

Allegretto  $\text{♩} = 138$  *p*

Duca *con brio* *legato*

La donna è mo-bi-le qual piuma al ven-to, muta d'ac - cen-to e di pen.

Viol. *pp*

or

**Four short (hi)stories of a 19<sup>th</sup> century Greek-European musical interaction, and the cultural outcomes thereof.**

**A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy**

**by  
Artemis Ignatidou**

**College of Business, Arts and Social Sciences  
Brunel University London  
2017**

## **Abstract**

The thesis investigates the impact of western art music ('classical') upon the construction of Greek-European identity in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Through the examination of institutions such as the Theatre of Athens that hosted the Italian opera for the better part of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Conservatory of Athens (1873), the Conservatory of Thessaloniki (1914), various 19<sup>th</sup> century literary societies, press content, scores, publications on music, and state regulations on education, the thesis utilizes both musical, as well as extra-musical material to construct a cultural and social history of Greece's understanding of the 'European' in relation to local Greek society through music between 1840 and 1914. At the same time, it highlights the importance of transnational institutional and interpersonal musical networks between Greece and Europe (mainly England, France, and Germany), to demonstrate how political and aesthetic preferences influenced long-term policy, cultural practice, and musical tradition.

While examining the 19<sup>th</sup> century diplomatic, political, and cultural practices of the expanding 19<sup>th</sup> century Greek Kingdom, the thesis traces the development of western musical taste and practice in Balkan Greece in relation to the local modernizing society. It highlights the importance of local and European artistic agents and networks, identifies the tension between the projection of European identity and raw acoustic divergence, argues for about the contribution of music to the construction of Greek-European identity, and examines the cultural and political negotiations about the conflicting relationship between Byzantine-Hellenic-European-Modern Greek, as expressed through music and debates on music.

The last part of the thesis assembles the 19<sup>th</sup> century material to explain the relationship between nationalism and musical practice at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and as such the long-term influence of western art music upon the construction of Greek-European national identity.

## Table of Contents

<b>Abstract</b> .....	<b>2</b>
<b>Acknowledgements</b> .....	<b>4</b>
<b>Introduction</b> .....	<b>5</b>
Methodological approach and literature review .....	15
<b>0. Constructing a Motherland</b> .....	<b>41</b>
Oriental Hellenes, Orientalist Hellenists .....	41
Constructing Greece from the outside: Enlightenment 2.0.....	43
Conspicuous yet Absent: Orientalism, ruins, clouds of smoke, and the picturesque .....	51
Rediscovering a past .....	62
Twists and turns in the politics of the Greek Kingdom, 1832-1914 .....	66
<b>First Story: Music and Theatre in the Theatre</b> .....	<b>81</b>
The Italian opera, the Greek theatre, and a King snoring in his box .....	90
“The Police Officer is the appointed Judge”: Misbehaviour, cultural practice, and a new code of public civic morality.....	114
<b>Second Story: Music education in 19<sup>th</sup> century Greece</b> .....	<b>127</b>
‘Natural’ Architectural Inclinations: mid- 19 <sup>th</sup> century Greek institutions for the arts and crafts. ....	128
“To Govern the Nation through Grammar”: Public and Music education in 19 <sup>th</sup> century Greece .....	140
From ethnic musical idiom to national musical output: western art music in the Ionian Islands.....	150
The Conservatory of Athens .....	166
<b>Third Story: Turning the century (upside down)</b> .....	<b>177</b>
Literary Literal Transliterations: Objects and concepts of late 19 <sup>th</sup> century musical nationalism .....	177
The Enemy Within: cultural polyphony in a strictly monophonic tradition.....	186
The debate in the Capital: Whoever loves the Nation must also love its music	191
Europe in the Debate in the Capital: “A music, my friend, for the cats and the dead” .....	202
“Senza lode e senza infamia”: an epilogue to an exhibition, an epilogue to a debate. ....	217
<b>Fourth Story: Music in Nationalism</b> .....	<b>222</b>
The man who grew to be an Institution.....	239
When politics makes music .....	260
<b>Conclusion</b> .....	<b>272</b>
<b>Appendix</b> .....	<b>283</b>
<b>Bibliography</b> .....	<b>286</b>

## Acknowledgements

To the two women who fixed my historical eyesight and taught me intellectual freedom this thesis belongs, my Dr. Swenson and Dr. Carrol. Part of it also belongs to Dr. Pietsch, who was here only for a minute after I arrived.

To my dear friends, my gratitude for all the handholding, ideas, long nights, sausage-and-bacon mornings, perspectives, experiments, and excruciatingly bad jokes. Andriana Minou, Nikos Stavlas, Stella Parlavantza, Kristin Sofroniou, Danai Bletsas, Alex Ioannou, Danai Pappa, Sofia Papakostaki, Maria Xypaki, and Batman life would have been normal without you. Life would have been much different without the beautiful Marmaras group of dreamers as well so, Lola Totsiou, Theophilos Lambrianidis, and Panos Gklistis, please keep the crazy going.

To the rest of my patient companions, Tavinder Mangat, Josie Daw, Julia Way, Jonathan Lake, and my housemate in Athens, Ioanna Galaterou, my unlimited gratitude for their support, care, advice, walks and talks, and ice creams.

To two institutions a long salute and a big thank you:

Firstly, the extraordinary Banff Centre in Canada, for one of the most special intellectual-musical experiences in my life. Also, for introducing me to the likes of Anyssa Neumann, Ernesto Schmidt, Camilo Sanchez-Mendez and Jenny Khafagi and their ways.

Secondly, my second home for the past four years, the British Library (seat 253), and its smiley, friendly staff. Many people cannot fathom why I experience withdrawal symptoms regularly.

Last but foremost, this goes to this family of mine: Margarita, George, and Aristotelis who, in all possible ways, contributed to what I am today.

## Introduction

In 1901 madness befell the city of Athens: people suddenly went mute and, in night entertainment, they would jump on their feet, mouth shut, dance a little bit and sit back down. Whatever happened to song?

“Yes! Without Song! But still, song is the only demonstration of gaiety. This purported entertainment without song is truly a monstrous thing.”<sup>1</sup>

This plague of songless night entertainment was the outcome of European musical influence upon Greece, the newspaper *Kerē* [Times] explained. In European dances people twirled fast around the room in mixed couples, and with all the sweat and effort, instrumental music was the only option. So why were the Greeks, whose tradition was one of cyclical dance and song, emulating this behaviour and spent their nights “sitting hunched until midnight, when they had a little tea and then [took] a round of European dance without singing?”<sup>2</sup> The newspaper was raising an issue reflecting the anxiety of part of society for the alteration of intimate Greek cultural characteristics, here dance and song, and their replacement by alien traditions, twirls and tea.

Throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century there was a widespread belief in Greece that something was off with the nation’s music. For some it was a matter of form, for others a matter of history. But for most participants in the art and the discussions about the art, it was the awareness of a musical displacement that informed their aesthetic and political approach to western art music, and its influence upon the cultural condition of the modern Greeks. In music as much as in politics, diplomacy, history, and the rest of the arts the Greeks devoted the 19<sup>th</sup> century to negotiating and constructing the country’s relationship to its Ottoman past, Balkan geographical placement, European future, and Byzantine-Hellenic cultural heritage. In music as much as in any other aspect of 19<sup>th</sup> century cultural life the dynamics between these radically diverse cultural constitutive elements, informed by political and military developments,

---

<sup>1</sup> T.K. (1901) The charms of song: Entertainment of the mute. *Kerē*, 31 January 1901, p. 1 [T.K (1901) Η γοητεία του άσματος: Διασκεδάσεις Βωβών, *Καιροί*, 31 Ιανουαρίου 1901, σελ. 1]

<sup>2</sup> *ibid.*

contributed to the creation of the narrative that delivered Greece to its modern relationship with European cultural heritage.

To delineate the processes, actions, and actors that enabled western art music to influence a cultural development and a national narrative is, therefore, an attempt to understand the nature of 19<sup>th</sup> century nation-building in relation to its local, national, and international components through an artistic medium that disseminates its ideological content in an open text, and acquires its meaning through contact with the audience, musicological analysis, and interpretation. For histories such as the one about Greece's 19<sup>th</sup> century westernization, it is these interpretations of the open text that reveal the political mindset of the time more than political history itself. The European waltz that the newspaper probably referred to never replaced traditional Greek dance and song. The reason for the small number of Greek compositions in the western art music idiom was not because of the "lack of instinctive inclination, which is hereditary and results in specific musical idioms", as the article claimed.<sup>3</sup> Rather, both the tension between traditional Greek music and western art music, as well as the small number of 'national' composers were the outcomes of the long process that saw the addition of western art music to the modern cultural characteristics of the Greeks in the course of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Unpacking the reasons that caused the journalist's outrage about songless dance at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century invites the examination of the institutional and interpersonal processes that contributed to the gradual and partial westernization of Greece, in this instance through music.

The transformation of a geographical area belonging to an empire, to an independent nation-state (1830) with an official narrative supporting strong cultural ties with the European classical tradition resulted in a unique cultural mixture, crafted in dialogue with western Europe. The clash of nationalisms and empires in the continent, neoclassicism, the odd Otto of Bavaria sent to rule Greece, the Byzantine chant and Italian opera, all the way up to the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century that saw Greek art critics voicing demands about a distinctively national variety of western art music, and the emergence of the Greek national school of music, all narrate the history of the

---

<sup>3</sup> *ibid.*

creation of a hybrid neo-Hellenic culture that constantly struggled to balance its fragmented cultural characteristics into a coherent modern whole.

The bargain was culturally loaded. Greece, in the long term, gained access to the accumulated cultural heritage of central Europe, constructed a strong national narrative, and gradually won the right to secretly fantasise that Bach wrote music for her as well; Europe, on the other hand, lay its hands on the geographical area where her fantasies placed Aristotle philosophizing for all to be instructed and enlightened. Musical adaptation played an important part in this process of reciprocal cultural exchange, because as much as the Greeks learnt to love and participate in western art music, equally Europeans came to contact with and studied traditional Greek music, the Byzantine chant, and Greek compositions in the western musical idiom entered the pan-European musical canon. The purpose of this thesis, then, is to trace the flow of western identity spreading throughout Greece by medium of institutions, networks, and individuals that believed that the country ought to meet her destiny in the West, rather than embrace her experience with the East, and as such promoted and disseminated their aesthetic and intellectual beliefs on what the 'European' meant. Conversely, it traces the internal negotiation of the nation in regards to the position of traditional music, the musical identity of the Balkan Greeks, the Byzantine chant as Greece's indigenous form of 'art music', and the country's position in relation to its Eastern-Byzantine heritage.

As a direct outcome of this musical investigation, this is a story of a nationalism exposed. Rather more accurately, of many European nationalisms constructing their narratives in harmony and dispute, here seen through the musical assets they classified as signs of 'progress', 'cultural backwardness', or they simply did not register. The focus will be the Greek nationalism that appeared as a discourse in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century and solidified in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries in a continuous dialogue- political, economic, military, and cultural- with the European empires of the time. Especially in regards to the Byzantine chant, the domineering Orthodox-Christian aspect of 19<sup>th</sup> century Greek identity becomes apparent at times when politically the country allied with Europe, but the Church of Greece projected musical connection with Russia in defence of the Eastern-Byzantine character and structure of the chant. As will be seen in chapter three, when contrapuntal composition was

proposed as innovation, Russia became a point of reference for the correct Orthodox-Christian response to ‘European’ meddling with Byzantine heritage.

As a direct outcome of these multiple influences from east and west, the questions of when was the idea of an interconnected ‘Europe’ constructed, where did this imaginary community stretch, who was included in it and who not, whoever decided either and through what expansive or reductive processes, and how all that relevant in the 19<sup>th</sup> century mind, remain issues of great methodological importance in relation to the evolution of Greek nationalism. Especially for art music in the European continent, the question becomes rather more intriguing because of the complex institutional, societal and historical factors that contribute to the development of musical taste on a personal or national level. Nevertheless, this question is not impenetrable if one examines what is the canon, how it evolved, what was and is its functionality, and who has not been included. If the canon, the cultural market, the development of taste, and local cultural resistance are brought together in relation to What Europe, then the process of European ‘Europeanisation’, which some are now calling “Crypto-colonialism” for cases such as the Greek, becomes a dialectical process of adaptation and gradual mutual acculturation- as well as crypto-colonialism.<sup>4</sup> When, for example, a ‘European’ variety of ethnic Greek composers attempted to start their career in the motherland, their musical language was not recognised as ‘Greek’ and as such, though successful in the rest of Europe, they went underappreciated in Greece. The Ionian musicians will showcase in chapter two how ethnic identity and national musical output create instances of transnational cultural contamination, and how the canon and ‘European musical heritage’ were mutually constructive notions in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, with different outcomes for Greece and other European countries.

The constitutive elements of Greek nationalism itself, and as such the relationship of this nationalism to other European nationalisms, render it challenging to place within a common European nexus of cultural intercommunication. The discourses emanating from the Greek national narrative developed in a two-pronged style: on the one hand

---

<sup>4</sup> For the increasingly relevant anthropological theory of ‘Crypto-colonialism’ coined to explain the complex relationship between central Europe and the peripheral countries that found themselves “acculturated” without direct imperial intervention see: Herzfeld, M. The Absent Presence: Discourses of Crypto-Colonialism. *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, 101:4, (Fall, 2002), pp. 899-926.



the ‘transnational’ intercontinental exchange of ideology, institutions, cultural and societal influences, and of course the flow of capital to and from the country; on the other the internal national/nationalist discourses that sought to construct a national coherence accommodating a Hellenistic past, an Orthodox Byzantine (more recent) past, and a European-Balkan present, with irredentist aspirations of reconquering the East (Greece’s nationalist “Great Idea”, covered in the introductory chapter). In the first variety of nationalism, the transnational, we have specific examples such as the 19<sup>th</sup> century pan-European philhellenic movements that influenced Greece as much as their individual countries, or the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century mutual ideological and political influences between the Greek and Italian nationalisms, with the latter in the process of unification and the former in search of a King at around the same time (1862).<sup>5</sup>

In the second variety of nationalism, which constructed the Greek inter-ethnic unifying discourse, further fragmentation informed the content of Greece’s national narrative. The question of the Western or Eastern heritage of the Greeks, the constant search for a balanced recipe that would allow for the Hellenic narrative to coexist with the dominant Orthodox Church, and the Balkan cultural reality in the Kingdom as contrasted to the rest of the ethnic group scattered around Europe and the Ottoman Empire resulted in an insecure nationalism looking to define itself through negation, and according to individual political needs and beliefs. In the course of the century, and mainly through the construction of national history, the Greeks managed to create the linear history that proved cultural continuity between the ancients and the moderns, and through the institutionalisation of Orthodoxy and its embedding into national ideology, normalised and reproduced this paradox- the unbroken continuity from pagan Hellenic to Orthodox Christian.<sup>6</sup>

For these processes in particular, the musical example becomes very illuminating in regards to what assets of identity the Greeks chose to adopt in order to accommodate their dual national reality, as evident from the debate on whether the Italian opera was

---

<sup>5</sup> See for example: Butler, E.M. 1935. *The tyranny of Greece over Germany: A study of the influence exercised by Greek art over the Great German Writers of the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

, ; Liakos, A. 1985. *The Italian Unification and the Great Idea, 1859-1862.* Athens: Themelio [Λιάκος, Α. 1985. *Η Ιταλική Ενοποίηση και η Μεγάλη Ιδέα, 1859-1862.* Αθήνα: Θεμέλιο]

<sup>6</sup> For the elective assets of continuity between the Byzantium and modern Greece based on the former’s Hellenic cultural tradition, and its complete appropriation by the Greek nation-state, see: Glykatzi-Ahrweiler. 2016. *How Greek is the Byzantium? How Byzantine are the modern Greeks?* Athens: Gutenberg. [Γλύκατζη-Αρβελέρ, Ε. 2016. *Πόσο Ελληνικό είναι το Βυζάντιο; Πόσο Βυζαντινοί οι νεοέλληνες;* Αθήνα: Gutenberg]

appropriate for the nation. In such case-studies that seek to disentangle the relationship of the nation to its own musical heritage, the portrayal of 'Europe' as either culturally alien or an asset of cultural development in an extra-political setting results in a very crude and revealing language, and a set of arguments that demonstrate the side-effects of politicising the artistic realm. The constant oscillation between oriental and occidental- both under the constant European gaze, as well as in the reality of Greek local traditions and cultural expression- becomes particularly clear when the evolution of musical institution such as the Theatre of Athens comes under scrutiny, and policy –or lack of it- is juxtaposed to cultural practice, debates in the press, and the outcomes of personal initiatives or/and ideology.

The language on 'Europe', emanating from these musical or extra musical debates, appears to have been fragmented and conditioned by the scope and content of each debate, space, or personal viewpoint. As such, 'Europe' in the Greek 19<sup>th</sup> century remained a vague entity that generally denoted the political, diplomatic, and cultural influences of the Great Powers, and specifically Germany, France, and Italy, in regards to music. Upon these general grounds that acknowledged a steady influence from the rest of the continent ('Europe'), according to the relevance of one or the other country they were then singled out for comparative reasons, and were set against Greek local reality. As such, in the discussion about the theatre ('First Story'), 'Europe' in general is evoked in regards to the overall 'civilising' or culturally alien influences of the Great Powers upon the locals, and Italy in particular is singled out in relation to the impact of the opera upon local values and traditions. In the educational realm ('Second Story'), 'European' musical influence is divided into the 'Germanic' tradition against the 'Italian' grassroots approach of the *Philharmonics*, bringing together class, taste and the musical canon in a debate about the correct educational approach for Greece.

In the discussion on the Byzantine chant ('Third Story'), 'Europe' is associated with polyphony and secular entertainment, two concepts uniformly threatening to Greek tradition, and the musical discussion conceals the fear of secular western influence upon Greek Orthodox-Christian identity. Especially in relation to the chant, it was not unusual to refer to the rest of Europe as 'the Franks', a term used in general at the time but with a special connotation in this particular debate, as it evoked the history of

the Crusades against Constantinople. As such, for this debate ‘Europe’ rather denoted the Latin against the Byzantine-Orthodox, and in its modern version the secular against the Greek-Orthodox. What is uniform in the 19<sup>th</sup> century language about the rest of the continent is that Greece is consistently seen as a separate cultural entity, with a strong conviction to align itself to the cultural trends of the ‘civilised’ nations- Germany, France, Italy, while looking to maintain its historical particularity and local Hellenic-Orthodox heritage. In the end, all these debates left a cultural residue that viewed music as an active agent of the different meanings that ‘Europe’ bore in each debate. It also affected how western art music was perceived according to the language used about the vague entity of ‘Europe’.

In this discussion about Europe and the language on ‘Europe’ in the Greek 19<sup>th</sup> century, perhaps the greatest injustice in the present thesis remains the relationship of the Greeks to their Balkan and Ottoman neighbours, and their own cultural musical and other exchanges. As much as the terms ‘Europeanisation’, ‘westernisation’, or ‘modernisation’ indicate the diplomatic and cultural *direction* of the country, they are equally misleading in regards to the *condition* of 19<sup>th</sup> century Greece. The great efforts by the elites and intellectuals to debate Greece into renouncing its Balkan cultural identity should under no circumstances conceal the fact that 19<sup>th</sup> century Greece was not uniformly socially/culturally western. Nevertheless, and perhaps erroneously, respecting the decision of the cultural ancestors, the prism of the thesis remains one that observes the country move westbound, and hence almost from an orientalist point of view.

In this respect things do not seem to have evolved since the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Contemporary historian and ethnologist Alexis Politis observed this persistent orientalist mentality in 19<sup>th</sup> century Europeanist Greeks, when criticising that from their viewpoint, “To designate Greece, and more widely the Balkans, as ‘eastern’ denotes that your scope is ‘western’, that you are looking at her [Greece] from the European side”.<sup>7</sup> The framework of the question (eastern or western?) has, unfortunately, consolidated into a confident “From eastern to western”; the only homage the writer of this thesis can pay to her own immediate ancestors, who recently

---

<sup>7</sup> Politis, A. 2009. Romantic Years: Ideologies and Mentalities in Greece between 1830-1880, p. 92. [Πολίτης, Α. 2009. Ρομαντικά Χρόνια: Ιδεολογίες και Νοοτροπίες στην Ελλάδα του 1830-1880, σελ. 92]

concluded their lives rather on the ‘eastern’ side of ‘the Greek’, is to constantly stress and provide information about the now lost multicultural aspect of 19<sup>th</sup> century Greece.

Still, regardless of the multitude of binary opposites in the previous paragraphs, the pompous statement of deconstructing a nationalism, and the nudge to the dead grandparents, the thesis will be one filled with music and dance, theatre and literature, people and their customs, side by side to diplomats and their dreams of grandeur. In its beautiful quality to be omnipresent yet go unnoticed, music has contributed to the construction of Greek-European identity as much as Doric columns have, and the debates about its nature and form were fierce throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Contrary to architecture or other material arts, though, which even by their destruction or absence make statements of change in identity and politics, the coexistence of diverse musics is rarely seen as anything else other than cultural inclusiveness and evolution, and as such they have not yet come under deep historical scrutiny. In the case of Greece, the corrosive power of structured sound to produce silent change and adaptation, remains an exciting example to complement so many others observing Greece move from the Orient to a distorted version of the Occident, and with very audible ties to both.

What is even more interesting with music is that, unlike other aspects of Greek nationalism, there is a clear leap of narrative as to how European music entered Greek musical tradition. Contrary to how Greek national history and traditional or other European arts always claimed a certain linear progression of culture looking back either to Byzantium or Antiquity, European art music intruded into Greek reality as if to cover a gap in the literature of Greek culture. One way or another, mainly through material evidence and the discourse of Hellenism surviving through the Byzantium, the Greeks have always managed to prove their relevance to Europe by accentuating how solidly the Hellenic spirit is embedded in the timeline of European thought and art. In the case of music though, and with traditional and Byzantine music being decisively different in structure, texture, and function, the Greeks disappeared from the Western canon for good, and reappeared with the emergence of the Greek Kingdom. With the concept of ‘art music’ itself developed in central Europe in a mutually deconstructive relationship with ‘folk music’, the working definition for art music will be drawn from Matthew Gelbart’s *The invention of “Folk Music” and “Art*

*Music*”: *Emerging Categories from Ossian to Wagner*. Art music (also known as ‘classical’ in common parlance), in Gelbart’s descriptive terms is “part of a literate tradition in which authorship is clearly established, and pieces are communicated as fixed texts reflecting the author’s apparent intentions”.<sup>8</sup> Even by its definition the nature of this variety of music brought it in contrast to both traditional Greek music and the Byzantine chant, two musical practices that evolved through collective contribution and reproduction, in the first case, and under the institutional/ideological regulation of the Orthodox-Christian Church, in the second. This conflict of definitions and practices created constant friction throughout the century and affected the evolution of both genres, as evident continuously in the thesis.

To trace the impact of western art music upon Greek-European identity, the case studies will follow the evolution of national cultural institutions and their influence upon the construction of a Greek-European musical identity that managed to negotiate the distance between local Greek culture, Hellenic heritage, and European artistic tradition. Structurally, the thesis is a patchwork of themes and chronologies, since cause and effect in the case of music might mean an idea emerging in 1815 Paris and an institution inaugurated in 1914 Thessaloniki, with three chapters and four debates in-between. According to this logic that recognises the temporal relationship between ideas and institutions but remains aware of the constructivist selection and placement of themes in arbitrary order, the thesis has been titled a collection of short interrelated musical (hi)stories that resulted in a cultural narrative, while the chapter-titles include the sting of postmodernism (‘Stories’). If anything else, it was the postmodern turn in musicological practice that recognised the value of non-western compositions as musically equal, and it would be a disservice to music itself to set the clock back by pretending a historian’s innovation.

The thesis opens with a discussion of the existing literature on the topic, the omissions and disjunctions between Greek and wider European music histories, an introduction to the relevant primary sources in relation to the existing literature, and proceeds to highlight the interrelation between the diverse methodologies utilised in the thesis. Chapter zero follows to provide with an elementary understanding of modern Greek

---

<sup>8</sup> Gelbart, M. 2007. The invention of “Folk Music” and “Art Music”: *Emerging Categories from Ossian to Wagner*, p. 1

history between the Greek Enlightenment and 1914, to navigate the reader through the basic political, economic, and military events that partly affected the evolution of western art music in Greece. Politics played a lot of music in the 19<sup>th</sup> century Kingdom and musical spaces became the containers of dissent, resistance and internalisation of class morals. As such, chapter one will be devoted to the inauguration and evolution of the Theatre of Athens between 1840 and 1870, the issue of its Italian operatic repertoire, and the regulatory practices that imposed a ‘European’ code of civic morality in public spaces through police intervention in the theatre. With the Theatre to a large degree acting as a substitute for musical education and adaptation, chapter two will trace the evolution of actual music education in Greece, contextualise it within the wider ideological framework of 19<sup>th</sup> century public education, and make the case for the importance of the Ionian school of Greek art music in relation to its exponents’ artistic and educational output. Chapter three will historicise the 1870s debate on the harmonisation of the Orthodox-Greek chant (traditionally monophonic) in relation to the mid-century beginnings of the practice in central Europe, and the discourses on Europe that emanated from the disagreements on the appropriate form of liturgical Greek music. The various elements of this relationship between western art music and indigenous Greek institutions, practices, and debates will culminate in chapter four. This final chapter will analyse the turn-of-the-20<sup>th</sup>-century relationship between nationalism and music, through examining the position of music within nationalist discourse, the position of the nation within musical practice, and the institutional attempts of the Greek state to colonise northern Greece culturally through the inauguration of a state conservatory. Through this examination of musical practices, national narratives, and their residual positioning of ‘the European’ into the conversations, the thesis will conclude by assessing the outcome of this penetrating relationship for Greek-European identity by the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

The timeline of the Greek adaptation to western music appears to be straightforward and follows after the main political and financial shifts of Greece in the first century of its rebirth: From the 1830s to the 1860s and up to the 1910s. Rather than chasing after politics, though, here culture takes the lead to demonstrate how cultural indoctrination and adaptation is fundamentally more important in its long-term effect and outcomes. The institutions of western music far outlived the Europeanists that

created them, and to claim that they fully achieved to transform the Greeks into Bach devotees would be a gross and irreverent overstatement- for the Greeks. As with every other aspect of imported 19<sup>th</sup> century cultural influence, the Greeks created their own hybrid version of it, and to discover how it came to be offers a constructive approach not only into Greek culture and nationalism, but also European projections, cultural resistance, and a big, big, small, interconnected, fragmented Continent.

### *Methodological approach and literature review*

To talk about music one has to look everywhere but music, and then maybe listen to some. Therefore, in what spaces music resonates, and then where, when, and why it is discussed is a set of issues that almost equal the importance of the quality or quantity of the music itself; at least for cultural history.

In this history of the musical intrusion of western art music into 19<sup>th</sup> century Greece the historiography of 20<sup>th</sup> century music histories is as illuminating as the cultural history itself, and their limitations now part of the questions this thesis addressed. When in 1919, for example, Theodoros Synadinos produced the first music history of Greece, *History of Modern Greek music 1824-1919* its author had already spent a significant number of years giving lectures and writing articles about the importance of traditional Greek music in modern art music composition as an asset of the nation's particularity within the wider pan-European canon.<sup>9</sup> As such, the overview of the 19<sup>th</sup> century he reproduced was more of a means of justifying his present condition, rather than an attempt to trace the evolution of musical practice in the country. Though not factually inaccurate, but rather unverifiable because of its lack of footnoting, it was the interpretation that distorted the cultural condition of 19<sup>th</sup> century Greece. As will be argued in chapter one for example, when writing about the vibrant Italianate music of the Ionian Islands to claim that the Greeks were from very early on included in the western musical tradition, he was arguing in favour of the need for the Greeks to embrace their own national variety of western art music. In reality, though, the Ionian

---

<sup>9</sup> Synadinos, Th. N. 1919. *History of Modern Greek Music 1824-1919*. Athens. [Συναδινός, Θ. Ν. 1919. *Ιστορία της Νεοελληνικής Μουσικής 1824-1919*. Αθήνα]

Islands were more of an exception in their relationship to western music. For historical reasons, as will be seen continuously throughout the thesis, they were disregarded as musically ‘foreign’ by the musical establishment in Athens, and as such a general argument for the whole country based on the Islands’ exceptional status cannot be sustained. Nevertheless, Synadinos’ history remains a good source for anecdotes and facts that can be verified by other peripheral sources as well.

Progressively histories of music acquired a more detached attitude towards the relationship between the nation and its western art music, yet the unresolved issues of the evolution of music itself, again, conditioned the content. Spyros Motsenigos, writing his *Modern Greek Music: A contribution to its History* [1958], for example, offered a somewhat more dispassionate overview of the evolution of the art.<sup>10</sup> Yet his personal attachment to the music of the Ionian Islands, and the musical marginalisation of Ionian composers in mainland Greece at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, resulted in a piece of work that attempted eagerly to reinstate their value for Greek music history by producing an array of impressive musical biographies, without connecting them to the wider picture of the Greek and European musical evolution. Around the same time with Motsenigos’ History, in 1956 Phevos Anogiannakis had edited the Greek version of Karl Nef’s [1947] *An Outline of the History of Music*, in which he included an extended overview of the Greek musical evolution within the wider European history of art music, highlighting the reciprocal nature of the exchange.<sup>11</sup> Unfortunately, the Greek edition appears to have been the last edition of the work, and as such the information and connections never made it into the English language, thus limiting its audience to Greek-speakers.

Contemporary music history and historical musicology in Greek are progressively attuning to the European and American model of academic writing that is organised in themes, or specific historic events, and is looking beyond nationalist narratives and national borders to understand the mutual influences that formed the canon of European art music. Katy Romanou has produced two very important works in this direction. Her *A journey through National Music 1901-1912: Greek Music Journals*

<sup>10</sup> Motsenigos, Sp. 1958. *Modern Greek music: A contribution to its history*. Athens [Μοτσεβίνιγος, Σπ. 1958. Νεοελληνική μουσική: Συμβολή εις την ιστορίαν της. Αθήνα]

<sup>11</sup> Nef, K. [translated, edited, and with additions for the Greek edition by Phevos Anogiannakis]. 1956. *History of Music*. Athens: Papyros [Nef, K. (μετάφραση- προσθήκες- επιμέλεια Φοίβου Ανωγειανάκη) 1956. *Ιστορία της Μουσικής*. Αθήνα: Πάπυρος]



as a source of research on modern Greek music, [1996] is a two-volume work cataloguing and interpreting the content of 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century music magazines and journals, tracing the evolution of musical thought in Greece as seen in print, and in this way it highlights the importance of perception for the nation's relationship to its music and self-image.<sup>12</sup> A piece of scholarship indispensable to this thesis in terms of musicological insight on topics that none of the previous histories of Greek music addressed, for example the debate on polyphony in the Byzantine chant, or the debate on the educational approach of the Conservatory of Athens, its methodological framework nevertheless limited its scope within the boundaries of the Greek nation state even when addressing transnational issues. Especially in relation to the debate on the development of the chant, an issue originating in Vienna before transferring to Athens, and after the intervention of the Greek Queen Olga (an ethnic Russian), this issue of strict musicological analysis until now, here acquired multiple cultural dimensions, between three countries.

What such case studies also demonstrate is that, even though aware of transnational musical transfer and its impact upon national narrative, Greek musicologists started scrutinising the relationship between nation, nationalism, and music very recently. Traces of such a turn in musicological thought are appearing in fragments and only in journal articles such as Avra Xepapadakou's 'Pavlos Carrer's 'Marko Botzari': a "national" opera', an article tracing the historical development of this opera from a work on a national theme, to an opera of national significance and form.<sup>13</sup> That the nationalisation of the opera was the outcome of a wider process of cultural negotiation between the composer and his contemporary society this article discussed with nuance and detail. Here, this story will also illustrate how the exclusionary politics of Greek nationalism, in this instance expressed in the press, defined as musically 'foreign' - i.e. Italian- a piece of work that, if anything else, was a conscious attempt by the composer to produce a piece of Greek "national" music. It is such case studies and their multiple interpretations between different disciplines- here history and

---

<sup>12</sup> Romanou, K. 1996. A journey through National Music 1901-1912: Greek Music Journals as a source of research on modern Greek music [2 vols.] Athens: Koultoura [Ρωμανού, Κ. 1996. Εθνικής Μουσικής Περιήγησις 1901-1912: Ελληνικά Μουσικά Περιοδικά ως Πηγή Έρευνας της Ιστορίας της Νεοελληνικής Μουσικής. Αθήνα: Κουλτούρα [2 τόμοι]

<sup>13</sup> Xepapadakou, A. Pavlos Carrer's 'Marko Botzari': a "national" opera. *Musical Word*, vol. 5 (Summer 2003), pp. 27-63 [Ξεραπαδάκου, Α. Ο 'Μάρκος Μπότσαρης' του Πάυλου Καρρέρ: μια «εθνική» όπερα. *Μουσικός Λόγος*, τ. 5 (Καλοκαίρι 2003), σελ 27-63]

musicology- that indicate how music and musical practice can become powerful methodological tools for historical analysis. A powerful approach to the study of nationalism, these musicological analyses on the progressive “nationalisation” of works through the incorporation of melodies recognised by national subjects as familiar, demonstrate how music can become the means for people to understand and assign different identities and the boundaries between them.<sup>14</sup>

Especially in regards to transnational methodology, musical case studies can reveal channels of inter-European communication that remained unknown until now. Such intersections between local Greek music histories and wider European histories of musical influence upon politics and culture can be found between works such as Kostas Kardamis’ article ‘Musical echoes of the French Revolution at the Ionian Islands’ and Charles Hughes’ article ‘Music of the French Revolution’ or Malcolm Boyd’s *Music and the French Revolution* [1992], since they all examine the various ways through which music and song became a centrepiece of social or cultural change at that specific historical moment.<sup>15</sup> What is particularly interesting in regards to the three aforementioned works is that, even though they are self-standing works examining two different locales during the same period, when brought into the same story they assist cross-national comparisons about the function, perception and social impact of itinerant songs (in this case how the renewed musical culture in post-Revolutionary France affected the liberals of the Ionian Islands). Whether assembling the disparate stories is of historical or musicological interest, or both, and whether the difference in scope would render one or the other irrelevant is a further question about the boundaries between cultural history and historical musicology, a question that is lately becoming prominent between both historians and historical musicologists.<sup>16</sup>

Certainly closer to a history of music embracing the significance of political and cultural history for a better understanding of musical practice is Katy Romanou’s

---

<sup>14</sup> Stokes, M. (ed.) 1994. *Ethnicity, Identity and Music: The Musical Construction of Place*. Oxford/ Providence, USA: Berg

<sup>15</sup> Kardamis, K. Musical echoes of the French Revolution at the Ionian Islands, *The Gleaner*, vol. 26, (2007), pp. 79-104. [Καρδάμης, Κ. Μουσικοί απόηχοι της Γαλλικής Επανάστασης στα Επτάνησα, *Ο Ερασιστής*, τ. 26 (2007), σελ. 79-104]; Hughes, Ch. Music of the French Revolution. *Science & Society*, 4:2 (Spring, 1940), pp. 193-210; Boyd, M. (ed.) 2008. *Music and the French Revolution*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

<sup>16</sup> See for example recent musicological conferences that attempted to accommodate both approaches and bring historians and musicologists in conversation: ‘Historical Approaches to Music’, Friday 24 March 2017, Trinity College Oxford; ‘Russia and the Musical World: Nineteenth-Century Networks of Exchange’, 16 December 2016, Goldsmiths, University of London; ‘Music *italianità* and the nineteenth-century global imagination’, 16-17 September 2016, Faculty of English, University of Cambridge.

*Greek art music in the Modern times* [2006], the most up to date modern Greek music history. In this work, Romanou attempted for the first time to bring together society and its music in contact yet, as music histories generally function, it remains a synthetic narration of the musical and extra-musical processes that affected the evolution of the art, and as such it is focused on the impact of society upon music rather than the opposite or both.<sup>17</sup> More importantly though, the different scope between music history and cultural history has allowed the reproduction of some curious national stereotypes that would make contemporary historians cringe. While beyond a music historian's job to assess the cultural relationship between 19<sup>th</sup> century Greece and the Ottoman Empire, and in a piece of work that approaches the musical Eastern-Western divide of the nation with great sensibility, curious little phrases such as "During the long periods of slavery, the Greeks spread throughout the world [...]", or "The Greeks of the Diaspora maintained a strong connection with the homeland- both before and after the revolution [...]" are by now considered ahistorical. Increasingly, historians have cautiously moved away from wordings such as "slavery" and "homeland" that assume the foreign occupation of a set geographical space in the first instance, and presuppose a national rather than local, religious and then ethnic hierarchy of identity in the second.<sup>18</sup> Arguably, this remains more or less a matter of semantics for a national music history since its main subject is music rather than politics, yet for a cultural history it is rather the semantics that make the difference in instances of cultural transformation through music.

Nevertheless, in terms of producing a history that placed Greek-western musical practice in the timeline of western art music, she skilfully managed to achieve by examining how the ancient Greek musical tradition was preserved in the West as part of the wider study of Hellenism, and how members of the Greek ethnic group-scholars in medieval Italy for example- contributed to the development of western art music.<sup>19</sup> Providing a new reading of this national history of music with its European and Balkan connections, and exploring important aspects that were beyond the methodological scope of a music history, for example how the emergence of Greek

---

<sup>17</sup> Romanou, K. 2006. *Greek art music in the Modern times*. Athens: Koultoura [Ρωμανού, Κ. 2006. *Εντεχνη Ελληνική Μουσική στους Νεότερους Χρόνους*. Αθήνα: Κουλτούρα]

<sup>18</sup> See for example: Kitroeff, A. 'Continuity and Change in Contemporary Greek Historiography', *European History Quarterly*, 19 (1989), pp. 269-298

<sup>19</sup> Romanou opens her history of Greek music analyzing the study of Hellenism between the 5<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> centuries, see: *ibid.* p. 13

nationalism transformed this eastern-western musical heritage of the ethnic group into homogenising cultural ideology, has also been a recurring source of fresh findings for this cultural history. Here particularly drawing attention to the methodological merits of examining Greek 19<sup>th</sup> century nationalism through musical sources, it was partly through developing the potential transnational elements of Greek music history that unexpected fragments of cultural history emerged.

That the Greek 19<sup>th</sup> century press compared the Theatre of Athens and its repertory to other western European institutions, for example, constantly scrutinizing Greek musical culture to identify signs of musical “progress” or omens of cultural alienation, on the one hand bears testimony to the development of Greek music criticism. On the other hand, it is a unique window to what institutional structures and traditions mobile individuals- of a variety of Greek and other European ethnicities- transplanted to Athens, how the city negotiated their cultural boundaries in dialogue with local urban culture, and in the end how Greek national ideology mutated over time through this musical interaction. Similarly, the history of music education in Greece, and especially the diverse development of artistic institutions [Second Story here], showcases what aspects of Greek-Hellenic, Byzantine, or Greek-European identity the state and intelligentsia promoted as appropriate and necessary for the education of a Greek ‘national’ people.

In wider European histories of music and works of historical musicology, there are two approaches to the Greek case, both of which illustrate that western historical musicology remained indecisive about the musical output of the Greeks until very recently. The first, as showcased in Donald J. Grout and Claude V. Palisca’s (eds.) *A History of Western Music* [1996], is tracing the conventional timeline of western art music and as such begins from Ancient Greece and Rome, and after the development of polyphony in the 13<sup>th</sup> century follows the Italian, French, and Germanic traditions up to the modern period.<sup>20</sup> Arguably, in the 19<sup>th</sup> century the Greeks could have rejoined the canon, but they decisively do not, a fact particularly interesting since the ‘Italianate’- western- musical language of the Ionian musicians affected the evolution of Greek music significantly during that period. Interestingly, even though in his more

---

<sup>20</sup> Grout, D.J., Palisca, C.V. (eds.). 1996 (5<sup>th</sup> ed.) *A History of Western Music*. New York & London: W.W. Norton & Company.

specialised monographs on Hellenic influences upon western culture Pelisca has included the contribution of Greek scholars, Greek output beyond the classical Hellenic tradition remains unacknowledged.<sup>21</sup>

In the second approach, Greece is again absent, and there appears to be an awkward indecisiveness about its 19<sup>th</sup> century musical output. It is striking, yet highly indicative of the ambiguous position of the Greeks within European music history, that two of Jim Samson's seminal recent works on music treat the Greek 19<sup>th</sup> century as an issue too complex to assess confidently. In his *Cambridge History of Nineteenth Century Music* [ed., 2002], a history of music organised in themes rather than in a chronological order (class/nationalism/the opera etc), Greece is included only in relation to the influence of ancient philosophy and literature upon modern European arts, a fact that indicates that, though physically and artistically present, the modern Greeks are still regarded irrelevant in comparison to their ancestors and, of course, the Italians, Germans, and French that dominate the narrative of 19<sup>th</sup> century music.<sup>22</sup> In this sense, music history and historical musicology do not appear to have evolved significantly since 1989, when Carl Dahlhaus initiated this turn into a more integrated inter-European musical history of supra-national influences, but still examined only the leading 'musical' nations of the 19<sup>th</sup> century- Germany, France, Austria, and the Hungarian, Scandinavian, and Russian national schools of music.<sup>23</sup> Here comparing to Romanou's success at examining the Greek ethnic group's double musical identity as an inherent cultural characteristic rather than as a musical 'problem', breaking in this way from the 19<sup>th</sup> century tradition that originally posed this problem, it becomes evident that western art music history is still missing an important chapter.

Conversely to this omission in European music history, in his 2013 *Music in the Balkans*, Samson analysed 19<sup>th</sup> century Greek art music as an important asset of European identity. He juxtaposed it to traditional music and local Balkan cultural practice, and treated the Greek National School of Music as a leading example of the influence of nationalism upon musical practice.<sup>24</sup> Samson is not particularly preoccupied with the institutions and processes that delivered Greek music in this

---

<sup>21</sup> Romanou, K. 2006. Greek art music in the Modern times, p. 15

<sup>22</sup> Samson, J. [ed]. 2002. The Cambridge History of 19<sup>th</sup> century Music. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

<sup>23</sup> Dahlhaus, C. 1989. Nineteenth-Century Music. Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press.

<sup>24</sup> Samson, J. 2013. Music in the Balkans. Boston: Brill.

state at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, but since this work is a wider attempt at understanding the changing nature of Balkan music at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, this side of the job remains a historian's work. Nevertheless, it remains particularly interesting for a cultural historian to observe how even today, while the Greek nationals were an active part of European musical tradition since the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the nation was clearly verging towards the European musically and institutionally, Greece remains only a leading example of Balkan adjustment to European taste, and not an active European musical entity of a Balkan heritage. In this regard, and to investigate this curious musicological indecisiveness, the study of musical institutions in 19<sup>th</sup> century Greece, their relationship to their central European counterparts, and the continuous negotiations of these institutions with local culture, become the methodological tools for this thesis to analyse how a hybrid Balkan-European musical culture developed without one musical strand eliminating the other.

Of course, the dual Balkan-European cultural identity of Greece was not particularly popular as a national brand during the period examined in the thesis. On the other hand, the dual eastern-western, i.e Orthodox Christian but cautiously westernising, was more appealing as it accommodated both the nation's particularity, Orthodoxy, as well as its political direction. Perhaps as a reaction to the domineering 19<sup>th</sup> century Greek narrative that neglected the Balkan cultural heritage of the ethnic group, Katy Romanou has been increasingly investigating 19<sup>th</sup> century inter-Balkan musical ties. Her *Greek and Serbian art music* (ed., 2009) attempts to bring Serbian and Greek institutional and musical westernisation together in a comparative fashion that highlights the parallel evolution between two Orthodox-Christian Balkan nations with similar 19<sup>th</sup> century nation-building. Integrating these Balkan musical and cultural national histories in a transnational Balkan-European setting is a promising field for both music and cultural history, as it brings back the notion of a common Balkan and post-Ottoman cultural heritage and acknowledges the equally important inter-Balkan assets of cultural transfer.

The only place where the Greeks are a well-integrated part of the European musical canon is under the letter G. Music Encyclopaedias and Dictionaries include the musical histories of Greece and the Greeks, from the ancient years to nowadays, but with two important impediments. Firstly, as Romanou has remarked, there is a

significant imbalance between the space devoted to ancient Greek music and philosophy (21 pages in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians II*, 2001), a small section on post-Byzantine music until the creation of modern Greece (eight columns including art music after 1770), and a small number of pages for traditional Greek music (six- and-a-half pages).<sup>25</sup> The Byzantine chant and notation is analysed as part of the Byzantine Ecclesiastic tradition, rather than the historical asset that the Greeks have regarded it since the 19<sup>th</sup> century, again creating a problem between Greek historical self-image and European musicological (or maybe even historical?) perception.<sup>26</sup> The second problem with music dictionaries and encyclopaedias is that their limited interpretational scope renders them a source of either hard facts or themselves historical sources of the changing attitudes over the what, when and whereof Greek music.

In the end, the safest source of understanding how 19<sup>th</sup> century Greeks placed themselves in relation to time is by examining the assets of musical identity they identified as relevant at the time, and how they connected them to their society and politics. In this direction, it is quite telling that upon discussing the relationship of traditional and Byzantine music to Greek-Orthodox identity, Bourgault-Ducoudray's 1876 *Trente mélodies populaires de Grèce et d'Orient* became the piece of European affirmation that gave credibility to the decade-long Greek argument that the Byzantine chant was historically the Greek variety of art music, and as such it ought to be preserved in its monophonic form.<sup>27</sup> Ducoudray's ethnomusicological transcriptions of songs, and more importantly his lengthy introduction explaining the connection of ancient Greek modes and modern Greek traditional ornamentation became the central argument of the traditionalists against western polyphony, and would be cited for decades after its publication.

A few years later, in 1880, the Greek Antonios Sigalas published his own collection of traditional Greek songs, his *Collection of National Songs Containing four hundred songs edited by the music teacher Antonios N. Sigalas*, a publication that transcribed

---

<sup>25</sup> Romanou, K. 2006. Greek art music in the Modern times. p. 11

<sup>26</sup> See for example: Saddy, St. 1988. The Norton/Grove Concise Encyclopedia of Music. Entry "Byzantine riet, Music of the", pp. 120-121; Kennedy, M. 1985. The Oxford Dictionary of Music. Entry "Neum(e)s" pp. 499

<sup>27</sup> Bourgault-Ducoudray, L.A. 1876. *Trente mélodies populaires de Grèce et d'Orient*. Paris: Henry Lemoine and Co.

Greek, Russian and European songs in Byzantine notation.<sup>28</sup> Rather than being important for its contribution to ethnomusicology this particular book is the physical manifestation of how one part of the Greek society understood the musical connection between the modern nation and its Byzantine past. Comparing and contrasting this publication to other similar publications and Ducoudray's work, demonstrates what assets of musical identity 19<sup>th</sup> century Greeks employed as proof of continuity, and how they reproduced them in material form. For such works and their historical meaning, Matthew Gelbart's *The invention of "Folk Music" and "Art Music": emerging categories from Ossian to Wagner* [2007], dealing with the construction of terms between Scotland and Germany, as well as Alexis Politis' *The discovery of Greek folk song* [1999], illuminate how different European nations designated the people's song as a 'national' product, and raised traditional music to the status of historical assets of continuity.<sup>29</sup>

What is decisively revealing about the Greek mindset and politics in this instance, though, is that while the music itself conveyed important cultural messages, the political programme of Greek 19<sup>th</sup> century nationalism converted them into distorted ideology. It is of paramount importance to acknowledge that contemporary musicology does indeed recognise a certain degree of continuity between the ancient Greek modes and modern Greek traditional song. What it also recognises is that, different languages aside, this music was shared between the Balkan peoples of the region, regardless of religious identity or ethnic affiliation.<sup>30</sup> As such, if fragments of Hellenic musical heritage survived transformed into traditional song, it would be a pan-Balkan connection to the Hellenes, an admission that 19<sup>th</sup> century Greek intellectuals could definitely not make. But since music proved to be Greek but not exactly only Greek, there was always the proof of linguistic continuity to secure exclusivity, even within this common musical heritage.

---

<sup>28</sup> Sigalas, A.1880. A Collection of National Songs Containing four hundred songs edited by the music teacher Antonios N. Sigalas. Athens: Ch. N Filadelfeos Printers. Copy held at the 'Motsenigos Archive of Modern Greek Music' at the National Library of Greece, Document Number: 450/1970. [Σιγάλας, Α. 1880. Συλλογή Εθνικών Ασμάτων περιέχουσα τετρακόσια άσματα τονισθέντα υπο του εκ Θήρας μουσικοδιδασκάλου Αντωνίου Ν. Σιγάλα. Αθήνα. Τυπογραφείο Χ.Ν. Φιλαδέλφειας. Αντίτυπο από το 'Μοτσενίγειο Αρχείο Νεοελληνικής Μουσικής, Εθνική Βιβλιοθήκη της Ελλάδος, Αρ. Εγγράφου: 450/1970]

<sup>29</sup> Gelbart, M. 2007. *The invention of "Folk Music" and "Art Music": Emerging categories from Ossian to Wagner*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Politis, A. 1999 (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.) *The discovery of Greek folk song*. Athens: Themelio [Πολίτης, Α. 1999. (β' εκ.) Η Ανακάλυψη των Ελληνικών Δημοτικών Τραγουδιών. Αθήνα: Θεμέλιο]

<sup>30</sup> Sadie, St [ed]. 2001 [2<sup>nd</sup> ed] *The New Grove dictionary of music and musicians*. Vol 10: Glinka to Harp, entry: "Greece", §IV. Traditional music. p. 353



Regardless of historical facts, to create continuity one has to constantly talk about continuity. And in the case of 19<sup>th</sup> century continuity in Greek music there were a lot of speeches arguing about the linear connection between the ancients and the moderns while at the same time refuting the argument that the historical coexistence of the Greeks among the other Balkan peoples, and the Arabs and Turks, affected the purity of the chant. Speeches such as Panagiotis Gritsanis' 1870 *On the issue of the music of the Greek Church*, Panagiotis Koupitoris' 1876 *A Panegyric on our Church Music*, Dimitrios Vernardakis' 1876 *Impromptu speech on our church music*, speak volumes about the musical arguments the Greeks used to position themselves between East and West and are, as such, equally important to cultural history as they are to music history.<sup>31</sup>

Assembling all these historical documents and disparate approaches to music history into a single cultural history of the position of western art music in Greece helps understand the dynamics and tensions that led the various historians and musicologists to 'defend truth' as each one of them understood it. The Athenian Synadinos' ardent support of the Greek national school of music, combined to the Ionian Moutsenigos' passionate restitution of the value of the Ionian school of music, and all the way up to contemporary works striving to compose everything into an integrated whole, reveals a significant part of the pattern that delivered Greece into its current relationship to western musical tradition. On a parallel level, contextualising the Greek case within the wider European musical landscape suggests that the Greek nationalist introversion of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, indecisive in its exact relationship to Europe, and looking to secure particularity, resulted in a complete detachment from wider music and cultural histories in the continent, and it is very rarely that the Greeks will feature in any other European musical analysis, even though present and musically active as much as any other ethnic group.

---

<sup>31</sup> Gritsanis, P. 1870. *On the issue of the music of the Greek Church*. Naples: Gaetano Nobile Press; Koupitoris, P. 1876. *A Panegyric on our Church Music*. Athens: Philokallia Publishing; Vernardakis, D. 1876. *Impromptu speech on our church music*. Trieste: Austro-Hungarian Loid Press. [Γρίτσανης, Π. 1870. *Περί της μουσικής της Ελληνικής Εκκλησίας Ζήτημα*. Εν Νεαπόλει: Εκ της Τυπογραφίας Καίετανου Νοβίλε, Κουπιτόρης, Π. 1876. *Λόγος Πανηγυρικός περί της καθ'ημάς Εκκλησιαστικής Μουσικής*. Αθήνα: Εκ του τυπογραφείου Φιλοκαλίας, Βερναδάκης, Δ. 1876. *Λόγος Αυτοσχέδιος περί της καθ'ημάς εκκλησιαστικής μουσικής*. Τεργέστη: Τύποις του Αυστροουγγρικού Λόυδ]

In European musicology and historical musicology, the limiting scope of the canon and performance history as the definitive linear narrative of musical progress, had until recently concealed the historical instances of cultural and artistic exchange, they created what composer George Rochberg once dismissed as “a single tradition which operates along the track of a main line with station stops at Bach, Beethoven, Brahms, etc.”, and resulted in the omission of a variety of contributions to musical development and cultural exchange.<sup>32</sup> It is this array of pre-existing stops that this thesis aspires to connect more organically to what is perceived as the European musical “periphery”, through highlighting the institutions and people who reproduced and expanded the canon, questioned and attempted to reform it, or simply made music outside it and initiated long-term musical change.

In this fragmented historical landscape of interconnected, yet unacknowledged, institutional and interpersonal musical exchange in the 19<sup>th</sup> century European musical world, to construct a cultural history of connections and divergences one has to carefully step out of music histories, and turn to a variety of other resources that trace how music influenced transnational communication. Turning from the question of time to the question of space, whether local, national, or transnational, imaginary or practical, reveals not only the influence of space upon musical and national narratives, but also the changing nature of historical time as recorded in the use of space.

What makes this question of space even more pressing in the case of Greece in regards to the evolution and importance of music for the gradual cultural Europeanisation of the country is the relationship of the nation itself to its own space. The violent oscillation between east and west has been the legacy of the nationalistic appropriation of the political programme of the ‘Greek Enlightenment’, Greece’s 18<sup>th</sup> century national narrative that envisioned the resurfacing of the humanistic elements of Hellenism. The fathers of Greek nationalism, mostly Europeanised men of the enlightenment or wandering monks, with their wide vision of a non-despotic inclusive political entity to embrace difference- namely the Hellenic state- were later utilised by national historians to justify a two-fold argument. On the one hand, the European outlook of the emerging country and, on the other, the innate, cultural linear connection of the moderns with the ancients. In that sense, revisiting the

---

<sup>32</sup> Rochberg, N. Reflections on the Renewal of Music. *Current Musicology*, vol. 13 (1972), pp. 76-77

constitutional narrative of Greek nationalism through modern approaches on the lives and works of Greek enlightenment thinkers is vital for the long-term assessment of the cultural route of the Greeks in relation to Europe. The attempts of the later part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century to detach the enlighteners from the official narrative, and demythologise them, have resulted in an impressive and thorough body of work by Paschalis Kitromilides, who has analysed extensively the content and outreach of the Greek Enlightenment from its beginnings to its culmination in the Greek revolution.<sup>33</sup> Surprisingly, and indicatively of the lagged pace of Greek historiography in comparison to European, even though Kitromilides has been doing in essence transnational work for most of his career, seeing connections over boundaries and examining networks of knowledge, he explicitly termed his work as such for the first time in 2013, in his article ‘Dositej Obradovic and the Greek Enlightenment’.<sup>34</sup>

In essence such approaches, have initiated a new wave in Greek historiography that have steered away from the early 19<sup>th</sup> century nationalist histories, and succeeded in persistently challenging their limitations, in the process historicising nationalist historians such as Konstantinos Papanikolaou- father of Greek national history- who succeeded in connecting ancient and modern Greeks by supporting a spiritual and cultural continuation of the Hellenic race from the antiquity, through the Byzantium, to the modern time.<sup>35</sup> Similarly to Kitromilides, Raphael Demos’ article ‘The Neo-Hellenic Enlightenment’ detached the Enlightenment and its political program from the social reality in the Balkan peninsula by working on books’ circulation and their content, to assess their outreach in the Balkan Peninsula. He has in the process disproven the national myth that wanted the Greeks ethnic group to have been

---

<sup>33</sup> Indicatively see: Kitromilides, P.M. 1992. *The Enlightenment as social criticism: Iosipos Moisiodax and Greek culture in the Eighteenth Century*. Princeton: Princeton University Press; Kitromilides, P. M. 1994. *Enlightenment, nationalism, Orthodoxy: Studies in the culture and political thought of South-Eastern Europe*. Great Britain: Variorum; Kitromilides, P. M. (ed.). 2010. *Adamantios Korais and the European Enlightenment*. Oxford: Voltaire Foundation; Kitromilides, P.M. 2013. *Enlightenment and Revolution: the making of modern Greece*. London: Harvard University Press; Kitromilides, P.M. ‘The last battle of the Ancients and Moderns: ancient Greece and Modern Europe in the Neohellenic Revival. *Modern Greek Studies Yearbook* (ed. by T. Stavrou) (1985) pp. 79-91; Kitromilides, P.M. ‘‘Imagined Communities’ and the Origins of the National Question in the Balkans’, *European History Quarterly*, 19 (1989) pp. 149-94 ; Kitromilides, P.M. An Enlightenment Perspective on Balkan cultural pluralism: the republican vision of Rhigas Velestinlis. *History of Political Thought*, 24:3 (2003) pp. 465-479; Kitromilides, P. M. ‘The Enlightenment and the Greek cultural tradition’ *History of European Ideas*, 36:1, (2009) pp. 39-46

<sup>34</sup> Kitromilides, P.M. Dositej Obradovic and the Greek Enlightenment. *Balkanica*, XLIV (2013) pp. 201-207

<sup>35</sup> For a detailed analysis of the evolution of Greek historiography see: Kitroeff, A. ‘Continuity and Change in Contemporary Greek Historiography’, *European History Quarterly*, 19 (1989), pp. 269-298

nationally conscious because of the spread of knowledge.<sup>36</sup> Accordingly, Stathis Gourgouris' *Dream Nation: Enlightenment, Colonization, and the institution of Modern Greece* [1996] succeeded in deconstructing the discourse of the Greek Enlightenment as a construct that retrospectively put in linear order disparate elements of an emerging nation-state, in a complex inter-imperial political and cultural environment. Victor Roudometof's article 'From Rum Millet to Greek Nation' on the other hand, analyzed concisely the process through which the Balkan inhabitants of the Ottoman Empire gradually acquired national identities to substitute their previous religious, local sense of belonging.<sup>37</sup>

A multitude of other works can be cited deconstructing Greek nationalism likewise from a wide range of perspectives, as modern Greek political historiography is rich and wide. This special weight placed upon political history is well justified in view of the country's complex relationship with East and West, yet has proved to obscure the nature of cultural exchange between Europe and Greece. Despite the profound European interventionism in political and military terms, and the visible merger with Western Europe in key moments of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the scope of Greek historiography has been limited, and late in acknowledging the deeper social influences of this political interaction. A close review of Alexander Kitroeff's 1989 article 'Continuity and Change in contemporary Greek History' tailgating the most prominent and influential writings in modern Greek history since the early 1970s, reveals an impenetrable nation-centred narrative.<sup>38</sup>

Even though international influences and interactions were visible, and both international and Greek historians produced work tracing the political and economic transactions between Greece and Europe, their scope remained strictly confined to a narrative of inter-state negotiations, mostly neglecting cultural and social exchange and its effect in the formation of both Greek and European identity and policy. Works of history that dealt with purely national history failed to assess the influence of external actors, ignoring the flow of ideas originating from national allies as well as

---

<sup>36</sup> Demos, R. 'The Neo-Hellenic Enlightenment (1750-1821)' *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 19:4 (October 1958), pp. 523-541

<sup>37</sup> Roudometof, V. 'From Rum Millet to Greek Nation: Enlightenment, Secularisation, and National Identity in Ottoman Balkan Society, 1453-1821' *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, 16:1 (May 1998) pp. 11-48

<sup>38</sup> Kitroeff, A. 'Continuity and Change in Contemporary Greek Historiography', *European History Quarterly*, 19 (1989), pp. 269-298

denying the influence of national *others*. As such, in accordance to Greece's determination to eliminate its Ottoman past, the Muslim minority of western Thrace was incorporated into national conscience as affiliated to the country's perceived greatest enemy- Turkey.<sup>39</sup>

Against this theoretical background that has demonstrated the constitutive elements of Greek ideology in relation to the country's European narrative and the institutionalised denial of its Ottoman past, the study of the infiltration of western music in this setting serves a double purpose: firstly, to provide with an extra-political theoretical ground where policy on matters of art and culture reveals the process through which western art music became a conveyor of western ideology. Secondly, to assess western music as an important homogenising cultural factor that, as will be seen later, connects intimately to class projections. Especially in regards to class, musical case studies reveal a unique new picture for 19<sup>th</sup> century Greek society. Institutional patronage, music criticism, and literary production, as well as exclusive access to music education, all characteristics of middle and upper class participation in musical practice, here demonstrate how, outside musical performance, the nation's relationship to the art developed between a significant number of varied ideological and physical spaces.

The relationship between ideological space and art has already been used as a methodological tool for other 19<sup>th</sup> century cultural products that at some point or another were formed by the debate of the placement of Greece in relation to its geographical and historical position. Traditionally close to music because of its connection with the 'spirit of the people', literature has already received similar scrutiny in works such as Artemis Leontis' *Topographies of Hellenism: mapping the homeland* [1995] a work that positioned the evolution of national literature and the linguistic debate within this framework of *Hellenism* as an imagined national space, and Dimitris Tziouvas' [ed.,1997] *Greek Modernism and Beyond* examined the turn to modernism again in relation to the *Hellenic* and its Balkan opposite the *Romeic*. Here, aspiring to include this approach for music as well, especially the Fifth Story is examining how similar questions about 'the Hellenic' and 'the Romeic' affected the

---

<sup>39</sup> Katsikas, S. (2012). The Muslim Minority in Greek Historiography: A Distorted Story? *European History Quarterly*, 42:3, p. 445

ideological space of music in connection to the Greek historical imaginary and Greek nationalism.

In regards to the nation's other cultural assets that were, in a similar fashion, rather based on the imaginary, Michael Herzfeld's *Cultural Intimacy: Social Poetics in the nation-State* [2005], and his earlier *Ours Once More: Folklore Ideology, and the making of Modern Greece* [1986], as well as Yannis Hamilakis' *The nation and its ruins: Antiquity, Archaeology, and National Imagination in Greece* [2007], approached 19<sup>th</sup> century Greek nation-building through ethnology and archaeology respectively, to demonstrate the national myths that assisted the country's western heritage to suppress its Balkan cultural reality. Within this conceptual space, where the nation placed itself simultaneously wherever a member of the Greek ethnic group resided, and at the same time it recognised the antiquities of the physical space of Greece as concrete proof of continuity over time, the case study of the relationship of the nation to its various local and imported genres of music comes to examine how music featured within, and interacted with, this national artistic space.

Ideological space apart, or rather in terms of the physical manifestations of the ideological space of the nation, tracing musical evolution in 19<sup>th</sup> century Greece has been particularly challenging methodologically. With three traditional spaces for the creation and mass reproduction of music- the school, the conservatory, and the theatre/opera house- being conditioned by the historically adverse financial and political conditions in Greece, the task of producing a cultural history out of these spaces had to become an enquiry into absences rather than an enumeration of the diverse venues where music was shared. Contrary to an extended number of other European studies into the specific spaces where music developed, and the audiences that attended each venue to listen to specific genres of music, Greek research has only recently turned to the study of institutions and their contribution to the development of taste and identity.

For music it is only a handful of institution that have received such specialized treatment with Angeliki Skandali's *The development of the Opera in 19<sup>th</sup> century Greece in relation to the formation of urban reality: an initial approach* [2001] and Kostas Kardamis' article 'Nobile Teatro di San Giacomo di Corfù: an overview of its

significance for the Greek ottocento' standing out in their efforts to bring the musicological and the social into a common analysis about their respective institutions.<sup>40</sup> For the peripheral spaces that disseminated western music in Greece before the emergence of institutions, Giannis Papakostas' *Literary Salons and coffee houses in Athens* [1984] brings spaces of sociability and private spaces into the story of where music resides before and after it is institutionalised and, in the case of Greece, how eastern sociability met western entertainment.<sup>41</sup>

Nevertheless, the limited existing literature is easily supplemented by three other sources; firstly, the extensive Vlachogiannis Archive held at the General State Archives of Greece, which contains a large part of the history of the Theatre of Athens, mainly through press reportings. Secondly, parliamentary debates shed light on to the argumentation behind the financing of a theatre that hosted the Italian opera, at a time when its audience was very limited. Thirdly, the fact that 19<sup>th</sup> century Greek cultural institutions were modeled after their western-European counterparts renders the comparison of their function and development a source of information about the impact of the Greek institutions upon the art and society. T.J Walsh's *Second Empire Opera: The Théâtre Lyrique Paris 1851-1870* [1981], Steven Huebner's article 'Opera Audiences in Paris 1830-1870', Dagmar Kift's *The Victorian Music Hall: Culture, Class, and Conflict* [1996], for example, all examined the relationship between space, content, society and social class, and their juxtaposition to primary sources, especially newspaper articles on the theatre of Athens, has assisted a similar investigation into the relationship of the Athenian audience to its theatre/opera house.<sup>42</sup>

On a parallel level, bringing together the histories of urban development in the cities of Athens and Thessaloniki and complementing them with works such as Theodoros Chatzipantazis' *A Diagram of the History of the Modern Greek Theatre* [2014], and contemporary doctoral theses such as Konstantinos Sambanis' *The opera in Athens*

---

<sup>40</sup> Skandali, A. 2001. The development of the Opera in 19<sup>th</sup> century Greece in relation to the formation of urban reality: an initial approach. Athens: Gutenberg; Kardamis, K. 2004. "Nobile Teatro di San Giacomo di Corfù: an overview of its significance for the Greek ottocento". Presentation at the *XI Convegno Annuale di Società Italiana di Musicologia*, Lecce, 22-24 October 2004. [Σκανδάλη, Α. 2001. Η Πορεία της Όπερας στην Ελλάδα του 19<sup>ου</sup> αιώνα σε σχέση με τη συγκρότηση του αστικού χώρου. Αθήνα: Gutenberg]

<sup>41</sup> Papakostas, G. 1988 [2011]. *Literary Salons and coffee houses in Athens*. Athens: Patakis Editions

[Παπακώστας, Γ. 1988 [2011]. *Φιλολογικά Σαλόνια και καφερεία της Αθήνας*. Αθήνα: Εκδόσεις Πατάκη.]

<sup>42</sup> Huebner, St. Opera Audiences in Paris 1830-1870, *Music & Letters*, 70:2 (May 1989), p. 206-225

during the Reign of King Otto(1833-1862) [unpublished, 2011], Michael Dimou's *Theatrical life and developments in Hermoupolis, Syros, in the 19<sup>th</sup> century (1826-1900)* [unpublished] revealed unprecedented fragments of the cultural history of western art music in Greece that would have otherwise remained concealed, had not necessity forced an interdisciplinary comparative transnational methodology.<sup>43</sup> Especially for Thessaloniki, a city whose state conservatory (the State Conservatory of Thessaloniki) has been completely overlooked by historians and music historians, it was mainly works on the city itself, here especially recalling Kostis Moskof's *Thessaloniki 1700-1912: a Dissection of the Commercial City* [1974], Rena Molho's *The Jews of Thessaloniki, 1856–1919: A Unique Community* [2001] and Mark Mazower's *Salonica, City of Ghosts: Christians, Muslims and Jews 1430-1950* [2005], that in the end suggested that this institution played an important cultural role for its time, though neglected by historians.<sup>44</sup>

In the end, the long list of institutional shortages and the imperative comparison with the rest of the European continent proved to be part of the answer about the problematic relationship of turn-of-the-20<sup>th</sup>-century Greece to its music. When the researcher-hopeful, for example, opened Antonia Mertiri's *Artistic Education of Young People in Greece (1836-1945)* [2000], to read about the conservatories and music societies and bands and orchestras that taught the 19<sup>th</sup> century Greeks how to love music and found borderline nothing, suspicions of an absence were formed.<sup>45</sup> Peripheral, local histories had to supplement this national vacant space, and the singular article on music education, Katy Romanou and Maria Barbaki's 'Music Education in Nineteenth-Century Greece: Its Institutions and their Contribution to

<sup>43</sup> Chatzipantazis, Th. 2014. *A Diagram of the History of the Modern Greek Theatre*. Heraklion: Cretan University Press; Sambanis, K. 2011. *The opera in Athens during the reign of King Otto (1833-1862) as seen through the press and foreign travellers*. Doctoral Thesis (unpublished), Ionian University, Faculty of Music; Dimou, M. *Theatrical life and developments in Hermoupolis, Syros, in the 19<sup>th</sup> century (1826-1900)*, Doctoral Thesis (unpublished), Faculty of Drama, National and Capodistrian University of Athens. [Χατζηπανταζής, Θ. 2014. *Διάγραμμα Ιστορίας του Νεοελληνικού Θεάτρου*. Ηράκλειο: Πανεπιστημιακές Εκδόσεις Κρήτης; Σαμπάνης, Κ. 2011. *Η όπερα στην Αθήνα κατά την Οθωνική περίοδο (1833-1862) μέσα από τα δημοσιεύματα του τύπου και τους περιηγητές της εποχής*. Διδακτορική Διατριβή (ανέκδοτη), Ιόνιο Πανεπιστήμιο, Τμήμα Μουσικών Σπουδών; Δήμου, Μ., *Η θεατρική ζωή και κίνηση στην Ερμούπολη Σύρου κατά το 19ο αιώνα (1826-1900)*, Διδακτορική Διατριβή, Τμήμα Θεατρικών Σπουδών, Εθνικών και Καποδιστριακών Πανεπιστημίων Αθηνών]

<sup>44</sup> Moskof, K. 1974. *Thessaloniki 1700-1912: a Dissection of the Commercial City*. Athens: Stochastis Press; Molho, R. 2001 [2014]. *The Jews of Thessaloniki, 1856–1919: A Unique Community* Athens: Patakis Publishers; Mazower, M. 2005. *Salonica, City of Ghosts: Christians, Muslims and Jews 1430-1950*. London, New York, Toronto & Sydney: Harper Perennial [Μοσκόφ, Κ. 1974. *Θεσσαλονίκη 1700-1912: Τομή της Μεταπρακτικής Πόλης*. Αθήνα: Στοχαστής. Μόλχο, Ρ. 2001 [2014]. *Οι Εβραίοι της Θεσσαλονίκης 1856-1919: Μια ιδιαίτερη κοινότητα*. Αθήνα: Εκδόσεις Πατάκη]

<sup>45</sup> Mertiri, A. 2000. *Artistic Education of Young People in Greece (1836-1945)*. Athens: General Secretariat of Youth [Μερτύρη, Α. 2000. *Η Καλλιτεχνική Εκπαίδευση των Νέων στην Ελλάδα (1836-1945)*. Αθήνα: Γενική Γραμματεία Νέας Γενιάς]



Urban Musical Life' in combination with Giannis Stavrou's *Musical instruction in Primary and Nursery schools in Greece (1830-2007): Historical Tokens* [2009] had to be compared to general national education as detailed in works such as Alexis Dimaras' *History of Modern Greek education, the "Interrupted Leap": Tensions and Resistance in Greek education 1833-2000* [2013] and a wide variety of archival resources to arrive at conclusions about the educational relationship of Greece to 'European' musical heritage.<sup>46</sup> Institutional weakness, absence of long-term musical educational policy, and the belated institution of a state-supported conservatory in Athens became in the end a strong indication that the lack of spaces was connected to a deeper disconnected relationship between the nation and its music.

Having placed musical discourse in time and space, there are two immediate outcomes of this cohabitation: Class and gender relations, and how they contributed to the formation of Greek society, as well as the ideological outcomes that affected the evolution of music, and became integral parts of Greece's national narrative. Class and gender in regards to music are two issues that have been studied extensively in their European context, and works such as Susan Rutherford's (2006) *The Prima Donna and Opera, 1815-1930*, John Rosselli's (1991) *Music & Musicians in nineteenth-century Italy* as well as his *Singers of the Italian Opera: the history of a profession* cut through the grand narrative of 'the Opera' as a national Italian institution to explain the mechanics and hierarchies of the industry in its 19<sup>th</sup> century function.<sup>47</sup> In the same category of socio-economic works, Arthur Loesser's (1954) *Men, Women & Pianos: a social history*, and Frederic M. Scherer's (2004) *Quarter Notes and Bank Notes: the economics of music composition in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries* achieved, again, to look at transnational forces of musical mobility such as local patronage, as well as the importance of copyright laws for the

---

<sup>46</sup> Romanou, K., Barbaki, Music Education in Nineteenth-Century Greece: Its Institutions and their Contribution to Urban Musical Life. *Nineteenth-Century Music Review*, vol. 8, issue 01 (June 2011), pp. 57-84; Stavrou, G. 2009. *Musical instruction in Primary and Nursery schools in Greece (1830-2007): Historical Tokens*. Athens: Gutenberg; Dimaras, A. 2013. *History of Modern Greek education, the "Interrupted Leap": Tensions and Resistance in Greek education 1833-2000*. Athens: Metaichmio [Σταύρου, Γ. 2009 *Η διδασκαλία της Μουσικής στα Δημοτικά Σχολεία και Νηπιαγωγεία της Ελλάδας. (1830-2007): Τεκμήρια Ιστορίας*. Αθήνα: Gutenberg; Δημαράς, Α. 2013. *Ιστορία της Νεοελληνικής Εκπαίδευσης, Το «Ανακοπόμενο Άλμα»: Τάσεις και αντιστάσεις στην ελληνική εκπαίδευση 1833-2000*. Αθήνα: Μεταίχμιο]

<sup>47</sup> Rutherford, S. 2006. *The Prima Donna and Opera 1815-1930*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.; Rosselli, J. 1991. *Music & Musicians in Nineteenth-Century Italy*. London: B.T Batsford Ltd.; Rosselli, J. 1992. *Singers of the Italian Opera: The history of a profession*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

circulation of works and other musical commodities, such as musical instruments, to analyse musical transmission from a horizontal, de-nationalised viewpoint.<sup>48</sup>

Against this international musical historiography, disparate case studies of Greek social history such as Eleni Varika's *The uprising of the ladies: the birth of a feminist conscience in Greece 1833-1907* [1996], alongside Sidiroula Siogou-Karastergiou's *Girls' Secondary Education in Greece (1830-1893)* [1986], found in this cultural history of music the unifying grounds for wider observations on class and gender interactions, as well as state policy and the policing of both.<sup>49</sup> It remains curious how in general histories of the Greek state, while political analysis is cutting edge, as also remarked earlier, the social aspect of the modern state only received thorough attention in Giorgos Dertilis' *History of the Greek state 1830-1920* [2004] that, nevertheless, failed to acknowledge music as an aspect of 19<sup>th</sup> century Europeanisation.<sup>50</sup> Regardless of historians or historical musicologists, archival material on the issue is in abundance, and whether it is women themselves wondering if musical performance is appropriate for their species, or men that amuse themselves with stories of pianos that, when played by women, also do the housework, the story is out there waiting for a sympathetic pair of eyes.<sup>51</sup>

As for the ideologies emanating from the interpretation of musical experience, there are at least two separate spheres where ideology functioned and, if visualised in a Venn diagram, the overlapping part would describe the cultural experience of music between Greece and Europe. On the first ideological sphere of music, that of the dilettanti that wrote about music and about the social value of music, Emmanuel Frangiskos' article 'Korae's interventions in musical matters, and the musical education of the Greeks' showcases that music as an educational means had been in the Enlightenment thinker's mind since at least 1815; he actively supported research

<sup>48</sup> Loesser, A. 1954. *Men, women & Pianos: A Social History*. New York: Simon and Schuster; Scherer, F.M. 2004. *Quarter Notes and Bank Notes: The economics of music composition in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries*. Princeton & Oxford: Princeton University Press

<sup>49</sup> Varika, E. 1996 [2011] *The uprising of the ladies: the birth of a feminist conscience in Greece 1833-1907*. Athens: Papazisi Publishers; Ziogou,- Karastergiou, S. 1986. *Girls' Secondary Education in Greece (1830-1893)*. Athens: General Secretariat for Youth [Βαρίκα, Ε. 1996 (2011). Η εξέγερση των κυριών: Η γένεση μιας φεμινιστικής συνείδησης στην Ελλάδα 1833-1907. Αθήνα: Εκδόσεις Παπαζήση. Ζιώγου-Καραστεργίου, Σ. 1986. Η Μέση εκπαίδευση των κορτσιών στην Ελλάδα (1830-1893). Αθήνα: Γενική Γραμματεία Νέας Γενιάς]

<sup>50</sup> Δερτίλης, Γ. Β. 2014 [2004]. [8<sup>η</sup> Έκδοση] *Ιστορία του Ελληνικού Κρατους 1830-1920*. Ηρακλείο: Πανεπιστημιακές Εκδόσεις Κρήτης. [Dertilis, G.V. 2014 [2004]. *History of the Greek state 1830-1920*]

<sup>51</sup> Both stories from Greek turn-of-the-20<sup>th</sup>- century newspapers, see: Anon. (1915) *The piano for a housewife*. *Music*. March-April 1915, p. 6 ; Anon. (1887) *Pianists or Hostesses? Newspaper of the Ladies*, 19 July 1887, pp. 1-2 [Ανών. (1915) Κλειδοκύμβαλον οικοκυράς. *Μουσική*. Μάρτιος-Απρίλιος 1915, σελ. 6; Ανών. (1887) *Κλειδοκύμβαλίστριαι ή Οικοδέσποιναι; Εφημερίς των Κυριών*, 19 Ιουλίου 1887, σελ. 1-2]

on the history of the Byzantine chant but he remained, nevertheless, sceptical about the practical value of the opera for the nationalisation Balkan Greeks.<sup>52</sup> Contrasting this early assessment (six years before the outbreak of the revolution, fifteen years before the creation of the Greek Kingdom), to Stella Kourbana's article 'The birth of music criticism in Greece: the case of the historian Konstatninos Paparrigopoulos' demonstrates a significant turn in the perception of the intellectual value of music.<sup>53</sup>

Contrary to the 1815 assessment of the Greek Enlightener Adamantios Koraes, the father of modern Greek history, Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos published extended articles on the history of the opera, as well as pieces of music criticism, because of his strong belief that western art music would accelerate the cultural reconnection of the Greeks to the Europeans. Especially in regards to the public perception of western art music, throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century the Greek press debated fiercely the value of the art, and the volume of newspaper articles and literary journals, in combination with the aforementioned Greek music histories and wider European historical musicological works suffice for assessing how the discourse of 'Europe' was constructed out of discussions about western art music.

The second ideological sphere of music is the personal ideology of practitioners themselves and their own influence upon the evolution of the art. Luckily, artists usually hate being misunderstood and seminal 19<sup>th</sup> century and early 20<sup>th</sup> century composers, such as Pavlos Carrer, Dionysios Lavragas, and Manolis Kalomiris left behind memoirs, usually to blame their colleagues for misunderstanding them.<sup>54</sup> Especially for the composers from the Ionian Islands, whose output was undermined during their own time because of their Italianate musical language, these memoirs in combination to biographies such as George Leotsakos' *Spyros Samaras (1861-1917): The great forgotten [composer] of Greek art music* [2012], and anthropological works such as Thomas Hylland Eriksen's *Ethnicity and Nationalism* [1994], exemplify how

---

<sup>52</sup> Fragiskos, E. Koraes's interventions in musical matters, and the musical education of the Greeks. *The Gleaner*, vol. 26 [2008], pp. 175-210. [Φραγκίσκος, Ε. Οι παρεμβάσεις του Κοραή στα μουσικά πράγματα και τη μουσική αγωγή των Ελλήνων. *Ερανιστής*, τεύχος 26 [2008], σελ. 175-210]

<sup>53</sup> Kourbana, S. The birth of music criticism in Greece: the case of the historian Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos. *Nineteenth-Century Music Review*. 8:1, June 2011, pp. 85-111

<sup>54</sup> Leotsakos, G. (ed.) 2003. Pavlos Carrer: Memoir and Works. Athens: Benakis Museum- Ionian University, Faculty of Music; Lavragas, D. 2009. My memoirs. Athens: Govosti Publications; Kalomiris, M. 1988. My life and my art: Memoirs 1883-1908. Athens: Nefeli [Λεωτσάκος, Γ.[επιμ.] 2003. Παύλος Καρρέρ: Απομνημονεύματα και Εργογραφία. Αθήνα: Μουσείο Μπενάκη- Ιόνιο Πανεπιστήμιο, Τμήμα Μουσικών Σπουδών. Καλομοιρης, Μ.1988. Η ζωή μου και η τέχνη μου: Απομνημονεύματα 1883-1908. Αθήνα: Νεφέλη]

ideology and the cultural market affect the transition from members of ethnic-group to national subjects in the case of composers.<sup>55</sup>

In the same ideological sphere with composers, that of practitioners and partakers in musical dissemination, we ought to include performers as well. Contrary to composers, though, two significant impediments have obstructed an extensive study of the impact of this mobile and inherently transnational professional group to the development of western art music in Greece. Firstly, none of the itinerant singers that passed through the Theatre of Athens appear to have produced memoirs and so, contrary to the social life of composers' ideology, it is hard to assess their output beyond the pronouncements of music criticism. Secondly, apart from the scarce biographical information provided through the arduous efforts of musicologists such as Katy Romanou, Konstantinos Sambanis, and Dionisis Mousmoutis, to trace those individuals and detail their artistic successes or mishaps in Greece, their life histories have not yet been positioned in relation to wider historical convergencies between the countries they connected through music.<sup>56</sup> These lives remain interesting musical biographies in search of transnational cultural histories to map the significance of their professional travels, as well as the networks that facilitated their mobility.

Here, it is the handful of known cases that suggest that further research into the social function of performers is pending. Apart from the cases of sopranos Rita Basso and Gaetana Lugli, two 19<sup>th</sup> century sopranos who ignited impassioned responses by Greek audiences [First Story], as well as the cases of Ignazzio and Raffaele Parisini [Second Story], who taught at various institutions in the capital, the stories of a multitude other itinerant singers and performers are waiting to be contextualised in relation to their movement between the different theatres that hosted western music in

<sup>55</sup> Leotsakos, G. 2012. Spyros Samaras (1861-1917): The great forgotten [composer] of Greek art music. Athens: Benaki Museum; Eriksen, T. H. 2010 (3<sup>rd</sup> ed.). *Ethnicity and Nationalism: Anthropological perspectives*. London: Pluto Press [Λεωτσάκος, Γ. 2012. Σπύρος Σαμάρας (1861-1917): Ο Μεγάλος αδικημένος της έντεχνης ελληνικής μουσικής. Αθήνα: Μουσείο Μπενάκη]

<sup>56</sup> See for example the musical biographies of Ignazzio and Raffaele Parisini, Francesco Zecchini, and Antonia Bonney during their time in Greece in: Romanou, K. Italian Musicians in Greece during the nineteenth century. *Muzikologija*, 2003 (3), pp. 43-55; Sambanis, K. The multiannual activity of the Italian musician Francesco Zecchini in Greece (1849-1865), *Mousikos Ellinomnimon*, vol. 13 (September-December 2012), pp. 3-14; Mousmoutis, D. The [contribution of the] soprano Avonia Bonney in the theatrical life of Zante, *Mousikos Ellinomnimon*, vol. 3 (May-August 2009), pp. 3-8 [Σαμπάνης, Κ. Η πολυετής δραστηριότητα του Ιταλού μουσικού Francesco Zecchini στον ελλαδικό χώρο (1849-1865), *Μουσικός Ελληνομνήμων*, τ. 13 (Σεπτέμβριος-Δεκέμβριος 2012), σελ. 3-14. Μουσμούτης, Δ. Η Σοπράνο Avonia Bonney στη θεατρική σκηνή της Ζακύνθου, *Μουσικός Ελληνομνήμων*, τ. 3 (Μάιος-Αύγουστος 2009), σελ. 3-8]

the Balkans and the Near East. The musical biography of the Italian singer Francesco Zecchini, for example, reveals the story of a multitalented musician serving in various posts with his soprano wife Cleofe Perotti-Zecchini, active in various Greek theatres between 1849 and 1865, curating opera seasons in two Greek cities (Athens, and Patras), performing in at least four cities (Zante, Athens, Patras, and Nafplion), and introducing new repertory from Italy.<sup>57</sup> Similarly, the renowned American soprano Avonia Bonney became a darling of the demanding Greek audience in Zante during the season of 1879-1880, before returning to the United States.<sup>58</sup>

And if in the cases of such mobile musicians it is their mobility itself that accentuates their importance for musical acculturation it is for two reasons. Firstly, it demonstrates the importance of 19<sup>th</sup> century Artistic Agencies for the dissemination of music outside the musical “centres” (in the case of Greece the Italian Agencies), and subsequently illuminates how national repertories and transnational musical canons are formed. Secondly, and perhaps more relevant to the Greek case in particular, tracing musicians’ mobility could contribute to a more organic understanding of how western music spread between musical institutions. As Sambanis has convincingly demonstrated in his *The opera in Athens during the reign of King Otto (1833-1862)*, evidently there was no inter-institutional cooperation between 19<sup>th</sup> century Greek theatres in regards to repertory, most theatre contractors were themselves unfamiliar with the opera and so the choice of repertory was either random or connected to the technical capabilities of each theatre, the choice of Italian Agencies was a matter of financial viability which in the passing affected a national repertory, and the circulation of troupes between the cities of the Greek periphery was more or less random as well.<sup>59</sup> As such, a cultural history of musical exchange can benefit significantly from a cultural reading of the musical biographies of itinerant musicians who, through their Agencies, connected the otherwise fragmented 19<sup>th</sup> century European musical world and contributed to the construction of wider western musical ideology through the canon- or different canons.

---

<sup>57</sup> Sambanis, K. The multiannual activity of the Italian musician Francesco Zecchini in Greece (1849-1865), *Mousikos Ellinomnimon*, vol. 13 (September-December 2012), pp. 4-12

<sup>58</sup> Mousmoutis, D. The [contribution of the] soprano Avonia Bonney in the theatrical life of Zante, *Mousikos Ellinomnimon*, vol. 3 (May-August 2009), pp. 4, 7-8.

<sup>59</sup> Sambanis, K. 2011. The opera in Athens during the reign of King Otto (1833-1862), pp. 1565, 1570-71

For pan-European musical ideology and the different national schools of music, in the 19<sup>th</sup> century there was a single force that conquered and affected all: Mr. Wagner. As has been showcased for Italy in Rosselli's *Music & Musicians in nineteenth-century Italy*, Greece in Markos Tsetsos *Nationalism and Populism in modern Greek music: Political aspects of a Cultural Diversion* [2011], France in Steven Hubner's *French Opera at the Fin de Siècle: Wagnerism, Nationalism, and Style* [1999], but mainly in Carl Dahlhaus' *The idea of Absolute Music* and *Between Romanticism and Modernism* [1989], what brought together all the disparate musical national elements of the previous centuries, highlighted the importance of local musics, and in the end united European musical heritage was a set aesthetic choices at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century: hatred or infatuation with Wagner's music and words.<sup>60</sup> The study of the national schools of music that sprang out of this aesthetic choice, and their rhetoric in regards to their respective nations becomes particularly interesting for Greek-European identity and cultural history, as it was this rhetoric that assembled all the shortages and musical ideas of the previous century into a new pair of arguments for the country's musical future. Their comparative study is also proof that inter-European musical contamination had reached such degree by the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century for politically isolated nations to unite in their distaste for Wagner's lo(oooooooo)ng harmonic phrases. And Greece was there too. Well, to admire Wagner, but that remains irrelevant for now.

In the end, all the aforementioned constitutive elements of this Greek-European musical exchange- musical space, time, class, and the various rhetorics- resulted in the phenomenon of nationalism in Greek music, as will be argued in the last chapter of the thesis. As such, in this instance nationalism is analysed as a psychological condition enacted in the public sphere, with Sociology and Performance Studies among the fields that offered theoretical support to this argument. Especially Richard Schechner's seminal *The Future of Ritual: writings on culture and performance* [1993], Anthony Smith's *The Nation Made Real: art and national identity in western*

---

<sup>60</sup> Tsetsos, M. 2011. *Nationalism and Populism in modern Greek music: Political aspects of a cultural divergence*. Athens: Karagiorgas Foundation; Huebner, S. 1999. *French Opera at the Fin de Siècle: Wagnerism, Nationalism, and Style*. Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press; Dahlhaus, C. 1989. *The Idea of Absolute Music*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press; Dahlhaus, C. 1989. *Between Romanticism and Modernism*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: The University of California Press. [Τσέτσος, Μ. 2011. *Εθνικισμός και Λαϊκισμός στη νεοελληνική μουσική: Πολιτικές όψεις μιας πολιτισμικής απόκλισης*. Αθήνα: Ίδρυμα Σάκη Καραγιώργα]

*Europe 1600-1850* [2013], and Rachel Tsang and Eric Taylor Woods' (eds., 2014) *The Cultural Politics of nationalism and nation-building: ritual and performance in the forging of nations*, in combination to turn-of-the-20<sup>th</sup>-century Greek primary sources proved how nationalism is a cultural product that is created, enacted, and developed in the public sphere through collective rituals of embodiment or resistance intimately connected to the arts.<sup>61</sup>

The last definitive issue in regards to the cultural relationship between Greece and Europe remains how scholars approach the interplay between western Europe and Greece. Unfortunately, even in contemporary works, Greece is continuously seen as a foreign body to be kept separate and scrutinised for her actions towards the rest of the continent. In the 2014 publication of the LSE's Hellenic Observatory *Europe in Modern Greek History*, Roderick Beaton's chapter 'Versions of Europe in the Greek Literary imagination (1929-61)' analysed the conflict of Greek artists and writers, their relationship to European art and their positioning in regards to modernism, and also referred to the marginalisation of modern Greek composers who have thrived in Europe but are profoundly unappreciated. Yet, he somehow arrived at an imbalance of cultural reciprocity on the part of Greece. Given the major outpouring of economic resources especially from Germany, he argued, and excluding the narrative of Hellenism as Greece's participation in Europe's cultural heritage, "what has Greece given back to Europe? The trade imbalance in culture between Greece and the rest of Europe [...] still exists today."<sup>62</sup>

It goes without saying that such exclamations that see culture as a one-way process rather than a set of equally important interactions, will maintain the overview of art and culture as something linear and non-evolving, even through negations. In dispute and agreement with Beaton's argument, it is precisely the job of cultural history to break narratives of 'trade imbalance in culture' and highlight the permeable nature of cultural boundaries, even if not visible in popular culture and the media. To this direction, the present thesis will attempt to present a more organic relationship between Greece and Europe throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century by highlighting that since the

---

<sup>61</sup> Schechner, R. 1993. *The Future of Ritual: Writings on Culture and Performance*. London and New York: Routledge; Smith, A. D. 2013. *The Nation made real: art and national identity in western Europe, 1600-1850*. Oxford: Oxford University Press; Tsang, R., Woods, E.T. [eds.] 2014. *The Cultural Politics of Nationalism and Nation-Building : Ritual and performance in the forging of nations*. London & New York: Routledge.

<sup>62</sup> Featherstone, K. 2014. *Europe in Modern Greek History*. p.41

agents of Greece's musical westernisation had been themselves educated in various European countries (France, Germany, Austria, Italy etc), or originated from regions with varying degrees of contact with western music (Smyrna, the Ionian Islands and so on) their output and institutional efforts were not limited in the form of 'trade' between 'Europe' and 'Greece', rather they simply participated in an artistic tradition in their preferred musical idiom.

If all the stories about the reemergence of Greece point at an extremely successful disappearing act, one that went on world tour, then when it comes to music Greece consistently is and isn't there. She does reappear but the trick hasn't been as successful as the one with the Marbles. Maybe a limb is missing. Maybe a limb has been added. Unlike the physical remnants of antiquity, which made it easy for the country to remain conceptually present throughout the centuries and gradually be rediscovered, its ecclesiastical Byzantine musical past kept it momentarily out of European conscience and reintroduced it as the Wandering Sheep, to be normalized after years of naughty absence. For Greek historians and music theorists, on the other hand, the process was much smoother. If anything else, complete silence never prevailed on earth, and with the emergence of the Greek Kingdom as a national unity, to act as a solid cultural reference point and provide an official narrative, tracing back the multiple musical influences in the region has been easy for historians. Whether Byzantine, Venetian, Folklore Balkan, Italian or German it is all there to create a confident history of the musics in the region. How the reciprocal forces between Greece and Europe gradually created a sound for the cold remnants of antiquity and brought Greece back to musical Europe is an investigation that goes far beyond patronage, war and diplomacy, and deep into identity- or multiple ethnic and national identities- wider cultural projections from both sides and their concretization in institutions, networks, intellectual debates and local cultural resistance.



## 0. Constructing a Motherland

### *Oriental Hellenes, Orientalist Hellenists*

In the summer of 1782, somewhere in Turkey, an English woman was refusing the advances of a despicable Turkish man who claimed ownership of her body. Blonde, a proud European woman born in freedom as she stubbornly insisted, was not to tolerate the treatment of a Turkish slave. Mozart was making a statement of European liberalism against Oriental despotism, in an opera that ridiculed the imbecile Turks, presented a somewhat Europeanized Pasha with Christian characteristics, and had the Janissary chorus singing and dancing in instrumentally orientalisised European tunes.<sup>63</sup> The Viennese public left the Burgtheater probably feeling amused and uplifted, the world of opera won a new work of art, and Wolfgang brought in an impressive 1200 florins to the theatre in the first two performances.<sup>64</sup>

The time had long passed since the Turkish marches had inspired the ‘alla Turca’ style, supposedly during the last siege of Vienna in 1683, and orientalist music had spread its message to a public thirsty for exotic themes, and easily identifiable enemies from the East to be feared or ridiculed.<sup>65</sup> But before indulging in Mozart’s buffoon Turkish characters, the Viennese had to wait for a month while enjoying Gluck’s ‘big operas’, as Mozart wrote to his father, *Iphigenie in Tauris*, *Alceste*, and *Orfeo*, which were prioritised.<sup>66</sup> One way or another, the Greeks and their awkward position in the modern world were present in direct or inconspicuous ways. In the same city, Mozart composed about the oriental territory that at the time included them, Gluck’s version of classical myths entertained the opera audiences, and the Greek Enlightenment was culminating in fiery texts, the circulation of political pamphlets, and a clear nationalist language. And since ideas and culture are traditionally airborne, the awakening Greek nationalism was manifesting itself throughout Europe as the outcome of the almost century-long inclusion of Greek philosophers in the European tradition of the Enlightenment.

<sup>63</sup> For an extended analysis of Mozart’s extensive use of the ‘Turkish style’, see: Perl, B. Mozart in Turkey. *Cambridge Opera Journal*, 12:3 (November, 2000) pp. 219-235

<sup>64</sup> Deutsch, O. E. 1990 [1965]. Mozart: A Documentary Biography, p. 200-201

<sup>65</sup> Reck, D.R. ‘Beatles Orientalis: Influences from Asia in a Popular Song Tradition’, *Asian Music*, 16:1 (1985), p. 85; Scott, D.B ‘Orientalism and Musical Style’ *The Musical Quarterly*, 82:2 (Summer, 1998), pp. 310-313

<sup>66</sup> Spaethling, R. (ed.) 2000. Mozart’s Letters, Mozart’s Life. p. 302 [Mozart’s letter to his father in Salzburg. Vienna, 30 January 1782]

Culturally, it would take the conjunction of a handful of disparate elements for the European public to realise the distinct cultural existence of the Greeks within the Ottoman territory as a separate entity. Christianity, and the Muslim other has proven strong leverage in this direction, and a large part of the argumentation for the emancipation of the Greeks was based on their right to be self-governed in a free Christian nation. However, to connect such distant cultural elements as the Greeks' geographical existence within the Ottoman Empire, as depicted in orientalist art, and the ownership of the heritage of Gluck's subject matter, and to problematise it requires a long cultural process, endless debates on the connection of Moderns and Ancients (Greeks or not), and a stubborn nationalism to arrange the disparate elements into a linear narrative.

To tie the unsuspecting W.A Mozart with the Greek Enlightenment, and that with the supposed influence of western art music upon 19<sup>th</sup>-century Greek-European identity, is an attempt to reconstruct a picture of cultural influences and narratives of cultural evolution. Mozart's orientalism and Gluck's Hellenism merely trace the cultural position of Greece in contrast to the absence of the concept of Modern Greece, that later on and with the assistance of the Greek Enlightenment accentuated the significance of the emergence of Modern Greece as a distinct cultural entity in the eyes of the Europeans. Until the recognition of the first independent Greek state in the 1830s, when western music entered Greek culture by means of institutions, individuals, and a little later the court, the developments in the European arts, and in music in particular, offered a parallel chronology to the political and diplomatic delivery of the Greeks to their modern existence.

In that sense, examining orientalism, philhellenism and Hellenism in the arts of the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, their significance in the production of cultural meaning, as well as contextualizing the Greek enlighteners in their environments can tell the story of the cultural rebirth of Greece, as constructed by three different elements; the Greek enlighteners, European projections, and the cultural reality of Ottoman Greece. This birth of the Balkan nation-state in the European cultural realm translated into the future national narrative of the emergent Greek Kingdom (1829): a Kingdom born out of the European Enlightenment, with neo-classical pretensions, and the aspiration to

westernise in search of reconnecting with the heritage of classical Hellenism. Practically, these aspirations and national narrative, stemming from the intellectual foundations of the nation-state, had to be adjusted to the local Ottoman administrative structure of the future nation-state, a Balkan population of mixed ethnic and religious constitution, the Orthodox-Christian denomination of the ruling Greek ethnic group, and an increasing awareness of Byzantine cultural heritage that rivalled the political direction of the country towards the ‘west’.

This introductory chapter will be devoted to the history of the Greek inclusion in the European Enlightenment to provide the constitutional narrative of the Greek state, the importance of the European interactions of the Greek enlighteners, and the content of their pleas for the emancipation of the Greeks. Moreover, it will give an overview of the content, outcomes, and interrelationship of orientalism, Hellenism, and philhellenism in the arts to demonstrate the position of the Greeks in the European imagination. The third part will outline the most important political developments in the Kingdom of Greece between 1830 and 1914, the period of interest here. This chronological narration will assist the understanding of the intellectual foundations of the nation-state, facilitate the subsequent placement of musical themes among these intellectual and political developments, and highlight how politics and music interact and interrelate in the public sphere, while maintaining their mutual autonomy.

### *Constructing Greece from the outside: Enlightenment 2.0*

The transformative power of the Greek Enlightenment was evident in its quality to employ, connect, rearrange, and reinvent the three main elements of the awakening Greek nationalism: Christianity, Hellenism and the Greek ethnic group. Christianity was the medium, network, and ultimately adversary; Hellenism the argument, spirit, objective, and national narrative. As for the Greek nationals, they were the limited outcome of a far more ambitious and inclusive intellectual programme, and the 1821 War of Independence. Within the extended network of monasteries and schools created and sustained by the Orthodox Patriarchate, ideas and thoughts roamed the Ottoman Empire in the shape of human beings. For the Balkans the unifying elements

in this otherwise heterogeneous, mixed landscape were the Christian-Orthodox faith and Greek-speaking education.

This internal paradox of the expression of secular Greek Enlightenment ideas through the institution that would later denounce, fight, and anathematize it, was the outcome of the Ottoman policy that granted the Orthodox Patriarchate in Constantinople with the administrative and educational authority over the Orthodox subjects of the Empire.<sup>67</sup> The initial toleration of the Church towards the ideas of the neo-Aristotelian philosopher Theophilos Corydaleus (1563/74-1646), which later allowed for the gradual expression of imported western liberal ideals within the institutions created by the Church, has been attributed to their function as an antidote to Catholic scholasticism.<sup>68</sup> And if the rivalry between the Patriarchate and the Catholic Church can be considered the doorway for the initial toleration of new ideas in the Balkans before the Greek Enlightenment, roughly placed between 1750 and 1821, their natural habitat and place of evolution and dissemination were the monasteries and schools created by the Orthodox Church, the Phanariots, and the wealthy Greek merchant class who was open to new ideas.

The tripartite nature of support for the radical ideas of the Greek Enlightenment was effective in numerous ways. It created a microcosm of wandering teachers that taught not only in schools within the Empire, but also in the houses of wealthy merchants that would later support the Revolution financially and morally, and lobby for the involvement of the Great Powers in the Greek war of independence. Their prominent position in central and western Europe played a crucial role in the circulation of ideas, and made Vienna, Budapest, Venice, Trieste and Paris equally important in the revival of Balkan culture to the respective centres of cultural life in southeast Europe—mainly Constantinople, Smyrna, Chios, Bucharest etc.<sup>69</sup> At the same time, it extended the network of schools and played an important role in the secularization of education. Most importantly, though, it secured the survival and continuing circulation of thought after the Orthodox Church distanced itself from the radical

---

<sup>67</sup> Demos, R. 'The Neo-Hellenic Enlightenment (1750-1821)' *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 19:4 (October 1958) pp. 523-641; Kitromilides, P.M 'The Enlightenment and the Greek cultural tradition' *History of European Ideas*, 36:1. (2009) pp. 39-46.

