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By MARKOS TSETOS

The National School opera in Greece

A lyrical work can be called "national" from three basic angles: (a) subject matter, (b) language and (c) music. A "national opera" should draw its subject matter from popular tradition, dealing with a distant or recent historical episode of the nation; it should be written in the national language and incorporate, more or less organically, elements of popular musical tradition. The earliest specimens of Greek "national" opera usually fulfil the first criterion. A typical example of this is the opera Markos Botsaris (1858) by Ionian composer Pavlos Carrer (or Carreris, 1829-1896, Ionian Islands) on an Italian libretto by Giovanni Caccialupi. The next step was the incorporation of the national language: the first opera based on a Greek libretto is *The Parliamentary Candidate* (first performed in 1867, Athens premiere in 1888) by another Ionian composer, Spyridon Xyndas (1814-1896).³ In the above cases, the Greek folk song is incorporated only sparingly and as

an external feature, as an "embellishment" we might say, while in its basic lines, the musical idiom follows Italian stylistic models.

The reasons why it was with such delay that folk scores were incorporated in Greek art music, a fact which goes hand in hand with the delay in establishing a national school of music, are quite complex. From a historical point of view, one might point out the delayed and gradual liberation of the territory which was to become modern Greece from the culturally primitive Ottoman Empire, and the strong political and cultural ties of the significantly more developed Ionian Islands with Italy. From a social point of view, the reason was the delayed formation of a strong and nationally oriented urban tradition.⁴ However, there are some purely musical reasons, too.

According to a recently expressed, well-documented point of view, we can talk about a national school of music as such, only where there is a marked difference between art and

folk traditions. Within this has survived a rich tradition of contacts with neighbouring church music. Therefore traditions of other European folk music between Greek folk music adapt the former to the latter, not, the aesthetic result is a disparity and incompatibility.

It is in the lyric work of the National School of Music, that a national school of music has been achieved. Kalomiris' idea of reform all the above facts into a single ideal of the Great Idea of Wagnerian "Kunstreligion" by changing the fragmentary

The subject matter of Greek is exclusively used, and later from French and "decadent" and "commercial" saw it. On the other hand, a fundamental Wagnerian method of composing, the density of the libretto, the density of the method of composing, the organic incorporation of folk music forms.⁷



135. First page of the libretto of the opera *The Parliamentary Candidate* (Corfu, "Ionian", 1867) by Spyridon Xyndas (1812 or 1814-1896), text by Ioannis Rinopoulos, the first Greek-speaking opera produced by Greek artists in its entirety. The music is decidedly folksy and the demotic language includes several local elements. The *Candidate* is the beginning (1888) of the efforts of Napoleon Lambelet (Georgios' brother) to create a purely Greek melodramatic tradition. (Corfu Readers' Society).



136. A scene from the first act of Manolis Kalomiris' opera *The Mother's Ring* in the 1973-4 GNO production. Conductor: Vyron Kolasis; director: Pelos Katselis; sets-costumes: Yannis Karydis. The leading roles were played by T. Skafidas (Yannakis), K. Morfoniou (Mother), A. Kouloumbis (Sotiris), M. Moutsiou (Erofilis), N. Daskalakis (Kyriakos), M. Douli (Lady). (GNO archive).

Foto: United Photoporters

Foto: United Photoporters

By MARKOS TSETOS

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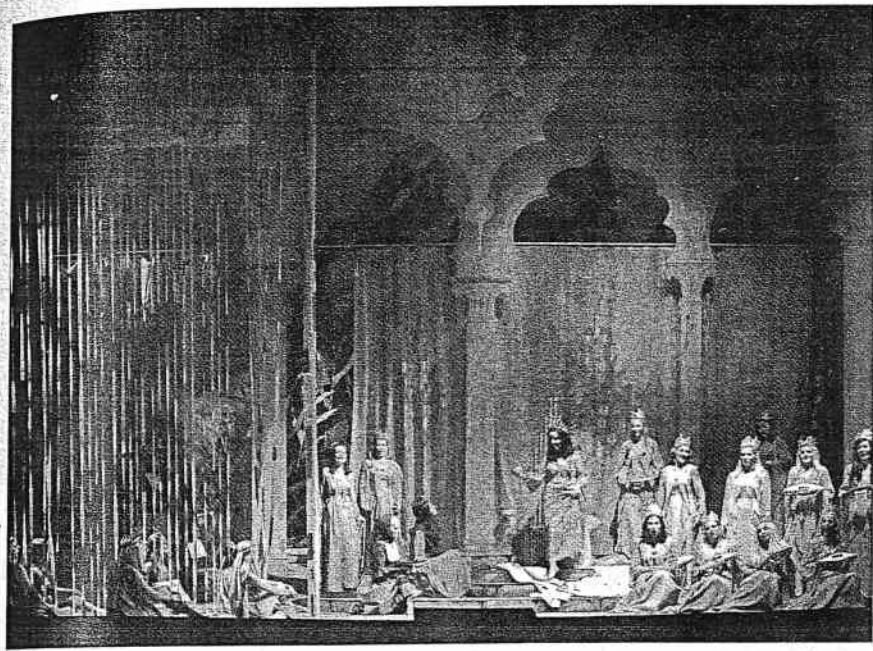


