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THE PIANO MUSIC OF BORIS PAPANDOPOULO

by

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A THESIS SUBMITTED
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ABSTRACT

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Loreta Kovacic

This dissertation examines the life and music of the Croatian composer Boris Papandopulo. The socio-political climate in which he lived is taken into account, and special attention is devoted to the duality in his compositional style. This duality is characterized by his use of both neoclassic and folk components, and derives from his studies of traditional Western European music as well as from his Croatian heritage. He is thus seen to have been a synthesizer in the best sense of the word. Croatia, a small country positioned on the outskirts of Europe, has its own distinctive identity, and its singular position gave Papandopulo's music the special quality of being both national and international at the same time. His music was heavily influenced by formal techniques, such as the twelve-tone method, yet remained highly individual. Special emphasis will be given to the piano works of this unique and relatively unknown composer.
Acknowledgments

The germ of this dissertation dates back to my grade-school days, when my wonderful piano teacher, Eleonora Calogovic, assigned Papandopulo’s “Contradaanza” to me. Many years later in the Zagreb Conservatory, my other great piano teacher, Zvjezdana Basic, assigned “Scherzo Fantastico” to me; to her surprise, I memorized the music in less than a week. I always enjoyed playing Papandopulo’s music so much that in 1988, during a lazy summer on the beach, I decided to visit the composer. My friend Rade, my favorite brother Stanko and I ventured on a trip up the coast in one of those deplorable motor vehicles found only in Eastern Bloc countries. Meeting with the composer well surpassed our expectations: at first we were nervous, then mesmerized, and later we ended up chatting for a long time about everything.

Four years later I went back to Croatia to do the research for this dissertation. At that time, the war was going on not very far from Zagreb. People were scared and I felt that some people at the radio station might have even suspected me of being a spy. On several cold November days I walked through the muddy Zagreb snow to Erika Krpan’s house. Her list of Papandopulo’s works and many of his scores and articles were of immense importance to this project.

Papandopulo’s wife Zdenka shed light on the composer in a most humane and intimate way, and I will never forget her tasty egg-dinner in the warm coal-heated kitchen of her cozy house in the suburbs. The composer’s daughter Maja, who was very
emotionally tied to her father, provided yet another beautiful memory of the composer, both as a man and a musician.

Without the photocopying, telephoning and organizational skills of my mother, this project would not have been achieved, so I thank her from the bottom of my heart for all her help—both then and through the years.

On the way back from Croatia, two frightening events occurred: first, it was learned that a bomb had been planted in our plane, so the departure had to be delayed for one day; second, upon my arrival in Houston, I was told that my luggage had been lost, and since it contained all of my research material, I spent a month of miserable days and nights before it was finally located in Singapore and returned to me.

In early 1996, after my adviser, Dr. Bailey, delivered his marvelously effective motivational suggestions, I finally began writing this dissertation. In addition to those in Croatia, many people in Houston have helped me with it. I would like to thank Farrell Dyde, my first editor and helper, for his enlightening contributions. Two typists, Metta and Mirena, willingly sacrificed their time, and I must also take this opportunity to apologize to Metta for the unfortunate towing of her car, which had been improperly parked in front of my residence. Bojan’s over-the-phone technical help was greatly appreciated as well.

Many thanks to the computer expert and consultant, Joseph Pigadas, who jumped in at many crucial moments and saved this project with his masterful technical skills. Incidentally, I must not forget to thank my computer, euphemistically called Quasimodo, for offering a minimum of resistance to this project.
Special thanks go to Anna Arrango-Chaffin and her family for their ceaseless moral support. The sweet voice of my personal cheerleader, Angela Chaffin, will be a cherished memory. My mind and my heart will always treasure Angela Chaffin and her grandmother, Angela Arrango, my two guardian angels. This family, together with mine, will celebrate the completion of this project as though it was theirs as well. I thank many of my students and their families: Mallery, Jason and Marie, Mrs. Tappscott, Chris Krajcer, Rene Sceffer, Marie and Nicole Scanlin, among many others, for their understanding and support. My piano teacher Dr. Robert Roux and professor Chandler Davidson both made very helpful suggestions and improvements. Last but certainly not least I thank pianist John Shelton for his final editing and undying patience. His involvement was inspiring not only in terms of this dissertation, but also musically, because he is a master of the piano keyboard.
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CHAPTER I

A. INTRODUCTION: PAPANDOPULO, A PROMINENT CROATIAN COMPOSER, CONDUCTOR, MUSIC DIRECTOR, AUTHOR, AND PIANIST

Boris Papandopulo (1906-1991) was one of the most prolific Croatian composers of the twentieth century. He was also a pianist, a conductor, an author, and a major contributor to Croatian musical life through his work as an opera director in Zagreb, Rijeka, Split, and Sarajevo. He began his busy and versatile career as an accompanist and vocal coach at the opera house in Zagreb. There, he accompanied singers, including his wife, Jana Puleva, with whom he much later recorded an impressive performance of his chamber work Cakavska Suite for voice and piano (1955). This performance deeply impressed me. His skill as a pianist was astounding. He played with an incredible sense of nuance, color, and rhythm. The performance was not just technically superb; it opened a door to the fantastic imagination of a great artist.

Papandopulo, though, was not merely a great performer. He was an active conductor of opera, as well as a symphonic conductor of great accomplishment, who emphasized twentieth-century works at a time when contemporary music was largely ignored. Initially, he conducted his own works. In an article from the Zagreb newspaper Obzor, a critic noted that the plasticity of the performance and the brilliance of sound were proof that Papandopulo possessed a very special talent for conducting. This talent grew out of his unique personality. Many living Croatian orchestral musicians remember him not only as a great conductor, but as a funny, cheerful, energetic man, full of love for life and people. He truly enjoyed being able to introduce the public to twentieth-century
music despite the fact that in his later interviews Papandopulo voiced regret about not being able to conduct more of the great classic literature and being "stuck with all the jobs that nobody else wanted."²

Those unwanted musical jobs were not the only thing Papandopulo had to complain about. He once found himself with an even more onerous task, which came about as follows. During the Second World War, when Croatia was a Nazi puppet government, Papandopulo had been the director of opera at the Zagreb National Theater. When the communists came into power after the war, they suspected that, owing to his work with the opera, Papandopulo had been a Nazi collaborator and forced him to give up his music post. This he did with reluctance, and had to resort to becoming a truck driver in order to make a living.

Papandopulo was not alone in his trials, however. One of his best friends was the greatest and most famous of Croatian conductors, Lovro Matacic. The two men shared the misfortune that many Croatian intellectuals endured during the early years of the communist regime in Yugoslavia because of their possibly doubtful political background. As Papandopulo later recalled, "Matacic left, nobody called him back into the theater, and the same thing happened to me."³

During an interview with this writer, he talked with great reserve about these events. His children were more helpful. I was deeply moved by his optimism when he told me that he actually enjoyed the mental truck driving job, because he learned so much about the simple country folk and enjoyed the beautiful country sights. Simple, everyday people around him, even in the old town of Tribunj where I last visited with him, loved Papandopulo as a musician, composer, and friend.⁴ At the local grocery store in Tribunj I
saw the admiration and love that simple Croatian people had for Papandopulo. The love was mutual. Papandopulo, an aristocrat, blended and mixed with the Croatian folk as if he were one of them. Only in that context, in that more simplified culture, could he flourish. Thus, he never hungered to go anywhere else, as did many other contemporary composers who left Croatia to live in Germany, France or the United States.

Soon after the war was over, Papandopulo was able to get back to his real work— that of being a musician. He was offered and accepted a job as director of the Rijeka Opera house. Later, he became the director of the Sarajevo Opera house, holding down both positions at once. He took those two demolished institutions and built them back to prominence literally from the ashes. That success landed him his old job as the director of the Zagreb Opera. He was back where he belonged. Papandopulo never looked back at those years of working in provincial towns (Split, Rijeka and Sarajevo) as a punishment. He remained positive and humanistic. He had truly enjoyed the hard work and he made sentimental reference to this period as “the best years of my life.” He spoke with great zest about rebuilding the country, and of a wonderful post-war spirit. That feeling could never be recaptured inside a theater.

Back as the director in Zagreb in the early 1960s, he missed those golden days. They had done so much with such limited resources. He complained about the new self-management socialist bureaucracy, which in his eyes was ruining the quality of musical life. Papandopulo felt deeply about his culture and his people. He was beyond primitive local patriotism, against dogmas and Puritanism in society. He remained true to himself, resisting pressures of any government including the long-ruling Communist party of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. According to his last wife, Zdenka, he never
joined the communist party because he did not want to sit in long, boring meetings when he could use his time better for his consuming passion—composing music.\(^7\)

Papandopulo's all-encompassing involvement in music also led him to write about music. This is most evident in his younger years. "How Can an Artist Not Be Political?", "Music and Politics," and "Hitler's Nazism and the Arts" are the intriguing titles of some of his writings from the 1930s. These articles express his disapproval of the escalating Nazi influence over the arts in Germany. He clearly states that excessive government control of the arts stifles the creative process. There are also many articles about music festivals and modern Croatian and European composers. Perhaps most important are his writings about folk music, such as his review of Karabaic's book on the folk music of the Croatian coast and Istria. Papandopulo consistently emphasized the importance of folk music in creating a national musical style.\(^8\)

Papandopulo's interest in folk music grew naturally from his love for his country and its people. Though high-minded and intellectually gifted, he remained a great patriot and humanist. He lived simply, working for his people and his country. In spite of this, some of his works conflicted with the rigid views of people who were narrow-minded or fanatical. He fell victim to puritans of all kinds. The church puritans rejected his "Muka Isukrstova" and the political puritans halted a performance of his "Croatian Mass." Even the new political puritans in Croatia today criticize him for being too Yugoslavian.

Papandopulo found political systems maddeningly inflexible, and often had to fight them. Nonetheless in one of his later interviews, Papandopulo admitted that if he were born again, he would be a composer once again.\(^9\) Aristotle's famous quotation "Nulla dies sine linea [no day without a line]" expressed Papandopulo's need to create something
every day. He rose very early every morning to compose. When I visited him in Tribunj
during the summer of 1988, three years before his death, his hearing was very bad and he
could hardly see after having had eye surgery, but he still rose every morning at six
o’clock and composed until noon. Thus it is not surprising that this early-morning riser
wrote more than 300 works, among which every genre is represented. His output was
large, as was his spirit. Erika Krpan, a noted Croatian musicologist and scholar who is
Papandopulo’s biographer, lists 318 opus numbers.

The music just poured out of him. He was a natural, writing with almost no
corrections, and with great speed. He told me in Tribunj that every morning he woke up
with music in his head. His optimistic, curious, and cheerful nature, as well as his style
of composing closely resembled those of Mozart. Perhaps it was not simply coincidental
that he told me how much he loved Mozart as we were listening to the Fantasia in e
minor for piano. In fact, many of Papandopulo’s countrymen called him the Croatian
Mozart. In his interviews, he talked about how music was always “boiling” in his head,
especially on bus rides from city to city. He would start by making a small sketch, which
was sometimes illegible, and then would write the piece directly on the manuscript. This
would sometimes be corrected with the help of “white-out” or, as in earlier times, with a
new passage glued on top of the few measures that were a mistake. The final product
would be given to his musician friends to play, and it was eagerly received. Many
original manuscripts were unfortunately lost in this way, especially the solo instrumental
works. Erika Krpan told me many exciting stories about attempts to recover some of
Papandopulo’s lost works. This task is not yet complete, and it is unfortunate that Ms.
Krpan finished her catalogue of his output in 1992 with much material still missing.
Papandopulo was a fortunate conductor because he was loved by the members of his orchestras, and was one of those few composers loved by performers and audiences of all kinds. He never lost touch with the people. He composed for his audience, considering their ears, and for specific performers that he knew. Musicians, institutions, and festivals—all of them kept knocking on his door asking him to write something for them. They kept the good maestro working hard. His curiosity was always fed by new possibilities, different groups of instruments to write for, or new possibilities of sound and color (possibilities which he instinctively saw immediately). In one interview he said he was so inspired by a visit by Dragan Sremec, one of Zagreb’s great young saxophonists, that he immediately wrote a work for saxophone sextet and double bass.11

Papandopulo was intrigued with the possibilities of sound and color in a manner very similar to that of the Impressionist composers. As a result, he became a great master of the orchestra. Today, his orchestrations are considered the best of his generation or even of all times in Croatia; consequently, some of his best works are for full orchestra.

When Papandopulo spoke of the music that influenced him, the name Stravinsky was often heard. This great Russian composer, who was a close friend of his mother, gave the young Papandopulo a recommendation for his study in Vienna. There is an anecdote about their relationship: Papandopulo, while still a teenager, showed Stravinsky an early work which he had named “At the Sunset.” The old master retorted: Why that romantic title? When it gets dark I just turn the electric switch on.17

Although Stravinsky was important, an even greater influence on the young composer were the Russian Five, especially Mussorgsky. His interest in them led to an appreciation of the French Impressionists and their love of musical color. But
Papandopulo continued to look to older masters as well. He loved Bach's polyphonic technique. In the 1960s and 1970s, most composers who claimed Mozart or Bach as their main influences would be called old-fashioned, classical, or just not up-to-date. Papandopulo did not pay much attention to critics calling him old-fashioned. In his younger years he had been considered too modern, but not many people remembered that. Another criticism leveled at Papandopulo was the uneven quality of his output. Surely, however, some composers are better than others at maintaining consistency, and it would be a miracle indeed if any composer could make over 300 works equally great.

At different points in his career, Papandopulo balanced a variety of jobs, such as conducting, composing, playing, writing, and even driving a truck. All this left little time for one of his other great talents--teaching. He was able to devote only a few years to teaching, which was done in the cities of Split and Sarajevo. Those who were lucky enough to study with him felt the impact of his great personality and adored him. They remember his aura, his enthusiasm, his true joy, and his almost childishly playful ease with music. Many of his students are active figures in Croatian musical life today as composers, conductors or pianists. Among his devoted followers and friends is Vjekoslav Sutej, now a director of the Houston Grand Opera.

Immediately following a performance of Papandopulo's Croatian Mass, Sutej told me, "He is a genius in the true meaning of that word and the greatest Croatian composer. His orchestration, his polyphony, and the humor in his orchestration are all like Shostakovich, just not as heavy." Not only was Papandopulo a romantic and poetic composer, he was so explosive and energetic a conductor that he was unique and quite apart from the typical Zagreb style, which is academic and more German. The Zagreb
style focuses more on details and less on the importance of the music as a whole. Papandopulo saw beyond the details. He was an inspiring conductor, and knew instinctively how to get music out of people. In this he was much like his great friend, colleague, and fellow conductor, Matasic. \(^{14}\)

Papandopulo came in contact with many musicians, but perhaps the most important influence of his life was his great orchestration teacher at the Zagreb Academy, composer Blagoje Bersa. Bersa was a spiritual leader and in many ways inspired Papandopulo to become a composer. Bersa was an important composer of the older school and a student of another great Croatian composer, Ivan Zajc. Following the footsteps of Zajc and Bersa, and deeply rooted in his surroundings, Papandopulo will always exemplify Croatian music, and thus be a \textit{sine qua non} in music and cultural history.

**B. SOCIO POLITICAL AND MUSICAL CHANGES IN CROATIA DURING PAPANDOPULO'S LIFE**

As a composer and cultural persona, Papandopulo continued the great tradition of his teacher Bersa, who was a pupil of Zajc. Both of these men represent critical changes and developments in Croatian music and cultural history. We will now briefly examine some important changes and events in Croatian economic, political and cultural history before and during Papandopulo's time.

Ivan Zajc (1832-1914) started his career in Vienna, where he became a successful operetta composer. In 1870 he decided to go back to his homeland, where he found a politically embattled Croatia and a cultural milieu that was much less active than those in
other parts of Europe. A true patriot, he returned to Zagreb, the capital city of Croatia, to help remedy his country’s impoverished musical scene. Initially, he was an opera conductor and a teacher at the Zagreb Music School (which later became the Zagreb Music Academy) while continuing his work as a composer. He was able to improve the quality of the orchestra and introduced Zagreb to many contemporary European works. He also premiered many of his own works, the most famous being the opera Nikola Subic Zrinjski and the opera-oratorio Prvi Grijeh. Zajc was very popular and prolific, composing more than 1,000 works in all genres. Subic Zrinjski, a glorious historic-patriotic opera, remains one of the important symbols of Croatia’s culture and people. It provided a patriotic boost during Croatia’s long, difficult fight for freedom and independence. Zajc witnessed many political changes in Croatia’s effort to become independent from the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

Zajc adapted extremely well to the conservative musical culture. A melody-oriented and technically brilliant composer, he was loved by audiences. Zajc assimilated characteristics of Croatian folk music as well as contemporary European musical developments. He was also an author and a very fine teacher who contributed to the first Croatian music journal Sv. Cecilija. His pedagogical work was not limited to his own instrument, the piano; he also taught voice, composition, and orchestration. He was considered very helpful to his students, and was able to truly enrich and improve the musical life of his country.

Zajc passed his legacy on to his student, Blagoje Bersa (1873-1934), whom he taught piano, composition, and orchestration. They were, along with others, engaged in a battle to preserve and extend a Croatian individuality that was increasingly threatened by
Austro-Hungarian dominance, even as they attempted to introduce the more advanced musical ideas that were emerging in Europe.

Bersa introduced his music to Croatian audiences with the opera Oganj, which had been composed in Vienna in 1907. This came on the heels of the rebellion led by the brothers Radic, who had attempted to ignite the peasant masses against the authority of the Austro-Hungarian regime, which functioned to diminish any sense of Croatia as an independent nation. This work was considered the first Croatian opera created in a higher, artistic, modern style. It was influenced greatly by the German romantics (including Wagner) and the Italians (primarily Verdi). Its dramatic content, laced with verismo and combined with a new richness of orchestral color and sound, established Bersa as a powerful composer. Yet there was controversy, because Croatia was still in the midst of a highly charged political situation. There was undoubtedly an ambivalent attitude—suspicion mixed with envy—toward the more culturally advanced Vienna.