<sup>68</sup> Patrinoitis, M. 'Periphery Reassessed: Eugenios Voulgaris converses with Isaac Newton.' *British Journal for the History of Science*, 40:4 (December 2007) p. 474; Demos, R. 'The Neo-Hellenic Enlightenment (1750-1821)' *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 19:4 (October 1958) p. 530

<sup>69</sup> Kitromilides, P.M 'The Enlightenment and the Greek cultural tradition' *History of European Ideas*, 36:1. (2009) p. 40

liberal ideals of the Enlightenment after the French Revolution. The Phanariots, a set of noblemen that served at the courts of both the Patriarchate and the Port, were appointed by the Sultan as the governors of Wallachia and Moldavia at the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, and followed the line of enlightened despotism. They were prominent in Constantinople, Bucharest and Jassy, and offered protection to scholars of modern philosophy, while building schools and intervening in educational matters elsewhere.<sup>70</sup>

Within this extended network of support, which was at the same time a means for mobility within and between the Balkans and central Europe, borrowings and imports from the West were assisted through translations of western philosophical works into Greek, the Greek printing presses (situated in Venice, Vienna, Paris, Leipzig etc.) and education. Paschalis Kitromilides, identified the translation of Charles Rollin's sixteen-volume *Histoire Ancienne* in the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century as a turning point for the development of a sense of continuity between the ancient and modern Greeks as it created an increased awareness of occupying the same space with and speaking a form of the language of the Ancients.<sup>71</sup> For fifteen years after its publication in Greek, Rollin's history would become the most widely used history textbook in Greek schools, opening up the way for gradual secular learning.<sup>72</sup> Furthermore, the German philosopher Christian Wolff (1679-1754), who transmitted Leibniz's philosophical influence to Greece, has been considered a central figure in the wider acknowledgment of the importance of German teaching to Greeks educated in the West.<sup>73</sup>

The influence of such figures on prominent early Greek Enlighteners such as Evgenios Voulgaris (1716-1806), as well as the latter's personal admiration for Locke, Voltaire, Galileo, Descartes and Newton, and his various appointments to clerical and teaching positions stretching from Epirus to Constantinople, the Athonite Academy, and Ukraine under the protection of the enlightened despotism of the Russian Court, illustrate clearly the mobility the church offered to its clerics and the

---

<sup>70</sup> Patriniotis, M. 'Periphery Reassessed: Eugenios Voulgaris converses with Isaac Newton.' *British Journal for the History of Science*, 40:4 (December 2007) p. 475

<sup>71</sup> Kitromilides, P.M. 2013. *Enlightenment and Revolution: The Making of Modern Greece*. p. 71

<sup>72</sup> *ibid.* p. 73

<sup>73</sup> Demos, R. 'The Neo-Hellenic Enlightenment (1750-1821)' *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 19:4 (October 1958) p. 533

subsequent circulation of ideas within the Empire and out of it.<sup>74</sup> His student, Iosipos Moisioudax (1730-1780), one of the brightest minds of the Greek Enlightenment, took an active stance in the Greek version of the Quarrel of the Ancients and Moderns, criticising the intellectual state of his contemporaries, bitterly comparing the glorious ancient to the degenerate modern Greeks, and attacking the ecclesiastical hierarchy, which he held responsible for the poor condition of the leadership of Greek society. He advocated the Greeks cease admiring the ancients blindly, and attempted himself to demythologise them, while he considered a turn to European intellectual imitation useful for the evolution of the Greeks.<sup>75</sup>

The turning point for the connection of the Greeks with ‘Hellenism’ came when Rhigas Velestinlis (1757-1798), a student of Moisioudax, expressed his dream of a Balkan Hellenism. Velestinlis envisioned ‘Hellenism’ as a Republic prioritising civil rights over ethnic, respecting cultural and religious difference among the different ethnic groups of the region, and called upon the Balkan peoples—including the Turks—to rise against the despotic Ottoman governance; as such the term ‘Hellenism’, in its original conception, represented an intellectual programme far wider than the nationalism that emerged out of it.<sup>76</sup> Western influences, and especially the liberal ideals of the French Revolution, were profound in his work, with the French constitution of 1793 chosen as his own model. His political ideas materialised in the form of a revolutionary pamphlet, published in Vienna in 1797 for circulation in Greece and the Balkans, and contained a bill of rights, his constitution and a martial anthem.<sup>77</sup> The constitution, a liberal political programme, was closely linked to the martial anthem ‘Thourios’ [War Song], which called for the awakening and revolution of the subjugated Ottoman subjects of the Sultan.

After his execution in 1798 in Belgrade for treason and instigation of revolution against the Ottoman Empire, he was raised to the status of a martyr for the Greek national cause. The intellectuals of the diaspora praised his sacrifice, his message

---

<sup>74</sup> *ibid.* pp. 523-541; Kitromilides, P.M ‘The Enlightenment and the Greek cultural tradition’ *History of European Ideas*, 36:1. (2009) pp. 39-46

<sup>75</sup> Kitromilides, P.M ‘The last Battle of the ancients and moderns: Greece and Modern Europe in the Neohellenic Revival’ in Stavrou T. (ed.) 1985 *Modern Greek Studies Yearbook*, pp.79-91

<sup>76</sup> For an extended critique of Rhigas Velestinlis’ political programme see: Kitromilides P. M. An Enlightenment Perspective on Balkan cultural pluralism: The republican dream of Rhigas Velestinlis, *History of Political Thought*, 24:3 (2003) pp. 465-79

<sup>77</sup> Roudometof, V. From Rum Millet to Greek Nation: Enlightenment, Secularisation, and National Identity in Ottoman Balkan Society, 1453-1821, *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, 16:1, p. 29

spread among the population in subjugated Greece, among the forces of primitive social protest, and his political rhetoric was translated into revolutionary rhetoric.<sup>78</sup> The myth of Rhigas was crafted mainly through the triumph of his ‘Thourios’. The Constitution remained unknown because out of the 3,000 copies printed in Vienna in 1779, most were destroyed by the Austrian secret police. By the time it re-emerged in 1879, after the publication of one of the few surviving copies, the battle cry ‘Thourios’ had already achieved what both were created to do. It had ignited national sentiment and revolution, and had forged Rhigas’ myth, while completely overshadowing his political programme, which remained unknown for many years after Greek nationalism had already cancelled most of the philosopher’s political vision.<sup>79</sup>

The philosophical narrative of the liberation of an enslaved nation, was picked up by a passionate advocate of Greek nationalism and admirer of Rhigas’ work, Adamantios Korais (1748-1833), who would play an important role in the Greek linguistic debate as the creator and advocate of the *katharevousa*, a version of Greek closer to the pure, archaic Greek than the vernacular Greek of his contemporaries, which he considered degenerate.<sup>80</sup> The transformation of the narrative of the Greek enlightenment into a language of nationalistic pursuits, with a clear objective to evoke European empathy, sympathy, and support towards the emerging Greek nationalist narrative, was evident in his *Report on the Present State of Civilization in Greece*, published in 1803 out of a series of lectures given in Paris for the *Société des observateurs de l’homme*, the organisation preceding the *Société d’Anthropologie de Paris*.

The content of his report reveals interesting aspects of a Greek philosopher, who was observing the state of the imagined nation from the vantage point of an educated man addressing a European audience. In its strong narrative of a dormant suppressed Greek nation, the report pleaded for his audience to show mercy to the Greeks who, since their domination by the Macedonians and the Romans, had been under successive dominations by oriental Empires- the Byzantine and Ottoman- and foreign civilisations, and were now being governed by an inadequate class of noblemen and a

<sup>78</sup> Kitromilides P. M An Enlightenment Perspective on Balkan cultural pluralism: The republican dream of Rhigas Velestinlis, *History of Political Thought*, 24:3 (2003) p. 13

<sup>79</sup> Pantazopoulos, N.1994. Rigas Velestinlis: Legend and Reality. p. 12-13

<sup>80</sup> For Korais’ position on the Greek language debate see: P. Mackridge ‘Korais and the Greek language question’ in Kitromilides, P.M (ed.) 2010. Adamantios Korais and the European Enlightenment, pp. 127-149

superstitious and ignorant clergy.<sup>81</sup> The ‘Greeks’ of Koraes remain throughout the text an undefined entity, more of a discourse rather than a specific ethnic group with particular characteristics, and are being constantly referred to as the victims of both their successive rulers, as well as the European orientalist who had drawn a caricature of them from their comfortable armchairs in central Europe. Upon these grounds, and in light of the Greek Enlightenment that brought the Greek philosophers in contact with their European counterparts, Koraes pleaded for his colleagues to show mercy to the rising Greeks and help them achieve freedom.

Poorly educated, and deprived of a full knowledge of the ancients due to a crippled schooling system that failed to teach them ancient Greek properly, Koraes’ Greeks remained the proud owners of the awareness of their connection to the ancient Greeks, and endorsed the European Enlightenment but “[...] never considered Europeans as other than debtors who were repaying with substantial interest the capital which they had received from their own ancestors”.<sup>82</sup> It was time for the Europeans, then, to continue repaying their debt to the Greeks, this time by emancipating them from the Turkish yoke, and allowing them to reach their full cultural potential again. At the same time, Koraes’ self-inclusion within the sect of European philosophers adds a further dimension to the future narrative of a Greece that belonged *de facto* with Europe and the West. In his text, Koraes first made it clear that he spoke to his audience as a European philosopher examining the human condition in its Greek context, and only a paragraph later begged not to be mistrusted for defending Greek nationalism from the non-objective position of a Greek national.<sup>83</sup> His conversion to the secular values and life-style of Europe had happened after his arrival in Amsterdam in 1772, in a failed business venture for his father, that had transformed him from a devout Orthodox Christian dressed in oriental attire to a man of the Enlightenment a few years later.<sup>84</sup>

In 1788 he found himself in Paris, just in time to witness the French Revolution, which increased his hopes for a future liberation of the Greeks. Absolutely fascinated

---

<sup>81</sup> Koraes, A. ‘Report on the Present State of Civilization in Greece’ in Kedourie, E. (ed.) 1970. *Nationalism in Asia and Africa*, pp. 154-157

<sup>82</sup> *ibid.* pp. 158-159

<sup>83</sup> *ibid.* p. 154

<sup>84</sup> Kitromilides, P.M. ‘Itineraries in the world of the Enlightenment: Adamantios Korais from Smyrna via Montpellier to Paris’ in Kitromilides, P.M 2010, *Adamantios Korais and the European Enlightenment*. pp. 3-4



with the state of civilization in Paris, with its libraries and newspapers and a well-informed and educated general public, the young Korais was simultaneously saddened by the state of his own people, who had achieved even more greatness two thousand years before, but were at the time diminished to ignorance.<sup>85</sup> And it wouldn't take much effort to reverse the poor situation of the modern Greeks, he supported; merely the emancipation from the Turkish yoke and the lust of the clergy would suffice for them to emulate the Europeans' progress in culture and learning.<sup>86</sup> Strongly believing that in the case of France it was the spread of education that ignited the need for freedom, he decided that only through educating the Greeks in the classics could he achieve something similar for his own people, and devoted himself to creating editions accessible to the common man.<sup>87</sup> In a sense then, the emerging Greek nationalistic narrative, as uttered by one of the major exponents of the Greek Enlightenment, not only was modelled after European examples and was expressed by men deeply influenced by their European experiences, but also included Greece in Europe by virtue of her heritage, as well as the European self-identification of the people that constructed a large part of this nationalism.

In the course of the roughly seventy years of its development, Greek Enlightened thought spread from the monasteries and churches of the Balkans to the cultural centres of Europe- Paris, Vienna, Amsterdam- and the Greek Enlighteners found themselves conversing on things European, Greek, and Hellenic with an objective the emancipation of the modern Greeks from the Ottoman Empire, the recognition of their cultural diversity, and their reconnection with European civilization. The reduction of the broader argument of Hellenism as an antidote to despotism regardless of ethnic group or religion in the Balkans, to a specific nationalism with the Greek ethnic group in its centre, resulted in the construction of a strong national narrative for the emergent Greek state of the 1830s.

Meanwhile, the cultural and political reality for the Greek ethnic group within the Ottoman Empire during the first decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century was of Ottoman-Balkan local constitution, and the outreach of the Greek Enlightenment to the inhabitants of

---

<sup>85</sup> Kitromilides P.M, 2013. Enlightenment and Revolution: the making of Modern Greece. pp. 176-177

<sup>86</sup> Korais, 'Correspondence', 1: 345 in *ibid.* p. 177

<sup>87</sup> Evrigenis, I.D. 'Enlightenment, emancipation, and national identity: Corais and the Ancients' in Kitromilides, P.M 2010, Adamantios Korais and the European Enlightenment. p. 94

the peninsula has been continually contested.<sup>88</sup> The Greek ethnic group was included in the Orthodox-Christian *Rum*, [“Roman”, formerly the Orthodox subjects of the Byzantine Empire] *millet* in the Ottoman administrative structure and, alongside the Orthodox Albanian, Serbian, Romanian, and Bulgarian ethnic groups it fell under the authority of the Patriarchate in Constantinople. At a local level, the Patriarchate was represented by predominantly Greek bishops, who employed ethnic Greeks as staff in the cathedral cities, regardless of the local ethnic majority. When they employed indigenous Christians of a different ethnic group they forced their acculturation to the Greek language and lifestyle, thus progressively Hellenising these cathedral cities.<sup>89</sup>

Progressively, the Church’s Orthodox universalism was established and it facilitated the legitimization of Grecophone ecclesiastical elites over the rest of the Balkan ethnic groups.<sup>90</sup> And while the different Christian ethnic groups within the Christian millet were aware of their differences, Victor Roudometof argued, consistently with the overall structure of ethnically diverse societies, social mobility and the division of labour had a significant impact upon the already fluid boundaries between class and ethnicity. As such, before the 1820s most of the middle-class Balkan Orthodox Christians were either Greek, acculturated Greeks, or heavily influenced by Grecophone education. Since the 18<sup>th</sup> century the designation “Greek” included not only ethnic Greeks, but rather all Orthodox merchants, many of whom were Grecophone Vlachs, Serbs, or Orthodox Albanians.<sup>91</sup>

Financially, in pre-independence Greece, it was the shipping and trade sectors that granted the Greek ethnic group special status in its relationship to western Europe: trade from Thessaly, Epirus and Western Macedonia reached Austria, Hungary, southern Germany, the Danubian principalities and southern Russia, while the

---

<sup>88</sup> And even though Kitromilides insists on the importance of the increase of books in the Balkan peninsula between 1770 and 1820, Roudometof argues that impressive as it, indeed was, only 7% of the subscriptions was to inhabitants of what would later become the Kingdom of Greece. The main body of the subscribers resided in Italy, Central Europe, the Danubian Principalities, Constantinople, and Smyrna. See respectively: Kitromilides, P. M. ‘The Enlightenment in Southeast Europe’ in Trencsényi, B. Kopecek, M. 2006. *Discourses of Collective Identity in Central and Southeast Europe. Volume One: Late Enlightenment- Emergence of the Modern ‘National Idea’*. P47; Roudometof, V. From Rum Millet to Greek Nation: Enlightenment, Secularization, and National Identity in Ottoman Balkan Society, 1453-1821. *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, 16: 1 (May, 1998), p. 22

<sup>89</sup> Detrez, R. ‘Relations between Greeks and Bulgarians in the Pre-Nationalist Era: The *Gudilas* in Plovdiv’, in Tziovas, D. (ed.) 2003 *Greece and the Balkans*, p. 32

<sup>90</sup> Roudometof, V. From Rum Millet to Greek Nation: Enlightenment, Secularization, and National Identity in Ottoman Balkan Society, 1453-1821. *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, 16: 1 (May, 1998), p. 18

<sup>91</sup> *ibid* pp.12, 14, 19

maritime trade of the Aegean islands progressively expanded to include the Italian ports, the Black Sea, and western Mediterranean.<sup>92</sup>

Therefore, if we accept as a basic premise that, at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and until the solidification of the Greek national narrative, the debates on the relationship of modern to ancient Greeks took place in Europe, while the reality of who was included in the ‘Greek’ ethnic group was fluid and class-specific, the focus needs to turn momentarily to the cultural environment that hosted and nurtured these debates, to better understand the multiple perceptions of the Greeks before the advent of nationhood. In Europe, orientalism in the arts, the emergence of Neo-Classicism, and the prominence of Hellenism and philhellenism, created a mosaic of perceptions for Greece and the modern Greeks, that kept them in touch with Europe, even if only to be pitied for their modern oriental outlook or to be unfairly contrasted to their ancestors. The cultural outcomes for both Europe and Greece were central in the creation of a cultural narrative that saw Greece as quintessentially European, even if eastern in local character and in denial of her Ottoman past.

*Conspicuous yet Absent: Orientalism, ruins, clouds of smoke, and the picturesque*

For Koraes to accuse the Europeans of ‘armchair Orientalism’ in 1803, there must have been good enough reasons. That he was, at the same time, failing to acknowledge his own transition from ‘oriental’ to ‘European’, is an example of the ambiguous nature of the Greek identity that created a paradox in the arts, and by extension mixed responses from the public. Historically, and somehow ironically, the term ‘orientalism’, in its pre-Saidian context, was coined to denote the Eastern [Greek] man of the Orthodox Church.<sup>93</sup> The gradual cultural re-emergence of the Greeks into European consciousness as a cultural entity with distinctive

---

<sup>92</sup> Yannouloupoulos, Y. ‘Greek Society on the Eve of Independence’, in Clogg, R. (ed.) *Balkan Society in the Age of Greek Independence*, p. 25

<sup>93</sup> Sweetman, J. 1988. *The oriental obsession: Islamic inspiration in British and American art and architecture 1500-1920*. p. 245

characteristics surfaced from within the orientalist overview of the Near East, in a peculiar synergy between orientalism, exoticism, neo-classicism, and romanticism.

Traditionally, the remnants of classical Greece were well integrated within the oriental realm of the Ottoman Empire, and the connection between ruins and modern oriental Greek subjects had not yet occurred in the arts, politics, and aesthetics. After all, the diplomatic, cultural, and trade exchange between the Near East and Europe was maintained even after the fall of Constantinople, a fact that has been evident from the presence of Islamic carpets in Italian paintings since the 15<sup>th</sup> century, despite the frequent hostilities of Europe with the carpet-making countries.<sup>94</sup> And even though Greece existed in history books as a geographical entity, and its ports were used in the Middle Ages on the pilgrimage route to the Holy Land, argues Richard Stoneman, it was only in the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century that a shift in perception started happening, with the visit of the British aristocratic *Society of Dilettanti* to Athens to create a record of the monuments and enrich artistic taste in England.<sup>95</sup> For the Greeks to emerge out of the Orient as an independent modern cultural entity, it would take a lot of political advocacy by the Enlighteners, a harmonious coexistence between orientalism and neo-classicism, and a lot of persistent Philhellenism.

Exoticism and Orientalism in the arts offered not only fresh subject matter for Western European artists in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, but also created allegorical settings for safely addressing controversial issues of their time, often making the distinction between orientalist representation and allegory hard.<sup>96</sup> Operatic music saw the composition of well over 400 operas with a loosely exotic theme before 1800, which depicted non-Europeans as either cruel or ridiculous, and with a stereotypical, limited musical characterization.<sup>97</sup> Historical events influenced music deeply, and musicologists connect Orientalism to specific moments that created waves of

---

<sup>94</sup> For a detailed presentation of the introduction of Turkish rugs and carpets through Italy see: King, D., Sylvester, D. 1983 *The Eastern Carpet in the Western World: from the 15<sup>th</sup> century to the 17<sup>th</sup> century* [exhibition catalogue] pp. 14-18

<sup>95</sup> Stoneman, R. 1998. *A Luminous Land: Artists Discover Greece*. pp. 2,3.

<sup>96</sup> Locke, R.P. 'Reflections on Orientalism in opera and musical theatre' *Opera Quarterly*, 10:1 (1993) p. 61

<sup>97</sup> Ringer, A.L. 'On the Question of "Exoticism" in 19<sup>th</sup> century Music' *Studia Musicologia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, T.7, Fasc. 1/4 (1965) p. 115; Meyer, E, R. *Turquie and Eighteenth-Century Music. Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 7:4 (Summer, 1974) pp. 474-488

Orientalist expression, following wars, and the opening of trade or diplomatic relations, which brought elements from the East into public consciousness.<sup>98</sup>

Collective memory created persistent repetitions in musical style, with musicologist Benjamin Perl noting that in operas such as Mozart's *Don Giovanni* the 'turkish style' was used extensively, even though it is a piece about a Spanish aristocrat that doesn't connect to Turkey in any way other than the composer's loitering cultural memory of the Ottoman siege of Vienna in 1683 and the imminent war of Joseph II against the Turks in 1788.<sup>99</sup> Bearing in mind that Orientalist expression in music rarely made distinctions between the separate Eastern cultures it used as subject matter- as evident by a brief comparison between Mozart's *Magic Flute* and *The Abduction from the Seraglio*, that were set in Egypt and Turkey respectively, but were both composed in a stereotypical Orientalist musical style that ignored cultural distinctions and particularities - and that the 'orient' has been an abstract concept, the disappearance of the Greek culture within the Ottoman territory poses questions about its distinctiveness in the eyes of the Europeans at the time.<sup>100</sup>

Therefore, when in 1811 Beethoven was composing *The Ruins of Athens*, a piece of incidental music set on August Kotzebue's play, and bearing in mind that Greek nationalism was spreading through the Greek enlighteners and the Philhellenes, the Greek case was gradually coming to life in the arts. The *Ruins of Athens* seem like a tipping point for this gradual change in perception, since the libretto's prologue is set on Mount Olympus, then transferred to modern Athens, and from there to Hungary, where *Mercury* and *Minerva*- the protagonists- have gone, pleased that Wisdom and the Arts have found new homes in the West. Apart from the duet after the overture, that mourns the lost Glory of the Hellenes, the score consists of choruses of dervishes, and Turkish Marches, making the contrast between Hellenic wisdom and art, and oriental modern Athens sharp. The Greeks are present as idle peasants picking rice among the ruins, in a scene where Mercury explains to Minerva that Athens is now under Ottoman rule, its glory has passed and she won't bring it back to life. The two

---

<sup>98</sup> Reck, D.R. 'Beatles Orientalis: Influences from Asia in a Popular Song Tradition', *Asian Music*, 16:1 (1985), p. 85

<sup>99</sup> Perl, B. Mozart in Turkey. *Cambridge Opera Journal*, 12:3 (November 2000) p. 229.

<sup>100</sup> For a more detailed analysis of the *Abduction from the Seraglio*, its connection to *The Magic Flute* and Orientalism see: Scott, D. B 'Orientalism and Musical Style' *The musical Quarterly*, 82:2 (Summer, 1998) p. 312

depart to the theatre in Pest, where the premiere is being held, to celebrate the survival of the Athenian spirit under the aegis of Austria-Hungary.

The three elements of the future Greek state were present in Kotzebue's play, yet the connection hadn't yet been made. Heritage, the Greeks, and Hellenism were put on the same stage, only for Hellenism to depart to a more hospitable land. Beethoven himself was not preoccupied with the Greek cause specifically, but was rather infatuated with the revolutionary and liberal spirit of his age and was seeking new material, communicating to Kotzebue in 1812 that he could not refrain "from the ardent desire to possess an opera from your unique dramatic genius[...]heroic, comic, sentimental, in short whatever pleases you [...] Certainly I should most like a big historical subject, and especially from the Dark Ages[...]".<sup>101</sup> Furthermore, musicologists don't seem to acknowledge any other cultural particularity in the score, apart from the separate musical idioms between the 'Turks' and the 'Hungarians'-deeming the Hellenes once again conspicuous yet the Greeks absent.<sup>102</sup>

Beethoven was standing on the verge of a monumental turn in musical expression. With one foot on Classicism and the other touching upon Romanticism, his was a turn that makes the symbiosis of ruins with the oriental Greeks somewhat comprehensible. Arguing for the importance of music as a source of historical knowledge, Lawrence Kramer identified in the *Ruins of Athens* strong proclamations of the era's cultural practice. The state, he argues, is celebrated in a patriotic appraisal of its function as "the source of benevolence and enlightenment". The Austro-Hungarian Empire is rising in front of its enemy, the declining Ottoman Empire, and reappropriates the classical Athenian culture by taking patronage of the ruins that the Turkish have left to decay, creating the conditions for this historical transformation by becoming a patron of the arts.<sup>103</sup>

Austria-Hungary was not the first to become the conceptual saviour and patron and promoter and bearer of Hellenic heritage in Western Europe. More or less, most

---

<sup>101</sup> Eaglefield-Hull, A. (ed.).1972. Beethoven's Letters. [letter to August Kotzebue. Vienna, January 28 1812] p. 126

<sup>102</sup> For a musicological analysis of Beethoven's *The Ruins of Athens*, see: Ringer, A.L On the Question of "Exoticism" in 19<sup>th</sup> century Music, *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, T.7, Fasc. 1/4 (1965) p. 118

<sup>103</sup> Kramer, L. Music, Historical Knowledge, and Critical Inquiry: Three Variations on 'The Ruins of Athens'. *Critical Inquiry*, 32:1 (Autumn 2005) pp. 65-66

European Empires gradually appropriated part of classical Hellenism, while standing baffled as to whether the modern Greeks were the legitimate cultural descendants of the Hellenes and therefore rightful owners of the ruins. In any case, since the Greeks inhabiting the peninsula didn't make any claims at the time, in contrast to the Greek enlighteners who were speaking a clearly nationalistic language based on Hellenism as demonstrated earlier, the signals in Western Europe were mixed.

For a good eleven years immediately before Beethoven's *Ruins of Athens* premiered in Pest, Lord Elgin had been actively contributing to the further destruction of the literal ruins of Athens, by enthusiastically removing hundreds of tons of marbles from the Parthenon between 1801 and 1812, significantly violating the *firman* he had acquired by the Ottoman authorities. For Britain to acquire the Marbles from Elgin later, in 1816, it was a matter of national pride and an aspect of the cross-channel rivalry with France. Napoleon's occupation of Rome in 1796, and the subsequent relocation of Roman antiquities to Paris, argues Holger Hoock, convinced British governments to actively pursue the expansion of the national art collections, consolidating at the same time the position of institutions such as the Royal Academy of Arts, whose Academicians the state used for their individual and collective expertise.<sup>104</sup> Benjamin West, President of the Royal Academy, would himself write an ecstatic letter to Elgin after examining the collection in 1807, praising the sculptures he brought back, expressing his relief for their rescuing from the "devastation of ignorance and the unholy rapine of barbarism", and noted that "Your Lordship, by bringing these treasures of the first and best age of architecture to London, has founded a new Athens for the emulation and example of the British student".<sup>105</sup> If anything else, in absence of an autonomous Hellenic Athens, various other cities in Europe appeared ready to replace it in spirit.

It was out of fear for their destruction, Elgin explained upon petitioning for the purchase of his collection by the British Museum, that he acquired the *firman* in 1799 to remove the Parthenon Marbles.<sup>106</sup> The people, Turkish/Greek/Albanian, standing next to the ruins, on the ruins, behind the ruins, were merely part of the exoticised

<sup>104</sup> Hoock, H. 2003. *The King's Artists: The Royal Academy of Arts and the politics of British Culture 1760-1840*. p. 286, 293

<sup>105</sup> Benjamin West letter to Lord Elgin, cited in *St. Clair, W. 1967. Lord Elgin and the Marbles. p. 167*

<sup>106</sup> HC Deb 15 June 1815 vol 31 cc. 828-30 "Petition of the Earl of Elgin Respecting his Collection of Marbles". § 828

perception of decaying antiquity that needed to be saved. The infatuation of the Europeans with classical antiquity obstructed their recognition of the fact that, even though the local populations did not connect to the antiquities in the neoclassical intellectual European manner, and possibly did not perceive them as part of their own cultural lineage, they were, nevertheless, expressing a kind of transformed cultural continuation in their own way, namely by incorporating the antiquities into their houses out of *deisidaimonia* (superstition and fear) for the deities that superstition held to inhabit them.<sup>107</sup> Whether the ethnic Greeks belonged within the ‘barbarians’ who would destroy the Marbles, or it was a privilege reserved exclusively for the Muslim orientals, seems to have been a matter of personal taste, prejudice, knowledge, and acknowledgment of the Christian subjects.

In absence of the modern Greeks and before the emergence of Greek nationalism, other nationalisms were incorporating Hellenic heritage to project cultural and military might. In the case of Great Britain, stories of embodiment and elite projections of classicist grandeur seem to have taken place around antiquities. In 1808, Elgin was presenting the prize-fighter Gregson standing naked and posing in various positions next to the statues of his personal collection, in an act that Fiona Rose-Greenland analysed as an attempt to underline the antiquities’ natural place in Britain as an embodiment of the legacy of classical Athens, while at the same time making statements about race and civilisation.<sup>108</sup> Similarly in Germany, from as early as 1809 Wilhelm von Humboldt had been promoting educational institutions that focused on classical languages and cultures, placing the ancient Hellenes in the centre of attention and advocating that imitation of their aesthetics, masculinity, and secular values was the means to German greatness.<sup>109</sup>

German nationalism and Philhellenism had been walking hand in hand since the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, with the rivalry with France playing an important role in the introduction of Hellenic values and aesthetics in the German national narrative. Even though mainly oriented towards Roman ancient history and scholarship as a

---

<sup>107</sup> For an in depth discussion on the cultural significance of the Marbles for Greek identity, see: Hamilakis, Y. *Stories from Exile: Fragments from the Cultural Biography of the Parthenon Marbles*. *World Archaeology*, 31:2, The Cultural Biography of Objects (Oct., 1999) p. 307

<sup>108</sup> St. Clair, W. 1967. Lord Elgin and the Marbles. p. 168; Greenland, F. R. The Parthenon Marbles as icons of nationalism in nineteenth-century Britain. *Nations and Nationalism*, 19:4, 2013, pp. 665-666

<sup>109</sup> Marchand, S. ‘Philhellenism and the Furor Orientalis’, *Modern Intellectual History*, 1:3 (November 2004). p. 336



nation, Zvi Yavetz argues, the educated German class fantasized about being the Greeks of the modern era by virtue of belonging to a nation of the arts and literacy, and possibly as a compensation for their political weakness at the time. The reintroduction of classical languages in Germany in the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, she supports, was a reaction against the French style and language, which prevailed at the courts of German rulers.<sup>110</sup> In the case of Germany, moreover, the institutionalization of Philhellenism in Prussia's museums, universities and secondary schools after 1810- that would turn it into German patrimony by the last decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century- has been stressed by Suzanne Marchand, as the means for the dissemination of the previously aristocratic Philhellenism to the middle classes.<sup>111</sup> The establishment of the University of Berlin (1810) with its emphasis in the classics, for example, remains a notable example in the study of such institutions because of its intellectual influence, the significant number of students that would become prominent scholars of the antiquities (Mommsen, Droysen, and Curtius among others), and its support by the Prussian King, who saw it as the chance for Germany to make up by intellectual strength what it lacked in material wealth.<sup>112</sup>

Terms like 'Griechheit' and Goethe's honorary appointment by Schiller as a Greek born out of time, had already created a heavy Graecophilia in Germany- approximately since Winkelmann's mid-18<sup>th</sup> century infatuation with the aesthetics of ancient Greece, and his subsequent immense influence on German art and poetry- and resulted in an extended body of works inspired by Greek antiquity, in what Eliza M. Butler later masterfully named 'The tyranny of Greece over Germany'.<sup>113</sup> In purely material terms Germany could not stay out of the early 19<sup>th</sup> century European art race and, in 1812, prince Ludwig I of Bavaria- father of the future King Otto I of Greece, and a keen philhellene- laid his hands upon a piece of marbles from Aegina, outbidding the French Government, while the British representative – Taylor Combe

---

<sup>110</sup> Yavetz, Z. Why Rome? *The American Journal of Philology*, 97:3 (Autumn, 1976) p. 278.

<sup>111</sup> Marchand, S.L. 1996. Down from the Olympus: Archaeology and Philhellenism in Germany, 1750-1970, pp. xviii-xix

<sup>112</sup> Yavetz, Z. Why Rome? *The American Journal of Philology*, 97:3 (Autumn, 1976) p. 289; Marchand, S.L. 1996. Down from the Olympus: Archaeology and Philhellenism in Germany, 1750-1970. p. 43.

<sup>113</sup> For many and too extended conversations on the influence of ancient Greek art to German art and literature see: Butler, E.M. 1935. *The Tyranny of Greece over Germany*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Marchand, S.L. 1996. *Down from the Olympus: Archaeology and Philhellenism in Germany, 1750-1970* Oxford: Oxford University Press; Yavetz, Z. Why Rome? *The American Journal of Philology*, 97:3 (Autumn, 1976)

of the British Museum- was unsuccessfully rushing to Zante for the auction.<sup>114</sup>

In any case, whether because of barbarity or noble intervention, the story of the Marbles, the European infatuation with ruins, and the polemics that emerged from their study, removal, or mere admiration, remain a fine case study in the multiple cultural perceptions of Greece at the time, and highlight the deterritorialized perception of Hellenism in contrast to the orientalised overview of the modern Greeks. In theory, the two can potentially come together through the admiration of Europeans for the picturesque lands of Greece, and the patronising sympathy they expressed for the oppressed Christian Greeks. Geography played an increasingly important role in contemporary analyses of the emergence of Hellenism in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and the positioning of the orientals in the picturesque landscape makes their visibility a matter of aesthetics rather than a political statement, in the pre-Revolution period. In her ‘Orientalism in Art’ Christine Peltre describes a cultural rather than geographical orientalism when it comes to painting and the Ottoman Empire, with Greece remaining partly irrelevant around 1820 when Sinai and Laghouat became accessible to painters.<sup>115</sup> This was to change drastically with the Revolution (1821) and Delacroix a few years later, but for Peltre the Orient always remained a source of fresh subject matter for painters, who after the Revolution sometimes produced “naïve works” of starving Greeks, and fierce Turks conveniently concealed behind heavy clouds of smoke, in lack of the artist ever having actually seen them or been to the country.<sup>116</sup>

On a parallel level, Constanze Güthenke argues for the materialisation of the aesthetic European discourse of Hellenism through the geographical admiration of the Greek nature, landscape, and fine weather. For Güthenke, the estrangement of man from nature in the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, created a further feeling of detachment from the past. Both detachments, she argues, are understood to have been conditions of modernity, and placed Greece’s materiality at the intersection of the aforementioned disconnected discourses.<sup>117</sup> Even in Byron’s travels to Greece in the years before the Revolution, in fragmented glimpses of everyday moments that have

---

<sup>114</sup> St. Clair, W. 1967. *Lord Elgin and the Marbles*. p. 206

<sup>115</sup> Peltre, C. 1998. *Orientalism in Art*. p. 14

<sup>116</sup> *ibid.* p. 40

<sup>117</sup> Güthenke, C. 2008. *Placing Modern Greece: The dynamics of Romantic Hellenism 1770-1840*. pp. 3-5

been more or less overshadowed by his later glory, we can see a more aesthetic infatuation with the land and the enjoyment of a natural environment filled with antiquities. The young architectural student Charles Robert Cockerel narrated how in 1811, a few days before uncovering 16 whole statues and 13 statue fragments in Aegina, he saw Byron and the Italian landscape painter Lusieri on their boat near the port, and by singing one of Byron's songs, he attracted their attention and got invited on board, where they all enjoyed a few glasses of wine before parting.<sup>118</sup> In this setting, in the company of a landscape painter, a few glasses of wine, and a lot of poetry, one can argue that in accordance to Güthenke's argument, the aesthetic materialisation of Hellenism in the natural landscape of Greece must have offered a unique sensory experience to the Romantics of the pre-revolutionary period.

For the unlucky ones that had to stay in London while others were cruising the waters of Greece, articles and reviews of publications on Greece had to do the trick before the Greek Revolution made the headlines as a political piece of news. Heavily idealised, borderline eroticised descriptions of the country- always true to the spirit of a mystic and sensualised orient, decorated with splashes of classical antiquity - brought the land of Myth closer. The *True Briton* of January 11, 1800, for example, could have convinced even the most ardent anti-Hellene to give Socrates a chance. The newspaper, reporting on the publication of Dimo and Nicolo Stephanopoli's *Travels in Greece* in Paris, reproduced the abstract of the book as it had previously appeared in an unnamed French newspaper, noting in the introduction the importance of the work in the rediscovery of previously unnoticed monuments.<sup>119</sup> The content of the review, which as mentioned first appeared in France and served as an example for both countries, is a fine specimen of a materialised orientalism infused with classicism, and its communication to the public. Furthermore, it comes in support of Güthenke's argument on the value of Greece's geographical appeal to Europeans, as a place of materialised aesthetics of romantic classicism. And fine weather, never underestimate fine weather.

That rainy morning, the Londoner that opened the *True Briton*, had a chance to read about

---

<sup>118</sup> St. Clair, W. 1967. *Lord Elgin and the Marbles*. p. 203

<sup>119</sup> Anon. 1800. *Travels in Greece*. *The True Briton*, 11 January, p. 3

“Ardent patriotism, love of liberty, perseverance in labours, intrepidity in dangers, exquisite sensibility, thirst after glory, philosophy, eloquence, the fine arts, a pure sky, a fertile soil; in a word, every thing which can constitute the boast, or contribute to the delight, of the human species, all were lavished on that favoured land.”<sup>120</sup>

only to arrive again to the disappointed exclamation of the reviewer about the current degradation of the “land of heroes” to a “nursery for Slaves” (capitalised in the original to emphasise the dramatic fate of the land even further). Same old story, or rather stories of monuments and statues in ruin, woe for the tombs of “great Men” (see above on capitalisation and reapply), and vivid descriptions of Muslims crushing the images of the “God of Thunder”. More interestingly, though, “the soil” of Greece - a very material and intimate word that invokes feelings of fatherland and roots universally - was being paralleled to a vast museum, establishing the entrapment of the land in a conceptual atemporal bubble, belonging to everyone, yet used by the Greeks and dishonoured by the Ottomans.

In the course of twenty odd years, the loitering cultural memory of the likes of Mozart, assisted by neoclassical fever, had started to slowly transform to a more specific distinction between oriental-Hellenic, which would gradually transform to a sharp Christian against Muslim distinction, and from there to a political argument about the Christian Greeks against the Muslims, that would make the cohabitation of the two the cause for a modern crusade for the emancipation of the Christian brothers, worthy of reaching again their Hellenic cultural potential. In 1822 in the British Parliament Mr Wilberforce, a devout Christian, employed a hard language against the prolonged Greek subordination to the Turks, pleading for the “enlightened and Christian minds” to lend an ear to the rebels’ pleas for European help. In the spirit of a true modern crusader, Wilberforce poignantly proclaimed that he considered it “a disgrace to all the powers of Europe, that long ere now they had not made a simultaneous effort, and driven back a nation of barbarians, the ancient and inveterate enemies of Christianity and freedom, into Asia”.<sup>121</sup> Similarly in Germany, Marchand argued, political and religious appeals seem to have been more convincing to the general public, overshadowing the cultural continuity ones that convinced only the

---

<sup>120</sup> *ibid.* p. 3

<sup>121</sup> HC Deb 15 July 1822 vol 7 cc. 1649-53 “Cause of the Greeks”. §1651

most ardent Philhellenes.<sup>122</sup> The explosive addition of Christianity to pre-existing philhellenism made for a fiery political argument, brought the Muslim ‘other’ back to the forefront, and made the orientalist ‘barbarity’ of the previous years relevant again.

The transformation of Philhellenism from an abstract admiration for the ancients through the aesthetic and intellectual endorsement of ruins, to a pan-European movement that expressed individual liberal movements, with the addition of an anti-Muslim argument, and the inclusion of the modern Greeks, constitutes a fundamental shift that created a country and a nationalism in the passing. In practical terms, Romantic Philhellenism appears to have had such resonance in the years before the Revolution as it saw ancient ideals around citizenship and democracy translated into the modern political language of the Liberal movements in Germany, France, Italy, and England, which were then embodied in the Greek struggle for independence from the oppressive Ottoman ruler.<sup>123</sup> The Philhellenic rhetoric that acted as a pressure point for individual liberal European pursuits resulted in a wave of enthusiastic supporters of the Greek cause, who created networks of moral and practical support all over Europe. Still, to argue that the philhellenes were naive idealists that saw in the Greek cause the resurrection of a pure Hellenic spirit would be ahistorical and unfair. Some of them were, of course, but they were a small number that refused to see the truth the others already seemed to know and accept.<sup>124</sup> The break between ancient and modern Greece had happened long before the Revolution, and most Philhellenes were advocating for the right of the modern Greeks to be self-governed in a nation-state with distinct cultural boundaries. That the dominant narrative of the emerging nation-state remained loyal to the archetypical image of the Hellenes was not only the outcome of a roaring developing nationalism, but also the offspring of the gradual cultural relocation of the Greeks from the orient to the forefront of European neo-classical imagination. More importantly, though, it was the creation of the modern Greek state that finally provided with the *topos* where all the aforementioned processes and narratives culminated in the emergence of a new

---

<sup>122</sup> Marchand, S.L. 1996. *Down from the Olympus*. p. 32

<sup>123</sup> For Liberalism and Philhellenism in Germany, England and Italy see: Marchand, S. ‘What the Greek Model can, and cannot, do for the modern state: the German perspective’ in Beaton, R., Ricks, D. (eds.) 2009. ‘The Making of Modern Greece.’; Pecout, G. ‘Philhellenism in Italy: political friendship and the Italian volunteers in the Mediterranean in the nineteenth century’ *Journal of Modern Italian Studies*, 9:4 (2004), pp. 405-427.; Miliori, M., ‘Europe, the classical *polis*, and the Greek nation: Philhellenism and Hellenism in nineteenth-century Britain’ in Beaton, R., Ricks, D. (eds.) 2009. ‘The Making of Modern Greece.’

<sup>124</sup> Marchand, S.L. 1996. *Down from Olympus*. p. 32

modern Greek entity that assembled its multiple imagined pasts into a linear cultural narrative through history and politics.

### *Rediscovering a past*

To delineate the relationship of the nation to its music, after this brief exploration of the inclusion of the Greeks into the family of European philosophers and the tradition of the Enlightenment, one needs to examine the relationship of the nation to its own historical time and political management. Three musical debates of the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, Italian music versus Greek local art, the importance of the Byzantine chant in Orthodox tradition, and the issue of what constitutes ‘Greek’ art music are all intimately connected to the historical self-image of the Greeks; they were informed by it and reified it in the public sphere. As such, historiography takes precedence over politics in this brief overview of the Greek 19<sup>th</sup> century, as the ideological overtone that complemented the institutional and personal approaches to musical ideology.

For historian Alexis Politis the greatest function of the father of Greek national history, Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos (1815-1891), was that with his *History of the Greek Nation* (in five volumes, published between 1857 and 1874) he connected ‘Greekness’ in space and time.<sup>125</sup> In history as in political narrative, the emergence of the independent Greek Kingdom provided the physical *topos* where a national geography accommodated the re-emergent Hellenism, and became a referential point for the scattered ethnic group.<sup>126</sup> Historical continuity for this geographical reemergence was crafted progressively, in dialogue with European ethnological, historiographical, and national trends and needs. Overall, between 1794 and 1841 the ancient Macedonians had been considered the destroyers of the ancient Greek ‘race’ by Greek historians, while in the first years of the Kingdom, between 1837 and 1840,

---

<sup>125</sup> Politis, A. 2009. (3<sup>rd</sup> ed.) *Romantic Years: Ideologies and Mentalities in Greece between 1830-1880*, p. 47 [Πολίτης, Α. 2009. (Γ’ Έκδοση) *Ρομαντικά Χρόνια: Ιδεολογίες και Νοοτροπίες στην Ελλάδα του 1830-1880*, σελ. 47]

<sup>126</sup> Leontis, A. 1995. *Topographies of Hellenism: Mapping the Homeland* pp.65-66

the Greek approach to History was internationalist and philosophical.<sup>127</sup> Ethnography, on the other hand, did not recognize the Byzantine Empire as part of the Greek historical lineage.<sup>128</sup> Intellectually, Paparrigopoulos was influenced by Friedrich Schlosser's approach to history, whose works he referenced in his own *History*, and it was after the influence of Johann Gustav Droysen's history of Alexander the Great that his first significant intellectual turn happened, between 1849-1853.<sup>129</sup> While in his early works, Paparrigopoulos did not consider the Macedonians as part of the Greek 'race' but rather a mix of Illyrians and Hellenes, in 1853 he shifted to a definitive "The Macedonians, though not part of the earliest times of Greek history, were nevertheless Greek".<sup>130</sup>

And if this turn was influenced by German scholarship, another significant turn occurred because of Tyrolean intellectual threat. In his 1845 *Fragmente aus dem Orient*, Jakob Philipp Fallmerayer expressed extreme anti (modern) Greek sentiment by arguing that the Greeks did not belong among the 'Europeans', they had tricked the European intelligentsia into assigning them a 'Hellenic' identity, and that after the successive Albanian and Slavic invasions into the Greek space, the Greeks could not claim racial continuity with the ancients.<sup>131</sup> As an outcome, Greek ethnology was fuelled in direct reaction to the claims, and continuity through folklore song and history were employed to defend the legitimacy of the modern connection to the ancients.<sup>132</sup>

These intense intellectual fights, fought by Greeks and Europeans on both sides of the argument, had a two-pronged outcome: on the one hand, there was a significant shift in historical methodology. Contrary to the historiographical tradition of the Enlightenment, when individual ethnic origin came second in comparison to the autocratic structure of (any) empire against its minions, Greek historians started

---

<sup>127</sup> Politis, A. 2009. (3<sup>rd</sup> ed.) *Romantic Years: Ideologies and Mentalities in Greece between 1830-1880*, pp. 39-44, 36-37

<sup>128</sup> *ibid.* 55

<sup>129</sup> Koubourlis, G. 2012. The historiographical influences of Sp. Zambelios and K. Paparrigopoulos: the contribution of Greek and foreign intellectuals in the formation of the tripartite schema of Greek historicity (1782-1864), pp. 22-24 [Κουμπουρλής, Γ. 2012. Οι ιστοριογραφικές οφειλές των Σπ. Ζαμπέλιου και Κ. Παπαρρηγόπουλου: Η συμβολή ελλήνων και ξένων λογίων στη διαμόρφωση του τρίσημου σχήματος του ελληνικού ιστορισμού (1872-1846), σελ. 22-24]

<sup>130</sup> Politis, A. 2009. (3<sup>rd</sup> ed.) *Romantic Years: Ideologies and Mentalities in Greece between 1830-1880*, pp. 43-45

<sup>131</sup> Herzfeld, M. 1986. *Ours Once More: Folklore, Ideology, and the making of Modern Greece*, pp. 75-77

<sup>132</sup> *ibid.* 79-80

accentuating the importance of the Byzantine Empire.<sup>133</sup> As such, a previously disregarded period was reclaimed as ‘the Greek Middle Ages’.<sup>134</sup> On the other hand, the concerted efforts by historians and ethnologists to delineate the progressive survival of the Hellenic in to the Greek resulted between 1869 and 1870 to the rise of Greek national history, in a series of continuities and cultural continuations that now included Byzantium.<sup>135</sup>

In this process of tracing back the Greek in all its appearances, historian Spyridon Zambelios (1813-1881) made a significant connection, and one that proved particularly important for the musical narrative of the country. In contrast to Paparrigopoulos’ holistic methodological approach to history, a rather historiographic arrangement of the different preceding histories, void of primary sources, Zambelios was interested in the construction of a narrative of transitions that focused on the overall relationship of the different historical periods, and resulted in a grand narrative regardless of particular disjunctions.<sup>136</sup> In 1852 he published his *Greek Folk Songs, published after the study of medieval Hellenism*, a 767-page publication, whose first 595 pages explained the said historical connection, and the remaining 172 featured the (lyrics of the) songs.<sup>137</sup> Through this extended study of the cultural connection through song, Zambelios not only incorporated Byzantium into Greek history, but also proposed a tripartite schema of self-contained Greek historical periods: the modern, the medieval, and the ancient, based on the survival of the unchanged ‘spirit’ of ancient genius.<sup>138</sup> As such, he also managed to reconcile a mutually cancelling aspect of the relationship between modern and ancient Greeks: the paradox of Hellenistic paganism and modern Greek Orthodoxy.<sup>139</sup> As will be seen continuously in the thesis, this connection was paramount in regards to the self-image of the Greeks and their relationship to the Byzantine chant as a ‘national musical idiom’. Especially towards the last decades of the century, the Byzantine era of Greek history was

<sup>133</sup> Koubourlis, G. 2012. The historiographical influences of Sp. Zambelios and K. Paparrigopoulos, p. 49

<sup>134</sup> Skopetea, E. 1988. The “Exemplary Kingdom” and the Great Idea: Views of the issue of the nation in Greece (1830-1880), p. 177

<sup>135</sup> Politis, A. 2009. (3<sup>rd</sup> ed.) Romantic Years: Ideologies and Mentalities in Greece between 1830-1880, p. 39

<sup>136</sup> Koubourlis, G. 2012. The historiographical influences of Sp. Zambelios and K. Paparrigopoulos, p. 32

<sup>137</sup> Politis, A. 2009. (3<sup>rd</sup> ed.) Romantic Years: Ideologies and Mentalities in Greece between 1830-1880, p. 53; Zambelios, S. 1852. Greek Folk Songs, published after the study of medieval Hellenism. Corfu: Ermis Pess of A. Terzakis & Th. Romaios. [Ζαμπέλιος, Σ. 1852. Άσματα Δημοτικά της Ελλάδος. Εκδοθέντα μετά ιστορικής μελέτης περί μεσαιωνικού ελληνισμού. Κέρκυρα: Τυπογραφείο Ερμής Α. Τερζάκη και Θ. Ρωμαίου]

<sup>138</sup> Herzfeld, M. 1986. Ours Once More: Folklore, Ideology, and the making of Modern Greece, p. 40

<sup>139</sup> Hamilakis, Y. 2007. The Nation and its Ruins: Antiquity, Archaeology and National Imagination in Greece, pp. 175-177



completely embraced in the face of other rising Balkan nationalisms and especially the Bulgarian, in a move that Politis maintains ought not to be approached as a sign of the decline of Enlightened values, but rather as a reaction to immediate temporal necessities.<sup>140</sup>

Especially for this historical moment, as will be seen in chapter three, the Byzantine chant was projected as a national asset by part of Greek society that felt that national identity was being threatened by the Italian opera, in a convergence that brought the the musicological development of the chant at odds with Greek- Orthodox self-image. The complete internment of the Byzantine era within Greek history, claimed historian Elli Skopetea, came in 1914 with the creation of the Byzantine Museum in Athens, an argument that appears consistent with the broader relationship of the nation to its buildings, as will be seen in chapter one, as well as its antiquities. The first years of the Kingdom saw the extended destruction of post-classical remnants, the designation of the Acropolis as a ‘national monument’ after its demilitarization, and a new distinctively modern relationship of the nation to its antiquities through their institutionalization in museums, detached from everyday life.<sup>141</sup>

King Otto I appears to have been aware of the need to reconcile the Hellenic with the Orthodox-Christian from the beginning of his reign in 1832. A child of neoclassicism and Philhellenism himself, his father’s boy, Otto I was greeted in the town of Nafplion, in the Peloponnese, with verses from Homer, and upon his arrival to Athens a column of the Parthenon was restored to its vertical glory. But his Regency also took some steps towards protecting some Byzantine antiquities.<sup>142</sup> In the end, through history, politics and, among other arts, music, the 19<sup>th</sup> century would reconcile Hellenism with Greek-Orthodox identity in a European setting.

---

<sup>140</sup> Skopetea, E. 1988. The “Exemplary Kingdom” and the Great Idea: Views of the issue of the nation in Greece (1830-1880), pp. 184-188; Politis, A. 2009. (3<sup>rd</sup> ed.) Romantic Years: Ideologies and Mentalities in Greece between 1830-1880, p. 45

<sup>141</sup> Hamilakis, Y. 2007. The Nation and its Ruins: Antiquity, Archaeology and National Imagination in Greece, pp. 80, 87, 88

<sup>142</sup> *ibid.* 108-109, Skopetea, E. 1988. The “Exemplary Kingdom” and the Great Idea: Views of the issue of the nation in Greece (1830-1880), p. 197



"The Entry of King Otto in Athens" by Peter von Hess, 1839<sup>143</sup>

### *Twists and turns in the politics of the Greek Kingdom, 1832-1914*

The reign of King Otto I of Greece has gone down in Greek history as the 'Bavarocracy' [*Βαβαροκρατία*= The rule of the Bavarians]. After the assassination of the first Governor of independent Greece, Count Ioannis Capodistrias, by disgruntled local chieftains in 1831, and a short period of civil war and anarchy, the Great Powers managed to find a princeling willing to take on the troubled Orthodox Christian throne of Greece.<sup>144</sup> The underage Otto I, son of the ardent philhellene Ludwig I of Bavaria, arrived in the city of Nafplio in 1832 with a Regency Council consisting of Count Joseph von Armasperg, Prof. Ludwig von Maurer and Major-General Karl Wilhelm von Hedeck, and a small Bavarian army of 2000 to replace the French army in Greece.<sup>145</sup> The new Bavarian monarchy, and the westernized Greeks of the Diaspora that had fought in Greece during the war of independence, pursued from the beginning a western governing model through introducing western institutions to a local society previously organised in a radically different, local, structure.<sup>146</sup>

The shocking adaptation into culturally foreign political norms and structures is best understood when taking into consideration three factors: the local social structure of pre-independence Greece, the function of the Greek elites within the Ottoman Empire, and the reductive effect of the geographical placement of the Kingdom. Pre-Revolutionary Greek communities presented little social diversification, with the

<sup>143</sup> Held at the Neue Pinakothek, Berlin.

<sup>144</sup> Clogg, R. 1992. *A Concise History of Greece*, pp. 45, 46; Evans, R.J. 2016. *The Pursuit of Power: Europe 1815-1914*, p. 61

<sup>145</sup> Petropoulos, J.A. 1968. *Politics and Statecraft in the Kingdom of Greece 1833-1843*, p 145.

<sup>146</sup> *Ibid.* p. 22; Clogg, R. 1992. *A Concise History of Greece*, p. 41

peasants doing region-specific labour, remaining free but under the service of Greek or Turkish masters.<sup>147</sup> Due to the natural geographical barriers of mountains and the sea, as well as the Ottoman support of administrative sectionalism, identity and administration were local, and before the emergence of the Greek nation-state its constitutive parts had never before been a single entity.<sup>148</sup> The Greek elites within the Ottoman Empire were: the *Ecclesiastical Leaders*, in charge of the Greek flock and with the Patriarch in Istanbul vested with political power; the *Phanariots*, an elite group of translators-notaries acting as intermediaries between the Turkish officials and the Greeks and Europeans; and the *Primates*, Greek representatives at a local administrative level.<sup>149</sup> Especially the Phanariots would play a central role in the process of Greece's westernisation, and project their own class-affiliation to western cultural behaviour, and push for its translation into policy.

The next day of independence revealed a challenging landscape for Greece practically, politically and conceptually. The country was destroyed by the war, all major commercial ports had remained outside the borders of the new Kingdom, and the 800.000 national Greeks comprised a third of the total ethnic Greeks of the Ottoman Empire, and a fourth of the Greeks in the Near East.<sup>150</sup> This reduction became a thorny issue in the development of Greek nationalism throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and the relationship between the Greeks inside and out of the Kingdom was one to be negotiated continuously. Since the early days of the revolution, when the issue of who was to be included in the national Greek ethnos first arose, the hierarchy of allegiance placed the Orthodox Christian faith first, with language coming second, and a distinctive status for the Turks, Albanian and Vlach populations that were either Muslim or didn't speak the language.<sup>151</sup> As for the Greeks of the Diaspora, their special relationship with the motherland materialised in their generous donations and extended investment in the new country throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century since, though glorious by name, Greece remained the poorest region inhabited by Greeks at a time when the ethnic Greeks of the Near East and central Europe were going through a

---

<sup>147</sup> Petropoulos, J.A. 1968. *Politics and Statecraft in the Kingdom of Greece 1833-1843*, p. 35

<sup>148</sup> *ibid.* p. 20

<sup>149</sup> *ibid.* pp. 24-27.

<sup>150</sup> Clogg, R. 1992. *A Concise History of Greece*, pp. 48-49; Petropoulos, J.A. 1968. *Politics and Statecraft in the Kingdom of Greece 1833-1843*, p. 23

<sup>151</sup> Koliopoulos, J.S., Veremis, Th. M. 2002. *Greece, The Modern Sequence: From 1831 to the Present*, pp. 250-252

period of economic prosperity.<sup>152</sup> More importantly, though, the remnants of the ethnic group became such stuff as irredentism was made on, and their little life was rounded with a Great Idea.<sup>153</sup>

Formulated in 1844 by Prime Minister Ioannis Kolettis upon addressing the issue of the Greeks excluded from the Kingdom in Parliament, the ‘Great Idea’ became the slogan through which the Greeks enunciated their expansionist urges until 1922. Historian Elli Skopetea remarked that the force of the PM’s irredentist vision is evident from the speed with which it was dissociated from his person, decontextualized from the specific Parliamentary debate, and acquired a life of its own: through normalization in the press, the catchphrase was embedded in national parlance and by the Crimean War (1853) it was widely forgotten that it had been a PM’s coinage at a specific discussion about the political and civic relationship of the national Greeks to the Greeks of the Diaspora, and about the position of Greece in relation to the Eastern Question.<sup>154</sup> The content of the catchphrase in its autonomous after-life became a nationalistic abstraction of expansionist longing to ‘liberate’ the Greek populations remaining in the Ottoman Empire, and one that would be utilised for political and military mobilization throughout the century.<sup>155</sup> The end of the ‘Great Idea’ came after the disastrous 1922 military campaign in Asia Minor, which resulted in devastating defeat for Greece and the resettlement of one million ethnic Greek refugees in the country, at a time when its total population amounted to a mere five million.<sup>156</sup> As will be seen especially in chapter four, the expansionist dreams of Greece fuelled the production of ideology that combined the search for the ‘indigenous’ aspect of Greek identity with the exploration of the Byzantine heritage

---

<sup>152</sup> Skopetea, E. 1988. The “Exemplary Kingdom” and the Great Idea: Views of the issue of the nation in Greece (1830-1880), pp. 68, 74-76

<sup>153</sup> Variation on William Shakespeare’s *The Tempest*, Act IV, Scene 1, accessed at: [http://www.opensourceshakespeare.org/views/plays/play\\_view.php?WorkID=tempest&Act=4&Scene=1&Scope=sene](http://www.opensourceshakespeare.org/views/plays/play_view.php?WorkID=tempest&Act=4&Scene=1&Scope=sene) [06/04/2017]

<sup>154</sup> Skopetea, E. 1988. The “Exemplary Kingdom” and the Great Idea: Views of the issue of the nation in Greece (1830-1880), pp. 257-259; Koliopoulos, J.S., Veremis, Th. M. 2002. Greece, The Modern Sequence: From 1831 to the Present, p. 135; Veremis Th., ‘From the national state to the nation without a state. The experiment of the Instambul Organization’ in Veremis, Th. (ed.) 2003 (3<sup>rd</sup> ed.). National identity and nationalism in modern Greece, p. 28; Kitromilides, P.M., “‘Imaginary Communities’ and the beginnings of nationalism in the Balkans”, *ibid.* p. 82 [Βερέμης, Θ. ‘Από το εθνικό κράτος στο έθνος δίχως κράτος. Το πείραμα της Οργάνωσης Κωνσταντινουπόλεως’ στο Βερέμης, Θ. (επιμ.) 2003 (3<sup>η</sup> έκδοση). Εθνική Ταυτότητα και Εθνικισμός στη Νεότερη Ελλάδα, σελ. 28. Κιτρομιλίδης, Π., Μ ‘ «Νοερές Κοινότητες» και οι απαρχές του εθνικού ζητήματος στα Βαλκάνια’, ο.π. σελ. 82]

<sup>155</sup> See for example: Veremis, Th. M., Koliopoulos, J.S. 2006. Greece, The Modern Sequence: From 1821 to the Present, pp. 226, 227, 135 [Βερέμης, Θ., Κολιόπουλος, Γ. Ελλάς, Η σύγχρονη συνέχεια: Από το 1821 μέχρι σήμερα, σελ. 226, 227, 135]

<sup>156</sup> Koliopoulos, J.S., Veremis, Th. M. 2002. Greece, The Modern Sequence: From 1821 to the Present, p. 130

of Greece, here through music. In practical terms, here recalling the importance of the Theatre of Athens as a space of politics, the Great Idea was associated with the aria ‘Trema Bisanzio’ from Donizetti’s *Belisario* and, upon its performance in Athens in 1852, a very patriotic audience hailed the Royal family as the “Greek Emperors”, in an evening of fervent expansionist sentiment.<sup>157</sup>

As seen earlier in this chapter the reconnection of the ethnic group with its Byzantine past was achieved through the progressive rehabilitation of the Empire in Greek historical time. The second aspect of this relationship, and one that affected musical narratives extensively as well, was the outcome of another Bavarian policy from the early years of the reign of Otto I: the creation of the independent Church of Greece. Contrary to the exclusive authority of the Patriarchate to allow the creation of devolved Churches, the Bavarian Regency instituted the Church of Greece unilaterally in 1833, and it was only in 1850 that the Patriarchate recognised its authority.<sup>158</sup> Alongside language, an equally important argument for historical continuity, Orthodoxy became an asset of unification for the fragmented 19<sup>th</sup> century nation.<sup>159</sup> According to political theorist Paschalis Kitromilides, after 1850 the Church of Greece attuned itself to the secular mandates of Greek state-nationalism, became an integral part of nationalistic ideology, and acted from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century onwards as “the spearhead of all nationalistic initiatives”.<sup>160</sup> As will be seen throughout the thesis, this interrelation between nationalism, the Church, and the Byzantium, informed a variety of musical debates, with the foremost recurring binary issue being the influence of western music, i.e. the Italian opera, upon Orthodox-Greek morality. The modern interpretation of the Byzantine chant in church, on the other hand, was projected as the quintessential ethnic-Greek musical language and, alongside traditional music, became assets of continuity equally important to language.

Especially towards the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century the debates on the interconnection between music and language intensified and, as will be seen in chapter four, in the run-up to the institution of the Greek National School of Music (1908), they merged

<sup>157</sup> Sambanis, K. 2011. The opera in Athens during the reign of King Otto (1833-1862), pp. 789-791

<sup>158</sup> Kitromilides, P.M, “‘Imaginary Communities’ and the beginnings of nationalism in the Balkans’ in Veremis, Th. (ed.) 2003 (3<sup>rd</sup> ed.). National identity and nationalism in modern Greece, p. 83

<sup>159</sup> Skopetea, E. 1988. The “Exemplary Kingdom” and the Great Idea: Views of the issue of the nation in Greece (1830-1880), pp. 119-125

<sup>160</sup> Kitromilides, P.M “‘Imaginary Communities’ and the beginnings of nationalism in the Balkans’ in Veremis, Th. (ed.) 2003 (3<sup>rd</sup> ed.). National identity and nationalism in modern Greece, p. 83-84

into a joint intellectual cause to define the ‘modern Greek’ in relation to the ‘Hellenic’ and the ‘European’. As Peter Mackridge remarked in his study of the nation’s relationship to its language, both variants of modern Greek, the *katharevousa* [=purist] and the demotic, were written languages constructed by the bourgeois elite.<sup>161</sup> The *katharevousa* was an artificial archaic form of modern Greek first created by Enlightenment Korais in his efforts to salvage what he perceived as the shameful degradation of the ancient Greek language in the lips of the moderns, and addressing his European audience and social circle.<sup>162</sup> It was picked up by literary figures, teachers, politicians, journalists, and the cultural elite in the Kingdom, and it provided the nation with a brand new archaic vocabulary for words that either did not exist in ancient Greek, or had been substituted with foreign words in the modern period.<sup>163</sup> From 1888 onwards a counter-movement started developing by Jean Psychary, a linguist teaching modern Greek at the *École des Langues Orientales* in Paris, who initiated an organised effort to counter the artificial archaic Greek with the ‘demotic’; a form of Greek based on modern Greek local dialects, closer to what the participants in the movement believed to be a more natural development of the Greek language.<sup>164</sup> As will be seen in chapter four, this defence of a language ‘from and for the people’ found an almost natural ally in the composer Manolis Kalomiris, who was at the same time searching for a Greek art music that would incorporate traditional song into art-compositions.

Overall, the reign of King Otto I was a period when the strong presence of the Bavarians in the political and military life, caused dissatisfaction and unrest. Historian John Petropoulos identified that Bavarian domination in the first decade of the Kingdom was centred in the court and the army, with the latter accepting 5,000 Bavarian volunteers by the end of 1834 at a high cost for the poor country, while the Greek state service was manned mainly with Bavarian and French civil servants.<sup>165</sup>

---

<sup>161</sup> Mackridge, P. ‘A language in the image of the nation: Modern Greek and some parallel cases’, in Beaton, R. Ricks, D. (eds.) 2009. *The making of Modern Greece: nationalism, romanticism, & the uses of the past (1797-1896)*, p. 180

<sup>162</sup> *ibid.* p. 182

<sup>163</sup> Mackridge explains how the Greek words for ‘university’, ‘bus’, and ‘ministry’ were created in this fashion, while foreign words such as the Italian *governo* (government), *famiglia* (family), *visita* (visit), and the Turkish *devlet* (state) among others, were substituted by newly constructed archaic ones. See: *ibid.* p. 183

<sup>164</sup> *ibid.* pp. 184-185

<sup>165</sup> Petropoulos, J.A. 1968. *Politics and Statecraft in the Kingdom of Greece 1833-1843*, pp. 162,163; Dertilis, G. V. 2014 (2004, 8<sup>th</sup> ed.) *History of the Greek state 1830-1920*, p. 202 [Δερτιλής, Γ. Β. 2014 (2004, 8<sup>η</sup> Έκδοση) *Ιστορία του Ελληνικού Κράτους 1830-1920*, σελ. 202]

The party system in the post-revolutionary period consisted of the ‘English’, the ‘French’, and the ‘Russian’ parties, each affiliated with one of the Great Powers, expressing different demands in regards to political and social issues, but with largely fluid boundaries between them.<sup>166</sup> Widespread discontent with Otto’s autocratic behaviour, the large share of state positions to Greeks who had moved to the Kingdom after independence, and the large number of Bavarians in key state positions, led to a revolution in September 1843, with its main demand for Otto I to grant a constitution.<sup>167</sup> Secluded in the Palace, with the revolutionary army guarding the entrance, and the conspirators refusing the ambassadors of the Great Powers access to the King, Otto I considered abdication, but in the end accepted the demands of the revolutionaries, the centre of power shifted in favour of local elites, and the period of his of absolute monarchy came to an end.<sup>168</sup> What is interesting in regards to the immediate cultural implications of such political incidents is that, because of the unpopularity of Otto with the new establishment, operatic production dropped and funding was limited between 1843 and his abdication in 1862.<sup>169</sup> As will be seen in detail in chapter one, because of its ideological support by the aristocracy, the opera was used as a means of political opposition throughout the Ottonian period, and criticism against the quality of the productions often concealed anti-royalist sentiment. The constitutional period of Otto I’s reign saw the gradual disappearance of the traditional pre-revolutionary parties, a distinct unwillingness on the part of the King to abide by constitutional restrictions to his authority, a short period of popularity because of his ardent support for the ‘Great Idea’, yet his unlucky political choices, and successive interventions of the Great Powers in Greek politics in the 1850s, contributed to widespread anti-royalist sentiment.<sup>170</sup>

The second political development that affected the evolution of music in Greece after the settlement of the Bavarians was the ousting of the Bavarians and the settlement of a Danish prince on the throne of Greece. In 1862, after three years of intense opposition to the non-Orthodox, heirless, and well meaning but autocratic King Otto,

---

<sup>166</sup> Clogg, R. 1992. *A Concise History of Greece*, p. 51

<sup>167</sup> *ibid.*, p. 51, 53

<sup>168</sup> Petropoulos, J.A. 1968. *Politics and Statecraft in the Kingdom of Greece 1833-1843*, pp. 448-452

<sup>169</sup> Tsetsos, M. 2011. *Nationalism and Populism in modern Greek music: Political aspects of a cultural divergence*, pp. 24-25

<sup>170</sup> Clogg, R. 1992. *A Concise History of Greece*, p. 53-56

he was forced to abdicate.<sup>171</sup> After a year of intense efforts by the Great Powers to find yet another European prince to assume the still troubled throne of Greece, Prince Christian Vilhelm Ferdinand Adolf Georg of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Glücksburg of Denmark became King George I of Greece in 1863, and the Ionian Islands were ceded to Greece in 1864 as a present from the British Empire, which found them a costly overseas commodity anyway.<sup>172</sup> As will be seen in chapters two, three, and four, this development had a deep impact for music and the nation for two reasons: firstly, the Ionian Islands had a long tradition of contact with the West and as such they introduced a variety of ethnic-Greek music with Italianate characteristics. Secondly, the King's new Queen, Princess Olga Konstantinovna of Russia was a supporter of polyphonic church music, and her influence upon the matter reignited a historical problem for the Greeks.



Otto I upon assuming the throne (1833)<sup>173</sup>



Otto I in Greek costume in exile (1865)

Politically, the period of George I's reign was one of economic modernization and especially after 1881, the policies of the liberal Harilaos Trikoupis assisted the social domination of the middle class, a fact that established the Italian opera as the official bourgeois entertainment after thirty years of constant debate and scandal. Music apart, the ascent of King George I was marked by a significant dispute and a symbolic

<sup>171</sup> See: *ibid*, p. 219; Kostis, K. 2013. "Les enfants gâtés de l'histoire": The formation of the modern Greek state 18<sup>th</sup> -21<sup>st</sup> century, pp. 284-286 [Κωστής, Κ. 2013. «Τα Κακομαθημένα Παιδιά της Ιστορίας»: Η διαμόρφωση του Νεοελληνικού Κράτους 18<sup>ου</sup>-21<sup>ου</sup> αιώνας, σελ. 284-286]

<sup>172</sup> Dertilis, G. V. 2014 (2004, 8<sup>th</sup> ed.) *History of the Greek state 1830-1920*, p. 383

<sup>173</sup> Dürk, F., Stieler, J. 1833. *Prince Otto of Bavaria, King of Greece*. © Bayerische Verwaltung der Staatlichen Schlösser, Gärten un Seen



gesture: originally self-proclaimed King George I “Roi des Grecs” to signify his reign over the whole Greek ethnic group regardless of geographical placement, after protestations from the Porte he adopted the diplomatically-correct title “Roi des Hellenes”, thus limiting his symbolic authority to the Greeks within his Kingdom.<sup>174</sup> His promise upon assuming the throne was to lead Greece into becoming an “Exemplary Kingdom in the East”, denoting his intentions to contribute to the continuous effort of the country to become a modern European state.<sup>175</sup> During his fifty-year reign (1863-1913) Greece transformed significantly, even though it did not manage to become an “exemplary Kingdom”, as historians Thanos Veremis and John Koliopoulos remarked.<sup>176</sup> Already since the constitutional revolution that saw the abdication of Otto I, Greece went through a number of liberal reformations and, until 1875, it enjoyed a period of political stability.<sup>177</sup>

Between 1862 and 1882 Greece expanded territorially by 32%, with a twofold increase in its population, a fact that is of particular importance for music since with every expansion new local variants of music and culture were introduced and normalised or negotiated with within the general framework of what constituted national culture.<sup>178</sup> Since 1852 urban population increased steadily as well, with the 8% of 1853 progressively reaching 28% in 1879, and 33% in 1907.<sup>179</sup> This increase ought to be examined in terms of the structure of the cities rather than in terms of quantitative value, historian Kostas Kostis argued, since it was the outcome of the inclusion of new cities in the demographics after each of the country’s expansions.<sup>180</sup> Compared to the rest of the European continent Greece’s urbanisation was significantly slower and smaller in scale and, as an outcome, by the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century it remained a country with large rural populations and a number of important urban centres.<sup>181</sup>

<sup>174</sup> Koliopoulos, J.S., Veremis, Th. M. 2002. Greece, The Modern Sequence: From 1821 to the Present, p. 253

<sup>175</sup> Skopetea, E. 1988. The “Exemplary Kingdom” and the Great Idea: Views of the issue of the nation in Greece (1830-1880), p. 162

<sup>176</sup> Koliopoulos, J.S., Veremis, Th. M. 2002. Greece, The Modern Sequence: From 1821 to the Present, p. 254

<sup>177</sup> Svoronos, N.G. 1976. An Overview of Modern Greek History, p. 100 [Σβωρώνος, Ν. Γ. 1976. Επισκόπηση της Νεοελληνικής Ιστορίας, σελ. 100]

<sup>178</sup> For the territorial and demographic enlargement of Greece see: Dertilis, G. V. 2014 (2004, 8<sup>th</sup> ed.) History of the Greek state 1830-1920, p. 401

<sup>179</sup> Svoronos, N.G. 1976. An Overview of Modern Greek History, p. 102

<sup>180</sup> Kostis, K. 2013. “Les enfants gâtés de l’histoire”: The formation of the modern Greek state 18<sup>th</sup> -21<sup>st</sup> century, pp. 407-408

<sup>181</sup> *ibid.* pp. 408, 513.

Lagged or site-specific, this urbanization resulted in the development of an urban economy in the expanding cities, a fact that transformed their cultural environment as will be seen in chapter one.<sup>182</sup> That the country's economy remained agricultural, with 74% of the population occupied in the primary sector of the economy in 1880, had a significant impact upon the evolution of music.<sup>183</sup> The cultural tensions between urban 'bourgeois' entertainment of the western kind in combination to the ideology emanating from it, and a majority who preferred traditional music, resulted in a cultural class clash that positioned learned western music against the 'music of the people', as will be seen continuously throughout the thesis.



Map of the expanding Greece 1832-1947<sup>184</sup>

The overall pattern of the country's external financial borrowing decreased for a short period after a settlement with its debtors in 1878, but increased again after 1890, as will be seen shortly in relation to the economic crisis of the 1890s.<sup>185</sup> Politically and economically, the Premiership of the liberal Harilaos Trikoupi from 1881, with a large majority in Parliament for a term (1882-1885), and intermittent Premierships until 1895, transformed the outlook of the late 19<sup>th</sup> century Kingdom.<sup>186</sup> Apart from

<sup>182</sup> Dertilis, G. V. 2014 (2004, 8<sup>th</sup> ed.) History of the Greek state 1830-1920, p. 402

<sup>183</sup> For further details on the economic structure of late 19<sup>th</sup> century Greece see: Kostis, K. 2013. "Les enfants gâtés de l'histoire": The formation of the modern Greek state 18<sup>th</sup> -21<sup>st</sup> century, p. 392

<sup>184</sup> Map from: Clogg, R. 1992. A Concise History of Greece, pp. 48-49; Petropoulos, J.A. 1968. Politics and Statecraft in the Kingdom of Greece 1833-1843, p. 43

<sup>185</sup> Dertilis, G. V. 2014 (2004, 8<sup>th</sup> ed.) History of the Greek state 1830-1920, p. 411

<sup>186</sup> Svoronos, N.G. 1976. An Overview of Modern Greek History, p. 103

his military and judicial reforms, his intervention at the structure of the civil service, the police, the electoral law, as well as the reduction in the number of MPs, were among his wider measures towards the creation of a state administration detached from the potential influence of individual politicians.<sup>187</sup> Alongside his administrative reforms, Trikoupis' cabinet also invested in extended works of infrastructure that transformed communications: between 1883 and 1892, 1.615 miles (2.600 kilometres) of roads were constructed and, more importantly, while up to 1882 Greece had but a single railway connecting Athens to the port of Piraeus (5.592 miles/9 kilometres in total), extended railway works that were initiated during the same period resulted in a total of 977.416 miles (1573 kilometres) by 1915.<sup>188</sup> Overall, the 1880s were a decade of optimism, yet Trikoupis' progressive policies were financed by a displeased over-taxed middle class, in favour of the financial elites, a fact that, in combination to political populism, and the inability of the country to repay its external debt, led to state bankruptcy in 1893.<sup>189</sup>

And so, contrary to the hopeful 1880s, the 1890s were a decade of financial crisis and war. Between the 1860s and the 1890s, Greek agriculture had taken a turn towards vine and raisin production. When in the 1860s a wave of phylloxera hit the vineyards of Spain, France, and the Iberian Peninsula, Greek farmers turned to wine, and started supplying the French market at this time of shortage.<sup>190</sup> The production of raisin in the 1870s tripled in comparison to the 1850s, and even reached a sixfold increase by 1892.<sup>191</sup> These two products became 51% to 65% of Greece's total exports between 1860 and 1898, but the extended destruction of olive trees in the 1870s to plant vines would soon prove destructive.<sup>192</sup> This great boost to the Greek economy and the Greek households lasted until the 1890s, when production resumed in southern Europe, prices dropped, imports from California entered the European markets, and new food technologies rendered dry food such as raisins less important.<sup>193</sup> In the financial sector, the reluctance of successive governments to institute a state-owned

---

<sup>187</sup> *ibid.* p. 103

<sup>188</sup> Kostis, K. 2013. "Les enfants gâtés de l'histoire": The formation of the modern Greek state 18<sup>th</sup> -21<sup>st</sup> century, pp. 460-461

<sup>189</sup> Dertilis, G. V. 2014 (2004, 8<sup>th</sup> ed.) History of the Greek state 1830-1920, p. 435; Svoronos, N.G. 1976. An Overview of Modern Greek History, p. 103

<sup>190</sup> Dertilis, G. V. 2014 (2004, 8<sup>th</sup> ed.) History of the Greek state 1830-1920, p.454

<sup>191</sup> *ibid.* p. 455

<sup>192</sup> *ibid.* pp. 454,459

<sup>193</sup> *ibid.* p. 458

bank to manage loan repayments led the country to international financial monitoring, and eventually bankruptcy in 1893.<sup>194</sup>

During the same period, the *National League* started operating, a partisan nationalist secret society constituting of a few military officers aiming at military reforms and under the ideological premises that Greek governments were failing to fulfil the irredentist ‘Great Idea’.<sup>195</sup> Very soon the *League* was able to infiltrate mainstream politics and, after the failure of Trikoupis’ successor Theodoros Deligiannis to contain their influence, Greece invaded Ottoman Crete, and the government ignited uprisings in Epirus and Macedonia.<sup>196</sup> The war was short and humiliating, and the Ottomans occupied land in mainland Greece.<sup>197</sup> In the end, after the intervention of the Great Powers, the Ottoman Empire withdrew from the occupied mainland regions, and Greece was forced to pay the latter a devastating 100.000.000 francs in reparations. Nevertheless, in an unexpected diplomatic win, Crete was declared autonomous under the protection of the Great Powers, and the High Commission of Prince George of Greece, thus remaining only nominally under the authority of the Sultan.<sup>198</sup> All these developments, financial and military, proved crucial for the development of music in relation to nationalism and culture, as the humiliated ideologues of the nation employed forceful language at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century to salvage national pride, in this history affecting the vocabulary and purported value of national art music.

The last two events that affected the development of this cultural-musical history were the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century expansion of Greece to include the region of Macedonia, in northern Greece, and the Premiership of the liberal, Europeanist, Eleftherios Venizelos in 1910. As will be explained in detail in the last chapter of the thesis these two developments demonstrate the politics of expansionism, conquest, and cultural normalization, here through music.

---

<sup>194</sup> Svoronos, N.G. 1976. *An Overview of Modern Greek History*, p. 104

<sup>195</sup> Kostis, K. 2013. “Les enfants gâtés de l’histoire”: The formation of the modern Greek state 18<sup>th</sup> -21<sup>st</sup> century, pp. 488

<sup>196</sup> *ibid.* p. 489; Svoronos, N.G. 1976. *An Overview of Modern Greek History*, pp. 109

<sup>197</sup> *ibid.* p. 110

<sup>198</sup> Kostis, K. 2013. “Les enfants gâtés de l’histoire”: The formation of the modern Greek state 18<sup>th</sup> -21<sup>st</sup> century, pp. 490, 493; Svoronos, N.G. 1976. *An Overview of Modern Greek History*, p. 110

Up to the 1870s, local identity in rural Macedonia was based primarily upon religious affiliation, with language being of secondary importance.<sup>199</sup> Ethnologically, Muslims formed a third of the population, and comprised of Turkish, Asian, Albanian and converted Christians of Greek, Slavic, and Albanian descent.<sup>200</sup> The Christian flock comprised of Slav-speaking, Greek-speaking, Vlach-speaking, and Albanian-speaking populations, united under the Greek-Byzantine Patriarchate, a fact that would later assist their Hellenization through Greek state-propaganda and education.<sup>201</sup> After the institution of the independent Bulgarian Church, the *Bulgarian Exarchate*, by the Sultan in 1870, and without the consent of the Patriarchate in Constantinople, the ecclesiastical dispute soon transformed into a Greek-Bulgarian nationalist conflict over the region and its people.<sup>202</sup> Amidst fears from the Greek government about Bulgarian territorial claims in a region where Greece had its own vested interests, the *Exarchate* became the ground for the development of political structures for the Bulgarian elites, Bulgarian irredentism, and in the end the Macedonian Question.<sup>203</sup>

Between 1903 and 1908, the educational and religious propaganda of the previous decades, escalated to full-blown armed conflict between Greek and Bulgarian nationalist partisan groups fighting for dominance and, in fear of physical harm, entire villages enlisted to one or the other nationalism, many times converting after generations of different affiliation.<sup>204</sup> The culmination of the dispute and the settlement of the Macedonian Question, came after the end of the first Balkan War (1912-1913), which saw Greece incorporating more than 50% of the Macedonian region, and with it its historical claim, name and heritage.<sup>205</sup> As will be seen in chapters three and four, these forty years of dispute over the Macedonian region echoed in the cultural and musical politics of the Greek Kingdom in two ways: firstly, in the ardent efforts by the Byzantinist musical world to establish a historical connection between the modern Greeks and the ancients through maintaining the

---

<sup>199</sup> Kofos, E. 'National heritage and national identity In 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century Macedonia' in Veremis, Th. (ed.) 2003 (3<sup>rd</sup> ed.). National identity and nationalism in modern Greece, p. 200

<sup>200</sup> *ibid.* p. 201

<sup>201</sup> *ibid.* p. 202

<sup>202</sup> Koliopoulos, J.S., Veremis, Th. M. 2002. Greece, The Modern Sequence: From 1821 to the Present, p. 262; Kofos, E. 'National heritage and national identity In 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century Macedonia' in Veremis, Th. (ed.) 2003 (3<sup>rd</sup> ed.). National identity and nationalism in modern Greece, p. 204

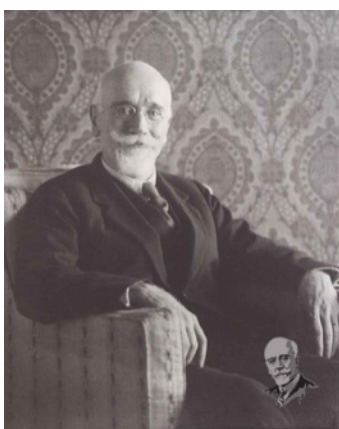
<sup>203</sup> Koliopoulos, J.S., Veremis, Th. M. 2002. Greece, The Modern Sequence: From 1821 to the Present, p. 263; Glenny, M. 2012. The Balkans 1804-2012: Nationalism, War and the Great Powers. p. 115-116

<sup>204</sup> Clogg, R. 1992. A Concise History of Greece, p. 74; Kofos, E. 'National heritage and national identity In 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century Macedonia' in Veremis, Th. (ed.) 2003 (3<sup>rd</sup> ed.). National identity and nationalism in modern Greece, p. 220

<sup>205</sup> *ibid.* p. 221

traditionally monophonic nature of the chant (chapter three). Secondly, as will be seen in chapter four in relation to the annexation of the city of Thessaloniki in northern Greece, the process of homogenizing the multicultural region became an extended cultural and political programme, resulting among other things to the establishment of the State Conservatory of Thessaloniki.

The person behind the institution of this European musical establishment in northern Greece, Prime Minister Eleftherios Venizelos, is the last piece in this puzzle of political developments that influenced the evolution of western musical taste in 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century Greece. One of the least disputed politicians in modern Greek history, widely acknowledged as a positive influence, Venizelos started his political career in his home-island, Crete, after participating in the first assembly of autonomous Crete in 1897.<sup>206</sup> An active unionist, following Crete's union with the Kingdom of Greece in 1908, and the military coup of Goudi in 1909, he became Prime Minister in 1910, with a large majority in Parliament.<sup>207</sup>



Portrait of Eleftherios Venizelos later in his life<sup>208</sup>

A representative of the middle class with liberal western values, Venizelos was a moderate that, from the early days of his Premiership, initiated a wide range of constitutional, political and social reforms, he managed to impose the rule of law as

<sup>206</sup> Clogg, R. 1992. *A Concise History of Greece*, p. 226

<sup>207</sup> Kostis, K. 2013. "Les enfants gâtés de l'histoire": The formation of the modern Greek state 18<sup>th</sup> -21<sup>st</sup> century, pp. 496, 526-527

<sup>208</sup> Portrait from the digital archive of the National Research Foundation "Eleftherios Venizelos", (digital) Archive n. 201: 'Eleftherios K. Venizelos' Archive', file 1: 'El.Venizelos, Portraits'. (Accessed: 10/04/2017) [Εθνικό Ίδρυμα Ερευνών και Μελετών "Ελευθέριος Βενιζέλος", (ψηφιακό) Αρχείο ν. 201: Αρχείο Ελευθερίου Κ. Βενιζέλου, Φάκελος 1: Ελ. Βενιζέλος: Πορτραίτα.]

state policy and, amidst a series of wars, led the country into prosperity, expansion and development between 1910-1920.<sup>209</sup> During the first period of his premiership (1910-1915), the period of interest for this thesis, the country doubled in size after the two Balkan wars and, it was after his personal insistence and dispute with the Palace that the country entered the First World War on the side of the *Entente*, and in the end he was the only prime minister to fulfil, if only for a short period of time, the Greek dream of a ‘Greece of the Two Continents and the Five Seas’ in 1920.<sup>210</sup> Little known next to the Conservatory of Athens (est. 1874), the Conservatory of Thessaloniki was the intellectual child of his liberal western-oriented politics, and an institution that, this thesis argues, was the outcome of the first explicit move of Greek cultural expansionism through music in these 82 years of the modern Greek Kingdom (1832-1914).

During the whole period narrated in this chapter, regardless of the social and ethnologic structure of the country, its political and economic direction was clearly oriented towards westernization and Europeanization.<sup>211</sup> Through constructing a national history that established continuity by incorporating the Byzantine Empire into Greek national history, Orthodox-Christian identity remained a strong asset of local Greek identity, and the tension between western political governance and local tradition manifested itself in the public sphere. That the agents of both strands of these seemingly contradicting identities were voicing their opinions in the press, assisted the gradual accommodation of both ideologies in a brand new distinctive modern Greek identity, western in form, eastern in content, and with a classical Hellenic past.

With the mechanics of politics occupying a sphere inaccessible to the common man, music was one of the means of disseminating the *political* into this fragmented public sphere, moulding, in the long term, the citizens that by the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century became its confident agents and exponents. That it all started with Otto’s military bands, and it will end with a Europeanist Prime Minister instituting a Conservatory of western music as a means of disseminating modern Greek identity and culture, was a long journey through institutions, networks, and people who projected their personal

---

<sup>209</sup> Svoronos, N.G. 1976. *An Overview of Modern Greek History*, p. 104

<sup>210</sup> Clogg, R. 1992. *A Concise History of Greece*, p. 226

<sup>211</sup> Skopetea, E. 1988. The “Exemplary Kingdom” and the Great Idea: Views of the issue of the nation in Greece (1830-1880), pp. 44

beliefs, aspirations, and identity through the music they preferred. In the end, the artistic sphere remained somewhat independent from the political sphere in terms of production, yet the two spheres interplayed naturally. This history is, as such, the narration of the musical, extra-musical, political, shared, and personal processes that normalised western art music in the patchwork of Greek 19<sup>th</sup> century culture, and a study into the exclusionary cultural politics that defined what aspects of this music could be accepted as 'Greek' or foreign. And so the story begins of how western music invaded modern Greece, here first occupying a contested space of immorality, high-pitched screams, loose women, disputes, and extensive police regulation: a theatre.



## **First Story: Music and Theatre in the Theatre.**

By the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, the Athenian Police Force appears to have developed a strong sense for art. Between 1840, when the first theatre company started performing in Athens, and the end of the 1850s, the number of policemen of all ranks present in the theatre increased from thirteen to an impressive thirty-five, and with the Commander in Chief attending as many performances as possible. The concretization of a new imported cultural influence into the physical space of the theatre brought forward a tremendous shift in the relationship of the Athenians with two new *loci*; the brand new building of the theatre with all its new regulatory and practical manifestations, and the conceptual locus of a new (im)morality in entertainment and conduct. This chapter will analyse the architectural adventures of the Theatre of Athens, and with it the introduction and evolution of the Italian operatic tradition in mid-19<sup>th</sup> century Greece. At the same time, it will argue for its importance as a container of art and politics, cultural adaptation and resistance, and a space where western European traditions were introduced as regulatory mandates of social behaviour and class conduct.

Its debated evolution will demonstrate a set of recurring issues that reflected the nation's relationship to western art music and western Europe as a whole, for the rest of the century. The Theatre of Athens became the space where the press and society projected fears about European entertainment replacing traditional Greek-Orthodox values, the scene where theatre-lovers scorned the Italian opera for pushing aside Greek drama, and the mirror where part of society saw the modern Greeks reflected as a cheap imitation of the Europeans. It also became the space where class conduct was regulated by the police, and civic morality was endorsed by the state as an asset of western acculturation. The various financial and other administrative problems delayed its uncontested acceptance by the locals, and left a heavy mark on its public perception. Nevertheless, its faithful audience and political supporters turned it into a significant institution for western music, at a country that was still at the beginning of an intense oscillation between East and West.

The first plan of ‘New Athens’, in 1833, included all the amenities of a modern European city; a Palace, a Parliament, a Treasury, a University and Academy, Ministries, a Theatre, and- as a bonus in this particular case- what most ‘developed’ European cities had modelled their buildings upon, the Parthenon. Despite the best efforts of Kleanthes and Schaubert, the Berlin Bauakademie-educated young architects employed for the venture (1833), and later on Leo von Klenze (1834), their plans for bringing a neoclassical version of ancient Athens back to life met with a series of insurmountable problems.<sup>212</sup> Always keeping in mind that at the time Athens was a new European capital to be constructed from scratch, the project of building a theatre- sitting comfortably at the intersection of Sophocles Street and Aeschylus Square in the original plans- seems to have fallen between the cracks.<sup>213</sup> What is certain is that the process was not delayed for lack of vision, prior examples, or unfamiliarity with the positive effects of theatre, art, and culture for the population.



Side view of the palace in Athens with the Acropolis (1838)<sup>214</sup>

<sup>212</sup> For detailed accounts of the Kleanthes-Schaubert and later on Leo von Klenze’s commissions for planning Athens, see: Karidis, D.N. 2014. Athens from 1456 to 1920: The town under Ottoman Rule and the 19<sup>th</sup>-century Capital City. Oxford: Archaeopress; Bastéa, E. 2000. The creation of Modern Athens: Planning the Myth. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Leontidou, L. 1990. The Mediterranean city in transition: Social change and urban development. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press;

<sup>213</sup> Even though none of the aforementioned books on the urban development of Athens make a specific reference to the Theatre, its existence in the plan and the history of its development indicate that more pressing problems resulted in the theatre to evolve as a side-project in a wider effort to construct a modern city, as will be explained later on.

<sup>214</sup> von Klenze, L. 1838. Sechs Lithographien zu L.von Klenze’s Reise nach Griechenland. Berlin. © Ernst-Moritz-Arndt-Universität Greifswald

While 1830s Athens lacked a theatre and any sort of organized public western cultural life, other cities that would sooner or later be included in the Greek nation-state were in diverse degrees of contact with the arts and the West. In Nafplion, in the Peloponnese, from as early as 1823, General Nikitaras had petitioned for the mosque of the city to be turned into a theatre.<sup>215</sup> Hermoupolis, in Syros in the Cyclads, had its theatre hosted in a warehouse in 1829, and works for its improvement took place in 1836.<sup>216</sup> In the Ionian Islands- ceded to Greece in 1864- the successive Venetian, French, and British patronage resulted in the theatres of ‘San Giacomo’ in Corfú (1720), ‘Apollo’ in Zante (1836), and the theatre of Kephallonia (1837).<sup>217</sup>

The artificial transfer of the seat of Government to a little town of the Ottoman periphery created this paradox that saw the capital struggling to establish a theatre while other, previous, centres had already established a local theatrical tradition. In the case of the island of Syros, for example, it was the wealthy upper class that supported the creation of the theatre, and the art flourished with the migration of Wallachian actors that took refuge in the island after the outbreak of the revolution, and continued practicing their craft.<sup>218</sup> In Nafplion, the seat of the Greek Government before Athens, at the salons of the educated and powerful few, poetry readings, theatrical plays, and western music were performed, and there is even the mention of a clavichord, an almost impossible commodity for Greece at the time.<sup>219</sup> With the transfer of the seat of Government to Athens, these salons were also transferred along with their hosts, their ideas, beliefs, and customs, and the small town of Athens started its long journey of transformation from periphery to capital. What this transfer also signified was the gradual institutionalisation of musical taste into cultural policy.

---

<sup>215</sup> *ibid.* p. 194

<sup>216</sup> Sideris, G. 1990. History of modern Greek theatre [1794-1944]. Vol. 1, p. 193-194 [Σιδέρης, Γ. 1990. Ιστορία του Νέου Ελληνικού Θεατρού, 1794-1944. Τομος Πρωτος (1794-1908), σελ. 193-194]

<sup>217</sup> *ibid.* p. 193-194.

<sup>218</sup> Chatzipantazis, Th. 2014. A Diagram of the History of the Modern Greek Theatre. p. 196

<sup>219</sup> Boutzouvi-Bania, A. Nafplion in the years 1828-1833. A sketch of the social, cultural, and intellectual life. *The Gleaner*, vol 18 (1986), p. 111-113 [Μπουτζουβή-Μπανιά, Α. (1986). Το Ναύπλιο στα χρόνια 1828-1833. Σκιαγράφηση της κοινωνικής, πολιτισμικής και πνευματικής ζωής. *The Gleaner*, 18, 111-113.]



Edward Dodwell, *Views in Greece*, London, 1821. © Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg

Therefore, in 1830s Athens it wasn't for lack of narrative, or precedent that the new Greek capital developed a deeply problematic relationship with its theatre, both as a physical space, as well as a new *topos* of sociability, class and morals. And if the present approach begins from the physical space of the theatre, in contrast to all other histories that focus on the violent societal debates on its content and moral function, it is because the transforming Athenian landscape that was coming to its modern neoclassical form, in combination to the theatre's recurring financial scandals, the foreign genre of entertainment it offered, and its class-specific audience, resulted in its wider confusion and misuse from the first years of the new Kingdom.

As mentioned in the beginning of the chapter, the project of transforming the little town around the Parthenon to a modern version of its former glory proved even more challenging than anticipated. Among the issues usually enumerated by scholars of the urban development of Athens in the 19<sup>th</sup> century are the lack of a definitive plan for many parts of the city, a difficulty in opening new roads, and a normal degree of local resistance and negotiation that delayed or altered the plans.<sup>220</sup> Moreover, this absence of a decisive plan resulted in uncontrolled private building by the end of the century, and an increasing control over land value by landowners, making it in cases impossible or even undesirable for the State to create public spaces.<sup>221</sup>

<sup>220</sup> Bastéa, E. 2000. *The creation of Modern Athens: Planning the Myth*. pp. 111, 145

<sup>221</sup> Karidis, D.N. 2014. *Athens from 1456 to 1920: The town under Ottoman Rule and the 19<sup>th</sup>-century Capital City*. pp. 124-125

Nevertheless, the city expanded, evolved, modernized and saw its population rise from 16,588 inhabitants in 1836, to 169,794 in 1907.<sup>222</sup> And while in the course of these seventy years Athens could boast of a new Academy and University, a Cathedral, an Archaeological Museum, paved streets, and other facets of a modern capital, the overall pattern of the architectural development of Athens has led the historian of urban development Eleni Bastea to see in Athens the city that ‘had been perpetually under construction since 1833’.<sup>223</sup> This perpetual mode of expansion and transformation has had a significant impact upon buildings like the Theatre, whose turn to be constructed under the direct aegis of the state came only at the last decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Moreover, with architecture being of decisive importance for civic education and the development of a ‘spatial vocabulary’ for the everyday practices of the Athenians, this inability of the state to inaugurate a strong institution acquired a significant meaning for the evolution of the arts, as will be argued shortly.<sup>224</sup>

From the very beginning of its modern existence in Athens the theatre as a physical social space led a tortured existence. The history of early theatrical stages in Athens enumerates at least four attempts in the 1830s to establish theatres in Athens. Three of them were wooden constructs for the summer season, the fourth was a transformed warehouse, and they were all destined to survive from a single season to a year at most.<sup>225</sup> Historical information on their function and reception is limited to a small number of press reportings, since their short lives served mainly short-term profits, they presented low-quality performances of Italian operatic excerpts, and were rapidly replaced before producing archival material or being recorded in memoirs.<sup>226</sup> In 1840, the first theatre made of stone was finally constructed, and it was the theatre that would attract the most attention in the Athenian theatrical life until the 1880s when the municipal theatre of Athens was built, and its final demolition in 1897.<sup>227</sup>

---

<sup>222</sup> Population for Athens from: Leontidou, L. 1990. *The Mediterranean city in transition: Social change and urban development*. p. 54

<sup>223</sup> Bastéa, E. 2000. *The creation of Modern Athens: Planning the Myth*. pp. 146

<sup>224</sup> For the connection of civic architecture to civic education see: Bastéa, E. 2000. *The creation of Modern Athens: Planning the Myth*. pp. 146

<sup>225</sup> Sideris, G. 1990. *History of modern Greek theatre [1794-1944]*. Vol. 1, p. 193-194

<sup>226</sup> Fessa, E. 1982. Introduction to the history of the modern Greek theatrical space: a lecture. 15.3.1982, p. 2

[Φεσσά, Ε. 1982. Εισαγωγή στην ιστορία του νεοελληνικού θεατρικού χώρου: Κείμενο Διάλεξης 15.3.1982, σελ.

2]

<sup>227</sup> Sideris, G. 1990. *History of Greek theatre [1794-1944]*, vol 1, p. 193-194

Throughout its existence, the Theatre of Athens would mostly host performances of the Italian opera, a fact that rendered it the ‘Italian Theatre’ for the section of society and the press that looked to preserve the Orthodox-Greek within the newfound European, or were simply expressing political opposition through covert non-political means.<sup>228</sup> Invited into the tradition of the western opera through the Bavarian Royal Family that looked favourably towards introducing western entertainment into the city of their residence, and as such took the Theatre under their protection, the Greek public found their capital city adorned with a state-supported Theatre of a foreign cultural identity.<sup>229</sup> Amidst wider debates about modern Greek cultural identity, the Theatre would become a steady bone of contention between the Europeanists and the nativists that opposed this cultural invasion through music, in the end not delineating the relationship between modern Greek and western musical identity, but rather creating a clear-cut cultural division within the two fractions of the ethnic group.

On a parallel level all these new theatres, from the wooden constructs to the Theatre of Athens, emanated a new code of civic morality. They became the source of debates regarding their role in the new Greek society, and played an important part in the dissemination of a sense of Europe in 19<sup>th</sup> century Athens. While part of the press celebrated the introduction of the Italian opera in Greek cultural life as a sign of progress and westernization through art, an equally loud opposition rose to warn the Greeks of impending moral and practical disasters. Most of these moral panics concerning the theatre would follow it throughout its 19<sup>th</sup> century existence, as will be demonstrated shortly, and played an important role in its evolution in terms of repertory and perception. More importantly, though, the unbalanced involvement of the state in the project- subsidising and policing the theatre heavily, supporting its Italian repertory, but not taking care of Greek theatre- destabilised its position in 19<sup>th</sup> century Athenian society, and rendered it vulnerable to multiple and multifaceted turbulence.

---

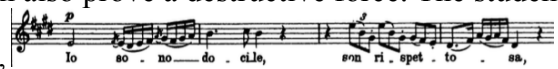
<sup>228</sup> The newspaper *Avgi*, for example, would call it the ‘Italian Theatre’ to attack governmental policy in the arts, even though it was not overall against western music: *Avgi* (1865), Italian Theatre, *Avgi*, 16 July 1865, p. 1 *Αυγή* (1865) Θέατρον Ιταλικόν, *Αυγή*, 16 Ιουλίου 1865, σελ. 1]


<sup>229</sup> The *Illustrated London News* would report in 1845 that the soprano Rita Basso was invited to perform at the premier of the ‘Italian Theatre’ in Athens, and after her success she was invited to the Palace and the houses of the local nobility. See: The *Illustrated London News* (1845) *Madame Rita Basso-Borio*, *The Illustrated London News*, 15 March 1845, p. 168.

Before introducing the main themes of discord surrounding the Theatre and its repertory, it would be useful if we shortly attempted a somewhat sensory approach to its multiple conflicting images. With the press and public undecided about the purpose, value and quality of the Italian opera in the city, the debates in the press and parliament took a life of their own and, far from a sober discussion about the theatre itself, these debates focused on the cultural and moral function of the opera to justify the participants' individual opinions. The following short text is a collage of 19<sup>th</sup> century press reports, Greek Parliamentary Debates, memoirs, and personal correspondence from 1840s Athens, unedited apart from their selection and placement in order. Instead of structuring them into a paradoxical dialogue between newspapers and people, here language will take the lead to demonstrate the relationship between the national and the European, as showcased in the various discussions about the theatre:

“ The Arts, eliminated by the invasion of the ΒΑΡΒΑΡΙΑΝΣ in our homeland, are delaying to return to their ancient seat. Italian Operas are performed five times a week during the six winter months, and on the other evenings Greek dramas and tragedies. Naturally, we are all *friends of music*, but we shouldn't forget that ethnic consciousness ought to be prioritized in comparison to any other sentiment; and it is *very sad for Athens*, the city that used to be the seat of the Arts and where great men like *Aeschylus and Euripides* and others composed their immortal monuments, to be deprived of Greek theatre. **Il nous reste à parler de l'ouverture du**

**théâtre grec, qui vient d'avoir lieu avec succès** . I don't go to the theatre with pleasure, apart from the times when a Greek drama is on. The issue is of great importance, because it concerns the conduct of the young people, those people who embody the highest hopes of the nation. What else has the Italian theatre presented until now, apart from *femininity*, sweetness, and a mania for love? For a newborn society like ours, the introduction of ethical corruption not only obstructs progress, but can also prove a destructive force. The students sell their books to go

hear Rita Basso,  the singer of the theatre; even the old men have gone crazy, of course the children would sell their books. The theatre rejuvenates society, and I need to narrate to you some incidents because sometimes it is truly very amusing. A witty member of the audience remarked after attending one of the foreign performances “Instead of the actors, we should call the Committee out on stage!” Of course, he didn't mean to applaud them, rather to instruct them. Another said that he isn't arguing against what is happening in the rest

of Europe,  because it is useful to be acknowledged and studied. Everyone knows that even in the most progressive states of France and England, the

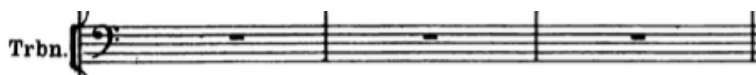
theatres close during the weeks we referred to, and at the Papal State and Italy they close for the whole duration of Lent. Having said that, we would like to remind the Committee to take the appropriate measures against them, because we don't think it is fair that such **adventurers**- owning barely a second pair of underwear - deprive us of our money with their charlatanry, and then act so abusively against us. Because of that some people leave their dinner in the middle, some others don't finish their pipe, others drink their coffee always burning, the ladies don't have time to prepare, and all that to make it in time for the performance. The audience is a quirky but

generous master and it won't allow any sort of rudeness. Therefore, there are intrigues happening when it comes to applauding; they throw flower wreaths to one of the singers, doves with poems tied on their feet, dresses to the other, rings, stoles, and God knows what else.

