

## **Chapter 8**

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Nikos Skalkottas

Katy Romanou



“Anyone who was my student became aware of the seriousness and morality of the mission of the artist; this awareness will, under any circumstances of life, bring him honor if he is able to remain true to it!” Arnold Schoenberg

**N**ikos Skalkottas (1904–1949) is recognised today as one of the most talented and original among Schoenberg’s Berlin students and as the most important Greek composer of the first half of the 20th century.

Nikos Skalkottas belongs to the generation “buried” by the Third Reich. Although his is not exactly a case of what has been called the *lost generation*, he was a victim of the destruction of the artistic and spiritual environment he grew up in and of the forced proscription of the music he was accustomed to and which would have dominated the music scene in Europe and influenced, naturally, minor centres of western music like Athens.

His posthumous reputation, connected to the introduction of avant-garde music to Greece during Cold War cultural antagonism, begun at the end of the 1950s and was initially strongly influenced by politically motivated aesthetics.

Political circumstances as well as the stylistic pluralism of his compositions and the disorder of his documents contribute to many contrasting but persuasive presentations of his life, his character and his ideas, as well as of the reception of his work during his life in Germany and in Greece. Although the substantial quality of his music has been rapidly gaining appreciation in recent years,<sup>1</sup> his personality, many biographical facts and the causes behind them are much less likely to be understood. The scarcity of documents is a main reason.

Skalkottas’ texts are relatively few. They consist of (1) various writings and (2) letters to friends.

(1) Among the “various writings”, a small percentage was published in the monthly periodical *Musikē Zōē* [Musical Life] (Athens 1930–1931) in 1931; these are one article entitled ‘Music Criticism’ and five texts he sent to the periodical as a Berlin correspondent.<sup>2</sup>

A much larger body of texts was unpublished during his life (except for one, undated) and is kept in the Skalkottas Archive in autographed manuscripts. These are: twenty-two manuscripts (three to ten pages long) on technical or aesthetic subjects concerning music; a 166 page study entitled “The technique of orchestration”; nine analyses or forewords to his own works; and thirty-two analyses of folk songs he transcribed collaborating with the Melpo Merlier Archive.<sup>3</sup>

(2) His letters to friends are not kept in the composer's archives; most circulate as photocopies. The greatest bulk consists of his correspondence to Nellē Askētopoulou (31 letters)<sup>4</sup> and to Manōlēs Benakēs (55 letters). The former was a violinist who studied in the Athens Conservatory and then in Brussels. In Athens she was married to a wealthy man (Evelpidēs) and organised chamber concerts at her home. The latter was the son of a very wealthy Greek family who financed Skalkottas studies when his official scholarship ended. The existence of the corpus of Skalkottas correspondence with Benakēs was publicised for the first time in 12 November 1999 by John Thornley at a Nikos Skalkottas Symposium, organised by the Department of Music of the University of Athens.<sup>5</sup>

### His life

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Nikos Skalkottas was born in Chalkis, a small provincial town on the island of Euboea. His talent was recognised early by his musical father and uncle (members of the town's Philharmonic Society) and the family moved to the capital (in 1906 or 1910), where the child was able to study the violin at the Athens Conservatory.<sup>6</sup> He matriculated into Tony Schulze's second-level<sup>7</sup> violin class in 1914. In 1917 he entered the final stage of violin performance and participated in the student orchestra that was directed by Armand Marsick.<sup>8</sup> Skalkottas graduated in 1920, at the age of sixteen, receiving the highest prize of the institution as well as a scholarship to continue violin studies in Berlin.<sup>9</sup> He studied at the Berliner Musikhochschule with Willy Hess from October 1921 to June 1924.<sup>10</sup> Although a brilliant violinist, he terminated his studies before graduation, having been already involved and much attracted to composition. According to some sources (including a letter he had sent to Willy Hess on 13 June 1923)<sup>11</sup>, he suffered from tendonitis of his left hand. It is possible, though, that this could have been an excuse he gave to his teacher. However, in a short biography published and signed by Octave Merlier, who almost certainly was informed by the composer, it is said that Willy Hess "engaged him to compose" ("l'engage à composer").<sup>12</sup> Most probably, Skalkottas did not plan to abandon the violin in order to become a composer (which indeed he never did). In two letters to Nellē Askētopoulou he expresses both an antipathy to specialisation and the wish to become both an orchestra violinist and a composer.<sup>13</sup> He wished to be broadly educated in cultural subjects and worked with vivacity to that end. Regarding music, he listened to many performances in the city and played on the piano whatever attracted his interest together with Yannēs Cōnstantinidēs, a Greek friend living near him in Lankwitz, a Berlin suburb where a number of Greeks lived. According to Cōnstantinidēs, Skalkottas was at the time playing the piano more often than the violin and had acquired an exceptional technique on that instrument. They played together symphonic works by Mahler, R. Strauss, Debussy, Ravel, Russia's Five and others.<sup>14</sup> Skalkottas studied the prerequisites for a composition course with Paul Juon, Robert Kahn<sup>15</sup> and Kurt Weill, and, in 1925–1927, he became a student of Philipp Jarnach.<sup>16</sup> Then, in November 1927, he was accepted by Arnold Schoenberg to his master class,<sup>17</sup> where he was an official student



Nikos Skalkottas in Berlin (1927).

up to June 1930. Although his fees were paid by the Academy, his expenses increased in 1927 when he became the father of twins (with his fellow violin student, the Latvian Matla Temko).<sup>18</sup> When his scholarship ended, Skalkottas managed, with the help of one of his Greek friends in Berlin, the pianist Spyros Farandatos, to get a regular (though, decreasing) monthly aid from Manōlēs Benakēs.<sup>19</sup> This aid lasted from 1928 to 1931; it enabled Skalkottas to move from Lankwitz to central Berlin and stop playing music at clubs and cinemas, as Benakēs had urged him to do.

In the Academy, Skalkottas was considered, by both Schoenberg and his fellow students, to be a promising composer.<sup>20</sup> We know of the following concerts for the master class students where his works were performed:<sup>21</sup>

On 19 June 1929 Skalkottas' two first Sonatinas for violin and piano and the 1st String Quartet were performed, together with works by Norbert von Hannenheim, Peter Schacht, Joseph Zmigrod and Alfred Keller.

On 20 May 1930, in the hall of the Singakademie, a concert of the master class students was performed by the Berlin Symphony Orchestra. The programme consisted of a *Serenade* by Winfried Zillig, a symphony by Norbert von Hannenheim and Skalkottas' *Concerto for Wind Instruments*. Skalkottas directed the two latter works.<sup>22</sup>

On 2 June 1931, a master class concert presented works by Erich Schmid, Natalie Prawossudowitsch, Norbert von Hannenheim, Peter Schacht and Skalkottas' *Octet* for four woodwinds and four strings, under the direction of Erich Schmid.

