POPULAR MUSIC OF THE GREEK WORLD

Edited by
Eleni Kallimopoulou and Panagiotis C. Poulos

National and Kapodistrian University of Athens press

ETHNOMUSICOLOGY &
CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY
LABORATORY

BRITISH SCHOOL at ATHENS

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National and Kapodistrian
University of Athens
press

First Published 2024 by
National and Kapodistrian University of Athens Press
Panepistimiou 30, Athens, 10679, Greece

ethnolab Series
Ethnomusicology and Cultural Anthropology Laboratory

Available to download free:
https://www.uoa.gr/to_panepistimio/apostoli_politikes_kai_dimosieymata/ekdoseis/ekdoseis_ekpa

Text formatting/editing by Eleni Kallimopoulou and Panagiotis C. Poulos
Language editing by John Bennet
Cover photo courtesy of Chris O'Leary

ISBN 978-960-466-342-2

See National and Kapodistrian Univeristy of Athens Press website
https://en.uoa.gr/about_us/mission_policies_and_publications/nkua_press/

In memory of Chris Williams (1958-2022)

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Leonidas Economou (1960) received his PhD from the University of London in 1994. He is presently Professor at the Department of Social Anthropology, Panteion University, Athens, Greece. His publications include several articles on Greek rebetiko, laiko and skyladiko music, post-war social and spatial history of Athens, suburban culture, and urban theory and ethnography. He also published the books: "The Social Production of Urban Space in post-war Athens. The case of Voula" (Athens, 2008), "Stelios Kazantzidis Trauma and Symbolic Therapy in Laiko Song" (Athens, 2015), Cities Networks Localities Anthropological Approaches to Urbanism, (2021) and The Love Songs of Kazantzidis Love and Gender in Laiko Song (2023).

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Eleni Kallimopoulou (PhD, MMus SOAS, University of London) is an ethnomusicologist and Assistant Professor at the Department of Music Studies of the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens. She researches popular music in Greece with an emphasis on the ethnographic and historical study of musical performance, identity, the politics of culture, acoustic culture and urban space, the epistemology and

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Music of Modern Greek Films, *Music from Optical Theater and Silent Cinema*, and *World Musics: Soundscapes, Identities, and Practices*.

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Ioannis Tsioulakis is Reader in Anthropology and Ethnomusicology at Queen's University Belfast. His research focuses on popular music in Greece and Northern Ireland, with an emphasis on session musicians, creative labour, and economic crisis. His monograph *Musicians in Crisis: Working and Playing in the Greek Popular Music Industry* was published by Routledge in September 2020. He has co-edited a volume entitled *Musicians and their Audiences: Performance, Speech and Mediation* (with Elina Hytönen-Ng, Routledge 2016), and has published numerous articles and chapters on Greek jazz music, cosmopolitanism and music professionalism. Ioannis is also an active ensemble director, arranger and pianist.

Vassiliki Yiakoumaki is Assistant Professor in Social Anthropology at the University of Thessaly. Her broader research interests pertain to ethnic groups and minorities, multiculturalist politics, religion and the public sphere, Jewish cultures, and societies of the Middle East. Her current research field is contemporary Israeli society. A main subtheme in this research is the Greek-Israeli Jewry, specifically focusing on perceptions of Greekness, origins, and belonging, in present-day "Greek"-Israelis. She is also co-editing a volume on religion and politics in contemporary Middle-Eastern societies.

FOREWORD - I

The Laboratory of Ethnomusicology and Cultural Anthropology of the Department of Music Studies at the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens is the first and so far the only research entity in Greece that focuses on the implementation of basic and applied ethnomusicological and anthropological research programs in music and culture. Since its establishment in 2007, the Laboratory operates on three central units: research and training, archives, and publications.

The volume *Popular Music of the Greek World*, which is a product of the fruitful collaboration with the British School at Athens, inaugurates a new publishing initiative of the Laboratory in collaboration with the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens Press. The aim of this initiative is to reach out to the broader academic community and present novel cutting-edge scholarship through open-access academic publications in Greek and other languages, in line with the critical turn towards digital humanities.

The topic of the volume in hand centres on popular music studies, a highly interdisciplinary and challenging research field that connects ethnomusicology with an array of disciplines from the humanities and social sciences. All contributions to this volume are of high academic standard and contribute to the ongoing critical discussions concerning popular music and culture. The present volume also advances the critical dialogue between Greek and foreign researchers who study popular music of Greece in Greece and abroad, promising a new momentum in the study of popular musics of the Greek world.

The Laboratory of Ethnomusicology and Cultural Anthropology hails this innovative volume and is proud of having the editors, Eleni Kallimopoulou and Panagiotis C. Poulos, among its academic staff members.

Maria Papapavlou, National and Kapodistrian University of Athens
Director of the Ethnomusicology and Cultural Anthropology Laboratory

FOREWORD - II

The British School at Athens (BSA) is a strong advocate for Greek studies in the broadest disciplinary sense in all periods. From its foundation, the study of modern Greek history, language and culture has formed an integral part of the work of the British School at Athens. Its earliest publications cover aspects of folklore and anthropology and its archive collections provide a rich source of apposite primary data including records of early diaries and letters of George Finlay and Captain Frank Abney Hastings. In 2015 the BSA, with the King's College London Centre for Hellenic Studies and the Athens Conservatoire, co-sponsored a conference on "Music, language and identity in Modern Greece: Defining a national art music in the 19th and 20th centuries." Four years later John Bennet (BSA Director at the time) and colleagues Roderick Beaton and Chris Williams decided to organise a complementary conference focusing on popular music. Through Chris's connections in Greece's musical world Panagiotis Poulos and Eleni Kallimopoulou (now both at the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens) came on board and invitations were sent to a range of potential participants, most of whose contributions appear in this volume. The conference, called simply "Popular Music of the Greek World," was held at the BSA on 17–18 May 2019, with generous assistance from the A.G. Leventis Foundation, King's College London and Nicholas Petmezas. To paraphrase its announcement, the conference's aim was to explore and evaluate from broader musical, sociological and artistic perspectives the diversity of Greek music apparent in the rich variety of local traditions and from the richness of urban popular music both established and emerging. Michael Herzfeld was invited to add an anthropological perspective, and he contributed a lively and penetrating talk comparing Theodorakis and Verdi as "national composers." As a prelude to this volume, Herzfeld's talk was published in the *Annual of the BSA* for 2020, alongside a brief summary of the conference by the organisers. That year ushered in the Covid pandemic, which delayed publication plans. The devastating loss of Chris Williams in 2022 served both to dampen spirits considerably, and as a spur to complete this publication in his memory.

We would both like to thank Panos and Eleni for negotiating the publication by the National and Kapodistrian University Press, and for their infinite patience and tenacity in bringing this publication into existence.

John Bennet, University of Sheffield, former Director British School at Athens
Rebecca Sweetman, Director British School at Athens

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The starting point of this book is the conference *Popular Music of the Greek World* organized by the British School at Athens (BSA) in May 2019. A selection of the papers presented at the conference was further enriched by additional contributions after invitation, leading to the final version of the book. As members of the conference's organizing committee and editors of this volume, we would like to thank John Bennet, the former BSA director, and Roderick Beaton, King's College, both members of the scientific and organizing committee of the aforementioned conference. John Bennet's genuine enthusiasm and support of this conference, his unpredicted insight into the history of Greek and Ottoman music and his meticulous language editing of the contributions is especially appreciated. Thanks goes also to Rebecca Sweetman, current BSA director, who endorsed and monitored the completion of this book, and to all BSA members of staff who contributed to the publication of the volume. Maria Papapavlou, Director of the Ethnomusicology and Cultural Anthropology Laboratory, eagerly accepted our proposal to launch a publication series in foreign languages of research work pertaining to the aims and scopes of the Laboratory. Nick Poulakis generously offered invaluable comments and advice on aspects of the manuscript. Chris O'Leary, originally a participant of the BSA conference, granted us permission to use her photo for the book's cover. This image is a snapshot of the vibrancy of everydayness, typical of Athenian city-life, a feature that resonates with the "popular" element in various musics. We also extend our thanks to the peer-reviewers of the volume, for their time and effort, and to Eleni Organopoulou from the Publications Directorate of the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens. Finally, we thank all contributors to this volume for entrusting us with their texts and for their patience during the long and demanding editing process. Unfortunately, we cannot share our joy of completing this endeavour with our dearest colleague, the late Christopher Williams. Besides co-editor of the volume in hand, he was also a member and a driving force of the conference committee. This book is dedicated to his memory.

The editors

Panagiotis C. Poulos and Eleni Kallimopoulou

INTRODUCTION

ELENI KALLIMOPOULOU, PANAGIOTIS C. POULOS[1]

The idea for this volume originates in the conference entitled "Popular Music of the Greek World," organized by the British School at Athens (BSA) in 17–18 May 2019. The volume grew out of the conference presentations and conversations that took place in the scenic setting of the BSA in central Athens. It contains reworked versions of some of the conference papers, as well as additional chapters that were commissioned especially for the volume. The publication is further endorsed by the Ethnomusicology and Cultural Anthropology Laboratory[2] of the Department of Music Studies of the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens. The popular music of Greece with its various ethnomusicological and anthropological dimensions, including migration, cultural alterity and syncretism, are at the centre of the Laboratory's research activity, lending support to the volume's critical discussions.

Despite its direct connection to the BSA conference, five long years passed before the volume's completion. The outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic was a major setback for its progress, launching a period of withdrawal from collective work and into individual personal situations. With hindsight, the pandemic put to the test our work subjectivities, social ties and life priorities, making the completion of professional projects that relied on joint enthusiasm rather than work contracts a great challenge. As the pandemic was drawing to an end, the loss of our dearest friend, colleague, and co-editor Christopher Williams brought the editorial process, once more, to a halt. Chris was in fact the driving force of the conference; it was his enthusiasm and passion about music and culture and his genuine research interest in Greece and its historical and cultural ties to the broader area that got us all together.

Chris Williams's commitment to the study of Greek music was founded on his observation of the social and expressive parallels between the cultures of rock electric

[1] The two authors have contributed equally to this introduction.
[2] https://ethnolab.music.uoa.gr/, Ethnomusicology and Cultural Anthropology Laboratory's official website, accessed June 1, 2024.

guitar and the Cretan lyra, between the pub live and the *glenti* at a Cretan coffeehouse. As an exchange student of Greek philology in Rethymno, Crete, he started playing the *lyra* and immersed himself into the art of emblematic *lyrarides* (*lyra* players) Kostas Mountakis and Thanassis Skordalos, and their fellow masters of Cretan music. There he met Ross Daly who played a pivotal role in his understanding of the various connections between Cretan music and the musical traditions of the Middle East and North Africa (Williams 1989). Chris developed a specific interest in the historical relation between Cretan music, and in particular the so-called "Tabachaniotika" repertoire, and the *makam* traditions of Asia Minor (Williams 2023). In this relationship he identified an impact on the development of modern *lyra* techniques. From the comparative reading of T. S. Eliot and George Seferis that formed the topic of his doctoral research (Williams 1997), Chris Williams moved forward to the study and deep appreciation of Turkish mystical poetic and music culture. He mastered the Turkish language and started visiting frequently Istanbul where he learned the *saz*, a musical instrument central in Turkish folk musics. His deeply rooted social empathy, political sensitivities and natural cosmopolitanism led him towards the end of his life to a novel journey into the oral performing traditions of Ghana in West Africa. He was learning Twi and contemplating a trip to Ghana to explore the cultural affinities between West Africa, Britain and Greece. This last journey may have been left incomplete, yet Chris Williams's highly motivated and generous character serves as a model for the fruitful completion of this critical research endeavour into Greek popular music. This volume is dedicated to his memory.

Popular musics of the Greek world as a field of study: A new momentum?

It is less than a year ago, as we write this introduction, that several researchers from Greece and abroad assembled on the island of Skopelos to present their research at the first "International Conference on Popular Music in Greece." For two days they talked about themes as varied as Greek white ethnicity and music in the US, blackness, coloniality and race in contemporary *rebetiko*, DIY music studios in Thessaloniki of the 1980s, popular religious music-making of young Greeks of Nigerian background, and Greek trap aesthetics and female fandom. What was remarkable about this group, besides a determination to stay indoors on a hot summer day, was their commitment to the project of popular music in Greece, a commitment that soon after shaped into the

Popular Music in Greece: International Research Collective. In its constitutional texts, the collective sets as its aim to extend the scope of traditional academic scholarship through the multi-disciplinary examination of popular music in Greece as a form of integrated social action, a space where cultural and political structures of power and identity are formed, and a gamut of sentiment through which to understand the political.[3]

This latest initiative is indicative of a new momentum in the study of popular music in Greece, which brings in conversation scholars, researchers, and artists that come from a variety of academic and music backgrounds and are in various stages of their career. High on the agenda is an interest in thematic, theoretical, and methodological renewal, as well as a spirit of collectivity. There is an expansion in terms of music genres (including for instance religious musics, electronic musics, hip-hop/rap), and theoretical foci (gender, cosmopolitics, technology, diasporas, transnational flows, music labour), an employment of intersectionality to understand power relations, and an openness to developments in a variety of fields including popular music studies, (ethno)musicology, cultural studies, history, sociology, and anthropology. The recent turn speaks also to a new generation of PhD research students and early-career scholars whose interests go beyond the traditional areas of specialization of both faculty members and academic curricula as also reflected in a growing body of PhD theses. The volume in hand is itself part of these broader developments. A brief outline of popular music studies and its current state of affairs in the Greek context is therefore useful in order to elucidate the volume's outlook and lineages.

In terms of institutional endorsement, the study of popular music is today gaining ground in Greek tertiary education.[4] In music departments, undergraduate curricula have been increasingly moving beyond the insulated study of Western European art music, to include modules and/or programmes in jazz music, Greek folk/popular music and other diverse repertories and styles of music. The incorporation of courses, and faculty members, specializing in subject areas such as music technology, sound studies and music education is also important, while popular music features prominently in some courses in the curricula of departments of media and communications, sociology, anthropology, film studies, folklore studies, and sound technology, among

[3] https://www.uis.edu/music/events/pmgirc, PMGIRC official webpage, accessed June 1, 2024.
[4] See Kallimopoulou 2009b and Panopoulos 2003 for a review of the academic establishment of the adjacent fields of ethnomusicology and anthropology respectively.

others. At the postgraduate level, the interdepartmental MA in "Music Culture and Communication: Anthropological and Communicational Approaches to Music," run jointly by the Department of Music Studies and the Department of Communication and Mass Media of the University of Athens for over a decade (2007–18), introduced cross-disciplinary perspectives in the study of popular music. Today, although there are no dedicated programmes as such, some postgraduate programmes include modules with a focus on popular musics, on the study of culture/music and technology in interconnection, or on the performance of musical repertoires that engage with the history and theory of popular musics.[5] What is more, the strengthening of musical performance in all Greek music departments (both those performance- and those musicology-oriented) through the hiring of music teaching staff and the creation of academic music ensembles is moving higher on the agenda, also pushing towards the expansion of popular music styles and an increase in thematic and musical variety.

In the field of scholarly research, the new millennium has seen a growing body of new publications on popular music. The scope of this introduction does not permit an exhaustive review but only a brief outline of some of the most influential monographs and edited volumes. A recent milestone is the volume *Made in Greece: Studies in Popular Music*, edited by Dafni Tragaki (2019). It is part of the Routledge Global Popular Music Series and consists of chapters by scholars from the fields of anthropology, comparative literature, music education and (ethno)musicology whose work expands the field of Greek music studies both thematically and theoretically. The volume covers diverse themes related with contemporary Greek popular music, such as urban music nightclubs, iconic Greek pop stars, popular Gypsy musicians, Albanian rap music, digital music creativity, and experimental music in Athens. In the introduction, Tragaki sets as her main aim to critically reappraise "how Greek popular music has been disciplined as a field of study," through a consideration of the popular as "a defining dimension of our everydayness" and an approach of "every music as contingently popular" (Tragaki 2019, xi).

Although not presented explicitly or exclusively in the terms and language of popular music studies, several other edited volumes and monographs include

[5] Some indicative examples are the MAs in "Ethnomusicology and Music Anthropology," "Ethnomusicology and Music Practice," and "Music Technology and Contemporary Practices" (Department of Music Studies, University of Athens), the MA in "Cultural Informatics and Communication" (Department of Cultural Technology and Communication, University of the Aegean), and the Interdepartmental/Interdisciplinary MA in "Advanced Computer and Communication Systems" (with the participation of the Department of Music Studies, Aristotelian University of Athens).

theoretical perspectives on the study of popular music and/or a thematic focus on popular music styles. Their subject areas range from Greek music in Greece and beyond, to cosmopolitan genres such as rock and punk, and more recently rap and electronic musics, and their Greek localizations. Their disciplinary lineages are variously in ethnomusicology or anthropology and ethnographic research (indicatively, Papakostas and Loutzaki 2022; Theodosiou and Kallimopoulou 2020; Koziou 2015; Papakostas 2013; Kavouras 2010), music history and the interplay between the past and the present of the broader geographical area (Bucuvalas 2019; Liavas 2009; Kokkonis 2017; Pennanen, Poulos and Theodosiou 2013), as well as in sociology, social and media psychology, oral history, and cultural studies (Kolovos and Christakis 2018; Kolovos 2015; Katsapis 2007; Bozinis 2007; Christakis 1999; Astrinakis and Stylianoudi 1996). There are works that make new contributions to Greek popular urban musics, whether *rebetiko* (Koglin 2016; Tragaki 2007; Kotaridis 2007; Zaimakis 1999), or its more commercial descendants (Economou 2015; 2023), expanding the scope and discourses. There is also a growing body of original studies in Greek about popular culture and the cultural and creative industries whose focus is not specifically on music (indicatively, Dermentzopoulos and Papatheodorou 2021; Theodosiou and Papadaki 2018; Avdikos 2014; Papageorgiou, Bubaris and Myrivili 2006; Vernikos et al 2005), and about popular music whose focus is not specifically on Greek music (Lalioti 2016, Poulakis 2023).

A number of monographs in English introduce comparative perspectives from literary and cultural studies on Greek and other popular musics (Papanikolaou 2007), trace the trans-Atlantic music routes of a North American Greek diasporic community (League 2021), or revisit classic topoi of Greek popular music such as *rebetiko* (Koglin 2016; Tragaki 2007) and traditional Greek music styles through perspectives such as the recording industry and music professionalism (Kallimopoulou 2009a; Dawe 2007). Of great import in terms of its resonance with popular music studies is Tsioulakis's ethnography *Musicians in Crisis* (2020), which casts as its ethnographic "field" professional instrumentalists with a shared membership in the backing orchestras of the night industry of Greek popular music hosted in a variety of clubs and stages. Music cosmopolitanisms, artistic labour, crisis subjectivities, and the music industry, are among the key themes probed in the book. Other recent contributions, in Greek, interrogate gendered subjectivities in rap (Savopoulos 2022) and questions of nomadism and festival tourism in psytrance in Greece and abroad (Kyriakopoulos 2022).

This growing corpus of publications is also connected to a number of recent conferences. Whether dedicated to specific music genres or with a more expansive scope on the field of popular music studies at large, these bring popular musicking in central focus, both from a strictly scholarly—musicological, social, cultural—and a combined art/ theory/ artistic research perspective. Some notable examples include a series of events dedicated to Greek urban popular music,[6] or specifically to rebetiko;[7] as well as conferences with a popular music studies outlook.[8]

Lineages and legacies

The study of Greek popular music is by no means new. The trends of the last few decades presented above form only part of a long research genealogy with multiple leanings on folklore studies, history, musicology and more recently ethnomusicology and anthropology, as well as sociology, media and cultural studies. This genealogy has variously engaged with the study of music styles in and of Greece that would by some definition or another—given the polysemy and contextuality of the term—qualify as "popular," whether in terms of style and formal characteristics, performance cultures, mediations and processes, and modes of production, circulation, consumption and reception. Tracing these earlier lineages in detail exceeds the scope of this introduction, but a brief outline of some of the major strands (which are not without overlaps) will help to put the present volume in context.[9]

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[6] Indicatively, the conference "From Practice to Theory" of urban popular music that took place in Technopolis Athens in 2023 with the support of the Ministry of Culture and Sports; a series of conferences including those entitled "Urban Popular Music" (2019) and "Urban Popular Music: The Popular Guitar" (2014), organized by the Department of Music Studies of the University of Ioannina, formerly Department of Traditional Music of the Technological Educational Institute of Epirus (http://tlpm.teiep.gr/el/activities-list-menu/conferences.html); as well as Festivals that variously combine music performance events with academic talks and workshops, such as the "3rd Greek Popular Guitar Festival" (Thessaloniki 2014).

[7] Notably, the "Rebetiko Days Festival" that is held on the island of Skopelos annually since 2018 and hosts concerts, seminars, and other related events such as instrument exhibitions and book presentations (https://www.facebook.com/p/Ρεμπέτικο-Φεστιβάλ-στη-Σκόπελο-100057068847177/, accessed March 3, 2024), and also the "Hydra Rebetiko Conferences" held annually since 2001 with a variable rebetology and rebetiko performance component (https://www.doctor-dark.co.uk/rebetiko/hydra.html, accessed March 3, 2024).

[8] Notably, the upcoming conference dedicated to the "50 Years of Greek Song: Sociological and Cultural Approaches" (Aristotelian University of Thessaloniki, 2024); the conferences organized by PMGIRC on "Popular Music: Politics and Identities" (Delvinaki Ioannina, 2024), "Popular Music, Affect, Audiences" (online conference, 2024), and "Popular Music in Greece" (Skopelos, 2023); and the "Singing Europe: Spectacle and Politics in the Eurovision Song Contest" conference (University of Thessaly, Volos 2008).

[9] For a more thorough overview of important publications see variously Kallimopoulou 2017 on the study of folk music; Nitsiakos 2008 on the lineages and perspectives of *laografia*; Economou 2021 and Gauntlett 2001 on the study of *laiko* and *rebetiko*.

The study of Greek folk music in the frame of folklore studies (*laografia*) is by far the oldest strand of dedicated research on music genres that in multiple ways qualify as popular music, not least their "from below" production and appeal. *Laografia* and *mousiki laografia*, a specialization that included musicological analysis in its methodological toolkit, shared an infatuation with things non-urban, a concern with the past and cultural continuity, an understanding of music/culture as product rather than process, and a commitment to textual analysis. Employing and advocating the grand tropes and narratives of Greek cultural history for much of the early twentieth century, it played a key role in the documentation of rural popular music and dance forms and in the creation of prolific archives and institutions.

Another strand of research focused on Greek urban popular musics, especially those related with the Greek Ottoman cultural legacy (the so-called *smyrneiko*), and the *rebetiko* and *laiko* styles. Set against an enduring public debate about the Greekness and value of these genres, this research engendered scholarly perspectives from the fields of urban folklore, historical musicology and music history, among others. These have sought to locate Greek popular music in the context of broader transformations taking place in pre- and post-WWII Greek society, and to assess the role variously of the recording industry, of diaspora, state cultural engineering and public discourse in these transformations. Although it offered potent ground for reassessing nationalist music historiography, it has also at times yielded purist outlooks that romanticized *rebetiko* and frowned down on its later, electrified and hybrid *laiko* antecedents.

Some more recent studies have examined popular music cultures from ethnomusicological or anthropological theoretical and methodological perspectives. Ethnographic research has offered ways out of reified, generic, a-historical descriptions of musical phenomena, with its emphasis on subjects and subjectivities, multiple temporalities, and on the small-scale as it interfaces with the large-scale. An equally crucial contribution in the study of popular music in Greece, has come from historians and sociologists of popular culture. Their focus has been mostly on cosmopolitan music genres such as rock and punk, and they have dealt with topics such as glocalization, youth cultures, as well as the place of popular music in the historical and social context of post-WWII Greek urban society.

All these lineages are cosmopolitan in different ways, through the transnational network of their contributors, or their themes, theoretical orientations or methods.

Cosmopolitanism, whether imported or locally generated, lies also at the core of current epistemologies pertaining to the critical understanding of popular music. The centrality of cosmopolitanism in the case of Greece is also located in the long history of political, ideological and cultural encounters with the "West" and its various agents. In the following section we trace one such encounter, its trajectories and implications for the study of popular musics in and of the Greek world.

Greek popular music and the foreign archaeological schools and institutes

The concept and content of this edited volume are based on an initiative taken by Greek and British researchers/scholars who, in one way or another, are connected to the study of Greek music. Their scholarly collaboration did not develop randomly; rather, it has a prehistory of individual and institutional academic and cultural encounters that are relevant to and intertwined with the history of systematic study of music of the Greek world. In this section, we contextualise the volume in hand by tracing the historical trajectory of encounters between local and foreign scholars and their related institutions. For obvious reasons this task cannot be exhaustive and will focus primarily on the Greek-British case. The aim of this overview is to map and assess the role and impact of these genealogies of knowledge on the current study of music and in relation to parallel epistemological and analytical stances towards its popular manifestations.

The British School at Athens, which organized and hosted in its premises at Kolonaki the abovementioned conference entitled "Popular Music of the Greek World" in 2019, has been an active research and cultural institution in Greece since 1886. Together with 18 more institutes and schools, the British School at Athens forms a body of older and newer institutions of foreign countries that operate in Greece within the broader field of archaeology (Korka 2007; cf. Toundassaki and Maroniti 2015). The establishment, history, and activities of the "ξένες Σχολές" (foreign Schools), as they are informally often called, are strongly identified with the archaeological research, excavations, and publications of their findings.

At first glance, music does not appear to be part of this very "material" world which is highly focused on classical antiquity. However, this is not a just impression. At the end of 1892 Théophile Homolle, the director of the École française d'Athènes, which was the first foreign archaeological institution to be established in Greece in

1846, found the two hymns to Apollo known as the "Delphic Hymns." The two unique findings were inscribed in ashlar blocks that formed the Athenian Treasury at Delphi, a site excavated by the École française d'Athènes (Solomon 2010, 501). This was a major contribution to the history of ancient Greek music that stemmed from the European heritage of Enlightenment and the ideology that formed within the nineteenth-century framework of Romanticism. At the same time, it constituted an underpinning precedent of music interest shared among those European scholars and researchers who operated locally as members of the various institutions.

Less than forty years following Homolle's ground-breaking discovery, Samuel Baud-Bovy, the Swiss researcher of modern Greek culture and pioneer of Greek ethnomusicology (1906-1986), would frequently call at the "French Archaeological School" during his strolls at mount Lycabettus to meet with another major figure doing research on Greek folk music, Melpo Logotheti-Merlier (1889-1979) (Baud-Bovy 2014, 57, 77, 93). Logotheti-Merlier was the founder of the Music Folklore Archive, which has today developed into the Centre of Asia Minor Studies. She was married to Octave Merlier, who was director of the Institut français d'Athènes, a complementary institution to the École française d'Athènes that focused on the dissemination of the French language in Greece. In his diary from 1929–30, Baud-Bovy records a sociality between members of the local and primarily European intelligentsia relevant to music and literature that extended to the administrative staff of the foreign schools, École française d'Athènes in particular (Baud-Bovy 2014, 93). This kind of sociality was also the social context for the transfer, debate, and diffusion of specific methods and epistemologies about the study of Greek music. The process of epistemological osmosis, as well as the distinct methodological, analytical, and ideological features resonate in the work of the local pioneers in the field like Melpo Logotheti-Merlier and played a key role, together with other scholarly traditions, in shaping the field of musical research in Greece (Kallimopoulou and Balandina 2014, 15–6).

Another scholarly activity, besides music research, that the aforementioned institutions also endorsed parallel to their main focus on archaeology, was the study of medieval and modern times particularly from an ethnological/anthropological perspective. In this field, the British School at Athens paved the way through influential figures such as Frederick W. Hasluck (1878–1920) and his innovative work on the interconfessional relations between Muslims and Christians of the Ottoman Empire. His legacy was carried on in some ways by the anthropologist John Campbell among others

(Whitley 2007, 67–73). And although Campbell's work in the field of anthropology of Greece and in the formation of "Greek anthropology" has been noted and appraised (Papataxiarchis 2010; cf. Papailias 2016, 27–8), the contribution of foreign Schools in establishing ethnographic research as a legitimate method for the study of Greek music has yet to be assessed. Thus, the extent of interaction on the local level between the various visiting scholars and members of the local academic community remains to date unclear. At any rate, towards the end of the 20th century the anthropological approach to the study of music would gradually infiltrate into Greek ethnomusicology through a contemporary wave of Greek researchers that studied in institutions in France, the UK and the US, thus forming a parallel network out of encounters with foreign institutions and their disciplinary practices (Kallimopoulou 2009a).

While the representative institutions of the "Great Powers" (Korka 2007, 15) and the US (Papavasiliou-Balli 2017) had a prominent and multifaceted role in shaping the field of activities of the foreign schools, some of the more recently established institutions have demonstrated notable versatility as regards their research agendas. In 2010, the Finnish Institute at Athens in collaboration with the Department of Turkish Studies of the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens organized a two-day conference entitled "The Ottoman Past in the Balkan Present: Music and Mediation." This was an interdisciplinary meeting within the broader field of music studies that covered a wide range of topics from archeo-musicology and music history to ethnomusicology and cultural studies. Notably, popular music genres of the wider geographical area of Greece had a prominent position in the conference programme. The conference led to an edited volume with an expanded theoretical scope and additional chapter contributions that was published in 2013 in the series "Papers and Monographs of the Finnish Institute at Athens" (Pennanen, Poulos and Theodosiou 2013). This series is the principal publishing forum of the Finnish Institute at Athens and most of its titles concern topics in archaeology. Risto Pekka Pennanen was in charge of this collaboration on behalf of the Finnish Institute and was also a member of the conference scientific committee and co-editor of the resulting edited volume; he is also among the contributing authors in the book at hand. For his ethnomusicological fieldwork on *rebetiko* music, Pennanen had spent long periods in Greece as an affiliate of the institute, and developed social ties with local musicians and researchers. This is another example of how social networks were established between the institutes and the local academic and artistic community, providing fertile ground for innovative music research.

The critical discussion of the relation between modern Greek music and the Ottoman cultural heritage of Greece is certainly an innovative and challenging topic and not self-evident.[10]

Interestingly, "innovation" is a central notion in the current narratives used by certain institutes to publicly introduce their identity and mission. James Whitely, former director of the British School at Athens, notes: "The School is, therefore, a research institute which encourages innovation through conversation across the disciplines. Indeed, the main contribution that the School has made to Greek science and culture has been through its radicalism and its capacity to innovate" (Whitely 2007, 63). Following this remark, certain critical questions emerge: what is the impact of this innovation on the local research field of Greek popular music? Is this innovation relevant to the needs and objectives of the Greek research community on music? Importantly, do local agents of Greek science and culture participate on equal terms in its production? This latter question is quite political as it addresses issues of power balance in the production of knowledge.

As opposed to music, archaeology and, generally, the study of Antiquity constitute fields that have attracted this critical discussion as they are highly relevant to both modern European history and the history of Europe's peripheries. Recent scholarship addresses the role of foreign archaeological Schools in the production of knowledge about Greek history and culture from a post-colonial theoretical perspective (Toundassaki and Maroniti 2015). Anthropologist Eirini Toundassaki and historian Niki Maroniti evoke the term "crypto-colonialism" (Herzfeld 2002) as one aptly describing the context in which the cultural transfers and encounters between foreign Schools and Greek archaeology are situated. In their view, this term describes the particularities of the Greek case which encapsulates a dynamic two-dimensional interaction between foreign and local agents. This interaction feeds the knowledge production situated in the West back into Greece (Toundassaki and Maroniti 2015, 722–5). Within the broader recent discussion of the relevance and applicability of post-colonial theory and particularly decolonization, Theodosiou et al. argue that Herzfeld's notion of "crypto colonialism" and its consequent theoretical elaborations adhere to another

[10] In the same thematic framework that covers the historical connections of Greece to the musical traditions of the neighbouring Eastern geography falls also the research seminar "Intellectuels d'origine grecque au cœur de la Nahda : Mikhail Mishaqa Petraki (1800-1888)" by Basma Zerouali and Sylvain Perrot that was hosted by the French School at Athens (https://www.efa.gr/events/08-06-2015-atelier-des-jeunes-chercheurs-mikhail-mishaqa-petraki/?lang=el, accessed March 3, 2024).

anthropology-driven analytical term, that of "colonial aphasia" (Stoler 2011; Theodosiou et al. n.d. 15–6, cf. 8–9). "Colonial aphasia" addresses the issue of coloniality beyond the traditional colonial context, hence its applicability in the case of Greece where it can contribute to the critical enquiry of the multifaced role of old and new "subjectivities and materialities" [...] in "the constitution of modern Greek realities." In this analysis, subjectivities and materialities are approached as potential carriers of power and hegemony (Theodosiou et al. n.d., 9).

The keynote speech at the conference "Popular Music of the Greek World" was delivered by anthropologist Michael Herzfeld, who introduced the term "crypto-colonialism," and was subsequently published by the Annual of the British School at Athens under the title "Seductions of the bouzouki and the brass band: Transgressive reflections on Mikis Theodorakis and Giuseppe Verdi" (Herzfeld 2020). It exemplifies the dynamic engagement of anthropology with the study of Greek popular music as mediated by a foreign archaeological School. The comparative—and openly provocative—perspective that the title carries is certainly promising with regard to content. Overall, the choice of having an anthropologist as the keynote speaker made by the members of the organizing committee is of highly symbolic value as regards the centrality of a form of cultural comparison, the recognition of alterity and a form of cosmopolitanism, all features central in the study of popular music. These features, one can argue, underpinned and conditioned the long genealogy of sociality and encounter that formed between local and foreign scholars of Greek music. Whether these features are openly addressed, as in the case of the conference "Popular Music of the Greek World," or left unspoken under the condition of colonial aphasia, they are certainly essential for a critical review of the field of Greek popular music in its encounter with the world of foreign schools.

The volume

The edited volume *Popular Music of the Greek World* embraces, to a certain extent, the Schools' emphasis on the historical component: the trajectories, mobilities and transformations of music genres throughout the 20th century are among its main themes. Historical emphasis is put into dialogue with ethnographic approaches, some of which exceed the borders of the modern Greek state. This is the case with the first two chapters. The first chapter, authored by Aspasia (Sissie) Theodosiou, Ofer Gazit

and Vassiliki Yakoumaki, is set in the popular music scene of Israel. It examines the spectacular rise to stardom of the Greek singer of *laiko* Glykeria and her role in the shaping of new musical Israeli subjectivities. In the second chapter, Panayotis League focuses on the resurgence of historically marginalized folk traditions, like *tsambouna* and *gaida*, among the Greek diaspora of the USA. This type of engagement into a shared diasporic Greekness, League argues, challenges the previous paradigm that was centred on the notion of "symbolic ethnicity" and highlights dynamic aspects of diasporic identity. Along the same methodological lines of ethnographic enquiry, the third chapter sets forth the complex field of music labour in Greece in the era of COVID-19. Ioannis Tsioulakis interrogates the subtle politics between Musicians Unions and grassroots processes and invites researchers to engage actively with artists' initiatives, thereby producing academic work that is relevant to astists' lives and work and acknowledges their labour.

The following two volume contributions combine, on the methodological level, the fieldwork experience of *rebetiko* and *laiko* with the historical and especially the literary aspect that stems out of the centrality of song. In the fourth chapter, Stathis Gauntlett offers a reflexive account of his early fieldwork in Greece. He explores the fragile relation between orality and literacy in *rebetiko* songwriting and records the attitudes of his informants and fellow academics towards literacy. Literacy, he argues, is a more embedded feature in the emergence of this "marketing construct" genre than previously thought. In chapter five, Leonidas Economou explores the veneration of pain in the lyrics of the songs of iconic *laiko* singer Stelios Kazantzidis as a key feature in the construction of the "phenomenon Kazantzidis." His dramatic and emotional singing performances combined with his powerful public image, Economou argues, encapsulated an important affective dimension for his audience and functioned as a 'symbolic therapy' to the turbulent trajectories of post-civil war Greek society. The two chapters that follow are situated within the same time frame but shift the focus to mass mediation and the commercial dimensions of music. The authors draw in their analyses from the fields of film, media and cultural studies, renewing the methodological and theoretical repertoire of the study of Greek popular music. In chapter six, Nick Poulakis examines the uses of music in the Old Greek Cinema and foregrounds the "cultural economy" that is founded on the lineage of film production from the 1960s onwards. He invites us to listen more attentively to the musicscape of films and its dynamic contribution to the generation of new forms of audiovisual expression.

Chapter seven, by Eleni Kallimopoulou, resonates with Economou's attention to the emotional dimensions of Greek song. Through an examination of the affective politics of music during the colonels' junta, Kallimopoulou offers a close reading of the structure and discursive elements of television broadcasting programmes and assesses the ideological and affective implications of the regime's musical choices.

The next chapter stays within the frame of the *rebetiko* and *laiko* music genres, approached through a comparative analysis of an array of sources that include commercial recordings, film, YouTube videos and published teaching methods. Risto Pekka Pennanen examines the development of the traditional playing technique of the *bouzouki* and its predominance over the vertical tactility of the four-course *bouzouki*. In the ninth chapter, Nikos Andrikos also employs comparative music analysis to trace the possible routes of transmission and diffusion of *Çeçen Kızı*, a popular melody recorded by the late Ottoman virtuoso Tanburi Cemil Bey (1873-1916). Andrikos presents rare intercommunal sources that shed light on the local and translocal music-making processes in the late Ottoman and post Ottoman periods that involved, among other places, the island of Lesvos and Istanbul. Set in the same historical frame, chapter ten documents the presence and involvement of the piano in urban Greek popular genres. Nikos Ordoulidis examines the adaptive character of piano performing practice in the local and translocal context, outlining as his field of enquiry a network of urban centres located in the Ottoman Empire, the Greek state and the US. The volume's final chapter looks at visual and discursive representations of the "Jewish" and the "Arab" musician in the nightclub popular music scene of late Ottoman Istanbul, which was largely dominated by Christian musicians, Greeks and Armenians in particular. Panagiotis C. Poulos argues that these representations constitute a form of musical "Ottoman orientalism" that invests on the racial image of the intimate "Oriental Other" as a means of negotiating Ottoman modernity.

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1 | GLYKERÍA'S SHABECHI YERUSHALAY'IM AND THE SHAPING OF A NEW ISRAELI LEGEND

ASPASIA (SISSIE) THEODOSIOU, OFER GAZIT, VASSILIKI YIAKOUMAKI[1]

Introduction

> "Shabechi was the first song to grab the Israeli audience… and had a hymn/ prayer quality. She sang Shabechi in her show before and the audience went mad…"
> (Personal interview with Moshe Morad, manager and producer, April 2022)

The ways in which popular musical representations are inserted into wider sociocultural processes—in particular, the changing contours of collective cultural identities—are indeed high on the academic agenda. In this essay we shift attention away from the grand, overall strategies of power, usually associated with state power, towards what Stuart Hall called, after Michel Foucault the "meticulous rituals" or the "microphysics" of power: "the many, localized circuits, tactics, mechanisms and effects through which power circulates and through which these power relations go right down to the depth of society" (Foucault 1977, 27, as quoted in Hall 1997, 50).[2] Drawing on archival media material and preliminary ethnographic fieldwork,[3] the article attempts to go beyond the figure of the female Greek performer, Glykería, as the "beloved of Zion for so many years,"[4] so often espoused by her Israeli fans. Against the complex background of

[1] All authors have contributed equally to this work.
[2] The concept is derived from the notion of "meticulous ceremonial" of the public execution (Foucault 1977, 27). It has been transformed/adapted by Stuart Hall (1997, 50) in the text "The Work of Representation" into "meticulous rituals."
[3] This paper is part of a larger project, in which Glykería's own perception of her Israeli career, among other issues, will be further explored.
[4] "Hellas & Israel forever! Praise Athena praise Jerusalem, yassu Glykería beloved of Zion for so many years!" (youtube user, Astaris) This and other quotes come from Israeli youtube users who comment on

significant changes affecting identity processes (nation-state making, ethnic and class identities) in Israel, the chapter explores the actual process of Glykería's meteoric rise to stardom in the Israeli music scene in the 1990s, and the building of her Israeli artistic persona, through two critical events (in Badiou's terms), both related to her first encounters with the Israeli public: the story of the song *Shabechi Yerushalay'im*, and her first ever appearance on Israeli TV (Badiou 2005).[5]

Using Foucault and Hall's concept of "meticulous rituals" allows us to explore the webs of power, and the subtle cultural tactics and maneuvers not only linked to the Israeli state institutions, and the public sphere, but infused in every social relationship and action; those networks of power were used to create a regional Mediterranean identity for a brief moment in the mid-1990s.[6] They were tactics intended to position Israel not as a "European" democratic enclave in the middle east, but as part of a new regional entity, a nation among other nations along the Mediterranean sea, and as part of a new regional politics of "Mediterraneanism" (Nocke 2009). As Nocke suggests, this Mediterraneanism was motivated by a desire to find political consensus for regional economic and geopolitical processes among moderate right-wing middle-class Mizrahi Israeli citizens, but also by the growing grass-roots popularity of the Mediterranean culture in Israeli imagination, through music, tourism, alcohol and cuisine. As we analyse below, one of the "meticulous rituals," performed in the public sphere was to publicly express appreciation and to actively participate in cultural events marked as Mediterranean, such as in televisions shows explicitly centred around Mediterranean music, foods, and drinks. An equally important ritual, often within the same contexts, was the recognition of cultural acts referencing Israel by Mediterranean entertainers—including those by Glykería, the Cypriot-born singer Trifonas Nikolaidis, and others—as symbolic acts of citizenship.

Glykería's music videos. E.g. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=j5wL6tAAzSo, accessed March 10, 2022.

[5] "She ended her first ever performance in Israel back in the summer of 1993 with her own captivating version of an Israeli anthem 'Shabechi Yerushalay'im ('Praises to Jerusalem') in Hebrew. This magical moment triggered a Greek-Israeli love story!" http://www.europopmusic.eu/Greece_pages/Glykeria.html, accessed March 10, 2022.

[6] This concept foregrounds the all-permeating nature of power, that we also adopt in our analysis in order to disengage power from concepts of directionality in relation to the understanding of power relations. Although a more detailed exploration of the ritualistic elements of the two critical events presented here would further shed light on our main argument, such an endeavour falls outside the scope of this chapter mainly for reasons of space; for example this task would require an analysis of all successive performances of 'Shabechi Yerushalay'im by Glykeria.

Whilst Glykería's case ought to be read mainly, and rightfully, in the context of a long-held genealogy of Greek music in Israel, we argue that these two critical events constitute "meticulous rituals" which serve as acts of assignment: they offer laboratories for cultural citizenship, as it is through them that Glykería is transformed into an Israeli "citizen"—as we elaborate in the main discussion. Thus her story is simultaneously a story of the interconnectedness of popular music and cultural identities, and the complexities of musical authorship and agency. It is also a story that comes to reproduce performatively a set of knowledge about the Israeli nation-state and its subjects; and the meaning and boundaries of Israeli identity, citizenship, and culture, during the era of the peacemaking process, and during the emergence of the longing for "Mediterraneanism" or "Mediterranean identity" in Israeli public culture (e.g. Horowitz 2010; Nocke 2009).

Glykería's Israeli cultural citizenship enables her to enact two forms of hope: her symbolic power as a Mediterranean/Greek makes her a vehicle for Mizrahi[7] agency and empowerment, in ways that further destabilize the Arab/Jew divide; furthermore, while retaining the connection with Mizrahi Jews, she provides exceptional echo to a Jewish-Zionist call for unity.

In this paper, we discuss the parallel trajectory of an artist, that is, a second professional trajectory, as formed outside of her usual/conventional niche (i.e. within the national borders of the state she is a citizen of, and/or beyond them, i.e. as "world" artist). An already established (i.e. "successful") Greek performer carves out a persona, and a second career, within another nation state which comes to utilize, appropriate, and "own," this artist for reasons having to do with its own ethnic origins as well as with its own agitated political present. We tackle the historical moment of the beginning of this relationship, i.e. the 1990s (and not the entire course of events), as significant in providing the framework for this otherwise deeply politicized "affair."

[7] We would like to acknowledge that we are using the term "Mizrahi" with the necessary skepticism and critical distance, and a full sense of its sweeping nature, thanks to all the relevant literature to which we owe the unpacking and deconstruction of the term (e.g. Shohat 1999). The "Mizrahim," also known as "Oriental Jews," are the Israeli citizens/Israeli Jews originating (and/or born/raised) in Arabic and/or Muslim "Middle Eastern" countries, Northern African countries, and countries in Asia, with historical Jewish communities. Israeli identity involves a vast array of Arab-Jewish origins, whose integration in the national history has been more complex (also in the sense of trying and painful), as a process, than that of other citizens. There is an abundant bibliography on this issue, which, regrettably, goes beyond the purposes of this text (e.g. Penslar and Kalmar 2020; Medding 2007; Shenhav 2006).

On politics and popular culture in Israel during the 1990s

Despite earlier analytical trends to deem popular culture an autonomous and politically innocent domain of social life, or a domain strictly prescribed by the political realm, we stand with those who take a more nuanced approach and explore the way culture articulates with the "materialities of power and inequality" (Stein and Swedenburg 2005, 8), thus suggesting that through music "the popular grammar of the peace era" (Stein 2002, 517) can be more aptly examined.

Glykería's story is at the centre of multiple shifting terrains. While exceeding the register of political economy—aspects of such an excess are the core of our chapter's analysis—it is inevitably articulated through it. It can be used as "a quotidian discursive economy" (Stein 2002, 519) attention to which, as stated by Stein and Swedenburg, "[can] yield *a fuller chronicle of politics and power*" (2005, 7, emphasis on-original).

The Glykería-oriented popular culture in Israel gains appropriate pertinence when explored against the background of specific political/historical conjunctures. At the same time it must be read in the context of a long held genealogy of Greek music in Israel (see Erez 2016; Theodosiou and Yiakoumaki 2019; Theodosiou 2020). Although we do not present this genealogy in detail, our present study articulates with and because of these legacies. More specifically, we view Glykería's rise in the Israeli public music scene as a condition rooted in local (i.e. "Middle Eastern") political processes, as well as in specific cultural pasts: the Israeli political landscape as shaped by the Israeli-Palestinian relations/conflict throughout the 1990s; the culture of Mediterraneanism in Israel (see Nocke 2009); the subsequent resignifications of Arab-ness and the "Greek" kinship/affective kinship in Israel since the 1950s (e.g. Yiakoumaki 2020; Theodosiou 2020). This is not an exhaustive account; there are other significant processes at play such as a culturally defined gender aspect, i.e. that of the emblematic female performer as a shared tradition in the Middle East (see for example, Zuhur 2001; Lohman 2010). Yet, for the purpose at hand those factors do provide a necessary contextualizing for the emergence of Glykería's story.

The 1990s make their appearance with the acute political tension issuing from the 1980s, contain episodes of political illusion with temporary calming effects, and cause a spillover of the same tension well into the 2000s. In the early 1990s, Israel is in the midst of one of the most consequential periods in its short history, as far as

Israeli-Arab relations are concerned.[8] Following four years of popular uprising in the West Bank and Gaza (the first Intifada) which began in 1987, the Madrid Conference (1991)[9] and the Oslo Accords (1993, 1995)[10] mark the first signs of (what appeared as) a potential resolution; by these are meant the establishment of a Palestinian Authority, and the recognition of the PLO led by Yasser Arafat as official interlocutor with Israel. Through the Oslo process, the Labor administration also aspires to create a regional economy and common market with Tel Aviv at its centre, a much celebrated political project and optimistically called the "New Middle East" (Stein and Swedenburg 2005, 260). The burgeoning hope for peace also has a profound effect on the "national order of things" (Malkki 1995, 70): for the first time since 1948, Israelis can imagine themselves not as a foreign enclave in the Middle East, but as an integral part of a pluralistic Levant (see Alcalay 1992). Yet, many of the issues in the Oslo process remain pending throughout, and the "peace process," as imagined, does not appear feasible. Immediately after, i.e. in 1995, Yitzhak Rabin's assassination exacerbates a sense of political instability and a lack of consensus among the Israeli Jews. The Camp David Summit in 2000,[11] as the last episode of the "peace process" cycle, does not end up in an agreement. The second Intifada begins in that year.