Lontos, this old man who has no teeth left, got infatuated with Rita Basso, the singer, and she deprived him of even more money in presents. If he were able to diminish his comic effect and make lesser use of *falsetti*, he could possibly fulfil his potential. Lucia is the best singer, not bad at all, honestly. The other one is a pretty woman. So it was to be expected that she should attract immense hostility against herself, because unfortunately she is not graced with the sweet and sensitive style or conduct of her predecessors. The Greeks, always generous, do not take revenge, but rather pity with grace the rude foreigners who come to Greece to make a living. And again yesterday, due to the prima donna Delphina taking ill, the duet between the baritone and herself in **Beatrice di Tenda**, got omitted. For the love of God! ! ! She's not worthy of the second leading role (*comprimaria*); because apart from her unclear voice she is despicable, and we truly witnessed in Gemma (Gemma di Vergy) that every evening she sang out of tune (*tono*), or out of time. A bad choice because it is a very boring play and, therefore, not appropriate for the Greeks. The Greeks like music, but not many of them understand it. They play a major on the mandolin and sing in another tone. In this, it is with great joy that we see the progress of the Greek



theatre, because the times when THE ENEMIES of Greek progress misunderstood its function and turned the Authorities against this Great School for the People that the theatre is, are now behind us. These gentlemen, seeing that **mimicry** is prominent in Greece, and that two or three lunatics suffice to lure part of the audience to misbehave, thought that they could profit from the **misbehaviour** of the lured. The ones we now refer to as the wise peoples of Western Europe have diverted greatly from nature by constructing everything. But the imitation of the foreigners, and more to the point, of their unnatural acts is not appropriate for the Greeks, the first inventors of the theatres. And it is possibly the same people that lure part of the audience in the mud of unbearable misbehaviour, for which all the *prudent* foreigners criticize our theatre.





*The Theatre Committee would like to inform the honourable Stakeholders that the much-anticipated group of actors and musicians from Italy will arrive in Athens in the next Austrian steamer.*

[Athens, 12 October 1842]<sup>230</sup> ”

The main themes emerging from such reading of the general cacophony surrounding the Theatre as a cultural institution, as well as its physical space, more or less reflect the issues that defined the wider cultural outlook of 19<sup>th</sup> century Greece in relation to Europe. In this specific case it is also the issues that informed the people's relation to western music, the theatre, morality, and that great unknown entity of their everyday lives; the great discourse of the 'West', with its very practical manifestations in their lives. (Im)morality and Europe, Orthodoxy and national identity, progress, the Theatre, Greek theatre, music, the Italian opera, music criticism, and equally importantly the introduction of a new vocabulary [*falsetti, tono, comprimaria* in Italian in the original], are all constitutive parts of a new emerging Greek-European identity, expressed through the adoption, dismissal of, or negotiation with disparate, imported cultural elements. In practical terms, the inauguration of formal theatrical entertainment in place of the traditional local theatre whose natural place was the street or wooden constructs, and the introduction of the 'winter season' and 'winter theatre' in a country that due to its prolonged fine weather had developed a cultural tradition of outdoors, spring and summertime entertainment, gradually changed the spatial relationship of the audience to theatrical and musical entertainment.<sup>231</sup>

Therefore, before approaching other spaces such as the conservatory, the school, the composer's study, or the literary society, from where music and its reception disseminated versions of Europe in Greece, it is important to visit the theatre and

<sup>230</sup> All stresses and different fonts by the author. For a detailed citation of all the separate source, pictures, and score excerpts please refer to the Appendix, here p. 269

<sup>231</sup> Eleni Fessa, the only scholar until now to have argued for the importance of the 'winter season' and the 'winter theatre' in terms of the architectural emergence of the Greek theatre in the 1840s, maintains that the creation of the concept of the winter theatre is another aspect of the devotion of the Greek upper middle-class towards Westernization. She makes a clear distinction between theatrical time and space by dividing the theatrical experience in 19<sup>th</sup> century Athens into the Space within the city- the various neighbourhoods-, and the distinction between Winter-Summer Season of the indigenous cultural tradition. See Fessa, E. 1982. Introduction to the history of the modern Greek theatrical space: a lecture. 15.3.1982, pp. 6, 8

understand how its regulation, policing, financing, and politics shaped the relationship of the audience to the first organised public space where western music was performed in the capital. Of course, the Athenian public had come to contact with the sound of western music much earlier than 1840, since military bands, private salons, and the infiltration of western tunes into traditional Greek songs had already imported a sense of this radically different music in the country. After the destruction of the town from the war, European coffee-places such as the “Grüner Baum” [the Green tree], introduced foreign entertainment like beer, sausages and Mozart to the country, and the locals came into contact with Bavarian entertainment in a Greek setting.<sup>232</sup> Yet, for the new Athenian capital, the seat of Government and the new representative of the Greek nation, the inauguration of the Theatre signified the beginning of a particularly complex Story.

### *The Italian opera, the Greek theatre, and a King snoring in his box*

In the introduction to his *Short History of Opera*, Donald Grout states boldly that the opera as a genre “[...] is conditioned poetically, musically, scenically, and to the last detail by the ideals and desires of those upon whom it depends, and this to a degree and in a manner not true of any other musical form. The opera is the visible and audible projection of the power, wealth, and taste of the society that supports it.”<sup>233</sup> This statement could not have been more accurate not only for the Italians, Germans, French and the English who have claimed a piece of operatic heritage since the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, but also for the Greeks, who received the tradition in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and had to make do with it. And as it has been illustrated in the previous chapters, in direct response to Grout’s remark: the Greeks were governed by Bavarians, they were poor, and the vast majority had never come into contact with western music to have developed a taste in the genre. Therefore, the opera was supported persistently by the Bavarians and the advocates of the Western destiny of Greece, it was constantly broke, and of poor quality.

---

<sup>232</sup> Papakostas, G. 2011 [1988]. Literary Salons and coffee-shops in Athens, p. 434-435. [Παπακώστας, Γ. 2003 [1988] Φιλολογικά σαλόνια και καφεενεία της Αθήνας, σελ. 434-435]

<sup>233</sup> Grout, D. 1947 [1966]. A Short History of Opera. p. 2

As we saw previously, plans apart, the theatre for New Athens never came to be constructed under direct state management, since priority was given to other, more pressing needs such as streets, the Palace, and everything else that is much more functional than a theatre. Nevertheless, Athens remained a new European capital, and therefore a brand new cultural market. The first company to perform Rossini's *Il Barbiere di Siviglia* in 1837 Athens, three years before the Theatre opened its doors, was not an opera company. Rather, to increase revenue, the leader of a group of contortionists- the Italian Gaetano Mele- turned his acrobats into singers, and included arias from *Il Barbiere* in his variety show, abridged, with the part of Rosina omitted in absence of a female singer, and with a ten-member-strong orchestra.<sup>234</sup> The press reported that the performance was attended by people of all ranks, classes, and ethnic groups and, regardless of its low quality and the comic effect of a dog that wandered onto the stage, the audience enjoyed this new form of entertainment immensely.<sup>235</sup> Three months after this first performance he staged the entire opera, and after promising and failing to stage Bellini's *Norma* and Rossini's *La Italiana in Algeri*, he left the country by the end of 1837, moving further east to Istanbul, where Sultan Mahmud II had given him permission to build an Opera House.<sup>236</sup>

An accurate estimation of the overall reception of the opera in the first decades of its presence in Greece is hard to make, but the high cost of attending the opera limited the audience to the wealthy upper class, while the lower classes attended local street theatre, contortionist shows etc.<sup>237</sup> Therefore, while in Athens the opera became quickly a popular form of entertainment, this positive reception has not been examined in proportion to the general population of the city, in ethnic and class terms. Early 20<sup>th</sup> century Greek music historians have probably overestimated its value and influence, yet at the same time it could be argued that since music as an art is the referential point of their studies, their assessment reflected part of the cultural reality.

<sup>234</sup> Baroutas, K. 1992. Musical life in 19<sup>th</sup> century Athens: Concerts, Recitals, opera, popular song, music criticism. p. 13; Sambanis, K. 2011. The opera in Athens during the reign of King Otto (1833-1862), p. 48. [Μπαρούτας, Κ. 1992. Η Μουσική Ζωή στην Αθήνα το 19ο Αιώνα: Συναυλιές- Ρεσιτάλ- Μελόδραμα- Λαϊκό τραγούδι- Μουσικοκριτική. σελ. 13]

<sup>235</sup> Sambanis, K. 2011. The opera in Athens during the reign of King Otto (1833-1862), p. 50

<sup>236</sup> Mestyan, A. 'Cultural policy in the Late Ottoman Empire? The Palace and the Public Theatres in 19<sup>th</sup> century Istanbul', in Ther, P. (ed.) 2012. Cultural Policy and Theatre: the continental European Empires in comparison [Ther, P. (Hg.) 2012. Kulturpolitik und Theater: Die kontinentalen Imperien in Europa im Vergleich, p. 134];

Sambanis, K. 2011. The opera in Athens during the reign of King Otto (1833-1862), p. 60

<sup>237</sup> Skandalis, A. 2001. The development of the Opera in 19<sup>th</sup> century Greece in relation to the formation of urban reality: an initial approach. pp. 56.

When, for example, Theodoros Synadinos wrote in his still much-referenced 1919 *History of Modern Greek Music* that “for decades in a row the Greeks have wept with Verdi’s *Traviata*, and rejoiced with Rossini’s *Il Barbiere di Siviglia* [...] Young men turn to Donizetti and Bellini to express their love, and abandoned maidens weep while singing romantic verses on Italian melodies”, he was probably accurate.<sup>238</sup> Western music indeed infiltrated Greece; western melodies were versed in Greek and became popular in larger cities with a more frequent contact with the West, pushing aside traditional song and local song making.<sup>239</sup> Yet, if the same passage is examined as a piece of cultural rather than music history, it borders exaggeration. Even though music by nature favours such intercultural and interclass borrowings, as showcased by the adoption of easy arias by the military bands that played in mid-19<sup>th</sup> century Athenian promenades, unless conscious and supported by musical education, such borrowing of foreign tunes cannot be interpreted as participation in a tradition, but merely as cultural transfer.<sup>240</sup> Moreover, Synadinos overlooked the class divisions that would have kept a large part of the population away from the opera and theatre. Therefore, though for Greek music history it remains important that the Greeks came into contact with Western music from early on, for cultural history it can’t stand as an argument for such early participation in the tradition.<sup>241</sup>

The institution that housed the opera from early on in its appearance, as noted earlier, was that poor theatre. Conclusions about the first decades of western music in Greece, and its reception, will revolve around the theatre, and its transformations. Whether it is news reports and early forms of music criticism, memoirs or other archival material, the emerging picture is one of a divide between people who believed that this new form of entertainment was contributing to the progress of society, while others saw it as the corruptive agent that would destroy society from the inside. The second element of this story is the importance of the successive failures to establish a

---

<sup>238</sup> Synadinos, Th. N. 1919. *History of Modern Greek Music 1824-1919*. p. 8.

Synadinos’ *History* is still a good source for anecdotal stories that can be verified by other sources as well, since though probably accurate his overview of the 19<sup>th</sup> century was too Romanticised, and affected by his own bias in favour of western art music in Greece.

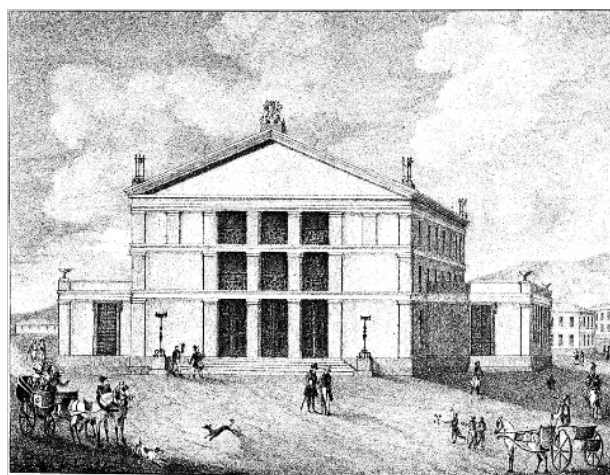
<sup>239</sup> Skandali, A. 2001. The development of the Opera in 19<sup>th</sup> century Greece in relation to the formation of urban reality: an initial approach. pp. 58-59

<sup>240</sup> *ibid.* pp. 36-37

<sup>241</sup> An exception ought to be made for the Ionian Islands and their early inclusion in Western musical tradition. Yet, since here we are examining the period before the union (1864), and specifically Athens, the only points of contact and dissemination were the teachers that moved to Greece and the attempts of composers to make a career in Athens, as will be seen later. In any case ‘weeping maidens’ cannot be maintained as an argument for the popularity of Western art music in Greece.

financially stable theatre, a fact that indicates that, contrary to music historians' beliefs, perhaps the opera in Athens was not so well attended in its first decades. The third element, that probably brought western music to its knees in Greece, was the stentorian demands for a 'Greek theatre' to replace the corrupting, 'foreign' Italian opera, with the theatre promoted as a pressing educational necessity for the new nation.

These three elements, the clashing public opinion, an unstable cultural institution, and the demands for Greek theatre to replace the Italian opera resulted not only in the underdevelopment of a Greek art music until the last decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, but also in the dissemination of conflicting notions of Europe, either as immoral and noxious on the one hand, or as progressive and refined on the other.<sup>242</sup> That the echoes of this polarised attitude towards the Theatre and western art music resonated in the debate about the Byzantine chant as an asset of Greek identity, as well as in discussions about education, suggests that the choice of the government and Palace to implant such an institution of western entertainment at the heart of the Kingdom became the visible evidence of the sound of an unwanted change for many.



THEATRE D'ATHENES

*Del. G. B. P. Sculp. J. B. H. 1840*

Engraving depicting the Theatre of Athens in 1840<sup>243</sup>

---

<sup>243</sup> Held at the Greek National Archives, Vlachogiannis Collection D'10

As demonstrated in the collage earlier, during the 1840s attracted a multitude of different opinions. Some, such as the very bored Queen Amalia, rejoiced at the introduction of the new spectacle and attended as much as possible, though she found that the quality wasn't very good.<sup>244</sup> Others, like Christiana Lüth, the wife of the Queen's personal priest, hardly noticed the new theatre and remained focused on surviving the hardships of having relocated from Denmark to Athens, with a philhellenic husband who spoke ancient Greek to the baffled locals, and the deafening sound of leafhoppers. She only noted the day it was inaugurated, with the remark that 'a Lyric Theatre' was something vital for every capital city, but that still, local street theatre remained more popular with the people.<sup>245</sup> In this respect, and by examining other sources by European travellers and inhabitants in Athens at the time, there can be no clear-cut divide between the Europeans favouring the theatre and opera while the Greeks deplored it. Rather, the Europeans acknowledged the wider hardships of the new Kingdom and capital city, they noted the inauguration of institutions such as the theatre, and focused on more pressing issues.

On the opposite side, part of the Athenians, like General Makrygiannis, looked around them and saw a city, country, and nation under construction, sights that made them wonder why a theatre was needed when the Greeks, an Orthodox Christian nation, didn't have enough churches yet.<sup>246</sup> Even more interestingly, Makrygiannis in his memoirs actively blamed the Greek supporters of one or the other Great Power for building a theatre, and addressed them straightforwardly to state:

“We haven't asked Europe; when she was in our position, did she care to build theatres, or was she rather taking care of her other needs and constructed churches to worship God, praying He leads her to good, and schools to fill students with diligence

---

<sup>244</sup> As noted in the introduction of her correspondence with her father Paul Friedrich August, Grand Duke of Oldenburg, Queen Amalia loved music. A careful examination of the correspondence reveals that she found it very challenging to see any musical beauty in local music wherever she encountered it, while she was very pleased with the introduction of the opera in Athens, and the visit of the Greek Ionian composer Pavlos Carrer in 1858. See: Busse, V, Busse, M. [eds] 2011. Queen Amalia's Unpublished Letters to her father, 1836-1853 [Vol. 1]. p. 19. For favourable references to the opera in Athens see pages 209, 213. [Μπουσέ, Β., Μπουσέ, Μ. [επιμ.] 2011. Ανέκδοτες Επιστολές της Βασίλισσας Αμαλίας στον Πατέρα της, 1836-1853 [Α' Τόμος], σελ. 19, 209, 213]

<sup>245</sup> Lüth, C. 1991. Athens in 1847-1848: An unpublished Diary, p. 18 [Λούθ, Λ. 1991. Στην Αθήνα του 1847-1848: Ένα Ανέκδοτο Ημερολόγιο, σελ. 18]

<sup>246</sup> Vlachogiannis, G. (ed.) 1947. The memoirs of General Makrygiannis. Vol. 1 [2nd ed.] pp. 101-102. [Βλαχογιάννης, Γ. [επιμ.] 1947 [Β' Έκδοση]. Στρατηγού Μακρυγιάννη Απομνημονεύματα. Αθήνα, σελ. 101-102]

and virtue, to turn them into worthy citizens- and not infidels  
and unworthy-, to be selling their books for all those  
things?”<sup>247</sup>

That the General personified ‘Europe’ as the agent that dictated to the Greeks what buildings they were supposed to construct demonstrates that for people like him- an uneducated patriot involved in politics, and a hero of the War of Independence- ‘Europe’ was an undefined, uniform entity that was dictating new cultural mandates to its local puppets. The General himself was not uniformly anti-European, his focus of interest was Greece, and he stood with anyone he believed was helping the country progress, and against anyone he judged was doing harm. In this instance, he definitely believed that whoever decided the theatre was needed, was making a terrible mistake against the Orthodox-Greeks. Receiving no answer, he criticized his compatriots who were infatuated with the artistic qualities of the sopranos’ legs, and expressed his fears about the moral dangers of the theatre for the students.<sup>248</sup> Similarly, in Parliament, there was discussion about transferring the school of the city to the nearby island of Aegina, to safeguard the students from the moral evils of the emerging metropolis. Even though culture was an important aspect of education, it was argued by an unnamed parliamentarian, even in Europe some schools remained outside the big cities to protect the students from ethical corruption.<sup>249</sup> With the opera being a cultural import into a city with no similar cultural tradition, aesthetic admiration of the art itself came second to the charms of the women on stage, and the enthusiastic response of the audience to the opera during its first years in Athens cannot be attributed to quality or taste.<sup>250</sup> Nevertheless, the audience participated in the new spectacle fervently, and the moral panic in the press, society, and Parliament, reflects

---

<sup>247</sup> Ibid.

<sup>248</sup> Ibid. Still what ought to be noted is that in his lengthy memoir, Makrygiannis only dedicated a few sentences to music and the theatre, a fact that has not been considered in proportion when this source is used as an argument for the reaction of the Athenians against western music (and is in fact one of the standard sources since the beginning of the 20th century). Makrygiannis is looking at the theatre and western music with suspicion, and is worried about European intervention and its influence on good Greek morals, yet, the more pressing political and economic problems of the country are definitely the main focus of his work.

<sup>249</sup> Parliamentary Minutes [Greece], Second Session of the first Term, Vol. 3. Session ΠΑΘ’/07.08.1846, pp. 2353-2356. Here, again, no explicit connection is made with the theatre in the debate; rather ethics complement a discussion on the financial advantages of transferring the School. Yet, since the theatre is one of the most visible aspects of the transition from a little provincial town that Athens was at the time, to a future modern European capital, it is common practice in Greek academic discourse, to connect this particular debate with the perceived negative effects of the theatre and Italian opera.

<sup>250</sup> Skandali, A. 2001. The development of the Opera in 19<sup>th</sup> century Greece in relation to the formation of urban reality: an initial approach. p. 57

their concern in regards to the public's infatuation with the sopranos on stage. The excesses in favour of one or the other soprano have been recorded in scornful articles in the press about disruptive applauding during the arias, expensive personal gifts, and eccentric gestures such as releasing white doves in the Theatre.<sup>251</sup> In an instance of extreme polarisation, Queen Amalia noticed that the audience had turned against each other in their divided admiration between the sopranos Rita Basso and Gaetana Lugli, an incident she would relate in a letter to her father as an amusing anecdote from her new Kingdom.<sup>252</sup>

In the meantime, this mother-of-all-Evil that did not double as a church, led an adventurous early life. First commissioned in 1838 to the Italian Guiseppe Camillieri, a private contractor that was provided with free space and a five-year exclusivity contract by the government to carry out the cost of the construction, the contract had to be transferred a year later to another Italian, Basilio Sansoni, due to financial problems.<sup>253</sup> The new contractor delivered the Theatre in 1840, it opened with Gaetano Donizetti's *Lucia di Lammermoor* (06 January 1840), and Italian operatic companies touring the East included Athens to their schedule immediately.<sup>254</sup> The choice of the particular work has been assessed by musicologist Konstantinos Sambanis as pivotal for the future success of the genre in the city, since its simple melodic arias were immediately picked up by the audience, the predominantly male opera goers were charmed by the young and good-looking sopranos, and its repetition for a significant number of weeks created a devoted core-audience.<sup>255</sup>

But even though the opera as a genre appears to have made a successful appearance in the city in terms of audience reception, the hardships of sustaining the Theatre, and the anxiety in the press and society about its very successful content undermined its artistic prosperity. Basilio Sansoni had secured the same terms with Camillieri in his contract with the government, but he too had to abandon it due to financial problems, and the theatre quickly changed hands in 1844; Ioannis Boukouras, whose name

---

<sup>251</sup> Sambanis, K. 2011. The opera in Athens during the reign of King Otto (1833-1862) as seen through the press and foreign travellers, p. 144-145.

<sup>252</sup> Busse, V, Busse, M. [eds] 2011. Queen Amalia's Unpublished Letters to her father, 1836-1853 [Vol. 1]. p. 209

<sup>253</sup> Skandali, A. 2001. The development of the Opera in 19<sup>th</sup> century Greece in relation to the formation of urban reality: an initial approach. pp. 49

<sup>254</sup> *ibid.* p. 49

<sup>255</sup> Sambanis, K. 2011. The opera in Athens during the reign of King Otto (1833-1862) as seen through the press and foreign travellers, p. 133-134



prevailed in local parlance as the name of the theatre until the end of the century, took over.<sup>256</sup> The theatre Company running it and organizing the performances was governed by a five-person committee of senior civil servants, scholars and merchants whose contact with art might have been minimal, yet they had a strong conviction to enrich the Athenian nightlife. Since 1842 the Company developed two distinct groups, the operatic singers, and the native actors, and from 1845 onwards the Greek government included the funding of the performing troupes into the state budget, an issue that stirred constant debate in Parliament.<sup>257</sup>

From early on in the life of the Theatre, the belief in the political value of the theatre created a stream of constant demands for the development of a Greek theatre company and it was interpreted as a ‘National Cause’ by part of the press, which encouraged the readers to support this initiative of ‘national education’, giving at the same time voice to covert anti-monarchical opposition.<sup>258</sup> Unfortunately, the costly nature of the opera- orchestra, singer fees, production costs etc.-, as well as low attendance at the theatre soon drained the Company financially, and the actors left to form smaller independent groups, ensuring many decades of lamentations in the press.<sup>259</sup> What remains interesting in this early clash between music and theatre in the theatre is that, even though the opera was of unquestionably low quality, it did not attract a large audience, it was a costly imported commodity for a poor Company, and brought with it successive debates on potential moral damages to the young nation, it was supported by the Court and financed by and for an emerging upper class that defended it at every turn.<sup>260</sup>

---

<sup>256</sup> The exclusivity contracts for the theatre were established in 1837 and 1838 with Royal Decrees, and renewed in 1842. The reasons behind the exclusivity in entertainment were that early Theatre Committees believed that the theatre did not attract enough audience due to groups of contortionists that were more popular. See: Laskaris, N. The modern Greek Theatre in 1842-1844. General State Archives [Greece], Vlachogiannis Collection, Catalogue D', Box 10, Folder 2, Subfolder 1. [Λάσκαρης, Ν. Το νεοελληνικόν Θέατρον του 1842-1844. Γενικά Αρχεία του Κράτους [Ελλάδα], Συλλογή Βλαχογιάννη, Κατάλογος Δ', Κυτίο 10, Φάκελος 2, Υποφάκελος 1] For a brief chronology of the Sansoni-Boukouras transaction see: Romanou, K. 2006. Greek art music in the modern times. p. 110

<sup>257</sup> Chatzipantazis, Th. 2014. A Diagram of the History of Modern Greek Theatre. p. 202; Skandali, A. 2001. The development of the Opera in 19<sup>th</sup> century Greece in relation to the formation of urban reality: an initial approach. p.50

<sup>258</sup> Aeon (1842) Section ‘Various News’, *Aeon*, 25 October 1842, p. 3 [Ο Αιών (1842) Διάφορα. Ο Αιών, 25 Οκτωβρίου 1842, σελ. 3]; Sambanis, K. 2011. The opera in Athens during the reign of King Otto (1833-1862) as seen through the press and foreign travellers, p. 148-149

<sup>259</sup> Chatzipantazis, Th. 2014. A Diagram of the History of Modern Greek Theatre. p. 202

<sup>260</sup> In the season 1842-1843, for example, the opera run a deficit of 3,360 drachmas, while the Greek theatre brought in 3,000 drachmas in revenue, balancing out the budget for the year. See: Levides, N. (1915), Athens seventy years ago: The Greek Theatre, *Athens*, 15 January 1915, pp. 1-2 [Λεβίδης, Ν., (1915) Αι Αθήναι προ εβδομήκοντα ετών: Το Ελληνικόν Θέατρον, *Αθηνά*, 15 Ιανουαρίου 1915, σελ. 1-2]

Between 1840 and 1870 the criticism against the theatre in regards to the cost of the opera reflected the overall concerns about the economic struggles of the country, and set the needs of the country against the needs of the theatre.<sup>261</sup> Press reports launched forceful attacks against the opera, arguing among other things that a country that still lacked basic infrastructure like streets and whose population was suffering from poverty, did not need to subsidise a theatre.<sup>262</sup> The promise of a new building in 1856 by Grigoris Kabouroglou, brought forward a new round of debates on the function of the theatre, suspicions of political favouritism, and the new budget for the theatre was deemed not only a project promoting the well-being of the capital in expense of other peripheral poor cities, but was also seen as the “*personal budget for the well-being of Mr. Kabouroglou*” that only a few admirable MPs were courageous enough to oppose.<sup>263</sup> Kabouroglou was to be appointed by Queen Amalia to direct the theatre, and was provided with a space to build a new building, along with 360,000 drachmas in public funding over ten years, having promised to deliver a theatre that would host both the Italian opera and the Greek theatre. According to the terms of the contract, the Greek Theatre would perform plays in modern Greek, it would be employing its actors from public schools, and would be obliged to train them for a year before commencing with the Greek performances.<sup>264</sup> The same newspaper that published the conditions of the contract, pleaded at the same period for the Greek Diaspora to support the Greek theatre financially, putting forward as its main arguments the advancement of the Greek language, the reemergence of Greek poets, the promotion of national moral values, and all that supported by an appealing revenue for the prospective financiers.<sup>265</sup>

---

<sup>261</sup> 1870 is here set as a chronological limit for two reasons. Firstly because the rise of the middle class and the creation of institutions like the Conservatory of Athens from 1872 onwards gradually established western music in Greece despite the continuing attacks from the press and the inadequacy of the state. Secondly because in 1875 the Municipality of Athens finally achieved to construct a proper theatre with the financial assistance of A. Syngros, a Greek of the Diaspora who financed the Conservatory of Athens as well. Many of the problems of reception and function remain similar, but from 1870 onwards a new era begins in the development of Greek art music. Last, but not least, after 1870 the French Operetta and Vaudeville made their way to Athens, starting a new round of moral panics in the press, this time concerning not only the Italians but the French as well.

<sup>262</sup> Athena (1856), Section ‘Various News’, *Athena*, 16 June 1856, p. 2 [Αθηνά (1856), Διάφορα, Αθηνά, 16 Ιουνίου 1856, σελ. 2]

<sup>263</sup> Athena (1856), Section ‘Various News’, *Athena*, 07 Oct 1856, p. 2 [Αθηνά (1856), Διάφορα, Αθηνά, 07 Οκτωβρίου 1856, σελ. 2]

<sup>264</sup> Helios (1856), Construction of the Greek Theatre, *Helios*, 24 November 1856, p. 2 [Ήλιος (1856) Ανέγερσις Ελληνικού Θεάτρου, *Ήλιος*, 24 Νοεμβρίου 1856]

<sup>265</sup> Helios (1856), On the Greek Theatre, *Helios*, 22 December 1856, p. 2 [Ήλιος (1856), Περί Ελληνικού Θεάτρου, *Ήλιος*, 22 Δεκεμβρίου 1856, σελ. 2]

However, a report by the *Committee for the review of the legislation on the Theatre, as drafted by the Ministry of the Interior*, which was appointed by the Senate in 1856 to review the contract between the State and Kabouroglou, told a very different story.<sup>266</sup> In their condemnatory report, published in the newspaper *Athena*, the Committee expressed its direct opposition to the Italian opera as a genre, as well as the specific terms of the contract. In terms of the genre, the Committee argued that theatres were fostered by wealthy nations, which Greece at the time definitely was not, and that such spectacle would only contribute to moral decline. It highlighted that in countries where the ‘Italian theatre’ was supported, it was by governments convicted to keep their populace at a state of political hibernation, and that the Greeks needed to be *en garde* at the time. For these moral reasons the Committee stood adamantly against any support of the Greek state towards the Italian opera. In terms of the contract itself, unfortunately, the report was even more damning than the potential threat for complete civic moral decay.

According to the reviewers, the state funding Kabouroglou was to receive was considered inexcusably high not only because Greece was a Kingdom with limited funds at the time, but also because it was an unjustifiable expense for the whole country to pay for the cultural advancement of the capital. The impoverished periphery, and the uncompensated families of Revolution heroes, would not accept the luxury of a theatre for Athens, argued the Committee. Nevertheless, they recognized the importance of the theatre as an institution and suggested that the costs of theatres be the responsibility of the respective municipalities, rather than part of the state budget. At the centre of the dispute, though, lies a set of arguments that are even more interesting for this study. The Committee maintained that, should the Government decide to ignore their recommendations, they ought to at least renegotiate the terms of the contract. According to the Committee, the direct commission to Kabouroglou was suspicious in the least, and the absence of legislation to define the relationship between the state and the private party, something to be corrected. Responding to the Ministry’s argument that Kabouroglou’s offer had been as good as possible, the Committee referred to the case of the Italian Carlo Saltara, a

---

<sup>266</sup> The whole report was published by the newspaper *Athena* as part of their wider argument against what they perceived as corruption in the direct commission of Kabouroglou as director and contractor of the new theatre in Athens. See: *Athena* (1856), Section ‘Various News’, *Athena*, 03 November 1856, p. 3-4 [Αθηνά (1856), Διάφορα, Αθηνά, 03 Νοεμβρίου 1856, σελ. 3-4]

political refugee from Italy, who in 1848 and 1853 had bid for the commission of the theatre but was rejected.

What is interesting in the Commission's reference to Saltara is that he offered to build a bigger theatre, with less money, and part of his proposal was the development of a Greek opera company, for which he would personally take financial care for the training of six female and six male singers. In this case, the Committee argued, the Ministry had turned down an offer that would have contributed to the development of a Greek opera, and not 'plain drama', while now they were advocating for a much more expensive contract of less value. Musicologist Konstantinos Sambanis speculates that Saltara was at the time cooperating with Kabouroglou in order to keep the latter covertly in control of the Athenian theatrical life, a proposition he based on the similarities between the two proposals, as well as the fact that, when Saltara won the contract in the season 1859-1860, in reality it was Kabouroglou who was running the theatre.<sup>267</sup> What we can safely deduct from this shadowy arrangement is that the credibility of the theatre was constantly being questioned in relation to the financial arrangements between the state and its contractors, a fact that ought to have diminished the public's trust in the institution overall. On the other hand it remains very interesting that the notion of a Greek operatic company was not foreign to the Ministry from as early as the late 1840s. Yet, politics and political favouritism stood in the way of artistic development, and cast another shadow over the moral solidity of the Theatre itself, in a country that was only just constructing its first artistic institutions. Kabouroglou laid the foundations for his theatre, yet construction was cancelled, due to financial problems.

And even though the demands for a Greek National Theatre were escalating in force and frequency, and in the early years there were instances when the audience even stopped the opera and demanded for a Greek play to be performed instead, the supporters of the opera in the Parliament and Senate were in the majority.<sup>268</sup> The divide between the supporters of one or the other form of entertainment is quite visible in the sources. News reports between 1840 and 1860 made scornful reference

---

<sup>267</sup> Sambanis, K. 2011. The opera in Athens during the reign of King Otto (1833-1862) as seen through the press and foreign travellers, p. 927-928

<sup>268</sup> Vallianitos, Th., (1893) 'The Theatres during King Otto's Reign' *Estia Illustrated*, 28 November 1893, p. 344 [Βαλλιανίτος, Θ. (1893) Τα θέατρα επι Όθωνος. *Εστία Εικονογραφημένη*, 28 Νοεμβρίου 1893, σελ. 344]

to an upper class that wouldn't attend the Greek theatre, preferring the opera instead, while even the King himself has gone down in history for attending the Greek theatre only to fall asleep in his box.<sup>269</sup> Roughly around the same time in Paris, and for the sake of clarifying the measures the Greeks were supposedly trying to imitate, at mid-century Paris three to four operas/ theatres were serving three different social classes. The Opéra was the theatre of the aristocracy, the Opéra-Comique the theatre of the bourgeoisie, and the Théâtre Lyrique for the working class, though by the end of the century it appears that it was the middle class that mostly attended the opera even at the Opéra.<sup>270</sup> In London, as well, different spaces served different social classes, and the working class could entertain itself in over thirty music halls in 1866.<sup>271</sup> So, in Athens, a city of 44,510 people at the time and with very blurred class divisions, a single theatre hosting the opera was struggling to survive, cramming all strata of society into one space, and presenting two radically different sorts of entertainment.<sup>272</sup>

In the Greek case, the class divide in relation to the opera remains blurry for a number of reasons, among them that no specialised study into the specific demographic of the operatic audience has been conducted yet. What can be safely deduced from the existing historical musicological literature are three general conclusions about outreach and class participation. Firstly, Queen Amalia was personally invested in supporting the opera in the capital, and the Palace patronaged, protected and subsidised the Theatre through the Monarchs' personal funds. When, for example, in 1851, after four years (1847-1850) that the Theatre did not organise operatic seasons, an attempt was made for the revival of the practice, Amalia pushed for the continuation of the opera for the entertainment of travellers, and shared her

---

<sup>269</sup> See for example following: E. (1843) On the Theatre, *Anexartitos*, 29 April 1843, pp. 3-4; Proinos Kiryx (1843), Section 'Various News', *Proinos Kiryx*, 14 October 1843, p. 3; For King Otto's charming habit of sleeping during the Greek theatre see: Laskaris, N. The modern Greek Theatre in 1842-1844. GSA[Greece], Vlachogiannis D' / 10/ 2/ 1. [E. (1843) Θεατρικά, *Ανεξάρτητος*, 29 Απριλίου 1843, σελ. 3-4; Πρωινός Κήρυξ (1843) Διάφορα, *Πρωινός Κήρυξ*, 14 Οκτωβρίου 1843, σελ. 3.]

<sup>270</sup> For a detailed comparative between theories on opera audiences in Paris between 1830-1870, and the social function of the opera see: Huebner, St. Opera Audiences in Paris 1830-1870, *Music & Letters*, 70:2 (May1989), p. 206-207, 224

<sup>271</sup> Kift, D. 1996. The Victorian Music Hall: Culture, Class and Conflict. p. 21

<sup>272</sup> A comparison between Paris and Athens at the time can hardly be sustained because of the significant difference in the population of the two cities, but it remains illustrative of the divide. While Athens was hosting 44,510 as mentioned above, Paris was home to 2,000,000. Still, since Western Europe was the Ally and paradigm for the Greeks, small comparatives of this scale help us understand the uneven examples they were trying to model themselves after, if only in terms of national narrative. See respectively: Leontidou, L. The Mediterranean city in transition: Social change and urban development. p. 54; Huebner, St. Opera Audiences in Paris 1830-1870, *Music & Letters*, 70:2 (May1989), p. 207.

satisfaction about the positive outcome in a letter to her father.<sup>273</sup> Having said that, it is imperative to specify that the Palace did not intervene in the repertory at the Theatre and, though this Royal couple was German, the repertory remained Italian because of the continuous partnership between the Theatre and Italian Artistic Agencies- for practical and financial reasons.<sup>274</sup>

The second conclusion about class is that, apart from subsidising and attending the opera, the Greek upper class and intelligentsia played two further roles in support of the opera in Athens. On the one hand, university professors, senior civil servants, lawyers, doctors and dignitaries, as well as the literati and members of the financial elite, served in Theatre Committees throughout this period and as such supported and promoted it actively.<sup>275</sup> On the other hand, apart from this structural administrative support, important representatives of the intelligentsia, enamoured with western music and the opera, produced literary work with musical references and theoretical work about it. Alexandros Rizos-Rangavis (1809-1892), Phanariot intellectual, poet and novelist, professor of History at the University of Athens and later diplomat, was the first modern Greek author to mention the opera in his literary work (“The Prison or Capital Punishment”, short story, 1837).<sup>276</sup> Throughout his literary career he made frequent references to the opera and music in all the genres he produced (poetry, novels, and plays). Moreover, he translated librettos into Greek and wrote Greek lyrics on western music. In 1873 he established connections with Ambroise Thomas, at the time director of the Conservatory of Paris, with a view to establish a school for drama and the opera in Athens.<sup>277</sup>

Similarly, Georgios Vizyenos (1849-1896), prominent author, poet, and intellectual, included musical metaphors and references in eight of his novels, while in his romantic novel “The consequences of the old story” (published in four parts in the

<sup>273</sup> Sambanis, K. 2011. The opera in Athens during the reign of King Otto (1833-1862) as seen through the press and foreign travellers, pp. 599, 605-606.

<sup>274</sup> Ibid. p.1571

<sup>275</sup> See for example the impressive list of influential people coming together in 1851 to achieve the continuation of the opera, among them the intellectual Markos Renieris, the businessman Konstantinos Chatzopoulos, the then serving Director of the Royal Mint Ioannis Karbounis, and an [unnamed] employ at the Russian Embassy. Ibid. p. 604

<sup>276</sup> Kourbana, S. “I would also be delighted to collaborate with you for a Greek opera”: An unknown letter from Spyros Filiskos Samaras to Alexandros Rizos Rangavis”, *Mousikos Ellinomnimon*, vol. 3 (May-August 2009), p. 9 [Κουρμπανά, Σ. «Κι εγώ θα ήμην ευτυχής να συνεργασθώ μεθ’ υμών εις ελληνικόν μελόδραμα»: Μια άγνωστη επιστολή του Σπύρου Φιλίσκου Σαμάρρα προς τον Αλέξανδρο Ρίζο Ραγκάβη, *Μουσικός Ελληνομνήμων*, τ. 3 σελ. 9]

<sup>277</sup> ibid. pp. 10-11

literary journal *Estia*, 1884) he made overt intertextual references to Wagner's *The Flying Dutchman* in the plot and character development, and used a literary form of *Leitmotif*.<sup>278</sup> Among other things, Vizyenos would also write the dictionary entries for Wagner, Bellini, Weber, Verdi, Berlioz, Beethoven, Bizet, and Boieldieu in the *Encyclopaedic Dictionary* (1889-1905, entries in volumes one and two). In the entries about Weber, Verdi, Bizet, and Berlioz he would reaffirm his devotion to Wagner by making references to the latter in their entries, in any case showcasing the wider musical knowledge he had acquired during his studies in Germany (Göttingen, 1875-1878).<sup>279</sup>

Last, but certainly not least, in this brief list of literary figures embracing western art music in their writings during this delicate time for the art in Athens, Angelos Vlachos (1838-1920), author, poet, translator, diplomat, and politician, also composed music, became one of the founding members of the “Society of Music and Drama” [the Conservatory of Athens, here in the Second Story], served as vice president of the musical society “Euterpe”, wrote extensive music criticism, and expressed in his writings the early anti-Wagnerian strand of music criticism in the country.<sup>280</sup> Even though his musical side, as well as his wide musical institutional activity, has been overshadowed by his literary and political career –perhaps further proof that the study of the influential supporters of western art music in the capital has been completely neglected until very recently- Vlachos' multidimensional personality, and equally those of Rizos- Rangavis and Georgios Vizyinos, demonstrate that western art music in the capital was supported by part of the literary and intellectual establishment, who promoted and supported it, wrote about it, and made it in this way part of modern Greek intellectual heritage. Unfortunately, until specialised studies on the impact of such individuals for the development of music and western musical culture in Greece are conducted, these three will remain among the only representatives of yet another transnational transfer that went unnoticed.

<sup>278</sup> Kourbana, S. Georgios Vizyinos and music, *Mousikos Ellinomnimon*, vol. 11 (January- April 2012), pp. 4, 6-8, 9 [Κουρμπανά, Σ. Γεώργιος Βιζυηνός και η μουσική, *Μουσικός Ελληνομνήμων*, τ. 11 (Ιανουάριος- Απρίλιος 2012), σελ. 4, 6-8, 9]

<sup>279</sup> *ibid.* pp. 12-13

<sup>280</sup> Kourbana, S. Three musical manuscripts from the archive of Angelos Vlachos, *Mousikos Ellinomnimon*, vol. 13 (September- December 2012), p. 15 [Κουρμπανά, Σ. Τρία μουσικά ψευδόγραφα από το Αρχείο του Άγγελου Βλάχου, *Μουσικός Ελληνομνήμων*, τ. 13 (Σεπτέμβριος- Δεκέμβριος 2012), σελ. 15]

It is perhaps in this category of the dissemination of the content of the Theatre that music criticism ought to be included as well. Though of particularly low quality in the beginning, many times politically motivated as seen earlier, but progressively attuning to a more detached 'European' model of 'objectivity' - after the influence of the foreign and mainly the French-Greek press in Athens- music criticism in the capital dispersed among society the aesthetics and norms of this western tradition.<sup>281</sup> Among the handful of surviving names of music critics, the father of modern Greek History, Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos (1815-1891) appears to have had an informed opinion on the opera, and exercised his criticism moderately, aiming at a gradual familiarization of his readers with the art through regular contact.<sup>282</sup> Equally interesting appears to have been the biography of Giuseppe Sodano, an Italian Catholic priest who came to Athens as a political refugee (1850), after taking part in the conspiracy against the Papal Government. He wrote erudite music criticism for the newspaper *Athena* and stayed in Athens at least until 1860.<sup>283</sup> Generally during the time examined here, Athenian newspapers published a satisfying number of articles on the opera, mainly written by individuals who had lived or travelled to western Europe and were, as such, familiar with and knowledgeable about the opera.<sup>284</sup>

And so, with the opera communicated to the public through literary sources, music criticism, and supported by influential intellectuals in the capital, there remains the question of the societal sphere that was in little contact with the intellectual or literary realm. In terms of ticket prices, Konstantinos Sambanis supports that the audience of the opera was mixed, and under no circumstances limited to the "intellectual elites" only. Different price ranges accommodated a variety of social standings, from students and professionals to army officers, while, on the other hand, it never became a spectacle for the "masses" either, and it was inaccessible to low-income citizens.<sup>285</sup> Nevertheless, wider dissemination outside the limited space of the Theatre was assisted through the military band, private salons and some instances of absorption into Greek art.

---

<sup>281</sup> Sambanis, K. 2011. The opera in Athens during the reign of King Otto (1833-1862) as seen through the press and foreign travellers, pp. 1735

<sup>282</sup> *ibid.* p. 1736

<sup>283</sup> *ibid.* p. 1739

<sup>284</sup> *ibid.* p. 1736

<sup>285</sup> *ibid.* 1555



In the case of the military band, it performed every Sunday at the Athenian promenade, incorporating in its repertoire popular melodies from the operatic repertoire in the Theatre, and as such brought this music closer to that part of the population who could or would not attend the opera.<sup>286</sup> Outside Athens as well, it appears that military bands instituted in cities such as Nafplion, Patras, and Hermoupolis assisted musicians' mobility and the dissemination of western repertoire, and a significant number of musicians appear to have been members of different bands around the country simultaneously.<sup>287</sup> What has also been recorded in the press from the early years of the opera in Athens is that the choice of lighter repertoire in the Theatre secured that the catchiest and easiest melodies from operas such as *Lucia di Lammermoor* and *Norma*, rapidly became popular out in the streets, much to the alarm of the section of the press which believed that Greek culture was under threat by this musical influence.<sup>288</sup> That the opera intruded other genres and was even incorporated into some has been evident from two sources: on the one hand, the fact that the Theatre orchestra would regularly entertain the audience with operatic excerpts between the acts in the Greek theatre and, on the other hand, that even the local genre of the *Karagkiozis* shadow-puppet theatre has been reported to have included an easternised version of a duet from *Norma* in 1852.<sup>289</sup>

That Greek musicologists generally recognize such instances of cross-cultural contamination as proof of far-reaching operatic influence outside the Theatre remains somewhat problematic, especially since their sources are usually newspaper articles or theatre programmes. In other words, the same individuals who either attended the opera themselves, or made an argument out of it for moralistic purposes, produced the texts detailing its widespread embracement as arguments for or against the art. In the few instances when foreign travellers identified a purported universal predominance of western music in Athens, Sambanis himself has treated their enthusiasm with suspicion.<sup>290</sup> Nevertheless, taking into consideration that here cultural contact rather

---

<sup>286</sup> *ibid.* pp. 133, 1844

<sup>287</sup> Romanou gives the examples of Frederic Stevens, Iosif Kesaris, Giuseppe Liberali, Alexandros Avgerinos and Julius Enig, who all played in various bands, see: Romanou, K. 2006. Greek art music in the Modern times, p. 105

<sup>288</sup> Sambanis, K. 2011. The opera in Athens during the reign of King Otto (1833-1862) as seen through the press and foreign travellers, p. 168

<sup>289</sup> *ibid.* p. 1752

<sup>290</sup> See for example the story of the traveler James Laird Patterson (1850), who purported that he only heard "Turkish" or "Italian" music in the local cafes of Athens when he visited the city. What Sambanis deduces from this narration is that Italian music had infiltrated the public spaces of the city to a significant degree for a traveler to notice but, at the same time, that Patterson was probably exaggerating to impress his readers. *Ibid.* p. 1751

than participation is examined to understand the gradual familiarisation of Greek society with western art music before the inauguration of educational institutions [as will be seen in the Second Story], these case studies of a purported wide societal contact to the opera outside the Theatre will be accepted with a pinch of salt and the awareness that the Theatre, its supporters, literati, and musical professionals, indeed managed at least partly to transfer the Italian opera off stage and into the public sphere. As such, while the space of the Theatre appears to have been relatively restricted in terms of dissemination, the literary efforts of the intelligentsia, in combination with the circulation of catchy operatic tunes through the military band and the locals, as well as the partial reproduction of this music in the Greek theatre and sometimes in local art indicate, if not participation in the tradition, at least constant contact and acceptance. Under no circumstances is there evidence of active musical resistance or unwillingness to tolerate this new music in the part of practitioners of local music, and beyond the debates in the press and Parliament.

In this setting of cross-class contamination and upper-class participation in the operatic tradition, the debate in the Senate and Parliament concerning the ethics of the Italian opera kept alive well into the 1850s and 1860s. With the same problems of financing and morality never being settled since the inauguration of the opera in 1840s Athens, it is not surprising at all that 1868 found the representatives of the Greek Nation discussing more or less the same issues in parliament, regarding the budget for the theatre. The language employed is indicative of the significance of the opera as an imported cultural tradition of great value- even though the discussion concerned its discontinuation.

“It will appear strange how, though I belong to the young generation, and not to the uncivilised one, as some refer to older generations... how though I have been educated, and I am not ignorant to music, since I have visited Europe and have seen theatres there, I stand against the funding for the theatre”

said the MP Timoleon Philemon, causing an uproar of protests for his reference to the older generations as ‘uncivilized’.<sup>291</sup> His argument was similar to the one first brought forward more than ten years earlier. The periphery could not justify the expense of a

---

<sup>291</sup> Newspaper of Parliamentary Debates, Session of 18 October 1868, pp 405-408. General State Archives [Greece], Vlachogiannis D’/ 10/ 4/ 1.

theatre for the capital. And it wasn't much later that discussion turned to the moral dangers of the opera, and the fact that in Paris all theatres were French, while in England there was only one Italian theatre.<sup>292</sup> Russia, "a nation newer to European civilization" argued the Speaker, indeed hosted French, German and Italian theatres, but only because its population was multiethnic, and in any case Russian Theatres were in the majority.<sup>293</sup> Greece, a multiethnic nation itself at the time was in need of Greek theatres to assist national indoctrination, and on top of all the rest of the hardships the Theatre in Athens had to fight against, now the nationality of the opera was itself a problem.

Last, but not least, the Speaker made reference to the fact that the Italian theatre was of no use to any of the social classes, since neither the workers nor the craftsmen, civil servants or soldiers attended the opera, since they didn't understand the language (Italian). The theatre was filled with foreigners and university students, as well as drunkards of the lowest class, who, coming out of the theatre, reproduced the immoral acts they had seen inside. And while the argument about class and its preferences was ignored by the respondent, European travellers didn't fail to come into the conversation and the Prime Minister counter argued that if Greece wanted to belong to the 'civilized' world, the proportionately small amount of money to sustain the theatre and thus show the foreigners a good time in Athens, would not ruin national economy.<sup>294</sup> After a couple more voices speaking of destroyed bridges in the periphery since the War of Independence (1821), the Parliament cast its vote. With 87 for, and 51 against the funding of the theatre, the motion was settled; the theatre and opera survived another season.

In these extended debates on the opera it is becoming obvious that many problems of the Greek society at the time were being conveniently concealed behind discussions on morality and Europe. Financial hardships and personal tastes, in combination with various perceptions of theatrical practice in Europe and the ever strong fear of being dismissed as an 'uncivilized' nation by the travellers, overshadowed equally important questions of class attendance, and whom this expensive commodity was

---

<sup>292</sup> Ibid, p. 406

<sup>293</sup> bid.

<sup>294</sup> Ibid. p 408

servicing in a country that didn't speak Italian and was in minimal contact with Western music in general. What is for sure is that, not only was the theatre as an institution under constant political attack, but also western music itself was seen as a status symbol by the upper classes, or a commodity with no cultural and educational value at all by the opposition. Even in Parliament, education was limited to national education and –more importantly- musical education was completely disregarded, and out-shadowed by the omnipresent ghost of the Greek National Theatre.

The second loudest voice in the land, the press, couldn't settle on the issue of the moral influence of this Italian art either. The divide between local Christian values and imported Italian entertainment became an issue reflecting the press' anxiety about European mimicry, politics, and an audience too artistically immature to focus upon quality. The literary journal *Toxotis*, for example, published a text featuring the dialogue between an old man, a young admirer of the opera and a Bavarian soldier, bringing together morals and the political function of the theatre. The erudite old man, an admirer of the opera himself otherwise, advised the young man that the Italian opera in the city was promoting moral and political decline because the audience was not yet educated in the liberal theatre, as was the case in France with Molière or Brutus and Timoleon.<sup>295</sup> As such, he argued, if one disregarded the enjoyable music of light operas like *Il Barbiere di Siviglia*, its moral message in regards to women's conduct was repugnant.<sup>296</sup> Moreover, the inherent moralising quality of music itself was compromised in simplistic compositions like *Il Barbiere*, and it was used by autocratic governments to keep their population in political hibernation through promoting musical sensuality. Similarly to Italy, this process of depoliticising the civic body through the opera was taking place in Greece at the time, he argued.<sup>297</sup>

This juxtaposition of the theatre's political value against the opera's careless seduction reflected back to the high regard of the Greek enlighteners for the potential revolutionary social value of the theatre, and the practical role it had played in the construction of national awareness in the bourgeois Greek-Balkan communities of the

---

<sup>295</sup> Toxotis (1840) Theatrical dispute, *Toxotis*, 1840-1841 p. 23-24, 27 [Τοξότης (1840) Η θεατρική έρις, *Τοξότης*, 1840-1841, σελ. 23-24, 27]

<sup>296</sup> *ibid.* 25

<sup>297</sup> *ibid.* p. 25

pre-Revolutionary period.<sup>298</sup> The memory of this theatrical contribution to the awakening of the nation appears to have remained active during the first years of the opera in Athens, and the intelligentsia lamented the influence of simple entertainment upon political instruction. Repeatedly throughout the century the Theatre with its content would become a space of covert anti-Bavarian opposition through attacks against the opera in the press, many times through conspiracy theories about a targeted effort to lower the spiritual capacity of the newborn nation, evidently false.<sup>299</sup> The residual anti-European rhetoric would become a recurring theme covering a wide range of issues and, whether because of anti-Bavarian opposition, aesthetic disagreement with the opera, or national protectionist concern over Orthodox identity, the criticism of the opera as an ideological container of the ‘European’ would function additively to the state’s otherwise weak musical cultural policy.

In the Royalist camp of the press the Italian opera did not feature particularly well either. In 1851, for example, the newspaper *Trakatrouka* would return to the issue of the Theatre and the opera in an article titled ‘The civility of corruption’, unfolded in two recurring issues.<sup>300</sup> Summarising all the issues surrounding the Theatre, the newspaper opened this set of articles with the sarcastic remark that the Greeks had finally achieved to become ‘civilised Europeans’ as showcased by the Italian opera hosted at the Theatre of Athens, a remark that was followed by an imaginary satirical dialogue between the impresario of the incoming opera company and representatives of the Theatre.<sup>301</sup> In the second article against the Theatre, the repertory of accusations against the theatre opened with a historical overview of the importance of the theatre for the political instruction of the civilians in ancient Greece and Rome, and suggested that the government’s support for the theatre was a calculated move to keep the electorate subjugated through lowering the quality of entertainment in the Theatre.<sup>302</sup>

---

<sup>298</sup> Skandali, A. 2001. The development of the Opera in 19<sup>th</sup> century Greece in relation to the formation of urban reality: an initial approach. p.52

<sup>299</sup> Sambanis, K. 2011. The opera in Athens during the reign of King Otto (1833-1862) as seen through the press and foreign travellers, p. 148-150, 825-826

<sup>300</sup> Kloutzoniotis (1851) The civility of corruption, *Trakatrouka*, 18 November 1851, p. 1-4; Kloutzoniotis (1851) The civility of corruption (part 2), *Trakatrouka*, 25 November 1851, p. 1-3 [Κλουτζιώνης (1851) Η αβροφροσύνη της διαφθοράς, *Η Τρακατρούκα*, 18 Νοεμβρίου 1851, σελ. 1-4; Κλουτζιώνης (1851) Η αβροφροσύνη της διαφθοράς: Άρθρον Β΄, *Η Τρακατρούκα*, 25 Νοεμβρίου 1851, σελ. 1-3]

<sup>301</sup> Kloutzoniotis (1851) The civility of corruption, *Trakatrouka*, 18 November 1851, p. 1

<sup>302</sup> Kloutzoniotis (1851) The civility of corruption, *Trakatrouka*, 25 November 1851, p. 2-3



Illustration in the newspaper *Trakatrouka*, depicting the women of an incoming Italian opera company with their revealing dresses on the left, and the Greeks in European attire 'admiring' them on the right side.<sup>303</sup>

Financial scandal was the last of the accusations against the Theatre, and the newspaper argued that, instead of financing the Italian opera in the city, the government ought to have chosen to invest in infrastructure or even finance the training of a Greek operatic company.<sup>304</sup> Utilising the opera as a means for multiple political statements, the Royalist newspaper was making an indirect statement against Italian liberal and democratic values by presenting the Italian opera as 'effeminate' and 'immoral', at a time when the Greek throne was supporting the Austrian Empire against Italian insurrection.<sup>305</sup> Whether for internal issues of Greek cultural identity, or for political opposition from all sides of the political spectrum, the Italian opera was manipulated in the press to create moral panics and make political statements. The lack of musical educational policy, as will be examined in the next chapter, left the Theatre and the opera exposed to an audience that could not connect with the art culturally or artistically, but was receiving mixed messages about its moral and political value.

International spectators visiting Athens were fast to understand the inherent cultural clash taking place in the space of the theatre in its first years. Edgar Garston, a philhellene visiting Athens in 1840, witnessed a performance of *Lucia di Lamermoor*, and described the situation in the theatre in the most colourful way. The night was

<sup>303</sup> Kloutzoniotis (1851) The civility of corruption, *Trakatrouka*, 18 November 1851, p. 2

<sup>304</sup> *ibid.*, p. 2-3

<sup>305</sup> Sambanis, K. 2011. The opera in Athens during the reign of King Otto (1833-1862) as seen through the press and foreign travellers, p. 708

attended by the King and Queen, the former dressed in the ‘Albanian’ (traditional Greek) costume, the latter in European attire, he detailed.<sup>306</sup> As for the rest of the audience:

“The medley of costumes among the audience, the mixture of fezis with hats, of capotes with palletôts, of fustanellas with pantaloons, &c., produces an effect almost grotesque, and to an old Philhellene has in it something disagreeable and heterodox [...] Yet will he scarcely repress a smile, when he sees grim old pallekars [fighters], perhaps the comrades of his younger days, applauding to the very echo the cavatina of a prima donna!”<sup>307</sup>

In this contested space of financial scandals, questions about Orthodox morality, Italian cultural influence, and a multicultural audience applauding enthusiastically imported sopranos, the transitory cultural state of the new Kingdom became a “grotesque” sight for external observers who, somewhat condescendingly, smiled at what the press denounced with indignation; the Greeks renouncing their local identity for a foreign art. Travellers’ observations apart, cries about immorality, political machinations, or mimicry concealed the deeper structural problems of Greek cultural and educational policy that obstructed the evolution of Greek theatre or the Greek opera.

When in 1858, for example, the Greek-Ionian composer Pavlos Carrer attempted to start a career in Greece, he was turned down for a set of different reasons. Though recommended personally to the theatre by King Otto and Queen Amalia after a private concert at the Palace, and while the Theatre Committee welcomed his opera on a hero of the Greek Revolution- ‘Marko Botzari’- the local elites vetoed the production. According to the composer himself, the families of other prominent Revolution fighters found it inappropriate that the opera was immortalizing only one of them- and incidentally not a member of their own family- and the production was cancelled.<sup>308</sup> And even though the composer’s bitterness could indeed reflect some of the local enmity he encountered in Athens, musicologists have suggested two other explanations that obstructed Carrer’s opera from being staged: either that its Greek-

<sup>306</sup> Garston, E. 1842. *Greece Revisited and Sketches in lower Egypt in 1840 with Thirty-six hours of a campaign in Greece in 1825*, p. 28

<sup>307</sup> *ibid.* p. 29

<sup>308</sup> Leotsakos, G. (ed.) 2003. *Pavlos Carrer: Memoir and Works*. p. 117 [Λεωτσάκος, Γ. [επιμ.] 2003. Παύλος Καρρέρ: Απομνημονεύματα και Εργογραφία, σελ. 117]

style arias were too progressive for the audience, or that its patriotic, fervently anti-Turkish theme threatened bilateral relations.<sup>309</sup>

Whether it was politics, audience reception, or petty local enmity, the inability of the institution to protect the Ionian composer had a twofold long-term impact: the opera was not performed in Athens until the 1870s, and a work in the western musical idiom with Greek arias was marginalised. For the history of Greek art music, this marginalisation by one of the land's most prominent institutions for music reveals how unprotected Greek compositions remained, in a country where composers were scarce, and the demands for local Greek art widespread. The fact that the absence of a 'Greek national idiom' would return at the turn of the century as the demand that would give birth to the National School of Music at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century indicates that institutional weakness was among the reasons that created the vacant space for nationalist musical demands later on.

With Europe featuring prominently in all discussions about the opera, and its positive or negative effects upon the Greeks, it would be interesting to put the Theatre itself in context. As far as cities, theatres, and comparative attempts between Greece and the rest of Europe go, perhaps the fairest and most realistic case study is an 1875 report by the newspaper *Aeon*. The Palais Garnier, the 'theatre of Paris' for *Aeon*, was inaugurated in January 1875, and received a detailed description in the issue of 23 January 1875. The newspaper, to offer its readers a fair comparable unit, and put value and overall function in perspective, contrasted the Opéra Garnier to the only Greek asset of some value at the time. No, it was neither the Palace, nor the Parliament. It was not the Theatre of Athens, or any of the Ministries and Public Gardens. *Aeon* compared the Palais Garnier to the city of Athens as a whole, and the budget for its construction to the general income of the Kingdom. Needless to say, even compared to the whole country, the Palais Garnier proved richer and more technologically advanced. The budget for its construction was reported at 45,000,000

---

<sup>309</sup> Χεραπαδάκου, Α. Pavlos Carrer's 'Marko Botzari': a "national" opera. *Musical Word*, vol. 5 (Summer 2003), p. 6 [Χεραπαδάκου, Α. Ο 'Μάρκος Μπότσαρης' του Πάυλου Καρρέρ: μια «εθνική» όπερα. *Μουσικός Λόγος*, τ. 5 (Καλοκαίρι 2003), σελ. 6]



francs- an income the whole Kingdom had never produced until then-, and was lit by 9,200 gas lights while the whole city of Athens used 3,200- private ones included.<sup>310</sup>

Far from being an unfair political and economic comparison on the part of the newspaper, the conceptual rationale behind it is a unique insight into the sort of paradigm Europe was for Greece at the time. The Greeks looked at other theatres and they had their own. And when they looked at the ‘Theatre of Paris’- again, the name ‘Opera House’ was nowhere near to being used- all they could see was a structure and concept that was bigger, richer, and emitted more light than their whole capital city. As far as powerful images go, and with the Greek theatre always struggling to establish a strong presence in Athens, the glowing Theatre of Paris came to demonstrate how a proper theatre could be more majestic than a capital city and a country.

So apart from the usual political and societal debates around the theatre, it appears as if content, structure, and perception were receiving constant attacks from all sides. It was in this environment of instability and suspicion that the theatre in Athens was reborn in its modern version, and still it managed to survive, if only to produce mediocre and much criticized productions. Generally speaking each decade appears to have left scars of a different nature on the surface of the theatre. The 1840s established that the Italian opera was corruptive and the music not particularly good. The 1850s promoted the idea of the development of the Greek Theatre, which had emerged in the 1840s, and brought it forward as the solution to the problem of theatrical national indoctrination. The 1860s seem to have made their peace with the moral function of the opera, yet, the perpetually deteriorating financial position of the country inevitably made the theatre the target of attacks in regards to its function. Overall, political opposition or support for the monarchy was infused in pieces of music criticism, and in a number of instances even the support of one or the other soprano in the press concealed political statements. The soprano Rita Basso, for example, her name connected with the introduction of the opera in the country, received favourable criticism in the Royalist press, while the liberal press opposed monarchy and the opera by criticizing her performance and supporting the other

---

<sup>310</sup> Aeon (1875), Section ‘Various News’, *Aeon*, 23 January 1875, p. 3 [Ο Αιών (1875) Διάφορα, Ο Αιών, 23 Ιανουαρίου 1875, σελ. 3]

prima donna in the city, Amalia Lucio-Ricci.<sup>311</sup> The press, vociferous and confused between moral value and societal advancement, merely created moral panics that, in the end, do not appear to have assisted the development of either of the two arts. In this environment, one way or another the Question of Europe materialized in yet another space of Greek social life in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and the contested space of the theatre became the host of questions of Western morality in entertainment, the artistic value of this new music, and the future of the Greek nation. More practically, though, the physical space of the theatre itself became a new space for the expression of public civic morality and politics, and as such it had to be regulated strictly.

*“The Police Officer is the appointed Judge” : Misbehaviour, cultural practice, and a new code of public civic morality.*

The Police Act of 01 November 1864 regarding the regulation of the theatre of Athens was created to protect order in public spaces where a large number of people were assembled, and for the prevention of fire and profiteering.<sup>312</sup> Naturally, one of its articles obliged the Theatre Committee to protect audience and performers from fire. Five articles described in detail police jurisdiction in regards to protecting the audience from profiteering, defined the obligations of the director, and laid out the rules for the sale of tickets. Another eight of the articles regulated backstage activity, servants and coaches, the role of the police, and referenced the law. Naturally, the remaining eight regulations defined and regulated ‘order’ in the theatre and around it.

By the mid-1860s, police regulations to safeguard ‘order’ inside and out the theatre, hit the nail on the head. Though these regulations the Greeks were, more or less, prohibited from expressing very intimate sides of their cultural and class identity in the theatre. Starting from the most harmless regulations in terms of conduct, theatre doors were to close fifteen minutes after the end of the performance, the audience had to leave the premises quietly, and it was prohibited for any member of the audience to

---

<sup>311</sup> Sambanis, K. 2011. The opera in Athens during the reign of King Otto (1833-1862) as seen through the press and foreign travellers. pp. 175-176

<sup>312</sup> ‘Police Act n. 31, 01 November 1864’, General State Archives [Greece], Vlachogiannis D’/10/ 4/1. [Αστυνομική Διάταξη αρ. 31, 01 Νοεμβρίου 1864, ΓΑΚ Συλλογή Βλαχογιάννη, Δ’/10/4/1]

linger around the theatre after the end of the performance.<sup>313</sup> Moreover, the audience was warned that it was prohibited to appear at the theatre unclean and “dressed not decently”, without specifying what ‘not decently’ denoted, and supposedly leaving the final judgement to the attending police officers.<sup>314</sup> Similarly, the members of the audience who made it into the performance were prohibited from sitting between the seats, talking, standing, hanging their feet outside their boxes, or “behaving indecently in any other way”.<sup>315</sup> Therefore, until now, we can imagine an audience that purportedly chose to stand between the seats, sometimes dressed indecently and maybe hadn’t washed properly, and enjoyed dangling their feet while watching the opera, or Greek theatre.

Closer to the bone, though, articles 12, 14, 15, and 17 paint the picture of an audience that after twenty-five years of theatre regulation, still maintained a very personal relationship with the theatre and its spectacles. Article 12, banned the audience from bringing sticks of any kind, whips, guns, umbrellas, or dogs in the theatre.<sup>316</sup> The source of this regulation is connected to the impassioned ways through which members of the audience expressed their devotion to the sopranos in the early days of the opera, and at the same time a response to incidents of violence. On a Tuesday night in 1840, a gang of devoted fans of the soprano Rita Basso appeared in the theatre bearing sticks and threatening to attack the fans of another soprano, Nina Ricci, in the end starting a brawl in the theatre, and causing the intervention of the police.<sup>317</sup> Similarly in 1841, supporters of the soprano Adelaide Marchetti responded to an unfavourable piece of music criticism by throwing a vicious satirical poem against Basso on stage; in the poem, among other personal attacks, the unknown poet targeted the soprano’s morals by claiming she had purportedly abandoned her child in Italy, and that “her last and only virgin parts are her ears”.<sup>318</sup> The soprano left the stage, and a fight broke out in the theatre. After these incident, and many similar ones, the police became enamoured with the opera and stayed in the building permanently, in the passing regulating other secondary issues as well.

<sup>313</sup> Articles 20 and 21, ‘Police Act n. 31, 01 November 1864’, GSA [Greece], Vlachogiannis D’10/4/1

<sup>314</sup> Article 11. ‘Police Act n. 31, 01 November 1864’, GSA [Greece], Vlachogiannis D’10/4/1

<sup>315</sup> Article 13, ‘Police Act n. 31, 01 November 1864’, GSA [Greece], Vlachogiannis D’10/4/1

<sup>316</sup> Article 12, ‘Police Act n. 31, 01 November 1864’, GSA [Greece], Vlachogiannis D’10/4/1

<sup>317</sup> Sambanis, K. 2011. The opera in Athens during the reign of King Otto (1833-1862) as seen through the press and foreign travellers. pp. 175-176

<sup>318</sup> *ibid.* p. 304-306

Article 17 declared that smoking in the theatre was also prohibited for reasons of decency, and for danger of fire.<sup>319</sup> Apart from the interesting fact that in the original document decency burned more than actual fire, it stands to question whose ‘decency’ smoking was supposedly threatening. As showcased in the discussions on tobacco in the Ottoman Empire since the 17<sup>th</sup> century, and equally in the moral panics about tobacco in Bulgarian post-Ottoman modernity, smoking had traditionally been a sociably shared practice in public spaces up to the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, and self-consciousness about its morality occurred only after contact with the West.<sup>320</sup> Rather than targeting decency, the initial introduction of the smoking ban in 1840 could be a response to criticism about the impact of smoke upon singers. In 1843, the newspaper *Ellinikos Paratiritis/L’Observateur Grec* urged the theatre committee to block the smoke from the café entering the main theatre as, when added to the smoke from the candles within the opera, it affected the sopranos, an issue they claimed to be of general concern.<sup>321</sup> It stands to reason that such concerns had been raised since the early days of the Theatre by the part of the audience that had prior experience of the demands of operatic singing, and their inscription into police regulations as ‘decency’ showcases how practical mandates of the art were introduced as civility rules in the Greek society.

Before examining article 14, with its explicit regulation of conduct in the theatre, Article 15 prohibited the audience from wearing their hat (or fez) after the beginning of the performance, to avoid obstructing the view, and also for reasons of decency.<sup>322</sup> Now, this must have been a particularly important regulation for the Greeks since, as the Greek press remarked in 1935, the hat or fez was “the sacrosanto” of traditional Greek accessories for the Athenians at the time.<sup>323</sup> The traveller Edgar Garston had connected this rule to the European code of decency that instructed the removal of the

<sup>319</sup> Article 17, ‘Police Act n. 31, 01 November 1864’, GSA [Greece], Vlachogiannis D’10/4/1

<sup>320</sup> See: Grehan, J. Smoking and “Early Modern” Sociability: The great tobacco debate in the Ottoman Middle East (Seventeenth to Eighteenth centuries. *The American Historical Review*, vol. 111, No. 5 (December 2006), pp. 1352-1377; Neuburger, M. C. 2013. *Balkan Smoke: Tobacco and the making of modern Bulgaria*. Ithaca & London: Cornell University Press.

<sup>321</sup> *Ellinikos Paratiritis/L’Observateur Grec* (1843) De la troupe de l’Opéra. *Ellinikos Paratiritis/L’Observateur Grec*, 07 April 1843, p. 3 [Ελληνικός Παρατηρητής/L’Observateur Grec (1843) De la troupe de l’Opéra. *Ελληνικός Παρατηρητής/L’Observateur Grec*, 07 Απριλίου 1843, σελ. 3]

<sup>322</sup> Article 15, ‘Police Act n. 31, 01 November 1864’, GSA [Greece], Vlachogiannis D’10/4/1

<sup>323</sup> Greek Pages (1935), The fez in the modern Greek theatre, *Greek Pages*, 1935, p. 43, held at: GSA [Greece], Vlachogiannis D’10/4/1 [Ελληνικά Φύλα (1935), Το φέσι του Νεοελληνικού θεάτρου, *Ελληνικά Φύλα*, 1935, σελ. 43: Αντίτυπο στα ΓΑΚ, Σύλλογή Βλαχογιάννη Δ’10/4/1]

hat in the presence of the King in the theatre, but recognised the need for special treatment in the case of the fez: “Perhaps it is as well that the etiquette of old monarchies should not be introduced in this respect” he wrote in reference to applauding, but

“I should wish to see it prevail in another particular- that of enjoining the male part of the audience to remain uncovered in the presence of the sovereigns [...] I would have this prescription to apply merely to those in Frank costume, and by no means to the wearers of the national dress. It is decidedly ‘heterodox’ for the latter to uncover their heads, and I am too much of an Oriental to desire any departure from ancient usages in this respect”.<sup>324</sup>

Perhaps because of the importance of the fez for the Greeks at the time, even though this particular regulatory act first appeared in 1840, it was more or less ignored, as will be seen shortly. Nevertheless, it appears that yet another rule of civility in the theatre was introduced into the Greek opera house in direct imitation of European practice, and in accordance to the ideological hierarchy that the opera represented. The Greek fez-wearers were instructed from early on that the opera was a western spectacle and as such their local customs had to adjust to a wider code of operatic behaviour. Therefore, until now, a fez wearing, stick bearing, shisha-smoking man with a poodle and a wife carrying an umbrella would have definitely been banned from attending ‘La Sonnambula’ at the theatre of Athens in the 1860s.

Article 14 will be left aside for now, since it is the outcome of a much longer process of gradual evolution of previous, less sharp, attempts to regulate audience behaviour in the theatre. It is, in a sense, the culmination of fifteen years of unsuccessful attempts to tame the theatre and its audience. For the sake of curiosity, and clarity in regards to the upcoming comparison between different times and attitudes, Article 14 stated:

“Any disruption of order in the theatre is prohibited, whether it is through shouting, irregular applauding, whistling, or any other inappropriate form of expressing approval, before, after, or during the performance; it is

---

<sup>324</sup> Garston, E. 1842. Greece Revisited and Sketches in lower Egypt in 1840 with Thirty-six hours of a campaign in Greece in 1825, p. 30

prohibited to everyone to throw any sort of objects on stage, apart from bouquets, wreaths, or presents.”<sup>325</sup>

Article 14 lies in the middle of the present analysis on audience regulation because in the twenty four years since the theatre in Athens started deserving official police regulation as a physical space of social interaction and contact with the opera and theatre, the content of these regulations saw an impressive shift from preventing physical damages, to steadily but increasingly moulding social behaviour. At the same time, since the theatre was the space where covert opposition to monarchy had been expressed, it also became the space where political arrests were made, the police abused its power by allowing admittance at will, and Ministers exercised their privilege by securing free boxes for themselves.<sup>326</sup>

Nevertheless, the earlier presence of the police in the theatre was much more discreet than the 1860s grotesque attempt to minimize irregular applauding in fear of arrest. In raw numbers, the 1840 Police Act allocated thirteen policemen inside the building, with an unspecified number waiting outside.<sup>327</sup> And even though the officer in charge was simultaneously granted the power of the Judge- whose on the spot decisions could later be overturned in court- the Act focused mainly on the obligations of the director and committee of the theatre, and the protection of the audience from natural disasters and profiteering.<sup>328</sup> The general rules of conduct were explained in four compact articles. According to Article 10 dogs were not allowed in the theatre, sticks of any kind were not to be brought in, and smoking was allowed only at the café.<sup>329</sup> Article 11 ‘advised’ the audience to remain quiet, and not obstruct the performance in any way, and warned that failure to comply would lead to immediate expulsion from the theatre and potential legal consequences.<sup>330</sup> That the Greek audience enjoyed making noise in a manner that was considered unorthodox for the space where the opera was performed, and as such attracted the attention of the connoisseurs and

<sup>325</sup> Article 14, ‘Police Act n. 31, 01 November 1864’, GSA [Greece], Vlachogiannis D’10/4/1

<sup>326</sup> Sambanis, K. 2011. The opera in Athens during the reign of King Otto (1833-1862) pp. 630,644,747

<sup>327</sup> Article 2, Police Act ‘On Policing the Theatre’, 27 May 1840. GSA [Greece], Vlachogiannis D’10/4/1 [Διάταξη Περί Αστυνομίας του Θεάτρου, 27 Μαΐου 1840. Αντίγραφο στα ΓΑΚ, Συλλογή Βλαχογιάννη Δ’10/4/1]

<sup>328</sup> Article 3 states ‘The policeman is the appointed Judge in the cases where fast decisions are required. These decisions are to be implemented immediately, yet whoever believes injustice has been committed, retains the right to take the case to a Higher Authority.’ Police Act ‘On Policing the Theatre’, 27 May 1840. GSA [Greece], Vlachogiannis D’10/4/1

<sup>329</sup> Article 10, Police Act ‘On Policing the Theatre’, 27 May 1840. GSA [Greece], Vlachogiannis D’10/4/1.

<sup>330</sup> Article 11, Police Act ‘On Policing the Theatre’, 27 May 1840. GSA [Greece], Vlachogiannis D’10/4/1.

regulators, can be supported by Edgar Garston's delight at the irregular applauding in the Theatre:

“To one accustomed to the etiquette of the opera in Italy it is a novelty to see the actors applauded, and repeatedly called forth to receive the greetings of the audience without the sanctions of the royal personages who are present. Perhaps it is as well that the etiquette of old monarchies should not be introduced in this respect”.<sup>331</sup>

The inclusion of this rule into the Athenian Theatre was again probably imposed after the insistence of the part of the audience that had prior experience in European theatres, and was keen to emulate this code of ‘civility’.<sup>332</sup> In the case of Europe, though, the discussion about the conditions under which music ought to be enjoyed in public was initiated by music theorists and composers in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century, and developed into a strict rule of respect, civility, and tradition by the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, in a mutually constructive dialogue between compositional practice and performance.<sup>333</sup> For the ‘peripheral’ countries of the tradition, such as Greece, the outcomes of central European negotiation about the art were imposed as rules of ‘civility’ enforced by the police. Article 12 commanded the audience to remove their hats when the Royals attended, and recommended not wearing them during the performance as to not obstruct the view.<sup>334</sup> Lastly, Article 13 prohibited ‘any member of the audience, regardless of class, gender, or rank’ from expressing their *disapproval* during or after the performance in an indecent manner, since decency was something that ‘everyone ought to protect in such public places’.<sup>335</sup>

In direct comparison to Article 14 of 1864, Article 13 of 1840 appears radically different in terms of wording, content, and spirit, though they both effectively attempted to regulate audience behaviour. If anything else, the Act of 1840 was establishing a brand new code of behaviour in public, it was instructing people to start exercising and protecting *decency* in public spaces- a form of decency, again, abstract in content- and made sure it would be publicly heralded, since the Act was to be

<sup>331</sup> Garston, E. 1842. Greece Revisited and Sketches in lower Egypt in 1840 with Thirty-six hours of a campaign in Greece in 1825, p. 29-30

<sup>332</sup> Sambanis, K. 2011. The opera in Athens during the reign of King Otto (1833-1862) as seen through the press and foreign travellers. pp. 144-145

<sup>333</sup> Goehr, L. 2007. The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works: an Essay in the Philosophy of Music, pp. 236-240

<sup>334</sup> Article 12, Police Act ‘On Policing the Theatre’, 27 May 1840. GSA [Greece], Vlachogiannis D’10/4/1.

<sup>335</sup> Article 13, Police Act ‘On Policing the Theatre’, 27 May 1840. GSA [Greece], Vlachogiannis D’10/4/1.

published both in the press, as well as to be displayed inside and outside the theatre.<sup>336</sup> At the same time, in the course of these twenty odd years the specification of ‘class, gender, and rank’ was dropped, either because after the first few years of the theatre class became the obvious troublemaker in regards to the expression of ‘western’ respect to the spectacle, or possibly because it was simply in the jurisdiction of the attending police officers to prevent any disturbance regardless of position in society. Yet, since the country was speeding towards the West, and the dominant ideology dictated a new, western code of behaviour for places like the theatre, it is increasingly probable that trouble was expected from people who hadn’t yet understood that their manners did not belong to the theatre.<sup>337</sup> Lastly, it remains very interesting how the audience was instructed not to express loudly their *disapproval* in 1840, while by 1864 they were discouraged from expressing their *approval* in any indecent manner. This shift in the wording suggests that the Greeks kept expressing their infatuation to the sopranos excessively, but had been conditioned to the regulatory code of the theatre enough as to stop obstructing the performance when they didn’t like it.

In the course of the twenty-four years between these two Acts, it is very visible that both the police as well as the desperate successive Theatre Committees failed to instil a sense of respect for the theatre to the audience. It is particularly hard to establish a clear connection, but it is possible that the multiple voices condemning the Italian opera as immoral –as seen previously, and will be properly analyzed shortly-, in combination with the political manipulation of the theatre, and the abuse of power by the police, resulted in an unfavourable and irreverent attitude towards the theatre in its 19<sup>th</sup> century existence. Shortly after the Police Regulation of 1840, the Ministry of the Interior would address a letter to the King, apologising for the unrest in the theatre, and reassure him that the police were enforcing the law. If someone was to be held responsible for the incidents in the theatre, unaccounted in the letter, it would have to be the Theatre Committee, which had already been instructed to take stricter measures

---

<sup>336</sup> Article 24 instructed the publication of the Act in the press and its display inside and outside the theatre. Article 24, Police Act ‘On Policing the Theatre’, 27 May 1840. GSA [Greece], Vlachogiannis D’10/4/1.

<sup>337</sup> Here, a comparative study between the different regulatory practices in Europe, and how they influenced audience behavior in the theatres, is long due. Whether the Greeks were attempting to imitate their European neighbours, or were merely projecting their beliefs on how Europeans were behaving in theatres is not known. Possibly, and since the minuscule upper class of the 1840s was members of the Diaspora who moved back to Greece, they attempted to impose their version of public morality in the theatre.



in the future.<sup>338</sup> Still, by 1851 when the next available Police Protocol was issued in regards to policing the theatre, things do not seem to have improved, and police presence in the theatre rose from thirteen officers inside the theatre in 1840, to thirty-four.<sup>339</sup> This time though, the Committee almost begged for police intervention. The Theatre Committee- appointed by the Ministry of the Interior to advise the process- recommended that police presence was imperative in the theatre, and advised on the distribution of the policemen, petitioning for twenty-seven of them to be placed inside the theatre, two for the coaches, two for the café, and another two in support of the doorman.<sup>340</sup>

The Committee, in their short report, explained that state assistance for the preservation of order was advisable according to the law, as well as common practice in the rest of Europe. Indeed, in the Opéra in Paris the police was present in the theatre to secure against political agitation, and roughly between 1837 and 1850 the authorities became increasingly alarmed about potential political unrest in the opera.<sup>341</sup> The severity of the committee's tone appears to have been justified by the destruction of property in the theatre, and more specifically the removal of doors, broken locks, and theft of furniture from the boxes (chairs, benches, and even couches).<sup>342</sup> Yet, once you allow the regulators into the theatre, there is no guarantee of what they will choose to regulate. A reader's letter reaching Athens from the city of Patras, in the northern Peloponnese, explained how a member of the audience threw herbs on the performing soprano, the police intervened to arrest the misbehaving man, and arrested the wrong person, whom they beat to pulp. Unfortunately, the assaulted man was a British subject, who complained at the British Embassy, causing a minor incident. Still, the reader wondered, what right did the

---

<sup>338</sup> Letter to the King by the Ministry of the Interior 'On the disorder taking place during performances at the theatre', 5/17 March 1841, GSA [Greece], Vlachogiannis D'10/4/2 [Επιστολή του Υπουργού Εσωτερικών προς το Βασιλιά 'Περί των κατά τας παραστάσεις συμβαινουσών εις το θέατρον αταξιών', 5/17 Μαρτίου 1841, Αντίγραφο στα ΓΑΚ, Συλλογή Βλαχογιάννη Δ'10/4/2]

<sup>339</sup> Protocol of 07 November 1851 on the preservation of order in the Theatre of Athens. GSA [Greece], Vlachogiannis D'10/4/2 [Πρωτόκολλο περί ευταξίας στο Θέατρο, 07 Νοεμβρίου 1851, Αντίγραφο στα ΓΑΚ, Συλλογή Βλαχογιάννη Δ'10/4/2]

<sup>340</sup> Supplementary Document [14 November 1851] on the Protocol of 07 November 1851 on the preservation of order in the Theatre of Athens. GSA [Greece], Vlachogiannis D'10/4/2 [Πρωτόκολλο περί ευταξίας στο Θέατρο, 14 Νοεμβρίου 1851, Αντίγραφο στα ΓΑΚ, Συλλογή Βλαχογιάννη Δ'10/4/2]

<sup>341</sup> Jane Fulcher. 1987. The nation's image: French opera as politics and politicized art, pp. 88-89, 100-101

<sup>342</sup> Supplementary Document [14 November 1851] on the Protocol of 07 November 1851 on the preservation of order in the Theatre of Athens. GSA [Greece], Vlachogiannis D'10/4/2

police have to intervene in such manner since all citizens were protected by the Constitution?<sup>343</sup>

If we are to read the successive Police Acts regarding the theatre as a set of regulatory directives that evolved over time from controlling a new space, to dictating a new public morality, there is still a complementary Police Act to demonstrate the transition from space to conduct. Almost exactly between the Acts of 1840 and 1864, the Police Act of 1853 is an Act that contains more or less the same articles as its predecessor and its heir. Small changes in the wording and content, though, reveal not only a police force that was still uncomfortable with the task of defining what was supposed to take place in a theatre and what not, but also, what assets of (class or national) identity were persistently denying to fade away even under threat of legal prosecution.

Among the usual articles binding the Director and Committee of the theatre in terms of public safety and against profiteering, the Act made it *illegal* for members of the audience to occupy someone else's seat if a coat or hat had been left on it.

Unfortunately, tracing the specific source of this practice in Western Europe is unimaginable. What is not unimaginable is to propose that this specific Article was probably the outcome of a dispute that caused unrest in the theatre and forced the police to incorporate it into the rules governing audience practice in the theatre.<sup>344</sup>

From police act to tradition, then, the first audience of the theatre could have found themselves prosecuted by the police if they didn't respect the coat rule that later on became tradition. The Articles concerning decent dressing and cleanliness remained the same, along with the prohibition of bringing sticks, whips, guns, umbrellas, and dogs into the theatre, as well as the general rule of prohibiting the audience from hanging their feet outside their boxes.<sup>345</sup> If something is to be deduced from this, it is that, unlike the specification for 'class and rank' misbehaviour that faded away, the Greeks kept hanging their feet outside their boxes thirteen years after it first became

<sup>343</sup> P.P., (1852) Letter to the Editor of *Elpis*, *Elpis*, 09 February 1852, pp. 3-4 [Π.Π, (1852) Κύριε συντάκτη της *Ελπίδος*, *Η Ελπίς*, 09 Φεβρουαρίου 1852, σελ. 3-4]

<sup>344</sup> Article 5, Police Act 'On theatrical performances', 30 August 1853. GSA [Greece], Vlachogiannis D'10/4/2. [Αστυνομική Διάταξη Περί Θεατρικών Παραστάσεων', 30 Αυγούστου 1853, Αντίγραφο στα ΦΑΚ, Συλλογή Βλαχογιάννη Δ'10/4/2.]

<sup>345</sup> Articles 11, 12, 14. Police Act 'On theatrical performances', 30 August 1853. GSA [Greece], Vlachogiannis D'10/4/2.

illegal. Wearing a hat (or fez) in the theatre, smoking, talking, and lingering around the theatre after the performance was over, remained prohibited as well.<sup>346</sup>

The discomfort of the Police in regulating the audience can be observed in their attempt to define ‘decency’ for the most intimate aspect of audience behaviour; their immediate reaction towards what they were seeing and hearing. Back to Article 13 of 1840 and Article 14 of 1864, and their attempts to control the audience’s *disapproval* or *approval* of the spectacle, Article 15 of 1853 lies in the middle both chronologically, as well as in content. To sum up the relevant Acts, dates, and articles of interest here:

- Article 13 of 1840 prohibited the loud expression of disapproval by any member of the audience regardless of class, gender, or rank. It did not specify what people could throw on stage.
- Article 15 of 1853 prohibited the expression of either disapproval or approval of the performance, didn’t include the class/gender/rank specification, and didn’t allow people to throw anything on stage including flower bouquets. A bouquet could only be thrown on stage when a *benefizio* was attached (the Italian word spelt phonetically in Greek in the original), and ‘in a decent manner’- supposedly not directly in the face of the soprano.
- Article 14 of 1864 prohibited the disturbance of order in the theatre through the expressions of approval (applauding, whistling, shouting) out of their ordinary- decent timing (supposedly only between the acts and before and after the performance). Objects were not to be thrown on stage, though wreaths of flowers were again permitted. Last but not least, the word *benefizio* was replaced by its Greek counterpart, and throwing presents to the soprano thus remained within the limits of legality, decency, and public order.

Between these three police articles regulating the same aspect of audience behaviour, and stretching over the first three decades of the creation of the theatre of Athens,

---

<sup>346</sup> Articles 16, 18, 21, 22. Police Act ‘On theatrical performances’, 30 August 1853. GSA [Greece], Vlachogiannis D’10/4/2.

there are two observations to be made. In the 1840s the Greek audience attended the theatre to disapprove of what they saw, or genuinely didn't like the offered product. In the 1850s some Greeks liked the product on offer, some others didn't, and so the police had to restrain both from expressing their opinion. By the 1860s the Greeks who didn't like the spectacle of the night either didn't attend the theatre, choosing any other form of entertainment that Athens could offer by then, or they simply had internalized that like it or not, they should keep it to themselves. The second deduction is that the Greeks expressed their opinion by throwing things on stage. And while this is not something that would strike any opera lover as strange, the things that the police had to stop the Greeks from throwing on stage varied from furs and coats and jewellery in the good cases, to garlic and a dead dog in the worst.<sup>347</sup> What this comparison demonstrates, nevertheless, is not that the Greeks were to be contained. Contextualized within their separate respective Police Acts, and the gradual increase of the moralistic Articles in comparison to the rest and the gradual adaptation of the specific articles to the needs of audience regulation at each period (presents/ no presents, approval/disapproval) indicates how cultural indoctrination in spaces like the theatre, moulds long-term 'decent' social and class behaviour.

On a parallel level, the evolution of the spirit of police intervention in regards to the theatre elucidates the evolution of 19<sup>th</sup> century Athenian society. While the fear of physical damages appears to be fading in the Acts though the number of actual policemen increased drastically between 1840 and 1853, it is becoming increasingly visible that the strict moral regulation of the theatre coincides with the rise and domination of the Greek bourgeoisie towards the end of the century.<sup>348</sup> Whether institutions such as the theatre moulded this bourgeoisie or it was its gradual domination in the city that marginalized the previous forms of conduct in public spaces such as the theatre, has not yet been studied. A similar study by Derek Scott comparing mid-19<sup>th</sup> century Paris, London, and Vienna has demonstrated a clear

---

<sup>347</sup> It stands out among the stories of the various objects the Greeks have thrown on stage over time, that story of an evening in 1865 that the Athenians bid farewell to the departing operatic group by throwing on stage onions, garlic, herbs and other vegetables. The news report narrating the story mentioned in the passing that the police had to restrain some members of the audience from bringing in the theatre a dead dog to throw on stage. *Avgi* (1865), Section 'Various News', *Avgi*, 08 February 1865, p. 4 [Αυγή (1865), Διάφορα, *Αυγή*, 08 Φεβρουαρίου 1865, σελ. 4]

<sup>348</sup> For the rise of the Greek bourgeoisie and their cultural and economic domination between 1876 and 1909, see: Svoronos, N.G. 1976. An Overview of Modern Greek History, p. 100 [Σβορώνος, Ν. Γ. 1976. Επισκόπηση της Νεοελληνικής Ιστορίας, σελ.100]

interrelation between population growth, the creation of a market for entertainment, ideas of class and Gramscian notions of moral leadership, in relation to the evolution of music and its institutions.<sup>349</sup> What is for sure in the Greek case is that the Theatre and the police met halfway to introduce a new code of public morality and conduct. The police force, created with a Royal mandate to assist the state to promote the arts and industry through the protection of public space, was invited by the successive Committees of the Theatre in Athens to protect it physically and morally.<sup>350</sup>

This synergy, in combination with the persistent support of the opera by the Palace and state in the expense of national theatre, rendered the Theatre of Athens a space of clashing ideologies, and the opera a controversial musical genre. Covert political opposition or Royalist support blended with Orthodox moral values and Europeanist ‘progressive’ discourse, materialised in instigated violence within the theatre, and in calculated pieces of music criticism in the press. The transplantation of the operatic tradition into a new cultural habitat created agents of European middle-class emulation embedded within the regulation of the Theatre of Athens, and social norms that reflected Italian or central European etiquette were imposed as strict ‘rules of civility’ in a radically different cultural setting. Police intervention and the immediate politicization of the art come in stark contrast to the positive reception of the new genre in the city, and the moral panics regarding the behaviour of the younger generation, or the bosoms of the sopranos cast a shadow over the healthy development of the art. Music in the Theatre had to be replaced by Greek theatre in the theatre, and the idea of a Greek opera remained equally foreign. For the good of the nation, in public discourse, European art music had to be replaced by the theatre.

One can imagine that a few blocks down the road from this ‘school for the people’ that the theatre ought to have been, there stood another ‘school for the people’: a school full of people. Similarly to the Theatre of Athens, the 19<sup>th</sup> century saw the creation of a multitude of other institutions aspiring to educate the Greeks into their

<sup>349</sup> Scott, D.B. ‘Music and Social Class’, in Samson, J. (ed.). 2002. *The Cambridge History of Nineteenth- Century Music*. pp. 544-555

<sup>350</sup> The Royal Decree of 1836 establishing the Greek Police force of Athens defined its purpose as an auxiliary service to the governmental effort to bring bliss to the people. Within their duties was to assist the development of the intellectual capacities of the citizens, to diminish local superstitions, to assist the revival of the arts and industry, and to remove anything that delayed national bliss (among other things). Royal Decree of 03 July 1836, n. 32, Article 12. Published in the *Journal of the Greek Government* of 03 July 1836, no. 32 [ΒΔ 03 Ιουλίου 1836, αριθμός 32, Άρθρο 12. Από: ΦΕΚ Α 32/1836]

modern cultural being. Naturally music featured in all discussions about education, and was persistently at the back of the mind of educationists and legislators. Nevertheless, the questions of what music, and who could teach it, whether it ought to have been the Byzantine chant or traditional music, and how music related to modern Greek-Orthodox-Balkan-European identity, created a set of theoretical and practical obstacles. Ironically, as will be examined in the next Story, until the last decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, when the Conservatory of Athens was instituted, the theatre did remain the main 'school for the people', but for a lesson that part of society found alienating: western art music.

## Second Story: Music education in 19<sup>th</sup> century Greece

Standing on the verge of the century, George Nazos, Director of the Conservatory of Athens, defended the introduction of fees at the institution in a letter published at the front page of the newspaper *Estia*, on 17 March 1899.<sup>351</sup> Standing on the verge of the century, Nazos stepped forward and addressed the state in regards to its responsibilities towards music, musicians, and the people of Greece. In ten points, he more or less summarised the accumulated societal, political, cultural, and governmental problems that obstructed the Conservatory from nurturing music in Greece. A single Conservatory was not capable of educating the people, he claimed, and to contribute to a solid national musical education. The Conservatory ought to be morally supported by the state and private individuals equally. Musical education ought to be introduced in primary and secondary schools, the Church ought to invite teachers to teach the Chant, and cantor-schools ought to introduce European music in their curricula. The state ought to inaugurate and sustain orchestras in major Greek cities, as well as a permanent opera company to safeguard a professional future for musicians.<sup>352</sup>

Point by point, Nazos touched upon the most important issues that had shaped the musical reality of the country in the past fifty-nine years, here counting since 1840 and the inauguration of the Theatre of Athens as an official cultural institution that hosted music. Nazos' review of the shortcomings of musical culture in Greece revealed his personal conviction about the value of a holistic approach to the cultivation of musical culture. Naturally, music education was at the core of his argumentation, and as a director that was coming under fire for rendering it elitist by imposing fees, he reacted through the only means possible; in a country where music was not taught anywhere else, and western musical conscience was not formally promoted by the state, how could people expect the Conservatory to lower its standards of admission, and remain free at the same time? All the aforementioned qualities, which were far from the qualities or responsibilities of *any* European

---

<sup>351</sup> G.N. Nazos (1899) The musical education of the people. *Estia*, 18 March 1899, p. 1 [Γ.Ν. Νάζος (1899), Η μουσική μόρφωσις του λαού, *Εστία*, 18 Μαρτίου 1899, σελ. 1]

<sup>352</sup> *ibid.*

Conservatoire, fell within the standards of public state education, and in the case of music this Story is one of a silent inexistence.

The following chapter will position music in its diverse educational settings by examining three main vehicles of artistic education in the country: state schools of primary and secondary education, institutions for artistic education that flourished throughout the century; the influx of Ionian music teachers in the 1860s, and the Conservatory of Athens, inaugurated in 1872. Through comparing the aforementioned in their different outcomes for the development of the arts they promoted, it will arrive at conclusions about the discourse of Europe emanating from their practice, and how this discourse contributed to the development of the said arts. Last but not least, it will attempt to highlight the importance of the absence of musical education in the country, and thus provide with a solid basis of understanding for the following chapters concerning Byzantine music and the emergence of the Greek National School of Music.

*'Natural' Architectural Inclinations: mid- 19<sup>th</sup> century Greek institutions for the arts and crafts.*

Contrary to the case of the culturally unstable Theatre of Athens, in the case of musical education the state does not appear to have failed to connect art and public. Of course one could argue that there can be no error where no serious effort has been made but, for this Story, the beginnings of public education were so difficult that, at least for the first decades of its new existence, the state cannot be blamed for not trying. At the same time, and in contrast again to the case of the Theatre that was seen as tangible evidence of the nation's cultural advancement and was addressing an imaginary European audience, in the case of education there was no European audience expecting to be impressed by suchlike assets of development. Therefore, in this instance, systematic musical education was set against two important enemies: the simultaneous problems of the nature of a national education destined for internal consumption with no immediate external outcomes to be exhibited to domestic and foreign audiences, and the practical problems of teaching music in a country with no



trained musicians or music teachers. Arguably, more important was the problem of teaching music in a country that had no music teachers, teachers in general, schools, students, and a solid educational system to organise all these shortages into a coherent plan for the future. The following section will give a short overview of the most important 19<sup>th</sup> century Greek educational challenges, and position the teaching of music in school in its wider educational context. It will then proceed to explain the importance of other institutions for the artistic education of the people, the consistent absence of music from their curricula, and the importance of the creation of the Conservatory of Athens in 1874.

Leaving musical education aside for a moment, by the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century there was general consensus over the fact the Greeks were demonstrating a ‘natural tendency’ towards the plastic arts, in continuation of their ancestors’ tangible excellence in them. Or, at least that was Lysandros Kaftantzoglou’s proud claim in his 1858 speech for the 12<sup>th</sup> annual competition and exhibition of the *Royal Polytechnic School*, an institution that had been meticulously nurturing the Greeks’ hereditary talent in architecture, sculpture, painting and a set of handicrafts since 1837. In the same speech, Kaftantzoglou, a prominent architect himself and the institution’s Director at the time, stressed the importance of what he termed ‘civic architecture’ for Greece, a subdivision of Architecture necessary for the further development of the plastic arts; such development would secure the training of Greek architects to gradually take over from their foreign colleagues in the construction, re-construction, and embellishment of Greek cities.<sup>353</sup> In fact, the purported inclination of the Greeks towards architecture had been nurtured for the past twenty-one years in one of the most important and successful 19<sup>th</sup> century Greek institutions for the education of the people. *The School of the Arts* [crafts], also known as the *Athens Polytechnic*, was created in 1837 as a free Sunday school for vocational training in construction and handicrafts (ichnography, elementary mathematics and geometry, plaster moulding, and later on writing and calligraphy), aspiring to create both a class of craftsmen that the country

---

<sup>353</sup> ‘Civic’ architecture was used in Kaftantzoglou’s speech as a subdivision of Architecture, which included ‘naval’ architecture for the construction of ships, and ‘industrial’ architecture for the construction of factories, among other subdivisions. See: Kaftantzoglou, L. 1858. Speech, delivered at the anniversary of the Royal Polytechnic on 4 May 1858, during the twelfth exhibition of its artistic competition, by the Director Lysandros Kaftantzoglou. p. 23-24 [Καυτανζόγλου, Λ. 1858. Λόγος, Εκφωνηθείς κατά την επέτειον τελετήν του Βασιλικού Πολυτεχνείου, επί της κατά το δωδέκατον καλλιτεχνικόν έτος εκθέσεως των Διαγωνισμών, Υπό του Διευθυντού Λύσανδρου Καυτανζόγλου. σελ.23-24]

visibly lacked at the time, as well as kick start the artistic training of sculptors, painters, and other practitioners.<sup>354</sup> The *School* was directed by the Bavarian Friedrich von Zentner, who modelled it after the *Akademie der Bildenden Künsten* in Munich, the technical school *La Martinière* of Lyon, and the Parisian *École des Arts et Métiers*, though not aspiring to compete with the aforementioned institutions in terms of educational outcomes.<sup>355</sup>

When contrasted to core public education that led a tortured existence struggling against a multitude of diverse ideological and practical obstacles, as will be seen shortly, subsidiary institutions such as the *School* operated with a creative force stemming from the synergy between the state and personal beliefs in education, and artistic education. Naturally, the institution had its share of important issues to overcome, the lack of space, limited funding, and teaching staff being particularly important, but it appears as if the combined efforts of the state and individuals (inside and out of the country) to create a meaningful institution with a clear mandate to educate the people in the crafts and arts, contributed to its successful development and survival. From early on in its existence, the *School* established connections and won the support of Bavarian polytechnic and agricultural associations, and individuals such as Henri Tabareau (director of the *École de la Martinière* in Lyon), Olivier Celtier (member of the *École Industrielle de la Société des Arts* in Geneva), and Gustave Vorherr (director of the *Königliche Baugewerksschule*), who contributed to its effort with the donation of a significant amount of books, dictionaries, and journals.<sup>356</sup> At the same time, the Palace, and notable Greeks and philhellenes residing in Athens, subsidised the institution financially and with material donations. Among the many examples, Sophie de Marbois-Lebrun, Duchess of Plaisance, invited in 1839 the French Pierre Bonirote to teach painting, financed his payment, and a year later (1840) she was praised in the press for her initiative to import and donate painting

---

<sup>354</sup> The lack of experienced craftsmen became visible when construction began for the Palace in Athens in 1836, and the large scale of the project indicated the shortage in properly trained workforce. See: Mertiri, A. 2000. *Artistic Education of Young People in Greece (1836-1945)*. pp. 51-52, 62-64,66 [Μερτύρη, Α. 2000. *Η Καλλιτεχνική Εκπαίδευση των Νέων στην Ελλάδα (1836-1945)*, σελ. 51-52, 62-64,66 ]

<sup>355</sup> The educational outcomes of the *School* were conditioned by the wider political, economical, and societal environment of Greece at the time, and so its educational output can under no circumstances be compared to the output of its European counterparts. The Greek *Polytechnic* was aiming to provide a simplified and inclusive technical education, to train the many easily and fast. *ibid.* p. 56-57

<sup>356</sup> For an overview of the various donations to the institution, *ibid.* p. 67

materials from France to support the poorer students.<sup>357</sup> At the same time, others, such as Xaver Landerer, at the time teaching at the University of Athens as well, taught Chemistry at the *School gratis*.<sup>358</sup>

By combining interpersonal networks of professional and personal trust, and inter-institutional support, the *School* succeeded where the state would have probably failed, always taking as a comparative measure both the Theatre of Athens with its undecided role as a container of European or Greek art, and the ailing national educational system. It appears as if when art became the means for achieving a higher goal- educating the people at this instance- nationalism was still omnipresent but remained irrelevant. The output was by no means free of nationalist narratives, especially in regards to sculpture and architecture that were heavily charged with projections of national identity, but in contrast to music where ‘national colour’ was always the objective and fantasy of nationalists, the convenient prominence of classicism in the plastic arts all over Europe at the time, assisted the national education of the people through supranational approaches. This stands in stark contrast to the cases when the development of any given art was under consideration itself, as is the case of music, when its quintessentially supranational nature was put under scrutiny, and matters of national identity conditioned its development.

