting*] for piano.

After his graduation from the Vienna Conservatory Kalomiris moved with his wife to Kharkov, Ukraine, where he lived and worked as employee of the Obolensky Music School for four years (1906-1910). During those years he was impressed by the efforts of the Russian composers, and particularly by the so-called "kuchka,"³⁵ who, as Stasov declared, "being skepticism of European tradition, [they were] striving for national character" and "extreme inclination toward 'program music'."³⁶ In other words, their aim was to create a national school based on Russian traditional music, folk literature and legends. While Kalomiris was in the Tsarist Empire and steeped in national ideologies, his vision was to create a Greek national school of music, too. It was to be based on folk music, which he

²⁹ Nikos Dontas, "A vision for a new world," in *The Masterbuilder: Manolis Kalomiris: vol.13, Greek National Opera* (Athens: Greek National Opera, 2007/8), 92.

³⁰ [Kalomiris] Μανώλης Καλομοίρης, Program notes, "Ο Πρωτομάστορας" [O Protomastoras], March 11, 1916, Athens: Municipal Theatre of Athens.

³¹ Alexandros Pallis (1851-1935) also translated the Iliad and the New Testament into demotic Greek. His translation of the Bible led to the Gospel Riots in 1901.

³² [Kalomiris] Καλομοίρης, *Η ζωή μου και η τέχνη μου*. [My Life and my Art.], 87.

³³ Ibid., 91.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Also known as "The Mighty Handful" or "The Mighty Coterie": Vladimir Stasov, Alexander Borodin, César Cui, Modest Mussorgsky and Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov. See: Richard Taruskin, *Defining Russia Musically: Historical and Hermeneutical Essays* (New Jersey and UK: Princeton University Press, 2001), 44.

³⁶ Taruskin, *Defining Russia Musically: Historical and Hermeneutical Essays*, 153.

appreciated since his early studies with Sophia Spanoudi, would also encompassed the literature of the Greek intelligentsia, the so-called demoticists. He began to contribute to *Noumas*, one of the first literary journals to use demotic language in Greece, sharing the same interests, that is, according to the musicologist Olympia Frangou-Psychopedis, “the conjunction of demotic language, folk ideals and ethnic art, with Nietzschean and messianic views on the Greek intellectuals.”³⁷ Such an attitude is evident in Kalomiris’s statement when he read Palamas’s *Ο Δωδεκάλογος του Γύφτου* [The Twelve Words of the Gypsy] (1907): “with great longing and excitement I was dreaming of a neo-Hellenic Renaissance and hopping for a messiah who would give Greece its former glory, as Palamas says in his poem (*The Twelve Words of the Gypsy*) ‘her [Greece] wings, her former great wings’.”³⁸ During that period he composed the *Ρωμέϊκη Σουίτα* [Romeiki Suite]³⁹ for orchestra, the songs with lyrics by Alexander Pallis (including *Αφροδίτη* [Aphrodite], *Μολιβιάτισσα* [Girl from Molyvos] and *Ρουμελιώτισσα* [Girl from Roumeli]), as well as the *Νυχτιάτικο* [Nocturne] for piano.

IN ATHENS

Motivated by his vision for a Modern Greek renaissance, Kalomiris journeys to Athens in 1908. He contacts Palamas and gives a concert of his own compositions. The musical evening that was realized in the concert hall of the Athens Conservatory (11 June 1908) is considered to be a landmark in the Modern Greek history of music. This first concert with Kalomiris’s compositions created a scandal, not because of the music that was performed but rather of the demotic language used in the program of the concert. It was for the first time in Modern Greek music history that a program appeared not in the customary *katharevousa* (that was the official literary, written language of the Greek State). This text is nowadays considered to be, by many musicologists, the founding manifesto of the Greek National School of Music.⁴⁰ In 1910 he returned to live permanently in Athens. Between 1911 and 1919, Kalomiris taught piano, harmony and advanced music theory at the Athens

³⁷ [Frangou-Psychopedis] Ολυμπία Φράγκου-Ψυχοπαίδη, *Η Εθνική Σχολή Μουσικής. Προβλήματα ιδεολογίας* [National Music School. Issues of Ideology] (Athens: Ιδρυμα Μεσογειακών Μελετών, 1990), 127.

³⁸ [Kalomiris] Καλομοίρης, *Η ζωή μου και η τέχνη μου*. [My Life and my Art], 133.

³⁹ The title of this work could be read as a reference to *Romiosini*. For more on this concept see Chapter 2.

⁴⁰ [Frangou-Psychopedis] Φράγκου-Ψυχοπαίδη, *Η Εθνική Σχολή Μουσικής. Προβλήματα ιδεολογίας* [National Music School. Issues of Ideology], 47.

Conservatory. During that period in Europe a series of other important musical events were taking place as well. For instance, in Paris, the famous ballet impresario, Serge Diaghilev (1872-1929) produced, the Ballets Russes (French for The Russian Ballets) staged, and Igor Stravinsky (1882-1971) scored *L'Oiseau de feu* [The Firebird] and *Le sacre du printemps* [The Rite of Spring].⁴¹ These works exemplify the way in which subsequent composers thought about music structure, pushing, in fact, the boundaries of musical design as new insights in music composition were being formed.⁴² Additionally, at the same time in the literary field, Constantinos P. Kavafis's (1863-1933)⁴³ *Η Πόλις* [H Polis] was published in Alexandria. This work can be considered as an enhancement in favor of Symbolism over Realism although "neither of which was powerful enough to prevail over the other" at the time.⁴⁴ Although Modernism and atonality had offered new insights Kalomiris was not inclined to align with. Evident of such a claim is his statement in the second issue of *Musical Morphology* (1957) that "Dodecaphony, by its very nature and its restrictive, singular rules is anti-national and purely international. From the moment that it dispenses with the sense of tonality and imposes the development of the theme on the twelve-tone row, it automatically also dispenses with folk music, any free melodic inspiration and any development of the sound and technique other than the strict twelve-tone row"⁴⁵. Furthermore, Symbolism is not unknown to Kalomiris. According to Frangou-Psychopedis Symbolism is exemplified in Kalomiris's Idealism. That is, Kalomiris attempted to assimilate in his work the noble goal of the so-called "Great Idea" which was realized through its symbolic representation.⁴⁶

Meanwhile, the Greek army had organized a revolution (1909) in order to overthrow the existing government. The revolution was successful and as a result the Cretan statesman

⁴¹ Delaney Rabinovich, *Diaghilev's Gesamtkunstwerk as Represented in the Productions Le Coq d'Or (1914) and Renard (1922)* (Master Thesis, Queen's University, 1998), 63; See also: Charles Joseph, "Diaghilev and Stravinsky," in *The Ballets Russes and Its World*, eds. Lynn Garafola and Nancy Van Norman Baer (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991), 189-215.

⁴² "Claude Debussy was praising Stravinsky for having "enlarged the boundaries of the permissible" in music." Richard McLanathan and Gene Brown, eds, *The Arts. Great contemporary issues* (Manchester NH, Ayer Publishing, 1978), 147.

⁴³ Constantinos P. Kavafis was a Greek poet who consciously developed his own style. As a result, he became one of the most important figures not only in Greek poetry but in Western poetry as well, according to the Britannica Encyclopedia. For more see: Encyclopædia Britannica Online, "Constantine Cavafy," accessed December 19, 2010, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/100491/Constantine-Cavafy>.

⁴⁴ Charles Moser, *The Cambridge history of Russian literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 389.

⁴⁵ As quoted in Dontas, "A vision for a new world," 98.

⁴⁶ [Frangou-Psychopedis] Φράγκου-Ψυχοπαίδη, *Η Εθνική Σχολή Μουσικής. Προβλήματα ιδεολογίας* [National Music School. Issues of Ideology], 95.

Eleftherios Venizelos (1864-1936) assumed power over the old political parties. Venizelos promoted reforms in the government and enabled Greece to extend her northern borders. In fact, his government engaged in war, the so-called Balkan Wars (1912-1913), with Greece's northern neighbors and as a result more territory was added in Macedonia (Epirus, Thessaloniki, Ioannina) and also Crete and the islands in the eastern Aegean (the islands of the Dodecanese were not included) were liberated. Thus, the "Great Idea" had been accomplished to a considerable degree and Kalomiris's vision for the creation of a strong Greek state and culture would not take long to be realized. While war activity was culminating, Kalomiris composed his song cycle *Μαγιοβότανα* [Magic Herbs] for voice and orchestra, on the name cycle poems by Kostis Palamas, in which he assimilates Greek folk (demotic) song and the modes of the Greek traditional music.⁴⁷ It is interesting to note of Palamas's reaction to Kalomiris's 1925 performance of *Μαγιοβότανα* [Magic Herbs] in Athens: "If Kalomiris feels the need of systematically working on my verses, this is important (not only for the music, per se but) for the history of Modern Greek literature as well. Kalomiris is not only a landmark for the art of music in its way on a steadier path, towards superior art-ideals; he is also one of the most important chapters in the history of Demoticism."⁴⁸

In contrast, Arnold Schoenberg (1874-1951) had composed his *Fünf Orchesterstücke* [5 Pieces for Orchestra], Op. 16, and *Erwartung* [Expectation], monodrama in one act, Op. 17, Richard Strauss's (1864-1949) *Elektra* was first performed at the Dresden State Opera (1909), Béla Bartók (1881-1945) composed his piano piece *Allegro Barbaro* (1911) and Igor Stravinsky's provocative *Le sacre du printemps* [The Rite of Spring] was produced by Diaghilev and first performed by the Ballets Russes in Paris (29 May 1913) which caused riots and heavy celebration. Just fifteen months later First World War broke out. In Greece the state of affairs were to change significantly. The political rivalry between Venizelos and King Constantine divided the Greek political parties. Constantine was faced with the difficulty to decide where Greece's support lay. The king tried to follow a policy of neutrality foreseeing the country's inability to antagonize the Entente Powers. Thus, Constantine's sympathies lay with Imperial Germany. However, Venizelos was pro-Allied leading the country into war in

⁴⁷ [Therou] Αύρα Θέρου, "Μουσικές Μελέτες, Παλαμά-Καλομοίρη, *Ίαμβοι και Ανάπαιστοι*" [Music Studies, Palamas-Kalomiris, *Iambs and Anapaests*], *Γράμματα*, 17:2 (1913), 5.

⁴⁸ As quoted in Filippou Tsalahouris and Nikos Maliaras, "Magic Hebs," The Kalomiris web site, accessed December 4, 2010, <http://www.kalomiris.org/kalorg/Notes/MagicHerbs.htm>.

1917.⁴⁹ So, in fact, the musical climate was not only restricted in the country but also cut-off from the developments in European music.⁵⁰ Nevertheless, the same year First World War started, the Greek government funded a project for the creation of a “National Music Collection.” The latter’s aim was to preserve the country’s national treasury – folk music – with the aid of the technological means at the time, such as the phonograph. The project was led by the musicologist Melpo Merlier, the ethnologist Dimitris Loukopoulos and the directeur de l’Institut de phonétique à Paris Hubert Pernot.⁵¹ Similar efforts had already been realized a decade earlier in Eastern Europe by composers Zoltán Kodály (1882-1967) and Béla Bartók.⁵² In that way, Greek folk music is not encountered as art in progress but it rather becomes an object of research and protection.⁵³ It appears that, this is one of the first effects of the process of Westernization in Greek musical life.⁵⁴ Furthermore, the European model of conservatory was spreading in the north of the country with the establishment of the Thessaloniki State Conservatory, while in Athens Dimitris Mitropoulos (1896-1960), a champion of modern music, as he has been characterized, made his first appearance with the orchestra of the Athens Conservatory.⁵⁵ Continuing political disagreement between the Liberal Party and the royalists, concerning Greece’s alliance commitments created fertile ground for the ensuing National Schism.⁵⁶

⁴⁹ John Van der Kiste, *Kings of the Hellenes* (s.l.: Sutton Publishing, 1994); Iakovos Polykratis, “Constantine” *Encyclopedia “The Helios,”* vol. XI (Athens, 1945–1955); Dimitris Michalopoulos, “Constantine XII, King of the Hellenes. An outline of his personality and times,” *Parnassos* 46: 355–360.

⁵⁰ New tendencies in music, such as serial music, brought in the forefront in Greece in the second half of the 20th century; See [Romanou] Ρωμανού, *Έντεχνη Ελληνική Μουσική στους Νεότερους Χρόνους* [Greek Art Music in Modern Times], 231.

⁵¹ Like Kalomiris’s teacher Georgios Pachtikos, they believed in the continuity of Greek music from antiquity to the Byzantine years and up to modern times. See [Romanou] Ρωμανού, *Έντεχνη Ελληνική Μουσική στους Νεότερους Χρόνους* [Greek Art Music in Modern Times], 117; *Ibid.*, 121; *Ibid.*, 220-221;; See also, [Dragoumis] Μάρκος Δραγούμης, “Ένα πρωτοπόρο κέντρο ερεύνης της δημοτικής μας μουσικής” [A leading research center of our folk music], *Τέχνη* 4 (1970), 5-15.

⁵² Dontas, “A vision for a new world,” 93.

⁵³ [Romanou] Ρωμανού, *Έντεχνη Ελληνική Μουσική στους Νεότερους Χρόνους* [Greek Art Music in Modern Times], 127.

⁵⁴ [Romanou] Ρωμανού, K., “Westernization of Greek music,” *Zbornik Matice srpske za scenske umetnosti i muziku* 28-29 (2003): 93-105.

⁵⁵ According to William R. Trotter, Mitropoulos was regarded as a heroic champion and his conducting has been described as astonishing. Trotter, W., *Priest of music: the life of Dimitri Mitropoulos*, 207. For more on Mitropoulos you may also see: Lebrecht Norman, *The Maestro Myth: Great Conductors in Pursuit of Power* (Citadel Press, 2001).

⁵⁶ The National Schism refers to the disagreement between King Constantine I and Prime Minister Eleftherios Venizelos concerning whether or not Greece should enter the First World War. Following the disagreement the King dismissed Venizelos which resulted in a deep personal rift between the two that polarized Greek society.

HIS FIRST MAJOR WORKS

While these events were taking place, the thirty year old Kalomiris, a whole-hearted follower of Venizelos, composed his first music drama *O Protomastoras*, which was first performed (11 March 1916) at the Municipal Theatre of Athens under his baton. A composition of such music design, equivalent to the Wagnerian music drama, could be considered avant-garde by the Athenian audience. For instance, an anonymous contributor in the journal *Εστία* [Estia] the next day of *O Protomastoras*'s performance stated that the "*O Protomastoras* will be a landmark in the history of Modern Greek music, a starting point [for the creation of national style in Greek music]." Moreover, he described the *Protomastoras*'s deficiencies as "expatiation, intolerable repetition, poor stage design and concerning its music, it doesn't seem completed."⁵⁷ Another contributor, Pavlos Nirvanas makes reference to the music of *O Protomastoras* by quoting a discussion he had heard about someone's perception of the drama's music: "Oh, my friend, music! In general, you should not have a lot of confidence in our country's ambitious plans. I have heard [*O Protomastoras*] and I know now [what it is about]. [...] Imagine that you listen to a familiar folk song like "kato sto giallo, kato sto perigiali..." ["near the sea, near the seashore..."] and then suddenly there is a demonic sound like bzzzz... (it is obvious he tried to imitate the Wagnerian orchestra), which overshadows everything else." Then, the commentator goes on to say (ironically) that the work is a fruitless pursuit of novelty and in fact is merely a simple miscellany of Wagner's music with Greek folk music.⁵⁸

These excerpts from the daily press do not only illustrate the ambivalent reactions on *O Protomastoras*'s performance but rather reveal the audience's difficulty to musically perceive Kalomiris's music drama. On the other hand, concerning the latter's dramatic content, the legend of the Arta Bridge symbolized, for the adherents of Venizelian ideology, the realization of the "Great Idea." According to the musicologist George Leotsakos, the

⁵⁷ [Spanoudi] Σοφία Σπανούδη, "Ο χθεσινός μουσικός σταθμός" [Last night's musical event], *Εστία*, March 12, 1916.

⁵⁸ "Α! η μουσική φίλε μου. Μην έχεις πολλήν εμπιστοσύνην εις τα μεγαλοπνοα εν γενει πράγματα του τόπου μας. Εγώ, που την άκουσα, κάτι ξερω. Φαντάζεσαι λοιπόν τι είναι η μουσική αυτή; Πως να σου το εξηγήσω, που δεν καταλαβαίνεις; Οπωςσδηποτε, να τι είναι: Άκουσ π.χ. ενα λαικο μοτιβο, οπως εστί και ευρίσκεσαι. Σαν να πουμε: «Κατω στο γυαλό, κάτω στο περιγιαλι...» Επειτα αρχίζει ενα δαιμονιώδες μπζζζ... (και επροσπαθησε να μιμηθη την Βαγνερικην θύελλαν της ορχήστρας), που τα σκεπάζει όλα. Και μεσα στη κοσμοχαλασια αυτή ο Βάγνερ αγκαλιαζει το «ποδοστράγαλο» της Χιωτοπούλας, κάτω απ'τη «νερατζούλα» τη «φουντωτή». Αυτή είναι περίπου η εθνική λεγόμενη μουσική του μέλλοντος." [Nirvanas] Παύλος Νιρβάνας, "Αμουσία" [Uncultured], *Εστία*, March 12, 1916.

famous novel of Penelope Delta (1874-1941), *Παραμύθι χωρίς Όνομα* (A Tale with No Name), was of significant importance at the time because it created an atmosphere conducive to the audience's perception of the legend of the Masterbuilder (*O Protomastoras*).⁵⁹ Thus, the Athenian audience held Kalomiris in high esteem because of the former's ideological association with the latter's use of the legend of the Arta Bridge in his aforementioned work. Kalomiris seized on his experience of his first music drama's performance to proceed to his next one the *Mother's Ring*. Written in 1917 and revised in 1939, *Mother's Ring* is considered to be a significant cultural gem because, according to the musicologist Anastasia Siopsi, "the work is mainly based on national narratives that associate its symbolic content with the concept of "Greekness," in other words, "because of the symbolic content's [tradition] alignment with the nation's ideals."⁶⁰ Furthermore, the libretto of *Mother's Ring* is based on the homonymous drama by Giannis Kamvisis (1872-1901). He was one of the first who translated works of Nietzsche in Greek and in collaboration with Ioannis Griparis (1870-1942) and Kostas Chantzopoulos (1868-1920) they published the periodical *Η Τέχνη* [*The Art*], which introduced the literary movement of Symbolism in Greece. Thus, symbolism is assimilated in Kalomiris's second music drama, which, in fact, reflects another aspect of Kalomiris's work.

Meanwhile, Kalomiris was ceaselessly working for consolidating his position. From 1917 onwards he would engage in the establishment of various music institutions, for most of which he became in charge. He was appointed General Inspector of Military Musicians in 1918, thus enhancing his social status. While Greece's engagement in the Balkan Wars was still active, Kalomiris began composing his first symphony, *Η Συμφωνία της Λεβεντιάς* [*The Levendia Symphony*]⁶¹ and later, being at the frontline he composed the slow movement of his first Symphony, *Το κοιμητήρι στη βουνοπλαγιά* [*The Cemetery at the Mountain Slope*]. The positive view of the future, that the successfulness of the Greek army, so far, had provided, allowed Kalomiris to enlarge his aspirations. As General Inspector of Military Musicians, Kalomiris was invited by the Allies in Constantinople where he organized a series

⁵⁹ [Leostakos] Γιώργος Λεωτσάκος, "Ο Πρωτομάστορας του Καλομοίρη, μέγας σταθμός της ελληνικής μουσικής" [Kalomiris's *Protomastoras*, a great work of Greek music], *Μουσικολογία*, 2:1 (1986): 9.

⁶⁰ [Siopsi] Αναστασία Σιώψη, *Τρία Δοκίμια για τον Μανώλη Καλομοίρη* [Three essays on Manolis Kalomiris] (Athens: Παπαρηγορίου-Νάκας, 2003), 37.

