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A CRITICAL REVIEW OF THE MOST IMPORTANT SOURCES ON DIMITRIS MITROPOULOS (1896–1960)

Abstract: As most important books on Dimitris Mitropoulos should be mentioned those by Apostolos Kostios, William R. Trotter and Takis Kalogeropoulos. Two other editions are also valuable: the correspondence Mitropoulos – Katy Katsoyannis, and the selected texts of the artist. Mitropoulos had difficult relations with his Greek colleagues, especially after his emigration to the United States of America in 1939. At the time when the most important Greek composers strove to create a national school of music, he made it clear that he did not like the idea of national music. He developed a neutral or even indifferent attitude towards musical activities in Greece and rarely included Greek compositions in his repertoire.

Key-Words: Dimitris Mitropoulos, Greek music, national music, music performing artists.

At best, all the thousands of musicians I had met could leave the world their music. Mitropoulos had left the world his soul.1

The life and artistic work of Dimitris Mitropoulos cannot be reduced to the collection of reminiscences remembered at anniversaries of the artist.2

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2 Dimitris Mitropoulos (Athens, 1896 – Milan, 1960), a conductor of world renown, began his career in Athens as conductor at the Symphonic Orchestra of the Greek Conservatoire (1924–25), the Orchestra of the Association of Concerts (1925–27) and the Symphonic Orchestra of the Athens Conservatoire (1927–37). He served as director of the Symphony Orchestra of Boston (1936–1938). In 1938, he got a permanent post as a conductor of the Symphonic Orchestra of Minneapolis (1938–1949). In 1949, Mitropoulos was appointed co-conductor (with Leopold Stokowski as the other conductor) of the New York Philharmonic Orchestra, where he was promoted, in 1951, to become artistic director and chief conductor (1951–1957). Until his death, he divided his activities between conducting the New York Philharmonic Orchestra, The New York Chamber Ensemble, the Metropolitan Opera in New York and various first-rate orchestras in Europe. Significant of Mitropoulos was that apart from being an outstanding conductor, he was also a pianist of the same quality. He often conducted his orchestra while performing on the piano. He composed a number of musical works, including an opera, a concerto grosso, chamber and instrumental music and songs. Mitropoulos had a vibrant personality, both on and off the podium. He died on 2/11/1960

115
Beyond the unquestionable value of Mitropoulos’s contribution to music is the allure of becoming further acquainted with this great artist because of his unique humanitarian profile.

When reviewing some of the most important and meaningful texts written about him, the reader cannot avoid being touched by the feelings and ideas radiated by the intensely idealistic physiognomy of Dimitris Mitropoulos, an artist who throughout his life took for his role model Saint Francisco of Assisi. The learned reader, aiming for objectivity in his dialogue with the artist’s texts, has to read with particular attention in order to treat these texts as more or less reliable sources and not as an – almost vanished – humanitarian voice of a man who served through his life and work the ideal of an utopian democracy and who finally materialized this ideal within the orchestral environment, in his consciously created world, especially after his emigration to America in 1939.

Many aspects of Dimitris Mitropoulos have been studied, such as his life and work (i.e. Prokopiou, 1966, Christopoulou, 1971, Kostios, 1985, Trotter, 1995), and his personality and his adaptation to the wider artistic environment (i.e. Christopoulou, 1971, Kostios, 1985, Trotter, 1995). Texts were written on the occasions marking the artist’s life (i.e. Kalogeropoulos, 1990), while others focused on more specific issues (i.e. Kostios, 1997 (B)). A catalogue of his works was written by Kostios (1996) and some of Mitropoulos’s few remaining texts were edited (Mitropoulos, 1996, Kostios, 1997 /A./). However, until 1966, that is, six years after Dimitri Mitropoulos’s death, no one in Greece had published a comprehensive study of his life and work.

The first lengthy text on Dimitris Mitropoulos in Greek bibliography was written by Stavros Prokopiou (Prokopiou, 1966). Joseph Grekas introduces this study of the “idiosyncratic spiritual man, writer and composer Stavros Prokopiou” (ibid.6), by presenting a brief biography of Mitropoulos and urging that his memory be honored through the writing of a comprehensive history (see ibid.: 7).