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137. A scene from the second act of Manolis Kalomiris' opera *The Mother's Ring* in the 1973-4 GNO production. (see pic. 136 for details, GNO archive).

folk traditions. Within this framework "Greece differs significantly from Central Europe. There has survived a rich tradition of folk music, which preserves many local features, although contacts with neighbouring countries [...] are also felt. Many folk songs draw from Byzantine church music. Therefore, Greeks have a national tradition which is distinct from the traditions of other European countries (the element of otherness)".⁵ It is this huge distance between Greek folk music and the art music tradition of Europe which made it so hard to adapt the former to the logic and the methodology of the latter. Besides, more often than not, the aesthetic result of this adaptation is doubtful, as it produces a strong sense of disparity and incompatibility.

It is in the lyric works of Manolis Kalomiris, founder and main exponent of the Greek National School of Music, that the organic fusion of the three prerequisites for the existence of a national school of music (subject matter, language and music) is achieved. Kalomiris' ideologically oriented thought proceeded to reform all the above factors, inspired with the bourgeois political ideals of the Great Idea and imbued by the aesthetic values of Wagnerian "Kunstreligion", i.e. an artistic expression aiming at changing the fragmentary character of modern society through art.

The subject matter makes use of myth and allegory, demotic Greek is exclusively used and Kalomiris draws initially from Russian and later from French music, being particularly critical of the "decadent" and "commercialized" character of Italian music, as he saw it. On the other hand, he is particularly attracted by fundamental Wagnerian aesthetic values, e.g. the poetic quality of the libretto, the density of the musical discourse and the Leitmotiv method of composing.⁶ Of course, he attempts the necessary organic incorporation of folk music into mainstream European art music forms.⁷



138. Baritone Thanos Bourlos as Sotiris in Manolis Kalomiris' opera *The Mother's Ring* in a 1930's (?) production. (Thanos Bourlos, *With Manolis Kalomiris*, Nikodimos pub., Athens 1983).

Manolis Kalomiris: a biographical note

Manolis Kalomiris was born in Smyrna in 1883 into a rich bourgeois family. He first studied music in Smyrna, Constantinople and Athens, and completed his studies at the Konservatorium für Musik und darstellende Kunst of Vienna (1901-1906). From 1906 to 1910, he taught at the Obolensky School of Music in Kharkov, Ukraine, where he acquainted himself with the masterpieces of Russian music. His contributions to the magazine *Noumas* and his ideas about a national school of music caused a lot of controversy in the musical and literary circles of Athens. Kalomiris was inimical to Italian music and the Ionian composers, to expressionism and atonality. This hostility, to a great extent prejudiced and "unfair", was moderated toward the end of his life. Between the 20s and the 50s, at the peak of his artistic creativity, Kalomiris became the pillar of Greek musical life. He founded the National and the Hellenic Conservatories, the National Melodrama Society, headed the Greek National Opera and was the first musician to become a member of the Athens Academy. He wrote five complete lyric works, three symphonies and many works of symphonic and chamber music. He wrote manuals on theory, solfège, harmony and morphology. He died in Athens in 1962.

Kazantzakis, Kalomiris and the ideological background of the opera

In the preface to the piano version of his last opera, published in 1961, Kalomiris writes: "I have spent the best part of three and a half years working on *Constantine Palaeologus* by Nikos Kazantzakis, which the great author himself gave me at Antibes in 1953. He has just received the issue of *Nea Estia*, where it first appeared. I made a musical tragedy out of it and for three and a half years I was immersed in the unredeemed night of the Byzantine Legend and the tragic atmosphere of the vicissitudes of our race." Kalomiris regarded *Palaeologus* as his topmost musical achievement and was fully conscious of his artistic goal: "To combine Western Music with Byzantine chants and modes into a unified artistic whole, which, I think, has never been attempted before to such an extent in Greek musical creation".