⁶¹ The word *levendia* can approximately be translated as heroism, which, having moral and aesthetic connotations is considered to be a unique Greek trait. It is usually associated with a young man's bravery, honesty and handsomeness.

of concerts, with the military band, performing Marches of national character. His reception was positive: “The Greeks living in Constantinople that were all gathered at the center of the city welcomed with great enthusiasm Kalomiris throwing flowers to him”⁶². When he returned to Athens he was honoured by the Academy of Athens with the Award of Excellence in Arts and Letters. The next year he resigned from the Athens Conservatory and founded the Hellenic Conservatory.⁶³ While the “Great Idea” seemed within immediate reach, *Η Συμφωνία της Λεβεντιάς* [The *Levendia* Symphony], a programmatic composition portraying the actions of the Greek soldiers during Balkan Wars was first performed in 1920 at the Odeon of Herodes Atticus. Marios Varvoglis’s (1885-1967)⁶⁴ critique of the concert reflects Kalomiris’s reception at the time: “it is the first time I listen a large-scale symphonic composition of such music expression” and that “I am sure that Kalomiris will be a significant figure of Greek music.”⁶⁵

This work was also performed outside of Greece, as the ministry of Foreign Affairs had chosen Kalomiris’s work to be represented in Arnhem, The Netherlands. At the request of the Dutch conductor of Arnhem’s symphonic orchestra, Heuckeroth, to the ministry of Foreign Affairs for Greek repertoire the second movement of his first Symphony, *Η Συμφωνία της Λεβεντιάς* [The *Levendia* Symphony], was performed on 14 March 1920 in the Dutch city of Arnhem.⁶⁶ His reception was very positive (*Arnhemsche Courant* 13.3.1920, *Nieuwe Arnhemsche Courant* 15.3.1920).⁶⁷ He was seen as “a great composer, irrespective of nationality” and his music was “something extraordinary, exceptional and attracts considerable attention.”⁶⁸

⁶² As quoted in [Frangou-Psychopedis] Φράγκου-Ψυχοπαίδη, *Η Εθνική Σχολή Μουσικής. Προβλήματα ιδεολογίας* [National Music School. Issues of Ideology], 131.

⁶³ For the reasons of his resignation see [Kalogeropoulos] Καλογερόπουλος, *Λεξικό της Ελληνικής μουσικής: Από τον Ορφέα έως Σήμερα* [Dictionary of Greek music: From Orpheus till Today], vol. 4, 314-316.

⁶⁴ Marios Varvoglis was a composer and music critic who contributed to the formation of the National School of music in Greece. Manolis Kalomiris supported his efforts to become part of the Athens Academy but Varvoglis’s liberal political views prevented him from being successful. For more see [Kalogeropoulos] Καλογερόπουλος, “Μάριος Βάρβοβλης,” *Λεξικό της Ελληνικής μουσικής: Από τον Ορφέα έως Σήμερα* [Dictionary of Greek music: From Orpheus till Today], vol.1, 320-322.

⁶⁵ As quoted in [Frangou-Psychopedis] Φράγκου-Ψυχοπαίδη, *Η Εθνική Σχολή Μουσικής. Προβλήματα ιδεολογίας* [National Music School. Issues of Ideology], 131.

⁶⁶ [Romanou] Καίτη Ρωμανού, “Η προβολή της ελληνικής μουσικής στη Δύση κατά τον Μεσοπόλεμο” [The promotion of Greek music in the West during the interwar period], *Kalomiris.gr*, accessed December 10, 2010, http://www.kalomiris.gr/kalomi_files/001_synuetis/001_003_documents/docs_others/popups/ii03.htm.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ As quoted in [Romanou] Ρωμανού, “Η προβολή της ελληνικής μουσικής στη Δύση κατά τον Μεσοπόλεμο” [The promotion of Greek music in the West during the interwar period].

Back in Greece, the period from 1920 to 1922 would be of significant importance in the development of the country. The Liberals under Venizelos lost the national elections in November 1920, which prompted the return of the King Constantine to the country. As a consequence, the Allies withdrew their support to Greece. Unfortunately, the Royalist Government led Greece to defeat in Asia Minor. In August 1922, “the Turks launched an enormous offensive that forced the withdrawal of the Greek army to the coast and their evacuation of Smyrna.”⁶⁹ Kalomiris’s birth place was burned. The social, political and economic impact of the “Asia Minor Catastrophe”⁷⁰ was enormous. More than a million arrived as refugees in mainland Greece. The Greeks had to abandon Asia Minor after 5000 years. The King was forced to resign after the protest of Venizelos, the royalist Prime Minister and his principal collaborators. The next nearly fifty years are characterized by political instability.

AFTER 1922 AND THE ASIA MINOR CATASTROPHE

Suddenly the “Great Idea” is a lost cause. Kalomiris’s disappointment both for the loss of his birth place and the decline of national aspirations would not stop him from continuing his educational and artistic work.⁷¹ He would present his work out of the country, in Paris and Berlin, this time after his own initiative. Moreover, he would also significantly contribute to journals and newspapers, as permanent music reviewer for *Έθνος* [Ethnos] (1926–1958), he would found the Melodramatic Society (1933-1935), and be president of the Greek Composers’ Union (1936–1945). His activities are in a way an outlet to his disappointment of the lost cause (“Great Idea”). Although the foundation of the Melodramatic Society is often associated with his personal desire for the dissemination of his work, it must be noted that it is a significant contribution to the melodrama, which happened to be in organizational and economic decline at the time.⁷²

⁶⁹ Bliss S. Little, “Folk Song and the construction of Greek national music: writings and the compositions of Georgios Lambelet, Manolis Kalomiris and Yiannis Constantinidis” (PhD diss., University of Maryland, 2001), 18.

⁷⁰ This is referred to in Greece as the extinction of all Greek communities of Asia Minor.

⁷¹ [Frangou-Psychopedis] Φράγκου-Ψυχοπαίδη, *Η Εθνική Σχολή Μουσικής. Προβλήματα ιδεολογίας* [National Music School. Issues of Ideology], 133.

⁷² Ibid.

In Paris, Kalomiris met Gabriel Pierné (1863-1937),⁷³ conductor of the *Orchestre Colonne*, who was the first to present a symphonic work of Kalomiris in La Ville-Lumière. The reception of Kalomiris's music in Paris is very interesting. His music is often associated with the Russian music, that of the Russian School of music. In the French newspaper *Gaulois*, Louis Scheider claims that Kalomiris "was inspired by the folk song, in similar way as the Russians are inspired. In fact, the Greek folklore is very similar to the Russian folklore, but it is impregnated by Byzantine melodies [...]" (19.3.1924). Raymond Charpentier in *Comoedia* claims that Kalomiris's First Symphony has a tempered modernism and shows influences from the Russian "kuchka" (17.3.1923). Moreover, Alfred Bruneau in *Le Matin* claims that "m. Pierné, who always welcomes composers he thinks that their work is important, he invited Manolis Kalomiris" (17.3.1924).⁷⁴ Furthermore, Kalomiris gave a lecture on Greek music in Sorbonne which was later published in *Le Menestrel* (11 & 18.9.1924).⁷⁵ His lecture reflects his ambitious character and his awareness that he is a significant figure in the modern history of Greek music. His reference to the uninterrupted continuity of Greek music throughout the centuries, from Homeric through Byzantine to modern times, shows his belief on the supremacy of the Greek folk music over any other folk music. He contends that the music of Heptanese is just "Western music" and not Greek music, and promoting his own efforts as being collective aspirations. Last, he claims that the novel technique in composition should be the effort to apply in melody, harmony and instrumentation a Greek color and not to apply self-contained folk melodies. More concerts of Kalomiris's works would be performed in Paris of which the critiques would continue to be laudable. Kalomiris's last visit to Paris before the Second World War was between 24 October and 21 December 1937.⁷⁶

Meanwhile in Athens, a series of open-air concerts was a commonplace. In fact, the concerts were adopting little by little a more folk-like repertoire as well as using several

⁷³ Gabriel Pierné was a well-known composer who is considered to be comparable to Debussy and Ravel. Since 1910 until 1934 he was chief conductor of the Édouard Colonne's concert series. As conductor of the Orchestre Colonne, he was giving almost 48 concerts per year while he was interested in including in his performances new repertoire. He also made arrangements of several orchestral works, among them Kalomiris's *First Rhapsody* and Cesar Frank's *Prelude, Choral et Fugue*.

⁷⁴ Louis Scheider, Raymond Charpentier and Alfred Bruneau were quoted in [Romanou] Ρωμανού, "Η προβολή της ελληνικής μουσικής στη Δύση κατά τον Μεσοπόλεμο" [The promotion of Greek music in the West during the interwar period].

⁷⁵ As quoted in [Romanou] Ρωμανού, "Η προβολή της ελληνικής μουσικής στη Δύση κατά τον Μεσοπόλεμο" [The promotion of Greek music in the West during the interwar period].

⁷⁶ Ibid.

traditional music instruments.⁷⁷ According to Katy Romanou, Kalomiris, during that period shows a turn to his beliefs that is, being more receptive to what previously credited as commercial music.⁷⁸ So, he also conducted such open-air concerts while his critiques in the daily press were more propitious. Although Kalomiris's position about commercial music in the 1910s has changed he did not support it unless it could contribute to the audience's interest in the Greek composers.⁷⁹

Additionally, during the 1930s Kalomiris's *Mother's Ring* was performed several times offering the chance to the audience to get acquainted with Kalomiris's music. Although his reception is positive, the critique in the daily press lacks any music analysis. According to Anastasia Siopsi, during that period an intellectual elite is responsible for leading and educating the audience. Thus, any writer contributing to the journals and newspapers is expressing ideas and feelings in order to achieve a better communication between the music work and the audience. For example, Sofia Spanoudi writing in *Ελεύθερος Τύπος* [Eleftheros Typos] describes *Mother's Ring* Act III as having "the purity and the grandeur of a Greek composition, which spontaneously reveals to the audience our national treasures."⁸⁰ In another occasion, Kalomiris's work is characterized as "...a Greek work. It is composed not only by a Greek composer but also, by a Greek soul and a Greek spirit. It is a work that revealed to us the real character of our country, [...] its tradition and myths, [...] that has more to offer from its heart and soul."⁸¹ *Mother's Ring* was also presented in Egypt in 1934 where, for once more received positive critiques.⁸² More interesting though, is that Kalomiris's *Mother's Ring* was presented in Berlin just before World War II was broke out.⁸³

The ardent reception of *Mother's Ring* was also reflected in the Dutch and German press.⁸⁴ For instance, in *Boersen Zeitung* the event was characterized as the most important thing between Germany and Greece's cultural relations. Also, the German origin of the

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ [Kalomiris] Μανώλης Καλομοίρης, "Η μουσική το καλοκαίρι" [Music performances during the summer], *Έθνος*, October 13, 1937, 2.

⁸⁰ [Spanoudi] Σοφία Σπανούδη, "Η Χριστουγεννιάτικη συναυλία του Ελληνικού Ωδείου" [Christmas Concert at the Hellenic Conservatory], *Ελεύθερος Τύπος*, December 31, 1934, 1.

⁸¹ [Lalaouni] Αλεξάνδρα Λαλαούνη, "Μουσική και καλλιτεχνική ζωή" [Music and artistic life], *Βραδυνή*, April 28, 1934.

⁸² [De Castro] Κρίνος Δε Κάστρο, "Το Μελόδραμα" [The Melodrama], *Ανατολή*, October 10, 1934.

⁸³ The performance of Wagner's *Ring* was presented in Athens before the presentation of Kalomiris's *Mother's Ring* in Berlin, as example of good relation between the two countries.

⁸⁴ [Siopsi] Σιώψη, *Τρία Δοκίμια για τον Μανώλη Καλομοίρη* [Three essays on Manolis Kalomiris], 64.

work's motive as well as its folk character was noticed.⁸⁵ Moreover, the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* noticed a Wagnerian influence on Kalomiris's music drama saying that *Mother's Ring* is "eine nationale Volksoper eines jungen Griechenland."⁸⁶ Anastasia Siopsi notes that the aforementioned critiques of Kalomiris's *Ring* on the one hand, enhances the sense of cultural superiority of the Germans, by identifying the Wagnerian influence in Kalomiris's work, and on the other hand Germans acknowledge "eine alten hohen Volkskultur."⁸⁷

It is interesting that, Germany and Greece enjoyed meaningful cultural relations at the time. Cultural ties between the two countries existed since Germany's support to the Greek struggle against the Ottoman rule in the early 1820s. Although the invasion and occupation of Greece by the Germans (1941-1944), during the Second World War, broke not only cultural but also diplomatic relations between these two countries they managed to restore their relations by overcoming the divisions caused by the war.⁸⁸ However, the cultural exchanges between the countries before the War were seen as political propaganda of Germany's Federal Foreign Office.⁸⁹ That is, archaeological excavations in Olympia were funded for three years, and German institutions, exhibitions of German art and industrial development were supported as well. In 1938, the Telefunken Company supported the first Greek radio station and Lufthansa initiated regularly scheduled service between Athens and Thessaloniki. Moreover, the libraries of the Athens University and the National Technical University (NTUA)⁹⁰ were fully equipped and many scholarships were provided to students to study in Germany. In addition, the same year, Wagner's *Der Ring des Nibelungen* [The Ring of the Nibelung] was presented in Athens (26.11.1938-29.11.1938) by the Frankfurt state opera.⁹¹

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ As quoted in [Siopsi] Σιώψη, *Τρία Δοκίμια για τον Μανώλη Καλομοίρη* [Three essays on Manolis Kalomiris], 65.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ Stavroula Ntotsika, "German-Greek Cultural Relations: Ancient Greece Meets Modern Germany," ICD – Institute for Cultural Diplomacy, accessed December 15, 2010, <http://www.culturaldiplomacy.org/pdf/case-studies/german-greek.pdf>.

⁸⁹ [Romanou] Ρωμανού, *Έντεχνη Ελληνική Μουσική στους Νεότερους Χρόνους* [Greek Art Music in Modern Times], 172-173.

⁹⁰ NTUA stands for National Metsovion Polytechnic [Εθνικό Μετσόβειο Πολυτεχνείο]. It was named "Metsovion" to honor the donors and benefactors who all originated from Metsovo (Epirus).

⁹¹ See: "Ομιλίες δια τον Βάγνερ" [Lectures on Wagner], *Έθνος*, November 24, 1938, 4; [Kalomiris] Μανώλης Καλομοίρης, "Ο κύκλος του 'δαχτυλιδιού των Νιμπελούγκεν'" [The Ring of the Nibelung], *Έθνος*, November 26, 1938, 3; [Kalomiris] Μανώλης Καλομοίρης, "Ο κύκλος του 'δαχτυλιδιού των Νιμπελούγκεν'" [The Ring of the Nibelung], *Έθνος*, November 27, 1938, 3; [Kalomiris] Μανώλης Καλομοίρης, "Ο Χρυσός του Ρήνου" [The Rhine gold], *Έθνος*, November 28, 1938, 1; [Kalomiris] Μανώλης Καλομοίρης, "Η Βαλκυρία" [The Walkyrie],

After the War, the restoration of the German-Greek cultural relations was supported by the promotion of German culture throughout Greece by hosting many different events. Furthermore, the foundation of the “Goethe-Institut” in Athens (1952) “is proof of the efforts being made to promote the German culture and language in Greece.”⁹²

HIS LAST MUSIC DRAMA AND RECEPTION AFTER HIS DEATH

Katy Romanou’s characterization of the second half of the twentieth century in Greece as “the Twilight of the Greek National School of music” reflects the ‘eclipse’ of the old style, represented by Kalomiris, over the new perspectives in music composition that were already in development in Europe at the time.⁹³ Kalomiris’s last music drama, *Κωνσταντίνος ο Παλαιολόγος (Πήραν την Πόλη)* [Konstantinos Paleologos (The Fall of Constantinople)] (1962) symbolizes, in a way, the end of Kalomirian style in music. His last work was in fact performed after his death in April 1962 and although he was still considered an important figure at the time, as his funeral expenses were covered by the state⁹⁴, his style in music was no longer that influential. However, his works would continue to be performed. In addition, a number of studies on Kalomiris’s work have been conducted after his death by Frangou-Psychopedis,⁹⁵ Romanou,⁹⁶ Kostios,⁹⁷ Siopsi,⁹⁸ George Zake,⁹⁹ Jaklitsch, Nina-Maria,¹⁰⁰ and recently by Maliaras.¹⁰¹ These studies contend that Kalomiris is “the most

‘Εθνος, November 29, 1938, 1; [Kalomiris] Μανώλης Καλομοίρης, “Ο Σίγκφριντ” [Siegfried], ‘Εθνος, November 30, 1938, 1; [Kalomiris] Μανώλης Καλομοίρης, “Το Λυκόφως των Θεών” [The twilight of the gods], ‘Εθνος, December 3, 1938, 1.

⁹² Ntotsika, “German-Greek Cultural Relations: Ancient Greece Meets Modern Germany.”

⁹³ [Romanou] Ρωμανού, *Έντεχνη Ελληνική Μουσική στους Νεότερους Χρόνους* [Greek Art Music in Modern Times], 231.

⁹⁴ [Kalogeropoulos] Καλογερόπουλος, “Μανώλης Καλομοίρης,” *Λεξικό της Ελληνικής μουσικής: Από τον Ορφέα έως Σήμερα* [Dictionary of Greek music: From Orpheus till Today], vol.2, 543-548.

⁹⁵ [Frangou-Psychopedis] Ολυμπία Φράγκου-Ψυχοπαίδη, “Ιδεολογία και αισθητική δημιουργία στο έργο του Μανώλη Καλομοίρη με παράδειγμα το «Δαχτυλίδι της Μάνας»” [Ideology and aesthetics in the work of Manolis Kalomiris, the case of *Mother’s Ring*], in *Ο Μανώλης Καλομοίρης και η Ελληνική μουσική. Κείμενα από και για τον Μανώλη Καλομοίρη* [Manolis Kalomiris and Greek music. Texts by and about Manolis Kalomiris], Samos: Φεστιβάλ «Μανώλη Καλομοίρη» (1997): 75-85.

⁹⁶ [Romanou] Ρωμανού, *Έντεχνη Ελληνική Μουσική στους Νεότερους Χρόνους* [Greek Art Music in Modern Times].

⁹⁷ [Kostios] Απόστολος Κώστιος, “Μανώλης Καλομοίρης – Δημήτρης Μητρόπουλος” [Manolis Kalomiris – Dimitris Mitropoulos], *Μουσικολογικά Ι*: 57-113.

⁹⁸ [Siopsi], Σιώψη, *Τρία Δοκίμια για τον Μανώλη Καλομοίρη* [Three essays on Manolis Kalomiris].

⁹⁹ George J. Zake, “The Music Dramas of Manolis Kalomiris” (PhD diss., Florida State University, 1971).

¹⁰⁰ Jaklitsch, *Manolis Kalomiris (1883-1962) - Nikos Skalkottas (1904-1949)*.

¹⁰¹ [Maliaras] Νίκος Μαλιάρας, *Το ελληνικό δημοτικό τραγούδι στη μουσική του Μανώλη Καλομοίρη* [Greek folk song in the works of Manolis Kalomiris] (Athens, Παπαργηγόριου-Νάκας, 2001).

significant figure of the Greek National School of music”¹⁰² or even the “founding father of the Greek National School.”¹⁰³ Frangou-Psychopedis attempts an approach to Kalomiris’s symphonies and operas “which according to the criteria of National School express more clearly the historical and ideological intentions of the composer dedicated to national music.”¹⁰⁴ Her method of analysis refers to comparative aesthetic and ideological problems, “such as the question of a national language and religion, to the moral character of folk music as well as of religious music, or to questions such as the shaking off of foreign influences and their assimilation.”¹⁰⁵ Romanou approaches the historical context within which Kalomiris acted, focusing on socio-political agents that could influence but also interpret his character and his deeds. She notes that Kalomiris, through his articles, presented an image of the music affairs based on his own visions. In fact, his political convictions were geared to the political conditions each time, in order to achieve his goal, which was to increase the audience’s music understanding and to create and promote the Greek School of music. Moreover, Siopi approaches Kalomiris in association with tradition and in close reference to the notion of national identity and “Greekness.” She claims that the composer became such an important figure because he tried to assimilate in his work the aspirations of the Greek intelligentsia, which was also oriented towards the construction of national identity.¹⁰⁶

Last, although, after his death Kalomiris’s music is perceived as the “most inspired works”¹⁰⁷ and full of “melodic pathos and veneration of folklore”¹⁰⁸ it seems that the music is abstruse to the audience, to the extent that it does not bear national connotations. Evidence of such claims are the critiques that attempt to interpret technical aspects of his music. For instant, a writer in the newspaper *Ελεύθερος Κόσμος* [Free World] describes Kalomiris’s symphonic poem *Μηνάς ο Ρέμπελος* (1940) [Minas the Rebel a pirate in the

¹⁰² [Frangou-Psychopedis] Φράγκου-Ψυχοπαίδη, *Η Εθνική Σχολή Μουσικής. Προβλήματα ιδεολογίας* [National Music School. Issues of Ideology], 121.