While the "peace process" alone does not explain the growing "expressive modes of relationality" (Stein and Swedenburg 2005)[12] in the field of popular culture, it does explain the fertile grounds for such efforts in the mid-1990s. These shifts in the "national order of things" are accompanied by changes in popular cultural trends, such as a radicalization in the film industry (Stein and Swedenburg 2005, 11) with new forms of representation of the Arab other (i.e. cinema, documentaries), the rethinking of state-sponsored historical textbooks and curriculum, and "the emergence of a new Israeli curiosity in the commodity aspect of Arab things (food, music, dress)" (Stein

[8] "In the history of the State of Israel, the 1990s were the time of the Palestinians," sums up an Israeli journalist after the fact, in rendering the dominant sentiment. "The decade began with a Palestinian intifada and ended with a second Palestinian intifada… Israel was swept like a roller coaster from the heights of euphoria to the depths of despair… During the 1990s the Palestinian problem was transformed from a theoretical, almost sterile discussion, into an existential Israeli problem" (Barnea 2008).
[9] See e.g. The Madrid Peace Conference 1992; Khatib 2011; Peters and Newman 2012.
[10] See Watson 2000; Khatib 2011; Peters and Newman 2012.
[11] See Hanieh 2001; Khatib 2011; Peters and Newman 2012.
[12] Benjamin Brinner (2009) and Amy Horowitz (2010), for example, show in detail how negotiations over the potential borders between Israel, Jordan, and the new Palestinian authority are accompanied by collaborative musical negotiations and projects between Jewish Israelis and Palestinians of Muslim and Christian descent. Interestingly, Brinner notes that the impetus for these collaborations was the First Intifada in 1987, when the Palestinian leadership declared a ban on live music at weddings and other celebrations and Palestinian musicians needed to seek out other performance opportunities and income.

and Swedenburg 2005, 11).[13] Yet, the 1990s' popularity of "Arab" culture, restaurants, and places among ("Ashkenazi") Israelis and the more general trend to disseminate a cultural identification with a general "Arabness," as Erez and Degani (2020) note, is nonetheless deprived of an explicit nationalist content.[14]

The growth of Mizrahi political power in the 1990s is initiated by the rise of the Likud party in the late 1970s, i.e. after the Yom Kippur War (1973), and the challenge to Ashkenazi power caused by anti-Labor Party outcry from Israel's Mizrahi underclasses. The subsequent visibility (also felt as vindication) of the Arab/Mizrahi identity in the Israeli public sphere, has already prepared the ground for the "legitimacy" of the Mizrahi cultural figures, who, during the 1990s, acquire greater visibility in Israel and the broader Middle East.

It is against this background that the institutional acceptance of the popular urban music genre produced by Mizrahi/Arab-speaking Jewish musicians (e.g. of Yemenite or Moroccan origin) by the late 1980s and early 1990s can be gauged. *Musiqa mizrahit* (Mizrahi music), a Mediterranean-styled pop music that grew out of the Mizrahi working-class cassette culture in the 1970s, known also alternatively as cassette music, or *musiqat haffla* (party music), is now played on dedicated radio programs by the Israeli broadcasting authority.[15] Shimon Parnas, radio and TV-show producer and presenter, provides a new valuable context for artists, who were largely ignored or, worse, ridiculed by the mostly Ashkenazi musical mainstream (see Nocke 2009, 67). The genre previously associated with lower-class wedding music and the bootleg cassette shops at the Tel Aviv central bus station, acquires a new name. It is now more frequently called *Musiqa Yam Tikhonit Yisraelit* (Israeli Mediterranean Music), rather than *Mizrahi*. Mediterraneanism reappears in its most contemporary and prominent manner in relation to the genre of Israeli popular music called *musiqa mizrahit* ("oriental music"), says Seroussi (2002), in his widely quoted analysis of "musical Mediterraneanism."

Thus, a significant added component related to this newly emerging integrative processes of Arab/Mizrahi identity, has been the claim of Mediterraneanism in Israeli

[13] See also Stein 1998.

[14] See Stein "Only certain forms of Palestinian culture were sanctioned by the state and deemed attractive to the Ashkenazi tourist-consumers that frequented this market: those that bore the recognizable marks of 'authenticity' (the rural untouched by modernity) and the cultural diacritics of a de-situated 'Arabness,' stripped of the threatening traces of Palestinian ethnonationalism" (1998 in Stein 2002, 525).

[15] For a discussion of cassettes as mediators of social class and their visual sonic dimensions, see Manuel 1993 and Wong 1989.

society. Rather, this is about a consolidation in the 1980s of an older claim of Mediterranean-ness, currently acquiring a new meaning. The deployment of the term in various instances in the history of Israel is a politicized act: in its current variant, it modifies the designation of Israeliness by placing it in a regional context (Horowitz 2005, 217), while at the same time the term's inclusiveness helps conceal national awkwardness about "low"-status identities in Israel; or, conversely, it helps showcase and empower these "low"-status identities, which have not conformed with the official national image, as has been the case of the Mizrahim.

To be invoked as *Yam Tikhonit* (the Hebrew translation of "Mediterranean")[16] entails softening of stigma, retaining the connections with the cultural origins of the Mizrahi Jews, and re-integration in Israeli-ness as more "legitimate" national subjects. Mediterraneanism, thus becomes a mediating category, neither Mizrahi nor Ashkenazi, but with association to both. As such, it is an identity label, which is more socially acceptable in a society where Ashkenazi and Zionist are hegemonic positions. The term has been in use since the 1980s, and continues to be prevalent in the Israeli public sphere, most notably in music—but also in politics. The deployment of Mediterranean identity dilutes ethno-class[17] features of Jewish Otherness, and embraces subjects under a geo-cultural rubric, which is effective and venerated. Perception of this larger belonging is further enhanced politically in the 1990s, e.g. through "Euro-Mediterranean" partnerships with the European Union,[18] which bring together Israeli and Arab partners and stakeholders from the entire Arab world.

Thus, while the "peace process" has been crucial at symbolic level and at the level of discourse, the Mediterranean claim goes even further. Regardless of its bitter course, the peace process has helped legitimize Arab (Palestinian, in this case) identities publicly, and integrate "Jew" and "Arab" in a larger inclusive culture area, i.e. beyond established and historically stigmatized boundaries, or national borders. Mediterraneanism goes beyond the categorization "Palestinian-Arab" and the particularities of the conflict. It resolves issues pertaining to the category Arab in its crucial nuances, i.e. Muslim or "different" Jew, and their compatibility with the official version of Israeli national identity. Therefore, although remaining contentious, a crucial

[16] In Hebrew, Yam Tichon means the Mediterranean; Yam Tichonit means Mediterranean (as an adjective); Yam Tikhoniut is the term used for Mediterraneanism and/or Mediterranean identity.
[17] We are borrowing the term from Erez's analysis (2016), but do not attribute the term to him.
[18] https://ec.europa.eu/trade/policy/countries-and-regions/regions/euro-mediterranean-partnership/, accessed March 10, 2022.

intimacy is under way during the 1990s, between "Jewishness" and "Arab-ness," as formerly non-compatible categories in Israel. "Mediterranean Israeli music is best described as a web of soundscapes involving contiguous claims of shared roots by enemies in local conflict zones," says Horowitz (2005, 206).

This picture becomes more complete with the showcasing of the Greek component. Greece has been there long before Glykería entered the scene, not mainly as a national history or entity, or as a neighbour and/or political ally, or as nearby destination—all of them being crucial elements in the present. Rather, Greece counts for the role it has played in the above trajectory of categories, and their legitimate or taboo status in Israeli national history: a significant imagined role in identity-related exigencies in Israel. Along the way, the geo-politics of the Eastern Mediterranean area have contributed to perpetuating, and have further entrenched, this necessary phantasy.

Already since the 1950s, i.e. the first years of the new state, Greekness played a vital role from within the realm of popular music cultures, providing an exemplary case of how popular culture can be constitutive of politics and not apolitical as it is usually assumed. In the process of its consumption, the genre of Greek *laïki* (λαϊκή) music (i.e. the dominant Greek sound in Israel), has functioned in multiple manners: it has contributed to the construction of intimacy with the Arabic, i.e. the non-normative Jewish subjectivity; and it has become a field of coevality of "high" and "low," elite and non-elite, "working-class" and cosmopolitan lifestyles in Israel. Therefore, the "Greek signifier," as Erez (2016) aptly puts it, has been appropriated by the Israeli public/audience in the longue durée, for purposes of alleviation of uneasy positionings in the national repertoire.

While changing the designation of the genre category—from Mizrahi to Mediterranean Israeli music—was at least a partial attempt to "whitewash" Mizrahi music and repackage it in a more palatable framework for Ashkenazi audiences (Erez 2016), Mizrahi musicians have been in fact drawing heavily, and for years, on the Mediterranean idea, with Greek, Turkish, Italian and French popular musics serving as inspiration in their songwriting and choice of cover songs. For example, one of the most successful hits of the late Zohar Argov, by now legendary figure of Mizrahi music culture, also remembered as the king of the "cassette" singers of the 1980s, was a cover version of the emblematic song *Ipárcho* (Υπάρχω), by Stelios Kazantzidis and Christos Nikolopoulos (1971). With new lyrics, but keeping the original arrangement largely intact, the new song *Elinor* is still among the most recognized and beloved Mizrahi

songs, but is not always popularly recognized for its Greek origins.[19] Similarly, while alluding to Greece in its text and title, Haim Moshe's song *The Voices of Piraeus* is not known as a cover for a Greek song, but as an original associated with Moshe's voice and image.

First encounters with the Israeli public

The long genealogy of the presence of Greek popular music in Israel along with the (partial) interlocking of Greek and Mizrahi music in the context of the history of the latter, along with the emerging ideology of Mediterraneanism, can explain, to a certain extent, the complete absorption of the Hebrew versions of Greek songs—*Iparcho* and *The Voices of Piraeus*—into the Israeli mainstream culture. Glykería's success in Israel can also be seen as part of the same process. Her case, however, exceeds the register of Greek music legacy, considering that, ever since the 1990s, she has been a household name in Israel and her record sales there place her at the top of the country's music industry as the biggest selling singer—foreign or native. Thus an analysis of her "first contacts" with the Israeli public will reveal the mechanisms through which they serve as acts of assignment, as laboratories for transforming Glykería into an Israeli "citizen," not according to changing notions of "Jewish-ness" but through shifting senses of belonging to Israel, the Mediterranean and the Middle east.

This is how Moshe Morad,[20] head of the NMC Music department, recounts his first encounter with Glykería and *Shabechi Yerushalay'im,* and explains the beginning of this love story between her and the Israeli public:

> Zion Kedem, her manager, came into my office at NMC. He was an insurance salesman at the time. Without knocking or anything, he came in and said: "you have to listen to this." I was the head of the international department at that time, so you get plenty of demos everyday, and normally you put them aside and, whenever you have time, you listen to them, but this guy wouldn't leave my office until I did. I put the tape on, back then it was called "cassette music"

[19] Keisar released Argov's first cassette, Elinor, in 1980. Its title song was one of the greatest musiqa mizrahit hits ever (Regev and Serousi 2004, 218).
[20] Interviews were carried out by Ofer Gazit, in April 2019 and by Sissie Theodosiou in March 2022.

> because you could only get it on tapes…the first song was "Anita and Juan"[21] and it was followed by "Shabechi Yerushalay'im." I was blown away by both. I took Zion and the tape and went up to my boss. I put the tape on his desk and said "listen to her. She's called Glykería, and we are signing her in." And that was it. I got the ok, and a few weeks later we rushed to release her first ever israeli album (1994) with "Shabechi Yerushalay'im" and "Anita and Juan" as the leading tracks and a second live version of Shabechi Yerushalay'im as a closing-bonus track—the rest of the songs were in Greek. The album was entitled "Golden hits" and the idea was to present her as an already established artist with a long and successful career in Greece, who now sings in Hebrew as well. Glykería, her husband Stelios Fotiadis, Shimon Parnas, who was the authority on Greek music in Israeli radio, and myself, as executive producer, we were all there. We all worked hard especially on the two Hebrew songs to be recorded, making sure everything sounded right. The album became a huge hit, especially Shabechi Yerushalay'im. Then, she went on a tour to promote the album and basically never left. That was 25 years ago.

Glykería introduces herself in the Israeli public through her first-ever 1993 summer concert, where she performs *Shabechi Yerushalay'im* for the first time. This is also one of the two songs which her Israeli manager chooses to exemplify the singer's "eagerness" to set a foot in the Israeli musical recording industry, to initiate her solo career in Israel, and to mark her presence in the Israeli public sphere. The first recording of the song is included in the album "Golden hits" in 1994. Within the same year Glykería appears also for the first time on a national TV channel, performs again in a series of very successful concerts all around Israel, and, "thanks to [them]," according to the Europop website, "she was proclaimed the most popular foreign singer."[22] During the same year the mayor of Jerusalem awards her the golden key of the city. From then onwards it becomes a steady course: up to now she has released nine solo albums in Israel—all of which broke sales records and reached double and triple platinum status, while in many of them a version of *Shabechi Yerushalay'im* is included (mainly her "Best of" albums). Furthermore, in her 2008 double CD, one CD contains

[21] An old classic Israeli love song with a spanish flavour (lyrics: Natan Yonatan, melody: Nahum Heiman).
[22] http://www.europopmusic.eu/Greece_pages/Glykería.html.

exclusively Hebrew songs. Up until present, Glykería is considered "theirs."[23] As a "beloved of Zion," her performances still draw very large and appreciative audiences—while at the same time being demographically mixed.

In what follows we deploy Glykería's first contact with the Israeli public as articulated around two stories: the first is the story of the song *Shabechi Yerushalay'im* and the second is a less "laudatory" tale about (what appears to be) her first appearance on Israeli TV. By shedding light on two such "meticulous rituals," (Hall 1997, 50) we explore how the shaping of Glykería as a new Israeli legend has been facilitated and in fact entrenched.

The shaping of a new "Israeli" legend

Born's (2011) conceptualisation is pertinent here; she talks of the musical assemblage as "a constellation of heterogenous mediations," due to its "multiple simultaneous forms of existence" -as a sonic trace, discursive exegesis, technological prosthesis, social and embodied performance, among other forms.[24] Although, regrettably, we cannot develop in detail all individual aspects of the *Shabechi* assemblage in this paper, it is important to map its route from being a religious tune with a distinct ethno-class identity, to its becoming one of the "canonic songs of the *musiqa mizraḥit* repertory" (Regev and Seroussi 2004, 221) and a music hit with nationalist connotations.[25] Next, Glykería's *Shabechi,* a further constellation of such heterogenous mediations, operates in articulation with broader political forces, social processes, and modalities of difference,[26] and works as a meticulous ritual, as a laboratory for actively performing her intimacy and "affection" for Israel and its "people." In so doing, it has significant power to authorise and legitimise her presence and to mark her with the status of an Israeli cultural citizen.

As we know from the relevant literature, the genre of Mizrahi music involves

[23] The quotes come from Israeli youtube users who comment on Glykería's music videos. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=j5wL6tAAzSo, accessed March 10, 2022.
[24] "An aggregation of sonic, social, corporeal, discursive, visual, technological and temporal mediations—a musical assemblage, where this is understood as a characteristic constellation of such heterogeneous mediations. In Deleuzian thought, an assemblage is defined as a multiplicity made up of heterogeneous components, each having a certain autonomy; a multiplicity "which establishes liaisons [or] relations between them.... [T]he assemblage's only unity is that of a co-functioning" (Deleuze and Parnet 1987, 69), while the interactions between components are non-linear and mutually catalysing, "only contingently obligatory" (DeLanda 2006, 12; Deleuze 1988) (Born 2011, 377).
[25] Initially through Daklon's performance, a very popular figure within the Mizrahi tradition.
[26] See above, the section on politics and popular culture in Israel during the 1990s.

both secular and religious musical expressions.[27] Composed in the mid-1980s,[28] *Shabechi Yerushalay'im* has been traditionalized, and today can be heard both in religious services and secular events and spaces. It sets off from a religious realm, as an arrangement by Avihu Medina (leading Mizrahi composer), to a well-known Jewish Moroccan piut (with the consensual topic of Jerusalem), which acquires connotations serving the dominant nationalist narrative, along the way.

> "Praise the Lord,
> O Jerusalem!
> Praise your God,
> O Zion!
> For he strengthens the bars of your gates;
> he blesses your children within you"[29]

There has been much discussion in the literature on the aspect of religion in the Mizrahi tradition (e.g. Leon 2008). During the 1970s and 1980s, Mizrahi performers are commonly associated with religious piety, usually as children of a religious family from the Arab or Muslim world, which finds itself in Israel through *aliyah*[30] (the father may be a cantor, for instance). As children, they may participate in religious choirs, or later they become known through religious radio programs, or "oriental" music scenes and festivals, drawing much on Yemenite or Moroccan traditions—to mention the dominant ones. The religious attribute in Mizrahi song and performance is not to be seen as a kind of index of Mizrahiut: rather it is related to issues of integration in the new nation state, i.e. the need to position the self vis-à-vis Zionism and the dominant Askhenazi culture; but also to what they left behind, i.e. secular and anti-secular

[27] Being aware that the two terms (secular and religious) may sound monolithic, we mean that a song/a song performance can have different trajectories: from being a commodity in the local media and art market, it may find itself as part of Shabbat ritual in synagogues (e.g. with modified lyrics). Or, starting off as a religious or liturgical text, it can turn into a popular and commercial hit in the secular market world (see e.g. Regev and Seroussi 2004, 224–5). It works either way, which means that the actors involved may find themselves performing in all the above venues simultaneously. "This represents the well-documented phenomenon of contrafactum, the transformation of a secular song into a religious one by changing the text while retaining the melody, which is typical of both Ashkenazi and Mizrahi Jewish music" (Regev and Seroussi 2004, 225).

[28] In 1985, says composer Avihu Medina himself, https://blog.nli.org.il/sipur-avihu-medina, accessed March 10, 2022.

[29] It is based on Psalm 147, 12–3. We would like to point out that the next line in the Psalm, "Praise the Lord who gives peace in your borders," is not included in the song's lyrics.

[30] In Hebrew, aliyah is the process of immigration and settling in the land of Israel, of Jews who are nationals of other nation-states (otherwise known as "Diaspora" Jews).

movements in the Arab/Muslim patriae. Avihu Medina places his art within the same cultural/spiritual universe as the *Song of Songs,* as he perceives it,[31] thereby constructing a historical continuity. Yet, while religious attachment may be perceived by Mizrahi subjects as interconnectedly linked to the uninterrupted continuity of "Jewish" traditions, it helps them, nonetheless, adhere to, as well as buttress, the idea of the new state. In so doing the Mizrahim, as then Israeli subjects in the making, seem to endow religion with a nationalist sentiment.[32]

In the 1980s, during which he composes *Schabechi Yerushalay'im,* Avihu Medina becomes a protagonist of the more general cultural movement to promote (in his logic, to elevate) Mizrahi music as "Israeli" music of a certain kind. According to him *musiqa mizrahit* is the only authentic Israeli music because it reflects "a synthesis of East and West" (Regev and Seroussi 2004, 221).[33] This is an era during which *musiqa mizrahit* continues to gain a prominence in the national scene of popular music, a process which reaches its peak in the late 1990s, when it "contested other forms of popular music for the very definition of Israeliness" (ibid, 213).

More than with any other artist, *Shabechi Yerushalay'im* becomes famous in Israel with the performance of Glykería, Medina notes.[34] Let us explore in more detail how their "own" Mizrahi *Shabechi*, a tune which carries par excellence the powerful mythology of the biblical word,[35] embodies the religion/ethno-class sentiment of the Mizrahi, fulfills Zionist Israeli-ness as conceived by an Israeli Other, and becomes ever since the 1990s an emblematic part of the national repertoire through the voice of a female Greek *goy*;[36] in other words, how it becomes *twice* their own—as it were—through the mediation of an outsider—or, a seeming outsider, such as the Greek performer Glykería; and what this process entails for her becoming an Israeli legend.[37]

Already at the very early stages of Glykería's engagement with the Israeli music

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[31] see Mediana's own reflection on the text, https://blog.nli.org.il/sipur-avihu-medina, accessed March 10, 2022.
[32] Ethnicity and religiosity also demarcate distinctions between highbrow and lowbrow tastes, with Ashkenazim and secularists tending to highbrow, and Mizrahim and religious to lowbrow (Waterman 2010, 110).
[33] This is defined as "a narrative of musical discrimination" by Regev and Seroussi (2004, 220).
[34] Medina (1985) in https://blog.nli.org.il/sipur-avihu-medina, accessed March 10, 2022.
[35] At the same time it is worth noting that the Psalms are well embedded in Christianity (in the form of a shared Jewish-Christian tradition), whilst also being widely used in non-Jewish contexts, such as western composers' own works.
[36] In Hebrew, a goy is a non-Jew. It is often said in a non-positive, non-complimentary (i.e. exclusionary) manner, but also humorously.
[37] While Glykería's career path included concerts in France, Turkey, Spain and England, the frequency of her performances in Israel and her stature amongst the Israeli public is incomparable to other locales.

scene, such a successful invocation of the Israeli public can be seen rather as the effect of perhaps careful and strategic musical and extra musical prompts. If music (sound and words) and sentiment are mutually enhancing, then music can be understood as an active ingredient of what Durkheim calls "collective effervescence" (1995): features of collective life that emerge to create collective phenomena that are more than, and different in kind from, the sum of its parts (De Nora 2000, 397).

Glykería's "first" contact with the local public, exemplified through the highly recognizable and symbolically loaded *Shabechi Yerushalay'im*, constitutes indeed a significant act. Against the background of highly politicized discursive reductions, such as Arab and Jew, which nonetheless continue to hold relevance, her act of agreeing to sing this specific song *in Hebrew*, overshadows any neutral position with regards to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and the status of Jerusalem; let us note that the compilation album where Glykería's *Shabechi Yerushalay'im* was first included, was entitled "Jerusalem 3000 years."[38] Her close collaboration with the Israeli producer Moshe Morad around issues of correct pronunciation and language is to be noted, as well.[39]

Furthermore, if we are to talk about the sonic traces and the discursive exegesis of the *Shabechi* assemblage as pre-existing expectations of the Mizrahi public, the very fact of agreeing to sing the biblical paean to Jerusalem to Medina's setting of the melody, explicates the kind of commitments (or concessions) Glykería is willing to make, in order to win over a decidedly Jewish Israeli audience (a Mizrahi audience? One of Zionist affections, which permeates all ethnic groups?). Through making such a choice at this specific historical moment, Glykería seems to have taken all the necessary steps in order to carry the song's weight of religion-cum-nation-cum-class,[40] whilst functioning as an agent of change for the public image of Mizrahiut, as we will see.[41]

In this light, *Shabechi Yerushalay'im* locates Glykería centrally in a field that spans the popular and the political, the individual and the collective, the past and the present, and thereby constitutes a system of "affective economy" (Ahmed 2004)

[38] Glykería's own cultural-political biography in Greece and the way her connection to Israel is perceived in Greece, is a very interesting avenue of investigation, which will be developed in another paper.
[39] Interview with Gazit, April 2019.
[40] The way these elements are connected to Glykería's own Greek trajectory and self-perception remains to be explored.
[41] The degree to which Glykería was aware of all these connotations is a very important element for fully understanding her Israeli career; yet, it remains to be explored.

structured and organized by affect and emotion—increasingly crucial for understanding how culture and politics function (Marshall 1997, 247). Such a system constitutes a meticulous ritual of affective intensities, *does* things (and does not reside "in" the subjects) and it is rippling because it works both sideways and backward: through "sticky" associations between signs/articulations such as *Shabechi Yerushalay'im*'s religion-nation and class, and figures such as the Mizrahim; and bound up with Greek music's historicity in Israel. It contributes substantially to aligning "individuals with communities—or bodily space with social space—through the very intensity of their attachments" (Ahmed 2004, 119); it contributes also to boundary production, to the "surfacing" of a "self" and an "other," and an "us" and a "them" (Ahmed 2004, 120).

We argue that Glykería's *Shabechi Yerushalay'im* performance enables her to enact specific forms of disposition/hope vis-à-vis one's Israeli-ness, based on immanent practices of intimacy and affection, shown particularly to her Mizrahi audience: through her song performance she offers a collective public outlet through which to alleviate the experience of Mizrahi stigma (in the framework of "white" Israeli discrimination); she also offers a sense of an uncontested, all-encompassing, therefore egalitarian, Mediterranean identity, one which, under certain conditions, is adopted by a subset of Ashkenazi Israelis (primarily those of Balkan origin). This obtainable disposition may include a gamut of "hope," "self-confidence," "reassurance," and other related feelings, which can empower or re-signify the Israeli Other in question.

Being Greek, Glykería possesses the features of a Mediterranean persona—according to this cultural logic. This renders her western and oriental, non-elite and popular, non-Israeli and Jewish of any origin. In this process, she embodies prospect: that a non-Jew, who is simultaneously an intimate neighbour and a Mediterranean European, can make plausible a Mediterranean "politics of empathy" (Born and Hesmondhalgh 2000, 41) towards Israel and its "people." Through Glykería's correctly pronounced Hebrew words of the Psalm, whilst she certainly provides various other forms of disposition and prospect to the other layers of her audience, such as Ashkenazim of different generations, "European" Sephardic, new Israelis in the making (e.g. Russian identities),[42] it is mainly her largely Mizrahi audience that has been confronted with affective potential for new forms and meanings of Israeli identity.

Her song performance exhibits a non-distinctively Mizrahi style of delivery,

[42] Both the issue of social class and the way it undercuts all these diverse groups comprising contemporary jewish-ness are elements to be explored in relation to Glykería's case at another stage of our writing.

thus exemplifying overtly the prospect/potential that, Mizrahi culture, as a new "modern national auditory practice," will produce nonetheless an inclusive, yet extrovert, music culture that can draw audiences from various origins—connected as it has been with emerging media practices of musical entertainment (Hirschkind 2006, 145). Crucially, Glykería's performance distances *Shabechi* from Medina's inscription in the "narrative of musical discrimination" that became the hallmark of his campaign (Regev and Seroussi 2004, 220). Her *Shabechi* overture allows the surfacing of otherwise contradictory elements, i.e. the momentary realignment of nonaligned positions, such as, most notably Mizrahi and Ashkenazi, European and Middle Eastern, disenfranchised and mainstream. Her *Shabechi* performance, therefore, functions as an act of *assignment*, in the larger process of her assuming "national" duties, which for an insider would be painful to fulfill. She is assigned the role to endorse nationhood, which is a national role to unite, to appease, to erase, to make forget, to remember anew.

At the same time, through her *Shabechi* musical overture, Glykería prefigures an emergent form of "cultural citizenship" for herself, in ways that she may not have foreseen. The concept of cultural citizenship has proved a productive focus in anthropological theory and activism since the innovative work of Ong and Rosaldo,[43] as a means to understand new domains of belonging existing in relation to, and outside of, the state and its histories. Ong's (in Ong et al. 1996) notion of citizenship as subjectification and cultural performance,[44] which is "dialectically determined by the state *and* its subjects," is very pertinent here,[45] as it brings to the fore the dual process of self-making and being-made within webs of power linked to the nation-state and the public sphere.

In being largely untainted by the sense of collective obligation which Israeli

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[43] Rosaldo (1994) views cultural citizenship as the everyday cultural practices through which Latinas/os claim space and their right to be full members of society; as the demand of disadvantaged subjects for full citizenship in spite of their cultural difference from mainstream society. Ong's critique of Rosaldo's concept of cultural citizenship, which indicates subscription to the very liberal principle of universal equality that he seeks to criticize, is very valid. See also Castle 2008; De Munter and Salman 2009; Feldman 2005; Heyman 2002; Horton 2004; Laird and Cadge 2010; Leve 2011.

[44] The latter is inscribed in a tension that Judith Butler articulates when she writes that subjectification "consists precisely in this fundamental dependency on a discourse we never chose but that, paradoxically, initiates and sustains our agency" and "signifies the process of becoming subordinated by power as well as the process of becoming a subject" (1997, 2). Moreover, it conforms to Louis Althusser's paradigm of interpellation (1976, 113), when he says "all ideology interpellates concrete individuals as concrete subjects."

[45] "Cultural practices and beliefs produced out of negotiating the often ambivalent and contested relations with the state and its hegemonic forms that establish criteria of belonging, within a national population or territory. Cultural citizenship, then, is both about 'self-making'—what an individual or community believe themselves to be—and 'being made' by the state—what kind of citizen the state wants or tries to construct of a person or community" (Ong et al. 1996, 738).

national policy so often seeks to impart in relation to Jews,[46] Glykería's *Shabechi* prescribes for her a new space of belonging, which is not dependent on the regulatory role of statecraft but nonetheless exists in dialectical relation to it. Emerging then from such an articulation between Glykería's artistic agency and broader forces, the song *Shabechi Yerushalay'im* seems to work as an assemblage, as a multiplicity made up by heterogenous components that works as a "meticulous ritual," as a laboratory for actively producing intimacy and affection for Israel and its people, which ultimately generates elements such as a sense of self-worth, elevation, and empowerment. Through such a politics, a process of specific *political subjectification* for the artist is initiated—thus forming Glykería's emergent Israeli "cultural citizenship"—which facilitates the accrual of Glykería with visibility and symbolic power.

This visibility/symbolic power linked to her status as an emerging Israeli cultural citizen, is further enhanced through her first television appearance on the show *Siba Limsiba* (A Cause for Celebration) with the late Ofra Haza as then host, in 1994.[47] Frith's (1996, 212) observation about popular music singers as involved in a process of "double enactment" ("they enact both a star personality [their image] and a song personality, the role that each lyric requires") is of particular importance here. Unlike the song performance, the TV show, which is part of the new genre of night talk shows appearing firstly in the Israeli mediascape in the 1990s,[48] foregrounds the "actual" singer's persona—mediated by the established norms of TV entertainment.

The late Ofra Haza, a well-known performer of *musiqa mizrahit*, known as "The Israeli Madonna"[49] was also "the most globally successful Israeli pop artist ever" (Regev and Seroussi 2004, 226). Before a performance of the song *Irisim*, an adaptation of the Greek romantic song *Girise, se perimeno girise* (Γύρισε, σε περιμένω, γύρισε) (composed by Tonis Maroudas in 1947), Haza interviews Glykería in English, Glykería responds directly in Greek, and then Haza reads out the pre-existing Hebrew translation to the audience of the show. If one is to agree with various authors (e.g. Marshall

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[46] Straw 2002.

[47] https://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=23&v=j1kzD4qYxc0, accessed March 10, 2022.

[48] Private TV and radio channels started operating in the early 1990s. By 1994, with the cable television infrastructure in place, Israelis have the option of choosing among forty non-government-regulated commercial television channels in more than a dozen languages. As a result of the shift to commercial media, musiqa mizrahit becomes an instant hit on new television shows and begins to pervade the new radio stations ruled by ratings, not the tastes of government officials. The most noteworthy example on television is Taverna, a popular show that airs for years on a prime-time spot, beginning in the late 1990s. The program is much like a typical talk show, but the guests are predominantly performers of musiqa mizrahit (Dardashti 2012, 28–9).

[49] https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b00wr9vb, accessed March 10, 2022.

1997; Milner 2005; Bennett and Holmes 2010) claiming that television, as a medium, moves us towards a more intimate and accessible model of celebrity (compared to film, for example), especially through the relaying of celebrities' life stories, then Glykería's account in the show can be seen as a useful site for exploring another framing of her engagement with the Israeli public.

> Haza: "This is your second time in Israel. How do you find the country, what do you think, how do you feel about Israel?"
> Glykería: "Israel is a very beautiful country and I do understand all those who love, adore, I would say, this country. I'm afraid if I'd stay here a few more days, *I'd want to immigrate permanently"* (emphasis our own)

In Haza's Hebrew translation of the above Glykería's response to the audience, we hear:

> "Glykería is saying that our country is very beautiful, she really loves being here, she understands the people, she loves this country and if she'd stayed longer, maybe she would do aliyah."[50]

There were a few laughs from the audience. Haza responds: "No, no this is real, don't laugh." She, then, asks Glykería: "Right?" "Right" she answers immediately. Then Haza continues: "I heard you before singing *Shabechi Yerushalay'im* in Hebrew. Was it difficult for you to sing in Hebrew or easy?" Once again, Haza translates in Hebrew Glykería 's response: "Glykería says the language is quite difficult but she learns easily; she has a musical ear, and picks up the sounds very quickly. You explain to her and she can sing them, and people say that, with her good accent, you can't tell she's not Israeli." Nevertheless, Glykería in her answer in Greek has referred only to her musical ear and her easiness to learn songs in foreign languages, without making any reference to how she sounds when she sings in Hebrew.

Glykería is hailed here to personify somehow a kind of *Elinor* figure: like the Greek song whose Hebrew version becomes so "naturalized" as to overshadow its Greek origins, she is presented here as embodying an "ordinary," yet "dishevelled" Jew

[50] See also fn. 30, on the meaning of aliyah. Israeli citizenship is only granted to Jews.

(Israeli-to-be), conforming/cleaving to popular values: ready to do *aliyiah*, having a near perfect Hebrew accent,[51] praising the beauty of the country like any other "ordinary" Israeli, and yet, at the same time, embodying a pluralist envisioning of new possibilities, a rejection of simple notions of what it means to be Israeli.

In Glykería's ascent to stardom in Israel, her first TV appearance next to Ofra Haza proves then to be a crucial locus, another "meticulous ritual," for the formation of her public persona as an Israeli legend. Being a primarily institutional location that works in articulation with broader forces, processes, and modalities already outlined, Glykería's first Israeli media event can be thought of as a performative contest over her political subjectification, as a a productive location for her *becoming an Israeli cultural citizen*. Considering Hall's seminal theoretical argument about identification ("an effective suturing of the subject to a subject-position requires, not only that the subject is 'hailed,' but that the subject invests in the position" [1996, 6]), Glykería's willingness to invest on an Israeli "cultural citizenship" location—through the performance of *Shabechi Yerushalay'im*—comes to further entrench the boundaries of the discourses that have "naturalised" her connection to Israel, and have framed her as "theirs."

Glykería Kotsioula (her full name with which she made her first appearance in the Israeli public) becomes "their own" Glykería, a "household name," an "honorary citizen," a platinum and gold album seller, and the favorite of Israel's political leaders and celebrities. Her connection to Israel culminates in 1998, when she is the only foreign artist invited to sing for the special memorial event for Yitzhak Rabin—assassinated three years before. With tears in her eyes, she sings in front of 200,000 people in Rabin Square, Tel Aviv. In the summer of 1999 she is invited to perform with the Israeli Philharmonic Orchestra, while, in 2006, during the Israeli-Lebanon conflict, she goes to Israel with her son and sings for the Israeli soldiers at the borders.

[51] "Not only is Γλυκερία an accomplished artist, she possesses as well the wonderful talent to express the inner meaning of every single syllable she sings with the most perfect and lovable Hebrew accent. The poet who wrote the lyrics (King David) would have immediately fallen in love with Γλυκερίας. So did I. Σας ευχαριστούμε Γλυκερίας. Μια από τη μούσα της Ελλάδας" (youtube user, Yitzhak Rosenbloom) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=j5wL6tAAzSo, accessed March 10, 2022.

Conclusion

In what circumstances do nationally renown figures (in our case, leading artistic figures) serve more than one national agenda, or are enabled to do so? To what extent is the competence, hence the power, of such an assignment, conferred on a non-insider?

We have provided a discussion of an artist's trajectory, and more extensively on one moment of her trajectory, i.e. the point of departure, in order to speak of socio-political conditions that construct and sustain national "legends."[52] In the present case study, we are largely concerned with the production process of a national legend, within a nation state other than her own—that is, other than the one she originates from, resides, and predictably draws a career path in. Besides being an already established Greek artist/performer, with a simultaneous international career (drawing on the Greek), Glykería crafts a "second" national belonging with her singing career in Israel since the early 1990s. This second belonging is crafted more intensely at a moment when she is associated with things "revered" for the ethno-religious identity of a national collectivity: Glykería performs *Shabechi Yerushalay'im*, thus becoming, in this process, a preferred subject who is not merely allowed, but also chosen, as well as assigned, to draw on the nation's venerated past, as well as to represent it.

In offering a reading of this case study based on the idea of cultural citizenship, we unfold (what we observe as) two critical events: her performance of the song *Shabechi Yerushalay'im*, and her first-ever national media appearance. We argue that they constitute "meticulous rituals," through which significant acts are assigned; culturally and politically significant. As rituals, they provide the conditions and the dispositions necessary for the artist's transformation into an Israeli "citizen." Her appropriation, hence also "ownership," by a new and different homeland, contributes to serving roles and fulfilling tasks pertinent to the national/nationalist agenda. In performing the song, thereby in acquiring and confirming citizenship, the artist acts on the basis of a delicate political interplay: she promotes disempowered/humble/non-elite musical traditions (oriental, Arab, Mizrahi), which are known to have collapsed the established idealized version of Israeli Jewish identity. At the same time she promotes versions of national identity drawing on the Zionist narrative, thus also

[52] We draw the term "National Legend" from Horowitz (2010), where it is used to describe Israeli Mizrahi singer Zohar Argov, and the entanglement of media coverage, personal memories, and myths associated with his music, life story and premature death.

appeasing and pleasing sentiment which conforms to more western constructions of Israeli Jewishness. The process of her (effective or not) Israeli belonging, as well as ownership, is determined by the balance between these two, not entirely discrete, tasks.

Glykería's trajectory in Israel is not realized merely on the basis of a gustatory, aesthetic, and historical coevalness (between two national cultures, i.e. Greek and Israeli); but also for reasons which subsequently accommodate (and soothe) emerging political anxieties. In other words, while she does draw on a historical past of a specific cultural kinship between the Israeli and the Greek, there is an additional aspect complicating the story further, because it goes beyond things "Greek:" not accidentally, at a critical historico-political moment in the 1990s, her performance becomes inevitably relevant to issues of ethnic, non-elite, identity hierarchies in Israeli society (the issue of the "Mizrahim"); more specifically, in processes of restructuring and of new subsumptions (e.g. the "Mediterranean"), necessitated by domestic social mobilities within an overall new geopolitical condition.

In this course, therefore, we are compelled to ponder over issues of ethnicity, nationalism, and national belonging through popular music, simultaneously drawing on multiple critical realities at present: Israel's role in the area of the Middle East/Eastern Mediterranean, the Arab-Israeli conflict, and the cultural making of Israeliness out of "sore" or "wounded" versions of being Jewish.

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2 | PIPERS, PIPES, AND PIPING IN THE GREEK-AMERICAN FOLK DANCE REVIVAL[1]

PANAYOTIS LEAGUE

This essay concerns the remarkable resurgence of traditional Greek bagpipes—specifically, the pan-Aegean tsambouna and Thracian gaida—among young adult members of the Greek American community. What I hope to show here is that, for a critical mass of young American-born members of the global diaspora, it is focused, detail-oriented study of and participation in exactingly particular musical practice associated with very specific locales in Greece that calibrates the emotional, psychological, and aesthetic dimensions of their sense of belonging to a wider diasporic Greek world. Most of these musicians have learned their craft in the context of participation in Orthodox parish folk dance troupes that study and perform dances from many different parts of the Greek world (rather than a *topikos syllogos* or social club of migrants from one particular region that focuses exclusively on that region's dances). Consequently, they tend to focus on instruments that have been much less popular than more canonical actors such as the bouzouki, clarinet, violin, and plucked lutes, and are associated with regions and villages unconnected to these practitioners' ancestral origins.

I argue that this orientation towards a shared diasporic Greekness that is explicitly predicated upon active involvement in historically marginalized folk traditions both presents a challenge to some aspects of the "symbolic ethnicity" paradigm that has dominated studies of expressive culture in the Greek diaspora, and at the same time reinforces some of the facets of "choose-your-own-adventure" white ethnicity that confound attempts to articulate an activist political stance beyond advocating for the preservation of particular traditions. My focus throughout will be on personal experience, and how it intersects with lived ideals of a collectively created sense of belonging to an equally poetic and problematic sense of diasporic Greekness that is

[1] I extend tremendous thanks to Cassandre Balosso-Bardin, piper, ethnomusicologist, and artist extraordinaire, for encouraging me to write this essay and for providing many helpful comments and editing suggestions.

predicated upon public performance of migrant identity on the dance floor and the festival stage.

I'm not sure exactly when or where I first encountered the tsambouna, the double-chanter goatskin bagpipe indigenous to the Greek Aegean islands. But it was definitely in Tarpon Springs, Florida, a small city on the Gulf of Mexico that for over a hundred years has been home to a large population of Greek migrants—primarily from the Dodecanese island of Kalymnos—who came to work in the burgeoning sponge diving industry of the early 20th century and now preside over a sprawling empire of restaurants and curio shops. My early memories of the tsambouna are hazy, blending with the blacksnakes and lizards haunting my grandmother's jungle of a backyard, interminable incense-saturated church services, and the frustration of rooting for the perennially hapless Miami Dolphins football team. What I can say with some degree of certainty is that I likely heard the instrument for the first time in the early 1980s at a wedding or baptism or fish fry in the function hall of Saint Nicholas Greek Orthodox Cathedral, a short ride from home down a bumpy lane paved with Depression-era bricks. I'm reasonably certain that my relatives, sponge merchants from the Ionian island of Cephallonia who preferred romantic serenades on mandolins, arched an eyebrow or two. And I'm 100% sure that the person who was playing the tsambouna on that occasion was Nikitas Tsimouris.

Tsimouris was born in 1927 on the island of Kalymnos, and, like so many men of his generation, grew up working on sponge boats and tending to his family's orchards before emigrating to Tarpon Springs in 1967. Until his death in 2001, he was the migrant community's primary tsambouna player, and while he mostly animated family dancing and singing sessions in his kitchen, he was an occasional and much-loved guest performer at events like the ones that I vaguely remember. Towards the end of his life, before failing health limited his ability to play without the aid of an air compressor hooked up to the tsambouna's blowpipe, a number of folklorists recognized his contribution to the survival of Kalymnos's musical and poetic traditions in Tarpon. He became the subject of a short documentary film and an extended audio documentation project (see Wood 2018), and was awarded both a Florida Folk Heritage Award and a National Heritage Fellowship from the National Endowment for the Arts.

After a childhood and adolescence characterized by relative indifference to the musical aspects of my Greek heritage, various winding paths led me back around to

Kalymnian music in my early twenties. My first impulse was to seek out Nikitas, but when I asked my grandmother about him in 2001 I learned that he had just passed away. Luckily for me, Nikitas's childhood friend Skevos Karavokiros, who had also immigrated to Tarpon in the 1960s, had begun to play the tsambouna again after half a century away from the instrument, and we embarked upon a friendship and informal apprenticeship through all-night singing sessions around his kitchen table (see League 2016). Between Skevos's songs and stories and my Kalymnian godfather's collection of old recordings, I immersed myself in the core repertoire of the island's traditional music and began finding my way around the trio of Kalymnian instruments: tsambouna, violin, and *laouto* (a bowl-backed steel-string lute). Summers spent traveling around the island and camping on the beach at the village of Arginonta, home to several elder singers and tsambouna players, both solidified my understanding of the music and associated poetry and intensified its weight as an emotional anchor in my life. Many of my most precious personal relationships are saturated with the sound of the tsambouna, and with the dances and improvised couplets that so often use the bagpipe's melodies as a vehicle. Over the last few decades I've played the instrument at myriad life cycle events and informal celebrations, at gatherings of religious pilgrims on Kalymnian mountaintops, and even on stage at Carnegie Hall.

My current understanding of my place in the wider Greek diaspora and the world in general owes a great deal to all the time I've spent (and continue to spend) figuring out how to tune, play, and maintain this fussy instrument constructed out of a goatskin, the root of an olive tree, and small segments of cane. The contours of that understanding have also been shaped by my navigation of related dynamics stemming from my status as an American-born man of mixed non-Kalymnian Greek and Irish descent who focuses on music that for many people throughout the diaspora is a sonic marker of an "authentic" Kalymnian identity associated with a pre-industrial subsistence shepherd's lifestyle. I know that, for some of my acquaintances both in Tarpon Springs and on the island, the sounded spectacle of a non-Kalymnian playing tsambouna and singing rhyming couplets is so incongruous that they assign me Kalymnian ancestry even though they know—either because our families have been neighbours for generations or simply because I've explained it to them—that none of my forebears were born there. Elsewhere in Greece, I've often found that being a tsambouna player has given me access to social capital and a degree of respect as a culture bearer that is rarely afforded to American-born members of the diaspora, who

are more likely to be considered *amerikanakia*, naive little Yanks. Just as my "bagpiper's fingers" (as well as my vocal chords and poetic sensibilities, to expand on Timothy Rice's [1994, 76–86] reflections on learning to play and being recognized as a player of Bulgarian gaida) allow me to help make this music and song and dance happen, the tsambouna itself has been an instrumental actor (pun intended) in my personal articulation of an alternative white American ethnicity rooted in specific sonic and social practices (cf. Sonevytsky 2008).

The predominance of Kalymnian culture in Tarpon Springs's Greek community is such that I, someone who spent a fair amount of my childhood there but was never actively involved in Tarpon's Greek folk dance scene, grew up with the vague impression that there were three kinds of Greek music: Kalymnian dances and table songs, the Italianate ballads preferred by my fancy Cephallonian aunties, and nightclub bouzouki bands. When I began to expand my understanding to encompass the vast range of genres, instruments, rhythms, and poetic techniques associated with Greece's many different regions, my godfather—an influential dance teacher and researcher who founded Levendia, Tarpon Spring's renowned Greek folk dance troupe—invited me to attend a weekend dance conference that he helped organize in January 2002.

The experience was transformative. The conference featured workshops on dances from the Black Sea, various places in northern and western Greece, Crete, and the island of Tilos; seeing and hearing so many contrasting styles of danced movement and music, all under the rubric of Greek traditions, was a revelation. But even more amazing to me was the discovery that, all over the United States and Canada, thousands of children, teenagers, and adults were spending much of their free time learning, rehearsing, and performing these dances, including traveling throughout Greece and the Balkans to conduct focused research on the most minute details of traditional dress, body language, and musical expression—a highly organized and well-funded cultural movement stretching back to the foundation of the Greek Orthodox Metropolis of San Francisco's Folk Dance Festival (FDF) in 1976.[2]

That conference was attended by dance groups from New York, Chicago, Georgia, North Carolina, all over Florida, and as far away as California and the Pacific Northwest. Speaking to the members of these groups, it dawned on me that most of them had an experience of traditional Greek music that in significant ways was

[2] For history and contemporary examination of FDF, see Panagakos 2021 and 2016. For examinations of roughly analogous pan-Balkan dance festivals, see Lausevic 2015 and Silverman 2011.

inverted from my own. While I had a limited exposure that was focused almost exclusively on the music of Kalymnos—indicative of the degree to which the Tarpon Springs migrant community has tended to use Kalymnian cultural forms as the gold standard of Greekness (see League 2018)—they had been listening and dancing for hours a week since early childhood to what I considered a staggering variety of dozens of distinct and often seemingly unrelated regional styles of Greek music. It was clear to me that, for many of these young people, this embodied immersion in folk music and dance practices—in the context of weekly or biweekly rehearsals run by older, more experienced dancers, nearly always (though with some notable exceptions) held on the grounds of the local Orthodox church and funded by its youth ministry—had become their primary means of exploring and expressing the Greek part of their Greek American selves, and working out yet another articulation of white ethnicity predicated on an evocation of embodied, usable pasts (cf. Anagnostou 2009a).

But what made the greatest impression on me that weekend in January 2002 was that several of these young dancers had brought instruments with them: clarinet, violin, laouto, *lyra* (an upright bowed fiddle), bouzouki, percussion instruments such as the goblet-shaped *touberleki* and the double-headed *daouli* bass drum, and a *gaida* bagpipe from northern Greece. In between workshops, in the hallways and hotel rooms after hours, and during their troupes' showcase performances at the final Sunday evening event, these Greek American kids were tearing through an expansive repertoire of tunes and songs from every corner of the Greek-speaking world. What they lacked in technical proficiency (it was clear that most of them had only recently started playing, and some were learning several different instruments at the same time) they made up for with an infectious, seemingly boundless enthusiasm.

As I began to attend more folk dance conferences and festivals, I met more and more of these musicians, got to know them, tracked their often extraordinary progress as instrumentalists and singers, and occasionally collaborated with them in performances at folk dance festivals and competitions across the US and Canada. I also noticed something else about these musicians' backgrounds that contrasted with my own: while they were all born in the United States, nearly all of them are second generation Americans, the children of immigrants who, like Nikitas Tsimouris and my own teacher Skevos Karavokiros, came to the US after the Immigration and

Naturalization Act of 1965 abolished the quota system that had been in place since 1924.[3] As such, they were raised by people who grew up in a Cold War-era European Greece, and were exposed to a set of cultural and political references for Greekness markedly different from my own. Significantly, my forebears had participated actively in the Greek American transition from mistrusted members of a foreign race to ethnic white citizens; theirs arrived already coded as white Europeans.[4]

Furthermore, unlike myself and a few other prominent young American-born musicians with ancestry from the islands of Crete and Karpathos and the Black Sea coast of Turkey[5]—who tend to focus on the music of their places of origin and primarily perform that repertoire for their regionally-identified home communities—these dance troupe musicians' involvement in traditional music grew out of their participation in groups, whether at an Orthodox church or a nonprofit cultural association like the Greek American Folklore Society in New York or Orpheus Hellenic Folklore Society in Chicago, whose operating philosophy is the promotion of an expansive conception of a pan-Hellenic identity (sometimes explicitly tied to Orthodoxy, sometimes not) through immersion in a wide variety of regional dance and music styles.[6] The exponential growth of Greek folk dance competitions in recent decades—particularly the Greek Orthodox Folk Dance and Choral Festival organized by the Metropolis of San

[3] For a thorough and succinct overview of the political motivations and demographic consequences of U.S. immigration law over the course of the 20th century, see Reimers 1981.

[4] See Roediger 2005 for a detailed historical examination of the transition to ethnic whiteness among European immigrants.