In modern historiography, it is a common trend to interpret facts of the past as ideological confrontations. Being ideologically charged, these facts can be interpreted as allegories of the present. This, of course, depends on the intentions of the interpreter, who has the additional possibility to express through this reference to the past, albeit indirectly, not only his views on the present but his own ideological point of view as well. In the case of *Constantine Palaeologus*, Kalomiris had to grapple with a specific poetic expression of a well-known historical event replete with ideological overtones. According to a relatively

recent interpretation, "t problem of the identity cultural component, thi cultural isolation as a characters and events r allegorically, i.e. with ref which Kalomiris treated opera which was meant Let's begin with the text

In *Constantine* , symbols. The people, w desperate and mistrustf westerners, no leaders, divine intervention in the Resignation becomes th incarnation of an alienat indulging in political bick



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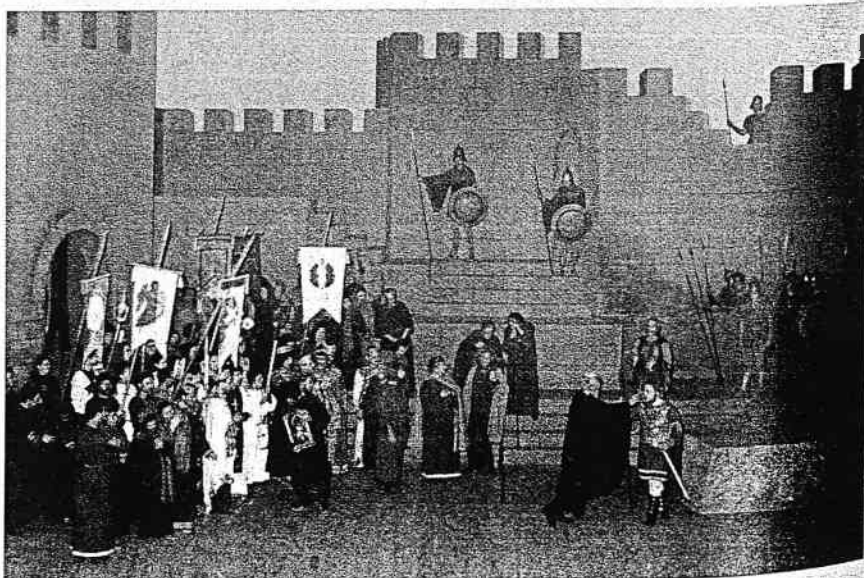


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Christian westerners and Orthodoxy's worst foes, e involved clergyman alwa inspirations and revelatio charm of the supernatural secular political powers, w former's power over the p Notaras. Yet, the most in sarcastic nihilist who take people and nobility. As a masterfully presented in I leaders who exploit the pc in vain for things whose ambition will cost him his t their representatives. He si relation. In this manner, h certain stylization.



139. Athens, 11/6/1908. Musical evening with works by M. Kalomiris at the Athens Conservatory. The 26-year-old composer from Smyrna, who has made his dynamic presence felt in Athenian cultural life, openly siding with demoticists and opposing his Ionian colleagues, accompanies the presentation of his music with an aggressive text regarded as the "manifesto" of the National School. The works presented at the concert are songs for voice and piano and compositions for one and two pianos, among which the Prelude and Fugue for two pianos under a provocatively demoticist title. (M. Kalomiris, *My Life and My Art*, Nefeli pub., Athens 1988).

140. Scene from the first act of Manolis Kalomiris' opera *Constantine Palaeologus* in a GNO production for the 1966 Demetria Festival. Conductor: Andreas Paridis; director: Pellos Katselis; sets-costumes: Yannis Stefanelis. The roles were played by D. Tsakiridis (Constantine), S. Glantzi (Anna), N. Papachristou (Father Superior), E. Marseos (Notaras), E. Paleologos (Firewalker), G. Modinos (Charkoutsis) a.o. (GNO archive).

bourgeois family. He first attended his studies at the (1906). From 1906 to 1910, where he acquainted with the magazine *Noumas* and the musical and the Ionian composers, to which he was attracted and "unfair"; was at the peak of his artistic activity at the National and the Academy of the Greek National Opera. He wrote five operas and chamber music. He died in Athens in 1962.