¹⁰³ [Siopsi], Σιώψη, *Τρία Δοκίμια για τον Μανώλη Καλομοίρη* [Three essays on Manolis Kalomiris], 18; Belonis, “The Greek National Music School,” 125.

¹⁰⁴ [Frangou-Psychopedis] Φράγκου-Ψυχοπαίδη, *Η Εθνική Σχολή Μουσικής. Προβλήματα ιδεολογίας* [National Music School. Issues of Ideology], 301.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 296.

¹⁰⁶ [Siopsi], Σιώψη, *Τρία Δοκίμια για τον Μανώλη Καλομοίρη* [Three essays on Manolis Kalomiris], 19.

¹⁰⁷ [Roussianou-Piperaki] Λιάνα Ρουσσιάνου-Πιπεράκη, “Η Ελλαίην Σάιφφερ με την ΚΟΑ υπό τη διεύθυνση του Α. Παρίδη” [Elaine Schiffer performing with National State Orchestra under the baton of A. Paridis], *Ελεύθερος Κόσμος*, December 2, 1966.

¹⁰⁸ George Kyrkos-Tayas, “An (Oxonian) orchestra in Athens,” *Athens News*, July 16, 2004.

Aegean] [...] as having “extreme instrumentation.”¹⁰⁹ In another critique of his *Η Συμφωνία της Λεβεντιάς* [The *Levendia* Symphony] the writer noted that the work is “perfectly structured” and that its themes are “so technically [perfect] developed” and its “stunning instrumentation, [is] so dense and at the same time so transparent.”¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁹ [Roussianou-Piperaki] Ρουσιάνου-Πιπεράκη, “Η Ελλαίην Σάιφφερ” [Elaine Schiffer].

¹¹⁰ [Lalaouni] Αλεξάνδρα Λαλαούνη, “Δυο συναυλίες της ορχήστρας του Όσλο” [Two concerts with the Orchestra of Oslo], *Βραδυνή*, July 7, 1965.

Chapter Two

WAGNERIAN INSEMINATION OF MANOLIS KALOMIRIS'S VISIONS – THE MUSIC DEBATE IN *NOUMAS*

In this chapter, I will examine the ideological filiations between Richard Wagner and Manolis Kalomiris. I will argue that a Wagnerian insemination of Kalomiris visions can be supported based on a close analysis of the latter's visions, as seen in the music debate in *Noumas*, and their potential lineage as a discursive dissemination, that is, a synthesis of similarities and differences between Wagner's beliefs and Kalomiris's visions. I will also refer to some underlined parts of Wagner's prose works noted by Kalomiris himself. It turns out that Wagner's complete prose works, in the Breitkopf & Härtel 1911 edition, formed part of Kalomiris's library in Athens. After close research on these documents I found evidence that Kalomiris had read Wagner's writings because he had underscored some excerpts on these texts. Focusing on both Kalomiris's writings in *Noumas* and the underlined parts of Wagner's prose works, I wish to draw conclusions on the possible association between Wagner's ideology and Kalomiris's visions. However, before I go into the analysis of Kalomiris's writings, I will discuss the issue of Hellenism versus *Romiosini* [Ρωμιούσση], as it is part of a significant debate, which focused on the construction of what could be referred to as *Greekness* [Ελληνικότητα (Ellinikótita)] and was taking place at the turn of the 20th century in Greece. Some knowledge on this debate is useful in understanding Kalomiris's views. Additionally, I will present some information about *Noumas* and the ideology this periodical represented.

HELLENISM AND *ROMIOSINI*

In the turn of the 20th century, Greece was coming out of Greek Revolution (which started in 1821) and alongside various changes in the country a 'new' Greek national identity

was being constructed (according to Dimitris Tziouvas, this was also due to the lack of organized institutions¹¹¹).

In more detail, it can be argued that the construction of national identity in the newly born state of Greece triggered various debates related to the country's development. In fact, the notion of what can be referred to as *Greekness* was dithering between Hellenism and *Romiosini*.¹¹² The former can be seen as a reference to the Hellenistic period in Greek antiquity, which represents the zenith of Greek influence in the ancient world. It may also refer to the status of Ancient Greece as a conveyed concept by Western European civilization to the citizens of the 'new' state of Greece. In other words, the study of Ancient Greek civilization in the West, at least in terms of what Europeans imagined that civilization to be, led the Romantics to perceive the Greek Revolution (1821) as a renaissance of Ancient Greece.¹¹³ As a result, the Greeks, after the Revolution of 1821, perceived themselves as *Hellenes*, a clear reference to the Ancient past as part of their identity; an attempt to establish a bond with their ancient tradition is reflected in their language. That is, the construction of *katharevousa*, a Greek language with a vocabulary largely based on ancient forms, but a much-simplified grammar, was a compromise between Ancient Greek and the Modern Greek of the time.¹¹⁴ On the other hand, *Romiosini* is associated with the Byzantine heritage that Greeks also perceived as part of their own history and identity. The notion of *romios* [Ρωμηός] is connected with the East, as well as the Eastern Orthodox Church (in opposition to the Roman who is associated with the West Roman Empire and the Catholic Church). Specifically, the notion's connection with Byzantium can be traced back to a particular event, which is also commonly found in folk songs and legends, the Fall of Constantinople. This event is perceived by Greeks as humiliating, and it affected the identity

¹¹¹ [Tziouvas] Δημήτρης Τζιόβας, *Οι μεταμορφώσεις του εθνισμού και το ιδεολόγημα της ελληνικότητας στο μεσοπόλεμο* [The transformations of nationalism and the ideology of *Greekness* in the inter-war period] (Athens: Οδυσσέας, 2002), 14.

¹¹² According to Artemis Leontis: "*Romiosini* is very nearly impossible to translate into English. It is the nominalized form of the adjective *romios*, a Greek vernacularization of the adjective *Romaïos*, 'Roman'. This name attaches itself to the occupants of the Greek peninsula at some unspecified time after the Romans destroyed Corinth (146 BC). *Romiosini* is a vernacular coinage of the late nineteenth century. It signifies the national-popular body and its Byzantine-Ottoman-Christian popular heritage, the traditions and the language of the Volk." Leontis quoted in Katerina Zacharia, ed., *Hellenisms: culture, identity, and ethnicity from antiquity to modernity* (London: Ashgate Publishing, Ltd, 2008), 356.

¹¹³ For more on Hellenism see Zacharia, *Hellenisms: culture, identity, and ethnicity from antiquity to modernity*.

¹¹⁴ According to Peter Mackridge: "[in the early nineteenth century] *katharevousa* represented an attempt to purge the modern language of words which it had taken from foreign languages and reinstate much of the lexical and grammatical wealth of the ancient language which had been lost or altered during the previous two millennia." Mackridge, "*Katharevousa*," 26.

of Ρωμηός as well as its opposition to the glory of Hellenism. More specifically, mourning, longing, and faith are the characteristic traits attributed to *romios*, as they are associated with the Fall of Constantinople.

Both Hellenism and *Romiosini* can be seen as part of what constitutes *Greekness*, but the former associates Greece with an ancient glorious past that is to a large extent impregnated with Western perceptions of Ancient Greek civilization, whereas in the case of the latter Western influences do not affect the way Greece and its connection to Byzantine heritage is perceived. For the progressive circles of Greek society, *Romiosini* is the appropriate notion when approaching *Greekness*, whereas the dissident groups were in favor of Hellenism. As the progressive and the dissident groups were debating on the definition of *Greekness*, the debate affected a variety of fields, such as literature and education, and led to a musical debate that was to a large extent conducted in *Noumas*.

THE PERIODICAL *NOUMAS*

One of the greater issues in the debate between the progressive and the dissident groups had to do with linguistics. At the time Greece's official language was katharevousa which as also stated before was the language that supporters of Hellenism preferred. Those who thought that *Romiosini* was the notion, which best defined *Greekness*, were supporters of the demotic language.

The Greek periodical *Noumas*, published by Dimitris Tagopoulos (1867 - 1926), had a major role in the struggle for dominance of the demotic language.¹¹⁵ According to Georgios Kalogiannis's significant study *Ο Νουμας και η εποχή του: Γλωσσικοί και ιδεολογικοί αγώνες* [*Noumas* and its time: Linguistic and ideological debates], the Greek periodical reflects the literary and intellectual activity during the first two decades of the twentieth century.¹¹⁶ Its main goal was to promote new political and social ideas and to counter scientific and aesthetic prejudices of the past concerning the demotic language. The latter was seen as the only means of intellectual renaissance of the nation which applied to the notion of demoticism the scope of an ideology that included every revivalist new tendency in the art,

¹¹⁵ *Noumas* was first published in 2 January 1903. It kept in print until 1931, with small interruptions between the years 1917-1918, 1924-1929. It was initially published twice a week and later once a week, as a journal. It was entitled as "political, literal and social journal" ["εφημερίδα πολιτική, φιλολογική και κοινωνική"].

¹¹⁶ [Kalogiannis] Γιάννης Καλογιάννης, *Ο Νουμας και η εποχή του: Γλωσσικοί και ιδεολογικοί αγώνες* [*Noumas* and its time: Linguistic and ideological debates] (Athens: Επικαιρότητα, 1984), 23.

society and education. Any published journal before the appearance of *Noumas* in the forefront was always written in Katharevousa. All contributors to *Noumas* were writing in the demotic language and were also granted freedom of speech expressing their innovative ideas concerning politics and art. *Noumas's* policy, for most of its publishing life was, as Tagopoulos, publisher and director of the Greek periodical, had declared, providing the ground for promising ideological discourse. Debates between Socialists and Nationalists-Demoticists (1907-1909), Liberals and anti-Liberals (1914-1916) concerning politics, and between Kostas Chatzopoulos (1868 - 1920) and Pavlos Nirvanas (1866-1937)¹¹⁷ concerning the meaning of Art.¹¹⁸

Major contributors were involved in the Greek periodical. Writers, from various fields, such as literature, poetry, politics and art, shared common beliefs and were in agreement with Tagopoulos's stance. Significant figures of the Greek intelligentsia, as Kostas Palamas, Ioannis Psicharis, Grigoris Vokos, Emmanouel Lykoudis, Periklis Giannopoulos, to name a few, argued for restoring the rule of military, awakening of the nation, promoting the Greek values and most of all the establishment of the demotic language.¹¹⁹

Concerning the music debate, *Noumas* was used as a line of defense not only against the meaning of the demotic language in the creation of National School of music but also against the acquisitions towards the educational policy of the Athens Conservatory. The periodical *Κριτική* [Criticism], published by Georgios Lambelet (1875-1945)¹²⁰ in association with Georgios Axiotis (1875-1924),¹²¹ centered around harsh criticism of the way music education was organized in the Athens Conservatory.

KALOMIRIS WRITING IN *NOUMAS*

As mentioned in the previous chapter, Kalomiris became acquainted with *Noumas's* ideologies during his stay in Vienna. Through his wife's sister he gained access to *Noumas's* issues. Furthermore, during the last two years in Kharkov under the influence of the Russian

¹¹⁷ This was the literary pseudonym of Petros K. Apostolidis.

¹¹⁸ [Kalogiannis] Καλογιάννης, *Ο Νουμας και η εποχή του: Γλωσσικοί και ιδεολογικοί αγώνες* [Noumas and its time: Linguistic and ideological debates], 35.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁰ Georgios Lambelet was a composer and writer who contributed to the formation of the National School of music in Greece. For more see [Kalogeropoulos] Καλογερόπουλος, "Γεώργιος Λαμπελέτ," *Λεξικό της Ελληνικής μουσικής: Από τον Ορφέα έως Σήμερα* [Dictionary of Greek music: From Orpheus till Today], vol.3, 426-428.

¹²¹ See [Kalogeropoulos] Καλογερόπουλος, "Γεώργιος Αξιώτης," *Λεξικό της Ελληνικής μουσικής: Από τον Ορφέα έως Σήμερα* [Dictionary of Greek music: From Orpheus till Today], vol. 1, 180-182

music and his reading of Palamas's *Ο Δωδεκάλογος του Γύφτου* [The Twelve Words of the Gypsy], that the director of *Noumas* Dimitrios Tagopoulos sent him, Kalomiris realized the hidden meaning of the demotic language.¹²² Demoticism as a concept was not restricted only to the literary field but reflected the need for national revival. Palamas's poem speaks of a new society, freed from the fetters of tradition, history, religion, all moral and social convention, and any prejudice.

Kalomiris's preference to demoticism became evident in Greece when in 1908 he started writing in *Noumas* and he also performed his own compositions (works for piano and voice, solo piano and two pianos were performed that night; Kalomiris and his wife played the piano)¹²³ for the first time in Athens in a concert for which the printed program was written in demotic. The text of this printed program is today considered to be the founding manifesto of the Greek National School of Music¹²⁴, and it triggered a debate on the music situation in Greece in an effort to establish the music-cultural identity of the new state "equal to the efforts made by and already culminated in the dominant musical cultures at the time."¹²⁵

Kalomiris was writing in *Noumas* until 1910¹²⁶ and his series of articles were to a large extent concerned with the ongoing musical and linguistic debate (katharevousa versus demotic). (See Table 1, "corpus of Kalomiris's texts in *Noumas*" for the articles Kalomiris has written in *Noumas* and are analyzed later in this chapter).

¹²² [Kalomiris] Καλομοίρης, *Η ζωή μου και η τέχνη μου*. [My Life and my Art.], 133.

¹²³ [Kalomiris] Μανώλης Καλομοίρης, Program notes, "Μουσική βραδιά του συνθέτη Μανόλη Καλομοίρη" [Musical evening dedicated to Manolis Kalomiris], June 11, 1908, Athens: Athens Conservatory.

¹²⁴ [Frangou-Psychopedis] Φράγκου-Ψυχοπαίδη, *Η Εθνική Σχολή Μουσικής. Προβλήματα ιδεολογίας* [National Music School. Issues of Ideology], 47.

¹²⁵ [Kalomiris] Καλομοίρης, "Μουσική βραδιά του συνθέτη Μανόλη Καλομοίρη" [Musical evening dedicated to Manolis Kalomiris].

¹²⁶ Kalomiris continued his writing in *Έθνος* [Ethnos] from 22.2.1926 until 1956 under the title "Μουσικοκριτικά Γυμνάσματα" [Music Criticism], a title he had used in his last two articles in *Noumas* as well.

Title	Date
Δήλωση [Statement]	7.9.1908
Δυο Λόγια [A few words]	31.9.1908
Ζωή-Γλώσσα-Μουσική. Απάντηση στον Ξενόπουλο [Life-Language-Music. A response to mr. Xenopoulos]	2.11.1908
Η Τέχνη μου κ' οι πόθοι μου (Απόσπασμα). Για τα Ωδεία και για τ' Ωδείο [My Art and my thinking. (Excerpt). For conservatories and the Conservatory]	31.1.1910
Για τα Ωδεία και για τ' Ωδείο (Απόσπασμα) [For conservatories and the Conservatory (Conclusion)]	7.2.1910
Μουσικόαμουσες, άνοστες και νόστιμες κι όλων των λογίων κουβέντες [Pleasant and unpleasant criticism]	14.3.1910
Ένας Έλληνας μουσικός στη Βιέννη (Εβρυστένης Γκύζας) [A Greek musician in Vienna (Evristhenis Gizas)]	25.4.1910
Μουσικοκριτικά Γυμνάσματα [Music Criticism]	2.5.1910
Μουσικοκριτικά Γυμνάσματα [Music Criticism]	9.5.1910

Table 1, "corpus of Kalomiris's texts in *Noumas*"

THE MUSIC DEBATE

The arguments presented by the musicians and the writers in the daily press, which were often extreme, were the result of their political inclinations.¹²⁷ At the time in Greece, two poles had been formed: those who were in favor of Venizelos and his government and those who were against him. After a series of wars, some of which were still ongoing (for instance Balkan Wars 1912-1913) the political and social situation in Greece was in constant change. Venizelos was trying to establish a new liberal government and was attempting to reorganize the country according to Western standards. Although many were supporting Venizelos's efforts, a large number of the population was not in agreement with his visions. As a result the political situation was tensed. This apparent tense had a sweeping effect over

¹²⁷ Myrto Economides, "The Masterbuilder as an expression of national revival and the Venizelian ideology" in *The Masterbuilder: Manolis Kalomiris: vol.13, Greek National Opera, Athens* (Greek National Opera, 2007/8), 105.

every work of art. The artists's vision for a national revival also involved opera's artistic merit, linguistic and educational matters.¹²⁸

Kalomiris made a conscious decision to devote himself to the cultural life of his country and engaged with significant figures of literature and poetry, such as Kostas Palamas and Ioannis Psycharis, who presented Kalomiris as a leading figure in Greek music equal to the leading figure in Greek poetry Kostas Palamas. The latter dedicated his poem *Στο μουσικό Μανώλη Καλομοίρη* [To the musician Manolis Kalomiris] published in *Νουμάς*¹²⁹ and Psycharis dedicated his poem *Αγάπη* [Love] to Palamas and *πέρα πέρα* [Far away] to Kalomiris again in *Νουμάς*.¹³⁰ For the dissident part Kalomiris's use of extreme demotic was considered to serve same purpose as in the *Τα Ευαγγελικά*¹³¹ [Τα Ευαγγελικά], that is, demoticists propagandize in favor of Slavic People.¹³²

Evidence of such attitudes comes from Georgios Pop, the director of the Greek journal *Αθήναι* [Athens] who harshly criticized Kalomiris's concert program claiming that:

“Kalomiris comes from Russia. He brings with him rubles that Russians gave to him, Russians who are against Hellenism”

“Ο Καλομοίρης έρχεται από την Ρωσία. Ο Καλομοίρης φέρνει ρούμπλια, τα ρούμπλια του τα έδωσαν οι Ρούσοι και οι Ρούσοι πολεμάνε τον Ελληνισμό.”¹³³

¹²⁸ Ibid.

¹²⁹ [Palamas] Κωστής Παλαμάς, “Στο μουσικό Μανώλη Καλομοίρη” [To the musician Manolis Kalomiris], *Νουμάς*, June 15, 1908, 1.

¹³⁰ [Psycharis] Γιάννης Ψυχάρης, “Αγάπη” [Love], *Νουμάς*, October 12, 1908,1; [Psycharis] Γιάννης Ψυχάρης, “πέρα πέρα” [Far away], *Νουμάς*, October 12, 1908,1.

¹³¹ The term refers to a series of riots that took place at the beginning of November 1901 in Athens, as fanatics were protesting against the publication of the Bible in the demotic language. The Bible began being published in the demotic language in 9 September 1901 by the newspaper *Acropolis*. The translation was by Alexandros Pallis. See Bruce Merry, “Evangeliká” in *Encyclopedia of modern Greek literature* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing Group), 135-136.

¹³² In the front pages of various newspapers demoticists were referred to as atheists, betrayers and of Slavic origins due to the Russian ancestry of the Queen. Queen Olga (raised an Orthodox Christian) was the initiator and sponsor of the translation of the Bible to the demotic language, an idea she had during visiting wounded servicemen in the Greco-Turkish War (1897), whom she found were unable to read the Bible as it was written in *katharevousa*. So those opposed to her decision called the demoticists Slavs in reference to Queen Olga's initiative. See Phillip Carabott, “Politics, Orthodoxy and the Language Question in Greece: The Gospel Riots of November 1901,” *Journal of Mediterranean Studies* 3 (1993), 117–138.

¹³³ As quoted in [Romanou] Καίτη Ρωμανού, “Μάριος Βάρβογλης” [Marios Varvoglis], *Μουσικολογία* 2(1985): 35.

Although Kalomiris was inspired and influenced by the Russian music and culture, he attempted to assimilate traditional music, folk literature, legends and traditions from his country equal to the undergoing efforts of the European countries to establish their own identity.¹³⁴ However, his ideal would be the German cultural paradigm as he constantly made reference in his writings.