Moreover, in a concert sponsored by the Greek embassy on 6 April 1930, Skalkottas' Concerto no. 1 for violin and piano was performed together with his *Little Suite* for violin and orchestra under the direction of K. Mengelberg. The pianist was Polyxenē Mathéy-Roussopoulou and the violinist Anatol Knorre.<sup>23</sup>

On 21 January 1931, in a concert transmitted through the radio, Theodor W. Adorno presented his analysis of, among other pieces, Schoenberg's Lieder op. 6, Zilligs *Serenade* and Skalkottas' *Little Suite* for violin and orchestra.

The Athenian periodical *Musikē Zōē*, that promoted both contemporary music in general and Skalkottas in particular during the greater part of its short circulation (October 1930–October 1931) and whose pages were the first ever to host an edition of a Skalkottas' work,<sup>24</sup> informs on the performance of Skalkottas' first two quartets in Berlin on 21 May 1931.<sup>25</sup>

Skalkottas was also entrusted by Schoenberg with the rehearsals of three of his works: *Erwartung* (conducted by Zemlinsky on 7 June 1930 in Berlin's Krolloper), *Gurrelieder* (conducted by Schrecker in Berlin's Singakademie on 15 June 1931), *Von Heute auf Morgen* (presented in the Frankfurt Opera House on 1 February 1930, and, in another interpretation, transmitted by the Berlin Radio on 27 February).<sup>26</sup>

On 15 December 1931, in Schoenberg's absence,<sup>27</sup> Skalkottas accompanied on the piano the Greek singers Cōstas Mylōnas and Margarita Perra (engaged at Berlin's State Opera since 1927) in his own arrangements of four Greek folk songs. This was a Berlin Radio production presented by Curt Sachs and entitled "Greek Hour".

One of these arrangements, the folk song *Elafina*,<sup>28</sup> was published in Athens by Grēgorēs Cōnstantinidēs around 1939<sup>29</sup> and is the second of the three Skalkottas' works published during his lifetime. It is dedicated by Skalkottas to Margarita Perra.<sup>30</sup>

In August 1930, Skalkottas came to Athens. He went back to Berlin at the beginning of 1931 and stayed there – in contact with Schoenberg's master class – up until March 1933, when he returned to Athens, never to leave Greece again.<sup>31</sup>

The circumstances of both his 1930–1931 and his final trip to Athens are not yet absolutely clear. Most probably, the first trip was done at the anticipation of the termination of Benakēs' support; it is assumed that Skalkottas' aim was either to find another scholarship or to examine the possibilities of working in Athens.

During the first trip he presented himself as conductor and composer. On 23 November 1930 he conducted the Athens Conservatory Orchestra in a Sunday morning Popular Concert, featuring his own *Concerto for Wind Instruments* together with Schubert's Ninth Symphony,<sup>32</sup> Liszt's Second Piano Concerto, in A major (with Polyxene Mathéy-Roussopoulou at the piano) and Wagner's prelude to the *Mastersingers of Nuremberg*. On 27 November, an all-Skalkottas chamber music concert was given in the conservatory by its professors, Spyros Farandatos (piano), Frederikos Voloninēs and Vassilēs Skantzourakēs

(violins), Nellē Askētopoulou (viola) and Achilleus Papadēmētriou (cello). They performed his *Easy Music for String Quartet*, his String Quartets nos 1 and 2, and his Sonatinas for violin and piano nos 1 and 2.

He got some indignant reviews for his compositions, to which he answered, on his return to Berlin, with a long, ironic article published with the news he sent to *Musikē Zōē*, for which he was acting as a Berlin correspondent.<sup>33</sup>

The periodical *Musikē Zōē* responded cordially to Skalkottas' trip to Athens in 1930–1931. Its director, the Ph.D. musicologist Cōnstantinos Oeconomou, a Guido Adler student,<sup>34</sup> expresses his admiration for contemporary modern trends and for Skalkottas at any opportunity. Starting from Issue 3 up to double Issue 9–10, every single issue mentions Skalkottas and contemporary trends in Europe.

The second movement of Skalkottas' Sonatina no. 1 for violin and piano (1929) is published in Volume 4 (31 January 1931, pp. 83–86) while his correspondence from Berlin, concerned mainly with contemporary composers, is published in every issue between Issue 5 and double Issue 9–10. In Issue 5, Stella Peppa publishes the first part of an article entitled “The Main Directions of Contemporary Music” where she speaks about expressionism, futurism, constructivism, neoclassicism, atonality, Busoni, Milhaud, Stravinsky and Schoenberg. She singles out the later as “the Titan reformer” and comments with pride on his Greek student, Skalkottas.

Skalkottas' article “Music Criticism” is published in Issue 6 (31 March 1931, pp. 124–126) together with his correspondence (pp. 138–139) and the second part of Peppa's article, which is about the influence of jazz on modern composers such as Stravinsky, K. Weill, Milhaud, Hindemith et al.

Without any notice or explanation, in Issue 13 (the first in the periodical's second year but also the final one of the periodical) C. Oeconomou is replaced by Stavros Prokopiou.<sup>35</sup>

Skalkottas' second trip to Athens is even less clear than the first. He was repatriated by the Greek Embassy, being in debt and unable to find work during this period of economic crisis. All his belongings and his works were left to his landlady, while his passport was confiscated by the Greek Foreign Ministry because Skalkottas had not served his military service.<sup>36</sup> Skalkottas also left behind his six-year-old daughter, who was in care in Berlin. The child's mother went to Sweden at the same time as Skalkottas.<sup>37</sup>

Roberto Gerhard told the pianist and conductor G. Chatzēnikos that Skalkottas was deeply depressed during the years 1931 to 1933 in Berlin.<sup>38</sup> This depression continued during the two first years in Athens. Possibly, among the causes of his depression were his relations with Matla Temko and Manōlēs Benakēs.<sup>39</sup>

Skalkottas' acclimatisation to Athens was painful; it would be correct to say that it never actually occurred.

He secluded himself in his parents' house during the first months of his arrival. In January 1934 he joined the Orchestra of the Athens Conservatory and later on the two other orchestras existing in Athens at the time (which shared, apart from Skalkottas, most of their members).

He did all sorts of jobs, such as copying music, arranging, harmonising; he also performed as a piano accompanist, even to violinists.<sup>40</sup>

From 15 June 1934 to 31 January 1935, Skalkottas worked for the project of the Melpo Merlier archive, i.e. the transcription of a large number of recorded folk music.<sup>41</sup> After that, Skalkottas completed his most popular *36 Greek Dances* for orchestra that he had begun in Berlin.