in 1961, Kalomiris was working on *Constantine* when he gave me at Antibes in France. I made a musical unredeemed night of our race." Kalomiris was fully conscious of his modes into a unified whole to an extent in Greek

the facts of the past as they can be interpreted as they are by the interpreter, who interprets the past, albeit indirectly, as well. In the case of the poetic expression of a dramatic ordering to a relatively



Foto: United Photoporters

recent interpretation, "the fall of the City, an unexpected loss, brings to the foreground the problem of the identity of the Greeks, who feel threatened by East and West [...]. As a cultural component, this double threat leads to an ideological sublimation and craving for cultural isolation as a source of power for facing destiny." Kazantzakis uses historical characters and events not only as symbolic vehicles of unfashionable ideologies but also allegorically, i.e. with reference to the present. Hence, it is interesting to examine the way in which Kalomiris treated the wealth of messages and references in the text in composing the opera which was meant to be his last great work, his "last song", as he himself used to say. Let's begin with the text.

In *Constantine Palaeologus*, Kazantzakis composes a phantasmagoria of acting symbols. The people, with the two elders and the dignitary at their head, incapacitated, desperate and mistrustful of their governors, only thirst for peace: "We want no war, no westerners, no leaders, we want nothing, we're hungry." The invocation of God and the divine intervention is the only thing that seems to matter in a world that is about to crumble. Resignation becomes the only possible resistance. On the other hand, Father Superior is the incarnation of an alienated clergy oblivious of its real mission, which is spiritual guidance, indulging in political bickering and the struggle for secular power. In this particular case, the

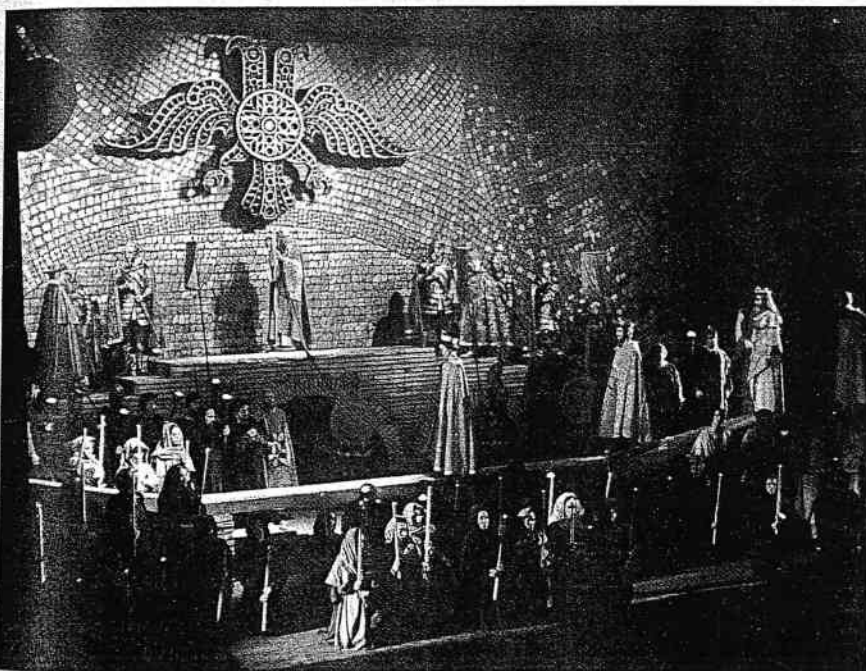


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Christian westerners and the Pope are represented by the clergy as Christ's enemies, as Orthodoxy's worst foes, even worse than the infidel besiegers themselves. The politically involved clergyman always represents his will as God's will, invokes miraculous divine inspirations and revelations, manipulating the credulous crowd through the power and charm of the supernatural. On the other hand, the secularized clergy easily falls in with the secular political powers, which serve its interests. The latter, in turn, take advantage of the former's power over the people. In Kazantzakis' tragedy, these powers are symbolized by Notaras. Yet, the most interesting symbolic character in the play is the Firewalker, the sarcastic nihilist who takes refuge in the madness of his practice, which mystifies both people and nobility. As a parallel, we might mention the yurodivi of the Russian tradition, masterfully presented in Mussorgsky's *Boris Godunov*. The Firewalker mocks the corrupt leaders who exploit the populace, the people who are afraid of them, the warrior who fights in vain for things whose fate is predetermined, Anna Notara's father, whose political ambition will cost him his head. Kazantzakis seems to keep aloof from the above powers and their representatives. He simply puts them side by side, avoiding to bring out their dialectic relation. In this manner, he manages to maintain their symbolic character, at the cost of a certain stylization.