In 1843, after the success of the political and military revolt that forced King Otto to grant a Constitution, there was a side-demand to remove of all non-local civil servants, who also held higher ranks than the Greeks by law. In this way, Friedrich von Zentner was forced to abandon his position.<sup>359</sup> Kaftantzoglou was appointed Director, a set of proposed reforms for the expansion of the institution’s curriculum was put forward, and after its reorganization the *Royal Polytechnic for the Arts* emerged, to offer its students more classes in the arts. According to the Royal Decree of 09 November 1843, the school was divided in the Sunday School [for grammar, calligraphy, drawing, Chemistry, basic mechanics, and plaster moulding], the

<sup>357</sup> For Sophie de Marbois-Lebrun’s donation see: Aeon (1840), Polytechnic School, *Aeon*, 26 May 1840, p. 4 [Ο Αιών (1840), Πολυτεχνικόν Σχολεῖον, *Ο Αιών*, 26 Μαΐου 1849, σελ. 4]; for Bonirote’s invitation see: Mertiri, A. 2000. Artistic Education of Young People in Greece (1836-1945). p 144.

<sup>358</sup> Ibid. p. 64

<sup>359</sup> For the specifics of the 1843 removal of Bavarian and non-local Greek civil servants see: Petropoulos, J.A., Koumariou, A. 1982. The establishment of the Greek state: the reign of King Otto 1833-1843, pp. 23-24 Mertiri, A. 2000. Artistic Education of Young People in Greece (1836-1945), p. 79 [Πετρόπουλος, Ι. Α., Κουμαριανού, Αικ. 1982. Η θεμελίωση του ελληνικού Κράτους: Οθωνική περίοδος 1833-1843, σελ. 23-24]

Everyday School [applied mathematics, ichnography, elementary mechanics, Chemistry, plaster moulding, and practical training for blacksmiths, carpenters, watchmakers, and stonemasons], and the Advanced School [for advanced painting, sculpture, architecture, lithography, and gradually wood engraving and copper engraving].<sup>360</sup> The number of students between 1841 and 1844 rose from 190 to 635, and the school even introduced classes of photography in 1847.<sup>361</sup>

By the time of Kaftantzoglou's 1857 speech, the institution could boast of 470 (male) students of all social classes, taking a variety of classes that included thirteen students of painting and iconography, six students of architecture, four blacksmiths and goldsmiths, a bookseller, and organized an annual student competition that demonstrated the wider progress of the nation, as showcased in the development of the arts and crafts.<sup>362</sup> The *School*, and later on *Royal Polytechnic for the Arts*, established a strong presence in Athens and contributed, along with the University of Athens that was inaugurated around the same time, to the creation of an able body of Greek painters and sculptors. And while the success story of the rest of the Fine Arts is a fine example of how methodical education contributed to long-term artistic outcomes, in the case of music the absence of any such education had grave implications for the development of the art in the country, as well as cultural implications stemming from an art that ran loose and unregulated.

In 1845, the strong emphasis of the *Polytechnic* towards the handicrafts and hard sciences led to the creation of yet another society, the *Society for the Fine Arts*, under the patronage of King Otto, the presidency of Queen Amalia, and with the financial and moral support of Greek and foreign institutions and donors. Its relationship to the *Polytechnic*, as well as its structure, aims, and relationship to the state have proven important not as much in regards to the artistic output of the institution, which remains irrelevant for now, as they are for understanding the small dysfunctions that obstructed the smooth evolution of arts such as music in the Kingdom. As often was the case, music appears to have merely fallen between the cracks of official

<sup>360</sup> Royal Decree of 09 November 1843, n. 38, Articles A', B'. Published in the Journal of the Greek Government of 09 November 1843, no. 38 [ΒΔ 09 Νοεμβρίου 1843, αριθμός 38, Άρθρα Α', Β'. Από: ΦΕΚ Α 38/1843]

<sup>361</sup> Mertiri, A. 2000. Artistic Education of Young People in Greece (1836-1945). p. 76, 99.

<sup>362</sup> Excerpt from the student register for 1857, published at: Kaftantzoglou, L. 1858. Speech [...]. pp. 3-5

educational policy for the arts, be it the national educational system or its satellite institutions, such as the *School* and *Society*.

If the intellectual inclination of the *School* was to support the hard sciences and, through them, to create a body of skilled craftsmen and artists for the decorative arts (architecture, painting, sculpture), by constitutive charter the *Society* aspired to take the *School*'s vision a step forward and become an institution devoted to the development of the Fine Arts.<sup>363</sup> The means of fulfilling this complex vision of nurturing a culture embracing the Fine Arts were devised in the spirit of a Literary Society that would in the long term actively encourage tangible artistic output. Therefore, the *Society* opened its doors in 1845 with a call for the donation of artworks and books by individuals, who would in return receive honorary membership -subject to the artistic value of their donation, it welcomed financial support, announced the future organization of competitions and the award of scholarships for aspiring young artists, and promised the gradual inauguration of a school for the Fine Arts (architecture, sculpture, painting, and music).<sup>364</sup> Had the *Society* achieved its promised product of an institution offering rounded artistic education, it would have been an important step for the country, since detaching the Arts from hard-labour training would have set a new tone in terms of the social reception of the Arts, something particularly important for musical education. Yet, a set of trivial obstacles brought the initiative to its knees no more than eight years later, and with no artistic outcomes whatsoever. The unclear direction of the institution, in combination with a strong internal opposition regarding its purpose, and the absence of a wider Governmental policy for the arts, proved destructive.

<sup>363</sup> Royal Decree of 17 October 1844. Published in the Journal of the Greek Government of 02 March 1845, no. 5 [ΒΔ 17 Οκτωβρίου 1844. Από: ΦΕΚ Α 5/1845]

<sup>364</sup> GSA [Greece], Secretariat/Ministry of Ecclesiastical Issues and State Education Archive [1833-1848], Section #002- Public Education, Folder #3347, 'Announcement for the establishment of the *Society for the Fine Arts in Athens*', 25 March 1845 [ΓΑΚ, Αρχείο Γραμματείας/Υπουργείου Εκκλησιαστικών και Δημοσίου Εκπαιδευσεως [1833-1848], Σειρά #002- Δημόσια Εκπαίδευση, Φάκελος #3347, 'Αγγελία περι της συστάσεως της εν Αθήναις εταιρίας των Ωραίων Τεχνών.', 25 Μαρτίου 1845]; 'Documents concerning the establishment of the *Society for the Fine Arts in Athens* including its Constitutive Charter', 1845, Athens: Melachouri and Karampini Press, Article B', pp. 6. Held at the Library of the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, Document Number 39473 ['Τα περί της Αδείας προς την συστασιν της εν Αθήναις Εταιρίας των Ωραίων Τεχνών, της Εγκρίσεως του Διοργανισμού αυτής εκδοθέντα Βασιλικά Διατάγματα. Πρός δε και ο ταύτης Διοργανισμός. Αθήνησιν: Τύποις Π.Β. Μελαχούρη και Φ. Καραμπίνη, Αρθρο Β', σελ. 6. Αντίτυπο διαθέσιμο στη Βιβλιοθήκη του Αριστοτελείου Πανεπιστημίου Θεσσαλονίκης, Αρ. Βιβλ. Εισαγ. 39473]

Nevertheless, the sun must have been shining bright on the first meetings of the Board of Trustees. The reception of the initiative had proven modestly enthusiastic, and the early attempts of the *Society* to establish extended connections with institutions, individuals, and local authorities inside and out of Greece resulted in a modest network of supporters and donors of various statutes, who quickly started sending their financial or artistic contributions. The proactive Greek Diaspora played an important role in initiatives such as the *Society*'s, using their local influence to mobilise support for the Kingdom. Among the proudest acquisitions of the *Society* stands a donation by the King of the Two Sicilies, who commissioned the construction of a set of plaster copies of sculptures from the Royal Bourbon Museum after the personal petition of a member of the Diaspora, and donated them to the Society in 1845.<sup>365</sup> Moreover, what is evident from the communications of the *Society* in its early years is that it approached local authorities in Greece, utilized networks of Consular influence in Europe and Russia, and petitioned for Governmental support to subscribe donors and supporters to secure the appropriate funds for its successful function.<sup>366</sup> This early positive reception of the *Society* is mirrored in the annual records that show a subscription of 102 members by July 1845 and an initial fund of 6860 drachmas, which reached 341 members by the end of 1846.<sup>367</sup> Yet, it was

<sup>365</sup> GSA [Greece], Secretariat/Ministry of Ecclesiastical Issues and State Education Archive [1833-1848], #002/#3347, 'On the donations of HM the King of the Two Sicilies', 30 May 1845. [ΓΑΚ, Αρχείο Γραμματείας/Υπουργείου Εκκλησιαστικών και Δημοσίου Εκπαιδευσεως [1833-1848], #002/#3347, 'Περί δωρημάτων της Α.Μ Βασιλέως των Δύο Σικελιών', 30 Μαΐου 1845]

<sup>366</sup> GSA [Greece], Secretariat/Ministry of Ecclesiastical Issues and State Education Archive [1833-1848], #002/#3347, Letter to the Ministry of Ecclesiastic Affairs and Public Education, 27 March 1845; GSA [Greece], Secretariat/Ministry of Ecclesiastical Issues and State Education Archive [1833-1848], #002/#3348, Letter to the Ministry of Education concerning the cooperation with the Greek Consulate in Paris, 21 October 1847; GSA [Greece], *ibid.*, Draft of a letter to a[n unnamed] Consul in Greece, June 1845; GSA [Greece], *ibid.*, 'On the contribution of the Municipality of Paros', 27 January 1846; GSA [Greece], *ibid.*, Letter to the Ministry of Public Education about the financial donation of the Prefecture of the Cyclades, 23 July 1846. [ΓΑΚ, Αρχείο Γραμματείας/Υπουργείου Εκκλησιαστικών και Δημοσίου Εκπαιδευσεως [1833-1848], #002/#3347, Επιστολή προς το Υπουργείο Εκκλησιαστικών και Δημοσίας Εκπαιδευσης, 27 Μαρτίου 1845; ΓΑΚ, Αρχείο Γραμματείας/Υπουργείου Εκκλησιαστικών και Δημοσίου Εκπαιδευσεως [1833-1848], #002/#3348, Επιστολή προς το Υπουργείο Δημόσιας Εκπαιδευσης περι κωλλυσιεργίας Ελληνικού Προξενείου στο Παρίσι, 21 Οκτωβρίου 1847; ΓΑΚ, ο.π., Πρόχειρο επιστολής προς [αδιευκρίνιστο] Πρέσβυ Μεγάλης Δύναμης στην Ελλάδα, Ιούνιος 1845; ΓΑΚ, ο.π., Επιστολή 'Περί της Συνδρομής του Δήμου Πάρου', 27 Ιανουαρίου 1846; ΓΑΚ, ο.π., Επιστολή προς το Υπουργείο Δημόσιας Εκπαιδευσης περί χρηματικών δωρεών της Νομαρχίας Κυκλάδων, 23 Ιουλίου 1846]

<sup>367</sup> The sum total of 102 members is broken down to 83 members from Athens, and 19 members of the Greek Diaspora in London. The income from the donations of the latter indicates-again- the disproportionate importance of external assistance that institutions such as the *Society* received from the members of the Diaspora. While the 83 Athenians contributed 1560 drachmas to the *Society*'s fund, the Diaspora contributed almost twice as much, with their donations reaching 2800 drachmas. 'Minutes of the Society for the Fine Arts in Athens'. 1845-1846, pp. 11-12. Held at the Library of the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki. Doc. Number: 24500; A complete catalogue of the members between October 1844 and December 1846 can be found at: *ibid.* pp. 131-158 [Πρακτικά της εν Αθήναις Εταιρίας των Ωραίων Τεχνών. 1845-1846, σελ 11-12. Αντίτυπο διαθέσιμο στη Βιβλιοθήκη του Αριστοτελείου Πανεπιστημίου Θεσσαλονίκης. Βιβλ. Εισαγ. 24500; Ο.π σελ. 131-158]

simultaneous with its expansion that the first clouds of doubt cast their shadow over its confident beginnings.

The minor difficulties that in the end derailed the project were essentially problems of a clear definition of the society's purpose, as well as the simultaneous importance of the recycling of the same people in different committees among the different institutions in the capital. This secured a strong internal opposition by people who could see other institutions fulfilling part of the *Society's* constitutive charter, and thus retarded its speedy evolution to a productive institution, in comparison to the well-functioning *Polytechnic* which faced similar financial problems but was fuelled by the strong commitment of its members to the cause of education. The first seed of dissent was planted by the committee member Lysandros Kaftantzoglou, who with his simultaneous position as director of the *Polytechnic*, came to doubt the usefulness of a future School for the Arts, one of the *Society's* most meaningful projects, according to its constitutive plan. Kaftantzoglou's argument, and a proposed solution remained a shadowy presence that would haunt the *Society's* existence for the foreseeable future, was structured around a simple observation: since the *Polytechnic* already provided students with education in the arts, why ought the *Society* invest its limited funds for the same purpose instead of subsidising the *Polytechnic* through awarding scholarships to Europe?<sup>368</sup>

The same question would be repeated in the coming meetings of the committee, and the reply would invariably be more or less the same; the *Polytechnic* was financed by the government, while the *Society* by private donations, a fact that set clear boundaries between the two institutions and secured that the second would not see its role diminished to a mere subsidiary to the educational output of the first.<sup>369</sup> More importantly, if the *Society* had been formed to promote and support the arts, the members found that artistic education was the only means of achieving this long-term goal, and so a *Society* promoting the arts without a school to practically promote them through education, was meaningless.<sup>370</sup> Even though funded by private subscriptions

---

<sup>368</sup> Kaftantzoglou has been recorded to voice concern over the utility of a new school for the arts persistently in the meetings of 1845, while advocating for the *Society* to secure scholarships for the students of the *Polytechnic*, see: Meeting of 15 July 1845. *ibid.* p. 30; Meeting of 23 December 1845. *Ibid.* 74-75

<sup>369</sup> Meeting of 23 December 1845. *ibid.* p. 76

<sup>370</sup> Meeting of 15 July 1845. *ibid.* pp. 31, 36-37

and with limited funds, the committee decided, the *Society* would invest its money, wait patiently to accumulate the appropriate capital, start the school with one of the arts (preferably sculpture or painting), and then gradually include the rest of them.<sup>371</sup>

It is safe to assert from this approach that the members of the committee, aware of the difficulties of teaching the arts from scratch and with no clear definition of the content and direction of the teaching were actually relying on the existing body of artists teaching in the capital - since abstractly teaching the 'arts' did not provide a clear stylistic, conceptual, or educational direction and thus there didn't appear to exist a clear idea of the content and means of teaching. According to this hypothesis, two logical assumptions can be made: firstly, internal opposition and dissent was well-founded and effectively subversive, since it would possibly be the same teachers teaching more or less the same approach in two separate institutions at times when funding for the arts was limited, serving only a very vague long-term plan for the 'promotion of the arts'. Secondly, in the case of music specifically, it is very doubtful whether the founding members had a clear idea of what 'music' they aspired to teach, since it would take another thirty years for a state-supported institution for music to emerge. This was the Conservatory of Athens and, as will be seen shortly, it had a clear western musical outlook, something practically impossible in the 1840s, and it was instituted after the establishment of a thriving middle class to support it ideologically-as argued earlier.

Regardless of the interesting conceptual problems of starting a school for the arts when no clear grasp of a national understanding of art as an independent container of meaning existed- let us not forget that the only other institution for artistic education at the time connected arts and crafts with manual labour. The minutes of the meeting of 14 May 1846 reveal part of the practical problems that probably obstructed the *Society* from a meaningful evolution that could have potentially secured its survival, compared to the processes that saw the long-term success of the *Polytechnic*. The meeting of 14 May 1846 was delayed by a couple of hours, because most of the members of the committee were at the time attending a meeting of the *Society for Education*, a society that was at the time producing very important work for the

---

<sup>371</sup> Meeting of 15 July 1845. *ibid.* p. 27



education of girls in the capital.<sup>372</sup> The consequences of such overlaps testify to a more significant problem than a plain observation about overlapping committee meetings, and it rather indicates that, despite the noble intentions of this itinerant group of committee members, their involvement in various committees for education possibly did not assist the renewal of ideas and approaches for the different institutions they governed, something that could have potentially proven life-saving for the *Society*. It is striking, though completely understandable at the time, that even though music remained the only institutionally unrepresented art among the set of arts proposed for the school of the *Society*, no proposal was put forward to make this asset the distinguishing feature that would make the *Society's* school irreplaceable by the *Polytechnic*. Last but not least, the refusal of the *Society* to tie itself to the *Polytechnic* as a subsidiary institution funding scholarships to Europe, as the latter requested via the Ministry of Ecclesiastic Affairs and Public Education, must have isolated the *Society* from a very important educational ally, while at the same time depriving it of a potential meaningful contribution to education- at least until it found its true significance. The *Society* did not have a special budget for the funding of scholarships, the president decided, and so the *Society* would not be assisting the *Polytechnic*.<sup>373</sup>

The final act in the history of this obscure, yet very useful little society in terms of comparative value, was written between 1852 and 1856. In a series of correspondence between the Ministry of the Interior, the Ministry of Education, and the *Society*, it appears as if the state started investigating a *Society* that had been accumulating capital for a number of years without producing any visible outcomes, and without filling in reports to the Government, which had supposedly taken it under its protection. In their correspondence with the Ministry of Ecclesiastic Affairs and Public Education, the Ministry of the Interior demanded to know whether the *Society* had fulfilled its constitutive promises, how it had utilised its accumulated capital, and whether part of this (unused) capital could be rechanneled for the assistance of the struggling *Polytechnic*.<sup>374</sup> The demand by the Ministry of the Interior appears to have

---

<sup>372</sup> Meeting of 14 May 1846. *ibid.* p. 86

<sup>373</sup> Meeting of 14 May 1846. pp. 94-95

<sup>374</sup> GSA [Greece], Secretariat/Ministry of Ecclesiastical Issues and State Education Archive, File n. 112 'Societies' [1848-1854], sub file n. 6. Letter of the Ministry of the Interior to the Ministry of Ecclesiastic Affairs and Public Education. September 1852. [ΓΑΚ, Αρχείο Γραμματείας/Υπουργείου Εκκλησιαστικών και Δημοσίου

touched a nerve with the *Society*, which clarified that until the day it had collected a sum total of 37,122 drachmas from donations, they were busy with minor issues while waiting to be financially able to open the school, and that by constitutive charter they were independent from Governmental control.<sup>375</sup> As for the recurring nightmare of funding the *Polytechnic*, the *Society* clarified that since the *Polytechnic* fell under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of the Interior, while the *Society* under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Ecclesiastic Affairs, there was no administrative connection between the two institutions – thus supposedly defending the independence of its funds since the two institutions had only been connected in terms of a potential share of capital in this exchange.<sup>376</sup>

It is worth noting, that in its report to the Ministry of Ecclesiastic Affairs, the vice-president of the *Society* mentioned that back in 1847, the Board of Trustees had set a financial minimum of 40,000-50,000 drachmas in savings before the inauguration of its school.<sup>377</sup> Since an analytical balance sheet for the year does not appear to have survived, we cannot be sure to what extent the *Society* was close to reaching its minimum financial goal. Yet, what is for sure is that, eight years after its institution, it was- again- delivering vague promises for a future school for one of the arts. The *Society* was probably dissolved in October 1853, after having produced a long list of subscribers and commemorative material.<sup>378</sup> In 1858, the newspaper *Aeon* would report that the Government took possession of the *Society*'s accumulated 60,000 drachmas, and used it to subsidise the financially struggling *Archaeological Society of Athens* in support of their Acropolis restorations.<sup>379</sup> Whether the *Society* existed until

---

Εκπαιδύσεως, Φάκελος 112 'Εταιρικοί', Υποφάκελος 6, Επιστολή από το Υπουργείο Εσωτερικών προς το Υπουργείο Εκκλησιαστικών και Δημοσίας Εκπαιδύσεως, Σεπτέμβριος 1852.]

<sup>375</sup> GSA [Greece], Secretariat/Ministry of Ecclesiastical Issues and State Education Archive, 112/6. Letter of the *Society for the Fine Arts in Athens* to the Ministry of Ecclesiastic Affairs and Public Education. 2 December 1852. Original Reference Number: 682 [ΓΑΚ, Αρχείο Γραμματείας/Υπουργείου Εκκλησιαστικών και Δημοσίου Εκπαιδύσεως, 112 / 6, Επιστολή της εν Αθήναις Εταιρίας των Ωραίων Τεχνών προς το Υπουργείο Εκκλησιαστικών και Δημοσίας Εκπαιδύσεως, 2 Δεκεμβρίου 1852. Αριθμός Πρωτοκόλλου: 682]

<sup>376</sup> GSA [Greece], Secretariat/Ministry of Ecclesiastical Issues and State Education Archive, 112/6. Letter of the *Society for the Fine Arts in Athens* to the Ministry of Ecclesiastic Affairs and Public Education. 2 December 1852. Original Reference Number: 683 [ΓΑΚ, Αρχείο Γραμματείας/Υπουργείου Εκκλησιαστικών και Δημοσίου Εκπαιδύσεως, 112 / 6, Επιστολή της εν Αθήναις Εταιρίας των Ωραίων Τεχνών προς το Υπουργείο Εκκλησιαστικών και Δημοσίας Εκπαιδύσεως, 2 Δεκεμβρίου 1852. Αριθμός Πρωτοκόλλου: 683]

<sup>377</sup> GSA [Greece], Secretariat/Ministry of Ecclesiastical Issues and State Education Archive, 112/6. Letter of the *Society for the Fine Arts in Athens* to the Ministry of Ecclesiastic Affairs and Public Education. 2 December 1852. Original Reference Number: 682 [ΓΑΚ, Αρχείο Γραμματείας/Υπουργείου Εκκλησιαστικών και Δημοσίου Εκπαιδύσεως, 112 / 6, Επιστολή της εν Αθήναις Εταιρίας των Ωραίων Τεχνών προς το Υπουργείο Εκκλησιαστικών και Δημοσίας Εκπαιδύσεως, 2 Δεκεμβρίου 1852. Αριθμός Πρωτοκόλλου: 682]

<sup>378</sup> The only mention to the dissolution of the *Society* can be found in Mertiri, A. 2000. Artistic Education of Young People in Greece (1836-1945). Footnote number 23, p. 86

<sup>379</sup> *Aeon* (1858), Section 'Various News', *Aeon*, 02 October 1858, p. 4

then or it was merely a legal entity, we do not know for sure, yet with this announcement of the official removal of its funds the *Society* disappeared quietly from historical memory.

What this miniscule comparison between two institutions that were created for more or less the same reasons comes to demonstrate is that, apart from the neglectful stance of state education, music education outside school had a chance at entering the arena of artistic education, but missed it for a multitude of small reasons. The ‘natural’ inclination of the Greeks in the arts of their ancestors, in combination to the practical need for craftsmen to adorn the emerging Athenian metropolis, and the strong conviction of a set of individuals from Greece and outside to secure the successful development of the project, resulted in the long-term creation of a set of painters and sculptors that moved from the practical to the artistic, and the gradual evolution of the *Polytechnic* into the first institution of Higher Education for the Fine Arts by the end of the century. That music was not included in it, and that it lost its only chance to be introduced to the Kingdom from as early as 1840, is the outcome of a multitude of problems irrelevant to the art, as well as some relevant ones.

The structure and function of public schools for most of the 19<sup>th</sup> century reveals a profound weakness on the part of the state to create an educational system supporting technical education, let alone any sort of artistic education. Apart from schools for girls that trained the pupils in the arts and domestic handcrafts as part of their gendered domestic and societal role, general public education was primarily preoccupied with the construction of the nation in its narrowest sense, and thus the teaching of language and ethics through religion were prioritised. Naturally, language stood in the centre of this construct of national homogenisation, while the arts were unavoidably neglected. The following section will give a brief overview of the main educational challenges the State had to overcome to provide with a basic national education, and position the misfortunes of musical education within the broader national educational system in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

*“To Govern the Nation through Grammar” : Public and Music education in 19th century Greece.*<sup>380</sup>

To understand the problematic position of musical education within the wider 19<sup>th</sup> century Greek educational system, one has to contextualise it within 19<sup>th</sup> century educational policy, and take into consideration the multitude interplaying factors that resulted in the complete negligence of any methodical state musical education. The unstable state of the language, and the debates on the form of modern Greek, the wider national identity-building and cultural homogenisation through education, the ideological drive of ‘elevating’ the intellectual status of the people by wide participation in free public education and, more practically and pressingly, the vast financial issues of the country, and the complete lack in trained- or educated for that matter- teachers. All these problems, in combination to the absence of a firm idea of which music to teach, how to teach it inexpensively, and naturally the visible lack of trained musicians, led to a regulated educational musical anarchy, with profound outcomes for the development of the art in the country.

The following part will attempt to contextualise the minimal traces of structured musical education in 19<sup>th</sup> century Greece, until the inauguration of the Conservatory of Athens in 1873, and embed musical education among the wider educational challenges of the new state. Before assessing the importance of the Conservatory of Athens, the contribution of private musical teaching by Ionian composers starting careers in mainland Greece will be assessed in terms of its outcomes for upper-class musical training, and the repercussions of their presence in the country for the turn-of-the-century debate on the relationship of their Ionian-‘Italianate’ music to an elusive ‘Greek’ music. But for now we should probably examine the various attempts of music-lovers to become music teachers in mid-century Europeanizing Greece.

When in 1830 Ioannis Kokkonis, educationist and future founding member of one Greece’s most successful and long-lived institutions for the education of girls, published his report on the monitorial method of teaching, his footnote on page fifteen specified why singing classes could not be included in the curriculum for the time

---

<sup>380</sup> Fatseas, A. 1856. Thoughts on the public and private education of the young Greeks. p. 22 [Φατσέας, Α. 1856. Σκέψεις επί της Δημόσιας και Ιδιωτικής Εκπαιδεύσεως των Νέων Ελλήνων. Αθήνα: Τύποις Νικολάου Αγγελίδου. Σελ. 22]

being, even though he had included music in the core classes for the education of young children.<sup>381</sup> “We have had to set the singing class aside; because our music is still unshaped, and the art of our chant is barely comprehensible to young adults”, is the footnote in regard, and within it is compressed one of the fundamental problems of Greek, Greek-European, and Greek-Balkan musical identity. If, supposedly, “our music” in Kokkonis’ footnote denoted Greek traditional music, it was “unshaped” as in not methodologically structured to secure long-term pedagogical outcomes, and the Greek chant was “barely comprehensible” because of its specifically complex notation, as will be seen in detail in the next chapter, then in essence the beginnings of musical education in Greece were particularly limited in terms of genre, direction, and musical means.

The overall structure of 19<sup>th</sup> century public education, at the same time, was functioning within a set of ideological and practical frameworks that defined its content, outcomes, and evolution. While by conception the system was aspiring to achieve horizontal all-inclusive outreach through universal (male) compulsory education, in terms of content it promoted an upward structure by favouring the select-few who were aspiring to attend university, disfavoured the majority that would have benefited from vocational training.<sup>382</sup> The strong emphasis towards classical Hellenic education (particularly through language), limited the creation of technical schools, and the subsidiary technical schools that were created for the practical training of sailors and farmers have been since assessed by historians of education to have had limited educational outcomes.<sup>383</sup> The *Athens Polytechnic* does fall under the sub-division of subsidiary schools created to provide practical

---

<sup>381</sup> Kokkonis, I. 1830. Manual or Guide of the Monitorial method. Original text reproduced in: Stavrou, G. 2009. Musical instruction in Primary and Nursery schools in Greece (1830-2007): Historical Tokens. p. 143 [Κοκκώνης, Ι. 1830. Εγχειρίδιον ή οδηγος της αλληλοδιδασκτικης μεθοδου. Πρωτότυπο απο: Σταύρου, Γ. 2009 Η διδασκαλία της Μουσικής στα Δημοτικά Σχολεία και Νηπιαγωγεία της Ελλάδας. (1830-2007): Τεκμήρια Ιστορίας., σελ. 143]

<sup>382</sup> Historian of education Alexandros Dimaras claims that for the school year 1862-1863, at the exact time when in both Germany and France there was a widespread turn towards technical education, the number of students at the 12 Gymnasiums of the country was 1.800, 6.300 students attended the 103 Hellenic Schools, 48.000 students attended the 684 primary schools, while the number of students at the only university in Greece (the University of Athens) totaled 905. Still, the national curriculum gave a clear advantage to the few middle and upper class pupils who would in the long term attend university, since it trained thousands of students in classes useful only to this small fragment that applied for university. See: Dimaras, A. 2013. History of Modern Greek education, the “Interrupted Leap”: Tensions and Resistance in Greek education 1833-2000. pp. 45-46 [Δημαράς, Α. 2013. Ιστορία της Νεοελληνικής Εκπαίδευσης, Το «Ανακοπτόμενο Άλμα»: Τάσεις και αντιστάσεις στην ελληνική εκπαίδευση 1833-2000. σελ. 45-46]

<sup>383</sup> Antoniou, D. 2008. Pathways and Attitudes in modern Greek education, 19<sup>th</sup>- 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. pp. 28- 29 [Αντωνίου, Δ. 2008. Διαδρομές και στάσεις στη νεοελληνική εκπαίδευση, 19<sup>ος</sup>-20<sup>ος</sup> αι. σελ. 28-29]

education, but due to its detached relationship to the core national educational system, it could not lead to advanced studies.<sup>384</sup>

The educational system for primary education was the literal translation (with minor adjustments) of the French educational framework devised by François Guizot. It was based on Joseph Lancaster's monitorial method of teaching, and looked to overcome the lack of trained teachers.<sup>385</sup> Secondary education was organised in 1836-1837 according to the German system that subdivided it into two cycles, the Hellenic School (after the German Lateinische Schule), and the Gymnasium (after the German Gymnasium).<sup>386</sup> Teacher training was hastily organised and, due to the pressing need for educators, only basic knowledge of writing, reading, language, and arithmetic was required for undertaking the training, which in the beginning lasted for some months and gradually increased to two years.<sup>387</sup>

And while education historian Alexis Dimaras acknowledges that the initial educational system (devised between 1834-37) had its shortcomings, it was nevertheless going in the correct direction in terms of forging a homogenous national identity, and was aiming at a clear national target that took into consideration the political and societal needs of the new Kingdom. Yet, he claims, it was the lack of continuity in ministerial and political policy, that led to the deterioration of national education to a static, unproductive system of national education by the end of the century.<sup>388</sup> At the same time, this unclear and unstable evolution produced early on a general mistrust of parents against state education, and saw the flourishing of private education alongside public education, with the former attracting the best students, and producing much more concrete educational outcomes that rivalled and thrived over

---

<sup>384</sup> As will be seen later, the school for training cantors (inaugurated in 1837) had the same subsidiary relationship to core state education, and thus both their long-term artistic outcomes were limited. See: Dimaras, A. 2013. History of Modern Greek education, the "Interrupted Leap": Tensions and Resistance in Greek education 1833-2000. p. 24

<sup>385</sup> For an illustration of the literal translation of the Guizot legislation and the Greek educational system, some problems that occurred in terms of religious education between the two national mentalities, and the Lancasterian system of monitorial system of teaching, see: Dimaras, A. 2013. History of Modern Greek education, the "Interrupted Leap": Tensions and Resistance in Greek education. pp. 1-2, 10-12

<sup>386</sup> Dimaras, A. (ed.) 1973. The reformation that never happened (Historical Tokens). Vol. A': 1821-1894. p. 29.

<sup>387</sup> Antoniou, D. 2008. Pathways and Attitudes in modern Greek education, 19<sup>th</sup>- 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. p. 32

<sup>388</sup> Dimaras, A. 2013. History of Modern Greek education, the "Interrupted Leap": Tensions and Resistance in Greek education. p. 82

state education in its gradual 19th century decline.<sup>389</sup> If this gradual deterioration and comparison between state and private education is particularly important, it is because for arts such as music, unrepresented in the rest of the educational sphere as seen earlier, the profound weakness of public education in comparison to private education resulted in minimal educational outreach to the general public.

In terms of content and demographic details, in 1830 Greece had 71 primary schools with a total of 6.000 students (8% of the total eligible for primary education) while, until 1844, a third of the municipalities did not have a school.<sup>390</sup> In 1860 the number of pupils attending primary school had increased to 45.000 (30%), and at the turn of the century, in 1901, 189.000 (63%), an outcome that has been assessed as disappointing when taking into consideration that the remaining 37% was deprived of basic education at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>391</sup> Women's education was almost completely neglected throughout the century, with 90.95% of the total female population reported illiterate in 1828, and a gradual decrease to 82.55% by 1907.<sup>392</sup> And while the educational system made provisions for girls' schools, reality saw a few primary schools for girls, some Hellenic Schools, no mixed schools at all, while the first woman was admitted to the University of Athens in 1890, after a widespread campaign in the press and the university by male feminist students.<sup>393</sup> The state's neglect of female education was partly covered by private, philhellenic, and missionary efforts- notably the American missionaries John Hill and his wife Fanny Francis Mulligan in 1831- and later on the *Society for Education* (Φιλεκπαιδευτική Εταιρία) inaugurated in 1836 and devoted to the training of female teachers.<sup>394</sup>

<sup>389</sup> Dimaras, A. (ed.) 1973. The reformation that never happened (Historical Tokens). Vol. A': 1821-1894. pp. 32-34 [λβ'-λθ' in the original]; Antoniou, D. 2008. Pathways and Attitudes in modern Greek education, 19<sup>th</sup>- 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. p. 29-30

<sup>390</sup> Bouzakis, S. 2006 [5<sup>th</sup> ed.] Modern Greek education (1821-1998): Dependent development. p. 40 [Μπουζάκης, Σ. 2006 [5<sup>η</sup> έκδοση]. Νεοελληνική Εκπαίδευση (1821-1998): Εξαρτημένη ανάπτυξη. σελ. 40]; Dimaras, A. 2013. History of Modern Greek education, the "Interrupted Leap": Tensions and Resistance in Greek education. p. 7

<sup>391</sup> Bouzakis, S. 2006 [5<sup>th</sup> ed.] Modern Greek education (1821-1998): Dependent development. p. 40

<sup>392</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>393</sup> See for example the report of the early feminist women's newspaper *The newspaper of the Ladies* on the disadvantaged educational position of girls in comparison to boys, the failed attempt of a young woman to attend the University of Athens in 1887 and the subsequent public protestation by male students against her exclusion: Anon. (1887) Why won't they admit her to the University. *Newspaper of the Ladies*, 20 September 1887, pp. 1-2; Collective Letter by Students (1887) Student Protest. *Newspaper of the Ladies*, 04 October 1887, pp. 3-4. [Ανών. (1887, Διατί δεν την δέχονται εις το Πανεπιστήμιον. *Εφημερίς των Κυριών*, 20 Σεπτεμβρίου 1887, σελ. 1-2; Πλείστοι Φοιτηταί (1887) Διαμαρτύρησις Φοιτητών. *Εφημερίς των Κυριών*, 04 Οκτωβρίου 1887, σελ. 3-4]; Dimaras, A. (ed.) 1973. The reformation that never happened (Historical Tokens). Vol. A': 1821-1894. p. 37-38

<sup>394</sup> *ibid.* p. 39-40

In terms of content, instruction in ancient Greek dominated the state's effort to homogenize the nation through language, a fact that led to extended debates over the form and value of contemporary Greek with all its local variants, while modern Greek was introduced in primary schools in 1895.<sup>395</sup> The choice to include only ancient Greek in the curriculum appears to have been a choice born out of necessity, since modern Greek had not yet been systematically organised and defined, the debate on the position and form of modern Greek was still at its initial stage, while structuring national education was pressing.<sup>396</sup> By the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, this devotion to the teaching of ancient Greek had resulted in such uncritical and sterile learning, that teacher of mathematics Antonios Fatseas remarked in his 1856 treatise on the state of education that the supporters of this sterile approach to ancient Greek were not delusional in hoping to revive the language, rather they were aiming at subjugating the moderns by governing them through a grammar they could barely command themselves.<sup>397</sup>

Two years earlier, in 1854, the acting minister of education had also taken the first steps at recognising that, even though ancient Greek was particularly important, the exclusive teaching of ancient Greek grammar in primary schools gave it unfair an advantage over modern Greek.<sup>398</sup> The tension between 'European' and 'Greek' naturally manifested itself in the realm of national education as well, and it can be illustrated nicely by the inherent dialectic between the practice and rhetoric of educationist Charisios Papamarkou, educated himself in Germany, who, after advocating for the merits of the German educational system for a considerable number years, and implementing it with devotion in all the institutions he was organising from the 1880s onwards, was at the same time unleashing a radically pro-Hellenic rhetoric in his writings, where he damned all imported western pedagogical methods with a strongly resentful language, and argued that teachers need not read

---

<sup>395</sup> Kostis, K. 2013. "Les enfants gâtés de l'histoire": The formation of the modern Greek state 18<sup>th</sup> -21<sup>st</sup> century, p. 534

<sup>396</sup> Dimaras, A. 2013. History of Modern Greek education, the "Interrupted Leap": Tensions and Resistance in Greek education. p. 18

<sup>397</sup> Fatseas, A. 1856. Thoughts on the public and private education of the young Greeks. p. 22

<sup>398</sup> Dimaras, A. (ed.) 1973. The reformation that never happened (Historical Tokens). Vol. A': 1821-1894. p. 35 [λαε' in the original].



beyond Plato, Aristotle, and Plutarch to acquire the appropriate educational knowledge.<sup>399</sup>

By the last decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century the pressing problems of primary state education resulted in a particularly critical review of the overall state of the education by a committee appointed by the Ministry of Education to assess the condition of primary schools in the country. In their damning report about the island of Corfu the committee reported a picture of primary education on the verge of collapse, with teachers not following any recognisable educational method, students not attending school, girls being deprived of education, and a very bad condition of buildings and teaching equipment.<sup>400</sup> Moreover, one of the core problems that persisted, and possibly contributed to the neglected state of classes such as music, was that until as late as 1881 primary schools were not regulated by a state-issued curriculum, rather each teacher had complete control over the content and scheduling of their teaching, according to their personal convictions and following the Guide for the Monitorial Method.<sup>401</sup> It is possible then to deduct that unless a teacher had a personal interest and knowledge in music, they could elect not to teach it, even though it was included in the official curricula.<sup>402</sup> And even if they did, the method and content was far from achieving any long-term educational outcomes, as will be seen shortly.

In this setting of a particularly challenging educational landscape that prioritised national homogenisation in terms of content, the system struggled to educate enough teachers, could not win public trust, did not have a concrete national curriculum with consistent long-term aims for primary education until the last decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and gradually deteriorated due to the ideological constraints of individual ministers and/or governments. It is not surprising that musical education led a starved existence that defined to a large degree the relationship of the people to music in general, and western music in particular.

---

<sup>399</sup> Dimaras, A. 2013. History of Modern Greek education, the “Interrupted Leap”: Tensions and Resistance in Greek education. pp. 66-67

<sup>400</sup> Παπαμάρκου, Χ. 1883. Reports on the primary schools under inspection for the year 1883. pp.21-22 [Παπαμάρκου, Χ. 1883. Εκθέσεις των κατά το 1883 προς επιθεώρησιν των Δημοτικών σχολείων αποσταλέντων εκτάκτων επιθεωρητών. σελ. 21-22]

<sup>401</sup> Dimaras, A. 2013. History of Modern Greek education, the “Interrupted Leap”: Tensions and Resistance in Greek education. p. 69

<sup>402</sup> Indicatively, between 1881 and 1894 primary schools included in their curricula 2-3 hours of Singing classes each week. Unfortunately not enough evidence survives about the content and method of these classes. For a comparative chart illustrating the division of classes in primary schools see: *ibid.* p. 77

As mentioned in the beginning of this section, music had evidently preoccupied the legislator and educationist since the first drafts of the educational system for the new Kingdom. And indeed, the 1834 legislation instituting primary schools included among the core classes of Greek, reading, writing, and arithmetic, those of trace drawing and music (singing), while geography, Greek history and elementary physics were highly advisable- possibly subject to the capability of individual schools/teachers to teach them.<sup>403</sup> Shortly after, an 1837 Royal Decree instituted a cantor school, announcing that after having already taken care of elementary musical education-supposedly the inclusion of music in the curricula for primary schools- the Ministry of Education and Ecclesiastic Affairs was at the time attempting to increase musical outreach and gradually the quality of cantors.<sup>404</sup> The school was to be free for tuition, but the students were obliged to sing for free in church and in choirs during state celebrations.<sup>405</sup> Last but not least, the Decree announced a future plan of the Ministry to institute a Society responsible for promoting musical education, phrased with the appropriate classicist undertone that projected as the long-term aim of the said Society the revival of the musical passion of the Greek ancestors.<sup>406</sup>

Unfortunately, apart from a few documents on the payment of the famous cantor Zafirios Zafirooulos, who had been invited to teach at the school, no further evidence about its function appears to have survived.<sup>407</sup> This inconsequential existence and disappearance from memory, has led historian of music education Giannis Stavrou to speculate that this school was the outcome of strong Orthodox sentiment at that particular time, rather than an institution created with the aspiration to assist the development and dissemination of Church music in the long term.<sup>408</sup> Even so, the rationale behind the school, an attempt to institutionalise the Orthodox

<sup>403</sup> Journal of the Greek Government, no. 11, 03 March 1834, 'Legislation on primary schools', Section A', Article 1 [ΦΕΚ αρ. 11, 03 Μαρτίου 1834, 'Νόμος περί δημοτικών σχολείων', Τμήμα Α', Άρθρο 1.]

<sup>404</sup> Royal Decree of 20 February 1837, no. 7, 'On the institution of a cantor school'. Published in the Journal of the Greek Government of 20 February 1837, no. 7 [ΒΔ 20 Φεβρουαρίου 1837, αριθμός 7, 'Περί συστάσεως σχολείου της ψαλτικής'. Από: ΦΕΚ Α 7/1837]

<sup>405</sup> *ibid.* article 3

<sup>406</sup> *ibid.* article 4

<sup>407</sup> For the said surviving documents see: GSA [Greece], Secretariat/Ministry of Ecclesiastical Issues and State Education Archive [1833-1848], Section #002- Public Education, Folder #2274 [1845], #2275 [1846], 'Church Music School' [ΓΑΚ, Αρχείο Γραμματείας/Υπουργείου Εκκλησιαστικών και Δημοσίου Εκπαιδεύσεως [1833-1848], Σειρά #002- Δημόσια Εκπαίδευση, Φάκελος #2274 [1845], #2275 [1846], 'Σχολείον της Εκκλησιαστικής Μουσικής'.]

<sup>408</sup> Stavrou, G. 2009. Musical instruction in Primary and Nursery schools in Greece. p. 23

element of Greek musical and cultural identity, exemplifies a definitive issue of 19<sup>th</sup> century Greek cultural self-awareness: the integration of cultural practice within systematised education, in this case Orthodox-Christian identity in relation to a modern, secular state with neoclassical pretensions. And even though systematisation failed at this instance, the issue of the Chant would persist for the rest of the century, while Christian values were ingrained in the content of the singing classes that were offered to pupils.

In regards to music education at school, it is extremely challenging to assess the impact of the singing classes offered to students for their long-term educational contribution, since the unregulated and unmonitored nature of the teaching, in combination with the indecision over which genre of music ought to be taught, has left us with minimal evidence about the experience. The safest way for this evaluation is through the content of the manuals available to teachers, always aware of the aforementioned unregulated teaching that secured neither their actual use by teachers, nor adherence to any pedagogical method at least until 1890, when the first method for teaching music theory, including specific singing exercises, was issued by the Ministry of Education.<sup>409</sup> Moreover, even in the cases that singing classes were offered to students it is almost impossible to speculate about impact, since the majority of the teachers were not musically trained themselves, and undertook the task as part of their broader educational obligations.<sup>410</sup> Therefore, arguably, even in the 1890s when music theory was included in the curricula, it was most probably never taught methodically or with a long-term aspiration of producing professional musicians.<sup>411</sup> The situation improved only when graduates of the Conservatory of Athens were included in the pool of teachers suitable for teaching.<sup>412</sup>

The content of the said singing classes was from the first decades of musical education shaped by the broader objectives and values of Greek national education-

---

<sup>409</sup> Papamarkou, probably influenced from the German system, introduced an analytical program of teaching music for each for the 6 grades of primary education, for the first time with specific reference to the content of the teaching. Stavrou, G. 2009. Musical instruction in Primary and Nursery schools in Greece. p. 24-25

<sup>410</sup> Stavrou maintains that even though some times music teachers appeared to have been employed to teach, because of financial shortages, or lack of specialized personnel, in most cases music classes were taught by any teacher willing to undertake the task. See: *ibid.* pp. 47-48

<sup>411</sup> *ibid.* p. 25

<sup>412</sup> *ibid.* pp. 47-48

i.e patriotism and religious sentiment.<sup>413</sup> Where music was included in the curriculum it denoted singing classes through hymns, patriotic songs about the motherland and the Royal family, or songs with moralising content. Far from aspiring to train future musicians, they rather served the need for singers in national and religious celebrations, or prepared the pupils to become conscientious citizens and parents.<sup>414</sup> Indicatively, from the late 1870s onwards, the rhetoric around the value of musical education appears to have become explicitly nationalist, with educationist Aristides Spathakis arguing in his 1882 *Psychology and Logic* that music education in schools ought to “ [...] lead human intellect to the worship of all things Holy, [and] revive the spirit against the enemies of the motherland [...]”, while suggesting the employment of simple melodies, with either national or religious content.<sup>415</sup> Since the 1870s this national and religious indoctrination through music had materialised in western-oriented instruction books; songs mainly by Mendelssohn and Schubert, and German traditional songs versed in Greek and transcribed onto a stave.<sup>416</sup>

Private schools, which established a strong and increasingly trusted presence in the educational sphere of the capital, included music in their curricula and taught it from their appearance, with much more insistence and success than public schools. Again, definitive proof of dissemination and impact is nearly impossible since musical education always received the treatment of a supplementary class aiming at moral education; yet fragmented evidence suggests a steady support for the art in the curricula of both the *Society for Education* and the Hill School in Athens.<sup>417</sup> And even though this presence in the curricula does not necessarily prove practice, peripheral evidence suggests that music was embraced as a valuable part of the education of girls in 19<sup>th</sup> century Athens. Private schools were the only schools that offered instruction in musical instruments, and more specifically the piano; it was charged separately,

---

<sup>413</sup> *ibid.* p. 22

<sup>414</sup> Sambanis, K. 2011. The opera in Athens during the reign of King Otto (1833-1862), p. 1788

<sup>415</sup> *ibid.* p 23; Spathakis, Ar. 1882. *Psychology and Logic*. Excerpt reproduced in: *ibid.* p. 180 [Σπαθάκης, Αρ. 1882. Ψυχολογία και Λογική. Απόσπασμα πρωτότυπου από: Σταύρου, Γ., 2009. Η διδασκαλία της Μουσικής στα Δημοτικά Σχολεία και Νηπιαγωγεία της Ελλάδας (1830-2007): Τεκμήρια Ιστορίας.]

<sup>416</sup> Romanou, K. 2006. Greek art music in the Modern times, p. 115

<sup>417</sup> Vocal music (sometimes with piano accompaniment), and piano classes feature steadily in the curricula of both the *Society for Education* and the Hill School. See: Ziogou-Karastergiou, S. 1986. *Girls' Secondary Education in Greece (1830-1893)*. Athens: General Secretariat for Youth; Antoniou, D. 1989. *Secondary School Curricula (1833-1929)*, vol II. Athens: General Secretariat for Youth [Ζιώγου-Καραστεργίου, Σ. 1986. Η Μέση εκπαίδευση των κορτσιών στην Ελλάδα (1830-1893). Αθήνα: Γενική Γραμματεία Νέας Γενιάς. Αντωνίου, Δ. 1988. Τα προγράμματα της Μέσης Εκπαίδευσης (1833-1929), Τόμος Β'. Αθήνα: Γενική Γραμματεία Νέας Γενιάς]

and as such it was class-specific.<sup>418</sup> Especially the *Society for Education* appears to have established connections with music teachers in the capital from early on in its existence, when hiring the Italian violinist Giuseppe Parisini and later on his son, Raffaele, to instruct at the school.<sup>419</sup>

Meanwhile, around the same time, the newspaper *Ellinikos Paratiritis* [The Greek Observer] had praised the school's decision to hire in 1843 Stephanine Del Pino, a prima donna at the theatre of Athens to teach vocal music to the students.<sup>420</sup> Both examples illustrate that, if anything else, the *Society* was trusting musical education to professionals rather than treating it as a matter of fulfilling the Ministry's instructions by following the general trend of assigning the class to anyone willing- or remotely able- to deliver it, as occurred in public education. What it also demonstrates is that the Theatre of Athens became from its onset a focal point for musical activity, and as such assisted the creation of a network of professionals who subsidised their income with teaching in the capital.

By 1878, the *Society* would boast that its school employed five music teachers for vocal and instrumental instruction, and listed books of vocal music among the publications it had subsidised, both facts indicating that musical instruction remained an active part of its educational output.<sup>421</sup> Naturally, a single school for female education cannot be regarded as an able container of musical education for a whole nation, and its function and treatment of music merely indicates that in a country where music never received noticeable educational recognition, western art music evolved without any systematic state care at least until the end of the century. Nevertheless, where the state failed- or in any case stood helpless- western art music seems to have survived in the country due to a network of mobile musicians, who made a living through private tuition, and took advantage of the emerging cultural market of Europeanizing Greece.

<sup>418</sup> Sambanis, K. 2011. The opera in Athens during the reign of King Otto (1833-1862), p. 1788

<sup>419</sup> Romanou, K., Barbaki, M. Music Education in Nineteenth-Century Greece: Its Institutions and their Contribution to Urban Musical Life. *Nineteenth-Century Music Review*, 8:1 (June 2011), p. 79.

<sup>420</sup> Anon. (1843) [Section] Various News. *The Greek Observer [L'Observateur Grec]*, 18 May 1843, p. 3 [Ανών. (1843) [Στηλη] Διάφορα. Ελληνικός Παρατηρητής [L'Observateur Grec]. 18 Μαΐου 1843, σελ. 3]

<sup>421</sup> The *Society for Education* in Athens: Its Constitution and Progress. 1878. pp. 8-9 [Η Εν Αθήναις Φιλεκπαιδευτική Εταιρία: Η Σύστασις και η Πρόοδος Αυτής. 1878 σελ. 8-9]

*From ethnic musical idiom to national musical output: western art music in the Ionian Islands.*

The last piece in this puzzle of fragmented contributions to musical education before the emergence of the Conservatory of Athens is the activity of composers and musicians from the Ionian Islands before and after the union with mainland Greece (1864). As seen earlier in the case of the theatre and the composer Pavlos Carrer who was hoping to establish a career with the assistance of the Palace, the emerging cultural market of the new Kingdom gave the opportunity to a multitude of composers and music teachers to start careers, either in collaboration with the emerging theatres around the country, private tuition to the middle and upper classes, or by instituting choirs and later on local orchestras and chamber music ensembles. At the same time though, this new cultural market remained suspicious of the imported Italianate musical language that the ethnic Greeks of the Islands attempted to popularize in Greece. With the Theatre of Athens in the middle of a prolonged debate that juxtaposed the ‘Italian’ to the ‘Greek’ in entertainment for political reasons, the Italianate Greeks of the Ionian Islands found themselves in a particularly challenging cultural environment. And even though this distinction between ‘Italianate’ and ‘Greek’ musical idiom would develop into overt enmity during the early 20<sup>th</sup> century search for a purely Greek spirit in music, the cultural divisions between the Greeks of the different parts of the expanding Greece made themselves visible-and audible-decades earlier, and equally in schools as much as in music schools.

In his memoir, prominent Greek author Gregory Xenopoulos (1867-1951) from Zante recalled one of his first encounters with a teacher from mainland Greece who, upon taking register in his new appointment in the island, confronted one of the author’s fellow-students over his Italian-sounding surname, Motsenigos (phonetically identical to the Venetian Renaissance Doge Mocenigo).<sup>422</sup> According to the narrative, the teacher, grimacing at the multitude of Italianate names in the register, paused after Motsenigos’ surname and announced to the young boy that he would be referring to him as the ‘Zantean’, to which the boy reacted angrily claiming that he was bearing

---

<sup>422</sup> Xenopoulos, Gr. 1958. Complete Works. Volume 1: Memoirs, Margarita Stefa, Mitryia, Stella Violanti. pp. 114-115 [Ξενόπουλος, Γ. 1958. Άπαντα. Τόμος Πρώτος: Αυτοβιογραφία, Μαργαρίτα Στέφα, Μητρυια, Στέλλα Βιολάντη. σελ. 114-115]

his Venetian ancestors' surname, and he refused to go by any other.<sup>423</sup> The teacher settled to a silent resolution to address the boy only by his first name, and Xenopoulos concluded the section by stating bitterly

“The foreigners [Greeks] that they brought to us, prefects, judges, customs officers, teachers, all of them unable- with a few exceptions- to understand us, they were mocking us. It was as if they expected us to do them the favour of changing our names, our language, our music, our customs, everything. And how many of these didn't we, unfortunately, drop or change! That was the first effect upon the Ionian Islands after the union with Greece: The Ionian civilization was ruined before the emergence of a new one.”<sup>424</sup>

The union of the Ionian Islands to mainland Greece in 1864 brought together a previously divided ethnic group with sharply diverse cultural traditions and past. Needless to say that as much as national sentiment connected the two same-blooded peoples, musical language created bitter divisions in the long term. If this chapter has mostly been a long hail to the importance of institutions for long-term musical acculturation, what the Ionian Islands contributed to Greece was a distinct Italianate musical culture, that had been supported by a number of successful institutions for music, and a long tradition of Italian musical influence.

The Venetian administration of the Islands (1336-1797) had a significant musical impact upon the Ionian Islands that diversified them from the rest of Greece by the time of the union in 1864; while for the rest of Balkan Greece monophonic traditional song and the Byzantine chant were the only known musics for the population until the creation of the state, the close commercial ties between Italy and the Islands resulted in cultural exchange, and constant operatic performances by Italian groups in Corfu from as early as the 1730s, while Cephalonia and Zante followed shortly after.<sup>425</sup> In the renowned ‘Nobile Teatro di San Giacomo’, inaugurated in Corfu in 1693, operatic

<sup>423</sup> Xenopoulos implies in his memoir that the connection between the boy's family and the Doge is far from merely phonetic, and scorns the teacher for his ignorance. See: *ibid.* p. 115

<sup>424</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>425</sup> Nef, K. [translated, edited, and with additions for the Greek edition by Phevos Anogianakis]. 1956. *History of Music*. Athens: Parygos. p. 563-564 [Nef, K. (μετάφραση- προσθήκες- επιμέλεια Φοίβου Ανωγειανάκη) 1956. *Ιστορία της Μουσικής*. Αθήνα: Πάπυρος, σελ. 563-564; Chamoudopoulos, D.A. 1980. *The dawn of art music in Greece and the creation of the National School of Music: Retrospections and Thoughts*. p. 15 [Χαμουδόπουλος, Δ.Α. 1980. *Η ανατολή της έντεχνης μουσικής στην Ελλάδα και η δημιουργία της Εθνικής Σχολής: Ανασκοπήσεις και Σκέψεις*. σελ. 15]

performances would be staged steadily between 1771 and 1892, while the first opera was performed there in 1733.<sup>426</sup> Acting as a magnet for professional musicians, the theatre became a significant factor in the immigration of Italian musicians and music teachers to Corfu since the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, and by the mid-1840s locally born ethnic Italians and trained Greek professionals sufficed for covering its musical needs.<sup>427</sup> Through constant long-term exposure to the genre, the Ionians became accustomed to Italian music, and developed four-part traditional song (cantates, serenades etc.), at a time when Ottoman-Greek traditional song remained monophonic, long before independence.<sup>428</sup> Naturally, the distance of each island to mainland Europe, as well as local interclass and religious relations resulted in multiple musical identities, and a differentiated speed of emergence of musical institutions between the seven islands; yet since here the compared entity is mainland Greece they are regarded as a united set with variants of a common musical tradition.<sup>429</sup>

These long and sustained ties between the Islands and Italy also resulted in a number of ethnic Greeks studying under the aforementioned migrant Italian music teachers on their home-islands, and later on in Italian musical institutions such as the Conservatorio di Musica San Pietro a Majella (Naples), thus acquiring a distinctive Italian musical idiom and becoming the first Greek composers of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, starting from a time when the Islands were not part of Greece, and Greece struggled to understand the position of this music within the wider cultural outlook of the country.<sup>430</sup> At the same time, the *Philharmonic Societies* of the Ionian Islands, modelled after their Italian counterparts, offered free musical education and housing to underprivileged children from the first decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and functioned

---

<sup>426</sup> Kardamis, K. 2004. “Nobile Teatro di San Giacomo di Corfù: an overview of its significance for the Greek ottocento”. Presentation at the *XI Convegno Annuale di Società Italiana di Musicologia*, Lecce, 22-24 October 2004. pp. 1-2

<sup>427</sup> *ibid.* p. 4

<sup>428</sup> Varvianis, N. A. 1975. The civilizing musical output of the Ionian Islands and the Zantean composer Pavlos Carrer. p. 12 [Βαρβιάνης, Ν.Α. 1975. Το εκπολιτιστικό μουσικό έργο της Επτανήσου και ο Ζακυνθινός μουσουργός Πάυλος Καρρέρης. σελ. 12]

<sup>429</sup> For the interclass and religious factors that affected the evolution of Italian music the different islands, see: Kardamis, K. The musical identities of the Ionian Islands; Remarks and revisions through recent research. Paper in the IX International Panionian Conference (Paxos, 26-30/05/2010), published in the Proceedings of the Conference (Paxos: Society for Paxian Studies, 2014, vol 2.) [in Greek] pp.231-234 [Καρδάμης, Κ. Οι μουσικές ταυτότητες της Επτανήσου: Θεωρήσεις και αναθεωρήσεις μέσα από τη νεότερη έρευνα. Ανακοίνωση στο Θ' Πανιώνιο Συνέδριο (Παξοί 26-30/5/2010), δημοσιεύεται στα Πρακτικά του Συνεδρίου (Παξοί: Εταιρεία Παξινών Μελετών, 2014) τομ. β', σελ. 231-234]

<sup>430</sup> Skandali, A. 2001. The development of the Opera in 19<sup>th</sup> century Greece in relation to the formation of urban reality: an initial approach. pp. 24-25 [Σκανδάλη, Α. 2001. Η Πορεία της Όπερας στην Ελλάδα του 19<sup>ου</sup> αιώνα σε σχέση με τη συγκρότηση του αστικού χώρου. σελ. 24-25]; Romanou, K. 2006. Greek art music in the Modern times. p. 84. [Ρωμανού, Κ. 2006. Εντεχνη Ελληνική Μουσική στους Νεότερους Χρόνους. σελ. 84]



as space for scholarly exchange.<sup>431</sup> Tellingly, between the seven Ionian Islands, ten philharmonic societies were instituted during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, with the earliest in Zante in 1816.<sup>432</sup>

Apart from the strong Italian influence upon the musical identity of the Ionian Islands that defined their cultural outlook for the better part of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, their annexation by the French between 1797 and 1799, after the fall of Venice to Napoleon, left a significant musical, cultural, and political imprint in their pre-union history. With song, dance, and public celebrations occupying a central position for the dissemination of patriotic revolutionary ideas in post- revolutionary France, an unprecedented number of songs written for the Revolution, and the whole French musical establishment reorganised after it, it is hardly surprising that music and public celebrations were of central importance at the newly acquired French dominions.<sup>433</sup> The introduction of public celebrations such as the commemoration of the founding of the French Republic (22 September 1792) brought the Ionian populace in contact with the central republican messages of the French Revolution, messages disseminated widely outside the restricted, class-specific space of the theatre, while at the same time social groups such as the Jews, formerly excluded from the theatre, became part of its brief inclusiveness.<sup>434</sup>

Popular French revolutionary songs appear to have appealed to the Ionian liberals, and tunes such as *La Carmagnole* and *Ah Ça ira*, arriving to the Islands through merchants, sailors, the French diplomatic corps, and the army, were versed in Greek.<sup>435</sup> At a time when the Greek Enlighteners in central Europe, affected by the French Revolution, had started producing their first revolutionary writings against Ottoman despotism, it was on the Ionian Islands that Enlightenment Rigas Ferraios'

---

<sup>431</sup> Romanou lists a significant number of music schools and musical ensembles that were instituted in the Islands from the first decade of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Zante 1815/1816, Cephalonia 1837 and 1838, Corfu 1840, Lefkada 1850 etc.), *ibid.* p. 85-86

<sup>432</sup> For a detailed overview of the separate Societies see: Trikoupi, A. 2015. Western music in Hellenic communities: Musicians and institutions, pp. 27-76.

<sup>433</sup> For a detailed account of the importance and function of music during and after the Revolution see: Boyd, M. (ed.) 2008. *Music and the French Revolution*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Hughes, Ch. Music of the French Revolution. *Science & Society*, 4:2 (Spring, 1940), pp. 193-210

<sup>434</sup> Kardamis, K. Musical echoes of the French Revolution at the Ionian Islands, *The Gleaner*, vol. 26, (2007), pp. 79-80. [Καρδάμης, Κ. Μουσικοί απόηχοι της Γαλλικής Επανάστασης στα Επτάνησα, *Ο Ερασιστής*, τ. 26 (2007), σελ. 79-80]; Kardamis, K. The musical identities of the Ionian Islands; Remarks and revisions through recent research. Paper in the IX International Panionian Conference (Paxos, 26-30/05/2010), published in the Proceedings of the Conference (Paxos: Society for Paxian Studies, 2014, vol 2.) [in Greek] p.235

<sup>435</sup> *ibid.* p. 91

*Patriotic Hymn* first arrived in Greek-speaking territory in 1798 and it was set to the music of *La Carmagnole*, while around the same time three Ionian versions of the *Marsellaise* versed in Greek were published in the Islands, one of which appears to have been inspired by the Enlightener's "Greek Marsellaise", already known in Zante.<sup>436</sup>

The synchronicity between Italian 19<sup>th</sup> century musical development, and Ionian inclusion in the western tradition appears to have been abruptly interrupted when, after the union of the Islands with Greece in 1864, the best Ionian musicians moved to mainland Greece to establish careers, and the quality of the musical institutions in the Islands dropped.<sup>437</sup> And while for the musical evolution of the Islands their transition from a singular musical entity to part of the Greek nation-state was a significant setback, for the Greek Kingdom, previously deprived of both institutions as well as an able body of trained musicians to teach and perform, this development proved particularly important. Ever since the reign of King Otto I (1832-1862), Ionian musicians had been essential for Greek musical life, for they were the first trained professional musicians of the Greek ethnic group that participated in military bands- the earliest means for the dissemination of western music in Balkan Greece- all over the periphery.<sup>438</sup> After the union the mobility of musicians increased significantly, as both practitioners and composers sought to take advantage of new professional opportunities in mainland Greece.<sup>439</sup>

Yet, before beginning their professional roaming in 19<sup>th</sup> century Greece, the Ionians performed another important function for Greek music history. Among the most important matters in regards to Ionian musicians before and after the union remains their compositional output, a glitch in Greek nationalism and European imagination, that would by the turn of the century become part of the debate on what constituted quintessentially Greek music. It is a widely admitted fact among contemporary Greek musicologists that it was Ionian composers that composed the first pieces of Greek art

---

<sup>436</sup> Kardamis notes that apart from the straightforward influence of the French upon Greek music through public celebrations and the transmission of songs, their cultural imprint was ingrained deeply in Greek cultural memory, a fact showcased by their lasting influence upon Greek composition and political partisanship long after the celebrations ceased with their departure in 1799. *ibid.* p. 85-87, 94-95

<sup>437</sup> Romanou, K. 2006. Greek art music in the Modern times. p. 66

<sup>438</sup> Nef, K. [translated, edited, and with additions for the Greek edition by Phevos Anogianakis]. 1956. *History of Music*. Athens: Papyros. p. 568

<sup>439</sup> Romanou, K. 2006. Greek art music in the Modern times. p. 104

music, as well as the first Greek operas that, though with Italian librettos in the beginning, are confidently included in 19<sup>th</sup> century Greek musical heritage due to the ethnic-Greek origin and identity of their creators, and their Greek subject-matter. Even though the Ionian composers used the revolution of 1821 as subject matter often, their musical style is considered a variant of 19<sup>th</sup> century Italian opera, with cases such as composer Spyros Samaras (1861-1917) classing among the early representatives of the Italian musical *Verismo*.<sup>440</sup> Father of the so-called *Ionian School of Music* was the composer and music teacher Niccolò Calichiopulo Manzaro (Nikolaos Mantzaros in Greek, Corfu 1795-1872), who taught for free throughout his life and inspired a whole generation of Ionian composers and musicians.<sup>441</sup> Though a composer with a broad oeuvre and an even more important record as an educator and thinker, Manzaro's legacy has been mainly connected to the composition of the Greek national anthem.<sup>442</sup>

The outcome of patriotism, popularity, and a strong friendship between the Ionian poet Dionyssios Solomos (Zante, 1798- Corfu, 1857) and Niccolò Manzaro, the Greek national anthem was first created as a poem [*Hymn to Liberty*, in 158 stanzas] by Solomos in 1823, and from 1825 onwards it became popular among the Greek revolutionaries.<sup>443</sup> It was first set to music in the Ionian Islands, after George Canning's liberal reformations in the region allowed for such revolutionary texts to circulate more freely and, between 1825 and 1830, the *Hymn* was sung in  $\frac{3}{4}$  metre, in the local Zantian style of 'arechia' [a mispronunciation of the Italian 'a orrechio', literally 'by ear'].<sup>444</sup> The first arrangement of the *Hymn* by Manzaro was composed in 1829-30, in the presence of the poet Solomos, and it was a simple arrangement for a four-part male choir with pianoforte accompaniment, homophonic, yet showcasing a variety of compositional styles.<sup>445</sup> The choice of the pianoforte and a choir for this

<sup>440</sup> The movement of *Verismo* was a late 19<sup>th</sup> century Italian turn to realism in the arts, in the opera seeing the introduction of the peasantry and common themes such as poverty and brutality in the genre. See: Saddle, St. 1988. The Grove Concise Dictionary of Music, entry "Verismo", p. 800; Nef, K. [translated, edited, and with additions for the Greek edition by Phevos Anogianakis]. 1956. History of Music, pp. 565-566.

<sup>441</sup> Romanou, K. 'The Ionian Islands' (chapter 6), in Romanou, K. (ed.) 2009. Serbian & Greek Art Music, p. 112; Nef, K. [translated, edited, and with additions for the Greek edition by Phevos Anogianakis]. 1956. History of Music, pp. 565

<sup>442</sup> For a detailed musicological study into Manzaro's broader compositional output see: Kardamis, K. From Popular to Esoteric: Nikolaos Mantzaros and the Development of his career as a composer. *Nineteenth-Century Music Review*, 8:1 (June, 2011), pp. 101-126

<sup>443</sup> Moutsenigos, Sp. 1958. Modern Greek Music: A contribution to its History, p. 110

<sup>444</sup> *ibid.* pp. 111-112

<sup>445</sup> Romanou, K. 2006. Greek art music in the Modern times. pp. 76-78

earliest arrangement, Kostas Kardamis argued, is consistent with two prominent 19<sup>th</sup> century libertarian western European and Ionian musical approaches: the use of choirs in compositions was a pan-European symbol of the ‘voice of the people’ and became increasingly used in operas; as for the pianoforte, it was an instrument that, since its introduction in the Islands in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, it gradually became the musical symbol of a local upper middle class looking to assert its Greek national identity, albeit without defying the British administration.<sup>446</sup>

In 1844, Manzaro dedicated a second arrangement of the *Hymn to King Otto*, an arrangement in developed contrapuntal style, which was nevertheless not necessarily composed after the 1829 version but it remained unknown until its dedication to the King.<sup>447</sup> In 1861 the Minister of Military Affairs commissioned Manzaro the production of a set of marches, and the composer created another arrangement on the *Hymn*, this time using stanzas 1-68, and in the style of a march.<sup>448</sup> In total, Manzaro composed six arrangements on various sections of the poem, with the arrangements of 1837, 1839 and 1840 being simple exercises in-between other compositions.<sup>449</sup> A continuous source of inspiration for the composer, as evident from the number of arrangements and exercises, the *Hymn* was in the end the work that defined his national musical legacy. In 1865, a year after the union of the Islands with the Kingdom of Greece, King George I chose the first two stanzas of the *Hymn to Liberty* to become Greece’s new national anthem, replacing *God save the King* that had been used in Greek verse during the reign of King Otto I (1833-1862).<sup>450</sup>

When contrasted to the complete absence of Greek composers during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the number of Ionian composers is impressive and very telling of the radical musical change they brought to Greek music history: Niccolò Calichiopulo Manzaro (1795-1872), Spyridon Xyndas (1812-1896), Fransisco Domenigi (1809-1874), Antonios Kapnisis (1813-1885), Antonio Liverali (1814-1842), Domenico Padovani (1817-1892), Joseph Liverali (1820-1899), Eduardo Lambelet (1820-1903), Nikolaos Tzanis-Metaxas (1825-1907), Pavlos Carrer (1826-1896), Georgios Lambiris (1833-

---

<sup>446</sup> Kardamis, K. Musical echoes of the French Revolution at the Ionian Islands, *The Gleaner*, vol. 26, (2007), p.

96

<sup>447</sup> Romanou, K. 2006. Greek art music in the Modern times, p. 80

<sup>448</sup> Motsenigos, Sp. 1958. Modern Greek Music: A contribution to its History, p 115

<sup>449</sup> *ibid.* p. 116

<sup>450</sup> *ibid.* p. 121

1889), Iosif Kesaris (1845-1923), Dionysios Rodotheatos (1849-1892), Spyridon Spathis (1852-1941), Spyros Samaras (1861-1917) Napoleon Lambelet (1864-1932), Lavrentios Kamilieris (1874-1956).<sup>451</sup> A cultural reading of their biographies as Ionian and later on Greek composers is pending, but the fact that Greece acquired a bulk of Greek composers for historians to include in the country's cultural heritage post-1864 is indicative of the 'constructionist' element of 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century Greek national history. Even though Greek ethnic heritage was preserved in the Ionian Islands during their successive imperial patronage, as showcased in language and literature as well, musicians were not explicitly preoccupied with producing 'Greek music', but rather employed their culturally Italianate musical language to express the 'Greek' character among other things.<sup>452</sup>

The process through which some works by Ionians became accepted containers of Greek national sentiment reveals the complex mechanics of nationalising a music that, though of a national theme, sounded foreign, and was sung in a foreign language. The case of Pavlos Carrer's opera *Marko Botzari*, whose course from obscure, unwanted opera, musicologist Avra Xepapadakou traced to its recognition as a patriotic work that aroused national sentiment, exemplifies the temporal, societal, cultural, and political circumstances under which pieces of music become relevant for a nation. According to the composer's memoir, disheartened by Verdi's absolute predominance and promotion in Italy, which obstructed his own recognition there, he decided in 1857 to relocate to Greece and pursue a career writing Greek operas and songs, in a cultural market still lacking composers.<sup>453</sup> His ambition was to compose what he purported to be the first opera on a Greek theme, although by the time he picked the revolution hero Marko Botzari as his subject-matter at least another two attempts had been presented by other Ionian composers on the same historical figure, with the chances of him not knowing them improbable, and his silence suspicious.<sup>454</sup>

Though a work of national significance in the end, in his first meeting with the librettist Giovanni Caccialupi, Carrer expressed his desire to compose something on

---

<sup>451</sup> Nef, K. [translated, edited, and with additions for the Greek edition by Phevos Anogianakis]. 1956. *History of Music*, pp. 567-168

<sup>452</sup> *ibid.* p. 570

<sup>453</sup> Leotsakos, G. (ed.) 2003. Pavlos Carrer: *Memoir and Works*. p. 103

<sup>454</sup> Xepapadakou, A. Pavlos Carrer's 'Marko Botzari': a "national" opera. *Musical Word*, vol. 5 (Summer 2003), pp. 1-2

Victor Hugo's *Marie Tudor* or *Ruy Blas*, and it was Caccialupi who proposed Botzari, with his friend Giuseppe Rovani advising him to dedicate it to the Greek Royal Family -Otto I and Amalia.<sup>455</sup> As seen in the previous chapter, though both work and dedication were met with royal approval, wider political and societal circumstance obstructed its performance in Athens, a moment that would arrive almost twenty years later.<sup>456</sup> In the following decades the opera would tour around Greece, and gradually form would match theme, as the internal dialectic of a 'national' opera expressed in a 'foreign' musical idiom, composed by an ethnic Greek whose musical language was 'foreign', was resolved through a series of minor adjustments and additions. Nevertheless, the spirit of the work is still considered Italianate rather than 'Greek' since, for all its Greek-styled embellishments, its overall character and structure was not affected by the traditional Greek elements.<sup>457</sup>

With the composer actively pursuing to incorporate a Greek element in his music in the different drafts of the opera through the inclusion of arias based on traditional Greek songs, and political intervention obstructing its performance in Athens twice- in 1858 and 1859- the opera appears to have started its national career in 1866 in the island of Syros, while the Greco-Turkish war was in development. The audience became inflamed by its Greek setting and patriotic sentiment.<sup>458</sup> On this occasion parts of the libretto were translated into Greek for the first time. The composer in his memoir described a passionate audience singing along, and the Mayor of the city bought three-days-worth of free admission to the theatre for the citizens.<sup>459</sup> By the time the opera was performed in Athens for the second time- in 1889- the libretto had been translated into Greek and was sang by a Greek cast, which had become available by that time.<sup>460</sup> But while the performance by an Italian cast had been born out of necessity due to the lack of Greek singers, the gradual translation of the libretto was the result of previous discussion in the press, and the disappointment of the audience over the scarce Greek arias in the otherwise Italian libretto.

---

<sup>455</sup> Leotsakos, G. (ed.) 2003. Pavlos Carrer: Memoir and Works. p. 101

<sup>456</sup> Xepapadakou, A. Pavlos Carrer's 'Marko Botzari': a "national" opera. *Musical Word*, vol. 5 (Summer 2003), pp. 9-10

<sup>457</sup> Nef, K. [translated, edited, and with additions for the Greek edition by Phevos Anogianakis]. 1956. *History of Music*, pp. 567

<sup>458</sup> *ibid.* p 9

<sup>459</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>460</sup> *ibid.* p. 11

Unfortunately for the composer, though his intentions were good, it appears as if before the emergence of the Greek National School of Music at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, in 1875 Greek musical themes and European music were regarded as mutually exclusive.<sup>461</sup> In all fairness, the newspaper *Ephemeris* went to great lengths to exonerate the composer for using European music to narrate a Greek story. In his defence, the newspaper argued, bringing an opera using purely Greek music into the theatre that usually performed the Italian opera would have been “colourless and a parody”; on the other hand, the temporal proximity to the narrated events, preserved it closer to national memory rather than historical narrative, and rendered the employment of western musical language equally inappropriate.

Nevertheless, the newspaper maintained, it was not the composer’s duty at that time to institute a national school of music to reconcile the distance between European and Greek. For the time being, even if he did, bringing a Greek national theme into a theatre with western European pretensions- Italian scenery, a conductor, and Italian repertory- would make the *klepths*’ [the Greek revolutionary brigands’] songs appear completely out of place. No, the composer was not to be blamed; it was rather the misled popular appetite for nationalist music that had forced him to capitulate to its demands, even though musically and thematically unsuitable. And even though the newspaper was assessing the situation quite successfully, taking into consideration the evolution of the piece from banned artwork to ‘national’ opera, the argumentative line of the critic revealed the perceived unbridgeable distance between ‘Greek’ and ‘European’ when music was concerned. Had the composer placed his opera in the medieval Italian periphery, and if instead of *Marko Botzari* he had chosen to name it ‘Rinaldo di Casoldi’, the newspaper argued, he wouldn’t have attracted the ridicule of part of the press. Essentially, had the composer created something completely different rather than an attempt at a Greek opera he stood a good chance at being accepted as musically promising for the Greek nation.

Twenty-five years before the turn-of-the-20<sup>th</sup>- century investigation into what constituted ‘national colour’ in Greek art and music, and only a few years before the enmity between the Ionian school of music and the Conservatory of Athens erupted,

---

<sup>461</sup> *Ephemeris* (1875), Greek opera composition: Marko Botzari, *Ephemeris*, 26 June 1875, pp. 2-3 [Εφημερίς (1875), Ελληνική Μελοποιία: Μάρκος Μπότσαρης, *Εφημερίς*, 26 Ιουνίου 1875, σελ. 2-3]

as will be seen shortly, the press was pondering more or less the same issues that would inform both debates: Carrer's musical language in relation to Greek music, Greek word, Greek style, and his Greek themes. Had historical circumstance been more favourable, or later musicological debate more attuned to European trends, Carrer's name would most probably now feature in music Encyclopaedias, in one of the various articles on Nationalism in Music. Naturally, definitions vary, and most editors agree that, similar to political nationalism, musical nationalism is elusive and conditioned according to temporal, geographical, cultural, and political circumstance.<sup>462</sup>

What most definitions agree upon, though, is that the pursuit of the 'national' in music was a mid-19<sup>th</sup> to early 20<sup>th</sup> century tendency, stemming from musical Romanticism, that saw composers from Europe's musical 'periphery' attempting to produce nationally-specific musical works, in reaction to the heritage of the representatives of the 'core' European musical tradition; Italy, France, and mainly Germany.<sup>463</sup> In an attempt to find their own voice, liberated from the imposing musical tradition of the likes of Beethoven and Wagner, composers such as Glinka, Borodin, Mussorgsky, Tchaikovsky [Russia], Smetana, Dvořák, Janáček [Bohemia], Grieg [Norway], Sibelius [Finland], Albéniz, Granados [Spain], Elgar, Vaughan Williams [England], Bartók, Kodály [Hungary], Villa-Lobos [Brazil] and others, explored the relationship between their national folk music and their own classical musical idiom.<sup>464</sup>

Among the various definitions of the phenomenon, which appears to have become irrelevant by 1930, giving its place to supranational distinction through style (twelve-tone/serial music etc), the Harvard dictionary of Music included in its definition the following evaluation of the phenomenon:<sup>465</sup>

---

<sup>462</sup> See for example: Apel, W. (ed.)1970 (2nd ed.) Harvard Dictionary of Music. Entry: "Nationalism", pp. 564-565; Sadie, S. (ed.) The new Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians. (2nd ed) Vol 17: Monnet to Nirvana. Entry: "Nationalism" pp.689 -703; Randel, D. M. (Ed.) 1986. The New Harvard Dictionary of Music. Entry:"Nationalism", p. 527.

<sup>463</sup> Randel, D. M. (Ed.) 1986. The New Harvard Dictionary of Music. Entry:"Nationalism", p. 527.

<sup>464</sup> Apel, W. (ed.)1970 (2nd ed.) Harvard Dictionary of Music. Entry: "Nationalism", p. 565

<sup>465</sup> For the decline of the pursuit of the 'national' in music see: Randel, D. M. (Ed.) 1986. The New Harvard Dictionary of Music. Entry:"Nationalism", p. 527; Apel, W. (ed.)1970 (2nd ed.) Harvard Dictionary of Music. Entry: "Nationalism", p. 565



“Nationalism [in music] is essentially a matter of intention. No composer can help inheriting, together with his language, certain national ideas, views and feelings. The difference between the “international” and “national” composer of e.g. Italian ancestry, is the difference between someone who cannot help speaking Italian and someone who wants to speak Italian. It is the latter who belongs to the nationalist movement in music.”<sup>466</sup>

Pavlos Carrer’s case, and for that matter that whole generation of Ionian composers who, through looking for their own Greek musical identity, in dialogue with the Italian idiom of their musical ‘ancestry’, attempted consciously to produce ‘national’ work for Greece, fit the definition perfectly. Nevertheless, two important historical factors obstructed their wider recognition; during their own time, the inexistence of educational institutions, an established musical tradition, and a wide professional class of trained musicians, in combination with the inability of the state to accommodate western art music, diminished their work to mere entertainment. The debate in the press failed to recognise that this was-indeed- an early attempt at a national school of music, albeit in the Italian musical idiom, and ridiculed it as mere kitsch mimicry of western art music.

Secondly, when the Conservatory of Athens was established in 1873, as will be seen shortly, the Ionian composers/musicians were institutionally marginalised and their good work disregarded in the public sphere, when the Conservatory became the central point of reference for musical education, as well as the recognised mediator of middle-class musical taste. The ‘official’ Greek National School of Music would emerge in the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, heralding its nationalistic musical manifesto from the depths of the Conservatory of Athens, promising Greece a radical new approach to art music, that much like its mid-19<sup>th</sup> century predecessor, would give a distinctively Greek twist to European music. Regardless of this bright future-in-the-waiting, one that Carrer would not live to hear, it remains an interesting question for musicologists, whether a ‘national school of music’ can exist before being recognised by its contemporary society. If it is the musicologists’ responsibility to rectify the mistakes of times long past, then the emergence of the peer-recognised Greek national school of music of 1908 ought to be primarily examined as a product

---

<sup>466</sup> Apel, W. (ed.)1970 (2nd ed.) Harvard Dictionary of Music. Entry: “Nationalism”, p. 565

of political nationalism, and with an extra-musical, political programme, rather than the expression of the ‘natural’ need of the nation to find its musical voice.

In any case, invaluable in their contribution to modern Greek musical heritage Ionian composers brought with them their musical language, Greek yet European, and spread it to the country through teaching, instituting orchestras and amateur musical societies. As music historian Katy Romanou has remarked, musical education in Athens before the restructuring of the Conservatory of Athens in 1891 was closer to the Ionian reality, rather than the systematic central-European. Music would be taught in amateur societies instituted by Ionian musicians such as Dionysios Lavragas and the Lambelet brothers (Napoleon and George), and the irrelevance of class or educational background of its participants, assisted its absorption as part of local tradition.<sup>467</sup> It is important to be noted here that music theory and notation were not taught methodically in these societies, rather only in fragments according to the needs of each performance, and the participants many times merely learned the music by ear, as the primary function of these societies was to spread awareness of western art music.<sup>468</sup> The breadth of the repertory under ‘western’ music is to be regarded as significantly limited as well, since Italy itself was integrated into the central-European tradition and canon only after the *Risorgimento*, and as a result the earlier unification of the Islands with Greece deprived them from extended contact with other than Italian and Greek-Italianate repertory until the institution of the Conservatory of Athens.<sup>469</sup>

Italianate in musical language, the Ionians were constantly trying to approach the ‘Greek’, and the Ionian composer Spyridon Xyndas wrote the first opera with a Greek libretto in 1867 (*The Parliamentary Candidate*). It was the Ionian composer Spyros Samaras that became the first internationally acclaimed Greek composer with the sensational reception of his operas *Flora Mirabilis* and *Martys* in late 19<sup>th</sup> century Italy, whilst the Ionian Napoleon Lambelet led a successful career in London’s West

---

<sup>467</sup> Romanou, K. 1996. A journey through National Music 1901-1912: Greek Music Journals as a source of research on modern Greek music. Vol. I, p. 220 [Ρωμανού, Κ. 1996. Εθνικής Μουσικής Περιήγησις 1901-1912: Ελληνικά Μουσικά Περιοδικά ως Πηγή Έρευνας της Ιστορίας της Νεοελληνικής Μουσικής. [Μέρος Ι], σελ. 220]

<sup>468</sup> *ibid.* p. 221

<sup>469</sup> Romanou, K. 2006. Greek art music in the Modern times. p. 66

End, among other musical achievements by Ionians.<sup>470</sup> Here in danger of defending a localism that distorts music history as much as the borderline eradication of their work in national history, what is under scrutiny is the suspicion with which Greek-Italianate musical idiom was termed too-Italian-to-be-Greek. Since the long-term contribution of Ionian composers was not ideologically accepted at their time, for reasons that will be examined shortly, their Italianate musical language became a stimulus for a variety of general debates regarding the relation of Greece to Europe, while in essence concealing very specific divisions over educational approach and individual compositional style.

In 1900 the Ionian musician/ conductor Dionysios Lavragas made real one of the nation's greatest artistic dreams, and a persistent source of dispute throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The 'Greek melodrama' [opera company] started operating in Athens when Lavragas settled in the city in 1894 after a long career in various European cities, where he also taught music in a number of institutions.<sup>471</sup> The conductor related in his memoirs how he chanced upon a group of male singers learning Xynda's *Parliamentarian Candidate* in 1898 but, in absence of an operatic company to organise them into a proper production, they merely recited the songs in expectation of a future chance to perform it.<sup>472</sup> He immediately took on the challenge of preparing them and, after two years of training, financial struggles, and with no state funding, the 'Greek Melodrama' premiered with Giacomo Puccini's *La Bohème* in Greek. Apart from the prima donna, contralta and the other female roles of the opera that were performed by Italians who learnt Greek because for Greek women it remained socially unacceptable to perform on stage, the rest of the cast was Greek.<sup>473</sup>

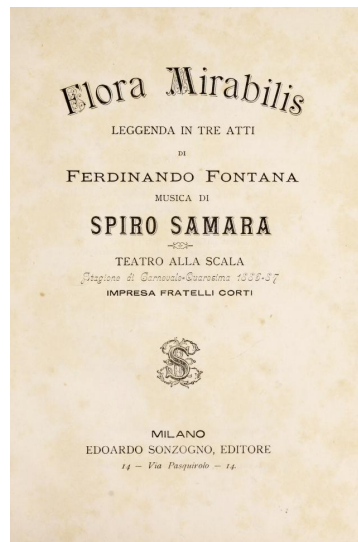
---

<sup>470</sup> For Xyndas, Samaras, and Lambelets' work see: Nef, K. [translated, edited, and with additions for the Greek edition by Phevos Anogianakis]. 1956. *History of Music*, pp. 565, 567, 569; Leotsakos, G. 2012. Spyros Samaras (1861-1917): The great forgotten [composer] of Greek art music. Athens: Benaki Museum; Siragakis, M. 2014. Napoleon Lambelet: a homeless cosmopolitan. Athens: Centre for Greek Music. [Λεωτσάκος, Γ. 2012. Σπύρος Σαμάρης (1861-1917): Ο Μεγάλος αδικημένος της έντεχνης ελληνικής μουσικής. Αθήνα: Μουσείο Μπενάκη; Σειραγάκης, Μ. 2014. Ναπολέον Λαμπελέτ: Ένας ανέστιος κοσμοπολίτης. Αθήνα: Κέντρο Ελληνικής Μουσικής]

<sup>471</sup> Antipas, P. 1978. *The Ionian Theatre and the Greek Melodrama*, p. 25 [Αντύπας, Π. 1978. Το Επτανησιακό Θέατρο και το Ελληνικό Μελόδραμα, σελ. 25]

<sup>472</sup> Lavragas, D. 2009. *My memoirs*, pp. 122-123. [Λαυράγκας, Δ. 2009. Τ' απομνημονεύματά μου, σελ. 122-123]

<sup>473</sup> *ibid.* p. 25-26



Cover of the libretto for Spyros Samara's *Flora Mirabilis*.<sup>474</sup>

The 'Greek Melodrama' eventually put on stage Xyndas' *Parliamentary Candidate*, and managed in very adverse conditions to train musicians, educate the public, and spread the operatic tradition through tours in the Greek periphery.<sup>475</sup> Before Lavragas' death, the Greek National Opera was instituted in 1939, a direct outcome of his personal efforts.<sup>476</sup> Regardless of this musical and institutional triumph, among the audience of the *Parliamentary Candidate* in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, there was a person that found the opera mediocre and the whole lot of Ionian musicians a second-rate group of mediocre Italian imitators. As will be seen in the next section, as well as in chapter four, the cultural heritage of the Ionian Greeks created pangs of indignation among a part of Greek composers and music critics that found their musical language foreign and frivolous. Even though the *Ionian School* had representatives in the Greek National School of Music of at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, their output was undermined in the public sphere, and the *Ionian School* of Greek Music disappeared silently after the first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

The Ionian composers brought radical change to the musical reality of 19<sup>th</sup> century Greece, and their case study remains as fascinating for cultural historians as it is for music historians. Especially in the fragmented educational environment, their input proved crucial for the ailing musical education of 19<sup>th</sup> century Greece. Regardless of

<sup>474</sup> Samaras, S. *Flora Mirabilis: Leggenda in tre atti*. 1887. Milano: E. Sonzogno

<sup>475</sup> Nef, K. [translated, edited, and with additions for the Greek edition by Phevos Anogianakis]. 1956. *History of Music*, pp. 577-578

<sup>476</sup> *ibid.*

the inability to implement systematic musical education either for purposes of national indoctrination or musical training, there are three immediate conclusions to be drawn from this overview of 19<sup>th</sup> century musical education before the emergence of the Conservatory of Athens: first, there was widespread awareness among the Europe-educated elites of the capital about the value of music education in schools, and it was regularly expressed in their treatises about education; second, the gradual adaptation of Greek middle-class taste to western music through institutions such as the Theatre of Athens played a significant role in the continuing struggle for musical education; and lastly, the emergence of the Conservatory of Athens was both the culmination of the aforementioned processes earlier in the century, as well as a game-changing factor for a shift in the educational public sphere.

Detailed connections between those claims have not been made yet, as it would take a thorough study into the inter-institutional operation of the leading figures of all the said institutions. Nevertheless, one useful case study is Alexandros Katakouzinis, who was invited by Queen Olga to instruct the Palace choir in the 1870s, as will be seen in the next chapter. While he trained church choirs around the capital, he was at the same time acting as the unofficial Director at the Conservatory of Athens, and taught music at the school of the *Society for Education*. This indicates the existence of an extended network of internally mobile music teachers spreading their knowledge in the fringes of official musical education.<sup>477</sup> Similarly, the extended attempts by Ionian composers to establish careers in mainland Greece pre- and post- union ought to be examined more closely, to contribute to the overall assessment of the input of private tuition to this parallel network of teachers that formed a middle class ready to inaugurate and support the Conservatory of Athens.

What is clearly evident is that, in absence of a definitive and systematic plan for musical instruction, one aspiring to create a body of professional musicians in the country, musical education was mostly treated as a means to moral instruction and refinement. Case studies such as the *Athens Polytechnic* and its unsuccessful rival, the *Society for the Fine Arts*, indicate the continuing awareness for the value for artistic

---

<sup>477</sup> For a brief reference to Katakouzinis' various appointments see: Romanou, K., Barbaki, M. Music Education in Nineteenth-Century Greece: Its Institutions and their Contribution to Urban Musical Life. *Nineteenth-Century Music Review*, 8:1 (June 2011), p. 81; Romanou, K. 2006. Greek art music in the Modern times. p. 115

education, which unfortunately only materialised in systematic training in the crafts and the plastic arts. Lack of funds, and to a certain extent concrete musical vision, cast musical education aside in these subsidiary institutions, while public education stood helpless due to the lack of trained teachers, and a clearly defined plan for long-term musical education. Music was left to survive through private tuition, private initiatives, and small orchestras and choirs.

The union of the Islands with the Kingdom of Greece, created an internal paradox that soon evolved into a full-blown musical war. Greek by ethnicity the Ionians wrote Italianate Greek music, which automatically brought it against two musical genres: the Byzantine chant and the Germanic canon. These two genres, in turn, represented the ‘Greek’ and the ‘artistically appropriate’ in late 19<sup>th</sup> century Athens, and as such left the Ionian output inhabiting in-between the Greek and the European, without belonging to either. The transplantation of a musical culture into a new habitat based on ethnicity/national identity failed, and it contrasts interestingly to the Italian opera of the Theatre of Athens that, though debated, managed to survive as an asset of ‘progress’, and an expression of class-centred support.

The emergence of the Conservatory of Athens in 1873 brought western musical education to the forefront of the public sphere, and changed the public rhetoric about the value of western art music in late 19<sup>th</sup> century Greece drastically. At the same time it became the moderator of taste in terms of repertory, pushing the Ionian composers aside, through advocating for and supporting the superiority of the German canon. The next section will examine the history and output of this particularly important institution, assess its contribution to middle class musical education, and argue for its function as a ‘container’ of Greek-European identity before the emergence of the Greek National School of Music at the turn of the century, which brought forward questions of national identity in music, as will be seen at the final chapter of the thesis.

### *The Conservatory of Athens*

From what we have seen until now, after examining the Theatre of Athens and its perception, as well as the general structure of musical education in 19<sup>th</sup> century Greece, music led an outcast existence on the fringes of official education, yet western art music was endorsed as the dominant legitimate learned musical entertainment. Meanwhile, this very legitimacy was being constantly challenged by demands for a ‘Greek theatre’ to give precedence to a native cast of actors rivalling the Italian opera and western musical tradition. These two unsuspectedly ideologically charged arts, cohabitating in the contested Theatre of Athens, found a new home in 1871; a home that promised to provide the capital with the two professional groups demanded and missed until then: trained actors and musicians.

The *Society for Music and Drama* was instituted in 1871 at the initiative of the Head of Department at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the President of Government, and a set of prominent Athenians at the time active in all things cultural, educational, and political in the capital.<sup>478</sup> The Conservatory of Athens, the practical intellectual offspring of the *Society*, opened its doors in 1872 subsidised by the state and private donors, aspiring to become Greece’s school for actors and musicians, modelled after its European counterparts.<sup>479</sup> The speech delivered during the official opening of the Conservatory in 1873, narrated the dominant constitutive reason for more or less every cultural or educational institution in the (by then not so) new Greek Kingdom; in the case of Drama, and given the dependence of the art upon social prosperity, the national subjugation to the Ottomans had deprived the nation from an institution for professional training in acting.<sup>480</sup> In regards to music the narration employed a vocabulary cunningly similar to the one picked up by the Greek National School of Music a couple of decades later. The ‘national spirit’ had been preserved intact through traditional song and church music, and ‘European art’ would, with the

<sup>478</sup> Society for Music and Drama, “Conservatory of Athens”, Centenary Publication 1871-1971. p. 11. [Μουσικός και Δραματικός Σύλλογος «Ωδείο Αθηνών», Εκατονταετηρίς 1871-1971. σελ. 11]

<sup>479</sup> According to the report on the first five years of the Conservatory (1871-1875), the committee that established it first consulted the Regulations of other “conservatories in Europe” and modeled the Athens Conservatory after them, but unfortunately the document does not specify which ones, see: Society for Music and Drama. 1875. Report on the activities [of the *Society*] since its institution. July 1871-June 1875. p. 6 [Μουσικός και Δραματικός Σύλλογος. Εκθέσις από της ιδρύσεως αυτού πεπραγμένων. Ιούλιος 1871- Ιούνιος 1875. σελ. 6]

<sup>480</sup> *ibid.* p. 11

emergence of the Conservatory, accentuate the ‘national colour’ of Greek music.<sup>481</sup> In other words, a violin and two violas would utilize the raw material of peasant song, not to produce original musical meaning, but rather to demonstrate the modern aspect of Greece’s perennial musical national spirit. Interestingly, and in direct connection to the previously examined educational gap, the speaker urged the Government to introduce singing classes in schools- “a class that is today a sign of a truly civilised nation”- a fact that accentuates its phantom-like existence until then.<sup>482</sup>

In terms of organization, the Conservatory established a variety of schools for instrumental music, starting with the flute and violin, and gradually introducing singing, piano, cello, and double-base classes varying – according to demand and availability of specialised staff.<sup>483</sup> At the same time, it managed to attract a considerable amount of students, with 467 students (325 male, 142 female) enrolling in its first year, and slightly less (355 and 369 in 1873-1874 and 1874-1875).<sup>484</sup> Inter-class dissemination, an issue particularly important in view of the weakness of the state to provide musical education in public schools, and the class-structured support of the opera, can be demonstrated by the fact that, very much in tune to the Italian system of orphan patronage, the Conservatory established connections with the Chatzikostas Orphanage in Athens. According to the *Society’s* report, 80 pupils from the orphanage joined the Conservatory *gratis*, while in 1874 the said pupils formed the Conservatory’s first band.<sup>485</sup> Encouraged by the success of the orphans’ band, the Board of Trustees instituted a second band, constituted by craftsmen and workers that, nevertheless, did not last long.<sup>486</sup> The Orphanage withdrew the boys from choral and band instruction at the Conservatory in 1876, and their musical education was continued in its own premises, resulting in a sharp drop of 85 students for the Conservatory at that year.<sup>487</sup> Between 1882 and 1884 the Conservatory established connections with the ‘School for destitute children’, inaugurated and sustained by the Literary Society *Parnassus*, providing the school with musical instruction,

---

<sup>481</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>482</sup> *ibid.* p. 13

<sup>483</sup> *ibid.* pp. 14-16

<sup>484</sup> *ibid.* pp. 15-16

<sup>485</sup> *ibid.* p. 16;

<sup>486</sup> *ibid.* p. 17; Society for Music and Drama, “Conservatory of Athens”, Centenary Publication 1871-1971. p. 18

<sup>487</sup> Barbaki, M. “Music troupes”, wind orchestras in late 19<sup>th</sup> century Athens. *Polyphonia*, vol. 6 (Spring, 2005) p. 10 [Μπαρμπάκη, Μ. «Μουσικοί Θίασοι», ορχήστρες πνευστών στην Αθήνα των τελών του 19<sup>ου</sup> αιώνα. *Πολυφωνία*, τ. 6 (Ανοιξη, 2005), σελ. 10]



instruments, and books for 150 drachmas per month, while after the dissolution of the contract between the Conservatory and Society, their instruction continued at the School until the end of the 1880s.<sup>488</sup>

Regardless of the best efforts of all those participating in the project of delivering to the country a Conservatory worthy of its European counterparts, the first twenty years of the Institution appear to have been particularly challenging. Apart from financial issues, the Board of Trustees appears to have struggled to find an appropriately trained musician to act as Director, a position covered unofficially by Alexandros Katakouzinis for the first twenty years.<sup>489</sup> At the same time, even though the steady stream of concerts created a small devoted audience, the indifference of the government, and the pressing financial issues brought the Conservatory to the brink of collapse by the early 1890s;<sup>490</sup> a collapse that appears to have been avoided only because of the appointment of George Nazos as Director in 1891.

Nazos' emergence is important for this and other Stories not only because he reorganised the Conservatory drastically, securing its survival and making it the home and headquarters of the National School of Music at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, but also because his actions and attitude towards the composers from the Ionian Islands have rendered him a particularly controversial figure since the time of his Directorship. George Nazos returned to Athens after ten years of musical studies in Munich and a few months before assuming his position at the Conservatory. He won this position by presenting to the Board of Trustees his long-term plan for the reorganization of the failing institution, and by securing a steady annual donation of 9,000 drachmas by Andreas Syngros, a tycoon of the Greek Diaspora and a close friend of his father.<sup>491</sup> This, convenient-for-all-parties-involved, surrender of the position to Nazos, in combination to his strong Germanic musical inclinations, anti-Ionian sentiment, and almost universal recognition of his own mediocre musical talent

---

<sup>488</sup> *ibid.* p. 18

<sup>489</sup> The centenary publication of the Conservatory reports that Board of Trustees enquired at the Greek embassies around Europe about the possibility of a foreign musician willing to relocate and take the post, but it appears as if until 1879, when they invited F. Stevens, originally from the island of Kefhalonia but at the time working in Paris, to assume the role, no such musician had expressed interest for the position. Stevens' contract was terminated a couple of months after his employment, when the Board decided that he was inadequate, the expense a luxury, and Katakouzinis assumed the position unofficially. See: Society for Music and Drama, "Conservatory of Athens", Centenary Publication 1871-1971. p. 18

<sup>490</sup> *ibid.* p. 18-19

<sup>491</sup> *ibid.* p. 20

and output, has since then secured the enmity of a section of musicologists and music critics, who openly blame him for doing Greek art music a disservice through his prejudice against the representatives of the Italian school of music in Greece.<sup>492</sup>

Setting musicological and aesthetic concerns aside for a moment, apart from the financial life-extension that bought Nazos his position, his arrival saw the modernisation of the Conservatory's Chart, the creation of new classes, and a significant increase in student numbers.<sup>493</sup> Moreover, he reorganized the examination system, and through governing it with an iron fist he managed to turn the Conservatory into a modern European musical institution, whose brightest memories include a visit and concert with Camille Saint-Saëns in 1920 after a personal invitation by Nazos.<sup>494</sup> This modernisation was a turning point for musical education in Greece not only because of the state-endorsed and promoted habitation of music in an educational institution, but also because it distinguished the institution from all other amateur musical associations active in the capital at the time, whose main output up until then had been to merely familiarise the population of the capital with European music.<sup>495</sup> In regards to the school of Drama, it appears as if during the years relevant to this research, it failed to establish a strong presence in the capital, with its history revealing only one student enrolling for the school year 1896-1897, no students for 1899-1900, when it was suspended, and no more than twelve students in 1903-1904, a peak in its numbers for that period. The school started blooming in 1909-1910, a period considered a turning point in its history, and in 1918 the "Theatre of the Conservatory" was instituted, a story that nevertheless remains outside the scope and interests of this research.<sup>496</sup>

---

<sup>492</sup> See for example music critic George Leotsakos' indignant attack against Nazos in his introduction to composer Pavlos Carrer's *Memoirs*, where he refers to Nazos as "[a] disputed figure", "universally acknowledged as untalented", "with doubtful musical studies and knowledge" and "complex-ridden", see: Leotsakos, G. (ed.) 2003. *Pavlos Carrer: Memoir and Works*. pp. 38-39.