[5] The southern coast of the Black Sea, known as Pontos in Greek and Karadeniz in Turkish, was formerly home to a large minority population of Greek-speaking Christians with distinct linguistic, musical, culinary, and other cultural traditions. After a large-scale genocide and the survivors' expulsion from their home region in 1922, large numbers of Pontic Greek refugees settled throughout mainland Greece, particularly in the northern provinces around the city of Thessaloniki. Today, there are also sizable Pontic communities in the United States, particularly in Norwalk, Connecticut and the greater Boston and New York areas. See Tsekouras 2016 for both a comprehensive summary of Pontic music, dance, and oral poetry traditions and a detailed study of ethno-regionalist discourse in the context of musically-enacted sociality among Pontians in contemporary Greece; see also Michailidis 2016 for an analogous study of Pontic music among ethnic minorities in contemporary Turkey.

[6] For example, the website of the Metropolis of San Francisco's Greek Orthodox Folk Dance and Choral Festival, attended by thousands of youth and adult dancers and their groups each year, defines its mission as follows: "The Greek Orthodox Folk Dance and Choral Festival Ministry is dedicated, through Orthodox Christian Fellowship and committed leadership, to promoting, encouraging and perpetuating the Orthodox faith, Greek heritage and culture among individuals, families and communities by expressing it through folk dance, folk art, music and language" (http://www.yourfdf.org/pages/mission-statement/, accessed March 1, 2019). The website of the Astoria, New York-based Greek American Folklore Society, which is not affiliated with an Orthodox parish and whose membership is open to all dancers regardless of faith, states that "(t)he Society's activities encompass a wide variety of folk art traditions from all regions and islands of Greece, in addition to the communities of the Greek Diaspora past and present… In the lyrics, music, and ritualized motion of Greek folk traditions, we see reflections of a people's history, spirituality and world-view" (http://www.greekamericanfolkloresociety.org/our-history, accessed March 1, 2019).

Francisco and the Hellenic Dance Festival run by the Metropolis of Atlanta—and the concurrent financial investment in folk dance programs as the primary youth ministry program of the Greek Orthodox Church in the United States, have solidified a transnational network of dance instructors and master musicians who travel back and forth between Greece and North America to perform, educate, and adjudicate at these events.[7] Dance groups routinely hire instrumentalists from the particular village whose dances they are researching and performing to accompany them at these festivals, creating and sustaining long-term professional and social relationships between dancers and musicians from various far-flung points of the diaspora.

Consequently, the young American-born musicians in these dance groups were exposed to sounds, rhythms, instruments, and genres that they likely would not have encountered in their immediate family environment or at functions organized by regional fraternal societies. This has led, in turn, to two broad tendencies. On the one hand, many of them have developed a professionalized approach to performing traditional music that prioritizes proficiency on the widest possible range of instruments and regional styles, enabling them both to accompany a group performing suites of dances from multiple places in Greece and to play for social dances without a specific regional orientation. On the other hand, some of them have opted to focus on repertoire, and in many cases a single instrument, from a region in Greece with which they have no ancestral connection, developing profound social and emotional connections with specific places and mentor figures.[8]

To my surprise and delight, I eventually discovered that several of these talented young musicians were particularly interested in the two bagpipes played in Greece: the various types of double-chanter tsambouna from the Aegean islands and Black Sea, and the gaida of the northern Greek province of Thrace, which shares borders with Bulgaria and western Turkey. These musicians were born and raised in Greek migrant communities from every corner of the United States: New York, Chicago, North Carolina, southern California, Arizona, and Florida. They come from a variety of backgrounds, though with only one exception none of them have ancestry from any regions in Greece with active piping traditions.[9] Yet they have a number of things

[7] See Panagakos 2021 and 2016.
[8] See Lausevic 2015 for an analogous and contrasting case study concerning American musicians traveling to various locales in the Balkans for musical tourism and mentorship.
[9] John Themelis's father was born on the island of Patmos in the Dodecanese, where the tsambouna is still a part of the local soundscape. Like myself, George Skopis (b. 1991 in Tarpon Springs, Florida), a lifelong member of the Clearwater, Florida-based Hellas dance group who plays Karpathian tsambouna,

in common. They all heard Greek bagpipes for the first time on recordings at rehearsals of the dance groups that they began participating in as children. They are all talented dancers with extensive experience performing and teaching a wide variety of regional Greek folk dance styles. Most of them acquired instruments and began experimenting with playing and tuning on their own, and all identify encounters with master pipers from Greece during dance and music events (largely in the United States) as catalytic to both their initial interest in piping and their long-term musical development. While none are full-time professional musicians, all have achieved a high level of proficiency on tsambouna or gaida, and frequently perform both for competitive dance groups—their own and others—and at social dance events throughout the United States, Canada, and sometimes Greece. And though some concentrate on a specific regional repertoire and style and others have branched out to explore various streams of Greek piping, all are adamant that the process of learning to play these instruments—so seemingly incongruous in their 21st century suburban American reality—has opened perceptual and social doors for them that otherwise would have remained not only closed but invisible without the intensive study and travel in rural Greece that the apprenticeship process demanded. Tellingly, all assert that their primary motivation for playing the tsambouna and gaida today is to keep these piping traditions alive in the ears, eyes, and dancing feet of people throughout the Greek diaspora.

In his critique of symbolic ethnicity as neglecting the profound social and political weight of cultural forms in white ethnic communities, Yiorgos Anagnostou calls for an ethnographic focus on practice in order to combat essentialism and explore how the "immigrant and ethnic past shape socially meaningful and enduring commitments in the present" (2009b, 115). More than a decade after Anagnostou's suggestion, scholarship on expressive culture in the Greek diaspora, particularly folk and traditional music and dance, still relies heavily on symbolic tropes in service of a generalized Greek identity (see, for example, Avgoulas and Fanany 2019 and Issari 2011).

With this in mind, in this chapter I briefly profile four young musicians, among the most audible and visible forces on the North American Greek folk dance and music circuit. Based on a combination of focused interviews and informal conversations over

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has a grandparent from the island of Cephallonia, where a bagpipe known as skortsambouno (a variation on the name tsambouna) was played in some locales, including my ancestral village, until the early to mid-twentieth century. See Schinas 2015, 129.

the last decade, these profiles not only document young musicians' involvement with various Greek bagpipes. They also take a close look at practitioners' personal relationships with the tsambouna and gaida—in the broad context of Greek folk music, relatively marginal instruments with extremely specific regional associations—as vehicles for the active exploration of an expansive diasporic identity that celebrates such marginalities as the performative glue that holds an emergent alternative American Greekness together.

Tsambouna from Chicago to New York City

Two of the busiest musicians on the North American Greek folk dance circuit are John Themelis, from New York, and Dimitrios "Mitso" Dallas, from Chicago. Their group Endasi ("Intensity"), which they founded together with Atlanta-based percussionist Dimitri Papadimitriou, has been a fixture at most of the major US-based competitions and festivals for over a decade; a typical such weekend finds them accompanying dozens of performing groups and animating an all-night open dance party. Though both Themelis and Dallas both play a dizzying number of instruments and are conversant in all the major regional styles of traditional Greek music, both are particularly fond of the tsambouna in its various forms, and the respective paths that led them to the instrument are remarkably similar.

I first met John Themelis in January 2004, during a dance class at the Greek American Folklore Society (GAFS) headquarters in Astoria, New York, when I was living in the city. I recall two things about that first meeting: one, that he was able to code-switch body language from dance to dance with an ease that amazed me (I was playfully chided for being "too bouncy, too Kalymnian" every time I tried to join in on dances from northern and mainland Greece); and two, that when I told him I played tsambouna, he excitedly asked me: "When you play for more than a few minutes, do you start to hallucinate too?"

The oldest of the millennial dance group pipers, John was born in New York in 1982. His father immigrated from the Dodecanese island of Patmos in 1969 at the age of 13, and his American-born mother is half Greek (from Tripoli in the Peloponnese) and half Armenian. Though he grew up hearing some island music at home via the popular recordings of singer Yiannis Parios—along with the Arabic, Turkish, and Frank Sinatra records collected by his Armenian grandfather—traditional Greek

sounds didn't grab him until he attended a Dodecanese Society dance around the age of 12 and saw violin, laouto, and clarinet playing for folk dancing for the first time. Soon after, he started attending weekly practices at GAFS, where he quickly became an accomplished dancer, and began traveling to Greece in the summers—particularly to his father's native island of Patmos—where he listened to traditional ensembles play for dancing at *panegyria* or religious feasts. Connections with various musicians in New York led him to begin playing dumbek, Cretan and Karpathian lyra,[10] and violin, and his exposure to different regional styles in weekly dance practices eventually piqued his interest in the tsambouna.

Though he initially thought that the strident sound he heard on recordings was a *zournas*, the double-reed shawm popular in northern Greece and the Balkans, he realized after seeing some photos on album covers that it was a bagpipe. On a double CD set of music from Patmos, he heard the tsambouna player Theologos Gryllis, and resolved to find a way to hear the instrument in person. In the summer of 1998 on a family trip to the island, he met a seaside kiosk owner who played laouto, and they arranged for a lesson:

> A day or two later, I was snorkelling at the beach, and I heard something that sounded like a goat bleating. It was hard to tell, it was garbled and kind of far away, I thought that it was coming from the farm behind the beach—but it was making all sorts of different sounds, and I thought, what's going on? This is a real musical goat! I stuck my head out of the water and it was gone.
> So I pulled myself up onto the beach and I see this little boat going by, and there's the guy from the kiosk playing laouto and standing next to him is Theologos Gryllis, who I had heard on those CDs, playing tsambouna! It was the coolest experience, it made that trip… I can see it in my head until today.[11]

A few years later, John found an old tsambouna from the island of Naxos hanging on the wall of a music shop in Athens, and, impressed by its rural funkiness—"It had a horn bell, the skin smelled like *mizithra* (a pungent farm cheese), and the

[10] Distinct from the ancient lyre (a plucked harp), the modern Greek lyra is an upright bowed fiddle with three (occasionally four) strings. For an organologically- and ethnographically-focused consideration of the most common Cretan variety, see Dawe 2007; for an analogous study on the Karpathian lyra, see Beina 2011.
[11] John Themelis, personal interview, February 2019.

testicles were still attached!"—brought it back home to New York. After a year or so of experimenting on his own, taping up the instrument's fingerholes to mimic different local tunings,[12] and getting bits of information and reeds online, in 2001 he met two prominent Karpathian tsambouna players, both now deceased, at dance events: the legendary Antonis Zografidis from the village of Olymbos at a concert in New York, and the (now tragically deceased) American-born piper Antonis Nikolaidis at a wedding in Baltimore. Hearing these two master musicians, steeped in a centuries-old local tradition of deeply intertwined music, dance, and improvised poetry, opened his mind to what the tsambouna was capable of, and he occasionally performed with Nikolaidis until the latter's untimely passing in early 2010. Meeting the virtuoso Kalymnian piper Manolis Houlis at the Greek Orthodox Folk Dance and Choral Festival (FDF) in California inspired him to buy an instrument from Kalymnos and learn some of that repertoire in addition to the music that he was already playing from Patmos, Karpathos, and various other islands.

Today John mostly focuses on tsambouna music from the Cycladic islands, especially Kythnos, which features the unusual custom of tsambouna and laouto playing as a duet. He plays more often at home and at the dance classes that he teaches at the Greek Orthodox Cathedral of St. Paul in Hampstead, New York, than on stage in performances with Endasi, but feels every bit a member of what he calls a "club of crazy people" playing the instrument across Greece and the American diaspora:

> It's not the most versatile instrument, but what's amazing to me is how something so simple can be used in so many different ways, how it really sounds so different if you hear it on Naxos versus Kalymnos versus Karpathos versus the Pontians. It's really out there!
>
> You know, I love the sound of the double chanter, I love that it's an ancient instrument, the connection to thousands of years of our history; I love that you're using raw materials, you're connected to the natural world, that the animal skin is out there, it's not hidden or covered up. But above all I play tsambouna today in order to do my part to keep this tradition alive, to make

[12] All tsambounas feature a five-hole melody pipe, capable of producing six discrete pitches, and a parallel drone pipe, played at the same time as the melody pipe. Some tsambounas, such as the Cretan askomandoura and the tsambouna from Naxos, have a five-hole drone pipe; by covering up some of these holes with beeswax or tape, one can approximate the sound of other regional variants with fewer drone holes, such as the 5+3 model from Kalymnos and Leros or the 5+1 model from Patmos, Karpathos, and other islands. See Schinas 2015, 120–8.

> sure that my kids, the kids in my dance class, whoever happens to hear me knows that this exists and that it's part of what Greek culture is.[13]

Like John, his bandmate Mitso Dallas came to the tsambouna (and other traditional instruments) through adolescent involvement in a local folk dance troupe. Born in 1986 in Chicago to a father from Karpenisi in central Greece and a mother with ancestry from nearby Amfissa and the Peloponnesian city of Tripoli—"major *klarino* (clarinet) country on both sides," he points out[14]—Mitso began playing bouzouki at age 9. A few years later he began attending folk dance classes, and became particularly interested in the clarinets, gaida, and various lyras that he heard on recordings and grainy VHS tapes of the Lykeion ton Ellinidon dance group in Athens. He found a cheap gaida on eBay, and after several years of teaching himself northern Greek dance tunes bought a barely functional tsambouna in a music shop on a trip to the Greek capital.

"That thing sucked so bad that I went to Michael's—you know, the chain craft store—and bought a block of wood and just started hacking away at it," Mitso laughs. "I fitted it out with a couple of spare gaida reeds, and messed around with it until I found a sound I liked."[15] Initially, he mimicked recordings of Theologos Gryllis—the tsambouna player from Patmos who John Themelis heard in a passing boat—because he was attracted to Gryllis's clean sound and technique.[16] ("I hadn't learned to appreciate 'dirty' back then."[17]) At a dance workshop in Atlanta in 2005, he met Manolis Houlis—again, one of John Themelis's early inspirations—and received some useful advice on his homemade chanter from the Kalymnian piper, himself an accomplished

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[13] John Themelis, personal interview, March 2019. Though John's comments might be read as over-romanticizing the connection with antiquity—perhaps he simply means that the tsambouna harkens back to a pre-industrial rural reality with aesthetic values markedly different from those of the contemporary West—organological and philological evidence suggests that the tsambouna is analogous both materially and in its socio-cultural role to the ancient Greek aulos, a double-pipe shawm. See Hagel 2010 and Wilson 1999.

[14] Mitso Dallas, personal interview, March 2019.

[15] Mitso Dallas, personal interview, March 2019.

[16] In the late 1990s and early 2000s—undoubtedly owing to both his clean sound and enterprising professionalism—Gryllis was the only tsambouna player to have any consistent presence in Greek media beyond local radio and public access television. He recorded and performed throughout the country with renowned folksinger Domna Samiou, was the only tsambouna player featured on a 1995 CD by FM Records dedicated to Greek bagpipes and shawms, and in 2001 collaborated with several contemporary Greek instrumentalists on a recording entitled "Chabouna-jazz," selections from which have appeared on a number of world music compilations over the last two decades.

[17] Mitso Dallas, personal interview, March 2019.

craftsman. "After I saw Manolis's tsambouna," deadpans Mitso, "things escalated drastically."[18]

He threw himself into making tsambounas and learning all he could about different regional styles, aided by the explosion of videos on YouTube and the recordings that he began to acquire for his own newly-founded dance group. Houlis brought him an instrument from Kalymnos and showed him some new techniques; the late Antonis Nikolaidis from Baltimore, who he met and played with in the same contexts as John, did the same for Karpathian music. But when a dancer friend gave him recordings from the island of Mykonos, he was really smitten. "I fell in love with that style—funky, a little bit out of tune, wonky rhythms—because they play so much of that *laika* (Greek popular music) that I knew from being a bouzouki player. Except they dirtied the hell out of it!"[19]

In addition to performing on clarinet, bouzouki, laouto, violin, santouri (hammer dulcimer), gaida, and a host of other instruments, Mitso frequently plays tsambouna with Endasi at their competition and festival gigs, and—rare among Greek pipers—is equally well-versed on several different regional variants of the instrument and their repertoires. Today he plays Cretan askomandoura, tsambounas from Mykonos and Kalymnos, and the Pontian touloum, and is particularly focused on refining his Cretan and Pontian style. Of all the pipers profiled here, Mitso has spent the least amount of time playing and conducting *in situ* musical research in Greece, primarily operating out of Chicago, where he runs a home inspection business. "I played once on Rhodes for a group of Kalymnians with the lyra player Yiannis Kladakis—that's the most authentic it's gotten for me," he says.

Thracian gaida from Orange County to the Carolinas

If the story of these millennial tsambouna players from the two classic metropoles of Greek America is one of restless searching through an ever-expanding world of musical possibilities that spans the breadth of the Aegean, the two most prominent Greek

[18] Mitso Dallas, personal interview, March 2019.
[19] Mitso Dallas, personal interview, March 2019. Tsambouna players from the island of Mykonos are known for incorporating songs from popular and commercial genres into their repertoire, adapting them to the tsambouna's limited range and their local aesthetic, which purposely tunes the two pipes to slightly different pitches in order to achieve a more aggressive sonic profile; this, plus the idiosyncratic Mykonos approach to rhythm, is likely what Mitso means by "dirty," especially in contrast to the polished studio recordings of these melodies by pop singers.

American gaida players present a marked contrast. Growing up on different suburban peripheries, Vasilis "Billy" Hioureas and Sarandos Kaperonis both fell in love with the sound of the Thracian gaida—a one-drone bagpipe with a single-reed chanter, essentially identical in construction to the more common Bulgarian variant—and have come to focus almost exclusively on not only this instrument, but also specific repertoires and playing styles associated with their respective teachers, who grew up a few miles from each other in the Evros region of Greek Thrace in between Bulgaria and Turkey. For both, the villages of their respective mentors have become second homes, places of constant pilgrimage to which they return again and again for further musical training and social pleasure. This dedication provides an intriguing counterpoint to John and Mitso's profiles as musical omnivores, as does Billy and Sarandos's conscious identification of their musical activity as part of a movement that sometimes seems to be a revival and sometimes an existential struggle. All of these pipers are engaged in a larger project of re-formulating diasporic Greek identity by producing musicked and danced meaning that is anchored, as Owe Ronström points out, in *doing* (creating community sentiment), in *history* (creating images of what once was), in simultaneous *present and future* (informing individual and collective identification), and in a constant negotiation with *modernization* (engagement with the past as a catalyst for change; Ronström 2010, 325-326). And all of their efforts necessarily involve shifts between different performance contexts, and thus constant recontextualizations, both conceptually and practically (see Hill and Bithell 2014). Their contrasting approaches to this larger project, I argue, speak both to the imaginative power still concentrated in the idea of regional folk traditions as repositories of authenticity-supplying Greekness and to the variety of ways that members of the American diaspora intellectually frame their own access to that shared sense of belonging.

Vasilis "Billy" Hioureas was born in 1985 in San Clemente, California, a coastal town in Orange County south of Los Angeles. His parents immigrated from the Peloponnese—again, a region of Greece where the clarinet reigns supreme—and he grew up in an environment saturated with Greek language, media, music, and dance. At age seven, he joined the children's dance group at St. John the Baptist Greek Orthodox Church in Anaheim, performing at church festivals and competitions. His father gave him his first pointers on the bouzouki when he was 12, and soon thereafter he began experimenting on clarinet and percussion instruments such as the touberleki. But he really became serious about music around age 16, when years of listening and dancing

to Thracian tunes in the church dance group coalesced and he decided to track down a gaida.

"One day we were rehearsing Thracian dances," he says, "and it just hit me: wouldn't it be cool to play that instrument for the group, instead of using recordings?"[20] Like Mitso, he bought an old gaida on eBay, and began teaching himself to play through trial and error, listening to recordings and attempting to copy what he heard. Without access to anyone who could give him any pointers— "Nowadays things are different, there's musicians everywhere; but back in the early 2000s nobody around me even knew what a gaida was"[21]—he found his own way around the instrument until his dance director, his sister, and a few other people from the group took a trip to Thrace in the summer of 2005 to connect with musicians and dancers from the village of Asvestades in the Evros region, which they had been focusing on in their rehearsals. There, for the first time, he met a cohort of older gaida players, and heard them playing for dancing at local fairs and taverns.[22] He immersed himself in the environment, made recordings, and took a number of informal lessons with elder musicians, particularly Giannis Beklivanis, who became his mentor and whom he affectionately refers to as *Barba-Giannis* ("uncle Giannis").

Billy was especially taken with Beklivanis's ornamentation, a much more ornate approach than most Greek gaida players employ:

> He uses the thumbhole on the chanter in a totally different way. There's a chirping ornament that we use to separate the notes, to add articulations, and the way he does it adds another layer of sophistication to his personal style; I remember hearing that for the first time, listening to his ornaments, and thinking, "Wow, those embellishments are like a separate song within the song he's playing!" He's also one of the few players who keeps his fingers so close to the chanter, plays so close to the finger holes, that it seems as if his hands aren't even moving. That lets him play super precise and super fast, not like a lot of people who lift their fingers way off the holes. So there was all this sophistication, all these deeper layers of puzzles to figure out, and that really appealed to me.[23]

[20] Vasilis Hioureas, personal interview, February 2019.
[21] Vasilis Hioureas, personal interview, February 2019.
[22] For a foundational ethnographic consideration of the gaida in Evros, see Sarris 2007.
[23] Vasilis Hioureas, personal interview, February 2019.

While this problem-solving aspect of learning to play the gaida certainly charmed Billy's analytical mind—he works as an ethical hacker for an antivirus company—he also forged an immediate emotional bond with Beklivanis, his fellow villagers, and the place itself. He and his sister Vicky, herself an accomplished percussionist, have spent as much time as possible in Asvestades over the intervening years, traveling back and forth from the US in order to maintain the connection. Though he adapts his playing when a dance group hires him to perform gaida music from another village, Billy prefers to focus on Beklivanis's personal style and local repertoire:

> I suppose I consider myself a "purist" in that regard, because I just want to continue the tradition of this guy who's my family now. Playing gaida has shaped who I am. Now, after spending so much time in the village, around simpler ways of life which I never would have been exposed to in Orange County… I've spent about a year in Asvestades if you add it all up, and I honestly feel like I can relate better to a villager at this point than to someone from a city. The music is part of that, but it's also an *effect* of the music, of being around the people who I associate with it, and learning from them.[24]

Billy's comment about "simpler ways of life" invites critical reflection; I'm reminded, viscerally, of my own year or so working on a subsistence farm in Epirus in Northwestern Greece, during which any romantic notions of artistic communion with the souls of my ancestors by playing music around the hearth at night were modified by the stark daily reality of backbreaking labor, exhaustion, and constant worry about creditors, pests, and capricious weather. Even so, like John and Mitso, Billy sees himself in a role of keeping the instrument alive, but has a different, less hopeful perspective on the state of the intensely local tradition that he loves:

> There's something different about Thraki (Thrace) as opposed to a lot of places in Greece, like Crete or the mainland where there are thousands of clarinetists, or even all the kids learning tsambouna on the islands. It's not as much a living, breathing thing anymore. In 30 years a lot of that's going to have died. A lot of

[24] Vasilis Hioureas, personal interview, February 2019.

> the people in Asvestades and the surrounding villages… there are no kids there, nobody's learning the music. Soon it's going to be a memory. So my sister and I have always wanted to do what we can to preserve that.[25]

Just as Billy was inspired to dive into the world of the Thracian gaida by meeting and hearing Giannis Beklivanis, Billy himself was the catalyst for another talented young Greek American from the other side of the Mississippi River to pick up the instrument. Sarandos Kaperonis was born in Charlotte, North Carolina in 1991, to parents (and, he points out, grandparents and great-grandparents) from the village of Karyes/Arachova Lakonias in the Peloponnese, ancestral home to roughly half of Charlotte's 15,000 Greeks. Like Billy, Sarandos started dancing in the troupe run by his local parish, Holy Trinity Greek Orthodox Cathedral, in kindergarten; he began directing one of the church's adolescent groups while in high school, and in 2012 founded Charlotte's adult dance group Thrylos ("Legend"), which he continues to lead. Growing up in a large and successful dance program—Holy Trinity's dancers total roughly 300 children, teenagers, and adults, and consistently take first prize at major competitions—Sarandos heard and danced to a wide variety of music from all over Greece, but Thracian music had a special allure. "The sound of the gaida always excited me," he says.[26]

In 2006, he saw and heard the instrument live for the first time at the Hellenic Dance Festival in Greenville, South Carolina, when none other than Billy Hioureas was performing with a group from California. "I'll never forget it, it just clicked," Sarandos tells me. "In that moment—seeing a cool young guy play this music that I'd always been into—I knew that's what I wanted to learn."[27]

But unlike Billy, John, and Mitso, who all immediately purchased cheap instruments and began to teach themselves by trial and error, Sarandos waited until the right opportunity presented itself. "Maybe I wasn't ready yet to make that leap when I was still a kid and it was hard to find a good instrument," he says. "I just kept immersing myself in listening."[28] That opportunity arrived in 2011, when his dance group was working up a suite of dances from the village of Orestiada in Evros, Thrace, a few miles from the Turkish border, and decided to bring Panagiotis Zikidis, a renowned gaida

[25] Vasilis Hioureas, personal interview, February 2019.
[26] Sarandos Kaperonis, personal interview, February 2019.
[27] Sarandos Kaperonis, personal interview, February 2019.
[28] Sarandos Kaperonis, personal interview, February 2019.

player and maker and major force behind the defence of idiomatic gaida playing in northern Greece, to perform with them at FDF in Anaheim, California. Sarandos sent Zikidis an e-mail asking to buy an instrument, and before long he was sitting in a hotel room with his first gaida—and his first teacher:

> It was the first time I had ever stayed up 24 hours straight. They were flying to Greece in the morning, so I stayed up all night after the competition, danced all night at the *glendi* (dance party), then went to their room at 7 am as they were packing. Panagiotis sat on the bed and showed me some scales—major, minor, a few little things; I still have that video! But aside from that he just said, *E, tha ta matheis monos sou* ("Eh, you'll learn it on your own"). So that's what I did, and I still do; I tune up my gaida to one of his recordings, put on headphones, and play along. I think of Panagiotis as my teacher, because he's who I've copied.[29]

Sarandos agrees that the Evros gaida style, in which both he and Billy have immersed themselves, is in danger of extinction. "It's just simpler and plainer and less developed than the way the Bulgarians play—I think that a lot of really talented young players feel limited by *evritika* (Evros music) and start playing Bulgarian because it's flashier, more challenging."[30] Sarandos estimates that he and Billy are among only about a dozen accomplished gaida players of their generation (including both in Greece and the diaspora) who play in a recognizably Greek idiom; the rest, including a few American-born musicians, play in a more refined Bulgarian style. Even his teacher Panagiotis Zikidis and Zikidis's contemporary Giannis Dobridis (also an important figure in the efforts to preserve the Evros style and an accomplished instrument maker as well as performer) learned in a relative vacuum left by decreased interest in the tradition and its precipitous loss in status among young people; Zikidis's father, Sarandos tells me, didn't even know that his son was playing gaida until he saw him perform on television. "The tradition just hasn't stayed as solid up there," Sarandos says. "There's a 20-year gap between the old-timers and Zikidis's generation, and then another 20-year gap between them and me and Billy. It's tricky when you're a young, impressionable kid being told that these traditions aren't cool… who knows, if

[29] Sarandos Kaperonis, personal interview, February 2019.
[30] Sarandos Kaperonis, personal interview, February 2019.

Billy had been a slobbery old *gero* (old man) maybe I wouldn't have been so excited about it!"[31]

Sarandos and Billy both make an intriguing point about the relative lack of interest in local gaida playing among young people in what today are relatively depopulated villages whose traditions are maintained by a few charismatic and motivated middle-aged artists.[32] In a significant way, the situation on the ground in Thrace seems to be an inversion of the one in the US: though there are only a few young Americans dedicating themselves to the instrument and the local Evros idiom, there are thousands more who dance to its music on a regular basis and for whom it is one of the many indicators of their danced and sounded Greek identity. How this affects the future trajectory of the tradition in terms of more practitioners remains to be seen, but I can offer the anecdotal affirmation that Billy and Sarandos have undoubtedly brought Evros-style gaida music and its associated movements into the mainstream of Greek American folk dancing through their performances at festivals and competitions.

Like Billy, Sarandos has made it a priority to drink from the source as much as possible. Since 2011, he has spent roughly three months a year in Greece between Orestiada in Greek Thrace, his ancestral village in the Peloponnese, and other places in northern Greece where he conducts dance research, finding time around his duties in pharmacy school and, now, running his own apothecary. Though he has mixed feelings about the politics of dance competitions, he believes that his lifetime of immersion in the competitive dance circuit provided him with the skills and motivation to conduct focused research: "I'm one of those dance directors who presents the judges with a little thesis paper about the suites we're performing."[33] Similarly, he credits his time learning and playing the gaida both with making him a more sensitive and accomplished dancer and giving him an entirely new perspective on, and place in, the story of Greek culture both in the homeland and in diaspora.

> If I was just some *amerikanaki* ["naive little American," a common Greek stereotype for members of the American diaspora] who knew how to dance, that would be nice—but the fact that I can play gaida? Everyone's like, "Oh, who are

[31] Sarandos Kaperonis, personal interview, February 2019.
[32] This revivalist impulse is not by any means confined to the American diaspora; groups such as Evritiki Zigia, comprised of younger musicians from Evros, are also researching, performing, and recording (and making professionally-produced music videos of) this repertoire, and deserve scholarly attention.
[33] Sarandos Kaperonis, personal interview, February 2019.

> *you*?" And they give me books and recordings and such about Evros, about local history, they make me part of their community… if I hadn't decided to play gaida I wouldn't have met Panagiotis, this guy who's become like part of my family, and I wouldn't have learned as much as I know about dance. It's like Jordan (Elrod, a Cuban-Greek-American dance teacher and drummer from South Florida) always says: Musicians are the most underrated source for dance information; they're the ones who make it all happen.[34]

Conclusion

One scene from that first Greek folk dance conference that I attended in 2002 has stayed in my memory, and is germane to the close of this narrative. The festival's house band was Ziyia, an extraordinary group of elder musicians who had met in the 1980s at the East European Folklife Center's Balkan Camp in California. Over the last few decades, in close collaboration with Greek American dance instructors of the same generation, they had pioneered an approach to performing traditional Greek music based on years of immersion in various regional traditions and a remarkable fluency on various instruments. Only one of their number was of Greek descent: singer, clarinet, zournas, laouto, and oud player Christos Gouvetas, who was born in the village of Proti Serron in northern Greece and immigrated to Boston as a teenager before moving to Seattle. The rest—violinist and lyra player Beth Cohen; accordion and santouri player Lise Liepman; clarinet, saxophone, and gaida player George Chittenden; and percussionist Dan Auvil—were all Americans who came to Greek and Balkan music through various divergent paths. In their heyday in the 1990s and early 2000s, Ziyia were extraordinary, both for the range of their repertoire and their instrumental virtuosity, and seemingly ubiquitous at dance festivals. Though the festival scene discussed here had been established for a decade and a half before their emergence, it wouldn't be an exaggeration to credit them in large part with both the recent explosion of interest in traditional music among young Greek Americans and the demand for high quality live music at competitions, which has proven a substantial source of income for today's festival and competition musicians.

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[34] Sarandos Kaperonis, personal interview, February 2019.

I recall standing off to the side of the stage with my new friends—dancers and aspiring musicians from Greek immigrant communities all over the US—listening to Ziyia transition seamlessly from a fast Macedonian brass band tune in 11/8 to a stately, swaying island dance, and watching the conspicuous performance of white ethnicity on the dance floor. In a generation, I wondered in that moment, how will this dynamic have changed? Would even more non-Greek instrumentalists be providing the music for these events, and filling out the ranks of these dance troupes?

Now, fifteen years later, I attend analogous conferences and festivals and am struck by how definitively the makeup of both bands and dance groups has swung in exactly the opposite direction. A large cohort of talented young Greek American musicians—the four pipers profiled here among the most conspicuous of them—has emerged out of the North American network of dance programs and its circuit of competitive and teaching festivals. These musicians carry with them an intimate, embodied knowledge of regional folk music styles and, significantly, native proficiency in various forms of dancing, honed through a lifetime of immersion in these sounds and movements. In the lives of thousands of young Greek Americans, the world of folk dancing and music has become the world of Greek ethnicity, more so than language use, church attendance, or participation in other expressions of regional or ethnonational identification (despite the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America's control of the competitive festivals and dance weekends at which they ply their trade). That this is only one of the many facets of their sense of self as white ethnic Americans, who possess the privilege to claim ethnicity when desirable and fade into an unmarked racial identity when convenient, remains unaddressed in the popular discourse of this community and presents a serious challenge to those of us committed to an honest accounting of Greek America's transition to whiteness.

For the tsambouna and gaida players profiled here, these bagpipes have become an instrumental means of articulating an alternative white ethnicity in the 21st century. The case studies presented in this essay not only remind us of how heterogenous suburban American life actually is, and what a diversity of intersecting cultural and political forces come together in the construction of personhood. They also call attention to the powerful ways that the choice to participate in particular expressive practices—choice rooted in affective and aesthetic affinity, pleasure, and fun—can lead to experiences that profoundly shape individual understandings of ethnic and racial identity. Saturated with the magic of collective musical and social experience (both lived and

imagined), mediated by recordings and the generous gatekeepers of tradition, and bounded by the turning circle of dancers, these models of Greekness in the American diaspora are predicated on contemporary transnational flows of music and active reconstructions of the past, in dialogue with simultaneous movements in the notional homeland and elsewhere in the diaspora. As these musicians continue to ply their trade at festivals, dance competitions, dance parties, and weddings across Greek America, aided by the pre-industrial bleating of chanters and drones, they are not only insisting upon injecting subaltern traditional practices into suburban American spaces. They are also actively constructing—and instructing—an expansive corner of this community's soundscape, giving old traditions new life in thousands of ears and dancing feet.

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3 | MUSIC WORK AND SOLIDARITY POLITICS IN THE AGE OF COVID-19: FROM TRADE UNIONS TO GRASSROOTS MOVEMENTS

IOANNIS TSIOULAKIS

"¡El pueblo unido, jamás será vencido! ¡El pueblo unido, jamás será vencido!" Their fists up in the air, their voices resonating under protective face-coverings, you would be forgiven to think that this was a political protest in Latin America. But the aural—and, a few seconds later, visual—appearance of instruments including bouzouki, oud, and kanun, in front of the central building of the National and Kapodistrian University, unmistakeably places the video of this loud performative intervention in Athens.[1] Organised by the newly-emerged collective "Support Art Workers," on 25 April 2021, this political act of collectivism and disobedience by performing artists would have been very unlikely until the beginning of the Covid-19 pandemic, a year earlier. The collective's "Open Orchestra" publicly rehearsed and performed the Chilean revolutionary song that has resonated with democratic struggles globally for over five decades (McSherry 2017) after a call on social media that managed to mobilise hundreds of musicians and other artists from across genres, scenes, and employment conditions (Balandina 2021).[2] As the opening video caption informs the viewer, this was done in "Solidarity from Athens, to France, to Chile and to all the people across the world that's rising up and fighting. For Culture. For Life."

The city centre of Athens, of course, has been vibrant with protests and political activism of all shades especially since "The Greek Crisis" from 2009 until today (Dalakoglou 2012; Gourgouris 2011; Athanasiou 2014; Douzinas 2013). But performing artists, a caste of labourers who have been devastated by the precarity caused by Greek austerity policies (Tsioulakis 2020a; Karakioulafi 2012; Vavva 2020; Levidou 2017),

[1] The video can be seen here: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=C1nZwJJ84sk, accessed June 16, 2021.

[2] In her insightful article, ethnomusicologist Alexandra Balandina (2021) provides an evocative first-hand account of this performance and the preparation that went into it as well as its strategic aims as an unprecedented example of what she calls "creative activism."

had seemingly let the wave of collective action pass them by, without the emergence of significant unitary campaigns. Even during the worst times of the so-called "Greek Crisis," that intensified precarity and poverty among performing artists, musicians seemed reluctant to resort to joint struggle and unionisation as a means to improve their working conditions (Tsioulakis 2022a; Balandina and Efthymiou 2021). This lack of mobilisation was radically reversed, in Greece but also more internationally, in the wake of the Covid-19 pandemic, which triggered the closure of venues and rendered performing workers across the globe effectively unemployed overnight, in March 2020 (Tsioulakis 2022b; Balandina 2021; Tsioulakis and FitzGibbon 2020; Banks 2020; Comunian and England 2020; Bastani et al. 2021). Artists from across sectors have organised in diverse—often competing—collectives, their official unions have been gaining in popularity and membership, and their voices and bodies have been audible/visible on the streets on numerous occasions. From campaigns around "bread and butter" issues to joining national labour strikes and designing wider actions of international solidarity,[3] artists since the Spring of 2020 have become a political force to be reckoned with. This effectively brought demands over issues of labour conditions and fair employment into a wider and more affective arena of performative action, through what Alexandra Balandina has termed "acts of creative activism" (2021, 210).

Most notably within these circumstances, a new grassroots movement powered by social media under the motto "Support Art Workers" (henceforth SAW) has emerged as a point of convergence and solidarity for tens of thousands of creative artists including musicians, actors, dancers, visual artists and technicians (Karakioulafi 2022). As Valeria, an actor/musician and founding member of SAW tells me in an interview "If it wasn't for the pandemic, there would never have been such comradeship." Mina, a dancer also active in the collective, agrees: "the artworld is not used to collective processes. There was no explicit consciousness of the structures within which we work. Art had been disconnected from issues of labour and livelihood so everyone was disengaged when it came to struggling for collective rights and benefits. The pandemic seems to have woken us all up to those demands."

Tracing this awakening, its potentials and inconsistencies, this chapter will examine emerging solidarities between musicians and other performing artists. It will

[3] See, for example, this musical intervention organised by #SupportArtWorkers in solidarity with the Turkish Grup Yorum, while several of its members were going through a hunger strike in 2020: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ouJSeTiBM-4, accessed June 16, 2021.

argue that these new solidarities exist at the edges of established political dichotomies and alliances in Greece; neither disconnected nor fully defined by them. It will examine collective claims as they emerge from public/physical as well as social media activism. Finally, it will reflect on how these urgent circumstances and growing campaigning redefine the conception of "musical labour" among practitioners as well as the opportunities and responsibilities that it introduces for musicological research.

Music labour in "The Greek Crisis"

Working in the creative industries, especially in roles that are habitually fulfilled by freelancers, has always been marked by intensified precarity (McRobbie 2016; Scharff 2018; Hesmondhalgh and Baker 2011). Even within conditions of relative economic prosperity and capitalist "growth," creative labourers operate as what Isabell Lorey calls "virtuosos of freedom," who "start from the assumption that they have chosen their living and working conditions themselves, precisely to ensure that they develop the essence of their being to the maximum in a relatively free and autonomous manner" (2011, 84).[4] As Lorey argues, those workers often lend themselves to a condition of "self-precarization" (ibid), whereby they tolerate a degree of insecurity in exchange for presumed artistic freedom and flexibility in their creative practice. At the same time, especially in the field of musical labour, this unique pursuit of livelihood almost in every circumstance involves multi-tasking and multi-jobbing (Tarassi 2018), which leads practitioners into a struggle to "strategize within the affective structure of precarity" (Threadgold 2018, 168). As Gross and Musgrave powerfully argue, music labour's "privileged position as a site of pleasure and creativity masks a darker world of inequality, division and exploitation" (2020, 47). Their in-depth empirical study in the UK, shows that these working conditions are additionally affected by aspects of gender, class, age and ethnicity, and can ultimately contribute to severe mental health issues (ibid, 25–40).

If precarity, insecurity, and issues of emotional struggle are common within freelance performing artists in general, the circumstances of "The Greek Crisis" after 2009 have radically exacerbated the predicament. Triggered by the global financial

[4] Balandina and Efthymiou (2021) echo some similar thoughts from interviews with musician Ross Daly in Greece, who uses the term "artistic being" as a summary of how musicians are often perceived in this context.

recession of 2008 which was followed by sweeping austerity policies implemented by governments and institutions across different regions (Powers and Rakopoulos 2019; Bear 2017; Blyth 2015; Bear and Knight 2017), "The Greek Crisis" has played out as a radical socioeconomic transformation of civic society, with especially devastating impact on poorer and more marginalised strata (Panourgia 2018; Dalakoglou et al. 2018). Even the relatively more secure middle-classes of the previous era of "prosperity" have entered a prolonged "state of emergency" (Athanasiou 2018), which manifests in the normalisation of a "precariat" class (Standing 2011). This new assemblage of working conditions feeds into a generalised strategy of "governmental precarization" (Lorey 2019), whereby insecurity is no longer a state of exception, but rather a tool of neoliberal governance. In other words, precarity is not the temporary path out of a "crisis," but a permanent managerial technique.

As I lay out in my monograph *Musicians in Crisis* (Tsioulakis 2020a), for Greek professional session musicians, this development was not entirely new, yet it entailed breaches and intensifications that warrant it a special focus. As explained to me by seasoned trade-unionists from the Panhellenic Musicians Union (PMU), it was not only the generalised conditions of economic recession that affected the music industry, but also direct governmental policies that rolled back many of the labour achievements of the past: "The first wave of the crisis cancelled all avenues of collective bargaining for musicians. This meant that I now had to face my employer as an individual and in competition with everyone else." (Anastasis, instrumentalist and member of the PMU). As Kostas, a bass player and General Secretary of the PMU explained to me in a private interview in 2016, the first Memorandum of Economic Policies that was signed in 2010 directly impacted musicians' entitlement to social benefits and healthcare access:

> Musicians were excluded from the benefits of being identified as "hard and unhealthy labour." They also equated our working hours' threshold with other employees, meaning that any musician who was working less than 8 hrs a day was considered to be working "part time." As if any musician could possibly be performing for 8 hrs a day like an office worker! These were circumstances of the crisis that most people, even professional musicians, don't know much about, but they have deeply affected freelance session musicians.

My ten-year-long ethnographic research among Greek freelance instrumentalists and vocalists has revealed that they experienced this new reality mainly through constructing "crisis subjectivities" marked by isolation and introspection (Tsioulakis 2020a, 123–33) and by attempting to forge "ways out" of intensified precarity by engaging in resistance acts afforded by alternative avenues of teaching, manual labour, and micro-scenes (ibid, 138–62; see also Tsioulakis 2022a). So, while many of these "ways out" involved a degree of collectivism and solidarity mainly through the emergence of a new "crisis aesthetic/ethic" (Tsioulakis 2020a, 157–8; see also Tziovas 2017) and entrepreneurial strategies (Tsioulakis 2020a, 143–54), labour organisation and activism outside of a small cohort of committed trade unionists was relatively absent.

The role of musicians' unions

Musicians' Unions in Greece have a long history beginning in the early 20th century. The most prominent national collective body, The Panhellenic Musicians' Union (*Πανελλήνιος Μουσικός Σύλλογος,* henceforth PMU[5]), was established in 1913 and has linked its history with continuous struggles for the improvement of labour conditions and social security for performing musicians in all types of employment.[6] Alongside the PMU, notable is the role of the Union of Musicians of Northern Greece (*Σωματείο Μουσικών Βορείου Ελλάδος,* henceforth SMVE), established in 1922, more focused on the representation of musicians in the periphery, including a lot of unregulated labour that takes place in folk/demotic festivals of northern regions as well as a particular focus on street musicians.[7] Finally, the Panhellenic Federation of Performance and Sound (*Πανελλήνια Ομοσπονδία Θεάματος Ακροάματος,* henceforth POTHA) is a secondary, umbrella union that engages in collective bargaining for the wider sector including actors, musicians, dancers, and workers in the TV and film industry, including also technicians and administrative/support labourers.[8]

Most relevant to the current circumstances, PMU and the other unions were instrumental in the establishment of a collective labour agreement (CLA) for

[5] For Union acronyms, I am using here the ones that Unions tend to use themselves, in the Latin alphabet.
[6] For a brief history of the PMU, in Greek, see: https://pmu.gr/?page_id=82, accessed June 18, 2021.
[7] More information on the history and role of the SMVE can be found here: https://smve.gr/katastatiko/, accessed June 18, 2021.
[8] An account of the history and campaigns of POTHA can be accessed here: https://potha.gr/%cf%80%ce%bf%ce%b9%ce%bf%ce%b9-%ce%b5%ce%b9%ce%bc%ce%b1%cf%83%cf%84%ce%b5/, accessed June 18, 2021.

musicians in the early 1980s. According to the president of the PMU, Vassilis Paraskevopoulos, "the CLA from the 1980s, which was in effect with some fine-tuning and improvements up until 2011, had established a certain formalisation of labour conditions that were all-encompassing and legally binding. These included minimum wages, social insurance, maximum working hours, and rules on overtime compensation."[9] However, already from the 1990s, "those CLAs were being violated by employers who managed to minimise payments and bypass social insurance requirements in breech of official legislation." (Vassilis) The "Greek Crisis" normalised this practice and made it official policy. As Vassilis argues "In essence the Crisis sealed a process that was already underway with the State officially revoking all CLAs in the private sector, thus demolishing all those hard-earned labour and social security rights. This meant that employers could effectively hire and sack workers as they wished without any scrutiny."[10] The unions remained active in campaigning and collective bargaining throughout "The Crisis." As Vassilis explains, "along with devastation, The Crisis also brought to the fore the need for organisation and demands in the face of the new urgent needs." However, most freelance musicians outside of the public sector (for example state orchestras and institutions, who were still covered by limited CLAs) did not habitually become union members or actively participate in the trade union movement.[11]

This lack of engagement was drastically reversed at the beginning of the pandemic and the imposition of lockdowns in March 2020. As Athena, a kanun player and elected officer of the PMU told me in a private interview in July 2020, "we used to have general meetings with 50–60 members present, and in the last one we had a crowd of 350." Dimitris Sfingos, the president of SMVE also reported that their subscriptions doubled from 200 to 400 members as an immediate result of the first phase of the

[9] Unless otherwise indicated, the quotes from representatives of artists unions in this section are taken from oral presentations at a two-day online workshop that I co-organised with other social scientists in Greece in February 2021. More information about the programme and participants of this workshop can be found here: https://baltzis.webpages.auth.gr/announcements/conferences-events/290-cultural-work-in-greece, accessed June 18, 2021.

[10] This process was officially implemented with law no. 4024/2011, see Kapsalis and Triantafyllou (2013).

[11] The inability of Musicians' Unions to operate strongly as collective bargaining bodies for freelancers in circumstances of free market capitalism is, of course, not a Greek phenomenon. Based on research on the UK Musicians' Union, Martin Cloonan suggests that "for the majority the general trend has been for the MU to find itself less and less involved in direct negotiations with employers and more and more in the provision of services" (2014, 18). Cloonan goes on to argue that "In part, this relates to another issue: that of what being a union member means, in terms of how members experience the larger organization of which they are a part. Many trade union members experience the union presence in their workplace on a daily basis. However, only for a few musicians (primarily in orchestras) does the union play a significant role in their daily working lives" (ibid, 19).

pandemic. He was quick to note, however, that in his view "this was because musicians saw 'the cheese on the table,' and not out of a sudden spurt of labour consciousness." In all of the testimonies that I have gathered from musicians who are active in the trade unions, the link between sudden economic desperation in the wake of the closure of performance venues and engagement in collective bodies was very explicit. As Athena testified in a private interview, "We had colleagues calling us and asking for help because they had no money to pay for electricity or feed their families." The PMU was instrumental and quick in taking on such "bread and butter" issues, by pressuring the government to include musicians in unemployment benefits, expand the special Covid-19 support schemes to include more freelancers, and freeze some of their accumulating taxation and other state expenses during the health-related measures that prevented them from working. Even though very few of those demands were satisfied, the collective campaigning raised awareness among professionals and had an immediate impact on membership numbers. The PMU was also instrumental in cultivating collective consciousness among many musicians. Anastasis, a performing musician and more recent recruit of the union told me in a private interview:

> In 2020 I had the most difficult summer since I became a musician and I was ready to quit. But through PMU I understood that this was not my personal fault and that it had to do with the way that labour rights have been trashed in the past few years. The PMU detected the issues immediately, its officers confronted the political leaders head on, and its role was solidified in the demonstrations from the get go.

Nikos, a folk violin player and active member of the PMU agreed that "there are a lot of discussions and movements everywhere, but it is the official union that can create order in the campaigns and demands. There is an optimistic atmosphere within its ranks that is reversing the long-established scaremongering and repudiation of the trade union movement, and this is very positive."

Since the beginning of the pandemic, the unions have risen in visibility and their campaigning has intensified, both as separate units and, in some cases, in unison. As Kostas Kehagioglou, the President of POTHA explains,

> The first phase of the lockdown between March and May 2020 was a crucial period that brought to the surface many of the endemic issues of the creative industry. We as a union have been striving to highlight those problems and build a mass movement. Now we need to create the social resistance necessary to reform the profession for good, especially with regards to the absence of CLAs. In the past ten years [since The Crisis], the circumstances have cultivated an individualism against collectivism. This is what we are trying to reverse now.