Idiosyncratic in tone, Prokopiou’s record of his ex-schoolmate Mitropoulos (“the jungle boy”, according to one of Mitropoulos’s self-characterizations), gives moralizing hints as to the context of the larger social environment and provides information about the musical life in Athens. Particularly characteristic and anachronistically deceptive are Prokopiou’s references to the ‘Great Nation’ of America (ibid.: 23), referring to Mitropoulos’s emigration there in 1939, describing the "nightmarish dominion of contemporary decadence" [of America], which "coincides with atonality" (see ibid.: 24) and distorts classic masterpieces into "rumba and mambo and

from a heart attack while he was rehearsing Gustav Mahler’s Third Symphony in the Scala of Milan, Italy.
other vulgar rococo [pieces]” (ibid.: 24). The central aim of this study, which sets out to present the ‘objective truth’ about Mitropoulos, becomes a condemnation and critique of the artist according to fanatic nationalistic beliefs. Focusing on Mitropoulos’s attitude towards Greece, Prokopiou provides as evidence for the artist’s supposed ‘anti-Greek’ attitude excerpts from Greek journals and newspapers of the period 1946–1956. According to the author, Mitropoulos can be considered as a capable orchestral conductor, but is blameworthy due to his excessively selfish character and his thoughtless contempt of his country and its music. Prokopiou’s study, despite being subjective, contradictory, amateurish and uninformed, is a good source for the study of Mitropoulos’s reception and, as such, has to be taken seriously by scholars.

The second extensive study on Mitropoulos, which marks the first attempt at a biography of the artist, was written by Maria Christodoulou (Christodoulou, 1971). The author, once a student of Mitropoulos, states in the prologue that the biography is the realization of an old wish; explaining that she undertook the responsibility of such a task because she felt the obligation to provide the readers with “an explanation, as complete as possible, of the phenomenon named ‘Dimitris Mitropoulos’” (ibid.: 5). The study is based on sources which the author took pains to collect from the Conservatory of Athens; also, in a special chapter entitled "Memories and Judgments", the author includes texts written by Mitropoulos’s colleagues from Europe and America (ibid.: 191–238). Christodoulou avoids excessive commentary in her presentation of the texts and information because, she argues, she wants to be as objective as possible (see ibid.: 6). However, in this way, Mitropoulos’s biography is presented as a patchwork of narratives and testimonies, wherein the critiques of the foreign press are juxtaposed one after another, without any unifying insight made by the author (see, for example, ibid.: 30–45, 51–57 etc). When addressing Mitropoulos’s musical activities in Greece, Christodoulou includes the programmes from all of his concerts and provides a table of statistics representing concert programmes in Greece (1927–1939) (ibid.: 60–72). Finally, she dedicates a disproportionate section of the book to the artist’s death and the honorary distinctions awarded to him (ibid.: 162–173 and 175–189, respectively). Although the book is hardly more than a chronological patchwork of information, the collection of testimonies and range of sources on Mitropoulos are notable; additionally, the work stands as the first biographical presentation of the artist on such a large scale.

The most exhaustive biography of Mitropoulos in Greek bibliography was written by a Greek musicologist and professor at the Music Department...
of Athens University, Apostolos Kostios (Kostios, 1985). By emphasizing the difficulties of obtaining material on Mitropoulos, due to (1) the absence of sufficient written material by the artist himself, (2) the destruction of archives, (3) the death of the artist’s close friends, and so forth, Kostios underlines the importance of a text written by Mitropoulos’s close friend, Katy Katsoyanis, citing it as a reliable source that stands apart from other works whose reliability must be verified by cross-referencing (see ibid.: 10–15). Kostios was primarily interested in the role of Mitropoulos as an orchestral conductor and, secondly, his roles as pianist, composer and tutor. He views his work not as a conclusive study of the artist but rather as an opening for further research by other scholars (see ibid.: 15). It must be noted that the revisions to the first edition of this biography made by Kostios himself are a case in point – for the author’s study was not final even for himself. Each of the successive revisions contains elements of self-criticism and reflection on earlier positions, thus it can be said that his contribution to research in this field creates in itself a historical dimension that remains open to future research (for example, Kostios 1996, Kostios 1997 (A), Kostios 1997 (B)).