It is virtually impossible to stamp out all signs of a strong culture, but it is also inevitable that the pressure of progress will ultimately transform it. So it was that the years leading up to World War I were transitional, as Croatia moved into the modern world and toward a movement dubbed “the Moderna.” These changes came about as the result of intelligent and talented individuals seeking to extend the boundaries of their world. Bersa was one of these and he was part of a rich culture that included the poet and critic A.G. Matos (1873-1914), the musicologist D. Plamenac (1895-1982), pianists A. Geiger-Finchorn (1893-1971) and S. Stancic (1895-1970), the conductor I. Matacic (1899-1985), and the singer M. Strozzi-Pecic (1882-1962).
The poet A. G. Matos was one of those artists who inspired the “Musical Moderna.” This movement was led by a group of composers that included Dora Pejacevic (1885-1923), Antun Dobronic (1878-1955), Jakov Gotovac (1895-1982), and Josip Stocer Slavenski (1896-1955). These musicians helped lead Croatia into the new century by reacting and responding to contemporary European musical developments, of which they felt an integral part both geographically and culturally. Bersa was a founder of the Moderna with his avant-garde concepts that include the use of polytonality and atonality, as in the Balade for Piano 21, and prepared sound, as in Sablasti 26, which used a wind machine and prepared harp.17

Finally, in 1918 with the defeat of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, a new conglomerate was formed when Croatia joined with the Serbs and Slovenes in a show of strength and unity to form the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. Hopeful dreams of a new freedom for Croatia quickly evaporated, however, with the crushing ascension of King Alexandar as an absolute ruler in the new Kingdom of Yugoslavia in 1929. Croatia was a prisoner once more, becoming slave to an ideological creation that was no more than a political expression of Greater Serbian hegemony. In 1939, Croatia gained some independence by reorganizing into Banovina Hrvatska. Only two years later it was brutally erased as a state and annexed by the forces of Nazi Germany.18

During the existence of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes (from 1918 until World War II), Croatian folk music was the main inspiration for the large majority of Croatian composers. There was a new awakening of nationalism in society. The important representatives of the neonationalist school were Slavenski, Brkanovic, Gotovac, and Dobronic, their ideological leader. These composers quoted directly from
folk tunes, then later they assimilated folk music into a broader framework which
Zupanovic refers to as “imaginary folk.” They were not altogether successful since they
stayed mainly within the European harmonic tradition and tonality, and therefore did not
really discover the rich and totally original life of their folk music. According to
Zupanovic, the only exception to this trend was Brkanovic, who was a bit more creative
in his use of folk sources. Two works, however, survive and remain very popular not
only with Croatian audiences but elsewhere as well. These are Gotovac’s very successful
opera Ero (1935) and Lhotka’s ballet Djavo U Selu (The Devil in the Village).
Papandopulo spoke of them with the highest regard.  

Parallel to the neonationalist composers was another group, which reflected
contemporary European developments, especially a harmonic language that did not rely
so heavily on folk music. These more international elements were: late romantic
chromaticism (Dora Pejacevic), polytonality (Josip Stocer Slavenski and Dragan
Plamenac), atonality (Krsto Odak), neoclassicism (Papandopulo: Concerto da Camera
1929), and Istrian microtonality (Ivan Matetic Ronjgov). Bersa naturally gravitated to
this second, less popular group of composers with his international, eclectic style. He
experimented with musique concrete in Sablasti for orchestra (1926), polymeters (Ballad
in D for Piano, 1921), and atonality. As a faculty member at the Music Academy in
Zagreb, which was formed in 1916, he taught a whole new generation of professional
artists and composers such as Papandopulo, Cipra, Brkanovic, Kunc, and Bjelinski. It is
historically significant that these were the first Croatian composers with degrees from the
newly formed Music Academy. They were educated by the works of the Russian Five
and especially Rimsky-Korsakov, whose book on orchestration was a major influence on
their orchestration. Bersa learned these lessons and became a great orchestrator who undoubtedly influenced the orchestral works of his students.

Papandopulo greatly admired the freedom that Bersa gave his students to develop individually as composers, without becoming members of a set school. As a result, each of them was different: one was a mild folklorist, another was an impressionist, another was a radical and an innovator, and still another followed a more nationalist line. The musical scene was thus greatly widened so that after Bersa’s death no one musical persona dominated the scene as had Bersa and his teacher before him, Zaje.20

In 1941 Nazi Germany invaded the country and formed the puppet government in Zagreb which declared the Independent State of Croatia (NDH). This caused the beginning of a tragic civil war by means of which the Ustasha regime, modeled on Nazi philosophy, aimed to create an ethnically pure territory. The period of the second world war was characterized by the strong political polarization of the Croatian people. On one side there was the ruling elite of the NDH, which was never democratically elected and was without general public support. On the other side there was the Yugoslav antifascist and communist party with Tito at its head, which was dedicated to liberating the country from the Nazis. During the second world war, Tito and the communists led a fight for freedom and social change in the whole Yugoslavian territory. In 1944 Croatia once again became a part of Yugoslavia, the communist leaders gave the old ideology of Serb, Croat and Slovene unity a new flavor in a drive toward building a so-called Yugoslavian socialist patriotism. This political system was formed according to the Soviet model. It was named the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, a union of six federal republics with a centralist government in Belgrade.21
The second world war marked a big change in Croatia’s musical life. Until the war, Croatian music was fairly homogeneous and very few works extended beyond the neonationalist school of Dobronic, Gotovac, Slavenski, and Baranovic. After the war, folk music remained a big source of inspiration for composers, but at the same time Croatian composers were opening up to a more modern, international musical language. This process of opening to the West developed gradually and went hand in hand with the social and political changes in the country.\textsuperscript{22}

During the first ten years after the war, musical life in Croatia was founded on the principles of socialist realism, so that the neonationalist philosophy remained a guiding force for composers until as late as 1956. In a manner similar to that employed in Soviet Russia, Croatian composers were severely restricted by the new socialist government in Belgrade. Association with the European avant-garde was prohibited, and “deliberate dissonance, lack of melody, atonality, noise, or wild rhythms” were not acceptable. The term “socialist realism” was first used by the Russian writer Maxim Gorki and was later established in a decree on music issued by Stalin’s adviser, Andrei Zdanov. During these years, Belgrade’s alignment with Soviet Russia resulted in the mimicking of Russia’s ideology as well as the cutting of cultural ties with Western Europe. Many Croatian composers suffered in this climate of complete isolation. Kelemen stated with regret that the atmosphere was provincial and primitive. Nonetheless, three important stylistically-different composers emerged during those years: Sulek, Baranovic, and Papandopulo. All three belonged to the so-called middle generation of Croatian composers, each producing an abundance of orchestral music, which led to a great expansion of the quality and content of orchestral music in Croatia.\textsuperscript{23}
Sulek (1914-1986), following the footsteps of Bersa, joined the composition faculty at the Music Academy in Zagreb. He educated a new generation of contemporary composers which included Detoni, Horvat, and Kelemen (the latter two later joined the composition faculty at the Music Academy). Sulek based his first works on the neonationalist concept, but later he denounced it and left the neonationalist school once and for all. As a mature artist, he was, along with Papandopulo, one of the best orchestrators in Croatian history. He accepted the freedom of dissonance but never left the traditional musical past. He assimilated baroque polyphony, motoric rhythms, classic architectural form, and romantic drama and emotionalism. His critics condemned him for being too conservative and old-fashioned. They did not give him credit for being an artist who followed his own senses and who was not influenced by what was fashionable or ephemeral. His four symphonies and many concertos were in line with the European neoclassicism of Stravinsky and Les Six, and thus Sulek enriched the Croatian musical repertoire with deeply humanistic and technically very advanced compositions.

Ivan Brkanovic (1906-1987), unlike Sulek, remained true to the neonationalist school, yet he formed an individual style in which a folk tune is never used as a mere citation; rather, its psychological characteristics are assimilated into what Zupanovic calls “imaginary folk.” Brkanovic composed music in a very dramatic and subjective style based on the original use of certain intervals (especially the tritone), where polyphonic movements created surprising, almost primitive, clashes.24

In his concept of music, Papandopulo stood somewhere between Sulek and Brkanovic. He shared technical perfection with Sulek and a clear nationalist atmosphere with Brkanovic, so his style is between neonationalism and neoclassicism. According to
Zupanovic, Papandopulo's folk basis was more shallow than that of Brkanovic because it was primarily manifested by mere citations of folk tunes; it did not result in a deeper organic creative process. I cannot agree with this statement, and I am sure that if Zupanovic had looked at Papanodopulo's entire output, he would have changed his mind, since Zupanovic's criticisms referred mostly to the Second Symphony.

Another event had a great impact on the development of composition in Croatia after the war. In 1948 the scholar V. Zganec founded the Institute for Folk Music in Zagreb. At this time, Yugoslavian musicologists were collecting and studying the folk music of their country. Publications such as Karabaic's collection, Muzicki folklor Hrvatskog Primorja i Istre (1956), were important not only from the musicological standpoint, but also for Croatian composers who now had better and easier access to their folk history and culture. (Papandopulo published a review of Karabaic's book which shows that he not only knew it, but that he probably also used it.)

As mentioned earlier, in the newly built system of state power, the old symptoms of the dogma of Yugoslavian unity became evident. This dogma translated into unequal treatment of the smaller nations including the Croats. Many Croatian citizens were executed or prosecuted soon after the war, without a trial, for suspected collaboration with the Nazi occupation regime, or for not showing enough respect for the new Yugoslavian communist rulers. This policy affected even Papandopulo, who was tried and then had to become a truck driver. A particularly hard fate was shared by Catholic priests, the Catholic church in general, and other more fervent Croats. Between 1948 and 1953, many Croatian and other communists were also tried as sympathizers of Stalin, to whom the Yugoslav leadership had renounced all obedience. Although the dispute
between Yugoslavia and the Soviets did result in opening the borders toward the West, repressive communist orthodoxy was maintained for a long time.  

Nineteen Sixty-seven marked the beginning of yet another Croatian fight for its own language, and a demand for the right to call its language by its national name (not Serbo-Croatian). This movement was fiercely condemned, and many Croatian intellectuals were harshly punished. The reformation movement among Croatian communists of 1967-1971 (the Croatian Spring), which spread to all layers of society and created a general cultural euphoria, both national and political, finally ended in political defeat. The idea of Yugo-nationalism had been employed once again for the suppression of Croatian national aspirations. The Yugoslav communist system, however, proceeded in a contradictory manner: while prosecuting and jailing the proponents of greater national freedom, it was simultaneously attempting reform towards Confederation, i.e., giving more freedom to the states. This resulted in the new constitution of 1974. Serbia, naturally dissatisfied with this constitution, particularly after the death in 1980 of Tito, who had pushed for this change, started to challenge the other states by expressing its ideas of the Greater Serbia. Official Croatia remained a prisoner of the Yugoslav socialist utopia and was silent throughout the nineteen-eighties, referred to as the decade of “Croatian silence.” In 1989 the political leadership in Croatia finally decided to end the silence and pass a law permitting the foundation of political parties and the establishment of multi-party elections.

In the first multi-party elections of the Croatian Parliament, in May 1990, the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) won 205 out of 350 seats and determined to transform Croatia into a modern, independent, democratic state. On June 25, 1991, the
Republic of Croatia was proclaimed a sovereign and independent state by a general referendum, and Franjo Tudjman was elected its first president. Even before these two historic events, Serbian politicians had announced that for Croatia (or any other state of Yugoslavia) the choice of independence would mean war. Serbia, with Slobodan Milosevic at its head, started the war in 1991 on all fronts including Slovenia, Croatia and Bosnia. In September, Zagreb, the capital of Croatia, was bombed, as was Dubrovnik, a museum city on the coast of Croatia, the next month. During this tragic war, Croatia succeeded in liberating most of its Serb-occupied territories.28

After the political abandonment of Stalin, and the opening of borders in Yugoslavia, Croatian music began to turn towards Europe again. Croatian composers, many of whom graduated from the Music Academy (Sulek’s class), were then able to advance their study in the big musical centers of Western Europe. Their efforts in modernizing the musical scene resulted in the foundation of the Music Biennale for Modern Music in Zagreb in 1961.

The Biennale was founded with the goal of connecting Croatian (and Yugoslavian) music with the music of Europe, and vice versa. Following Kelemen’s return home from Europe (which he called “the outside world”), he expressed his frustration with the musical scene, which he deplored as “lagging at least 80 years behind Europe.”29 Erika Krpan has eloquently said that the Biennale has been a meeting point for all those who wanted a continuous, two-way, and open communication with the world. Considering that Kelemen’s Zagrebian roots were clearly intertwined with Western culture, it was indeed a challenging task to start the Biennale. Understanding the division of the world into the Western and Eastern blocs and the Cold War politics in
culture, Kelemen cleverly made the Cold War tensions work to his advantage. After traveling to Russia, the USA, and Germany, he collected enough money to start the festival. It began with a performance at the Croatian Opera House, which, incidentally, was conducted by Papandopulo. The second evening of the festival featured a great performing group, The Zagreb Soloists, with Antonio Janigro conducting. The third evening included the premiere of Papandopulo’s Third Piano Concerto. This was followed by performances of Cage, Schoenberg, and Cardew. Only a few other works of Papandopulo were performed at the Biennale. They included: Dodekafonski Koncert for Two Pianos (Biennale, 63), Mozaik for String and Jazz Quartet (63), Concerto Da Camera, (67), and Solemn Prologue for Orchestra (79). The Biennale continued even during the Civil war in 1993. Under the patronage of Croatian president Tujman, the Biennale, along with the famous Zagreb Cartoon Festival, is still an important cultural trademark for Zagreb and Croatia.

Younger composers such as Kelemen, the president of the Biennale, Malec, Sakac, and Detoni, who initiated the foundation of the Biennale and have been labeled as the Croatian avant-garde, were the true representatives of the “new” in Croatian music. The Biennale enabled Croatia to become an active player in global contemporary musical events, and it also enabled Croatian composers to become international, as they had previously been unable to be. Internationally recognized as composers, yet probably dissatisfied with the slow-moving politics in Croatia during the Croatian silence, both Malec and Kelemen went to live outside Croatia. Malec, who was involved with electronic music, has lived and worked as a professor of composition in Paris since 1959. Kelemen moved first to Paris, then on to Stena, Darmstadt and the United States before
taking a position as a professor of composition in Dusseldorf (1970). He later took the same post in Stuttgart.  

The years from 1961 to 1964 were eventful and interesting for the music scene in Croatia. Croatian composers were divided into basically three groups. The first group consisted of the oldest and old-fashioned composers who were not interested in the new events. The second group included younger avant-garde composers who represented all that was new in music and change. The third and largest group included composers born during the period 1900-1934 (the Middle generation), who stood between the first two groups and were faced with the dilemma of change. Bjelinski and Papandopulo were of this group. This was the second time that Papandopulo found himself between groups, the first time being his stance between neoclassic and neonationalist groups before World War II.

In the mid-seventies, the antagonism between these three factions decreased as differences became less pronounced. During the Croatian silence of the 1980s, Croatia, although still politically repressed, was better connected with the world culturally and was more diversified in its musical offering. Tolerance toward the arts in general increased and musical life grew richer in the many cultural centers outside Zagreb. Music festivals in Dubrovnik, Zadar, Varazdin and elsewhere were attracting many world-renowned artists and performers. In the 1970s and 1980s one could see great performances of all kinds, new and old, and from all over the world. This was the city that I recall growing up in. When going back to do research for this dissertation in 1992, I noticed with sorrow a decline in all aspects of its cultural life, for Zagreb was in the midst of war.
3. Ibid.
4. Author's Interview with Boris Papandopulo in Tribunj, Croatia, August 6, 1998.
5. Interviews with Boris Papandopulo.
6. Ibid.
7. Author's Interview with Zdenka Papandopulo in Zagreb, November, 1992.
8. As cited in A. R., "We want to create our own in music," Narodni List, Zagreb, June 5, 1956
9. Interviews with Boris Papandopulo. This will be discussed further in chapter II.
10. Ibid.
11. Ibid.
12. T. Reich, Meet Contemporary Yugoslavian Composers, Zagreb, Yugoslavia, Skolska knjiga, 1972
13. Z. Hirschler, Third Public Concert, Jutarnji List, Zagreb, January 20, 1930
14. Author's interview with V. Sutej, director of Houston Grand Opera, September, 1995
20. Ibid., pp. 290-302
23. Zupanovic, op. cit., pp. 303-312
25. Zupanovic, op. cit., p. 308
26. Ibid., pp. 327-330
28. Ibid.
30. Croatian Composers Association, 17th Music Biennale Zagreb, Zagreb, Croatia, Author, 1993
31. Andreis, op. cit., pp. 424-450
CHAPTER II

LIFE AND WORKS

Born on February 22, 1906, and living until December 16, 1991, Papandopulo led an extremely intense creative and artistic life, full in every sense of the word. Part of his artistic creed was not to look back but to keep going ahead, working and producing without a rest. One of the effects of his futuristic mind set was his reluctance to discuss his own works. How could he talk about his past works when the only thing that interested him was the music going in his head, his present absorption? He believed that music speaks for itself, and all the “talk” and analysis was the job of a musicologist or historian, not the composer himself. A musicologist with a mission to gain insight is frustrated when faced with such a composer. I myself was disappointed with how little information he was willing to share about the concrete works in my interview with the composer in 1988.

Although he was born into a noble and artistic family, Papandopulo gave the impression of a simple, down to earth, and humble man. “I do not think of myself as a great composer or conductor. I am just happy that many people still want me to write for them,” he told me. His grandmother on his mother’s side was a famous actress, the Marchessa (Countess) Marija Ruzieka-Strozzi. His uncle, Tito Strozzi, became a well-known theater director in Zagreb. His mother, an internationally acclaimed opera singer, met a Russian nobleman, Konstantin Hristoforovic Papandopulo, in Wiesbaden, Germany, where she was on a tour at the time. Konstantin Papandopulo, an amateur composer himself, was in Wiesbaden for treatment of his chronic lung disease. Soon
after Boris Papandopulo was born in Honef on the Rhein River, close to Weishagen, his father died. His mother then took a post in Graz, Austria, and two years later, she returned to Zagreb, where she settled down and remarried Bela Pecic, a pharmacist and an amateur pianist as well.