Kalomiris's following articles in the *Noumas* (31 September and 2 November 1908) were a response to Grigorios Xenopoulos's critique on him and his work. Although Xenopoulos claimed that "I have never heard such perfect music from a Greek composer" ("ποτέ μου δεν άκουσα τελειότερη μουσική από Έλληνα συνθέτη"),¹³⁵ obviously considering the aesthetic effect of his music, he, nevertheless, accused Kalomiris in his attitude towards demoticism:

"If he has already succumbed to the linguistic "perversion," it is not possible that his talent has not been similarly affected by it and that the effect is not reflected in his compositions as well"

"αν η γλωσσική διαστροφή έχει σωτελεσθή προ πολλού εντός του, αδύνατον να μην διεστραφή ήδη και το τάλαντον του αναλόγως και να μην διακρίνονται, από παρατηρητήν οξύτερον κάπως, τα ίχνη αυτής της διαστροφής και εις τας συνθέσεις του."¹³⁶

Kalomiris in response to Xenopoulos's comments says:

"I feel that demoticism gave me a huge artistic urge that even if I did not have all these other patriotic, ethnological, linguistic and aesthetic ties to our National language, I still would hesitate to abandon the use of demotic language or 'maliarism' [as the use of demotic language was also called at the time] in fear of becoming "less of an artist"."

"αισθανομαι τον εαυτό μου τόσο αφξημένο καλλιτεχνικά από το δημοτικισμό, που κι αν όλοι οι άλλοι πολύ μεγάλοι και σπουδαίοι πατριωτικοί, εθνολογικοί, γλωσσολογικοί και

¹³⁴ [Kalomiris] Καλομοίρης, "Μουσική βραδιά του συνθέτη Μανόλη Καλομοίρη" [Musical evening dedicated to Manolis Kalomiris].

¹³⁵ As quoted in [Romanou] Ρωμανού, "Μάριος Βάρβογλης" [Marios Varvoglis], 35.

¹³⁶ Ibid.

αισθητικοί λόγοι έλειπαν που με κρατούν σφιχτοδεμένο με την Εθνική μας γλώσσα, πάλι θα δίσταζα να εγκαταλείψω τον δημοτικισμό ή μαλλιαρισμό, αν αγαπάς, από φόβο μήπως «ελαττωθώ ως καλλιτέχνης».”¹³⁷

Xenopoulos identified Kalomiris’s music with his linguistic engagements. The “linguistic perversion” denotes the subversive character of the demotic language expressed by the adherents of katharevousa. The latter had the support of authoritarian institutions (church, government, university) and therefore had the weapons to ensure their power. Therefore, the result was the gradual perception of demotic as a symbol of subversive speech while katharevousa was seen as a symbol of authority.¹³⁸ That authority intercepted any cultural manifestation that originated in demoticism by frequently impeaching demoticists for moral corruption (“βλάβη των ηθών”).¹³⁹ Consequently, Kalomiris’s music was considered to be inappropriate for the social mores. Nevertheless, his engagement with the Greek folk song, in particular the Greek character of those songs, and its association with the Greek identity helped him defend his position. Thus, it is evident that a music composition does not reflect any aesthetic or formalistic issues, but it rather reflected the political rift at the time.

Furthermore, Kalomiris’s extensive reference to the Greek language as an authentic element of tradition supported his ambition:

“We are looking forward to seeing the History of Music to include the Greek (Romeiki) National School of music”

“να δούμε την Ιστορία της Μουσικής την Παγκόσμια ν’ανοίξει τρεχούμενο λογαριασμό για την Ελληνική, για Ρωμαϊκή σκολή.”¹⁴⁰

¹³⁷ [Kalomiris] Μανώλης Καλομοίρης, “Δυο Λόγια” [A few words], *Νουμάς*, September 31, 1908, 2.

¹³⁸ [Stavridi-Patrikiou] Ρένα Σταυρίδη-Πατρικίου, “Το γλωσσικό ζήτημα” [The linguistic issue], Πύλη για την Ελληνική γλώσσα [Portal for the Greek language], accessed November 20, 2010, http://www.greek-language.gr/greekLang/studies/guide/thema_d2/index.html.

¹³⁹ These accusations are stated in a bill of indictment submitted to the Council of Appeals in Larisa (1911), as well as in a trial taking place at the Magistrate’s court in Nauplio (April, 1914), which is known as the “trial of Nauplio” (“Δίκη του Ναυπλίου”). See [Stavridi-Patrikiou] Ρένα Σταυρίδη-Πατρικίου, *Γλώσσα, Εκπαίδευση και Πολιτική* [Language, Education and Politics] (Athens: Ολκός, 1999), 167-178.

¹⁴⁰ [Kalomiris] Μανώλης Καλομοίρης, “Ζωή-Γλώσσα-Μουσική. Απάντηση στον Ξενόπουλο” [Life-Language-Music. A response to mr. Xenopoulos], *Νουμάς*, November 2, 1908, 2.

Similarly, another institution, the Athens Conservatory – the only music institution at the time in Greece – would not be untouched by the political rift of the period. Georgios Lambelet's (1875-1945) provocative articles entitled *Αποκαλύψεις δια το Ωδείο* [Revelations about the Conservatory]¹⁴¹ in *Οι Καιροί* [The Times] advocate that “Our [Athens] Conservatory does not teach our national music” (“το Ωδείο μας δεν καλλιεργεί την εθνική μας μουσική”)¹⁴² and that

“the students should not study German music but Italian music instead, because our [Greek] character is more similar to the Italian one”

“οι μαθητάδες μαθαίνουνε Γερμανική μουσική, ενώ έπρεπε να μαθαίνουνε ιταλική, γιατί ο χαρακτήρας ο δικός μας μοιάζει πιο πολύ με τον Ιταλικό χαρακτήρα”¹⁴³.

The editor of the newspaper *Ακρόπολης* [Acropolis], Theodoros Synadinos writes in defense of the Athens Conservatory that

“even the Italians, who have their tradition in music and composers such as Palestrina, Rossini, Donizetti etc., become receptive to the German music tradition, in which the pure instrumental music is the “true” music and yet even the new [generation of great] teachers, from Boito to Puccini, in their use of music material are “Wagnerising” because they realized that the “true” music is not directed to the feeling but to the spirit; when everyone curtsies one's acquiescence to the “rite” of Bayreuth that comes each year, when the German Operetta renounced the French and Italian influence, Mr. Rizospastis claims that we must reprobate everyone who teaches in the Athens Conservatory because they teach German music.”

“τη στιγμή που οι Ιταλοί, που έχουνε δική τους μουσική, που βγάλανε δασκάλους στη μουσική σαν τον Παλεστρίνα, το Ροσσίνι, το Δονιζέτη και τόσους άλλους, ανοίγουνε τα χέρια τους κι αγκαλιάζουνε τη Γερμανική μουσική, τη μουσική της

¹⁴¹ [Lambelet] Γεώργιος Λαμπελέτ, “Αποκαλύψεις δια το Ωδείο” [Revelations about the Conservatory], *Οι Καιροί*, November 21, 1909 – November 26, 1909.

¹⁴² [Synadinos] Θεόδωρος Ν. Συναδινός, “Το Ωδείο μας” [Our Conservatory], *Νουμάς*, November 22, 1909, 4.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, 5.

αρμονίας και της μελωδίας της λεπτής, την αληθινή μουσική, τη στιγμή που οι νέοι δάσκαλοι, από το Μποϊτό ίσαμε το σημερινό Πουτσίνι, γερμανίζουνε στις συνθέσεις τους, γιατί καταλάβανε πως μουσική αληθινή δεν είναι κείνη που διευτώνεται στο αίσθημα, αλλά στο πνεύμα, τη στιγμή που όλος ο κόσμος βγάζει με σεβασμό το καπέλλο του μπρός στην ιεροτελεστία που γίνεται κάθε χρόνο στο Μπαϋρόουτ, τη στιγμή που η Γερμανική μουσική έδιωξε και από την οπερέττα ακόμα τη Γαλλική και την Ιταλική, βγαίνει ο Ριζοσπάστης στην Ελλάδα και λέει τί; να σουβλιστούν όλοι μέσα στο Ωδείο γιατί μαθαίνουνε τον κόσμο Γερμανική μουσική.”¹⁴⁴

Another composer living and studying at that time in Paris, Marios Varvoglis, who joins the debate in *Noumas* is skeptical on Georgios Nazos’s (1862-1934) management because of the fact that the Conservatory supports, as he also does, the German music tradition. Nevertheless, he does not share the same opinion as Kalomiris that the Athens Conservatory “is an honour to the country”¹⁴⁵ arguing from the effect to the cause. That is, first that the institution cannot provide orchestra musicians apart from pianists and second about the difficulty of the students to comprehend music theory and harmony because of the inappropriateness of the used language. However, Varvoglis’s support of the demotic language and his scornful attitude towards Italian music are, as Katy Romanou has noted, the common element between Varvoglis’s and Kalomiris’s beliefs. Apparently, that was the reason why Kalomiris held Varvoglis in such great regard and considered him a companion in his ambition to create a National School of music.

Kalomiris’s response in *Η Τέχνη μου και οι πόθοι μου (Απόσπασμα). Για ωδεία και για τ’ ωδείο* [My Art and my thinking. (Excerpt). For conservatories and the Conservatory], and in the sequel *Για ωδεία και για τ’ ωδείο (Απόσπασμα)* [For conservatories and the Conservatory (Conclusion)] is a comment on the articles of Sinadinos and Varvoglis, in *Noumas*, criticizing the music education at the Athens Conservatory. Unsurprisingly, Kalomiris is writing in defense of Sinadinos and his management of the Conservatory, which was rather German-oriented, judging by his previously mentioned statement. Kalomiris claims that the Athens Conservatory is “admirably organized from the bottom to the top. [...]

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

¹⁴⁵ [Kalomiris] Μανώλης Καλομοίρης, “Η Τέχνη μου κ’ οι πόθοι μου (Απόσπασμα). Για τα Ωδεία και για τ’ Ωδείο” [My Art and my thinking. (Excerpt). For conservatories and the Conservatory], *Νουμάς*, January 31, 1910, 2.

In my humble opinion the Conservatory is one of the few institutions which is an honour to the country.” (“ένα απο τα λιγοστά ιδρύματα που τιμούνε τον Ελληνισμό”).¹⁴⁶

In the light of what has just been said, it could be argued that Lambelet’s strong distaste for Georgios Nazos’s education policy does not only reveal the former’s preference for an Italian-educated director for the Athens Conservatory, as he constantly refers to the composer Spiros Samaras (1861-1917)¹⁴⁷ but, also reflects, from a sociological point of view, “one of the ways of adjusting to the new.”¹⁴⁸ At the time those who influenced the Greek music affairs were divided in two polarized camps, one arguing for Italian music (with supporters such as Lambelet and Samaras), and the other (represented by Kalomiris, Varvoglis and Sinadinos) trying to shift the Greek music to the German paradigm. The co-existence of the old (Italian) and the new (German), traditional and modern, within the bourgeois modernization of the Athenian society of the late 19th century, has its reference to the music debate for dominant music paradigm. Evident of such claim is the concept of *σύγχρονος* [modern]¹⁴⁹ as it is used in the daily press by musicians, poets and writers, which, doubtlessly, denotes the need for and the way of a “cultural renaissance”¹⁵⁰, to use Romanou’s term, that historians and musicologists refer to as Westernization or modernization of Greece at the time.¹⁵¹ The latter essentially reflects a paradigm shift (to use the term that Thomas Kuhn applied to the history of science) in the Greek music culture.

Paradigms, basic concepts that guide musical perception and musical thought, form a major part of what is considered “national music,” that explains assumptions that stand unobtrusively and little considered behind everyday musical debate.¹⁵² So, since the supporters of the German paradigm were gaining ground and becoming part of the progressive circles of the Greek society, it can be argued that the most adequate western model for the westernization of Greece is not the Italian culture but rather the German one,

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

¹⁴⁷ [Lambelet] Γεώργιος Λαμπελέτ, “Αποκαλύψεις δια το Ωδείο” [Revelations about the Conservatory].

¹⁴⁸ “General introduction: Aspects of the Greek society of the 19th century,” Foundation of the Hellenic World, accessed on November 20, 2010, http://www.ime.gr/chronos/12/en/1833_1897/society/index.html.

¹⁴⁹ For more information on the use of the term *σύγχρονος* see [Tziouvas] Τζιόβας, *Οι μεταμορφώσεις του εθνισμού* [The transformations of nationalism], 19-29.

¹⁵⁰ [Romanou] Ρωμανού, “Westernization of Greek music,” 102.

¹⁵¹ [Grapsas] Νίκος Γράψας, et al., *Τέχνες II: Επισκόπηση Ελληνικής Μουσικής και Χορού, τ. Γ': Ελληνική Μουσική Πράξη: Λαϊκή Παράδοση – Νεότεροι Χρόνοι* [The Arts II: Overview of Greek music and dance, vol. 3: Performance of Greek music: Folk tradition – Later Years] (Patra: ΕΑΠ, 2003), 397.

¹⁵² See how Carl Dahlhaus uses the concept of paradigm in his analysis of Absolute music as aesthetic paradigm in Carl Dahlhaus, *The Idea of Absolute Music* (Chicago: University Of Chicago Press, 1991), 2.

as it is also clearly indicated in the title of one among several articles concerning a reaction to French troupe's performances in Athens¹⁵³: "Germany: there is a great and healthy Nation, an example for imitation."¹⁵⁴

GERMAN MUSIC PARADIGM IN GREECE

At this point, it is essential to elucidate the content of the term "German music" as it was conceived by the Athenian musicians and historians at the turn of the twentieth century. Between 1834 and 1891 (year that the Athens Conservatory fell under the management of Georgios Nazos) the Athenian audience had the opportunity to listen to military bands¹⁵⁵ performing Marches and Polkas – the audience's first acquaintance with western music.¹⁵⁶ Later, the institution of the Athens Conservatory's symphonic orchestra in 1903, as part of Nazos's reorganization of the institution enriched, according to Romanou, the audience's repertoire, with works by Bach, Mozart, Beethoven, Schumann, Brahms etc.¹⁵⁷ Nevertheless, the Athenian audience was skeptical towards German instrumental music because, one could argue that, the foreign influence should meet their deepest needs and not only that of the intellectual elite of the newly established bourgeoisie, which was responsible for exposing German virtues in the Athenian society.¹⁵⁸ Moreover, the opera repertoire mostly performed by roving Italian troupes had nurtured the Greek audience in "delicious melodies," to use Wagner's term, that is music pertaining to the character of

¹⁵³ During the first days of July 1902, the newspaper *Οι Καιροί* published articles in its front page that were against a series of French troupe's performances that were taking place in Alabras's Theatre (Αλάμπρας). There is no reference to specific performances and plays, and the newspaper seems to condemn all events taking place in that theatre as immoral. See also: [Romanou] Ρωμανού, "Westernization of Greek music," 100; "Εις το ξεσπίπτων θέαμα" [Unappropriate show]. *Οι Καιροί*, July 5, 1902, 1; "Κάτω ο Παρισιανισμός" [against Paris]. *Οι Καιροί*, July 7, 1902, 1; "Κάτω ο Παρισιανισμός" [against Paris]. *Οι Καιροί*, July 8, 1902, 1; "Κάτω ο Παρισιανισμός" [against Paris]. *Οι Καιροί*, July 9, 1902, 1.

¹⁵⁴ "Η Γερμανία. Ιδού έθνος μέγα και υγιές άξιον προς μίμησιν" [Germany: there is a great and healthy Nation, an example for imitation], *Οι Καιροί*, July 10, 1902, 1.

¹⁵⁵ The first military bands that performed in Athens were consisted of and directed by Bavarian musicians. The very first band was transferred from Nafplion to Athens by order of the King Otto when became the capital of Greece in 1834. See [Baroutas] Μπαρούτας, Κ., *Η μουσική ζωή στην Αθήνα του 19^{ου} αιώνα* [Music life in Athens during the 19th century], 13.

¹⁵⁶ [Baroutas] Κώστας Μπαρούτας, *Η μουσική ζωή στην Αθήνα του 19^{ου} αιώνα* [Music life in Athens during the 19th century] (Athens: Παπαρηγορίου-Νάκας, 1992), 13.

¹⁵⁷ [Romanou] Ρωμανού, *ΈντεχνηΕλληνική Μουσική στους Νεότερους Χρόνους* [Greek Art Music in Modern Times], 131.

¹⁵⁸ According to Anastasia Siopsi in order for a foreign influence to be fully accepted by society it must meet the needs of the general public and not satisfy merely an elitist group. Therefore, in the case of German music's reception the same principle can be applied. [Siopsi] Αναστασία Σιώψη, *Η Μουσική στην Ευρώπη του Δέκατου Ένατου Αιώνα* [Music in Europe during the nineteenth century] (Athens: Τυπωθήτω, 2005), 305.

entertainment.¹⁵⁹ Additionally, the fact that Wagner's *Ring* was not performed in Greece until 1938, and that references to Wagner's name appear in Kalomiris's contribution in *Noumas* (1910) and in Lambelet's *National Music (Η Εθνική Μουσική)* (1901)¹⁶⁰ (and these references are only in association with national visions in music), then the aforementioned term cannot bear content that exceeds the romantic idiom. Thus, any "progress and evolution of the musical dramatic arts"¹⁶¹ is unknown to the Greek bourgeois society at the beginning of the twentieth century.¹⁶² With this in mind, I claim that Kalomiris, in essence, is a major communicant of Wagner's ideas, contributing to the cultural renaissance of the Greek society as he "became highly established in the artistic environment during the first half of the 20th century."¹⁶³ As Kalomiris mentions Wagner in his writings it seems safe to assume that for him the term German music denotes the Wagnerian music as well.

INSEMINATION VERSUS INFLUENCE

Olympia Frangou-Psychopedis in *Η Εθνική Σχολή Μουσικής. Προβλήματα ιδεολογίας* [National Music School. Issues of Ideology] explores the context in which the Greek National School of music flourished in relation to the framework of the history and aesthetics of the other national schools of the neighboring European countries as well as in reference to the music movements at the time. She interprets Kalomiris's oeuvre from a socio-aesthetic point of view in relation to National School's ideological traits. For Frangou-Psychopedis the concept of "national romanticism" is very crucial because of the fact that one of its characteristic traits is "the transition from Italian influences and of a rather decorative presence of the national elements (melodies, etc.) in musical composition, to the influence of French and German Romanticism and the creative reshaping of the national element

¹⁵⁹ [Romanou] Ρωμανού, *Έντεχνη Ελληνική Μουσική στους Νεότερους Χρόνους* [Greek Art Music in Modern Times], 141.

¹⁶⁰ [Lambelet] Γεώργιος Λαμπελέτ, "Η Εθνική Μουσική" [National Music], *Παναθήναια* 15, vol. 2, 1901:82-90; [Lambelet] Γεώργιος Λαμπελέτ, "Η Εθνική Μουσική" [National Music], *Παναθήναια* 30, vol. 2, 1901:126-131; [Lambelet] Γεώργιος Λαμπελέτ, *Μουσική και Ποίησης* (1926) [*Music and Poetry*] as quoted in [Frangou-Psychopedis] Φράγκου-Ψυχοπαίδη, *Η Εθνική Σχολή Μουσικής. Προβλήματα ιδεολογίας* [National Music School. Issues of Ideology], 241-276.

¹⁶¹ [Kalomiris] Καλομοίρης, "Ο Πρωτομάστορας" [O Protomastoras].

¹⁶² See [Siopsi] Αναστασία Σιώψη, *Η μουσική στην Ελλάδα του δέκατου ένατου αιώνα* [Music in Greece during the nineteenth century], in *Η Μουσική στην Ευρώπη του Δέκατου Ένατου Αιώνα* [Music in Europe during the nineteenth century] [Siopsi] Αναστασία Σιώψη (Athens: Τυπωθήτω, 2005), 301; [Romanou] Καίτη Ρωμανού, "Η Αθήνα" [Athens], in *Έντεχνη Ελληνική Μουσική στους Νεότερους Χρόνους* [Greek Art Music in Modern Times], [Romanou] Καίτη Ρωμανού (Athens: Κουλτούρα, 2006), 109-110.

¹⁶³ Belonis, "The Greek National Music School," 125.