A particularly important and insightful work on the life and work of Mitropoulos is the large-scale biography of the artist written by the writer, editor, and music-critic William R.Trotter (Trotter, 1995). The internationally known musicologist Oliver Daniel, who died in 1990, had done the majority of research for this work although he died before he was able to finish writing it. The study focuses on the contribution the artist made to the music world and his role in the wider cultural environment of America, where Mitropoulos lived for twenty-one of the (possibly) most creative years of his life (1939–1960). Consequently, a particularly valuable aspect of this biography is the detailed and substantial information concerning the life of Mitropoulos in America – his relations, activities and writings, along with pieces written about him, and the criticism and reception of the concerts, etc. The tone of the work is detached, keeping a distance from the myth surrounding the artist, constantly reminding us of his mortal substance, if nothing else. However, it is especially important to underline the fact that,


even without idealizing the persona of Mitropoulos, he remains an outstanding artist, characterized by his rare sensitivity, talent and sparks of genius.

On the occasion marking thirty years after the artist’s death, the State Orchestra of Athens published a programme dedicated to the artist, in which the majority of the texts were written and edited by Takis Kalogeropoulos (Kalogeropoulos, 1990). This dedicated work contains brief biographical notes of the artist (ibid.: 11–25), two texts on the last moments of his life and his death in Milan in which the idealization of Mitropoulos as a man and an artist becomes apparent (ibid.: 27–28 and 31–37), the reminiscences of three conductors who had personal contacts with the artist (ibid.: 39–43) and one brief entry on Mitropoulos as a composer (ibid.: 47–53). Kalogeropoulos claims in his references to the compositions that criteria for the artist’s works should not coincide with the “ordinary norms which are the rule for other composers”, rather Mitropoulos’s compositions should be compared to those of the elite composers, which, nevertheless, does not work in favor of his music (see ibid.: 48). At the same time, he underlines the necessity of a more careful study of Mitropoulos’s compositions (ibid.: 49) which still await further assessment (ibid.: 53). This same leaflet includes a catalogue of the composer’s most important works, the concert programme that was played by the orchestra for that particular anniversary – with references and explanations for each of these works, as well as photographs and references to the artist’s thoughts and reflections written about him by other learned men.

A special, interesting study on the theatrical aspects of Mitropoulos was written by the musicologist mentioned earlier Apostolos Kostios (Kostios, 1997 (A)). Kostios centers his study of the artist on a definition of theatricality wherein the poetic deed involves three attributes: those of the poet-dramatist (composer), of the poet of morals (actor-interpreter) and of the perceiver-listener. On the grounds of these attributes, the poetic can be

5 Trotter would certainly disagree with Kalogeropoulos about the ability of Mitropoulos to write music; by presenting brief analyses of some of Mitropoulos’s most important works, Trotter expresses positive views on their originality, their explosive conception and their pioneering nature. According to this author, these compositions articulate a brilliant and highly original music style (Trotter: 42–43 (Eine Griechische Sonate (1920)), 62–63 (Burial (Taphi) (1915), The Burial (1925), Ostinata (1927), 10 Inventions with K. Kavaphis’s poetry (1927), Concerto Grosso (1928)). Trotter claims that the works representing Mitropoulos’s personal style are Concerto Grosso, Ostinata and the 10 Inventions with Kavaphis’s poetry.

6 The illustrations are mostly unpublished photographs from Mitropoulos’s private life, printed with the kind permission of the conductors M. Karidis and A. Simeonidis.

7 Motivation for researching Mitropoulos’s relation to the theatre was given to the author through his participation at a conference in Volos (1996), organized by the Centre of Music Theatre of Volos, Greece; the book is dedicated to the organizers of the conference.
experienced through a catharsis of “mercy and fear”, which provides art its moral content and purpose. Kositos argues that such traits form the idiosyncratic characteristic of Mitropoulos’s personality and, as a result, can be traced in all the facets of his diverse artistic life (ibid.: 15).