141. Marble statue of Constantine Palaeologus, a work by sculptor Nicholas Pavlopoulos in the National Historical Museum of Athens.

142. Scene from the 1971-2 GNO performance of Manolis Kalomiris' opera *Constantine Palaeologus*. Conductor: Vyron Kolasis; director: Dinos Yannopoulos; sets-costumes: Yannis Stefanelis. The parts were played by T. Skafidas (Constantine), M. Leontopoulou (Anna), N. Papachristos (Father Superior), S. Angelopoulos (Frantzis), A. Kouloumbis (Charkoutsis) a.o. (GNO archive).



143. Manolis Kalomiris c. 1958. (M. Kalomiris Society archive).



144. Nikos Kazantzakis with Albert Schweitzer in Austria in 1955. (Eleni Kazantzaki archive).

Kazantzakis' ideals seem to be represented by Anna and Constantine. They are the genuine Kazantzakian life-sized heroes who are free because they have no fear and no hope: "to fight without hope, bravely" says Constantine in the second part. They are the Nietzschean "overmen" who act as free-minded individuals and not through externally imposed values and ideals or the illusion of hope: "and let me accomplish free and unaided what my unbound soul has vowed". The historical event of the fall of Byzantium becomes an allegory of the present decadence, about which Nietzsche wrote, through which the expected reassessment of values, the birth of new ideals will take place. The issue here is the rebirth of the Greek nation. As Kalomiris said, "even when you see your dreams in ruins, desperation itself becomes a regenerative power". In Kazantzakis, Constantine and Anna become allegories of the soul, i.e. of the real Christ and the real Virgin, which remains unscathed by the ravages of history. Grasping the allegory, Kalomiris accompanied the description of the Fighting Virgin in the third part with Anna's motif. The Virgin of the people on the one hand and the Virgin of the Priesthood on the other are both extensions of their inner lack of freedom. They easily glorify her when she seems to be playing along, and they condemn her equally easily, accusing her of treason, "favouring the Turks", when their prayers remain unanswered. This is a broad outline of the nucleus of this particular Kazantzakian work. As a play, it lacks a dynamic dramatic plot, juxtaposing static images instead. The occasional volte-face of the heroes is abrupt and stylized, like that of Father Superior in the second part. This particular instance of a character changing his mind is pivotal in Kazantzakis' work. To the words of Father Superior "...pale brother, forgive me, we've made a grave error", which express a "totally human" (in Nietzsche's words) frustration in the face of his prayers going unanswered, Constantine counters words of wisdom, responsibility and true enlightenment: "Hush, it's a heavy secret, the people are listening". The disappointment of the monk is directly proportional to his fanaticism, while the enlightened leader, by refusing to undermine the faith of the people, turns it into a power in their favour. It should also be added that historical and metaphysical events are not enacted on stage but are presented verbally. All this is a necessary prerequisite for an allegory. The obvious analogy to Richard Wagner's Parsifal is not just structural. It is confirmed by the rather deliberate reference to the legend of the Holy Grail towards the end of the third part: "angels take the Holy Grail up into the mountains, where chaste and pure defenders will guard it behind the battlements of a distant castle lost in the snow". Finally, we need to stress a rather delicate point: the only way to mitigate the idea emerging from Kazantzakis' text that freedom as the supreme ideal can only be understood as synonymous with the idea of Greek nationhood, is by never losing sight of the allegorical character of the action; otherwise the point can be extremely problematic.



145. Scene from the 1971-2 GNO performance of Manolis Kalomiris' opera *Constantine Palaeologus*. (See pic. 142 for details, GNO archive).

Musical language Constantine

It seems, however, in his own words, "I built in my soul, heart, dream, and desperation" on the period might seem fa



Foto: Lefteris Samothraikis

is not, as one might expect, and heroic deeds. At traditional tonality and exponents of official ideological handling of the tonal matters is not whether the composer, but the fact that the great tonal affirmations are effective. Kalomiris does not use atypical, occasionally at the verge of tonality, but a build-up of an unreal, in undermining where the chord built traditionally in addition of nonharmonic leading. Thus, the use of tonality in short it assumes a miracle are the basic miracle".