Within those circumstances, musicians' collectives have been additionally equipped to galvanise people through the medium of online concerts. The PMU was the first official union to organise such an event in November 2020,[12] followed by a similar fundraising concert by the SMVE in May 2021.[13] The PMU in particular has been continuously visible/audible on the streets by organising interventions such as their public performance for World Day for Cultural Diversity on 21 May 2021,[14] and their loud presence in the national demonstration against the "Anti-Labour" law of the right-wing New Democracy government on 16 June 2021.[15]

On some occasions, artists' trade unions including PMU, SMVE and POTHA have been aligned forming a solid opposition to the government's Ministry of Culture with common demands for the whole sector of performing artists. One such massive demonstration was organised on 15 April 2021 with the participation of all active artists' unions, accompanied by a rare collective press release.[16] However, on other instances, the emerging activism has brought to light a degree of fragmentation and antagonism between the unions, which draws on deep-seated political differences.[17]

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[12] Some information (in Greek) can be found here: https://pmu.gr/?p=1317, accessed June 28, 2021. I have briefly discussed some of the implication of this activism in another short article (Tsioulakis 2020b).
[13] Some information on the SMVE concert here: https://smve.gr/20200422-kalimera/, accessed June 28, 2021.
[14] Information and a video sample here: https://pmu.gr/?p=1661, accessed June 28, 2021.
[15] Some pictures from PMU's participation in that demonstration can be found on social media: https://www.facebook.com/pmu.gr/photos/a.2581315708641048/3588263971279545/, accessed June 28, 2021.
[16] Information including the press release can be found on the POTHA website (in Greek) here: https://potha.gr/2021/04/15/%ce%b1%ce%bd%ce%b1%ce%ba%ce%bf%ce%af%ce%bd%cf%89%cf%83%ce%b7-%ce%b3%ce%b9%ce%b1-%cf%84%ce%b7-%cf%83%ce%b7%ce%bc%ce%b5%cf%81%ce%b9%ce%bd%ce%ae-%cf%80%ce%b1%ce%bd%ce%ba%ce%b1%ce%bb%ce%bb%ce%b9%cf%84/?fbclid=IwAR1uMeYzqnoQjITZjUVy4qwqRogcU7jAW6DfJpPGKtr2PANy03Io7TjihuQ, accessed June 28, 2021.
[17] Again the Greek case is not out of line with other international examples. Michelson's (1997) research on the Australian Musicians' Union, for example, shows how its relative autonomy was achieved through continuous resistance to amalgamation with other unions and adopting their wider policies.

Within the musical profession specifically, this is most pronounced in the animosity, often public, between PMU and POTHA (with SMVE more closely aligned with the later collective). Even though the intricacies of those acrimonies can be complicated and have historical roots, they are also indicative of a wider hostility between unions that are affiliated with the Greek Communist Party (KKE) and those who are less explicitly partisan (but often associated with the wider Left/Centre-Left political space). The leadership of the PMU has been in recent times affiliated to P.A.ME. (Πανεργατικό Αγωνιστικό Μέτωπο, All-workers Militant Front), a national collective of trade unionists linked to the Greek Communist Party (KKE).[18] In contrast, POTHA and SMVE present themselves as more independent politically and incorporating wider forces from the Greek Left and Centre-Left, but they are often portrayed by PMU as in aligned with SYRIZA, a more Europeanist left-wing party that was in government between 2015 and 2019.[19]

Despite the (presumed or declared) affiliations of the unions, however, their differences are often articulated in terms of strategy, especially in the way in which they negotiate with the State and its relevant Ministries. In a public two-day workshop that I co-organised with academics from three Greek universities in February 2021[20] that brought many of the artists' unions around a table of discussion, some of these divisions and discrepancies became manifest, in subtle ways. Vassilis, the President of PMU, for example, discussing the stance of his union throughout the Greek Crisis and up to the current pandemic, emphasised:

> Every little win was a result of our uncompromising strategy. The alternative strategy, also tried for a long time, is that of negotiating with the perpetrators and settling for the lesser evil. […] This is an attitude that accepts the circumstances of inequality as given and attempts to work within those. In our opinion, this is a losing strategy. Our union stays on the path of head-on collision, with the signing of a CLA as an unwavering demand. What we ask is not for some "starvation allowance" while we tolerate insecure labour, but to establish labour rights for living in dignity, so that we can communicate with people and offer

[18] On the particular brand of Marxism of the Greek Communist Party, see Keith and Charalambous (2016).
[19] On Syriza's ascension to power, see Athanasiou (2015), Chapman (2015), and Malamidis (2021, 65–104).
[20] Details available here: https://baltzis.webpages.auth.gr/announcements/conferences-events/290-cultural-work-in-greece, accessed June 28, 2021.

> the fruits of the art that we love for the whole of society. We need to form a front that can stand solid in defence of those demands, not to merely focus on alleviating the immediate crisis.

Without explicitly accusing any of his comrades in other unions who would have been present in the discussion, Vassilis's reference to a "losing strategy" that "tolerates" current circumstances of inequality was a direct dig at the stance of other artists' collectives that are portrayed as too eager to negotiate and compromise in the face of political power. In this rhetoric, the PMU presents itself as the resolute fighter of music workers' rights that, given its direct opposition to all political parties that have been in power in recent decades, makes it the most consistent exponent of those struggles. This rhetoric is also echoed by Athena, in a private interview, who told me that "We need to realise that musicians are on one side and our employers on the other; against us. Some colleagues are realising that we have nothing that divides us in our ranks. And the PMU can play that role, from providing food to those who can't afford it to building a movement that can credibly demand a permanent CLA." In Athena's words, then, the only worthy advocate for music workers is the PMU union, that has no illusions about the explicit struggle between workers and employers, a narrative with explicit and conscious Marxist overtones of class struggle.

In contrast, President Kechagioglou of POTHA spoke in the workshop with an emphasis on some of the problems of fragmentation that artists' trade unionism is suffering from:

> There are endemic problems within trade unionism as well, and a lot of repudiation. There is partisanship within the unions, there is strong employers' unionisation that benefits them, and State-affiliated trade unionism which only strives to be accepted by those in power. There is a whole system that prevents the radicalisation of workers and that reaches high in the ranks of trade unionism as well. The collectives and unions need to become refuges for workers once more. In POTHA we have managed to bring people together, not accentuate our differences and divisions, but to highlight the unitary demands. This is how we succeeded in getting more people from different starting points involved.

Even though the rhetoric is quite similar, his reference to "partisanship" as well as his vague accusation of agents who "accentuate differences," though subtle, can be read as a challenge towards the PMU and other unions that follow the hard-line stance of ΚΚΕ and Π.Α.ΜΕ. In that view he was echoed by President Sfingos of SMVE who was less subtle: "The pandemic found us [the Unions] unprepared. Policy is not only produced by the legislative bodies but also from the unions, through their stance and tolerance. But the unions are in chaos. All this time we still haven't managed to release a common announcement with all the unions signing it." This is again a direct reference to PMU who have on multiple occasions refused to add their signature under common releases with other unions, because the PMU often perceives them as compromising or opportunist.[21] On one such explicit occasion, in May 2021 when POTHA managed to secure a meeting with some of the employers and venue owners' bargaining bodies, PMU stood in direct opposition with the initiative, even releasing a statement that characterised the meeting as a "farce" and accusing POTHA of indulging employers in their effort to advance their own anti-labour agendas.[22]

Overall, the role of musicians' and other performing artists' unions is becoming increasingly relevant to the working conditions and access to benefits for professionals across the sector. After a relatively dormant state, at least among freelancers, in the past two decades, the pandemic and its immediate threat on even the most modest and precarious modes of livelihood has channelled some of the frustration into collective struggle and unionisation. This is, of course, an uneven process, ridden with antagonisms and internal divisions that are becoming more public as the movement is increasing its visibility. It also reveals continuities with wider electoral politics and long-established ideological tensions within the Greek left. But these are not clear-cut, and they become additionally charged and complicated with the revitalisation caused by a swarm of new members of diverse or non-existent political affiliations. Nowhere is this new energy more evident than within grassroots collectives that emerged recently as a direct result of the pandemic crisis.

[21] See for example this POTHA press release from April 2021 (In Greek from the SMVE website) that is signed by all the major artists' unions with the exception of the PMU: https://smve.gr/potha-20210405/#more-1891, accessed June 29, 2021.
[22] The press release (in Greek) can be found here: https://pmu.gr/?p=1610, accessed June 29, 2021.

Grassroots activism from the web to the streets: The "Support Art Workers" phenomenon

A month into the pandemic lockdown, at the end of April 2020, a new movement emerged that was destined to redefine the magnitude of participation and nature of activism among arts workers in Greece. According to Valeria, an actor and one of the founding members, the movement was triggered by an article penned by choreographer Katerina Foti for the left-wing news and media website *The Press Project*, published in April 2020 (Foti 2020, online). In the article, Foti emphasizes the continuities between the pandemic crisis and years of neglect by the State towards arts workers, who were treated as "poor relatives" (ibid). Alongside a case for including freelance artists as part of the government's pandemic furlough scheme, Foti makes a more radical argument: "If we lived in a genuine welfare state, and if the Ministry of Culture comprehended what "culture" really is, these temporary adjustments of support for arts workers should be universal, and they should take the form of a regular monthly allowance, to adequately support artists until the full return to a viable performing season" (ibid). As Valeria told me in a private interview: "The article offered a polemical response to [Primer Minister] Mitsotakis, who had just declared that the creative industry is a "market," that ought to be "self-regulated," so it doesn't need governmental support. For us this was an immediate call to arms, we knew that we had to intensify a collective response and act on it."

The movement first manifested as a Facebook group, aptly named "Support Art Workers – Πρωτοβουλία Εργαζομένων στις Τέχνες" (Initiative of Workers in the Arts),[23] which within days of its founding had accumulated more than twenty thousand subscribers from the fields of music, theatre, dance, and other creative industries. The group operated as a forum for exchanging practical advice, offering support, but also articulating ideas, often resulting in heated political discussion (see FitzGibbon and Tsioulakis 2022).[24]

[23] The "private" facebook group can be found through the following link: https://www.facebook.com/groups/238444413906492, accessed July 2, 2021.
[24] Similar movements and collectives of care for workers in art have been manifesting elsewhere. See FitzGibbon and Tsioulakis 2022 for a comparison between Greece and Northern Ireland, and Karmy and Urqueta (2020) for a recent example from Chile.

> There were very loud reactions already from March 2020, so we felt that we should organise ourselves somehow. So this all started in April; we created a closed group at first and started bouncing around ideas. We were on zoom calls from our quarantined homes all day long. (Valeria)

This was promptly followed by a Facebook page, simply called "Support Art Workers"[25] (henceforth SAW), which worked as a publicising instrument for the collective, administered by numerous members of its horizontally-operating committees: "Once the movement started becoming very popular and taking more of a shape, we got together and created four workgroups: "demands and causes," "writing," "actions," and "communications," both for the public and the policy-makers." (Valeria).

The online element of the network and resulting movement was a key aspect of both its prompt popularity as well as its diverse character. Given the pandemic lockdown that increased online socialisation and consumption (Bastani et al. 2021; Gellner 2020), younger and social-media savvy artists found each other within hours and had the "luxury" afforded by their overnight unemployment, to dedicate time to debate, learn, and organise: "The aspect of facebook visibility was a huge step: we witnessed one another, we shared stories. So, we knew that the demand to "Support Art Workers" had to come from the society at large, since it wasn't going to come from the government." (Valeria). As Pavlos, another founding member of the movement told me in an interview, "We realised how *many* of us there were and that we were left out to dry. So, this facebook group provided us with common purpose." Even though their activism began and took off through online media, however, it would be a misrepresentation to merely regard SAW as an online phenomenon. Already from early May, in the middle of the first government-imposed lockdown, SAW started organising interventions in the centre of Athens,[26] followed by similar events in other cities and towns in Greece. On 29 June 2020, during the hiatus between lockdown measures, SAW organised their first open general meeting in Technopolis (Athens), which lasted several hours and was attended by hundreds of artists and allies. Since then, SAW have been making their presence visible and audible on several occasions, both by organising

[25] This is a public page rather than a private group, and it can be seen here: https://www.facebook.com/Support-ART-Workers-115572620137765, accessed July 2, 2021.
[26] Their first such public and physical intervention on 7 May at the Acropolis, can be seen in a short video here: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Nohbl4nI4DI, accessed July 5, 2021. Balandina and Efthymiou (2021) also provide an insightful analysis of this intervention.

their own demonstrations and participating in actions organised by artists' unions as well as general strikes. In this way, SAW have managed to create a continuous dialectic between "online" and "offline" spaces, what Molnár calls "back and forth dramaturgy" (Molnár 2014 cited in Soares 2018, 180), building on a legacy of on/offline activism that had already developed during The Crisis in Greece and elsewhere (Tsioulakis 2016; Postill 2014).

A key imperative of the SAW movement as seen by the members who became actively involved was that it would operate as a horizontal, democratic, and inclusive collective, rather than a top-down or centralised organisation. This, for Mina, a trade unionist in the dancers' union and SAW activist, was consistent with their vision of the world of culture within which they would like to operate:

> The goal was to start imagining and forging parallel autonomous structures, independently and "with us for us." For me, the vision of a cultural policy is one that treats art as a public good, as a common. Hence the artist needs to be supported by the State insofar as they cannot "produce" in terms of a market economy. They should be supported regardless of whether what they do is economically lucrative.

The imperative to shift the discourse around artists' needs into a forum where they are included in the decision-making process and have agency over setting the stakes, resonates with a lot of the activism that has been developing during the pandemic in other contexts (see Chatzidakis et al. 2020; Fitzgibbon and Tsioulakis 2022). In fact, Mina's words echo the motto "Nothing About Us Without Us" (NAUWU), which has become hugely influential across activist and academic circles towards equity, diversity and inclusion, including fields relating to disability and decolonisation (Kuppers 2012; Nind 2017).

As the previous section has illustrated, the presence of the official unions has intensified in the pandemic, notwithstanding some of their divisions and antagonisms. Within this climate, artists' grassroots movements, with SAW being the most noticeable, have simultaneously operated as a catalyst for engagement as well as a point of contention. As Valeria explains,

> We have no illusions, we know we have no official negotiating or representative power. This is why from the start we encouraged people to join their unions [...] But we have had a degree of co-operation with some of the unions. They have used some of the texts that we have written and we always join their activism and advertise their campaigns. [...] We have also contributed to some of the inner workings of unions, especially in the Actors' Union where some of our front-line activists were elected in the committee and helped shape their agendas. (Valeria)

This is also confirmed by the President of POTHA, who publicly acknowledged that "the 'Support Art Workers' collective brought a vibrancy and dynamism through social media, that also affected participation in the unions, and brought energy and enthusiasm within their ranks." As a result, while online movements like SAW galvanised artists, created consciousness around the nature of art as labour, and served as platforms for the expression of ideas and ideals, official unions also benefitted through a swarm of new members and eager activists.[27] This, however, is not to suggest that the two activist domains operate in harmonious complementarity. As Pavlos, a musician/actor and active SAW member tells me, "the reason why the movement took off was because there was no established system of care and support. The unions were very old-fashioned and partisan and they could not express our needs. So there was a need for individuals to act outside of those institutions." In these words, Pavlos and other activists within SAW made clear that they conceptualised this as a quintessentially grassroots movement, that was designed to work alongside existing unions and organisations, rather than replace them. However, Yiorgos, also an actor who is often credited as the man behind the original idea of SAW told me in an interview that "the unions didn't see us in a positive manner at the start. And many of them still don't. They regarded us as some weird internet types who woke up one day wanting to do politics. And they think we're too idealistic."

Using "idealism" as an accusation within these circumstances is indicative of a wider dilemma within artists' pandemic-activism: dealing with the immediate crisis

[27] It is worth emphasising that SAW are not the only such movement. A more sector-specific facebook group called "Μουσική σε Κρίση" (Musicians in Crisis) has also attracted thousands of members and served as an information and dialogue hub for musicians across the nation. They have also been instrumental in encouraging freelancers to join the PMU and publicising the union's activism and announcements. This has, however, at times been met with resistance and backlash from some social media users who (for political reasons or out of cynicism) oppose the union. The "Musicians in Crisis" facebook group can be found here: https://www.facebook.com/groups/mousikoisekrisi, accessed July 2, 2021.

that emerges from the loss of employment due to lockdown measures or springboarding from those positions of precarity towards raising more universal issues of inequality. With regards to that dilemma, SAW have been decisively committed to utilising the particularities of the present struggle as a starting point for political and aesthetic mobilisations that far exceed it. As Valeria emphasized to me, "every time that the lockdown measures intensify we see more engagement from people, but this does not satisfy me. What I would like is a movement that uproots everything." Pavlos also echoes the same sentiment: "The first cycle of SAW was a reactionary one, but now it is becoming a real movement. The question is how do we take advantage of the 'state of emergency,' do we just return to 'normalcy' or do we build something radically new?" Mina went a step further to highlight the wider solidarities and consciousness that the SAW movement has contributed to, that extend even beyond the field of art labour: "We need to also acknowledge that SAW connected cultural production to a lot of broader issues and demands from other sectors. For example police brutality, the rights of migrants, supporting LGTBQI+ causes, environmental activism, anti-fascism, etc. We can see collectives that are now standing with their speech and their bodies together on those big issues." As expected, this attitude is often met with criticism, especially from ranks within trade unionism that are more committed to traditional class/labour struggle and often opposed to what they see as "identity politics."[28] However, for members of SAW, this expansion of the agenda is seen as part and parcel of a radicalism that has been gained through the grassroots movement and which should be emphasised and celebrated.

The emergence of "Support Art Workers" during the pandemic has fulfilled different purposes and served as a refuge for a very diverse cohort of creative professionals. Within its undeniable contradictions, the forum has operated both as an online sounding board for artists in isolation or unemployment and, on some occasions, as a catalyst for aesthetic and sociopolitical solidarities. Whatever its long-term impact which is hard to foresee as the pandemic declines and artists get "back to work," this movement has already contributed to an overdue consciousness of art as labour as well as highlighted points of convergence between sectors of the creative industries whose connections were previously too loose to fuel collective struggles and demands.

[28] This matter, of course, is not particular to Greek trade union politics. For a discussion of both sides of the argument on the place of "identity politics" within the Left, see Hobsbawm (1996) and Taylor (2017).

Through its online presence, the network has produced a huge amount of media interventions[29] that will remain for relative posterity as what Dimitris Papanikolaou (2011) calls a "disturbed archive." Such an archive, Papanikolaou argues, "has the potential to become a dominant political and cultural critique, a full-blown genealogical attack that takes the current state not as a symptom of things that went wrong in the past, but as the very point from which the past should be reviewed, revisited, re-collated, reassembled and reassessed, both in political and in identitarian terms." (ibid) Simultaneously, through its presence on the streets of Athens and elsewhere, the collective made the world of arts workers visible/audible to a wider public, who, as Simon Frith attests, are "willing to pay for musical labour in the first place, but [...] they don't really regard or music *as* work" (2017, 115). These layered and multifaceted sites of witnessing, artists seeing/hearing each other and being seen/heard by others as precarious and demanding bodies, has registered a memory that can be called back and which will resist being easily unseen/unheard.

Conclusions

In the numerous online interviews and workshops that I conducted with performing artists during the pandemic, one question lingered every time: "What will be the long-term impact of this unprecedented mobilisation?" Freelance folk musician and PMU officer Athena was confident: "This process will leave a legacy. People in the arts have reached a degree of realisation that will not deflate after the end of the pandemic. Colleagues know that they need to demand more than just what they had before the lockdowns, and now they have the means to do so." As I am writing this conclusion in July 2021, sixteen months after the first closure of all performing opportunities that provided a modest living for musicians, "normalcy" is not yet restored and the repercussions on the sector are expected to be long-lasting. The flourishing of collective

[29] See, for example, this series of podcasts that the collective produced in March 2021, on the one-year anniversary of the lockdown, and which touch on a wide range of issues from the handling of the pandemic, to issues of art creativity and precarity, and political commentary: https://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PL_78NeoiXSB4sXu-L2MzlqmkqPYnOjtLr, accessed July 6, 2021. Additionally, a series of discussions with international artists, entitled "Radical Voices / Radical Actions" which was broadcast live on social media, created solidarities and served as a platform for exchanging strategies and perspectives across borders. For a discussion of those exchanges see FitzGibbon and Tsioulakis 2022. The broadcasts are available on Facebook here: https://www.facebook.com/Support-ART-Workers-115572620137765/videos/?ref=page_internal, accessed July 6, 2021.

activism in different forms, from organised unions to loose grassroots collectives has paved the way for demands that can be articulated with confidence and through a previously underdeveloped awareness of what brings precarious workers in the creative industries together.

I argue that musicologists and other academics who work on expressive forms ought to play an active role in this process. The time for scholarly output that merely analyses the "product" of artists' work without acknowledging them as labourers and including them in the design and scope of research has passed. In one such effort, in late 2020 I joined a team of music practitioners powered by the non-profit company *Aptaliko*, who conducted a wide survey of musicians who work within folk-derived genres of music. The research, which was published in the Spring of 2021 (Aptaliko 2021) offers the most comprehensive analysis of music labour in Greece that has been conducted to date, including quantitative and qualitative data, reflecting working conditions in a range of industries and employment sectors both before and during the pandemic. Aligning with this bottom-up effort by workers who volunteered their time and effort for no compensation, while dealing with unemployment and precarity intensified by the pandemic, highlighted the structural inequalities between musicians and music academics, that needs to be redressed through our future research agendas. This chapter is a modest contribution to a trajectory of research that is conducted not *on* music, but *for* musicians, and *with* them.

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4 | “ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΑ, ΧΑΣΑΠΗ!” BRINGING REBETES AND REBETOLOGISTS TO BOOK

STATHIS GAUNTLETT

Greek cinema-goers will recall the title-phrase “Γράμματα, χασάπη!” [“Show us the writing, you butcher!”]. It would echo around movie-houses, both indoor and *al fresco*, on the frequent occasions when the projectionist allowed the Greek subtitles to stall or to fall off the screen altogether. In this paper the phrase serves as a *leitmotif* to an attempt at “bringing rebetes and rebetologists to book” rather literally, by redressing the chronic underappreciation of the role of literacy and literati in the development of rebetika as a major genre of Greek popular song.

I must confess to having been slow to realise the extent and complexity of the rebetika-literacy nexus. My first brush with it came early in 1972 when I was roughly halfway into my year of fieldwork in Greece for a doctoral thesis on the poetics and performance of rebetika (eventually published as Gauntlett 1985). I had set out from Oxford with two mildly censorious voices ringing in my ears: one belonged to Constantine Trypanis, the former Bywater-Sotheby Professor, briefly revisiting us from Chicago, who had looked vaguely horrified when I told him that I proposed to write a thesis on rebetika. “You do realize, don’t you,” he said sternly, “that unlike folksongs, they’re not traditional. Not that they’re literary—or even very literate, for that matter.” The second voice was my supervisor’s, who also thought that rebetika were a bit low-brow and *infra dig.*; in a word, “The sort of stuff to write a book about, not a thesis.” But at least the ever genial Robin Fletcher was prepared to keep an open mind; we would review the options after my fieldwork, which I hoped would prove the sceptics wrong on all counts. Other well-wishers reminded me that a self-styled “amateur folklorist” who had recently brought rebetika to a book (Petropoulos 1968), had himself been “brought to book” in the most brutal sense—he had been imprisoned for five months in 1969 for violating the military Junta’s censorship regulations (Petropoulos 1979, 6). In my formal dealings with the Hellenic state, I thought it prudent to declare the subject of my research to be the current state of Greek folksong.

By the spring of 1972, I had done a fair amount of scoping work in Athenian libraries, archives and private record collections. I duly found numerous echoes of Trypanis's admonishments both in the moral panic of puritans of all political stripes and in the philippics of academic folklorists such as Professor G.A. Megas, who had been instrumental in Athens University's official denunciation of rebetika in 1954 (Vlisidis 2018, 204–12). But even professed rebetophiles had been publishing views unhelpful to my cause: the musicologist Fivos Anoyanakis, for instance, opined that rebetika inevitably fell to a lower aesthetic level than folksong because they were not collectively honed by "the people" and, worse, they were subject to capitalist commodification (Anoyanakis 1961, 13). Undeterred, indeed energised, by such strictures, I ploughed ahead and embarked on a series of interviews with veteran rebetes, which progressively shifted my focus from Athens to the purlieus of Piraeus, where luckily I managed to interview the ailing Markos Vamvakaris just before he died.

A surprise awaited me when I then hastened to interview the other living legend of rebetika, Vasilis Tsitsanis: he insisted from the outset that I should give him *written* questions and promised that he in turn would give me *written* answers. He maintained this commitment to supplying a written document over several months, even though he had already answered my questions orally many times over on the many occasions when I went to the club Χάραμα in Kaisariani and then to Πανόραμα in Tzitzifies to take delivery of his endlessly deferred manuscript. He insisted that those oral answers were only provisional; he was still crafting a definitive response. I willingly connived in the repeated deferrals because they gave me an excuse to sit in the kitchen behind the stage observing the back-of-house operations and sipping whisky, while Tsitsanis compulsively munched pistachios ("σπόρους" he called them) and answered my questions—off the record. I also regularly conversed with Tsitsanis's amiable co-star, Yiannis Papaioannou, who had no problem with oral interviews—though he did mention that he had been busy writing his memoirs (which the late Costas Hatzidoulis duly butchered in publication [Papaioannou 1982]) and some "other stuff." (This turned out to be a long film script titled "Ο λαθραίος" ["The illegal immigrant"], partly set in America and first published posthumously in [Petropoulos 1979, 244–56.])

Tsitsanis's insistence on a written interview puzzled me somewhat: of course, these were the Junta years, and one could get into trouble for saying the wrong thing to foreigners. Also a foreigner might not render all the nuances of an oral interview accurately—indeed, he made the point that Greek interviewers had often

misrepresented his utterances (Gauntlett 2001, 117). Whatever his motives, Tsitsanis insisted that this academic interview was a unique opportunity to place his own words on record uncontaminated by distortions. On the night before I was due to leave Greece, Tsitsanis very honourably spent some hours working on the text of his answers while I waited. He proofread and emended the text, crossing out some unsatisfactory answers and deleting some questions altogether. He clearly wanted to control what went on the record and he saw writing as a means to that end.

What we couldn't foresee at the time was the butchery wrought upon the precious text by the Greek typesetters and printers of Melbourne, where the interview was first published. (Australia was nowhere on my horizon at the time of the interview.) So despite my best proofreading endeavours in Melbourne, "Τα Ωραία του Τσιτσάνη" ["Tsitsanis's bonny tunes"] morphed into "Τα Ωράρια του Τσιτσάνη" ["Tsitsanis's timetables"], among many other howlers. To make matters worse, the butchered text was reproduced in unauthorised reprints (*inter alia* Petropoulos 1979, 273–5; Schorelis 1981, 22–31; *Rizospastis* 22 January 1984). I eventually published a corrected version in Athens in 2001 (Gauntlett 2001, 173–81).

Back in 1972, Tsitsanis's apparent fixation with the written word gave me only momentary pause. It was soon occluded by the academic Zeitgeist of the day. In the wake of A.B. Lord's *The Singer of Tales* (Lord 1960), orality was having something of "a moment." After a slow start in Greece, enthusiasm for oral compositional theory duly took hold in modern Greek studies (see Gauntlett 1996), culminating in the landmark studies by Beaton (1980) and Sifakis 1988). Lord's quest had been for analogues of the long epic poems of Homer, but there was a general sense afoot that even when it came to much shorter lyrical texts, orality was somehow a mark of authenticity and traditionality. Accordingly, I soon became preoccupied with demonstrating that rebetika were anchored in orality. The holy grail would be evidence of improvised composition-in-performance, and a further bonus might be to demonstrate the survival of such redemptive orality into that "oral afterlife" which was gramophone-recording. Though commercially motivated, gramophone-recording might even be argued to have preserved the oral authenticity of rebetika from the supposed depredations of literacy and print-based commerce.

My fieldwork yielded some promising support for these working hypotheses. Unlike Tsitsanis, the only bouzouki-player of that vintage to have finished high school, my other interviewees were largely a phonocentric crew. Thus Michalis Yenitsaris, one

of the rebetes that I brought to book much later—and perhaps ironically, through his own manuscripts (Yenitsaris 1992)—defined rebetika for me as "αγράμματα τραγούδια του λαουτζίκου" ("illiterate songs of the downtrodden plebs"). Significantly too his first recorded song had celebrated defiant truancy and the pursuit of a distinctly non-literary curriculum: Αντί σχολειό μου πάγαινα μες στου Καραϊσκάκη / έπινα διάφορα πιοτά να μάθω μπουζουκάκι [Instead of school I'd go to Karaiskaki Square / I'd drink all sorts of drinks so as to master the bouzouki] (Yenitsaris 1992, 7). These verses built intertextually on "Ο Μάρκος μαθητής," Vamvakaris's hymn to rebetic illiteracy: Μη με βαράς κυρ-δάσκαλε και μη μου κάνεις κόλπα / και δε μαθαίνω γράμματα, χίλιες φορές σου το'πα [Don't beat me Mr. Teacher and don't trick me / because I won't learn letters, I've told you a thousand times] (Vamvakaris 1973, 325). At the level of the myth at least, rebetika might be seen as escaping the clutches of literacy and its discontents. However, when I interviewed him, Markos was at pains to stress that he was actually an avid reader, albeit of newspapers, and he had in reality been a model schoolboy—though all too briefly, he regretted. Some of his songs had been inspired by his schoolwork, and he still loved reading his sons' old schoolbooks. He had also *written* a book about himself which was being published in America and would set the record straight about rebetika after the "nonsense" in Petropoulos's book of 1968. In the event, Markos's autobiography appeared in Athens some eighteen months after his death (Vamvakaris 1973). It is a very uneven compilation of his own manuscripts interlaced with transcriptions by several intrusive amanuenses. It has recently re-appeared as a much more coherent text in English translation (Vamvakaris 2015)—whereupon the motif "Γράμματα, χασάπη!" might be seen to apply at a number of levels, both literal, given Markos's career as a slaughterman and skinner, but also metaphorically, in respect of the manipulation of his narrative by transcribers, editors and finally a translator. Like Papaioannou, Vamvakaris had also been moonlighting as a creative writer, producing a short story titled "Ο αχάριστος" ["The ingrate"] (Kounadis 2000, 115–8). Markos's autobiography duly triggered an avalanche of memoirs, "bringing to book" rebetes both major and minor. A comparative analysis has revealed the large extent to which elite discourse had been internalised by the veteran rebetes and how it coloured their public self-definition (Vlisidis 2004, 205–12).

At the time of my fieldwork and writing up my thesis, I tended to play down any glimpses of the fingerprints of literate or literary hands, in my concern to valorise the orality of the genre and by extension its traditionality and authenticity. In retrospect I

particularly regret having undervalued the input of several generations of jobbing lyricists ("hack-versifiers" I called them in my thesis, [Gauntlett 1985, 163–7]) who supplied the bouzouki-players with written verses for setting to music. Though their services were called upon with ever greater frequency as the demand for new songs increased in the wake of developments in recording technology, these verse-mongers (commonly called "λόγηδες") tended not to enjoy great esteem among the musicians they served. They were generally described to me as parasites and a particular vexation in matters of royalties. Even less obtrusively, "lettered" wives ["γραμματιζούμενες"] are known to have supplied lyrics to alphabetically challenged musicians: among others, the legendary Yiovan Tsaous is said to have relied heavily on his wife Katerina (Schorelis 1978, 46), and Yenitsaris's wife Demetra can be credited with authorship of some incongruously florid phraseology in his compositions, such as: και τις χάρες της Βασίλως / εκθειάζει καταλλήλως [and the charms of Vasilo / she appropriately extols] (Yenitsaris 1992, 159).

To judge by the second edition of his *Ρεμπέτικα Τραγούδια* (Petropoulos 1979), the orality *Zeitgeist* had also been getting to Petropoulos in the 1970s, though he certainly had not read Millman Parry or A.B. Lord. He was furiously rebranding even classic personal compositions by Vamvakaris, Delias and others as "αδέσποτα μουρμούρικα" ["unattributable improvisations"]—his arbitrary anonymisations are detailed and pilloried by Kounadis (2000, 120–2; 283f). They seem to have been prompted by the re-release of some early American recordings which appeared to preserve an older stratum of rebetika, predating the rampant commercialisation of the genre in Greece. Another stimulus to the general cult of the primitive in rebetology was the sudden spate of deaths of veteran rebetes, often fallen into abject poverty, which was taken as evidence of their non-commercialised authenticity. This was also avidly seized upon by the emergent wave of "κομπανίες," bands of young musicians intent on authentic reproduction of the pristine tradition. With impressive curatorial zeal they stripped away electrical amplification and substituted untempered instruments for what they saw as corrupt westernised importations. Petropoulos's books served as a source of texts for new recordings in this puristic rebetika revival (Gauntlett 2001, 95).

In writing up my thesis I duly prioritised the comparison with folksong, making much of the identical and closely resemblant verses (Gauntlett 1985, 310–2). I found an abundance of these, especially in the loose concatenations of couplets I transcribed from the command performances I tape-recorded in 1972 and from the early

commercial records. To give just one example: the couplet Βάρα με με το στιλέτο / κι όσο αίμα βγάλω πιε το [Strike me with a stiletto / and drink all the blood I spill], recorded in 1928 in New York as a "Greek Bum Song / Ρεμπέτικο Ζεϊμπέκικο" (to quote the label of Columbia 56137-F), was also to be found in printed collections of folksongs (Tommaseo 1842, 35; Passow 1860, 497). The nexus with demotika clearly extended beyond the common verses into a set of common stylistic features and metrical, structural patterns. These provided grounds for speculation that common mechanisms of oral composition were behind at least part of the tradition of rebetika and demotika. Stereotyped rhyme was another obvious driver of improvised content and a large array of them was readily discernible: τεκές / ναργιλές, τεκέδες / ναργιλέδες, αλάνια / χαρμάνια, μπουζούκι / τσιμπούκι, μάγκες / ματσαράγκες [hashish-den / hookah, hashish-dens / hookahs, spivs / stone sober, bouzouki / pipe, machos / tricks], and any number of diminutives in -ακι. However, traditional structural patterns and formulas can also be discerned in the personal compositions of highly literate composers such as Minos Matsas (alias P. Economou), well into the postwar period; his "Ζωνάρι κόκκινο φαρδύ" ["Wide red sash"] of 1957 contains an indicative example in the line (Kounadis 2007, 450): που έχαν' η μάνα το παιδί και η κυρά τον άντρα [where a mother would lose her son, and a wife her husband], which adapts the commonplace chiastic formula "και χάνει η μάνα το παιδί και το παιδί τη μάνα" [and a mother loses her son and a son his mother] (cf. Yenitsaris 1992, 152). A particularly exciting discovery in my pursuit of folksong analogues was that of a Cretan *mantinada* commencing: Συννεφιασμένε ουρανέ που μοιάζεις τση καρδιάς μου [Cloudy sky, you're like my heart] (Lioudaki 1936, 107). Variants of this couplet were also recorded from Thrace and Asia Minor, all of which might be seen to undermine Tsitsanis's abjuration of folksong influence (Gauntlett 2001, 174). In retrospect, Tsitsanis or the lyricist Alekos Gouveris, who supplied some lyrics for Tsitsanis's signature composition "Συννεφιασμένη Κυριακή," may well have been inspired by the printed versions of the traditional verses, as well as by press reports of the notoriety of Seress's "suicide song" "Gloomy Sunday" (Gauntlett 2006).

My quest for potential pointers to improvisation and oral tradition was also supported by the variation between recorded performances of the same verses by different performers—and even by the same performers, as with Marika Papagika's successive recordings of "Μπαγλαμάδες" in the 1920s (Gauntlett 1985, 231, 233 and 244). But scope for variation in recorded verses clearly diminished as composition for

recording became increasingly professionalised and copyrighted. Competitive composition was also obviously placing a premium on novelty and originality, a trend which enhanced complexity and led to the fragmentation of composition between specialist versifiers, melodists and celebrity vocalists. This process escalated, perhaps predictably, to the point where a reset was called for and the next novelty involved reversion to the simplicity and apparent authenticity of earlier and traditional forms. Such a development is well illustrated in the repertoire with which Vamvakaris relaunched his career in the 1960s: it was suddenly redolent of rustic freshness—Τα ματόκλαδά σου λάμπουν / σαν τα λούλουδα του κάμπου... [Your eye-lashes glisten / like flowers in a meadow] and Αγγελοκαμωμένη μου και λαμπαδόχυτή μου... [My angel shaped lass, moulded like a church candle] (Vamvakaris 1973, 306ff.). The appearance of such verses in the wake of the crisis of authenticity triggered by the "Επιτάφιος" imbroglio and the so-called "Ινδοκρατία" [subjugation to Indian music] of the 1960s bespeaks strategic promptings by more sophisticated observers of market intelligence than the ailing and professionally shipwrecked Vamvakaris himself (Gauntlett 2001, 92).

So the readiest inferences from the overlap between rebetika and demotika, namely that the fomer continued the oral tradition of the latter, were valid only up to a point: a variety of different factors could be at play behind similarities. Common mechanisms of oral composition were not the whole story. The occurrence of similarities might be due to aesthetic preferences, and the degree of the composer's education or literacy was no barrier to use of the relevant patterns.

Another flaw in the undertaking that did not escape my notice, was that the texts of demotika which I was treating as the touchstone of orality were often only tenuously connected with orality, having been variously vandalised in the course of producing clear text for printing (Gauntlett 1996, 201f.). Collections and anthologies have also mixed products of different collecting and editing practices, making it dangerous to treat them as homogeneous. But with reservations, I resolved to treat the common ground as a starting point and taking the evolution of rebetika as a continuum, I sought significant points of transition in the divergence of the verses of rebetika from demotika. The major tipping points I identified seemed to coincide with developments in commercial recording.

As I have written elsewhere, rebetika as a genre is arguably a marketing construct (Gauntlett 2005a). Moreover, literacy has been largely instrumental in their constitution as a genre from the outset. The genre is attested by that name on record

labels and in catalogues printed in the second decade of the twentieth century. Far from perpetuating the continuity of a pristine oral tradition untrammelled by the written word, commercial recording was a vector of the written word. Well may audible media preserve a facsimile of the voice, but they are permeated by literacy and they subject oral traditions to management by educated elites and the apparatus of state power. All the back-of-studio logistics of organisation of the recording, production and marketing of rebetika clearly involve writing. But might the influence of writing have also infiltrated the recording studio itself? A famous photograph of an early makeshift recording-studio in Athens at the Hotel Touriste might give us pause (Petropoulos 1979, 394): it features some of the great exponents of interwar rebetika (almost) on the job (Semsis, Dalgas, Davos, Arapakis), but it is not certain that they had gathered to play rebetika. We interrogate the photograph in vain, like John Keats his grecian urn, but we cannot fail to notice the presence in the studio of the sheaf of papers prominently brandished by the unnamed vocalist (Spyros Ollandezos?): it might be evidence that some recordings were somewhat scripted procedures. And indeed the Folklore Archives at Athens Academy afford some support for such speculation in the papers deposited there by Demetrios Kissopoulos, the first Athenian concessionaire of the British Gramophone Company: specifically his files on the January 1922 recording session include handwritten and annotated musical scores for the rebetiko song "Πάλι μεθυσμένος είσαι" ["You're drunk again"] (His Master's Voice AO25). Kissopoulos's file also contained an undated printed score for this song published by Fexis Ltd. in Athens. Apart from commercially printed musical scores of rebetika, the inter-war years also saw the publication of popular magazines containing song-lyrics, such *Το Νέο Λαϊκό Τραγούδι,* which served to reinforce the role of print in popularising the genre. Public awareness of the rebetika was also raised by music journalism in the daily press, albeit often hostile to both it and its companion genre, the oriental *amanedes*. Indeed, the relentless campaign waged by the music critic Sophia Spanoudi played a key role in delivering both amanedes and rebetika into the clutches of the State censorship of the book-burning Metaxas dictatorship and its post-war continuators (Vlisidis 2002, 225; 2004, 16ff).

Censorship temporarily supercharged the literacy nexus of rebetika, in that songs had to be submitted as both written lyrics and musical notation. Moreover, the censors did not confine themselves to rejecting songs. They also took it upon themselves to improve objectionable compositions that could be salvaged. One of Metaxas's

censors, G.N. Polites (better known as a literary translator and co-founder of the journal *Ηγησώ*), is said to have remodelled the verses of Tsitsanis's "Αραπιά" for instance (Gauntlett 2005b, 93f.). The censor's fingerprints are all over other rebetika too, as Kostas Vlisidis has discovered in the Greek State Archives (Vlisidis 2018, 419–26). Sometimes the *retouchement* would occur in-house at the record companies, where some repertory managers took a very "hands-on" approach. At Columbia the Faltaits brothers are known to have remodelled Bayianderas's "Χατζηκυριάκειο" for recording (Papadopoulos 2004, 126), while Minos Matsas at Odeon-Parlophon was also serially intrusive (Kounadis 2007, *passim*). Matsas was a suave, tertiary-educated executive, but using various pseudonyms (Kounadis 2007, 18–21), he wrote several famous rebetika for Vamvakaris's gruff voice, notably "Μπουζούκι μου διπλόχορδο" ["My double-stringed bouzouki"], "Ο Αντώνης ο βαρκάρης ο σερέτης" ["Antonis the surly boatman"] and "Ο κουμπάρος ο ψαράς" ["Our best man the fisherman"] (Kounadis 2007, 270, 302 and 326).

The learned journalist and novelist Kostas Faltaits also used a *nom de plume,* K. Roumeliotis, for the recording of his rebetika compositions on the Columbia label, whose popular-song catalogue was directed by his brother Nikolaos. Kostas Faltaits is now justifiably recognised as one the most significant literary and philological devotees of rebetika. His multifarious pioneering writings on rebetika extended over journalism, literary fiction, folklore and philology, commencing in 1915 with his novel *Αλλος Κόσμος* [Another World] serialised in the Athenian newspaper *Acropolis* and published in volume form as *Οι παραστρατημένοι. Πρωτότυπο αθηναϊκό μυθιστόρημα* [The reprobates. An innovative Athenian novel] in 1925 (Faltaits 1925). The plot revolves around the misadventures of two high-class interlopers in the Athenian underworld. Their slum-crawl takes in hashish dens, where they hear the baglamas played with admirable artistry. The couplets with which the melodies are interspersed are quoted *in toto,* and the manner of their performance is described in detail. Faltaits here establishes a literary *topos* which subsequent writers from Pikros to Karagatsis exploited. The verses he quotes include the well-known Βάρκα μου μπογιατισμένη… [My painted boat…] Βρε συ Γιάννη σαν πεθάνης… [Hey there John, when you die…] and many other classic rebetika. Faltaits gave many of these couplets a further airing in a philological presentation of their themes and metrical forms in the magazine *Μπουκέτο* in 1929 under the title "Τραγούδια του μπαγλαμά" ["Songs of the baglamas"]. He exhorted folklorists to take a serious interest in these "veritable

masterpieces of poetic art … [whose] sincerity and spontaneity both surprise and enchant. But the artistry of their versification also demands our attention" (Faltaits 1929). In the same vein Faltaits had written to the newspaper *Εμπρός* in June 1922 lamenting that an unsuspected collateral victim of the 1920 anti-narcotics legislation would be a significant oral literature "developed in Greece under the inspiration of hashish smoke." He went on to extol the exquisite artistry of the inmates of Greek prisons, those unsuspected poetic academies, and to deplore both the failure of folklorists to collect and publish these verses, and even more so their corruption into theatrical "*apache* songs"—a barbed reference to the 1921 operetta "Οι Απάχηδες των Αθηνών" by Hatziapostolou. Of the dozens of songs registered and recorded in Faltaits's own name or pseudonym, particular mention should be made here of his landmark composition "Ο ρεμπέτης" (recorded in 1934 by Stellakis Perpiniadis on Columbia 2036) which is remarkable for the conspicuous *hapax legomenon*: "απέχει παρασάγγας" ["Is miles/parasangs distant"].

Of course, the role of literati and journalists in the construction of the rebetika genre in its formative stages antedates Faltaits's contribution. Its trajectory begins with the earliest known usage of the key term ρεμπέτης or ρεμπέτας, the eventual protagonist of the songs. This can be traced to to a novel of 1871 titled *Οι μυστηριώδεις νυκτοκλέπται* [The mysterious night-thieves] by Minas Hamoudopoulos of Smyrna, who repeatedly used the term "η ρεμπέτα" in the sense of a gang of burglars (Hamoudopoulos 1871). The evolution of the term to denote individual gang-members (ρεμπέτες) might be parallelled with that of "η μάγγα," which initially denoted a band of armed irregulars, whence "μάγγες" for wayward individuals. The conversion seems to have been completed by the inter-war years, when the forms "ρεμπέτα," "ρεμπέτας" and "ρεμπέτης" appear in Athenian literary works by writers as diverse as Pikros, Dendrinos, Terzakis, Seferis and Theotokas (Gauntlett 2005b, 99). A cartoon-character named "κύριος Ρεμπέτας," whose misadventures appeared in the Athenian *Ελεύθερον Βήμα* (17 July 1927), has also been recently discovered by the indefatigable archival research of Kostas Vlisidis (personal communication 29 November 2017).

Literary prose-writers had been widely using verses of songs subsequently known as rebetika to create local colour in works of prose fiction depicting low-life since the 1890s, classifying them as "κουτσαβάκικα," "βλάμικα" etc. ["ruffian songs," "lad songs" etc.] (Vlisidis 2019). Indeed, the aforementioned "Greek Bum Song" of 1928 "Βάρα με με το στιλέτο…" ["Strike me with a stiletto…"] had been included by

Michael Mitsakis in his "Θεάματα του Ψυρρή" in 1890, so that it is not inconceivable that the Greek-American record derived this couplet from Mitsakis's short story (or even from the aforementioned printed folksong-collections of Tommaseo or Passow) rather than directly from oral tradition.

As for the application of adjective "ρεμπέτικος" to verse and the coinage "ρεμπέτικο τραγούδι," which became current in Athenian musical journalism in the 1930s, attestations dating from 1912 (roughly contemporaneous with the earliest appearance on record labels) have been traced to the literary pages of the satirical magazine *Ο Κόπανος,* again published in Smyrna (Vlisidis 2019). On current indications, its earliest usage in "literature proper" in Greece dates from 1957, and specifically from the (amended) second edition of the novel *Ο τροφοδότης* by Pindar Bredimas (Gauntlett 2005b, 99). But while eschewing the specific term "ρεμπέτικο τραγούδι," literati had certainly been busy familiarising their readership with the world of rebetika and creating a mystique around the songs and their performance context — as indeed had the operetta, the review theatre and the shadow theatre of Karagiozis. Urban Realist writers such as Mitsakis, Spandonis, Kondylakis, Pasayiannis and even Papadiamantis with his *Αθηναϊκά διηγήματα*, all garnished their scenes of low-life squalor with what might be termed "protorebetika" (Vlisidis 2019). The fact that their fiction was often serialised in the daily press before appearing in a volume served to plant or reinforce the prejudices regarding the genre which surfaced in the various controversies over rebetika and determined their subsequent evolution.

Scenes of urban squalor punctuated with protorebetika verses duly became the particular *metier* of the Marxist writers in the 1920s, notably Petros Pikros and Kostas Varnalis (Gauntlett 2005b, 94, 96ff.). They formed the vanguard of a whole coterie of inter-war "Lumpenographers," including Mitsos Papanikolaou, Tefkros Anthias and the highclass bohemian Napoleon Lapathiotis, a notorious flaneur of low-life haunts (Gauntlett 2005b, 94f.). Lapathiotis broke new ground by including in his novelette *Το τάμα της Ανθούλας* [Anthoula's vow] of 1931 a musical score for the hashish song *Μανάκι μου, μανάκι μου / πονεί το κεφαλάκι μου* [Mother mine, mother mine / my poor head hurts] (Lapathiotis 2007, 35).

Naturally a counterdiscourse to this literary slumming soon arose, spearheaded by the younger Westernising literati of the Generation of 1930, notably the straitlaced Stratis Myrivilis and Yiorgos Theotokas, whose angry-young-man manifesto *Ελεύθερο Πνεύμα* pilloried the "tavernographers," the Marxists and the "photographic Realists"

of the previous generation (Gauntlett 2005b, 90). But at the tail end of the Generation of 1930, we find a reprise of the "rebetography" of the Generation of 1920 in the copious fiction of Karagatsis, whose short story "Η Μεγάλη Εβδομάδα του Πρεζάκη" ["The junkie's Passion Week"] (Karagatsis 1935) could stand as a literary intertext of some of its contemporary rebetika about heroin addicts (Gauntlett 2005b, 91).