The Papandopulo house in the very center of the city became a mecca for all artists and especially composers and musicians. Papandopulo treasured his childhood memories of the many composers and musicians who gathered around the piano reading through their new works, playing chamber music, or talking about art until the early morning hours. Great Croatian artists such as the famous sculptor, Ivan Mestrovic, encouraged young composers in their efforts. Folklorist composers Gotovac, Tajcevic, and Grgeovic premiered works such as “Morana,” “Balkan Dances,” and “Vijenac” at the Strozzi-Pecic house. Even Igor Stravinsky, a personal friend of Maja Strozzi, visited the house in 1922. Papandopulo inevitably found himself in the center of the happenings, a privileged position for any young and aspiring musician.

Papandopulo’s early piano study was in his own words a horrible experience. His teacher (Chech Marek) beat his fingers with a pencil and talked to him in German in the third person, calling him such derogatory names as “Czech monster.” As a result, he quit for three years. Happily, his interest for piano was sparked again thanks to silent movie-theater piano music. His new teacher was an acclaimed old lady, Catinelli, who taught many concert pianists, including Melita Lorkovic. This teacher gave him a solid start with the old Bayer piano school, Bach inventions, and Mozart sonatas. Papandopulo started his performing career as an accompanist to his mother, whose many concerts were devoted to the new music of Croatian composers Dobronić, Gotovac, Grgeovic, as well
as European contemporary composers such as Stravinsky. Later she presented the new compositions of her son as well.

Papandopulo benefited from her attention and this, along with his innate ability enabled him to become a very accomplished pianist and accompanist. Newspaper reviews show that he knew how to bring great insight and feeling into the music. His just-as-successful career as a conductor also started very early; at the age of eighteen he premiered Grgevic’s folk ceremony Zetva and his own Svatovske, a collection of folk songs for choir and soprano solo.

In 1920 Papandopulo became a student at the newly founded Music Academy in Zagreb. He enrolled as a conducting major and his teachers were Antonia Geiger-Eichorn in piano, F. Lhotka and F. Dugan in theory, and Bersa in orchestration and instrumentation. To Bersa, his greatest teacher and mentor, he owed his deepest gratitude for awakening the composer in him. It all started when Bersa insisted that his students think of their own material for instrumentation class, or at least borrow some folk tune from the famous collection by Franjo Kuhac. In doing so, young Papandopulo’s student works such as Svatovske were formed in the nationalist camp. Bersa must have been a great pedagogue, and a captivating persona for all of his students, many of whom took very different directions in style. Bersa is remembered as a pedagogue who did not want to create a rigid uniform school of thought, but instead inspired his students to develop their talent individually.

From 1925 to 1928, on Stravinsky’s recommendation, Papandopulo studied conducting with Maestro Fock in Vienna, and then in 1929 he graduated with a composition degree from the Music Academy in Zagreb. Even before graduating, he
took a post as a conductor at a Croatian singing society and a public orchestra, HGZ. He worked at this job, touring intensively, until 1934. His choir performed with great success throughout Yugoslavia and became important in promoting Yugoslav nationalist and folklorist composers and their works.

Parallel to the works that belong to the nationalist group because they are based on folk music, there is another group of works with no national school tendencies at all. Even Papandopulo’s very first work, Petto Degli Amanti for soprano and chamber orchestra Op. 1, written as early as 1925, is not a nationalist work. It is an arrangement of a work by the eighteenth-century composer Domenico Cimarosa. Other compositions of this period which follow international or European tendencies are his Sinfonietta from 1928, Concerto Da Camera from 1929, Two Preludes for Piano from 1930, and the First Piano Sonata from 1929. The cantata Slavoslovje (1926), together with the earlier Svatovske, definitely belongs to the nationalist school. It was extremely well received in Vienna, where it was performed in 1927 under the title Laudamus in a version with Latin text. With this performance, Papandopulo established himself in Europe as a representative young composer from Croatia. Svatovske is a work less modern than Slavoslovje; its music is mostly based on Croatian folk music. In some places Papandopulo used a light contrapuntal polyphony and the solo soprano sings effective melismas above the choir. The harmony is tonal and logical with some modern twists, such as chords based on fourths and fifths. Slavoslovje bears the mark of a powerful talent, full of enthusiasm, interesting rhythms, and fantastic instrumentation. This piece, although inspired by an old Slavic church liturgy, does not have the serenity of that liturgy. Its feeling is rather pagan, as if the composer goes back to the old Slavic paean
culture. Papandopulo wrote similar sacred works, based on the old Slavic church texts, and all of those works have in common the pagan spirit placed within a sacred framework. The music of Slavoslovje does have a strong Oriental, Byzantine, or even Greek Orthodox flavor. There is very little text, only 82 words for a two hour long composition. As a master who understood the human voice profoundly, he wrote long, beautiful melodies full of melismas. His harmony sounds simple and purely triadic, yet rustic and original. In this work again (as in Svatovske) he incorporates many folk-dance elements. Folk dance, in fact, became an important element of his national style throughout his work. Effective orchestral contrasts and gradations, great sound effects, diatony (complete, simple triadic tonality), primitive ostinato figures and old Slavic based melodies, all evoke an immediate association with Stravinsky. The way Papandopulo combined the old spirit with the modern orchestra proves his well developed ability to synthesize. In the Viennese paper, Die Neue Zeitung, the critic H. Kralik notes that the music is tonal but still sounds very modern, while another critic observes that Papandopulo is more convincing than the Viennese atonal composers.

A Croatian—or Yugoslav European, as some people called him—Papandopulo found his own unique style very early in his career by swimming securely in the waters of European neoclassicism, which lasted from the 1920s to the 1950s, and of Croatian nationalism, which was especially strong before World War II. His two neoclassic works of this early period are his Concerto Da Camera (1929) and the later Sinfonietta (1938). Concerto Da Camera is one of his masterpieces, and its importance is amplified by the historical fact that this is probably the first major neoclassic work written in Croatia. This includes his other contemporary neoclassically oriented composers, Stjepan Sulek.
and Bruno Bjelinski. **Concerto Da Camera** is written for soprano, piccolo, flute, two oboes, two clarinets, bassoon, violin, and piano. In this unusual chamber group the soprano is given the role of a wind instrument singing or vocalizing without any text. The virtuosity of each part never becomes the main factor but is always just a tool for musical expression. In his writings, Papandopulo sharply criticized meaningless virtuosity. With **Concerto Da Camera**, Papandopulo established himself again in Europe. The performances of this piece at the International Festival in Stuttgart, and at the Biennale in Venice brought him a great success. This work was premiered in Zagreb on January 17, 1930, with his mother, Maja Strozzi, as soprano soloist and the composer himself at the piano. It opens with an effective, fast “Capriccio,” in which all the instruments are melodically playful. Next comes an “Intermezzo,” in which the soprano and the flute are involved in a contrapuntal dialogue, while the piano provides the harmonic base. The “Fugue” is built on a short, grotesque theme full of chromaticism. The composer here shows his true artistic mastery of the fugue as a form. The following “Pastorella” paints a lyrical picture of the countryside. Here the piano’s ostinato supports all of the other melodic lines, of which the soprano’s part, written with a folk flavor, is given the leading role. “Finale” provides a great climax to a piece abounding in brilliance, gayness, lively rhythms and imaginative color in instrumentation.

In **Sinfonietta** (1938), his second most important neoclassic work, Papandopulo plays with orchestral color to a tremendous degree. He told me in an interview that he could hear orchestral color in his head exactly as it sounds in reality, so that he was never surprised at the sound of his music at the first rehearsal. His fascination with instrumental color, color combinations, and sound possibilities never ceased to shine
through in his music. Sinfonietta's three movements, “Intrada,” “Elegija,” and “Perpetum Mobile,” show the harmonic language as a result of polyphonic movements of different instruments. “Intrada” is composed in the style of a majestic march, based on models of baroque multi-movement compositions. “Elegy” incorporates the form of fugue, and this masterpiece climaxes brilliantly in a virtuosic “Perpetum Mobile.”

An earlier work, the ballet-pantomime Zlato, is an example of a typically Papandopulean mix of the two earlier-mentioned styles in his music. The two parts, Rajevina (which symbolizes heaven) and the Earth, are contrasting in their conception. Rajevina is international with is fantastic, unreal atmosphere depicted in sometimes very grotesque color and complicated harmony (which creates a sort of harmonic chaos). Earth, on the other hand, is nationalist, based on folk music, and it is tonal and simple. This part resembles Slavoslovje in style because the simple, sharp harmony, the Oriental flavor of the melody, and the potent, rustic rhythms are incorporated with the polytonality and polyphony of free counterpoint. The similarity between the two is that they both end with a barbaric, earthy orgiastic dance. Papandopulo once again created great and enthusiastic sound effects. Critics claimed that he created very modern effects from the primitive tonal elements. In this work, the composer, in collaboration with the librettist Ra Zema, created a new kind of music theater that begins from the music itself. The music in this segment is independently symphonic and the ballet itself is more like a theatrical plastic and vocal symphony. This created a reaction among critics, who thought that the work lacked drama. The critics thought that the concert is not to be put in a theater. It was new and unusual but it is was not theatre. This so-called lack of dramatic elements was more than made up for by his music, dance, symbols, and light.
One of Papandopulo’s most severe critics, Dr. P. Markovac, says that there is no youth, no melody, no rhythm, and no enthusiasm in this music.\textsuperscript{10}

Papandopulo loved to travel, preferably inside his own country. He moved frequently, taking different posts as a musician. There were many cities that he called his own, including Sarajevo, Split, and Rijeka. Split and Rijeka afforded him the best years of his life. This was because they were close to the sea, which he dearly loved.

Attempting to advance his career, he moved to Split in 1935 where he took over yet another amateur society, “Zvonimir,” assuming a position as a teacher at the local music school. Regrettably, he was not able to organize an orchestra, so he returned again to Zagreb. Indeed he was not able to form an orchestra until 1938. \textit{Sinfonietta} was composed in Split, beside the sea. The atmosphere of its second movement, “Elegy,” subconsciously depicts movement, beauty, and all else known to the sea. Although Papandopulo avoided any kind of program, and was a proponent of absolute music (“Music is enough in itself” he said), a great deal of his music is picturesque, in that it conjures up vivid images\textsuperscript{11} Soon after arriving in Split, Papandopulo wrote an oratorio, \textit{Muka Gospodina Nasega Isukrsta}, (\textit{Passion of our Lord Jesus Christ}) for soloists and a capella men’s choir, a work based on Split’s church-folk singing at the beautiful cathedral of St. Peter. One of his masterpieces, this work’s inspired spirituality and its deeply religious feeling was felt by the local Dalmatian people as well as by those from many other countries. It is unfortunate, however, that this work has been forgotten since Zvonimir’s magnificent premiere of it in 1936. To many, it was a very inspiring performance. In his many interviews, Papandopulo always mentioned the inspiring amateur singers who brought to life the music, which was close to their hearts. When
maestro Kuljeric performed this piece in 1991, his efforts were of such importance to
Croatian music that they can only be compared to Mendelssohn's discovery of Bach. N.
Fabrio stated eloquently: "This is our total neglect: it is the end of the century, and we
are discovering our early works!"12 There were two possible models that Papandopulo
could have had at the time of writing the *Passion*: Kodaly's *Psalmus Hungaricus* and the
seven oratorios by the Croatian composer, Bozidar Sirola (1924-1931).

In Split, Papandopulo stumbled across many of the church folk songs, especially
on God's Sunday or "Big Sunday," a special day on the Croatian religious calendar. This
singing intrigued him because of its unusual melodic and rhythmic structure, and even
more because of its deeply religious feeling. The basis for this singing is Gregorian
Chant, which had been at one time secularized and transformed, before being claimed
once again by the church. This gave the music, which was passed orally from one
generation to the next, an unusually earthy undertone even as it retained its spiritual base.
The melodies are treated with great flexibility so that each singer adds changes according
to his own taste and mood, adding a rich and beautifully melodic "fioriture." "It was
really entertaining to listen to this singer change these melodies as he pleased."13

Papandopulo said. Generally, the song begins with a soloist, who is then interrupted by a
choir in three part harmony. Above the main voice, *dite* (child) is added as an
ornamental voice to this simple harmonic construction. The second voice follows the
first in parallel thirds, and deep voices hold long tonic and dominant tones.

Folk singing of this sort is still alive in many Dalmatian churches, especially on
the islands. (As a child I had the privilege of participating in these small church
performances, and to me it sounded like some sort of competition or showing off.)
between the singers themselves). In a manner similar to this tradition of a synthesizing of church and folk melodies, the Dalmatian coast cultivates *klapa* singing. While the melodies have a similar construction, the texts and choice of subjects are completely profane. *Klapa* sings of love, sailors, the sea, and everyday life. *Klapa* music is sung outside in piazzas or in wine cellars, and is usually performed by four or more men in an a capella group. (I was not surprised to find out that Papandopulo loved this type of music just as much as I do). Papandopulo found an abundance of inspiration in the rich musical folk-traditions of his country, but he also appreciated the written or spoken word. He sought out folk poetry as well as poems that appeared in old Slavic church books. The text for the Passion was taken from the ancient collection *Istomacenje Epistolah Evandjeljah priko Svega Godista*. On the basis of all the collected materials, he composed new melodies. He created melodies for Jesus that sound soft and transcendental. For Pilate there were angular phrases that were in sharp contrast.

Papandopulo gave great importance to the choir. In the Passion the choir does not merely provide accompaniment, it is also a participant in the dramatic action on stage. This oratorio is diatonic, metrically free in style, and without an instrumental accompaniment. These are the main characteristics of the Dalmatian church folk singing, which Papandopulo utilized so effectively.

The years just prior to World War II found Papandopulo in Zagreb and Split, where he published extensively, writing for Zagreb’s Novosti, Split’s Novo Doba, and other newspapers and magazines. Two main themes emerge from this work. First is the constant support and attention given to the Yugoslavian art music and musicians evident in articles like “Hundred Years of Yugoslavian Music, An Analysis.” The second is hi.
role as a music critic. Having discovered the power of criticism in its function of
educating and informing, he attempted to influence the taste of the audience itself,
constantly propagating nationalist music and nationalist composers. In an eloquent yet
funny article entitled “Our Artistic Life; Problems in its Good, National Development”
published in Novosti, 9/30/33, he criticized young people for being uninterested in art.
He maintained that they just wanted entertainment. In other critiques, he attacked the
empty virtuosity of certain performers, demanding artistic musicianship in its place.14

In 1938 Papandopulo returned to Zagreb to take over the singing society “Kolo”
again. Soon afterwards he became the conductor of the opera and symphony orchestras.
Concurrently, he took a position as a director of the Croatian National Opera in Zagreb,
which lasted until the end of the World War II (1945). In 1939 he composed the Croatian
Mass for soloists and a capella choir. This mass was made for the “Kolo” society
because they wanted a mass to be sung in Croatian instead of the traditional Latin. This
work, composed in a style very similar to the earlier Passion, has a similar performance
history as well. The Mass was premiered in Zagreb in 1942. After the war, it was
forgotten, or more likely, kept in the dark on purpose. The title “Croatian” did not
conform to the policies of the Yugoslavian communist party which was then in control of
the government. Conductor Tudor’s attempt to perform the work in Split in 1970
resulted in its banishment by the local party. Its title was a symbol of the rising Croatian
nationalism, which was considered counter-revolutionary by the government and thus
was taboo. This Mass was finally performed in Duhrovnik in 1983 under the “neutral”
title, Mass in D Minor, to which Papandopulo agreed. Only a month later it was
performed in Zagreb, this time under its original name, and was recorded by Yugoslav.
proving that true cultural or artistic values cannot be forgotten, stopped, or harmed in the
long run.¹⁵

During this stay in Zagreb, Papandopulo composed another well known piece, the
Violin Concerto, in which his neoclassic technique of economy and great compositional
skill made for a valuable addition to violin repertory. Regarding the harmonic language
in this piece, A. Dobronic writes; “Diatonic base, painted with rich chromaticism, creates
a modern kind of harmonic structure, yet far removed from atonality.” This concerto is
in three movements: the first, “Allegro con brio,” is built as a classical concerto-
movement form; the second, “Andante sostenuto e cantabile,” is built on a motif from
Turopolje (a region in Croatia). The third, “Allegro con brio,” is not based on any
borrowed melody, yet it has the feeling of a village melody.¹⁶

Even at the beginning of his career as a composer, one can observe duality in
Papandopulo’s works: some belong to the group of nationalist music, while others are
based on the European neoclassical ideas of the 1920s. Papandopulo most likely was the
first Croatian composer to assimilate those ideas. He reinterpreted the older European
tradition, resulting in music in which the triads and diatonic collections of pitches, the
straightforward melody and homophonic textures are reasserted to fit his frame of mind
perfectly. Musical language was not the only thing that Papandopulo assimilated.
Philosophically, he agreed with the idea of absolute music, and this was one of the main
concepts of the neoclassic movement in Europe. Ferruccio Busoni’s letter from 1920
sums up these ideas: “Young classicism (or neoclassicism) would be marked by a
renewed melodic emphasis, renunciation of subjectivity, and the reconquest of
serenity. Stravinsky, who was a neoclassic composer from the 1920s to the 1950s, asserted a great influence on his young friend Papandopulo.

According to Muzicka Enciklopedia, Papandopulo's music is divided into two phases: that of pre-World War II, and the post-war phase. The pre-war phase is characterized by virtuosic treatment of expressive means, effective and bright sound combinations, polyphony, and outward decorativeness. In the post-war phase, his music became more content-enriched, because the themes became inspired more by the events of the recent past. By "the recent past" the writer must have meant World War II with an emphasis on the glory of the struggle and victory of his people.