Skalkottas composed in Athens some commissions for friends who wished to help him. Polyxenē Mathéy-Roussopoulou and the choreographer Koula Pratsika, with whom she was collaborating in 1933, “tried” in the words of the former “to help him adapt to Greek reality”.<sup>42</sup> On 9 June 1940, Mathéy’s school performed in the Flower Festival for the National Youth Organisation of Ioannes Metaxas. The music (experts from Orff, J.J. Rousseau, Mozart, F. Mompou and Greek folk songs)<sup>43</sup> was rehearsed by Skalkottas at the piano. He was the conductor of a small ensemble at the performance. Five years later, Mathéy commissioned Skalkottas for an original dance suite, *The Land and the Sea of Greece*. This was orchestrated by Skalkottas in 1948 and separated; the “land” pieces forming the *Little Dance Suite – Four Dances for Ballet*, and the “sea” pieces incorporated in the ballet *The Sea* in 1949. He also wrote the ballets *The Elves* (1939) and *The Beauty with the Rose*<sup>44</sup> (1946) for performances by Koula Pratsika.

All this professional activity brought Skalkottas in contact with other artists in Athens and kept him occupied during daytime hours, but it was less important during his last years in Athens. During those years, Skalkottas composed the largest and most significant part of his oeuvre. When the day ended, he was on his own, penetrating into a wealth of music ideas, composing.

The absolute frustration Skalkottas felt at his return to Athens is a fact. However, to speak of a conspiracy of Athenian figures that blocked his recognition as a composer<sup>45</sup> is to ignore the facts about the composer, and about Athens and Berlin during these times.

Nikos Skalkottas, having left his small provincial city at the age of six, and his provincial country at seventeen, lived the most creative and the larger period of his life (1921–1933) in Berlin, in Arnold Schoenberg’s circle, in the most progressive musical circle of a world-class music capital. With no strong inner resistance, his ideas, his knowledge, his taste, were formed in those years. The environment in which he lived during those years was, to his perception, the normal environment for a person to live in. Indeed, he writes in November 1935:

For me it would have been much better if I’d remained in Germany and carried on working with Schoenberg.<sup>46</sup> Here, in my humble opinion the time I spend working is wasted....I just can’t get any further...In parting from the Schoenberg-pupils, from my friends, by coming back here, I have lost nearly everything that you could call the existence of a “normal” human being; it’s very strange, abroad I found love and a normal life more natural, more a matter of course, than here – and almost with everyone, without exception! Here I’m afraid everything has been stolen from me, I’ve been properly robbed



– if not dirtied from head to foot, perhaps both. One doesn't see it so easily, so it's probably much filthier in reality than I can describe it to you.<sup>47</sup>

This letter, written in German, is important because it shows the ignorance that prevailed in Greece on the situation in Germany, even before the censorship enforced by the dictatorship of Iōannēs Metaxas in 1936. It is also important as one of the most sincere among Skalkottas' letters. The letters he wrote to his Greek friends produce the impression of a restraint, of holding back his profound feelings and his sincere thoughts. Reading some letters to Nellē Askētopoulou, one is not always certain whether he is humorous, ironic or sincere. To Manōlēs Benakēs he writes in a manner that could mean either that Benakēs has changed Skalkottas' views or that Skalkottas is pretending to have changed his views in order to satisfy Benakēs.<sup>48</sup> His correspondence with those two friends is written at an age when he was still convivial and battling for his recognition in society, while in 1935 he was reclusive, fighting his battles inwardly. Also, Skalkottas' handling of the Greek language is problematic.<sup>49</sup> He applies many foreign words (a lot of French<sup>50</sup> as well as German), uses certain Greek words in their etymological meaning and not in the meaning they have acquired by their use,<sup>51</sup> and, at times, makes up his own words, translating from foreign languages.

Crucial changes and moves in Skalkottas' life were most untimely. His early years in Athens occurred during a period of optimism for the future of the country. Besides, a great percentage of the circle of the Athens Conservatory he was in contact with consisted of foreigners and Greeks who often travelled abroad. Before leaving for Berlin, Skalkottas had only faintly realised the quality of Athenian society. Even this had much altered during his stay in Berlin, as Greece had suffered the catastrophic consequences of the failed 1922 campaign to Asia Minor; this halted all progress and was disastrous for the economy but also for the morality of the people.<sup>52</sup>

While Skalkottas was in Berlin, the city was also at its peak of cultural vitality. What followed after he left the city was cultural isolation and stylistic regression in music. Serial music (and all music connected to Jewish musicians) was completely effaced from concert halls, music schools and most memories. Karl Holer, Werner Egk, Wolfgang Fortner, Paul Graener, Ernst Pepping, Wilhelm Maler, Gerhard Frommel, Max Trapp, Hans Pfitzner, were among the composers representing the New German School, with Karl Orff and Paul Hindemith considered the most progressive. The regression of musical style promoted by the Third Reich's cultural policies was complete when, in 1935, Germany ended its isolation (projecting a liberal image for the coming Olympic games of 1936) and begun exchange cultural programmes with other western countries.

The propagation of tonal and modal music was well accepted not only on political but also on aesthetic grounds over much of Europe. When, in 1935–1939, the Permanent Council for International Cooperation amongst Composers (founded by Richard Strauss in 1934) organised exchange cultural programmes, German music was cleared from all its “demolishers”, among whom Schoenberg, Kurt Weill and other Skalkottas acquaintances were eloquent examples. During one of those exchange programmes, on 5 December 1938,

Philoctētēs Economidēs directed Berlin’s Philharmonic Orchestra in the Singakademie in an all-Greek music concert organised by the Prussian Academy of the Arts, the Ministry of Propaganda and Popular Education, and the Ambassador of Greece, Mr. A. Rangavēs. The works performed were: four songs by Aemilios Riadēs; the second movement of Kalomiris’ two-movement *Symphonic Concerto for Piano and Orchestra*; four *Greek Dances* for orchestra by Nikos Skalkottas; Antiochos Evangelatos’ *Introduction to a drama*; and Petros Petridēs’ *Greek Suite*.

This was the last performance of Skalkottas’ music organised by the Prussian Academy of Arts in Berlin during his life; a performance which did not do a Schoenberg student much honour. I am not aware of any comments by Skalkottas on that occasion.<sup>53</sup> Other participating composers saw those exchange projects as the recognition of Greek music as a branch of European music.

An all-German music concert was performed, in exchange, in Athens on 28 February 1939. The conductor was Erich Orthmann, and the works performed were by Hans Pfitzner, Paul Graener, Max Trapp, and Baron von Reznicek.

Henry Missir, serving as music correspondent from Athens to *La Revue Musicale*, wonders “why such a splendid school as the German School considers it an obligation to illustrate its musical creation of today with symphonic pages of composers whose style is most often rococo and imitative, as if the evolution of actual procedures in composition is ignored”.<sup>54</sup> A remark that may be added to the numerous signs showing the ignorance of Greek musicians to the situation in the Third Reich.