Towards the end of the Greek Civil War, the on-going literary response to rebetika, like many other aspects of the associated discourse, was drastically affected by Manos Hadjidakis's controversial lecture and rebetika concert of 1949 at the *Theatro Technis*, under the title "Interpretation and Location of Greek Popular Song (Rebetiko)" (Gauntlett 2015, 104ff.). Prominent among the literati who took up the mantle of Hadjidakis's pro-rebetika advocacy was the late Thessalonian poet Dinos Christianopoulos, who published a collections of Tsitsanis's verse as literary poetry together with essays explicating its poetic merit (Christianopoulos 1994; 2001). Christianopoulos also wrote poems using rebetika formulae and patterns, and both published them as a poetry collection and set them to music (Christianopoulos 1993). Pastiche rebetika-verses were also written by literary poets of note in the post-Junta era, notably Nikos Gatsos, who composed a suite of lyrics for Costas Ferris's cine-musical "Ρεμπέτικο" with music supplied by Stavros Xarhakos (Gauntlett 2001, 113, 133). The fictional exploitation of rebetes (commenced by the nineteenth century urban Realists) was resumed during the rebetika revival (by Vasilikos and Christianopoulos *inter alios*—see Gauntlett 2015, 106f.) and continued into the new millennium with novels based on the biographies of Tsitsanis and Vamvakaris (Skabardonis 2001; 2008). This necessarily cursory litany of authors and book-titles has barely touched the surface of the formative role of literature and journalism in the creation and consolidation of rebetika as a genre. It is to be hoped that the philological inquiry needed to explore it fully will not be stymied by the proposition that rebetika are an innately oral-aural culture—or indeed that divine providence has ordained the illiteracy of its exponents in the manner of Seferis's "illiterate master" Makriyiannis, as was reported from a Greek linguistics conference (Harisopoulou 2006). Seferis may have cribbed the key words of his famous Makriyiannis trope from Edward Lear, whose nonsense verse and limericks he so admired and who once wrote: "I am almost thanking God that I was never educated" (quoted in [Keeley 1999, 30]). It would be a prodigious nonsense indeed to pretend that literacy has been merely incidental to the production, transmission and consumption of rebetika. Literacy even raises its head at the level of the

rebetiko myth itself in verses such as: "Έχω να λάβω γράμμα σου σαράντα μέρες τώρα" ["It's forty days since I got a letter from you"] and "Γράμμα θα στείλω στο Θεό" ["I'll send God a letter"] (Petropoulos 1979, 88 and 106). The songs have enjoyed a robust existence outside oral performance, many rebetika had their genesis in writing, and many owe their survival to it and to print.

Accordingly, a conference-volume on Greek music ought not lose sight of the fact that Greek song, and rebetika in particular, are also poetry, amenable to both aural and visual consumption. Professor Beaton, who was familiar with my early work on rebetika and kindly read my paper to the 2019 BSA Conference in my absence, rightly described it to me as something of a "palinode" on my part. The injunction "Γράμματα, χασάπη!" is indeed aimed "εις εαυτόν" as much as at any other orality enthusiast. It is a reminder that the relationship between rebetic orality and literacy is best explored in terms of interdependence.

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5 | "THE SINGER OF PAIN:" STELIOS KAZANTZIDIS AND POST-CIVIL WAR SUFFERING

LEONIDAS ECONOMOU

Stelios Kazantzidis was not only a leading figure of *laiko* song but also a singer who became a popular hero and embodied high social and cultural values. In this chapter I will try to outline the situated meanings and sentiments that were evoked by his music and his performances during the 1950s and the 1960s and I will attempt an interpretation of the extraordinary allure of his music and image in post-war Greece. Kazantzidis dominated the scene of *laiko* music for many years and was one of the most productive and by far the most commercial singer of the time. He enjoyed a prodigious popularity and inspired unprecedented expressions of adoration and devotion that prompted many contemporary commentators to speak about the "phenomenon Kazantzidis." The phenomenal success and charm of the singer is related to his life history and the turbulent times, and I will argue that it can be largely attributed to the fact that he created and personified an art of symbolic healing and protest, which responded to the diffuse social suffering caused by the war and the civil war (1940–1949) and the dire economic and political conditions that followed.

Drawing on ethnographic and historical research that focused on both the production and consumption of his art, and on current ethno-musicological approaches to popular music, I describe and analyse briefly his songs, performances, career and reception, and I highlight the structural similarities with symbolic healing. My analysis focuses primarily on the first part of his career (1952–1967) and concentrates on the songs (commonly referred to as "social"), which are dedicated to subjects other than love. The song of Kazantzidis was certainly invested with many different meanings by its listeners over time, and it cannot be easily reduced into a single interpretative scheme. The hypothesis of symbolic healing captures, however, the central axis of its creation, use and understanding during the 1950s and the 1960s, and remains very

important until today. It provides an interpretation for many aspects of its production and consumption and can account for its most impressive and "paradoxical" traits, such as the enduring zealotry of many listeners and the religious perception of the singer.

I use the notion of symbolic therapy as a general term that captures the essential and seemingly universal features of many different forms of shamanistic and religious healing (Dow 1986). My definition and perspective draw especially from approaches stressing the performative, embodied and situated character of therapeutic rituals (Atkinson 1992; Sidky 2009; Riboli and Torri 2013). The basis of symbolic healing, according to most scholars, is the ability of the healer to incite a therapeutic effect through the creation of a metaphorical reality and the manipulation of symbols that are relevant to the patient's condition. Through dramatic performances and the use of various means (music, dance, narrative, imagery, theatrical enactments) symbolic healers create a ritual context in the course of which they analyse, interpret and redefine the patient's problems in terms of the local cosmology. Symbolic healers enter into and help patients reach an extraordinary state of consciousness, and produce therapeutic effects by establishing a link between the mind and the body of the patient, the social context, and the sacred world. Symbolic healers respond to wider sociopolitical pressures and concerns and act as mediators of individual and collective tensions and conflicts. They often play the role of political and religious leaders and their practice should be also seen as a political response to domination, violence and social suffering.

The song of Kazantzidis is especially akin to a specific category of healing rituals, which function through the activation and restructuring of pain. Ethnographers, who have worked in very different geographical, religious and cultural contexts, have described rituals in which pain can be thought as an agent of possession and healing (Caraveli 1986; Delvecchio Good and Good 1988; Lawrence 2000; Tolbert 2007; Cole 2007). Pain is sought voluntarily and it is considered a means for the attainment of an altered state of consciousness, the communication with the spiritual world, the expression of grievances and protests, and the relief from non-voluntary grief.

The song of Kazantzidis and the construction of his public image

Stelios Kazantzidis was born in 1931 in Nea Ionia, Athens, to a poor family of refugees. His father was a Pontic construction worker whereas his mother came from the Greek

Orthodox, but Turkish speaking, community of Alanya. His childhood and youth were marked by extreme poverty and tragic events related to the civil war and his uncompromising morality. At the age of 14 he saw his communist father beaten to death by a right-wing gang, and he was himself beaten, terrorized and incarcerated because of his father's political involvement. He was forced to struggle for the survival of himself and his family from this early age and he worked hard in various menial jobs until he became a professional musician in the early 1950s. His ordeals continued, however, during his military service (1953–4). According to his autobiographical narratives he became the target of unjust accusations because of his "*philotimo*" (love of honour) that led to new persecutions, tortures and confinements, which harmed seriously his physical health and caused him great psychological distress.[1]

Kazantzidis recorded his first songs in 1952. After singing some *rebetiko* style songs with moderate success, he started performing "grieving *laika*"[2] with great enthusiasm and he had his first hits in 1955. His popularity skyrocketed and during the next ten years he became and was given the title of the "king" of *laiko* song. He formed from early on in his career his own distinct musical style through his grieving vocal styles and the careful selection of his repertory. Kazantzidis strongly disliked *rebetiko* and what he perceived as the violent, immoral and unlawful ethos of many of its enthusiasts, as well as the ennoblement of *laiko* and its transformation into a song for the entertainment of the middle classes. He always highlighted his working-class identity, and his songs aimed almost exclusively at the expression of the experiences, the problems and the ideas of the poor. Kazantzidis selected carefully the songs he performed (giving primary importance to the texts) and formed a repertoire consisting of a large number (greater than any other singer) of songs focusing on social rather than amorous matters.[3] All the important composers and writers of *laiko* (including the composers Stelios Chrysinis, Babis Bakalis, Theodoros Derveniotis, Vassilis Tsitsanis, Manolis Hiotis, Giorgos Mitsakis, and the lyricists Kostas Virvos, Christos Kolokotronis, and Eftichia Papagiannopoulou) wanted to cooperate with him and created

[1] For the discourse of Kazantzidis see especially Vasilikos 1978 and 2000. The presentation of his career and public image is mainly based on the singer's autobiographical texts (books, interviews, broadcasts) and on many other relevant documents. I have also spent two evenings with Kazantzidis and a group of his fans in 1998, and I have interviewed his godmother and a few other people who knew him well. For more details see Economou 2015 and Economou 2023.

[2] A subgenre of laiko, which emerged in the late 1940s and was characterized by its sorrowful lyrics and its Eastern slow-moving melodies (Economou 2019; Pennanen 1997, 111).

[3] These songs were almost evenly distributed across time and they represented more than 60% of his total repertoire (1952–1967).

songs suitable to his taste and profile. Although most songs were created by others, his repertoire should be considered as his own, since he often participated in its creation and provided the main inspiration for its production.

Kazantzidis managed to transform his personal trauma into an art of consolation, protest and encouragement. The singer found in the language of *laiko* a way to express and relieve his painful memories, and dedicated himself to the creation of a song that would give solace to the humble, the poor and the tormented. Veena Das, meditating on the lives and the discourses of the traumatized women that she studied, has maintained that their return to ordinary life entailed a gesture of mourning for the ordinary world (Das 2007, 77). This was also the inclination of Kazantzidis. The singer invented a way of being and a form of popular music that went against the prevailing tendency of evading and forgetting,[4] and concentrated on the intensive exposition of suffering, the reminiscence of the past, and the denouncement of injustice.

The singer shaped his art based on an aesthetic of pain, derived from ritual lament and other Greek and Eastern Mediterranean folk and religious genres and traditions.[5] Kazanztidis identified *laiko* with pain. As he repeatedly said in his interviews and autobiographical texts, *laiko* songs contain pain (contrary to *rebetiko* songs that do not), and *laiko* voices should be able to deliver this pain in order to trigger the emotions and relieve the suffering of the people. This ability is thought to depend not only on artistic talents and skills, but also on the biography of the performer. Only someone who has experienced the ordeals of poverty and injustice can understand, feel and transmit the emotional content of *laiko*. The singer constructed his repertoire, vocal style and public image based on this aesthetic and his listeners soon gave him the title of "the singer of pain" and "the singer of the people."

Kazantzidis created a ritual form of popular music. All the components of the songs and all the aspects of the performances converged towards the creation of a symbolic reality that would awaken and console the pain of the listeners and help them see life from a new perspective. I will begin my analysis with the examination of the texts of the songs. Both Kazantzidis and his admirers accorded great importance to the lyrics, which were thought to reflect the personality of the singer and the moral meaning of his art. The synopsis that follows is based on formulaic and symbolic analysis of all

[4] Both the state forces and the Communist Party decided after the war to downgrade and to a large extent forget the events and the pain of the civil strife (Vervenioti 2008; Demertzis 2013).
[5] For ritual lament in Greece see especially Caraveli 1986; Danforth 1982; and Saunier 1979. See also fn. 6.

the 414 texts recorded between 1952 and 1967 and dedicated to subjects other than love. These texts constitute a more or less articulated semiotic system. Most of them consist of repeated formulas and themes that combine in more or less typical ways to form different categories of songs. The writers shared and renewed a body of subjects, themes, sources and rules, and created texts adapted to the evolving views of the singer and the changing sensibilities of the listeners.

> Devastations and misfortunes, ruins and wrecks
> the things I've seen and the things I will see
> can be forgotten only in the grave[6]
>
> Katastrofes kai simfores, Derveniotis – Kolokotronis, 1954

> My many misfortunes have broken me down
> and I have become old ahead of time
> every sip of the drink distresses me
> the past comes back to my mind and makes my wounds bleed
>
> Apo ta polla farmakia, Chrisinis – Vasiliadis, 1954

The songs of Kazantzidis can be described as an idiom of grief for trauma, oppression and social injustice (Kleinman et al. 1994); a discourse, which analyses, interprets and consoles the misfortunes and calamities of the listeners in terms of a local cosmology, deriving from popular Christianity, Eastern Mediterranean folk and religious motifs, working-class culture, and socialist ideas. Most texts (especially during the early post-civil-war period) concentrated on the "tormented," "disdained" and "betrayed" victims of the turbulent times and depicted a landscape of ruins, devastation, fear and death. They echoed the recent tragic historical events and consisted of themes focusing on poverty and the struggle for survival, illness and premature death, bodily and psychological injury, social isolation and disruption, unjust accusations and imprisonment. The heroes are victims of political and structural violence with broken bodies and destroyed morale. They had brutal or tragic experiences that stole their happiness and youth, and they continue to experience precariousness, fear and social alienation. Death seems to be a constant presence in their life and thought. Many songs

[6] All excerpts are translated by the author.

mourn and protest for unjust and tragic deaths and portray a world, which has been marked by the experience of mass death. The lamentation for the dead takes various forms combining folk and modern themes, and it is often expressed as a desire of death and a reversal of the symbolic meanings of life and death, caused by misfortune, poverty and despair. Most heroes are traumatized subjects, and many themes express a desire for the revelation of deep secret wounds, or describe the post-traumatic experience, the disruption of community, and the "poisonous knowledge" (Das 2007) of treason, atrocity, and terror. An ambience of oppression, fear and silence emerges from many texts and the heroes often express their certitude that they will never find justice.

The texts of Kazantzidis concentrate on the human drama, give prominence to the individual, the body and the emotions, and distance themselves from the political events and ideologies. The heroes do not narrate their struggle but their martyrdom; they do not defend a political faction but their innocence. Most of them have ceased to belong to any community or other collectivity (as the latter have been dissolved or turned against them) and they do not believe in any future redemption. Although not directly political, the song of Kazantzidis formulates a powerful response to social inequity and suffering based on a politics of pain. As in folk poetry, pain is an indication of injustice and a form of denunciation (Saunier 1979). The songs expose the different forms of social suffering caused by structural and political violence and articulate a protest against economic inequality and political oppression echoing the discourse of the socialist Centre and the Left. The grieving themes are moreover related to traditional notions of lamentation and pain and they constitute ways for the preservation of the memory of the dead, the continuation of the relationship with them, and the condemnation of those who are deemed responsible for their loss (Caraveli 1986; Danforth 1982; Saunier 1979). The song of Kazantzidis can be thought as a form of "extended mourning" (Das 2007), a negation of forgetting and a continuation of lament as a means of witnessing and denouncing the pain, the horror, the devastation and the injustice of the recent past.

I want to die for my suffering to end
but who's gonna look after my poor house?
Thelo na pethano, Bakalis – Virvos, 1955

Guilty money, I am not jealous of it

with clean hands I struggle with my poverty
Enocho chrima, Kazantzidis – Papagiannopoulou, 1959

A large category of texts is dedicated to the suffering, the moral character and the culture of the working poor. The texts deplore the working and living conditions of the male workers and protest their social degradation and discrimination, and their inability to fulfill their social obligations. Social injustice is primarily denounced from the standpoint of a pre-capitalist ethic, which connects economics with emotions and morality, and regards money and self-interest as the main sources of social evil. Wealth is seen with suspicion—and its acquisition is believed to lie in fraudulence and deceit—whereas the poor are morally exalted and presented as a blessed class. The representations of poverty and working-class men change from the late 1950s and many texts portray a physically and psychically strong male worker who is able to earn a satisfactory living for himself and his family. Many texts praise the different agricultural and working-class professions and extol the power, skill, work, culture, sentimentality and virtue of their representatives.

My good heart and my *philotimo*
have led me to my ruin
O kalos kalo den echei, Kolokotronis, 1954

The world is ungrateful and society is corrupt
your friends and your relatives work for your loss
Achariste kosme kai ntounia, Mitsakis, 1955

Kazantzidis castigates not only social inequality and political oppression but also what he perceives as the deep moral corruption of contemporary society. A significant group of texts outline and deplore the cruel fate of the good and the just, who are driven to loneliness and ruin by the ungratefulness, disloyalty, and malignancy of relatives, friends and lovers. These texts constitute a conservative reaction against the rapid social change and chastise the disruption of primary social bonds, the corrosion of moral values, and especially the wide dissemination of possessive individualism. Contemporary society is contrasted with the more pure, just and organic society of the recent past and it is depicted as a jungle ruled by profit and self-interest. The scenario of the

ill fate awaiting the sensitive and the just permeates the worldview and the autobiographical narrations of Kazantzidis, and it is of religious and perhaps Islamic origin.[7] The texts, which often contain religious advice and warnings, articulate a moral critique of contemporary social mores and construct a vision of the world in which those who are honest, sensitive and pure face a life of grief, sacrifice and martyrdom. Pain emerges as an inevitable consequence of sensitivity and virtue, and acquires an aura of sainthood. The hardships and the sufferings of the poor and the virtuous are presented as a form or martyrdom which purifies and sanctifies them, and the capacity to feel the pain of others is considered as the essential element of humanity.

Since the late 1950s, the singer responded to the increasing rates of economic emigration to Europe, America and Australia and dedicated many songs to it. The texts exposed and denounced the compulsory character of the movement and addressed a bitter reproach to society and motherland. Immigration was seen as an unfortunate although necessary movement and it was depicted in ways deeply influenced from folk poetry. The themes stress the pains and the hardships of immigration, which is presented as a condition of loneliness, isolation, damaging work, humiliating experiences, illness and death. The immigrants appear completely estranged from the new country, which is by definition and must always remain foreign to them. Many texts express the strong desire of the immigrants to return and contain themes that express love and loyalty to family, community, religion and homeland.

The songs of Kazantzidis, especially in the early years, asserted traditional kinship and social ideals and were rather ambivalent towards the increasing modernization of gender and sexual practices and ideas. The heroes of most texts are devoted sons or prudent fathers who sacrifice for their families. Family loyalty, adherence to traditional ideals and prescripts, and avoidance of modern temptations are seen as the foundations of good character and sound living. Many texts praise and extol the mother, who is presented as the main recipient of social suffering and a model of self-sacrificial love and devotion. Numerous themes emphasize the emotional relationship of men with their mothers, who are often presented as their only haven in a corrupt and treacherous world. The themes of the mother, as well as other motifs castigating female frailty, unfaithfulness and destructiveness can be interpreted as a reaction against the emancipation of women and the modernization of social views and

[7] See the impressive similarities of these themes with the ethos and the themes of the Moharram rites (Delvecchio Good and Good 1988; Wolf 2007).

practices after the war. However, since the late 1950s the majority of the love songs of Kazantzidis celebrated a modern form of romantic love, endorsed the liberation of sexual mores, and showed greater acceptance of women's freedom and independence.

The texts could only work if they were matched by appropriate musical forms. Kazantzidis cooperated with many different composers and recorded songs of different musical styles but he had a predilection for the sorrowful oriental melodies of grieving *laiko*. The melodies of many "social" songs—especially during the 1950s—were based on sorrowful *dromoi*,[8] which were not used in other styles of *laiko* and could not be functionally harmonized (Pennanen 1997, 111). According to the prominent composer Theodoros Derveniotis, the musicians of the time chose these melodic formulae because they could express great intensities of pain and were suitable for the sad lyrics (Georgiadis and Rahmatoulina 2003). Derveniotis and other composers claimed a relationship between their style of grieving *laiko* and Byzantine religious music, whereas others, like the Armenian violinist and composer Stefanos Vartanis, had roots in and were inspired by traditional Ottoman music (Gouventas 2005). During the late 1950s and the 1960s Kazantzidis became a central figure of a new style of *laiko,* which incorporated many influences from Indian, Arabic and Turkish popular music, and provided new melodic and vocal means, and a new imaginary for the expression of pain.

The emotive ability of the singer was moreover and perhaps principally related to the magic of his voice. Many commentators have stressed its power, range, musical precision and expressiveness. Many of the songs of Kazantzidis are meant for contemplative listening (rather than dancing or revelling) and their stated aim is to awaken the pain and enable the listeners to weep. Critics have stressed his deep knowledge of the *dromoi* and his ability to follow them during the interpretation of the texts, as well as his emphasis on the clear articulation and the transmission of the emotional and symbolic meaning of the words. His phonetic styles incorporated various influences from *rebetiko*, folk song, religious chanting and middle-eastern popular music, and he deployed different styles, colours and techniques depending on the music and the meaning of the words. Kazantzidis had stressed that the most important feature of his vocal styles was the art of "crying," which he learned from his grandmother (who was

[8] Dromos (route), pl. dromoi, is the Greek translation of the makam: the system of melodic formulae and compositional and performance principles upon which Ottoman and Middle-Eastern music is based.

a renowned lamenter) and the sorrowful songs of the refugees. His voice embodies the social and emotional states that are evoked by the sad, dramatic or tragic verses. During the 1950s he often adopted a mourning, nasal tone and utilized techniques, such as sobbing or sighing intonations and exclamations, that made these songs a form of ritual performance of crying. From the mid-fifties, the crying tone was balanced in many songs by "volume" and a "bell-like" quality, a form of epic eruption that transformed the sad lyrics into a cry of protest. The voice seems to embody the battle of emotions and alternates between sorrow and exasperation, anguish and courage, despair and rebellion.

The emotional and social power of the song of Stelios Kazantzidis is equally due to the way that he presented himself to the public and managed his relationship with his listeners**.** The singer based his authenticity on his biography and constructed his public image in consonance with the aesthetics of pain. He retained a constant dialogue with his admirers who almost always stress both the artistic abilities and the exceptional moral integrity of the singer. Kazantzidis presented himself as an ordinary, good, honest, and deeply wounded person, who is dedicated to the expression and consolation of the ordeals and the afflictions of the humble and the poor. A singer who has experienced the hardships of poverty and injustice and is therefore able to express, awaken and relieve the popular sorrows and woes. The singer tried to balance his personal social and economic success with the content of his songs and his working-class roots and audiences. His continuous dedication to a repertoire of grieving social songs, his aversion for luxury, wealthy people and star behaviours, his efforts to keep the cost of attending his performances low, and his humble and simple manners towards his admirers helped him build an especially strong, enduring and empathetic relationship with them.

Kazantzidis began from the early 1960s to present himself as a person of heroic virtue both through his songs (many of which take the form of a moral sermon) and through autobiographical acts that revealed to his admirers his current difficulties and disillusions. He depicted himself as a defender of the poor and the despised, and as a continuously tormented person who resisted self-interest, injustice, and moral corruption. In a series of songs and interviews, Kazantzidis expressed his indignation against and disappointment with Greek society, and announced his intention to quit professional singing and leave the country. Finally, in February 1965 he ceased live

performance forever, and he gradually retreated from the musical industry and the public view until the end of the dictatorship.

The healing performance of collective pain

Kazantzidis performed in the best nightclubs of his time and he was the first and perhaps the only *laiko* singer who gathered mass audiences during his performances. People crowded not only inside but also outside the clubs and the music halls. Many admirers who could not afford or did not have a ticket for the performance surrounded the clubs hoping to see or listen to their idol even from afar. Some of these gatherings have been described by participants as some kind of silent "pilgrimage" or "prayer." In other cases they were more vocal and had political undertones as some fans carried banners with praise for the singer and sociopolitical messages.

The consumption of his music should also include all those contexts in which various persons or groups listened to his voice through record players, radios or other devices. The songs of Kazantzidis accompanied both the private and the public life of many poor, refugee (following the Greek-Turkish war 1919–1922) and immigrant persons and communities. Especially on Sundays, they permeated the soundscape of whole neighbourhoods, which as some of his admirers say, seemed like "churches" or "shrines" dedicated to his name. They emerged from the windows and the yards of houses, played again and again on the gramophones and the jukeboxes of tavernas and coffeehouses, and had a special place in family and community musical gatherings and celebrations. They were sung by workers in construction sites and factories, and gave solace and courage to patients, prisoners, and soldiers. They accompanied family celebrations and community festivals, the thrills of courting and the sorrows of mourning, the departure and the nostalgia of the emigrants and their relatives.

The singer, who disliked the prevailing mores in the commercial nightclubs, tried to negotiate the conditions of his performances and create a form of musical entertainment that would be suited to his songs and ideas. He insisted that the cost of attending his appearances should be accessible to his lower-class followers, and imposed rules and organized the program in ways that aimed at the creation of a decent "family" environment, which would be free of immoral shows and practices and from the extremities of the conspicuous consumption of the rich. A part of the programme was devoted to listening, and dancing was not permitted, while another had a more

revelling character. The singer resisted the transformation of nightclub performances into frenzied revelry and a sexual show (as was happening during this time[9]) and remained faithful to the old style according to which the musicians and the singers performed seated on a small platform called a *palko*. The singer and his orchestra appeared in modest clothes and surroundings and generally adopted a "serious" style during their performances. The term "seriousness" is used by both Kazantzidis and his listeners and connotes a style of sober contemplation and reserved melancholy that stems from the experience of grief and the acute awareness of the precariousness and the injustice of the world.

The voice and image of Kazantzidis incited on a regular basis, during the 1950s and the 1960s, the creation of an extraordinary emotional and spiritual context. The deeply rooted tradition of ritual lament and the culture of the moral and religious understanding of pain that were still strong in Greece provided a solid basis for his communication with popular audiences. The songs of Kazantzidis were performed in various circumstances and they served different moods, emotions and functions, which were often combined in the context of a single performance. Some (usually love) songs were lighter and more celebratory, whereas the majority inspired contemplation and generated strong feelings and tears. The dimension of symbolic healing was never absent from the performances of his songs and it seems to predominate in many milieux during this period.

The explicit aim of the art of Kazantzidis was the consolation and empowerment of his listeners through the triggering, the cultivation and the transformation of pain (Vasilikos 2000; Economou 2015). The arousal of pain and especially the release of tears are thought to bring about solace, relief and even hope. Although many songs of Kazantzidis mourn for and protest wounds that never heal, his art should be thought of as an expression of a theory of catharsis (derived from ritual lament) according to which the repeated expression of painful emotions contributes to their abatement or eradication (Danforth 1982, 144). The singer, as well as many listeners, employed

[9] The attraction of the middle classes to rebetiko and laiko and the modern ethos of consumption and sexual liberation changed progressively the character of nightclub entertainment. A number of innovations included a) the standing performance of the singers (which placed a new emphasis on their theatricality, dress and movement), b) the sexualization of the appearance, body and manners of especially the female singers and patrons, c) the multiplication of artists and other women provided by the clubs, who offered company to male clients in order to boost consumption, and d) the development of practices of audience participation (such as breaking plates, blowing balloons, and upending tables), which established a hierarchy of revelry based on conspicuous spending, transformed nightclub performances into a frantic, competitive and sexual amusement and spectacle.

possession-related metaphors developed around the concept of pain, the awakening of which was depicted as a form of emotional engrossment attained voluntarily or involuntarily (Caraveli 1986, 172). The singer was often immersed in an ecstatic pain when he performed. Many musicians including Mikis Theodorakis have stressed the trancelike quality of his performances. He was emotionally consumed when he performed and sometimes he burst into tears and was unable to continue.

Kazantzidis had a unique ability to charm, move and enchant his listeners. Many listeners[10] said that his voice "excited," "stirred," "agitated," "brought the inside out," or "ascended them to the skies." The following description of an attendant in one of his concerts captures the atmosphere of his performances during his heyday: "People cried with sobs, they screamed like in a rock concert, gave him blessings, made the sign of the cross, threw him flowers, it was a pilgrimage." The responses of the audiences of his nightclub performances were equally enthusiastic, reverent and emotive, and many practices of the listeners (most importantly crying but also dancing, singing, religious gestures, and acts of self-inflicted pain and injury) can be thought as forms of emotional release and catharsis. Many of his performances and especially his concerts in the Greek diaspora stirred the audiences deeply and were transformed into an experience of collective weeping.

The voice of Kazantzidis produced an intense emotionality in many different performance sites and occasions. His admirers often burst into tears when they are asked about the singer as they recall personal memories related to his songs. Some say that they cannot listen to his songs often or in a casual way because they are overwhelmed by strong feelings and immersed in an extraordinary emotional state. Many recount stories from the 1950s and the 1960s showing the ability of Kazantzidis to affect and induce sudden and involuntary tears from his listeners, or portray persons who listened to his songs and cried almost every day for long periods. Many coffeehouses were decorated during this time with his photographs and constituted places for the collective listening to his music. Some of the contemporary participants and observers depict the ambience of reverence and spirituality that was created while listening to his songs. The singer inspired an exceptional respect and his songs carried a

[10] The following presentation is based on many sources. I have interviewed dozens of Kazantzidis fans during the last thirty years, mainly in Athens but also in other places in Greece and abroad, I have participated in many relevant musical events, and I have collected a large number of written documents. The book of Thomas Korovinis (2005), who gathered and presented a large and diverse collection of narratives and texts about Kazantzidis, is an exemplary source for assessing his impact.

moral weight that required attention and "seriousness." Others remember "the drinks, the dances and the unending tears" engendered by his voice and the hardships of the customers.

The songs of Kazantzidis were also performed in marriage celebrations, community festivities and on other social or ritual occasions. They were thought by many of my interlocutors as an integral part of every musical gathering or celebration and as absolutely indispensable for the attainment of an emotional climax. During these years these events in many working-class, refugee and immigrant communities took the form of an ordinarily repeated pain healing ritual. The "social" songs were performed at special parts of the program in order to stir the emotions and enable the participants to weep. Numerous interlocutors remember that Sunday family gatherings were always accompanied by the songs of Kazantzidis and the tears of many participants. The parties and the celebrations of many immigrant communities—according to other interlocutors—culminated always with the songs of Kazantzidis and the collective weeping of many participants and especially the women. His songs were also frequently played or sung by all participants at the end of celebrations. Kazantzidis had earned from early on the status of a social, national (for the emigrants) or ethnic (for the Pontics and other refugees) hero, and his songs functioned as symbols of social and cultural identity.

The songs of Kazantzidis helped the wounded and grieving people of the post-civil war years to do the work of pain. Most of his followers from this period stress the affinity of their experiences with the life history of the singer and the themes of his songs. His voice gave support and solace to people who mourned for the death of beloved persons, suffered from physical or psychic traumas, or experienced the various exceptions and exclusions of the post-war years. Many interlocutors stress that the songs of Kazantzidis gave them encouragement, confidence and strength at important moments and periods of their life. Numerous accounts show the immense emotional and ideological support that the Greek working-class people derived from his songs. The latter functioned literally as a project to restore the self-esteem of the poor and the weak through the affirmation of their culture and social value. The voice of Kazantzidis also played an immense role in the life of many emigrants and constituted, according to many narrations, an indispensable aid for enduring the pain of separation and the hardships of an intolerable reality.

The therapeutic character of the songs of Kazantzidis becomes evident from the great number of listeners who said that they found relief in his songs and became "followers" of the singer when they faced important personal crises. Many people confessed that Kazantzidis helped them mourn and find consolation for the death of beloved persons, and there are many stories about persons who experienced illness and faced death listening to his songs. His voice helped many admirers endure the liminality of failure and separation and consoled their loneliness and grief. Many interlocutors said that they have lived their life accompanied by his songs and used therapeutic metaphors to describe the effect of his voice.

The ideological impact of Kazantzidis and the ritual character of his relationship with his fans can be seen in the great number of listeners who accredited him with qualities that are commonly attributed to symbolic healers and recognized him as a therapist, a father, a social hero, a spiritual guide, and even a saint. Kazantzidis combined the image of a good, humble and suffering man with the halo of the hero. He was commonly seen as an exceptionally moral and trustworthy person, who heeded and supported his listeners like a close friend or a relative. He was also often understood as a wise and loving person, who cared for his listeners as if they were his children, and numerous followers called him and considered him as their (spiritual) father. Many listeners said that his songs induced them to think that they helped them form their views and character. Kazantzidis was seen as a brave defender of the humble and the poor and as a person of exceptional virtue who stood in opposition to the world because of his integrity and sensitivity. He was thought of as an uncompromising social critic and sometimes he was even seen as a quasi-holy person.

The "phenomenon" Kazantzidis is a product of the particular conditions of post-civil war Greece. The period following events of mass political violence and terror is often marked by the development of ritual activity that helps people cope with their traumatic experiences (Lawrence 2000; Das and Kleinman 2001; Cole 2007). This need was strongly felt in Greece where the silencing of painful experiences by both camps in conjunction with the adoption of heroic representations and narratives, constrained the expression of subjectivity and hindered the personal and social process of suffering and trauma. Stelios Kazantzidis who was a deeply wounded victim of the civil war created a form of popular music, which was based on the aesthetic of ritual lament and addressed the problems, the sensitivities and the woes of large sections of the population. His enthusiastic and emotive reception permits us to conclude that his music

and his image provided an important public outlet for the articulation of the silenced painful memories and the contemporary grievances of the poor and oppressed strata of Greek society, and a powerful idiom for their understanding, consolation and re-structuring.

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6 | POPULAR MUSIC AND THE OLD GREEK CINEMA

NICK POULAKIS

Introduction

This chapter highlights various aspects of popular music in the Old Greek Cinema by exploring its confluence to the construction with cultural identities, the expression of collective memories, the experience of personal emotional situations and the osmosis between everyday life and the social imaginary during the Greek 1960s and afterwards. It will be argued that studying film music through the broader perspective of a culture's performing arts terrain provides an additional paradigm to investigate other artistic and cultural forms of a specific society and era. At the same time, the status of both cinema and music in a culture's creative arena reveals a comprehensive model to investigate particular popular functions of film music practices. It is, therefore, crucial to examine film music within the historical and cultural settings in which it is created, performed and perceived, emphasizing both the meaning and the context of the films as well as their aesthetic and ideological uses and further interpretations.

The chapter consists of five sections describing the main characteristics of Greek popular music and their manifestation within Old Greek Cinema. First, an overview of the major historical, theoretical and methodological key-topics is presented, followed by a description of two analytical paradigms through which the chapter's argument is developed. Anahid Kassabian's (2001) and Claudia Gorbman's (1987) models of "music-film" associations provide a framework to explore the diverse relational links between Greek popular music and cinema but also to highlight the multifaceted, hybrid styles that emerged from these interrelations. The chapter ends up with further insights into the cultural economy of film music, focusing on the synergies of Greek film and music industries in addition to the contemporary appreciation of Old Greek Cinema music as a unique aesthetic and cultural practice of the 1960s Greek popular

music and dance milieu which remains present nowadays via diverse performative forms and altered channels of audiovisual representation.

Popular music and cinema in Greece: Historical and cultural context

Earlier attempts to investigate the relationship between music and the cinematic images by composers, musicologists and film scholars have brought to the fore a variety of analytical (filmic/musical) models (Eisler and Adorno 1947; Bazelon 1975; Thomas 1979; Prendergast 1992). Beyond their historical significance, these original paradigms tended to neglect the broader cultural or semiotic nuances of the interrelation between music and film. They usually limited the study of audiovisual texts to merely examining the films' musical structures as systematic forms developed by their own (i.e. musical) terms. For example, most of them maintained a strong differentiation between "art" and "popular" elements in film music, not in analytical or interpretative terms but on the basis of evaluative theoretical or empirical standards now alleged to be either generalized or outdated. These approaches often echoed oversimplified and inflexible viewpoints, which gave priority to dogmas like "art for art's sake" or to conceptual classifications based on dualistic assumptions. William H. Rosar (2002, 2–14) has previously stated that the idea of film music, as it has been employed in western film theory and cinematic practice, corresponds to the term "film score"—namely, the background music accompaniment created by specialized "film music composers" and meant not to be intentionally heard but to remain subordinate to the picture. In these terms, "film score" contradicts "source music," which indicates realistic music and popular songs in film and is, therefore, disregarded because it is not considered "genuine" film music.

Greek film music has also scarcely been investigated, although it played a significant role by overturning the image-sound hierarchy to occupy a central position in cinematic production, especially in the films of the so-called "Old Greek Cinema." This designation refers to films created and screened in Greece between the mid-1950s and the early 1970s, but it mainly covers the 1960s period, which is credited by many as the "Golden Age" of Greek cinematography (Karalis 2012, 42). Old Greek Cinema also designated a particular cinematic style as well as a specific mode of creation (Chalkou 2008; Hadjikyriacou 2013, 65–100; Papadimitriou 2006, 13–27) and, thus, was clearly segregated from New Greek Cinema of the subsequent years.

The film industry in Greece during the 1960s was defined by a massive production of commercial works, falling under two popular genres of comedy and melodrama. Musicals fit either in the first or the second category depending on the mood of their plot. All these films were intended for wide-ranging middleclass audiences and had distinctive characteristics: a) they were theatrically arranged, using minimal settings and outdoor locations, b) their scenes were composed principally by long shots filmed with a still camera, c) they included several musical numbers which operated as interludes, d) they were based on a standardized, linear narrative structure incorporating intense cultural contextualization and, finally, e) they were genre- and star-centred (Eleftheriotis 2015, 186–7). A number of these films gained exceptional success in the local market and their popularity still remains high via television broadcasting and YouTube.

The study of Greek cinema through the "Old vs. New" concept actually refers to film genre distinctions, concerning the "producer's cinema" and the "auteur cinema" respectively. It also expresses a sort of "quality-rating" based on the distinction between "commercial" and "art" cinema before and after the mid-1970s which has also been extensively applied by both film critics and researchers in Greece during the post-junta era (Karalis 2012, 159). Although this "Old vs. New" scheme maintains a predominant bipolar orientation, given the fact that it bears distinctive historical, national, ideological and epistemological connotations, it could be further used to support the cultural contextualization of film-music analyses.

In addition to the above, the term "popular music" has always been under discussion—at times even under dispute—inside the fields of musicology and cultural studies (Frith 1986; Middleton 1990). Primarily it refers to a general music classification that complies with the following parameters: a) wide-ranging audience outreach, b) mass media dissemination and c) commercial motivation. It is also connected with urban (in contrast to rural) societies, it is performed by professional instrumentalists and it is created by distinctive, well-known composers, lyricists, producers, musicians and singers. The label "popular music" is often contrasted with "art music," which is both historically and culturally considered to be the music of the elite—the upper social classes—expressed by artists who have received Western music education (Shuker 2001, 1–25). Adjusted to modern Greek reality, this terminology has received different meanings from time to time. In fact, "popular music" is not only a general musical category but a very particular genre of Greek music (Papageorgiou 1997). If we were

to believe that cinema is a popular mass medium, music in cinema could also fit within the broader sphere of "popular culture."

Greek film music: Theoretical and methodological perspectives of analysis

Music in the Old Greek Cinema played a fundamental role not only in the construction of the films' narrative but also in the formation of a distinctive artistic and cultural mannerism. These films introduced hybrid cinematic musicscapes reflecting the characteristics of the Greek popular film music creation, perception and reception of that era. Under this framework, the term "film music" encompassed the notion of "popular"—used here as an analytical/research expression—beyond other local connotations or global orientations, since the films of the Old Greek Cinema referred to broader audiences, interacted with the relevant cultural forms of the real society outside the filmic sphere, had been disseminated through mediated means of distribution and conveyed clear commercial dimensions as a consumer product in the indigenous cultural market. In this case, the label of "popular" contradicted earlier binary considerations which gave priority to twofold groupings by emphasizing the fact that the "high/low dichotomy is blurred and complex" (Buchanan 2020, 11).

Moreover, music performances in films have been systematically used at a symbolic and semiotic level, highlighting aspects of the cinematic medium beyond its diegetic realm since performing arts provide historical and sociocultural filmic context and thus offer direct as well as indirect associations between fact and fiction (Beeman 1981, 8). In addition to the above and focusing on the analysis of popular film music of the Old Greek Cinema, this chapter tries to echo the viewers' interaction with popular music that accompanied Greek films which were projected on the big screen during the 1960s—i.e. the audiences' engagement with film music as reflected on Anahid Kassabian's (2001, 2–3) distinction between "assimilating identification" (a firmly controlled association) and "affiliating identification" (an open-ended interchange) with the spectators' perceptions. As Kassabian notes, the assimilating identification aims for a reproduction of viewpoints of the dominant culture, whereas the affiliating identification reinforces a creative encounter of miscellaneous experiences. Moreover, she argues that the novel background film scores of late-romantic and neo-classical styles that prevailed during the classical Hollywood era act in an assimilating way,

while film music based on prior or contemporary popular tunes functions through the affiliating mode.

These two poles of Kassabian's classification respectively map onto the two major types of film music practice that dominated Old Greek Cinema soundtracks, i.e. the original and the compilation. The original ones were those created exclusively for a specific movie. Greek film scoring of the 1960s stabilized the role of the symphonic orchestra. Original orchestrations were based on classical American film music tradition, which mainly used the string section but also included woodwinds, brass, percussion and piano, customized to operate for Greek audiences. In contrast, the compilation score was pre-existing (either European classical or Greek popular) music adapted to film according to the production needs. The reasons that led Greek film companies of this period towards the adoption of the compilation soundtrack were, in particular: a) the tight timetable for creating a new film, b) the additional cost in the case of preparing and employing an original score, c) the lack of interest in copyright issues and d) the advanced recognition of previously released popular music that had been available to the general public through recordings and live music and dance performances in nightclubs. Talented composers who wrote film music and choreographers who created special dance arrangements for the movies came to the fore. The majority of them—although self-taught—had considerable professional experience in theatre, revue, vaudeville and other forms of light and popular Greek music and dance shows, which obviously helped them during cinematic production (Poulakis 2018, 132–3).

A recurring practice during the creation of film music in Old Greek Cinema was the use of numerous clichés—namely, a series of stereotypical music representations that constantly appear in filmic narrative. Even though "absolute" music is not a phenomenon with exceptional semantic dynamics, film music acquires a relative representational competence through preconstructed and widely-used conventions of audiovisual connection between the cinematic image and the musical sound itself. As Michel Chion (1994, 216) has already stated, the relationship of music and cinema "is not natural, but a kind of symbolic contract that the audio-viewer enters into agreeing to think of sound and image as forming a single entity" and forgetting that sound comes from the loudspeakers and moving pictures are projected on a screen. Besides common psychological connotations in Greek films of the 1960s, there were a variety of cultural connotations that suggested a superficial correlation between musical and

cultural elements. In these cases, Greek popular music—embracing the bouzouki as its central symbol—was usually the key determinant of machismo and masculinity (Image 1).

Image 1. Grigoris (Dimitris Papamichael) plays the bouzouki accompanied by a popular music orchestra and sings for a lady sitting at a front row seat of a nightclub. Film still from *Διπλοπενιές* [*Dancing the Sirtaki*] (Skalenakis 1966); music by Stavros Xarchakos.

If we define the term "diegesis," according to the contemporary narratological film theory, as the cinematically constructed spatiotemporal world where the story takes place, the characters live and the events of the film's plot occur (Branigan 2013, 33–7; Bordwell 2013, 16–8; Yacavone 2015, 20–6), aural components—music, for example—significantly enhance the notion of filmic realism either onscreen or offscreen (Neumeyer 2015, 81). According to the relevant theory developed by Claudia Gorbman (1987, 11–30), there is also another quality involving image and sound analysis of films: the distinction between "diegetic" and "non-diegetic" music. "Diegetic" refers to the function of music as a part of a work's theatrical narrative sphere, i.e. music whose source is visible on the screen or by action implied from off screen and represented as coming from the story's spacetime. On the contrary, "non-diegetic" music is neither visible on the screen nor is it implied to be present in the action; rather, it is the incidental music heard only by the audience. Music in Old Greek Cinema functions through this dual channel. It is used both as a diegetic means, which draws the audience into the films'

cultural context related to the realistic representational nature of cinema, as well as non-diegetic background score or accompaniment, which refers to a dreamlike, imaginary and transcendental peculiarity of the relation between music and film transferring the audience to a new reality beyond its everyday routine. These two—apparently contradictory—perspectives highlight the ambiguous presence of music in Old Greek Cinema of the 1960s.

Affiliating identifications: Diegetic film music and songs in Old Greek Cinema

Old Greek Cinema productions achieved credible narrative depiction of reality primarily through diegetic music, songs and dance. Rick Altman (2001, 24–5) has suggested a series of popular music qualities, which—in contrast to the conventional stylistic formulation and function of non-diegetic music—support in multiple ways the interactive engagement of the audience with factual filmic representation. Most of all, popular music: a) depends on language to a great extent as it is intended for singing, b) is predictable and evocative, using simple forms and easy-listening tunes that function as both personal and collective recollection and c) is dynamically incorporated with the viewers' physical presence and actual experience. The inclusion of popular music in Greek films of the era under examination followed the abovementioned parameters, largely based on the preferences and choices of the producer, the director, the composer and the audience. Therefore, this was perhaps the most obvious example of the representational aesthetics of cinematic musical performance.

Diegetic popular music in Old Greek Cinema often sets the borderlines of spatiotemporal and cultural context of the films' narrative, giving a sense of authenticity and plausibility. It also facilitates the viewers in defining the elements of the filmic world, regarding the historical period and the location of the story as well as the surrounding conditions and the limitations of sound that apply in a film's sequence. Sometimes, a popular song would express the heroes' inner feelings or the director's—perhaps, even the producer's—overall attitude related to the film's plot, which was a common practice in low-budget melodramas (Image 2). In sum, as Simon Frith (1986, 58–9) has already argued concerning popular film music, songs of the Old Greek Cinema performed specific narrative and phenomenological tasks, such as the emotional matching with the spectator, the construction of a certain psychological atmosphere

and the nostalgic bridging of filmic fiction with extra-filmic experience. To put it another way, film music did not only serve the enrichment of the storyline but also magnified the impression that everything that happened inside the film's world is much more important than real life itself.

Image 2. Well-known singer and bouzouki-player Vasilis Karatzoglou (Nikos Xanthopoulos) sings a sorrowful popular song together with his wife Anna Karatzoglou (Angela Zilia). Film still from *Η Οδύσσεια ενός Ξεριζωμένου* [*The Odyssey of an Uprooted Man*] (Tegopoulos 1969); music by Giorgos Manisalis.

Despite the fact that most film music scores and dance choreographies of the Old Greek Cinema have been conventionally handled according to the principles of typical background music and standardized dance composition and arrangement, Greek film music and dance aesthetics differentiated from those of American and other European films. Contrary to several dominant cultural forms of that period, Greek film production, although influenced by the tradition of Western popular cinema, was intended for domestic consumption and constituted a "hybrid" rather than an "authentic" (in the sense of "pure") domain (Papadimitriou 2006, 2). One of the most common instances of popular music in the majority of Old Greek Cinema films—regardless of their genre classification—is its systematic occurrence as actual representation of live performances through music and dance stage acts in nightclubs (Image 3). This is a

uniqueness of Greek film music which, on the one hand, maintains the intervening nature of music and/or dance episodes as in classical American musicals but, on the other, has different performative dynamics due to its special extra-cinematic cultural connotations. In other terms, instead of stressing the narrative continuum of the film, these events operated as interludes, pauses or interruptions throughout the storyline. While in the case of Hollywood this would seem incompatible with the film's realm, Old Greek Cinema embodied this feature as an established practice, fully justified both in cinematic and in cultural terms, with reference to the earlier episodic form of Greek operettas, variety shows and theatrical revues (Eleftheriotis 2015, 184–9).

Image 3. The famous duet in which Stelios Kazantzidis and Marinella perform the song "Ποιος Δρόμος Είναι Ανοιχτός" ["Which Road Is Open"], while Stathis Kougias (Nikos Kourkoulos) dances with spirit and joy. Film still from *Αδίστακτοι* [*The Ruthless*] (Katsouridis 1965); music by Yannis Markopoulos.

An additional key issue related to the techniques and habits of Old Greek Cinema was the filmic audiovisual depiction of a popular song performance through the practice of overdubbing (Image 4). This process was repeatedly used: a) to cover problems deriving from cinematic sound synchronization, b) to satisfy the aesthetic preferences of the film's agents, such as the producer, the director and the composer and c) to meet the musical tastes and demands of the spectators. Apart from the scenes where the

singers dubbed their own singing, there were many cases in which the image and voice belonged to different persons. Through playback singing, the performer's icon was attached to the musical sound of another vocalist, achieving the desired audiovisual result. This required special attention to match the tone colour of each artist.

Image 4. Mary Kaniatoglou (Zoe Laskari, dubbed by Aleka Kanellidou) sings the modern pop song "Τρελὸ Κορίτσι" ["Crazy Girl"] and plays the electric bass with her female pop band in a dance club. Film still from *Οι Θαλασσιές οι Χάντρες* [*The Blue Beads*] (Dalianidis 1967a); music by Mimis Plessas.

For the same reasons, where diegetic popular music was performed in nightclubs, the film's director made dual sound/voice recordings for a film, firstly during the shoot and later in a studio, a method often employed in Indian popular film music and songs (Morcom 2007, 55). However, in most cases where Greek popular music ensembles were present, a peculiar aesthetic approach could be noticed. These "live" performances were not completely plausible at an actual audiovisual level, as the orchestra did not always seem to comprised the same instruments as those heard in the musical piece and/or the musicians seemed asynchronous with respect to the final audio that the spectators received. Using playback in the films of Old Greek Cinema had led to the creation of an audiovisual impression which could be experienced as obscure and far-away from the usual or expected in terms of cinematic production and

perception. In this new reality, image and sound were distinguished as being two separate, unconnected, fragmented aspects of the filmic text. If we could now try to understand this audiovisual inconsistency that permeated Old Greek Cinema, we would realize that it was indeed a "pseudo-diegetic" representation, quite similar to modern "music video clip" aesthetics (Image 5). While diegetic film music performance as a whole is the result of the intersection of human voice with physical expression and this appears to be cinematically organic, playback in Old Greek cinema was indeed a fragmentary technological mediation through the disembodied exposure of popular musicians. Nevertheless, this paradox was not actually a problem as both the performers and the viewers of those days were quite familiar with this kind of rupture within the cinematic phenomenon.