<sup>493</sup> Society for Music and Drama, "Conservatory of Athens", Centenary Publication 1871-1971. p. 20

<sup>494</sup> For more detailed information on Saint-Saëns' visit and the content of the concerts at the time of his visit see: *ibid.* pp. 34-35. For a reproduction of parts of the correspondence between Saint-Saëns and Nazos, and a narrative of his visit and stay see: Drosinis, G. (ed.). 1938. *George Nazos and the Conservatory of Athens*. pp. 173-183 [Δροσίνης, Γ. (επιμ.) 1938. *Γεώργιος Νάζος και το Ωδείο Αθηνών*. σελ. 173-183]

<sup>495</sup> Music historian Katy Romanou makes it explicit that it was Nazos' reformatory action that distinguished the Conservatory from the said amateur musical associations, among which it classed before Nazos' emergence. See: Romanou, K. 1996. *A journey through National Music 1901-1912: Greek Music Journals as a source of research on modern Greek music*. Vol. I, p. 221

<sup>496</sup> Society for Music and Drama, "Conservatory of Athens", Centenary Publication 1871-1971. pp. 27-28

Taking into consideration the length of Nazos' active directorship at the Conservatory (1891-1924), it is particularly challenging to assess the perception of his work and actions in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century without being tempted to connect these actions to their 20<sup>th</sup> century outcomes. It is hard to avoid historical speculation over the potential fate of Italianate music in Greece had he not imposed his strong musical agenda, while at the same time juxtaposing ideological and aesthetic criticisms to the long-term institutional stability and progress that he achieved. Naturally, a thirty-three-year career as the head of one of the most important Greek institutions for musical education went through various phases of admiration or enmity with the press and public. What is for sure is that Nazos' repatriation had been hailed as musically hopeful for the motherland, whose musical son was reported to be leading a humble life with solely musical preoccupations, away from the press and out of the public eye, "Like a proper German, devoted to his Muse [...]" as the newspaper *Acropolis* reported in 1890.<sup>497</sup>

Incidentally, this excerpt was part of a wider piece on the failing Conservatory, urging the King and the state to support the institution financially, and suggesting Nazos as an appropriate candidate to save the Conservatory, a deal that from what we know from other sources his father had already secured for him through his personal friendship with Syngros and other members of the Athenian elite.<sup>498</sup> Shortly after he assumed the position, in 1894, the newspaper *Asty* ran a feature-article on his directorship, painting him as a conscientious, incorruptible, restless Director, adamant in his opinion and accepting no external advice, and someone who was close to "[...] turning Athens into a Music-City".<sup>499</sup>

By the time of Nazos' 1899 public appeal for better and wider musical education, as showcased in the beginning of the chapter, the mood appears to have shifted to include a series of criticisms that challenged his decision to introduce fees, and impose his personal aesthetics on the content of the Conservatory's educational

<sup>497</sup> *Acropolis* (1890), The Conservatory, *Acropolis*, 03 February 1890, pp. 1-2 [Ακρόπολις (1890), Το Ωδείο, *Ακρόπολις*, 03 Φεβρουαρίου 1890, σελ. 1-2]

<sup>498</sup> *ibid.* p. 2; For the reproduction of a piece of correspondence between Nazos and his father in 1884, where the latter shares his private conversations with prominent Athenians and Syngros, all of whom appear very keen on Nazos assuming the Directorship of the Conservatory after he completes his studies in Munich, see: Drosinis, G. (ed.). 1938. George Nazos and the Conservatory of Athens. pp. 35-36

<sup>499</sup> *Asty* (1894), Georgios Nazos, *Asty*, 21 March 1894, p. 2 [Το Άστυ (1894), Γεώργιος Νάζος, *Το Άστυ*, 21 Μαρτίου 1894, σελ. 2]

approach. The Conservatory was accused of elitism, with newspapers complaining about the alienation of the lower classes from musical practice. The offensive peaked in the early 1900s, when a newspaper allegedly published forty-nine articles against the Conservatory in 1909.<sup>500</sup> The institution, according to the various attacks, forced European music upon a people that was not familiarised with it, and had not taken care to nurture Greek music, a set of accusations appropriate to the turn-of-the-century Greek anxiety and debate about the modern cultural and artistic outlook of the nation, as will be seen in chapter five. In this context, Nazos' 1899 appeal to the state to assume responsibility for universal elementary musical education, rather than expect the Conservatory to take on this role, is indicative of the instability that the absence of state musical education brought upon the institutions that manifestly attempted to educate the middle-class. The public's taste might have been accustomed to the presence of the opera in the capital, and class distinction might have depended upon the spectacle it supported, yet the educational and cultural distance between the classes created a division between the Conservatory's objectives as a specialised musical institution, its public, and the musical needs of the country.

While the press challenged the director's exclusionary politics, the most substantial and steady criticisms against the educational approach of the Conservatory, and Nazos personally, came from within the musical circles of Athens, and more specifically from the music newspaper *Kritiki* [Criticism], edited by the Ionian composer and musician George Lambelet and the composer George Axiotis. In a series of open letters about the Conservatory and its director, Lambelet and Axiotis, urged the students to resist Nazos' strict Germanic approach to musical instruction, one that made it void of pleasure and creativity, and restricted it to dry reverence to the great "classical" masters. As an alternative, they advised students to try their hands on traditional song and dance, or anything else that would make them find pleasure in musical practice, from Bellini and Verdi to Wagner and Bach.<sup>501</sup> Moreover, the two editors argued, Nazos' insistence on imposing his Germanic educational standards and aesthetics upon a public not yet acculturated to the music

<sup>500</sup> Drosinis, G. (ed.). 1938. George Nazos and the Conservatory of Athens. pp. 196-197.

<sup>501</sup> Lambelet, G. Open Letters about the Conservatory of Athens: Letter n. 5, *Kritiki*, 1903, issue number 8, p. 283-284 [of collated edition]. Copy held at the ELIA [the Hellenic Literary and Historical Archive] Library, Athens. [Λαμπελέτ, Γ. Ανοικταί Επιστολαί δια το Ωδείον Αθηνών: Επιστολή Ε', *Κριτική*, 1903, αρ. τ. 8, σελ. 283-284. Αντίτυπο διαθέσιμο στη Βιβλιοθήκη του ΕΛΙΑ (Ελληνικό Λογοτεχνικό και Ιστορικό Αρχείο), Αθήνα]

had obstructed the natural evolution of the art in the country. As the argument went, the amateur orchestras, choirs, and various musical societies, the theatres and music stages had been quietly but steadily imprinting western music into the nation's consciousness, and the Athenians appeared to be becoming increasingly enamoured with the genre. The timely institution of the Conservatory in the 1870s had appeared at the time as the natural evolution of this generalised sentiment into systematic education, yet Nazos, with his "Germanic poison" was alienating the public, whose heart was closer to lighter music, thus setting the cause behind.<sup>502</sup>

Here, it was the diverse educational backgrounds between the two men that positioned them one against the other: Lambelet, carrying with him the tradition of the Ionian *Philharmonic Societies*, defended the value of a similar approach in Athens because it represented a more inclusive participation in music education than the class-specific private tuition or elitist institutions, in this case the Conservatory of Athens.<sup>503</sup> Nazos, on the other hand, projected his own systematised Germanic education (from private tuition to ten years in Munich), and imposed it even though he had not completed his studies or produced an oeuvre. He was being treated as the "Saint Graal" or the Pope of Greek music, and was trusted with an educationists' job due to his social position and the uncritical praise of the press and the musically uneducated public, as Lambelet scornfully remarked in his own criticism.<sup>504</sup>

Because of how Nazos was represented in the press, and what he represented as the director of the Conservatory, class came under fire for its attempt to regulate taste. Lambelet pointed out that it was becoming a norm for the daughters of the Athenian elite to be labouring over the clavier in numbers comparable to those of cities like Vienna and Munich, struggling to entertain their visitors with Schumann and Bach, because according to the taste- directives of the Conservatory, Italian composers such as Verdi and Bellini were considered entertainment for the lower classes.<sup>505</sup> Taste and class pretensions became intertwined in the open letters between the two editors and,

<sup>502</sup> Lambelet, G. Open Letters about the Conservatory of Athens, *Kritiki*, 1903, issue number 4, pp. 130-131

<sup>503</sup> As seen earlier the *Philharmonic Societies* in the Islands had been an antidote to class-specific access to music education through private tuition in the Islands. See: Kardamis, K. The musical identities of the Ionian Islands; Remarks and revisions through recent research. Paper in the IX International Panionian Conference (Paxos, 26-30/05/2010), p. 237, 241

<sup>504</sup> Romanou, K. 2006. Greek art music in the Modern times, p. 138-139; Lambelet, G. Open Letters about the Conservatory of Athens, *Kritiki* issue number 4, p. 126-127

<sup>505</sup> Lambelet, G. Open Letters about the Conservatory of Athens: part 3, *Kritiki*, 1903, issue number 6, p. 194 -195

with Nazos' own musical incompetence at the centre of their discussion, they repeatedly argued that his Germanic aesthetic preference stemmed from his own inability to understand the equal complexity and beauty of the two different schools of music (German and Italian); as a direct outcome, he was imposing the first as “musically superior” and taught it at an elitist institution, thus raising it into a national taste-mandate, while he dismissed the second because of his own musical tastelessness, illiteracy, and uncritical mimicry of the Germanic educational approach.<sup>506</sup>

At the same time, music historian Katy Romanou, has posed an interesting question in regards to the influence of class on the perception of repertory. According to Romanou, at the peak of his opposition to the Germanic repertory and educational approach of the Conservatory of Athens, Lambelet praised a small private music school operating in Athens for its own choice of repertory, even though it had been steadily Germanic. The Conservatory of Athens, as the story goes, promoted at the time a number of works by the French composer Cécile Chaminade, a personal favourite of Lambelet's, a fact that doesn't appear to have affected his criticism.<sup>507</sup> And while Romanou suggests that this story showcases that the intellectual musical war indeed reached deep into matters of class expressed through repertory, it is a matter of distinguishing the class characteristics within the canon, to understand how one school of music or another affected the perception of European music in the capital before the emergence of the National School of Music and in preparation of its arrival.

If her proposition holds merit, the evolution of western art music indicates that the Italian opera had become by the end of the century the adopted popular entertainment for the middle-class, while the institutionalised Germanic approach and aesthetics were accepted as the official ‘learned’ stem of the art, addressing the upper-middle class, or drawing its legitimacy from its institutional patronage. The natural interplay between class and popular entertainment that secured the genre's survival in the

---

<sup>506</sup> See for example: Lambelet, G. Open Letters about the Conservatory of Athens, *Kritiki*, 1903, issue number 4, p. 132-133; Axiotis, G. Open Letters about the Conservatory of Athens: Letter number 2, *Kritiki*, 1903, issue number 5, pp. 161-164; Lambelet, G. Open Letters about the Conservatory of Athens: Letter number 3, *Kritiki*, 1903, issue number 6, pp. 192-194.

<sup>507</sup> Romanou, K. 1996. A journey through National Music 1901-1912: Greek Music Journals as a source of research on modern Greek music. Vol. I, pp. 230-231

Theatre of Athens must have nurtured the taste of the nascent middle class to an extent that the Germanic approach at the turn of the century created a sub-division within class, between the perceived lower “pop” Italian musical tradition, and the highbrow Germanic reverence.

It is increasingly visible that the long decades when music ran self-regulated in the capital and country in the end resulted in bitter personal enmities. As such, before the Greek public had the chance to receive systematic musical education for the first time, the question of Italianate folly or Germanic reverence divided the musical world itself. Whether class pretensions managed to disguise taste behind arguments of national musical superiority between one and the other country is as elusive as the arguments themselves, since musical taste and class are closely intertwined. Yet, the nationalisation of language in regards to music, that concealed aesthetic preferences behind nationalist arguments, created the appropriate vocabulary and attitude that would during the same period push music critics and musicians to wonder about the position of a ‘Greek’ music and art in this picture of an Italian-Germanic rivalry, as will be seen in the final chapter of the thesis.

This question of where the Greeks belonged musically was essentially the outcome of the predominance of western art music in the public sphere. Whether in the Theatre or the failed *Societies*, the successful *Societies*, the bands, the press, the schools, or in the end the Conservatory of Athens, western art music dominated the national mind as a sign of progress. The unique compositional and educational output of the Ionians provided the country with the musical resources it lacked due to its artificial introduction into the western musical tradition. Ethnically Greek, yet musically Italianate, the Ionians brought musical change from within, simply by reproducing their natural musical language in a foreign cultural environment, which had been until then supporting the opera with strict class boundaries. Their organic infiltration of Greek society, though, appears to have been violently interrupted when the nation achieved at last an institution for systematic musical education. The emergence of the Conservatory of Athens solidified musical education in Greece and became the first visible evidence that the country was investing in education for its long-term musical Europeanization. At the same time, though, the first representatives of western art music in the country were cast aside for aesthetic and ideological reasons, and the

musical world became, once again, divided in its indecision about what music to promote.

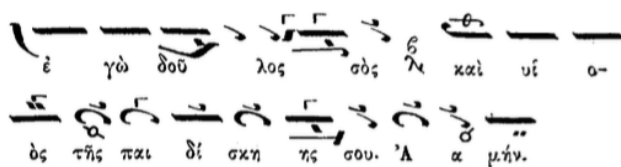
In a separate musical and intellectual sphere, part of society believed strongly that the Greeks were under appreciating their own ethnic musics instead of developing them into a distinctive Greek national musical idiom. Traditional music and the Byzantine chant were, for this part of society, tangible evidence of linear continuity between the Ancients and the Moderns, much like the Parthenon and modern sculpture, the ancient Greek language and modern Greek. Before the two spheres- western and eastern- converged to give voice to the Greek national school of music of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, traditional music and the Byzantine chant had been debated in relation to east and west, Orthodoxy and modern European identity. The following chapter will bring the question of traditional music and the chant into the Greek musical discussion, and through them examine the visions of Europe disseminated in the country through this particularly Eastern viewpoint.



### Third Story: Turning the century (upside down)

#### *Literary Literal Transliterations: Objects and concepts of late 19<sup>th</sup> century musical nationalism*

In 1875, a lengthy collection of translations won a silver medal at the *Olympia* competition in Athens. Though, in theory, the word ‘transnotation’ would be more appropriate, such a term does not exist in musicology. ‘Transcription’ is perhaps the closest musical term for what music teacher Antonios Sigalas was awarded the medal. Yet, the deeper semiological significance of Sigalas’ work brings it well into the realm of linguistics, and thus ‘translation’ will be used interchangeably with ‘transcription’. In 1875 Antonios Sigalas’ lengthy *Collection of National Songs* consisting of songs, hymns, art music, and other genres of Greek, European and Russian music, translated/transcribed in Byzantine notation won a silver medal at the *Olympia* state competition in Athens.<sup>508</sup>



Example 1: Byzantine notation with Greek text underneath<sup>509</sup>

Five years later, in 1880, this book of transcriptions was published after the recommendation of the Awarding Committee, while the Parliament subsidized the publication, and the Ministry of Ecclesiastic Affairs and Public Education assisted the subscription of patrons.<sup>510</sup> In many senses this publication was the material manifestation of one of the most significant 19<sup>th</sup> century Greek musical debates, in

<sup>508</sup> Sigalas, A.1880. *A Collection of National Songs* Containing four hundred songs edited by the music teacher Antonios N. Sigalas. Athens: Ch. N Filadelfeos Printers.

<sup>509</sup> The Byzantine notation, as demonstrated in Example 1, is radically different to western notation, both in function and form. The Byzantine chant is the music of the liturgical rite of the Christian Roman Empire of the East, and as a notational system it was developed from the 7<sup>th</sup> to the 14<sup>th</sup> centuries. See: Saddington, St. 1988. *The Norton/Grove Concise Encyclopedia of Music*. Entry “Byzantine rite, Music of the”, pp. 120-121; Kennedy, M. 1985. *The Oxford Dictionary of Music*. Entry “Neum(e)s” pp. 499; Score excerpt: Sigalas, A.1880. *A Collection of National Songs* Containing four hundred songs edited by the music teacher Antonios N. Sigalas. p. 4

<sup>510</sup> Sigalas, A.1880. *A Collection of National Songs*. p. 6

defence of a local Greek musical identity after the cultural ‘invasion’ of Europe into the country and nation through entertainment and education. The most intriguing chapter in this award-winning piece of national cultural appropriation must definitely be the chapter that transcribed European and Ionian tunes into Byzantine notation [pp. 249-290]. This kind of heteroglossia achieved to give material form to national indoctrination quite uniquely: sixteen different genres, four hundred songs, were concealed under a notational system that bore merely a symbolic function, since it was legible only to the very few initiated in this special notation, and did not assist the preservation of songs as was the editor’s ethnomusicological claim. The layman who would have chosen to buy this publication would probably do it out of a sense of national musical particularity, since functionally the book was completely pointless. Even if someone was familiar with Byzantine notation, reading European or Greek traditional music from such a score would- again- rather be a symbolic act or statement. With the issue of the Byzantine chant and traditional music in their relation to ethnic Greek cultural heritage prominent throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century, this publication will be analysed here as an object of nationalism. The methodology of the editor and the notational choices he made, in comparison to other similar publications and subsequent European ethnomusicological attempts to preserve traditional Greek music, will showcase how nationalism informed musicological practice, and the process through which the Byzantine chant was projected as the ‘national’ musical idiom of the Greeks. Later in the chapter this publication will be positioned within its cultural and national environment to demonstrate how nationalism and its objects were mutually constructive in 19<sup>th</sup> century Greece, how the state positioned itself on the issue, and how the idea of ‘Europe’ featured in this intellectual musical debate about local musical heritage.

The difference between function and national symbolism becomes more apparent when we take into consideration that Sigalas’ attempt at transcribing popular and folk music in Byzantine notation was neither the first nor the last. The last decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century saw at least three more similar publications in 1882, 1892, and 1896, all with multiple republications, and all more or less equally symbolic.<sup>511</sup> Earlier in the

---

<sup>511</sup> The publications in reference are: Sakelaridis, I. 1882. *Muse*. Athens; Vlachos, Chr. 1892/1894. *Musical Schemata*. 2 volumes. Athens; Tsiknopoulos, And. 1896/1905/1906. *Folk Songs*. Athens [Σακελλαρίδης, Ι. 1882. *Μούσα*. Αθήνα; Βλάχος, Χρ. 1892/1894 *Μουσικά Σκαριφήματα*. 2 τόμοι. Αθήνα; Τσικνόπουλος, Ανδ. 1896/1905/1906. *Δημώδη Άσματα*. 3 τόμοι. Αθήνα]. For some more information see: Ρωμανού Κ. 2006. *Έντεχνη*

century, in Istanbul- or eternally ‘Constantinople’ in Greek national imagination- another four similar publications appeared with the auspices of the Patriarchate in 1830, 1843, 1848 and 1872.<sup>512</sup> For practical reasons the comparison will examine Sigalas’ publication in contrast to the earliest known suchlike publication from Constantinople, *Euterpe*, and a short mention will be made to the 1872 publication, because it is contemporary to Sigalas’ publication, yet somewhat different in approach.<sup>513</sup>

When *Euterpe* was published in 1830, its rationale and function was of a very different nature to Sigalas’ *Collection* for two fundamental reasons. Firstly, there is the matter of time. *Euterpe* (1830) was published exactly when the Greek nation-state was created, and therefore matters of national continuity had not reached the musical level yet, and with much more pressing historical and practical problems in need of clarification.<sup>514</sup> Moreover, as argued in the introductory chapter, the rise of the Bulgarian nationalism in the 1870s, and the Bulgarian claim of Byzantine heritage, rendered the *Collection* a timely edition in regards to Greece’s own symbolic connection to the Byzantium, a function irrelevant for publications such as *Euterpe*. Secondly, there is the matter of geographical placement. *Euterpe* was published in Istanbul, seat of the Patriarchate in Constantinople, addressing an audience that could read the notation, while the city itself was part of the Ottoman Empire and outside the borders of the Greek state. It was, therefore, a publication that in terms of both time and place did not immediately feed into Greek 19<sup>th</sup> century nationalism, and had a functional aspect.<sup>515</sup>

In terms of content and narrative, *Euterpe* took a very specific line in direct connection to this temporal and spatial context. In the introduction of the publication, the editors explained the hardships of attempting to transcribe traditional music, and

---

Ελληνική Μουσική στους Νεότερους Χρόνους. Αθήνα: Κουλτούρα. σελ. 126-127 [Romanou, K. 2006. Greek Art music in the Modern Era. Athens: Kouloura Publishing. pp. 126-127]

<sup>512</sup> Romanou, K. 2006. Greek art music in the modern era. p. 107

<sup>513</sup> Fokeas, Th., Vyzantios, St. 1830. Book called *Euterpe*, containing a collection of modern and pleasant secular songs, and with an addition in the end of some Romeic songs in Ottoman and European verse. Galata: Kastor Printers [Φωκαεύς Θ., Βυζάντιος, Στ. 1830. Βίβλος καλούμενη Ευτέρπη, Περιέχουσα συλλογήν εκ των νεωτέρων και ηδυτέρων εξωτερικών μελών, με προσθήκην εν τω τέλει και τινών ρωμαϊκών τραγουδιών εις μέλος οθωμανικών και ευρωπαϊκών. Γαλατάς: Τυπογραφία Κάστορος] Motsenigos Archive of Modern Greek music, 388/1970, National Library of Greece [Athens]

<sup>514</sup> For example racial or cultural continuity, language, the relationship of the nation-state with the Greek Diaspora, the relationship with the Patriarchate etc.

<sup>515</sup> The same applies for the rest of the publications from Constantinople. *Euterpe* is used here as an example because it is the earliest.

put to paper an art that was based on vocal embellishments, microtonal chromatic, diatonic, and harmonic modulations, and delicate tempo variations.<sup>516</sup> The Byzantine notational system is a neumatic [from the Greek *neuma* ‘gesture’ or ‘sign’] notational system that is not based on set tonal relations between the musical symbols -the function of the notes in western notation. Pitch indication is precise and is provided at the beginning of each piece along with the musical mode of the work, and the notation- comprising of a variety of signs- corresponds to its rhythmic and dynamic vocabulary, as well as the melodic direction of the cantors’ voice and the motions of the conductor’s hand.<sup>517</sup>

What the editor of *Euterpe* attempted to do in 1830 was to preserve traditional music by imitating all the delicate movements and intonations of the human voice, using a notational system that fundamentally functions according to this logic. Naturally, it was the editors’ own musical education in the Byzantine tradition, which made this notation his natural musical language, as well as his affiliation to the Patriarchate that informed his decision to put together such book, but at least the publication had a specific functional rationale and purpose.<sup>518</sup> Moreover, the score was accompanied by the lyrics of the (arabic) songs in Greek transliteration, possibly to assist the singing by those sections of the ethnic group such as the *Karamanlides* in Asia Minor, who spoke and wrote in Turkish but used the Greek alphabet [see example two in the next page].<sup>519</sup>

---

<sup>516</sup> Fokeas, Th., Vyzantios, St. 1830. Book called *Euterpe*. First page of the foreword (unnumbered in the original)

<sup>517</sup> See: Saddle, St. 1988. *The Norton/Grove Concise Encyclopedia of Music*. Entry: Byzantine rite, Music of the. (pp.120-121), Entry: Ekphonic notation (p. 234); Kennedy, M. 1985. *The Oxford Dictionary of Music*. Entry: Byzantine Music p. 116), Entry: Neum(e)s (p. 499)

<sup>518</sup> Music historian Katy Romanou concedes that these early editions were transcribed in Byzantine notation because of the cultural environment of the cantors. Nevertheless, she examines the subsequent publications from a historical musicologists’ perspective, i.e as the evolution of the tradition. As such, she does not deconstruct the constitutive nationalist elements that render these publications tangible manifestations of an evolving musical nationalism, as argued here. See Romanou, K. 2006. *Greek art music in the modern era*. p. 107

<sup>519</sup> For a description of the remnants of the Greek ethnic group in the Ottoman Empire before the exchange of populations in 1923-4, see: Clogg, R. 1992. *A concise history of Greece*. pp. 54-55



styles in detail, while the scores themselves could be sang in their transliterated Greek text by someone who could read the notation.

In contrast to *Euterpe*-and the *Compilation* for that matter-, Sigalas' medalled collection of transcriptions was very obvious in its non-functional nature. The editor literally translated various melodies of diverse origins, but failed to provide the original titles or any specific indication about the origin of the verse. For the traditional Greek songs Sigalas specified in his introduction, partly the rationale of collecting these songs was to preserve the lyrics, so at least for this set of songs we can be confident about their originality and trace them.<sup>524</sup> Some of the hymns and patriotic songs have survived until today as well, and the verse is still recognizable, yet the correspondence between music and word in the European, Ionian, and Russian ones is not known.<sup>525</sup> Example 3 demonstrates the reconstruction of one of Sigalas' transcribed pieces back in western notation.<sup>526</sup> It is particularly challenging to recognise the original pieces of music Sigalas transcribed in Byzantine notation, no less because the original adjustment of the score unavoidably altered some of its melodic and harmonic characteristics. Transcribing it back to western notation has undoubtedly caused even more deviations because of the individual choices the contemporary musicologist had to make in order to bring the music back [tonal setting, differences in temperament, microtonal differences between the two notational systems etc], and the complete lack of any sort of key to the editor's original choices in transcription.<sup>527</sup>

Moreover, Sigalas did not provide the title of the separate pieces, their region of origin, or any indication as to whether the lyrics of the specific section are the original ones, and as such the pieces have to be considered completely detached from their original context, content, and meaning. Since Sigalas stated explicitly that his work

---

<sup>524</sup> Sigalas, A.1880. A Collection of National Songs. p. ε' [5]

<sup>525</sup> For the purposes of this thesis only the European and Ionian sections have been commissioned to be transcribed back to western notation, and merely out of curiosity. Due to the impressive length of the publication [521 pages of scores in Byzantine notation] it would take years for a researcher to transcribe it back to western notation and analyze the correspondence between music and lyrics.

<sup>526</sup> Transcription in western notation by Dimitra Leleki, graduate of the Department of Music Science and Art, University of Macedonia, Greece. Commissioned for the present thesis, not published or peer-reviewed.

<sup>527</sup> Leleki maintains that a perfect note-to-note transcription is possible if the transcriber is extremely careful, yet the microtonal differences due to the equal-tempered nature of western notation in contrast to the mean-toned temperament of the Byzantine chant are unavoidable. Unfortunately, Sigalas has not left any description of his transcribing technique, therefore the quality of his work is here considered trustworthy because of the embrace of the Collection by the *Ecclesiastic Musical Association of Athens*. From personal correspondence with the transcriber on the preferred technical approach to the transcription. 04 January 2016

was intended to be a collection of songs merely transcribed in Byzantine notation in an attempt to ‘collect’ and preserve national music, the fruit of his labour is a musically grotesque anthology of dismembered musics and of no ethnomusicological value.<sup>528</sup> On top of the minimal functional value of reading those in Byzantine notation, even those trained in the specific notational tradition would potentially find themselves interpreting an incoherent distorted version of an unrecognizable original, which would not create any sort of intellectual or aesthetic musical pleasure other than the awareness of reciting ‘national’ music. As for the noble attempt to preserve Greek music at a time when the Greeks were increasingly projecting national identity through the collection of folk songs, while realising that the Europeans had been interested in collecting Greek traditional music since the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, it appears as if his choice of nation over functional notation cancelled his effort.<sup>529</sup>

Example 3: pages 275-276 [left side] present a complete piece from Sigalas’ original *Collection*, with the corresponding modern transcription [right side]. Coloured lines have been added to assist the correspondence between the two scores.

<sup>528</sup> Sigalas, A.1880. *A Collection of National Songs*. p. ε’ [5]

<sup>529</sup> The earliest modern methodical reproduction of a Greek song by a European traveler is included in P.A. Guys’ 1771 *Voyage littéraire de la Grèce, ou lettres sur les Grecs anciens et modernes, avec un parallèle de leurs moeurs*, published in Paris in two volumes. Alexis Politis maintains that, even though earlier mentions to Greek traditional songs have existed since the Middle Ages, it is the methodical reproduction of lyrics in this specific publication that renders it more significant than a mere reference to song out of curiosity. From then on, Greek songs appeared in a multitude of European folkloric studies all over Europe. Politis considers Claude Fauriel’s 1824 *Chants Populaires de la Grèce moderne* as the first official collection of traditional Greek songs, connected with the editor’s philhellenism, liberalism, and before similar efforts had been made for the transcription of French folk songs. The first Greek attempt to collect Greek folk songs was a collection by Antonios Manousos, published in 1850 in Corfu, followed shortly by another two in 1852 by Michalis Lelekos, and historian Spyridon Zambelios in Athens. See: Politis, A. 1999.(2<sup>nd</sup> ed.) *The discovery of Greek folk songs*. p. 68, 289-290; Politis, A. 2009 (3<sup>rd</sup> ed.) *Romantic Years: Ideologies and Attitudes in 1830-1880 Greece*. p. 51 [Πολίτης, Α. 1999. [β’ έκδοση] Η Ανακάλυψη των Ελληνικών δημοτικών τραγουδιών: Προϋποθέσεις, προσπάθειες και η δημιουργία της πρώτης συλλογής. σελ. 68, 289-290; Πολίτης, Α. 2009. [Γ’ Έκδοση] Ρομαντικά Χρόνια: Ιδεολογίες και Νοοτροπίες στην Ελλάδα του 1830-1880. σελ. 51]

In terms of lyrics, the content is usually some sort of hymn to a deity, love song, or lament that could belong to any sort of folk or art music western tradition (German Lieder, Ionian-Italianate cantata, European or Ionian folk music, a versed symphony etc.) depending on the editor's individual taste and influences. Sigalas unfortunately failed to create a piece of score that would expand and enrich musical experience, or assist the preservation of music. Indeed, by the first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century his work's glow started fading, along with the rest of similar collections. It was compared to its contemporaneous European ones (notably Bourgault-Ducoudray's 1876 *Trente mélodies populaires de Grèce et d'Orient*) and was found inadequate at best. The music newspaper *Formigx* noted in 1902 that singing the music out of Sigalas' 1880 edition would be particularly challenging even after extensive study, due to the rhythmic particularities of the notation.<sup>530</sup> A little more damning, the music newspaper *Mousiki Epitheorisis* [Musical Review] would remark in 1921, "When it comes to Greek collections [of traditional music], they should all be burnt. Luckily, most of them are transcribed in Byzantine notation and so no one reads them. All these editions bearing the pompous titles 'collection of national songs' by the late Antonios Sigalas and others [...] should be thrown to Hell".<sup>531</sup> Possibly verging on the over-dramatic, the author was making an important distinction that had remained obscure in the fervour of the late 19<sup>th</sup> century debate; embedding Byzantine music to linear national history was one thing, but connecting folk to Byzantine music merely by transcribing the first in the musical language of the second was another.

Nevertheless, in tune to the national(ist) cultural influences of his time, by transliterating the various genres of his *Collection* Sigalas managed to produce a powerful symbolic object. He homogenized notation in a distinctively and exclusively Greek musical 'text', regardless of content and unintelligible to most. In this way, he created a powerful conceptual musical map of Hellenism that encompassed all its inherent dissimilarities, obliterated local variations, and even neutralised the radically different concepts of 'European' and 'Ionian' western music, by appropriating, dismembering, and absorbing their 'otherness' [secular function, notation, polyphonic

<sup>530</sup> Peristeris, D. (1902) On the transcription of folk melodies. *Formigx*, issue n. 11, March 1902, p. 2 [Περιστέρης, Δ. (1902) Περί του πώς κανονιστέον δημόδεις μελωδίας. *Φόρμιγξ*, Αρ. τευχ. 11, Μάρτιος 1902, σελ. 2]

<sup>531</sup> Orpheus (1921) Our Folk Songs. *Musical Review*, issue n. 1, October 1921, p. 7 [Ορφεύς (1921) Τα δημοτικά μας τραγούδια. *Μουσική Επιθεώρησις* Αρ. τευχ. 1, Οκτώβριος 1921, σελ. 7]



nature, verse]. Antonios Sigalas was medalled in 1875 for creating one of history's most successful meta-languages of nationalism. And it was generally very well received by the Church and state as a practical manifestation of Greek ethnic resistance to the popularity of the western musical influences through the projection of Orthodox-Christian identity.<sup>532</sup>

In contrast to its intellectual ancestor, *Euterpe*, that was Ottoman in spirit, and made reference to the 'Romeic' ethnic group within the Empire, Sigalas' *Collection* was clearly addressing the fully developed nation-state.<sup>533</sup> Moreover, in the history of the evolution of terms, while in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries the term 'ethnic' was used for the music of non-Greek ethnic groups within the Ottoman Empire, by the 19<sup>th</sup>- and until the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> - 'ethnic' music denoted the Eastern Byzantine Church music, and was thus intimately connected to Greek-Orthodox national identity.<sup>534</sup> At the same time, it remains important to note that even the notion of what constituted 'folk' songs was not yet methodologically specified in Greece, and as such among Sigalas' four hundred songs only sixty have been identified to be Greek 'folk' songs by modern musicological standards, with the rest belonging to the wider genre of Greek songs.<sup>535</sup> And while *Euterpe* promised to try and simplify the Arabian-Persian-Turkish text by transliterating it into Greek, thus making it accessible to speakers of the Greek 'dialect', the *Collection* made it constantly explicit that its purpose was to expand and enrich Greek national secular music.<sup>536</sup> The Advisory Committee, whose function was to evaluate the publication acknowledged this intention by recognizing it as "a piece of work of national importance", and also one that would contribute in the moulding and development of national music "fallen from its previously glorious state".<sup>537</sup>

---

<sup>532</sup> Music historian Katy Romanou maintains that the predominance of western entertainment, and western-oriented education, pushed part of the Greeks to defend local identity through accentuating their Orthodox identity. See: Romanou, K. 2006. Greek art music in the modern era. p. 115

<sup>533</sup> The title of the publication refers to 'Romeic' songs, indicating that it is still addressing the ethnic group in its Ottoman rather than national Greek/Hellenic existence. Fokeas, Th., Vyzantios, St. 1830. Book called *Euterpe*.

<sup>534</sup> Always in contrast to what was termed 'exoteric' music, which denoted folk, traditional, and popular music. See: Romanou, K. 2006. Greek art music in the modern era. pp. 24, 106

<sup>535</sup> Romanou makes this remark without specifying whether the songs have been identified through their notation or their lyrics, and does not provide with any reference as to whom has already studied the correspondence between originals and transcription. See: Romanou, K. 1996. A journey through National Music 1901-1912: Greek Music Journals as a source of research on modern Greek music. Vol. I p. 173

<sup>536</sup> See : Fokeas, Th., Vyzantios, St. 1830. Book called *Euterpe*. First page of the foreword (unnumbered in the original); Sigalas, A.1880. A Collection of National Songs. p. ζ' [7]

<sup>537</sup> Sigalas, A.1880. A Collection of National Songs. Foreword pp. θ'-ι' [9-10]

Grand words for a truly impressive though arduous work which prompted the Committee to advise the Awarding Body to honour the entry with a silver medal.<sup>538</sup> Incidentally, the institution invited to advise on the artistic value of the work had been the *Ecclesiastical Musical Society of Athens*, which was at the time fighting at the forefront of the forty year-old Greek musical debate, whose part and outcome was the publications under review here, as will be seen at the end of the chapter.<sup>539</sup> This was the great 19<sup>th</sup> century Greek debate on the past, present, future, position and function, of Byzantine church music, inside and out of Greece, and its relation to European music. The following sections will identify the historical roots of this debate between Greece and the rest of Europe, as well as its implications for the perception of European music in contrast to Greece's eastern-Byzantine and western-Hellenic heritage. It will examine the common vocabularies that later gave birth to the turn-of-the-century musical quest for the return to traditional music as a source for the composition of national art music, and the problems of defining a 'national music' in relation to the Byzantine or western-Hellenic past of the country. Last but not least, it will demonstrate the connection of these debates to the emergence of the Greek National School of Music at the first decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century that essentially assembled all the aforementioned problematic vocabularies to set out on a Crusade to recapture the lost Greek national spirit in music.

### *The Enemy Within: cultural polyphony in a strictly monophonic tradition*

Schematically, the musical debate on Byzantine music that revealed to the Greeks that they had neglected to define what constituted their modern 'national music, corresponds perfectly to the wider problematic schema of the country's position between East and West. Accordingly, the musical debate of the late 19<sup>th</sup> century demonstrated the exact nature of the problem by providing the three geographical places that informed the beginnings of this specific musical debate: Vienna, Athens, and Istanbul. What is more interesting is that, due to the non-representational nature

---

<sup>538</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>539</sup> At the same time the *Society* had already encouraged and would continue to encourage the creation of a significant number of other similar publications of transcribed folk and traditional music, while they also curated their presentations. See Romanou, K. 2006. Greek art music in the modern era. p. 126.

of music- that deprived the advocates of one or the other side of visible aesthetic arguments in favour of one or the other opinion- both sides fell back to comforting narratives of ‘nation’ or ‘progress’, ‘science’ or ‘tradition’, and various combinations of the four, to exercise power and control over the elusive ‘national spirit’ of Greek music. As demonstrated earlier, publications like Sigalas’ *Collection* became symbolic objects of appropriation and ownership over music, and the tangible aspect of nationalism was exposed through its methodologically false production of musical text. By the time Byzantine polyphonic church music became reality in Athens (1870), this debate on matters of the Orthodox Christian dogma had left the premises of the Church and had entered deep into issues of musical and national identity, morals, and European or Eastern values.

But this story, like all others, begins with someone, somewhere, whistling a tune. In this instance it was rather the Greek Diaspora of Vienna who decided to start whistling polyphonic tunes.

In church.

During Mass.

In 1844, both Greek- Orthodox churches in Vienna introduced polyphonic Byzantine chant during Mass. First, the Church of The Holy Trinity introduced polyphonic music, after the personal initiative of the composer and cantor Ioannis Chaviáras, who had been advocating for this innovation since 1842. The parish accepted the recommendation, and in 1844 they commissioned Chaviáras and Benedikt Radhartinger- tenor, composer and later Hofkapellmeister for the Viennese Court- to harmonise Byzantine chant. This first attempt at harmonized chant in Greek-Orthodox church music took place in the Easter of 1844, and it was generally well received, with the subsequent publication of the Hymns in polyphonic transcription reaching twenty-three editions until 1859 and circulating in the Greek communities of Munich, Venice, Trieste, Manchester and other places.<sup>540</sup> In the same year, the Greek-Orthodox church of St. George introduced polyphonic Mass as well, using

---

<sup>540</sup> Philopoulos, G. 1990. Introduction to Greek polyphonic church music. p. 28-29; Romanou, K. 2006. Greek Art music in the Modern Era. p. 108. [Φιλόπουλος, Γ. 1990. Εισαγωγή στην ελληνική πολυφωνική εκκλησιαστική μουσική. σελ. 28-29]

Romanou and Philopoulos’ accounts disagree on the order of the introduction of polyphony in Greek Orthodox churches in Vienna- Romanou claims that it was the church of St. George that introduced it first, in 1842-, yet Philopoulos’ account is trusted more here because he supports his argument with referencing original documents, while Romanou is not providing with any sort of citation of primary or secondary sources.

transcriptions by cantor Anthimos Nikolaidēs, and music teachers Gottfried Preyer and Auguste Swoboda.<sup>541</sup> According to Nikolaidēs the transcriptions received favourable criticism both by the audience and the press.<sup>542</sup> Earlier attempts had been made in Trieste in 1843, but it appears as if they were not as successful as the example of Vienna and the practice was quickly discontinued.<sup>543</sup> In London, the Greek community introduced polyphonic Byzantine chant in 1848, possibly affected by their previous contact with the Russian Orthodox polyphonic chant in the thirty years that the two communities shared the same church (until 1837).<sup>544</sup> All these various attempts at modernizing or developing Byzantine chant outside of Greece played an important role in the development of the debate towards the end of the century, since the origin of the practice in European cities- though initiated by the Greek communities- acted as part of the argument against such intrusion by ‘European culture’.

Back to 1840s Vienna, and as it is often the case with new melodic ideas, some love them and others hate them, and therefore after this daring proposition of altering the strictly monophonic nature of traditional Byzantine chant in church, there were two immediate responses: on the one hand, the Patriarchate reacted immediately and negatively, and strong hostility against the idea of altering musical tradition was established from early on. On the other hand, people took to the newspapers to express their admiration or indignation. As a direct outcome, esoteric issues of dogma and its future dispersed among society and became wider debates on morality and values.<sup>545</sup>

The reaction of the Patriarchate was immediate, and Patriarch Anthimos demanded in 1846 for this melody of a ‘different race’ to be expelled from the churches as indecent, and as a music opposed to the holy mandates of the Church.<sup>546</sup> That the

<sup>541</sup> Romanou, K. 2006. Greek Art music in the Modern Era. p. 108

<sup>542</sup> Nikolaidēs, A., Preyer, Gottf. 1845. Chants of the holy Mass. Vol. A’. Vienna. p. 6 of the Foreword] Reproduced at Philopoulos, G. 1990. Introduction to Greek polyphonic church music. p. 32

[Νικολαΐδης, Α., Πραϋερ, Γοττφ. 1845. Ὑμνοι τῆς ἱεράς λειτουργίας. Τόμος Α’. Βιέννη. σελ. 6 του Προλόγου.]

<sup>543</sup> *ibid* pp. 40-43

<sup>544</sup> Philopoulos, G. 1997. Polyphonic Church music in the Greek community of London. p. 22-23; [Φιλόπουλος, Γ. 1997. Η Πολυφωνική Εκκλησιαστική μουσική στην Ελληνική κοινότητα του Λονδίνου. σελ. 22-23]

<sup>545</sup> As will also be argued later on, in regards to the turn-of-the-century scandal and discussion on whether it is moral for priests to attend the theatre.

<sup>546</sup> Patriarch Anthimos’ letter reproduced in Formozis, P. 1967. The choral editions of church music into European notation by Ioannis Ch. N. Chaviaras- B. Randhartinger and Anthimos Nikolaidēs- Gottfried Preyer in the two Greek Orthodox Churches of Vienna. p. 25 [Φορμούζης. Π. Ε. 1967. Οι Χορωδιακές εκδόσεις τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς

Patriarch picked the word ‘*αλλόφυλος*’ [allofylos] - literally, of ‘a different race’ - is very interesting at this instance, and would reappear continually as a concept throughout the century, as part of the argumentation of the defenders of traditional monophonic Byzantine chant. Usually, the word ‘*αλλοεθνής*’ [alloethnis]- literally ‘of a different ethnic group’ - would be used in such debates, but in this case, and since the Patriarchate and Church of Greece consistently argued that the Byzantines- and Greeks as a natural continuation- were part of the Eastern tradition, the choice of this explicit term is very indicative of the ideological roots of the debate. The term was not been explicitly used in any other monograph on the issue, yet the idea persisted in all of the writings, always concealed behind aesthetic or scientific proof for the ‘exceptional’ character of the Byzantine chant. Still, and as will be seen shortly, one of the strongholds of the traditionalists remained that ‘European’ and ‘Eastern-Byzantine’ were mutually exclusive cultural entities.

The Greeks of the parish of St. George in Vienna defended their choice of hymn by claiming that they were not introducing a ‘foreign’ idiom into Church music but, on the contrary, they were attempting to cleanse it from foreign influences by appointing the transcriptions to recognised scholars. In their long apology, the parish argued that the arts and sciences were developing rapidly, and as such the people dismissed everything old. In the cultural environment of the big city, they claimed, where harmonized polyphonic music dominated the theatres and cafes and churches and the streets, people of different races and cultures that arrived from different parts of the world “dismantle their old self and put on a new one”. They became part of the fabric of the city, and they denounced the Church because its music was not pleasant. For that reason they had chosen Nikolaides, trained both in Eastern Byzantine, as well as European music to harmonize it respectfully, cleanse it from all external Turkish and Arabic influences, and bring back the spirit of the Fathers of Church music.<sup>547</sup> Quite a clever set of arguments to negotiate the natural imbalance between tradition and adjustment to the contemporary taste of urban modernity, and one that would become the backbone of all similar argumentative lines in defence of harmonizing the Byzantine chant.

---

μουσικής σε ευρωπαϊκή γραφή των Ιωάν. Χ.Ν. Χαβταρά- Β. Randhartinger και Ανθίμου Νικολαΐδου- Gottfried Preyer στις δύο Ορθόδοξες Ελληνικές εκκλησίες της Βιέννας. σελ. 25]

<sup>547</sup> Letter of the parish of St. George of Vienna to the Patriarch of Constantinople. Reproduced in : Philopoulos, G. 1990. Introduction to Greek polyphonic church music. pp. 35-36

With the Patriarchate's blessing or not, this harmonized four-part chant spread rapidly, and especially the transcriptions of Chaviaras-Radhardinger remained popular for quite a long time and spread to the Greek communities of Marseille, Trieste, London, Liverpool etc.<sup>548</sup> Naturally, this inability of the Church to impose its position on the matter, in combination to the insistence of the Diasporic communities to continue the practice, resulted in perpetual reevaluation and debate. And while constant discussion is most of the times the purpose and success of art, in this case the dogmatic nature of the issue led to its constant reevaluation in nationalistic and ethnic terms, since secular-artistic criticism was irrelevant to its function, intent, and historical evolution. When for example, Nathanail Ioannou, priest of the Greek-Orthodox church in Marseille, decided in 1854 to make an unfavourable introduction to the Mass of Chaviaras- Radhardinger bound to be performed at his church, the parish committee found it wise not to allow him. The vicar went on to publish this speech both as a monograph, as well as in a series of articles in two prominent Athenian newspapers [*Aeon* and *Elpis*], making again this issue of Christian dogma part of everyday musical discourse outside church.<sup>549</sup>

The problem appeared, he explained, when the community started discussing whether introducing 'European' music in church would be within the boundaries of eastern dogmatic discipline.<sup>550</sup> And the kind priest took a solid position in the debate. Of course 'European music' is a nice thing to have in church, yet what would be the benefit of spending so much money since "screams of multiple notes, uttered by a chorus" do not please the Lord?<sup>551</sup> And the word 'screams' is one that appears persistently in regards to polyphony, and the Lord's indifference to it. Such music was appropriate for the theatres and weekend entertainment so as to not corrupt the solid morals of the church, while short reference was made to pianoforte teachers in the city purportedly discouraging their female students from attending Mass.<sup>552</sup> Once again secular entertainment (the theatre) was used to illustrate the inappropriateness of harmonized music in church, and various societal moral panics came into a discussion

<sup>548</sup> Philopoulos, G. 1990. Introduction to Greek polyphonic church music. p.37

<sup>549</sup> Ioannou, N. 1858. Speech on Church music written by Nathanail Ioannou Evvoeos. p. 4 [Ευβοεύς Ν. Ι. 1858. Λόγος περί Εκκλησιαστικής Μουσικής Συντεθείς υπό Ναθαναήλ Ιωάννου Ευβοέως. σελ. 4]

<sup>550</sup> *ibid.* p. 5

<sup>551</sup> *ibid.* p 10

<sup>552</sup> *ibid.* p. 10-17

of musical dogma. Similarly to the story of the Athenian theatre, when it came to music, the vulnerable members of the community –in this case the maidens learning the pianoforte- were to be protected from complete moral decay owed to the anti-Orthodox intents of evil music teachers.

By the end of the monograph, and after citing the various Byzantine treatises and decisions on music since the Middle Ages, the kind priest had managed to turn the matter into an issue of “the music of the Franks” against Greek church music, at this instance employing a vocabulary that was clearly evoking imagined memories of Crusades against Constantinople.<sup>553</sup> As will be seen continuously later on, dogma and the history of Byzantine music was not adequate as an argumentative line for the supporters of traditional Byzantine chant to uphold their position, since the matter had well left the safe premises of the Church. Therefore, ‘European music’ would come into the discussion continuously to denote the dangerous, corruptive agent that threatened one of the most valuable assets of Greek identity: the Orthodox religion. Unfortunately the Orthodox religion was at the same time one of the most valuable assets of Greek nationalism, so either by mistake, accident, or intent, the equation of Byzantine polyphony with ‘European music’ in combination to the close ties between Orthodoxy and the Greek nation made western music- somehow again- an enemy of the Greek nation.

*The debate in the Capital: Whoever loves the Nation must also love its music*<sup>554</sup>

The force that brought the debate right to the heart of the Greek nation-state, Athens, was neither divine intention, nor divine inspiration. Though strictly connected to personal taste, it was nevertheless political dominance that enforced the introduction of harmonised Byzantine chant in the capital. With the accession of the Danish King George I to the throne (1863), it was not long after that his Queen arrived from Russia (1867). The Greek press seem to have received their new Queen with a sense of hope

---

<sup>553</sup> *ibid.* p. 23

<sup>554</sup> Variation on 1 John 4:21. The original reads: “Whoever loves God must also love his brother”. Replace meanings appropriately and interchangeably. See: The Holy Bible, New International Version (1989), 1 John 4:21, p. 1497

for an alliance with Russia- another claimant to Byzantine heritage- and relief for her Eastern-Orthodox religion.<sup>555</sup> The 16-year-old Queen settled in Greece and was immediately involved in philanthropy, became a patron of the arts, supported institutions for the education of women, and- naturally- attended the Orthodox Mass.<sup>556</sup> Therefore, what was seen as a blessing for the many, gradually turned into a musical problem for the few, since the young Queen quickly started getting bored.

In church.

During Mass.

In contrast to her predecessor, Queen Amalia, who had rejoiced at the introduction of the opera as a cure to her evening boredom, Queen Olga's musical problem were the monotonous chants at the Cathedral. Raised within the Eastern Orthodox Russian Church with its polyphonic chant, she invited in 1870 the famous choral conductor Alexandros Katakouzinis from Odessa to train the choir of the palace chapel, a task he achieved within a short period of time.<sup>557</sup> Shortly after, encouraged by his success at the palace chapel, Katakouzinis attempted to introduce polyphonic Mass in the Cathedral of Athens, where Queen Olga was obliged to attend Mass during national celebrations, public holidays, and other formal state events.<sup>558</sup> The introduction was delayed until 1875, when the Holy Synod of the Church of Greece issued a permission for polyphonic Mass to be performed at the Cathedral during national and royal celebrations, overturning an adjudication of the same year that condemned it, and threatened with strict disciplinary action against the practice.<sup>559</sup> In fact, between 1870 and 1875 the Church of Greece issued a series of condemnatory injunctions against polyphony, while acknowledging that the chant was in need of reformation by 'scientifically trained' music scholars. And indeed, the decision that allowed polyphony in the Cathedral in 1875 was specifying that this concession was being

---

<sup>555</sup> See for example issue n. 2286 (23 Oct 1867) of the newspaper *Aeon*, where the newspaper devoted a lengthy column to arguing about the importance of Faith and religion for the preservation of the Greek ethnic group and language in the centuries, and rejoice about Olga belonging to the Eastern-Orthodox dogma. See: *Aeon* (1867) The marriage of the King of the Greeks. *Aeon*, 27 October 1867, p. 1 [Ο Αιών (1867) Οι γάμοι του Βασιλέως των Ελλήνων, *Ο Αιών*, 27 Οκτωβρίου 1867, σελ. 1]

<sup>556</sup> For Queen Olga's wide range of activities in opening hospitals, schools, and supporting women's education since her early years in Greece see: Karolou, I. 1934. Olga the Queen of the Greeks 22 August 1851- 19 June 1926. pp. 46-48, 59, 70-72, 81-82 [Καρόλου, Ι. 1934. Όλγα η βασίλισσα των Ελλήνων 22 Αυγούστου 1851- 19 Ιουνίου 1926. σελ. 46-48, 59, 70-72, 81-82.]

<sup>557</sup> Philopoulos, G. 1990. Introduction to Greek polyphonic church music. p. 94-95

<sup>558</sup> *ibid.* p. 95-96

<sup>559</sup> Romanou, K. 1996. A journey through National Music 1901-1912: Greek Music Journals as a source of research on modern Greek music. Vol. I p.245. [Ρωμανου, Κ. 1996. Εθνικής Μουσικής Περιήγησις 1901-1912: Ελληνικά Μουσικά Περιοδικά ως πηγή έρευνας της ιστορίας της Νεοελληνικής μουσικής. Τόμος Α' σελ. 245]



granted until the Byzantine chant was improved.<sup>560</sup> The turn-of-the-century music newspaper *Formigx* would report later that in 1860 the Synod had considered the introduction of polyphony in church due to the popularity of the practice among the members of the Diaspora, who upon visiting Athens would prefer attending mass at the Russian chapel. Yet, the newspaper reported, their proposal was rejected by the Ministry of Ecclesiastic Affairs, on the grounds of defending tradition.<sup>561</sup> The Royal intervention of 1875 must have played a decisive role in the final permission of polyphony in the Cathedral, which in turn affected the structure of the debate that broke out in the musical circles of Athens at the time. It is striking, though completely understandable, that no mention to the Queen and her influence upon the matter is made in any monograph of the time, and the debate is structured according to the tone and style of the one that had broken out fifty years earlier- a theoretical discussion on the traditional function and form of the chant. What is increasingly visible in this musical story is that the strong ties between Church and State obstructed both Institutions from devising independent long-term cultural policies concerning music, while constantly creating conflicting policies on issues of dogma, education, and culture.

The late 19<sup>th</sup> century debate on the matter follows a specific pattern that, unable to comment or criticize the specific contemporaneous caprice that imposed harmonized music in the Cathedral- Κορολεβα-, reproduced the usual method of discussing societal and cultural issues without specifically referencing the political forces behind them. It did this by constructing legitimacy through reference and connection to the past. In this instance, the legitimacy came in the form of discussing the multiple historical roots of the debate, and it was especially convenient since it corresponded to the comforting narrative of an uninterrupted linear stream of Greek music and culture. Therefore structurally, as proof of erudition and loyalty to the tradition and values of Byzantine music, all participants in the debate consistently started their monographs, or speeches, or articles by historicizing the music, and referencing its value for the Greek ethnic group since time immemorial- actually very memorial, as usually it would be a lengthy reference to ancient Greek philosophy, or the theatre, or Homer's contemporaries. In this way, an issue that concerned the secular and

---

<sup>560</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>561</sup> Byzantida of Constantinople (1902), 'Church Music', [newspaper] *Formigx*, 28 August 1902, p. 1-2. [Βυζαντιδα Κωνσταντινουπόλεως (1902), 'Εκκλησιαστική Μουσική', *Φόρμιγξ*, 28 Αυγούστου 1902, σελ. 1-2]

ecclesiastic, present and future of the art became a historicized relic condemned to serve the past, while in the process of evolution.

For all its noble intentions, the most unfortunate historical allegory of the whole debate has possibly been the one devised by Dimitrios Vernardakis in his 1876 *Impromptu speech on our church music*.<sup>562</sup> “When the King of the Persians, Xerxes, campaigned against the Greeks”, started the speech, “the city [of Athens] was empty, for the Athenians had been convinced [...] by Themistocles to abandon it, dispersing here and there in Attica.” Only a few stayed back and, after constructing a wooden wall, they defended the Acropolis. Shortly after, Vernardakis’ narrative concluded, they were overpowered and chose to fall to their own death.<sup>563</sup> Upon first examination the specific parable is possibly one of the strangest the (former) professor of History could have chosen to illustrate his argument. If these specific defenders of the Acropolis won a place in Herodotus’ history, it was because they misinterpreted the Oracle’s instructions to flee the city, and they perished while Themistocles won over the Persians triumphantly.<sup>564</sup>

Of course Vernardakis was merely making a point about the defence of the last stronghold of traditional monophonic Byzantine music by a few devoted heroes who could see the end approaching and yet resisted, but he could have chosen any other ancient Greek saga- maybe Leonidas I with his three-hundred Spartans, from the same conflict. Yet, that would have deprived his allegory of a particularly important symbolism, ever strong, ever effective. The ~~foolish-superstitious~~ heroic Athenians fell protecting the Acropolis and following their example the last defenders of traditional Byzantine music were about to fall defending hopelessly an equally important asset of classical Hellenism: the Orthodox Greek Church, here under musical threat by the “fiery rivers of European culture”, as he eloquently phrased it.<sup>565</sup> One way or another, classical Hellenism and Orthodoxy were intertwined with one another through the

---

<sup>562</sup> Written, orated, and later published on a commission for the four-year anniversary of the creation of the *Ecclesiastical Musical Society of Athens* in 1875. See: Vernardakis, D. 1876. *Impromptu speech on our church music*. Trieste: Austro-Hungarian Loid Press. [Βερναδάκης, Δ. 1876. Λόγος Αυτοσχέδιος περί της καθ’ ημάς εκκλησιαστικής μουσικής. Τεργέστη: Τύποις του Αυστροουγγρικού Λόυδ] Copy held at the National Library of Greece [Athens].

<sup>563</sup> *ibid.* pp. 3-4

<sup>564</sup> Godley, A.D [trans]. 1921. Herodotus. Vol. IV, Books VIII-IX, §§51-53, pp. 47-51

<sup>565</sup> Vernardakis, D. 1876. *Impromptu speech on our church music*. p. 4

most surreal examples, in this case with Eastern music acting as a defender of Hellenic values- whose own music remains a mystery even to the present.

Very much in tune with 19<sup>th</sup> century Greek national history, the backbone of the traditionalist argumentative line, and a position they would hold sacred, was that by preserving Byzantine music unaltered they were respecting and preserving the connection with ancient Greek music and a ‘pure’ Greek culture. Music, exactly like language, is indicative of the state of a nation’s civilisation, Archimandrite Therianos claimed in 1875, and before the Greeks had a chance to resolve their ongoing debate on the state of their language the great debate between the supporters of Eastern Church music and European music broke out.<sup>566</sup> Nationalisms’ grip on music suddenly tightened and Byzantine church music was raised to the status of the ethnic ‘musical idiom’ of the Greeks, while ‘European music’ remained the foreign language that threatened its purity. A year earlier, Panayotis Koupitoris, member and later president of the *Ecclesiastical Musical Society of Athens*, was calling for a collective scholarly effort that would prove decisively the historic connection of Byzantine to ancient Greek music, through the thorough study of documents held at the Patriarchate, Greece, and Europe.<sup>567</sup>

In combination to attaching Byzantine music to the core of Greek national history at a time when such a connection was popular and politically vital, the traditionalists enforced their arguments by attempting to alienate European music from its own connection to classical antiquity. The approach, strongly adhering to the logic of propaganda since the debate was very far from a scholarly musicological exchange, contrasted the civic function of music in ancient Greek society and philosophy, to the contemporaneous function of European art music. Music in the olden centuries was “the cornerstone of the Greek ethnic group’s education”, and everyone could play music, while modern music was merely a means of potentially corruptive entertainment, and was performed only by trained musicians. And while for the ancients music and word were intimately connected, “Beethoven, Mozart, Weber,

---

<sup>566</sup> Therianos, E. 1875. On the music of the Greeks and especially [the music of] the church, pp. 3-4 [Θεριανός, Ε. 1875. Περί της μουσικής των Ελλήνων και ιδίως της εκκλησιαστικής, σελ. 3-4] Copy held at the Municipal Library of Thessaloniki

<sup>567</sup> Koupitoris, P. 1876. A Panegyric on our Church Music. Athens: Philokallia Publishing. pp. 7-8 [Κουπιτόρης, Π. 1876. Λόγος Πανηγυρικός περί της καθ’ ημάς Εκκλησιαστικής Μουσικής. Αθήνα: Εκ του τυπογραφείου Φιλοκαλίας, σελ. 7-8]

Meyerbeer, Rossini, Bellini, Donizetti, Verdi are not poets but mainly musicians”, Therianos would insist.<sup>568</sup> Despite the unsustainable comparison between ancient Greek and modern European music, Therianos’ approach reveals one of the most fundamental 19<sup>th</sup> century Greek fears, and one that Koupitoris had already outlined explicitly in his own speech, revealing the importance of national ideology for the development of the arts and society.

“But, some [Europeans] claim, that modern Greek music little resembles modern European music. But this minimal resemblance has occurred, we respond, because European music has changed significantly in the past two centuries through the development of instrumental counterpoint. Because this counterpoint of modern European music is the outcome of the modern times and a pleasant embellishment to the music, and it is to be studied deeply whether it can be applied to modern Greek music [...] Because, **if modern Greek music became the same with European, first of all it would be rendered modern and not as ancient as the Greek nation**, and moreover it would **denote a western, European heritage which is wrong.**”<sup>569</sup>

In this modern Greek musical *Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes*, the moderns never stood a chance since. As seen earlier, the Greek national narrative drew its modern legitimacy from the linear intellectual connection to the Ancients. The quintessential music of the Greeks could never evolve to something resembling anything ‘European’ because that would give it a distinctively modern existence, aesthetically detached from the imagined music of the Antiquity, and thus independent of its treasured connection to Ancient Greece- ever uniform, ever without local variants, ever exclusively Hellenic. To complement this connection, and keeping in mind that according to 19<sup>th</sup> century Greek national history the Hellenic spirit was preserved and delivered to the modern world through the Byzantine Empire, any sort of western heritage that would justify polyphony in Byzantine music was dismissed as wrong. As for the implications of such thinking for a music looking towards any future, it secured its habitation within a cultural conservatism intimately connected with issues of fundamental national identity.

<sup>568</sup> Therianos, E. 1875. On the music of the Greeks and especially [the music of] the church. pp. 9-12

<sup>569</sup> Koupitoris, P. 1876. A Panegyric on our Church Music. Athens: Philokallia Publishing. pp. 21-22

In the moderate and revisionist camps of the debate, national identity was equally prominent, yet narratives of ‘progress’ and ‘science’ took the lead in this fight for a calculated musical change. Departing from the solid basis of a strong Eastern musical tradition, and recognizing that the multicultural Byzantine landscape inevitably influenced the ‘purity’ of the music, the moderates mostly argued for the development of musical education. Change was considered a long-term project, and in the case of music, it would have to be extremely careful to take music forward without surrendering any of its ethnic and traditional characteristics, and autonomy. When Panagiotis Gritsanis published his 1870 *On the issue of the music of the Greek Church*, for example, his argument developed in a linear manner that departed from physiology and nature (the larynx as a natural monophonic musical instrument), to human agency over musical development, and argued for a ‘scientific’ approach to the development of music by scholars of the University of Athens. Music, he maintained, had reached through human assistance its “natural” potential, and while ten centuries earlier it was “poor”, “simple”, monotonous, and insignificant, modern European music had managed to reach a high standard and did not classify merely as an ‘art’ anymore, but as a ‘science’ as well.<sup>570</sup>

In this developed European musical environment, the natural development of Byzantine music had been arrested after the Ottoman enslavement and, Gritsanis continued, there was no reason to preserve it at this inherited ‘incomplete’ state. Moreover, the argument went, by continuing its ‘development’ there was a chance to cleanse it from all foreign musical influences.<sup>571</sup> Similarly, Nikolaos Anastasiou would argue in 1881 that the Eastern Orthodox Church had elected monophonic liturgical music after the ancient Greek tradition, because it was more serious, solemn, and mournful.<sup>572</sup> Unfortunately, both writers, in an attempt to give their arguments a historical-scientific undertone at a time when musicology was not an independent discipline, made a crucial mistake of narrative that concealed a large part of the persistent issues the Greeks had with their musical, and national identity. The matter of polyphony in the chant has since been historicized to exist since the early centuries

---

<sup>570</sup> Gritsanis, P. 1870. *On the issue of the music of the Greek Church*. Naples: Gaetano Nobile Press pp. 5-8 [Γρίτσανης, Π. 1870. *Περί της μουσικής της Ελληνικής Εκκλησίας Ζήτημα*. Εν Νεαπόλει: Εκ της Τυπογραφίας Καϊετανου Νοβιλε. σελ. 5-8]

<sup>571</sup> In this case Gritsanis is referring to Arab-Eastern influences. *Ibid.* pp. 9-15

<sup>572</sup> Anastasiou, N. 1881. *The Patriarchate and Greek Church Music*. p. 6-7 [Αναστασίου, Ν. 1881. *Το Οικουμενικόν Πατριαρχεῖον και η Ελληνική Εκκλησιαστική Μουσική*. Αθήνα. σελ. 6-7]

of polyphony in Western music (10<sup>th</sup>- 11<sup>th</sup> century). Contrary to both Gritsanis and Anastasiou's arguments, modern history of music holds that it was neither 15<sup>th</sup> century Ottomans, nor ancient Greek aesthetics that obstructed the course of polyphony in the Eastern chant. Rather, for reasons of dogma in the beginning, and later on because of the political enmity between the Eastern and Western churches, the Byzantines reacted against the Church of Rome by blocking western cultural influences (in this case the trend of polyphony).<sup>573</sup> In their haste to renounce the Ottomans as the destructive force for Greek-Byzantine culture and in tune with a national history that blamed them for a uniform four hundred years of national misery, the Greeks on both sides of the debate made a crucial mistake of narrative: a large part of the inheritance (musical or not) the modern Greeks had elected to accept from the Byzantines had been a deep sense of suspicion against the West.

Unfortunate or not, this raw association of music with science, which offered the moderates and revisionists a fresh argument in support of reforming the chant, is the intellectual child of a wider late 19<sup>th</sup> century connection of music aesthetics to scientific thought. While the early 19<sup>th</sup> century saw the philosophy of music examining it mainly as an emotional force with transcendental characteristics, the scientific turn of the second half of the century brought with it a scientific prism of approaching the philosophy of music, as obvious in the works of authors on music in Germany, England and France.<sup>574</sup> In accordance, the traditionalist camp had also developed its own set of scientific arguments to argue against the harmonization of the chant, yet insisting on the value of the past rather than an elusive potential in the future. Before the emergence of modern musicology that would peacefully recognize that all musics hold an equal status under the sun, and at a time when European ethnomusicological taxonomy was itself treating non-western musics with hostility, their 'scientific evidence' usually consisted of a point-to-point attempt to prove that structurally Byzantine music was more elaborate and complex than western art music.<sup>575</sup> The argument would usually conclude that, due to its complexity, the chant could not be harmonised without surrendering crucial structural, rhythmic, and

---

<sup>573</sup> Nef, K. [translated, edited, and with additions by Phevos Anogianakis]. 1956. *History of Music*. Athens: Papyrus. p. 547

<sup>574</sup> Bujic, B. 1988. *Music in European thought 1851-1912*. pp. 1-2

<sup>575</sup> See for example Vernardakis' analysis that, after employing physics to analyze tonal relationships in western music, juxtaposes musical and theoretical examples to conclude that the Orthodox chant is superior to western art music: Vernardakis, D. 1876. *Impromptu speech on our church music*. pp. 16-29

aesthetic characteristics.<sup>576</sup> Whether the Greek turn to scientific argumentation was influenced by the wider European turn, or was just the outcome of a separate need rooted in the same scientific turn has not yet been established, but the synchronicity in the emergence of the ‘scientific’ aspect of music in the debate about the future of Greek church-music is suspicious in the least.

With the matter lingering, and harmonised Byzantine chant spreading despite the strong opposition by the Church of Greece and the Patriarchate, the moderates’ discourse on the vitality of long-term solutions rather than spasmodic radical action to either direction, persisted. The spread of the Italian opera and French vaudeville in secular entertainment, and more profoundly the creation of the Conservatory of Athens [1872], became issues that affected the moderates deeply, a set of people who were fighting to see their music taking a modern form, more popular, and with properly trained musicians, in a landscape that stubbornly favoured and financed western entertainment, and trained musicians in the western tradition.

In unison with the traditionalists, the revisionists and moderates regarded the Europeanization of Greek society with suspicion, and even though more accepting of western music, they also employed a particularly poignant vocabulary to describe their bitterness. “[...] Music, neglected and under attack [...] by half-educated, monkey-like imitators, is lying like a decomposing corpse, and might disappear in some time, under the evil smirk of these monkey-like imitators of Western practices”, wrote Ioannis Th. Sakellaridis in 1880, in the introduction of his concise monograph on the theoretical and practical teaching of Byzantine music.<sup>577</sup> Regardless of the best efforts of the members of the *Ecclesiastical Musical Society of Athens* to support and promote Byzantine music, the music teachers at the Conservatory of Athens insisted that the chant was merely the surviving ‘debris’ of Hebrew music that bore little resemblance with ancient Greek music anymore. And while heavily subsidised by the State and supported by the people, these teachers had not yet enriched national music with Greek operas, produced Greek musicians, or promote the scientific study of

---

<sup>576</sup> A set of arguments used in all the traditionalist works examined before. See: Vernardakis, D. 1876. *Impromptu speech on our church music*. Trieste: Austro-Hungarian Loid Press; Therianos, E. 1875. *On the music of the Greeks and especially [the music of] the church*. Trieste: Austro-Hungarian Loid Press; Koupitoris, P. 1876. *A Panegyric on our Church Music*. Athens: Philokallia Publishing.

<sup>577</sup> Sakellaridis, I. 1880. A collection of useful texts on Church music. p. θ’ (9) [Σακελλαριδης, I. 1880. Χρηστομάθεια Εκκλησιαστικής μουσικής. σελ. θ’ (9)] Moutsenigos Archive of Modern Greek music, 438/1970, National Library of Greece [Athens]

music, he claimed.<sup>578</sup> As seen earlier, his argument was unfair in the least, and the whole disagreement between Conservatory and *Ecclesiastical Musical Society* resembled mere bickering, since only a few years earlier, in 1877, the Conservatory of Athens had managed to stage the first operatic performances with Greek singers, while it hosted regular instrumental and vocal concerts.<sup>579</sup>

Nevertheless, and more to the point, in expressing his indignation against the Conservatory's claim about the influence of Hebrew music upon the Chant, Sakellaridis resorted to a comfortable and comforting reading of national history to dismiss their scornful remark. These teachers were ignorant, he claimed, and they were equally ignorant in regards to national history.<sup>580</sup> Without providing with further commentary upon this remark, the subtext was very clear, and one that appeared more or less in most writings in defence of the Chant; a basic knowledge of Greek national history could indicate that, since the Nation had assimilated lesser cultures, absorbed their cultural particularities, and thus re-emerged preserved, the Nation's national music had survived predominantly Greek by the same token. The employment of national history to justify ethnomusicological claims was at this instance a form of resistance on part of the Greeks, who had been experiencing European scepticism over their cultural and racial connection to the ancients since Jakob Philipp Fallmerayer's 1845 *Fragmente aus dem Orient*.<sup>581</sup> Sakellaridis, a church choir trainer himself, would lose his position at the church of St. Irene in Athens in 1886, after continuing to teach polyphonic chant, and for including little girls in the choir. He, nevertheless, maintained his position at the church of St. George Karytsi and another three schools, where he continued the practice much to the dismay of members of the clergy.<sup>582</sup>

The arrival of Queen Olga in Athens in 1867 brought to life and disseminated in society a debate that had remained a dormant church issue in the Greek-speaking world since its mid-19<sup>th</sup> century emergence in Vienna. The wide debate on the reformation and position of the Byzantine chant, though not original for the Church

---

<sup>578</sup> *ibid.* p. i (10)

<sup>579</sup> Baroutas, K. 1992 *Musical Life in Athens in the 19<sup>th</sup> century*. p. 30

<sup>580</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>581</sup> For Fallmerayer's anti-Greek sentiment and argumentation against the survival of the Hellenic spirit see: Herzfeld, M. 1986. *Ours once more: Folklore, Ideology, and the Making of Modern Greece*. pp. 75-81.

<sup>582</sup> Romanou, K. 1996. *A journey through National Music 1901-1912*, pp. 245-246



and musicians, was collectively expressed in the language of nationalism, and thus produced new outcomes for music, Church and nation. Both traditionalists and moderates/reformers resorted to the dominant narratives of an uninterrupted continuity in Greek music, to find musical legitimacy in national history, and support in this way either the need to defend tradition or develop what they projected as the nation's musical idiom. Both sides employed arguments of a need for a 'scientific' turn in the study of music, either to decisively prove that by nature the chant couldn't be altered, or to push for the harmonization of the music after the Western paradigm.

To a great degree, at the core of the story stood the contrived 19<sup>th</sup> century reading of Greek history as that of a nation that descended from the Hellenes, and had survived to the modern period through the Byzantines. This double reading of national history through an Eastern or Western lens, and with the stress on either depending upon personal convictions and beliefs, affected the musical question deeply. With actual ancient Greek music forever lost, the Chant radically Eastern and affected by the multicultural environment of the thousand-year Empire that nurtured it, the increasing hostility of Western ethnomusicologists, and the lack of organized education for Byzantine music, the arguments on both sides remained dogmatic, possessive, and inconclusive.

The practice itself, favoured by popular demand and Royal insistence continued uninterrupted until 1912, and from then on re-emerged and receded according to temporal cultural preference, rather than solid and decisive cultural policy by either State or Church.<sup>583</sup> Meanwhile, this vile intrusion of 'European' culture into Greek-Orthodox reality had been initiated once again by Greek-Orthodox agents from the Diaspora in a similar fashion with the support of the opera and the Ionians' Italianate musical idiom, and it resulted in an interesting clash between cultural practice in Greece and other parts of Europe. The next section will briefly address the opposing notions of 'Greek' and 'European' in the debate, examine the juxtaposition of secular entertainment to spiritual music, and assess the impact of the latter for nation, music, and the emergent Greek National School of Music.

---

<sup>583</sup> Romanou, K. 1996. A journey through National Music 1901-1912: Greek Music Journals as a source of research on modern Greek music. Vol. I, p. 249

*Europe in the Debate in the Capital: “A music, my friend, for the cats and the dead”*<sup>584</sup>

One of the most interesting and important features of this debate is that both sides belonged more or less to the same side. Neither side was arguing against the value of Byzantine music, no one was arguing for the superiority of western art music, and not a single voice demanded a change of chant altogether. Similarly, both camps utilized the same aspects of national history and scientific argumentation to advocate for diametrically opposite positions, on the same side. Naturally then, both sides in dispute had a single referential point around which they structured their arguments against each other; the position and importance of European music, culture, and its influence to traditional Greek values, ethics, and art music.

After concluding his argument about the defence of the Acropolis by courageous supporters of the Byzantine chant, the traditionalist Dimitrios Vernardakis developed his position on European influence in Greece. His argument was damning and expressed cultural desperation. “A Great Wall [of China] ought to stand between Greece and the West when it comes to the intellectual characteristics and interests of the nation, which are the most invaluable” he proclaimed.<sup>585</sup> Departing from such principle, he then ventured to explain how the Greeks had already reformed some of their crucial cultural and civic characteristics. They had surrendered to the West by adopting the principles of the *Encyclopedia*, they had adapted their constitution, and followed Western principles of governance. Thus, under the “crushing” effect of European culture the Greek “national character” had been destroyed and anyone defending or reproducing the ancient Greek ethics and traditions was mocked as uncivilised and uneducated by the ‘Europeanized’ Greeks.<sup>586</sup> The offensive, at this instance, was targeting the influence of Europe upon religion, the secularization of the state, and the outcomes for music. The Greeks were speeding away from church-thought the speaker- and it was European influence that encouraged such an attitude.

A few lines later into his narrative, Vernardakis recited an imaginary dialogue he claimed as mainstream. A safe indicator of high education and good manners, started

---

<sup>584</sup> Vernardakis, D. 1876. Impromptu speech on our church music. p. 6

<sup>585</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>586</sup> *ibid.*

his story, was for a young person to express their European identity by attacking Greek church-music. His first imaginary encounter was with a young lady who could under no circumstances bear to listen to the Chant, while at home she tortured her badly tuned clavichord unskilfully. Similarly, a young man would readily proclaim that Byzantine music was “music for the cats and dead” due to the nasal quality of sound the cantors would sometimes produce. And the young man would depart wondering how anyone could stand listen to the chant, while whistling a tune by Offenbach.<sup>587</sup> This little story of condensed pain over cultural- or possibly generational/class- change encloses in it many telling details about how the conservatives observed the world dance around them, at a tune they could not understand. Firstly, there was the modern Eve with her musical apple, staying at home and mindlessly abusing her pianoforte in search of a modern identity. Domestic artistic music education was more or less uniform for middle-class women in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, it constituted of a woman, a piano, a teacher, and had been strong leverage for moral panics as seen earlier in the century with the evil music teacher seducing innocent girls away from Byzantine music.<sup>588</sup>

Secondly, the civilizing mission of the West was enacted yet again with the ‘civilized’ Europeanized youngsters sneering at the defender of tradition and ‘pure’ Greek ethics. This time, though, the conservatives advocated for a defence of Greek values and traditions, associating cultural adaptation with the raw arrogance of youth and their impatience to take part in the popular European culture around them. Thirdly, and possibly most importantly, the young man in the second imaginary encounter was not portrayed to merely project Europe. He was breathing Europe. The Offenbach tune he exhaled through whistling while exiting, in this scene of Greek indignation against European snobbery, was at the same time a scornful remark against popular secular entertainment, and more specifically against the light genre of the Vaudeville, at the time very popular in Athens and Europe. Similarly, Koupitoris had argued in 1874 that the ‘young Greek nation’ had been invaded by European music, which was by then pushing Greek music aside both in secular entertainment and in church, with the

---

<sup>587</sup> *ibid.* pp 6-7

<sup>588</sup> Ioannou, N. 1858. Speech on Church music written by Nathanail Ioannou Evoeos. p. 10-17

latter constituting not only an irreverent act, but more importantly an act against the Nation.<sup>589</sup>

The vaudeville, originating as a short poem or song in 17<sup>th</sup> century France, reached the 19<sup>th</sup> century as an independent genre of light musical entertainment, which employed satire and variety acts, similar to modern musical comedy or music-hall variety shows.<sup>590</sup> The newspaper *Efimeris* had reported in 1873 that while the public attended the performances in the capital, a large part of the press had been writing against it, in part blaming it for low quality.<sup>591</sup> Furthermore, and in the context of the wider caution of the Greek state in regards to the influence and presence of European entertainment in the capital, the same newspaper had reported a few days earlier that the police had considered forbidding the display of the programme outside the theatre, because it was written in French. The newspaper noted that the police did not plan to actually enforce the measure, but added that whether the people understood the language in the programme was an issue for the theatre director not the police, and concluded in irony that maybe some people expected the French singers to sing in Greek because they were performing on a Greek stage.<sup>592</sup> The tensions between the different fractions of Greek society in support or opposition to the various foreign performances in the capital might have varied in terms of content (criticisms about quality, content, language, ethics), but what remained more or less uniform was the awareness of the foreign nature of the entertainment, that rendered it either a benevolent force of development or an adversary to local cultural expression. In connection to the debate on the chant, older fears about the moral corruption of the younger generation through the theatre returned to be employed by the traditionalists as an argument for the defence of the chant against the purportedly visible corruption of cultural affiliation.

---

<sup>589</sup> Koupitoris, P. 1876. A Panegyric on our Church Music. p. 6

<sup>590</sup> See: Sadie, St. (ed.) 2001 (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.) The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians [in twenty-nine volumes], Vol. 26, Entries: *Vaudeville*: p. 340, *Vaudeville in the 19th and 20th centuries*: p. 343; Randel, D.M. (ed.) 1986. The New Harvard Dictionary of Music. Entry: *Vaudeville*: p. 907.

<sup>591</sup> *Ephemeris* (1873) Section 'News'. *Ephemeris*, 24 October 1873, p. 1 [Εφημερίς (1873), Στήλη 'Ειδήσεις'. *Εφημερίς*, 24 Οκτωβρίου 1873, σελ.1]; *Ephemeris* (1873) Section 'News'. *Ephemeris*, 22 October 1873, p. 1,2 [Εφημερίς (1873), Στήλη 'Ειδήσεις'. *Εφημερίς*, 24 Οκτωβρίου 1873, σελ.1,2]

<sup>592</sup> *Ephemeris* (1873) Section 'News'. *Ephemeris*, 21 October 1873, p. 1 [Εφημερίς (1873), Στήλη 'Ειδήσεις'. *Εφημερίς*, 21 Οκτωβρίου 1873, σελ.1]

Within this wider picture of a society that embraced western music as evident from the popularity of the Italian opera and the French vaudeville in the Theatre of Athens, while being conscious of the fact that the offered product was not of the highest quality, what we should keep in mind is that Vernardakis' imaginary dialogue was indeed a bitter monologue. And it was one in which the speaker had entered into a dialogue with himself, projecting his personal bitterness for the marginalisation of his preferred music and culture by putting words in other people's imaginary mouths. In this way we have a unique insight into the musical inferiority complex part of the Greeks were experiencing when comparing the reception of their music to that of western music, even if at the time conservatives such as Vernardakis were comparing apples and oranges, as will be argued shortly. What had triggered Vernardakis' indignant attack was the popularity of Western music in secular entertainment, and the lack of a Greek National Theatre, an issue that as seen earlier always infuriated a significant part of the Greek population, and for reasons that went well beyond the artistic. The lack of a National Theatre provided western music with the appropriate space to flourish, Vernardakis would insist, and while even in Europe itself the Vaudeville was a spectacle for the lower classes, in Athens it was promoted and state-funded.<sup>593</sup>

The Greeks were renouncing their music because it was Greek and not European enough, he would complain shortly after. Exactly like they had already renounced Greek traditional dress to "masquerade" as Europeans not because of necessity (climatic or hygienic), they were now renouncing their music.<sup>594</sup> This idea of a Greek 'masquerade' into European, remains very interesting in its linguistic implications since it supposed that 'the Greek' beneath the 'foreign dress' remains culturally unaltered, concealed under a superficial, removable or adjustable second skin, which the person is consciously choosing to project. And while with the gradual shift from traditional dress to European attire the transition indeed bore a functional aspect of consciously projecting cultural proximity to the west for commercial reasons, as well as class adjustment to European fashion, applying a similar theory to the arts remains

---

<sup>593</sup> "The audience that deserves this kind of music" is the actual phrasing he is employing See: Vernardakis, D. 1876. Impromptu speech on our church music. pp. 7-9

<sup>594</sup> *ibid.* p. 10

problematic.<sup>595</sup> In the case of music, and more importantly the Chant, Vernardakis was pointing a finger to blame part of the Greeks as hypocrites who would attend a concert to project a civilised self, and then retreat home to recite Byzantine or traditional music secretly. This specific argument would become the backbone of early 20<sup>th</sup> century nationalist augmentation as well, and the idea of ‘cultural betrayal’ through the adaptation of European attire and music would inform the discussion about the state of modern Greek arts, modern Greek identity and persist until the emergence of the Greek National School of Music.<sup>596</sup>

Apart from all other problematic ideas in Vernardakis’ impassioned speech, there remained another very important problem. By blaming the Greeks for ‘renouncing their music’ Vernardakis supposedly denoted the abandonment of monophonic chant, while technically popular secular entertainment ought to have threatened the survival of Greek popular music- namely traditional folk music-which remained widespread. And indeed, Vernardakis did in the passing refer to this crucial division between Greek church music and traditional music, when he observed that Greek music had split into secular music and popular music, which had now been ‘marginalised’ by European music. Yet, his argument stressed how church music had been confined inside the church, from where it was being forced out at the time.<sup>597</sup> Outside Vernardakis’ nightmare of a musical seclusion, Greek Athenian secular song went through a period of revival between 1870 and 1890 and, partly as a reaction to the popularity of the Italian opera, Greek songs departing from the Italian musical tradition flourished, while choruses using guitars and mandolins started appearing.<sup>598</sup> Within popular secular entertainment, as argued earlier, the Greek theatre was seen as the antidote to the spread of western music, and the Ionian composers were attempting to connect the ‘Greek’ with the ‘Italianate’ through societies and orchestras.

---

<sup>595</sup> Turn-of-the-century travelers, such as George Horton in 1902 and Rosa von Gerold in 1885 give colourful accounts of a city that presents modern Parisian fashion alongside local traditional attire, a sight that prompts the Austrian von Gerold to see around her “...the East as one imagines it to be and as we see it in pictures” while indulging in what she describes as a “sense of the orient” both in architecture as well as in attire. See: Fotopoulos, D. 1999. Athenian Fashions at the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. pp. 26-27 [Note on publication title: the ‘turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> century’ here denotes the transition from the 19<sup>th</sup> to the 20<sup>th</sup> century]

<sup>596</sup> See here, chapter 4.

<sup>597</sup> *ibid.* p. 8

<sup>598</sup> Milonas, K. 1984. History of the Greek song. p. 40- 41 [Μυλωνάς, Κ. 1984. Ιστορία του Ελληνικού τραγουδιού. σελ. 40-41]

Vernardakis' speech was one particularly dense in emotion, and one that couldn't exactly put the blame on a specific enemy. Did he hold the -elusive- Europeans responsible? Was it the -elusive- Greeks? Or was the -elusive- music at fault? What is for sure is that one of the basic premises in Vernardakis' speech was wrong from the very beginning. In his haste to blame Europe, Europeans, Greeks, and music for the condition of his treasured chant and identity, he -again- compared secular entertainment to church-music, when such competition was irrelevant in the least. If anything else, in all of the treatises on music of the time, the traditionalists like himself were adamant about one point: counterpoint and musical Europeanization was unnecessary because the chant was not entertainment, but a means to the transmission of higher meanings, and as such had to remain monophonic, simple, and serious.<sup>599</sup> On the contrary, it was the revisionists that suggested that harmonisation would attract more people to church.<sup>600</sup> And even with these intentions, counterpoint would attempt to popularize the music within the boundaries of the church, preserving its functionality as liturgical music. No argument was ever made at this stage for the development of an independent stem of the Byzantine chant that would enter popular secular entertainment outside the church. Yet, the adversary in the struggle was the theatres with their secular European music.

Bringing the nation and Europe into the discussion might have assisted the clear assignment of the damsel in distress- Hellas- and the Dragon- Europe- in this fairytale with no villain, yet it blurred the crucial boundaries between art music, popular music (which at the time included both the opera and traditional folk music) and church music, secular entertainment and church music, and national culture and cultural transfer. What this cultural/national critique was concealing was probably a misplaced judgement on class behaviour that obstructed the speaker's understanding of the fact that preference for western music at the time was not a signifier of ethnic/national transformation, but rather an expression of class affiliation. As demonstrated in the case of the theatre earlier, it was the rise of the middle class and their projections of 'civilization' that supported and promoted the opera in the capital, regardless of the strong opposition both in its midst, as well as cultural resistance by

---

<sup>599</sup> An argument that would persist from the early days of the debate. See for example: Evoeos, I. N. 1858. Speech on Church music written by Nathanail Ioannou Evoeos. p. 10; Anastasiou, N. 1881. The Patriarchate and Greek Church Music. pp. 7-8

<sup>600</sup> See for example: Gritsanis, P. 1870. On the issue of the music of the Greek Church. p. 16, or the earlier defense of the practice in Vienna.

the lower classes, for whom street theatre and traditional music remained closer to heart. By disguising Europe as the Dragon in the forest without connecting it to specific cultural influences and their outcomes for the formation of the Greek middle and upper classes, it became easier for all parties to claim that whoever proposed the reformation of the chant was attacking the Nation itself.

In reality, a large part of what distinguishes the moderates and reformers from the conservatives, is their hostility against the idea of Europe, and the severity of their language against the cultural influence of the latter upon the Greeks. Taking into consideration that, as argued earlier, both sides in the debate belonged to the same side, even in cases when a writer expressed caution or aversion to the idea of reforming the chant, the distinguishing feature in their writing would be the degree of aversion towards European influence. As such, the musically traditionalist Nikolaos Anastasiou is here treated as a moderate, since while in disagreement with the harmonization of the chant, he recognized that it was the responsibility of the Greeks to study their church music and decide upon its development- preferably in monophonic style, rather than insisting in the austere preservation of the chant only to protect it from ‘European’ corruption. Moreover, while in his writings the fear of the marginalization of the monophonic chant is prominent, he held the Patriarch of Constantinople responsible for not resolving this musical matter, just like Pope John XIX who had protected Guido d’Arezzo’s new notational system (c.1028).<sup>601</sup> Therefore, while in support of the monophonic chant himself, he advocated for the creation of societies and the education of cantors, two processes that would in the long term result in a calculated, erudite, and natural development of the chant. For the time, he regarded the whole debate as a fight between dogmatic fractions that claimed ownership of both music and the nation.<sup>602</sup>

In other moderate writings, such as Gritsanis’ earlier *On the issue of the music of the Greek Church*, the premise of a continuity featured very prominently, yet, the aforementioned employment of a narrative of ‘progress’ and ‘science’, inevitably merged the idea of ‘Europe’ with that of ‘progress’. The Church had managed to

---

<sup>601</sup> Anastasiou’s opinions were published in three separate articles in the press, as well as in a collective edition, from where they are presently drawn. *ibid.* p. 19; For Guido d’Arezzo, his reformation of musical notation, and the invitation by Pope John XIX see: Sadie, St. (ed.) 2001 (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.) *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* [in twenty-nine volumes], Vol. 10, Entry: *Guido of Arezzo*, p. 522

<sup>602</sup> Anastasiou, N. 1885. *The Patriarchate and Greek Church music*. p. 7



preserve the ethnic characteristics of the music, the argument went, yet, as was historically known, the multicultural character of the Empire resulted in the integration of Turkish and other Eastern melodies in the, otherwise preserved, music.<sup>603</sup> Very cautiously, and always preserving the connection between Greek music of the present day and ancient Greek music through the Byzantium, Gritsanis argued for the ‘cleansing’ of the music from ‘foreign’ Eastern influences, and with the final goal being very clear; Greece had been welcomed back to the European family, after centuries of enslavement, and would have to prove it was worth of the position by showing signs of “National progress and development”.<sup>604</sup> In the case of the moderates/ revisionists, then, ‘Europe’ featured as a somewhat more benevolent power of change and adaptation to a new cultural environment, yet the basic premises of an unclean, superior music that sought to be reinstated to its former glory, remained central to the narrative.

The late 19<sup>th</sup> century debate on the position, function and value of Byzantine music, and its importance for Greek national identity in a rapidly Westernizing country, brought back to life a mid-century musical nightmare that both Church and nation had not managed to tame and resolve. The emergence of the practice in the Greek communities of the Diaspora and its introduction in Greece by Royal intervention created further problems, since the force of change was Greek and inherently European, and at the same time Russian and held a sceptre. This instability in the assignment of an official national ‘other’ to either be blamed and exorcized or followed blindly, led to the emergence of a very strong language of nationalism to complement the wider Greek moral panic about the perceived absence of a quintessentially Greek output in the arts. The earlier prominence of the Italian opera and the introduction of the French vaudeville in secular entertainment in the 1870s, intensified the problem, in a country that was constantly looking to define the ‘Greek’ in art, in a wider political and cultural environment that officially promoted the ‘European’ in the ‘Greek’. The final part of this chapter will contextualize the debate in the wider Greek cultural landscape, and attempt to resolve the perennial riddle about the chicken and the egg (or vice versa).<sup>605</sup>

---

<sup>603</sup> Gritsanis, P. 1870. On the issue of the music of the Greek Church. pp. 9-15

<sup>604</sup> *ibid.* p. 17-18

<sup>605</sup> Incidentally, it’s the chicken. See: Freeman, C.L. Harding, J.H., Quigley, D., Rodger, P.M. Structural Control of Crystal Nuclei by an Eggshell Protein. *Angewandte Chemie* (International ed.), vol. 49, issue 30, pp. 5135-5137.

*Late 19<sup>th</sup> century L objects of*

i	t
t	r
e	a
r	n
a	s
<i>literal nationalism concepts and musical</i>	i
y	t
	e
	r
	a
	t
	i
	o
	n
	s

In 1875, Antonios Sigalas' lengthy *Collection of National Songs* consisting of songs, hymns, art music, and other genres of Greek, European and Russian music, translated/transcribed in Byzantine notation, won the silver medal at the *Olympia* state competition in Athens. The *Olympia* competition was an early attempt by the Greeks to revive the Olympic Games, financed by the Greek tycoon Evangelis Zappas from Bucharest, and instituted in a series of Royal Decrees between 1858 and 1859.<sup>606</sup> The Decrees announced that the exhibition and competition would take place every four years for a month, and it would present products of the Greek industry, especially agricultural and livestock products.<sup>607</sup> The exhibited products would be judged on the merit of their usefulness, low production cost, and overall perfection, while special provision was made for the products that had already been awarded a prize at the Paris Exposition, which could thus enter the competition without prior approval by the appropriate committee.<sup>608</sup> The musical component of the competition was placed in category number 22 and was divided into the subcategories of Composition and Instrument Construction, with fifteen awards of various classifications for each of the subcategories, while the rest of the arts- namely architecture, sculpture and painting-

For other interpretations see: <http://www.icr.org/article/3> [accessed 07/03/2016]

<sup>606</sup> Romanou, K., Barbaki, M., Mousoulidis, F. 2004. Greek Music in the Olympic Games and the Olympiads (1858-1896). p. 29 [Ρωμανού, Κ., Μπαρμπάκη, Μ., Μουσουλίδης, Φ. 2004. Η Ελληνική Μουσική στους Ολυμπιακούς Αγώνες και τις Ολυμπιάδες (1858-1896). σελ. 29]

<sup>607</sup> Royal Decree of 28 August 1858, n. 38, 'On the institution of the Olympia Competition', Article 1. Published in the Journal of the Greek Government of 03 July 1836, no. 32; Journal of the Greek Government of 29 January 1859, no. 2. 'Programme and Regulations of the Committee for the promotion of national industry for the first Olympia', Section A', Article 1. Section B', Article 12 [ΒΔ 28 Αυγούστου 1858, αριθμός 38, 'Περί συστάσεως Ολυμπίων', Άρθρο 1. Από: ΦΕΚ Α 3/1858, ΦΕΚ Α 2 29/01/1859, 'Πρόγραμμα και Κανονισμός της επί της εμψυχώσεως της εθνικής βιομηχανίας Επιτροπής περί της Α' συγκροτήσεως των Ολυμπίων. Κεφ. Α', Άρθρο 1. Κεφ. Β', Άρθρο 12]

<sup>608</sup> Royal Decree of 28 August 1858, n. 38, 'On the institution of the Olympia Competition', Article 6

were to be exhibited among the rest of the products of industry.<sup>609</sup> This experiment and experience of an exhibitions of products of national industry was not the first one for the Greeks, who had already placed the Nation under international judgement for the first time in the ‘Great Exhibition’ of 1851 in London, with quite unfavourable reception in regards to the country’s state of industrial progress.<sup>610</sup>

As for the wider position of the specific national exposition in the national imagination, the newspaper *Aeon* had published in August 1858 a lengthy article on the event, which prompted the Greeks to proceed with the exhibition but not to expect much from this first attempt. *Aeon*, observing the position of Greece between East and West, argued that much like the first French and English Expositions that were unsuccessful, the Greeks couldn’t expect much from this first Greek exhibition. Nevertheless, the newspaper continued, it was unnecessary and unfair for Greece to compare itself to these nations, since industrial development in the country was still at an infant stage.<sup>611</sup> As *Aeon* predicted, this first experiment on a national scale proved disappointing. There is no evidence of any musical entries or events, and while by Decree the competition was to be repeated four years later, the next attempt was made in 1870, possibly because of the bad organization of the first *Olympia*.<sup>612</sup> In general, artistic competitions had been popular in Athens from the early years of the new state since, as seen earlier, institutions for the promotion of artistic education had been established from as early as 1837 (the Polytechnic School of Athens). Nevertheless, since it was only architecture, painting, and sculpture that were taught in these institutions it follows that music was not included in them.<sup>613</sup>

---

<sup>609</sup> Royal Decree of 16 October 1858, n. 48, ‘On the number of the awards at the Olympic competition’ Article 1. Published in the Journal of the Greek Government of 16 October 1858, no. 48; The placement of the rest of the arts among the rest of the products of industry was announced the next year by another Royal Decree, see: Royal Decree of 13 August 1859, n. 33, ‘On the exhibition of the arts at the Olympia’. Published in the Journal of the Greek Government of 13 August 1859, no. 33 [ΒΔ 16 Οκτωβρίου 1858, αριθμός 48, ‘Περί προσδιορισμού του αριθμού των εν τοις Ολυμπιακοις Αγώσιν αμονεμηθησομένων βραβείων’, Άρθρο 1. Από: ΦΕΚ Α48/1858, ΒΔ 13 Αυγούστου 1859, αριθμός 33, ‘Περί εκθέσεως των ωραίων τεχνών εις τα Ολύμπια’. Από: ΦΕΚ Α 33/1859]

<sup>610</sup> Greece received unfavourable comments both by the national and international press, as well as Greek and foreign travelers, for its humble showings in an otherwise technologically impressive international exhibition. See: Yagou, A. Facing the West- Greece in the Great Exhibition of 1851. *Design Issues*, 19:4 (Autumn, 2003), pp. 82-90

<sup>611</sup> See: *Aeon* (1858) *Olympia*. *Aeon*, 28 August 1858, pp. 1-2 [Ο Αιών (1858) Τα Ολύμπια, Ο Αιών, 28 Αυγούστου 1858, σελ. 1-2]

<sup>612</sup> Romanou, K., Barbaki, M., Mousoulidis, F. 2004. Greek Music in the Olympic Games and the Olympiads (1858-1896). p. 29

<sup>613</sup> For a detailed account of the various artistic competitions and scholarships in 19<sup>th</sup> century Greece see: Bolis, I. 2000. The art exhibitions: the artists and their public in Athens at 19<sup>th</sup> century. Doctoral Thesis (unpublished), Aristotle University of Thessaloniki (A.U.Th.), School of Philosophy, Department of History and Archaeology [Μπόλης, Ι. 2000. Οι καλλιτεχνικές εκθέσεις: οι καλλιτέχνες και το κοινό τους στην Αθήνα του 19<sup>ου</sup> αιώνα.

The second *Olympia* was reported to have been a major success, with the vice-president of the organizing committee announcing at the closing ceremony that the overall number of tickets totalled 17,648-and-a-half, excluding those who were granted free entrance, while 2549 products were presented by 1,123 participants.<sup>614</sup> The Exhibition had been tailored after the recent Paris Exposition of 1867, that Greece had also attended. 907 awards of all classes were awarded, and in comparison to the *Olympia* competition of 1859 Greece had demonstrated clear signs of industrial development, the vice-president found.<sup>615</sup> The success of this second organisation is obvious not only because of the total number of visitors and the 30,000 spectators that the vice-president reported to have attended the gymnastics competitions, but also because the competition lasted for four whole months (November 1870-March 1871) when by original design it was supposed to last for a month.<sup>616</sup>

Musically, the competition included six instrument-makers, four of them from Athens, and had announced a compositional competition of Greek works in verse, themed “in honour of the homeland, the King, freedom, the sponsor of the competition, virtue, the fallen for the homeland, patriotic songs...” and other traditional themes.<sup>617</sup> Even though no work was awarded a prize, two works commissioned to Raphael Parisini were performed at the opening ceremony, and a work he had hoped to be performed at the closing ceremony was in the end performed at the theatre at a later date.<sup>618</sup> The humble appearance of music in the second *Olympia* of 1870, and the successive impressive representation of the art at the third *Olympia* five years later, reveals a picture of a steady musical extroversion that, assisted by the evolution of cultural and educational institutions, promoted its confident presence in the public sphere. What remains exceedingly interesting and important at this point, is the fervour of the organizing committee to set patriotic

---

Διδακτορική Διατριβή (ανέκδοτη), Αριστοτέλειο Πανεπιστήμιο Θεσσαλονίκης (ΑΠΘ). Σχολή Φιλοσοφική. Τμήμα Ιστορίας και Αρχαιολογίας.]

<sup>614</sup> Christides, D.1871. Speech delivered by the vice-president of the committee of the Olympia and other bequests. pp. 3-4 [Χρησιτίδης, Δ. 1871. Λόγος Απαγγελθείς υπο του Αντιπροέδρου της των Ολυμπίων και Κληροδοτημάτων Επιτροπής Κυρίου Δ. Χρησιτίδου την 14 Μαρτίου 1871 ημέραν της λήξεως της Εθνικής Εκθέσεως της Β' Ολυμπιάδος του 1870. Σελ. 3-4]

<sup>615</sup> *ibid.* pp. 5-6

<sup>616</sup> *ibid.* p. 10

<sup>617</sup> Musical competition announcement reproduced in: Baroutas, K. 1992 Musical Life in Athens in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. P. 75, footnote number 26

<sup>618</sup> Romanou, K., Barbaki, M., Mousoulidis, F. 2004. Greek Music in the Olympic Games and the Olympiads (1858-1896). p. 31; Christides, D.1871. Speech delivered by the vice-president of the committee of the Olympia and [other] Bequests. p. 12

themes for the compositional competition, an attitude very much in tune with the roaring, expansionist Greek nationalism of the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, that ought to have created an interesting oeuvre of compositions on patriotic themes. Amidst the debate on national and Byzantine music and this purported endangerment by European influences, and merely a minute in historical time before the emergence of the Greek National School of Music in the first decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, such competitions and their outcomes indicate clearly that not only wasn't the elusive 'national' music under any sort of danger, but on the contrary, it was the successive moral panics concerning the influence of Europe that obstructed its natural cultural integration and development.