Kostios very thoroughly and clearly presents Mitropoulos’s compositions in a systematic catalogue of the artist’s works (Kostios, 1996). The works are first classified according to whether they are instrumental or vocal works and secondly according to the gender, genre and execution of the performance. This brief catalogue of the genres numbers and lists the works they comprised. Where possible, the entry written for each work contains valuable references to texts written by Mitropoulos, in addition to information regarding copies, editions, performances, recordings, bibliographical references and personal observations made by the author. The thorough approach attempts to provide the reader with a critical, yet conclusive presentation of the works. Finally, excerpts from reviews of the premieres of most of the works are included. The reviews include the opinions of critics from both the Greek and foreign press, and were excerpted in addition to other references to the performances. Included is a bibliography of reviews, which all together creates an extremely useful handbook for the study of how Mitropoulos’s compositions were received by audiences; this feature of the catalogue was, of course, made possible thanks to the diverse and thorough knowledge which Kostios has accumulated regarding the artistic contribution made by the great composer.

Among the published texts written by Mitropoulos to be published so far, special attention should be given to two particular editions: (1) the correspondence of the artist with his close friend Katy Katsoyanis, with a prologue by the Greek poet George Seferis (Mitropoulos, 1966) and (2) the edition of selected texts of the artist by Apostolos Kostios (Kostios, 1997 (B)).

The Mitropoulos-Katsoyanis correspondence, as his close friend claims, can be understood as the artist’s autobiography (see Mitropoulos, 1966: 11). It covers a period of thirty years, which is actually the duration of their friendship, which was interrupted by the artist’s death (1929–1960). In contrast to Maria Miltiadou Negreponti, also a close friend of Mitropoulos, who decided to destroy her correspondence with Mitropoulos before her death, Katy Katsoyanis, perhaps the closest friend of Mitropoulos, understood the publication of his letters as an act of homage – along with as many of hers that an educated reader would need to shed additional light on Mitropoulos’s letters and contribute to a further understanding of the man and artist (see ibid.: 13). These letters, with all their intimacy and substantiality, are an important...
A critical review of the most important sources...

resource for reconstructing the personality of the artist colored by its daily changes, ideas and fears, and the artist’s attitude towards art and life.

The edition of selected texts by Kostios, based on the single criterion of their importance – each selection being accompanied by the author’s comments, represents, in the words of the author himself, a "selective re-writing of a biography" of the artist (see Kostios, 1997 (B): 13). The work is also inherently bound to the first biography of Mitropoulos written by the same author (Kostios, 1985) which is considered, in this study, "with the perspective of the experience gained thus far" (ibid.: 13). The intention of the book is not to "complete the synthesis [of the image of Mitropoulos] but to re-interpret it" (ibid.: 14). According to Kostios, the Mitropoulos-Katsoyanis correspondence, the author’s first biography of Mitropoulos and this study are parts of an almost uninterrupted continuity: in other words, they comprise a trilogy (see ibid.: 14). The texts are classified according to either chronology or content (see ibid.: 15). The author supplies each of the texts with background information and comments, extending backwards and forwards in time, subsequently creating conceptual units in which the diachronicity and evolution of Mitropoulos’s ideas are confirmed, or the contradictions and inconsistencies of these ideas are revealed.

In order to pay homage to Mitropoulos, whose important artistic contribution, mainly as an orchestral conductor, plays an essential role in music history, according to popular conception, we would like to articulate our thoughts on his work and life, in the form of an epilogue.