## The Music

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It is estimated that Skalkottas’ lost works are at least 28 and at most 70 (Papaiōannou [Παπαϊωάννου] 1997/ii: 213). His works preserved in any form (including orchestral works in piano reduction, or partially orchestrated) are close to 100 (Papaiōannou [Παπαϊωάννου] 1997/ii: 204-212). They include large suite-like works consisting of a great number of movements (36 *Greek Dances* for orchestra; 32 *Piano Pieces*); monumental works in one or more movements (*Ulysses’ Return* overture; two *Orchestral Suites* in six movements each); works in classic forms (a *Classic Symphony in A* for wind orchestra, harp and double bass, a *Symphonietta*, many concertos,<sup>55</sup> four string quartets, two piano trios, one violin sonata and one for violin and piano, sonatinas etc.); various shorter works in one or more movements (such as his two dance-movement quartets for piano and wind, sets of theme and variations, short suites, piano studies etc.); stage music (especially dance music); songs.

Today, every serious researcher recognises as an achievement of Schoenberg the strong personalities of his (talented) students, none of whom imitated him or each other. Furthermore, since the 1990s American theorists and musicologists have shown tonal implications in Schoenberg’s own twelve-tone works, of both the American and the European periods (Milstein 1992: 4–5). Therefore, to project as Skalkottas’ singular achievement the

independent treatment of the method and the tonal reminiscences it produces<sup>56</sup> is convincing no more; nor is this realisation downgrading Skalkottas' work.

Schoenberg himself was very much aware of the potential repercussions of the method's propagation and was reluctant to publish a manual on it. For him and his best students, the method was a help to fortify "music logic" in an atonal idiom, and it was this "music logic" that he was trying to theorise before publicising anything on the method. He wrote:

For nearly twenty years I have been collecting material, ideas and sketches for an all-inclusive textbook of composition. When I shall finish it, I do not know. In any case: I have published nothing about "composition with 12-tones related to one another" and do not wish to do so until the principal part of my theory was ready: the "Study of Musical Logic". For I believe that meaningful advantage can be derived from this composition when it is based on knowledge and realization that comes from musical logic. And that is also the reason why I do not teach my students: "12-tone composition", but "composition", in the sense of musical logic; the rest will then come, sooner or later by itself.<sup>57</sup>

Schoenberg, an insightful reader of history, had foreseen the hyperbole of the method's adoption by composers as well as the fading of its consequence. Speaking, the year of Skalkottas' death, of his evolution (Schoenberg 1975: 87–88) he wrote:

Usually when changes of style occur in the arts, a tendency can be observed to overemphasise the difference between the new and the old. Advice to followers is given in the form of exaggerated rules [...]. Fifty years later, the finest ears of the best musicians have difficulty in hearing those characteristics that the eyes of the average musicologist see so easily.

We might assume that time has given the method the importance Schoenberg's circle understood it to have. In 1931 Skalkottas explained the method to his Greek readers:<sup>58</sup>

With his twelve-note system its inventor does not certainly mean, as many erroneously believe, the continuous "scholastic" repetition of the twelve notes in principal and secondary [polyphonic] parts of the work, but [he means] a law similar to that of the heptatonic system: the laws, the limits and the collection of the entire modern material into a solid modern system. Main points of this system are: a) the avoidance (as much as possible) of octaves, b) transparency of writing, c) the limitless horizon of exploitation of [polyphonic] parts and harmony.

This broad appreciation of the method conforms with Schoenberg's search for a theory of musical logic, as well as with all information about Schoenberg's lessons which consisted of analyses of great works (Gradenwitz 1998).

Not less important, in Skalkottas' case, was Schoenberg's transmission to his students of a missionary role. In a letter sent to the Prussian Academy of Arts from the United States in 1933 (Ennulat 1991: 7), Schoenberg summarised his teaching in Berlin:

[...] when I gave in to the temptation of the academy's flattering offer, it was because they appealed to my ambition as a teacher, and held up to me my duty to disseminate my knowledge, and because I knew what I was able to do for the students. This indeed I have done and more. Anyone who was my student became aware of the seriousness and morality of the mission of the artist; this awareness will, under any circumstances of life, bring him honor if he is able to remain true to it!

It was this awareness that armed Skalkottas with creative impulse, despite the oppressing and humiliating circumstances of the last Athenian period of his life.

Skalkottas was a serious, or if you like, a moral composer, whatever the subject and the inspiration of his works, which were indeed richly diversified.

A very characteristic aspect of his work is his genuine humour and a sunny joy influenced by light music and the music of Kurt Weill (whose collaboration with Bertolt Brecht took place in the years Skalkottas studied with him and with Schoenberg). His tangos, fox trots etc. are bursting with vitality and are embroidered with witty details, which add light and colour to the dancing pace and the singing line.

As was a trend among his generation's composers in Berlin (Kurt Weill, Ernst Krenek), Skalkottas is an eclectic composer. He wrote in a rich variety of styles that are independent of the technique or the method applied. As put from the analyst's point of view: in Skalkottas' music one is faced with "the frequent lack of aesthetic differentiation between the atonal and the twelve-tone works" (Zervos 2008: 66).

Skalkottas' eclecticism is observed not only in the sense of works differing to each other. It is also present as an uncommon coexistence of styles, influences and quotations within one work, that sound normal when listening to the music but look strange if described in words. For instance in the ballet *The Maiden and Death*, based on a folk legend, a manly folk dance (containing a quotation of his *Tsamikos*, the first of his published *Quatre Danses Grecques*), a type of Weill brassy fanfare, and a valse-lente (geographically displaced by a jazzy drums accompaniment) all follow each other smoothly and convincingly.

On the first level, one is impressed by the rich concepts of time in his music. In his monumental symphonic works, as in the *Return of Odysseus* overture,<sup>59</sup> time unfolds in broad, slowly formatted contours. In fact, his linear counterpoint is enclosed in a counterpoint of music shapes, some of which have rich interior life. In his collective works, the movements of his suites, and among his short, autonomous pieces, time is often developed as though under a miniaturist's magnified glass.

Multi-level polyphony, requiring transparency to be comprehended, becomes extremely demanding in solo music. His music for the violin and, especially, his music for the piano pose immense technical problems (Laaris [Λαάρης] 1999).

Skalkottas' 32 *Piano Pieces* although written in one summer (1940),<sup>60</sup> do represent, like Beethoven's 32 piano sonatas, the composer's development as a composer; the work seems to contain all his compositional propositions. In fact the years 1935–1940 were very productive and certainly at the end of that period Skalkottas had in his mind the problems and issues he was confronted with during its course (Demertēs [Δεμερτζής] 1991).