(colour, rhythm).¹⁶⁴ Therefore she claims that “the interplay of drama and music and the reference to folk legends, although it is a Wagnerian theory and practice, it does not actually associate Kalomiris to the work of Wagner but rather with the ideology of romanticism in general, which seeks inspiration in the past to create a modern and future music.”¹⁶⁵ Moreover, in reference to Kalomiris’s second music drama *Mother’s Ring*, Frangou-Psychopedis contends that, because his inspiration is in close reference to the melodic character of the folk and Byzantine tradition and rather differentiated from the Wagnerian technique and atmosphere, his work is more similar to the Russian music tradition.¹⁶⁶

These interpretations are characteristic of issues concerning musical influence, which derive from standard methods of aesthetic classification in music history.¹⁶⁷ Frangou-Psychopedis assumes (1) that Kalomiris’s work is interpretable, in terms of understanding, as a manifestation of the ideology of the “national schools”¹⁶⁸ and national romanticism, and (2) that ideologies may be analyzed as filiations from one classification to another, as appropriations in which the appropriator takes an ideology and perfectly assimilates it as his own.¹⁶⁹ I would like to argue that these assumptions are not adequate to the understanding of musical influence or cultural works as discourses.¹⁷⁰ These assumptions presume that ideologies “flow in patterns of identity.”¹⁷¹ Paraphrasing Mark Poster¹⁷², I claim that the mediations between musical influence and the form of ideology itself generate disjunctions

¹⁶⁴ [Frangou-Psychopedis] Φράγκου-Ψυχοπαίδη, *Η Εθνική Σχολή Μουσικής. Προβλήματα ιδεολογίας* [National Music School. Issues of Ideology], 295.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 130.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 131.

¹⁶⁷ The inclusion and exclusion of certain ideological, and consequently musical manifestations of culture as well, is a major part of the intellectual’s history approach nowadays. For instance, as Mark Poster notes in his article *Ambivalent Feminism in Wagner’s Ring*, that the study conducted by Rather, which presents evidence concerning the influence of Schopenhauer on Wagner, excludes certain “facts” in order to conform to his (desired) interpretation. Poster also argues that the ideology of immediacy which Rather supports and states that ideas must directly flow from one mind to another seems to leave no margin for differentiation and potential influence by unexpected agents. In a similar way, I argue that Frangou-Psychopedis’s claim that the ideologies (in this case the ideology of Romanticism and of National Schools) directly flow from a movement to a composer excluding any other kind of influences lacks the ability to fully explain ideological (and musical) influences. See also Mark Poster, “Ambivalent feminism in Wagner’s *Ring*,” *New German Critique* 53 (Spring - Summer, 1991), 142-143.

¹⁶⁸ [Frangou-Psychopedis] Φράγκου-Ψυχοπαίδη, *Η Εθνική Σχολή Μουσικής. Προβλήματα ιδεολογίας* [National Music School. Issues of Ideology], 295.

¹⁶⁹ See a similar case between Schopenhauer’s and Wagner’s ideas in Poster, “Ambivalent feminism in Wagner’s *Ring*,” 131-148.

¹⁷⁰ I use the term discourse to refer to a general notion that includes the notion of ideology and the subcategory of musical ideology and also the notion of movement in music.

¹⁷¹ Poster, “Ambivalent feminism in Wagner’s *Ring*,” 143.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*

between the work of one composer and another. Then, ideological – or even musical – filiation is rather like translation than repetition, in which the iteration includes significant differences and is altered by them. Ideological, and consequently musical, lineage is therefore not an even process of insemination but a discursive dissemination, a synthesis of similarities and differences. Frangou-Psychopedis’s “failure” to demonstrate the representation of Wagner’s ideas in Kalomiris’s work is thus not a falsehood but rather a confirmation of the validity of a certain ideological manifestations of culture.

Therefore, instead of understanding Kalomiris’s ideology by reference to the ideological traits of national romanticism and the National schools, I believe a better reading can emerge from a careful study of Kalomiris’s texts. Until now I have looked at Kalomiris’s contribution to debates that dealt with the involvement of language in association with music creation and the German orientation of the music education and the German paradigm as the proper aesthetic paradigm. So to continue, I would like to focus on his thoughts concerning his visions about the Athens Conservatory, as articulated in *Noumas*. Here I will also present the excerpts of Wagner’s prose works that Kalomiris had underlined.

THE TRANSLATION OF WAGNER’S IDEAS IN KALOMIRIS’S VISIONS

Interestingly, the bibliographical reference to Wagner’s *Report to His Majesty King Ludwig II of Bavaria upon a German Music School to be founded in Munich*¹⁷³ shows that Kalomiris was fully aware of Wagner’s vision of a German Music School (both as style and as institution) and furthermore, it reveals a potential association between Wagner’s views “as to what may reasonably be expected for Music from the action of a Conservatorium” and Kalomiris’s vision for the character and the aim of the Athens Conservatory.

“If I am not mistaken their name (from *conservare* = to protect, to conserve) remind us that at the beginning there must have been, more or less, something like an orphanage or a boarding house. Wagner gives us an alternative explanation: conservatory derives from the word *conservare*, but according to him the term *conservare* was used because it means preservation, so conservatories’s main goal was the preservation of national tradition and its performance. I do not know which one

¹⁷³ Richard Wagner, *Gesammelte Schriften und Dichtungen, VIII Band* (s.l., Elibron Classics, 2005) [as it is quoted in the aforementioned article].

[interpretation of the origin of the word conservatory] is correct. Nevertheless, that was the main goal of the Conservatories in Italy. That is, they were institutions that dealt with the preservation and dissemination of the tradition in vocal performance which was shaped by the important Italian theaters and foremost the *Scala*.”

“Αν δε γελιέμαι, τ’ όνομά τους (από το *conservare* = διατηρείν) μας θυμίζει πως στην αρχή είτανε, απάνω κάτω, κάτι σα μουσικά ορφανοτροφεία ή πανσιόνες. Ο Βάγκνερ μας δίνει μιάν άλλη εξήγηση: πως το κονσερβατόριο βγήκε από το *conservare*, με τη σημασία της διατήρησης της κλασικής εθνικής παράδοσης στην εκτέλεση. Δεν ξέρω ποιό είναι το σωστό· όμως το βέβαιο είναι πως αφτός είτανε ο σκοπός των Ωδείων της Ιταλίας· η διατήρηση και μετάδοση του κλασικού ύφους στην ωδική εκτέλεση, κατά πως το μορφώσανε τα μεγάλα Ιταλικά θέατρα και προπάντων η Σκάλα”¹⁷⁴

Furthermore in his article, Kalomiris calls attention to the French conservatories and their influence, along with the Italian conservatories, over the German way of teaching before Wagner’s reformatory policy in the German music culture. Similarly, he makes reference to the German theater – before Wagner – which lacks national (German) style because of the use of French and Italian repertoire. Presumably, for Kalomiris, Wagner’s “great musical movement,” to use Kalomiris’s term, is responsible for the renouncement of the French and Italian influence over the development of a national German style in performance. The latter being an essential prerequisite, in Kalomiris’s judgment, as to the appropriate teaching style of a German conservatory. That is, the formed national style should be adopted and preserved by conservatories and not being created by them. The national style in performance is created, as Kalomiris advocates, “by music geniuses.” Nevertheless, German conservatories – although of high status at the time – do not have any influence, as perceived by Kalomiris, on the development of the German (national) music which appears to be a differential trait between Italian and German conservatories. Next, Kalomiris’s illustration of Rubinstein’s view on the character of the conservatory, which states that the goal of the institution should be to increase the average number of well-trained musicians, led him to conclude to that the Athens Conservatory is moving in the right direction towards becoming equal to the European conservatories that he had visited.

¹⁷⁴ [Kalomiris] Καλομοίρης, “Η Τέχνη μου κ’ οι πόθοι μου (Απόσπασμα).” [My Art and my thinking (Excerpt)], 1.

At this point, it must also be said that Wagner's plan to create a music school was expressed in a fifty-page brochure entitled *Report to His Majesty King Ludwig II of Bavaria upon a German Music School to be founded in Munich*, which he submitted to Ludwig in 1865. For Wagner, such an institution was "necessary to train singers for the demanding roles he had created for them."¹⁷⁵ Although Munich at the time had a good music conservatory, Wagner claimed that in the whole of Germany there was no institution capable of fulfilling his aim.¹⁷⁶ Thus, he argued that "in both music and drama Germany lacked a style of performance answering to the national spirit. The main objectives of the new school would be to cultivate the right way of rendering the great German music of the past, and in so doing to establish a style that would answer the needs of contemporary German creative artists."¹⁷⁷ Following this further, by focusing on specific articulations in the text, we can have a clear view of the tasks of a German music school. It is interesting that the establishment of works of German originality, according to Wagner, first rests on the "practical necessity, that of preparing the artistic organs absolutely indispensable for the intended Model performances, of qualifying them to fulfill a task such as has never yet been earnestly and singly set before them."¹⁷⁸ In other words, the well-trained musicians are, in fact, the medium through which a national style can flourish. Thus, "it is of the first importance that singers gifted with dramatic talent should receive a proper training in voice production." However, the training in instrumental production appears to be on good level and as Wagner contends, "[f]or every instrument each considerable orchestra owns a master, with whom the pupil can learn the technique of his chosen instrument to a point of greatest finish. I see no reason for forming a special branch of tuition at a Music-school; joint studying of instrumental technique has no sense, and can at most be plied in Russian barracks with success."¹⁷⁹ Unsurprisingly, it seems that Kalomiris is in alignment with Wagner's educational policy as it is exemplified in the *Report to His Majesty*. Kalomiris's perception of the potential use of the well-trained musicians to the rendering of works of pronouncedly Greek originality is on the one hand, denoted by his remark that

¹⁷⁵ Alan Walker, *Franz List: The final years 1861-1886* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1997), 110.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷⁷ Christopher McIntosh, *The Swan King: Ludwig II of Bavaria* (London: Tauris Parke Paperbacks, 2003), 47.

¹⁷⁸ Richard Wagner, "Report to His Majesty King Ludwig II of Bavaria upon a German Music School to be founded in Munich" in *Richard Wagner's Prose Works*, vol. IV, ed. and trans. William Ashton Ellis (London: William Reeves bookseller Ltd., 1912), 180.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid., 189, as highlighted by Kalomiris in his copy of Richard Wagner, *Gesammelte Schriften und Dichtungen*, VIII Band.

“as far as music is concerned, we have reached a point [in music education] where they [teachers] are able to tell the difference between who is worthy and who is not, however, they are still unable to evaluate what may be expected [for national music] from the well-trained musicians”

“όσο για τη μουσική, φτάσαμε στο κάποιο σημείο που τους επιτρέπει να ξεχωρίζουνε, απάνω κάτω, την αξία από τη μή αξία· όμως να ζυγιάσουνε την αξία, αφτή την τέχνη δεν την κατέχουνε ακόμα”¹⁸⁰,

and on the other hand is justified both by the character of his (ambitious) personality and, more importantly, as I contend, his acquaintance with ideas that could inseminate his aspiring plans. Thus, the supposition of ideological filiations between Wagner and Kalomiris concerning the latter’s visionary organization of music education and the cultivation of Greek national style can be interpreted as a translation, which is based on the character of the educational purpose of a conservatory and altered, however, as a discursive dissemination, by Kalomiris’s aspirations and Greek music’s distinctiveness of character.

Furthermore, the degree of insemination of Wagnerian ideology is reflected in Kalomiris’s claim for support of the literature in music composition:

“We could also mention the influence of Nietzsche on Wagner (although Nietzsche tried hard to fight against Wagner) but Wagner’s work is in a high and unique position in the music literature which doesn’t fit very well here, [he is referring to the before-mentioned Italian music] because his work is related to literature, as the work of the Greek poets and dramaturges was related to music. From history we learn that: important [great] literature on a national level cannot be achieved without a relative national music, however the opposite is the case for some nations (England, Spain), but important [great] national music without relative important literature cannot be found anywhere”

¹⁸⁰ [Kalomiris] Καλομοίρης, “Η Τέχνη μου κ’ οι πόθοι μου (Απόσπασμα).” [My Art and my thinking (Excerpt)], 2.

“Θα μπορούσαμε εδώ ν’ αναφέρουμε και την επίδραση της εποχής του Νίτσε στο Βάγγνερ (όσο κι αν ο Νίτσε πολέμησε στα στερνά το Βάγγνερ), μα το έργο του Βάγκνερ στέκεται σε μία τόσο αψηλή μα και ξεχωριστή κορφή της μουσικής που δεν πολυταιριάζει εδώ, αφού μάλιστα το έργο του κλείνει αφτό το ίδιο και φιλολογία καθώς το έργο των Ελλήνων ποιητών και δραματουργών έκλεινε μέσα του και μουσική. Από την ιστορίαν μαθαίνουμε και τούτο, πως φιλολογία εθνική μεγάλη δίχως ανάλογη εθνική μουσική δεν απαντάμε σε αρκετά έθνη (Αγγλία, Ισπανία), γερή όμως εθνική μουσική δίχως γερή φιλολογία δεν συντυχαίνουμε.”¹⁸¹

Kalomiris’s claim shows on the one hand that he had read texts concerning Wagner and on the other hand that he was aware of Friedrich Nietzsche’s work *The Birth of Tragedy* (1872) and presumably *The Case of Wagner* (1888) since in *Noumas* we also read that:

“I think that it would be wise to have a series of lectures or extra lessons concerning topics on music or other relative topics. ([such as] Aesthetics of music [...] Wagner’s era – Wagner and Nietzsche, Music drama and Ancient Greek tragedy)”

“Θαρρώ πώς δε θα βλάφτανε και διαλέξεις ή έχταχτα μαθήματα για μουσικά ζητήματα ή συγγενικά με την μουσική. (Αισθητική της μουσικής[...] η εποχή του Βάγγνερ – Βάγγνερ και Νίτσε, το μουσικό δράμα και η αρχαία τραγωδία).”¹⁸²

Although it is not sufficiently documented that Kalomiris read Nietzsche’s writings on Wagner, both his reference to the relationship between Wagner and Nietzsche and the importance attached to Wagner’s status in music history, as perceived by Kalomiris, does not only reveal a great interest of his in German literature but also reflect the priority of inseminative influences in Kalomiris’s work and ideas. In other words, the importance of the ideas, which derive from Kalomiris’s perception of Wagner as a “music genius,” can be proved to be a primary source of insemination in the process of assimilation of different ideologies. Kalomiris’s perception of the importance of the notion of genius is illustrated in the following comment:

¹⁸¹ [Kalomiris] Καλομοίρης, “Ζωή-Γλώσσα-Μουσική. Απάντηση στον Ξενόπουλο” [Life-Language-Music. A response to mr. Xenopoulos], 1.

¹⁸² [Kalomiris] Καλομοίρης, “Η Τέχνη μου κ’ οι πόθοι μου (Απόσπασμα).” [My Art and my thinking (Excerpt).], 5.

“in every country the most that a conservatory can achieve is to protect and conserve the national music [of that country] (if there is) and its performance, but a conservatory cannot create those. That has never happened before. The national music has been created and continues to be created by music geniuses such as Lully, Rameau, Glinka and Grieg”

“σ’όλες τις χώρες, το πολύ που μπορεί να κάνει ένα Ωδείο είναι να προστατέψη και να διατηρήσει (σαν υπάρχει) την εθνική μουσική κ’εκτέλεση, όμως να τις δημιουργήσει, αψτό ποτές δεν εστάθηκε. Την εθνική μουσική τη δημιουργήσανε και δημιουργούνε από το Λουλί και το Ραμό ίσαμε το Γκλίγκα και το Γκρίγκ οι μουσικές μεγαλοφυΐες και μόνο αφτές”

At this point, the notion of “genius” is very important. According to Anna Piotrowska, “the Romantic way of perceiving artists as geniuses with all the entailing consequences deeply infiltrated the minds of future generations of composers.”¹⁸³ Thus, in the light of such a claim, it can be argued that Kalomiris’s reference to the fact that music can be created only by music geniuses connote the individual validity in the process of music influence towards a prevalent style or genre.

Bearing this in mind, it could be argued further that Kalomiris’s rejection of Italian music, as documented in his articles, is not only politically justified, as most musicologists seems to adjudicate, but also, as I contend, a discrete ideological Wagnerian insemination. Wagner in the third and most comprehensive of the Zurich writings on art, written in the winter of 1850-51, *Oper und Drama*¹⁸⁴, expands on the musical-dramatic form of opera and its history since the eighteenth century. In this lengthy work Wagner expresses his opposition to Italian opera based on two factors: melody and content. Wagner chooses Rossini to exemplify his concept of “absolute melody.” According to Wagner, Rossini discovered the “secret opera” in “naked, ear-pleasing absolute melody, that is, in melody which is only melody and nothing more, which sounds sad when we are happy, which glides

¹⁸³ Anna G. Piotrowska shows the importance of impact on how the role of the composer was perceived by composers of the age of Modernism, whose way of thinking is still closely related with the genius idea, see Anna G. Piotrowska, “Modernist Composers and the Concept of Genius,” *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music*, 38:2 (2007): 234.

¹⁸⁴ For the details of the history of its origin and publication of *Opera and Drama*, see Wagner, Richard, *Oper und Drama*, ed. Klaus Kropfinger (Stuttgart: Reclam Verlag, 1984).

into our ears – one knows not why, which one sings back to oneself – one knows not why,...which sounds sad when we are happy, or happy when we are out of sorts, but which we whistle to ourselves, still without knowing why.”¹⁸⁵ According to Thomas Spencer Grey, the problem with the melody is that “it has fossilized only certain basic principles of ‘absolute’ music [...] and fails to develop any of that raw material according to the potential of a well-conceived dramatic action.”¹⁸⁶ Concerning the content of the music, Wagner perceives in Beethoven’s music that which was not evident in the simple textures of the operatic arias in Rossini’s music. As Grey claims, “Wagner cites as proof of the aesthetic bankruptcy of opera since Rossini the fact that its ‘forms’ – its predictably square-cut ‘absolute melodies’ – have become its actual content, while the poetic text [...] has been demoted to the role of a mere vehicle for these forms, as so much syllabic material cut to order.”¹⁸⁷ Wagner actually, as Thomas Spencer Gray contends, accuses Rossini that in his melodic manipulation he excludes any concern with musical form as such.¹⁸⁸ “Strictly speaking, it was now [after Rossini] left to the musician to write the drama, to make his music constitute not just an expression [of the drama] but its very content.” In that context, Wagner’s statement could be read as a censure to the idea that music (form) should arrogate the rights of poetry or drama (content).

One could claim that Kalomiris, shares the same opinion about the Italian opera. He states that Italian opera has nothing else apart from its melody:

“Its value, significance and strength are all gathered around melody; we either let this melody untouched and unspoiled (I mean its character) and then we write Italian music and not [Greek] National [music] or we will leave aside the Italian melody, but then we have left aside the whole Italian music, because apart from its melody there is nothing else.”

“Όλη της η αξία, η βαρύτης κ’ η δύναμη βρίσκονται συγκεντρωμένες στη μελωδία, ή θα αφήσουμε αφτή τη μελωδία ανέγγιχτη κι απείραχτη και τότε γράφουμε Ιταλική

¹⁸⁵ As quoted in Thomas S. Grey, *Richard Wagner and the aesthetics of musical form in the mid-19th century (1840-1860)* (PhD diss., University of California, 1988), 287.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁷ Thomas S. Grey, *Wagner’s musical prose: texts and contexts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 30.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

μουσική και όχι Εθνική ή θα βγάλουμε την Ιταλική μελωδία, μα τότε βγάλαμε όλη την Ιταλική μουσική αφού έξω από την μελωδία της δεν έχει τίποτα άλλο δικό της”¹⁸⁹

Thus, it can be argued that Kalomiris implies that there is no content at all. He uses a more metaphorical language to express his statement in *Noumas* advocating that the

“hallmark of the Italian music is its style, its nutshell, its trumpery, that is the melody – the “flesh” (without the “bones” unfortunately); [the hallmark] of the German [music] is its wisdom, its internal, its harmony – the “bones” (but *with* “flesh” and *the* “flesh”).”

“γνώρισμα χαρακτηριστικό της Ιταλικής μουσικής η τεχνοτροπία: το εξωτερικό: το φανταχτερό: η μελωδία – η σάρκα (δίχως οστά κατά δυστυχία) της Γερμανικής η σοφία: το εσωτερικό: η αρμονία – τα οστά (μα και με σάρκα και τη σάρκα).”¹⁹⁰

At this point, it is interesting to introduce Kalomiris’s noted excerpts from Wagner’s *Autobiographic Sketch* in order to illustrate the potential filiations between Wagner’s view of Italian music and the latter’s condemnation by Kalomiris.