Foto: United Photoagents

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Musical language and dramatic function in *Constantine Palaeologus*

It seems, however, that Kalomiris himself took care of this, albeit unawares. In his own words, "I built into the music of Palaeologus the best part of me in terms of power, soul, heart, dream, desperation. Yes, desperation!" Although such insistence on the word "desperation" on the part of the most successful Greek musician and academician of that period might seem far-fetched, Kalomiris himself spares no effort to suggest it. Palaeologus

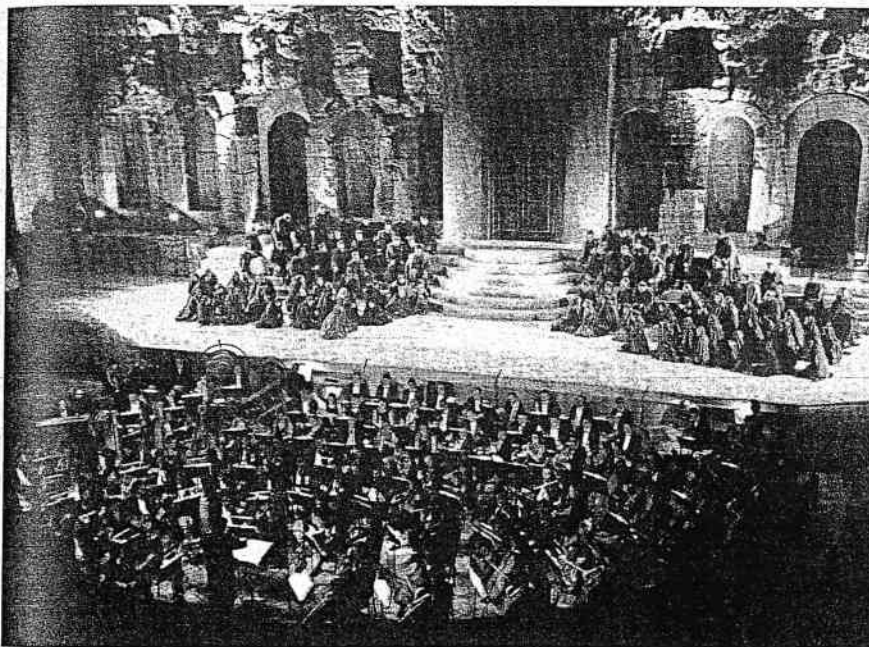


Foto: Lefteris Samothraakis

is not, as one might expect, yet another typical opera toeing the line of extolling great ideas and heroic deeds. At a time when, in countries of intense propaganda like the USSR, traditional tonality and, occasionally, the major triad itself become the most effective exponents of official ideology, conservative Kalomiris resorts to a markedly differentiated handling of the tonal idiom which was historically associated with European idealistic ideologies, which harboured at the time the artistic reaction of the West. What really matters is not whether "the music of Palaeologus is modernistic of conservative", writes the composer, but the fact that it was through this that he managed to circumvent the trap of the great tonal affirmation, precisely at the points where it would be ideologically most effective. Kalomiris does not say "yes" easily. The mass scenes of the first and third parts, the atypical, occasionally ambiguous harmonization of the Byzantine chant, often poised on the verge of tonality, combined with the bold freedom of the voices, contribute to the build-up of an unreal, transcendental, symbolist atmosphere. Kalomiris is often persistent in undermining wherever possible, the affirmative stability of the occasional triad or any chord built traditionally through the superimposition of thirds. He does this through the addition of nonharmonic and thus dissonant tones, which, occasionally, derive from voice leading. Thus, the use of tonality runs counter to tradition without transcending its borders, in short it assumes a critical function. Typical instances of this critical undermining of tonality are the basic introductory motifs of "the Virgin", "Constantine" "Anna" and "the miracle".



146. A portrait of M. Kalomiris. (Manolis Kalomiris Society archive).

147. A scene from a 2001 Athens Festival performance of M. Kalomiris' opera *Constantine Palaeologus* with the participation of the Greek Radio and Television Symphony Orchestra, the Salonica Choir, the Sofia Kaval Choir and the M. Kalomiris Children's Choir. Conductor: Vyron Fidetzis; director: Spyros Evangelatos; sets-costumes: Yorgos Ziakas. In the roles, E. Hatzisimos (Constantine), M. Arapi (Anna), P. Psychas (Father superior), A. Lalousis (Notaras, Frantzis), T. Christoyannopoulos (Charkoutsis), D. Sigalos (Firewalker) a.o. (GRT archive).