Image 5. Madalena Charidimou (Aliki Vougiouklaki) performs the song "Θάλασσα Πλατιά" ["Wide Sea"] while playing her lute on a boat in the sea, although we hear music orchestrated for a larger instrumental ensemble. Film still from *Μανταλένα* [*Madalena*] (Dimopoulos 1960); music by Manos Hatzidakis.

Assimilating identifications and beyond: Non-diegetic and meta-diegetic film music in Old Greek Cinema

Non-diegetic film music—i.e. background music not belonging to filmic reality—is used to reinforce the structural unity and continuity of the movie. It also creates different moods, stresses distinctive feelings as a signifier of emotion and gives connotative, referential and narrative cues to indicate various interpretations and viewpoints (Copland 1957, 154–5; Gorbman 1987, 73). In regard to the Old Greek Cinema, this feature is particularly intense by comparing either films that had been underscored by the same composer or films from a distinct genre. For example, there were stylistic and narrative equivalences between popular soundtracks of diverse melodramas due to the analogous storylines and directing approaches, although their music could have been written by different composers. On the other hand, there were quite a few similarities in films scored by the same composer, even if they might not belong to the same genre. It was a common practice for the producer or the director to select a specific composer to create music exclusively for their films, often reaching the point of identifying him with a particular music or filmic style. For instance, some composers had been recognized for writing modern popular music for comedies and musicals (such as Mimis Plessas) while others had been characterized as film composers of symphonic music for social dramas and epics (such as Kostas Kapnisis), even if this was not a categorical divergence.

One of the most recognizable elements employed in cinematic music practice was the movie's main theme, which was often handled as a basis for creating the whole soundtrack of the film. In Old Greek Cinema, this did not conform to the classical composition process but derived from a romantic perception of musical theme where music was developed with relative freedom and autonomy. Generally, theme music is defined as a musical category that meets the needs for musical accompaniment of images in contemporary audiovisual mass media—cinema and television, in particular. These are tunes that offer short but powerful poetic and rhetorical visual references and connotations and reflect the existing aesthetic preferences of the spectators, using shared means to maintain and enhance the notion of community among audience members. The film's main theme offers a musical basis that combines personal emotional engagement with interpersonal communication and eventually becomes ascribed to the specific cinematic production as a whole (Image 6). In this way, theme songs create

the film's "auditory identity" or, as Hoeckner and Nusbaum point out (2013, 242), "not only can give a film a sonic signature but also can capture its overall atmosphere and mood."

Image 6. Aliki (Aliki Vougiouklaki) sings the tune "Τράβα Μπρος" ["Go Ahead"] as the naval cadets are humming in choir and dancing to the film's main theme. Film still from *Η Αλίκη στο Ναντικό* [*Alice in the Navy*] (Sakellarios 1961); music by Manos Hatzidakis.

Music and dance episodes in Old Greek Cinema held a major dramaturgical role in shaping the films' structure. This was a different kind of connection between music and the moving images, which included music as a fundamental filmic feature, thus leading to complex levels of narrative beyond the apparent boundaries of diegetic and nondiegetic performances and developing a "meta-diegetic" audiovisual world (Gorbman 1987, 22). In particular, we may think of music and dance as the films' main subjects (for example, in a film that deals with a group of Greek musicians) or, in other cases, we could associate this function with music comedies and musicals, where music and dance numbers served as organic elements of both the plot and the genre of the films. Furthermore, meta-diegetic music was also common in nested film narratives—e.g. a dream, a hallucination or a flashback sequence. The musical component of "leitmotif" (i.e. a small phrase, theme, harmonic succession or rhythmic figure whose frequent reappearance is associated with a particular person, place, emotion,

action, idea or situation) has also a meta-diegetic signification. It reminds the viewer of the subject with which it was optically connected at the first time of its hearing, occasionally substituting even its own visual representation. In Old Greek Cinema films, a popular song might also act as a leitmotif (Image 7). For example, a film song that functioned as a sound indicator and expressed the love between two protagonists was directly associated with their erotic attraction to such an extent that when the viewers heard it again and again, they did not necessarily have to confirm the image of the characters on screen to recall their feelings and their affection.

Image 7. Showgirl Katy (Aliki Vougiouklaki) performs a pole dance at a backstreet cabaret accompanied by male dancers, while singing "Μου Αρέσουνε τ' Αγόρια" ["I Like Boys"]. Film still from *Το Δόλωμα* [*The Bait*] (Sakellarios 1964); music by Kostas Kapnisis.

Another factor that defined Old Greek Cinema production processes was improvisation in terms of musical form and content. Through this procedure, music components were rematerialized, highlighting the very essence of artistic synthesis in film, where composers, performers and directors were looking for a counterbalance between consistency and diversity. Even though Western European music practices dominated Old Greek Cinema as principal influences, there is no doubt that Greek folk and popular music were also fundamental sources of inspiration for film composers to create audiovisual moods that were familiar to Greek audiences. This interesting

fusion of different music traditions moved beyond standard conventions. Old Greek Cinema of the 1960s was a public mass medium in which classical, local and global music genres had met inventively and innovatively (Image 8). Although it certainly retained its eclectic music characteristics, it also managed to transcend the immutable distinctions between "high art" and "low culture."

Image 8. Chiquita Gordon and Frankie Skin perform the modern pop song "Έξαλλα Κορίτσια" ["Go, Go Girls"] accompanied by the Gerassimos Lavranos Orchestra, while two dancing girls are shaking at the sides of the stage. Film still from *Νύχτα Γάμου* [*Wedding Night*] (Dalianidis 1967b); music by Gerasimos Lavranos.

Although the sound of the Western European symphonic orchestra was present in most of Greek films' non-diegetic scoring, these classical accents were regularly combined or contrasted with Greek musical instruments in order to create an imaginary allusion to Greek national identity (Papadimitriou 2006; Stavrinides 2011; Poulakis 2018). Blending classical and Greek popular music ensembles and attempting to merge Western film music clichés and instruments with ethnic/national ones eventually resulted in the emergence of a unique "popular symphonic" musical feeling, whose origins can be traced back in past forms of scenic spectacles—with musicals being the most representative of these novel tones (Image 9). Besides that, it is of equal interest to highlight the presence of jazz, pop, light and folk music groups in Greek film scores and the performance of the corresponding songs and dances, either modern or

traditional. This was closely related to the presence of popular musicians, actors, singers and dancers in commercial Greek films of the 1960s. Most of them had were already widely recognized all over the country and, as a result, their reputation and visibility increased the popularity of the films as well.

Image 9. Celebrated bouzouki player Manolis Hiotis performs a concert-like improvisation on a popular "Χασαποσέρβικο" ["Hasaposerviko"] dance accompanied by a classical chamber orchestra. Film still from *Μερικοί το Προτιμούν Κρύο* [*Some Like it Cool*] (Dalianidis 1963); music by Mimis Plessas.

Cultural economies: Popular music, film music and the film-music synergy in Greece

The pre-organized appearance of specific singers, composers and musicians in films was largely related to the so-called "synergy" between the cinematographic and the record companies of the period in question, targeting better promotion and greater productivity of their business, as defined in Denisoff and Plasketes (1990). An identifiable type of cultural economy had arisen, as movies could become more popular through their association with particular songs and vice versa (Image 10). In some cases, a film sequence could be based on the performance of a single popular song, while singles were frequently "tested" in the films before moving on to commercial

recordings. On the contrary, there were many film songs that exceeded their cinematic occurrence by going forth onto an independent trajectory outside the film industry. An equally common case was the performance of popular songs which the audience was acquainted with because of their previous record release before their cinematic display (Poulakis 2018, 140). The identification between popular songs and films was a useful commercial mechanism that operated as a source of marketing and distributing both cinematic and musical products (Reay 2004, 92–3).

Image 10. Marinella performs the mourning-like song "Άνοιξε Πέτρα" ("Open up, Rock") which boosted the film's popularity in second-run theatres. Film still from *Γοργόνες και Μάγκες* [*Mermaids and Rascals*] (Dalianidis 1968); music by Mimis Plessas.

Screening films of the Old Greek Cinema after the 1970s was extensively adapted to television broadcasting, resulting in a large number of viewers becoming engaged with them through the small screen. This has been the prime route through which newer audiences were introduced to Greek popular music of preceding times. The re-issue of past popular film records, the new releases of Old Greek Cinema songs and the adaptation of earlier film music and dances in modern performances and entertainment shows marked a cultural trend of popular film music and dance revival from the 1990s onwards, which not only turned out not to be outdated but still remains active and recognizable (Poulakis 2018, 144–5).

In conclusion, it could be argued that popular music was an essential factor contributing to the establishment of an identifiable stylistic and cultural mode which pervaded the Old Greek Cinema of the 1960s and maintained open channels of interaction, exchange and mutual affect with other forms of the Greek music and dance mosaic of that era. Although regularly criticized for being non-authentic and extensively mimetic, with reference to other foreign film industries such as Hollywood or Bollywood, Old Greek Cinema was—indeed—"domestic in all senses of the word" (Eleftheriotis 2015, 188), and so was its musicscape. Music in Old Greek Cinema was not only a reflection of the neo-romantic American and European non-diegetic film scores, not even just a diegetic echo of the miscellaneous music and dance genres outside cinema. It turned out to be a generator of hybrid, meta-diegetic music and sound aesthetics and idioms that blended the audiences' assimilating and affiliating expectancies and assumptions into new forms of audiovisual expression.

As Claudia Gorbman (1987, 2) has suggested with regards to film music, "we need to start *listening* to the cinema's uses of music in order to *read* films in a literate way." Given that a film is mainly communicated through its audiovisual substance, a critical interpretation of cinematic music and the film's soundscape could draw attention to further issues of wider interest. Using popular film music as a starting point, we can critically explore the broader context of a movie, putting special emphasis on the parallels between optical-sonic power and cultural representation but also on how music is transformed into both a meaningful symbol and a lived experience for cinema spectators by means of filmic narrative.

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7 | "A CHARMING COCKTAIL OF MUSIC AND DANCE:" GREEK TELEVISION AND THE AFFECTIVE POLITICS OF MUSIC UNDER THE COLONELS[1]

ELENI KALLIMOPOULOU

...and in front of my set I stand with my mouth open
...and I'm laughing so hard, and I'm soaked with tears
...For these shows I watch, I am grateful,
and with comedies I laugh, and with dramas I weep...[2]

Introduction

This chapter explores music programming in Greek television during the Colonels' dictatorship (1967–1974). The focus is on the textual and visual representations of popular music in the published TV guides. What part did it play in the television programme? How was it described and framed? What sort of musical typology emerges and how can it be understood in the broader context of musical practices and cultural politics during the junta?

The television formed part of a broader public mediascape, in which music was instrumentalized in a variety of ways. The regime endorsed popular forms of entertainment through institutions such as the Song Olympiad and the Greek Song Festival in Thessaloniki.[3] A range of night clubs, dance and concert venues formed a complex musical topography of sanctioned or tolerated musical practices featuring especially

[1] I would like to thank Nick Poulakis for his critical comments to an earlier draft of this chapter; and the Archives of the Hellenic Broadcasting Corporation (ERT Archives) for providing me with the digital copies of the images reproduced in this chapter.
[2] Viewer's letter, in the form of a poem, in the column "Chatting with you – Our listeners/viewers evaluate, comment, and make suggestions" of Radiotileorasi (issue 1038, 1970).
[3] Some original footage from these two festivals is accessible on the websites of the Hellenic National AudioVisual Archive (http://www.avarchive.gr/) and the ERT Archives (https://archive.ert.gr/ert-archive-eng/).

Greek and foreign popular music genres. Greek folk music was also condoned, with the authoritarian regime flagging it as a symbol of the true Greek spirit and accompanying its public announcements and representations with musical idioms of mainland Greece. At the same time, a fluid and changing musical landscape of dissidence emerged, which included Greek political song, *rebetiko*, and other forms of Greek and foreign popular music genres that were deemed subversive either in terms of their political message or of the social norms that they introduced into Greek society of the late 1960s and early 1970s. As for Greek *laiko* music, a mediated popular style identified with the *bouzouki*, its status was ambivalent: its symbolic capital was deemed dubious and at times it was even banned in the context of official cultural events,[4] while it boomed in the context of the record industry and in clubs that appealed to the working and middle classes and sections of high society.

A growing body of studies has examined the composite terrain of artistic and musical practices during the dictatorship, foregrounding especially the political potential of art to instill or subvert dominant values. As concerns music in particular, the literature has focused on the one hand on popular music idioms such as rock,[5] addressing questions of origins, incorporation in the Greek cultural context, genealogies and musical output. Studies have been especially attentive to audience reception, the formation of alternative youth subcultures and scenes, their potential for political and social subversion, and state reactions. The social and political import of trendsetting music composers such as Mikis Theodorakis, Manos Hadjidakis and Dionysis Savopoulos has also been productively explored.[6] On the other hand, top-down perspectives have placed emphasis on state cultural politics and the institutionalization of culture.[7] Typically, the focus has been on censorship mechanisms and the surveillance of culture on the one hand, and on cultural propaganda on the other, especially in the form of the mass spectacles and festivals organized by the regime. Recent scholarship has sought to move beyond portrayals of junta cultural work as nothing more than inconsequential kitsch, an approach that risks ignoring the regime's well-attested record of repression, persecution and torture.[8] Studies have also pointed to the ambivalence and fluidity of musical genres in bearing both hegemonic and counter-

[4] Cf. Papaeti 2019, 142–5. On laiko and bouzouki music see Kallimopoulou and Poulos 2017, and Kallimopoulou and Kornetis forthcoming.
[5] Indicatively, Bozinis 2007, Katsapis 2011, 2007, Kallivretakis 1994, Kallimopoulou and Kornetis 2017.
[6] Papanikolaou 2007, Holst-Warhaft 1980, among others.
[7] Notably, Papaeti 2015 and 2019, Papanikolaou 2010, and Kornetis 2013.
[8] Kourniatki 2017, Papaeti 2019.

hegemonic resonances, and thereby the resistance of music to the total policing of its meanings and uses.[9]

Besides the regime's spectacular public performances and the countercultural energy of youth subcultures, the newly formed television offered a new, mediated field for cultural experimentation. Greek television broadcasting began officially in 1966 as a public monopoly. Throughout the dictatorship there were two channels provided by two broadcasters.[10] In the Greek public service system, broadcasting was under direct state control, with the Greek junta aiming to employ television and radio broadcasting for the dual goals of propaganda and entertainment.[11] At the same time, as Paschalidis observes, the junta introduced "an aggressively commercial model of popular entertainment" that relied on the outsourcing of television production to the advertising industry.[12] Many entertainment broadcasts were in fact produced by advertising agencies, so that by 1972 the latter had almost "total control over the kind and quality of television entertainment."[13] My own survey corroborated the practice of sponsorship, most notably in radio music broadcasts (Image 1). State-run but subject to commercial considerations, connected with mass consumption, everyday life, and the private sphere, the television in multiple ways epitomizes the ambivalent interface between the agencies of the state and the culture industry.

[9] E.g. Kallimopoulou and Kornetis 2017.
[10] One was the National Radio Foundation (EIR, Ethniko Idryma Radiofonias), which changed into the National Radio-Television Foundation (EIRT, Ethiko Idryma Radiofonias Tileoraseos) in 1970. The other was the Armed Forces Information Service (YENED, Ypiresia Enimeroseos Enoplon Dynameon), the television and radio station of the Greek Armed Forces originally called Armed Forces Television (TED, Tileorasis Enoplon Dynameon), which was run by the military.
[11] Valoukos 2008, Vovou 2010b.
[12] Paschalidis 2013, 68; cf. Vovou 2010b.
[13] Paschalidis ibid.

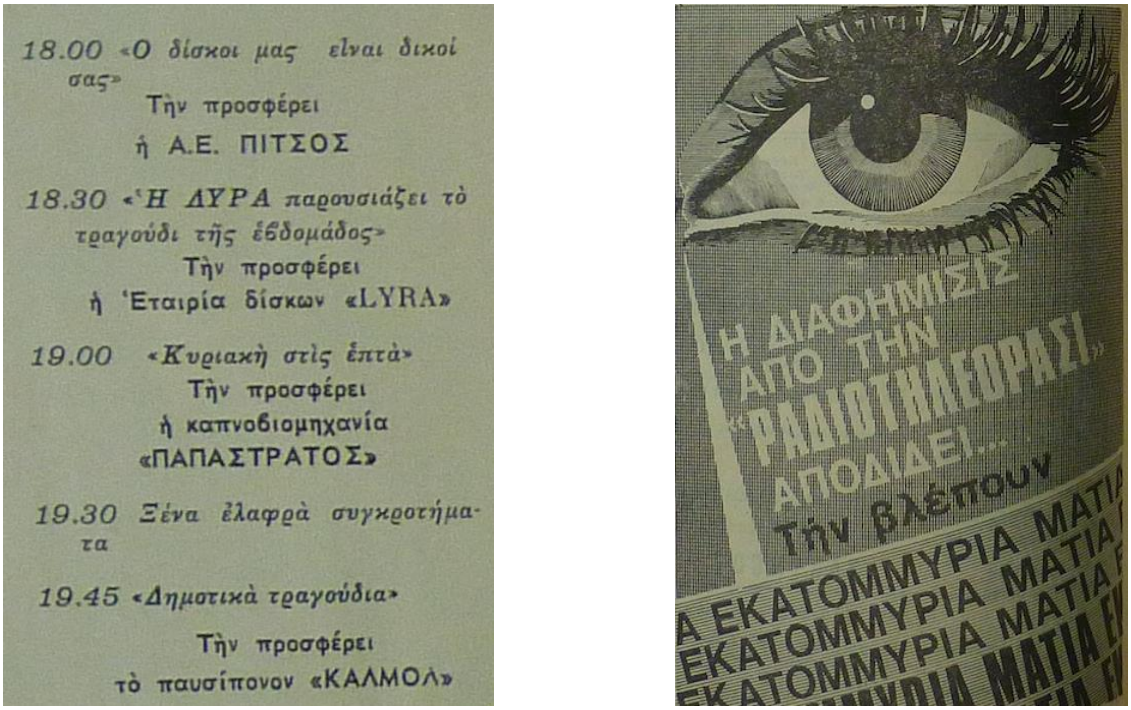

Image 1. A call for advertisers contained in the magazine's TV Guide: "Advertisement in *Radiotileorasi* pays off. It is seen by millions of eyes" (*Radiotileorasi*, 1971) (right); and snapshot from the Radio Guide in a *Radioprogramma* of 1968 (left) that shows music broadcasts on the Second Programme of Greek Radio sponsored variously by a record company, a manufacturer of home appliances, and a pain-reliever brand. The practice was already in place before the period of the dictatorship. (Courtesy of ERT Archives)

The academic study of Greek television has burgeoned over the last years.[14] Earlier studies that documented primarily the history, institutionalisation and legislative framework of the new medium,[15] paved the way for work in media and cultural studies that variously combines theoretical and critical perspectives with new methodologies.[16] The historical focus has been mainly on the period following the dictatorship and especially the privatisation era (from 1989 onwards), while the thematic focus is mainly on news, television series, and less often, art and culture. As for television during the junta, the rarity of surviving audiovisual material and the chronological distance from the period in question have posed significant barriers,[17] with the few extant

[14] See Aitaki 2018 and Aitaki and Chairetis 2019 for an overview of the field.
[15] Indicatively, Alivizatos 1986; Manthoulis 1981; Valoukos 2008.
[16] Two quite different examples are Vovou's edited volume (2010a) and Madianou's ethnographic research on TV and the nation (2005).
[17] Paschalidis 2017, 46–7; Vovou 2010b; Adamou 2013, 71.

studies centring mainly on production and content rather than reception, and on genres such as Greek television fiction and satirical drama series.[18]

The present chapter expands on the junta period by examining the place of popular music in Greek television, a subject to date understudied.[19] It contributes to the interdisciplinary dialogue of popular music studies and ethnomusicology with media and cultural studies. It also responds to the need for more systematic analyses of the role of the mass media and specifically television, a radically new technology that soon replaced the cinema in popularity,[20] in creating and sustaining cultural and social consensus. It acknowledges the primary role of television as symbol creator[21] and examines the prescriptive ways in which it framed and shaped musical discourse and practice. When it comes to media such as the television, especially in contexts of state monopoly, it is important to acknowledge what Born calls the "ontological priority of production over consumption." As she notes, "production is processually and temporally prior to consumption; it conditions the television text, and in this way it sets limits to and conditions consumption."[22] Adopting the perspectives of critical discourse analysis (though not its rigorous methodological models), the chapter attends to the cultural text (music) as it was constructed discursively and visually in the TV guides. The production side of the cultural product is also probed through an examination of television programming.

Research methodology

My analysis focuses on the broadcasts of music that appeared in the TV guide of *Radioprogramma* ("Radio-Programme," renamed *Radiotileorasi*, "Radio-Television," in 1968), the official weekly magazine of the public broadcasting corporation. During the period in question, the magazine contained the daily radio and television programmes together with a host of articles on the media, current affairs, culture, fashion, the arts,

[18] Paschalidis 2013; 2017; Adamou 2013.
[19] Poulakis's (2008) examination of a music folklore series broadcast on Greek public television in 2005 is an exception. As regards the junta period, Papaeti (2015 and 2019) discusses the role of radio and television in connection with the regime's cultural politics. Building on this work, the present chapter undertakes a dedicated analysis of TV guides in order to interrogate the role and agency of television per se in the production of social meaning about music during the junta.
[20] In the period 1969 to 1974, the number of TV sets in Greek households saw a staggering eightfold increase (800,000), as did their ratio in the population (89 per 1000 people) (Paschalidis 2005, 176).
[21] Hesmondhalgh 2013.
[22] Born 2000, 416.

as well as some state propaganda.[23] I was particularly interested in the textual and visual representations of popular music, in order to understand how it was framed and what its associations were. To that end, the ensuing discussion closes with some remarks that apply generally to the *Radioprogramma/ Radiotileorasi* magazine, its content material and visual imagery as pertains to the theme of culture.

As concerns television programming, it was of limited duration and gradually expanded, with an evening zone and the subsequent addition of a morning zone, introduced at different points by each of the two channels. A variety of topics were hosted, including news broadcasts, sports, entertainment shows, series, movies, and arts broadcasts, with music programmes enjoying a steady presence, normally at least once a day, though not as substantial as on the radio.

The TV guide usually offers the title of the broadcast and, often, a brief description which may include the name of the presenter, and in the case of broadcasts that feature music, the names of the singers, musicians and/or music bands.[24] A survey of the textual material in the TV guides readily revealed the existence of two distinct musical and semantic categories, which coexist but rarely cross. One revolves around what is termed in the TV guides "folk song and dance" (*dimotika tragoudia kai horoi*), the other around what is termed "light music" or "light song" (*elafra mousiki*, *elafry tragoudi*). The latter hosts quite a variety of musical styles, from foreign pop to Sinatra-type classics and from contemporary Greek popular and even *laiko* hits to Greek light song of the Interwar period. All these styles are designated as "light music," and if not, they are described in the terms of "light music." What is striking, conversely, is the solitude of "folk music," as it is set aside in its own semantic enclave and treated as a closed and bounded category. A third prompt category is "classical" or "serious" music (*klassiki mousiki, sovari mousiki*).[25] "Light music" takes up much of the air-time dedicated to music, with classical and Greek folk music following.

In what follows I present the data harvested from the TV guides of a sample of 32 weekly issues of the magazine. These were accessed as hard copies in the Archives of the Hellenic Broadcasting Corporation (ERT Archives). The sample covers roughly

[23] See Saplaoura 2021 for an overview of the magazine and changes in its content and visual presentation throughout its history from 1950 to the present.
[24] In the case of radio broadcasts, the names of the musical pieces are often also announced. The systematic survey of this massive body of data on Greek radio can yield significant insights into repertoires and musicians' networks and genealogies, but is beyond the scope of the present chapter.
[25] The role and status of classical music in Greek TV programming, as well as its possible crossovers with light music in terms of producers, orchestras and audiences is an intriguing topic which nevertheless exceeds the present chapter's specific focus on popular music.

4 issues per year, mainly from the months March, April and October, for the period 1968–1974, and amounts approximately to the 1/12 of the entire TV programming. For the purposes of this study, I surveyed the titles and short descriptions of the television broadcasts featuring folk and light song, and manually compiled two lists. Each list contains words (nouns, verbs, adverbs, adjectives) ascribing meaning and qualities to "folk song" and "light song" respectively. Each broadcast was indexed once, regardless of how many times it actually appears in the TV guides. The two lists were then translated into English and processed with the use of a free online word cloud generator to produce the two word clouds.[26] The importance of words is assessed on the basis of how often they were encountered in the source material, and is illustrated through their font size in the graphical representation. The use of colors is random and aims to facilitate data visualisation.

Discussion

To the cultural historian, the TV guides are a welcome entry point into the aesthetics, poetics and politics of Greek state television in its early years. They may not offer access to the actual audiovisual broadcasts (unfortunately little footage was kept in archive and is readily accessible today), but, precisely because of the lack of the actual broadcasts, their input is invaluable.

The two word clouds that were compiled for the purposes of the study point to an ontology of popular musical genres in Greek television and aim to reveal the concepts and ideas associated with them. They capture what emerged from a close look at the TV guides: two contrastive discursive formations, one associated with *dimotiki* (folk) the other with *elafra* (light) music (Image 2).

[26] Wordclouds.com.

Image 2. The two word clouds contain the words used in the textual descriptions of television broadcasts dedicated to “folk” (left) and “light” (right) music respectively.

Image 3. “Folk music” word cloud.

As regards the first category (Image 3), the main denominations are "folk songs and dances" (*dimotika tragoudia kai horoi*), "folk dances and songs" (*dimotikoi horoi kai tragoudia*), "songs of our land" (*tragoudia tou topou mas*). Together with these, two terms consistently turn up, evoking a national imaginary: "Greek" and "National." There are plenty of references to "Greek songs" (*ellinika tragoudia*), to "our national songs" (*ta ethnika mas tragoudia*), and "our national dances" (*oi ethnikoi mas horoi*). Folk songs and dances are associated with national struggles and especially the Greek War of Independence (1821), the "fights of the Greek nation" (*agones tou ethnous*), and "national commemoration" (*ethniki eorti*). The texts associate these songs with heroism and patriotism, thus in a way also prescribing the viewers' proper mode of affective connection with them: "heroic songs about 1821" (*iroika tragoudia gia to '21*), "heroic songs from the fights of our nation" (*iroika tragoudia apo tous agones tou ethnous mas*), "folk heroic songs" (*dimotika iroika tragoudia*), "Greek patriotic songs" (*ellinika patriotika tragoudia*), "Greek traditional bravery and legend" (*ellinikis patroparadotou andreias kai tou thrylou*), "songs and dances of Greek gallantry" (*tragoudia kai horoi tis ellinikis leventias*).

In terms of its temporality, folk song is typically portrayed as a tradition stretching back into time immemorial, thereby conjuring an ahistorical past: "the roots of our country" (*oi rizes tou topou mas*), "the history of our popular instruments with their primeval Greek roots" (*i istoria ton laikon mas organon me tis panarhaies ellinikes rizes*), "primeval Greek traditions" (*panarhaies ellinikes paradoseis*). In spatial terms, a staple of cultural nationalism is reproduced: local idioms that altogether make up the national whole. References abound, for instance, to the "tunes of our country" (*skopoi tou topou mas*), "dances of our fatherland" (*horoi tis patridos mas*), "dances and costumes of our country" (*horoi kai foresies tou topou mas*), "representative dances from all of Greece" (*antiprosopeftikoi horoi apo oli tin Ellada*), "local costumes" (*topikes foresies*), and "local bands" (*topika sygrotimata*).

Names of particular regions and individual places and islands are also mentioned frequently (e.g. Epirus, Thessaly, the Dodecanese islands, Crete, Asia Minor), conjuring an eclectic topography of the music nation.[27] Importantly, although it is not

[27] Key to the formation of a pan-Hellenic canon of "authentic" folk music was its conceptualization in terms of distinct geographical regions which together make up the national whole. This process relied as much on the inclusion as on the exclusion of repertoires and populations on the basis of their

uncommon to mention the name of the singer, music band and dancing group, songs are first and foremost identified in terms of their local origin/belonging, this being the principal criterion. Complementing all the above are phrases that employ the possessive determiner "our" (e.g. "our rich folklore," *tin plousia laografia mas*), thus squarely positioning the viewers within the imagined national community. Musical instruments, especially those with unquestioned rural credentials (as opposed to others that were prominent also in urban popular styles and associated with European origins, such as the clarinet), are a central part of this national imaginary: flutes (*auloi, flogeres*), bagpipes (*askauloi*), lyres (*lyres kai lyrakia*), lutes (*laouto*), dulcimers (*santouri*), as well as the violin (*violi*).

Image 4. "Light music" word cloud.

perceived conformation to ethnic, religious, linguistic and cultural criteria of Greekness. See Kallimopoulou 2009, 156, 41–6, and Kallimopoulou 2017 for some aspects of this discussion.

As regards the second category (Image 4), the main denominations are "light music" (*elafra mousiki*) and "light song" (*elafry tragoudi*). These typically alternate with or are complemented by the description "pleasant music programme" (*efharisto mousiko programma*). The combination generates a completely different *topos*, one of playfulness and joyful entertainment. Other terms fortify this connection, prescribing viewers a markedly different mode of affective connection with music: "a pleasant revue programme"[28] (*efharisto epitheorisiako programma*), "conviviality and song" (*kefi kai tragoudi*), "hosted by the humorist entertainer" (*hioumoristas konferasie*), "melodies and rhythms that fire the imagination for 35 pleasant minutes" (*melodies kai rythmoi pou lyknizoun ti fantasia gia 35 efharista lepta*), "cheerful notes" (*efthymes notes*), "Galaxy of joy, music and conviviality" (*galaxias haras*, *mousikis kai kefiou*), "Merry Sunday – a spectacular music-dance programme full of Stars and successes" (*haroumeni Kyriaki – theamatiko mousikohoreutiko programma gemato asteria kai epityhies*). Associations are also made with theatre, dancing, and nightlife entertainment: "music theatre" (*mousiko theatro*), "variety theatre" (*variete*), "programme of music and dance" (*mousikohoreftiko programma*), "Night notes – Greek music and dance programme" (*bradynes notes – elliniko mousikohoreutiko programma*), "Stars at night" (*Asteria sti nyhta*).

In terms of its temporality, the musical world of "light music" is geared towards the present, with an emphasis on the latest hits, the current vogue and, by implication, the music industry: "the latest hits" (*oi teleftaies epityhies*), "new stars of light song" (*nea asteria tou elafriou tragoudiou*), "light music with the X modern band" (*elafra mousiki me to monterno sygrotima X*). When there is reference to the past, it is not to a remote impersonal Greek past but to a recent lived past, whose soundscapes stir up nostalgia: "Yesterday today always – unforgettable music and songs" (*Hthes simera pantote, mousiki kai tragoudia pou den xehniountai*), "Melodic recollections" (*Melodikes anamniseis*).

The connection with the popular music industry is further sealed through frequent reference to "Stars" (*ta Asteria*), the most popular singers and bands: "well known singers and protagonists of music theatre" (*me gnostous tragoudistes kai protagonistes tou mousikou theatrou*), "the stars of light song" (*Asteria tou elafrou*

[28] Revue: a genre of light theatrical entertainment typically consisting of a series of short sketches, songs, and dances, and dealing satirically with topical issues.

tragoudiou), "new stars of song" (*neoi asteres tou tragoudiou*), "the most popular stars of song and dance" (*ta dimofilestera asteria tou tragoudiou kai tou horou*), "the best known stars of our light song" (*ta pio gnosta asteria tou elafrou mas tragoudiou*), "various well-known singers and orchestra" (*diaforous gnostous tragoudistas kai orhistra*), "One star four songs – Star of the Greek pentagram" (*Ena asteri 4 tragoudia – asteri tou ellinikou pentagrammou*), "the biggest names of Greek *laiko* song" (*ta megalytera onomata tou laikou tragoudiou*), "Stars in Stars" (*Asteria st'asteria*), "big names of song sing their hits" (*megales firmes tou tragoudiou se epityhies tous*), "well-known modern bands" (*gnosta monterna sygrotimata*), "well-known singers and bands" (*gnostoi tragoudistes kai sygrotimata*), "Pleasant Easter program with the participation of well-known artists" (*efharisto Pashalino programma me symmetohi gnoston kallitehnon*). What is more, certain broadcasts cater specifically for younger audiences as a distinct target group: "a pleasant programme for young people" (*efharisto programma gia neous*), "A musical for young people" (*Miouzikal gia neous*), "Discotheque for young people – youth programme with the most popular Greek "pop" bands" (*Diskothiki gia neolaia – neaniki ekpompi me ta dimofilestera "pop" ellinika sygrotimata*).

In spatial terms, a larger, transnational world is conjured up, through shows featuring foreign artists (mainly European or American), and occasionally through broadcasts of foreign channels (e.g. France) and of the Eurovision contest.[29] Indeed, the participation of Greece in the Eurovision contest during the junta years was a welcome opportunity for the regime to both claim international legitimation internally and advertise its cultural products abroad, in the context also of a booming tourist industry.

What is also noteworthy is that while the world of "folk song" is conjured up as a closed, self-referential entity, in a state of stasis in both time and space, "light song" is depicted in movement and flow. Some typical buzzwords in this respect are "crossroads of rhythm and melody" (*diastavrosi rythmou kai melodias*), "music parade" (*mousiki parelasis*), "music notebook" (*mousiko tetradio*), "music images" (*mousikes eikones*), "music pages" (*mousikes selides*), "music tele-portraits" (*mousika tileportraita*), "music cocktail" (*mousiko kokteil*), "musicorama" (*mousikorama*), and "music walks" (*mousikoi peripatoi*).

[29] Its broadcast in Greek TV started in 1970 and paved the way to Greece's first participation in the contest in 1974.

Coming to a comparison of the two word clouds, the semantic remoteness of the two musical worlds is most remarkable. The world of "Light song" is packaged for entertainment television: it revolves around public music personas, it is glamorous, carefree and fun-loving. It focuses on the present and on the latest hits, in close liaison with the music industry. The world of "Folk song," conversely, is designated more as political or propaganda television: through music it evokes the nation and sentiments of national pride. It looks towards the past and towards history, and its protagonists are the places in the form of distinct rural idioms, rather than the performers. Most striking in the descriptions of folk song is the absence altogether of any reference to fun and entertainment: the descriptions call on the viewer to assume a position of sobriety and contemplation (rather than participation), proudly but dispassionately, of folk song as an exhibit of the nation. This is a position not from within but from afar or from above, at any rate from a critical distance. And it is in stark contrast to the participatory, communal ethos of *dimotiko* practices, taking place at the time both in the provinces and in urban folk clubs in the centre of Athens.

This section closes with a brief consideration of the general content material of *Radioprogramma/ Radiotileorasi* magazine. A first thing to note, and further to my earlier comments, is the acknowledgement of an entertainment culture that seems to be developing at the time in Greece. This not only involves tourism, which grew explosively during the Junta,[30] but also the promotion of a lifestyle which, in contrast to the regime's cultural conservatism, entailed the circulation of material goods, mass consumption, leisure and a burgeoning economy of music night clubs, as a means to secure social support and political legitimacy. From 1970 onwards especially, when *Radiotileorasi* increased in number of pages, there are columns dedicated to foreign and Greek celebrities, introducing them and informing the readers about their careers and everyday life (Image 5). Other columns are dedicated to the female readership, addressing them in their capacity as wives, mothers, and women (Image 6).[31]

[30] Nikolakakis 2017.

[31] The magazine's changes in content and imagery could also be examined in relation to broader trends in consumer and general interest magazines of the period, a subject which exceeds the scope of the present chapter.

Image 5. "With the Radiotelevision Flash," a column dedicated to celebrities in Greece and abroad (*Radiotileorasi* 1970, Courtesy of ERT Archives).

Image 6. "For the modern woman," a column that gives its female readership tips on how to both look smart and perform efficiently their domestic and family duties (*Radiotileorasi* 1974, Courtesy of ERT Archives).

The treatment of Greek culture, conversely, is quite different. As opposed to the columns dedicated to international and indigenous stars, which have a confessional tone and dwell on personal details and habits, the "folk" are anonymous and voiceless. The visual representation is one of boundedness and enclosure, depicting the "folk" dancers or musicians preferably in some rural setting, dressed in traditional costumes (Image 7). In periods of national commemorations such as the Greek War of Independence in 1821, the Ohi (No) Day of 28 October 1940, or the military coup d'etat of April 1967, or religious festivals, covers often feature male and, less so, female national heroes, unnamed dancers in folk costumes, or religious themes (Image 8).[32] Despite their relative cohesion in terms of visual and stylistic presentation, the alternation of such images with contemporary international or indigenous stars and commercial products on the front and back covers produces a striking effect (Images 9–10).

Image 7. Images in the *Radiotileorasi* TV guides of 1974 that accompany broadcasts of "Folk song" (left) and "Light song" (right) respectively. (Courtesy of ERT Archives)

[32] The Hellenic Broadcasting Corporation's tribute to "1821 through the covers of Radioprogramma and Radiotileorasi" gives an idea of the breaks and continuities in the covers of the magazine from its first years to the late 1980s (https://www.ert.gr/ert-arxeio/to-1821-mesa-apo-ta-exofylla-toy-radioprogrammatos-kai-tis-radiotileorasis/, accessed July 2, 2022).

Image 8. Unnamed woman in folk costume and American film star Jane Fonda featured in two covers of *Radioprogramma* (1968) (left and right); cover of *Radiotileorasi* (1973) with a female heroic figure carrying a sword in front of a phoenix rising from flames—symbol of national renaissance associated with the Greek Revolution of 1821 and official symbol of the dictatorial regime (centre). (Courtesy of ERT Archives)

Image 9. Commemoration of the Ohi (No) Day of 28 October 1940 and whisky advertisement on the front and back cover of a *Radiotileorasi* issue (1972, Courtesy of ERT Archives).

Image 10. Gustave Dore's (1832–83) engraving "Jesus falling beneath the cross" and British film actress Julie Christie on the front and back cover of a *Radiotileorasi* issue (1970, Courtesy of ERT Archives).

In articles about Greek folklore and culture a general tone of sobriety and didacticism prevails. One article, for instance, speaks of the ancient roots of "our culture" which is "under threat" and "in need of rescue." It is our national duty to salvage "whatever is left of our national heritage." "Our popular culture is the uncontaminated expression of the roots of our race" and "must not be wiped out by concrete, nylon, and machines."[33] The documentary *Dances and Costumes of our Country* that was directed by Nestor Matsas (*Horoi kai foresies tou topou mas*, 1969) and aired on Greek television is equally instructive. It moreover exemplifies the official voice of the dictatorial regime, being a production of the Greek Ministry of State. The documentary features local dance groups and "authentic folk motifs recorded on-site." There is constant reference to classical antiquity as the ancestor of contemporary cultural practices. For instance, at one point of the film the origins of a Thessalian dance are traced in the dance of the Caryatids.[34] Dancing scenes depicted in classical vase painting and sculpture alternate with the contemporary Thessalian women dancers. Their dance in

[33] "Popular culture should not perish" (Radiotileorasi, issue 1167, 1972).
[34] Papaeti (2019, 140) uses the same example to make a very similar point.

front of a church adds Christianity/Byzantium as the third component of the equation (modern Greece/ classical antiquity/ Byzantium), summed up in the regime's slogan "Greece of Christian Greeks" (*Ellas Ellinon Hristianon*) (Image 11).[35]

Such notions were by no means novel; they were the latest reformulation of a dominant narrative of cultural continuity that had been established already in the late 19th century.[36] Perhaps more noteworthy is the perseverance of such ideological formations in state television in the decades that followed the junta, as is suggested by recent scholarship.[37] In the concluding remarks I return to the issue of ruptures and continuities with the periods before and after the military dictatorship.

Image 11. Snapshots from Nestor Matsas's documentary *Dances and Costumes of our Country* (1969), which aired in Greek television during the dictatorship. (Accessible at the Hellenic National AudioVisual Archive site, http://mam.avarchive.gr/portal/digitalview.jsp?get_ac_id=4031, accessed July 2, 2022)

Concluding remarks

Returning to the questions initially posed in this brief examination of the cultural poetics of Greek television during the dictatorship, particularly noteworthy is the notion of forging two distinct musical entities and keeping them semantically bounded. Though it is hard to assess to what extent this was the result of state politics or marketing strategies, or both, clearly "Folk music" and "Light music" were systematically

[35] On the ideology of the military dictatorship and the Greco-Christian ideal see, indicatively, Lagos 2021.
[36] See Herzfeld 2020 and Hamilakis 2009 on the role of folklore and archaeology/ antiquities respectively in Greek nation-building.
[37] Poulakis 2008.

cast at the discursive level in contrastive terms. Yet, within the affective regime of the junta they seem to have served complementary goals: one bolstering national pride and, by implication, patriotic feelings for the Junta; the other offering entertainment, and even catering to the needs of the youth in the context of a rising commercialization of culture and everyday life. My research findings thus seem to corroborate current scholarship that assesses the role of Greek television during the dictatorship as traversing the space between ideological manipulation on the one hand and recreation on the other. In Paschalidis' words, the dictatorial regime's "approach to television entertainment seems to have been a kind of balancing act between commercialism and censorship, business-mindedness and authoritarianism."[38]

Was this binary representational schema in the field of popular music novel? Long before the Junta, *dimotiko* was being appropriated within official discourses of the nation in a broadly similar fashion. A reformed folk music that epitomized a synthesis of local idioms into a homogenous national whole had in fact materialized musically in certain Radio broadcasts of the 1950s that carried on during the Junta.[39] This points to continuities both with earlier ideological formations and with the sort of cultural engineering that was already taking place in the context of the state media, a matter that deserves more scholarly attention. As for so-called "light music," the television seems to have given it new impetus, disseminating it further as much as discursively (re)constituting it. Through broadcasts of "light music," the Eurovision song contest included, the television seems to have augmented the cultural work that the regime was carrying out through institutions such as the Song Olympiad and the Greek Song Festival in Thessaloniki. "Light music" became part of a broader economy of mass spectacle and material goods, as a way for the regime to gain legitimation and social support. And although its persistent labelling as "light" music supposedly marked it as a trivial product for passive consumption, it is its very relegation to the sphere of fun culture that arguably had political significance.

Coming back to the authoritative role of television in shaping discourse and practice, how are we to assess its cultural impact? One way to start is by naming the elephant in the room: the viewers and their ways of relating to and making sense of this creative engineering of cultural categories. As aforementioned, the reception side of the television medium is difficult to interrogate, especially in the more distant past.

[38] Paschalidis 2013, 68.
[39] Kallimopoulou 2009, 35–46.

And no matter how intriguing, the magazine's own documentation of viewers' feedback, in the form of competitions and columns inviting their commentary, cannot offer answers that are in any way comprehensive or representative.

Another way to begin assessing the cultural impact of television is by turning attention to actual on-the-ground musical practices. Despite the prescriptive role of the television, popular music continued taking on dynamically new forms in the hands of musicians and audiences alike. As research has shown, outside the world of television and official staged performance, certain exponents of popular / rock music were interacting closely with *dimotiko* musicians in venues of live music. The collaboration between singer, researcher and producer of folk music Domna Samiou with composer Dionysis Savopoulos and his rock band *Bourboulia* at the *Kyttaro* club is illustrative in this respect. In such contexts, there formed a different affective assemblage, one with a distinctly countercultural energy that invited cultural and political contestation during the dictatorship.[40] Greek "light" music, too, occasionally carried subversive meanings. The footage of iconic singer Marinella singing in a club full of people the song "Where are those lads headed towards" (*Pou pane ekeina ta paidia*), whose lyrics criticize the fascist-like repressive context of the time, is but one telling example.[41] Cultural reality, it seems, was messier than its textual or visual representations in the state media. Typologies proved more fluid as music, a non-referential medium open to multiple readings and uses, invited the disruption of clearcut categories in the context of live performance. "Light music" could be political, while "folk music" could be listened to for the mere joy of it.

This chapter does not claim to have provided a comprehensive examination of the place of Greek television in the affective politics of music during the junta. Indeed, it seems to raise more questions than it set out to answer. How did the representation of popular music in Greek television compare to that in Greek radio during the same time? What were its continuities and ruptures in relation with the previous and ensuing periods, and with today? What was the specific import of television as a new medium in the cultural field, in relation to state cultural engineering and on-the-ground musical practices? To what extent were state ideologies constitutive of television and,

[40] Kallimopoulou 2009, 20–3; Kallimopoulou and Kornetis 2017.
[41] Vassilis Maros's "To Bouzouki. Musik und Tanz aus Griechenland" (film documentary, 1973). Marinella's Greek version of Demis Roussos's international hit "My Reason" was set to lyrics by Pythagoras. These make direct reference to the anti-Junta student movement ("Where are they headed towards, those lads of storm and northerlies, who fight for freedom?"), with the song's stanza addressing an "assassin, fascist and thief" (Kallimopoulou and Kornetis forthcoming).

conversely, what was the role of media intellectuals and commercial agents? In other words, what diverse agencies were involved in the cultural work of television, and how can we begin to unpack them? This study has hopefully pointed out the need for a more systematic exploration of these matters. And, finally, the importance of attending to fun cultures, and to the affects, pleasurable or not, generated by music and discourse about music.

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8 | THE POETICS OF THE LITTLE FINGER: MOTOR STRUCTURES OF THE GREEK BOUZOUKI IN PRINT AND PRACTICE SINCE THE 1960S

RISTO PEKKA PENNANEN

After a long break, I recently found myself revisiting the tactility of the Greek *bouzouki*—a subject which has tickled my fancy since the early 1990s. My previous study on the motor structures of the three- and four-course *bouzouki* was primarily concerned with the developments until the late 1960s (Pennanen 1999, 171–83; 2009), but in this paper I shift the analytical focus further towards our time. Here, I will specifically address how *bouzouki* methods and sheet music editions represent the left- and right-hand technique from the 1960s to the 2010s and, on the other hand, how contemporary professional musicians organise their motor patterns for the three- and four-course *bouzouki*—occasionally combining the principles of the two layouts. The central issues of this article are the process of modernisation and the impact of the guitar on the *bouzouki* methods and the left-hand technique. By modernisation I refer to a view, according to which Western elements are means of continuing the tradition rather than changing it. Furthermore, I will observe the gradual shift of bouzouki methods from etic to emic approaches.

Because of the Covid-19 pandemic with its travel restrictions in 2020, the sources were restricted to my already existing personal collections of *bouzouki* method books, sheet music editions and field recordings. Although the pandemic precluded a new fieldwork period in Athens, contrary to my intensive research period in the 1990s, collecting data on *bouzouki* playing techniques was possible by way of YouTube videos. Such sources do have their limitations as no interviews nor comparative material by each musician were available. In this case, an unexpected emphasis on YouTube videos by Greek-Australian professional *bouzouki* players emerged which, however, does not hinder analyses of the playing techniques.

In the tactile analyses below, I use two terms for the basic left-hand motor structures. In horizontal playing along one string, the note positions are in one dimension, i.e. in linear array. This traditional technique of long-necked lutes requires motor patterns with relatively difficult ascending and descending sequences of left-hand movements; the control of such patterns usually requires visual information (see Baily 1977, 310–1; 1985, 252–3; Stokes 1992, 72–3). Contrastingly, in vertical playing across the strings, the note positions are in two dimensions in tiered array. As notes can be covered from a few hand positions, using finger movements, the technique of crossing strings requires fewer position changes than horizontal playing. Thus, tactile structures require less memorising and visual information and less advanced technical ability and control of hand movements than using only one course for the melody (cf. Baily 1985, 252–3; Stokes 1992, 73).

Two forms of the Greek *bouzouki* exist. The older, three-course instrument—initially associated with the urban popular music culture of *rebetika*—has the modern standard string length of 680 mm, with exceptions, and its standard tuning is dd'-aa-d'd'. The left-hand motor structures for this instrument consist of position changes through hand movements, and one of the instrument's most celebrated virtuosos was Vasilis Tsitsanis (1915–84). Vangelis Trigas (b. 1960), Grigoris Vasilas (b. 1969) and Nikos Tatasopoulos (b. 1973) are among the current top masters of the instrument. The four-course *bouzouki,* which was introduced in 1956 with the standard string length of 670 mm, is tuned in cc′–ff′–aa–d′d′ (Pennanen 1999, 142). Although a tone lower, the intervallic relations are the same as in the four top strings of the guitar (d–g–b–e′), and, in principle, notes can be covered from a few hand positions by using finger movements. As finger movements are faster and more accurate than hand movements, the technique of crossing the strings enables the easy execution of fast passages. The first innovator and master of this *bouzouki* variant was Manolis Hiotis (1921–***70***), originally a great virtuoso of the three-course instrument and the steel-string guitar, and also reputedly, but never recorded, of the violin and the *outi* lute (Pennanen 2014). Panagiotis Stergiou (b. 1962) and Manolis Karandinis (b. 1966) are some of the most famous four-course virtuosos of today.