“Meanwhile I heard *Devrient* sing in Bellini’s *Romeo and Juliet*. I was astounded to witness so extraordinary a rendering of such utterly meaningless music. I grew doubtful as to the choice of the proper means to bring about a great success; far though I was from attaching to Bellini a signal merit, yet the subject to which his music was set seemed to me to be more propitious and better calculated to spread the warm glow of life, than the painstaking pedantry with which we Germans, as a rule, brought naught but laborious make-believe to market. The flabby lack of character of our modern Italians, equally with the frivolous levity of the latest Frenchmen, appeared to me to challenge the earnest, conscientious German to master the happily chosen and happily exploited means of his rivals, in order then to outstrip them in the production of genuine works of art.”¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁹ [Kalomiris] Μανώλης Καλομοίρης, “Μουσικοκριτικά Γυμνάσματα” [Music Criticism], *Νουμάς*, May 2, 1910, 3.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid.

¹⁹¹ Richard Wagner, “Autobiographic Sketch.” in *Richard Wagner’s Prose Works*, vol. I, ed. and trans. William Ashton Ellis (London: William Reeves bookseller Ltd., 1895), 9.

In the light of what has just been said, it can be argued that Kalomiris's support of the inappropriateness of Italian music in the formation of a national music school, as stated in his articles, can be the result of Wagnerian ideological insemination. Wagner's ideology influenced Kalomiris's ambition and visions about the formation of a National School of music in Greece, what may be expected for national music from the action of the Athens Conservatory, and the establishment of the German (post-Wagnerian) paradigm as the proper aesthetic paradigm. Thus, iteration – of Wagner's beliefs – exemplified in Kalomiris's articles includes significant differences, such as the Greek music's distinctiveness of character and national aspirations at the time, and is altered by them. Therefore, the process of insemination becomes a discursive dissemination. Furthermore, it can be argued that the degree of discursiveness is reflected in my further syllogism.

Kalomiris's 'organic' conceptualization of music, draws possible connections with Wagner's "organic unit" of the music drama that he tries to accomplish through the "combination and ramification of the *Thematic Motifs*"¹⁹², as exemplified in *A communication to my Friends* (1851). In lack of any documented evidence for supporting a direct connection between Wagner's notion of "organic" and Kalomiris's one, therefore, it can be only supported, according to Anastasia Siopsi, that the Hegelian notion of 'organic development' (*Werden*) is exemplified in the theory of the 'historical continuity', a purely ideological construct which appeared and developed in the nineteenth and early twentieth century. Anastasia Siopsi claims that the past and the present can be united and 'live' both in the present through the instinctive experience of tradition.¹⁹³ This instinctive experience is grounded on the perception of the Greek civilization as an organic unity according to which the Byzantium is the continuation of the Ancient Greek civilization and later, under the theory of nationalism, the Greek nation is the descendant of the Ancient Greek civilization and Byzantium, as an indivisible whole.¹⁹⁴ Wagner also tried to accomplish a bond of continuity with the past based on the German tradition with the use of their myths and at

¹⁹² Richard Wagner, "A communication to my Friends." in *Richard Wagner's Prose Works*, vol. I, ed. and trans. William Ashton Ellis (London: William Reeves bookseller Ltd., 1895), 52.

¹⁹³ [Siopsi] Σιώψη *Τρία Δοκίμια για τον Μανώλη Καλομοίρη* [Three essays on Manolis Kalomiris], 21.

¹⁹⁴ According to Siopsi, towards the end of the nineteenth century (early twentieth) musicologists argue for an uninterrupted continuity in music throughout the centuries from Ancient Greece through Byzantine to modern times. [Siopsi] Σιώψη *Τρία Δοκίμια για τον Μανώλη Καλομοίρη* [Three essays on Manolis Kalomiris], 21.

the same time through his admiration of Ancient Greek civilization.¹⁹⁵ Furthermore, it can be argued that the strong connection between Greek culture and German culture, as exemplified in the relationship of Wagner and Kalomiris, is the result of a certain cultural stance that Western European civilization is Greek-oriented, at least in terms of what Europeans imagined that to be. Thus, Kalomiris, and the other Greek contemporaneous composers, in the context of Nationalism, used music paradigms from other cultures to reinforce and not to disfigure the *Greekness* of their own compositions.¹⁹⁶

In conclusion, following Kalomiris's contributions to *Noumas*, where he expresses his ideas and his beliefs in relation to the formation of the Greek National School of Music and his noted excerpts on Wagner's prose works, significant conclusions on the possible association between Wagner's ideology and Kalomiris's visions can be drawn. Kalomiris's support of the inappropriateness of Italian music in the formation of a national music school, as stated in his articles, can be the result of Wagnerian ideological insemination. Wagner's ideology inseminated Kalomiris's ambition and visions about the formation of a National School of music in Greece, what may be expected for national music from the action of the Athens Conservatory and the establishment of German paradigm as the proper aesthetic paradigm. Thus, iteration – of Wagner's beliefs – exemplified in Kalomiris's articles included significant differences, such as Greek music's distinctiveness of character and national aspirations at the time, and is altered by them. Therefore, the process of insemination can be seen as a discursive dissemination. That is, the synthesis of similarities, such as the ideological filiations between Wagner and Kalomiris, and differences provided by Kalomiris's idiosyncrasy in association with the political aspirations of the Greek nation and the Greek music's distinctiveness of character, provided the ground for a discursive dissemination of the Wagnerian ideology which also reflects the priority of inseminative influences in Kalomiris's work and ideas.

¹⁹⁵ See: Wolfgang Schadewaldt "Ο Ρίχαρντ Βάγκνερ και οι Έλληνες" [Richard Wagner and the Greeks] in *Ο Βάγκνερ και η Ελλάδα* [Wagner and Greece] (Μέγαρο Μουσικής Αθηνών, 1992); Dieter Bremer, "Από τον μύθο στο μουσικό δράμα. Βάγκνερ, Νίτσε και η ελληνική τραγωδία" [From myth to music drama. Wagner, Nietzsche and the Greek tragedy] trans. Νίκος Μ. Σκουτερόπουλος in *Ο Βάγκνερ και η Ελλάδα* [Wagner and Greece] (Μέγαρο Μουσικής Αθηνών, 1992).

¹⁹⁶ [Siopisi] Σιώψη, *Τρία Δοκίμια για τον Μανώλη Καλομοίρη* [Three essays on Manolis Kalomiris], 32.

Chapter Three

WAGNERIAN INSEMINATIVE INFLUENCES IN MANOLIS KALOMIRIS'S FORMAL DESIGN – THE CASE OF *O PROTOMASTORAS*

In this chapter I will attempt to reveal technical aspects of Kalomiris's first music drama *O Protomastoras* that could be attributed to Wagner's influence on his work using a formal approach. In order to do so, I will first present Wagner's characteristic traits in formal design which I will later show in Kalomiris's work as well. I will focus on two examples, one the Lament in Kalomiris's music drama, which will be analyzed in relation to Frika's Lament in Wagner's *Walküre*, and two the love duet in *O Protomastoras* that I will associate with the love duet in Wagner's *Tristan und Isolde*. Looking at both these examples I will illustrate that the two composers share a similar approach in formal design and therefore it could be argued that Kalomiris has been influenced by Wagner's work.

***O PROTOMASTORAS* (THE MASTERBUILDER)**

Kalomiris wrote *O Protomastoras*, music drama in two parts and an interlude, in 1915. After that he revised it twice, in 1929 and in 1939. The music drama is based on the homonymous tragedy by Nikos Kazantzakis (1908-9).¹⁹⁷ Although, the libretto was written by the composer himself, certain parts were finalized by Nikos Poriotis, Agni Orfikou (G. Stefopoulos) and Myrtilotissa (T. Drakopoulou-Pappas).

The manuscripts of the music drama *O Protomastoras* are located at the archive of MANOLIS KALOMIRIS SOCIETY which is housed within the National Conservatory and the house of Manolis Kalomiris in Athens. According to Fillippos Tsalachouris's *Complete Catalogue of Manolis Kalomiris's works* there are three manuscripts of the full score: 1) Located at the house of Kalomiris in Palaio Faliro in Athens and written somewhere between July – October 1915. This version does not include the first Act as it has been lost. 2) Also located at the house of Kalomiris in Palaio Faliro in Athens, this version is a revision written

¹⁹⁷ Nikos Kazantzakis wrote the drama *O Protomastoras* in 1909 while living in Paris. The drama's initial title was *Η Θυσία* [The Sacrifice]. In 1910 the drama won first place in Lassanio Competition and was performed for the first time in 1915.

between winter 1923 – summer 1929. Unlike the previous version this is complete. 3) The final version is kept at the National Conservatory and is the result of a revision that took place in 1941-42. The first part is written on September 1941 and the second part and the Interlude are written on December 1942. Kalomiris continued to revise his music drama until 1944; however he did not consider those alterations new revisions of the work.¹⁹⁸ In the *Catalogue* of Tsalachouris the work is registered as being written in 1940.¹⁹⁹

There is no edition of the manuscripts of the full score published yet. However, two edited vocal scores have been published: 1) In 1917, Editions by Manolis Kalomiris. According to Tsalachouris this first edition could have been given as a present to Eleftherios Venizelos, because it was dedicated to him.²⁰⁰ More specifically, the first page reads “*O Protomastoras, to the masterbuilder of the Great Greece, Eleftherios Venizelos*”²⁰¹. A copy of this edition with an indication on the first page: “Revised piano edition 1931”²⁰² is located at Kalomiris’s house. 2) In 1939, Editions Γαϊτάνος [Gaitanos], Athens. In this version there is no dedication. According to Anoyanakis’s *Catalogue* this vocal score was written in 1940.²⁰³ In addition to these two published versions, an individual edition of the Aria of the *Singer To χαμηλό σπίτι* [The small house]: first Part, has been published by Manolis Kalomiris in 1962. Moreover, according to Tsalachouris and Anoyanakis there was an edition (1937) of the vocal version of the first Act made and distributed by the composer himself, but there is no more information available and the edition is considered lost.²⁰⁴

Nowadays, the manuscripts of the full score of 1941-42 as well as the published vocal score of 1939 are used both for performance and teaching purposes. In both the manuscript full score of 1941-42 and the edited vocal score of 1939 the libretto is the same. For that reason in this study I use mostly the edited vocal score, but I also look at the full score manuscript of 1941-42, which is considered complete.

¹⁹⁸ [Tsalachouris] Φίλιππος Τσαλαχούρης, *Μανώλης Καλομοίρης 1883-1962: Νέος Κατάλογος Έργων* [Manolis Kalomiris 1883-1962: New Catalogue of Works] (Athens: Σύλλογος ‘Μανώλης Καλομοίρης’, 2003), 19.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰⁰ Ibid., 20.

²⁰¹ “Τον Πρωτομαστορα στον Πρωτομαστορα της Μεγαλης Ελλαδος Ελευθέριο Βενιζέλο”.

²⁰² “Διασκευή πιάνου τυπωμένη και διορθώσεις 1931”.

²⁰³ [Tsalachouris] Τσαλαχούρης, *Μανώλης Καλομοίρης 1883-1962: Νέος Κατάλογος Έργων* [Manolis Kalomiris 1883-1962: New Catalogue of Works], 20.

²⁰⁴ Ibid.

SYNOPSIS

Those involved in the music drama are: Protomastoras (tenor), Smaragda (soprano), The Master (baritone), The Mother (Contralto), The Singer (soprano), The Old Man (bass) and two choruses (builders and gypsy women, and harvesters and village women).

Part I: The music drama takes place outside a small village in the outskirts of which a big river can be found. The Master of that village has asked Protomastoras and his crew to build a bridge over that river. At the beginning of the music drama builders and gypsy women are celebrating under the newly built bridge. A group of harvesters and village women arrive, but are in fear that the bridge will collapse again, as it has done twice already. An Old Man prophesizes that their fears are correct and the bridge will indeed collapse again, unless a human sacrifice is made in order to sooth the river. At that moment the Singer announces the arrival of Smaradga, the Master's daughter. Protomastoras and Smaragda have a private moment together. During that time they proclaim their love to each other. He is happy, not only because he is with her, but also because he thinks the bridge is finally done. Bursting with pride he says that he is not afraid of the curse of the bridge, and that Fate cannot touch him. Hearing these words the Old Man urges the harvesters to attack Protomastoras, as he may bring misfortune upon them. The Master arrives and order is restored. He satisfied with the work Protomastoras has done and promises to award him with whatever he desires. Protomastoras asks for a palace for the woman he loves, but before he can reveal who that woman is, a storm breaks out and the bridge crumbles to the ground. The Mother (a hermit that leaves in a cave on the banks of the river) appears among the ruins. She states that Protomastoras is to blame for the bridge collapsing again, and that for the bridge to stay intact he must sacrifice the woman he loves and build her alive within its foundations. The crowd gathered at the scene demands to know who the woman is, but both Protomastoras and Smaragda remain silent. The Master, enraged, demands all village women to be summoned in order for Protomastoras's lover to be found. He also threatens Protomastoras to have him entombed in the foundations, if he continues to refuse to give up the name of his lover.

Interlude: The village women sing about the harshness of Protomastoras's mission and the consequences of defying Fate, while the gypsies praise the happiness one can find in love.

Part II: All the women have gathered and the Master demands anyone who knows the name of Protomastoras's lover to come forward. As no one speaks, he orders that Protomastoras be build into the foundations of the bridge. Faced with that threat, Smaragda publicly declares her love for Protomastoras. Her father, devastated by the news, curses her, but as she starts to cry and falls to her knees, he yields to her. Although Smaragda is the Master's daughter, she still needs to be sacrificed for the greater good. So, as he sun begins to set, she is taken to the bridge's foundations. Smaragda laments as she is afraid to die, however she does not regret her love for Protomastoras. The lovers bid farewell to one another. As Smaragda is being build into the foundations, she curses the bridge to tremble as her hurt is trembling and through off those walking upon it. Protomastoras asks her to take back the curse for his sake. She, then, reverses the curse into a wish for the bridge to be sturdy. By the time the sun sets, the builders have finished their task, and the river having received its sacrifice allows the bridge to stand tall. At the end, all who are gathered at the scene praise Protomastoras for mastering his own heart.

INTO FORMAL ANALYSIS

Wagner's innovative theories concerning the possibilities of opera were worked out, on a large scale and in great detail, in his famous prose writings, mainly the big book *Opera and Drama* (1850-51) and also, *The work of Art of the Future* (1849) and *A Message to My Friends* (1851). At the time these were written, he was totally occupied by creating operas in this new form. Thus, "the rest of his output is different in kind from anything he had done before, and constitutes a revolutionary development not only in the history of opera but in the history of music".²⁰⁵

²⁰⁵ Bryan Magee, *The Tristan Chord. Wagner and philosophy* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, LLC, 2002), 13.

Although for Wagner dramatic ideas bring fourth music²⁰⁶, it seems that the “affect” of music on dramatic ideas is much less considered. However, music cannot convey dramatic ideas without articulating, and, in fact, communicating, the traditional musical forms and procedures that the composer knows. Wagner’s voluminous, and lastingly influential, prose works show little reference to specific technical details of his own music. Even when Wagner wrote in detail about his own music in close reference to specific passages in his music dramas he was quite reticent on formal concerns preferring instead to focus on their dramatic content and expressive force. According to Anthony Newcomb, that happened because “partly he [Wagner] subscribed to the prevailing anti-mannerist view that art should conceal artifice; partly because he subscribed vigorously to an aesthetic oriented toward feeling and expression as opposed to an aesthetic oriented toward formal concerns (for which Hanslick became the chief spokesman); and partly because a thick veil of mystery thrown around technique helped to project the flattering image of the artist as magician”.²⁰⁷ Moreover, an early example of Wagner’s concern for the formal aspects of his operas is expressed in a letter to Uhlig (Dec. 1851).²⁰⁸ Although the starting point is the thematic idea, Wagner’s formal concerns are manifest in his interest for the effect of his newly developing techniques on thematic development.²⁰⁹ In addition, in his *On the Application of Music to the Drama* (1879) he seems concerned with the fact that all his commentators seem to focus their critique on the thematic idea (the *leitmotiv*) and not, as he would prefer, on his formal procedures.²¹⁰

It is really interesting, not to say an exaggeration, as Dahlhaus contends, that the problem of musical form in Wagner is too difficult to be clarified. Nevertheless, during the twentieth century Wagner’s followers, in their attempt to defend him against growing accusations of formlessness, have focused on Wagnerian formal analysis, thus making a significant contribution in this field of study of Wagner’s work. The changing aesthetic

²⁰⁶ In his essay “On the name “Musikdrama” (Über die Benennung “Musikdrama”) Wagner criticizes the term “music drama” suggesting instead the phrase “deeds of Music brought to sight (ersichtlich gewordene Thaten der Musik)”. See: Richard Wagner, “On the name “Musikdrama.” The Wagner Library, accessed December 10, 2010. <http://users.skynet.be/johndeere/wlpdf/wlpr0185.pdf>, 7.

²⁰⁷ Anthony Newcomb, “The Birth of Music out of the Spirit of Drama: An Essay in Wagnerian Formal Analysis.” *19th Century Music* 5 (1981-1982): 38.

²⁰⁸ Richard Wagner, *Briefe an Theodor Uhlig, Wilhelm Fischer, Ferdinand Heine* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel 1888).

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 142.

²¹⁰ Richard Wagner, “On the Application of Music to the Drama.” The Wagner Library, accessed December 10, 2010. <http://users.skynet.be/johndeere/wlpdf/wlpr0141.pdf>, 11-12.

stances that appeared at the beginning of the twentieth century led to an excess of formal aesthetic over expressive aesthetic, as Dahlhaus states in his preface in *Richard Wagner's Music Dramas*, "The idea that aesthetic access to a work is gained through understanding of technique has become the ruling maxim (as questionable as are many of the pedagogical consequences)".²¹¹ The formal exegesis of Wagner's work culminates in the large scale analytical work *Geheimnis der Form bei Richard Wagner* (4 vols.) by Alfred Lorenz. The latter attempted to reveal the "secret of form"²¹² in Wagner's works by dividing the *Ring*, *Tristan*, *Meistersinger* and *Parsifal* into large scale tonally closed sections, and further dividing them into formal schemata such as ABA or AAB. For Dahlhaus, Lorenz's analyses "suffer from faults that are as fundamental as they are impossible to eradicate",²¹³ while for Newcomb the problem lies in Lorenz's perception of form, as an semblance of schemata, which "deployed in time as architectural units are deployed in space, in patterns of complementarity and symmetry, patterns that can be held in the mind and appreciated there as a complete, static whole".²¹⁴ Although both scholars are opposed to Lorenz's viewpoint, Newcomb claims that Dahlhaus's Wagnerian analyses are based on his attempt to oppose to Lorenz's excess of perfectly divided and symmetrically concatenated tonally closed formal schemata and thus, he "regularly chooses to ignore the tonal build of Wagner's units". However, despite any criticism, Dahlhaus's works, as well as those by other early twentieth century writers on Wagner have offered more insight into formal interpretation.²¹⁵ In any way, a summary of their work or a demonstration of their methods is impossible to be dealt with shortly in this study and further a full discussion of Wagner's

²¹¹ Carl Dahlhaus, *Richard Wagner's Music Dramas*, trans. Mary Whittall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 8.

²¹² Carl Dahlhaus, "The Music", trans. Alfred Clayton, in *The Wagner Handbook*, ed. Ulrich Müller and Peter Wapnewski, trans. John Deathridge (Cambridge, MA, and London: Harvard University Press, 1992), 303.

²¹³ Ibid.

²¹⁴ Newcomb, "The Birth of Music out of the Spirit of Drama", 39.

²¹⁵ See, Rudolph Stephan, "Gibt es ein Geheimnis der Form bei Richard Wagner?", a lecture of 1962 reprinted in *Das Drama Richard Wagners als Kunstwerk: vol.23, Studien zur Musikgeschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Carl Dahlhaus (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse, 1970); Stefan Kunze, "Ober Melodiebegriff und musikalischen Bau in Wagners Musikdrama dargestellt an Beispielen aus *Holliander* und *Ring*", in *Das Drama Richard Wagners als Kunstwerk: vol.23, Studien zur Musikgeschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Carl Dahlhaus (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse, 1970), 111-44; Reinhold Brinkmann, "'Drei der Fragen stell' ich mir frei': Zur Wanderer-Szene im 1. Akt von Wagners 'Siegfried'." *Jahrbuch des Staatlichen Institute für Musikforschung* 5 (1972): 120-162; William J. Mitchell, "the Tristan Prelude: Techniques and Structure." *Music Forum* 1 (1967): 162-203; Benjamin Boretz, "Meta-variations, Part IV: Analytic Fallout." *Perspectives of New Music* 11 (1972): 146-223; Robert Bailey, "The Method of Composition," in *The Wagner's Companion* eds. Peter Burbidge and Richard Sutton (London: Faber & Faber, 1979), 269-338.; According to Newcomb, only Bailey seems to analyze an entire Wagnerian musico-dramatic unit. Newcomb, "The Birth of Music out of the Spirit of Drama", 39.

music complexity would be rather extensive for the limitations of this thesis. In presenting my own argument, I choose to state general principles, referring to the current literature, but primarily referring to Newcomb's analyses of Wagner's musico-dramatic unit.