The third *Olympia* of 1875, the one that saw Sigala's *Collection* competing and medalled, was a true triumph for musical output. Apart from the usual call for instrument makers and other musical tasks, the organisers invited Greeks from inside Greece and out to submit original compositions, or set pre-assigned Greek poems to music.<sup>619</sup> The increasing interest in national music that was becoming visible among the middle class at the time was expressed in the exposition as well, with the introduction of a the new Category Number 87, titled "Musical education of the people, vocal and instrumental" that included traditional music.<sup>620</sup> As seen earlier, the musical education of and for the poor and the orphans would soon be included in the educational output of the Conservatory of Athens, and this musical management of the fate of the underprivileged was manifested prominently at the exhibition as well.

The total number of compositions and musical instruments for the *Olympia* of 1875 was reported at 31, and a quick overview of the entries reveals a particularly interesting fact. Out of the 31 musical entries:

- 24 entries were either original compositions, or set Greek poems to music. Included in them were compositions by three major Ionian composers (Carrer, Xyndas, Lambelet)

---

<sup>619</sup> The difference between the two is specified by the organizers as a call for instrumental compositions for solo instruments, or any sort of ensemble, while the second invited compositions for the piano to be set to four poems. See: *Olympia of 1875. Third Period. By the Committee for the Olympia and [other] Bequeths.* p. 85. Reproduced in Romanou, K., Barbaki, M., Mousoulidis, F. 2004. *Greek Music in the Olympic Games and the Olympiads (1858-1896).* p.32

<sup>620</sup> *ibid.*

- Within the aforementioned 24 entries appeared three compositions of polyphonic church music.
- Six were entries by musical instrument makers.
- The remaining entry was Antonios Sigalas' *Collection of national songs*, which was neither an original composition, nor a Greek song or musical instrument. In 1875, a lengthy collection of translations won the silver medal at the *Olympia* competition in Athens, even though it competed in an inexistent category of its own.<sup>621</sup>

Perhaps even more revealing of the exceptional status of Sigalas' entry is the report of the committee that evaluated the exhibited *Collection*. The wording of the committee report on the entry is particularly interesting in terms of the strong symbolism behind the publication, the process of its evaluation, and the rationale behind the award of a medal:

“[...] In regards to Mr. A.N. Sigalas' collection, the President made the following remarks: This collection of various songs of the people, many of which have been published by others as well, is of course of philological interest, but it is today being judged for its value as a piece of hard labour and artistry, through which these songs were not [simply] set to music, but through the notational system of the church the special melody of each of them has been preserved and is being expressed in the language of the people. This work of Mr. Sigalas is, therefore, original and important, and for that reason the judges recommend it to be taught at schools as well, after it has been edited further. Our church music has attracted until lately the condemnation of the admirers of modern European music, for purportedly being a barbarous music, not pleasant to hear, and a product of our barbarian Asiatic conquerors. For some time now, though, specialist and erudite men raised a voice in its defence, and their voice attracted the attention and study of wise Greeks and Europeans, and the matter of its origin has become a subject of thorough discussion and study [...] Therefore, it is fair to award Mr. Sigalas a medal, and commend his work to the Minister of Ecclesiastic Affairs and Public Education.”<sup>622</sup>

Shortly after, the committee decided that since they couldn't read the music and therefore assess the quality of the work, they ought to forward it to the next

<sup>621</sup> The names of the musical participants and their products are located at different pages within the catalogue of the Olympia. See: Olympia of 1875. Third Period. By the Committee for the Olympia and [other] Bequeaths. pp. 102- 170. Reproduced in Romanou, K., Barbaki, M., Mousoulidis, F. 2004. Greek Music in the Olympic Games and the Olympiads (1858-1896). p.33

<sup>622</sup> Excerpt of the awarding committee minutes, Meeting KB' [22], 19 February 1876. 'Olympia of 1875. Third Period. By the Committee for the Olympia and [other] Bequeaths'. pp. 349-351. Reproduced in Romanou, K., Barbaki, M., Mousoulidis, F. 2004. Greek Music in the Olympic Games and the Olympiads (1858-1896). p.36

committee for adjudication. The next committee did not assess it for reasons unknown, and the *Ecclesiastical Musical Society of Athens* was finally invited to make the assessment.<sup>623</sup> Regardless of the fact that the work was almost predestined to be medalled before it was assessed in terms of quality, it would be very interesting to hypothesise whether it would have still been medalled had it been a low-quality transcription. Due to Sigalas' specialization in the chant since the 1820s, and his long experience in writing music, it is borderline impossible that the quality of this set of transcriptions was not high.<sup>624</sup> Even so, the story and debate itself renders such judgement irrelevant since the *Ecclesiastical Musical Society of Athens* itself had been continually encouraging enthusiastically the creation of similar publications that would create an able body of works, as part of their fight for the recognition of Byzantine music as a quintessentially Greek musical idiom, connected intimately to ancient Greek music.<sup>625</sup> Nevertheless, the aforementioned network of connections that in the end saw to Sigalas' award is not placed under evaluation for their impartial judgement at an obscure 19<sup>th</sup> century musical competition. Rather, what comes under scrutiny here is the decision of the State to establish the work as an exemplary object of nationalism, rather than merely a book of limited scientific or artistic value that would have naturally faded into obscurity, in a private collection at best.

The *Ecclesiastical Musical Society of Athens*, a society founded in 1873, was dedicated to the study and development of the Byzantine chant, and was represented in the debate by some of its most fervent members orating the previously analysed speeches on the dangers of 'Europeanising' Greek church music and ethics-Koupitoris and Vernardakis. A significant side-project of the *Society* was to assist the publication of scores and books on Byzantine music, and supposedly promote in this way the creation of a material oeuvre of new works, as well as more transcriptions in Byzantine notation.<sup>626</sup> Had the project not been interrupted by European music

<sup>623</sup> Romanou, K., Barbaki, M., Mousoulidis, F. 2004. Greek Music in the Olympic Games and the Olympiads (1858-1896). p.36, footnote number 110.

<sup>624</sup> For Sigalas' significant experience with the chant the most secure source is Papadopoulos, G.I. 1890. A Contribution to the History of our Church music. pp 437-440. Papadopoulos provides a list with the most revered Byzantine music teacher of the 19th century, and Sigalas' entry is a particularly warm one in terms of his output and value. [Παπαδόπουλος, Γ.Ι. 1890. Συμβολαί εις την ιστορίαν της παρ' ημιν εκκλησιαστικής μουσικής. σελ. 437-440]

<sup>625</sup> Koupitoris, P. 1876. A Panegyric on our Church Music. Athens: Philokallia Publishing. See for example: pp. 13-16, 25.

<sup>626</sup> 'Statute of the Ecclesiastical Musical Society of Athens, 1874, Section A', Article 2, p. 1. Held at the Historical Archive of the *Parnassos Literary Society* (Athens) [Κανονισμός του εν Αθήναις Εκκλησιαστικού Μουσικού Συλλόγου, 1874, Κεφάλαιο 1, Άρθρο 2, σελ. 1. Ιστορικό Αρχείο Φιλολογικού Συλλόγου Παρνασσός]

scholars producing the same work- if only a little less impartially, though many times insensitive to cultural diversity- and had not the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century seen the emergence of a pan-European compositional interest at using folk music as a source for art music, they could have actually achieved creating a continuity and tradition hard to be dismissed as harshly as it was by the 1920's, as seen earlier. Naturally, the ideas about 'national colour' in music and the importance of traditional music as a national musical idiom persisted, and spread through lectures and speeches and newspaper articles, and in a sense culminated in George Lambelet's 1928 treatise *Nationalism in Art and Greek traditional music*, yet the theory did not survive transcribed in Byzantine notation, it rather included it.<sup>627</sup>

Intimately connected to the invaluable assistance of history at constructing legitimising continuities, both Koupitoris as well as the historian of Byzantine music George Papadopoulos hinted at the importance of leaving material evidence in the form of books, to support the superiority of the Byzantine chant and indicate the continuity in Greek music. Koupitoris, in his speech addressing the members of the *Society* would encourage the production of treatises that would confidently elucidate to musicians that Byzantine music was very similar to ancient Greek music, while even more indicatively, Papadopoulos opted to open his impressively thorough 538-page chronicle of the Byzantine chant since the apostolic years by claiming that in the war that had broken out against Byzantine music, its disciples ought to raise castles and walls against the rivers of change threatening the Greek religion, language, and music. And this fortress in this intellectual war could only come in the form of a History of Music that would assist the people navigate from musical past to musical present.<sup>628</sup> In 1875, Antonios Sigalas' tower in the Fortress of Byzantine tradition was erected and inaugurated by the State, and among other, more obscure towers of a music intimately connected to tradition and national identity, upheld the importance of a Greek Byzantium for the Greek nation. As for the small ironies that accentuate the importance of such little big stories, the traditionalist Vernardakis pontificated in

<sup>627</sup> Please note that the Greek word for 'nationalism'- εθνικισμός [ethnikismós] denotes both the *ethnos/ ethnic group* as well as the notion of *nationalism*. In this case Lambelet's title rather refers to the prominence of the *ethnic* colour in the music, a fact that is accentuated by the observation that, when in the text he wants to refer to *nationalism*, he transliterates the word in Greek and writes 'νασιοναλισμός' [nasionalismós]. See Lambelet, G. 1926. *Nationalism in Art and Greek traditional music*. In Epifyllides, Vol. A', Issue IA' (June). Athens: Eleftheroudakis Publishes [Γ. Λαμπελέτ, 1928. Ο Εθνικισμός εις την τέχνην και η ελληνική δημόδης μουσική. Αθήνα: Εκδοτικός Οίκος "Ελευθερουδάκης".]

<sup>628</sup> Koupitoris, P. 1876. *A Panegyric on our Church Music*. Athens: Philokallia Publishing. pp. 8-9; Papadopoulos, G.I. 1890. *A Contribution to the History of our Church music*. pp 10-11



his speech his personal opinion on why Byzantine music was still ‘underdeveloped’ in comparison to Western art music. “The composers of [Byzantine] church music” he said a little before concluding his speech, “are always forced to clip the wings of [their own] creativity, so that they are not accused of being innovative and altering the clean and holy character of church music”.<sup>629</sup> One can always hope that at least one member of the audience laughed with bitterness.

*“Senza lode e senza infamia” : an epilogue to an exhibition, an epilogue to a debate.*<sup>630</sup>

Pavlos Carrer, the composer from Zante who had been trying to establish a career in mainland Greece since his first visit to the Palace in 1858 but hadn’t quite made it, had been strolling around the Third *Olympia* Exhibition the whole day and his feet probably hurt. After cutting a few corners in this sea of exhibited industriousness, his musical eyes filled with national pride over the development of his country, he stopped in front of a display and exclaimed in amazement “they are exhibited like they were industrial products!”<sup>631</sup> The composer was standing in front of a display containing compositions, laying there behind a piece of glass like they were marble specimens, or honey from Naxos island. The nation had indeed included music in the competition to promote Greek music and highlight its value for the education of the people. Yet it was a music that belonged in a glass display due to the multifaceted problems that kept occurring. Taking his amazement to the president of the Exhibition, he asked him whether the awarded pieces would be performed, and received the only reasonable answer under the circumstances: “And who would be able to perform them?”<sup>632</sup> Regardless of the million and one fragmented and many times contradictory steps the nation had taken to promote an art that did not come with a marble capital to justify it as inherently Greek and thus save it from a billion and one debates, the hard reality was that on top of everything else Greece still ran a deficit in trained musicians.

<sup>629</sup> Vernardakis, D. 1876. Impromptu speech on our church music. p. 23

<sup>630</sup> Leotsakos, G. (ed.) 2003. Pavlos Carrer: Memoir and Works. p. 141.

<sup>631</sup> Narrative obviously fictional, Carrer never mentioned the state of his feet (unfortunately). Still, for his reaction upon seeing what he saw, see: *ibid* p. 140.

<sup>632</sup> *Ibid*.

Reminiscing upon the day he left the competition tired and disappointed, the composer looked behind him and remarked: “And thus, this first musical competition in Athens came to an end, senza lode e senza infamia for those who envisioned it and their hare-brained idea!”<sup>633</sup>

The *Olympia* of 1875 saw many compositions brought to life, many instruments constructed, and a particularly special book being medalled. In a certain sense the traditionalists won, since the state sanctioned the idea of Byzantine music being the ‘national idiom’ of the Greeks. Yet, as it is increasingly visible in Greek 19<sup>th</sup> century musical practice, what the state sanctioned to construct narrative, continuity and historical legitimacy, fell short of a reality that absorbed all of the aforementioned in a multicoloured reality. Against the one medalled entry of nationalist pride, stood not only two compositions of polyphonic church music that were awarded prizes in the same competition, but also a multitude of western-style compositions, traditional song, and a wider musical practice that was taking the churches of the Diaspora by storm. There was a cultural reality that accepted both eastern and western music in different spaces and addressing different audiences, promoted musical education and cared for the survival of tradition. The little people talked and created societies, and their voices were unfortunately loud and well connected, so their debates set fire to a society that expected moral destruction with every issue of their daily newspaper, and every new treatise published.

An important aspect of the problem the Greeks were trying to resolve in their wider confusion over the place of Byzantine music in national imagination, was that they could not decide on a uniform national definition of a Greek ‘art music’. The traditionalists were stubbornly refusing the harmonisation of the Byzantine chant, and shuddered with indignation at the thought of allowing the music to come out of the Church and become secular entertainment. The moderates and reformists were looking to make church music entertaining, while suggesting hesitantly a future potential development of the chant after the paradigm of western art music. Simultaneously, though, they saw European art music as foreign, and Ionian music

---

<sup>633</sup> Greek and Italian in the original, with *senza lode e senza infamia* denoting something that has been mediocre. Ibid. p. 141

too Italianate to be Greek in essence, and so such development would alter significant ethnic musical characteristics. The task of using folk music as musical material for Greek art music was one that was undertaken by the Greek National School of music, as will be seen in the next chapter. Yet, that would again bring it into the realm of ‘European’ music, since Greek nationalism elected to maintain the strict dichotomy instead of accepting a 60-year old practice as a functioning element of modern Greek identity.

What the Greeks were supposedly seeking was a notated, structured, ‘original’ Greek art music that would not have been conditioned by western musical values and possibly instrumentation, yet it would be taught systematically in institutions in contrast to traditional music, and it would be secular and performed outside the church. That falls very close to a standard definition of Middle-Eastern art music as defined in contemporary musicology, which describes it as “essentially soloistic, with ensembles consisting of a leading vocalist or melodic instrument, accompanied by i) a stringed instrument that plays in unison with the soloist in composed, metric music [...], and ii) one or two percussion instruments for metric sections”.<sup>634</sup> Of course the inclusion of Greek art music into such a category would be borderline impossible in the 19<sup>th</sup> century for reasons that have been explained throughout the thesis and revolve around the notions of ‘Ottoman’, ‘slavery’, ‘Ancient Greek’, ‘European’, and of course ‘Greek Byzantium’.

The only way around such an inclusion for an independent Greek art music would have been possible in a world where ‘Fortresses of culture’ could be raised to maintain cultural ‘purity’, yet this one has not shown any such signs until now. As seen earlier, by the end of the century, when these musical problems became too prominent to be ignored, it was too late, since all musical institutions were of a western outlook, Greek composers were either Ionian-born, or educated in the West, and aesthetics in the capital –which to a large extent defined the wider musical dominant ideology in contrast to ethnic practice- had been conditioned by western secular art music entertainment.

---

<sup>634</sup> Randel, D.M. (ed.) 1986. *The New Harvard Dictionary of Music*. Entry: *Near and Middle East*, section IV. *Art music*, pp. 529-534

As for the grand entity of ‘Europe’ in this debate, as in all others, it mainly appeared as a uniformly threatening agent of change, when change had again been proposed from within the Greek ethnic group. And while for irredentist nationalist dreams of expansion maintaining a close bond with the Diaspora, which among other things fuelled the ailing Greek economy with patriotic donations, remained important and was constantly supported with the production of national sentiment, cultural reality exposed the hypocrisy of a nationalism that would only allow so much to the Diasporas. As with the Ionians who were ‘unliberated Greek brothers’ until they started playing brass instruments, the Viennese Orthodox Greeks had overnight become ‘Europeans’ when they decided to adapt their music to their cultural surroundings. And while the question about the cultural position of Europe in Greece was one that kept returning in different forms and shapes, it was rarely postulated in regards to the cultural position of modern Greece among other European nations, with their separate cultural and social particularities.

Somewhere near this Story chronologically, in 1893, Roandeu Albert Henry Bickford-Smith, Victorian scholar, Fellow of the Society of Antiquarians and barrister, wrote a detailed account of the state of Greece under the reign of King George I, where he made a set of particularly interesting musical observations.<sup>635</sup> In his small section about the state of the Fine Arts in Greece, the noble Englishman would observe that piano-playing had a high average in the country by the time, much higher than in England. He would also observe that the people were fond of their own music (traditional music), but the tonal characteristics of the music itself created a very nasal musical outcome, which deemed their singing musically unpleasant.

“It may be argued that if they had really had music in their soul,” he pontificated “they would not have tolerated the Oriental monotone, and would have invented a proper scale on their own account; but I think this is asking rather too much”

he concluded and then cursed the people with a curse that ought to have been punishable by law:

---

<sup>635</sup> For more biographical information on R.A.H. Bickford-Smith see: Chatziioanou, M. C. Like a rolling stone, R.A.H. Bickford-Smith (1859-1916) from Britain to Greece. *British School at Athens Studies*, vol. 17, Scholars, Travels, Archives: Greek culture through the British School at Athens (2009), pp 39-48

“I believe when once their musical tendency is directed into a good German channel, they will prove themselves to be a very musical people”.<sup>636</sup>

Little did he know that some curses do come true, and around the corner of the century, Manolis Kalomiris would present to the Athenian public the manifesto of the Greek National School of Music in 1908; a National School with very, very strong Germanic inclinations. But this is, yet, another Story, and like many stories of turn-of-the-century Germanic musical inclinations, it begins with a Wagnerian Valkyrie.

---

<sup>636</sup> Bickford-Smith, R.A.H. 1893. Greece under King George. pp. 211-212

## Fourth Story: Music in Nationalism

In 1910, a son of the Hellenic nation committed suicide performatively, refusing at the age of 41 to conform to the future decline of his youthful body, and embodying through self-annihilation his despair over a declining culture. Mounted on a white horse, with flowers on his head, the poet and essayist Pericles Giannopoulos descended to his death by leading horse and self into the sea, where he shot the latter. The rite of his death he had already detailed to his closest friends, as an allusion to a blissful death that would deliver the deceased to the comforting hands of the Athenian sea. His writings he burnt a few days before his suicide.<sup>637</sup>

In the years before his death Giannopoulos had been consciously functioning as an Ideologue of the Greek nation, communicating his cultural anxieties in a series of ardently despairing newspaper articles that, through mostly aesthetic sociological and cultural aphorisms against the Greek bourgeoisie, mourned the impotency of the modern Greek-Hellenic ‘spirit’, gagged into oblivion by kitsch European mimicry.<sup>638</sup> The universe he constructed in his articles, resembling mini-manifestos, was one constituting of extensive, imaginative word making and stylized hysteria, and it was inhabited by inadequate, quisling politicians ruling over puppet-citizens. The focus of his enquiries was all things Greek, regardless of his expertise and knowledge on the individual topics, as he himself admitted.<sup>639</sup> By focusing on the existential core of the ‘Greek’, he argued, he could tailor his opinions around any matter, from art to the military for example, exactly because his expertise lay with the specimen rather than the issue.<sup>640</sup>

This interesting approach to nationalist-intellectualism resulted in a series of articles and writings, set in a grotesque dystopia where Greek sovereignty had been surrendered to Europe since the creation of the state, while the bourgeoisie enjoyed masquerading as ‘Europeans’ to conceal their deep provincial mentality and aesthetic

<sup>637</sup> Embros (1910) The Death of Pericles Giannopoulos, *Embros*, 13 April 1910, pp. 1-2 [Εμπρός (1910) Ο Θάνατος του Περικλ. Γιαννόπουλου, *Εμπρός*, 13 Απριλίου 1910, σελ.1-2]

<sup>638</sup> In his article “Our Duty” Giannopoulos placed himself among the Ideologues of the nation, and stressed their importance for national indoctrination. See: Giannopoulos, P. (1903) Our Duty, *Noumas*, 12 January 1903, p. 4 [Γιαννόπουλος, Π. (1903) Το Καθήκον μας, *Νουμάς*, 12 Ιανουαρίου 1903, σελ.1]

<sup>639</sup> Giannopoulos, P. (1903) Byzantine on the one hand, [worthy of a] Broken nose on the other, *Noumas*, 24 April 1903, p. 2 [Γιαννόπουλος, Π. (1903) Βυζαντινή μεν, Ρινοκλασία δε, *Νουμάς*, 24 Απριλίου 1903, σελ.2]

<sup>640</sup> *ibid.*

illiteracy. In accordance to this all-encompassing logic that placed him in the centre of what was, and what the Greek needed, he wrote extensively about the theatre, architecture, painting, constructed art-theory, and instructed on issues of modern national identity.<sup>641</sup> His was not a cry for the return to an imaginary perennial cultural state, but rather an aesthetic approach craving for the resurfacing of an authentic, unpolluted, Greek ‘psyche’, modern in its constitution, yet drawing its substance from the archaic core of the Hellenic subject matter.

A reconstruction of this fragmented nationalistic outbursts into a basic, linear argument, without attributing causal relations to the events he described, would result in a mindset as follows: set in the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, with the humiliating defeat in the Greco- Ottoman War of 1897 still haunting the nation, Giannopoulos was at the time active in the literary debate on the appropriate form of Modern Greek (language), the importance of tradition for national literature, as well as issues of national ‘race’ and Greece’s relationship to Europe.<sup>642</sup> Highly critical of Europe’s political and cultural influences, he identified a number of elementary problems to modern Greek existence. Delivered into modernity through European reconstruction, Greek history and the idea of the modern Greek-Hellenic was first constructed in Europe, and Greek historians merely emulated their colleagues’ approach, creating what he described as a “damaged mirror”, where the Greek national Ego was reflected distorted.<sup>643</sup> Politically, the nation had surrendered its sovereignty since the first day of its independence, and from then on a succession of treacherous politicians displayed uncritical servitude towards ‘Europe’, while local chieftains sacrificed national interests for personal short-term gains.<sup>644</sup> The upper-middle class had failed to form a distinct national class-identity, merely imitating European class-conduct,

---

<sup>641</sup> See for example texts on painting [“Contemporary Painting”], aesthetics [“The Greek Line”, “The Greek Colour”], calls to artists [“To our Artists, Painters, Sculptors, Architects, and Musicians”], and writings on history [“Towards the Greek Renaissance”], all published in literary journals and newspapers during his lifetime, and in collected editions posthumously: Giannopoulos, P. [1988]. *Collected Writings*. Athens: Eleftheri Skepsis; Velios, A (ed.). 1995 [2010]. *Pericles Giannopoulos*. Athens: Roes; Christakis, L. 2002. *Pericles Giannopoulos: The “Last of the Athenians*. Athens: Spilioti Publishers. [Γιαννόπουλος, Π. [1988]. *Απαντα*. Αθήνα: Ελεύθερη Σκέψη, Βέλιος, Α. [επιμ.] 1995 [2010]. *Περικλής Γιαννόπουλος*. Αθήνα: Ροές, Χρηστάκης, Α. 2002. *Περικλής Γιαννόπουλος: Ο «Τελευταίος» των Αθηναίων*. Αθήνα: Εκδόσεις Σπηλιώτη]

<sup>642</sup> Varouxakis, G. *The Idea of ‘Europe’ in Nineteenth Century Greek Political Thought*, in Carabott, Ph. (ed.) 1995. *Greece and Europe in the Modern Period: Aspects of a Troubled Relationship*. p.27

<sup>643</sup> Giannopoulos, P. (1903). *The damaged mirror*, *Noumas*, 03 April 1903, p. 2 [Γιαννόπουλος, Π. (1903). *Ο Χαλασμένος καθρέπτης*, *Νουμάς*, 03 Απριλίου 1903, σελ. 2]

<sup>644</sup> See for example the text “New Spirit” [Νέον Πνέυμα] an extensive political assessment of 19<sup>th</sup> century Greek politics, a text that is, nevertheless, a political commentary of his present time. In: Velios, A (ed.). 1995 [2010]. *Pericles Giannopoulos*, pp. 23-117

while simultaneously denouncing everything Greek- from traditions to commodities- as intrinsically inferior.<sup>645</sup>

His remedy for this misguided modern identity was resistance to the rules of the market and European taste-dictates, and a (re)turn to Greek products, equally good in quality, and aesthetically appropriate to the Greek natural environment.<sup>646</sup> His language, critical and provocative, was not overtly anti-European, for Europe was not the focus of his criticism. Rather, the anti-European rhetoric prominent in his writings stemmed from his despairing attempts to restore the value of the indigenous through an introspective comparative that in the end negated the ‘European’.<sup>647</sup> Even though most of the writings on Giannopoulos stress his anti-European attitude, based on his position in the literary debate, here the strict dichotomy between ‘Europanists’ and ‘anti-Europeanists’ will not be reproduced, since this negation of the ‘European’ was not established through specific criticism of its content and intrinsic cultural/artistic value, rather it dismissed Europe uncritically in favour of the ‘Greek’, in an ongoing debate.

Similarly for art, his aphoristic dismissal of everything ‘European’, as sad, dark, barbarous, and unfitting to the warm, bright, blue climate of Greece, was not to function as a dispassionate piece of art-criticism. Rather, it was an invitation to an unspecified collective of Greek artists to look for inspiration in their immediate natural and urban environment, in the austere lines and colours of Greek nature and Hellenic ruins, and thus to surrender themselves to the tender, comforting, and personal Nation within, which they would then instinctively reproduce in their art.<sup>648</sup>

If this particular ideologue is remembered here, instead of any other of his contemporaries, it is because his writings and his person resonated with the unresolved institutional ideological, and cultural issues of the previous century, represented in him by convulsions of literary patriotism. As fate has it, Giannopoulos

---

<sup>645</sup> Giannopoulos, P. (1903) The trend of imitating the Foreign, *Noumas*, 16 January 1903, p. 4 [Γιαννόπουλος, Π. (1903) Η Ξενομανία, *Νουμάς*, 16 Ιανουαρίου 1903, σελ. 4]

<sup>646</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>647</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>648</sup> In his text “Not Foreign”, a piece criticizing the performance of a play by Hermann Sudermann (possibly ‘Die Ehre’), Giannopoulos insists that his compatriots ought to take long walks in the nature and, even if poetry doesn’t come up to their lips naturally, they will have spent a memorable day in the open, and they will have taken care of their ‘bone marrow’ the source of “every truth, beauty, Wisdom”. See: Giannopoulos, P. (1903), Not Foreign, *Noumas*, 30 January 1903, pp. 1-2 [Γιαννόπουλος, Π. (1903), Όχι Ξένα, *Νουμάς*, 30 Ιανουαρίου 1903, σελ. 1-2]



had himself tasted the forbidden fruit of European experience in his early adult years. Son of a wealthy Greek family, he left Athens at the age of 18 to study in Paris, where for two years he neglected his studies and gained a reputation for his debauched lifestyle. Two years later, after his father's death, with no money, and a declining health due to his previous excesses, he moved to London, only to return to Athens in 1893. From these European travels he returned to Greece a devout aesthete, admirer of Oscar Wilde, and for some time he devoted his energy to translating Dickens, Poe, and Baudelaire among others, before turning to the Greek classics.<sup>649</sup> His criticism against his colleagues and more generally the Greeks who had spent time abroad was that their experiences in Europe had failed to transform them, and so they had returned to Greece not only spiritually unaltered, but also with an inferiority syndrome that made them idealise the 'European' against the 'Greek' uncritically. Giannopoulos had left Greece an impressionable boy, and returned a confused young man, with the convictions of a prophet, and the voice of a child.

The second reason this particular ideologue is remembered here is that, exactly because of the vagueness of his language, the force of his thought, his purist universal nationalism, and his bourgeois-European experiences, though controversial, his ideas were cautiously revered by part of his contemporaries. He contributed to important literary and political Athenian newspapers, his death shocked and awed society, and his ideas were picked up by succeeding nationalist artists, ideologues, and politicians, at different times during the 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>650</sup> That his rhetoric managed to remain relevant at such different times, and express such a wide palette of national ideas was the outcome of a nationalism that, in reality, identified no specific enemies, but saw instant enemies in anything and anyone that threatened its independence. Speaking in the name of the Nation itself, he identified the individual historical agents that had constrained the potential of the Greek nation since its conception – be it the well-meaning yet incompetent King Otto, the Greek bourgeoisie, the University of Athens, Greek and European historians, the Great Powers, or the Church and the artists.<sup>651</sup>

<sup>649</sup> Lazogiorgos-Ellinikos, D. (ed.) Pericles Giannopoulos: Collected Works. Vol. 1, pp. κα'-κγ (21-23). [Λαζογιώργος-Ελληνικός, Δ. [επιμ.] Περικλής Γιαννόπουλος, Άπαντα. Τόμος Α', σελ. κα'-κγ (21-23)]

<sup>650</sup> Giannopoulos' ideas on the importance of the Hellenic *topos* appear to have informed not only conservative political thought, but also futurist manifestos (1938-1948), and the idea of Neohellenism from 1938 onwards. See: Leontis, A. 1995. Topographies of Hellenism: Mapping the Homeland. pp. 117

<sup>651</sup> Especially his text 'New Spirit' reveals a person positioned at the heart of the nation and observing all the individual factors- national or international- that compromised its cultural and political development. See: 'New Spirit' in Velios, A (ed.). 1995 [2010]. Pericles Giannopoulos. pp. 23-108

Giannopoulos appears to have been a pure Romantic born out of his time, his otherwise spiritual nationalism was polluted with 19<sup>th</sup> century racial overtones that defended a transcendent ‘Greek race’, and as such shifted his scope of intellectualism, creating a hysteric nationalist rather than a modern Enlightener.

This section and chapter is devoted to two persons and an institution that represent three different outcomes of Greece’s musical adventures in westernization in the 19<sup>th</sup> century: an embodied cultural anxiety, a professional composer of the nation, and a musical establishment of expansionist cultural policy. Pericles Giannopoulos and his writings on music will be examined as a symptom of the unresolved musical and cultural issues of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, since his writings reflect the whole history of modern Greek-European musical instability in agonising prose. The young Manolis Kalomiris, father of the Greek national school of music, comes next to demonstrate the wider political and cultural mechanics that assisted his successful career as the exponent of the ‘national element’ in early 20<sup>th</sup> century Greek art music composition. In the end, the State Conservatory of Thessaloniki will conclude the chapter and thesis, as the case study of a calculated musical move of the Greek state to establish its cultural presence in the city of Thessaloniki in 1914. Apart from music, the second common denominator between these three case studies will be the diverse perceptions of ‘Europe’ and ‘European music’ that, in their entangled intellectual relationship, informed public discourse about the negative or positive effects of western music in Greece, and affected the evolution of the art.

Pericles Giannopoulos, this special ideologue, turned his attention to music five times in his career, all of which to express outrage over issues he felt particularly strongly about, yet had not studied, and for which he could only propose abstract solutions. Nevertheless, what he managed to achieve was to demonstrate through exaggeration the outcomes of the institutional shortages discussed earlier, their impact upon Greek nationalism at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and reciprocally, the impact of nationalism upon musical discourse. Due to historical circumstance and previously unresolved tension, the focal point of his patriotic musical concerns was the importance and neglected position of the Byzantine chant, and the pressing need for a ‘Greek music’ to be created and supported by a corresponding theoretical basis. As examined earlier, this phantom-limb in the corpus of Greek music, the issue of the historical bearings of

the Chant, remained unresolved, and as such subject to individual projections and prejudices, resulting in recurring cultural pain at different times in modern Greek history. At the same time, the impotence of the state to produce any official uniform ideology on music, in combination with the Conservatory's challenging beginnings, left the issue of music once again discussed only among musicians, with different tastes, educational backgrounds, and cultural convictions. Therefore, the much anticipated and celebrated inauguration of the Division of Byzantine Music at the Conservatory of Athens in 1904 exposed the vacuum for the ideological appropriation of music, and contributed to the narrative of the Greek National School of Music manifesto, as will be seen shortly.

Set against this historical, personal and musical background, the first step in Giannopoulos' musical narrative was to claim historical continuity between ancient Greek 'nation', the Chant, and modern Greek traditional music, through what he presented as an 'empirical' experiment:

- a) Upon changing a person's hat, he claimed, their cultural identity and musical taste remained, nevertheless, intact
- b) If Christian-Greeks (as opposed to the pagan Greek antiquity) wrote music, this would remain 'Greek music' despite the religious shift.

Ergo: the Greeks might have, in the course of the millennia, adopted a new religion, yet the music remained ethnically continuous.<sup>652</sup>

Simplistic and banal as the argument may appear by the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, with all the earlier debate on more or less the same issue of continuity, it still remained loyal to the essence of an ideologue's job that Giannopoulos was at the time doing; he was consciously and conscientiously filling in the gaps of musical continuity with the only means available to his profession: abstract, theoretical, reductive, quasi-philosophical, nationalistic rhetoric. With the emergence of the Division of Byzantine Music a year after this first approach on music and Greek identity, the ideologue revealed the full force of his unrestrained national insecurity, here expressed through musical agony. Rather repetitively, since this was a debate already debated between musicians, cantors, and the Orthodox Church, in the hands of nationalist ideology the issue returned to demonstrate the mechanics of inciting national propaganda.

---

<sup>652</sup> Giannopoulos, P. (1903) Byzantine on the one hand, [worthy of a] Broken nose on the other, *Noumas*, 24 April 1903, p. 2

Though this first step at institutionalising the chant in a secular institution he welcomed wholeheartedly, the Conservatory had already failed its musical mission, partly because of belated action, and partly because ‘Byzantine’ was only a fragment of the ‘Greek’ and as such it ought to have been treated as an organic part of a wider, ethnic, musical whole.<sup>653</sup> The institution was invited to complement its educational output through commissioning Greek and “even foreign” investigators to “explain, specify, and rebut the European nonsense and ignorance” regarding the issue of continuity in Greek music.<sup>654</sup> As seen earlier, the academic debate over the continuity of the Greek “race”- let alone Greek music- was one that defined 19<sup>th</sup> century Greek historiography and nation building. It remained relevant at the time, and now the Ideologue was inviting a similar process for music history. Through this process, the writer continued, musical continuity would be revealed and established, calling again for history to construct the retroactive discourse that would justify the present.

Here, recalling the cunningly similar earlier cries for a ‘Fortress of History’ to reify the importance of the Chant demonstrates how music history can become an integral part of nationalist histories, through creating local dormant ‘sockets’ of nationalism with the potential to be employed for wider nationalist legitimacy at any instance of nationalist upheaval. The notion of ‘sockets’ of nationalism is constructed in relation to the dynamic and organic evolution of nationalism through its agents, repetitive performative acts, and symbols. It is borrowed from Randall Collins’ approach to “balloons” and “time-bubbles” of nationalism, two concepts he uses to visualize what he describes as “capsules of collectively experienced time” enacted through active symbols that create shared emotional nationalist response.<sup>655</sup> With the ‘Fortress of History’ reappearing or alluded to at different historical times in relation to the defence of indigenous music in Greece, it appears as a constant symbol of national meaning that denoted specific cultural resistance.

---

<sup>653</sup> ‘Ethnic’ as in integral to the ethnic group rather than the western [often derogatory] musicological designation of local non-western musics as ‘ethnic’. See: Giannopoulos, P. (1904) And what about Greek music?, *To Asty*, 18 July 1904, p. 1 [Γιαννόπουλος, Π. (1904) Και περι ελληνικής μουσικής τιποτέ:, *Το Άστυ*, 18 Ιουλίου 1904, σελ. 1]

<sup>654</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>655</sup> Collins, R. ‘Time-Bubbles of nationalism: Dynamics of solidarity ritual and lived time’, in Tsang, R. Woods, E.T (eds.) 2014. *The cultural politics of nationalism and nation-building: Ritual and Performance in the forging of nations*, pp. 53-54

The second part of Giannopoulos' full manifesto and vision for a 'Greek music' was published a week later in the same newspaper, it built upon his previous exploratory identification of the musical problem, i.e. the triptych of Conservatory- Chant-National music history, and it was concluded in a further two parts.<sup>656</sup> This second part is perhaps the most ideologically charged piece he wrote on the issue, and exposed the indignation of the nationalist part of the intelligentsia, keen to nurture a strong national Ego, here against the windmills of European musical tradition. To demonstrate how, by combining form and content, Giannopoulos communicated pure nationalistic language in this particular piece, the opening theses of this 'manifesto' read as follows:

“[Title] Greek Music Forward!

We want Greek music. Firstly, because that is what we desire. Secondly, because that is what we ought to desire. Thirdly, because we are free to create whatever we desire. Fourthly, because we have equal rights to creation with the rest of the people. Fifth, because as we desire [to own] our own material possessions, and land, likewise we desire [our own] music. Tenth, because it is logical and necessary. Hundredth, because we are not mentally retarded. Millionth, because an ethnos [ethnic group/nation] without music is BARBARIC. Billionth, because Greece without the arts is not Greece. [...],’<sup>657</sup>

Connecting his person with the collective, Giannopoulos became for a moment the voice of that unsatisfied element of the national ego that fed off of reductive assessments of complex processes and socio-cultural negotiations. Structuring his argument in the style of a purportedly infinite sequence of logical propositions, culminating in the thesis-proposition that 'Greece' and 'the arts' have an intrinsic bond, he justified the premises of his false attempt at logic through the outcome, and vice versa. Upon these false premises that remained, nevertheless, loyal to the 19<sup>th</sup> century narrative of a quintessentially artistic Greek “spirit”, as seen in the Second Story, he then proceeded to demand that institution fit the narrative, i.e. that the Conservatory ought to fulfil the omen of uninterrupted continuity by becoming

<sup>656</sup> Giannopoulos, G. (1904) Greek Music Forward!, in four parts and an amendment, published in the Newspaper *To Asty* [Το Άστυ], issues: 5209, 5216, 5218, 5219 and 5220

<sup>657</sup> Giannopoulos, P. (1904) Greek Music Forward!, part A', *To Asty*, 25 July 1904, p. 1 [Γιαννόπουλος, Π. (1904) Ελληνικήν Μουσικήν Εμπρός!, *Το Άστυ*, 25 Ιουλίου 1904, σελ. 1]

a true national ‘Ὀδείον’, rather than remaining an ‘Odéon’ [in Latin in the original] that at the time it presumably was.<sup>658</sup> The word Ὀδείον [phonetically ‘Odion’= Conservatory] is a synonym, and direct root of the word Odéon. Here, Giannopoulos utilised a powerfully economical transliteration/translation to demonstrate the dual root of the problem. While the Conservatory was fulfilling its duty as a European institution, it was, nevertheless failing its Greek one, the rightful claimant of the concept’s heritage (and word).

Having established that the Conservatory was failing its national duty, Giannopoulos made two further claims within his ‘manifesto’, both of which were very much in tune with his times and spirit. Firstly, he acknowledged the elephant in the room of 19<sup>th</sup> century Greek historiography, namely the unresolved issue of the Byzantine era in regards to its role to the preservation, destruction, or alteration of the ‘Greek race’. For Giannopoulos the issue was simple; true to his earlier experimental approach over musical continuity, he remained convinced that not only ‘national soul’ proved continuity when historical evolution suggested at least alteration, but also this constructed continuity was suggested as proof.<sup>659</sup> Seen through music, an allusive approach that alleviated the pains of having to produce hard ‘facts’ but succumbed to the reduction of music into an elusive, sentimental outcome of the human ‘psyche’, he rendered the historical debates over continuity or change irrelevant in view of his ‘proof’ of a spiritual, timeless musical connection via folk music. Concluding his attack against intellectual debate over musical continuity, and before proceeding to blame the participants of such debates of lazy anti-intellectualism, he brought ‘Europe’ into the picture and posed ‘it’ as the external threat that was forcing a false Europeanization of Greek music, by satirising the assets of modernisation it purported to be bringing to the country. “And even the demotic muse, the only one bearing some value, has to be completely Europeanised to be regarded sufferable. But what does Greek music mean; all humanity is one; all music is one; but progress; civilisation; evolution; Europe; Wagner sir...” he exclaimed, bringing together hastily and in parody all the elements of cultural debates past, all the tokens of Greece’s gradual modernisation,

---

<sup>658</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>659</sup> Giannopoulos, P. (1904) Greek Music Forward!, part A’, *To Asty*, 25 July 1904, p. 1

all brought together in a cultural comment in response to Wagner's recent groundbreaking musical Modernism.<sup>660</sup>

Giannopoulos' evocation of Wagner at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century reveals a significant aspect of the country's relationship to Europe at the time, and one that would inform not only this specific ideologue's musical arguments, but also the wider placement of music within the Nation. With modernity comprising of two antithetical dialectical strands of approaching the 'modern', namely a 'modernist' vision of progress and change, and an 'anti-modern' traditionalist, conservative approach that looked to the past as a means to the future, the Greek approach to the modern national self at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century appears to have expressed itself in the vocabulary of endorsing or resisting the country's force of modernisation, Europe.<sup>661</sup> Considering that for a significant part of the non-Western world 'modernisation' denotes political, financial, and cultural 'westernisation' and 'Europeanisation', then Giannopoulos' writings could be considered the early anti-modernist criticism of a nationalist ideologue, a modernism that in the Greek arts was very far from developing into a full-blown movement.<sup>662</sup> How Giannopoulos became a conveyor of anti-modernist ideas before modernism, and how, in his inability to handle such complex historical matters he reverted to nationalism, is part of his wider intellectual environment, namely the turn-of-the-century debate on the appropriate form of the modern Greek language and literature, as well as the popularity of anti-modernist ideas, popular among the conservative intellectual circles at the time. In the linguistic debate, Giannopoulos found himself with the anti-Europeanists, a group of traditionalist intellectuals that resisted the importation of European literary trends and forms, in favour of traditional 'native' literary style, and pseudo-archaic Greek language that mostly imitated ancient Greek.<sup>663</sup>

<sup>660</sup> For Wagner's groundbreaking musical Modernism see: Sadie, St. (ed.), 2001 [2nd ed.] *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. Vol. 16. Entry "Modernism", p. 868

<sup>661</sup> For Modernity's double modernist manifestations as expressed in the West see: Calinescu, M. 1987. *Five Faces of Modernity: Modernism, Avant-Garde, Decadence, Kitsch, Postmodernism*. pp. 41-58

<sup>662</sup> Hall, St. 'The west and the rest: discourse and power', in Hall, St., Held, D., McGrew, T. 1992. *Formations of Modernity*, pp. 276-278

<sup>663</sup> Dounia, Ch. 'Pericles Giannopoulos: from European aestheticism to the Greek-centric aesthetics', in Kaklamanis, St., Kalokerinos, A., Palichronakis, D. (eds.) 2015. *Logos and Time in modern Greek literature (18<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> century): Proceedings from a conference honouring Alexis Politis*, p. 782 [Ντουνιά, Χρ. 'Περικλής Γιαννόπουλος: Από τον Ευρωπαϊκό αισθητισμό στην ελληνοκεντρική αισθητική.', στο Κακλαμάνης, Στ., Καλοκαιρινός, Α., Πολυχρονάκης, Δ. (επιμ.) 2015. *Λόγος και χρόνος στη νεοελληνική γραμματεία (18<sup>ος</sup>-19<sup>ος</sup> αιώνας): Πρακτικά Συνεδρίου προς τιμήν του Αλέξη Πολίτη*, σελ. 782.]

Though loosely teamed with the ‘anti-Europeanists’ and ‘nativists’ in this debate, here Giannopoulos will rather be regarded as ‘anti-modernist’ in this current discussion about the relationship between modernisation, traditionalism, and Europe, as labelling him simply ‘anti-European’ conceals a large part of the challenges the nation faced in regards to its music. In the array of horizontal (spatial-national) and vertical (historical) European Modernities/modernisms, Giannopoulos was prematurely groping for a Greek variant of national modernity that would employ elements of the past and present, to interpret his distinctively ‘modern’ cultural state. Similarly to the Baudelairean investigation into the *modern* in painting as that moment that elevated the mundane, transitory human experience into a universal, transcendental truth, Giannopoulos’ naturalist approach to art and his turn to tradition for music was tapping into a similar sentiment for his own investigation into the future of Greek art.<sup>664</sup> The echoes of Baudelaire’s thinking and their adaptation to the Greek reality can be attributed to the years he spent in Paris and London, and the modernist translations into Greek he produced after he was repatriated. His anti-modernist attitude, on the other hand, is connected to the influence of the *Action française* (Paris, 1890), as well as the writings of the Austrian writer Max Nordau. Nordau wrote vehemently against the Decadent Movement, and his translated works polarised the Athenian intellectual circles from 1897 onwards, at a time and debate coinciding with Giannopoulos’ turn to anti-modernism and Greek nationalist aesthetics.<sup>665</sup>

And while off the mark when compared to normative central European musical Modernisms, ever diverse in their local/national variants, hardly synchronised, stylistically fragmented, and without a common manifesto, yet ascribing to a set of revolutionary aesthetic and ideological ideals that distinguished them from previous musical practice, the institutional instability of a still modernising country resulted in a local Balkan anti-modernist variant, intimately connected to nationalism. This local variant would express its aspirations over modern Greek identity in regards to the position of the country in relation to Europe. Within this theoretical framework,

---

<sup>664</sup> Here specifically referring to Baudelaire’s *The Painter of Modern Life*. Charvet, P.E. 1972. Charles Baudelaire: Selected Writings on Art and Literature. p. 402-403

<sup>665</sup> For Nordau’s writings, their influence upon Greek literary debates, and Giannopoulos’ conservative turn see: Dounia, Ch. ‘Pericles Giannopoulos: from European aestheticism to the Greek-centric aesthetics’, in Kaklamanis, St., Kalokerinos, A., Palichronakis, D. (eds.) 2015. *Logos and Time in modern Greek literature (18<sup>th</sup>- 19<sup>th</sup> century)*, pp. 779-781



the literary cries of Giannopoulos for a music that would employ tradition- the chant and folk song- to give the Greek nation a confident, independent, modern identity based on the appreciation of the music of the Church and people, reveals a set of important observations concerning the form of early Balkan-Greek modernist ideas. It also demonstrates the deep disconnection between intelligentsia, institutions, state, and society, as well as the relationship between nationalism and modernism- at least in the Balkan case.

While canonical Greek modernism in music, painting, architecture, and literature has been placed around the 1930s, a set of observations allow for a speculative approach to a potential proto-modernism at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, that surely did not result in a wider movement, yet it introduced ideas and forms that would evolve later on in the century. In the case of literature, for example, an art intimately connected to music, even though the ‘Generation of the Thirties’ (1930s) has been recognised as the movement that represents the pinnacle of Greek literary modernism, contemporary literary criticism has suggested a theoretical break between this set of modernists and an earlier ‘avant-garde’ of surrealist, and early modernist poets and authors.<sup>666</sup> At the same time, it has been recently noted that the canonical representatives of Greek literary modernism (1930s) appear to have employed aesthetic naturalist notions similar to those of Giannopoulos, and do not appear to have introduced radically new ideas. The point here is not to reposition them in relation to a potentially earlier modernism, but rather to ponder the importance of these early modernist individuals of the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, contextualise them within their romantic nationalist cultural/political setting, and assess their contribution to the national debate of a modern Greek identity.<sup>667</sup> What is particularly important in this revisionist approach to literary modernism, is that it is substantiating its claim through acknowledging the importance of the evolving Athenian metropolis, the economic modernisation of the 1870s, the rise of the middle class, as well as the introduction of daily newspapers and periodicals, and the subsequent impressive increase in press circulation.<sup>668</sup> And if we accept that the

---

<sup>666</sup> Tziouvas, D. ‘Introduction’, in Tziouvas, D (ed.) 1997. *Greek Modernism and Beyond*. p. 4

<sup>667</sup> Leontis, A. 1995. *Topographies of Hellenism: Mapping the Homeland*. pp. 124-125, 128

<sup>668</sup> Michalis Chryssanthopoulos, though skeptical of Tziouvas’ break between ‘avant-garde’ and ‘modernists’, is identifying ‘elements of modernity’ in Mihail Mitsaki’s 1890 novel ‘The Wall’, while at the same time associating the evolution of prose fiction at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century with a new approach to geography and history, intimately connected to the modernizing Athenian society as described above. See: Chryssanthopoulos, M.

notion of ‘modernity’, as outlined in contemporary sociological work, is not only defined by its tangible cultural products, but also by the placement of its exponents within their respective societies and their critique thereof, then Giannopoulos’ work and his position towards a changing society in a rapidly modernising world, could be considered one of an early anti-modern modernist without a movement to reify his claims.<sup>669</sup>

With this proto-modernism looming over his head, and pouring out of his writings, Giannopoulos’ take on modern Greek music has a lot to teach in regards to his nationalism, through and beyond his *modern*. Ardently nationalist, as evident from his participation in the linguistic debate, his divergence from normative musical nationalism becomes visible when compared with other earlier and contemporary takes on the relationship between nation and its music, both in Greece and in the rest of Europe. For the latter, Mr. Wagner, the perpetrator of the wider European debate on national musics, had already written extensively on the resilience of the German racial ‘Spirit’, faced with ethnic, religious, and cultural threats throughout the centuries, and its survival partly through the music of J.S. Bach, Mozart, and Beethoven.<sup>670</sup> Especially for Bach, “[himself] the history of the German spirit’s inmost life throughout the gruesome century of the German Folk’s complete extinction” Wagner reserved the outmost reverence for embodying, preserving, and reproducing the ‘spirit’ even at times when German princes were succumbing to Italian operas.<sup>671</sup> Earlier in the century (1850), he had already started looking for the appropriate ‘modern’ in artistic practice, arguing that, because *Climate* and *Nature* are intrinsically connected to art, the moderns ought to trust the art of the Folk and rediscover the value of the natural environment instead of blindly reproducing Hellenistic art, a *historical* artistic heritage, born out of a completely different relationship between Man and his natural surroundings, and handed down to the moderns as a colourless abstraction, devoid of its original organic connection

---

‘Anticipating Modernism: Constructing a Genre, a Past, and a Place’, in Tziouvas, D. (ed.) 1997. *Greek Modernism and Beyond*. pp. 62-63, 66-69.

<sup>669</sup> Raymond Williams specifically speaks of the ‘location’ of the artists and intellectuals within their changing metropolises as a characteristic of this renegotiation within the cultural milieu. See: Williams, R. 2007[1989]. *Politics of Modernism: Against the new conformists*. p. 44

<sup>670</sup> The specific text was written in 1865, and the chapter in reference is titled “What is German”, see: Ellis, W. A. [trans] 1895. *Richard Wagner’s Prose Works*. Vol. IV. *Art and Politics*. pp. 151-189

<sup>671</sup> *ibid.* p. 162-163

with nature.<sup>672</sup> Though accused of aggressive nationalism for these writings, Carl Dahlhaus argued that in his mid-century writings Wagner still regarded the ‘national’, ‘historical’ and ‘conventional’ as contrary to his ‘natural’ and ‘original’, a fact that underlines the political and social consequences of nationalist language springing out of modernist ideas on music, as well as the mutually constructing outcomes for both nationalism and national music.<sup>673</sup>

Wagner’s militant vision of a modern German music created, as seen earlier, a wave of national schools of music all over the continent, employing similar vocabularies, yet naturally diverging in terms of musical style. At the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, for example, Vaughan Williams was observing that, as evident by the recent popularity of English composers, England was not an ‘unmusical nation’ as assumed due to the 19<sup>th</sup> century predominance of imported continental music. English music was not “dead, but only dormant, and the question [had been], how to re-awaken it”.<sup>674</sup> With Victorian England looking for a national school of music since the 1870s when the Revd H.R. Haweis defended the moral aspect of music and called for the nation to find its own music “with a tone and temper expressive of England”. While acknowledging the importance and value of Mendelssohn, the tension between national output and transnational musical exchange was increasingly creating debate on the relationship of music to native national experience.<sup>675</sup> As appears to have been a uniform trend in 19<sup>th</sup> century European debates on the relationship between national and universal, Vaughan Williams assumed a conciliatory stance between the two.<sup>676</sup> While in defence of the national, he, himself, evoked John [sic] Sebastian Bach as an example of a universal musical genius that remained, nevertheless, a product of the soil that moulded him, thus proving that the national in music did not necessarily limit good music’s inherent

---

<sup>672</sup> Ellis, W. A. [trans] 1892. Richard Wagner’s Prose Works. Vol. I. The Art-Work of the future. pp. 251-265, esp. 255-258

<sup>673</sup> Dahlhaus, C. 1980. Between Romanticism and Modernism. p. 83

<sup>674</sup> Vaughan Williams, R. A School of English Music. *The Vocalist*, 1/1 (1902), 8. Reproduced in: Manning, D. 2007. Vaughan Williams on Music. pp. 17-18

<sup>675</sup> For Haweis’ *Music and Morals* [1870], as well as Mendelssohn’s popularity with the middle class and especially the Prince Consort and Queen Victoria, in an evolving musical society see: Hughes, M., Strandling, R. 2001 [2<sup>nd</sup> ed.] *The English Musical Renaissance 1840-1940: constructing a national music*. pp. 6-16

<sup>676</sup> While Dahlhaus recognizes this 19<sup>th</sup> century pattern of regarding the universal and national not mutually exclusive, contemporary musicology identifies within this universalism a suggestion of national superiority because of the said universalism. See respectively: Dahlhaus, C. 1980. Between Romanticism and Modernism. p. 84; Applegate, C. How German is it? Nationalism and the Idea of Serious Music in the early nineteenth century. *19<sup>th</sup>-Century Music*, 21:3, p. 277

internationalism.<sup>677</sup> For him, nation, race, society, and art were intimately connected, and the latter ought to reproduce the experience of the national being, with folk song playing a central role in the outcome.<sup>678</sup>

In the case of Greece, and with the previous debate over the connection between traditional/folk music and the chant unresolved, the issue of national music beyond the bosom of the church remained a hot topic that would only find a partial solution when Greece finally formed its own national school of music in 1908. Until then, the discussion on the national in music appears to have followed the norm that had been giving birth to national schools of music since the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century. When in 1901, for example, the composer George Lambelet published his article *National Music*, a musicological study of the ancient Greek scales, their connection to traditional Greek song, and an analysis of Ducoudray's transcription of Greek song in western notation, he concluded that it was feasible for Greek composers to harmonise the otherwise monophonic folk music without distorting its spirit.<sup>679</sup> The most patriotic and creative thing for Greek composers to do, he concluded, would be to apply polyphony through the techniques of counterpoint and fugue upon traditional Greek song, and thus create the "true national music of the future".<sup>680</sup>

Evidently, musical approaches to modernity and modern musical practice diverged according to personal convictions, cultural backgrounds, and hopes for one or the other national future. This resulted in either 'progressive' national musical visions, such as Wagner's, or more conservative national traditionalism. And within this setting, Giannopoulos' vision remained true to a nativist version of modern Greek national music close to that of Wagner and Vaughan Williams, embracing both in a transnational agreement of nationalism, and rejecting them out of national necessity to fulfil his vision. Giannopoulos' modernity, similar to Wagner's, naturalistic and national had to, nevertheless, denounce the likes of Wagner to remain true. Hence, the purportedly anti-European claim of modernity, that dismissed those who believed that a national modern Greek music based on traditional and Byzantine

---

<sup>677</sup> Vaughan Williams, R. 1963. *National Music and other essays*. p. 2

<sup>678</sup> Vaughan Williams, R. *British Music. The Music Student*, 7/1-4 (1914). Reproduced in: Manning, D. 2007. *Vaughan Williams on Music*. pp. 43-46

<sup>679</sup> Lambelet, G. (1901) *National Music. Panathinea*, 30 November 1901, p. 131 [Λαμπελέτ, Γ. (1901) Η Εθνική Μουσική. *Παναθήναια*, 30 Νοεμβρίου 1901, σελ. 131]

<sup>680</sup> *ibid.*

music would make “[...] Wagner’s shadow bark”, as he noted humorously against the snobs who supported the inherent superiority of western art music.<sup>681</sup> By theoretical standards, Giannopoulos could have been combining in him Modernity’s two opposing strands, modernism and anti-modernism. While looking to the future by asking for a modern identity, he was seeing traditionalism as the means of this modern identity. As such, his confused search for a healthy relationship between local identity and the transnational influences of modernity were translated into anguished nationalism against the abstract construct of ‘Europe’.

Within this nightmare of defending the local against the artistic infiltration of ‘Europe’, Giannopoulos resorted to suggesting the value of the indigenous hero. If all discourses have at one time or another to personify their claim through evoking a particular symbol, for our ideologue this person was- again- drawn out of the ghost of the past musical debate. Ioannis Sakellaridis, the cantor and music teacher active in the previous debate on the Byzantine chant, and at the time teacher at the Division of Byzantine music at the Conservatory of Athens, became the exemplary figure through which a health relationship between the ‘national’ and the ‘European’, the traditional and the modern, was demonstrated.<sup>682</sup>

Raised to musical martyrdom because of the scornful dismissal of Byzantine music as a lesser genre among equals, Giannopoulos used the cantor to demonstrate society’s failure to accept the chant as a form of art music itself, again pointing a finger against the purported superiority of ‘European civilisation’, ‘progress’, and in this case music, that undermined the work of a musician praising God while supporting secular entertainment based on everyday themes, or what Giannopoulos charmingly branded “the praiser of a seamstress”.<sup>683</sup> As is becoming increasingly visible, if there is a common pattern emerging out of all musical debates and discussions, consistent with the wider cultural struggles of 19<sup>th</sup> century Greece, here again secular ‘European’ modernity, was creating pangs of anxiety about the declining ‘Greek’ culture, in this instance attuned to ‘Orthodox Christian’ ethics.

---

<sup>681</sup> Giannopoulos, P. (1904) Greek Music Forward!, part B’, *To Asty*, 27 July 1904, p. 1 [Γιαννόπουλος, Π. (1904) Ελληνικήν Μουσικήν Εμπρός!, *Το Αστυ*, 27 Ιουλίου 1904, σελ. 1].

<sup>682</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>683</sup> *ibid.*

In his last piece on music Giannopoulos concluded his vision by bringing together all the elements that would in the end result in a truly healthy ‘national music’. Quietly and moderately, he argued, the good cantor had instructed his children in both musical traditions, the Chant and western music, and then he sent them off to Germany to expand their musical knowledge. After concluding their studies, and in their turn spreading Byzantine music to the West, they returned to Greece to compose.<sup>684</sup> What the country was missing was good education, strong national-confidence to save it from European mimicry, a grasp of its multi-glorious pasts, and in the case of music, the collective collaboration of all musicians –regardless of musical affiliation- for the construction of a solid *national musical ideology*.<sup>685</sup> Universalist in his nationalism, Giannopoulos would close his piece by urging the Greek musicians and music scholars to realise that the issue of a Greek music was not a matter of distinction between *Pa Vou Ga Di Ke Zo Ni* [πΑ Βου Γα Δη κΕ Ζω Νη: the Byzantine scale] or *do re mi fa*, not a problem of translation or musical language, but rather the ability of the Greeks to express their *inner spirit* in music, regardless of musical alphabet.<sup>686</sup>

That the ideologue’s problem was in the end not the *condition of music* or the *condition of culture* and *the arts*, but rather the general cultural *condition* of his nation in modernity can possibly be verified by the fact that, even though at the time Greek nationalism was alive with irredentism and dreams of rebirth, this was not enough to keep alive and hopeful. Musical impurity was only a symptom of what he understood as a declining culture, and external European influence upon the said music proved his prejudice. Before he departed this world in the hope of eternal Hellenism in 1910, an important musical development does not appear to have eased his musical pain. In 1908 the Greek national school of music was inaugurated to unite the indigenous sound with the foreign, a fact that did not move him enough to write about it. But then again, as the title of the chapter suggests, this is the story of music’s position within Nationalism, preoccupied with how music represented the nation, while the quality and the evolution of the art itself remained irrelevant to nationalist ideology. As for its complementary opposite, nationalism in

---

<sup>684</sup> Giannopoulos, P. (1904) Greek Music Forward!, part C’, *To Asty*, 28 July 1904, p. 1 [Γιαννόπουλος, Π. (1904) Ελληνικήν Μουσικήν Εμπρός!, *Το Αστν*, 28 Ιουλίου 1904, σελ. 1].

<sup>685</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>686</sup> *ibid.*

musical practice, words notes and institutions established in Greece a school of musical style to give the nation the art music it so desired.

In the next section, Giannopoulos' pangs of musical indignation materialised in creative practice by Manolis Kalomiris; a young Greek composer from Smyrna who actively worked to incorporate traditional music into his own art music. Kalomiris' active participation in the linguistic debate, as well as his domineering nationalist musical narrative legitimised his claims as bringing forward a national musical revolution for Greece, and as such established him as an authoritative figure and arbitrator of musical taste.

### *The man who grew to be an Institution*

<p><b>ΣΤΟ ΜΟΥΣΙΚΟ ΜΑΝΟΛΗ ΚΑΛΟΜΟΙΡΗ</b></p> <p>Γιά σου, Καλέ, χαρά σου! Σά ροδοχάραμα τὸ μὴνημά σου, σά ροδοχάραμα καὶ ἡ νέα σου θωμά, χάραμα, ξάφτισμα γοργό, κι ἄ: πᾶη ἀγάλα [ἀγάλα.]</p> <p>Στὴ γῆ τὴ μυριολόξαση, τὴν κωταρημισμένη κι ἀπὸ τὰ ἀνήμερα θεριά κι ἀπὸ τὰκάδατα τσακάλια, στὴ γῆ ποὺ πάντα εἶναι τὸ φῶς καὶ πάντα [κ' ἡ Ἄρμονία, καλῶς ἤρθες: γιά σου, Καλέ, χαρά σου! Τοῦ πλάστη ὁ φωτιστέφανος τριγύρο στά [μαλλιά σου τᾶδολα νᾶτα σου ἱερὰ τὰ δείχνει, καὶ τὰγιάζει, τῶν κοράκιων τὸ κρὰ μὴ σὲ τρομάζει.]</p> <p>Μ' ἴσένα πᾶλαγο ὀρθῆμος, μ' ἴσὲ καρὰβι ὁ στίχος Γιά κᾶμε, πρωτοδοβλεττο: ὁ μέγα: ἄβλος Ἦχος ἀπὸ τὰ χέρια σου, στὴ γῆ τὴ μυριοδοξασμένη νὰ πᾶρη σᾶρκα καὶ νὰ πᾶη καὶ σᾶισα νὰ [χτυπήση]</p> <p>μὲ τὸ κεφάλι τᾶρχαγγελικό: Ἦχος καὶ Στίχος τὸ παλιὸ νὰ ἐναγίνουιν ταίρι μὲ μᾶ κωνοῦρια δεμῆ. — Σὲ βλέπω, ἀργοῦνόνεσαι, παλάτι μουνοικό! — Ἦρα καλὴ κι ὄρα ἀγαθὴ. Γιά σου, Καλέ, χαρά σου!</p> <p>8 τοῦ Θεμιστῆ ΚΩΣΤΗΣ ΠΑΛΑΜΑΣ</p>	<p><b>To the musician Manolis Kalomiris</b></p> <p>Hello and prosper Fine man! your tidings like the rising sun, the rising sun in your face of youth, breaking dawn, an unexpected urging call, that yet invites us gently.</p> <p>Upon this land of a million songs, the land that has been ravaged by wild beasts, by foul wolves, eternal land of harmony and light, welcome; Hello and prosper Fine man!</p> <p>Your righteous youth is holy and blessed, God's halo around your hair, beware of crows overhead, but never take a scare.</p> <p>A sea of rhythms you profess, the verse becomes a vessel. And in the land of a million songs make the ethereal Sound, still raw in your hands, to take flesh, and in the stars to bounce upon the holy Angels' ears.</p> <p>The old allies of Sound and Verse, fresh force will reunite. - I see you emerging, oh palace of music!- May your days be blessed and lucky. Hello and prosper!</p>
--	---

Poem by poet Kostas Palamas, dedicated to composer Manolis Kalomiris, and published in the newspaper *Noumas*, a few days after the latter's concert at the Conservatory of Athens in June 1908.<sup>687</sup>

<sup>687</sup> Translation by the author, rhyming in the original is irregular, so please bear with the seemingly absurd translation. See: Palamas, K. (1908) To the musician Manolis Kalomiris. *Noumas*, 15 June 1908, p.1 [Παλαμάς, Κ. (1908). Στο μουσικό Μανόλη Καλομοίρη. *Νουμάς*, 15 Ιουνίου 1908, σελ. 1]

A few days after the concert featuring the programme-manifesto, the national institution of literature, represented by prominent poet Kostis Palamas, embraced its newly adopted musical brother, enlisting him in a common fight to provide nation and people with a fresh set of languages: a simplified written language for all, and a musical language expressing all. As the poem clearly depicts the father of the Greek national school of music made an appearance in the musical scene of Athens with an artistic programme to support a truly Greek musical idiom, and forge an alliance with the progressive section of the linguistic debate. Especially through his position in the linguistic debate, the young composer Manolis Kalomiris -25 years old at the time- would secure for himself the role of the defender of a Greek musical idiom for the many, a subsidiary to the linguistic fight for a form of modern Greek accessible to the many, and thus relate his cause to the wider discussion about the connection between *language* and *the people*. From this position the young man would manage to dominate, and to a large degree regulate, the Greek art music scene until his death in 1962, and affect its 20<sup>th</sup> century evolution to an unprecedented degree.

A few days before the concert featuring the programme-manifesto, Manolis Kalomiris had taken to the press to initiate his audience to his ideas of what a Greek national musical idiom would entail, why it was necessary, and missed. True, in the end his description of the process of creating a ‘national music’ resembled standard general compositional practice (as one can imagine it occurs), but by placing ‘nation’ in the place of general subject matter, he gave his idea a twist that in words appeared to propose compositional innovation. For nations such as the Greeks, mostly following behind the European nations, a national musical idiom would take the ‘pure’ traditional songs as its basic subject matter and ‘adorn’ them with the “technical means of the musically advanced countries”, here referring to Germany, France, Russia, and Norway.<sup>688</sup> It is worth noting at this point that Russia and Norway are among the countries that in the later 19<sup>th</sup> century developed their own national schools of music for more or less the same reasons- i.e. to distinguish the local from the international- and the fact that Kalomiris included them in the same list with Germany is very telling in regards to his musical influences when it came to other national schools of music on the continent. Immersed in the Germanic musical

---

<sup>688</sup> Kalomiris, M. (1908) A few words. *Noumas*, 08 June 1908, p. 4 [Καλομοίρης, Μ. (1908). Λίγα Λόγια. *Νουμάς*, 15 Ιουνίου 1908, σελ. 4]



education, and with a deep respect for Wagner, Kalomiris first came to contact with the Russian national school of music in Vienna, and became convinced after their example that he ought to draw his source-material from his personal sense of identity and race, rather than adhering to the stylistic or aesthetic dictates of existing schools of music.<sup>689</sup>

His attempt at sharing this personal musical experience and inspiration through text resulted in this article dense with rhetoric and somewhat vague in practical musical suggestions- if ever his intentions were not to make an extra-musical statement. The composer, in an attempt to articulate how the idea of nation could transform into inspiration and materialize into a score, suggested that the musical national idiom wasn't necessarily something that ought to feature prominently in every composition.<sup>690</sup> As he understood it, a composer could always choose to draw his material from the “national Muse”, international issues, or the “foreign [musical] Artisan”, with the idiom present only in spirit. This distinction between the “national Muse” and the “foreign Artisan” was very clever in terms of narrative, since it allowed him to overcome the problem of European instrumentation and technique, and national subject matter, thus normalizing a fundamental problem in the Greek musical imagination: namely the conceptually difficult association of local Balkan music and central-European musical tradition.

As in music so in life, the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century found the national musical front divided into two opposing fractions: the Europeanist supporters of western art music and a Hellenistic past for the nation, and the defenders of the indigenous, looking back to the Byzantium and as such to the chant and traditional music.<sup>691</sup> Within the two blocks, further fragmentation resulted in the subdivision of the orientalist into polyphonic modernists and monophonic traditionalists, as seen previously, while in the western block the musical world was subdivided into supporters of ‘light entertainment’ (the operetta for example) and ‘serious music’ (the Germanic orchestral tradition).<sup>692</sup> Kalomiris would find himself aligning with

---

<sup>689</sup> Excerpt from Kalomiris' memoir, cited in: Romanou, K. 2006. Greek art music in the Modern times. p. 159

<sup>690</sup> Kalomiris, M. (1908) A few words. *Noumas*, 08 June 1908, p. 4

<sup>691</sup> Tsetsos, M. 2011. Nationalism and Populism in modern Greek music: Political aspects of a cultural divergence. p. 68 [Τσέτσος, Μ. 2011. Εθνικισμός και Λαϊκισμός στη νεοελληνική μουσική: Πολιτικές όψεις μιας πολιτισμικής απόκλισης. σελ. 68]

<sup>692</sup> *ibid.* p. 69-70

the orientalists, not only as evident from his musical choices, but also from his participation in the linguistic debate. Yet, his personal training in the western idiom, his studies in Vienna, and work in Kharkov before moving to Athens would in essence make him the conciliatory link between the two polar ideologies: the father of a national school of music writing in a western idiom about the ‘Eastern soul’. His personal ideology in regards to the nature of nationalism, a Greekness that was not threatened by western musical form as long as it resided solidly in the creator’s soul, became the basis of his professional musical ideology.<sup>693</sup> This concoction, apart from a personal belief, was also an intellectual necessity for a composer who had chosen to incorporate traditional music in his compositions at a time when such choice was regarded with suspicion by both strands competing to prove Greece eastern or western: on the one hand the Europeanists opposed folk elements in western music as a sign of a people that still showcased Asian/Eastern cultural characteristics, and on the other hand the defenders of tradition who dreaded a local music infected with western-European elements.<sup>694</sup>

He himself, he announced, rather worked with elements of folk style, rhythm and scales, and avoided outright musical quotations. As an example of the general practice he used the Russian case, his personal inspiration, where composers such as Rubinstein and Tchaikovsky used folk elements in their compositions yet were not considered “truly national musicians” at the time, in contrast to composers such as Glinka, Rimsky-Korsakov, Mussorgsky, Borodin and others, whose music did not include traditional elements but had a “national soul”.<sup>695</sup> This early proclamation of musical stylistic allegiance, in combination with his otherwise general reverence for the prominent French and German composers of his time, positioned him opposite the Ionian composers representing the Italian school of music in Greece, an aesthetic preference that would have significant impact not only upon his own career but also

---

<sup>693</sup> For Kalomiris’ irrational evocation of “soul” and “inspiration”, and their positioning within Kalomiris’ musical ideology see: *ibid.* p. 74-75

<sup>694</sup> Maliaras, N. 2001. Greek traditional song in the music of Manolis Kalomiris. p. 13 [Μαλιάρας, Ν. 2001. Το ελληνικό Δημοτικό τραγούδι στη μουσική του Μανώλη Καλομοίρη. σελ. 13]

<sup>695</sup> Kalomiris was here referring to “the Five” or “the Mighty Handful” of Russian music- C. Cui, A. P. Borodin, M. A. Balakirev, M. P. Mussorgsky, and N. A. Rimsky-Korsakov- a group of musicians that, following M. Glinka’s steps, formed in 1875 the Russian national school of music. See: Apel, W. (ed.)1970 (2nd ed.) Harvard Dictionary of Music. Entry: “Five, the”, p. 317; Sadie, S. (ed.) The new Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians. (2nd ed) Vol 8: Egypt to Flor. Entry: “Five, the” p. 913

upon the development of the musical outlook of the country for the rest of the century.<sup>696</sup>

For the end, this young father of a national music kept two important assets of audience engagement: a strong illustration and the association of his cause with a wider national cause. Starting from illustration, after all these years of hearing about the ‘Fortress of [music and other] History’, the audience was finally informed about what this fortress would be defending. The purpose of a ‘national music’, said its father, was to “erect the palace where the national soul would reside”. Keeping up with the verbal illustrations struggling to visualize the ethereal art, the readers could now understand that, schematically, there would be a Fortress made of history, and inside it a beautiful musical palace, home to their (national) soul. Vague as it remained in regards to the constitution of the entity sitting on the throne, the idea of the palace could be a reference to Palamas’s 1886 poem *Solomos*, homage to Greece’s national poet Dionyssios Solomos and his construction of a ‘palace’ of poetry, since the composer had been following Palamas’ works since 1904.<sup>697</sup> Nevertheless, such claim cannot be substantiated further since Kalomiris never shared whether his evocation of a palace was in reference to the older poem. Palamas’ *For the Musician Manolis Kalomiris*, on the other hand, can be safely asserted to be referencing Kalomiris’ palace, since they appeared in the same newspaper, a few days apart, and with the concert in-between.

Homage-upon-homage or not, Palamas embraced the young composer and trusted him with the potential of becoming another pillar of Greek culture by constructing another palace for the Greek nation- a national music.<sup>698</sup> As for the palace itself, the composer in his article made a small provision to secure his edifice from deconstructionist criticism. “It won’t do any harm if for its erection the builder used *foreign raw material* together with the *local*. [That is] As long as his palace is on Romeic land, constructed to please Romeic eyes, to be regarded as a *pure-blooded*

---

<sup>696</sup> For Kalomiris’ French and Germanic inclinations see: Maliaras, N. 2001. Greek traditional song in the music of Manolis Kalomiris. p. 14-15

<sup>697</sup> Kalomiris relates how he first read poems by Palamas on a trip with his mother to Istanbul and Smyrna in the year the flutist Evrithenis Ghizas died [1904], see: Kalomiris, M. 1988. My life and my art: Memoirs 1883-1908. p. 72

<sup>698</sup> See poem above; last verse “I see you emerging, oh palace of music”.

Romeic palace.”<sup>699</sup> Oscillating between nationalist internationalism- the variety of nationalism that draws legitimacy from its supranational components- and nostalgic orientalism, Kalomiris remained true to two of his everlasting national convictions, here clearly illustrated through the evocation of the national soil as a purifier of ‘foreign’ musical influences, and his belief that the Greeks remained close to their Eastern cultural identity- hence the medieval-Byzantine designation *Romeic*.<sup>700</sup>

An ardent supporter of the *demotic* Greek language, a simplified version of Greek at the time suggested as a better option than the archaic 19<sup>th</sup> century construct of a modernized pseudo-ancient Greek, Kalomiris concluded his article by connecting music and word, the literary cause with his musical cause.<sup>701</sup> Regardless of foreign raw material, techniques, the Russians and their ways, and the “Foreign Artisan”, there was a singular component vital for the conception of a national music: ‘the people’s language’. As clear from the composer’s memoir, the connection of an organic, simple Greek language to his music was something he had been preoccupied with since his student years in the Vienna Conservatory (1900-1906), where he experimented with writing music using verse in both the *demotic* as well as in archaic modern Greek, and found the latter incompatible to his musical language. Out of the three little pieces he composed at the time he started noticing the connection between language and his music, two were in vernacular Greek verse and their music was naturally adorned with Eastern overtones, while the one he tried to write using archaic Greek came out to be a generic “Western” piece of music, void of “[individual] character or originality”.<sup>702</sup> Lost in the city of musical tradition and perpetual innovation, it appears as if Kalomiris was looking for his individual voice, and this he found in the particularity of his nationality, and through the partisan cause of a simplified Greek language. It is implied in the said memoir that, though not immersed in the linguistic debate at the time, it was discussions with friends that

<sup>699</sup> All words/phrases in Italics by the author. See: Kalomiris, M. (1908) A few words. *Noumas*, 08 June 1908, p. 4

<sup>700</sup> Traditionally, the members of the Greek ethnic group within the Ottoman Empire would self-identify as members of the *Rum millet*, that is the Orthodox Greek descendants of the Romans. The shift to the national designation “Hellene [Greek]” and the subsequent connection with the Hellenic antiquity would become a unifying umbrella-term with the gradual expansion of the nation-state. For general information on the designation *Rum millet* see: Rudometof, V. From Rum Millet to Greek Nation: Enlightenment, Secularization, and National Identity in Ottoman Balkan Society, 1453-1821. *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, vol. 16, number 1 (May 1998), pp. 11-48

<sup>701</sup> For the literary debate about the appropriate form of modern Greek see: Skopetea, E. 1988. The “Exemplary Kingdom” and the Great Idea: Views of the issue of the nation in Greece (1830-1880), pp. 99-118

<sup>702</sup> Kalomiris, M. 1988. My life and my art: Memoirs 1883-1908. p. 72 [Καλομοίρης, Μ. 1988. Η Ζωή μου και η τέχνη μου: Απομνημονεύματα 1883-1908. σελ. 72]

gradually turned his musical attention to the value of tradition.<sup>703</sup> A product of his time, Kalomiris' cultural nationalism falls within the wider norm that saw the development of all European national schools of music in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, in Greece also evident from the increasing number of music journals stirring debate on the need for a Greek 'national music' from 1893 onwards.<sup>704</sup>

Therefore, at the time he wrote his article on music and word, the young composer was clearly oriented towards an artistic output bearing the 'spirit of the nation', folk elements or modes, and the 'people's language'. This association of musical and verbal language with the elusive 'national soul' and as such the wider national cause of creating a language closer to the masses, 'the people', ever struggling with purist administrative Greek, ever struggling with western art music, expanded the (theoretical) horizons of the young composer's musical struggle, and elevated his personal stylistic musical preferences to a progressive programme of social inclusion. Contrary to its intellectual brother the linguistic cause, though, it ought to be noted that it did not aspire to give people a language they could speak easily- like the vernacular modern Greek for all- rather it promised to *become* the voice of the people without any vision for future inclusion. This comes in stark contrast to the Ionian composers with their grassroots musical project that emerged from musical practice within society and, as such, they persistently opposed the German-oriented systematization of musical education.

On the day that featured the programme-manifesto, after the article and before the poem, the Conservatory of Athens opened its doors to accommodate a concert presenting only musical works by the young composer, and would in the near future assist his repatriation through trusting him with a significant number of classes to teach.<sup>705</sup> True to his conviction about a meaningful connection between poetry and music- a loyal admirer of Wagner's was he- the night included works inspired by

---

<sup>703</sup> *ibid.* p. 88

<sup>704</sup> Samson, J. 2013. Music in the Balkans. p. 304; Xanthoulis, N. "Musical education seen through the thoughts and acts of El. Venizelos" in Sakellaropoulos, T., Vatsaki, A. Theodorou, M.(ed.) 2012. Eleftherios Venizelos and cultural policy: Symposium proceedings, 21-22/11/2008. p. 284 [Σακελλαρόπουλος, Τ., Βατσάκη, Α., Θεοδώρου, Μ. 2012. Ελευθέριος Βενιζέλος και πολιτιστική πολιτική: Πρακτικά Συμποσίου, 21-11/11/2008. σελ. 284]

<sup>705</sup> Kalomiris was born in Smyrna, Asia Minor, in 1883 and at the time of his manifesto and appointment lived, composed and taught music in Kharkov [Russian Empire]. In the conservatory, where he started teaching in 1911, he taught the piano, harmony and counterpoint. Romanou, K. (ed.) 2009. Serbian & Greek Art Music. pp. 128, 129, 132

Greek poems, traditional songs, and an excerpt from Hugo's *Chanson de pirates* from *Les Orientales* (in the programme misspelled as *Les Ortenbals*).<sup>706</sup> Among the poems included in the evening, the programme featured a poem by Palamas and Psycharis, titled *The Palace*, reusing as its first lines a verse from Palamas' 1886 poem *Solomos*, reading:

“Upon the waters of the sea  
A craftsman bright and wise  
With great effort started he  
A palace to devise.”<sup>707</sup>

With the original 1886 poem praising the Ionian poet Dionyssios Solomos for his work of producing poetry of national importance, and creating the country's (posthumously adopted) national anthem, Kalomiris made a strong statement in support of the cause of the demoticists, in a concert that was heavily influenced by their ideas and writings, while maintaining his special connection with Palamas through yet another reference to a palace.<sup>708</sup> It appears as if this reference to the palaces of national language and music that the composer and poet were aspiring to construct, each for their own art, became a unifying metaphor of their joint national efforts, and definitely a subtle reminder of their mutual admiration and respect. If anything else, Kalomiris in his memoir would stress how Palamas had been a steady source of inspiration in his life from his student years to the time he was composing the memoirs.<sup>709</sup> Inspiration apart, for the 25-year-old composer to receive such support from one of Greece's most prominent poets at the very beginning of his career in the country, would result in long-term recognition, access to and support from an extended network of intellectuals that would promote his musical programme and aspirations.<sup>710</sup>

The manifesto that, as artistic manifestos generally function, aimed at turning his *personal* into a *political*, was an edited version of the previously analysed article [A

<sup>706</sup> ‘A music night by composer Manolis Kalomiris’. 1908. Programme for Manolis Kalomiris' concert at the Conservatory of Athens, 11 June 1908. Held at: the Music Library of Greece “Lilian Voudouri”, Archive of music programmes, file number: 96.

<sup>707</sup> Translation by the author. See: *ibid.* p. 8

<sup>708</sup> The conspiracy theory about the Palace is entirely mine so read with suspicion, for the influence of the social circle of the poet Palamas upon Kalomiris' concert see: Romanou, K. 2006. Greek art music in the Modern times. p.159

<sup>709</sup> Kalomiris, M. 1988. My life and my art: Memoirs 1883-1908. p. 138

<sup>710</sup> For Kalomiris' position among the leading intellectual elite see: Siopsi, A. A. 2003. Three Essays on Manolis Kalomiris. pp. 18-19 [Σιώπη, Α. Α. 2003. Τρία Δοκίμια για τον Μανώλη Καλομοίρη. σελ. 18-19]

*few words*] with a few additions. It was written in the demotic language, a bold and daring statement at the time that caused scandal in the press and society and forced him to accept a French version to be printed as well, after being threatened with cancellation by the Conservatory.<sup>711</sup> Even bolder was his subscription to the linguistic cause, since the manifesto rather resembled a polemic against archaic Greek instead of a clear musical vision setting a musical idea against another musical idea. In his efforts to create national music, the manifesto read, and after the examples of the “musically advanced nations” (again Germans, French, Russians, Norwegians), the composer attempted to bring together traditional music with a western technical approach. To achieve this complex task of combining these two radically different textures he found it appropriate to use national literature as raw material and then adorn it with quotations, rhythms, or modes of the folk tradition.<sup>712</sup>

The explicit connection to language that in the end rather turned his evening to a statement about linguistics, and secured in this way the political necessity for a national school of music, linked music and life via dreams. Regardless of each composer’s aspirations about his music, the manifesto read, there is one element he can never ignore: life itself, intimately connected to common people’s language and their customs.<sup>713</sup> And if music’s purpose was to “bring dreams into life and depict life as a dream”, as he poetically phrased it, then it ought to demonstrate a connection with life’s raw material-here tradition- and allow listeners to hear music both with heart and intellect, to understand and feel music, the success of all “true music”.<sup>714</sup> Again in accordance to the strand of musicological theory that identifies the internationalist claims of nationalist musics as non-contradictory but rather as assets of superiority, Kalomiris was arguing that when a composer reproduced their own nation in musical practice then the music would become universal.

For his conclusion of a manifesto on music, the composer chose to make a statement about language:

---

<sup>711</sup> Karakasis, S. 1961 *Manolis Kalomiris and Kostis Palamas (the “Palamiki” [Palamas] Symphony)*. p. 36 [Καρακάσης, Σ. 1961. Ο Μανώλης Καλομοίρης και ο Κωστής Παλαμάς (Παλαμική Συμφωνία). σελ. 36]; Kalomiris, M. 1988. *My life and my art: Memoirs 1883-1908*. p. 148-150

<sup>712</sup> ‘A music night by composer Manolis Kalomiris’. 1908. Programme for Manolis Kalomiris’ concert at the Conservatory of Athens, 11 June 1908, p. 3

<sup>713</sup> *ibid.* p. 4

<sup>714</sup> *ibid.* pp. 4-5

“It thus becomes clear that for these aesthetic reasons the [archaic Greek idiom] with its fake, artificial life, just like it will never achieve to nurture a strong literature, likewise it will never achieve to nurture a strong music”. And as our literature was only able to develop when it managed to escape the suffocating nets of [archaic Greek], likewise our music will only achieve some height when it follows the path of truth [as showcased by demotic pieces of literature he chose to refer to]”<sup>715</sup>

If the nation wanted national music, the nation would have to choose simplified Greek as its official literary language, since it sprang from and it was closer to the majority of the Greek people. It is always challenging to discern the boundaries between political/civic ideas, personal aesthetics, artistic inspiration and career choices. What is becoming evident, though, is that perhaps Kalomiris’ national sentiment was more prominent than a clear musical vision, and his admiration for the Russian national school of music, in combination with the political cause of the Greek language, and the access to a network of progressive intellectuals that the latter secured him, converged to make a leader out of a composer, whose only praise about his early oriental compositions in Vienna five years earlier had been “Sie haben keine Ahnung vom [sic] Form, aber die Erfindung ist reizend” [You are clueless in regards to form, but the creative idea is charming] .<sup>716</sup>

Musicological conclusions about the quality of his later compositional output aside, Kalomiris’ early institutional acceptance in the country of musical institutional instability secured that his would become the loudest voice in the land, with far-reaching implications for the relationship of the country to its ‘national’ music and musical institutions in general. Institutional acceptance, explicitly phrased nationalist musical ideology, and participation in the linguistic debate would also diversify him from a number of preceding composers who had experimented with ‘national’ motives in their music, but did not mobilize extra-musical, political networks to align their artistic vision with national(ist) aspirations.<sup>717</sup> With his prominent rhetoric and wide-reaching connections Kalomiris became the centre around which a number of

<sup>715</sup> ‘A music night by composer Manolis Kalomiris’. 1908. Programme for Manolis Kalomiris’ concert at the Conservatory of Athens, 11 June 1908, p. 5. Copy held at the Lilian Voudouri Music Library and Archive [Athens]

<sup>716</sup> Uttered by his teacher in Vienna, August Sturm, upon hearing one of his early compositions in 1903. Kalomiris, M. 1988. My life and my art: Memoirs 1883-1908. p. 75

<sup>717</sup> Karakasis, S. 1961 Manolis Kalomiris and Kostis Palamas (the “Palamiki” [Palamas] Symphony). p. 35



heterogeneous composers working with eastern/Byzantine/folk elements in their music found a common ideological ground to identify with- a national school, even when their individual politics and aesthetics differed.<sup>718</sup>

In 1910, another politically groundbreaking development resulted in Kalomiris' establishment as one of the most influential early 20<sup>th</sup>-century composers. This was the year when Kalomiris moved to Athens from Kharkov (Russian Empire), and upon his return he assumed various teaching positions at the Conservatory of Athens, with whose director he would forge an alliance- if only for the few years that they shared a common agenda.<sup>719</sup> His return at that historical moment coincided with the ascent of Eleftherios Venizelos to power, a Europeanist nationalist, whose political vision was equivalent to Kalomiris' musical aspirations.<sup>720</sup> Venizelos' political vision of Greece as a European- oriented country, with a strong presence in the East, was equivalent to Kalomiris' vision for Greek music, a music in the western musical idiom that would, nevertheless, conquer its Eastern neighbours.<sup>721</sup> And even though his two cultural-political allegiances- the *demoticists*, and the supporters of Venizelos- were not always aligned in their separate pursuits, the fact that he found himself siding with two winning causes at the same time must have assisted his artistic influence and access tremendously.<sup>722</sup> The composer had the chance to meet the Prime Minister in person in what was for both of them *the first days* of their respective aspirations and careers. For the Prime Minister it was his first days in office, and for Kalomiris the first days of his settlement in Greece. In those *first days*, then, Venizelos would congratulate Kalomiris for his daring articles on music and share with him that, even though he hadn't had the chance to hear his music yet, his ideas about modern Greek music, as expressed in the press, he found impressive.<sup>723</sup>

And thus the Greek national school of music was officially born on paper in the early years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, among extended fights about language, musical language,

---

<sup>718</sup> Samson, J. 2013. Music in the Balkans. p. 305

<sup>719</sup> Belonis, G. "The Greek National Music School" in Romanou, K. (ed.), 2009. Serbian & Greek Art Music: A Patch to Western Music History. p. 129; Samson, J. 2013. Music in the Balkans. p. 303.

<sup>720</sup> Samson, J. 2013. Music in the Balkans. p. 302-303

<sup>721</sup> Tsetsos, M. "Kalomiris and Venizelos, Aesthetic and ideological aspects of an important relationship", in Sakellariopoulos, T., Vatsaki, A. Theodorou, M.(ed.) 2012. Eleftherios Venizelos and cultural policy: Symposium proceedings, 21-22/11/2008. p. 274

<sup>722</sup> For Kalomiris' allegiance to these causes that were "mildly at odds" with each other, as Samson puts it, see: *ibid.* p. 303.

<sup>723</sup> Kalomiris, M. 1988. My life and my art: Memoirs 1883-1908. p. 159

an expansionist roaring nationalism looking towards the north and Istanbul, through forging an alliance with the land's foremost conservatory, securing political endorsement for its musical ideology, and by pursuing musical exclusionary politics to secure its prominence against any other Greek-western school of music. Similarly to the Conservatory and its director (but for his own reasons), Kalomiris positioned himself persistently against a stem of Greek art music that he believed ought to be marginalized, silenced, and eliminated. Elegantly phrased in his memoir, he remembered his first impressions upon hearing the 'Greek melodrama' (opera company) performing:

“I heard Xynda's 'Parliamentary Candidate' once in my life by the Greek Melodrama at that time. The only sections I found noteworthy were a couple of comic ariettas. In them there was diffused a hesitant and discreet Greek or rather conventional Eastern character that, regardless, graced them with something that resembled originality. The music of the 'Candidate' was nothing more than banal and trivial Italian music of the worst kind”.<sup>724</sup>

It is useful to be reminded here that, as noted in the Second Story, the *Parliamentary Candidate* was the first opera set to a Greek libretto, composed by the Ionian S. Xyndas in 1867 (fifty years before the time Kalomiris first heard it, and around 74 years before he mentioned it in his memoir). At the same time, the 'Greek Melodrama' had been operating in a particularly hostile musical environment ever since its establishment (1900), doing groundbreaking work for the country's musical future in complete absence of anything similar.<sup>725</sup> Nevertheless historical value was naturally not among the composer's interests at the time, since he was looking towards a national musical future unaffected by 'Italianate' influences, himself focusing upon the 'Greek' in spirit and in style. Or rather *this* historical value was not within his interests at the time. What was closer to Kalomiris cultural agenda was to discredit the Ionian school of music as nationally alien, and as such to gradually shift the perception of art music from a means of light entertainment to serious art,

---

<sup>724</sup> *ibid.* p. 90

<sup>725</sup> See: Nef, K. [translated, edited, and with additions by Phevos Anogianakis]. 1956. *History of Music*. Athens: Papyros. p. 577

expressing national sentiment, and equal in value to the national institutions of literature and the pictorial arts.<sup>726</sup>

With the press having already proven a successful disseminator of his musical ideology, it was to the press that he took to express his strong aversion for the Italian school of music, transposing on Greek soil, and through Greek nationalist argumentation, the relentless enmity between the ‘light’ Italian music, and the serious, Germanic tradition of European art music. Of course such classification probably stemmed from Kalomiris’ own devotion to *Wagnerism*, and wider reverence for the German musical tradition. Historically, Italian musical tradition would itself be ‘Europeanised’ in the course of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and especially after 1848, while French and German influences turned the Italian intellectual elites and young composers to recognise orchestral and chamber music as superior to the opera by the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>727</sup> And while in reality it was French influence that affected Italian operatic composition since the 1860’s and 1870’s, Wagner’s shadow was felt from the 1870’s onwards, when music critics started recognising elements of his compositional technique on Italian operatic compositions even when they were not present.<sup>728</sup> With Wagner at the centre of tremendous (theoretical and practical) musical change, central Europe would become split between schools of music such as the Italian and the French that represented a movement looking to oppose Wagner’s musical theories, through recognising the merits of individual national characteristics (light-hearted, melodic, and lively music in the case of the French and the Italians), and the Wagnerists who recognised the said ‘national musical characteristics’ as shallow, and spiritually inferior, as in the case of Kalomiris.<sup>729</sup>

The anomaly that the Greek national school of music presents in their placement in this particular debate is that, while the Ionian school of music with its Italian influences had been the only ‘school of music’ for 19<sup>th</sup> century Greece, even if uninstituted and unrecognised as seen earlier, the institutionalised force of the early

<sup>726</sup> For the ideological rationale behind Kalomiris’ opposition to Ionian music see: Tsetsos, M. 2013. Modern Greek music: essays of ideological and institutional criticism. pp. 39-40 [Τσέτσος, Μ. 2013. Νεοελληνική μουσική: δοκίμια ιδεολογικής και θεσμικής κριτικής. σελ. 39-40]

<sup>727</sup> Rosselli, J. 1991. Music & Musicians in Nineteenth-Century Italy. p. 122

<sup>728</sup> Rosselli refers specifically to a section of –mainly second rate– critics who would recognize ‘leitmotifs’ in Verdi’s operas, even when such repetitive passages were merely part of his musical signature. Ibid.

<sup>729</sup> Romanou, K. 1996. A journey through National Music 1901-1912: Greek Music Journals as a source of research on modern Greek music. Vol., 1, p. 219.

20<sup>th</sup> century Greek national school of music sided with the Germanic ideal, even though its very institution ought to have been an act of defiance against this norm. Nevertheless, the fact that both representatives of the musical establishment- the director of the Conservatory of Athens, and Kalomiris- had received Germanic education, and personally despised the Italian musical idiom, resulted in this internal paradox, where a national school of music was born to declare ‘national independence’ from European musical ‘oppression’, by adhering to the values of the School of music that literally all other schools of music in the continent were created to oppose- the German. In this setting of a ‘European’ musical style in the making, Kalomiris would position the Greek national school of music in the debate, and write extensively against the Greek-Ionian school of music in heated exchanges with its representatives in the press. Joining in the debate started a few years earlier between the director of the Conservatory of Athens and the Ionians in regards to musical education and style he would deplore the idea that Greek music could have been considered to share similarities with Italian music: “Imagine what bravery or ignorance one needs to possess to claim that our music is related to Italian music, because we are neighbours! To me a Norwegian song sounds closer to our national music than ten Italian operas.”<sup>730</sup> As obvious from his previous writings and later memoir, it was his personal aesthetics that he elevated to the level of theory, in this case leaving aside the historical conditions that brought a branch of Greek music to have indeed been born out of extensive contact with the Italian tradition.

His general anti-Italian attitude would not be limited to general aesthetic assessments, though. In these first years of his career in Greece, the centre of attention as a young partisan musician of a national cause, he would attack particular Ionian composers such as Spyros Samaras (1861-1917), leading a successful international career between Italy and France at the time, for their lame national musical output.<sup>731</sup> With the nation suddenly becoming the arbitrator of musical effort, he would set Samaras against a number of other Ionian composers who, even though they wrote in an Italianate idiom, at least they *tried* to include a Greek idiom in their music. In juxtaposition to them, Samaras “is not a Romios [of the Romeic ethnic group], who is composing influenced by one or the other school of music, but

<sup>730</sup> Excerpt from: Romanou, K. 2006. Greek art music in the Modern times. p. 137.

<sup>731</sup> For Samaras’ biography and career see: Romanou, K. 2006. Greek art music in the Modern times. p. 142.

he is rather a musical foreigner who is writing music in a foreign language and for a foreign audience.”<sup>732</sup> What remains particularly important is that for nationalists like Kalomiris, a quasi-political activist, the idea of the ‘nation’ was even more particular than generally belonging to the Greek ethnic group. Samaras, popular in Greece since 1889, mainly staged his works in Italy with great success and had composed the Olympic Anthem in 1896, but still, by Kalomiris’ standards, unless he wrote music for and through the *Romeic* ethnic group, he remained a foreigner.<sup>733</sup>

Within this enmity between the ‘Germanic’ or the ‘Italianate’ in music, the enmity between the Ionians and the Conservatory of Athens, as well as in the personal efforts of Manolis Kalomiris, lies the exceptional character of the Greek national school of music in comparison with other ‘peripheral’ national schools of music often evoked by Kalomiris in his effort to enunciate what he envisioned as Greek ‘national music’. Contrary to the Russian national school of music, which Kalomiris regarded exemplary, the Greek variant that he was at the time promoting was explicitly the outcome of musical politics in Athens. As Katy Romanou has remarked, the prolonged enmity over musical style in the capital in the end became a struggle for professional survival and domination, in this case with the Conservatory of Athens and Kalomiris defining the content of Greece’s ‘national music’- Germanic form with local influences- through eliminating the professional prospects of the Ionians –Italianate form with local influences.<sup>734</sup>

At the same time, this musical ‘civil war’ against the Ionians that gave birth to the Greek national school of music was partly a personal war against Spyros Samaras, at the time regarded as a potential successor to Nazos at the Conservatory.<sup>735</sup> As such, even though the Greek national school of music may be compared to other peripheral national schools of music in terms of how the discourse of the ‘nation’ and the value of the ‘indigenous spirit’ was utilised in its rhetoric, the fact that its emergence was the outcome of an internal musical enmity, indicates that its institution at that historical moment was rather the outcome of rebranding. As has been continuously

<sup>732</sup> Kalomiris, M. (1910) On Conservatories and the Conservatory (Final Part). *Noumas*, 07 February 1910. pp. 4-5

<sup>733</sup> Romanou, K. 2006. Greek art music in the Modern times. p. 150.

<sup>734</sup> Romanou, K. 1996. A journey through National Music 1901-1912: Greek Music Journals as a source of research on modern Greek music, vol. 1, pp. 219-220

<sup>735</sup> Sadie, St. (ed.) 2001. The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians. (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.), vol. 10, entry: “Greece”, §III: Art music since 1770: The Ionian Islands, 1771-1900, p. 350.

noted, the Ionian composers had been consciously incorporating ethnic and Byzantine elements to their own music already, and by usurping the designation “national” for his own music, Kalomiris in essence cancelled a previous musical programme to introduce a similar one. It remains curious that later in his career, Kalomiris identified three strands of Greek art music: the Ionian, the national (which included himself and his adherents), and the modernist (at the time represented by composer Nikos Skalkotas), thus almost demoting this ideological construct of his to a mere sub-genre of local art music, equal among others but still more “Greek” than the Ionian.<sup>736</sup>

In this partisan fight against the *foreign* (i.e. the Italianate) in Greek music, Kalomiris did not stand alone. As noted earlier, he had joined in a fight already initiated earlier in the century between the Ionians and George Nazos, the reformist director of the Conservatory of Athens. For one thing, the demoticists’ newspaper *Noumas* became his ideological megaphone, supporter and promoter, and as such it published regularly not only his own manifestos, but also strong supportive articles by leading intellectuals. In one of the many discussions about the conservatory- one that Kalomiris himself would take part as well- the influential journalist and music chronicler Th. Synadinos declared openly his faith in Kalomiris’ revolutionary national musical innovation, and set it openly against the Ionians in a language particularly racially tainted: “Is it the Conservatory’s fault that Samaras became an Italian in soul and drew all his compositions with an Italian paintbrush? Is it the Conservatory’s fault that Napoleon Lambelet did not manage to become either Italian, nor French, German, Jewish, or Romeic in soul, in sentiment, and in his whole creative output, and if you take ten of his little songs and squeeze them they will not even equal a copy from one of Kalomiris’ compositions?”<sup>737</sup> In this territory of multitude problems, institutional, stylistic, personal and ideological, nation became the ‘neutral’ territory against which everyone’s allegiances were calculated regardless of the individual factors that constituted each crisis. Out of all this practice, consistently, the young partisan composer (26 years old at the time) emerged as the solution, in this case even before he had moved to Greece.