In his influential and notoriously unreliable anthology of *rebetika* lyrics and biographies, Tasos Shorelis (1981, 177) claimed that Hiotis was the first *bouzouki* player to develop a four-finger left-hand technique, and this pervasive notion has found its way to numerous articles in popular vein (see e.g. Papistas 2002).

Presumably Shorelis based his claim on Hiotis's masterful use of the steel-string guitar; in reality, nevertheless, Hiotis played melodies on the *bouzouki* and guitar using three fingers.[1] Additionally, according to another view, the guitar-like tuning and vertical playing across the strings require the use of the fourth finger (Grifsas 2016, 19–20). Professional guitarists of folk and basically pentatonic popular styles, such as the blues, often use only three fingers for melodic playing, however, while many chord shapes require the fourth finger (Walser 1992, 268). Given this, the probable source for the four-finger *bouzouki* technique is the classical guitar. Like any other modern Western classical instrumental technique, the technique of the classical guitar aims at motor structures minimising the consumption of kinetic energy; Max Weber (1921, 93) regards this principle as an example of rationality in Western music.[2]

Problems of *bouzouki* sheet music and methods, and timbre

Inconsistencies and errors have been common characteristics of *bouzouki* methods and sheet music editions especially before the 1990s. As for early editions of *bouzouki* songs, they were practically always copied from piano arrangements, and such versions never describe the music of the original recording. The frequent deformations of the piano arrangements—drastically simplified *bouzouki* sections and the harmony voice often as the principal vocal line—often found their way to the *bouzouki* editions. The situation has not completely changed in our time. Take, for example, the anthology *12 laika tragoudia yia bouzouki* by Yiorgos Palias which provides a showcase of inconsistently written time signatures. While one of the pieces in *zeibekiko* rhythm is accurately in 9/4 and two of them misleadingly in 9/8 time, "Iliovasilemata" by Hiotis is written in the combination of bars in 4/4+2/4+3/4 time (Palias 1996a, 12–3).[3] All twelve arrangements lack *bouzouki* fingerings, and they seem to derive from piano sheet music. In "Moiazeis ki esi san thalassa" by Hiotis, Palias has added a few *bouzouki* passages to the piano version, but an important accidental is missing in the vocal section (ibid., 26–7). I will analyse a transcription and two performances of the *bouzouki* section of this song below.

[1] For a rare use of the fourth finger in melodic playing by Hiotis, see the bouzouki introduction for "I thlipsi" (Loup Garou 2009, 0:00–0:07).
[2] For an ethnomusicological perspective on the guitar, see Bennett and Dawe 2001.
[3] The other zeibekika are "S' anazito sti Saloniki" (9/4) by Marios Tokas, "Synnefiasmeni kyriaki" (9/8) by Vasilis Tsitsanis and "Ston angelon ta bouzoukia" (9/8) by Hristos Nikolopoulos.

Whereas the early *bouzouki* methods usually provided finger numbering exclusively for scales in fretboard diagrams and staves, simultaneously completely ignoring the right hand, Dimitris Boukouvalas (1985a) introduced the convention of indicating fingerings and plectrum directions systematically in the fashion of classical guitar sheet music. One can say without exaggeration that the early *bouzouki* method books before the mid-1980s were outsiders' etic interpretations of the instrument. Possibly the authors intended to raise the cultural status of the *bouzouki* through offering a more solemn and Western repertoire than the traditional one. Thus, methods for the classical guitar have served as models for *bouzouki* tuition books, which bear little relation to the performing practice and standard repertoire. Gradually, however, method books have become increasingly emic in approach and contents, bouzouki virtuoso Vangelis Trigas's (2009a, 2009b, 2017a, 2017b) separate series with DVD-ROMs for the three- and four-course layout and the ambitious method for the three-course instrument by Pavlos Pafranidis (2020) forming the state of the art. Having said that, Yiorgos Avlonitis's (2011) bilingual, guitar-influenced collection of four-finger dexterity exercises for the four-course *bouzouki*, often in rare keys, unusual combinations of plectrum directions and sometimes even using the bass clef, point to a vastly different, purely Western classical tradition of instrumental technique.

The first method under examination is *The Golden Book of Bouzouki* for the four-course instrument by Stavros G. Palias, a teacher at the National Conservatory in Athens, which was probably published in 1973 (Greek National Library 2020). Surprisingly, the method was still in print in late 2020 (see eNakas Music Store 2020). The book is bilingual in Greek and English which suggests aiming not exclusively at the domestic market; possibly the publisher had particularly the Greek-American market in mind.[4] The style and contents of the method suggest that the author was a classical guitarist and that the *bouzouki* method was based on his classical guitar method (see Palias n.d.). Thus, Palias begins by teaching the student to read Western notation, after which he offers exercises transposing the same exercise upwards to various positions and keys for pages on end (Palias 1973?, 112–39). Noteworthily, all exercises utilise standardised alternating downstrokes and upstrokes of the plectrum which is not axiomatic in *bouzouki* music. Most key signatures and many positions are superfluous

[4] Other bilingual *bouzouki* methods are Kanakaris 1969, 1970, 1973 (four-course); Raptakis 1979 (three- and four-course); Mitsopoulos 1983 (four-course); Boukouvalas 1985a, 1985b (four-course); Koutis 1985 (three-course), Payiatis 1993 and Pafranidis 2020 (three-course).

for a *bouzouki* player. Take, for example, Western scales with high number of sharps and flats, or a study beginning on the 16th fret of the fourth string course (ibid., 127). This approach seems to derive from methods for the classical guitar, and maybe Palias filled the pages with exercises without any reference to the *bouzouki* performing practice to achieve a higher monetary reward for the method through a larger number of pages.

The classical practice of presenting the full range of major and major scales with key signatures up to seven sharps or flats in repeated octaves has sometimes extended to *bouzouki* methods with an essentially emic approach. For instance, Thanasis Polykandriotis's method book presents *dromos* scales in several keys, including the very rarely used B major and C minor (Polykandriotis 1999, 74, 78, 81, 86, 90, 91, 95, 98). This Western classical concept of a plurality of possible tonics certainly stems from the author's background. Initially trained in classical guitar, virtuoso four-course player, pedagogue and composer Polykandriotis (b. 1948) has performed Greek popular music in night clubs and recording studios and, on the other hand, classical virtuoso pieces with symphony orchestras in concert halls and even composed a *bouzouki* concerto, which he premiered in 1996 (Polykandriotis, n.d.).

A wide variety of keys is basically unnecessary because of the performing practice; the older styles of *bouzouki* music, especially, favour only a few main keys. Firstly, to achieve the archaic droning sound, revivalist musicians may play the old repertoire mostly in D. Secondly, professional players of the principal accompanying instrument, the steel-string acoustic guitar, do not use the *capo tasto*, and therefore they would, in some keys, must use the tiring *barré* technique of stopping all strings at the same point by holding the index finger across them. That said, taking open and *barré* chords in turns is often possible. Thirdly, guitarists prefer keys which allow the use of unstopped strings in low-octave doubling of the melody; keys such as Db or Ab would unnecessarily complicate the fingerings for the passages.

The concept of keys in Western classical music has occasionally influenced the sheet music editions of *bouzouki* music. Consider the transcriptions of the original recordings of the Apostolos Hatzihristos (1904–59) songs "Aliti m' eipes mia vradia" (properly "To parapono tou aliti") from 1939 and "Nyhtopouli" and "Katinoula mou" (properly "I Katinoula") from 1940 (reissued on Hatzihristos 2011, A10, A21, B12) and their arrangement for the piano, the electric organ and the guitar by Garifallia Bardi-Hatzihristou (1992, 21–3, 16–20), a classically trained pianist and a relative of the

composer. Similarly as in several other of Apostolos Hatzihristos's recordings, the three songs are not in the standard pitch (a′ = 440 Hz); "To parapono tou aliti" is close to Ab and "Nyhtopouli" is close to Gb, whereas "I Katinoula" is close to Db. Bardi-Hatzihristou has written her arrangements in the respective keys of Ab, Gb and Db, which raises a question about the purpose of the transcriptions. The musicians on the recordings certainly did not play the pieces on instruments tuned in standard pitch; the sounds of unstopped strings reveal that they tuned the *bouzouki* and guitar roughly a semitone lower than normal. Since the timbres do not differ from those on recordings from other sessions by the same musicians, the revolving speed of the record cutter must have been the standard 78 rpm. (cf. Pennanen 2005, 91). Consequently, to present the original tactility of the string instruments, the transcriptions should be, respectively, in A, G and D. The fact that Yiorgos Palias (1996b, 12–3) has based his almost unplayable sheet music of "Aliti m' eipes mia vradia" in Ab for the *bouzouki* on Bardi-Hatzihristou's transcription reveals the effect of the piano arrangement on *bouzouki* literature. Obviously, Palias is a pianist rather than a *bouzouki* player and his knowledge of the characteristics of string instruments is limited. Furthermore, number has been more important than quality in the apparently economically profitable production of *rebetika* and *bouzouki* sheet music, albeit the situation has changed in the 2000s.[5]

Let us examine another bilingual four-course *bouzouki* method, namely *Practical Method for Bouzouki* by a M. Mitsopoulos, of whom nothing is known. Unusually enough, the method carries the year of publication—1983—which nonetheless looks questionable as the style, contents and graphic look of the method are more reminiscent of the 1960s rather than of the 1980s. Conceivably the work was finished much earlier than published; the possible delay may have been due to the cultural policies of the Greek military junta (1967–74) (see Kallimopoulou 2009, 17–8; Papaeti 2015). Remarkably, *Practical Method for Bouzouki* was still readily available in late 2020 (see eNakas Music Store 2020).

A telling example of the problems in the method is its only non-Western scale, which Mitsopoulos (1983, 43) calls "Scale Byzantine in fa on the 12th position." The intervallic structure of the scale resembles those of *dromos* Hitzaskiar in the *rebetika* tradition and *makam* Hicazkâr in Ottoman traditions (see Pennanen 1999, 108–9).

[5] See, for example, the anthologies for the bouzouki with fingerings by Manolis Mihalakis (2012a) and Trigas (2017c), who both are professional bouzouki players and pedagogues.

The author provides "Scale Byzantine" with preferred fingerings and bases a plain, awkward melody on it (Figure 1). Interestingly, several errors occur in indicating the string courses, and one fret number is incorrect, and the fingering of the melody does not follow the scale fingering. To crown it all, the music example ends on the F major chord, whereas the chord symbol Fa– below the stave stands for F minor. One may indeed wonder how reliable the book is and whether one can take it at face value.

The note positions of the example are in tiered array; fingering problems appear especially in the finger span of five frets on the second course (Figure 2). In the upward passages of the musical example, Mitsopoulos shifts the fourth finger on the second course, but in the descending ones he uses the fourth and second fingers—and on one occasion, the fourth and second ones. Furthermore, the shift of the first finger on the same course could be avoided by using the third finger instead. Contrary to Mitsopoulos, the traditional four-course *bouzouki* player would shift the third finger or use the second and third finger, thus avoiding using the fourth finger. All things considered, in actual melodic playing with ornaments, the musician would probably prefer using the two top courses and several positions rather than all courses and only one position. The most common ornamentation consists of the traditional long-necked lute *legato* effects hammer and pull and their combination and the Western-influenced trill and *glissando* (or, rather, *portamento*).

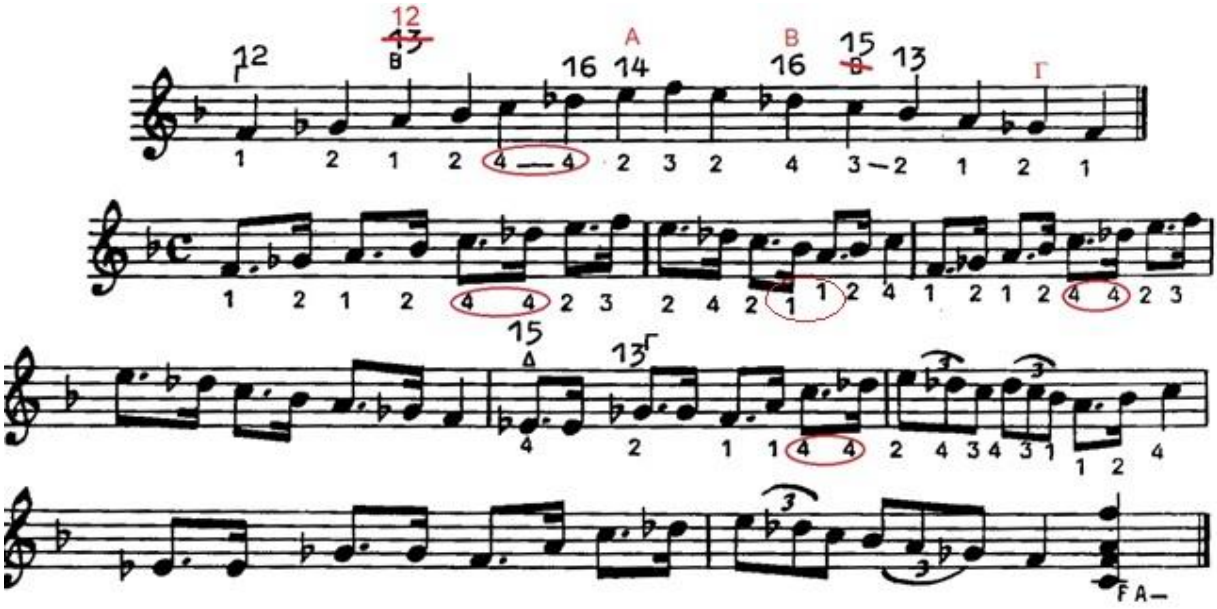

Figure 1. "Scale Byzantine in fa on the 12th position" with fingerings and an example melody (Mitsopoulos 1983, 43). The corrections in red above the scale are by RPP.

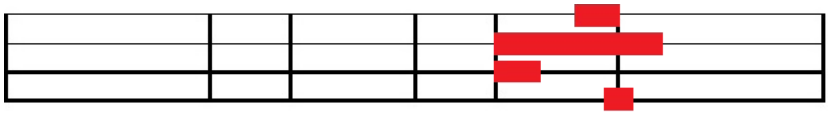

Figure 2. Fretboard diagram presenting the frets used for "Scale Byzantine in fa." Here, as in Figures 4 and 5, the horizontal lines symbolise the string courses, while the vertical ones, from left to right, are frets number 0, 5, 7, 10, 12 and 15.

Although the inconsistencies undermine the scheme, Mitsopoulos's basic idea is to reduce motor structures into finger movements. Therefore, the model fingering tries to imitate main consideration of the left-hand position of the classical guitar technique to spread the four fingers for obtaining maximum reach. Along with the inconsistencies, another weakness of the fingering is the essential disparity between the stringing of the guitar and the four-course *bouzouki*. The classical guitar maintains a reasonably uniform timbre between the three unwound treble and three wound bass strings, whereas the four-course *bouzouki*, due to the octave pairs of the two lower strings courses, does not. Therefore, *bouzouki* musicians usually avoid abrupt switches between unison and octave courses—i.e. vertical tactility—which distinctly changes the tonal quality of sound.

To solve the timbral problem, some four-course players have removed the octave doubles, classically trained virtuoso Haris Lemonopoulos (1923–75) as the most celebrated example (see Gardounis 2019, Petropoulos 1979, 523, 527, 589). Another example is Mihalis Paouris (b. 1989), a contemporary jazz guitar and *bouzouki* virtuoso, whose four-finger *bouzouki* jazz technique is remarkably close to that of the tenor guitar in the so-called Chicago tuning (d–g–b–e′).[6] For modern jazz pieces, he sometimes removes the octave doubles of the *bouzouki* (e.g. Michael Paouris Official 2014). When performing older Greek *bouzouki* pieces on standard stringing, Paouris, however, utilises mostly horizontal tactility, traditional ornamentation and a moderate use of the fourth finger (see Michael Paouris Official 2018).

The principle of maintaining the timbre prevails in most lutes with unison and octave double courses, such as the Portuguese guitars *guitarra portuguesa*, *viola amarantina* and *viola braguesa*, the Brazilian *viola caipira* and the Cuban *cuatro;* the musicians tend to avoid crossings between the two kinds of courses in a musical

[6] The Chicago tuning is identical with the four top strings of the standard six-string guitar.

phrase. Many such lutes have a re-entrant tuning in which successive courses are tuned not to successively higher pitches but to a pattern of rising and falling intervals.

In Greek double-course lutes, the octave doubles are on the treble side of the course, and therefore the brightness of the octave effect is not as pronounced as in the other string order. That said, Greek lute players usually share the same approach to unison and octave double courses with their Portuguese, South American and Caribbean colleagues. Take, for example, the *steriano laouto* of the Greek mainland and the Cretan *laouto,* which are re-entrant four-course instruments with the first course in unison and the three others in octave pairs (see Anoyanakis 1976, 210–54; Papastavrou 2010, 31–43). Avoiding crossing the strings from the first course to the others in a musical phrase, their melodic playing is in linear array (see Papadakis 2019). However, the use of the octave double courses in tiered array is possible because the timbre between the courses does not change significantly. A notable exception is the *steriano laouto* virtuoso Hristos Zotos (b. 1937) who may purposely mix distinct timbres (Papastavrou 2010, 77).

As the four-course *bouzouki* is often considered a completely Westernised guitar-like instrument, it may be surprising that one advantage of the layout stems from non-Western music. Namely, the repetition of a unison-course phrase as an octave-course phrase an octave lower produces an appealing timbral contrast, which is effective in the instrumental sections of vocal pieces, instrumental pieces and *taximi* improvisations in flowing rhythm. This echo effect is common in Middle Eastern music (see Nettl and Riddle 1973, 26; al-Faruqi 1985, 69). Other fruitful contexts—again with Middle Eastern or Orientalist overtones—are riff-based *tsiftetelli* ("belly dance") pieces with or without a section in flowing rhythm.

Three- and four-course tactility

While the pre-1956 *bouzouki* repertoire was composed for the three-course *bouzouki*, four-course musicians—initially nearly all of them three-course players—had to play those pieces on their new instrument. Consequently, the three-course tactility influenced the four-course tactility, but, simultaneously, new four-course tactile structures emerged. Those structures in turn influenced especially the revivalist three-course musicians. The following analysis illustrates the reciprocal influence of the two *bouzouki* layouts.

Figure 3 contains two versions of the first section of the classic three-course virtuoso piece "Ta oraia tou Tsitsani" by Vasilis Tsitsanis from 1948. The first transcribed three-course version is from Athenian professional three-course *bouzouki* player Nikos Kralis (b. 1960), who first plays it in a horizontal three-finger style akin to that of Tsitsanis. The notes are situated in linear array on two top courses, resulting in technically demanding ascending sequences of left-hand movements through the alteration of the first and second finger especially in bar 5. Kralis demonstrates his remarkable control of the left hand by playing the descent in bar 6 by using the first finger on three successive notes. When repeating the section, Kralis utilises an alternative, apparently modern manner of transferring the end descent to the third course (Figure 4).[7] Justifying the timbral change, the switch to the third course takes place in the beginning of the phrase; this change of motor structure is an example of modernisation in the three-course bouzouki technique. The two diagrams in Figure 4 show the used the fret areas in the section and its repeat.

As an example of a four-course tactility, the lower stave and tablature of Figure 3 contain the arrangement by Dimitris Boukouvalas. The version is based on the placement of notes into tiered array and on finger movements rather than position changes; there is little need to move the hand at all (Figure 5, upper diagram). Indeed, the arrangement takes the minimisation of kinetic energy to the extreme in the same guitar-influenced manner as Mitsopoulos in Figure 2. Boukouvalas has accomplished this by the extensive use of the fourth finger and by transposing the end descent up an octave. From the traditional three-course point of view the result is not satisfactory because the fingering drops down to the third course several times abruptly in phrases and causes sudden changes of the timbre. Therefore, very few practising four-course *bouzouki* musicians would prefer such a fingering, and although some of them may utilise the octave transposition of the end descent, many of them tend to follow the principles of the traditional three-course tactility (Figure 5, lower diagram). They consider the conventions of the older *bouzouki* technique and timbre, thus sacrificing some advantages of the vertical tactility and the systematic use of the fourth finger.

The first diagram in Figure 5 shows Boukouvalas's use of the fingerboard in the piece, whereas the diagram below it demonstrates the fingerboard area for imitating three-course horizontal tactility. Moreover, several other possibilities combining the

[7] See also Fotis Vergopoulos's (b. 1988) fingerings in "Ta oraia tou Tsitsani" (Vergopoulos 2012, 0:01–0:10).

two approaches exist. Because four-course virtuosos often master also the three-course layout, such hybrids can be spontaneous.

To sum up, Hiotis and most contemporary professional three-and four-course *bouzouki* musicians use three left-hand fingers independently in the manner, which John Baily (1995, 23–4) terms as a "3-finger 3-component" mode of operation. In contrast to this tradition, the classical-guitar influenced modern technique can be seen as a "4-finger 4-component" mode of operation, which requires the complete independence of movement for the fourth finger. As compared to the next, technically extremely demanding arrangement, Boukouvalas's fingerings are moderate instances of the latter mode of operation.

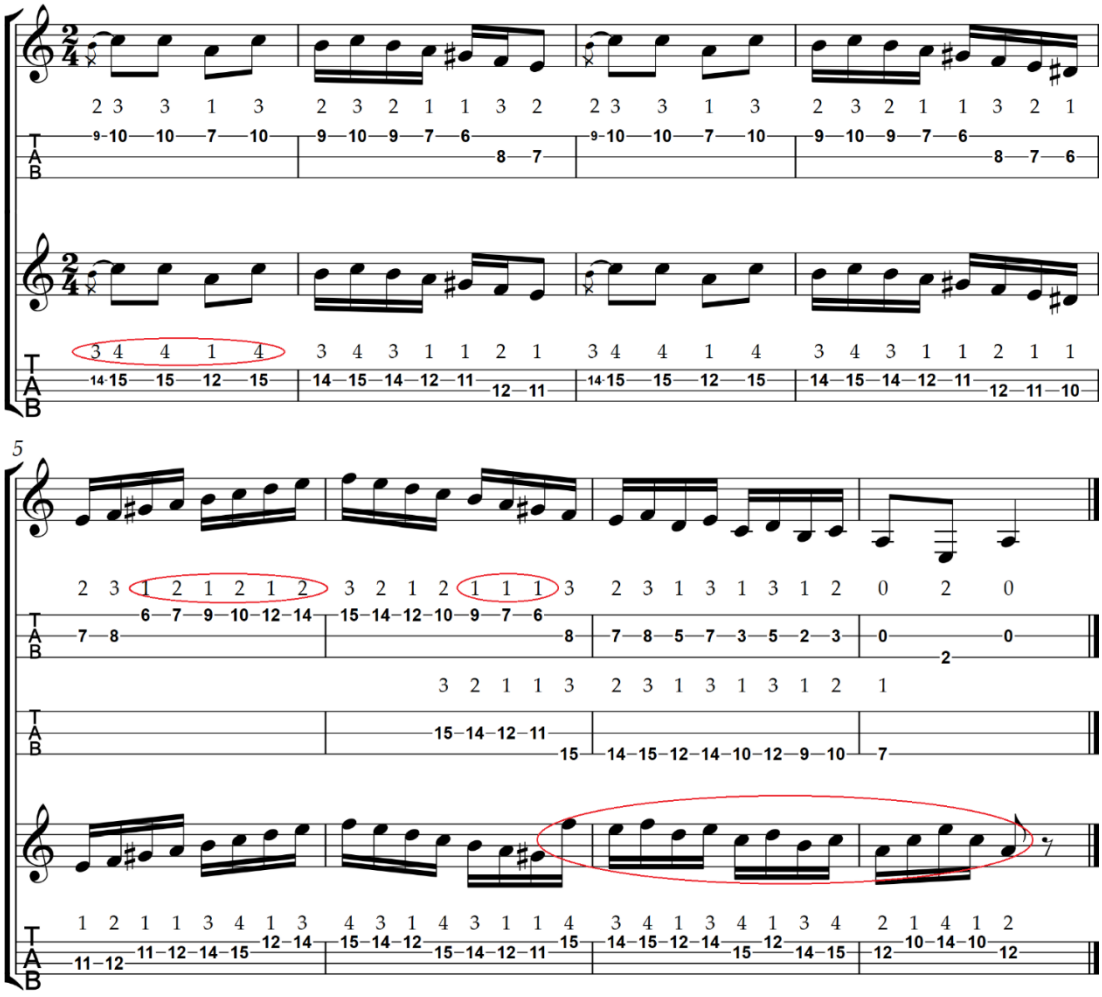

Figure 3. The first section of "Ta oraia tou Tsitsani" by Vasilis Tsitsanis. The first stave and the two three-course tablatures are transcribed from the playing of Nikos Kralis (1994), while the second stave and the four-course tablature are from the arrangement by Dimitris Boukouvalas (n.d., 15).

Figure 4. Three-course fretboard diagrams presenting the fret areas, which Nikos Kralis uses for the first section of "Ta oraia tou Tsitsani." The upper diagram is for the first time, while the lower diagram is for the repeat.

Figure 5. Four-course fretboard diagrams presenting the fret areas for the first section of "Ta oraia tou Tsitsani." The upper diagram is for Boukouvalas's arrangement, while the lower diagram shows how a four-course player can utilise three-course tactility.

The adventures of the fourth finger

The *bouzouki* solo section for the Hiotis song "Moiazeis ki esi san thalassa" from 1960 offers an example *par excellence* of change in the playing technique of the instrument (see XorisNicknameGR 2010). Consider, firstly, Manolis Mihalakis's (2007) edition of the piece which provides *bouzouki* fingerings, plectrum directions and a tablature (Figure 6). Since the transcription is in G minor, Mihalakis has transcribed the solo *bouzouki* section from the second Hiotis recording of the piece from 1961. [8]

[8] Hiotis made two studio recordings of the song, first with Trio Bel Canto in D minor in 1960 (Columbia SCDG 2761) and subsequently with Mairi Linda in G minor in 1961 (Columbia SCDG 2846).

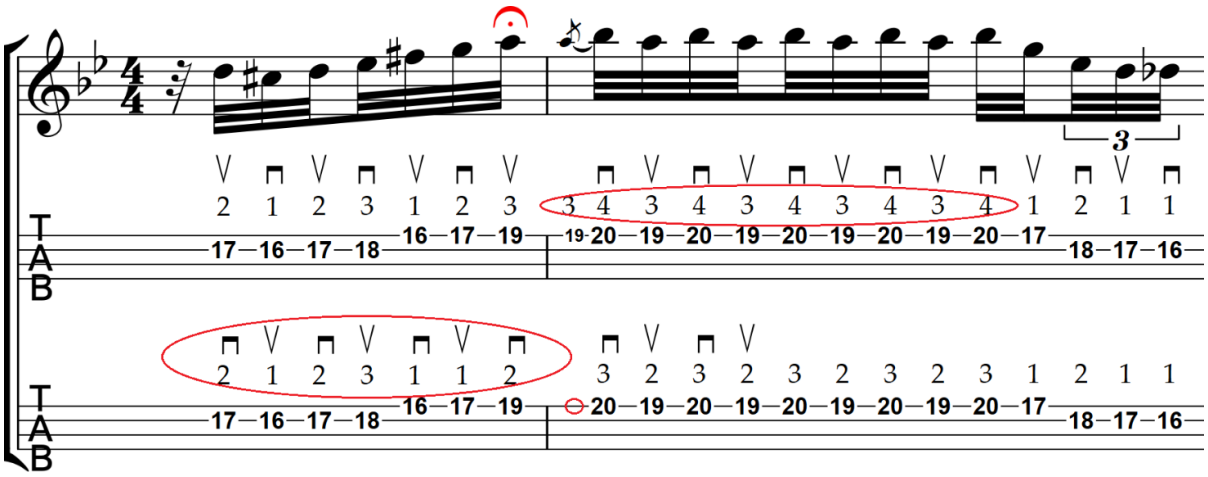

Figure 6. The beginning of the *bouzouki* section of the Hiotis song "Moiazeis ki esi san thalassa" as transcribed by Manolis Mihalakis (2007). The upper tablature with fingerings and plectrum directions is by Mihalakis, while the lower one is from the playing of Vangelis Avramakis (2015).

Targeted to intermediate to advanced students of the *bouzouki*, the transcription is a considerably simplified rendition of Hiotis's original recordings, however. In general, the means of the standard Western notation system very rarely express a piece of music exactly, and the limitations of notation are evident especially in folk, popular and non-Western musics. Mihalakis has not therefore created a descriptive transcription; 12/8 time is written in 4/4 time, and the *bouzouki* part lacks, for example, the *fermata* ending the upbeat bar and several slides. The transcription is simplified probably to avoid excessive complexity, and, as in all secondarily memory-based music, the actual performance of the piece in Hiotis's style would require listening to the original recordings.[9] Mihalakis's own live rendition of the piece does follow the fingerings and plectrum directions of his edition, but, on the other hand, Mihalakis holds the last note of the upbeat bar, thus executing the missing *fermata* (see PERAN 2020, 1:19–1:22).

The most striking feature of Mihalakis's fingerings is the performance of the fast, challenging trill on the third and fourth finger which deviates considerably from the traditional *bouzouki* technique. In my opinion, this modernised 4-finger 4-component mode of operation in such a difficult ornament seems to stem from the

[9] In the modern world, the traditional primarily memory-based transmission of performance practice from master to student has often switched to the secondarily memory-based transmission, which means learning from recordings (cf. secondary orality in Ong 1982, 136). "Memory-based" is my translation of the Finnish term "muistinvarainen," which is more accurate in that the conventional "oral."

technique of the classical guitar, and Mihalakis's biography indeed supports this hypothesis. Three- and four-course *bouzouki* virtuoso Manolis Mihalakis (b. 1960 in Kavala) began playing his main instrument the age of nine in Australia, and already at the age of sixteen he was playing there professionally with celebrated *bouzouki* master Nikos Karanikolas (1929–2003). Simultaneously, he continued his studies in classical guitar and Western music theory at the New South Wales State Conservatorium of Music (now the Sydney Conservatorium of Music) in Sydney. After remigrating in Greece in the mid-1980s, Mihalakis has been working as a performing musician and teacher of the *bouzouki* family instruments and guitar, and he has publised several *bouzouki* methods with supplementary CDs and editions of *bouzouki* songs and instrumentals (Mihalakis 2012b). Mihalakis's classical guitar studies are obvious especially in his unaccompanied *bouzouki* performances; delicate dynamics, the use of the plectrum and two right-hand fingers for plucking a chord and harmonics are not traditional but, rather, modernising devices and techniques of the instrument (see Katsifis 2019, 0:13–0:14, 1:30–1:36).

Although Mihalakis does not write down the *fermata* indicating the prolongation of the last note of the first bar, it is essential for the original recording and Mihalakis's own live rendition. Contrary to Hiotis, Mihalakis favours alternating downstrokes and upstrokes for fast and exact playing, downstrokes falling normally on the stressed beats and upstrokes on the unstressed ones. In Hiotis's recordings, the first bar is without accompaniment, and thus the prolonged last note signals the end of the pickup bar and the entry of the rest of the instruments. The same applies to Mihalakis's live rendition.

No filmed performance with Hiotis playing the piece seems to exist, but one can still try to reconstruct the motor structures. Here, the performance by Greek-Australian professional four-course *bouzouki* player Vangelis Avramakis (2015) lends itself as a source; Avramakis uses three left-hand fingers, and his right-hand technique is close to that of Hiotis. He opens and therefore ends the upbeat phrase with a downstroke, thus creating a strong accent on the *fermata* note, executes a short break, and begins the next bar with an accented downstroke (Figure 6). Such deviations from the standard series of alternating downstrokes and upstrokes were typical of Hiotis. Especially in triplets and sextolets, Hiotis, like other traditional *bouzouki* players, used the technique of glide or sweep strokes by executing the triplet not as a down-up-down movement but playing down-down-up or alternatively up-down-down

(Papasolomondos 2017, 70). The modern, starndardised series of plectrum movements may facilitate the executions of certain passages but, on the other hand, they may easily affect the accentuation of phrases. To my knowledge, no *bouzouki* methods teach the irregular motor structures of the plectrum.

Conclusion

Since the fall of the military junta, the cultural status of *rebetika* has risen slowly but inevitably, beginning with the state funeral of Vasilis Tsitsanis in 1984 and culminating in 2017 when UNESCO inscribed it on the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity. Furthermore, in the system of state secondary schools specialising in music, which was introduced in 1988, some curricula include *bouzouki* courses, while some other, more conservative music schools still prefer the long-necked *tambouras* lute with an alleged lineage from Byzantium. Concurrently, classical guitar studies at a conservatoire do not exclude professionalism in the *bouzouki* and *vice versa*. Learning the *bouzouki* techniques and repertoire from modern, relatively emic methods books and sheet music with fingerings is no longer a peculiar idea. However, audio recordings, intimate acoustic live performances, YouTube videos, television programmes and private lessons will undoubtedly constitute essential sources for learners. Because of the secondarily memory-based character of popular music, most *bouzouki* professionals are unlikely to have learnt their skills from method books, which have been and are still being published for beginner and intermediate bouzouki players. Obviously, such an activity constitutes a lucrative business.

The motor structures of traditional *bouzouki* playing do not try to minimise kinetic energy which was Weber's ideal; they rather aim at achieving a flow of uniform tone colour with proper ornamentation. These factors often limit the use of vertical playing across the strings as the overuse of vertical tactility produces aesthetically unsatisfying, diffuse timbre (see Pennanen 1999, 179). Therefore, the classical-guitar influenced "4-finger 4-component" mode of operation is usually an example of modernisation in *bouzouki* technique; it does not change the musical style. However, since the independent use of the fourth finger requires considerable practice without appreciable advantages, the traditional "3-finger 3-component" tactility will prevail as the main mode of *bouzouki* playing. Moreover, the reciprocal technical influence of

the two *bouzouki* layouts will remain absent exclusively in the purist scene of the rebetika revival. By the same token, standard series of alternating downstrokes and upstrokes may replace the traditional non-standard right-hand motor structures among musicinas with straightforward approaches.

One can thus see how the development of *bouzouki* technique is intertwined with the development of Greek music and society. The study of the evolution of techniques in other instruments—for instance, the various forms of the *laouto*, or the *lyra*, or even the *klarino*—with a similar perspective may be instructive.

Acknowledgements

For suggestions and comments on earlier versions of this paper I thank Martti Leiwo, Markus Rantanen, Derek B. Scott and especially Tony Klein. I dedicate this chapter to the memory of Eero Heimolinna and Chris Williams.

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9 | THE TRANSCRIPTION OF ÇEÇEN KIZI IN BYZANTINE NOTATION BY KONSTANTINOS PSAHOS IN 1908

NIKOS ANDRIKOS

Çeçen Kızı is one of the most popular tunes in the repertoire of urban Ottoman music. The recording of the piece by Tanburi Cemil Bey (Orfeon Records, 10521) contributed to its acceptance by a wide audience. Interestingly a variety of *Çeçen Kızı* versions exist on the island of Lesvos and in Preveza (mainland Western Greece).[1] This paper focuses on a previously unknown transcription of *Çeçen Kızı* in the Byzantine notation system[2] by Konstantinos Psahos, included in his collection *Asias Lyra*, published in Athens in 1908, preceding Cemil Bey's recording.

There are a lot of reasons that justify the inclusion of this paper in a collective volume that has the *Popular Music of the Greek World* as its main theme. For example, *Çeçen Kızı*'s versions in regions such as Lesvos, especially after the emergence of *Paradosiaka* (Kallimopoulou 2009), acquired a *translocal* dimension due to its incorporation in the *PanHellenic* popular reportorial *corpus*. Moreover, after the 1990s, through educational networks and artistic collaborations (concerts, recordings) between Turks and Greeks (Kallimopoulou 2009), Cemil Bey's version of *Çeçen Kızı* obtained wide popularity in the urban centres of Greece, especially in the community of musicians who belong to the younger generation. In addition, the contribution of *media* (CD, Internet, music scores, etc.) to the popularity of the tune in Greece in the last decades must be considered as crucial.

[1] In this paper, the case of Preveza will be not presented. The analysis of this case is beyond the frame of this study. Regarding the existence of Çeçen Kızı's version in Preveza as Plevna or Plevra, see League 2012.

[2] Byzantine notation system, *Parasimantiki* and Byzantine *Parasimantiki* are conventional terms referring to the new notation system of Greek-Orthodox Ecclesiastical music. The aforementioned system was invented and established in 1814 by Chrysanthos ek Madyton, Gregorios Protopsaltes and Chourmouzios Hartofylax.

The recording of Çeçen Kızı by Tanburi Cemil Bey

One of the most interesting aspects of Cemil Bey's artistic career was his engagement with early recording techniques. It is known that the great performer, composer and multi-instrumentalist recorded 78 rpm disks for Favorite Records, Gramophone Concert Records and Orfeon Records between 1905 and 1915 (Ünlü 2016a, Ünlü 2016b, Strötbaum 2016, Mes' ud Cemil 2012, 201–7, Karakaya 2017, Seltuğ 2017, 182–9). In his gramophone recordings he performed instrumental pieces that belong to major forms of Ottoman classical music, such as *Peşrev* and *Saz Semâısi*. Among them, he also performed his own compositions and numerous *Taksim*, the most standard-established improvisational genre in urban Ottoman music. In addition, he recorded *Gazel* (vocal improvisational genre) and *Şarkı* (songs with standard structure and morphology) accompanying singers such as Hafız Osman Efendi, Hafız Sabri Efendi, Hafız Yakub Efendi, Hafız Aşir Efendi, Hafız Yaşar [Okur] Bey. In his recordings Cemil Bey, apart from the *tanbur*, played *kemençe*, *lavta*, *yaylı tanbur* and *cello*. Furthermore, musicians who accompanied him with ud include Nevres Bey, Şevki Efendi, Fethi Bey, Bülbülî Salih Efendi with *violin*, Kadı Fuat Efendi with *tanbur* and Şemsi Efendi with *kanun* (Ünlü 2016a, 28–38).

Despite his engagement with the classical repertoire as an urban musician, Cemil Bey was very interested in idiomatic music genres coming from the folk music culture of Anatolia (Güray and Levendoğlu Öner 2017, Karahasanoğlu and Sarı 2016, Öztürk 2017, 74–86). According to the sources and especially his biography, written by his son Mesut Cemil Bey, Tanburi Cemil was familiar with folk tunes and acquired knowledge about this style of music through his interaction with folk instrumentalists who came from rural regions of the Ottoman territory when they visited Istanbul (Mes' ud Cemil 2012, 117–9). Additionally, it is known that Cemil Bey played *çöğür* (Mes' ud Cemil 2012, 52, 198)[3] and *zurna* (Mes' ud Cemil 2012, 165, 166),[4] instruments that hold a key position in the field of Anatolian folk music. Cemil Bey's relation to folk-popular music (rural and urban) is also based on his interaction with musicians who played the *lavta* and came from the islands of the Aegean region (Mes' ud Cemil 2012, 166–9). Moreover, Cemil Bey, according to oral accounts, had a very close relationship

[3] According to Yılmaz Öztuna, apart from çöğür Cemil Bey played also a variety of instruments belonging to the family of Bağlama, like cura, bağlama, tanbura, bozuk and divan sazı. (Öztuna 2006, 187).
[4] On these pages, Mes' ud Cemil features the memories of Fahri Kopuz about Cemil Bey's learning and playing of zurna.

with Greek Orthodox musicians (Mes' ud Cemil 2012, 129, 130, 144; Pappas 2017) and especially with Kemençeci Vasilaki (Mes' ud Cemil 2012, 148–51; Pappas 2017, 119–28). These musicians who belonged to the *Rum millet* of the Ottoman Empire—some of them possibly *Roma*[5]—were very familiar with folk repertoire, such as *oyun havaları*, *sirtolar*, *köçekçeler*, *koşmalar*, *destanlar*, *tavşanlar*, etc. (Mes' ud Cemil 2012, 130). This appreciation of folk music motivated Cemil Bey to include in his discography tunes, improvisations and imitated soundscapes, referring to the idiomatic styles of rural music of Anatolia and the Balkans. For example, he recorded *Çoban Taksim* (Shepherd taksim***), Gayda Havası*** (Bagpipe tune) and *Zeybek Havası*,[6] with *kemençe*, *Yanık Ninni* with *kaba kemençe*, *Kürdi Taksim* and *Gülizar Taksim* with *tanbur*, *Hüseyni Taksim* and *Ninni* with *yaylı tanbur*. Thus, it is possible in all of these instances for many elements to be detected that attest to Cemil Bey's influence by folk music of the Ottoman periphery, not only in the field of technique but also as regards to the esthetic-stylistic attitude.

One more fact that reflects Cemil Bey's engagement with folk music is the recording of the tune *Çeçen Kızı* (Chechen Girl). Cemil Bey recorded it between 1912 and 1915 (Ünlü 2016a, 26) in 78 rpm (Orfeon Records, matrix number: 10521) on the *kemençe* (Ünlü 2016a, 36).[7] In this rendition, he plays an introductory improvisational theme and after that he performs the tune on *kemençe* while Kadı Fuat Efendi accompanies him with a "rhythmical drone" on *tanbur*. The tune's rhythmical structure follows the model of *Usul Nim Sofyan*, while the melodic progression refers to a folk-idiomatic version of the modal phenomenon of *Hüseyni*. Cemil Bey's rendition established *Çeçen Kızı* in the contemporary repertoire that is played in Turkey not only in live performances but also in recordings. The effect of the aforementioned recording was immense not only on the musicians but also on the wider audience of Turkish

[5] Regarding Cemil Bey's interactive experiences in the frame of Gypsy music celebrations, see Mes' ud Cemil 2012, 137, 138. For corresponding accounts concerning the Laz milieu from Black Sea, see İnal 1958, 127 and Öztürk 2017, 80, 81.

[6] Cenk Güray and Oya Levendoğlu Öner attempted to find stereotypical phrases of this tune in several pieces that belong to the local idiom of the Aegean region's Zeybeks (Güray and Levendoğlu Öner 2017, 102–4). Actually, after Cemil Bey's rendition several pieces referring to this rendition were recorded: for example, Mandalio kai Mandalena, Marika Papagika (vocal), USA 1926; Mandalena, Charilaos Piperakis (Cretan lyra, vocal), USA 1926; Coşkun Zeybek, Marhume Handan Hanım (vocal)-Hasan or Fuat Bey (tanbur), Istanbul 1932, only the first section of the piece is used as an instrumental introduction; Mysterio Zeybekiko, Ioannis Chalikias "Jack Gregory" (bouzouki), New York 1932; Mysterio Zeybekiko (2nd rendition), Spyros Peristeris (?), Athens 1932: To koutsavaki, Zaharias Kasimatis (vocal), Athens 1933. See the website http://rebetiko.sealabs.net/, accessed February 5, 2019.

[7] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jH95J48swk4, accessed February 5, 2019. It is worth stressing that Cemil Bey used to take notes of his impressions after listening to his renditions. So, in his handwritten Notebook he evaluates the recording of Çeçen Kızı as good. (Ünlü 2016c, 98–102).

music aficionados. Because of that, contemporary performances of the tune in Turkey have an absolute reference to Cemil Bey's recording. Therefore, although it is doubtful that *Çeçen Kızı* is his own composition, Tanburi Cemil Bey was usually mentioned as the composer of the piece. So, in this case the phenomenon of the identification of a music piece with a specific performance is detected as well as the establishment of the performer as the composer of the piece.

The version of Çeçen Kızı in Lesvos

The *Çeçen Kızı* "adventure" seems to begin before the recording of Tanburi Cemil Bey (League 2012). The tune known in Lesvos as *Ta Xyla* or *Ta Tabania* or *Kiourtiko* (Kurdish Tune)[8] is one of the most popular local pieces, played on every ocassion and danced as *syrtos*. There are many accounts of the name, the origin, and the establishment of the piece in the local repertoire (Dionysopoulos 1997, 93, 94; Papageorgiou 2000, 152; Kolaxizellis 1950, 320–1; Anastasellis 1981, 2–4; Hatzivasileiou 1985; League 2012).[9] Generally, the trend is to relate the tune to the military repertoire and brass bands, widely known in Lesvos as *fysera* (group composed of wind instruments) (Dionysopoulos 1997, 94; League 2012). According to the older musicians of Agiasos, the tune used to be played as a *March* with *fysera* in the main roads of the village during ceremonies and celebrations (Dionysopoulos 1997, 94). This information is substantiated by what is currently the oldest written source about the music of Lesvos. This is the hand-written collection of local clarinetist Panagiotis Sousamlis, which belongs to the archive of *Anagnostirio* in Agiasos (Andrikos 2018). This collection, written in Agiasos in 1904, contains not only local tunes and songs, but also a wide *corpus* of repertoire that was played in Lesvos at this period. In the score of *Ta Xyla* the title is *Kiourtiko* (Kurdish Tune) *March* and the transcription is appropriate for B-flat clarinet.[10] Therefore, in the score there are notes about the orchestration that mention instruments such as *clarinet*, *violin* and *bass trombone*.

[8] Other names of the tune on Lesvos are Ta tsamia, Ta xlarelia, Kiourtiko âlem havası, Skopos tou Osman Paşa. See Dionysopoulos 1997, 94; Nikolakakis 2000, 251; and League 2012.

[9] These narrations in spite of their attractive character are very difficult to be proved historically. There are many versions that someone can assume about the origin and the incorporation of the tune in the local repertoire.

[10] In addition, in the handwritten collection of Konstantinos Tsakos (trumpet player musician from Sykamia) the title of Xyla's transcription is Γιολ χαβασή (Yol Havası) that in Turkish means "Tune that is played on the road," during a route such as a March.

Konstantinos Psahos and his transcription of Çeçen Kızı in Asias Lyra

Konstantinos Psahos was an emblematic individual for the music life in Greece during the first decades of 20th century. He was born in Istanbul but came to Athens in 1904 to organize the school of Byzantine-Ecclesiastical Music in the Conservatory of Athens. In addition, Psahos was very active in a variety of fields including composition (Chaldaiakis 2013), collection and transcription of rural songs (Chaldaiaki 2018, 65–97; Polymerou-Kamilaki 2013) in Byzantine and Western notation, theoretical and paleographic study and writing, procedure of teaching (Balageorgos 2013; Chaldaiaki 2018, 55–63), musicological arthrography (Chaldaiaki 2018, 116, 121–32), etc. In addition, he was a connoisseur of the theoretical modal system and repertoire of urban Ottoman music. Thus, while he was in Istanbul he prepared the edition of a music diary for the year 1896, containing his own compositions in the genre of Greek-Orthodox Ecclesiastical Music. In several of these apart from the indication of the *Echos* (the theoretical model that is used in order to describe and categorize the melodic phenomena in Ecclesiastical music) he also defines the parallel phenomenon of the modal System of Ottoman *Makam*.[11] Furthermore, the aforementioned collection contains several of Psahos's compositions in the genre of urban Ottoman music. Two of them follow the form of *Peşrev* composed in *makam Pesendîde* and *Şedaraban*. Another one of Psahos's compositions included in the music diary is an ***étude*** in the improvisational genre of *Taksim* in *makam Uşşak*. In the music diary a large number of compositions is included in the vocal forms of *Beste* and *Şarkı* that belong to famous composers such as Hammâmızâde İsmail Dede Efendi, Sultan Selim III, Hacı Ârif Bey, Şevki Bey, Asdık Ağa, Rıfat Bey. All the scores are written according to the notational system of Ecclesiastical music and for the lyrics the Greek alphabet is used. Furthermore, the majority of these transcriptions belong to Konstantinos Psahos. This collective work remained unpublished until recently (Himerologion 2016).[12] Additionally, in the personal library of Konstantinos Psahos many manuscripts, collections and books have been found regarding the repertoire of urban Ottoman music.[13] Undoubtedly, Psahos

[11] Himerologion 2016. In the unit of Psahos's Axion estin alongside the Echos the corresponding phenomenon of Ottoman music is also quoted in this way: Echos Fourth Plagal "chromatikos" in Turkish Hicazkar Kürdi and Echos First plagal in Turkish Hüseyni Âşiran.
[12] This diary was published in 2016 by the Department of Music Studies of the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens.
[13] https://pergamos.lib.uoa.gr/uoa/dl/frontend/browse.html?p.id=col_psachos, accessed February 8, 2019.

reaches the peak of his artistic "trajectory" related to the Ottoman music with the edition of *Asias Lyra* in 1908 in Athens (Plemmenos 2013; Katsiklis 2008). As he highlights in the preface of *Asias Lyra* addressing Dimitrios Peristeris, he had an apprenticeship with the experts of Eastern music and because of their advice, he was able to escape from the "Labyrinth"—the complicated structure—of Asian (*sic*) music (Psahos 1908).