WAGNER AND FORM

By approaching our subject from a formalistic point of view we are faced with the concept of form as applied to music. The different approaches of Wagnerian analysis can be located in the differing perceptions of the word *form*.²¹⁶ As Wagner himself has pointed out in his *On the Application of Music to the Drama*, "the new form of musical construction",²¹⁷ that is, "Unity" – the linking and contrasting of leitmotifs – or the "thematic interrelations", to use Newcomb's term, do not deal with a constricted concept of form.²¹⁸ Consequently, form is not equivalent to unity. So, the content of the word form should be seen differently. According to Newcomb, the notion of shape and the notion of procedure provide new insight to the concept of form and thus, to our understanding of Wagner's work. So, although unity could give coherence it cannot form shape. The latter can be seen as architectural construction, that is, static form that is shaped in our mind as a visual whole.²¹⁹ Newcomb claims that although Wagner's music dramas bear that kind of musical shape it is not the most common type.²²⁰ Furthermore, in his effort to illuminate the most common type of musical shape that prevails in Wagner's work, he interprets *shape* as something that is in constant movement and progress, as an algorithmic equation. He refers to the fugal procedure and imitative procedure of the motet as an example of the sequential repetition that can give shape to music. Thus, if shape is conceived in terms of procedure, then shape can arouse "expectations about method and direction of continuation, although it does not always make clear where the series will end".²²¹

²¹⁶ Newcomb, "The Birth of Music out of the Spirit of Drama", 40.

²¹⁷ "Unity consists in a tissue of root-themes pervading all the drama, themes which contrast, complete, re-shape, divorce and intertwine with one another as in the symphonic movement;", Wagner, "On the Application of Music to the Drama", 11.

²¹⁸ Ibid., 11-12; See also: Dahlhaus, *The Music*, 303; Newcomb, "The Birth of Music out of the Spirit of Drama", 40.

²¹⁹ Purely formalist analysts and aestheticians represent this view; See also Eduard Hanslick, *On the Musically Beautiful* (Indianapolis: Hackett Pub Co., 1986), which can be seen as an attack on the Wagnerian aesthetic advocating that music is expressive solely by virtue of its form.

²²⁰ Newcomb, "The Birth of Music out of the Spirit of Drama", 40.

²²¹ Ibid.

In addition, shape can be seen as a procedure that does not pertain to music but is drawn from procedures from other fields. Such procedures are of traditional rhetoric as well as dramatic or psychological fields. That is a series of mood and affects or aspects of a dramatic model similar to models utilized in Dramaturgy nowadays. Although, the use of the dramatic procedure was not unprecedented in Wagner's time, it was quite innovative. Newcomb claims that this kind of shape applied to music by Wagner is reflected in notion of *Entwicklung*, which the former interprets as "for dramatic procedure in music" and not as it is often translated "development".²²² Then, *Entwicklung* is seen as an opposition to the closed static forms of the traditional formal analysis.²²³

Newcomb gives an example of the way the dramatic procedure can be communicated into musical terms. In *Siegfried* Act III scene 1, the dialogue between Wotan and Erda can be thought of as a dramatic presentation and alteration of antithetic positions in dialogue; as well as the passage from tranquility to uncontrolled anger.²²⁴ For instance, Erda's speeches can be seen as dramatic metaphor projecting her rising anger. Her dramatic delivery is controlled by Wagner's thoroughness in using the musical elements. It is important to note the changes in the tempo of her speeches. The tempo of her first speech is *Bedeutend langsamer* (note that Wotan's tempo is more lively and active as it is marked *Lebhaft* and *Belebt*). Gradually, the tempo is rising as her anger is growing wider moving from *Langsamer*, to *Mässig* then *Etwas zurückhaltend* which rises to *allmählich belebend*. Finally, in a culmination of rage (WVS 255/3, WFs 841, "*Du bist nicht*" [You are not]),²²⁵ she appropriates Wotan's tempo until the end of their dialogue. In a similar way Erda's entrances are designed. At the beginning she speaks very slow leaving long instrumental sections between her speech and Wotan's, but as the scene proceeds she becomes more self-confident and at the end she manages to contradict him directly. Her contradiction is not only realized textually but also melodically. Erda rises her voice so high (253/2-254/1,

²²² Newcomb, "The Birth of Music out of the Spirit of Drama", 41.

²²³ Newcomb claims that *Entwicklung* is opposed to the word *Wechsel* and locates Wagner's formal concerns in the essay of 1857 on Liszt's symphonic poems; a letter of 29 October 1859 to Mathilde Wesendonck concerning the art of transition also presents musical form as dramatic procedure; the interpretation of Coriolanus overture in the Beethoven essay of 1870; A passage from *Das Braune Buch*, where Wagner describes a number of musical forms as various types of *Lebensläufe*. Newcomb, "The Birth of Music out of the Spirit of Drama", 41.

²²⁴ Newcomb, "The Birth of Music out of the Spirit of Drama", 58.

²²⁵ References to passages in Wagner's works will locate the passages by page and, where relevant, system in the vocal scores [VS], then the orchestral (full) score [WFs] (the editions referred in the bibliography).

WFs 832/2-834) that trumps Wotan's high F with her E as well as her interjection "*störrischer Wilder*" [wild and stubborn]). Then, Wotan reacts the same way trumping her high F with his F# before making his final decision. In this way Wagner using a simple dramatic process he gives shape to music and at the same time using music, in this case manipulating the tempo, to project dramatic procedure.

Furthermore, tensions between the demands of *Entwicklung* and *Einfall*, as Newcomb remarks, are interesting enough to elucidate the function of smaller gestures within the music drama that take place in the action of music. In other words, the demands of theme or motive, which captures individual gesture, create tension with the demands of advancing procedure (as shape or form). A theme or motive, or the combination of thematic material, or the transformation of the thematic material encloses expression of individual character which can speak more directly to the listener. Such directness was highly valued by Wagner²²⁶, which is reflected in Thomas Mann's characterization of the Wagnerian music drama as "this exoteric music" ("dieser exoterische Musik").²²⁷ This "exoterische" character, as opposed to the musically projected dramatic procedure, is interpreted by Newcomb as "a kind of *recitativo accompagnato*, or melodrama writ large, in which a series of short and highly individual musical formulations is hung on stage incident"²²⁸ which he locates in Siegfried Act II. In fact, for Newcomb, this tension between "thematic-illustrative music" is always present in Wagner. For example, Wotan's monologue in *Walküre* Act II scene 2 can be a case of illustrative music which comprises references to Valhalla. The extreme length of the monologue provides the ground for Wagner to shape a large musical procedure based on the large-scale dramatic procedure that Wotan's monologue offers. The musical procedure is shaped according to a gradual modulation from Wotan's "O heilige Schmach!" [O sacred disgraced] through "zernage ihn gierig dein Neid!" [greedily feed your hate on it!] (WVS 109/1-130/3, WFs 348/1-421/1). In other words, the musically unformed recitative, which Wotan sings, is gradually progressing to a musically formed aria-like unit. Thus, the entire section is shaped as two musical pillars offering great intensity.

²²⁶ Edgar J. Levey, "Boucicault and Wagner." *The North American Review* 144:367 (1887): 652-653.

²²⁷ As quoted in Newcomb, "The Birth of Music out of the Spirit of Drama", 41.

²²⁸ Newcomb, "The Birth of Music out of the Spirit of Drama", 41.

In relation to the traditional formal procedures Wagner is not left untouched by late eighteenth and early nineteenth century music.²²⁹ However, even though there are traditional influences in his techniques for presenting forms, he is in various aspects adding his own mark. For instance, Wagner within a single unit combines a variety of traditional formal types; he shifts back and forth between the various forms and often he leaves them incomplete. Examples of such shifts can be, at least partly audible to any listener in the audience. According to Newcomb, such shifts are extremes in between which he locates “manifold gradations and the movement across these gradations may in itself be a source of shape”.²³⁰ Thus, we can see that Wagner, by shifting between various traditional formal types, creates his own formal shape. Furthermore, this shape is defined by variety and internal flexibility in moving from a less structured to a more structured state. Wagner not only shifts between the units but he does so not gradually. He may juxtapose the two units or within the same unit he may flexibly move back and forth from the loosely structured to the highly structured state. The use of structured form associates Wagner with the traditional formal procedures which as we mentioned earlier influenced his work. However, even in the structured units of his work the formal procedures are left incomplete and the gradation from one to another is constant. Thus, Wagner’s incompleteness of form is defined as a procedure open-ended and “forward-moving” (in Newcomb’s term)²³¹ or “of development” as Dahlhaus puts it.²³² For example in Siegfried Act III, scene 1, on the small scale, Wotan’s speech (WVS 242/1-244/3, WFs 784-99) one could say that it is formed as ABA unit. This assumption is based on the fact that the first unit is tonally closed and the beginning of the second is in clear contrast with the first. But, the return of the initial unit (WVS 244/1, WFs 796) does not begin like the first time and thus partly loses its clarity. Furthermore, towards the middle of the unit the harmonic and melodic line is interrupted and a new form follows. On the other hand, on a large scale, the scene can be seen as an arch form until the reprise is clearly articulated. But, during this reprise Wagner interrupts the periodicity of the reprise using an enharmonic alteration in one chord to break the closed tonal build and move on into other units in the next scene. In this way Wagner leaves

²²⁹ *Ibid.*, 42.

²³⁰ *Ibid.*

²³¹ *Ibid.*, 43.

²³² Dahlhaus, “The Music”, 304.

the whole scene incomplete achieving a procedure that can be defined as open-ended and forward-moving.

We have seen so far that Wagner uses some forms, which he combines in such a way that they are left incomplete or transformed into large-scale formal schemata. Although these forms can be traced to traditional musical procedures Wagner makes use of them in a novel way (that is, the use of recitative and aria combined to form a *recitativo accompagnato* as realized in Wotan's monologue and the traditional ABA form in which the return of the initial unit is interrupted in order to move off into other units having similar shape and function as the first one). However it is not only the shapes (as forms) which Wagner creates that constantly move and shift, but also, other musical elements contribute to Wagner's flexibility of form. These elements are responsible for the internal function of a form and include: tempo and instrumentation, the dramatic or rhetorical structure of the text, motive and theme, as well as tonality. We will now look at these form-defining elements in more detail.

Instrumentation and tempo, apart from applying color and expression alone, can be powerful elements in defining Wagnerian form. Instrumentation and tempo can play this powerful role especially in cases where other form-defining elements, such as theme and tonality, are called into question and therefore one has to look at other musical aspects that have the capacity to help define form.²³³ This is also evident by the fact that Wagner in his essay *On conducting* stresses the importance of control in tempo.²³⁴ Additionally, Newcomb's analysis of the central section of Siegfried Act III, scene 1 is referential of tempo's importance. He claims that "[t]empo is again an important communicator of the musico-dramatic shape in the long central dialogue between the two duets of Siegfried III, 3".²³⁵ He also states that "In the brief section of Walküre II, 1 [...] instrumentation (in this case not referential) plays a secondary role, but one that is certainly not negligible in reinforcing a primarily tonal shape of statement, contrast, and return".²³⁶ Therefore, it seems that it could indeed be argued that tempo and instrumentation, although not always

²³³ Egon Voss has argued that tempo is a form-defining element of Wagnerian form. See: Egon Voss, "Noch einmal: das Geheimnis der Form bei Richard Wagner," in *Theaterarbeit an Wagners 'Ring'*, ed. Dietrich Mack (Munich: Piper, 1979), 134.

²³⁴ Richard Wagner, "On Conducting." Project Gutenberg, accessed December 10, 2010. <http://digital.library.upenn.edu/webbin/gutbook/lookup?num=4523>.

²³⁵ Newcomb, "The Birth of Music out of the Spirit of Drama", 44; See also: Brinkmann, " 'Drei der Fragen stell' ich mir frei': Zur Wanderer-Szene im 1. Akt von Wagners 'Siegfried'", 120-162.

²³⁶ Newcomb, "The Birth of Music out of the Spirit of Drama", 44.

playing a central role in shape definition, can nonetheless be important aspects when analyzing Wagnerian form (I have already shown above, in Wotan's and Erda's dialogue, how tempo can contribute in shape definition). The division of the text in dialogue as well as its dramatic or rhetorical structure could be used as form-defining elements. On the large scale the various divisions of the scene in dialogue could indicate an internal articulation of the scene. These articulations, by dividing the scene into sections, could provide the procedure by which a music-dramatic unit is structured. Newcomb locates such procedures in *Walküre* Act II scene 2, in Brünhilde's question to Wotan and in the Wanderer's question to Mime and Mime's to Wanderer's.²³⁷ However, the large-scale dramatic structure is not only based in the divisions of the text as there are always visual elements that interrupt the articulation. As for the tonal return, which cannot be left aside, it comes only at the end of the unit, as Newcomb notes, and Dahlhaus sees it as "blurrings of the formal articulations in order to enhance the musico-dramatic flow".²³⁸

The most important, and the most interesting, in the Wagnerian musico-dramatic unit is, according to many scholars that deal with formal analysis in Wagner, the function of a motive (*leitmotiv*). Its function is very crucial to the analysis of Wagnerian form. As both Dahlhaus and Newcomb have shown, the function of a motive can be form-defining or referential.²³⁹ Although Dahlhaus does not explore the issue in the analysis of a scene, Newcomb gives a comprehensive analysis where he notes that, if a motive is form-defining or not, this is resolved "at the outset of a formal unit" and then the motives are "clearly laid out in an initial exposition".²⁴⁰ Furthermore, Newcomb claims that the form-defining motive is mostly a new one or a newly transformed. He gives an example of such a function referring to *Siegfried* Act III, Scene 1 and *Siegfried* Act I, Scene 2.²⁴¹ Although any reference to the principal material is later blurred and thus not self-contained, the formal significance is invested in the internal contrasts and sequential development. Moreover, the form-defining motive may have other functions within a unit, as Newcomb points out. The motive may be a transformation of a much-used motive which defines the space between the

²³⁷ Ibid., 45.

²³⁸ Ibid, See also, Dahlhaus, "Wagners 'Kunst des Übergangs': Der Zweigesang in 'Tristan und Isolde'" in *Zur musikalischen Analyse*, ed. Gerhard Schuhmacher (Darmstadt: Buchgesellschaft, 1974), 475-486.

²³⁹ Ibid., 47.

²⁴⁰ Ibid.

²⁴¹ Ibid.

beginning and end of a whole scene, as in *Siegfried* Act I, Scene 2.²⁴² In another occasion, the motive may be used in another unit not just as reminiscence but as serving a function of the dramatic articulation.²⁴³

O PROTOMASTORAS PART II, SMARAGDA'S LAMENT

Having seen the characteristic traits in Wagner's formal design I will analyze two fragments of *O Protomastoras* to illustrate the similarities with Wagner. To start with, I have chosen to cross-examine the formal design in Fricka's Lament from *Walküre* Act II, Scene 1 and Smaragda's Lament from *O Protomastoras* Part II (VS 107-113, Ms 176-184, "Αχ! Πονώ, Αχ! Πονώ!" [Oh, how it hurts!]).²⁴⁴ The passage expresses Smaragda's deep pain as she loses her strength; she laments her fate. The chromatic and exotic character of the passage may overshadow the overall tonal build of the unit. In that case we may miss some significant aspects of the unit's shape and expressivity.

Smaragda's Lament could be approached as an aria-like music-dramatic unit. Moreover, following Dahlhaus, we could adopt the rhetorical concept to interpret the musical shape of this music-dramatic unit. That is, rhetorically antithetical sections and an imprecation. Smaragda's conclusion ("Ως τρέμειν η καρδούλα μου να τρέμει το γιοφύρι. Κι ως πέφτουν τα μαλλάκια μου να πέφτουν κι οι διαβάτες" [Just as my poor heart now trembles, so may the bridge tremble and just as my hair falls, so may the travelers fall of the bridge]) is very like an imprecation. Although the way this imprecation is presented shows an internal contrast, it may deceitfully seem not so direct to be perceived as an antithesis. Furthermore, the introductory section, Smaragda's exclamation may be misleading by blurring the internal antithesis, that is, we may not pay proper attention to the tonal structure of the whole unit due to the difficulty of the chromaticism and exoticism to be explained by functional labels. Finally, the rhetorical antithesis between the first two sections is less powerful than within the third section.

As this unit is carried out, it proceeds as follows. The introductory section (through "Αχ! Πονώ, Αχ! Πονώ!" [Oh, how it hurts!]) is not traditional in harmonic terms. The chords

²⁴² Ibid.

²⁴³ see examples in Newcomb, "The Birth of Music out of the Spirit of Drama", 47.

²⁴⁴ References to passages in Kalomiris's *O Protomastoras* will locate the passages by page and, where relevant, system in the Γαϊτάνος [Gaitanos] vocal scores [VS], then the Manuscript orchestral score [Ms].

are formed according to the notes of the melody.²⁴⁵ Thus, the harmony of the section is formed according to the melody as well. However, the next – first – section (through “*Αλοίμονο στη μοίρα μας*” [pity our fate]) seems more traditional in harmonic and metrical terms. Ending on a major dominant seventh chord, it suggests itself as a first member of a parallel antecedent-consequent pair. This is reinforced when the second section (from “*η μία έχτισε το Δούναβη*” [one died to build the Danube]) begins in a similar way (in terms of harmonic successions) as the first one. That is, the melody, in chromatic movement, follows a similar tonal progression as in the beginning of the first section. Within the second section, however, we can hear a small shift of formal Wagnerian alteration. Although the second section begins like the first, the former proceeds by moving away from the first course of action and at the end of that section the principal contrast of the aria-like unit is established (VS 342/4, Ms 182). The traditional tonal contrast between the tonic minor and its homonym major²⁴⁶ (between the two sections) on the one hand affirms a traditional formal procedure, and on the other hand it is very important for my argument here because it could be read as one of the major similarities between Kalomiris’s and Wagner’s Laments (this contrast is almost identical and happens to be realized at corresponding points in both dramas). Moreover, a traditional modulation that appears at the end of the second section (after “*της Άρτας το γιοφύρι*” [the bridge of Arta]) denotes that the musical point of departure is left and a new point has been reached.

In a similar way Wagner has structured Frika’s Lament from *Walküre* Act II, Scene 1. The first section of Wagner’s aria-like unit (through “*höhnend krankest mein Herz*” [and mock and wound me to the heart]) seems traditional in harmonic terms. As it ends on the dominant it may imply that it is the first part of an antecedent-consequent pair. This hypothesis seems even more probable when the section that follows (from “*Trauernden Sinnes*” [Much as it grieved me]) begins in the same manner. However, in the second section

²⁴⁵ It is important to note that, Kalomiris claimed that the modulation of the folk song should be based on the mode of its folk song. So, the melody of the folk song should determine the harmonic context. This idea seems to be partly applied in his works, thus making the tonal build very difficult to be traced. See Also, [Maliaras] Μαλιάρας, *Το Ελληνικό Δημοτικό Τραγούδι στη μουσική του Μανώλη Καλομοίρη* [Greek folk song in the works of Manolis Kalomiris], 236.

²⁴⁶ The case of the traditional tonal contrast between the tonic minor and its relative major is similar to the tonal contrast between the tonic minor and its homonym major in the relationship between exposition and elaboration of a sonata form or “as any other contrasting middle section”, as Schoenberg notes. See: [Adam] Παναγιώτης Αδάμ, “Στοιχεία Κλασσικής Μορφολογίας (2)”, Παναγιώτης Αδάμ, accessed December 10, 2010, <http://panadam.wordpress.com/2008/06/28/schoenbergfundamentals2>; Arnold Schoenberg, *Fundamentals of Musical Composition*, ed. Gerald Strang (London and Boston: Faber and Faber, 1985), 206-207.

the course of action changes (at “*Denn dein Weib noch scheutest du so*” [For you still respected your wife enough], WVS 94/3) and ends with the completion of the antecedent-consequent scheme and thus the contrast of the aria-like unit is finally established. In other words, the traditional tonal contrast between the tonic minor and its relative major (WVS 94/5) affirms a traditional formal procedure that is, a traditional modulation, which appears at the end of the second section (“*Gehorsam der Herrin du gabst*” [respect me as their sovereign]) and tell us that the musical point of departure is left and we arrive at a new point.