---

<sup>736</sup> Ibid. 350

<sup>737</sup> Synadinos, Th. (1909). Our Conservatory. *Noumas*, 22 November 1909, p. 4 [Συναδινός, Θ. (1909) Το Ωδείο μας. *Νουμάς*, 22 Νοεμβρίου 1909 σελ. 4]

As such persistently and intentionally, Kalomiris would utilise his fame and network to marginalise the Ionian school of Greek art music, and make an enemy out of their musical language in a competition that resembled more of an ideological nationalist war than musical practice.<sup>738</sup> Regardless of aesthetic assessments, in those days of nationalism when ideology justified and promoted introverted national musical taste, the distaste for the Ionians' oeuvre would become the second unifying principle apart from the usage of folk/Byzantine musical elements within compositions. Composers with similar aesthetic approaches to music would draw their legitimacy from and align ideologically with Kalomiris, with composer Petros Petridis [1892-1977], for example, who would write vehemently against the Ionian school of music and their "vulgar" music in the newspaper *Estia*, praising Kalomiris' attempts at creating a "true Greek music", based on cutting-edge compositional practice.<sup>739</sup>

Obviously nation was not exclusively the genitor of nationalist music, and as the 20<sup>th</sup> century progressed Greece accumulated an important number of musical works inspired by folk music and expressed through various compositional styles of western art music.<sup>740</sup> For the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, though, the rhetoric that finally gave voice to that section of society that wanted to hear the indigenous in the western concealed musical curiosity behind nationalist rhetoric. Kalomiris was speaking the nation's language and as such he would attract a devoted patriotic audience, hopeful because, as an anonymous follower of his work wrote in the press in 1910 "Kalomiris' concert was a triumph. A triumph that belongs to him and to us equally, us who believe and have believed all these years in the vitality of our race, to our national **ego** [...] in a few years we will be hearing a lot less French music in our salons, and a lot less French little songs in our concerts. And how many things will be different!"<sup>741</sup>

<sup>738</sup> For the intentional marginalization of the Ionians by Kalomiris see: Belonis, G. "The Greek National Music School" in Romanou, K. (ed.), 2009. *Serbian & Greek Art Music: A Patch to Western Music History*. p. 133

<sup>739</sup> Romanou, K. 2006. *Greek art music in the Modern times*. p.188

<sup>740</sup> See for example the works of modernist Nikos Skalkottas who, even though using folk elements and dances, was not part of Kalomiris' cause, au contraire. See: Samson, J. 2013. *Music in the Balkans*. p. 326

<sup>741</sup> The word *ego* in bold in the original. Anon. (1910) Kalomiris' Concert. *Noumas*, 26 December 1910, p. 7 [Ανων. (1910) Η Συνουσία του Καλομοίρη. *Νουμάς*, 26 Δεκεμβρίου 1910, σελ. 7]

What remains interesting in regards to Kalomiris' aspirations and ideas, and the language he used to promote his vision, is that before the manifesto that would in essence politicize music, a number of composers had already started exploring the potential relationship between Greek folk music and the Byzantine chant with Western compositional technique, both in practice as well as in theoretical treatises looking to accommodate the monophonic Greek idiom and the idiomatic Greek scales into western compositional style. As seen earlier, in the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century G. Lambelet had published his *National Music* in search of more or less the same compatibility between the two techniques.<sup>742</sup> Composers such as S. Samaras (1861-1917), D. Lavragas (1864-1941), N. Lambelet (1864-1932) and G. Lambelet (1875-1945), M. Varvolgis (1885-1967), and E. Riadis (1880-1935) explored the national in their music from the early 1900s, and along with Kalomiris wrote on folklore song-collection, harmonisation, musical education, compositional practice etc.<sup>743</sup> What distinguished Kalomiris and in the end turned him into the emblematic father of a previously widely unrecognised attempt at producing a national variety of western music, was that his rhetoric prioritised the nation and was attuned to nationalist aspirations in each and every of its appearances in the public sphere, while at the same time discreet insertions of his person in the text self-promoted him and elevated him to a composer of national importance.

When in 1910 he wrote an article on musical education, for example, and more specifically on the role of conservatories, he combined his anti-Italianism, his reverence for the Germanic tradition, Wagner, his nationalist sentiment, and his own person to explain what was the true purpose of a modern conservatory. Building upon the Wagnerian approach, namely that even by name [conservatory] these institutions were created to *preserve* a previously developed national style, Kalomiris argued that conservatories needed exist only after there existed a distinct national musical tradition and a national “style of performance”.<sup>744</sup> Other than that, though, a national music could only be created by ‘geniuses’- here leaving this reader vaguely feeling that he might have been including himself in the category.<sup>745</sup> After illustrating

<sup>742</sup> Lambelet, G. (1901) *National Music*. *Panathinea*, 30 November 1901.

<sup>743</sup> Nef, K. [translated, edited, and with additions by Phevos Anogianakis]. 1956. *History of Music*. Athens: Papyrus. p. 574

<sup>744</sup> Kalomiris, M. (1910) On Conservatories and the Conservatory. *Noumas*, 31 January 1910, p. 1 [Καλομοίρης, Μ. (1910) Για Ωδεία και για τ'Ωδείο. *Νουμάς*, 31 Ιανουαρίου 1910, σελ. 1]

<sup>745</sup> *ibid.*



his approach by claiming that for Germany it was the trio of Wagner, Liszt, and von Bülow that created a “German style of performance”, dragging German music out of the “mud of the Italian and French opera”, he reached the conclusion that conservatories only existed to boost the average number of well-trained musicians.<sup>746</sup>

Traditionally, and as showcased with Mahler, Wolf, and Grieg who were expelled from their conservatories, such institutions were not favourable to geniuses, as evident by his own case as well, said footnote number five of the same page.<sup>747</sup> In his memoirs the composer would years later relate how during his years in the Vienna Conservatory he had once been threatened with expulsion for opposing the choir-conduction teacher, in defence of the honour of his dear counterpoint teacher, Hermann Grädener, to whom the said choir teacher irreverently referred as an “Alter Zopf”.<sup>748</sup> Here, the composer would remember this incident and discretely insert his name next to Grieg’s, Mahler’s, and Wolf’s in footnote-styled solidarity between geniuses misunderstood by the establishment of European musical education, and expelled for expressing dissent.<sup>749</sup> It is irrelevant, but indicative of a mindset, to note that there is no record of Grieg being expelled from the Leipzig Conservatory, even though he did remember it with distaste after graduating, and Mahler, though close to expulsion from the Vienna Conservatory, was not expelled in the end.<sup>750</sup> Hugo Wolf was the only out of the three who had been expelled from the Vienna Conservatory for “breach of discipline” and Kalomiris probably made these (false) connections because the director at the Vienna Conservatory used (falsely) the examples of Mahler, Grieg, and Wolf upon announcing that Kalomiris would, in the end, be allowed to stay.<sup>751</sup> That he would use the connection in the article, and later on recall the incident in his memoirs, indicates that Kalomiris had the awareness of a calling, or the confidence of a (yet unrecognised) musical genius.

---

<sup>746</sup> *ibid.* p. 2

<sup>747</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>748</sup> For a detailed account of the whole incident see: Kalomiris, M. 1988. *My life and my art: Memoirs 1883-1908*. pp. 83-86

<sup>749</sup> Kalomiris, M. (1910) *On Conservatories and the Conservatory*. *Noumas*, 31 January 1910, p. 2

<sup>750</sup> For Grieg and Mahler see: Sadie, St. (ed.), 2001 [2nd ed.] *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. Vol. 10: Glinka to Harp, entry: “Grieg, Edvard (Hagerup)”, § 1. Early years and Apprenticeship, p. 397; *ibid.* vol. 15: Liturgy to Martinu, entry: “Mahler, Gustav”, § 1. Background, Childhood, Education, p. 603.

<sup>751</sup> For Wolf’s conservatory adventures see: *ibid.* vol. 27: Wagner to Zywny, entry: “Wolf, Hugo (Filip Jakob)”, § 1. Formative Years, p. 464.

In his subsequent article on the issue of the Conservatory, Kalomiris once again stressed his musical particularity because of his national sentiment. This time, in reply to composer Marios Varvoglis' article to the newspaper *Noumas*, a composer with whom they shared similar ideas about national music and language even though they had not yet met or heard each other's music, he would explicitly acknowledge his historical mission by stating:<sup>752</sup>

“If the Romeic [ethnic group] has two musicians who know what it is, and struggle for National music and Greek art, these musicians are us- Varvoglis and myself [...] Today we are two, tomorrow we will become three, the day after tomorrow more; our Musical palace will start rising glowing and crystal, the ignorant and the blind will pass by, I know it, indifferent and unmoved, just like they pass by the half-constructed palace of our Poetry. But why would it matter to us? The Craftsman is like the sun; He spreads his rays to the valleys and the streets and the swamps, unconcerned about whether the frogs will come out to catch some of it or whether they will hide deeper in the mud scared of being burnt.”<sup>753</sup>

Such statements, clearly positioning himself in the centre of a revolutionary musical movement, in combination to his exclusionary politics, and the clear dismissal of his colleagues who had elected to build their careers regardless of nationalist affinity, indicates how the mechanics of early 20<sup>th</sup> century nationalism produced the agents that would perpetuate nationalist rhetoric through securing a career out of it.

Resident at the Conservatory of Athens until 1919, he continued writing about the value of national music until his death in 1962. He made the ‘national’ in music into a perpetually unfulfilled goal that, if anything else, secured him a career as one of the most revered Greek composers, embraced and honoured by the state. This represented a successful brand for his music, even when by national and international musical standards it had been surpassed and become artistically parochial. Yet, in the days of nationalism, when ideologues such as Pericles Giannopoulos shuddered with indignation at the state of Greek civilisation and music, figures such as Kalomiris were the cultural catalysts for the creation and perpetuation of a national musical

<sup>752</sup> For the exchange of compliments between Varvoglis and Kalomiris in *Noumas* before they met see: Belonis, G. ‘The Greek National Music School’ in Romanou, K. (ed.), 2009. *Serbian & Greek Art Music: A Patch to Western Music History*. p.149-155

<sup>753</sup> Kalomiris, M. (1910) On Conservatories and the Conservatory (Final Part). *Noumas*, 07 February 1910. pp. 4-5 [Καλομοίρης, Μ. (1910). Για Ωδεία και για τ’Ωδείο (Απόσωμα). *Νουμάς*, 07 Φεβρουαρίου 1910. σελ. 4-5]

landscape that had-finally- found its purpose in defending the nation through music. Blessed by the institution of the press, the institution of literature, the institution of music and the institution of politics, the father of the national school would personally become the institution of national music, and as such he would open conservatories (notably the ‘Hellenic Conservatory’ in 1919, and the ‘National Conservatory’ in 1926), serve in state positions, and receive state honours, entering a transaction with nationalism through reproducing it to earn a living- and fame.<sup>754</sup>

With the emergence of the national school of music, and in particular with its loud representative, the ‘question of Europe’ in music became irrelevant for musicians, since the national ego found expression in a stem of ardent nationalist composers that not only wrote Greek-western music in practice, but also created the words to defend its national dignity, and assert a sense of independent/individual belonging within the patchwork of other European national and transnational canons. Ironically, after seventy years of theoretical resistance- amidst practical support and inter-class cultural contamination- in the end it was the nationalism itself that normalised western art music in the country, when much like a growing organism it developed the actors that created the narrative of its musical adaptation and inclusion.

Influenced by their central European musical education and experiences, and through writing in the western musical idiom, the composers would transform the ideological container of western music into legible national musical text to produce national meaning and highlight nationalist particularity against what they variably termed ‘cosmopolitanism’, ‘internationalism’, ‘Italianism’, or any other European –ism. A comparison of the biographies of the ‘cosmopolitan’ Samaras and the nationalist Kalomiris will perhaps reveal the pattern behind the individual choices and processes that saw the first leading an international musical career and the second utilising his musical career to make national statements, even though they both carried within them the western musical canon and a-varying- sense of national allegiance. By aligning to the cause of the demoticists, and in alliance with the political and cultural

---

<sup>754</sup> Belonis, G. “The Greek National Music School” in Romanou, K. (ed.), 2009. *Serbian & Greek Art Music: A Patch to Western Music History*. p. 129; Tsetsos, M. “Kalomiris and Venizelos, Aesthetic and ideological aspects of an important relationship”, in Sakellariopoulos, T., Vatsaki, A. Theodorou, M.(ed.) 2012. *Eleftherios Venizelos and cultural policy: Symposium proceedings, 21-22/11/2008*. p. 270; Samson, J. 2013. *Music in the Balkans*. p. 257.

establishment, Kalomiris managed to push his own agenda of musical reformation and become the catalyst for the creative resolution of the cultural and societal pressures of the previous century. Though definitely promoting the ‘Greek’ in the ‘European’, the Greek national school of music relieved the tension between learned ‘western’ art music and bourgeois anxiety about losing contact with the ‘indigenous’.

Perhaps because of this early 20<sup>th</sup>-century boost in Greek-oriented musical practice, and its sudden popularity in the press and intellectual circles, in 1914, after years of Greek propaganda and armed conflict, between two Balkan wars and before the First World War, the city of Thessaloniki acquired its own state-funded conservatory of western music. The following section will briefly explain the complicated transition of the city from Ottoman-Jewish to Greek from 1912 onwards, its cultural and musical outlook before the annexation to Greece, and analyse the inauguration of the Conservatory of Thessaloniki as a strategic move of cultural national expansionism through music.

### *When politics makes music*

It was a curious statement to make, but then again 50 years had already passed and most of it had been forgotten. Contrary to the Ministry of Education’s proud claim in 1965, there ‘had been a musical tradition’ in the city before the inauguration of the Conservatory of Thessaloniki in 1915. Leaving aside the long-term musical and educational outcomes that rather reflect the course of the institution in relation to its 20<sup>th</sup> century evolution, the beginnings and early years of the Conservatory of Thessaloniki can be seen as a distinct moment in the history of the state’s relationship to its musical institutions. Three contingent factors appear to render this institution one of historical significance for its time: i) The political landscape between the Balkan wars and the First World War, ii) the multiethnic make-up of the city at the time, and iii) the class structure of the city and its relationship to western institutions. Inaugurated in a city with a distinct multicultural Ottoman identity, a strong economy, and constant contact with western entertainment, the Conservatory of Thessaloniki

signaled an attempt by the Greek state to make a cultural statement of Greek-European annexation in this new territory.

In the eighty years between the creation of the Greek Kingdom and its expansion to include Thessaloniki (1912), the city developed rapidly economically, it was deeply affected by the creation of the said Kingdom, and by now exemplifies the mechanics for the transition from a prosperous multicultural Balkan port-city belonging to an Empire, to a city absorbed by a nation-state with homogenous cultural pretensions. Located in northern Greece, Thessaloniki in its 19<sup>th</sup>-century outlook was a city whose urban structure is the key to understanding its complex cultural character. Divided into four quarters, the Muslims occupied the northwest part of the city, the Christian-Greeks the southeast, the Europeans were settled around the Catholic Church in an area called “Malta”, and the Jewish quarters were near the sea, the port, and the marketplace.<sup>755</sup> Between the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and 1912 its population increased from 50-60.000 to 157.889 people, with a brief decrease to 40.000 in the 1820s, after the extensive purges against the Christians because of the Greek Revolution.<sup>756</sup> Ethnologically, by the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century it consisted of 30.000 Greek-Christians, 90.000 Israelites, 30.000 Muslims, and 8.000 of other ethnicities (out of a total of 158.000 citizens) in 1900, while by 1912 when the city was ceded to Greece, it was inhabited by 39.000 Greek-Christians, 60.000 Jews, 45.000 Muslims, and 10.000 others.<sup>757</sup> Overall, for most of its modern existence, the city’s population was predominantly Jewish, and the ties of the ethnic group with the European/global israelite organisations would affect the financial and cultural outlook of the city, especially after the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>758</sup>

From 1839 onwards, when the Ottoman Reforms (Tanzimat) signalled the structural/administrational turn of the Empire towards the western model, and

---

<sup>755</sup> Kaya, D. A., “Living off others’ aid”: The Socioeconomic Structure of Salonica’s Jews in the Mid-Nineteenth Century. *Jewish History*, vol. 28 (2014), p. 318. Gounaris, V. K. ‘Thessaloniki, 1830-1912: History, Economy, and Society’, in: Chasiotis, I.K. (ed.). 1997. Thessaloniki Ruler of the Virtuous: History and Culture. [Vol. A] p. 157 [in Greek: Γούναρης, Β.Κ. ‘Θεσσαλονίκη, 1830-1912: Ιστορία, Οικονομία, και Κοινωνία’, στο: Χασιώτης, Ι.Κ. (επιμ.). 1997. Τοις Αγαθοίς Βασιλεύουσα Θεσσαλονίκη: Ιστορία και Πολιτισμός. [Τόμος Α’], σελ. 157]

<sup>756</sup> *ibid.* p. 157-158

<sup>757</sup> Moskof, K. 1974. Thessaloniki 1700-1912: a Dissection of the Commercial City. p. 101 [in Greek: Μοσκόφ, Κ. 1974. Θεσσαλονίκη 1700-1912: Τομή της Μεταπρακτικής Πόλης. Σελ. 101]

<sup>758</sup> That Thessaloniki was a predominantly ‘Jewish’ city until the 1920s is a steady claim of historians of the Jewish ethnic group of the city. See: Dumont, P. The Social structure of the Jewish community of Salonica at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, *Southeastern Europe/ L’Europe du sud-est*, 5 Pt.2 (1979), p. 34.

especially after the Crimean War in 1856, when European political influence supported the Reforms, the condition of the non-Muslim citizens of the city improved significantly as they were recognised as equals under secular law.<sup>759</sup> This would in turn change the political and spatial administration of the city, and result in urban modernisation, with extensive works on sanitation, the development of public transportation, street widening, and new buildings for public services.<sup>760</sup> On a parallel level, this modernisation signalled extensive foreign investment in the city, with a series of railway projects commissioned to the Jewish Hirsch family in Vienna, the Deutsche Bank (1892), Belgian investment for water supply, British investment for lighting, resulting in the transformation of the city to an important Balkan commercial hub by the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>761</sup> On the local side of investment, fifty large companies operated in the city with local capital, with a number of the Jewish companies showcasing a “multinational” structure- the Allatini firm, for example, had branches in London, Marseilles, and Vienna.<sup>762</sup> The city’s port capacity would increase from 5.633 ships in 1881 to 8.946 in 1899, while overall Thessaloniki represented 40% of the Ottoman exports to the Balkans in 1885.<sup>763</sup>

On the whole, inter-ethnic relations were harmonious and, partly due to their majority status, the Jews were highly respected by the rest of the ethnic groups, with Thessaloniki being an exception in the general trend of late 19<sup>th</sup> century European anti-Semitism.<sup>764</sup> Confident in their numerical and cultural predominance in the city, and with close ties to the Alliance Israélite Universelle, the Jewish community would take the economic and cultural lead, instituting nine schools between 1873 and 1904 and gradually taking care for its wider prosperity, mainly through donations.<sup>765</sup> Naturally, international developments and propaganda had an impact on inter-ethnic relationships, with the Dreyfus affair creating an upsurge of anti-Semitic sentiment in

<sup>759</sup> Karadimou-Gerolimou, A. 1995 [2<sup>nd</sup> ed.]. The reconstruction of Thessaloniki after the fire of 1917: a turning point in the history of the city and Greek urban planning. p. 21 [in Greek: Καραδήμου- Γερόλυμπος, Α. 1995. [Β΄ Έκδοση] Η Ανοικοδόμηση της Θεσσαλονίκης μετά την πυρκαγιά του 1917: ένα ορόσημο στην ιστορία της πόλης και της ελληνικής πολεοδομίας. σελ. 21]

<sup>760</sup> *ibid.* p. 22

<sup>761</sup> Moskof, K. 1974. Thessaloniki 1700-1912: a Dissection of the Commercial City. p. 92

<sup>762</sup> Dumont, P. The social structure of the Jewish community of Salonica at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. *Southeastern Europe/ L'Europe du sud-est*, 5 Pt.2 (1979), p. 56

<sup>763</sup> Moskof, K. 1974. Thessaloniki 1700-1912: a Dissection of the Commercial City. p. 95

<sup>764</sup> Dumont, P. The Social structure of the Jewish community of Salonica at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, *Southeastern Europe/ L'Europe du sud-est*, 5 Pt.2 (1979), p. 63

<sup>765</sup> Molho, R. 2001 [2014]. The Jews of Thessaloniki, 1856–1919: A Unique Community. pp. 34-35 [Μόλχο, Ρ. 2001 [2014]. Οι Εβραίοι της Θεσσαλονίκης 1856-1919: Μια ιδιαίτερη κοινότητα. σελ. 34-35]

the city for example, but overall the local religious leaders sustained a peaceful relationship between the diverse communities.<sup>766</sup>

In terms of the Greek cultural presence in the city, Greek education begun to be systematised after 1872 under the protection of the Greek consuls. After 1890, a number of other Greek charitable, cultural, and educational institutions were established- notably orphanages, literary societies, theatrical groups, etc.<sup>767</sup> The first Greek press was established in 1850 and the city modernised rapidly. While until 1896 only one Greek newspaper and the *Ottoman bulletin* circulated in Thessaloniki, by 1912 the city had 16 newspapers- in French, Spanish-Jewish, Turkish, Bulgarian, and Romanian.<sup>768</sup> The Greek community would take advantage of the city's economic upheaval after 1880, as well as benefit from low interest loans and grants by the Greek Kingdom, but the Jews remained the dominant economic community in the city.<sup>769</sup> Politically, the emergence of the Kingdom became the focal point of modern Greek national identity, and as such created suspicion within the Ottoman administration, which remained vigilant against cases of ethnic unrest due to nationalist propaganda. The impact of the Kingdom as a locus of national identity upon the ethnic group and its relationship to Imperial administration becomes clear in incidents such the 1851 Ottoman investigation into rumours purporting that Greek passports were circulating in local coffee-houses in Thessaloniki, as a means of propaganda and encouragement for the Christians to move to the Greek Kingdom.<sup>770</sup> The situation intensified significantly in the last decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, when Greek and Bulgarian partisan groups and secret nationalist societies started operating in the region of Macedonia, stirring national sentiment to otherwise religiously-organised local communities with frail national consciousness.<sup>771</sup>

By the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century competing emerging Balkan nationalisms would each claim Thessaloniki for their own. Each ethnic group would claim majority through cooked demographic reports, with the Romanian community in one instance even

<sup>766</sup> Dumont, P. The Social structure of the Jewish community of Salonica at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, *Southeastern Europe/ L'Europe du sud-est*, 5 Pt.2 (1979), p. 65

<sup>767</sup> Moskof, K. 1974. Thessaloniki 1700-1912: a Dissection of the Commercial City. pp. 121-123

<sup>768</sup> *ibid.* pp. 124, 157

<sup>769</sup> Glenny, M. 2012. The Balkans 1804-2012: Nationalism, War and the Great Powers. p. 182

<sup>770</sup> Mazower, M. 2005. Salonica, City of Ghosts: Christians, Muslims and Jews 1430-1950. p. 177

<sup>771</sup> Glenny, M. 2012. The Balkans 1804-2012: Nationalism, War and the Great Powers. p. 193, 198

removing the Greek ethnic group from their statistics, and Greek nationalists in the Kingdom suggesting falsifying ethnic statistics in Macedonia to stir sympathy in Europe, in response to a similar Bulgarian practice.<sup>772</sup> The dominant Jewish community of Thessaloniki, which would remain politically neutral in their numerical confidence until the rise of Greek territorial nationalism, a wave of Greek anti-Semitism in Athens, and the Kingdom's subsequent expansion, acted as mediators in such instances of tension, and remained equally neutral in the face of Greek and Bulgarian provocations in the city.<sup>773</sup>

Between those competing Balkan nationalisms, amidst plans by the central European powers considering an internationalist future for the city, and with the local Jewish community in open support of the Austrian plan that would render it a neutral zone under international protection, the annexation to Greece in the same year resulted in negotiations between the community and the Greek state, and a list of assurances by the latter for the protection of the religious and civic rights of the Jews under Greek administration.<sup>774</sup> A comparison to the rest of the Jewish communities in Greek territory, the Jews of Thessaloniki appear to have secured favourable treatment by the Greek government because of their community's strong, proactive political leadership, and the projection of a 'city-state' local sense of ethnic identity, confident in its 'indigenous' status against the aggressive assimilating Greek nationalism.<sup>775</sup> At the same time, their move to ask Greece for protection during the First Balkan War, and the Jewish socialists' initiative to initiate Greek language lessons after the city's annexation to Greece (rather than Bulgaria), appears to have eased the transition from Jewish-Ottoman to Jewish-Greek, amidst incidents of anti-Semitic hatred and gradually diminishing hopes of the city remaining independent and internationalist.<sup>776</sup>

Thessaloniki was eventually ceded to Greece on 26 October 1912, in what has gone down in history as 'the race for Salonika', the literal race between the competing

---

<sup>772</sup> Molho, R. 2001 [2014]. The Jews of Thessaloniki, 1856–1919: A Unique Community. pp. 42,49; Kaliakatsos, M. Ion Dragoumis and "Machiavelli": Armed struggle, Propaganda, and Hellenization in Macedonia and Thrace (1903-1908). *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, vol. 31, No. 1, May 2013, pp. 67-68

<sup>773</sup> Molho, R. 2001 [2014]. The Jews of Thessaloniki, 1856–1919: A Unique Community pp. 49-50

<sup>774</sup> Molho, R. The Jewish community of Salonika and its incorporation into the Greek state 1912-1919. *Middle Eastern Studies*, vol. 24, No. 4 (Oct., 1988), pp. 392-395

<sup>775</sup> Molho, R. 2001 [2014]. The Jews of Thessaloniki, 1856–1919: A Unique Community. pp. 23-24; Naar, D.E. Jewish Salonica: Between the Ottoman Empire and Modern Greece. pp. 6-7

<sup>776</sup> Molho, R. 2001 [2014]. The Jews of Thessaloniki, 1856–1919: A Unique Community. pp. 39-40; Naar, D.E. Jewish Salonica: Between the Ottoman Empire and Modern Greece. p. 4



Greek and Bulgarian armies to reach Thessaloniki first and make a strong claim for annexation.<sup>777</sup> Interestingly, the Jewish community preferred Bulgarian to Greek overlords at the time, since this solution would have secured the uninterrupted connection of the port to central Europe, rather than the creation of a border between two hostile Balkan states with aggressive expansionist nationalisms, which would obstruct commerce.<sup>778</sup> Nevertheless, in a long process of European negotiation, armed conflict, local nationalist ideologies, and an ailing Ottoman Empire that looked to resolve the nationalist territorial tensions in the Balkan Peninsula since the Berlin Conference of 1878, the outcome of the First Balkan War delivered the contested space of Macedonia to the Greeks. Macedonia at the time was inhabited by a mixture of Slavs, Greeks, Albanians, and Turks, in communities structured in the complex Ottoman *millet* system, and with interchangeable religious or national identities, depending mainly on economical interests and social mobility.<sup>779</sup> In this area, Thessaloniki with its prosperous port became the trophy and was transformed into an important border city, resulting in its long-term economic decline, and interethnic divisions.<sup>780</sup>

Yet, before the decline, it was in reference to this multicultural, prospering society, with a strong sense of local multicultural identity, uninterrupted commercial and cultural ties to central Europe, and an active workers' movement because of its developed industrial life, that the then serving director of the Conservatory of Thessaloniki claimed that the institution brought civilisation and music.<sup>781</sup> Apart from the usual suspicions over the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century politics that allowed such a bold and inaccurate statement to circulate in a booklet, this claim reveals another significant aspect in regards to the importance of the Conservatory of Thessaloniki for the city: the imposition of such memory of Thessaloniki as one that in its multicultural, Ottoman years did not showcase the musical efficiency of a Greek state-supported institution of 'western' art music is indicative of the colonialist attitude with which

---

<sup>777</sup> Glenny, M. 2012. *The Balkans 1804-2012: Nationalism, War and the Great Powers*. p. 236

<sup>778</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>779</sup> Glenny relates the story of a Christian village in Macedonia that would designate itself 'Greek' or 'Bulgarian' according to its financial needs and which of the two powers or Churches (Greek or Bulgarian) would offer assistance. See: *ibid.* pp. 145, 156-157, 199

<sup>780</sup> Molho, R. The Jewish community of Salonika and its incorporation into the Greek state 1912-1919. *Middle Easter Studies*, vol. 24, No. 4 (Oct., 1988), p. 391

<sup>781</sup> Ministry of National Education and Religion. 1966. *Conservatory of Thessaloniki, 1915-1965*. pp. 8, 27. Commemorative edition held at the archive of the State Conservatory of Thessaloniki. [Υπουργείον Εθνικής Παιδείας και Θρησκευμάτων. 1966. Ωδείο Θεσσαλονίκης 1915-1965. σελ. 8]

the Greeks imposed national memory upon the city. In reality, exactly because of the thriving economy, the internationalist Jewish community, the 10,000-strong European citizens, and the multicultural character of the city, in the years up to the institution of the Conservatory of Thessaloniki in 1914, the city already had two private conservatories, instituted in 1880 and 1911, an active western artistic life of private and open concerts, performances by Italian orchestras, and a small number of instrumental teachers.<sup>782</sup> Yet, as argued in the case of the gradual nation-centric demarcation of space in rural Macedonia from Balkan to Greek through archaeology, cartography, and urban planning, in a process of perpetual “internal colonization, re-bordering, and ruination” as Dimitris Papadopoulos has approached it, it is safe to assert that the state adopted a similar approach for Thessaloniki, with great care in regards to its institutional ‘Hellenization’, and with very interesting outcomes for what aspect of the *Hellenic-Greek* they chose to project in each instance.<sup>783</sup>

Therefore, when in 1914 the Europeanist Prime Minister Eleftherios Venizelos, Kalomiris’ political idol and supporter as seen earlier, approved the inauguration of the ‘Conservatory of Thessaloniki’, it was either a celebratory gesture for the city’s ‘liberation’ from the Ottomans, or perhaps a strategic move, a state-supported cultural annexation of the city. The Conservatory of Thessaloniki and its history have been completely overlooked in both Greek cultural history, and Greek historical musicology. A history of the institution does not exist yet, and references to its inauguration remain marginal and uninvestigated. As such, it appears as a mostly inconsequential institution, regardless of its interesting chronological and geographical context.<sup>784</sup> If, at the same time, we take into consideration that after all these years of constant debate of what constitutes ‘Greek music’, the state inaugurated a clearly European-oriented institution of music, then a case can be made for the Conservatory acting as a clear message that Greece was expanding against its

---

<sup>782</sup> Tomanas, K. 1996. *Artistic Life in Thessaloniki: 1885-1944*. pp. 9-24 [Τομανάς, Κ. 1996. Η Καλλιτεχνική Κίνηση στην Ελλάδα: 1885-1944. σελ. 9-24]; Letsas, A.I. 1962. *Thessaloniki 1912-1962: Commemorative edition*. p. 560

<sup>783</sup> For the perpetual demarcation of national space in Macedonia throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century see: Papadopoulos, D. C. *Ecologies of Ruin: (Re)bordering, Ruination, and Internal Colonialism in Greek Macedonia, 1913-2013*. *International Journal of Historical Archaeology*, vol. 20, issue 3 (September 2016), pp. 627-628

<sup>784</sup> A good example of its marginalization remains the article ‘Music Education in 19<sup>th</sup> century Greece: Its Institutions and their Contribution to Urban Musical Life’ that only vaguely refers to the Conservatory of the Thessaloniki in the last footnote of the article: Romanou, K., Barbaki, *Music Education in Nineteenth-Century Greece: Its Institutions and their Contribution to Urban Musical Life*. *Nineteenth-Century Music Review*, vol. 8, issue 01 (June 2011), p. 84, footnote n. 97.

Ottoman and other Balkan neighbours as a European country finally ready to fulfil its destiny and spread western civilisation to the East, in accordance with its ideological narrative.

In relation to the city itself, the institution was a neutral space for inter-ethnic cultural assimilation that would homogenise the fragmented diverse population into the Greek, through the even wider 'European'. As evident from the Conservatory's student registry, the Greek-European outlook of musical education- a species of education that is not conditioned by language- became a unifying space where universal access would gradually shift the hierarchy of identity from ethnic to class. As such, the Conservatory acted as a melting pot for its middle-class students, whose ethnic origins included Orthodox Greek and other Balkan Christian citizens, Catholic Greeks, Greeks of the Diaspora, and Jews of various ethnicities all learning 'European' music at a Greek state-institution.<sup>785</sup>

In the absence of prior systematic research until now, and since (as seen repeatedly throughout the thesis) music never received the honour of coherent state policy in Greece until well into the 20<sup>th</sup> century, such suspicions of an attempted cultural annexation will be substantiated through the cultural reality in the city at the time, which does not verify the state-supported argument of a 'music-less' city. Arguably the 19<sup>th</sup> century European classification of non-European genres of music as inherently inferior in intellectual or aesthetic value was the driving force behind this bold statement, but since the city could showcase a vibrant western musical life in its palette of diverse Balkan musics, it becomes clear that the Greek state held a strong belief in its turn-of- the -20<sup>th</sup> -century civilising mission.

In practical terms, the Conservatory was the intellectual brain-child of the political leadership of the Liberal Party and its charismatic Europeanist Prime Minister Eleftherios Venizelos. Elected in 1910, at a time when the Greeks were turning against the dated party-system of the last decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, his cabinet would bring forward an extended programme of modernisation. It achieved in

---

<sup>785</sup> Registries of the male and female students of the conservatory for the years 1915-1947, held at the Archive of the State Conservatory of Thessaloniki, Thessaloniki. [Μαθητολόγια Αρρένων και Μαθητριών 1915-1947, Αρχείο Κρατικού Ωδείου Θεσσαλονίκης, Θεσσαλονίκη]

consolidating ‘bourgeois democracy’ in Greece, as Mark Mazower has termed the Prime Minister’s influence upon the complex class-structure of the country until then.<sup>786</sup> Venizelos’ musical actions in the years of his premiership did not result in any other groundbreaking institutional policy than the institution of the Conservatory of Thessaloniki, a fact that raises its strategic importance. Among the handful of minor musical policies regulating musical curriculum and the tuition of Byzantine music in schools, and instituting two military bands, the institution of the Conservatory of Thessaloniki, the first and only state-supported institution of music in the country ever to exist, and one whose teachers at the time received salaries equal those of the staff at the University of Athens, indicates that this was indeed an important decision for the Greek state.<sup>787</sup>

Nevertheless, apart from the decisive move that created this institution of Greek-European musical education, and the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century statements about the necessities of a musical institution in this ‘reclaimed’ Greek city, the struggles of the Conservatory of Thessaloniki were similar to the struggles of every other musical institution in the country. As evident in the minutes of the meetings of the Board of Directors, in its first years the Conservatory was constantly looking to import pianos, secure loans for their repayment, and employ instrument teachers.<sup>788</sup> The only difference appears to have been that by the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century a number of Greek musicians had been trained in Europe and in the rest of Greece, and were ready to serve, as is the case of Emilios Riadis and Loris Margaritis, a set of local composers, with international experience and representatives of the Greek national school of music. The Conservatory’s first director- and one who would serve in the post from 1915 to 1951- was Alexandros Kazantzis, a violinist at the time teaching at the Royal Conservatory of Brussels, who was forced to remain in Greece because of the outbreak of the First World War, and would utilise his personal network to invite his colleague in the Conservatory of Brussels, Theo Kauffman, to teach the piano class. Kazantzis found himself unable to return to Brussels after a short trip to Greece just

<sup>786</sup> Mazower, M. 1992. The Messiah and the bourgeoisie: Venizelos and politics in Greece, 1909-1912. *The Historical Journal*, vol. 35, issue 04, (December 1992), pp. 898, 901

<sup>787</sup> Xanthoulis, N. ‘Musical Education as seen through the thought and actions of El. Venizelos’ in Sakellariopoulos, T., Vatsaki, A. Theodorou, M.(ed.) 2012. Eleftherios Venizelos and cultural policy: Symposium proceedings, 21-22/11/2008, pp. 186-187

<sup>788</sup> See for example: Minutes of the meetings of the Board of Directors, n. 1 (12/02/1915- 04/07/1924), held at the Archive of the State Conservatory of Thessaloniki, Thessaloniki [Εφορεία 1, (12/02/1915- 04/07/1924), Αρχείο Κρατικού Ωδείου Θεσσαλονίκης, Θεσσαλονίκη]

before the outbreak of the First World War, and Germany's invasion to Belgium, and as such he assumed the directorship of the Conservatory. Similarly, local composer Emilios Riadis was repatriated from Paris.<sup>789</sup> As such, the Conservatory was staffed from its beginnings with local and international musicians with experience in major European institutions and an established network of colleagues all over the continent.

But as here is not the space where an institution is scrutinised in terms of its educational value for the country, as noted in the beginning of the section, rather it is the institution itself that becomes the tangible proof of expansionist cultural politics with an iron musical fist, and as such the particulars of its struggles into the 20<sup>th</sup> century are of minor importance. What is of definitive interest in this story of an institution that was created to impose Greek-European musical educational policy in a city with a vibrant multi-ethnic and multi-religious past coming into a national existence, is that for the first time in its unimportant institutional life, music was utilised as governmental policy in an expansionist Greek-European move. A few years after the institution of the Conservatory of Thessaloniki, in 1920, when Greek nationalism was once again actively attempting to expand the territorial borders of the country, this time well into Ottoman territory, and reclaim space occupied by large numbers of ethnic Greeks in Asia Minor, Kazantzis received a curious letter from Athens.<sup>790</sup> In a few lines, the acting minister of National Education and Religious Affairs informed the director of the Conservatory of Thessaloniki that, upon his next visit to Istanbul and Smyrna, he had the government's blessings to investigate whether state or private conservatories could be instituted in those cities.<sup>791</sup>

In a move that envisioned the strategic placement of institutions progressively into foreign territory for the gradual assimilation of its alien inhabitants, the Greek state turned western music into ideological policy, while artistically the nation remained insecure in regards to its own musical relationship to east and west. And it is this

---

<sup>789</sup> Romanou, K. 2006. Greek art music in the Modern times; Ministry of National Education and Religion. 1966. Conservatory of Thessaloniki, 1915-1965, p.8. Commemorative edition held at the archive of the State Conservatory of Thessaloniki

<sup>790</sup> For the unsuccessful Greek military campaign to Asia Minor and the subsequent population exchange of 1923 see: Clogg, R. 1992. A concise history of Greece. p. 100

<sup>791</sup> Letter to the director of the Conservatory of Thessaloniki, Alexandros Kazantzis, by the minister of Education and Religious Affairs, 10 August 1920. Document from the Alexandros Kazantzis personal archive, held at the Archive of the State Conservatory of Thessaloniki, Thessaloniki [Επιστολή προς το διευθυντή του Κρατικού Ωδείου Θεσσαλονίκης, Αλέξανδρο Καζαντζή, 10 Αυγούστου 1920. Προσωπικό αρχείο Αλέξανδρου Καζαντζη, Αρχείο Κρατικού Ωδείου Θεσσαλονίκης, Θεσσαλονίκη]

immediate plan on the part of the Ministry that strengthens the suspicion that the Conservatory of Thessaloniki had been itself a similar strategy originally, since the circumstances appear easily comparable: the Greek state was in the process of annexing an Ottoman region with historically strong ethnic-Greek ties, a multicultural constitution, a vibrant commercial economy, and in constant contact with western culture and music.<sup>792</sup> More importantly, though, this cunning idea of ‘Europeanising’ the east through Greek-European musical institutions indicates that by the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century the Greeks were politically ready to ‘Conquer the East’ under the flag of ‘European’ culture, in this instance through inaugurating institutions of western art music.

This chapter has been an end and a beginning. The end of this long period when western art music went unregulated and regulating, not politicised and political. It is also the end of the period when western art music was ‘foreign’ in Greece, as it became nationalised and normalised through the Greek national school of music, and as such the nation was raised to an aesthetic measure of comparison, even if only for those who elected to measure music in such terms. But it is also the beginning of the time when the national mind realised the potential of institutionalised music as a means of producing cultural ideology. Of course, as history has already recorded the attempt of the Greeks to avenge the Ottomans for ‘four hundred years of yoke’ resulted in humiliating defeat, ethnic cleansing, a lot of refugees, and as such- all blood and tears aside- the musical vision of the Greeks to spread European musical civilisation to an East with an already developed western musical tradition, never materialised.<sup>793</sup> On the contrary, and somewhat ironically, it was the refugees who brought their music to mainland Greece, and a new Eastern-Greek genre from Asia Minor took the Hellenes by storm.<sup>794</sup>

Either through institutions, blood, or intellectual/artistic exchange, music continued travelling Eastbound and Westbound through and beyond Greece, and the 20<sup>th</sup> century

---

<sup>792</sup> See for example the case of Smyrna: Jackson, M. “Cosmopolitan” Smyrna: illuminating or obscuring cultural histories? *The Geographical Review*, 102: 3 (July 2012), pp. 337-349

<sup>793</sup> For the unsuccessful Greek military campaign to Asia Minor and the subsequent population exchange of 1923 see: Clogg, R. 1992. *A concise history of Greece*. p. 100

<sup>794</sup> The much popular ‘Rebetiko’ would become one of the most important genres of entertainment in the 20<sup>th</sup> century and give birth to a multitude other Greek popular musical sub-genres. See: Petropoulos, E. 1989. *Rebetika: Songs from the Old Greek Underworld*. Athens: Kedros [Πετρόπουλος, Ε. 1989. Ρεμπέτικα: Τραγούδια του παλιού Ελληνικού Υποκόσμου. Αθήνα: Κέδρος]

brought new musical adventures for the now positively sure Greek-Europeans. Or maybe not so positively sure after all since, as an article in the newspaper *Musical Review* warned in 1921,

“ [...] Therefore if conservatories ought to actively nurture the aesthetic admiration of beauty through music, they should not prioritise the dissemination and popularisation of music, or to be more precise of European music at the expense of national tradition, and as such become mediators of the destruction of the Greek spirit [...] ”<sup>795</sup>

And a brand new discussion was repeated all over again.

---

<sup>795</sup> Zacharias, P.D. (1921). The Conservatories. *Musical Review*, November 1921, no. 2, p. 9 [Ζαχαρίας, Π. Δ. (1921). Τα Ωδεδεία. *Μουσική Επιθεώρησις*, Νοέμβριος 1921, Αρ. 2, σελ. 9]

## Conclusion

In *Tonio Kröger*, Thomas Mann grants his eponymous character a significant number of pages so that the tortured poet can tell his friend, the painter Lisaveta, about the pains of making art, art's perception by the public, the role of the dilettante, the meaning of 'art for art's sake', friendships, and how all these have been informed by and formed his life.<sup>796</sup> An unnecessary number of pages later Lisaveta remains calm and composed, and she nonchalantly offers Tonio a solution to his anxious search of an artistic self:

“ [...] I have listened to you faithfully, Tonio, from beginning to end, and I will now tell you what the answer is to everything you have said this afternoon, and what the solution is to the problem that has been worrying you so much. So! The solution is quite simply that you are, and always will be, a bourgeois.’

‘Am I?’ he asked, with a somewhat crestfallen air...

‘That’s a hard home truth for you, isn’t it. And I don’t wonder. So I don’t mind modifying it a little, for it so happens that I can. You are a bourgeois who has taken the wrong turning, Tonio Kröger- a bourgeois *manqué*.’<sup>797</sup>

Anxiety about the arts in general, and music in particular, has been a central theme in this thesis. More precisely, bourgeois anxiety about the meaning of music and how it ought to be best practiced and controlled, regardless of the practice itself, an omnipresent issue. In the 85 years that western art music evolved from narrow class-specific aesthetic preference to state policy, national compositional target, and a widespread form of popular entertainment, it affected a broad range of cultural, political, intellectual and personal spheres. What started as the Bavarians’ entertainment transformed through the Greeks’ ‘civilising mission’ to an asset of Greek European cultural and political identity. In these 85 years, western art music also evolved from inward cultural influence to home-grown bourgeois anxiety about the impact of the art upon local identity, arguably a clear sign of musical appropriation and cultural adaptation.

<sup>796</sup> Mann, Th. 1998 [1912]. *Death in Venice and Other Stories*, pp. 156-166

<sup>797</sup> *ibid.* pp. 166-167



In this process of transformative musical change, music, its people and institutions, or lack thereof, also revealed the constitutive elements of Greek nationalism and its reflexive relationship to the East and the West in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. To capture the cultural outcomes of this gradual inclusion into western musical tradition, by now one of the strongest ideological assets of ‘westernization’ worldwide, western art music has been examined in relation to its patrons, exponents, critics, as well as its spaces, chronologies, and ideological functions. As has been evident from the individual chapters in this thesis, music was a significant component in Greece’s 19<sup>th</sup> century ‘westernization’, through providing an intellectual space for the influence of ‘Europe’ to be discussed and normalised. It also became tangible evidence of this transformative process through the production of ‘western’ text in the form of Greek compositions. In the end music proved to be a unifying container of Greece’s dual Eastern-Western identity, as evident in the works and words of the National School of Music.

Conversely, music also became the means of local resistance against transnational cultural modification, here exemplified by the defence of the monophonic form of the Byzantine chant contrary to popular demand. Similarly, in the case of the Italian opera, its symbolic ideological association with King Otto I’s monarchy rendered it a platform for covert political action in support of or opposition to the Royals. On an even larger scale, by the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century music became a means of challenging the ‘purity’ of the monolithic 19<sup>th</sup> century Franco-German musical canon through claiming space for the ‘national’ within the domineering transnational, as showcased by the pan-European National Schools of Music and their exponents. From the personal to the local, the national, and the transnational, music became one of the most revealing aspects of the mechanics of cultural negotiation between the conflicting elements that connect the personal with the collective, and by extension the national with the transnational.

All the negations in the end affirmed the deep musical influence pouring into 19<sup>th</sup> century Greece, even though, arguably, further research is needed on the ‘Eastern’ or other cultural influences that were simultaneously altering the same monolithic overview of what constituted the ‘European’. The process of wider European musical

‘Europeanisation’, as best showcased by the gradual admission of the Italian operatic tradition into the wider ‘European’ musical heritage and canon, or the Russian musical influences upon western art music, ought to be studied in relation to musicians’ mobility, intercontinental networks of patronage, and multilateral inter-cultural contamination and/or resistance. At a smaller scale, the movement of music students between the different European nations, and the reciprocal cross-cultural contamination ought to be brought into focus in relation to the material and musical approaches these students carried with them between the different countries they visited. Out of the many examples in this thesis, in chapter five alone, the nationalist Giannopoulos made an example out of pupils who trained in central Europe where they transferred their own experience in the Eastern Chant, while the composer Kalomiris admitted to experimenting with Eastern material during his stay in Vienna. Accustomed as we are to identifying the flow of ideology from the core nations of the canon- Germany, Italy, Austria, and France- to the so-called ‘periphery’, we remain oblivious to the reverse micro-processes that enriched and challenged compositional practice in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. If the ‘periphery’ is studied as an organic component of a discursive whole, and its negations, resistance, and adaptation are studied in combination with inward musical influence, only then will we come closer to a rounded understanding of who, how, and when formed the western musical canon in relation to individual national rhetorics, gender politics, intellectual bias, and historical narratives throughout the Continent. In turn, such an approach towards musical exchange, mobility, and resistance will result in a more integrated inter-European cultural and social history of reciprocal ‘core-periphery’ influences.

For all these various processes and musical dynamics the Greek 19<sup>th</sup> century is a unique testing ground since the country was constructed from scratch as ‘European-oriented’, and in the course of the century it constructed the institutional framework to prove and promote this *a priori* connection. Arguably, the wider Balkan region, as well as Turkey, are equally interesting in their own journey to meet ‘the West’, but the Greeks’ claim and connection to Hellenism and the profound administrative and financial intervention by the Great Powers render them an exceptional case study in the region. From this viewpoint, in a new Kingdom with ancient pretensions and a political mandate to achieve ‘the western’, European musical influence manifested itself to a great degree through the creation of institutions. Yet in the long term the

actions of individual agents proved equally important due to the general institutional instability and lack of a clear aesthetic/educational direction.

Starting from the Theatre of Athens, a case study that illustrated the overarching influence of western art music in a significant number of cultural, social, and political spheres, the reception, treatment, and popularity of the Italian opera reflected the evolution of the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century society in relation to the East and the West.

Imported as a distinctively foreign form of entertainment for the locals in the town of Athens, the Theatre introduced the very notion of ‘seasonal’ entertainment in a closed space, where previously street theatre and short-lived wooden constructs operated.

The positive initial reception of Italian operatic excerpts, on the other hand, put the new Kingdom on the map of the cultural market, and Greece suddenly became a visiting point for itinerant operatic troupes operating in the Near East. Physically, this new artistic space became a *locus* of politics and public morality, both in terms of the audience as well as in terms of content.

With King Otto’s monarchy constantly disputed, the Theatre and with it the ideologically charged genre of the Italian opera became the container of opposition to or support for the monarchy, and a carrier of liberal or conservative ideals, expressed in scorn or admiration for the art itself. With the press fuelling this covert political struggle through either promoting the opera as a sign of ‘progress’ or an omen of moral decline, the physical space of the Theatre became by the end of the century a heavily policed space, where European operatic traditions were imported as moralistic mandates, class-conduct was regulated in comparison to an imagined ‘European’ ideal, vague in its content, origin, and practical value, and foreign traditions were normalised as proof of adjustment to a new western cultural direction. In reality, the space of the theatre soon became class-specific and it was rather the predominance of the Greek middle-class towards the last decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century that created the illusion of a wider societal ‘westernisation’.

Two parallel musical and extra-musical processes can challenge this illusion of a musical or wider inter-class westernisation. On the one hand, throughout the century the Byzantine chant and traditional music remained the main contenders for the position of the ‘true’, ‘national’ music because of popularity, widespread

participation, and historical cultural connection. Especially in relation to the Chant, an intellectualised asset of continuity between Ancients and Moderns, and a music intimately connected to the dominant Orthodox identity of 19<sup>th</sup> century Greece, the popularity of the opera in combination with the threat of polyphony to the very form of the Chant itself, raised its defence to a clear cause for local musical resistance to imported trends and ethics.

Arguably, as has been evident throughout the thesis, almost all musical discussions were but a game of mirrors with tangible outcomes by the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. That the Greek intelligentsia constantly debated the musical condition of the country in relation to its cultural direction was completely detached from the musical experience out in the streets, especially in light of the absence of systematic national musical education. That the discussion on the chant remained an exercise in rhetoric and cultural control can be verified by the fragmentation in the musical sphere, the absence of policy and education and the creation of affirmative ‘echo chambers’ in the form of musical publications in which historical continuity and the defence of tradition were both the means as well as the outcome of the discussions. It is possibly for that reason that the chant and traditional music failed in the end to be recognised as Greece’s modern sound alongside the imported western learned music, even though both of these local genres were supported by the intelligentsia as well as the nation’s religious sentiment, and the domineering Institution of the Church. The fact that polyphonic church music, once damned and pushed aside, retreated to the musical sphere of the Diaspora and individual practitioners in the capital, while overall cultural and historical denial merely repeated the mantra of continuity, in the end allowed Europeanist class pretensions and beliefs to dominate the otherwise local, Balkan musical environment.

That the debates and rhetoric were a game of mirrors can also be well verified by the fate of the Ionian School of Music that operated on the fringes of musical visibility, on the border between ‘the Greek’ and ‘the European’ and whilst belonging to neither. Especially in relation to composer Pavlos Carrer and his opera ‘Marko Botzari’, this negotiation between rhetoric, musical adaptation, evolution, and perception further highlights the process of musical normalisation, press politics, and perhaps historical relativism. For this specific case study, three diverse forces

converged to result in historical meaning. Firstly, the composer's individual choices in dialogue with his audiences, his own relationship to the nation, and the prospect of a career at a difficult cultural environment, prompted him to meet the audience halfway through progressively 'nationalising' his opera to appease, appeal, and attract. Secondly the press, for whom the theme of the opera was too Greek to be expressed through the European, operatic genre, and the music was too Italian to contain a contemporary Greek story. Thirdly, the successive historians who have until now neglected these musical processes. In a classic catch-22 situation it appears as if the Greeks are not in the canon because no text was produced out of this 19<sup>th</sup> century historical experience, and no text was produced out of this 19<sup>th</sup> century historical experience because they didn't make it into the canon. What is evident from the multi-faceted influences upon a single work is that 'the Greek' and 'the European' were perceived as clearly antithetical notions in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, even when the 'European' was mediated through a 'Greek', and that overall the 'European' remained the official intellectual target and national direction.

Regardless of the weakness of historians and historical musicologists to recognise the transition from vague discussion on cultural characteristics to institutionalisation, the second turning point after the creation of the Theatre of Athens was the inauguration of the Conservatory of Athens, a catalyst for the resolution of a number of issues regarding the musics of the land. Apart from its educational output, which is still too narrow to support any claim at a musical revolution at a larger scale, and yet remains indicative of the beginnings of the victory of western art music as the symbol of Greece's musical 'westernisation', the Conservatory of Athens in the long term regulated taste, established a 'musical elite', defined musical 'others', and even normalised the dispute between Byzantine and Western by housing both.

Though in the thesis the Conservatory is primarily treated as an educational institution to argue for the cultural and class conditions that saw its creation after decades of weak educational policy on music, as evident from the musical debates it stirred its importance stretched much further than the educational. In place of the Italianate Ionians, discretely preoccupied in their grassroots project of making and spreading music in the tradition of the Ionian *Philharmonics*, the Conservatory of Athens brought forward a top to bottom, central European approach defined by and adhering

to the Germanic dictates of the ‘appropriate’ in art. More or less simultaneously to Italy’s musical negotiation with Wagner, and what consisted ‘serious music’ within the genre of art music, the Greeks were having the same discussion at home, reproduced by home grown agents of both traditions. For the Conservatory of Athens and its director, Italianate music was too frivolous, while for the Ionians and their supporters the exclusionary Germanic approach to the ‘sublime’, ‘eternal’, and ‘beautiful’ in art, as promoted by the Conservatory, was resulting in sterile compulsive learning for a nation still unfamiliar with the art. That in the end the institution won over the subculture is relatively irrelevant for now, especially in view of the fact that after debate upon debate in the end it took a single educational institution to put Greece decisively on the map of nations that participated in western musical practice rather than merely hosting it (as with the case of the Theatre of Athens). In this sense, the symbolic contribution of the Conservatory of Athens to the solidification of Greece as a nation actively contributing to European cultural heritage overshadows its educational output.

From then on, and as far as this thesis is concerned, the Conservatory of Athens became the focal point for at least three important functions: it eliminated the traces of a Greek school of music that wasn’t Germanic, it housed the Byzantine chant in a special division and, combining the two, it became the incubator for the Greek National School of Music through supporting its creator, a Germanic-Eastern and very ambitious young composer. That at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century nationalism and a sense of local musical protectionism in the end resulted in the normalisation of the gap between Greek art music, local tradition, and western influence was the outcome of the accumulative musical shortages of the previous century. The alliance between two traditionally associated arts- music and literature- in a common cause to provide the masses with comprehensible linguistic and artistic expression matched the wider turn-of-the-century investigation into what constituted the Greek in the modern period, and how the two could coexist without modernity consuming local identity.

Unfortunately for the histrionic nationalist essayist Pericles Giannopoulos, a symptom of his times rather than a voice of reason in this polarised cultural environment, the educational and institutional shortages of the previous century had created the tension he was inviting the same institutions to resolve. Apart from the fact that Greek

musicians were trained in the West because of Greece's weakness to provide comprehensive musical education and the Ionians' disregard in the intellectual sphere, the rhetoric that in the previous decades juxtaposed 'European' to 'Greek' music held the elusive ancient Greek music as the quintessential intellectual source for Greece's modern musical spirit. In practice this trapped modern Greek music theory in between East and West, with no theoretical way around the division. In practice, it was exactly for this reason that the National School of Music succeeded in finally resolving this tension through appropriating the western form and channelling it through 'Eastern' subject matter and compositional technique.

And if the Ionians jump to mind again in relation to the management of the tension between foreign form and local style, it is to argue about the importance of institutional support, the decisive factor that created a musical success out of composer Manolis Kalomiris, a musical problem out of the Ionians, and a lingering indecisiveness about cultural affiliation. By extension, the comparison of the diverse treatment of the two schools of Greek-western art music illuminates the politics of continuity as expressed through the creation and endurance of national symbols. If continuity in musical practice generally comprises a combination of cognition, cultural/intellectual heritage, and musical influence, reproduction, and transformation, then between the two schools there is a clear divergence of rhetoric and approach to continuity. The 'recognised' national school of music utilised the residue of debates and symbols past to channel the future, while the Ionians failed to mobilise the correct past and thus remained 'foreign' and irrelevant.

The recurring allusion to Byzantine and cultural 'Fortresses' embedded in the language of the interconnected, and in the end victorious, movements for the demotic language and the National School of Music, indicate that both movements utilised the correct symbols of the previous century to convince the mediators of taste, if not the general population that was in minimal contact with the theatricalities of the state. In this sense, continuity can be established between the tangible nationalistic support of the chant in the 1870s, as exemplified by Antonios Sigalas' *Collection*, the words of the composer Kalomiris, and the Europeanist Prime Minister Venizelos. With respect to the musical tradition of the East the latter two utilised their personal connection to the West to merge the two traditions into one. As for the symbols themselves they

faded in time when their functionality expired, especially in light of their feeble methodological basis. Nonetheless, during the time of their active influence these symbols expressed the need of the nation to transform its intellectual assets of cultural continuity into physical objects through music. That the chant was mobilised in the 1870s, when Bulgarian nationalism was making claims of a Byzantine connection of its own, and a debate of the olden days was reignited under modern conditions reveals how in times of mobilisation historical continuities are reaffirmed through the production of musical symbols and objects.

Another consistent continuity throughout this musical story has been the adaptive nature of nationalism in relation to its constitutive cultural parts. Queen Olga's Russian-influenced intervention into the core of Byzantine tradition was met with resistance, but resistance proved futile in view of political dominance and popular demand, and some space was created for a clandestine diversion from normative ecclesiastical tradition. The Italian opera and later on the French vaudeville persisted, despite desperate cries for the need to support local art, financial instability, and political games. *Au contraire*, the Ionians were merely forgotten and only resurfaced now as part of a wave of 'revisionist', radical reassessment of Greek music history. As such, in the 19<sup>th</sup> century western art music was sustained in bubbles of elective cultural and aesthetic preference, with exclusionary politics affecting the public sphere and keeping the art selectively alien according to temporal political needs and personal beliefs. In this sense, the ideology of nationalism was revealed to display such inconsistent adaptability to 'foreign' influences, according to the dictates of the mediators of taste and popular culture, that it fuelled sclerotic ideologues such as Giannopoulos to futilely defend a purist and archaic vision of national identity. In their turn, such ideologues then constructed the narrative of resistance that actively refuelled the nationalist cause in defence of the irrevocably lost 'local'.

The moment the Conservatory of Thessaloniki was inaugurated, the cultural politics of the previous century acquired new meaning. As seen continuously in the thesis, shortages or not, the regulatory practices of institutions such as the Theatre of Athens and their steady presence despite political machinations or moral panics, gradually nurtured a sense of 'Europe' in Greece. They also trained the middle class, and normalised the fear of cultural destruction, by the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century limited to



the conservative section of the Byzantinists. That Greece captured the North and instituted the first state-funded Conservatory in the country in Thessaloniki in 1914, under the pretensions of spreading ‘musical culture’, and dreams of further musical expansion to the East under the flag of the West, was both a symbolic move and a cultural-political statement; it definitely wasn’t a pressing necessity. The multicultural outlook of the city, in combination with its strong and stable ties to central Europe indicate that the Greeks were establishing institutional dominance in the new territories by affirming the country’s allegiance to western art music. Of course the increasing participation of the Greeks in western art music until then, and the absence of a secular institution devoted to the instruction of the chant or traditional music, rendered a western institution a logical move of cultural expansionism, especially at a time when Greece had acquired its own widely supported National School of Music. Nevertheless, in view of the tortured musical environment of the previous century, the political force behind its institution, the Europeanist government of Prime Minister Eleftherios Venizelos, render it an extraordinary move of Europeanist national musical expansionism.

Consistent with all the previous components of how music and its institutions operated on and affected 19<sup>th</sup> century Greek cultural reality, the discourse of ‘Europe’ followed a similar pattern. Change over time between the 1830s and the 1910s saw western musical influence evolving from an outright threatening agent to local identity, through class-specific ‘progressive’ taste, to middle-class property and governmental policy. Western art music was gradually embedded in Greek culture as an asset of the country’s new relationship to the shared heritage of the continent through a process of negation and adaption. That consistently in all debates the axon around which opposing arguments revolved was the abstraction of ‘Europe’ indicates two certainties: firstly, whether in favour or against imported ideas, structures, institutions, or even musical output, by Europeanists or anti-westerners, the continent remained a distant cultural entity, uniformly foreign to the Greeks. As an outcome, and in regards to western art music itself, the politics of demonising or sanctifying the ‘European’ according to temporal needs and individual tastes, obstructed the creation of long-term policy, a fact that rendered art music and by extension its ideological container- ‘Europe’- an easily manipulated category, regardless of specific conditions.

Secondly, in relation to the chant, the fact that part of the argument was that Orthodox church music was threatened by 'European' secular entertainment, after the example of western art music's own evolution out of its respective liturgical tradition, was but a wider cultural projection rather than a musical concern. It is also a strong indication that in the musical sphere as well, the politics of continuity that preserved the inheritance of Byzantine enmity against the Catholics were reproduced and transformed into modernised suspicion. The intertwined relationship between the Church of Greece and the state, as well as the strong ideological ties between Orthodoxy and modern Greek identity, materialised in the public sphere through the transposition of the historical, cult enmity into modern musical concern. To normalise this inherited tension, it was the reassuring Orthodox-traditional that was proposed as the 'Greek' response to the Catholics, where the Italianate-Greek had already failed.

In the end, the different registers of what the 'European' meant for each of the debates, people, and institutions, set the tone for how Europe was seen from the Greek musical viewpoint in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Foreign, but 'progressive', threatening but popular, secular but immoral, Greek but European, music honoured its place in society through functioning like art usually does: it interpreted and embodied the pre-existing tensions between the familiar and the new, it mediated the dominant cultural influence and dispersed it among society, but, most importantly, it foretold the future.

## Appendix

For the collage of primary sources on the Theatre of Athens (pp. 81-83), the sources were as follows:

### Images

The Illustrated London News (1845) *Madame Rita Basso-Borio*, *The Illustrated London News*, 15 March 1845, p. 168.

Synadinos, Th. N. 1919. *History of Modern Greek Music 1824-1919*, Athens.

### Memoirs

Bouse, V, Bouse, M. (eds) 2011. *Queen Amalia's Unpublished Letters to her father, 1836-1853* [Vol. 1], p. 209

Lüth, Ch. 1981. *A Dane in the court of King Otto: A Diary*, pp. 47-48

Strong, F. 1842. *Greece as a Kingdom; or, A Statistical Description of that country from the Arrival of King Otho, in 1833*, p. 38.

Vlachogiannis, G. [ed.] 1947. *The memoirs of General Makrygiannis*. Vol. 1 [2nd ed.], pp. 101-102

### Newspapers

#### Athena

Athena (1843) Internal Affairs, *Athena*, 17 February 1843, pp. 2-3

Athena (1843) Internal Affairs, *Athena*, 13 March 1843, pp. 2-3

#### Aeon

Aeon (1840) Section 'Various News', *Aeon*, 25 February 1840, p. 2

Aeon (1840) Section 'Various News', *Aeon*, 27 November 1840, p. 4

Aeon (1842) Section 'Various News', *Aeon*, 18 October 1842, p. 4

Aeon (1842) Section 'Various News', *Aeon*, 25 October 1842, p. 3

### Anexartitos

Anexartitos (1842) The beginnings of artistry in Greece, *Anexartitos*, 28 June 1842, pp. 1-2

Anexartitos (1843) On the theatre, *Anexartitos*, 11 May 1843, pp. 3-4

M.N (1843) On the theatre, *Anexartitos*, 17 April 1843, p. 4

E. (1843) On the theatre, *Anexartitos*, 29 April 1843, pp. 3-4

### Ellinikos Paratiritis/L' Observateur Grec

Ellinikos Paratiritis/L' Observateur Grec (1843) A museum for the students and the Greek Theatre, *Ellinikos Paratiritis/L' Observateur Grec*, 18 January 1843, p. 1

### Fimi

K. (1840) Various News, *Fimi*, 20 February 1840, p. 3

### Tachipteros Fimi

Tachipteros Fimi (1843) Section 'Various News', *Tachipteros Fimi*, 18 January 1843, p. 2

Tachipteros Fimi (1843) Section 'Various News', *Tachipteros Fimi*, 21 January 1843, p. 2

Tachipteros Fimi (1843) Section 'Various News', *Tachipteros Fimi*, 15 June 1843, p. 2

Tachipteros Fimi (1845) Section 'Various News', *Tachipteros Fimi*, 02 October 1845, pp. 1-2

### Parliamentary Debates (Greece)

Discussion of 02 July 1846, 'On the island of Aegina', Reference Number: PAΘ/7.8.1846, pp. 2354-2355

### Score/Libretto Excerpts

Bellini, V., n.d. *La sonnambula*. [Score] Milan: G. Ricordi, Act II, p. 307

Booklet containing the librettos for operas performed at the Theatre of Athens with a synopsis in Greek (1840). Excerpt from Gaetano Donizetti's *Roberto Devereux*, Vlachogiannis Collection, Catalogue D', Box 10, Folder 1, p. 47

Donizetti, G. n.d. *Lucia di Lammermoor*. [Score] Milan: G. Ricordi, Act II, p. 279

Donizetti, G. 1962. *L'Elisir d' Amore*. [Score] Milan: G. Ricordi, Act II, p. 356

Rossini, G. 1920. *Il Barbiere di Siviglia*. [Score] Milan: G. Ricordi, Act I, p. 119

## Bibliography

### 1. Primary Sources

#### Archives and Libraries

Aristotle University of Thessaloniki Library

‘Documents concerning the establishment of the *Society for the Fine Arts in Athens* including its Constitutive Charter’, 1845. Athens: Melachouri and Karampini Press, Document Number 39473 [‘Τα περί της Αδείας προς την συστασιν της εν Αθήναις Εταιρίας των Ωραίων Τεχνών, της Εγκρίσεως του Διοργανισμού αυτής εκδοθέντα Βασιλικά Διατάγματα. Προς δε και ο ταύτης Διοργανισμός. Αθήνησιν: Τύποις Π.Β. Μελαχούρη και Φ. Καραμπίνη. Αρ. Βιβλ. Εισαγ. 39473]

Minutes of the Society for the Fine Arts in Athens. 1845-1846. Document Number: 24500. [Πρακτικά της εν Αθήναις Εταιρίας των Ωραίων Τεχνών. 1845-1846. Αρ. Βιβ. Εισαγ. 24500]

General State Archives of Greece [Athens]

*Vlachogiannis Collection* [Συλλογή Βλαχογιάννη]

Booklet containing the librettos for operas performed at the Theatre of Athens, with a synopsis in Greek (1840). Excerpt from Gaetano Donizetti’s *Roberto Devereux*, GSA [Greece], Vlachogiannis Collection, Catalogue D’, Box 10, Folder 1.

Laskaris, N. The modern Greek Theatre in 1842-1844. GSA[Greece], Vlachogiannis Collection, Catalogue D’, Box 10, Folder 2, Subfolder 1. [Λάσκαρης, Ν. Το νεοελληνικόν Θέατρον του 1842-1844. ΓΑΚ [Ελλάδα], Συλλογή Βλαχογιάννη, Κατάλογος Δ’, Κυτίο 10, Φάκελος 2, Υποφάκελος 1]

Police Act ‘On Policing the Theatre’, 27 May 1840. GSA [Greece], Vlachogiannis D’10/4/1 [Διάταξη Περί Αστυνομίας του Θεάτρου, 27 Μαΐου 1840. Αντίγραφο στα ΓΑΚ, Συλλογή Βλαχογιάννη Δ’10/4/1]

Letter to the King by the Ministry of the Interior ‘On the disorder taking place during performances at the theatre’, 5/17 March 1841, GSA [Greece], Vlachogiannis D’10/4/2 [Επιστολή του Υπουργού Εσωτερικών προς το Βασιλιά ‘Περί των κατά τας παραστάσεις συμβαινουσών εις το θέατρον αταξιών’, 5/17 Μαρτίου 1841, Αντίγραφο στα ΓΑΚ, Συλλογή Βλαχογιάννη Δ’10/4/2]

Protocol of 07 November 1851 ‘On the preservation of order in the Theatre of Athens’. GSA [Greece], Vlachogiannis D’10/4/2 [Πρωτόκολλο περί ευταξίας στο Θέατρο, 07 Νοεμβρίου 1851, Αντίγραφο στα ΓΑΚ, Συλλογή Βλαχογιάννη Δ’10/4/2]

Supplementary Document [14 November 1851] on the Protocol of 07 November 1851 on the preservation of order in the Theatre of Athens. GSA [Greece], Vlachogiannis D'10/4/2 [Πρωτόκολλο περί ευταξίας στο Θέατρο, 14 Νοεμβρίου 1851, Αντίγραφο στα ΓΑΚ, Συλλογή Βλαχογιάννη Δ'10/4/2]

Article 5, Police Act 'On theatrical performances', 30 August 1853. GSA [Greece], Vlachogiannis D'10/4/2. [Αστυνομική Διάταξη Περί Θεατρικών Παραστάσεων', 30 Αυγούστου 1853, Αντίγραφο στα ΦΑΚ, Συλλογή Βλαχογιάννη Δ'10/4/2.]

'Police Act n. 31, 01 November 1864', GSA [Greece], Vlachogiannis D'10/4/1. [Αστυνομική Διάταξη αρ. 31, 01 Νοεμβρίου 1864, ΓΑΚ Συλλογή Βλαχογιάννη, Δ'10/4/1]

Newspaper of Parliamentary Debates, Session of 18 October 1868. GSA [Greece], Vlachogiannis D'10/4/1 [Εφημερίς Κοινοβουλευτικών Συζητήσεων, 18 Οκτωβρίου 1868, ΓΑΚ Βλαχογιάννης Δ'10/4/1]

Greek Pages (1935), The fez in the modern Greek theatre, *Greek Pages*, 1935. GSA [Greece], Vlachogiannis D'10/4/1 [Ελληνικά Φύλα (1935), Το φέσι του Νεοελληνικού θεάτρου, *Ελληνικά Φύλα*, 1935, σελ. 43: Αντίτυπο στα ΓΑΚ, Συλλογή Βλαχογιάννη Δ'10/4/1]

*Secretariat/Ministry of Ecclesiastical Issues and State Education Archive [1833-1848]*  
[Αρχείο Γραμματείας/Υπουργείου Εκκλησιαστικών και Δημοσίου Εκπαιδύσεως [1833-1848]]

GSA [Greece], Secretariat/Ministry of Ecclesiastical Issues and State Education Archive [1833-1848], Section #002- Public Education, Folder #3347, 'Announcement for the establishment of the *Society for the Fine Arts in Athens*', 25 March 1845 [ΓΑΚ, Αρχείο Γραμματείας/Υπουργείου Εκκλησιαστικών και Δημοσίου Εκπαιδύσεως [1833-1848], Σειρά #002- Δημόσια Εκπαίδευση, Φάκελος #3347, 'Αγγελία περι της συστάσεως της εν Αθήναις εταιρίας των Ωραίων Τεχνών.', 25 Μαρτίου 1845]

GSA [Greece], Secretariat/Ministry of Ecclesiastical Issues and State Education Archive [1833-1848], #002/ #3347, 'On the donations of HM the King of the Two Sicilies', 30 May 1845. [ΓΑΚ, Αρχείο Γραμματείας/Υπουργείου Εκκλησιαστικών και Δημοσίου Εκπαιδύσεως [1833-1848], #002/ #3347, 'Περί δωρημάτων της Α.Μ Βασιλέως των Δύο Σικελιών', 30 Μαΐου 1845]

GSA [Greece], Secretariat/Ministry of Ecclesiastical Issues and State Education Archive [1833-1848], #002/ #3347, Letter to the Ministry of Ecclesiastic Affairs and Public Education, 27 March 1845 [ΓΑΚ, Αρχείο Γραμματείας/Υπουργείου Εκκλησιαστικών και Δημοσίου Εκπαιδύσεως [1833-1848], #002/ #3347, Επιστολή προς το Υπουργείο Εκκλησιαστικών και Δημοσίας Εκπαίδευσης, 27 Μαρτίου 1845]

GSA [Greece], Secretariat/Ministry of Ecclesiastical Issues and State Education Archive [1833-1848], #002/ #3348, Letter to the Ministry of Education concerning the cooperation with the Greek Consulate in Paris, 21 October 1847 [ΓΑΚ, Αρχείο Γραμματείας/Υπουργείου Εκκλησιαστικών και Δημοσίου Εκπαιδύσεως [1833-1848], #002/ #3348, Επιστολή προς το Υπουργείο Δημόσιας Εκπαίδευσης περι κωλλυσιεργίας Ελληνικού Προξενείου στο Παρίσι, 21 Οκτωβρίου 1847]

GSA [Greece], Secretariat/Ministry of Ecclesiastical Issues and State Education Archive [1833-1848], Draft of a letter to a[n unnamed] Consul in Greece, June 1845; GSA [Greece], *ibid*, ‘On the contribution of the Municipality of Paros’, 27 January 1846 [ΓΑΚ, Αρχείο Γραμματείας/Υπουργείου Εκκλησιαστικών και Δημοσίου Εκπαιδύσεως [1833-1848], #002/ #3348, Πρόχειρο επιστολής προς [αδιευκρίνιστο] Πρέσβη Μεγάλης Δύναμης στην Ελλάδα, Ιούνιος 1845; ΓΑΚ, ο.π., Επιστολή ‘Περί της Συνδρομής του Δήμου Πάρου’, 27 Ιανουαρίου 1846]

GSA [Greece], *ibid*, Letter to the Ministry of Public Education about the financial donation of the Prefecture of the Cyclades, 23 July 1846. [ΓΑΚ, Αρχείο Γραμματείας/Υπουργείου Εκκλησιαστικών και Δημοσίου Εκπαιδύσεως [1833-1848], #002/ #3348, Επιστολή προς το Υπουργείο Δημόσιας Εκπαίδευσης περί χρηματικών δωρεών της Νομαρχίας Κυκλάδων, 23 Ιουλίου 1846]

GSA [Greece], Secretariat/Ministry of Ecclesiastical Issues and State Education Archive, File n. 112 ‘Societies’ [1848-1854], sub file n. 6. Letter of the Ministry of the Interior to the Ministry of Ecclesiastic Affairs and Public Education. September 1852. [ΓΑΚ, Αρχείο Γραμματείας/Υπουργείου Εκκλησιαστικών και Δημοσίου Εκπαιδύσεως ,Φάκελος 112 ‘Εταιρικοί’, Υποφάκελος 6, Επιστολή από το Υπουργείο Εσωτερικών προς το Υπουργείο Εκκλησιαστικών και Δημοσίου Εκπαίδευσης, Σεπτέμβριος 1852.]

GSA [Greece], Secretariat/Ministry of Ecclesiastical Issues and State Education Archive, 112/6. Letter of the *Society for the Fine Arts in Athens* to the Ministry of Ecclesiastic Affairs and Public Education. 2 December 1852 Original Reference Number: 682 [ΓΑΚ, Αρχείο Γραμματείας/Υπουργείου Εκκλησιαστικών και Δημοσίου Εκπαιδύσεως, 112 / 6, Επιστολή της εν Αθήναις Εταιρίας των Ωραίων Τεχνών προς το Υπουργείο Εκκλησιαστικών και Δημοσίου Εκπαίδευσης, 2 Δεκεμβρίου 1852. Αριθμός Πρωτοκόλλου: 682]

GSA [Greece], Secretariat/Ministry of Ecclesiastical Issues and State Education Archive, 112/6. Letter of the *Society for the Fine Arts in Athens* to the Ministry of Ecclesiastic Affairs and Public Education. 2 December 1852 Original Reference Number: 683 [ΓΑΚ, Αρχείο Γραμματείας/Υπουργείου Εκκλησιαστικών και Δημοσίου Εκπαιδύσεως, 112 / 6, Επιστολή της εν Αθήναις Εταιρίας των Ωραίων Τεχνών προς το Υπουργείο Εκκλησιαστικών και Δημοσίου Εκπαίδευσης, 2 Δεκεμβρίου 1852. Αριθμός Πρωτοκόλλου: 683]

GSA [Greece], Secretariat/Ministry of Ecclesiastical Issues and State Education Archive, 112/6. Letter of the *Society for the Fine Arts in Athens* to the Ministry of Ecclesiastic Affairs and Public Education. 2 December 1852. Original Reference Number: 682 [ΓΑΚ, Αρχείο Γραμματείας/Υπουργείου Εκκλησιαστικών και Δημοσίου Εκπαιδύσεως, 112 / 6, Επιστολή της εν Αθήναις Εταιρίας των Ωραίων Τεχνών προς το Υπουργείο Εκκλησιαστικών και Δημοσίου Εκπαίδευσης, 2 Δεκεμβρίου 1852. Αριθμός Πρωτοκόλλου: 682]

GSA [Greece], Secretariat/Ministry of Ecclesiastical Issues and State Education Archive [1833-1848], Section #002- Public Education, Folder #2274 [1845], #2275 [1846], ‘ Church Music School [ΓΑΚ, Αρχείο Γραμματείας/Υπουργείου Εκκλησιαστικών και Δημοσίου Εκπαιδύσεως [1833-1848], Σειρά #002- Δημόσια Εκπαίδευση, Φάκελος #2274 [1845], #2275 [1846], ‘Σχολείον της Εκκλησιαστικής Μουσικής’.]



## Lilian Voudouri Music Library and Archive [Athens]

‘A music night by composer Manolis Kalomiris’. 1908. Programme for Manolis Kalomiris’ concert at the Conservatory of Athens, 11 June 1908.

## Municipal Library of Thessaloniki

Therianos, E. 1875. On the music of the Greeks and especially [the music of] the church. Trieste: Austro-Hungarian Loid Press. [Θεριανός, Ε. 1875. Περί της μουσικής των Ελλήνων και ιδίως της εκκλησιαστικής. Τεργέστη: Τύποις του Αυστροουγγρικού Λόυδ. Σελ. 3-4]

## National Library of Greece [Athens]

*Motsenigos Archive of Modern Greek Music* [Μοτσενίγειο Αρχείο Νεοελληνικής Μουσικής]

Fokeas, Th., Vyzantios, St. 1830. Book called Euterpe, containing a collection of modern and pleasant secular songs, and with an addition in the end of some Romeic songs in Ottoman and European verse. Galata: Kastor Printers. Document Number: 388/1970 [Φωκαεύς Θ., Βυζάντιος, Στ. 1830. Βίβλος καλούμενη Ευτέρπη, Περιέχουσα συλλογήν εκ των νεωτέρων και ηδυτέρων εξωτερικών μελών, με προσθήκην εν τω τέλει και τινών ρωμαϊκών τραγουδιών εις μέλος οθωμανικόν και ευρωπαϊκόν. Γαλατάς: Τυπογραφία Κάστορος. Αριθμός Εγγράφου: 388/1970]

Sakellaridis, I. 1880. A collection of useful texts on Church music. Document Number. 438/1970 [Σακελλαριδης, Ι. 1880. Χρηστομάθεια Εκκλησιαστικής μουσικής. Αριθμός Εγγράφου: 438/1970]

Sigalas, A. 1880. A Collection of National Songs Containing four hundred songs edited by the music teacher Antonios N. Sigalas. Athens: Ch. N Filadelfeos Printers. Document Number: 450/1970 [Σιγάλας, Α. 1880. Συλλογή Εθνικών Ασμάτων περιέχουσα τετρακόσια άσματα τονισθέντα υπο του εκ Θήρας μουσικοδιδασκάλου Αντωνιου Ν. Σιγάλα. Αθήνα. Τυπογραφείο Χ.Ν. Φιλαδέλφεως. Αριθμός Εγγράφου: 450/1970]

## Conservatory of Athens Archive [Athens]

Society for Music and Drama. 1875. Report on the activities [of the *Society*] since its institution. July 1871-June 1875. [Μουσικός και Δραματικός Σύλλογος. Έκθεσις από της ιδρύσεως αυτού πεπραγμένων. Ιούλιος 1871- Ιούνιος 1875]

## Conservatory of Thessaloniki Archive

Letter from the Ministry of Education instructing the drafting of a common musical educational policy to be implemented in all musical institutions of the country.  
[08/10/1918]

Letter to the director of the Conservatory of Thessaloniki, Alexandros Kazantzis, by the minister of Education and Religious Affairs, 10 August 1920. Document from the Alexandros Kazantzis personal archive. [Επιστολή προς το διευθυντή του Κρατικού Ωδείου Θεσσαλονίκης, Αλέξανδρο Καζαντζή, 10 Αυγούστου 1920. Προσωπικό αρχείο Αλέξανδρου Καζαντζή]

Ministry of National Education and Religion. 1966. Conservatory of Thessaloniki, 1915-1965. Commemorative Edition [Υπουργείον Εθνικής Παιδείας και Θρησκευμάτων. 1966. Ωδείον Θεσσαλονίκης 1915-1965]

Minutes of the meetings of the Board of Directors, n. 1 (12/02/1915- 04/07/1924)  
[Εφορεία 1, (12/02/1915- 04/07/1924), Αρχείο Κρατικού Ωδείου Θεσσαλονίκης, Θεσσαλονίκη]

Pamphlet for the celebration of the 40<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the State Conservatory of Thessaloniki [1955]

Registries of the male and female students of the conservatory for the years 1915-1947 [Μαθητολογία Αρρένων και Μαθητριών 1915-1947, Αρχείο Κρατικού Ωδείου Θεσσαλονίκης, Θεσσαλονίκη]

Speech delivered by A. Kazantzis at the celebration for the 50<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the State Conservatory of Thessaloniki [1965]

## E.L.I.A Archive and Library [Athens]

Lambelet, G. Open Letters about the Conservatory of Athens, *Kritiki*, 1903, issue number 4. [Λαμπελέτ, Γ. Ανοικτά Επιστολαί δια το Ωδείον Αθηνών: Επιστολή Ε', *Κριτική*, 1903, αρ. τ. 4]

Axiotis, G. Open Letters about the Conservatory of Athens, *Kritiki*, 1903, issue number 5. [Αξιώτης, Γ. Ανοικτά Επιστολαί δια το Ωδείον Αθηνών, *Κριτική*, 1903, αρ. τ. 5]

Lambelet, G. Open Letters about the Conservatory of Athens, *Kritiki*, 1903, issue number 6. [Λαμπελέτ, Γ. Ανοικτά Επιστολαί δια το Ωδείον Αθηνών: Επιστολή Ε', *Κριτική*, 1903, αρ. τ. 6]

Lambelet, G. Open Letters about the Conservatory of Athens. *Kritiki*, 1903, issue number 8. [Λαμπελέτ, Γ. Ανοικταί Επιστολαί δια το Ωδείον Αθηνών: Επιστολή Ε', *Κριτική*, 1903, αρ. τ. 8]

#### Parliamentary Debates (Greece)

Discussion of 02 July 1846, 'On the island of Aegina', Reference Number: PAΘ/7.8.1846, pp. 2346-2356

#### Parnassus Literary Society Archive and Library [Athens]

Statute of the Ecclesiastical Musical Society of Athens, 1874. [Κανονισμός του εν Αθήναις Εκκλησιαστικού Μουσικού Συλλόγου, 1874]

#### State Documents

Journal of the Greek Government, no. 11, 03 March 1834, 'Legislation on primary schools', Section A', Article 1 [ΦΕΚ αρ. 11, 03 Μαρτίου 1834, 'Νόμος περί δημοτικών σχολείων', Τμήμα Α', Άρθρο 1]

Journal of the Greek Government of 29 January 1859, no. 2 'Programme and Regulations of the Committee for the promotion of national industry for the first Olympia', Section A', Article 1. Section B', Article 12 [ΦΕΚ Α 2 29/01/1859, 'Πρόγραμμα και Κανονισμός της επί της εμψυχώσεως της εθνικής βιομηχανίας Επιτροπής περί της Α' συγκροτήσεως των Ολυμπίων. Κεφ. Α', Άρθρο 1. Κεφ. Β', Άρθρο 12]

Royal Decree of 03 July 1836, n. 32, Article 12. Published in the Journal of the Greek Government of 03 July 1836, no. 32 [ΒΔ 03 Ιουλίου 1836, αριθμός 32, Άρθρο 12. Από: ΦΕΚ Α 32/1836]

Royal Decree of 20 February 1837, no. 7, 'On the institution of a cantor school'. Published in the Journal of the Greek Government of 20 February 1837, no. 7 [ΒΔ 20 Φεβρουαρίου 1837, αριθμός 7, 'Περί συστάσεως σχολείου της ψαλτικής'. Από: ΦΕΚ Α 7/1837]

Royal Decree of 09 November 1843, n. 38, Articles A', B'. Published in the Journal of the Greek Government of 09 November 1843, no. 38 [ΒΔ 09 Νοεμβρίου 1843, αριθμός 38, Άρθρα Α', Β'. Από: ΦΕΚ Α 38/1843]

Royal Decree of 17 October 1844. Published in the Journal of the Greek Government of 02 March 1845, no. 5 [ΒΔ 17 Οκτωβρίου 1844. Από: ΦΕΚ Α 5/1845]

Royal Decree of 28 August 1858, n. 38, ‘On the institution of the Olympia Competition’, Article 1. Published in the Journal of the Greek Government of 03 July 1836, no. 32 [ΒΔ 28 Αυγούστου 1858, αριθμός 38, ‘Περί συστάσεως Ολυμπίων’, Άρθρο 1. Από: ΦΕΚ Α 3/1858]

Royal Decree of 16 October 1858, n. 48, ‘On the number of the awards at the Olympic competition’ Article 1. Published in the Journal of the Greek Government of 16 October 1858, no. 48 [ΒΔ 16 Οκτωβρίου 1858, αριθμός 48, ‘Περί προσδιορισμού του αριθμού των εν τοις Ολυμπιακοις Αγώσιν αμονεμηθησομένων βραβείων’, Άρθρο 1. Από: ΦΕΚ Α48/1858]

Royal Decree of 13 August 1859, n. 33, ‘ On the exhibition of the arts at the Olympia’. Published in the Journal of the Greek Government of 13 August 1859, no. 33 [ΒΔ 13 Αυγούστου 1859, αριθμός 33, ‘Περί εκθέσεως των ωραίων τεχνών εις τα Ολύμπια’. Από: ΦΕΚ Α 33/1859]

### *In English*

#### Hansard -House of Commons Debates (Great Britain)

HC Deb 15 June 1815 vol 31 cc. 828-30 “Petition of the Earl of Elgin Respecting his Collection of Marbles”. §828

HC Deb 20 June 1821 vol 5 cc1222-81222 “State of Europe”. §1222

HC Deb 15 July 1822 vol 7 cc. 1649-53 “Cause of the Greeks”. §1651

HC Deb 19 May 1826 vol 15 cc1271-51271 “Greek Cause”. §1272

HC Deb 24 March 1828 vol 18 cc1301-41301. “Greece and Turkey” §1302

### **Published**

#### *In Greek*

Anastasiou, N. 1881. The Patriatchate and Greek Church Music. Athens: Vlastou Varvarrigou Press [Αναστασίου, Ν. 1881. Το Οικουμενικόν Πατριαρχείον και η Ελληνική Εκκλησιαστική Μουσική. Εν Αθήναις: Τύποις Βλαστού Βαρβαρρήγου]

Christides, D. 1871. Speech delivered by the vice-president of the committee of the Olympia and other bequests. [Χρηστίδης, Δ. 1871. Λόγος Απαγγελθείς υπο του Αντιπροέδρου της των Ολυμπίων και Κληροδοτημάτων Επιτροπής Κυρίου Δ. Χρηστίδου την 14 Μαρτίου 1871 ημέραν της λήξεως της Εθνικής Εκθέσεως της Β' Ολυμπιάδος του 1870]

Fatseas, A. 1856. Thoughts on the public and private education of the young Greeks. Athens: Nikolaou Aggelidou Press [Φατσέας, Α. 1856. Σκέψεις επι της Δημόσιας και Ιδιωτικής Εκπαιδεύσεως των Νέων Ελλήνων. Αθήνα: Τύποις Νικολάου Αγγελίδου. Αθήνησι: Τύποις Νικολαού Αγγελίδου]

Gritsanis, P. 1870. On the issue of the music of the Greek Church. Naples: Gaetano Nobile Press [Γρίτσανης, Π. 1870. Περί της μουσικής της Ελληνικής Εκκλησίας Ζήτημα. Εν Νεαπόλει: Εκ της Τυπογραφίας Καίετανου Νοβίλε.]

Ioannou, I. N. 1858. Speech on Church music written by Nathanail Ioannou Evvoeos. Ermoupoli, Syros: G. Melistagous Makedonos Press. [Ευβοεύς Ν. Ι. 1858. Λόγος περί Εκκλησιαστικής Μουσικής Συντεθείς υπό Ναθαναήλ Ιωάννου Ευβοέως. Εν Ερμούπολει, Σύρου: Τύποις Γ. Μελισταγούς Μακεδόνας]

Kaftantzoglou, L. 1858. Speech, delivered at the anniversary of the Royal Polytechnic on 4 May 1858, during the twelfth exhibition of its artistic competition, by the Director Lysandros Kaftantzoglou. Athens: Lazaros D. Vilaras Press [Καυτανζόγλου, Λ. 1858. Λόγος, Εκφωνηθείς κατά την επέτειον τελετήν του Βασιλικού Πολυτεχνείου, επί της κατά το δωδέκατον καλλιτεχνικόν έτος εκθέσεως των Διαγωνισμών, Υπό του Διευθυντού Λύσανδρου Καυτανζόγλου. Εν Αθήναις: Εκ του Τυπογραφείου Λαζάρου Δ. Βιλαρά]

Koupititoris, P. 1876. A Panegyric on our Church Music. Athens: Philokallia Press [Κουπιτόρης, Π. 1876. Λόγος Πανηγυρικός περί της καθ' ημάς Εκκλησιαστικής Μουσικής. Αθήνα: Εκ του τυπογραφείου Φιλοκαλίας]

Lambelet, G. 1926. Nationalism in Art and Greek traditional music'. In Epifyllides, Vol. A', Issue IA' (June). Athens: Eleftheroudakis Publishes [Γ. Λαμπελέτ, 1928. Ο Εθνικισμός εις την τέχνην και η ελληνική δημώδης μουσική. Αθήνα: Εκδοτικός Οίκος "Ελευθερουδάκης".]

Papadopoulos, G.I. 1890. A Contribution to the History of our Church music. Athens: Kousoulinou & Athanasiadou Bookstore and Press [Παπαδόπουλος, Γ.Ι. 1890. Συμβολαί εις την ιστορίαν της παρ' ημιν εκκλησιαστικής μουσικής. Εν Αθήναις: Τυπογραφείον και Βιβλιοπωλείον Κουσουλίνου & Αθανασιάδου]

Papamarkou, Ch. 1883. Reports on the primary schools under inspection for the year 1883. Corfu: "Korais Press" [Παπαμάρκου, Χ. 1883. Εκθέσεις των κατά το 1883 προς επιθεώρησιν των Δημοτικών σχολείων αποσταλέντων εκτάκτων επιθεωρητών. Εν Κερκύραι: Εκ του τυπογραφείου «ο Κοραΐς»]

Society for Music and Drama, "Conservatory of Athens", Centenary Publication 1871-1971. Athens: N. & M Athanasopoulos Publications [Μουσικός και Δραματικός Σύλλογος «Ωδείο Αθηνών», Εκατονταετηρίς 1871-1971. Αθήναι: Τύπους Ν. & Μ. Αθανασόπουλου]

The Society for Education in Athens: Its Constitution and Progress. 1878. Athens: Ch. N. Philadelphos Press [Η Εν Αθήναις Φιλεκπαιδευτική Εταιρία: Η Σύστασις και η Πρόοδος Αυτής. 1878. Αθήναι: Εκ του Τυπογραφείου Χ.Ν Φιλαδελφέως]

Vernardakis, D. 1876. *Impromptu speech on our church music*. Trieste: Austro-Hungarian Loid Press. [Βερναδάκης, Δ. 1876. Λόγος Αυτοσχέδιος περί της καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς μουσικῆς. Τεργέστη: Τύποις του Αυστροουγγρικοῦ Λόυδ].

Zambelios, S. 1852. *Greek Folk Songs, published after the study of medieval Hellenism*. Corfu: Ermis Pess of A. Terzakis & Th. Romaios. [Ζαμπέλιος, Σ. 1852. Ἄσματα Δημοτικά της Ελλάδος. Ἐκδοθέντα μετὰ ιστορικῆς μελέτης περί μεσαιωνικοῦ ἐλληνισμοῦ. Κέρκυρα: Τυπογραφεῖο Ἐρμῆς Α. Τερζάκη καὶ Θ. Ρωμαίου]

### *In English*

About, E. 1855. *Greece and the Greeks of the present day*. Endinburgh: Thomas Constable and Co.

Baudelaire, C. 1972. *Selected Writings on Art and Literature*. London: Penguin

Bickford-Smith, R.A.H. 1893. *Greece under King George*. London: Richard Bentley and Son

Bikelas, D. *Statistics of the Kingdom of Greece*. *Journal of the Statistical Society*, vol. XXXI (September, 1868), part III.

Douglas F.S.N. 1813. *An Essay on Certain Points of Resemblance Between the Ancient and Modern Greeks*. London: Murray.

Earl of Carnarvon, 1869. *Reminiscences of Athens and the Morea: Extracts from a journal of travels in Greece in 1839*. London: John Murray

Ellis, W. A. [trans] 1892. *Richard Wagner's Prose Works*. Vol. I. *The Art-Work of the future*. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. Ltd.

Ellis, W. A. [trans] 1895. *Richard Wagner's Prose Works*. Vol. IV. *Art and Politics*. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. Ltd.

Garston, E. 1842. *Greece Revisited and Sketches in lower Egypt in 1840 with Thirty-six hours of a campaign in Greece in 1825*. London: Saunders & Otley.

Godley, A.D [trans]. 1921. *Herodotus*. Vol. IV, Books VIII-IX. London: William Heinemann

Hamilton, W.R., Benjamin, W., Millin, A.L. 1811. *Memorandum on the subject of the Earl of Elgin's pursuit in Greece*. London: Printed for William Miller by James Moyes

Horton, G. 1901. *Modern Athens*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons

- Rodd, R. 1892. *The Customs and Lore of Modern Greece*. London: David Stott
- Spaethling, R. (ed.) 2000. *Mozart's Letters, Mozart's Life*. London: Faber and Faber.
- Strong, F. 1842. *Greece as a Kingdom; or, A Statistical Description of that country from the Arrival of King Otho, in 1833, Down to the Present Time*. London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans
- Vaughan Williams, R. 1963. *National Music and other essays*. London: Oxford University Press
- Williams, H.W. 1820. *Travels in Italy, Greece, and the Ionian Islands in a series of letters descriptive of Manners, Scenery, and the Fine Arts*. [Vol. I]. Edinburgh: Archibald Constable and Co.

### *In French*

- Bourgault-Ducoudray, L.A. 1876. *Trente mélodies populaires de Grèce et d'Orient*. Paris: Henry Lemoine and Co.
- Quinet, E. 1830 *De la Grèce moderne at de de ses rapports avec l'antiquité*. Paris: Chez. F. F. Levrault

### **Memoirs/Personal Correspondence**

- Bouse, V, Bouse, M. (eds) 2011. *Queen Amalia's Unpublished Letters to her father, 1836-1853* [Vol. 1]. Athens: Estia Publishers [Μπουσέ, Β., Μπουσέ, Μ. [επιμ.] 2011. Ανέκδοτες Επιστολές της Βασίλισσας Αμαλίας στον Πατέρα της, 1836-1853 [Α' Τόμος]. Αθήνα: Βιβλιοπωλείον της "Εστίας"]
- Bouse, V, Bouse, M. [eds] 2011. *Queen Amalia's Unpublished Letters to her father, 1836-1853* [Vol. 2]. Athens: Estia Publishers [Μπουσέ, Β., Μπουσέ, Μ. [επιμ.] 2011. Ανέκδοτες Επιστολές της Βασίλισσας Αμαλίας στον Πατέρα της, 1836-1853 [Β' Τόμος]. Αθήνα: Βιβλιοπωλείον της "Εστίας"]
- Kalomiris, M. 1988. *My life and my art: Memoirs 1883-1908*. Athens: Nefeli [Καλομοίρης, Μ. 1988. Η ζωή μου και η τέχνη μου: Απομνημονεύματα 1883-1908. Αθήνα: Νεφέλη]
- Kyriakidou, M. [ed.] 2002. *Frederika Bremer, Greece and the Greeks. The Narrative of a Winter Residence and Summer Travel in Greece and its Islands. Vol. I*. Athens: Katoptro [Κυριακίδου, Μ. [επιμ.] 2002. Frederika Bremer. Η Ελλάδα και οι Έλληνες την εποχή του Όθωνα: Μια χειμερινή παραμονή και μια καλοκαιρινή περιπλάνηση το 1859. Μέρος Πρώτο. Αθήνα: Κατοπτρο]
- Lavragas, D. 2009. *My memoirs*. Athens: Govosti Publications [Λαυράγκας, Δ. 2009. Τ'απομνημονεύματα μου. Αθήνα: Εκδόσεις Γκοβόστη]

Leotsakos, G. [ed.] 2003. Pavlos Carrer: Memoir and Works. Athens: Benakis Museum [Λεωτσάκος, Γ. [επιμ.] 2003. Παύλος Καρρέρ: Απομνημονεύματα και Εργογραφία, Αθήνα: Μουσείο Μπενάκη]

Lüth, Ch. 1981. A Dane in the court of King Otto: A Diary. Athens: Ermis [Λύτ, Χ. 1981. Μια Δανέζα στην Αυλή του Όθωνα. Μαρτυρία της εποχής. Αθήνα: Ερμής]

Vlachogiannis, G. [ed.] 1947. The memoirs of General Makrygiannis. Vol. 1 [2nd ed.] Athens: Vagionakis [Βλαχογιάννης, Γ. [επιμ.] 1947 [Β' Έκδοση]. Στρατηγού Μακρυγιάννη Απομνημονεύματα. Αθήνα: Βαγιονάκης]

Xenopoulos, Gr. 1958. Complete Works. Volume 1: Memoirs, Margarita Stefa, Mitryia, Stella Violanti. Athens: Biris Publications [Ξενόπουλος, Γ. 1958. Άπαντα. Τόμος Πρώτος: Αυτοβιογραφία, Μαργαρίτα Στέφα, Μητρυνια, Στέλλα Βιολάντη. Αθήνα: Εκδόσεις Μπίρη]

## Newspapers

### *In Greek*

#### Acropolis [Ακρόπολις]

Acropolis (1890), The Conservatory, *Acropolis*, 03 February 1890, pp. 1-2 [Ακρόπολις (1890), Το Ωδείο, *Ακρόπολις*, 03 Φεβρουαρίου 1890, σελ. 1-2]

#### Aeon [Ο Αιών]

Aeon (1840) Section 'Various News', *Aeon*, 25 February 1840, p. 2 [Αιών (1840) Διάφορα, *Ο Αιών*, 25 Φεβρουαρίου 1840, σελ. 2]

Aeon (1840), Polytechnic School, *Aeon*, 26 May 1840, p. 4 [Ο Αιών (1840), Πολυτεχνικόν Σχολείον, *Ο Αιών*, 26 Μαΐου 1849, σελ. 4]

Aeon (1840) Section 'Various News', *Aeon*, 27 November 1840, p. 4 [Αιών (1840) Διάφορα, *Ο Αιών*, 27 Νοεμβρίου 1840, σελ. 4]

Aeon (1842) Section 'Various News', *Aeon*, 18 October 1842, p. 4 [Αιών (1840) Διάφορα, *Ο Αιών*, 18 Οκτωβρίου 1840, σελ. 4]

Aeon (1842) Section 'Various News', *Aeon*, 25 October 1842, p. 3 [Ο Αιών (1842) Διάφορα. *Ο Αιών*, 25 Οκτωβρίου 1842, σελ. 3]

Aeon (1858) Olympia. *Aeon*, 28 August 1858, pp. 1-2 [Ο Αιών (1858) Τα Ολύμπια. *Αιών*, 28 Αυγούστου 1858, σελ. 1-2]

Aeon (1858), Section 'Various News', *Aeon*, 02 October 1858, p. 4 [Ο Αιών (1858), Διάφορα, *Ο Αιών*, 02 Οκτωβρίου 1858, σελ. 4]



Aeon (1867) The marriage of the King of the Greeks. *Aeon*, 27 October 1867, p. 1 [Ο Αιών (1867) Οι γάμοι του Βασιλέως των Ελλήνων, *Ο Αιών*, 27 Οκτωβρίου 1867, σελ. 1]

Aeon (1875), Section ‘Various News’, *Aeon*, 23 January 1875, p. 3 [Ο Αιών (1875) Διάφορα, *Ο Αιών*, 23 Ιανουαρίου 1875, σελ. 3]

#### Anexartitos [Ανεξάρτητος]

Anexartitos (1842) The beginnings of artistry in Greece, *Anexartitos*, 28 June 1842, pp. 1-2 [Ανεξάρτητος (1842) Αρχή καλλιτεχνίας εν Ελλάδι, *Ανεξάρτητος*, 28 Ιουνίου 1842, σελ. 1-2]

M.N (1843) On the theatre, *Anexartitos*, 17 April 1843, p. 4 [M.N (1843) Θεατρικά, *Ανεξάρτητος*, 17 Απριλίου 1843, σελ. 4]

E. (1843) On the Theatre, *Anexartitos*, 29 April 1843, pp. 3-4 [E. (1843) Θεατρικά, *Ανεξάρτητος*, 29 Απριλίου 1843, σελ. 3-4]

Anexartitos (1843) On the Theatre, *Anexartitos*, 11 May 1843, pp. 3-4 [Ανεξάρτητος, (1843) Θεατρικά, *Ανεξάρτητος*, 11 Μαΐου 1843, σελ. 3-4]

#### Asty [Το Άστυ]

Asty (1894), Georgios Nazos, *Asty*, 21 March 1894, p. 2 [Το Άστυ (1894), Γεώργιος Νάζος, *Το Άστυ*, 21 Μαρτίου 1894, σελ. 2]

Giannopoulos, P. (1904) And what about Greek music? *To Asty*, 18 July 1904, p. 1 [Γιαννόπουλος, Π. (1904) Και περι ελληνικής μουσικής τιποτέ; *Το Άστυ*, 18 Ιουλίου 1904, σελ. 1]

Giannopoulos, P. (1904) Greek Music Forward!, part A’, *To Asty*, 25 July 1904, p. 1 [Γιαννόπουλος, Π. (1904) Ελληνικήν Μουσικήν Εμπρός!, *Το Άστυ*, 25 Ιουλίου 1904, σελ. 1]

Giannopoulos, P. (1904) Greek Music Forward!, part B’, *To Asty*, 27 July 1904, p. 1 [Γιαννόπουλος, Π. (1904) Ελληνικήν Μουσικήν Εμπρός!, *Το Άστυ*, 27 Ιουλίου 1904, σελ. 1].

Giannopoulos, P. (1904) Greek Music Forward!, part C’, *To Asty*, 28 July 1904, p. 1 [Γιαννόπουλος, Π. (1904) Ελληνικήν Μουσικήν Εμπρός!, *Το Άστυ*, 28 Ιουλίου 1904, σελ. 1].