148. Kalomiris with his wife Chariklia at the Herodeon. The composer is wearing the uniform of the Inspector of Military Musicians, a post he held for a long time (1918-1920, 1922-36). (M. Kalomiris Society archive).



Foto: United Photoportraits

149. A scene from the first act of M. Kalomiris' opera *Constantine Palaeologus* as performed in Salonica by the GNO for the 1966 Demetria Festival. (For details see pic. 140, GNO archive).



Foto: United Photoportals

Following the formula established by Wagner and, more recent by Richard Strauss, one would expect the highest musical symbols of the drama to dominate over the tonal chaos with the brilliance ensured by the "order" of the major triad or generally the chords that consist of thirds. On the contrary, Kalomiris avoids all thoughtless tonal affirmation through the tonal openness of his enigmatic musical symbols, which is aided by an almost expressionistic way of writing (see Anna's motifs). In addition, the composer broadens the spectrum of the musical tools he uses, reaching the threshold of atonality: the introductory motif "Constantine's decision to fight" orders 11 different notes (Cb, Eb, C, D, Db, Fb, G, Gb, F, A, Ab), while the second variation on the Firewalker's theme orders all 12 notes of the chromatic scale as follows: C, F#, B, F, E, Bb, Db, G, D, Ab, C, D#.

150. The main introductory motifs used by M. Kalomiris in *Constantine Palaeologus*. (French translation of the libretto for the GNO, Athens 1961).



The tonal environment we described above is particularly suitable for bringing out the allegorical character of Kazantzakis' text. Kalomiris, however, does not stop there. In *Palaeologus* we can discern a tendency to compose opening motifs along similar lines, which sometimes makes it very difficult to pinpoint their differences. For example, the descending chromatic motion is present in the motifs of the "people", the "Turk", the "nobility", "Anna" and "Notaras". The motif of the "appeal to the Virgin" and the motif of "Anna" share the descending intervallic pattern of semitone-minor third (or augmented second), while the beginning of the motifs of the "appeal" and "Love" is almost identical. The rhythmic pattern of accented short and unaccented longer values dominates the majority of the motifs: the "appeal to the Virgin", the motif of the "Turk", the "nobility", the "Westerners", "Anna", "Notaras" and many other motifs.⁹ What are the consequences of this tonal policy? From a purely technical point of view, it seems to facilitate the move from motif to motif and the thematic unity of the work, while being incompatible with the symbolic "bounds" delimiting Kazantzakis' heroes and the stylization of Kazantzakian dramaturgy. How could this be explained?

The late Kalomiris

Earlier in this article we discussed the "great German ideas", which is achieved by the parallels. As in the case of Ibsen, the allegorical associations we find in *Kundry* and *Mary Magdalene* are a "symbolic dimension" which, according to the composer, is seen as belonging to what he represents a retreat from a constant endeavour to "rather than treating the material which is thematic elements, the dramatic work with an

Maybe without realising it, the excellent specimen of late 19th-century music usually intertwined with idealism and antitheses, against the strict logic. In *Palaeologus* there are no "justified" climaxes, nor is there a "Historical necessity" is expressed in current trends in music, and it's really none of my bias as modernistic or conservative partisanship and the idealizing hand to handle in suitable.

The above arguer limiting itself to the mind adopts a revisionary attitude towards the treatment of all ideological elements. *Palaeologus* may suggest its own world of world wars, 19th-century music is, quite understandable "great ideas". In this world t