The rationale for these divisions in Papandopulo's work is not really satisfactory, since they seem arbitrary and superficial. However, it can be fairly said that after the war Papandopulo did modernize his musical language by using the newest western trends such as dodecaphony, jazz, and electronic music. His style in this period did not really change: it was just modified and enriched by new techniques. However, one contemporary composer, Devcic, went so far as to say that Papandopulo was much more modern after the war, and even referred to him as an "avant-garde composer dressed in folk."

Immediately after the war, the newly formed Communist government of Yugoslavia charged and tried Papandopulo for collaborating with the enemy during his wartime appointment as the opera director in Zagreb, then the center of the Nazi puppet government of the Independent Republic of Croatia. Many people were accused by the newly formed government, some fairly and some unfairly, of having collaborated with the Nazi regime. It is my personal belief that, at least in the case of Papandopulo, this
accusation was unjust. My belief is based on (1) an article Papandopulo published before
the war, in which he expressed his disapproval of Hitler’s politics, (2) his Jewish
ancestry, and (3) my interviews with him and his relatives. Whatever the case may be, he
was punished by being dismissed from his position and being not allowed any public
post, so he moved back down to the coast and took a job as a truck driver. The optimistic
way in which he reacted to this punishment would be unusual for most people, but
Papandopulo spoke with great pleasure of those times when he was once again near his
beloved sea, driving down rustic country roads and meeting the simple people with
whom he so strongly identified. When, three months later, he was called to take the
director’s position at the Rijeka Opera, he was a little sad to have to give up his bucolic
existence, as he recalled in our interview. There is an anecdote about an employee of the
Rijeka Opera house telling the story of his simple truck driver comrade who swiftly rose
to the position of director, using this story as a motivational tool for others. 23

From 1946 to 1948, as an opera director in Rijeka, another town by the sea,
Papandopulo worked so hard and with such immense enthusiasm that it would be
unheard of today, or so said the composer. He started from scratch by collecting chairs
and musicians. Yet in their very first season they produced ten new operatic works
(today a maximum is five). During this time Papandopulo wrote his Second Symphony,
which includes a memorable and effective scherzo full of brilliance and virtuosity. In
1947 he composed one of his masterpieces for piano, his Second Piano Concerto for
piano and string orchestra, which will be discussed in more detail in a later chapter. He
also composed Kolo Druga Tita, a set of symphonic variations on the popular partisan
theme, Comrade Tito, White Flower. This is the first in a series of works that he devoted
to the theme of the glorious communist and partisan victory in the war, very much a
"politically correct" theme for a composer to choose at that time. Later, when the
political regime changed once again, Papandopulo still believed that the cantata
Stojanka, majka Knezopoljka, with the revolutionary war theme, was one of his most
successful works. This cantata was composed in Sarajevo, where he lived from 1948 to
1953, after he left Rijeka.

As a composer who appreciated the value of a strong text, and who was inspired
by the high quality of prose or poetry, Papandopulo found Skender Kulenovic’s poem,
which he used for his cantata Stojanka, majka Knezopoljka, deeply moving. This poem
evolved during the war, and tells the story of the Croatian’s brave fight against the Nazis,
the suffering of mothers, and the hope for victory. Papandopulo’s work is in one
movement, written in the form of a five part rhapsody. This work belongs to the national
group, and is based on folk music. N. Roje said: “He injects the folk language into his
own idiom intelligently without using any direct quotations.” This piece leaves an
impression of honesty in its simplicity, and it climaxes with an optimistic and memorable
finale.

In Sarajevo Papandopulo also taught theory and composition, in addition to giving
lectures about Yugoslavian music which dealt with its history and folklore. He never
relinquished his role as a great proponent of Croatian music. His lectures on
Yugoslavian music which he delivered in Sarajevo during 1950 and 1951 show his great
depth of knowledge on this subject.

Papandopulo remained unaffected by post-war socialist realism in Yugoslavia,
despite its pervasive influence, and was still able to produce highly artistic music, as can
be seen in a work like *Stojanka*. In the 1980’s, when the socio-political situation in Croatia leaned toward nationalism, Papandopulo became more and more criticized for cooperating with the “evil” communist government, and all of his works with revolutionary war themes became very unpopular.

This unpopularity holds true with the current government in Croatia, while in contemporary Croatia, his sacred works are the most popular, especially the once-persecuted *Croatian Mass*. Having tried to defend the artistic value of these works, and already having acquired great fame as a composer inside and outside the country, he emphasized in the later interviews that he held the highest esteem for some of the works created during this period (like *Stojanka*). He maintained that revolutionary themes must fight their way to the top by virtue of artistic quality. He sounded like he was trying to prove that it could be done, yet anyone who knew the old maestro knew that deep inside he was not trying to prove anything to anyone. He knew that the beauty of his music spoke for itself. His wife Zdenka called him apolitical or antipolitical, knowing that for him the only important thing was his music. Papandopulo was quoted saying: “The worst thing is politics, then there are no muses.”

Somewhat unintentionally, and at different times in his life, he came in conflict with both the government and the church, his two enemies in Yugoslavia after the war. It is a paradox that he wrote commissioned works for both, yet he never joined either of their parties, and never succumbed to their dogmas. There are two examples of his conflict with the church and his disdain for religious extremists, the first, in 1933, was caused by his piano piece, *Piano Variations and Fugue on the Popular Croatian Christmas Theme*: Lajo Saltanek-Kavic, one of the harshest critics of the time, protested in the
papers that Papandopulo's choice of this religious theme was inappropriate and that he
sacrilegiously turned it into a neck-breaking virtuoso display for the piano. A similar
conflict arose in 1936 when one of the higher church officials from the city of Split
claimed that his Passion was too profane and that it used musical display entirely too
much for its own sake. Papandopulo's dissatisfaction with the government policy of the former
Yugoslavia became more obvious as he got older. Although he never complained about
the influence government had on his life, like his short truck-driving career, or the
termination of the Croatian Mass, he did complain more and more about the bureaucratic
nature of the system itself. The system of self-management socialism in the former
Yugoslavia became impossible, and it was one of the reasons, he said, for his retirement
from the opera director's job. In this system people wasted too much time on
unnecessary meetings, and Papandopulo would rather have spent that time composing.
In an interview from 1985 with Polic he clearly states that “self-management socialism
does not lead into anything [good].” At this time in Croatia there was greater freedom of
speech, so this statement would not have caused too much trouble. As a composer he
achieved such a reputation that even those people who were supposed to be driving a
truck, instead of sitting in “self-management executive chairs,” were more and more his
admirers. Papandopulo's charisma and his humanistic good will made him somewhat
above politics, and always above the mediocrity, dogma, and negativity in life.

In 1953 Papandopulo returned to his previous job in Rijeka, happy to be near the
sea again. For six years in Rijeka, Papandopulo composed extensively, and many of his
works of this period show a strong influence of Istrian folk music. Cabaksha Suica.
(1955) for mezzo-soprano and piano is one of those compositions which are based on
Istrian folk music. His interest in this music came naturally. Papandopulo was, after all,
living in Rijeka, which is on the outskirts of Istria. In composing Cakavska Suite he
utilized the poetry of his friend, the Istrian poet Drago Gervais, whose work is in the very
unique Istrian dialect, Cakavština. The opera Rona, a sort of Croatian “Beggars Opera”
was composed the same year as Cakavska. This opera is clearly modern in the best sense
of the word. It is written in his own individualistic style, with very dramatic, dissonant,
effective rhythms. “It bears the mark of experimentation.” The musical language the
composer used was inspired by the stage action and became more and more radical
toward the end: the melody becomes more fragmented, the harmony harsh and more
dissonant as the tragic ending approaches. The ballet Beatrice Cenci (1957) and the
Sonata for Viola and Piano (1956) both show that the author was experimenting with the
twelve-tone technique, trying to incorporate it into his own existing idiom. In the Sonata
he used the twelve-tone technique only for the last movement, but the ballet is
completely dodecaphonic. In Eight Studies for Piano (1956), discussed later, he used the
twelve-tone technique for the first time. Ironically, Beatrice Cenci, based on the tragic
story of a Roman family from the sixteenth century, had great success in Germany, yet it
was never performed in Zagreb under the accusation that it was too immoral. 29

From 1959 to 1969, Papandopulo worked as he had during the war, as opera
director in Zagreb. This second tenure, however, came under a self-management
socialist regime, which he believed stood in the way of doing a good job as a director.
He felt more and more the need to leave this job and spend all his time composing. From
1968 to 1974 he was back near the sea, working once again as an opera director in
Rijeka. These years also found him conducting as a guest of the opera in Cairo, Egypt. Eventually he found the necessary peace to compose, settling first in Opatija and then later in the little town of Tribunj on the Adriatic coast. Here he had the time to compose non-stop until his death. \(^{31}\) He was kept very busy because individual performers and institutions kept commissioning works. He was very happy just creating music all the way to the end. In the last twenty years of his life he wrote a lot of instrumental and chamber music for all the well-known instruments and sometimes in very unusual combinations. He also wrote concerti for less popular instruments like double bass, trombone, xylophone, piccolo and timpani. The *Concerto for Timpani* is an especially good piece, which the composer mentioned frequently. He was quite impressed with the American woman timpanist, Bonnie Adelson, to whom this concerto is dedicated. \(^{32}\)

Papandopulo’s *Dodecaphonic Concerto for Two Pianos* and *Legends about Comrade Tito*, both from 1960, take their creative cue from poetry by Vladimir Nazor. The latter work is a cantata for vocal soloist, choir, and a small instrumental group consisting of two flutes, three tubas, and an important percussion group. Three more compositions of this period bear elements of the twelve-tone technique: *Concerto for Harpsichord* (1962), *Mozaič* for *String Quartet and Jazz Quartet* (in which he used jazz improvisation), and *Colors and Contrasts*, an orchestral composition based on two twelve-tone rows. His interest in jazz and even pop music is evident from the titles of works like *Pop Concerto for Two Pianos and Orchestra* (1974), *Improvisation and Dance for Violin* (1979), and *Capriccio for Violin and Jazz Quartet* (1964), and the much earlier *Eight Studies for Piano* (1956) foreshadows this interest. \(^{33}\)
A Little Bit of Dodecaphony, a Little Bit of Romantic, a Little Bit of Avant-garde, and a Little Bit of Folklore is a work whose humorous title describes its amusing content of four contrasting movements. Funny turns in the third movement, made through the use of serial structures in the form of improvisation, and the twelve-tone first movement contrast sharply with the romantic feeling of the second movement and the virtuosity of the last, which is built on a Macedonian dance motif.

In the 1970s, Papandopulo produced three of his masterpieces: Homage a Bach, Istrian Frescos from Bern, and Libertas. Homage a Bach is an orchestral composition from 1972. It is based on the notes BACH, and the composer also quotes two of Bach’s famous themes from the Wohltemperierte Clavier and from the Chromatic Fantasy, which all come alive in this fresh and brilliant Papandopulean rendition. This music shows all the great qualities of his style, including aspects of humor and the mastery of instrumentation, baroque motoric rhythm, and polyphony. The timpani plays an important role, and the orchestral color created here gives a refreshing, new look at the history of Bach’s music as seen through the eyes of the present. This dynamic and expressive work impressed both audiences and symphony members in Zagreb. Cantata Libertas, written in 1974 for the Dubrovnik’s Summer Art Festival, captures Dubrovnik’s monumental strength. Although this is not a folk-based work, Papandopulo still found a way to suggest the atmosphere of this beautiful city and its surroundings by incorporating an old Dubrovnik’s dance called Contradanza.

The Osarski Requiem, composed in 1977 for the Music Festival in Osor, is another spiritual composition which through its theme and its conception shares a great resemblance to the earlier oratorio, Muka Gospodina, in Osor, as in the city of Split.
Gregorian Chant was mixed with folk singing, resulting in a unique tradition of church-folk singing. The musical material, collected in 1905 by the Austrian musicologist Robert Lach, found at Osor’s church library, was scant, but nevertheless it was a point of departure for the composer. Papandopulo used many different texts related to death from the beautiful medieval Croatian literature, but the texts are not related to the traditional church liturgy expected in a requiem. Papandopulo said that his musical concept for this work was based on two main styles or components: one was the crude and simple folk singing of the people, and the other was polyphonic, liturgical singing based on the Gregorian Chant of the church. In this work, he used an unusual group of instruments to accompany the recitation, four soloists, and choir: organ, electric guitar, percussion, bells, and two sopule (folk instruments from Istria), thereby achieving special sound effects which create a very unusual atmosphere.35

Papandopulo remained vigorous throughout the 1980s, composing nonstop until his death. His last piece, Three Musical Movements for Orlando for piano trio, was finished in June of 1991.36 He died on the sixteenth of October, ten days after the bombing of Zagreb.

The great maestro Papandopulo, well known in his home country, had been the recipient of many awards and honors for his life’s work. These included major awards from Yugoslavia—the AVNOJ award, the Vladimir Nazor Award, and a membership in JAZU (The Academy of Science and Art) among others. When this author asked the maestro to pick five of his very favorite compositions, it was obvious that with such an enormous output, even he seemed at first unable to remember all of his works. After some thought, he chose two sacred works: Passion of Our Lord Jesus and Istrian Frescos.
the revolutionary war cantata, *Stojanka majka Knezopoljka*; and, finally, his opera *Rona*

and his *Second Piano Concerto*.

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1 Interviews with Boris Papandopulo.
2 V. Ozgovic, *Croatian Mozart, Vjesnik, Zagreb, October 18, 1991.*
3 Anonymous, *Concert Evening of Maja de Strozzi-Pecic in Pakrac, Novosti, Zagreb, January 22, 1931.*
4 Erika Krpan’s Collection.
6 Erika Krpan’s Collection.
7 Author’s interview with composer’s son and daughter in Zagreb, November, 1992. “He loved the old church books.”
10 Novoshi Obzor, and Rijec were Croatian newspapers. (From Erika Krpan’s Collection)
13 Interview with Boris Papandopulo.
20 Interviews with Boris Papandopulo and Author’s interview with Boris Papandopulo.
23 Papandopulo, *B. Lectures in History of Yugoslav Music in Zdenka’s Collection.*
27 Interviews with Boris Papandopulo.
28 Ibid.
29 Ibid.
31 S. P., *Interview with Boris Papandopulo, Borba, Belgrade, August 21, 1936.*
32 Interviews with Boris Papandopulo.
35 Ibid.
36 Interviews with Boris Papandopulo.
CHAPTER III

DUALITY AND SYNTHESIS IN PAPANDOPULO’S STYLE: NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL

A. THE QUESTION OF STYLE IN GENERAL

In the early years of his career, Papandopulo was called a modern or radical young composer by many critics. In 1939, *Jutarnji List* published an article about his symphonic poem *Previranje*, written four years earlier.\(^1\) According to this article, a style in which color means more than the idea and short motifs are used instead of long melodies, was the product of a radical, modern school. The same article went on to say that Papandopulo’s enormous technical knowledge was fascinating but frightening at the same time. Another critic, commenting on the same composition, observed that the short themes were inspired by the Croatian national folk spirit, and that the composer’s youthful tendency was to search for new combinations and effects, such as a duo for piccolo and bass-tuba, a combination which he found disconcerting. In the critic’s view, this experimentation and radicalism were typical of young composers at that time.\(^2\) Other, less conservative critics agreed that his scores were extremely interesting, full of sharp and effective contrasts and characterized by a great variety of orchestral color. It is obvious that from very early in his career, Papandopulo was acknowledged as a master of instrumentation and orchestration.

During the time between the two world wars, when almost everybody, including Papandopulo, was composing in the nationalist, folk-based style, some of Papandopulo’s other compositions were called modern or avant-garde. Among those works are the
previously mentioned neoclassic compositions *Concerto Da Camera*, *Sinfonietta*, and his ballet-pantomime *Zlato*. The composer himself said that he was more modern at the beginning of his career and that later he "calmed down." As suggested in the previous chapter, some musicologists and music writers in Croatia would probably not agree with this statement. Later in life when talking about the musical avant-garde, Papandopulo remained conservative. In his witty way, mixed with a dose of sarcasm, he complained about the "meteorological maps" (scores) that he had to conduct from, which very few people, even musicians, could relate to. Papandopulo always remembered the wise words of his teacher, Bersa (a founder of Croatian Moderna): "Do not write just to be trendy, and do not worry if you are criticized for being conservative."

Papandopulo confused musicologists in Croatia not only because of the inconsistency of his style, but because he refused to discuss his own works. Musicologists sometimes felt as though he despised them. But since he believed that music should speak for itself, and moreover was unwilling to look back at his own past work, he found that musicologists were an important aid for composers like him. He believed that the musicologist's job is to analyze, to organize, and, in his case, also sometimes to recover or find all that music that he left behind. I sympathize with his biographer, Erika Krpan, who is still faced with this difficult task. After my interview with the composer I left feeling empty-handed. There were no interesting stories to tell my friends about my favorite piano pieces by Papandopulo. "I just want to compose, and I do not wish to think of the old stuff," he said. "Sometimes I do not have a copy of my own work when I come to the rehearsal of it, so it feels fresh and new."
There appears to be some degree of difficulty in differentiating clearly among the various stages of Papandopulo's development, which springs from the fact that a number of important characteristics have been present in his music throughout his career. These unchanging features are: (1) HUMOR AND MUSICAL INVENTION, (2) VIRTUOSITY, (3) BAROQUE MOTORIC RHYTHM AND POLYPHONY, (4) GREAT RHYTHMIC INTEREST AND MELODIC INVENTION, (5) INSPIRED BY FOLK MUSIC, (6) TONAL CENTRICITY, and (7) THE CONTINUAL RENEWAL AND TRANSFORMATION OF HIS IDIOM. In the sections that follow, I will examine each of these features.