#### Athens [Αθηνά]

Athens (1843) Internal Affairs, *Athens*, 17 February 1843, pp. 2-3 [Αθηνά (1843) Εσωτερικά, *Αθηνά*, 17 Φεβρουαρίου 1843]

Athens (1843) Internal Affairs, *Athens*, 13 March 1843, pp. 2-3 [Αθηνά (1843) Εσωτερικά, *Αθηνά*, 13 Μαρτίου 1843, σελ. 2-3]

Athens (1856), Section ‘Various News’, *Athens*, 16 June 1856, p. 2 [Αθηνά (1856), Διάφορα, *Αθηνά*, 16 Ιουνίου 1856, σελ. 2]

Athena (1856), Section ‘Various News’, *Athena*, 07 Oct 1856, p. 2 [Αθηνά (1856), Διάφορα, *Αθηνά*, 07 Οκτωβρίου 1856, σελ. 2]

Athena (1856), Section ‘Various News’, *Athena*, 03 November 1856, p. 3-4 [Αθηνά (1856), Διάφορα, *Αθηνά*, 03 Νοεμβρίου 1856, σελ. 3-4]

Levides, N. (1915), Athens seventy years ago: The Greek Theatre, *Athena*, 15 January 1915, pp. 1-2 [Λεβίδης, Ν., (1915) Αι Αθήναι προ εβδομήκοντα ετών: Το Ελληνικόν Θέατρον, *Αθηνά*, 15 Ιανουαρίου 1915, σελ. 1-2]

### Avgi [Αυγή]

Avgi (1865), Section ‘Various News’, *Avgi*, 08 February 1865, p. 4 [Αυγή (1865), Διάφορα, *Αυγή*, 08 Φεβρουαρίου 1865, σελ. 4]

Avgi (1865), Italian Theatre, *Avgi*, 16 July 1865, p. 1 [Αυγή (1865) Θέατρον Ιταλικόν, *Αυγή*, 16 Ιουλίου 1865, σελ. 1]

### Helios [Ηλιος]

Helios (1856), Construction of the Greek Theatre, *Helios*, 24 November 1856, p. 2 [Ηλιος (1856) Ανέγερσις Ελληνικού Θεάτρου, *Ηλιος*, 24 Νοεμβρίου 1856]

Helios (1856), On the Greek Theatre, *Helios*, 22 December 1856, p. 2 [Ηλιος (1856), Περί Ελληνικού Θεάτρου, *Ηλιος*, 22 Δεκεμβρίου 1856, σελ. 2]

### Ellinikos Paratiritis/ L ‘Observateur Grec [Ελληνικός Παρατηρητής/L ‘Observateur]

Ellinikos Paratiritis/L’ Observateur Grec (1843) A museum for the students and the Greek Theatre, *Ellinikos Paratiritis/L’ Observateur Grec*, 18 January 1843, p. 1 [Ελληνικός Παρατηρητής/L’ Observateur Grec (1843) Μουσείον των Μαθητών και το Ελληνικόν Θέατρον, *Ελληνικός Παρατηρητής/L’ Observateur Grec*, 18 Ιανουαρίου 1843, σελ. 1]

Ellinikos Paratiritis/L’ Observateur Grec (1843) De la troupe de l’Opéra. *Ellinikos Paratiritis/L’ Observateur Grec*, 07 April 1843, p. 3 [Ελληνικός Παρατηρητής/L’ Observateur Grec (1843) De la troupe de l’Opéra. *Ελληνικός Παρατηρητής/L’ Observateur Grec*, 07 Απριλίου 1843, σελ. 3]

Anon. (1843) [Section] Various News. *The Greek Observer [L’ Observateur Grec]*, 18 May 1843, p. 3 [Ανών. (1843) [Στηλη] Διάφορα. *Ελληνικός Παρατηρητής/L’ Observateur Grec*. 18 Μαΐου 1843, σελ. 3]

### Elpis [Η Ελπίς]

P.P., (1852) Letter to the Editor of Elpis, *Elpis*, 09 February 1852, pp. 3-4 [Π.Π. (1852) Κύριε συντάκτα της Ελπίδος, *Η Ελπίς*, 09 Φεβρουαρίου 1852, σελ. 3-4]

## Embros [Εμπρός]

Embros (1910) The Death of Pericles Giannopoulos, *Embros*, 13 April 1910, pp. 1-2  
[Εμπρός (1910) Ο Θάνατος του Περικλ. Γιαννόπουλου, *Εμπρός*, 13 Απριλίου 1910, σελ.1-2]

## Ephemeris [Εφημερίς]

Ephemeris (1873) Section 'News'. *Ephemeris*, 21 October 1873, p. 1 [Εφημερίς (1873), Στήλη 'Ειδήσεις'. *Εφημερίς*, 21 Οκτωβρίου 1873, σελ.1]

Ephemeris (1873) Section 'News'. *Ephemeris*, 22 October 1873, p. 1,2 [Εφημερίς (1873), Στήλη 'Ειδήσεις'. *Εφημερίς*, 24 Οκτωβρίου 1873, σελ.1,2]

Ephemeris (1873) Section 'News'. *Ephemeris*, 24 October 1873, p. 1 [Εφημερίς (1873), Στήλη 'Ειδήσεις'. *Εφημερίς*, 24 Οκτωβρίου 1873, σελ.1]

Ephemeris (1875), Greek opera composition: Marko Botzari, *Ephemeris*, 26 June 1875, pp. 2-3 [Εφημερίς (1875), Ελληνική Μελοποιία: Μάρκος Μπότσαρης, *Εφημερίς*, 26 Ιουνίου 1875, σελ. 2-3]

## Estia [Εστία]

G.N. Nazos (1899) The musical education of the people. *Estia*, 18 March 1899, p. 1  
[Γ.Ν. Νάζος (1899), Η μουσική μόρφωση του λαού, *Εστία*, 18 Μαρτίου 1899, σελ. 1]

## Estia Illustrated [Εστία Εικονογραφημένη]

Vallianitos, Th., (1893) 'The Theatres during King Otto's Reign' *Estia Illustrated*, 28 November 1893, p. 344 [Βαλλιανίτος, Θ. (1893) Τα θέατρα επι Όθωνος. *Εστία Εικονογραφημένη*, 28 Νοεμβρίου 1893, σελ. 344]

## Fimi [Η Φήμη]

K. (1840) Various News, *Fimi*, 20 February 1840, p. 3 [Κ. (1840) Νέα Διάφορα, Η Φήμη, 20 Φεβρουαρίου 1840, σελ. 3]

## Formigx [Φόρμιγξ]

Peristeris, D. (1902) On the transcription of folk melodies. *Formigx*, March 1902, p. 2  
[Περιστέρης, Δ. (1902) Περί του πώς κανονιστέον δημώδεις μελωδίας. *Φόρμιγξ*, Αρ. τευχ. 11, Μάρτιος 1902, σελ. 2]

Byzantida of Constantinople (1902), 'Church Music', *Formigx*, 28 August 1902, p. 1-2. [Βυζαντινά Κωνσταντινουπόλεως (1902), 'Εκκλησιαστική Μουσική', *Φόρμιγξ*, 28 Αυγούστου 1902, σελ. 1-2]

#### Musical Review [Μουσική Επιθεώρησης]

Orpheus (1921) Our Folk Songs. *Musical Review*, October 1921, p. 7 [Ορφεύς (1921) Τα δημοτικά μας τραγούδια. *Μουσική Επιθεώρησης* Αρ. τευχ. 1, Οκτώβριος 1921, σελ. 7]

Zacharias, P.D. (1921). The Conservatories. *Musical Review*, November 1921, p. 9 [Ζαχαρίας, Π. Δ. (1921). Τα Ωδεία. *Μουσική Επιθεώρησης*, Νοέμβριος 1921, Αρ. 2, σελ. 9]

#### Newspaper of the Ladies [Εφημερίς των Κυριών]

Anon. (1887) Why won't they admit her to the University, *Newspaper of the Ladies*, 20 September 1887, pp. 1-2 [Ανών. (1887, Διατί δεν την δέχονται εις το Πανεπιστήμιον. *Εφημερίς των Κυριών*, 20 Σεπτεμβρίου 1887, σελ. 1-2]

Collective Letter by Students (1887) Student Protest. *Newspaper of the Ladies*, 04 October 1887, pp. 3-4 [Πλείστοι Φοιτηταί (1887) Διαμαρτύρησης Φοιτητών. *Εφημερίς των Κυριών*, 04 Οκτωβρίου 1887, σελ. 3-4]

#### Noumas [Νουμάς]

Giannopoulos, P. (1903) Our Duty, *Noumas*, 12 January 1903, p. 4 [Γιαννόπουλος, Π. (1903) Το Καθήκον μας, *Νουμάς*, 12 Ιανουαρίου 1903, σελ.1]

Giannopoulos, P. (1903) The trend of imitating the Foreign, *Noumas*, 16 January 1903, p. 4 [Γιαννόπουλος, Π. (1903) Η Ξενομανία, *Νουμάς*, 16 Ιανουαρίου 1903, σελ. 4]

Giannopoulos, P. (1903), Not Foreign, *Noumas*, 30 January 1903, pp. 1-2 [Γιαννόπουλος, Π. (1903), Όχι Ξένα, *Νουμάς*, 30 Ιανουαρίου 1903, σελ. 1-2]

Giannopoulos, P. (1903). The damaged mirror, *Noumas*, 03 April 1903, p. 2 [Γιαννόπουλος, Π. (1903). Ο Χαλασμένος καθρέπτης, *Νουμάς*, 03 Απριλίου 1903, σελ. 2]

Giannopoulos, P. (1903) Byzantine on the one hand, [worthy of a] Broken nose on the other, *Noumas*, 24 April 1903, p. 2 [Γιαννόπουλος, Π. (1903) Βυζαντινή μεν, Ρινοκλασία δε, *Νουμάς*, 24 Απριλίου 1903, σελ.2]

Kalomiris, M. (1908) A few words. *Noumas*, 08 June 1908, p. 4 [Καλομοίρης, Μ. (1908). Λίγα Λόγια. *Νουμάς*, 15 Ιουνίου 1908, σελ. 4]

Palamas, K. (1908) To the musician Manolis Kalomiris. *Noumas*, 15 June 1908, p.1 [Παλαμάς, Κ. (1908). Στο μουσικό Μανόλη Καλομοίρη. *Νουμάς*, 15 Ιουνίου 1908, σελ. 1]

Synadinos, Th. (1909). Our Conservatory. *Noumas*, 22 November 1909, p. 4 [Συναδινός, Θ. (1909) Το Ωδείο μας. *Νουμάς*, 22 Νοεμβρίου 1909 σελ. 4]

Kalomiris, M. (1910) On Conservatories and the Conservatory. *Noumas*, 31 January 1910, p. 1 [Καλομοίρης, Μ. (1910) Για Ωδεία και για τ'Ωδείο. *Νουμάς*, 31 Ιανουαρίου 1910, σελ. 1]

Kalomiris, M. (1910) On Conservatories and the Conservatory (Final Part). *Noumas*, 07 February 1910. pp. 4-5 [Καλομοίρης, Μ. (1910). Για Ωδεία και για τ'Ωδείο (Απόσωμα). *Νουμάς*, 07 Φεβρουαρίου 1910. σελ. 4-5]

Anon. (1910) Kalomiris' Concert. *Noumas*, 26 December 1910, p. 7 [Ανων. (1910) Η Συναυλία του Καλομοίρη. *Νουμάς*, 26 Δεκεμβρίου 1910, σελ. 7]

#### Panathinea [Παναθήναια]

Lambelet, G. (1901) National Music. *Panathinea*, 30 November 1901, p. 131 [Λαμπελέτ, Γ. (1901) Η Εθνική Μουσική. *Παναθήναια*, 30 Νοεμβρίου 1901, σελ. 131]

#### Proinos Kyrix [Πρωινός Κήρυξ]

Proinos Kiryx (1843), Section 'Various News', *Proinos Kiryx*, 14 October 1843, p. 3 [Πρωινός Κήρυξ (1843) Διάφορα, *Πρωινός Κήρυξ*, 14 Οκτωβρίου 1843, σελ. 3]

#### Tachipteros Fimi [Η Ταχύπτερος Φήμη]

Tachipteros Fimi (1843) Section 'Various News', *Tachipteros Fimi*, 18 January 1843, p. 2 [Ταχύπτερος Φήμη (1843) Διάφορα, *Η Ταχύπτερος Φήμη*, 18 Ιανουαρίου 1843, σελ. 2]

Tachipteros Fimi (1843) Section 'Various News', *Tachipteros Fimi*, 21 January 1843, p. 2 [Ταχύπτερος Φήμη (1843) Διάφορα, *Η Ταχύπτερος Φήμη*, 21 Ιανουαρίου 1843, σελ. 2]

Tachipteros Fimi (1843) Section 'Various News', *Tachipteros Fimi*, 15 June 1843, p. 2 [Ταχύπτερος Φήμη (1843) Διάφορα, *Η Ταχύπτερος Φήμη*, 15 Ιουνίου 1843, σελ. 2]

Tachipteros Fimi (1845) Section 'Various News', *Tachipteros Fimi*, 02 October 1845, pp. 1-2 [Ταχύπτερος Φήμη (1843) Διάφορα, *Η Ταχύπτερος Φήμη*, 02 Οκτωβρίου 1845, σελ. 1-2]

#### Trakatrouka [Η Τρακατρούκα]

Kloutzoniotis (1851) The civility of corruption, *Trakatrouka*, 18 November 1851, p. 1-4 [Κλουτζιόνης (1851) Η αβροφροσύνη της διαφθοράς, *Η Τρακατρούκα*, 18 Νοεμβρίου 1851, σελ. 1-4]

Kloutzoniotis (1851) The civility of corruption (part 2), *Trakatrouka*, 25 November 1851, p. 1-3 [Κλουτζιόνης (1851) Η αβροφροσύνη της διαφθοράς: Άρθρον Β', *Η Τρακατρούκα*, 25 Νοεμβρίου 1851, σελ. 1-3]

#### Toxotis [Τοξότης]

Toxotis (1840) Theatrical dispute, *Toxotis*, 1840-1841 p. 23-24, 27 [Τοξότης (1840) Η θεατρική έρις, *Τοξότης*, 1840-1841, σελ. 23-24, 27]

### *In English*

The Illustrated London News

The Illustrated London News (1845) *Madame Rita Basso-Borio*, *The Illustrated London News*, 15 March 1845, p. 168.

The True Briton

Anon. 1800. Travels in Greece. *The True Briton*, 11 January, p. 3

## **2. Secondary Sources**

### **Books**

#### *In English*

Adorno, T.W., 1976. Introduction to the Sociology of Music. New York: The Seabury Press.

Adorno, T.W., 1991. The Culture Industry. London and New York: Routledge

Adorno, T.W., 2002. Essays on Music. University of California Press

Allen, W.D. 1962 [1939]. Philosophies of Music History: A study of General Histories of Music 1600-1960. New York: Dover Publications

Anderson, B. 2006 [1983]. Imagined Communities. London: Verso

Applegate, C. 2005. Bach in Berlin: Nation and Culture in Mendelssohn's Revival of the St. Matthew Passion. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press

Bane, T. 1969 [2010]. Encyclopaedia of vampire mythology. Jefferson, North Carolina, and London: McFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers

- Barber, P. 1988. *Vampires, Burial, and Death: Folklore and Reality*. New Haven & London: Yale University Press
- Barkey, K. 2008. *Empire of Difference: The Ottomans in Comparative Perspective*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Bashford, C., Langley, L. [eds.]. 2000. *Music and British Culture, 1785-1914*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Bastéa, E. 2000. *The creation of Modern Athens: Planning the Myth*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Beaton, R. Magdalino, P. (eds.) 1998. *Byzantium and the Modern Greek Identity*. Surrey: Ashgate
- Beaton, R. Ricks, D. (eds.) 2009. *The making of Modern Greece: nationalism, romanticism, & the uses of the past (1797-1896)*. UK & USA: Ashgate
- Bérenger, J 1997. *A History of the Hapsburg Empire 1700-1918*. London: Routledge
- Berman, A. 1994. *Preface to Modernism*. Urbana & Chicago: University of Illinois Press
- Bernstein, B. 1971. *Class, Codes and Control: Volume 1 Theoretical Studies towards a Sociology of Language*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul
- Bhabha, H.K. 2004 [1994] *The Location of Culture*. London & New York: Routledge
- Blanning, T. 2008. *The Triumph of Music: Composers, Musicians and their audiences, 1700 to the present*. London: Penguin
- Blume, F. 1970. *Classic and Romantic Music: A Comprehensive Survey*. New York: W.W Norton & Company
- Bohlman, P. V. 2004. *The Music of European Nationalism: Cultural Identity and Modern History*. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-Clio.
- Bohlman, P.V. [ed.] 2013. *The Cambridge History of World Music*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Bourdieu, P. 1984. *Distinction*. London & New York: Routledge
- Bourdieu, P. 1990. *The Logic of Practice*. Cambridge: Polity Press
- Bourdieu, P. 1991. *Language & Symbolic Power*. Cambridge: Polity Press
- Bourdieu, P. 1996. *The Rules of Art*. Cambridge: Polity Press
- Boyd, M. [ed.] 2008. *Music and the French Revolution*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Braunbehrens, V. 1991. *Mozart in Vienna: 1781-1791*. New York, London, Toronto, & Sydney: Harper Perennial

Breuilly, J. 1993 (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.) *Nationalism and the State*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Buch, E. 2003. *Beethoven's ninth: a political history*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press

Bujić, B. (ed) 1988. *Music in European Thought 1851-1912*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Burke, P. 2005 (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.) *History and Social Theory*. Cambridge: Polity

Burnham, S. 1995. *Beethoven Hero*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press

Butler, E.M. 1935. *The tyranny of Greece over Germany: A study of the influence exercised by Greek art over the Great German Writers of the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Calinescu, M. 1987. *Five faces of Modernity: Modernism, Avant-Garde, Decadence, Kitsch, Postmodernism*. Durham: Duke University Press

Carabott, Ph. [ed.] 1995. *Greece and Europe in the Modern Period: Aspects of a Troubled Relationship*. Centre for Hellenic Studies, King's College London

Castoriadis, C. 1987 [1975]. *The Imaginary Institution of Society*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Chadwick, W. 2007 (4<sup>th</sup> ed.). *Women, art, and Society*. London: Thames & Hudson.

Clogg, R. (ed.) 1981. *Balkan Society in the Age of Greek Independence*. London & Basingstoke: The Macmillan Press LTD

Clogg, R. 1992. *A Concise History of Greece*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Connerton, P. 1989. *How Societies Remember*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Cook, C., Tsou, J. (eds.) 1994. *Cecilia Reclaimed: Feminist Perspectives on Gender and Music*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press

Curtis, B. 2008. *Music Makes the Nation: Nationalist Composers and Nation-Building in Nineteenth-Century Europe*. Amherst, MA: Cambria.

Dahlhaus, C. 1983 [1977]. *Foundations of Music History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press



- Dahlhaus, C. 1989 [1978]. *The Idea of Absolute Music*. Chicago & London: The University of Chicago Press.
- Dahlhaus, C. 1989. *Between Romanticism and Modernism*. Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Dahlhaus, C. 1989. *Nineteenth-Century Music*. Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Dakin, D. 1972. *The Unification of Greece, 1770-1923*. London: Benn
- Danforth, L.M. 1997. *The Macedonian Conflict: Ethnic Nationalism in a Transnational World*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press
- Davidoff, L., Hall, C. (eds.) 1997 [1987]. *Family Fortunes: Men and women of the English middle class 1780-1850*. London: Routledge
- Deutsch, O.E. 1990 [1965]. *Mozart: A documentary Biography*. London: Simon & Schuster
- Diamandouros, N.P, Anton, J.P, Petropulos, J.A, Topping, P. 1976. *Hellenism and the First Greek War of Liberation (1821-1830): Continuity and Change*. Thessaloniki: Institute for Balkan Studies
- Drapac, V. 2010. *Constructing Yugoslavia: A Transnational History*. Palgrave Macmillan
- Drinker, S. 1948. *Music & Women: the story of women in their relationship to music*. New York: The Feminist Press at The City University of New York
- Eriksen, T, H. 2010 (3<sup>rd</sup> ed.). *Ethnicity and Nationalism: Anthropological perspectives*. London: Pluto Press
- Evans, R.J. 2016. *The Pursuit of Power: Europe 1815-1914*. UK & USA: Allen Lane
- Featherstone, K. (ed.) 2014. *Europe in Modern Greek History*. London: Hurst & Company
- Fleming, K. E. 2010. *Greece: A Jewish History*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press
- Fortna, B.C, Katsikas, S., Kamouzis, D., Konortas, P. (eds) 2013. *State-Nationalisms in the Ottoman Empire, Greece and Turkey: Orthodox and Muslims, 1830-1945*. London: Routledge
- Foster, Hal. [ed.] 1985. *Postmodern Culture*. London & Sydney: Pluto Press
- Fotopoulos, D. 1999. *Athenian Fashions at the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> century*. Athens: E.L.I.A.

- Frascina, F., Harris, J. 1992. *Art in Modern Culture: an anthology of critical texts*. London: Phaidon Press Limited
- Freely, J. 2004 [2<sup>nd</sup> ed]. *Strolling Through Athens: Fourteen Unforgettable Walks Through Europe's Oldest City*. London & New York: Tauris Parke Paperbacks
- Frisch, W. 2013. *Music in the Nineteenth century: Western Music in context*. New York and London: W.W Norton and Company
- Fulcher, J. 1987. *The Nation's Image: French grand opera as politics and politicized art*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Garratt, J. 2002. *Palestrina and the German Romantic Imagination: Interpreting Historicism in Nineteenth-Century Music*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Garratt, J. 2010. *Music, Culture and Social Reform in the Age of Wagner*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Gelbart, M. 2007. *The invention of "Folk Music" and "Art Music": Emerging categories from Ossian to Wagner*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Gellner, E. (1983) *Nations and Nationalism*. Oxford: Blackwell
- Gilmore Holt, E. [ed.]. 1979 *The Triumph of Art for the Public: The Emerging Role of Exhibitions and Critics*. New York: Anchor Books
- Glenny, M. 2012. *The Balkans 1804-2012: Nationalism, War and the Great Powers*. London: Granta Publications
- Gloag, K. 2012. *Postmodernism in Music*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Goehr, L. 2007 [Revised Edition]. *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works: An Essay in the Philosophy of Music*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Goehr, L. 2008. *Elective Affinities: Musical Essays on the History of Aesthetic Theory*. New York, Chichester, West Sussex: Columbia University Press
- Gombrich, E.H. 2006 (pocket edition). *The Story of Art*. London & New York: Phaidon
- Goodman, N. 1968 *Languages of Art*. Indiana: Hackett Publishing Company
- Gourgouris, S. 1996. *Dream Nation: Enlightenment, Colonization, and the Institution of Modern Greece*. California: Stanford University Press
- Green, L. 1997. *Music, Gender, Education*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Greene, M. 2015. *The Edinburgh History of the Greeks, 1453 to 1768: The Ottoman Empire*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press

- Greenberg, C. 1961. *Art and Culture: Critical Essays*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Grout, D. 1947 [1966]. *A Short History of Opera*. New York & London: Columbia University Press.
- Grout, D.J, Pelisca, C.V. 1996 [5<sup>th</sup> ed.]. *A History of Western Music*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company
- Güthenke, C. 2008. *Placing Modern Greece: The dynamics of Romantic Hellenism 1770-1840*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Hall, St., Held, D., McGrew, T. 1992. *Formations of Modernity*. Cambridge: Polity Press & The Open University
- Hall, St., Held, D., McGrew, T. 1992. *Modernity and its Futures*. Cambridge: Polity Press & The Open University
- Hallam, E. Ingold, T. [eds] 2007. *Creativity and Cultural Improvisation*. London & Oxford: Berg Publishers
- Hamilakis, Y. 2007. *The Nation and its Ruins: Antiquity, Archaeology and National Imagination in Greece*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Harrison, C., Wood, P. 2003 [1992]. *Art in Theory 1900-2000: An Anthology of Changing Ideas*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing
- Harrison, C., Wood, P. 1998. *Art in Theory 1815-1900: An Anthology of Changing Ideas*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers
- Hastings, A. (1997) *The construction of Nationhood: Ethnicity, Religion and Nationalism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Halbwachs, M. 1992 [1941, 1952]. *On Collective Memory*. Chicago & London: The University of Chicago Press
- Head, M.W. 2000. *Orientalism, masquerade and Mozart's Turkish music*. Royal Music Association Monographs
- Herzfeld, M. 1986. *Ours Once More: Folklore, Ideology, and the making of Modern Greece*. New York: Pella
- Herzfeld, M. 2005. *Cultural Intimacy*. New York & London: Routledge
- Hibberd, S. 2009. *French Grand Opera and the Historical Imagination*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Hobsbawm, E. 1992 [2<sup>nd</sup> ed.] *Nations and Nationalism since 1780*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

- Holst, G. 1975. Road to Rembetika: music from a Greek sub-culture, songs of love, sorrow and hashish. Greece: Anglo-Hellenic Publishing
- Hoock, H. 2003. The King's Artists: the Royal Academy of Arts and the politics of British culture, 1760-1840. Oxford: Clarendon Press
- Hughes, M., Strandling, R. 2001 [2<sup>nd</sup> ed.] The English Musical Renaissance 1840-1940: Constructing a National Music. Manchester & New York: Manchester University Press.
- Jung, C.G., von Franz M-L. 1964. Man and his symbols. U.S: Dell Publishing
- Jung, C.G. 1968 [2<sup>nd</sup> ed.]The Archetypes and the Collective Unconscious. London: Routledge
- Kann, R. A. 1980. A History of the Habsburg Empire, 1526-1918. California: University of California Press
- Karidis, D.N. 2014. Athens from 1456 to 1920: The town under Ottoman Rule and the 19<sup>th</sup>-century Capital City. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Kedourie, E. [ed.] 1970. Nationalism in Asia and Africa. New York: Meridian Books
- Kenyon, N. 2011. Mozart. [The Faber Pocket Guide to Mozart]. London: Faber and Faber.
- Kerman, J. 1985. Contemplating Music: challenges to musicology. Cambridge Mass: Harvard University Press
- Kift, D. 1996. The Victorian Music Hall: Culture, Class, and Conflict. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- King, D., Sylvester, D. 1983. The Eastern carpet in the Western World: From the 15<sup>th</sup> century to the 17<sup>th</sup> century [exhibition catalogue]. London: Arts Council of Great Britain
- Kitromilides, P.M. 1992. The Enlightenment as social criticism: Iosipos Moisioudax and Greek culture in the Eighteenth Century. New Jersey: Princeton University Press
- Kitromilides, P. M. 1994. Enlightenment, nationalism, Orthodoxy: Studies in the culture and political thought of South-Eastern Europe. Great Britain: Variorum
- Kitromilides, P. M. [ed.]. 2010. Adamantios Korais and the European Enlightenment. Oxford: Voltaire Foundation
- Kitromilides, P.M. 2013. Enlightenment and Revolution: the making of modern Greece. London: Harvard University Press
- Koliopoulos, J.S., Veremis, Th. M. Greece, The Modern Sequence: From 1831 to the Present. London: Hurst & Company

- Lambropoulos, V. *Literature as National Institution: Studies in the Politics of Modern Greek Criticism*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press
- Lang, P. H. 1942. *Music in western civilization*. London: J.M Dent & Sons Ltd.
- Langford, R., Hodkinson, J. [eds] 2009. *Textual Intersections: Literature in the Arts in Nineteenth Century Europe (Internationale Forschungen zur Allgemeinen und Vergleichenden Literaturwissenschaft series)*.
- Leerssen, J. 2006. *National Thought in Europe: A Cultural History*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- Leontidou, L. 1990. *The Mediterranean city in transition: Social change and urban development*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Leontis, A. 1995. *Topographies of Hellenism: Mapping the Homeland*. Ithaca & London: Cornell University Press
- Leppert, R., McClary, S.[eds]. 1987. *Music and Society: The Politics of Composition, Performance and Reception*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Lieberman, V. 2009. "Strange Parallels: Southeast Asia in Global Context, c. 800-1830." Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Lochhead, J., Auner, J. 2001. *Postmodern Music/Postmodern Thought*. New York & London: Routledge
- Loesser, A. 1954. *Men, women & Pianos: A Social History*. New York: Simon and Schuster
- Mann, Th. 1998 [1912]. *Death in Venice and Other Stories*. London: Vintage
- Manning, D. 2008. *Vaughan Williams on Music*. Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press
- Mayer Brown, H., Sadie, S. (eds.). 1989. *Performance Practice: Music after 1600*. London: The Macmillan Press
- Marchand, S. L. 1996. *Down from Olympus: Archaeology and Philhellenism in Germany, 1750-1970*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press
- Marczali, H. 1910. *Hungary in the Eighteenth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Mazower, M. 2001. *The Balkans: From the End of Byzantium to the Present Day*. London: Phoenix Press
- Mazower, M. 2005. *Salonica, City of Ghosts: Christians, Muslims and Jews 1430-1950*. London, New York, Toronto & Sydney: Harper Perennial

- Naar, D. E. 2016. *Jewish Salonika: Between the Ottoman Empire and Modern Greece*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.
- Neuburger, M. C. 2013. *Balkan Smoke: Tobacco and the making of modern Bulgaria*. Ithaca & London: Cornell University Press.
- Nora, P. (ed.) 1996. *Realms of Memory*. New York, Chichester, West Sussex: Columbia University Press
- Okey, R. 2001 *The Habsburg Monarchy c. 1765-1918*. United States: Macmillan Press Ltd.
- Pantazopoulos, N.I. 1994. *Rigas Velestinlis: Legend and reality*. Athens: Scientific Society for Study “Pheres-Velestino-Rigas”
- Pecora, V.P (ed.) 2001. *Nation and Identities*. Oxford: Blackwell
- Peltre, C. 1998. *Orientalism in Art*. Paris: Abberville Press
- Perris, A. 1985. *Music as Propaganda: art to persuade and to control*. Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press
- Petropulos, J.A.1968. *Politics and Statecraft in the Kingdom of Greece 1833-1843*. Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press
- Pickstock, C. 2013. *Repetition and Identity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Praz, M. 1969. *On Neoclassicism*. London: Thames & Hudson
- Preziosi, D. (ed.) 2009. *The Art of Art History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Rancière, J. 2013 [2000] *The Politics of Aesthetics*. London & New York: Bloomsbury Academic
- Rancière, J. 2009. *The Aesthetic Unconscious*. Cambridge: Polity
- Revel, J., Levi, G (eds.). 2002. *Political Uses of the Past: The recent Mediterranean Experience*. London: Frank Cass and Company Ltd.
- Rice, T., Porter, J., Goertzen, C. [eds]. 2000. *The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music [Vol. 8]: Europe*. New York & London: Garland Publishing Inc.
- Romanou, K. 2009 (ed.) *Serbian & Greek Art Music: A Patch in Western Music History*. Bristol: Intellect
- Rosen, C. 2000. *Critical Entertainments: Music Old and New*. Cambridge Massachusetts & London: Harvard University Press

- Rosselli, J. 1991. *Music & Musicians in Nineteenth-Century Italy*. London: B.T Batsford Ltd.
- Rosselli, J, 1992. *Singers of the Italian Opera: The history of a profession*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Pr, R. 1967. *Transformations in Late Eighteenth Century Art*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Rutherford, S. 2006. *The Prima Donna and Opera 1815-1930*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Said, E.W 1978 [2003]. *Orientalism*. London: Penguin Classics
- Said, E.W. 1993. *Culture and Imperialism*. London: Chatto and Windus
- Said, E. D. 2009. *Music at the Limits: Three Decades of Essays and Articles on Music*. London: Bloomsbury Publishing
- Sachs, H. 2010. *The Ninth: Beethoven and the world in 1824*. New York: Random House Publishing Group.
- Samson, J. [ed]. 2002. *The Cambridge History of 19th century Music*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Samson, J. 2013. *Music in the Balkans*. Boston: Brill
- Schechner, R. 1993. *The Future of Ritual: Writings on Culture and Performance*. London and New York: Routledge
- Scherer, F.M. 2004. *Quarter Notes and Bank Notes: The economics of music composition in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries*. Princeton & Oxford: Princeton University Press
- Scholes, P.A. 1960 [5<sup>th</sup> ed.] *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Music*. London: Oxford University Press
- Shupo, S. [ed.]. 2001. *Art Music in the Balkans*. Tirana: Asmus
- Smith, A. D. 1991. *National Identity*. Nevada: University of Nevada Press
- Smith, A. D. 1998. *Nationalism and Modernism*. London: Routledge
- Smith, A. D. 2013. *The Nation made real: art and national identity in western Europe, 1600-1850*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Sontag, S. 2009 [1961]. *Against Interpretation and Other Essays*. London: Penguin Classics
- Spence, Lewis. 1920 [2003]. *An Encyclopaedia of Occultism*. New Hyde Parks: University Books

- St. Clair, W. 1967. *Lord Elgin and the Marbles*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
- St. Clair, W. 2008 (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.) *That Greece might still be free: The Philhellenes in the War of Independence*. Cambridge: Open Book Publishers
- Stokes, M. (ed.) 1994. *Ethnicity, Identity and Music: The Musical Construction of Place*. Oxford/ Providence, USA: Berg
- Stoneman, R. 1998. *A Luminous Land: Artists Discover Greece*. Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum
- Strunk, O. 1977. *Essays on Music in the Byzantine World*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company Inc
- Swenson, A. 2013. *The Rise of Heritage: Preserving the Past in France, Germany and England, 1789-1914*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Sweetman, J. 1988. *The Oriental Obsession: Islamic Inspiration in British and American art and architecture 1500-1900*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Taylor, D. 1988. *Mastering Economic and Social History*. London: Macmillan
- Thompson, J. B. 1990. *Ideology and Modern Culture*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Todorova, M. 2009. *Imagining the Balkans*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Treitler, L. 1989. *Music and the Historical Imagination*. Cambridge, Massachusetts & London, England: Harvard University Press.
- Trencsényi, B., Kopeček, M. (eds.) 2006. *Discourses of Collective Identity in Central and Southeast Europe (1770-1945): Texts and Commentaries. Volume One: Late Enlightenment- Emergence of the Modern 'National Idea'*. Hungary: CEU Press.
- Trencsényi, B., Kopeček, M. (eds.) 2007. *Discourses of Collective Identity in Central and Southeast Europe (1770-1945): Texts and Commentaries. Volume Two: National Romanticism- The formation of National Movements*. Hungary: CEU Press.
- Trikoupis, A. 2015. *Western music in Hellenic communities: Musicians and institutions*. Athens: National and Kapodistrian University of Athens
- Trotter, W. R. 1995. *Priest of Music: The life of Dimitri Mitropoulos*. Portland: Amadeus Press
- Tsang, R., Woods, E.T. [eds.] 2014. *The Cultural Politics of Nationalism and Nation-Building : Ritual and performance in the forging of nations*. London & New York: Routledge.
- Tung, A. M. 2001. *Preserving the World's Great Cities: The destruction and renewal of the Historic Metropolis*. New York: Clarkson Potter



- Tziouvas, D. 1986. *The nationalism of the demoticists and its impact on their literary theory (1888-1930)*. Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert
- Tziouvas, D. (ed.) 1997. *Greek Modernism and Beyond*. Lanham, New York, Boulder, London: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers
- Tziouvas, D. (ed.) 2003. *Greece and the Balkans: Identities, Perceptions and Cultural Encounters since the Enlightenment*. UK & US: Ashgate
- Walsh, T.J. 1881. *Second Empire Opera: The Theatre Lyrique Paris 1851-1870*. London: John Calder
- Weber, E. 1976. *Peasants into Frenchmen: the Modernization of Rural France, 1870-1914*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.
- Williams, R. 1961. *Culture and Society*. Middlesex: Penguin Books
- Williams, R. 2007[1989]. *Politics of Modernism: Against the new conformists*. London & New York: Verso
- Wolff, L. 1994. *Inventing Eastern Europe: The Map of Civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Woolf, S. (ed.) 1996. *Nationalism in Europe 1815 to the present: A Reader*. London: Routledge
- Wu, D. 1998, 1999. *A Companion to Romanticism*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers
- Yack, B. 1997. *The Fetishism of Modernities: Epochal Self-Consciousness in Contemporary Social and Political Thought*. Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press
- Zacharia, K. (ed.) 2008. *Greek Hellenisms*. England: Ashgate
- Zarinebaf, F, Bennet, J., Davis, J. L., Dorogianni, E., Harlan, D. K, Kiel, M., MacKay, P. A., Wallrodt, J., Wolpert, A. D. 2005. *A Historical and Economic Geography of Ottoman Greece*. Athens: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

*In Greek*

- Antipas, P. 1978. *The Ionian Theatre and the Greek Melodrama*. Athens: I. Feleki Publishers. [Αντύπας, Π. 1978. Το Επτανησιακό Θέατρο και το Ελληνικό Μελόδραμα. Αθήνα: Εκδ. Οίκος Ι. Φελέκη.]

Antoniou, D. 1987. *Secondary School Curricula (1833-1929)*, vol I. Athens: General Secretariat for Youth [Αντωνίου, Δ. 1987. Τα προγράμματα της Μέσης Εκπαίδευσης (1833-1929), Τόμος Α'. Αθήνα: Γενική Γραμματεία Νέας Γενιάς]

Antoniou, D. 1988. *Secondary School Curricula (1833-1929)*, vol II. Athens: General Secretariat for Youth [Αντωνίου, Δ. 1988. Τα προγράμματα της Μέσης Εκπαίδευσης (1833-1929), Τόμος Β'. Αθήνα: Γενική Γραμματεία Νέας Γενιάς]

Antoniou, D. 1989. *Secondary School Curricula (1833-1929)*, vol III. Athens: General Secretariat for Youth [Αντωνίου, Δ. 1989. Τα προγράμματα της Μέσης Εκπαίδευσης (1833-1929), Τόμος Γ'. Αθήνα: Γενική Γραμματεία Νέας Γενιάς]

Antoniou, D. 2008. *Pathways and Attitudes in modern Greek education*. Athens: *Metaichmio* [Αντωνίου, Δ. 2008. Διαδρομές και στάσεις στη νεοελληνική εκπαίδευση, 19<sup>ος</sup>-20<sup>ος</sup> αι. Αθήνα: Μεταίχμιο.]

Bakalaki, A. Elegmitou, E. 1987. *Education in "Domestic Matters" and Women's Duties.: From the creation of the Greek state until the educational reformation of 1929*. Athens: General Secretariat for Youth [Μπακαλάκη, Α., Ελεγκμίτου, Ε. 1987. Η Εκπαίδευση «Εις τα του οίκου» και τα Γυναικεία Καθήκοντα: Από την ίδρυση του ελληνικού κράτους έως την εκπαιδευτική μεταρρύθμιση του 1929. Αθήνα: Γενική Γραμματεία Νέας Γενιάς]

Baroutas, K. 1992. *Musical life in 19<sup>th</sup> century Athens: Concerts, Recitals, Opera, Popular Song, Music Criticism*. Athens: Philippos Nakas Music Publishers [Μπαρούτας, Κ. 1992. Η Μουσική Ζωή στην Αθήνα το 19ο Αιώνα.: Συναυλίες- Ρεσιτάλ- Μελόδραμα- Λαϊκό τραγούδι- Μουσικοκριτική. Αθήνα: Φίλιππος Νάκας Μουσικός Οίκος]

Baud-Bovy, S. 1984. *Essay on the Greek Demotic Song*. Athens: Ikaros [Baud-Bovy, S. 1984. Δοκίμιο για το Ελληνικό Δημοτικό Τραγούδι. Αθήνα: Ίκαρος]

Bouzakis, S. 2006 [5<sup>th</sup> ed.] *Modern Greek education (1821-1998): Dependent development*. Athens: Gutenberg [Μπουζάκης, Σ. 2006 [5<sup>η</sup> έκδοση]. Νεοελληνική Εκπαίδευση (1821-1998): Εξαρτημένη ανάπτυξη. Αθήνα: Gutenberg]

Chamoudopoulos, D.A. 1980. *The dawn of art-music in Greece and the creation of the National School of Music: Retrospections and Thoughts*. Athens: Estia [Χαμουδόπουλος, Δ.Α. 1980. Η ανατολή της έντεχνης μουσικής στην Ελλάδα και η δημιουργία της Εθνικής Σχολής: Ανασκοπήσεις και Σκέψεις. Αθήνα: Βιβλιοπωλείον της Εστίας]

Chasiotis, I.K. (ed.). 1997. *Thessaloniki Ruler of the Virtuous: History and Culture*. [Vol. A]. Thessaloniki: Paratiritis Publishers. [Χασιώτης, Ι.Κ. (επιμ.). 1997. Θεσσαλονίκη Τοις Αγαθοίς Βασιλεύουσα: Ιστορία και Πολιτισμός. (Τόμος Α') Θεσσαλονίκη: Παρατηρητής]

Chatzipantazis, Th. 2014. *A Diagram of the History of the Modern Greek Theatre*. Heraklion: Cretan University Press [Χατζηπανταζής, Θ. 2014. Διάγραμμα Ιστορίας του Νεοελληνικού Θεάτρου. Ηράκλειο: Πανεπιστημιακές Εκδόσεις Κρήτης]

Chourmouziou, Em. 1974 [1944]. *Palamas and his times*. Vol. 1. Athens: Publications "Dionysos" G. Nasioti. [Χουρμουζίου, Αιμ. 1974 [1944]. Ο Παλαμάς και η εποχή του. Τόμος Α'. Αθήνα: Εκδόσεις "Διόνυσος" Γ. Νασιώτη]

Chourmouziou, Em. 1959. Palamas and his times. Vol. 2. Athens: Publications “Dionysos” G. Nasioti. [Χουρμουζίου, Αιμ. 1959. Ο Παλαμάς και η εποχή του. Τόμος Β’. Αθήνα: Εκδόσεις “Διόνυσος” Γ. Νασιώτη]

Chourmouziou, Em. 1960. Palamas and his times. Vol. 3. Athens: Publications “Dionysos” G. Nasioti. [Χουρμουζίου, Αιμ. 1960. Ο Παλαμάς και η εποχή του. Τόμος Γ’. Αθήνα: Εκδόσεις “Διόνυσος” Γ. Νασιώτη.]

Christakis, L. 2002. Pericles Giannopoulos: The “Last “of the Athenians. Athens: Spilioti Publishers. [Χρηστάκης, Λ. 2002. Περικλής Γιαννόπουλος: Ο «Τελευταίος» των Αθηναίων. Αθήνα: Εκδόσεις Σπηλιώτη]

Dertilis, G. V. 2014 (2004, 8<sup>th</sup> ed.) History of the Greek state 1830-1920. Herakleon: University of Crete Editions [Δερτιλής, Γ. Β. 2014 [2004]. [8<sup>η</sup> Έκδοση] Ιστορία του Ελληνικού Κράτους 1830-1920. Ηρακλείο: Πανεπιστημιακές Εκδόσεις Κρήτης]

Dimaras, A. (ed.) 1973. The reformation that never happened (Historical Tokens). Vol. A’: 1821-1894. Athens: Hermes Publishing [Δημαράς, Α. [επιμ.]. 1973. Η μεταρρύθμιση που δεν έγινε (Τεκμήρια Ιστορίας). Τόμος Α’: 1821-1894. Αθήνα: Εκδοτική Ερμής.]

Dimaras, A. (ed.) 1974. The reformation that never happened (Historical Tokens). Vol. B’: 1895-1967. Athens: Hermes Publishing [Δημαράς, Α. [επιμ.]. 1974. Η μεταρρύθμιση που δεν έγινε (Τεκμήρια Ιστορίας). Τόμος Β’: 1895-1967. Αθήνα: Εκδοτική Ερμής.]

Dimaras, A. 2013. History of Modern Greek education, the “Interrupted Leap”: Tensions and Resistance in Greek education 1833-2000. Athens: Metaichmio [Δημαράς, Α. 2013. Ιστορία της Νεοελληνικής Εκπαίδευσης, Το «Ανακοπτόμενο Άλμα»: Τάσεις και αντιστάσεις στην ελληνική εκπαίδευση 1833-2000. Αθήνα: Μεταίχμιο.]

Dimaras, K. Th. 1982. Greek Romanticism. Athens: Ermis [Δημαράς, Κ.Θ. 1982. Ελληνικός Ρωμαντισμός. Αθήνα: Ερμής]

Drosinis, G. (ed.). 1938. George Nazos and the Conservatory of Athens. Athens: Estia Publishers [Δροσίνης, Γ. (επιμ.) 1938. Γεώργιος Νάζος και το Ωδείο Αθηνών. Αθήνα: Εστία]

Fessa, E. 1982. Introduction to the history of the modern Greek theatrical space: a lecture. 15.3.1982. Athens: Kyttaro Drama Company [Φεσσά, Ε. 1982. Εισαγωγή στην ιστορία του νεοελληνικού θεατρικού χώρου: Κείμενο Διαλέξης 15.3.1982. Αθήνα: Θεατρικός Οργανισμός Κυτταρο]

Formozis, P. 1967. The choral editions of church music into European notation by Ioannis Ch. N. Chaviaras- B. Randhartinger and Anthimos Nikolaides- Gottfried Preyer in the two Greek Orthodox Churches of Vienna. Thessaloniki: Rigopoulos [Φορμόζης, Π. Ε. 1967. Οι Χορωδιακές εκδόσεις της εκκλησιαστικής μουσικής σε ευρωπαϊκή γραφή των Ιωάν. Χ.Ν. Χαβιάρ- Β. Ρανδάρτηνγκερ και Ανθίμου Νικολαΐδου- Gottfried Preyer στις δύο Ορθόδοξες Ελληνικές εκκλησίες της Βιέννας. Θεσσαλονίκη: Ρηγόπουλος]

Fournaraki, E. 1987. Girls’ Education and Upbringing: Greek Responses (1830-1910). An Anthology. Athens: General Secretariat for Youth [Φουρναράκη, Ε. 1987. Εκπαίδευση και Αγωγή των Κοριτσιών: Ελληνικοί Προβληματισμοί (1830-1910). Αθήνα: Ελληνική Γραμματεία Νέας Γενιάς]

Frangou-Psychopedis, O. 1990. The Greek National School of Music: Ideological Problems. Athens: Foundation for Mediterranean Studies. [Φράγκου- Ψυχοπαίδη, Ο. 1990. Η Εθνική Σχολή Μουσικής: Προβλήματα Ιδεολογίας. Αθήνα: ίδρυμα Μεσογειακών Μελετών]

Giannopoulos, P. [1988]. Collected Writings. Athens: Eleftheri Skepsis [Γιαννόπουλος, Π. [1988]. Άπαντα. Αθήνα: Ελεύθερη Σκέψη]

Glykatzi-Ahrweiler. 2016. How Greek is the Byzantium? How Byzantine are the modern Greeks? Athens: Gutenberg. [Γλόκατζη-Αρβελέρ, Ε. 2016. Πόσο Ελληνικό είναι το Βυζάντιο; Πόσο Βυζαντινοί οι νεοέλληνες; Αθήνα: Gutenberg]

Kaklamanis, St., Kalokerinos, A., Palichronakis, D. (eds.) 2015. Logos and Time in modern Greek literature (18<sup>th</sup>- 19<sup>th</sup> century): Proceedings from a conference honouring Alexis Politis. Heraklion: University of Crete Press [Κακλαμάνης, Στ., Καλοκαιρινός, Α., Πολυχρονάκης, Δ. (επιμ.) 2015. Λόγος και χρόνος στη νεοελληνική γραμματεία (18<sup>ος</sup>-19<sup>ος</sup> αιώνας): Πρακτικά Συνεδρίου προς τιμήν του Αλέξη Πολίτη. Ηράκλειο: Πανεπιστημιακές Εκδόσεις Κρήτης]

Karadimou-Gerolimpou, A. 1995 [2<sup>nd</sup> ed.]. The reconstruction of Thessaloniki after the fire of 1917: a turning point in the history of the city and Greek urban planning. Thessaloniki: University Studio Press [Καραδήμου- Γερόλυμπου, Α. 1995. [Β΄ Έκδοση] Η Ανοικοδόμηση της Θεσσαλονίκης μετά την πυρκαγιά του 1917: ένα ορόσημο στην ιστορία της πόλης και της ελληνικής πολεοδομίας. Θεσσαλονίκη: University Studio Press]

Karakasis, S. 1961 Manolis Kalomiris and Kostis Palamas (the Palamian Symphony). Athens: M. Pantatosaki Art Press. [Καρακάσης, Σ. 1961. Ο Μανώλης Καλομοίρης και ο Κωστής Παλαμάς (Παλαμική Συμφωνία). Αθήνα: Εκδόσεις Καλλιτεχνικό Τυπογραφείο Μ. Παντατοσάκη]

Karolou, I. 1934. Olga the Queen of the Greeks 22 August 1851- 19 June 1926. Athens: Estia [Καρόλου, Ι. 1934. Όλγα η βασίλισσα των Ελλήνων 22 Αυγούστου 1851- 19 Ιουνίου 1926. Αθήνα: Εστία]

Kokkonas, G. 1997. The Pupils of the Central School (1830-1834). Athens: General Secretariat for Youth. [Κόκκωνας, Γ. 1997. Οι μαθητές του Κεντρικού Σχολείου (1830-1834). Αθήνα: Γενική Γραμματεία Νέας Γενιάς]

Kostis, K. 2013. “Les enfants gâtés de l’histoire”: The formation of the modern Greek state 18<sup>th</sup> -21<sup>st</sup> century. Athens: Polis [Κωστής, Κ. 2013. «Τα Κακομαθημένα Παιδιά της Ιστορίας»: Η διαμόρφωση του Νεοελληνικού Κράτους 18<sup>ος</sup>-21<sup>ος</sup> αιώνας. Αθήνα: Πόλις]

Koubourlis, G. 2012. The historiographical influences of Sp. Zambelios and K. Paparrigopoulos: the contribution of Greek and foreign intellectuals in the formation of the tripartite schema of Greek historicity (1782-1864), Athens: ΠΙΕ/ΕΙΕ [Κουμπουρλής, Γ. 2012. Οι ιστοριογραφικές οφειλές των Σπ. Ζαμπέλιου και Κ. Παπαρρηγόπουλου: Η συμβολή ελλήνων και ξένων λογίων στη διαμόρφωση του τρίσημου σχήματος του ελληνικού ιστορισμού (1782-1846). Αθήνα: ΠΙΕ/ΕΙΕ]

Koulouri, Ch. 1988. History and Geography in the Greek schools (1834-1914): the Content and its Ideological scope. Athens: Historical Archive of Greek Youth [Κουλούρη, Χρ. 1988. Ιστορία και Γεωγραφία στα Ελληνικά Σχολεία (1834-1914): Γνωστικό Αντικείμενο και Ιδεολογικές Προεκτάσεις. Αθήνα: Ιστορικό Αρχείο Ελληνικής Νεολαίας.]

- Lazogiorgos-Ellinikos, D. [ed.] Pericles Giannopoulos: Collected Works. Vol. 1. Athens: Nea Thesis [Λαζογιώργος-Ελληνικός, Δ. [επιμ.] Περικλής Γιαννόπουλος, Άπαντα. Τόμος Α'. Αθήνα: Νέα Θέσις]
- Letsas, A. 1962. Thessaloniki 1912-1962: Commemorative edition. Thessaloniki: Em. Sfakianakis and Sons Publishers [Λέτσας, Αλ. Θεσσαλονίκη 1912-1962: Αναμνηστική Έκδοσις. Θεσσαλονίκη: Τυπογραφείο Εμμ. Σφακιανάκης και Υιοί]
- Leotsakos, G. 2012. Spyros Samaras (1861-1917): The great forgotten [composer] of Greek art-music. Athens: Benaki Museum [Λεωτσάκος, Γ. 2012. Σπύρος Σαμάρας (1861-1917): Ο Μεγάλος αδικημένος της έντεχνης ελληνικής μουσικής. Αθήνα: Μουσείο Μπενάκη]
- Liakos, A. 1985. The Italian Unification and the Great Idea, 1859-1862. Athens: Themelio [Λιάκος, Α. 1985. Η Ιταλική Ενοποίηση και η Μεγάλη Ιδέα, 1859-1862. Αθήνα: Θεμέλιο]
- Maliaras, N. 2001. Greek traditional song in the music of Manolis Kalomiris. Athens: Papagrigoriou-Nakas Music Publications [Μαλιάρας, Ν. 2001. Το ελληνικό Δημοτικό τραγούδι στη μουσική του Μανώλη Καλομοίρη. Αθήνα: Μουσικός Εκδοτικός Οίκος Παπαρηγορίου-Νάκας]
- Maliaras, N., Charkiolakis, A. [eds.] 2013. Manolis Kalomiris, 50 years later. Athens: Fagotto Books [Μαλιάρας, Ν., Χαρκιολάκης, Α. (επιμ.) 2013. Μανώλης Καλομοίρης, 50 χρόνια μετά. Αθήνα: Fagotto books]
- Maliaras, N. (ed.) 2014. The National Element in Music: Conference Proceedings, Athens, 18-20 January 2013. Athens: University of Athens, Faculty of Music Studies [Μαλιάρας, Ν. (επιμ.) 2014. The National Element in Music: Πρακτικά Συνεδρίου, Αθήνα, 18-20 Ιανουαρίου 2013. Αθήνα: Εθνικό και Καποδιστριακό Πανεπιστήμιο Αθηνών.]
- Mertiri, A. 2000. Artistic Education of Young People in Greece (1836-1945). Athens: General Secretariat of Youth [Μερτύρη, Α. 2000. Η Καλλιτεχνική Εκπαίδευση των Νέων στην Ελλάδα (1836-1945). Αθήνα: Γενική Γραμματεία Νέας Γενιάς]
- Milonas, K. 1984. History of the Greek song. Athens: Kedros [Μυλωνάς, Κ. 1984. Ιστορία του Ελληνικού τραγουδιού. Αθήνα: Κέδρος]
- Molho, R. 2001[2014]. The Jews of Thessaloniki, 1856–1919: A Unique Community. Athens: Patakis Publishers [Μόλχο, Ρ. 2001 [2014]. Οι Εβραίοι της Θεσσαλονίκης 1856-1919: Μια ιδιαίτερη κοινότητα. Αθήνα: Εκδόσεις Πατάκη]
- Moskof, K. 1974. Thessaloniki 1700-1912: a Dissection of the Commercial City. Athens: Stochastis Press [Μοσκώφ, Κ. 1974. Θεσσαλονίκη 1700-1912: Τομή της Μεταπρακτικής Πόλης. Αθήνα: Στοχαστής]
- Motsenigos, Sp. 1958. Modern Greek Music: A contribution to its History. Athens [Μοτσενίγος, Σπ. 1958. Νεοελληνική Μουσική: Συμβολή εις την Ιστορίαν της. Αθήνα]
- Nef, K. (translated, edited, and with additions for the Greek edition by Phevos Anogianakis). 1956. History of Music. Athens: Papyros [Nef, K. (μετάφραση- προσθήκες- επιμέλεια Φοίβου Ανωγειανάκη) 1956. Ιστορία της Μουσικής. Αθήνα: Πάπυρος]

- Papakostas, G. 1988 [2011]. *Literary Salons and coffee-shops in Athens*. Athens: Patakis Editions [Παπακώστας, Γ. 2011 [1988]. Φιλολογικά Σαλόνια και καφεενεία της Αθήνας. Αθήνα: Εκδόσεις Πατάκη.]
- Petropoulos, E. 1989. *Rebetika: Songs from the Old Greek Underworld*. Athens: Kedros [Πετρόπουλος, Ε. 1989. Ρεμπέτικα: Τραγούδια του παλλίου Ελληνικού Υποκόσμου. Αθήνα: Κέδρος.]
- Petropoulos, J.A., Koumariou, A. 1982. *The establishment of the Greek state: the reign of King Otto 1833-1843*. Athens: Papazisi Editions. [Πετρόπουλος, Ι. Α., Κουμαριανού, Αικ. 1982. Η θεμελίωση του ελληνικού Κράτους: Οθωνική περίοδος 1833-1843. Αθήνα: Εκδόσεις Παπαζηση]
- Philopoulos, G. 1990. *Introduction to Greek polyphonic church music*. Athens: Nefeli [Φιλόπουλος, Γ. 1990. Εισαγωγή στην Ελληνική Πολυφωνική Εκκλησιαστική Μουσική. Αθήνα: Νεφέλη]
- Philopoulos, G. 1993. *Russian influences upon the Greek polyphonic chant*. Athens: Nefeli [Φιλόπουλος, Γ. Ρωσικές επιδράσεις στην ελληνική πολυφωνική εκκλησιαστική μουσική. Αθήνα: Νεφέλη]
- Philopoulos, G. 1997. *Polyphonic church music in the Greek community of London*. Athens: Nefeli [Φιλόπουλος, Γ. 1997. Η Πολυφωνική Εκκλησιαστική μουσική στην Ελληνική κοινότητα του Λονδίνου. Αθήνα: Νεφέλη.]
- Politis, A. 1999 (2nd ed.) *The discovery of Greek folk song*. Athens: Themelio [Πολίτης, Α. 1999. (β' εκ.) Η Ανακάλυψη των Ελληνικών Δημοτικών Τραγουδιών. Αθήνα: Θεμέλιο]
- Politis, A. 2009. (3<sup>rd</sup> ed.) *Romantic Years: Ideologies and Mentalities in Greece between 1830-1880*. Athens: E.M.N.E- Mnemon [Πολίτης, Α. 2009. [Γ' Έκδοση] Ρομαντικά Χρόνια: Ιδεολογίες και Νοοτροπίες στην Ελλάδα του 1830-1880. Αθήνα: E.M.N.E- Μνήμων]
- Romanou, K. 1996. *A journey through National Music 1901-1912: Greek Music Journals as a source of research on modern Greek music*. (2 vols) Athens: Koultoura [Ρωμανού, Κ. 1996. Εθνικής Μουσικής Περίηγησις 1901-1912: Ελληνικά Μουσικά Περιοδικά ως Πηγή Έρευνας της Ιστορίας της Νεοελληνικής Μουσικής. Αθήνα: Κουλτούρα (2 τόμοι)]
- Romanou, K., Barbaki, M., Mousoulidis, F. 2004. *Greek Music in the Olympic Games and the Olympiads (1858-1896)*. Athens: General Secretariat for the Olympic Games, Ministry of Culture [Ρωμανού, Κ., Μπαρμπάκη, Μ., Μουσουλίδης, Φ. 2004. Η Ελληνική Μουσική στους Ολυμπιακούς Αγώνες και τις Ολυμπιάδες (1858-1896). Αθήνα: Γενική Γραμματεία Ολυμπιακών Αγώνων, Υπουργείο Πολιτισμού.]
- Romanou, K. 2006. *Greek art-music in the Modern times*. Athens: Koultoura [Ρωμανού, Κ. 2006. Εντεχνη Ελληνική Μουσική στους Νεότερους Χρόνους. Αθήνα: Κουλτούρα]
- Sakellaropoulos, T., Vatsaki, A., Theodorou, M. [ed.] 2012. *Eleftherios Venizelos and cultural policy: Symposium proceedings, 21-22/11/2008*. Athens & Chania: Benaki Museum and the "Eleftherios Venizelos" National Institute of Research and Study. [Σακελλαρόπουλος, Τ., Βατσάκη, Α., Θεοδώρου, Μ. 2012. Ελευθέριος Βενιζέλος και πολιτιστική πολιτική: Πρακτικά Συμποσίου, 21-11/11/2008. Αθήνα-Χανιά: Μουσείο Μπενάκη- Εθνικό Ίδρυμα Ερευνών και Μελετών «Ελευθέριος Βανιζέλος»]

- Sideris, G. 1990. History of modern Greek theatre [1794-1944]. Vol. 1. Athens: Kastaniotis Editions [Σιδέρης, Γ. 1990. Ιστορία του Νέου Ελληνικού Θεάτρου, 1794-1944. Τόμος Πρώτος (1794-1908). Αθήνα: Εκδόσεις Καστανιώτη]
- Siopsi, A, A. 2003. Three Essays on Manolis Kalomiris. Athens: Papagrigroriou-Nakas Music Publishers [Σιώπη, Α. Α. 2003. Τρία Δοκίμια για τον Μανώλη Καλομοίρη. Αθήνα: Μουσικός Εκδοτικός Οίκος: Παπαρηγορίου-Νάκας.]
- Siragakis, M. 2014. Napoleon Lambelet: a homeless cosmopolitan. Athens: Centre for Greek Music. [Σειραγάκης, Μ. 2014. Ναπολέον Λαμπελέτ: Ένας ανέστιος κοσμοπολίτης. Αθήνα: Κέντρο Ελληνικής Μουσικής]
- Skandali, A. 2001. The development of the Opera in 19<sup>th</sup> century Greece in relation to the formation of urban reality: an initial approach. Athens: Gutenberg [Σκανδάλη, Α. 2001. Η Πορεία της Όπερας στην Ελλάδα του 19<sup>ου</sup> αιώνα σε σχέση με τη συγκρότηση του αστικού χώρου. Αθήνα: Gutenberg]
- Skopetea, E. 1988. The “Exemplary Kingdom” and the Great Idea: Views of the issue of the nation in Greece (1830-1880). Athens: Polytypo [Σκοπετέα, Ε. 1988. Το “Πρότυπο Βασίλειο” και η Μεγάλη Ιδέα: Όψεις του εθνικού προβλήματος στην Ελλάδα (1830-1880). Αθήνα: Πολυτυπο]
- Stavrou, G. 2009. Musical instruction in Primary and Nursery schools in Greece (1830-2007): Historical Tokens. Athens: Gutenberg [Σταύρου, Γ. 2009 Η διδασκαλία της Μουσικής στα Δημοτικά Σχολεία και Νηπιαγωγεία της Ελλάδας. (1830-2007): Τεκμήρια Ιστορίας. Αθήνα: Gutenberg]
- Svolopoulos, K. 2006. The Origin of Modern Greek History. Athens: Estia [Σβολόπουλος, Κ. 2006. Η Γέννηση της Ιστορίας του Νέου Ελληνισμού. Αθήνα: Εστία]
- Svoronos, N.G. 1976. An Overview of Modern Greek History. Athens: Themelio Publishers [Σβορώνος, Ν. Γ. 1976. Επισκόπηση της Νεοελληνικής Ιστορίας. Αθήνα: Θεμέλιο]
- Synadinos, Th. N. 1919. History of Modern Greek Music 1824-1919. Athens. [Συναδινός, Θ. Ν. 1919. Ιστορία της Νεοελληνικής Μουσικής 1824-1919. Αθήνα]
- Tomanas, K. 1996. Artistic Life in Thessaloiniki: 1885-1944. Thessaloniki: Nisides [Τομανάς, Κ. 1996. Η Καλλιτεχνική Κίνηση στην Ελλάδα: 1885-1944. Θεσσαλονίκη: Νησίδες]
- Tsetsos, M. 2011. Nationalism and Populism in modern Greek music: Political aspects of a cultural divergence. Athens: Karagiorgas Foundation [Τσέτσος, Μ. 2011. Εθνικισμός και Λαϊκισμός στη νεοελληνική μουσική: Πολιτικές όψεις μιας πολιτισμικής απόκλισης. Αθήνα: Ίδρυμα Σάκη Καραγιώργα]
- Tsetsos, M. 2013. Modern Greek music: essays of ideological and institutional criticism. Athens: Panas music [Τσέτσος, Μ. 2013. Νεοελληνική μουσική: δοκίμια ιδεολογικής και θεσμικής κριτικής. Αθήνα: Panas music]
- Varika, E. 1996 [2011] The uprising of the ladies: the birth of a feminist conscience in Greece 1833-1907: Athens: Papazisi Publishers [Βαρίκα, Ε. 1996 [2011]. Η εξέγερση των κυριών: Η γένεση μιας φεμινιστικής συνείδησης στην Ελλάδα 1833-1907. Αθήνα: Εκδόσεις Παπαζήση]

Varvianis, N. A. 1975. The civilizing musical output of the Ionian Islands and the Zantean composer Pavlos Carrer. *Zante*. [Βαρβιάνης, Ν.Α. 1975. Το εκπολιτιστικό μουσικό έργο της Επτανήσου και ο Ζακυνθινός μουσουργός Παύλος Καρρέρης. Ζάκυνθος]

Varvounis, M.G., Sergis, M.G. 2012. Greek Ethnography: Historical, Theoretical, Methodology, Themes. [Vol. A'] Athens: Herodotus [Βαρβούνης, Μ.Γ., Σέργης, Μ.Γ. 2012. Ελληνική Λαογραφία: Ιστορικά, Θεωρητικά, Μεθοδολογικά, Θεματικές. [Τόμος Α'] Αθήνα: Ηρόδοτος]

Velios, A [ed.]. 1995 [2010]. Pericles Giannopoulos. Athens: Roes [Βέλιος, Α. [επιμ.] 1995 [2010]. Περικλής Γιαννόπουλος. Αθήνα: Ροές]

Veremis, Th. (ed.) 2003 (3<sup>rd</sup> ed.). National identity and nationalism in modern Greece, Athens: MIET [Βερέμης, Θ. (επιμ.) 2003 [Γ' Έκδοση]. Εθνική Ταυτότητα και Εθνικισμός στη Νεότερη Ελλάδα. Αθήνα: Μορφωτικό Ίδρυμα Εθνικής Τραπέζης]

Veremis, Th. M., Koliopoulos, J.S. 2006. Greece, The Modern Sequence: From 1821 to the Present, Athens: Kastaniotis Publishers [Βερέμης, Θ., Κολιόπουλος, Γ. 2006 [6<sup>η</sup> Έκδοση]. Ελλάς, Η Σύγχρονη Συνέχεια: Από το 1821 μέχρι σήμερα. Αθήνα: Εκδόσεις Καστανιώτη.]

Ziogou, - Karastergiou, S. 1986. Girls' Secondary Education in Greece (1830-1893). Athens: General Secretariat for Youth [Ζιώγου-Καραστεργίου, Σ. 1986. Η Μέση εκπαίδευση των κορτσιών στην Ελλάδα (1830-1893). Αθήνα: Γενική Γραμματεία Νέας Γενιάς]

### *In German*

Ther, P. (ed.) Cultural Policy and Theatre: the continental European Empires in comparison. Oldenburg: Böhlau [Ther, P. (Hg.) 2012. Kulturpolitik und Theater: Die kontinentalen Imperien in Europa im Vergleich. Oldenburg: Böhlau]

### **Dictionaries/ Encyclopaedias**

Apel, W. (ed.) 1970 (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.) Harvard Dictionary of Music. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press

Arnold, D. (ed.) 1983. The New Oxford Companion to Music. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Kennedy, M. 1985. The Oxford Dictionary of Music. Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press.



Randel, D. M. (ed.) 1986. *The New Harvard Dictionary of Music*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press

Saddie, St. 1988. *The Norton/Grove Concise Encyclopedia of Music*. New York & London: W.W. Norton and Company

Saddie, St. 1988. *The Grove Concise Dictionary of Music*. London: Macmillan Press Ltd.

Sadie, St. (ed.) 2001 (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.) *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* [in twenty-nine volumes]. London: Macmillan Publishers Limited.

Scholes, P. A, Owen Ward, J. 1991 [1938] *The Oxford Companion to Music*. Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press

Shupo, S. (ed.). 2005. *Biographical Dictionary of Balkan Composers*. Tirana: Asmus

## Articles

### *In English*

Abbate, C., Parker, R. Dismembering Mozart. *Cambridge Opera Journal*, 2:2 (July 1990), pp. 187-195

Amandry, A. Le philhellénisme en France: partitions de musique. *The Gleaner*, vol. 17 (1981), pp. 27-45

Anderson, A. B. The Complexity of Ethnic Identities: A Postmodern Reevaluation. *Identity: An International Journal of Theory and Research*, 1:3 (2001), pp. 209-223

Anscombe, F. F. The Balkan Revolutionary Age. *The Journal of Modern History*. 84:3 (September 2012), pp. 572-606

Applegate, C. How German Is It? Nationalism and the Idea of Serious Music in the Early Nineteenth Century. *19<sup>th</sup> Century Music*, 21:3 (Spring, 1998), pp. 274-296

Avdikos, E. Continuity, Identity and Folk Studies in Greece. *Folklore: Electronic Journal of Folklore*, 44/2010, pp. 157-170

Athanassopoulos, E. F. An “Ancient” Landscape: European Ideals, Archaeology, and Nation Building in Early Modern Greece. *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, 20:2, (October 2002), pp. 273-305

Basic, N. 2006. Transnationalism in the Balkans: An introduction. *Ethnopolitics: Formerly Global Review of Ethnopolitics*, 5:3

- Beaton, N. Antique nation? 'Hellenes on the eve of Greek independence and in twelfth-century Byzantium. *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, 31:1 (2007) pp. 76-95
- Berger, S. National Myths in Europe. *European History Quarterly*, 37: 2 (2007), pp. 291-300
- Botstein, L. Listening Through Reading: Musical Literacy and the Concert Audience. *19<sup>th</sup>-Century Music*, 16:2, Music in its Social Contexts (Autumn, 1992), pp.129-145
- Bourdieu, P. Social Space and Symbolic Power. *Sociological Theory*, 7:1 (1989), pp. 14-25
- Breger, C. Gods, German Scholars and the Gift of Greece: Friedrich Kittler's Philhellenic Fantasies. *Theory Culture Society*, 23:7-8 (2006), pp. 111-134
- Brincker, B., Brincker, J. Musical construction of nationalism: a comparative study of Bartók and Stravinsky. *Nations and Nationalism*. 10:4 (2004), pp. 579-597
- Brincker, B. Introduction to themed section on classical music and nationalism: studies into the political function of art. *Nations and Nationalism* 20:4 (2014) pp. 603-605
- Brincker, B. The role of classical music in the construction of nationalism: a cross-national perspective. *Nations and Nationalism*, 20:4 (2014), pp. 664-682
- Brooks, W. On Being Tasteless. *Popular Music*, vol. 2 (January 1982), pp. 9-18
- Brown, R. H. The Formation of Delacroix's Hero between 1822 and 1831. *The Art Bulletin*, 66: 2 (June 1984), pp. 237-254
- Bryant, R. Modern Greece: a cultural poetics. *Mediterranean Historical Review*, 24:1 (2009), pp. 62-64
- Buchowski, M. Social Thought & Commentary: The Specter of Orientalism in Europe: From Exotic Other to Stigmatized Brother. *Anthropological Quarterly*, 79: 3 (Summer 2006), pp. 463-482
- Burke, P. The Invention of Leisure in Early Modern Europe. *Past & Present*, 146(Feb. 1995), pp. 136-150
- Calhoun, C. Nationalism and Ethnicity. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 19 (1993), pp. 211-239
- Chatziioanou, M. C. Like a rolling stone, R.A.H. Bickford-Smith (1859-1916) from Britain to Greece. *British School at Athens Studies*, vol. 17, Scholars, Travels, Archives: Greek culture through the British School at Athens (2009), pp 39-48
- Clogg, R. Elite and Popular Culture in Greece under Turkish Rule'. *Indiana Social Studies Quarterly*, 32:1, (1979) pp. 69-88

- Dahlhaus, C. Neo-Romanticism. *19<sup>th</sup>-Century Music*, 3:2 (Nov., 1979), pp. 97-105
- Danforth, L.M.. "The Ideological Context of the Search for Continuities in Greek Culture". *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*. 2:1 (May 1984), pp. 53-85
- Demos, R. 'The Neo-Hellenic Enlightenment (1750-1821)' *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 19:4 (October 1958), pp. 523-41
- Djordjevic, D. Balkan Versus European Enlightenment: Parallelism and Dissonances. *East European Quarterly*, 9:4 (1975), pp. 487- 497
- Dumont, P. The Social Structure of the Jewish Community of Salonica at the End of the Nineteenth Century. *Southeastern Europe/ L'Europe du sud-est*, 5 Pt.2 (1979), pp. 33-72
- Eisenstadt, S. N. Multiple Modernities. *Daedalus*, 129:1 (Winter, 2000), pp. 1-29
- Eleftheriadis, P. Political Romanticism in Modern Greece. *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, 17:1 (May 1999) pp. 41-61
- Fleming, K. E. Orientalism, the Balkans, and Balkan Historiography. *The American Historical Review*, 105:4 (Oct. 2000), pp. 1218-1233
- Freeman, C.L. Harding, J.H., Quigley, D., Rodger, P.M. Structural Control of Crystal Nuclei by an Eggshell Protein. *Angewandte Chemie* (International ed.), vol. 49, issue 30, pp. 5135-5137.
- Friedheim, Ph. Wagner and the Aesthetics of the Scream. *19<sup>th</sup>-Century Music*, 7:1 (Summer, 1983), pp. 63-70
- Friedman, J. The Past in the Future: History and Politics of Identity. *American Anthropologist*, New Series, 94:4 (Dec. 1992), pp. 837-859
- Gazi, A. Museums and National Cultural Property: II. The Parthenon Marbles, *Museum Management and Curatorship*, 9, (1990). pp. 241-255
- Goehr, L. Writing Music History. *History and Theory*, 31:2 (May 1992), pp. 182-199
- Goehr, L. Political Music and the Politics of Music. *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, 52:1. The Philosophy of Music (Winter 1994), pp. 99-112
- Goehr, L. In the Shadow of the Canon. *The Musical Quarterly*, 86: 2 (Summer 2002), pp. 307-328.
- Gounaris, B. C. Reassessing Ninety Years of Greek Historiography on the "Struggle for Macedonia" (1904-1908). *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, vol. 14, no. 2 (October 1996), pp. 237-251

Grehan, J. Smoking and “Early Modern” Sociability: The great tobacco debate in the Ottoman Middle East (Seventeenth to Eighteenth centuries). *The American Historical Review*, vol. 111, No. 5 (December 2006), pp. 1352-1377

Groen, B. J. Nationalism and reconciliation: Orthodoxy in the Balkans. *Religion, State, and Society*, 26:2 (1998), pp. 111-128

Gut, S. Permanence et transformation des structures melodiques grecques antiques. Dans les Melodies populaires grecques de Maurice Ravel. *Revue de Musicologie*, T. 84, No. 2 (1998), pp. 263-276

Hamilakis, Y. Stories from Exile: Fragments from the Cultural Biography of the Parthenon Marbles. *World Archaeology*, 31:2, The Cultural Biography of Objects (October 1999) pp. 303-320

Head, M. Musicology on Safari: Orientalism and Spectre of Postcolonial Theory. *Music Analysis*, 22/i-ii (2003) pp. 211-230

Hepokoski, J. The Dahlhaus Project and its Extra-Musicological Sources. *19<sup>th</sup>-Century Music*, 14:3 (Spring, 1991), pp. 221-246

Herzfeld, M. The Absent Presence: Discourses of Crypto-Colonialism. *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, 101:4, (Fall, 2002), pp. 899-926

Huebner, S. Opera Audiences in Paris 1830-1870. *Music and Letters*, 70:2 (May, 1989), pp. 206- 225

Hughes, C. Music of the French Revolution. *Science & Society*, 4:2 (Spring, 1940), pp. 193-210

Ioakimidis, P. C. The Europeanization of Greece: Overall Assessment. *South European Society and Politics*, 5:2 (2000), 73-94

Jackson, M. “Cosmopolitan” Smyrna: Illuminating or obscuring cultural histories? *The Geographical Review*, 102 (3):337-349

Jenkins, I. The Elgin Marbles: Questions of Accuracy and Reliability. *Internations Journal of Cultural Property*, 10: 1, pp. 55-69

Joannides, P. Colin, Delacroix, Byron and the Greek War of Independence. *The Burlington Magazine*, 125: 965 (Aug. 1983), pp. 495

Jusdanis, G. Introduction: Modern Greek! Why? *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*. 15:2 (1997), pp. 167-174

Kaliakatsos, M. Ion Dragoumis and “Machiavelli”: Armed struggle, Propaganda, and Hellenization in Macedonia and Thrace (1903-1908). *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, vol. 31, no. 1 (May 2013), pp. 53-84

- Karakasidou, A. N. Politicizing Culture: Negating Ethnic Identity in Greek Macedonia *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, 11:1 (May 1993), pp. 1-28
- Karakasidou, A.N., Tsibiridou, F. Mirrors, Myths and Metaphors: Ethnography and Greece in Late Modernity, Introductory Reflections. *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, 24: 2 (October 2006), pp. 217-228
- Kardamis, K. 2004. "Nobile Teatro di San Giacomo di Corfù: an overview of its significance for the Greek ottocento". Presentation at the *XI Convegno Annuale di Società Italiana di Musicologia*, Lecce, 22-24 October 2004.
- Kardamis, K. From Popular to Esoteric: Nikolaos Mantzaros and the Development of his career as a composer. *Nineteenth-Century Music Review*, 8:1 (June, 2011), pp. 101-126
- Kasaba, R. 'The Enlightenment, Greek Civilization and the Ottoman Empire: Reflections on Thomas Hope's Anastasius' *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 16:1 (March 2003)
- Katsikas, S. The Muslim Minority in Greek Historiography: A Distorted Story. *European History Quarterly* 2012 42:3. pp. 444-467
- Kaya, D. A. "Living off others' aid": The Socioeconomic Structure of Salonica's Jews in the Mid-Nineteenth century. *Jewish History*, vol. 28, (2014), pp. 313-336.
- Kerman, J. How We Got into Analysis, and How to Get out. *Critical Inquiry*, 7:2 (Winter, 1980), pp. 311-331
- Kitromilides, P.M. 'The last battle of the Ancients and Moderns: ancient Greece and Modern Europe in the Neohellenic Revival. *Modern Greek Studies Yearbook* (ed. by T. Stavrou) (1985) pp. 79-91
- Kitromilides, P.M. 'Imagined Communities' and the Origins of the National Question in the Balkans', *European History Quarterly*, 19 (1989) pp. 149-94
- Kitromilides, P.M. An Enlightenment Perspective on Balkan cultural pluralism: the republican vision of Rhigas Velestinlis. *History of Political Thought*, 24:3 (2003) pp. 465-479
- Kitromilides, P. M. 'The Enlightenment and the Greek cultural tradition' *History of European Ideas*, 36:1, (2010) pp. 39-46
- Kitromilides, P.M. Dositej Obradovic and the Greek Enlightenment. *Balkanica*, XLIV (2013) pp. 201-207
- Kitroeff, A. (1989), 'Continuity and Change in Contemporary Greek Historiography', *European History Quarterly* 19:269, p. 269-298
- Kohli, M. The Battlegrounds of European Identity. *European Societies*. 2:2 (2000), 113-137.

Konstantaras, D. J. Christian Elites of the Peloponnese and the Ottoman State 1715-1821. *European History Quarterly*, 43:4, pp. 628-656

Koundoura, M. 'Between Orientalism and Philhellenism: Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's "Real" Greeks', *The Eighteenth Century*, 45:3 (2004). pp. 249-297

Kourbana, S. The Birth of Music Criticism in Greece: The case of the Historian Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos. *Nineteenth-Century Music Review*, 8:1 (June 2011), pp. 85-100

Kramer, L. Musicology and Meaning. *The Musical Times*, 144:1883 (Summer, 2003), pp. 6-12

Kramer, L. Music, Historical Knowledge, and Critical Inquiry: Three Variations on the 'Ruins of Athens'. *Critical Inquiry*, 32:1 (Autumn 2005) pp. 61-76

Kravitt, E. F. Romanticism Today. *The Musical Quarterly*, 76:1 (Spring, 1992), pp. 93-109.

Lajosi, K. National Stereotypes and music. *Nations and Nationalism* 20:4 (2014), pp. 628-645

Lajosi, K. National Opera and Nineteenth-Century nation building in east-central Europe. *Neohelicon* XXXII: 1 (2005), pp. 51-69

Leersen, J. The Rhetoric of National Character: A Programmatic Survey. *Poetics Today*, 21:2 (Summer 2000), pp. 267-292

Leersen, J. Nationalism and the cultivation of culture. *Nations and Nationalism*. 12:4 (2006), pp. 559-578

Leersen, J. Romanticism, music, nationalism. *Nations and Nationalism*, 20:4 (2014), pp. 606-627

Liakos, A. The Construction of National Time: The Making of Modern Greek Historical Imagination. *Mediterranean Historical Review*, 16:1 (2001), pp. 27-42

Locke, R.P. Reflections on Orientalism in opera and musical theatre. *Opera Quarterly*, 10:1 (1993) pp. 48-64

Locke, R. P. *Aida* and Nine Readings of Empire. *Nineteenth-Century Music*, 3:1 (June 2006), pp. 45-72

McNeal, R. A. Athens and Nineteenth-Century Panoramic Art. *International Journal of the Classical Tradition*, 1:3, (Winter, 1995), pp. 80-97

Malkin, I. Networks and the Emergence of Greek Identity. *Mediterranean Historical Review*. 18:2 (2003), pp. 56-74

Mantzourani, E. Hans Keller, Nikos Skalkotas and the Notion of Symphonic Genius. *Tempo*, 263, (2013) 33-59

Marchand, S., Philhellenism and the Furor Orientalis. *Modern Intellectual History*, 1:3, (November 2004) pp.331-358

Mason, D. Reading Greece. *The Hudson Review*, 55:3 (Autumn, 2002), pp. 431-441

Mazower, M. The Messiah and the bourgeoisie: Venizelos and politics in Greece, 1909-1912. *The Historical Journal*, 35:04 (December 1992), pp. 885-904

Molho, R. The Jewish Community of Salonika and Its Incorporation into the Greek State 1912-19. *Middle Eastern Studies*, vol. 24, no. 4 (Oct., 1988), pp. 391-403

Mouzelis, N. The Concept of Modernization: its Relevance for Greece. *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, vol. 14, no. 2, 1996, pp 215-227

Meyer, E, R. Turquerie and Eighteenth-Century Music. *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 7:4 (Summer, 1974) pp. 474-488

Nicolaides, A. Iosipos Moisioudax, John Locke and the post-European enlightenment quest for modernity in Greece. *Journal of Languages and Culture*, 1:2, (August, 2010) pp. 22-27

Papadopoulos, D.C. Ecologies of Ruin: (Re)bordering, Ruination and Internal Colonialism in Greek Macedonia, 1913-2013. *International Journal of Historical Archaeology*, vol. 20, issue 3 (September 2016), pp. 627-640

Parker, D. C. Exoticism in Music in Retrospect. *The Musical Quarterly*, 3:1 (Jan. 1917), pp. 134-161

Patiniotis, M. Periphery Reassessed: Eugenios Voulgaris converses with John Isaac Newton. *British Journal for the History of Science*, 40:4, (December 2007) pp. 471-490

Pecout, G. Philhellenism in Italy: political friendship and the Italian volunteers in the Mediterranean in the nineteenth century, *Journal of Modern Italian Studies*, 9:4 (2004), pp. 405-427.

Peckham, R. S. Map Mania: Nationalism and the Politics of Place in Greece, 1870-1922. *Political Geography* 19 (2000), pp. 77-95

Pederson, S. A.B Marx, Berlin Concert Life, and German National Identity. *19<sup>th</sup>-Century Music*, 18:2 (Autumn, 1994), pp. 87-107

Pekka Pennanen, R. The Nationalization of Ottoman Popular Music in Greece. *Ethnomusicology*, 48:1 (Winter, 2004), pp.1-25

- Perl, B. Mozart in Turkey. *Cambridge Opera Journal*, 12:3, (November 2000) pp. 219-235
- Penn, V. Philhellenism in Europe, 1821-1828. *The Slavonic and East European Review*, 16:48. (Apr. 1938), pp. 638-653
- Pollis, A. Political Implications of the Modern Greek Concept of Self. *The British Journal of Sociology*, 16:1 (March 1965), pp. 29-47
- Pollis, A. Greek National Identity: Religious Minorities, Rights, and European Norms, *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, 10:2 (October 1992). pp. 171-196
- Randel, W. William Haygarth: Forgotten Philhellene. *Keats-Shelley Journal*, 9:2 (Autumn, 1960), pp. 86-90
- Reck, D. R. Beatles Orientalis: Influences from Asia in a Popular Song Tradition. *Asian Music*, 16:1 (1985) pp. 83-149
- Ringer, A.L. On the Question of "Exoticism" in 19th century Music. *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, T.7, Fasc. 1/4 (1965) pp. 115-123
- Rochberg, G. Reflections on the Renewal of Music. *Current Musicology*, vol. 13 (1972), pp. 75-82
- Romanou, K. Italian Musicians in Greece during the nineteenth century. *Muzikologija*, 2003 (3), pp. 43-55
- Romanou, K, Barbaki M. Music Education in Nineteenth-Century Greece: Its Institutions and their Contribution to Urban Musical Life. *Nineteenth-Century Music Review*, 8:1, (2011), pp. 57-84
- Rose-Greenland, F. 2013. The Parthenon Marbles as icons of nationalism in nineteenth-century Britain. *Nations and Nationalism*, 19:4, p. 654-673
- Rosengard Subotnik, R. The Role of Ideology in the Study of Western Music. *The Journal of Musicology*. 2:1 (Winter, 1983), pp. 1-12
- Roudometof, V. From Rum Millet to Greek Nation: Enlightenment, Secularization, and National Identity in Ottoman Balkan Society, 1453-1821. *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, 16:1 (May 1998) pp. 11-48
- Roudometof, V. Nationalism and Identity Politics in the Balkans: Greece and the Macedonian Question. *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, vol. 14, no. 2 (1996), pp. 253-301
- Roudometof, V. Transnationalism, Cosmopolitanism and Glocalization. *Current Sociology*, 53:1(Jan. 2005), pp. 113-135
- Said, E.W. Orientalism Reconsidered. *Race Class*, 27:2 (1985) pp. 1-15



- Samson, J. The *Story of Koula*: music and nationhood in Greece. *Nations and Nationalism*, 20:4 (2014), pp. 646-663
- Scott, D. B. Orientalism and Musical Style. *The Musical Quarterly*, 82:2 (Summer, 1998) pp. 309-335
- Seay, A. Giuseppe Mazzini's Filosofia Della Musica. *Notes*, Second Series, 30:1 (Sep., 1973), pp. 24-36
- Selfridge-Field, E. The Invention of the Fortepiano as Intellectual History. *Early Music*, 33:1 (Feb., 2005), pp. 81-94
- Siopsi, A. Introduction. *Nineteenth-Century Music Review*, 8:1 (June 2011), pp. 5-15
- Siopsi, A. Music in the Imaginary Worlds of the Greek Nation: Greek Art Music during the Nineteenth-Century's *fin de siècle* (1880s-1910s). *Nineteenth-Century Music Review*, 8:1 (June 2011), pp. 17-39
- Slot, B.J. Commercial activities of Korais in Amsterdam. *The Gleaner*, vol. 16 (1980), pp. 55-139
- Smith, A. D. National Identity and the Idea of European Unity. *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-)*, 68: 1 (Jan. 1992), pp. 55-76
- von Staden, H., Affinities and Elisions: Helen and Hellenocentrism. *Isis*, 83: 4 (Dec. 1992), pp. 578-595
- Stoianovic, T. The Conquering Balkan Orthodox Merchant. *The Journal of Economic History*, 20: 2, (June 1960) pp. 234-313
- Stroux, C. The Question of Continuity in the History of Greek Music. *Musica e Storia*, XVI: 1, (2008), pp. 129-140
- Suppan, W., Borneman, E. Research on Folk Music in Austria since 1800. *Yearbook of the International Folk Music Council*, Vol. 8 (1976), pp. 117-129
- Todorova, M. The Trap of Backwardness- Modernity, Temporality, and the Study of Eastern European Nationalism. *Slavic Review*, 64:1 (Spring, 2005), pp. 140-164
- Tsoukalas, K. European Modernity and Greek National Identity, *Journal of Southern Europe and the Balkans*, 1:1 (1999), pp. 7-14
- Triandafyllidou, A. Paraskevopoulou, A. When is the Greek Nation? The Role of Enemies and Minorities, *Geopolitics*, 7:2 (2002), 75-98
- Triandafyllidou, A. National Identity and the 'other', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 21:4 (October 2002), pp. 593-612
- Tzanelli, R. Haunted by the "Enemy" Within: Brigandage, Vlachian/Albanian Greekness, Turjish "Contamination", and Narratives of Greek Nationhood in the

Dilessi/Marathon Affair (1870). *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, 20:1 (May 2002), pp. 47-74

Xanthoudakis, H. Composers, Trends and the Question of Nationality in Nineteenth-Century Musical Greece. *Nineteenth-Century Music Review*, 8:1 (June 2011), pp. 41-55

Yagou, A. Facing the West- Greece in the Great Exhibition of 1851. *Design Issues*, 19:4 (Autumn, 2003)

Yavetz, Z. Why Rome? *The American Journal of Philology*, 97:3, (Autumn 1976) pp. 276-296

### *In Greek*

Apostolopoulos, D. G. Another unpublished letter of Korae, written in August 1820. *The Gleaner*, vol. 26 (2008), pp. 235-240 [Αποστολόπουλος, Δ. Γ. Μια, ακόμα, ανέκδοτη επιστολή του Κοραή γραμμένη τον Αύγουστο του 1820. *The Gleaner*, 26 (2008), σελ. 235-240]

Barbaki, M. “Music troupes”, wind orchestras in late 19<sup>th</sup> century Athens. *Polyphonia*, vol. 6 (Spring, 2005) pp. 7-34 [Μπαρμπάκη, Μ. «Μουσικοί Θίασου», ορχήστρες πνευστών στην Αθήνα των τελών του 19<sup>ου</sup> αιώνα. *Πολυφωνία*, τ. 6 (Ανοιξη, 2005) σελ. 7-34]

Bobou Stamati, V. The Guildford Library in Corfu (1824-1830). *The Gleaner*, vol. 20 (1995), pp. 97-162 [Μπόμπου Σταμάτη, Β. Η Βιβλιοθήκη Guildford στην Κέρκυρα (1824-1830). *The Gleaner*, 20 (1995), σελ. 97-162.]

Boutzouvi-Bania, A. Nafplion in the years 1828-1833. A sketch of the social, cultural, and intellectual life. *The Gleaner*, vol 18 (1986), p. 106-136 [Μπουτζουβή-Μπανιά, Α. (1986). Το Ναύπλιο στα χρόνια 1828-1833. Σκιαγράφηση της κοινωνικής, πολιτισμικής και πνευματικής ζωής. *The Gleaner*, 18, 105-136.]

Droulia, L. Rhigas, yet another Tyrtaeus in the eyes of European philhellenism. *The Gleaner*, vol. 23 (2001), pp. 253-167 [Δρούλια, Λ. Ρήγας, ένας άλλος Τυρταίος στα μάτια του ευρωπαϊκού φιλελληνισμού. *The Gleaner*, 23 (2001), σελ. 253-167]

Fragiskos, E. Korae's' interventions in musical matters, and the musical education of the Greeks. *The Gleaner*, vol. 26 [2008], pp. 175-210. [Φραγκίσκος, Ε. (2008). Παρεμβάσεις του Κοραή στα μουσικά πράγματα και τη μουσική αγωγή των Ελλήνων. *The Gleaner*, 26, 175-210.]

Kardamis, K. Musical Echoes of the French Revolution at the Ionian Islands, *The Gleaner*, vol. 26, (2007), pp. 79-104 [Καρδάμης, Κ. Μουσικοί απόηχοι της Γαλλικής Επανάστασης στα Επτάνησα, *Ο Ερασιστής*, τ. 26 (2007), σελ. 79-104]

Kourbana, S. “Melodrama” and early German opera in the collection of Various Theatrical Poems (1820-1821). *The Gleaner*, vol. 26 (2008), pp. 105-140. [Κουρμπανά,

Σ. “Μελόδραμα” και πρώιμες μορφές γερμανικής Όπερας στη Συλλογή διαφόρων θεατρικών ποιημάτων (1820-1821). *The Gleaner*, 26 (2008), σελ. 105-140.]

Kourbana, S. “I would also be delighted to collaborate with you for a Greek opera”: An unknown letter from Spyros Filiskos Samaras to Alexandros Rizos Rangavis”, *Mousikos Ellinomnimon*, vol. 3 (May-August 2009), pp. 9-17 [Κουρμπανά, Σ. «Κι εγώ θα ήμην ευτυχής να συνεργασθώ μεθ’ υμών εις ελληνικόν μελόδραμα»: Μια άγνωστη επιστολή του Σπύρου Φιλίσκου Σαμάρα προς τον Αλέξανδρο Ρίζο Ραγκάβη, *Μουσικός Ελληνομνήμων*, σελ. 9-17]

Kourbana, S. Georgios Vizyinos and music, *Mousikos Ellinomnimon*, vol. 11 (January- April 2012), pp. 3-19 [Κουρμπανά, Σ. Γεώργιος Βιζυηνός και η μουσική, *Μουσικός Ελληνομνήμων*, τ. 11 (Ιανουάριος- Απρίλιος 2012), σελ. 3-19]

Kourbana, S. Three musical manuscripts from the archive of Angelos Vlachos, *Mousikos Ellinomnimon*, vol. 13 (September- December 2012), pp. 15-24 [Κουρμπανά, Σ. Τρία μουσικά χειρόγραφα από το Αρχείο του Άγγελου Βλάχου, *Μουσικός Ελληνομνήμων*, τ. 13 (Σεπτέμβριος- Δεκέμβριος 2012), σελ. 15-24]

Katsiardi, O. Rhigas Fereos. New evidence from the archives of Trieste. *Mnimon*, vol. 7 (1979), pp. 150-174 [Κατσιαρδή, Ο. Ο Ρήγας Φεραϊός. Νέα στοιχεία απο τα αρχεία της Τεργέστης. *Μνήμων*, 7 (1979), σελ. 150-174]

Mousmoutis, D. The [contribution of the] soprano Avonia Bonney in the theatrical life of Zante, *Mousikos Ellinomnimon*, vol. 3 (May-August 2009), pp. 3-8 [Μουσμούτης, Δ. Η Σοπράνο Αβονία Βοννέι στη θεατρική σκηνή της Ζακόνθου, *Μουσικός Ελληνομνήμων*, τ. 3 (Μάιος- Αύγουστος 2009), σελ. 3-8]

Papakonstantinou, K. Budapest at the time of Rhigas. *Mnimon*, vol. 21 (1999), pp. 201-210 [Παπακωνσταντίνου, Κ. Η Βουδαπέστη στα χρόνια του Ρήγα. *Μνήμων*, 21 (1999), σελ. 201-210]

Politis, A. “If only it had started twenty years later...” : Koraes, the social ideas of the Enlightenment, and the Greek Revolution. *The Gleaner*, vol. 26 (2008), pp. 241-254 [Πολιτης, Α. “Αν ήρχιζε μετά είκοσι χρόνους...”. Ο Κοραΐς, οι κοινωνικές ιδέες του Διαφωτισμού και η Ελληνική Επανάσταση. *The Gleaner*, 26 (2008), σελ. 241-254]

Sambanis, K. The multiannual activity of the Italian musician Francesco Zecchini in Greece (1849-1865), *Mousikos Ellinomnimon*, vol. 13 (September-December 2012), pp. 3-14 [Σαμπάνης, Κ. Η πολυετής δραστηριότητα του Ιταλού μουσικού Francesco Zecchini στον ελλαδικό χώρο (1849-1865), *Μουσικός Ελληνομνήμων*, τ. 13 (Σεπτέμβριος-Δεκέμβριος 2012), σελ. 3-14]

Sirinidou, V. Cosmopolitanism, Monarchy and Multiethnic Reality: The Vienna of the Greeks and Rhigas. *Mnimon*, vol. 21 (1999), pp. 189-200 [Σειρινίδου, Β. Κοσμοπολιτισμός, Μοναρχία και Πολυεθνική Πραγματικότητα: Η Βιέννη των Ελλήνων και του Ρήγα. *Μνήμων*, 21 (1999), σελ. 189-200]

Svoronos, N.G. Spiridon Zambelios. *Mnimon*, vol. 14 (1992), pp. 11-20 [Σβορώνος, Ν., Γ. Ο Σπυρίδων Ζαμπέλιος. *Μνήμων*, 14 (1992), σελ. 11-20]

Vlachakis, G. N. References to Koraes and his output in the Anglo-Saxon world. *The Gleaner*, vol. 28, (2011), pp. 233-286 [Βλαχάκης, Γ. Ν. Αναφορές για τον Κοραΐ και το έργο του στον Αγγλοσαξονικό κόσμο. *The Gleaner*, 28, (2011), σελ. 233-286.]

Χεραπαδάκου, Α. Pavlo Carrer's 'Marko Botzari': a "national" opera. *Musical Word*, vol. 5 (Summer 2003), pp. 27-63 [Ξεραπαδάκου, Α. Ο 'Μάρκος Μπότσαρης' του Παύλου Καρρέρ: μια "εθνική" όπερα. *Μουσικός Λόγος*, τεύχ. 5, (Καλοκαίρι 2003), σελ. 27-63]

## Doctoral Theses

Barbaki, M. 2009. The first music societies of Athens and their contribution to music education (1871-1909). Doctoral Thesis (unpublished), Faculty of Music, National and Capodistrian University of Athens [Μπαρμπάκη, Μ. 2009. Οι πρώτοι μουσικοί σύλλογοι της Αθήνας και η συμβολή τους στη μουσική παιδεία (1871-1909). Διδακτορική Διατριβή (ανέκδοτη), Τμήμα Μουσικών Σπουδών, Εθνικών και Καποδιστριακών Πανεπιστημίων Αθηνών]

Bolis, I. 2000. The art exhibitions: the artists and their public in Athens at 19<sup>th</sup> century. Doctoral Thesis (unpublished), Aristotle University of Thessaloniki (A.U.Th.), School of Philosophy, Department of History and Archaeology] [Μπόλης, Ι. 2000. Οι καλλιτεχνικές εκθέσεις: οι καλλιτέχνες και το κοινό τους στην Αθήνα του 19<sup>ου</sup> αιώνα. Διδακτορική Διατριβή (ανέκδοτη), Αριστοτέλειο Πανεπιστήμιο Θεσσαλονίκης (ΑΠΘ). Σχολή Φιλοσοφική. Τμήμα Ιστορίας και Αρχαιολογίας.]

Dimou, M. Theatrical life and developments in Hermoupolis, Syros, in the 19<sup>th</sup> century (1826-1900), Doctoral Thesis (unpublished), Faculty of Drama, National and Capodistrian University of Athens. [Δήμου, Μ., Η θεατρική ζωή και κίνηση στην Ερμούπολη Σύρου κατά το 19ο αιώνα (1826-1900), Διδακτορική Διατριβή (ανέκδοτη), Τμήμα Θεατρικών Σπουδών, Εθνικών και Καποδιστριακών Πανεπιστημίων Αθηνών]

Minou, A. 2010. Sibyl's Leaves: Understanding Musical Performance Issues in Jani Christou's *Anaparastasis III: The Pianist*. [Unpublished] Department of Music, Goldsmiths, University of London.

Moustakas, P. M. 2011. Professional instrument making in Athens: from the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century to the interwar period. Doctoral Thesis (unpublished), Faculty of Music, National and Capodistrian University of Athens. [Μουστάκας, Π. Μ. 2011. Η επαγγελματική κατασκευή μουσικών οργάνων στην Αθήνα: Από τα μέσα του 19<sup>ου</sup> αιώνα έως την εποχή του Μεσοπολέμου. Διδακτορική Διατριβή (ανέκδοτη), Τμήμα Μουσικών Σπουδών, Εθνικών και Καποδιστριακών Πανεπιστημίων Αθηνών]

Sambanis, K. 2011. The opera in Athens during the reign of King Otto (1833-1862) as seen through the press and foreign travellers. Doctoral Thesis (unpublished), Ionian University, Faculty of Music. [Σαμπάνης, Κ. 2011. Η όπερα στην Αθήνα κατά την Οθωνική περίοδο (1833-1862) μέσα από τα δημοσιεύματα του τύπου και τους περιηγητές της εποχής. Διδακτορική Διατριβή (ανέκδοτη), Ιόνιο Πανεπιστήμιο, Τμήμα Μουσικών Σπουδών.]

Sofroniou, A-K-M-D. 2015. Musical Recycling: The uses of existing music in piano works since the 1960s. [Unpublished] Trinity Laban Conservatoire of Music and Dance.

Stavlas, N. 2012. Reconstructing Beethoven: Mauricio Kagel's *Ludwig van*. [Unpublished] Department of Music, Goldsmiths College, University of London

### Scores/Librettos

Beethoven L.v. The Ruins of Athens: A Cantata. [Score] London: Novello and Company, Limited

Bellini, V., n.d. La sonnambula. [Score] Milan: G. Ricordi

Donizetti, G. n.d. Lucia di Lammermoor. [Score] Milan: G. Ricordi

Donizetti, G. 1962. L'Elisir d' Amore. [Score] Milan: G. Ricordi

Rossini, G. 1920. Il Barbiere di Siviglia. [Score] Milan: G. Ricordi

Samaras, S. Flora Mirabilis: Leggenda in tre atti. 1887. [Libretto] Milano: E. Sonzogno

### Online Resources

William Shakespeare's *The Tempest*, Act IV, Scene 1, accessed at:  
[http://www.opensourceshakespeare.org/views/plays/play\\_view.php?WorkID=tempest&Act=4&Scene=1&Scope=scene](http://www.opensourceshakespeare.org/views/plays/play_view.php?WorkID=tempest&Act=4&Scene=1&Scope=scene)

The Holy Bible, New International Version (1989), London, Sydney, Auckland, Toronto: Hodder and Stoughton Limited

### Illustrations

Dodwell, E. 1821. *Views in Greece*. © Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg

Gravure of the Theatre of Athens, 1840. General State Archives, Greece, *Vlachogiannis Collection*, Catalogue D', Box 10

von Hess, P. 1839. The Entry of King Otto in Athens. Neue Pinakothek, Berlin.

von Klenze, L. 1838. Sechs Lithographien zu L.von Klenze's Reise nach Griechenland.  
Berlin. © Ernst-MoritzArndt-Universität Greifswald

Eleftherios Venizelos portrait. Portrait from the digital archive of the National Research  
Foundation "Elefterios Venizelos", (digital) Archive n. 201: 'Elefterios K. Venizelos'  
Archive', file 1: 'El.Venizelos, Portraits'.