Both the diversity and the art are admirable. One is charmed by a Schumannesque child's logic, tenderness and pianistic polyphony (no. 1, "Klavierstück", no.16, "Nachtstück"), purely neo-Baroque atmosphere (no. 22, "Gavotte"), Bartókian music games (no. 2, "Kinder-Tanz", no. 8, "Vierstimmiger kleiner Kanon"), modern dance joy and sentimentality in his many dances. One is stunned by the pitiless virtuosity (Kontossi 2007: 93) either theatrically exhibited (no. 4, "Katastrophe auf dem Urwald") or concealed (no. 8)

The piece no. 15, entitled *Passacaglia* (a piece published individually and often performed thus), is an example of his non-serial treatment of the twelve-tone method. On (but not always over) an ostinato melody with strong baroque characteristics (two tied semitones and a chromatically descending segment) which is a twelve-tone row, unfold twenty compact variations (two 9/8 meters each) on styles dispersed in western music history from Bach to the 20th century. They are extremely diverse to each other, but compose a tightly constructed work not only by means of the ostinato melody, but also through use of the same sets of pitches over the same ostinato segments and the reappearance of the theme as the beginning of variation xvi, which is the peak of a contrapuntal build-up. After variation xvi, the pianistic shapes become all the more chordal, concluding, in the final variation, in the exposition of those sets, as blocks, over the corresponding ostinato segments; like an explanation of the technical foundation of the entire work. The last block of the work contains in the right hand all the notes of the set on a c of the left hand; this is repeated for the first time after the end of the ostinato melody (which ends on a C sharp).

Skalkottas has not left any hints on programmes even of works whose titles suggest their programmatic nature. However, his piano piece no 24, entitled "Italian Serenade" might well be a very descriptive programmatic piece. The pianist and musicologist Christophe Sirodeau observes that the piece's "slight whiff of vulgarity" might be related to "the anti-Italian situation in 1940 with the imminent invasion of Greece by Mussolini" (Sirodeau 2000: 13–14). Indeed, Skalkottas' piece seems to describe clearly the torpedoing of the Greek ship 'Ellē' by the Italian submarine 'Delfino', during the panhellenic festivities for the Virgin on the island of Tēnos.<sup>61</sup> The simple melody, the peaceful harmony and rhythm, repeated in variations over and over, are completely shuttered and overturned, after the massive ascending thirds (mm. 45-46: the Italian torpedo ?) smash the joyous atmosphere.

Skalkottas' relation to Greek folk music needs a special discussion. In an unpublished and undated text (estimated by Cōstēs Demertēs to be written in 1935–1936), entitled "Folk Song", Skalkottas is explicitly expressing his idea that folk song if treated by a *great* composer will be perfected and become compelling to modern listeners. This sounds like an echo of Béla Bartók's "On the significance of folk music" (Suchoff 1976: 345-347) written in 1931 and published in German translation in 1932.<sup>62</sup>

folk music will become a source of inspiration for a country's music only if the transplantation of its motives is the work of a great talent. In the hands of incompetent composers neither folk music nor any other musical material will ever attain significance. If a composer has no talent it will be of no use to him to base his music on folk music or an other music. The result will in every case be nothing.

In the articles sent from Berlin to *Musikē Zōē*, Skalkottas expresses his admiration for Béla Bartók. In one instance he writes about a performance of the two *Rhapsodies* for violin and orchestra: "Those two rhapsodies by Béla Bartók are folkloristic works, full with rhythm and superbly orchestrated. After Schoenberg, Bartók is without any doubt the most interesting and serious musician of our times" (Skalkōtas [Σκαλκώτας] 1931c: 163). In another article, comparing Kodály to Bartók he admires Bartók's use of folk songs "with new harmonies, contemporary forms and pure artistic freshness" (Skalkōtas [Σκαλκώτας] 1931a: 112). It is obvious from Skalkottas' writings that he was fairly well acquainted with the music of Bartók. In fact, Cōnstantinidēs, Skalkottas' friend mentioned above, recalls a Bartók week in Berlin, in 1923, with the composer performing at the piano in some of his chamber music concerts.<sup>63</sup> He also remembers having heard Bartók playing his 1st piano concerto, which may have been the first world performance of the work, given in Frankfurt on 1 July 1927 (Gillies 1993: 558).

It might not be a coincidence that Skalkottas' first piano concerto, written in 1931, is undeniably alluding to Greek folk melodic and rhythmic characteristics and applies some Bartókian developmental techniques (such as the extension of a chromatic theme into diatonic and vice-versa), even though it is a twelve-tone work. Bartókian characteristics, including a "night music" section, are also observed in his Violin Sonata, another work preserved from the Berlin years.

Skalkottas was a free spirit and his musical perception was penetrating. Even under the spell of Schoenberg's personality, he was observing his music's "aggressiveness and problematic sonority"; (Skalkōtas [Σκαλκώτας] 1931b: 113) he was enjoying Stravinsky's "humorous pleasure and his ironic playing with both classic and modern composers" (Skalkōtas [Σκαλκώτας] 1931b: 113) and he was admiring Bartók's treatment of folk music and the inspiration he got from it. His music shows evidence of all three influences, as well as the influence of Kurt Weill and other contemporary composers. Equally evident is his deep knowledge of western traditional literature, the study of which constituted, as mentioned, Schoenberg's composition lessons.

It is now certain that Skalkottas did not share his teacher's opinion on "*synthetic* national music, bred like horses or plants" (Schoenberg 1975: 168, original emphasis),<sup>64</sup> and that the possibility of following Bartók's direction occupied his thoughts during the Berlin years.

The similarity of much of his music to Bartók's<sup>65</sup> is not exemplified only in the numerous cases where folk or folkish themes, rhythms and modes are used, but also in a character of purity, truth and sentimental immediacy through restraint and concision, or at times, the character of a strongly anti-Romantic earthly strength; a character that might be associated with the understanding of the elemental nature of Eastern European folk music.



## Posthumous fame

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Skalkottas' music began to be studied and appreciated in Athens in the 1950s, when avant-garde music was introduced and strongly supported as part of Cold War cultural antagonism and propaganda.<sup>66</sup> The recovery of his music was initiated by Yannēs Papaïōannou, an amateur musicologist (an engineer by profession) with undisputable talent and knowledge, who was a leading figure in organising the avant-garde music movement in Athens. This is well reflected in the way he interpreted Skalkottas' work, life and personality in his writings.

Papaïōannou led the foundation of a Society of Skalkottas' Friends in 1961,<sup>67</sup> organised a workshop of contemporary music – with Günter Becker – at the Goethe Institute of Athens in 1962 and played a leading role in the Greek section of the International Society for Contemporary Music in 1964 and the Hellenic Association for Contemporary Music (HACM) in 1965 (the latter two shared a large percentage of their members and directorships). In 1966 Papaïōannou initiated the Greek Festivals of Contemporary Music, which were financially supported by both the Greek Tourism Organisation and foreign institutions (Goethe Institute, Italian Institute, the Cultural Office of the American Embassy, The Ford Foundation). Papaïōannou succeeded in creating a circle of good musicians and a lively audience for avant-garde music, and in establishing good relations with foreign related agents and artists. Among other Greek music works performed in the festivals, several works by Skalkottas had their world premieres.