1. HUMOR AND IMAGINATIVE MUSICAL INVENTION

Papandopulo was a renaissance man. He possessed many talents, an exuberant personality, and a terrific sense of humor. Papandopulo inspired and influenced many people who came in contact with him. The list of his admirers is so long that it could be said that he was a national institution. Very few composers achieve this kind of popularity today, even in a small country of four million people like Croatia. So many people who knew the old maestro remember him as a great man always eager to poke fun at himself or make others smile. His appearance was amusing and distinguished by what the French call "marcante." He had a huge nose which was very inviting for the caricaturist. In all kinds of newspapers one can find an abundance of Papandopulo caricatures. His optimism and passion for life coupled with his ability to capture the comic side of life are qualities immediately recognizable in his music. Many of his comical sayings are still remembered, the most famous one being "We will all find each
other at the fermata," or, in other words, if everything else in a performance went wrong, he would make sure that the orchestra ended together on the very last note.

Optimism and humor give Papandopulo’s music a special vibrancy and brilliance. Sometimes he even chose funny names to capture the element of humor. Among those are Papandopulija (1986), Piece for Clarinet Solo and the Other Company (1974), and Divertimento Alla Pasticcio for Winds and Percussion (1971), a title that refers to food. Some titles are very difficult to translate because they are original and make full use of the rich and interesting Croatian language. Nadsviranje for oboe, clarinet, and big and small sopile (1977), is one of those titles using creative wordplay, whose closest translation would be: trying to outplay each other. A strong element of humor is evident in his pieces intended for children such as Prstici or The little fingers (1986) or Micek Macek i Dedek (1941). This music is very sweet and appealing to children.

Vjekoslav Sutej, Director of the Houston Grand Opera, related that the humor in Papandopulo’s orchestration is the main difference between his orchestration and that of Shostakovich. Papandopulo’s is much lighter because of the humor.8 It is true that these two composers are similar, not only in terms of the tribulations of their lives in their native lands, but also in the characteristics of their style. The closest match for Papandopulo’s musical humor is the older Croatian composer Jakov Gotovac, who was also a family friend for whom Papandopulo had great respect. Papandopulo must have learned from Gotovac, and in interviews very often mentioned how much he liked Gotovac’s opera Ero (1935). Papandopulo loved to play with the elements of music including humor, he had the passion of a child combined with the technical mastery of a compositional champion.
2. VIRTUOSITY

This playfulness in composition, which brings a game-like quality to his music, leads us to the second characteristic of his style: virtuosity. He treated each instrument individually and utilized its full potential, expanding and pushing it to its highest level of performance. He investigated the color and sound possibilities of each instrument in his compositions; and when combining a number of instruments, he never lost sight of each as an individual. His masterful yet playful approach to orchestration gives his music great brilliance, liveliness, and virtuosity. He possessed the rare talent of being able not only to remember the different colors of instruments but also to mix them together in ways that are always fresh and interesting. He said, "I know exactly how my piece sounds when I am writing it, long before I ever hear it performed. I hear the exact colors in my head." This talent for color and an enormous interest in sound quality can easily be traced to French Impressionist composers such as Claude Debussy. "I love sound and all of its endless possibilities kind of like Debussy," he said. Some sound effects in Papandopulo's music are truly magical. He was able to produce these effects on the piano as well. Below is an example of a static sound effect in the piano's low register from his Scherzo Fantastico:

![Musical notation image]
In the lyrical second movement of Concerto Da Camera, a beautiful color mixing of the soprano and the flute is a thrilling aural experience. The fourth movement of this composition is an example of the virtuoso treatment of the voice as if it were an instrument. Incredible richness of color is achieved with the voice, which sings and vocalizes in a completely instrumental way.

3. BAROQUE MOTORIC RHYTHMS AND POLYPHONY

The joint use of baroque motoric rhythms and polyphony, the third characteristic of his style, is a salient characteristic of European Neoclassic composers of the 1920s, and figures extensively in his Neoclassic works. The motoric rhythms, borrowed from the baroque, are found in pieces like his toccata movements for piano. Counterpoint and polyphony are found in many pieces or individual movements like the third movement of the Trio Sonata for Two Guitars and Bass, with its polyphonic texture and tonal counterpoint. The second movement of this piece is a baroque aria. There is an example of both motoric rhythms and polyphony in the Toccata from the first movement of his Concerto for Harpsichord and String Orchestra. The Baroque motoric rhythm—the feeling of perpetual motion, of something unstoppable, with the help of ostinatos very similar to those of Stravinsky—is a very important element of Papandopulo's style from the beginning to the very end of his career.

4. GREAT RHYTHMIC INTEREST AND MELODIC INVENTION

Papandopulo used rhythm structurally, by building on rhythmic motifs. He also used rhythm to enrich the texture of his works, and as an element of drama or action in
his music. The latter effect is achieved mostly through the use of sharp, shifting accents, much like those in Stravinsky (e.g., *The Rite of Spring*), and irregular rhythms and meters borrowed from the folk music that surrounded him. The irregular meters (7/8 or 5/8), especially present in the folk music of Macedonia, are his favorite, as he himself said. Among the numerous examples of irregular meters is the *scherzo* of the *Violin Sonata* (1988). Fabriu considers this sonata one of the most beautiful and musical pieces in the history of Croatian chamber music. Here is an example of an irregular rhythmic theme taken from his *Kaleidoskop 74* for piano:
Papandopulo's manipulation of melody is just as rich as his rhythmic invention. His melodies are sometimes long and lyrical, as in the slow movements (e.g., from the oratorio, Passion of Our Lord Jesus), but more often they are short, and they behave more like motives placed in a very strong rhythmic frame. His themes are motivic and they always contain rhythmic movement and a clear possibility of dynamic color relationships. Here is an example of one of his motivic themes from his Eight Studies for Piano:

![Vivacissimo](image)

In general, Papandopulo built his forms on the variation principle, so that they sometimes seem loose. One of his sharpest critics, Dr. Pavao Markovac, stated that Papandopulo's symphonic poem Previranje (1931) was "defective" in form. In one radio interview, several chamber musicians told of how sometimes, for various technical reasons (such as when no space was left on the record), they would cut out whole sections of a work. The composer gave his consent, and it did not hurt the piece as a whole. His form is organic, developed from a short melody, on the principle of melodic and rhythmic variation. He followed the flow of his imagination, not always concerning himself with the form, and as a result the form is free or loose, yet always colorful and
interesting. His form is usually monothematic and through-composed. This is one of many reasons why he often avoided large forms such as the sonata form. In his chamber and piano solo music he preferred the form of the suite.

Melodies that "ran around in my head all the time" (as he described it to the author) were often inspired by the folk melodies which fascinated and inspired him throughout his life. One can see from his lectures in Sarajevo that Papandopulo knew a lot about folk melodies and folk scales indigenous to Yugoslavia. He described how Croatian melodies (according to the famous Croatian scholar Franjo Kuhac) contain the following characteristics: first, the interval of a minor third (which creates a sad atmosphere); second, movement by augmented seconds based on harmonic minor tonality; third, a small melodic span and the downward movement of the melody (it starts high and then falls); and last, a melodic sequence that usually moves by the interval of a second. The following is an example of a Croatian melody in the movement "Gajdasi" from Papandopulo's suite Selo:

5. INSPIRATION FROM FOLK MUSIC

Papandopulo's folk-based melodies show the use of different Balkan scales. Many times he created his own scalar structures which sound similar to the Balkan scales. Without a doubt, the composer had these folk scales in his head. He might have
created his own synthetic scale variants by dividing an octave into 2, 3, or 4 equal parts, from which he then formed scales and melodic patterns by the processes of interpolation, infrapolation, and ultrapolation, the latter two meaning the addition of a note below and above the principal tones and their combinations. 14

Although it is very unlikely that Papandopulo created his own scales in such an artificial way, it is important to realize that many of his own synthetic variant scales which cannot be analyzed as Balkan scales, can nonetheless be found in Slonimsky's Thesaurus. Yugoslavian musicologists have for years been investigating Yugoslavian folk music in attempts to determine its differences from the Western system. Limited by that same Western system and by their knowledge of it, they are still having difficulty finding new methods of exploring the vast amount of folk material available to them. This confusion is apparent when one reads the arguments in various Yugoslavian journals, especially in regard to folk scales and harmony. As yet, there is no uniformly accepted Balkan scale system. To further complicate the matter, many of the same or similar scales are named differently by different authors. In both Bosnia and Croatia (Medjumorje and Zagorje) theorists note the presence of the pentatonic scale, as well as the very different old church modes. The modes used most often are the mixolydian, dorian, aeolian, and phrygian, and these often appear in incomplete forms.

The Oriental tetrachord, C-D-flat-E-F, typical of many Balkan folk scales, is known to have originated from Indian scales such as the Guacakrya, the Vakhulabhama, and others. 15 It is interesting that many Yugoslavian folk songs, which often use this oriental tetrachord, also end harmonically on the dominant and melodically on the second
degree of the scale. An example of his use of the oriental tetrachord is the following one from his cantata Stojanka, Majka Knezopoljka:

From several different sources I have made a selection of the varieties of Balkan folk scale: Balkan minor (C-D-E flat-F sharp-G-A-B flat-C); Attic minor (C-D-E flat-F G-A flat-B flat-C); regular western harmonic and melodic minor; Gypsy minor (C-D-E flat-F sharp-G-A flat-B-C) (also called Lydian minor-major); Istrian scale (C, D-flat, E-flat, F-flat, G-flat, A-flat), Oriental major (C-D flat-E-F-G-A flat-A flat-B flat); and Attic major (C-D-E flat-F-G-A flat-A flat-B flat).

The following is an example of one of the Balkan scales (Gypsy minor) that the composer used in the theme of his Tanzstudie:

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\text{sempre} \quad \f

\text{con furore}
The Istrian scale, built of alternating half-steps and whole steps, is one of the more interesting scales in Croatian folk music. In *Sv. Cecilia* from 1925, Ivan Matetic Ronjgov, an Istrian composer and friend of Papandopulo, wrote about the Istrian scale and how it is really impossible to reproduce it on the piano because it is microtonal. He believed that perhaps Haba’s quarter-tone piano would be more suited for music based on this kind of scale.

Folk music was a major source of inspiration for Papandopulo. While living in Rijeka, he formed friendships with the Istrian poet, Drago Gervais, and the composer Matetic-Ronjgov, which enabled him to learn about the richness and tradition of Istrian folk music. He absorbed it and loved it so much that it became a part of him. With artist friends he often talked about Istrian folklore: its bizarre micropolyphony, atonality, and dissonance. Bordun is a typical type of Istrian folk singing. It is sung in parallel seconds and thirds, giving an effect which is a rather peculiar, harsh, and yet mystic. Following is an example of such a practice:

\[ \begin{align*}
&I \text{-} stra \quad vi \text{-} se \quad ro \text{-} bo \text{-} va \text{-} ti \ne \quad \tilde{c}e, \\
&stra \quad vi \text{-} se \quad ro \text{-} bo \quad va \text{-} ti \ne \quad \tilde{c}e.
\end{align*} \]
In Papandopulo's works, especially those written in Rijeka, it is easy to find both the Istrian scale and bordun (or bugarenje, as it is called in Vinodol). Below is an example of each from his Cakavska Suite:

**Bordun**

**Istrian Scale**

The Istrian scale has a small range and a peculiar sound, and great compositional invention is needed to transform this scarcity of material into a modern harmonic and instrumental structure. Papandopulo was one of those rare composers who always tried to examine his own culture and tradition—not trying to imitate it, but rather trying to regenerate it. He desired to bring it to life, as he did in so many of his works, starting
with Slavosljjec, continuing with the oratorio Passion of Our Lord, and later in Osorski Requiem and Istarske Freske.

As he did with other elements, Papandopulo synthesized his contemporary outlook with more traditional approaches in his religious works. His very liberal and modern view of religion is a common thread in these works. It is the view of a twentieth-century man, fascinated by the old church books, yet pantheistic and happy to be here on earth. Far from being formal, his religiousness was very close to a more human, more honest, and deeper religious feeling.

“Folklore is somehow a basis of my work. I cook it inside me and it comes out in some stylized form.” In this way, very similar to that of Bartok, Papandopulo treated folk material only as a base, an inspiration which opens new harmonic, melodic, and rhythmic possibilities. Bartok listed three different levels of his usage of folk music. The first level is quotation of the melody with added accompaniment. The second level is attained when the composer devises original melodies that imitate folk melodies. Finally, the highest level is reached when elements of folk music are evoked indirectly to capture the spirit and atmosphere of peasant music. The great majority of Papandopulo’s works belong to this last or highest level. Some Croatian musicologists are still arguing the issue of using folk material, but the main problem seems to be only one of labeling. Papandopulo simply called it "stylized folklore." Zupanovic used labels like “halfway original compositions,” but probably the most precise description was given by Erika Krpan.

Krpan shows how Papandopulo both resembles and differs from Bartok. She divides Papandopulo’s folk-based works into four levels (instead of Bartok’s three) the
first is harmonization or quotation; the second is arrangement, in which the motif is fragmented; the third is stylization, in which the motif is fragmented even further; finally, the fourth refers to works with associative elements, where certain intervals or rhythms are merely reminders of folklore. Both Krpan and Zupanovic agree that in the great majority of his works, Papandopulo treated the folk base with the technical skill of a true master, turning it into something totally original and personal. Therefore, most of his folk-based works belong to this higher-phase treatment. Some rare examples of an arrangement (stylization, or half-way original works) are his Contradanza for piano, where he quotes an old dance from Dubrovnik, and the last movement of his Second Piano Concerto, where he quotes a Macedonian tune “Dafino Vino Crveno,” as shown in the following example:

Papandopulo’s interest in folk music from different regions of the country was inspired by where he was living. Therefore, at first, in works like Svatovske, he used northern Croatian folk music from Medjumurje and Zagorje. While living in Split, he used Dalmatian folk music, and then after the war he became fascinated with Istrin (Rijeka), and Bosnian (Sarajevo) folklore. One example where Papandopulo mixes
different regional folklore in one composition and uses it as a tool for achieving contrast between the movements is his Clarinet Concerto. The first movement is Macedonian, the second is lyrical, from northern Croatia, and in the third he quotes a south Serbian game dance called "Arapsko Konjusice." Macedonian folk music, known for its richness in rhythm, and Istrian folk music, known for its richness in color, interested Papandopulo more than did the simpler diatonic tunes from northern Croatia. While living in Rijeka, and traveling through Istria, surrounded by the incredible richness of the local folk music, Papandopulo felt very lucky indeed. Istrian folk music, with its bizarre harshness and ancient traditions, can have a rejuvenating affect on a composer. It is a true jewel for curious musicians even today. In the same way, Macedonian folk music, similar to Bulgarian with its irregular rhythms and mystic quality, is a mecca for a composer. In the last five years (since 1990) it has even become “trendy” because of the famous Bulgarian women’s choir, whose vibrant singing has captured the fancy of the world.

In many of his own writings Papandopulo was a great proponent of Croatian music as well as its antecedent, Balkan folk music, which he believed had an advantage over Western music. As a result of his strong ties to the more Eastern tradition that Balkans favored, Papandopulo found it necessary to break away from the Western musical tradition. He believed that eventually the West would accept Croatian music and its many wonderful and sometimes exotic qualities.

The treasure of Croatian or Balkan folk music is rooted in its old Oriental melisma, its original rhythms, and its very special melodies based on a great variety of scales. An unusual harmony is the product of these scales, which create chords with unusual intervals that are quite different from those of Western harmony. This original
material, however, cannot be used for building large forms like the classical sonata. “It would be like trying to build a skyscraper out of clay,” Papandopulo wrote.  

In essence, even if the Balkan folk form looks large on the outside, on the inside it remains small, simple, and uncomplicated. The “spiritus agens” of Balkan music is dance and song. All Balkan people dance with the kind of uncomplicated fervor found at the Dionysian celebrations of the ancient Greeks. It is only natural that we find dance forms in almost all of Papandopulo’s folk-inspired music. The four main dance forms used in Balkan folk music are (according to Kuhac): first, Kolo, circular, fast dances that can be ceremonial, male, female, or funny; second, Tanec, dances played according to the rules and for different occasions. Third, Balkan dances can also be games, which go back to the very old pagan traditions; and fourth, they can be wedding songs such as the Svatovske as found in Papandopulo’s opus 2. The following is the beginning of his Hrvatski tanec where he quotes a tune from Samobor (a city close to Zagreb):

\[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{Note 1} \\
\text{Note 2} \\
\text{Note 3} \\
\text{Note 4}
\end{array} \]
In his lectures and in his writings, Papandopulo was a great spokesperson for Croatian/Yugoslavian art music. From the copies of his lectures given to this author by his wife Zdenka, it is obvious that Papandopulo had a deep scholarly insight and up-to-date knowledge of Yugoslavian music history, including its folk song. In his writings he paid great respect to Franjo Kuhac (1834-1911), one of the greatest Croatian folklorists and musicologists. Kuhac traveled throughout Yugoslavia and collected thousands of folk songs. They were published from 1978 to 1981 in four large volumes. As a scholar, Kuhac was not satisfied with just collecting songs; he also analyzed them using his method of comparative musicology, and published many of his findings and opinions. He found that Balkan folk music comes in three main forms: first, folk songs; second, dance; and third, liturgical song. He was among the first to discover that Balkan folk music possesses individual material, form and color, which make it very different from the folk music of other nations. Like many innovators and true scholars, Kuhac remained isolated, ridiculed, and often without support.