As in the case of Wagner where Frika observes that, despite Wotan’s treatment of her, he had cared enough for her prestige to make the Valkyries answer to her and this recollective moment dramatically justifies the music contrast, Kalomiris also reinforces his musical contrast by a dramatic one. In the second section of the text Smaragda seeks consolation in her family’s past. She is in despair because of the Fate’s inequitable treatment of her that does not allow her to remain any further by Protomastoras’s side. She then observes that at least her sisters were also sacrificed for a bridge implying that she should be attributed prestige by the society as she and her sisters have given their life for the greater good. This moment of recollection, as a parenthetic divagation in her epicedium provides the dramatic justification for the needed contrast in music.

The third section of text overturns the dramatic situation building up so far. As Smaragda’s mind snaps back to the present (“*Ως τρέμειν η καρδούλα μου*” [Just as my poor heart now trembles]) (see Example1), she reacts to the pain she referred to at the opening of the aria. Although this overturn is quite clear to be called an antithesis, it can be argued that it is not an antithesis to the first section but rather an antithesis to the internal contrast.

Handwritten musical score for the aria "Ως τρέμειν η καρδούλα μου". The score is written on a grand staff with a vocal line and piano accompaniment. The vocal line includes lyrics in Greek, French, and German. The piano part features chords and a tremolo effect marked "pp".

Example 1. “Ως τρέμειν η καρδούλα μου” [Just as my poor heart now trembles]

That is, in dramatic terms, it is the beginning of an overturn of Smaragda's initial mood and in musical terms the start of a retransition. Although this retransition section, like the second section, is musically shaped by instrumentation, melodic shape and rhythmic figuration, it is tonality that has a more significant role. The stepwise movement in the bass line as well as the chromatic movement of the melody line, which in the first half of the third section is similar to the first, blurs the tonal structure of the section. The periodic design of this section is defined mainly by harmonic rhythm, which Kalomiris manipulates to produce an effect of mounting tension for Smaragda's imprecation. So, the first half of the third section ("Ὡς τρέμειν ἡ καρδούλα μου να τρέμει το γιοφύρι" [Just as my poor heart now trembles, so may the bridge trembles]) proceeds from the tonic to the dominant which resolves (through "καρδούλα μου" [now trembles]) in a deceptive cadence ($V_{5b}^7 - VI$). Then, the sixth degree is prolonged as a VI_{2}^4 chord, till the end of the first verse of this section ("το γιοφύρι" [bridge trembles]) where a deceptive cadence is repeated, but this time as $V_{5b}^7 - VI^7$, and then after the middle of the second phrase, in the final five-measure phrase, this pattern of alteration is expanded to a single, large instance of the progression $VII^7 - III$. It is important to say here that Frika's Lament concludes with a similar pattern of alternation as we have seen in Smaragda's Lament. That is, Wagner uses a Neapolitan $\frac{4}{2}$ chord in alternation with a V_5^6 . The intervallic ratio of these two chords both in Wagner and Kalomiris is almost the same. Thus, the end of Smaragda's Lament, in association with the overall tonal build of Frika's Lament, is determinative for the structure of the unit.

O PROTOMASTORAS PART I, DUET PROTOMASTORAS-SMARAGDA

The central love duet, between Protomastoras and Smaragda, in Part I (VS 72/1–78/1, Ms 93-100) is another example that reveals similarities in formal design with the central love duet from *Tristan* Act II, Scene 1 (WVS 162/5–169/2). The love duet from *O Protomastoras*, much like the one in *Tristan*, maintains a reference to a central tonic in a continuous way and for a longer time. His method is similar to the earlier example of Smaragda's Lament. That is, a strong controlling, seemingly stepwise – occasionally chromatic – bass movement. In other words, a progression or the prolonging of a principal tonal degree. Harmonic succession seems as functionally anomalous, giving the impression of an evasion, but these prolongations are explained by the tonality, which forms the whole

section as an alternation of tonic to dominant and conversely. The stepwise movement of the bass is actually blurring the formal design of this unit which is perhaps intended to be designed that way. This is quite similar to Wagner's design of the love duet, between Tristan and Isolde, which is controlled by a linear bass movement determining the tonal design.

The analysis of this unit reveals two aspects of Wagnerian formal structure. 1) Despite of the non-traditional chord connections, the unit seems formally closed which is communicated mostly by tonality through each tonally closed strophe of the piece (VS 72/1-2, Ms 93) and 2) a wide range of harmonies are interpreted as a prolongation of a fundamental tonal degree. In other words, a certain pitch or pair of pitches are initially exposed and then reinterpreted in a harmony so wide-ranging that the chord connections are no longer clear, as is usually the case in traditional harmonic succession, but our awareness of the relation to the original tonic is maintained through the constant return to those pitches.

Each strophe of the unit moves consecutively from tonic to dominant and back to tonic. The prolongations between the tonic and the dominant seem quite intricate offering a sonorous contrast (throughout "*Βραδιάζει πάλι αγάπη μου*" [The night is drawing near again, my love])(See example2). The first strophe begins with the tonic which seems to sustain a tonic pedal until the dominant and then returns to the dominant. Harmonic succession above the tonic pedal is difficult to be explained by functional labels. However, the secondary seventh chords are controlled from below in order to give a mysterious blurring effect under the first two couplets of the text (N⁷, VII⁷ at "*πάλι*" [again]). Wagner, similarly, in the first strophe of the *Tristan* duet ("*Verloschen nun*", WVS 164/2, WFs 554) begins with a static tonic and moves to a cadential dominant (and then back) in each strophe.

p dolce

ΣΜ. Βρα. δυά. λει: πάλι. α. γά. πη μου ζη.
 SM. La stel. la splen. de de. glia. mor in.
 Bien. tôt la nuit pro. tè. ge. ra nos
 Es däm. mert wie. der Lie. bster mein es

ΠΡΟΤ. δυά. λει: πάλι. α. γά. πη μου ζυ γώ. νει: τὸ. σκο.
 PROT. stel. la splen. de de. glia. mor in. ciel. la dol. ce
 tôt la nuit pro. tè. ge. ra nos à mes en. la.
 däm. mert wie. der Lie. bchen mein es nä. her. sich di. e

Fl. *tr m*

pp

Example 2. "Βραδιάζει πάλι αγάπη μου" [The night is drawing near again, my love])

The harmonic succession from the tonic to the dominant and back to the tonic is the controlling figure of the unit and is achieved through the linear direction of the bass line. In the first strophe there is no prolongation identified. However, the prolongation concept is designed in a large scale and is realized in two ways: 1) the two voices, Protomastoras and Smaragda, are in a canon, that is, Protomastoras is singing one bar ahead. So, the unit is felt as constantly continuous and 2) by repeating the last verse. Musically, this is achieved through the control of the movement of the bass line. Kalomiris writes the bass line in a chromatic descending way, which is not as the stepwise linear movement of the bass line in Wagner's love duet in *Tristan II, 2*, (see WVS 162/5-169/2, WFs 550/2-569), but he adopts the (chromatic) stepwise movement in the bass line to prolong the dominant creating a deceptive cadence before a second tonic, and then he uses a second dominant pedal to construct a large-scale unit. More precisely, the second strophe (from "Θαμπώνει ο κόσμος" [The world around me is growing dimmer]) moves from Ab to Eb. This Eb introduces a deceptive cadence before a second tonic which, in fact, in Kalomiris's case never arrives, and instead a harmonic prolongation of the dominant is realized, through the chromatic descending of the bass line, which continues until the next static dominant pedal. This dominant pedal appears to be in the homonym dominant of the tonic (E) in $\frac{6}{4}$. As far as the deceptive cadence is concerned in Wagner's case, it is orchestrated through the third degree to the first degree (see WVS 166/1). That is, the relationship between the two chords is of a major third. A similar relationship appears in Kalomiris's use of the corresponding deceptive

cadence. That is, the orchestrated cadence through the fifth degree to the third degree shows the similarity in the applied function of such a cadence both in Wagner's and Kalomiris's specific part (VS 72/2, Ms 94).

An authentic cadence on the tonic ($V^7 - I$) marks the beginning of the third strophe ("Βραδυάζει πάλι" [The night is drawing near]). Moreover, the harmonic successions of the second tonic pedal are the same as in the first tonic pedal. Over the second tonic pedal ("Βραδυάζει πάλι αγάπη μου" [The night is drawing near again, my love]) there is a voice exchange in the vocal voices. That is, although during the first tonic pedal it is Protomastoras's voice that leads and Smaragda's follows, during the second tonic pedal Smaragda's voice leads and Protomastora's follows. With this voice exchange, Kalomiris adds a climactic element to Protomastora's vocal descend (he is singing the upper voice now instead of Smaragda; it is a significant instance as a tenor voice sings so high)²⁴⁷ from the natural fifth degree through the secondary dominant seventh chords to the fifth degree (V^7). Then Kalomiris marks the beginning of the fourth strophe with an authentic cadence ($V^7 - I$) and he introduces the Love motive (VS 77/1) which was first stated just before the beginning of the central duet by Protomastoras (VS 63/3). The first half of the Love motive is sang by Smaragda and the second half by Protomastoras. In a similar way Wagner's second Death motive (WVS 168) is introduced at the end of the unit of *Tristan's* central Love duet which is, as Kalomiris's Love motive, first stated before the central duet begins. Furthermore, Kalomiris, as Wagner, uses the high woodwinds to highlight/reveal a chromatic voice which seems to overshadow the ending of the Love motive with the pitch: $fb''' - e''' - db''' - c'' - cb'' - bb'' - b''bb - a''b$ (at "σ'αποθυμώ διπλά" [I long for you even more]). Furthermore, Wagner uses the same method to create further tension and structure in his unit. Although his use of voice exchange is more complicated it is determinative for the structure of the unit of *Tristan's* Love duet.²⁴⁸

To sum up, although Kalomiris does not structure his music drama exactly the same way as we have seen in the analyses above, I believe the similarities in formal design are

²⁴⁷ As mentioned earlier Protomastoras is a tenor voice and Smaragda is a soprano voice.

²⁴⁸ Wagner uses a motivic chromatic movement which is repeatedly returned to and interpreted in a different way. For example, the descending motive $f - fb - eb$ in *Tristan's* Love duet is reinterpreted as a chromatic inner-voice detail, as a climactic upper-voice detail and as a detail in the controlling of the bass. See, WVS 163/4-164/1, WVS 166.

enough in order to a deeper association of Wagner's and Kalomiris's music dramas to be arguable.

Conclusion and Summary

My research on both the ideological and musical filiations between Wagner and Kalomiris revealed a very close connection. Wagner's influence on Kalomiris is approached by adopting the concept of insemination, according to which ideologies do not flow in patterns of identity. That is, the mediations between ideological as well as musical influences and the form of ideology itself generate disjunctions between the work of one composer and another. Thus, any kind of filiations is not seen as repetition but rather as translation. Then, any iteration includes significant differences and is altered by them. So, Ideological, as well as musical lineage is not an even process of insemination but a discursive dissemination, that is, a synthesis of similarities and differences.

According to my method, following Kalomiris's contributions to *Noumas*, where he expresses his visions for the formation of the Greek National School of Music, as well as his underlined parts of Wagner's prose works, significant conclusions on the ideological filiations between Wagner and Kalomiris can be drawn. Kalomiris's scornful attitude towards Italian music, as expressed in his articles, can be the result of Wagnerian ideological insemination. What may be expected for national music from the action of the Athens Conservatory and the establishment of German paradigm as the proper aesthetic paradigm may reflect Wagner's insemination of Kalomiris's ambition and visions concerning the formation of a National School of music in Greece. Moreover, the iteration of Wagner's ideas in Kalomiris's articles includes significant differences and is altered by them. Such differences are the distinctiveness of character of Greek music and national aspirations at the time. Thus, insemination can be seen as a discursive dissemination. In other words, the synthesis of the ideological filiations between Wagner and Kalomiris, and Kalomiris's idiosyncrasy and the Greek music's distinctiveness of character, created fertile ground for a discursive dissemination of Wagner's ideas, which appears to have a significant role in the formation of Kalomiris's work.

Furthermore, the same approach is used to illustrate musical filiations between the two composers. That is, similarities in shape definition between Wagner's music dramas and

Kalomiris's *O Protomastoras* are seen not as mere formal imitations but rather as inseminative influences that any iteration in Kalomiris's shape definition is much like a translation of Wagner's formal design. Although the ways in which Kalomiris's and Wagner's shape definition in their works is not identical still, I believe the similarities in formal design is enough for one to argue that there is a deeper association of Wagner's and Kalomiris's music dramas. This association is not restricted to the superficial use of the Wagnerian leitmotif and endless melody in Kalomiris's work, but it focuses largely in the way music-dramatic units are shaped. Therefore, looking at both composers's formal design of their music-dramatic units it could be said that they share a similar approach in structuring their work. It follows then that Kalomiris could have been influenced by Wagner in terms of music form. Although Kalomiris does exactly replicate Wagner's approach he nonetheless shapes music-dramatic units similarly enough for an insemination of Kalomiris's formal design by Wagner to be arguable.

Looking again at the scholars that advocate that the connection between Wagner's and Kalomiris's work is superficial, I would like to state that given the arguments presented in the second chapter the connection between the two composer's work is based on the insemination – ideological as well as musical – of Kalomiris by Wagner. This insemination, denotes that the Greek composer adopted Wagnerian ideology and music technique to the extent that those, as he perceived them, where applicable, to his own visions for the creation of a National School of music in Greece. Thus, the Wagnerian element is discursively disseminated in Kalomiris's work and is located between the differences – the character of Greek music and the national aspirations – and the similarities of the composition of *O Protomastoras* as the result of the process of insemination. Consequently, the exotic character of the Greek folk song, which the music drama of Kalomiris comprises, should not overshadow the formal design of the work, which is an essential element in music composition.

Furthermore, it is interesting to say that the concept of insemination could further be used for the issue of influence of one composer to the other. The concept of insemination could illuminate aspects of composer's works that are overshadowed by the conventional methods of analysis.

although the results are interesting the case of a possible insemination by Wagner on Kalomiris's works and visions could be further studied for the results to be more concrete.

For instance, for future research, one could look at more instances in Kalomiris's *O Protomastoras* and associate them with more scenes in Wagner's music dramas. Additionally, more works, other than *O Protomastoras* can be used as a case study to make the argument even stronger. Last, the underlined parts of Wagner's prose works noted by Kalomiris himself, that were not in the scope of this thesis could be further studied and reveal different associations between Kalomiris and Wagner.

Appendix

These are the rest of the underlined parts of Wagner's prose works noted by Kalomiris himself that were located in Kalomiris's library. They are not included in the analysis but nevertheless I present them here for further reference.

Autobiographic Sketch

"I was then eleven years old. I promptly determined to become a poet; and sketched out tragedies on the model of the Greeks, urged by my acquaintance with Apel's works: *Polyidos, Die Ätolier*, etc., etc. Moreover, I passed in my school for a good head "*in litteris*;" even in the 'Third form' I had translated the first twelve books of the *Odyssey*. For a while I learnt English also, merely so as to gain an accurate knowledge of Shakespeare; and I made a metrical translation of Romeo's monologue. Though I soon left English on one side, yet Shakespeare remained my model exemplar, and I projected a great tragedy which was almost nothing but a medley of *Hamlet* and *King Lear*. The plan was gigantic in the extreme; two-and-forty human beings died in the course of this piece, and I saw myself compelled, in its working-out, to call the greater number back as ghosts, since otherwise I should have been short of characters for my last Acts. This play occupied my leisure for two whole years".

"This extremely simple and modest work was published by Breitkopf und Härtel. My studies under Weinlig were ended in less than half a year, and he dismissed me himself from his tuition as soon as he had brought me so far forward that I was in a position to solve with ease the hardest problems of Counterpoint. "What you have made your own by this dry study," he said, "we call Self-dependence." In that same half year I also composed an Overture on the model of Beethoven; a model which I now understood somewhat better. This Overture was played in one of the Leipzig Gewandhaus concerts, to most encouraging applause. After several other works, I then engaged in a Symphony: to my head exemplar, Beethoven, I allied Mozart, especially as shewn in his great C major Symphony. Lucidity and force—albeit with many a strange aberration—were my end and aim. My Symphony completed, I set out in the summer of 1832 on a journey to Vienna, with no other object than to get a hasty glimpse of this renowned music-city. What I saw and heard there edified me little; wherever I went, I heard *Zampa* and Straussian pot pourris on *Zampa*. Both—and especially at that time—were to me an abomination. On my homeward journey I tarried a while in Prague, where I made the acquaintance of Dionys Weber and Tomaschek; the former had several of my compositions performed in the conservatoire, and among them my Symphony. [...] the bride struggles with the madman and hurls him into the courtyard below, where his mangled body gives up the ghost. During the funeral ceremony, the bride, uttering one cry, sinks lifeless on the corpse. Returned to Leipzig, I set to work at once on the composition of this opera's first 'number,' which contained a grand Sextet that much pleased Weinlig. The textbook found no favour with my sister; I destroyed its every trace".

"my brother's intimacy was of great importance to me, for he was an accomplished singer. During my stay in Wurzburg I composed a romantic opera in three Acts: "*Die Feen*," for which I wrote my own text, after Gozzi's: "*Die Frau als Schlange*." Beethoven and Weber were my models;"

Opera and Drama

"that a Means of expression (Music) has been made the end, while the End of expression (the Drama) has been made a means"

“i.e. Folk-tunes stripped of their naivety and truth, to which ‘texts’ thrown together into a semblance of dramatic cohesion were added waywardly as underlay. This *Dramatic Cantata*, whose contents aimed at anything but Drama, is the mother of our Opera; nay more, it is that Opera itself. The more it developed from this its point of origin, the more consistently the purely musical Aria, the only vestige of remaining Form”

“Had the art of Tone remained once for all in a position toward the Word-poet such as the latter now occupies towards herself in Opera, then she could only have been employed by him in her meanest powers, nor would she ever have reached the capability of becoming that supremely mighty organ of expression that she is today. Music was therefore destined to credit herself with possibilities which, in very truth, were doomed to stay for her impossibilities; herself a sheer organ of expression, she must rush into the error of desiring to plainly outline the thing to be expressed; she must venture on the boastful attempt to issue orders and speak out aims *there*, where in truth she can only have to subordinate herself to an aim *her* essence cannot ever formulate (*fassen*) but to whose realising she gives, by this her subordination, its only true enablement.—

Along two lines has Music developed in that art-genre which she dominates, the Opera: along an *earnest*—with all the Tone-poets who felt lying on their shoulders the burthen of responsibility that fell to Music when she took upon herself alone the aim of Drama; along a *frivolous*— with all the Musicians who, as though driven by an instinctive feeling of the impossibility of achieving an unnatural task, have turned their backs upon it and, heedful only of the profit which Opera had won from an uncommonly widespread popularity, have given themselves over to an unmixed musical empiricism. It is necessary that we should commence by fixing our gaze upon the first, the *earnest* line”.

“Only in the most perfect artwork therefore, in *the Drama*, can the insight of the experienced-one impart itself with full success; and for the very reason that, through employment of every artistic expression al-faculty of man, the poet’s *aim* (*Absicht*) is in

Drama the most completely carried from the Understanding to the Feeling,—to wit, is artistically imparted to the Feeling’s most directly receptive organs, *the senses*. The Drama, as the most perfect artwork, differs from all other forms of poetry in just this,— that in it the Aim is lifted into utmost imperceptibility, by its *entire realisation*. In Drama, wherever the aim, i.e. the Intellectual Will, stays still observable, there the impression is also a chilling one; for where we see the poet still wilting, we feel that as yet he *can* not. The poets cunning, however, is the complete ascension of the Aim into the Artwork, the *emotionalising of the intellect* (*die Gefühlsverwertung des Verstandes*). His aim he can only reach by physically presenting to our eyes the things of Life in their fullest spontaneity; and thus, by vindicating Life itself out of the mouth of its own Necessity; for the Feeling, to which he addresses himself, can understand this Necessity alone”.

“and thus unbars these roots to his Feeling, through an ‘unconscious’ use of their *kindred* properties. The Poet, however, is the *knower of the unconscious*, the aimful demonstrator of the instinctive; the Feeling, which he fain would manifest to fellow-feeling, teaches him the expression he must use; but his Understanding shews him the Necessity of that expression”.

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