Papaïōannou began the publication of Skalkottas' work in 1968 with Universal Editions (twenty-five works). In 1969 he published a catalogue of the composer's works which includes information on the autographs kept in Skalkottas' archives. That same year he organised the English Bach Festival (presided over by the Greek harpsichordist Lila Lalandi); a festival dedicated to Skalkottas in order to commemorate the twenty year anniversary of his death. Nineteen works were performed and for their execution the Society undertook to publish them hastily in editions named *Provisional Editions* (by copyists; the project was financed by The Ford Foundation). Those provisional editions, however, continued to be produced (funded by another Ford Foundation grant) after the Bach Festival as they were judged to be efficient. In 1980, Gunther Schuller got interested in publishing Skalkottas' work and did so with Margun Music Inc., which was incorporated into G. Schirmer of New York in 1999.

In his texts, as well as in a catalogue of Skalkottas' works, Papaïōannou divided his compositions into atonal (including twelve-tone), that he calls *main* works, and tonal (or modal). He promoted the theory that Skalkottas was obliged by the depressing, conservative atmosphere in Athens to abandon his progressive music language and turn to tonality and the use of Greek folk songs in his music. Indeed, as Nikos Christodoulou writes: “Papaïōannou (who disapproved of tonal music as a legitimate language for a then modern composer) called emphatically, in his many articles and book, as ‘two great voids’ those periods where Skalkottas was mostly composing tonal works” (Christodoulou 2008: 134).

A conspiracy theory, initiated by Papaïōannou, has been widely circulated to explain Skalkottas falling into obscurity as a composer during his life in Athens. This theory, supported or repeated by John Thornley (Thornley 2008: 344–354) and many others, names as main conspirators Manolis Kalomiris and Philoctētēs Economidēs, followed by Petros Petridēs, Spyros Farandatos, Giōrgos Ponēridēs, Dimitri Mitropoulos and others.<sup>68</sup>

For the liberties he took, Papaïōannou has received criticism from recent Skalkottas researchers. However, as Cōstes Demertzēs – whose Ph.D. dissertation is the first large-scale published study on Skalkottas – has said, without Papaïōannou’s valuable contribution it is very possible that Skalkottas would be a “*nomen nudum*” (Demertzēs [Δεμερτζής 1998: xx).

Demertzēs thus reminds us that if Papaïōannou made the mistake of interpreting Skalkottas through the prism of avant-garde enthusiasm, we should not repeat this mistake by judging Papaïōannou through the prism of postmodern “maturity”.

The pianist and conductor Giōrgos Chatzēnikos was also very important in the dissemination of Skalkottas’ music. In October 1953, he was the soloist at the premiere of Skalkottas’ Piano Concerto no. 2 given in Hamburg by the orchestra of the Northwest German Radio, under the direction of Hermann Scherchen.<sup>69</sup> Although his recordings of Skalkottas’ work are few, his interpretations communicate fully the musical logic of the pieces. He is also credited with having found, in a Berlin secondhand bookshop in December 1954, three of Skalkottas’ lost works; his *Octet*, two String Quartets, and the Piano Concerto no.1.

The first collective recording of Skalkottas’ works was a four LP album by EMI/HMV issued in 1980. It contains chamber music performed by nearly all the Greek musicians who performed in the avant-garde music concerts of the 1960s and 1970s in Athens. They are: the pianists Diana Vranoussē, Nellē Semitecolo and Yannēs Papaïōannou himself; the violinists Tatsēs Apostolidēs (leader of the Hellenic Quartet whose other members were Ersē Kangelarē, Yiannēs Vatikiotēs and Sōtērēs Tachiatēs), Nina Patrikidou and Dēmētrēs Vraskos; the violist Yiannēs Vatikiotēs; the cellists Sōtērēs Tachiatēs and Chrēstos Sfetsas and a small string orchestra directed by Tatsēs Apostolidēs.

In the last decade of the 20th century, a second renaissance of Skalkottas’ work begun. This has brought forth a startling number of unexpectedly good interpretations of his works. Most among the splendid performers of the recordings that circulate are young Greek musicians, some of which have gained recognition in Greece through their Skalkottas interpretations. It should be reiterated here that Skalkottas’ writing for all instruments is very demanding; in order to communicate the musical thoughts of the composer, the instrumentalist has to overcome extreme technical problems. This Skalkottas renaissance has therefore led to a very interesting phenomenon: a community of anti-star, young, Greek musicians following a career both in Greece and abroad and being recognised for their supreme musicianship, outside the craze of mass media. It should be added that Skalkottas’ works quite often require serious editing, which is, in many cases, undertaken by the interpreters themselves.

The cellist and conductor Byrōn Fidetzēs, a crusader for the promotion of Greek music and the present director of the Athens State Orchestra, has conducted the premiere of the



entire *36 Greek Dances* with the State Philharmonic Orchestra of the Urals (recorded by Lyra, 1991).<sup>70</sup>

From February 1998 to July 2008, the Swedish company BIS has circulated seventeen CDs (including some boxes of two) of Skalkottas works. Among the Greek artists participating in this project, the conductor Nikos Christodoulou has the lead; the conductors Byrön Fidetzēs and Vassilēs Christopoulos each appear on one CD. The orchestras participating are the Iceland Symphony orchestra, the Thessaloniki State Symphony Orchestra, the BBC Symphony Orchestra, the Caput Ensemble and the Malmö Symphony Orchestra.

The violinist Giōrgos Demertzēs has performed, either as the leader of the New Hellenic Quartet or as a soloist, all of Skalkottas' relevant works. Other string players include the violinist Simos Papanas, the violist Chara Seira, the cellist Maria Kitsopoulou and the double bass player Vassilēs Papavassiliou, who is the soloist at the superb concerto for double bass.

Among pianists, Nikolaos Samaltanos and Maria Asteriadou perform on several CDs, while Lorenda Ramou plays Skalkottas' arrangements of his ballet music. Samaltanos has recorded the *32 Piano Pieces*, a work that was premiered in 1979 in Athens by Geoffrey Douglas Madge. Madge participates in the BIS project by performing Skalkottas' 1st and 2nd piano concertos, and his *Concerto no 3 for Piano and Ten Wind Instruments*. The interpretations of the mezzo soprano Angelica Cathariou and the percussionist Dēmétrēs Desyllas are also remarkable.

Among the Greek interpretations that are not recorded in the BIS project, one should mention a Decca/Universal CD containing the world premiere recording of Skalkottas' neoclassic, sparkling C major *Concertino* for piano and orchestra (together with his *Concerto no 3 for Piano and Ten Wind Instruments*) performed by the Montpellier National Orchestra under the direction of Friedemann Layer, with Danaē Karra as soloist.

Vassō Koutsobina, compiling a Skalkottas discography in 1999, lists 77 records (Koutsobina 1999). In 2008 Thōmas Tamvakos lists 144 records containing Skalkottas' music (Tamvakos 2008), the second greatest number of records for a "serious" Greek composer after Iannis Xenakis.