6. TONAL CENTRICITY

Papandopulo, like Bartok, created all of his music to express a key, or a tonal center, which was revealed at times only at the end of the piece. He incorporated tonal centers into his structures in a way that makes the structure seem organic. This organic quality originated from a characteristic interval given in the first motif, usually at the very beginning of the piece. This will be shown later in an analysis of the first of the Eight Studies. In many of his works he used polytonality. His harmony, because of the simple diatonic nature of folk music itself, was sometimes very simple and diatonic.
especially in music based on northern Croatian and Dalmatian folk song (for example, the oratorio Passion). His chords are often built on fourths and thirds, and he liked to use the interval of a tritone often. An example of this practice is from Igru (dance):

One of his favorite devices is mixing chromaticism with diatonicism, as seen in the following example from Scherzo Fantastico:

7. THE CONSTANT RENEWAL AND TRANSFORMATION OF HIS IDIOM

Papandopulo was always eager to transform and refresh his expressive means. When he experimented with the newest European techniques, he subjected them to his own sensibility and need, fitting them into his existing idiom. His great musicality and taste saved him from the dangers of imitating others and helped him to develop his own very individual and recognizable style. "I am not an innovator. I do not want to turn the entire old tonal system upside down, yet I keep up with the times," he said. This is why he adopted neoclassicism very early in his career. Papandopulo's interest in sound and
color was one of the driving forces in his composing—he loved to experiment with unusual and unconventional sound effects. In his search for different combinations of instruments he did not discriminate against any. This is especially true of his post-war works. For many of them, he used unusual instruments such as electric guitar, synthesizer, and folk instruments like the sopile. As the composer put it in his typically simple way, "I am interested in the group and challenged by the instrumental color combinations."  

Papandopulo was open to the new. This was of course in line with what was practiced in the European musical world of his day. Of the early works, Concerto Da Camera is a good example of his receptivity. He was open to the use of the twelve-tone method that was popular in Croatian art music in the 1950s. Papandopulo favored this technique because it was highly formal and intellectual, despite the fact that his treatment of it was not total or integral serialism. More likely, Papandopulo wanted to prove that even twelve-tone music could be beautiful to the ear of both the listener and the performer. "It is like a task, but sometimes you stumble. It happened a few times to me that when I wanted to develop a melody, there came the laws of the twelve-tone music (like an obstacle)."  

Acceptance of the twelve-tone technique did not change his general relationship towards compositional techniques. Instead, he incorporated it while keeping the old ones. The mixing of the old with the new can be observed in the fugue from the Dodecaphonic Concerto for Two Pianos. Here he used the row as a fugue theme, creating a sort of row-theme hybrid. Thus, he was both traditional—in his motivic handling, employing augmentation and diminution of motifs—and modern by virtue of his use of tone rows. Another previously mentioned characteristic of his style is the mixing
of diatonicism and chromaticism, which was incorporated with the twelve-tone
techniques as well. He used chromaticism in combination with a row. The much-used
technique of imitation was also combined with the twelve-tone technique in
Dodecaphonic Concerto. Here the series is imitated in all four voices, creating a canon at
the octave:
Papandopulo was unpredictable, as always, in his application of the twelve-tone technique. There are parts in his compositions that are not serial. This is what Papandopulo most likely meant when he said that he was "stuck" (meaning not that he was creatively blocked, but rather that he was "stuck" with being true to his own unique way of combining and synthesizing whatever musical elements were available to achieve the effect he wanted). Examples of this are in Eight studies, Harpsichord Concerto, and The Piece for Clarinet Solo and the Other Company. An example of using a series in one voice, while the accompaniment is non-serial, can be found in Beatrice Cenci. Resemblance to Alban Berg's Violin Concerto is evident when one analyzes how Papandopulo built his twelve-tone rows. They are often built on triads, and this gives them a tonal association. The row from his Eight Studies reveals two triad outlines. The Dodecaphonic Concerto for Two Pianos outlines the triad B-E flat-G, and in the Harpsichord Concerto, the triad outlined is B-E flat-F sharp. Some parts of his series are almost entirely scalar and have definite Balkan or oriental scale associations. This can be seen in the finale of the Dodecaphonic Concerto for Two Pianos.

\[ \text{music notation} \]

A sense of tonality is achieved also by using intervals of a fifth and a fourth in tonic-dominant relationships (as in Dodekafonski Koncert), or by employing a half step such as a leading tone relationship between the twelfth and the first note of a row (as in Bote l kontrasti and Beatrice Cenci). It could therefore be concluded that most of his "twelve-tone" works are actually tonal. For example, both the Dodecaphonic Concerto
and the Harpsichord Concerto are in D. Papandopulo said he wanted to prove that serial music does not have to be atonal.\textsuperscript{32}

An analysis of Papandopulo’s twelve-tone works reveals a firm adherence to neoclassic orientation. He used serial technique only to enrich his already-existing melodic and harmonic language, never allowing the serial technique to be the fundamental feature of his work. Aesthetically speaking, he approached composition not on the basis of making an academic point, but rather to arrive at the most dynamic, fresh-sounding music possible. The composer’s own words sum it all up: “I really do not like formulas. I like my own freedom more.” \textsuperscript{33}

B. DUALITY IN STYLE: NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL

Most Croatian musicologists would probably agree that Papandopulo does not have clear-cut developmental phases. His style underwent changes, especially after the war, when he assimilated the twelve-tone technique. Nevertheless, it can still be considered basically uniform from the beginning to the end.\textsuperscript{34} He started out being both nationalist and neoclassic. This neoclassic influence can be called “international” because Croatia was politically and culturally connected to Europe. Papandopulo’s early music was more modern than other music in Croatia at the time; later on he “calmed down.”

The division of Papandopulo’s work that appears in Muzicka Enciklopedija is inadequate. The author of the article divides the work into pre- and post-war periods, implying that after the war Papandopulo’s music became more mature and the content
more profound. This is too simplistic a division, because in all periods the music, while at times playful or humorous, is both mature and profound.

So the question remains. Since Papandopulo’s musical language did not undergo any major changes and cannot be easily divided into developmental phases, what then is the best way to organize his impressively large output? Can it be divided by any other method? The first, and the most logical, division could be made on the basis of major influences in his style from both international and nationalist sources. He was affected equally by both. This dual influence, seen throughout his work, gives the only satisfactory answer to the question of his style. Admittedly, it seems unusual because one generally expects to find some kind of developmental phases in the life of a composer. Stravinsky’s and Schoenberg’s careers invite such divisions, but Papandopulo is more like Bartok. Bartok’s early compositions are more experimental than his later works, but his music does not go through an evolution of style."

This national-international duality in Papandopulo’s oeuvre appears very early and is sometimes evident in the same composition (see my discussion of the ballet Zlato above). Among the 140 works written before 1945, there are many that would categorize him as a neoclassicist composer. "The background of my work is classicism or neoclassicism applied to our folk," he said. In many of his neoclassic works he avoids the influence of folk completely. The melodies are not based on any Balkan scales, the rhythms are more Baroque than folk, and the harmony, while based on the fourth and fifth, sounds even more tonal or diatonic. An example of such a piece is his Homage à Bach. In this piece, the brilliance of his orchestration and the use of timpani are the main factors that make this piece sound modern. The abundant examples of the works which
are "nationalist" feature the obvious use of rich folk rhythm, melodies based on Balkan scales, and small and simple forms. Very often they are just Balkan folk dances. In some works Papandopulo used these two styles in contrast to each other but within the same composition, as in a sonata or a concerto.

In his post-war period, the duality between nationalist and international elements remained in place despite the turmoil caused by the avant-garde movement and Biennale in Croatia in the 1960s. Papandopulo took only what suited him from that avant-garde "mess." "I accept the avant-garde to a certain point, but I don't cling to it," he said. He was most interested in preserving what is beautiful in music. He never went overboard, and he despised chaos in both music and society ("I cannot agree with the throwing the nails at the piano."). He would not experiment just for the sake of experiment. A piece that illustrates this point is his A Little Bit of Avant-garde, a Little Bit of Folklore, a Little Bit of Dodecaphony. In his early writings as well as later in life, Papandopulo expressed his concern for art and its place in society ("Art today is in decadence. This is the age of electronics."). He loved beautiful music, free from what he called "anti-musicality."

Papandopulo was especially pleased, for instance, that the Biennale in the 1980s featured so-called avant-garde composers like Penderecki, who were turning back to melody and writing more beautiful music. Papandopulo, who was much disturbed about the dehumanization and alienation of music in society, applauded the fact that the avant-garde was becoming exhausted and bereft of inspiration. It was his way of saying "I knew it! One can never neglect tradition or cultural background, and people can never neglect their roots or their ethnic origin."
C. INFLUENCES

Just as Papandopulo was a composer who was unwilling to neglect his roots, even as he accepted newer trends in music, so too did he synthesize other seemingly contradictory or dualistic influences to arrive at his unique style. These varying elements all served to make his music vital and open to change. Prominent influences include traditional composers like Bach and Mozart; modern ones such as Stravinsky and Prokofiev; folk music and neoclassical music; religious and secular works; Croatian and international music such as the French Impressionists; and Slavic and Western European composers.

To begin with the first of these dichotomies, Papandopulo's music utilizes tradition. He is influenced by music that goes back all the way to Bach, and even much further back into music history. Polyphony and baroque motoric rhythms are the two features of his style that connect him directly to Bach, a composer he respected so much that he paid homage to him in a work he created. "I love Bach. Some people smoke when they are nervous, but I play Bach's Preludes and Fugues instead. After an hour or two, I feel calm and great again," he once observed. Papandopulo and this author listened to Mozart's Fantasy in C Minor, after which he sighed, and said: "He is the greatest! His music has peace, it is true and beautiful." In an article about Mozart, from one of his program notes, Papandopulo wrote this: "In these days of searching in modern music together with all of its connotations like Gebrauchsmusik [functional music] and Massenmusik [music for the masses], Mozart's music has a soothing psychological effect because of its beauty, depth, and popularity. This is, in fact, the real Massenmusik, so much sought after by modern composers. It is the music which all classes of people can
I found an announcement from the 1930's for one of Papandopulo's very rare solo piano performances. He had often accompanied his mother on the piano while she sang, but he had rarely appeared as a soloist. He could very well have played his own work or even something a bit modern. Instead, in this concert, Papandopulo played only Mozart.

In fact, the main characteristic that Papandopulo inherited not only from Mozart but perhaps even more from the French Impressionists was his interest in sound. He used to call himself a "sound fanatic." Also, some of his techniques, such as the use of parallel consecutive seventh or ninth chords, and his use of pentatonic and octatonic scales, are indicative of this connection. Bach, Mozart, and Debussy represent Papandopulo's international (primarily Western European) influence, mostly in relation to his classical or neoclassical tendency. ("I never wanted to ruin the tradition," he said.)

Papandopulo's three primary influences on the opposite, nationalist side are Eastern church music, Croatian folk music, and serious composers including the Russians Musorgsky and Stravinsky and the Croatians, especially his teacher Zajc.

As observed earlier regarding the spiritual works (Laudamus, Oratorio Muka, Istrien Frescos, and Osorski Requiem), Papandopulo was inspired by the old Slavic liturgy, and according to his son, he loved to dig through the old church libraries. He loved Eastern church music like the Mokranjac's liturgy and the Russian masters (he mentions Bortnjanski). He even published an article on this subject in Novosti. Slavic church music is archaic, it has a rudimentary, old quality. From this music, Papandopulo took its Oriental color (in the form of an Oriental tetrachord), and a spiritual, mystic
atmosphere with a panslavic twist. In my interview, Papandopulo explained to me that he liked Mussorgsky as well as other Slavic composers, mostly because their works were based on folk music. Mussorgsky's simple, concise style, his interesting Slavic color, and his great pianistic flair established an immediate bond with Papandopulo.

As a child he learned Stravinsky's songs when he accompanied his mother. In Papandopulo's house, there is an old photograph of Stravinsky with the family in 1922.  

Stravinsky's influence is probably the most important one and the most easily recognizable element of Papandopulo's style. Said the composer, "I loved his use of percussion, his rhythm and color in Petrushka. I loved his rhythms in Le Sacre. The same irregular rhythms that Stravinsky used in Le Sacre can be found in Macedonian folk music." Papandopulo's scherzi in symphonies, the Ballet Zetva, and his Scherzo Fantastico use those rhythms. The shifting of rhythmic accents, harsh dissonant sonorities, rustic ostinato patterns, the use of the octatonic scale, and many more characteristics of Stravinsky's style can be found also in Papandopulo's music. Even his neoclassicism came more from Stravinsky than from Bach and Mozart.

The Scherzo Fantastico, in its opening, also uses Stravinsky's famous Petrushka chord of C major and F sharp major juxtaposed
Papandopulo believed that he was continuing the tradition of his predecessors, Blagoje Bersa, and especially Ivan Zaje, and that this tradition was important for Croatian national music. "We have to follow up our own national tradition." 47

Although Papandopulo never mentioned Prokofiev as one of his influences, he most certainly was. In 1935, Prokofiev gave a performance of his own piano works in Zagreb. Papandopulo wrote a critique of it in the paper the next day, January 1, 1935, in which he expressed his greatest respect for Prokofiev both as a composer and as a pianist, calling him a first-class master. 48

As far as the influence of Bartok is concerned, though Papandopulo does not appear to mention Bartok in any of his interviews or writings, his relationship to Bartok is clearly evident, especially in their use of folk music as a source. A second similarity was a uniformity of style. Thirdly, both composers avoided atonality and used dance as a basis for their forms. The fast, driving rhythms with shifting accents of Bartok's Allegro Barbaro, from 1911, must have made a lasting impression on the young Papandopulo.

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CHAPTER IV

PIANO WORKS: AN ANALYSIS OF SYNTHESIS AND DUALITY

A. PERFORMANCE OF PAPANDOPULO’S PIANO WORKS

Many musicians have unfortunate experiences with their teachers, and although some stop taking lessons forever, a few resume study later on. Such was the case with Papandopulo and his first piano teacher. What is peculiar in Papandopulo’s story is the unique, circuitous way in which he returned to the study of piano. He started going to the silent-movie theaters, where he fell in love with the piano music being performed in front of the flickering screen. He bought silent-movie scores and played them at home. In this way, his interest was re-ignited and he decided to go back to studying piano. Later on in life he composed music for the cinema, and this love for film music can be heard in many of his piano works. One of the best examples of this film-music association is the second movement of his Sonatina. This music is rhapsodic. Its melody, colored by the Oriental tetraehord, moves freely through the extensive use of melismatic passages. It has the feel of improvisation, which pianists of the silent-movie era utilized not only out of choice but often out of necessity, in order to accompany films they may never have seen before.
Boris Papandopulo was an exceptionally gifted pianist, but he rarely performed as a soloist. He preferred to perform as an accompanist, and even started his music career as an accompanist to his mother. Many of his mother's concerts were devoted to the solo songs of older Croatian composers such as Livadić, Lisinski, and Zaje, but she also premiered many works by younger composers, including Dobrnić, Gotovac, and Grgosevic, all three of whom family friends. Eventually, young Boris joined this company. One critique of a mother-and-son concert in Zagreb paints a vivid picture of the young Papandopulo as an accompanist: he knew how to bring a lot of understanding, insight, and feeling to the music. Later, he accompanied his first wife, Jana Puleva, and they recorded a marvelous interpretation of his *Cakavska Suite*. This recording tells a great deal about Papandopulo's level of pianism and his approach to piano performance. His playing is rhythmically immaculate: the accents are strong and percussive. His interest in sound is evident in the way he treats the piano. The variety of color is achieved through his accomplished mastery of touch. Phrasing is always done in totally musical terms, never disregarding even the most meticulous details of movement in both melody and harmony. Above all, his playing is refined and well thought out, but it still manages to give an impression of spontaneity and freedom. This is a rare phenomenon, and it exists only in someone who is deeply musical and a true artist.

My very first encounter with Papandopulo was hearing his "Dance Study." I fell in love with his music. This happened when I was nine years old, and to this day I have enjoyed playing his music and sharing it with audiences and other musician colleagues. His music has touched people everywhere I have played it. Musicians and composers were especially enthusiastic and they often asked for scores to pieces they heard for the
first time. Recently, I was fortunate enough to hear several rare recordings of
Papandopulo as a pianist, broadcast on the Zagreb Radio Station. Hearing Papandopulo
play gives a far more accurate picture of his brilliant piano performance style. No
critique, book or magazine article can capture what is so obvious to the ear. Much
research, mostly from articles dating from the 1930s, left me unsatisfied, so that to finally
hear one of my favorite composers play the piano was a revelation and an exhilarating
experience. Hearing Papandopulo meant more to me as a performer than anything else.
Anyone interested in performing Papandopulo’s piano pieces would greatly benefit from
hearing Papandopulo play Papandopulo in the performance of his Cakavská Suite.

A very high level of performance expertise is required for Papandopulo’s piano
music, even if the music chosen is at the intermediate level of difficulty. On the one
hand there is a motoric, unstoppable rhythmic pulse which requires absolute control of
tempo and sharp, precise accentuation. On the other hand, the melody and form require
refinement and musicality in shaping. Virtuosity is necessary, not just in terms of the
pure musical display of speed or other aspects of technique, but on a much deeper level
The managing of all the different dynamic aspects of the music, while one is paying
special attention to the color of the piano sound, requires dexterity and intense
concentration. For Papandopulo the external virtuosity is only a tool to achieve a deeper,
artistic musical expression.

Papandopulo believed that it was far more important for a performer to be a
musician than a virtuoso. He had a deep understanding of the piano repertoire and had
strong opinions about what to look for in a performance. For example, in many of his
critiques of piano performance, Papandopulo shows little tolerance for pianists who take
too much liberty with the rubato in Chopin, but he welcomed a great variety of color in music interpretation. Papandopulo was a great defender and spokesperson for Croatian/Yugoslavian music, especially contemporary piano music. In an article entitled “Our Piano Music Abroad,” he called on all Yugoslavian pianists to pay more attention to their national music. He requested all concert agencies to include more Yugoslavian composers and strongly insisted that the traditional piano repertory should be left to foreign pianists. He wanted audiences to hear more national music performed by Croatian pianists.