Mitropoulos contributed, as no other orchestral conductor had before, to the promotion of both modern music and music written by earlier composers who had not yet gained the acclaim they deserved. A characteristic example of the above is Mitropoulos’s favorite composer, Gustav Mahler, whose works have since become known and, consequently, become popular among the listening audience in America due to the systematically brilliant performances made possible by the conducting genius of Mitropoulos. Mahler’s first symphony, for example, became known to Americans for the first time through the pioneer recording made by the Symphonic Orchestra of Minneapolis, with Mitropoulos as conductor, which recorded phenomenal sales. The supreme artistic contribution made by this artist justifies the characterization of the period in which he was the conductor of the Greek Orchestra in Athens as "Mitropoulos’s golden period" (see Kostios, 1985: 40–41). Similarly in America, the era from 1910 to the mid-1950s was characterized as the "Golden Age of Orchestral Conducting", during which the so-called titans had taken over the orchestral podium, such as Stokowski, Toscanini, Koussevitzky and Mitropoulos. Mitropoulos’s conducting faithfully depicted the movements of music more than any other conductor in the world (see Trotter, 165–176).

In spite of, and possibly because of, his important artistic value, Mitropoulos was faced with the jealousy and hostility of many of his collea-
It is worthwhile to mention that Mitropoulos did not face antagonism only in Greece, mainly by representatives of the so-called "National School of Music", but also in America by conductors such as Leonard Bernstein (see, i.e., Trotter: 83–5, 408–9), Koussevitzky (see Trotter: 160) and Eugene Ormandy (Philadelphia Symphony Orchestra, see Trotter: 163).

In our attempt to understand the relationship of Mitropoulos with the musical life in Greece, we do not, however, consider hostilities, antagonisms and pettiness among musicians in Greece, but information pertaining to the wider cultural life in Greece. The climate of this cultural life was responsible, to a large extent, for the development of the so-called "Greek National School of Music" and for the marginalization of composers who did not belong to this School, as was the case of Mitropoulos.  

What, then is the element that separates Mitropoulos’s idealism from that of the "National School of Music" led by Manolis Kalomiris (1883–1962)? Both proponents considered music to be a language with ‘soul’: the artist’s duty was to initiate people into this music not only through performances but also by means of the artist’s exemplary stature as artist and man. The two schools of thought also purported a ‘belief’ in the evolutionary process of humanity towards an ideal (a utopia). It was Mitropoulos’s international idealism that marked his ‘fateful’ point of departure, something that brought him closer to the "Frankfurt’s School of Thought" (see, for example, Kostios 1997 (B):45–46) than to the decisive support of the Greek tradition forwarded by the "National School of Music". It was precisely his internationalism, his belief that the artist and his work do not belong to a nation but to the whole of humanity, that was so bitterly attacked by his opponents. Mitropoulos himself was not fond of the idea of ‘national music’ (see, for example, Trotter: 208), which was only used as further support for the attacks made against him.

Thus it was music that created a gap between Mitropoulos and the music elite in Greece, where music stands as both a language (a modern language in the case of Mitropoulos’s works) and an expression of ideas. In the era between the two World Wars, dogmatism dominated musical life in Greece due to amateurism and the subservience of music’s role to the wider cultural environment. This marginalized artists of an international stature such as Mitropoulos and Nikos Skalkotas. Marginalization took place due to the imposition of dominant cultural criteria, which were mainly directed towards conceptualizing the notion of ‘Hellenism’ in art. Subsequently, artistic works were judged and criticized on ideological grounds, thus

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rejecting Mitropoulos’s modernism and internationalism, without meeting any resistance on behalf of the artist due to his low profile.  

Considering the above we can thus claim that Mitropoulos developed his resistance through a neutral or even indifferent attitude towards musical activities in Greece, especially after his emigration to America. Support for our argument (not yet explored in depth due to a lack of sufficient evidence) is the fact that Mitropoulos rarely included Greek compositions in his orchestra’s repertoire once he was abroad (performances including Greek works include: Minneapolis 1939 (two parts from Manolis Kalomiris’s Greek (Romeiki) Suite, George Sklavos’s Symphonic poem Eagle (Aetos), and three parts from Nikos Skalkotas’s Greek Dances, see Kostios, 1985: 285), New York, 1948, 1950, 1954 (see Trotter: 230) and New York 1958 (George Sisilianos’s 1st symphony, see Trotter: 425)). However, there are many possible explanations of this evidence, which may have had more to do with the quality of modern Greek music (it is worth mentioning that the reception of these compositions in America, apart from Skalkotas’s Four Greek Dances, was not very positive) or the problem of harmonizing with the then current compositional trends in Europe and America.