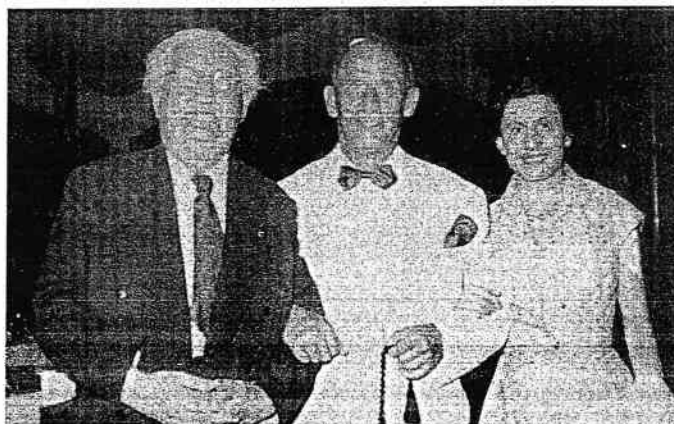


The late Kalomirian work

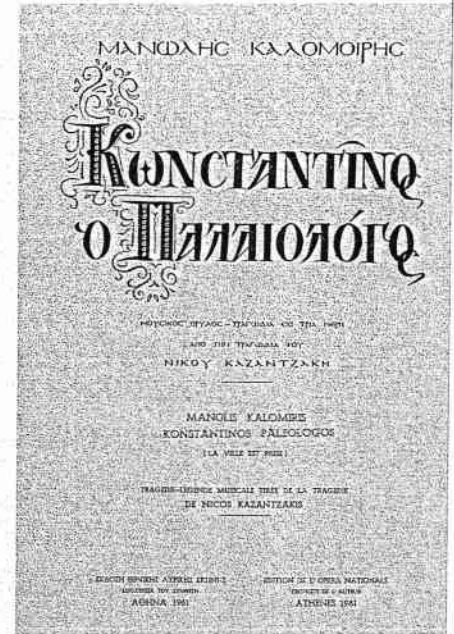
Earlier in this article, we mentioned Richard Wagner's *Parsifal*. In the "last song" of the great German composer we cannot help noticing an osmosis of ideas, which is achieved by using the same policy of drawing motivic-thematic parallels. As in the case of Kalomiris, Wagner saw to it that a number of very clear allegorical associations were made, e.g. between Parsifal and Christ or between Kundry and Mary Magdalene.¹⁰ The isolation and the enigmatic mutual alienation of the symbolic concepts was lifted there, revealing a "metaphysical dimension" which, according to late Wagnerian aesthetics, was inherent in the music. Is Kalomiris similar in this? A careful examination of the relation between motifs and concepts in *Palaeologus* shows that Kalomiris had not set as his target a consistent and systematic musical "thematogenesis" or the fabrication of ideological and conceptual fusions. The score of *Palaeologus* should rather be seen as belonging to what European musical tradition calls "late musical work" and represents a retreat from the apparent organicity of form, a retreat from the constant endeavour to "rationalize" musical decisions into norms, the freedom in treating the material which gives a sense of a quasi-"natural" affinity between thematic elements, the disregard of triumphal positive climaxes and endings. How could it be explained, among other things, that Kalomiris ends this monumental work with an inherently unstable seventh chord?

Maybe without realizing it, maybe following the dictates of history, in this excellent specimen of late writing, Kalomiris turns against the principles of thought which are usually intertwined with ideologies, i.e. against positivism, which does not tolerate dialectical antitheses, against the strict classification of ideas and their reduction to a superior idea and so on. In *Palaeologus* there are no carefully prepared and organized gradations which lead to "justified" climaxes, nor is there a pseudo-organic over-exploitation of the thematic elements. "Historical necessity" is expressed by the fact that Kalomiris, a thinking person who is aware of current trends in music, cannot stand in the way of progress. When he confesses: "I don't know and it's really none of my business to know whether the music of *Palaeologus* can be classified as modernistic or conservative", he in fact distances himself consciously from the explicit partisanship and the ideological and aesthetic self-restrictions of the past, thus allowing his aging hand to handle in an unbiased way whatever material his artistic mind considers suitable.

The above arguments show the innovative spirit of Kalomiris' late work, which, far from limiting itself to the mindless adoption of new or experimental methods of composition, adopts a revisionary attitude towards musical tradition, adding a critical note to the musical treatment of all ideologically oriented extra-musical content. Eventually, the case of *Palaeologus* may suggest in its own way that in the world of Kalomiris and, by extension, in our own world of world wars, frustrated ideologies and "desperation" (to which he often refers), music is, quite understandably, unable to become the enthusiastic apologist of all manner of "great ideas". In this world there is something unreal about pure major chords.



152. In 1953, upon an invitation by R. Wagner's grandchildren Wieland and Wolfgang, M. Kalomiris travelled to Germany to attend the Festival of Bayreuth. While there, he attended the first full production of R. Wagner's *Der Ring des Nibelungen* in the first post-war performance directed by Wieland Wagner. In these performances he had the opportunity to hear the tetralogy sung by distinguished Wagnerian singers of the time. From left to right: M. Kalomiris, D. Mitropoulos, L. Symeonidou. (L. Symeonidou archive).



151. Cover of the French translation of the libretto of *Constantine Palaeologus* made for the GNO. (GNO, Athens 1961).

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