B. THE NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL IN THE PIANO WORKS

Erika Krpan, in her comprehensive list of Papandopulo’s complete oeuvre, notes forty compositions for piano, including the concertos and the Harpsichord Concerto. Regrettably, six of these works have been lost. Fortunately, only parts of some works are gone and, since research continues, there is yet hope for complete recovery. (While I was visiting The Institute for Folklore in Zagreb, the curator, Professor Bezic, told me about a collection of Papandopulo’s piano music unknown to Erika Krpan at that time. Thus, I was happy that in a small way, I contributed to this search.) Papandopulo’s piano output diminished in the last twenty years of his life, owing primarily to the shifting of his interest from piano music to chamber music. From 1965 until his death in 1991, he composed only six pieces for piano.
TABLE OF WORKS

The following table divides Papandopulo’s piano works into two categories: national (those based on the folk material) and international (neoclassic and music with invented themes or melodies). The national group includes smaller forms, typically dances taken from folklore. The international group includes those works which have a free association that can still be traced to folk music sources, as well as works that have a more distant, latent association with folk material (in Zupanovic’s language), such as a specific intervalllic content (like a minor second) or a characteristic folk-dance rhythm. This group includes works with typically neoclassic titles such as Sonata or Partita, as well as the later twelve-tone works. Those works which I have not been able to obtain or know nothing about from any other source will be placed in a third category: unknown. In some cases it was difficult to decide where to place a piece. One of those works is the Second Piano Concerto in which only the third movement is folk-based. Therefore, it would fit into the national group, but it is included in the international group because the first two movements make up the major portion of the work, and further because Papandopulo chose titles like Concerto and Sonata for the neoclassic works. The suites, like Selo Suite, having many parts, made the decision especially difficult. For these works I made a decision based upon what characterized the major part of the work, as well as upon how far the composition was removed from its folk music base.
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SELECTED ANALYSIS

In order to appreciate and perform Papandapulo’s piano works it is not only useful but also essential to understand specific elements of his style. This style is characterized by virtuosity, richness of color, humor, playfulness, rhythmic and intervalic content inspired by Croatian folk music, sharp and shifting accents, use of the high and low ends of the piano, counterpoint, and a mix of chromatic and diatonic scales. Below is a discussion of specific works that can be used to gain insight into the piano works, in addition to serving as a catalog for pianists who wish to select works for performance.

SONATA was written in 1929 right after the ballet Zlato, and before Concerto Da Camera. Zlato, with its dissonant, harsh harmonies, and modern theatrical concept, had already introduced Papandopulo as a modern and radical young composer. His language in the first movement of the Sonata, and especially in the last, resembles Stravinsky.
because of the pervasive rhythms, with harsh accents, and large dynamic gradations from the very low to the very high registers on the piano. It requires great technical brilliance for the fast playing of many small note values, and sound control for transparent sound effects at the dynamic level of pianissimo.

The following is the opening of the first movement, entitled “Allegro.” Right and left hands are independent of each other, creating a polytonal texture. The left-hand melody is chromatic, while the right hand plays figurations which shift between black and white notes.

The second theme is melancholic in character, and suggests a folk-like atmosphere. It is more tonal than the first theme. Before the recapitulation, and again before the end of the movement, Papandopulo used the typically classical technique of augmentation of note values. When one reads Papandopulo’s dedication one can understand why he chose such harsh sounds and virtuosic passages: he dedicated this piece to the idea of the machine, which, in the philosophical sense, translates into something that keeps going even after human death—for example, creative work. It is symbolic that in this way he chose to dedicate his first piano work to its own immortality.
This sonata was first performed by his teacher at the Music Academy, Antonija Geiger-Eichorn. The reviews of this piece were negative. One critic said that "he writes technique instead of music, merely experimenting with refined, grotesque, and machine-like sound effects. The new, radical style overtakes him, so he is not himself." Another critic said that "this piece sounds overcrowded, unconvincing, and chaotic, mostly because the ideas and the form are not plastic or developed."  

CONTRADANZA, and the earlier KOLO are both dances and are written in a similar diatonic idiom with sharp, vivid accents and in a very brilliant pianistic style. Papandopulo built these dance forms on the principle of variation and repetition. One of his typical devices is repetition of patterns by octave displacement. In doing this he achieves dynamic gradations and color contrasts through changes of register. These repetitive patterns create a simple, clear structure which makes this music appealing to pianists. In Contradanza the theme itself comes back in different registers, and its ending is an example of a repetitive-pattern octave covering almost the entire keyboard.
Ending

Papandopulo borrowed the theme for *Contrada* from Kuhac's collection of folk melodies. It is an old aristocratic dance from Dubrovnik that is believed to have come from the Croatian coastal areas where people most likely learned them on trips to England and then brought them home. Another Croatian composer, Ivo lhotka Kalinski, used the same theme in his collection entitled *Old Dalmatian Dances*. This elegant theme comes back in different contexts, sometimes doubled in thirds or fourths, and modulating by a tonal leap to different keys, which keeps it sounding fresh and new. The
imaginative variation of settings, moods, and colors surrounding this theme reflect the composer’s great compositional skill. Ever since its premiere by Bozidar Kunc in Zagreb on April 21, 1931, this perfect piano miniature has been a favorite of both audiences and performers in Croatia.\textsuperscript{11} Even at its premiere it was encored at the request of the audience.\textsuperscript{12} Contradanza, Scherzo Fantastico, and Eight studies are three of Papandopulo’s piano pieces that show him to be a composer that never lost touch with the performer or the audience, while maintaining his very high standards of composition.

KOLO is another dance miniature, similar to Contradanza, and it dates from the same year. It was published by Universal edition A. G. in 1935, under the title Jugoslovenski Album. It is also composed on a folk theme, but the origin of this theme is not known. The music is tonal and diatonic, closer in sound and character to Croatian than to Bosnian or Macedonian music. The Oriental tetrachord is not present in this piece. An element of humor is achieved by its fast tempo, sharp accents, and large dynamic gradation at the end. This type of “kolo,” which originated from the circular folk dance in Croatia, falls into the category of both funny or ceremonial kolos in folk music. The following example shows a row of parallel chords in succession, a technique that Papandopulo often used in his piano music. The chords used can be anything from just simple triads to seventh and ninth chords and chords with added intervals.
Another characteristic feature of Papandopulo's style is the mix of chromaticism with diatonicism, which is also very typical of Prokofiev. From Papandopulo's piece entitled *2 Klavierstücke*, op 13, this is an example of a chromatic passage followed by a diatonic passage, which arrives with a succession of parallel chords:
This piece is not found in Erika Krpan’s list, or at least not under this title. It is definitely from this period, and it belongs to the International group. In an article about it in Jutarnji List, the critic writes that its style is radical, that the composer uses modern pianistic effects, that it has no melody, and that it sounds formally fragmented, going from one idea to the next. The piece does not have the formal clarity and the plasticity of works such as Contradanza and Kolo. So far, the two works from the national group are more successful than the ones from the other group. This already marks the composer as more interested in the smaller, dance forms of the piano miniature than in the large sonata form.

PARTITA is a very successful collection of small forms combined to create a larger work. It seems as though in this work the composer has chosen the perfect medium for his neoclassic calling. He must have considered the Partita as one of his better works for piano because he chose to give me a copy of it during my visit in Tribunj in 1988. The Partita consists of four movements in contrasting tempos: slow, fast, slow, fast. The first movement “Popevka” (song) is developed from three short melodic motifs, archaic in character, which are varied in context, tonal center, and color, and by motivic manipulation. The texture at the end becomes more polyphonic, by means of imitation, and the piece ends on a D seventh chord in an transparent pianissimo. The following example shows the three motifs, and some of their developments and manipulations:
The next movement "Igra" (game), with its motoric rhythms and brilliance of color resembles the toccata style, but its irregular 5.8 meter gives it a remote association with folk music. This is a virtuoso-sounding movement full of difficult parallel octaves and jumps, yet many of Papandopulo's techniques make it sound more difficult than it really is. One of those very pianistic devices, already observed in previous analyses, is the exchange and or mixing of chromaticism with diatonicism. In the following examples, the two hands combine chromaticism with an ostinato pattern and, as shown in
the next example, chromaticism in one hand and a more diatonic melody in the other. Passages of this sort are easy for a pianist to memorize. This is one of the reasons why Papandopulo’s piano music contains much that is pedagogically useful.

Opening

\[ \text{\textit{Allegro moderato.}} \]

\[ \text{\textit{Jgra.}} \]

\[ \text{\textit{Chromatic and diatonic mix passage}} \]

\[ \text{\textit{Chromatic and ostinato mix passage}} \]

The next movement, “Adagietto,” is the least tonal, as is traditionally accepted. There are two main tonal centers, or two structural notes in this movement; B-flat and F-sharp or G-flat. Two short motives are developed throughout, in a through-composed manner. The very first note, B-flat, is already of structural importance. The motif in measure three already outlines the harmonic movement of the whole piece. This kind of
germ motif is a major element in providing an organic unity to the whole structure—suggesting that Papandopulo was a composer with great compositional technique.

The opening B-flat center comes back again as a pedal tone in measure 15.

Through an interesting chromatic modulation (meas. 24-28) the composer reaches to his next tonal center, F-sharp.

In the new tonal center, the right hand melody is varied in improvisational style through different figurations, including the one in F-sharp Dorian over an E pedal (meas. 40).
The piece ends in G-flat, the tone enharmonic to F-sharp, in pianissimo. The last movement, "Toccata in tempo Presto," is brilliant and effective, but it also ends in pianissimo. There are numerous examples of a diatonic-chromatic mixing between the hands in this movement, as was seen in the second movement of this piece.

SCHERZO FANTASTICO (1932), following Contradanza, is one of Papandopulo’s most successful piano miniatures. This piece is full of energy and humor. It is a wonderful piece for pianists to perform because of its shape, its speed, and the virtuosity required to play it. The London Daily Telegraph called it "a show piece with short themes being broken up by very athletic figurations." The title itself suggests a game or a joke. This piece was written in the early years in Zagreb, when most
nationalist works were inspired by Northern Croatian folk music, which is based on major-minor scales. There is a strong Oriental accent, more characteristic of Bosnian and Macedonian folk music, which Papandopulo used later in his piano music. The theme of this piece is not borrowed directly from folk music. It is yet another Papandopulo original.

This theme has a falling movement typical of Balkan folk melodies: it starts on high C and ends on the second scale degree, the note D. The scale on which this theme is based is a synthetic variant (B-C-D-E-flat and G-sharp- A- B- C- (D)), which uses tetrachords from two different folk regions in Yugoslavia. One tetrachord is from Istria (See example of Istrian scale given earlier) and the other tetrachord (E, F, G-sharp, and A) has an Oriental flavor found mostly in Bosnia, Serbia and Macedonia.
This Balkan-sounding theme, with its off-beat accents, comes back transformed in many characters from grotesque to lyrical, and on different tonal centers starting with C and ending with C-sharp, which creates a large-scale structural movement by a half step. The introductory germ motif foreshadows that movement at the beginning of measure two.

This motif also outlines a tritone, an interval used throughout the piece. The importance given to the tritone and to the interval of a minor second in the opening germ motif results in the over-all unstable tonality of the introduction. This instability is then transformed into the freedom with which the theme can move to remote tonal centers. The theme recurs on C, C, D, G, E, D-flat, and finally on C-sharp. From this analysis we can conclude that Papandopulo prefers bitonal relations and the free use of tonal centers to traditional tonality, or that he uses tonality in a very modern, twentieth century style.

In addition to its melodic properties, the germ motif (opening) is also characterized by its strong rhythm. This rhythm, combined with the upward movement of the motive, translates into the motoric growth of the whole piece, with a dynamic gradation towards the end achieved by a typical repeated passage in octave displacement covering the whole keyboard. As a total surprise comes the pianissimo coda section after
that in C-sharp. Surprise is what makes this light texture at the end sound funny, as if he were saying it was a joke!

THE LITTLE SUITE, Op. 33, is in four movements. The first movement, "Praeludium" (Adagio) is not based on any Balkan folk scales but rather on traditional diatonic European music. Motivic development and the use of counterpoint are the basis of this movement. The atmosphere of sorrow and sadness is achieved by the soft dynamics in different registers and by the key of d minor.

The second movement, "Scherzando," is developed from a short motif which is then varied melodically and rhythmically. Here he uses a synthetic variant of an Oriental major scale (measure 4, in the previous example). This movement ends as did the previous movement, on a picardy third. In its meter, rhythm, form, and character, it is very similar to Scherzo Fantastico. "Arietta," the third movement, is more similar in style to the first movement. Motivic development and polyphony are prominent features of this movement. The last movement, "Fughetta," is like a traditional baroque fugue because of its motoric rhythms and the polyphonic treatment of its parts, yet it is not at all traditional in its sound. There are many modern devices in intervallic, tonal (tonal jumps), and dynamic relationships. In conclusion, we can observe that only one
movement of the *Little Suite* shows the influence of folk music, and that here, as seen before in *Scherzo Fantastico*, the folk material is not a quotation.

SELO SUITE consists of two parts, each made up of two movements related by a program. In the first part, “Morning.” Papandopulo used *Gajdasi* (folk instrumentalists) in trying to depict the atmosphere of the morning. In the second part, “Evening.” he wanted to imitate the sound of a ‘Water Mill.’ This is the first piano work in which a program is suggested, and it can be used very well as an intermediate-level teaching piece. “Morning” is based on a simple theme in F Major. This movement is, like most of his works analyzed, monothematic. In “Gajdasi,” he uses perfect fifths, which are typical for *gajde*-playing, in the accompaniment. “Evening” starts with the same theme as “Morning,” but then he varies it with different harmonies and ostinatos which suggest the calm evening atmosphere. “The Water Mill” starts off in slow half notes, which then become quarter notes, and then eighth notes through a slow gradation. This piece was partially published by *Muzika Naklada Zagreb* in 1963. There are no Balkan scales, nor is there clearly folk material used in this picturesque suite.

HRVATSKI TANAC, or the Croatian dance, is another one of those works that are well-suited for pedagogy. Its theme, similar to the theme in *Contradanza*, obviously comes from Croatia. It is very diatonic and tonal, as is most Croatian music except Istrian. There are many versions of “tanac” in different regions of Croatia, so it is impossible to say which particular one the composer used for this piece (is it perhaps from Samobor’?). This piece is traditionally danced by couples, and in some regions it is characterized by a very fast spinning of the lady. The dancers show symbolic movements of love games and contrasts.” The theme of the “Tanac” is developed by variation of
context, and the whole monothematic structure is developed in a way very similar to

Contradanza. This piece is published by Albini, Zagreb. Theme:

![Contradanza Theme](image)

SONATINA was written in Zagreb during World War II and is one of Papandopulo’s more virtuosic compositions, especially in its toccata-like finale. The first movement is very impressionistic. The first chord, followed by a figuration in the left hand, is based on the pentatonic scale, which is typical of the impressionists. The use of parallelisms (meas. 63) and tonal jumps further suggests impressionism. The two themes, of which the first is much more prominent, return in different constellations in a free play of tonal color and movement, which creates a feeling of a constant flow and a sense that this movement goes by very quickly. Theme:

![SONATINA Theme](image)
Intertwined in this flowing texture are brief motifs in folk character. These little motifs are a factor in achieving the unity of the Sonata as a whole, because they recur in all three movements. The following is an example of a motif in the Istrian tetrachord (See Balkan scales).

![Musical notation image]

The second, improvisational movement is reminiscent of the baroque harpsichord tradition. Since Papandopulo's next composition after this was the music for the movie *Baroque in Croatia*, it is quite possible that he had been listening to baroque harpsichord music at the time. It has been mentioned before that this music sounds very much like film music. The very discrete, Oriental flavor of the movement is created by the use of the interval of the augmented second, borrowed from the Oriental tetrachord. The third, toccata-like movement is in ternary form. The pentatonic scale from the first movement is reiterated, and a remote folk-like association is also employed. Since this composition is Papandopulo's only work with an impressionistic flavor, and since impressionistic elements were atypical for any neoclassic composer (since neoclassicism was a movement launched against impressionism), the question remains as to why he ventured into impressionism at this time. The possible answer would be that, as was the case with many of his compositions, this one was written for a specific performer. He always had one particular musician in mind when he was writing, so in this case that
person could have asked for a little twist in style. This piece was dedicated to Melita Lorkovic, an accomplished Croatian pianist, who recently died.

THE SECOND PIANO CONCERTO FOR PIANO AND STRING ORCHESTRA

This is Papandopulo’s first post-war work, composed in Rijeka in 1947 at the time of the “rebuilding” of the country. Papandopulo himself was involved in the building of Rijeka’s new opera house. Most other works written at this time were centered around “revolutionary war themes,” fitting into the socialist realism of the time, such as Kolo druga Tita. This concerto, however, furthered Papandopulo’s idea of absolute music, which was best expressed in classical (neoclassical) forms. His first idea for the form of this concerto was that of a concerto grosso, but he changed his mind, settling on the form of a solo concerto, which would better suit the manner in which the piano and the orchestra were related. It could have been called Concerto for Orchestra and Piano, since the orchestra plays such a prominent role. The main interest of this work lies in the sound effects achieved by the piano and orchestra. As a master of both, Papandopulo created a lively, fresh, and interesting music. According to A. Dobronic, this work marks a new phase in the development of the composer, in that it spells unrest, new swing, and a positive search for the new possibilities of musical expression.

The first movement, built in a neoclassic style, is full of movement and life. It is constructed as a free form, resembling a prelude with many polyphonic episodes. The theme is short and baroque in character, and contrasts are achieved by the frequent exchange of the soloist with the orchestra.
For this work Papandopulo synthesized a scale in which the second and sixth degrees of the scale are used in both flatted and natural forms. For instance, the scale built on E is E (F - F-sharp) - G-sharp - A - B - (C - C-sharp) - D-sharp. This use the flatted second degree of the scale was also reflected structurally throughout the movement. For example, the first movement of the Concerto clearly starts in E, and in measure 116 modulates to f minor. In measure 124 it modulates to F Major. Again, the use of both minor and major reflects the dual nature of the second scale degree. The use of both flatted and natural second degrees of the scale is given a further structural significance through the use of modulations to f minor in measure 211 and F-sharp Major in measure 221. Both flat and natural second scale degrees as well as flat and natural sixth scale degrees can be seen melodically in measures 10, 11, 27, 29, 31, 40, 45, 47, 54, as well as in many other locations in the transpositions of material. Other elements of Papandopulo's style include repeated inversions of pentatonic clusters (measures 12, 13, 14, 71-75, 79-80, etc.), extensive use of pedal points, and symmetrical sonorities used linearly (measures 138-139), as seen in the following example:

![Piano](image)

The second movement, "Andantino con moto," is in ternary form. Papandopulo uses folk material as a basis for the second part only. Throughout the work he uses pedal tones based on the tonic and dominant. The movement starts with an F-sharp-C-sharp
repeating pattern in the cello. To vary this, he alternates it with an E-B dyad (down a whole step). The use of these dyads as pedal tones weakens the sense of tonality.