## Notes

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1. Despite the facts that a large part of his work is extremely demanding for instrumentalists, still remains unpublished and is difficult to access.
2. Skalkōtas [Σκαλκώτας] 1931: 111–113, 124–126, 138–139, 163–164, 179, 213.
3. In Demertzēs [Δεμερτζής] 1998 the "Technique of orchestration" is thoroughly analysed. The subjects of the short texts are given in Demertzēs [Δεμερτζής] 1998: 8. For his folk song transcriptions, see Dragoumēs [Δραγούμης] 1978–1979.
4. See their list in Demertzis 2008: 294–295.
5. The letters were written by Skalkottas to Manōlēs Benakēs from November 1928 to January 1933. Today, these letters are missing. However, Thornley had read them and obviously had obtained copies of them (it is not clear if he copied all of them) which he cited in the paper read at the conference, later published in revised form (see Thornley 2002).

6. The only music school in Greece, at the time, that had introduced the programmes, the methods and the repertory of German music academies and the Parisian Conservatoire. From 1872, when it was founded, to 1891, music was taught practically. Then, under the direction of Geōrgios Nazos, who had studied in Munich, the institution was radically reorganised, its new staff consisting primarily of German, French and Belgian professors. This determined the transition from Italian to German influence in Greek music life.
7. Studies in Greek conservatories are organised in three multi-years levels.
8. Marsick, who had come to Athens at the end of 1908, taught in the conservatory up to 1920, when Saint-Saëns visited the city. Dimitri Mitropoulos was Marsick's favourite student and his right hand in the orchestra. Marsick's wish and effort to get assimilated into Greek music life is remarkable: he had composed several works on Greek subjects, using folk modes and rhythms, and he participated in the first well-organised expedition of the Athens Conservatory for the collection of folk songs in Peloponnēsos. On 25 February 1922 he moved to Bilbao.
9. Dimitri Mitropoulos had received a piano diploma one year earlier, also with the highest distinction, and prizes, as well as a scholarship to continue his studies in Brussels. He stayed for a short time in that city and left for Berlin as well.
10. He was on the list of Hochschule students up to the end of the summer semester (Jaklitsch 2003: 170). He performed in student concerts of 31.5.1922, 3.2.1923, 26.1.1924, 13.2.1924, 7.3.1924, 4.6.1924. (Mantzourani 1999: 35). Nina Jaklitsch also gives the works performed by Skalkottas in those concerts (Jaklitsch 2003: 174–175).
11. Cited in Jaklitsch 2003: 177–178. See also, Thornley 2002: 178.
12. Skalkottas 1948: [1].
13. Cited in Demertzis 2008: 306.
14. Cōnstantinidēs' autographed manuscript notes entitled "Skalkottas". They were shown to me by the musicologist Giōrgos Sakallieros.
15. In Octave Merlier's biography of Skalkottas (Skalkottas 1948: [1]), the names of those two are mixed up and Skalkottas' teacher is called Paul Kahn; this has created some problems for later biographers. (See Papaïōannou [Παπαϊωάννου] 1997/i: 67).
16. From 1921 to 1924, Kurt Weill was in Feruccio Busoni's composition master class at Berlin's Academy of the Arts and from 1923 to 1929 he gave private lessons in composition. Kurt Weill studied counterpoint with Philipp Jarnach, at the advice of Feruccio Busoni.
17. Arnold Schoenberg succeeded Busoni in August 1925. (See Alsmeier 2001: 78). In the Arnold Schoenberg Archive, the following note is kept "Herrn Nikolaus Skalkottas habe ich nach vorheriger Prüfung in die mir unterstellte Meisterschule aufgenommen, und bitte um seine Zulassung zur Immatrikulation. Berlin, den 8ten November 1927, Arnold Schönberg" (<http://www.schoenberg.at/>).
18. Temko gave birth to Artemis and Apollo (or Giōrgo). The boy died very early. The couple had divorced by the summer of 1928 (Thornley 2002: 186) and their daughter was given to a foster-mother in Berlin.
19. On his relations with N. Skalkottas, see Thornley 2002. On the information of Farandatos' intervention, see Thornley 2008: 356.
20. See Gradenwitz 1998: 169–183.
21. Alsmeier 2001: 79–80.
22. Hannenheim and Skalkottas wrote a letter, dated 23 May 1930 and signed by both, thanking Schoenberg for offering them the opportunity, through this concert, to perform their works. The letter is reproduced in Gradenwitz 1998: 173.

23. Thornley 2002: 191. The programme of this concert is reproduced in Ramou 2008: 420. Polyxenē Mathéy-Roussopoulou (1902–1999) was married to the German painter Georg Mathéy. She studied with Karl Orff from 1935 to 1937 and in 1938 she founded a school in Athens where she introduced Orff’s methods to Greece.
24. The second movement of his Sonatina no. 1 for violin and piano (1929), in volume 4 (31 January 1931, pp. 83–86).
25. This information is given with the occasion of a remark on the “musicality and sweet voice” of Skalkottas’ sister who sang at a students concert in Athens. The unsigned text concludes: “We believe that Miss Skalkotta will continue her studies in Berlin, by her brother, the known Greek composer. By the way, we note that Mr Skalkottas, who is living in Berlin, has already composed an Octet for four strings and four wood winds which will be performed in the German capital on 2 June. Two of his quartets, nos 1 and 2, were also performed in Berlin on 21 May. *Musikē Zōē* expresses to Mr Skalkottas and his parents the most cordial congratulations.” *Musikē Zōē*, 8, 31 May 1931, p. 192.
26. Thornley 2002: 189. (The details in parentheses are from Thornley’s paper read at the Skalkottas Symposium of the University of Athens on 12 November 1999, not included in its published revised form.)
27. Schoenberg’s teaching contract required him to be at the post six months per year. After an asthma attack, he moved to Barcelona (as advised by his physician) from October 1931 to May 1932 (see Ennulat 1991: 152).
28. According to Papaïōannou, this is not a folk song but a composition by Lambelet (Papaïōannou [Παπαϊωάννου] 1997/i: 34). He does not specify who among the three Lambelet brothers is the composer.
29. Bichsel 2008: 486.
30. Thornley says that she was one of the persons to whom Skalkottas asked for economic support, when Manōlēs Benakēs ceased his own; the other being Papastratos and Kyriazēs (Thornley 2008: 356). The same author says that Margarita Perra’s brother, Tēlemachos Perras, was the doctor who operated on Skalkottas the day he died, on 19 September 1949 (Thornley 2002: 205).
31. In May 1933 Schoenberg left for the USA (through Paris). He had resigned from the Academy on 20 March (Holtmeier 2008: 269).
32. Called Seventh Symphony in the Greek press (a number given often to the *Unfinished Symphony* in those years, and very seldom to the Ninth).
33. The article is published entirely in Greek and with an English translation, in Skalkottas 2008: 323–329.
34. One of those Greeks who, like Skalkottas himself, take the lead so prematurely that they become ineffective and marginalised. Oeconomou gives a fine description of Adler’s definition of musicology and an introduction to this new science (Oeconomou [Οικονόμου] 1930: 29–31). Nothing is known about this musicologist, besides the very little information he gives on himself in his writings in the periodical (e.g. that he had studied in Vienna and that Guido Adler was his teacher, p. 30) and in his editing notes in various texts that give an idea of his anti-Romantic taste.
35. In Thornley 2002: 195, we read the following quotation from a Skalkottas’ letter to Benakēs, written about March 1932: “In connection with last year’s rows, I feel like going down to Athens to beat up Oeconomou. Who gave him the idea of annihilating me with his acts of malevolence and his nasty remarks?” Given the fact that Oeconomou supported Skalkottas, this is strange; Skalkottas either refers to some event that we do not know about, or this is an ironic remark.