In conclusion to this brief highlight of the most important texts written about Mitropoulos, we will refer to the aspect of loneliness that pervaded his personality. The artist’s melancholy was generated by his philosophical approach to the world, consequently coloring his personality, which, throughout his life, was highly vulnerable and romantic. A very characteristic phrase of Mitropoulos was articulated in a letter to his close friend Katsoyanis, two years after his emigration to America (7/6/1940):

…I came to this place too mature, and it is completely impossible for me…to relate myself to the environment and to the people. (Mitropoulos, 1966: 80)

In spite of the fact that Mitropoulos here refers to his life in America, this phrase, in our opinion, characterizes in a laconic and substantial manner the artist’s attitude to life.

One of the main reasons Mitropoulos found refuge in loneliness was his gradually deeper experience of the gap between his humanistic vision and life. However, the most important reason, in our opinion, is the almost complete affinity of his vision with that to which he devoted his life: the orchestra. The ideals of “…cooperation, co-responsibility, unforced contribution and collectivity…” (see Kostios, 1985), that is, the ideals of Democracy, which in its highest form of expression is, according to the artist, creation, were realized in Mitropoulos’s relationship as conductor with the orchestra (see Kostios, 1985: 225–240). Gradually, from 1930 on-

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10 Mitropoulos did not look to be promoted, on the contrary, he did not care about it; this is why we have a few texts written by him addressing his work and life (see, for example, Kostios, 1985: 11).
wards, the orchestra seems to represent the only medium through which the artist was able to express himself (see Kostios, 1985: 253). Thus the devotion of this artist’s life to the work of conducting an orchestra – with an almost hierophantic zeal – does not hint at a painful loneliness so much as it reveals the feeling of contentment of an idealist who watches his dreams come true with the dawn of every new day, in a domain that is no longer an illusion but the life of the artist.

**Bibliography on Dimitris Mitropoulos**


Анасійсія Сиойсі

**КРИТИЧКИ ПРЕГЛЕД НАЈВАЖНИЈИХ ИЗВОРА О ДИМИТРИСУ МИТРОПУЛОСУ (1896–1960)**

(РЕЗИМЕ)

Димитрис Митропулос није био само велики музичар, већ и хуманиста, чији је узор био св. Фрања Асишки. Први дужи рад о њему у Грчкој

Ауторка овог прилога даје затим свој поглед на значај Митропулосовог уметничког деловања. Констатује да је он битно допринео промоцији модерне музике и недољубо афирмисане музике прошлости. Карактеристичан пример за то су дела Густава Малера, његовог омиљеног композитора, која су захваљујући велиkim делом његовом ангажовању доживела широку популарност. Митропулос је био жртва љубоморе многих колега. Његови противници нису били само музичари у Грчкој, посебно заговорници "грчке националне музичке школе", већ и неки амерички диригенти, као на пример Леонард Бернштајн, Сергеј Кусевицки и Јуџин Орманди. Неспоразуми са грчким музичарима могу се довести у везу са његовим одбијањем идеје о националној музии. У периоду између два светска рата музичким животом у Грчкој је доминирао догматизам, као израз амамеризма и подређености музике ширим културним концептима (тј. тежњи ка реализацији 'хеленизма' у уметности). Стога су уметничка дела вреднована према идеолошким критеријумима, што је доводило до одбацивања Митропулосовог модернизма и интернационализма. Такви односи су резултирале Митропулосовим неутралним, чак равнодушним ставом према музичким активностима у Грчкој, нарочито после његове емиграције у САД. Он је ретко укључиво дела грчких композитора у свој репертоар, а у те изузетке су спадала дела Манолиса Каломириса (делови из Грчке свеће), Георга Славоса (симвоцијска поема Орао) и Никоса Скалкотаса (делови из Грчких избара).

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