In the second part of the second movement, (measure 5 after 20) he uses a form of the Attic Major scale, which was listed earlier among the Balkan scales. He modifies this scale by occasional use of the sharp fourth scale degree, which then functions as a leading tone to the fifth scale degree.

Diatonic linear motion (measure 9) is expanded into more chromatic linear motion. Sometimes he uses chromaticism for color (measure 7 after 3), and sometimes he uses chromatic motion as a lower neighbor function (at 3) as seen next.
The third movement, "Allegretto Vivace," also uses pedal tones centered around the tonic and dominant. Melodically it is based on the Balkan minor scale (See Balkan Scales). He starts out in G Major, and then by rehearsal 3 he has transformed it into G-Balkan minor (see Balkan scales): G, A, B-flat, C-sharp, D, E, F, G. Later he modulates freely through different tonal areas, still using the Balkan minor scale (f-Balkan rehearsal 18; A-flat Balkan, rehearsal 19). The principle of repetition and variation is his main compositional technique. In this movement he uses a short theme which he develops by varying the context around the theme into a more chromatic texture. For a gradation and dramatic buildup he also employs the technique of diminution of note values (thirty-second instead of sixteenth notes at 2 before rehearsal 55). After finding that he used the Balkan minor scale in this movement, I was not surprised that the theme itself is the original Macedonian folk song called "Dafino vino." The irregular rhythm of this movement is one of the main characteristics of Macedonian folk music. There are many interesting sound effects in this virtuosic movement, which breathes the air of optimism.


This composition, following the fame of his two pre-war "brilliant" piano miniatures, Contradanza and Scherzo Fantastico, is Papandopulo's best and most popular work for solo piano. It was composed while he was in Rijeka, soon after the Cakavskia Suite, and was dedicated to Professor Stanevic, the famous teacher at the Music Academy in Zagreb. These eight brilliant movements, written in a virtuosic style, are also full of humorous, melodic, harmonic, and rhythmic turns. Papandopulo's intention was not to
create etudes in a traditional sense: he was more interested in musical content and in experimenting with different and new styles. In the 1950s, the musical scene in Croatia was becoming more and more avant-garde, and Papandopulo was reacting to the changes. In the fifth study, he tried the twelve-tone technique for the first time. The styles range from the baroque toccata in the last movement to the modern dance forms of tango and blues. He pays special attention to color and sound and interesting sound effects. The tango is brooding and romantic, while the slow tempos of the blues movement are moody and yearning.

The first study, "Vivacissimo," starts out with a lively rhythmic motif played in unison by the two hands, in the opposite registers of the piano. This use of the very high and very low registers of the piano provides an element of playfulness and humor. The germ-motif consists of two parts: one is the interval of a minor third, and the other is a chromatic movement. Both of these elements are immediately expanded, the first by adding more thirds to form a seventh chord, and the other by adding more descending chromatic steps while still preserving the original rhythmic content of the motif.

Seventh chords and chromaticism come into play in all kinds of witty sound combinations such as the one in the following example:
This example also shows the mix of chromaticism with diatonicism already mentioned in his earlier works. This mix of white and black notes again sounds brilliant on the piano, so that the pianist can really play with it. The germ interval of a minor third is also used structurally. It is expanded through the use of common tones by adding more thirds.

The form of this piece is organic; it is built on a germ motif which is expanded both melodically, rhythmically, and structurally. This kind of form had been used earlier in *Scherzo Fantastico*, as well as in the *Second Piano Concerto*.

The influence of folk material here is very discrete; it can be seen only in the occasional use of an Oriental interval (a short passage based on an Oriental tetrachord in measures 99-100), or perhaps in the folk-like character of the movement and in a rhythm that resembles a *kolo* or a dance. Metric pulsation, metric displacement of accents, and rhythm in general all help in creating large dynamic and dramatic gradations, and also in achieving the drive towards the end. In measures 79-80 Papandopulo creates one of his typical composite scales, building it by combining two tetrachords: phrygian and Major (E-F-G- A-B-C-sharp-F-flat-E). Other characteristic features of his style, such as the use of the tritone (measure 56), parallelisms (measure 86), and passages repeated by an octave displacement throughout the entire keyboard (measure 174), can also be found in this piece.
In "Tempo di Tango" two rhythmic motifs are developed throughout. The left-hand motif is a one-note ostinato in tango rhythm, and the right hand melody is based on a C- D-sharp-E-F-sharp tetrachord, which evokes folk material only by the interval of the augmented second. The interval of the tritone, also implied by this tetrachord, is developed later both melodically and harmonically. When the melody comes in thirds (meas. 12-17), the music starts to sound Mediterranean, almost like Dalmatian klapa music interpreted through Papandopulo's musical language. His blend of chromaticism and diatonicism creates impressionistic sound effects (meas. 50-53).

In the fifth study, "Andante con Moto." Papandopulo used the twelve-tone technique for the first time. In order to make the sound more suited to him, he created the row with tonal associations in mind, forming two triadic groups as shown here:

What follows the theme in the left hand is free material which does not fit into the twelve-tone scheme. The left hand accompaniment is a free harmony, unrelated to the row. It comes back a few more times later, in a similar way as here (meas. 2-6).
The last movement, a brilliant toccata marked "Allegro Moderato," is written almost entirely in unison sixteenth-note figurations in fast tempo. The Oriental tetrachord is used in several spots. In general, its style resembles the finale of Chopin's Sonata in B Minor. The Eight Studies of Papandopulo all end on C, except the sixth one. Despite this, they do not represent a formal unity and can therefore be performed individually (like the etudes of Chopin, Liszt, and Schumann). These pieces are full of brilliance, humor, and happiness that grow out of the "power over everything that can be possibly done and performed on the piano keys."^{23}

DODECAPHONIC CONCERTO for two pianos was composed in 1960, right before the first Biennale in Zagreb. The composer used two series for both the first movement, "Intrada," and the second movement, "Fugue." That his intention was to blend the traditional form of fugue with the twelve-tone technique is evident in the second movement, where he uses the twelve-tone row in a traditional way, as a fugue subject. The third movement, "Scherzo," is built on three series of which the first is the only one that has an association with folk material. This association is still very remote, and it is only based on the presence of the two Oriental tetrachords:
As already seen in the fifth study (from Eight Studies), the composer does not use the twelve-tone technique strictly, because there are sections of free material which are unrelated to the series.

DANCE SUITE from 1968 is a collection of four folk dances: “Radnice kolo,” “Ketus,” “Igra,” and “Tetovka.” These dances are based on folk music from different parts of Yugoslavia. “Radnice kolo” is a dance probably from Bosnia, judging by its Oriental flavor. “Ketus” is a folk dance from Banat, Croatia, and is more diatonic in character. “Igra” is a dance which sounds like a child’s nursery song, as seen in the pianissimo passage in measure 14. “Tetovka” is a dance from Macedonia in irregular 10/8 meter and with a lot of melodic Oriental melismatic passages. The second piano takes on the role of percussion, providing sharp ostinato motoric rhythms.
\[ \text{Allegro con brio} \quad [d = 200] \]

[Music notation with specific instructions and markings]
VRZINO KOLO, a symphonic scherzo for piano and orchestra, is a fast, brilliant dance (kolo) based on a program provided by Papandopulo. The story is a fantastic fairy tale about a group of children (grahancijasi) and dragons dancing. Both the piano and the orchestra are treated virtuosically, and devilish sounds and gradations are achieved through orchestral and pianistic color and driving motoric rhythms. Folk material is used here on a higher level, apparent only in some specific intervals (augmented second) or characteristic rhythms. This piece sounds like a bigger, symphonic version of the earlier Scherzo Fantastico. Its interpretation requires a great level of brilliance in technique and the ability to make huge gradations on the piano, from very soft to very devilish and harsh. The piano's role switches from that of a solo to that of just an orchestral instrument. This is a powerful work that shows perfectly the composer's lively temperament and his God-given musicality. Unfortunately, I have been able to obtain only the piano part of this score.

The suite KALEIDOSKOP 74 was written for pianist Jurica Murai in Opatija. Its new, avant-garde perspective is evident in the treatment of piano. Papandopulo used modern graphic notation, which makes this work a visually and aurally fascinating musical mosaic.
In an interview with Jurica Murai, I learned that the red notes meant striking the wooden parts of piano with the flat of the hand, and the big, fat lines indicate striking the very low or very high keys with the flat of the hand. Folk music material is evoked only in free association through some elements of melody, harmony, and rhythm, but there are no citations or borrowed folk melodies. This suite consists of six movements well tied together through rhythm, meter, sound, and character associations. The main characteristics of all movements are the motoric rhythms and frequent changes of meter (5/8, 5/16, 8/8, etc.) within each movement. Great sound effects are created through dynamic contrasts (first movement), percussive treatment of the wood of the piano, and virtuosic glissandos and chromatic passages. The fourth movement starts with a percussive introduction in 8/8, followed by a theme given in thirds, which is then
repeated in a different context and later transposed up a half-step. This is followed by an
interlude which presents very playful material in 5/8 meter. These three ideas--
introduction, theme, and interlude--are then developed on the principle of variation. The
form of this movement is Intro-A-interlude-A1-A2-interlude2-A3-interlude3-intro-A-
interlude4-A4-interlude5-A6-end. The form is divided in two equal parts by a
recapitulation of the original introduction and A in the middle. However, this form is
still monothematic, and it is developed from very little (one measure for each idea).

THREE CAPRICCIOS, from 1981, are dedicated to a famous Croatian pianist,
Vladimir Krpan. These are arrangements of three of Pagannini’s caprices, done in a very
virtuosic style. There are no folk materials used in this work. The level of technical
demand and pianistic virtuosity is so great that it resembles his very early style in the
Sonata, when Papandopulo was accused of being too technical and his style was
considered to be a sort of pianistic gymnastics in Croatia. Such virtuosic treatment of the
piano was not news in Europe, but it was in Croatia. Papandopulo was the composer
who brought piano brilliance to Croatia, so that this contribution to Croatian piano music
was in itself of historic importance. When Erika Krpan praised him for this in an
interview, he replied in his typical carefree manner, “I could allow myself that brilliance
on the piano because I was capable of playing it too.”

In the previous analyses, we have seen that all the characteristics of
Papandopulo’s style mentioned in an earlier chapter are also present in his piano music
humor, virtuosity, baroque motoric rhythms and polyphony, great rhythmic interest and
melodic invention, tonal centers, and the constant renewal of his idiom. He was a master
of the piano miniature, an organic form developed from a germ motif. The principle of
variation was his main compositional technique in creating his form, which is mostly monothematic. He used the extreme opposite registers of the piano and many different pianistic devices for both virtuosity and sound or color. Some of his favorite pianistic devices are the use of chromatic and diatonic mixed passages and passages that repeat in octave displacement throughout the entire keyboard. An element of motoric rhythms or a rhythmic drive is present in all of his fast movements. In his later works he expands its possibilities even into using the wooden parts of the piano, for more percussive and more interesting sound effects.

All the compositions listed in the national group use folk music extensively. They are mostly folk dances, in many cases borrowed directly from folk music, as seen in “Contradanza,” “Hrvatski Tanac,” “Croatian Dances,” and others. If the folk tune is not quoted directly, then the melodies are created by the composer, using Balkan scales or synthetic variants of those scales. In the international group of works, there is frequently no association with folk music; if it does enter, it does so only on a very high level, or in a free association. Synthetic scale variants will sometimes be found in this group of works as well. The only case in which an original tune from folk music was used was in the third movement of the Second Piano Concerto. In the international group of works, one finds his three most-favored forms: the dance, the piano miniature, and the suite.

Works in this group are conceived in a neoclassic vein, resisting any program (except in “Vrzino Kolo”), many of them taking from the baroque models concepts of form (fugue, or concerto grosso, capriccio), and motoric rhythms (toccata).
1 Author’s interview with Boris Papandopulo
2 Erica Krpan’s collection, articles from 1930-1933, Novosti
3 Recording of Cakavska Suite, Croatian Radio Station, Zagreb, Croatia.
5 Zdenka’s collection, articles from Novosti on pianists Fu Cun and Vladislav Kendra
13 Z. H., op. cit.
16 E. Krpan, List of compositions
17 Author’s interview with Boris Papandopulo
18 A. Dobronic, Important Work by Boris Papandopulo, Second Piano Concerto, Novosti, n.d.
19 Author’s interview with J. Murai
21 Interviews with Boris Papandopulo.
CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION: SYNTHESIS OF NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL ELEMENTS

Like most great artists, Boris Papandopulo was a man of his times who was able to transcend them. He lived in a period of tremendous social change and political upheaval, yet remained true to his artistic vision. He was often under great pressure from political and religious sources to write according to their formulas, yet he was strong enough to resist. He was a man deeply involved with his country and his people, yet he saw the limitations of a narrow musical view and sought to widen his boundaries to forge an international identity. He was able to take whatever came into his life and treat it as grist for the mill, always turning it back into his music. There were many factions, many opposing forces; duality was everywhere to be seen. Yet Papandopulo was able to find the common denominator. He was like a giant synthesizer able to ingest complex and often conflicting ideas, blending them into a seamless whole that sang with tremendous power.

Whether one listens to an early work like Contradanza or Scherzo Fantastico or a later work like Kaleidoscope 74, one still easily recognizes the unique Papandopulo style. This style is present when he used folk music as an inspiration, when he was influenced by the twelve-tone technique or other modern innovations, and when he invented his own folk-like melodies. He listened, he saw, he felt, he went to bed and then he woke up and made music. This is why there are no obvious developmental phases in his music.
That Papandopulo can be considered an international composer is obvious from his piano and orchestral works. The Larousse Encyclopedia of Music labels him, together with his teacher Bersa, a cosmopolitan modernist. Various Croatian sources list him, together with his contemporary Sulek, as a neoclassicist.

Yet he is supremely Croatian. Like his fellow composer Bartok, he drew inspiration from the charming folk music that he heard in small villages and in the countryside where he loved to roam. Like Bartok, he transformed those simple melodies, synthesizing them with both traditional and modern techniques—sometimes in the same work. Unlike Bartok, Papandopulo—always the independent spirit—did not feel the need to formalize his approach. Bartok described three distinct levels of folk-music influence, and in a precise and academic way he collected his melodies and categorized his approach. Not so Papandopulo. Obviously, he was quite knowledgeable about folk music and even wrote about it, and on one occasion he did invite a folk singer to his home. He wrote down the melody and used it to create his oratorio Muka. But basically Papandopulo, with his omnivorous appetite, just absorbed the music in an osmotic fashion. It was in his head and he wrote directly onto the score. It came out fresh and original as his own creation. Their methods differed, but close examination of the music of both Bartok and Papandopulo shows a similar result. Both were great geniuses who made folk music deeply spiritual.

Perhaps most importantly, Papandopulo was in fact a deeply spiritual man. He followed no particular organized religion, but he was far from being an atheist. Nor was he aligned with any specific political stance. After World War II, the new Communist regime in Yugoslavia accused him—probably falsely—of having been a Nazi collaborator.
it is most likely that he had not cared who was in power, so long as he could continue all of his musical activities without interruption or interference. As with other things, Papandopulo went his own way—a way that was centered and balanced, allowing him to proceed like a tightrope walker through numerous politically-motivated religious influences that, unavoided, might have led him down a mediocre musical path.

Far from mediocrity, Papandopulo went beyond other Croatian composers of his generation. In fact he was called the Croatian Mozart. He continued a tradition that was linked to his teacher Ivan Zaje, also an accomplished synthesizer, who had used Verdi and Croatian folk music as inspiration for works like his opera Prvi grijeh. Papandopulo revered his teacher, wrote about him extensively, and obviously learned the lessons of how to use folk music effectively as a source wedded to both modern and traditional methods of European composition.

Papandopulo absorbed the lessons so well that he went well beyond his teacher, and continued to grow as a composer. He not only used folk as a source in works like Svatovske for choir and Contradanza for piano: often he invented his own folk-like melodies in his neoclassic works to create what he called “stylized folk.” The Second Piano Concerto is one of the exceptions. In that work, as in the ballet pantomime Zlato, he used a neoclassic style for one movement and a folk-based idiom for another. But that was Papandopulo—always unpredictable, always his own man, always seeing duality, always seeking a way to take things that did not seem to go together and make them work. In short, a synthesizer.

Schoenberg’s twelve-tone method proved to be no problem. Papandopulo, after study and practice, made it his own. He used the twelve-tone method in works like
**Dodecaphonic Concerto**, in which he blended a traditional, classical fugue with a twelve-tone row in the second movement. The third movement, which also uses twelve-tone technique, predictably has a modified folk melody in addition. Papandopulo was modern when it suited him, and was not afraid to be traditional if it made for better music. Thus he did not mind being called old-fashioned, as he was in the 1960s by younger, avant-garde composers at the Biennale.

Boris Papandopulo transcended his time and was beyond category. He was a Croatian composer, a man with large ideas from a rather small country, a man who saw the world change dramatically with World War II and who reflected that change in his music. He reached out beyond his homeland, its folk music and the political and religious attitudes that were part of his generation. He is perhaps the greatest of all Croatian composers and the last one that is becoming more widely known throughout the world. Time will make its judgment on his ultimate greatness, but no one who hears his music will doubt that Boris Papandopulo felt deeply and was able to convey those feelings in music that is vigorous, fresh, and wholly original.

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