36. Skalkottas was exempted from military service again through the intervention of Spyros Farandatos (Thornley 2008: 356). See also note 19 above.
37. Thornley 2008: 334.
38. Chatzēnikos [Χατζηνίκος] 2006: 46.
39. Chatzēnikos [Χατζηνίκος] 2006: 47.
40. See Lalaounē [Λαλαούνη] 1945, where Skalkottas is mentioned to have accompanied the violinist Alecos Chatzēdēmētriou, who performed his own compositions.
41. See Dragoumēs [Δραγούμης] 1978–1979.
42. Ramou 2008: 422.
43. Such choreographic “pasticcios” were much used by modern dance pioneers in Athens, who were exceptionally musical.
44. These are arrangements of music by Bartók, Stravinsky, and others, most possibly proposed by Pratsika herself. See Rikakis 2008: 402.
45. See ‘Posthumous fame’ below.
46. Skalkottas was probably unaware that Schoenberg had been forced out of Germany by the Nazis in May 1933.
47. Letter to Matla Temko in Sweden quoted in translation (from the original German) by Thornley 2002: 214–215.
48. Thornley observes this in various occasions. See for example Thornley 2002: 201.
49. One of the holes in Skalkottas’ biography has to do with his schooling. It is most possible that he did not complete the twelve years of Greek schooling.
50. In the Athens Conservatory of Music, the French language was prevailing. There exist recital programmes of Schubert’s *Lieder*, where their titles are in French.
51. This might be the reason why Papaïōannou finds the treatment of language by Skalkottas outstanding (Papaïōannou [Παπαϊωάννου] 1997/i: 63).
52. Besides the thousands of people who were forcefully expelled from their homes during the retreat of the Greek army, the Exchange of Populations Treaty brought within the borders of a poor and worn-out country of 5.500.000 inhabitants close to another 1.400.000 Greek nationals, all refugees. See Pentzopoulos 2002: 98–99. See also Yannis Belonis’ chapter “The Greek National Music School” in this book.
53. I am not aware, either, of any comments by him on the three performances of Manolis Kalomiris’ opera *The Mother’s Ring* in Berlin’s Volksoper, between 2 and 10 February 1940. For further information on these performances, as well as the situation in Greek music life during the Ioannes Metaxas dictatorship and the Axis occupation, see Romanou 2009.
54. Missir 1939.
55. They are two piano concertos, one concerto for piano and wind orchestra (ten instruments), a concertino for piano, a concertino for two pianos, one violin concerto, one concerto for two violins, one concerto for violin and viola, one concerto for double bass, a concertino for oboe and one concertino for trumpet (Papaïōannou [Παπαϊωάννου] 1997/ii: 206–207).
56. A comprehensive description of Skalkottas’ application of the method is given in Mantzourani 2008.
57. Goehr: 1977: 4 (cited in Milstein 1992: 1).
58. Reviewing a piano recital by Else Krauss who performed Schoenberg’s piano *Suite*, opus 25, which he names as the first twelve-note work (Skalkōtas [Σκαλκώτας] 1931: 138).
59. An analysis of this twelve-tone work, applying non-serially many rows thematically connected to each other, see Giannopoulos [Γιαννόπουλος] 2003.

60. Cōstēs Demertzēs gives a foreword to this work written by the composer and much information on it (Demertzēs [Δεμερτζής] 1991: 32–53, 94–143).
61. On 15 August 1940. This act initiated the Italians’ menacing stand towards Greece. They invaded Greece on 28 October 1940 and at this date Greece got involved in World War II. Very few among the 32 pieces are dated by the composer. The “Italian Serenade” is not. However certain of the dated pieces are written after 15 August 1940.
62. *Mitteilungen der Österreichischen Musiklehrerschaft* (Vienna), no.3 (May-June), 1932, pp. 8–10.
63. He also mentioned performances of his quartets by the Waldbauer Quartet. (Sakallieros [Σακαλλιέρος] 2005: 19).
64. Schoenberg’s “Folk-music and Art-music”, written c.1926. The passage on horses and plants runs as follows: “How, then, does one produce ‘synthetic’ national music, how does one breed it? As one breeds horses, or plants – by intermingling or grafting native and foreign products...”
65. The consideration of the Fibonacci series, observed in his 32 *Piano pieces* (Sirodeau 2000: 10) might be added to Bartók’s influence.
66. After World War II, Greece, as the only Balkan country belonging to the West, “turned into the largest beneficiary per capita of American largesse in the world” (Mazower 2000: 133).
67. From 1949 to 1961, an informal Skalkottas committee was formed by Minōs Dounias, Nellē Euelpidou (Askētopoulou) and Yannēs Papaïōannou. In 1961, they founded the Society of Skalkottas’ Friends. They collected all of the documents Skalkottas had left in the two houses he had lived in in Athens (his sister’s and his own, where he moved after his marriage in 1946). (Papaïōannou [Παπαϊωάννου] 1997 : 30–31).
68. See the chapter “The great collusion” (Papaïōannou [Παπαϊωάννου] 1997/i: 96-104). In the text he uses the word “conspiracy”.
69. (Chatzēnikos [Χατζηνίκος] 2006: 17– 18). Because of the bad situation of the score, two movements were only played. This mutilated performance circulated in 1993 in an Arcadia CD.
70. Some of the most popular dances have been recorded in interpretations by Dimitri Mitropoulos and the New York Philharmonic Orchestra. The earliest was recorded in Athens in 1955 but only circulated on CD in 1991 to commemorate the thirty years since Mitropoulos’ death.

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\* This is a bilingual publication, all texts appearing in English and Greek in opposite pages.

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# Serbian and Greek Art Music A Patch to Western Music History

Yannis Belonis, Biljana Milanović, Melita Milin,  
Nick Poulakis, Katy Romanou, Katarina Tomašević

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