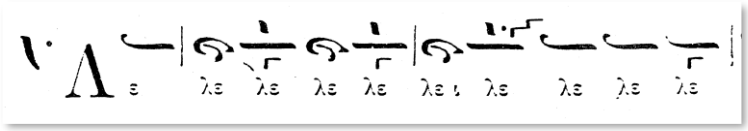
At the beginning of the book Psahos presents—as introduction—a "brief interpretation of all the makams included in *Asias Lyra*" and after that a text under the title "interpretative notes about Usuls." In the book, transcriptions in Byzantine notation system of vocal pieces in the forms of *Beste* and *Şarkı* are also presented, which belong to composers such as Hacı Arif Bey, Kanuni Garbis Efendi, Riza Efendi, Civan Ağa, Şevki Bey, etc., and also an ***é***tude for *Gazel* in *Makam Hicazkâr Kürdi* (*sic*) (Psahos 1908, 20–3), composed by Psahos. At the end of the collection the transcriptions of two instrumental pieces are quoted, the first one under the title *Melos Aravikon* (Arabic melody) and the second one under the title *Melos Kourdikon* (Kurdish melody). The *Melos Kourdikon* (Psahos 1908, 55–8) that is included in *Asias Lyra* is nothing more than an unknown version of *Çeçen Kızı*. Psahos transcribes the tune using the notation system of Ecclesiastical music in an over-analytical way. In addition, he uses the meaningless syllables *le*, *lle* and *lei* according to the conventional practice for the transcription of instrumental pieces by Greek musicians coming from the circle of Ecclesiastical music. This practice was established to facilitate the tunes' singing independently of the need of *parallagi* (the counterpart practice of *solfege* for the new *Parasimantiki* notation system).

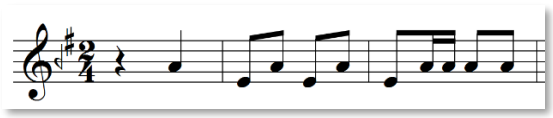
As mentioned above, Psahos applies in his score a very analytical model according to the graphic imprint of the tune's rhythmical background. Therefore, he prefers to use as the main "rhythmical unit" (time measurement unit) not the total of the beat's duration but half of it. According to this methodology, the score is too analytical because he must use many subdivisions of the beat. For the needs of this study a stenographic attribution in *Parasimantiki* of Psahos's transcription was created.[14] In addition, an execution of this version was recorded with *lavta* for the needs of this study by the author of this paper. This rendition is available on the internet under the title "*Çeçen Kızı* – Konstantinos Psahos's version (1908)."[15] The crucial point was to double

[14] See Appendix, Figure 15.
[15] https://youtu.be/rlh_mM7S__w, accessed May 25, 2019.

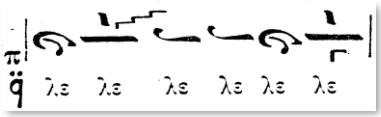
the rhythmic "material" of the score, facilitating the access to comprehension of the transcription. After that, a transcription transferring from Byzantine *Parasimantiki* to Western notation system was created as well.[16]

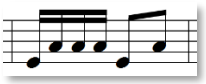
Morphologically the most interesting element in Psahos's transcription is the use of rhythmical patterns. So, the score begins with the repetition (three times) of the main rhythmical form referring to the Rhythmical genre *Nim Sofyan* (*Usul Nim Sofyan*). Additionally, Konstantinos Psahos places alternative versions of these patterns into the main *corpus* of the tune, especially between its subunits joining in this way the different parts.





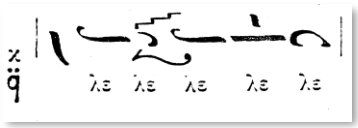
1. The rhythmical motifs used in the beginning of the tune

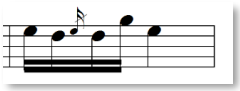




2. The rhythmical motif joining the sections of the score

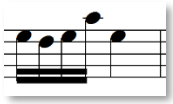
Furthermore, Psahos's score gives another version according to the interpretation of the first melodic theme in the beginning of the tune.



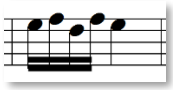


1. The melodic theme in Psahos's version

[16]See Appendix, Figure 16.

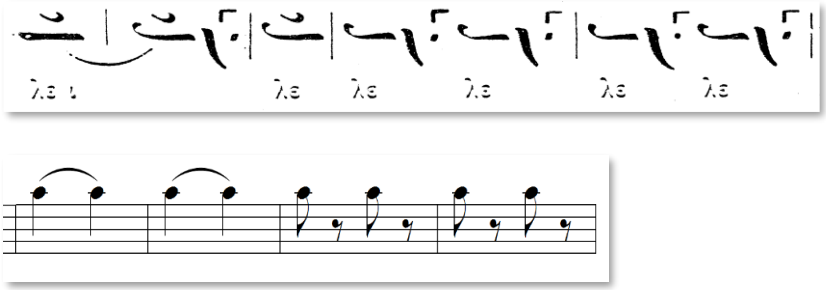


2. The melodic theme from Cemil Bey's recording execution

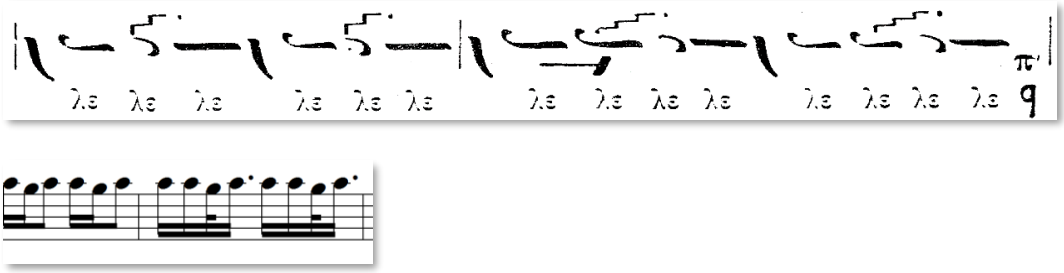


3. The melodic theme according to the performance practices and transcriptions from Lesvos

Another interesting characteristic in the score is the analytical use of notation after the phrase that begins from the leading tone and ends in the degree of *Muhayyer*. Psahos after the use of two measures without any analysis features the rhythmical and melodic dimension of this modal movement using spaces and then two different analytical ornaments.

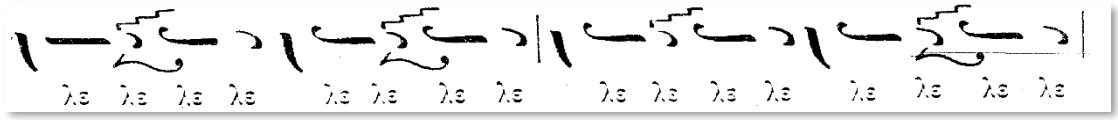


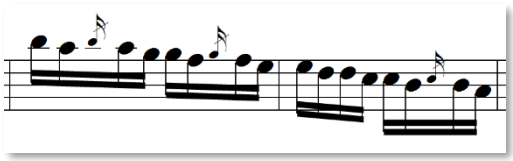
1. The rhythmical management of the phrase



2. The analytical—using ornaments—transcription of the second part of the phrase

After that a descending phrase from La' (*Muhayyer Perdesi*) to the basic tonal centre La (*Dügah Perdesi*) appears. The first attack of the phrase is the degree of *Tiz Segâh Perdesi*, that refers to the common rendition of this melodic theme by musicians from Lesvos.

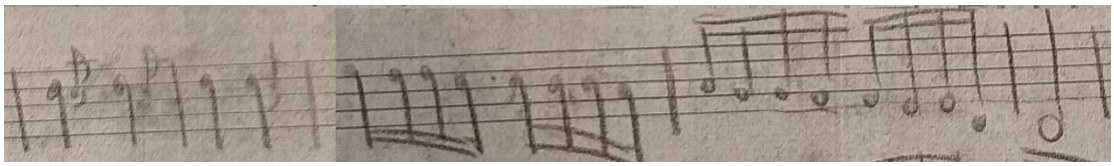




1. The phrase from Psahos's transcription

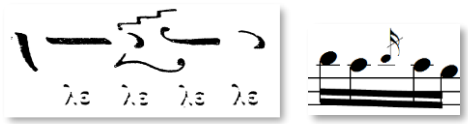
2. The phrase from Sousamlis's transcription

3. The phrase from one of Harilaos Rodanos's transcriptions



4. The phrase from the anonymous collection of Stratis Kazantzes's archive from Agiasos

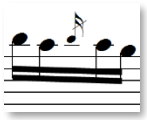
In this phrase, Psahos uses the character of *Syndesmos*  that joins the notes into a micro theme requiring at the same time the use of a specific ornament like *appoggiatura*. So after the principal note the higher degree is also used without emphasis.



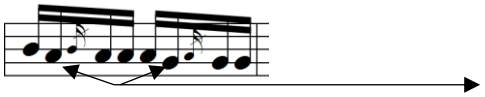
The repetitive descending micro-formula with the use of the characteristic ornament

Moreover, in Psahos's score a very characteristic phrase is featured that is very popular amongst the musicians of Lesvos. Thus, the previous descending theme is

extended rhythmically and melodically because of the repetition three times of the after the main attack note.



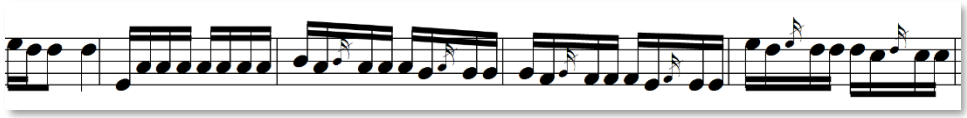
1. The primary "shape" of the motif



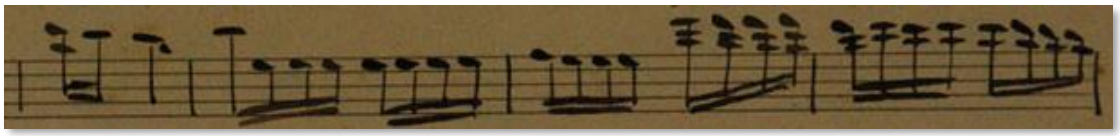
The second note of the motif is used threefold

2. The "shape" of the motif in its extended version

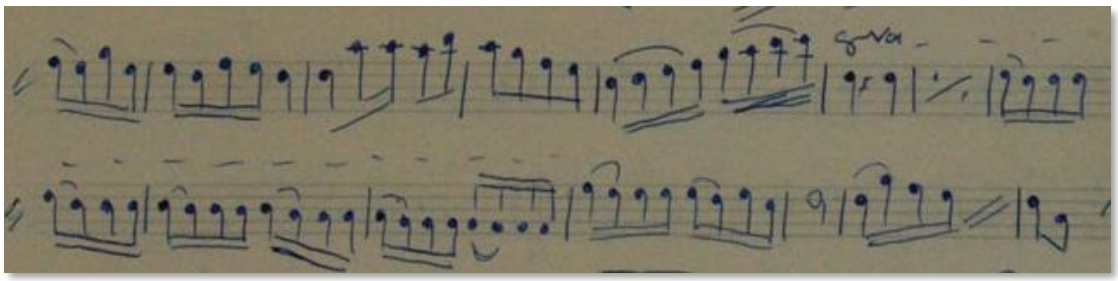
In addition, according to the transcription of this theme, Psahos prefers to feature a very common practice amongst the performers of Anatolian folk music: the execution of the same phrase or its alternative version the second time one octave lower as *verso*. Musicians in Lesvos performing the local version of *Çeçen Kızı* "Ta Xyla," very often use this type of interpretation. This fact can be observed not only through accessing the recorded performances of the piece originating from Lesvos, but also by studying the transcriptions of Sousamlis and Rodanos from Agiasos that demonstrate this practice.



1. Alternative repetition of specific phrase one octave lower (Psahos's score)

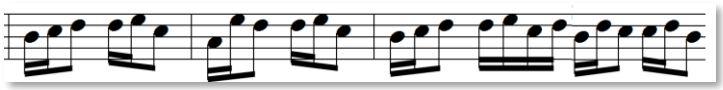


2. The same practice as detected in the transcription of Sousamlis

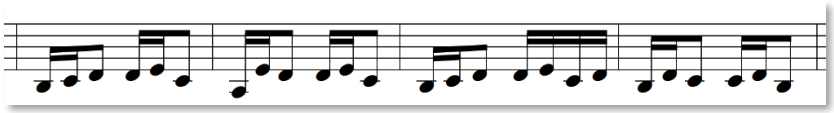


3. The same practice from one of *Ta Xyla*'s scores of Charilaos Rodanos

Moreover, Psahos uses this technique according to the graphical attribution of the repetition of another phrase.

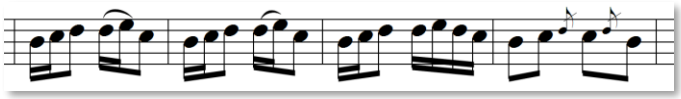


1. The phrase in the main tonal region

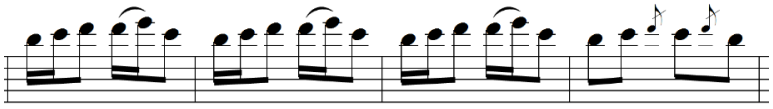


2. The same phrase one octave lower as repetition

This practice can also be found in Cemil Bey's rendition. Although in this recording he prefers to play the repetition of a phrase in the upper region—one octave higher—the main idea of this practice is the same and also common in the circles of performers who play modal folk music in Turkey and Greece.

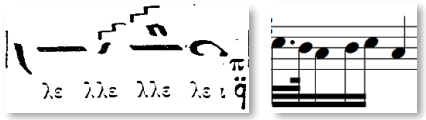


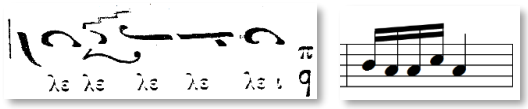
1. The main scheme of the phrase according to Cemil Bey's rendition

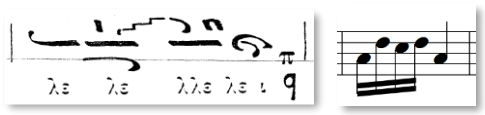


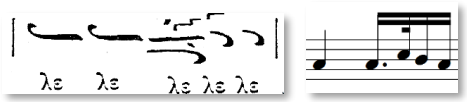
2. The same phrase one octave higher according to Cemil Bey's rendition

Furthermore, an interesting element relates to the variety of the cadential phrases to the basic tonic, which are detected in the frame of these versions.



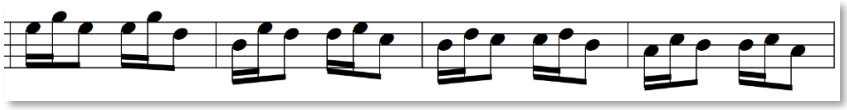




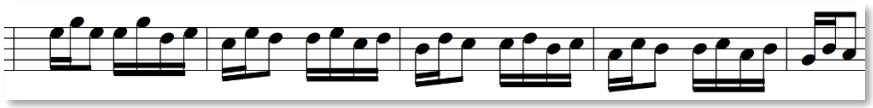


1. Versions of cadential phrases which can be detected in Psahos's transcription

Another structural characteristic of Psahos's transcription is the repetitive melodic pattern in the last section of the tune. In this section of the piece a specific melodic and rhythmical pattern appears that is repeated without any change through a descending melodic progression from the higher degree to the lower one.[17]

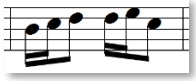


1. The descending phrase that includes stereotypic-repetitive melodic and rhythmical motifs (Psahos's score)



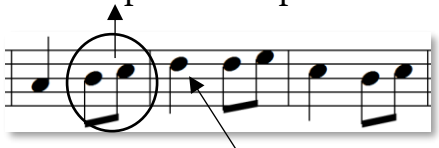
2. The same theme with melodic analysis of the second part of each motif (Psahos's score)

Regarding this last section of the piece, an interesting difference is detected in the version of Lesvos. In that, although the melodic material is the same, its management is rhythmically different. So, the melodic motif that begins from Si and ends to Re,



is divided into two parts. The first one (Si-Do) is incorporated in the previous measure and the second one (Re) is used as the main attack of the following measure, creating in this way the sense of *levare*.

The first part of the phrase incorporated in the previous measure

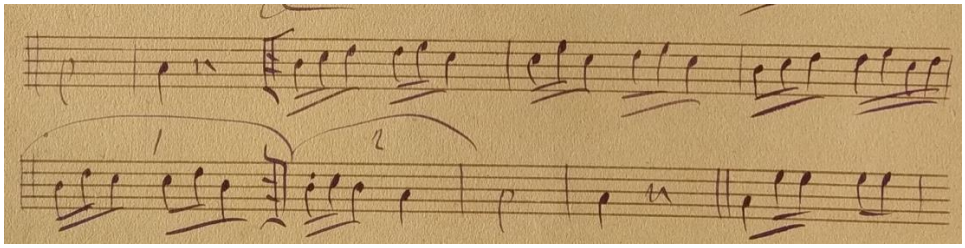


Re as the main attack of the second measure

[17] This practice mutatis mutandis refers to the compositional technique of melodic chain from Western music and the scheme of *palillogia* from Greek Orthodox Ecclesiastical music.

The beginning of the melodic phrase from the previous measure "prepares" the emphatic intonation of the attack. This practice contributes to the rhythmical elevation of the phrase, creating an atmosphere more appropriate for dance.

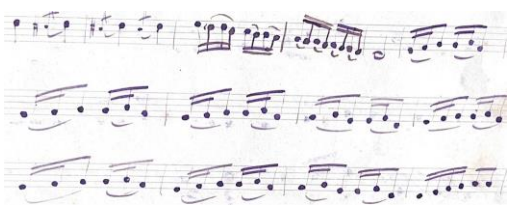
Interestingly, the rhythmic individuality of the pattern analysed above is not detected in the transcription that comes from the archive of the emblematic violinist Michalis Ververis "Tourkogiannis," who was active in the wider region of Plomari (Lesvos).[18] In his score, the corresponding melodic scheme of Psahos's variant is depicted without the rhythmic division between two separate measures, as is generally detected in Lesvos's archival material and contemporary performance practices of the local musicians.[19]



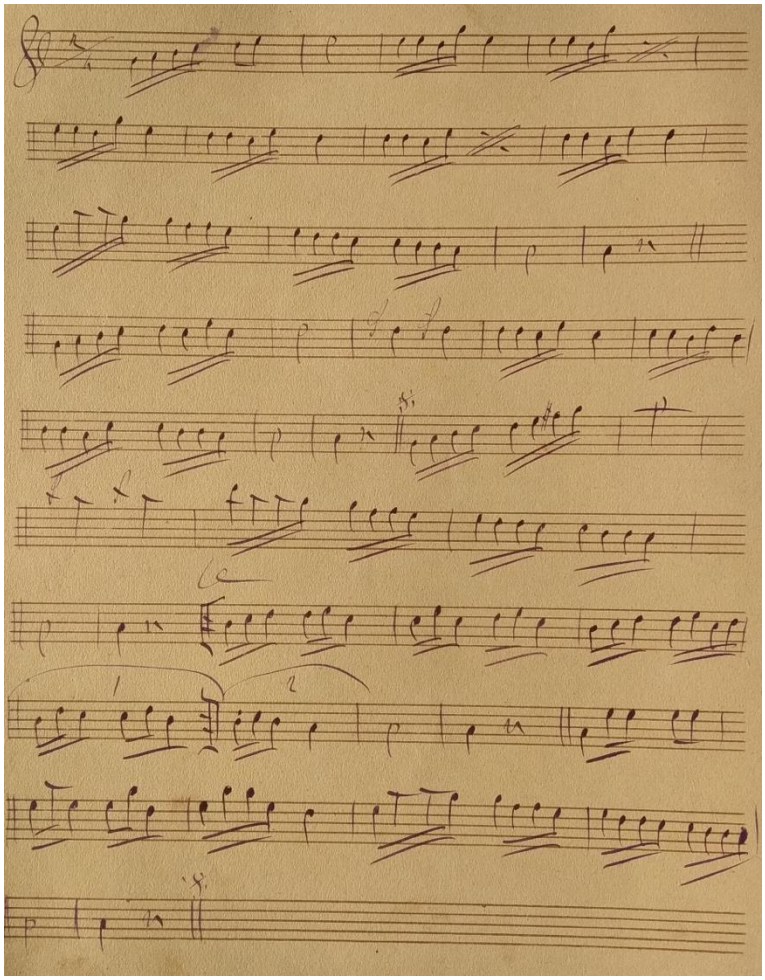
Actually, the transcription from Ververis's archive—compared to the others found in Lesvos—could be melodically characterized as the most similar to Psahos's version, since it includes several melodic as well as rhythmic patterns that resemble corresponding examples in transcription of the chanter and theoretician from Istanbul. This reality is probably not irrelevant with the fact that Tourkogiannis was the greatest exponent of the *Ala turca* style in Lesvos, being familiar with Turkish repertoire and extremely capable in the execution of improvisational *Taksims* that include several modal behaviours-phenomena.

[18] The Ververis archive is part of a wider set of handwritten material that was accessed in the context of Stefanos Fevgalas's PhD at the Department of Music Studies of the University of Ioannina under the supervision of the author of this paper.

[19] Interestingly, the same notational attribution of this theme is detected in Tsakos's collection from Sykamia. This fact highlights the need of a wider and deeper scientific comprehension of the musical networks of Lesvos. However, the research that is related to musical networks is beyond the scope of this paper.



Extract of Xyla's transcription from Tsakos's collection.



Ta *Xyla* from Tourkogiannis's handwritten archive

Concluding the morphological analysis of the piece, it is worth mentioning that the *Çeçen Kızı* version in *Asias Lyra* seems like a compilation of Cemil Bey's recording and the version of the tune that is played on Lesvos. In fact, in the aforementioned score phraseological motifs from these two sources are combined.

In reality, no one can be sure about the conditions under which Psahos's transcription occurred. He probably transcribed the tune from a live performance or by memory. Alternatively, he could have written his score transferring to *Parasimantiki* from another system, like *Hamparsum* or the Western notation system, having as a source an older transcription currently unknown to us. Finally, what is most important is that Psahos's transcription, along with Sousamlis's score, could both be recognized as valuable sources because of their chronological independence of Tanburi Cemil Bey's recording.

In any case, the instance of Psahos's unknown transcription of *Çeçen Kızı* included in *Asias Lyra*, paves the way for a wider scientific "discussion" regarding issues related to the repertoire's oral and written transmission-dissemination, as well as its attribution through the recordings, in the first decades of the 20th century. Thus, Psahos's version is contextualized within a lineage of other versions of the piece (written, recorded or orally transmitted), in a way that proves the obvious repertorial flexibility in the frame of orality-centred cultures, in terms of its structural substance, aesthetic profile and stylistic approach-attribution. Furthermore, several concerns may also arise regarding the *translocal* dimension of rural-idiomatic repertoire that is formed because of the impact of *the medium* (handwritten scores, printed collections, recordings) and its literary management.

Concluding, Konstantinos Psahos's transcription of *Çeçen Kızı* can be considered as very useful "historical material" in regard to the comparative approach to this multivariate tune. Thus, as an early score, it holds a scientific "discussion" with the transcription of Sousamlis, Tanburi Cemil Bey's recording and all of the oral material (recordings, live performances). Therefore, access to this source seems to fill several historical gaps of *Çeçen Kızı*'s attractive "adventure." At the same time, Psahos's *Kourdikon Melos* offers an amount of information regarding the structure and the interpretative dimension of the tune. Thus, this version could become an alternative source of "drawing" ideas for the contemporary performances of this popular tune in Turkey and Greece.

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my deepest thanks to Cemal Ünlü, İsak Eli, Mehmet Söylemez, Dimitris Papageorgiou, Panagiotis Poulos, Eleni Kallimopoulou, Markos Skoulios, Panayotis League, Antonis Ververis, Gianna Maistrelli, Anastasia Pipi, Lia Kanellis, Panagiotis Kaitatzis, Stefanos Fevgalas, Dimitris Koromilas, Stavros Sarantidis, Asineth-Fotini Kokkala, Dimitris Kofteros, Stratis Kazantzes, Theodora Voutsa, who offered their valuable help in different levels according to the research, writing and editing of this paper.

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APPENDIX

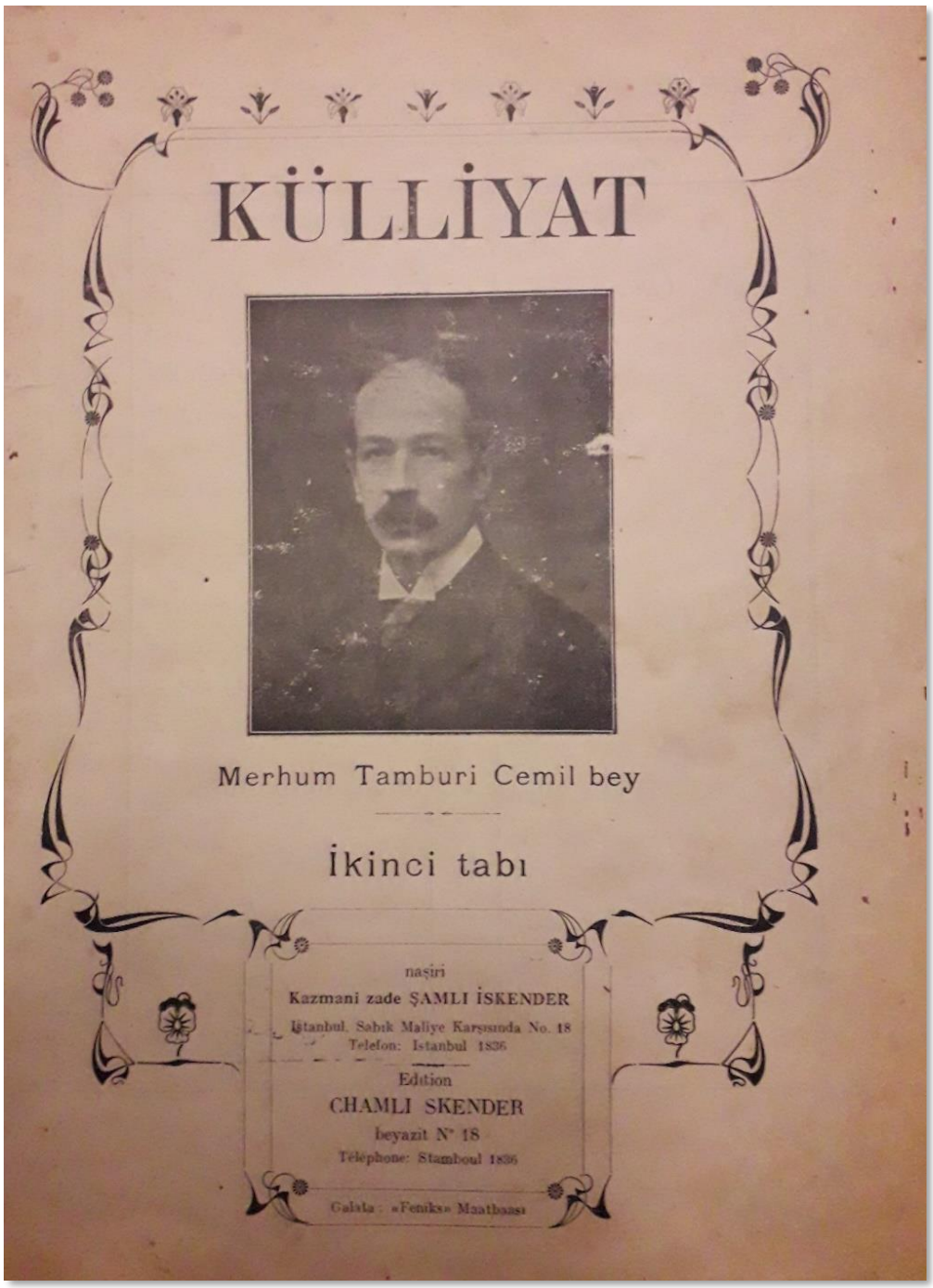


Figure 1. The cover of Şamlı İskender's collection (*külliyat*) that contains a transcription of Çeçen Kızı. İskender (n.d). (From Panagiotis Poulos's archive)

Figure 2. The label of the ORFEON RECORD 78 rpm disk that includes *Çeçen Kızı's* recording by Tanburi Cemil Bey. (From İsak Eli's archive. With the intervention of Cemal Ünlü)

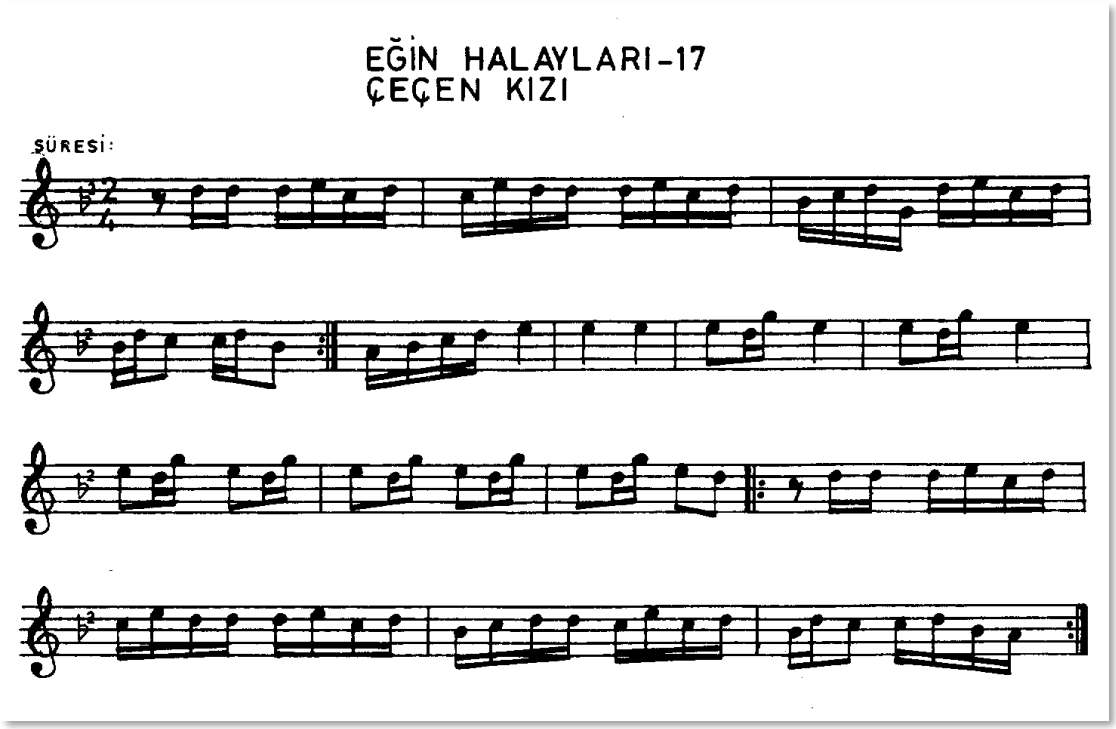


Figure 3. A version of a tune under the title of *Çeçen Kızı* from the Anatolian region of *Eğin* (former Armenian name of the region of *Kemaliye*). This version contains melodic material that can be detected in Cemil Bey's rendition. The score is available at: http://www.devletkorosu.com/index.php/nota-arsivi/nota-arsivi/turkuler (accessed March 8, 2019)

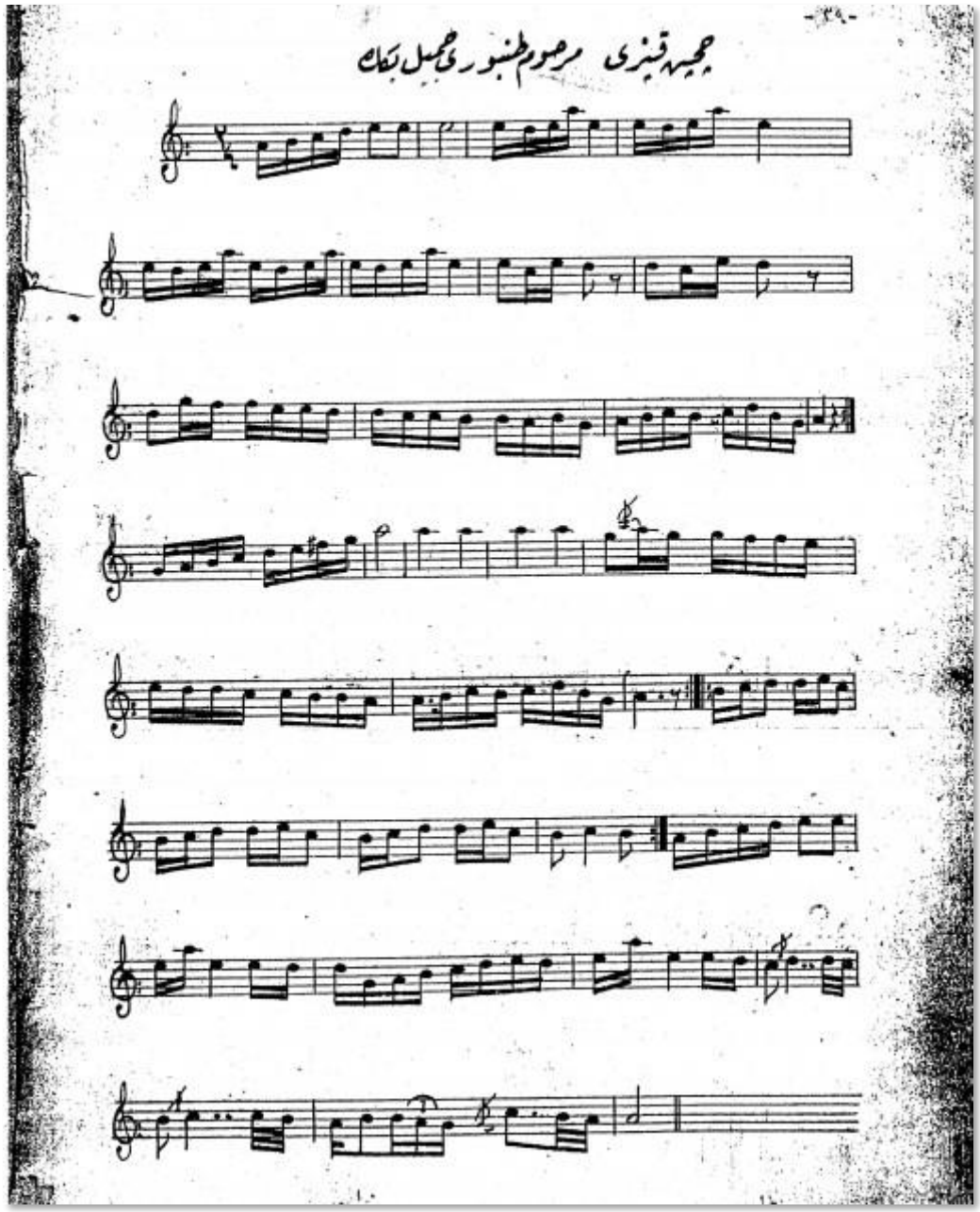


Figure 4. Transcription of *Çeçen Kızı* according to Cemil Bey's recording. On the top of the score *"Çeçen Kızı Merhum (deceased) Tanburi Cemil Bey"* is written in Ottoman Turkish. This information contributes to the document's dating: this score must have been written after 1916 (the year of Cemil Bey's death). (İskender n.d.; Bara-Zadurian 1919, 39; League 2012)

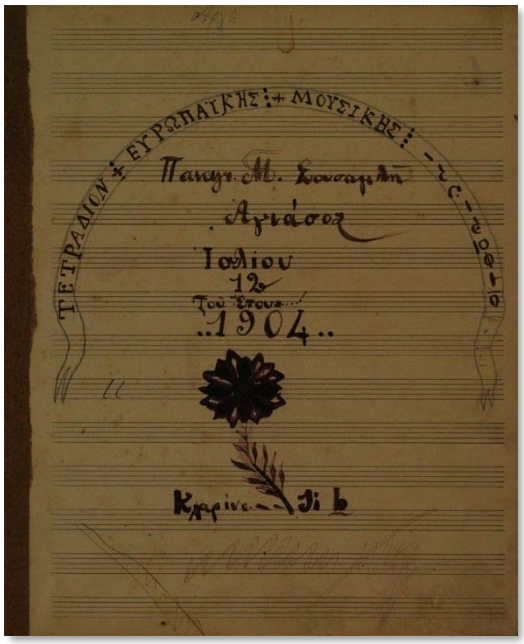


Figure 5. The cover of Panagiotis Sousamlis's handwritten score collection (1904). Archive of Anagnostirio of Agiasos

Figure 6. Panagiotis Sousamlis (1886–1940). Clarinetist and transcriber of the music collection of Anagnostirio of Agiasos (1904). From Panagiotis Sousamlis's archive

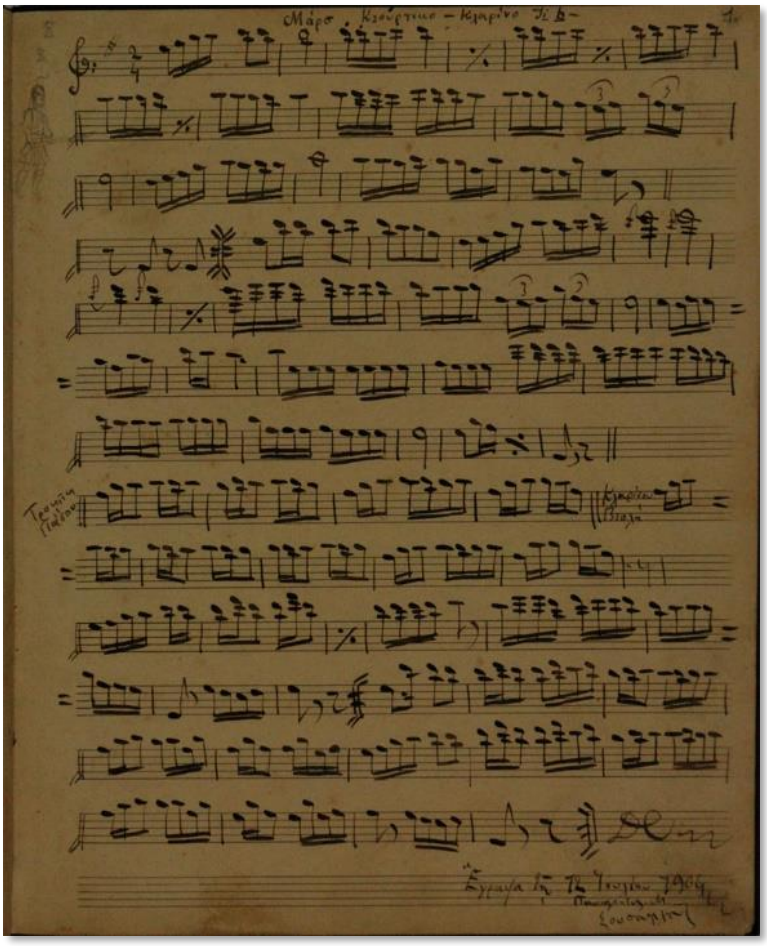
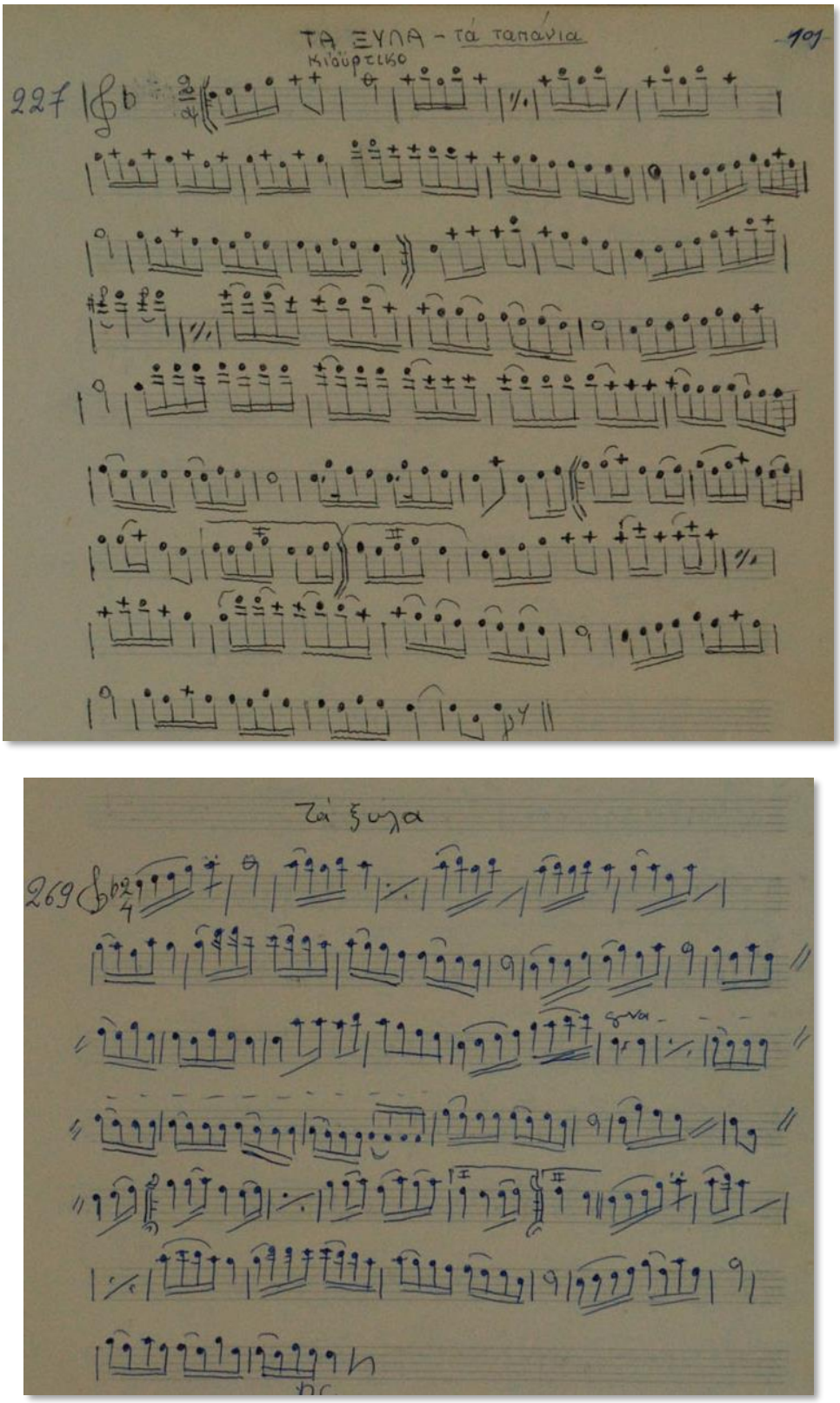


Figure 7. The transcription of *"Kiourtiko-March"* by Sousamlis. Agiasos 1904



Figures 8–9. Transcriptions of "Ta Xyla" ("Kiourtiko," "Ta Tapania") by violinist Charilaos Rodanos, (Pratsos 1963, 101, 121)

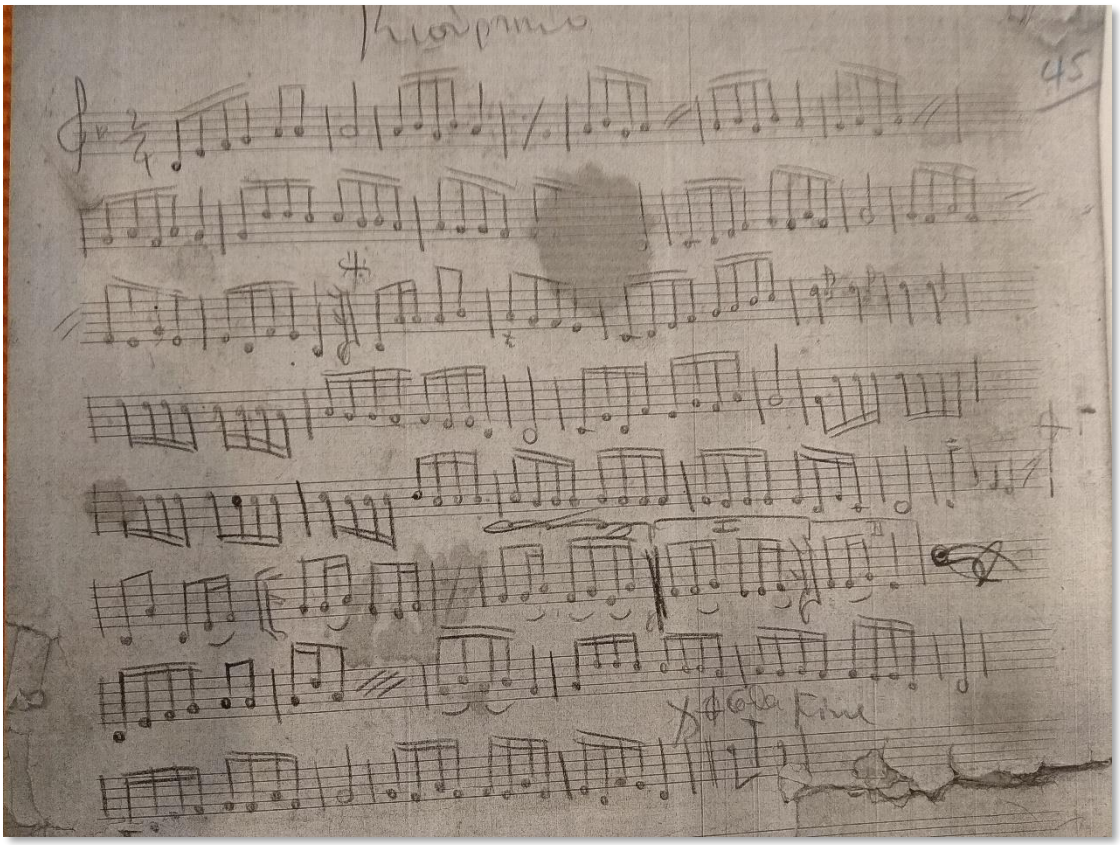


Figure 10. The anonymous transcription of *"*Ta Xyla*"* from Stratis Kazantzes's archive (Agiasos)

Figure 11. Band of *fysera* in Agiasos. The standing man with the violin is Charilaos Rodanos

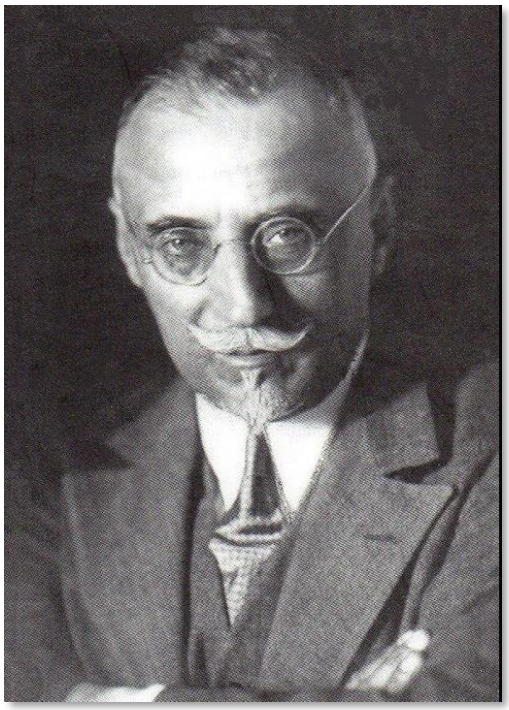
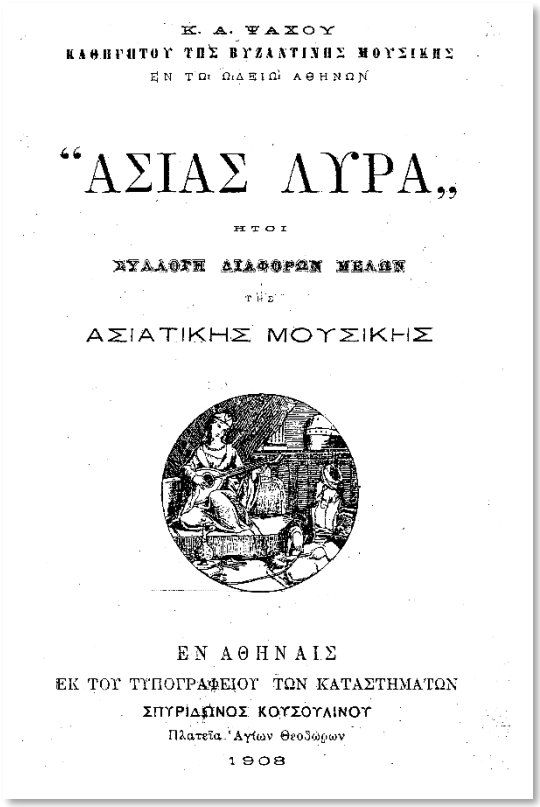


Figure 12. Konstantinos Psahos (1869–1949), Academy of Athens 2013


Κ. Α. ΨΑΧΟΥ
ΚΑΘΗΓΗΤΟΥ ΤΗΣ ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΝΗΣ ΜΟΥΣΙΚΗΣ
ΕΝ ΤΩι ΩΔΕΙΩι ΑΘΗΝΩΝ

"ΑΣΙΑΣ ΛΥΡΑ,,

ΗΤΟΙ

ΣΥΛΛΟΓΗ ΔΙΑΦΟΡΩΝ ΜΕΛΩΝ

ΤΗΣ

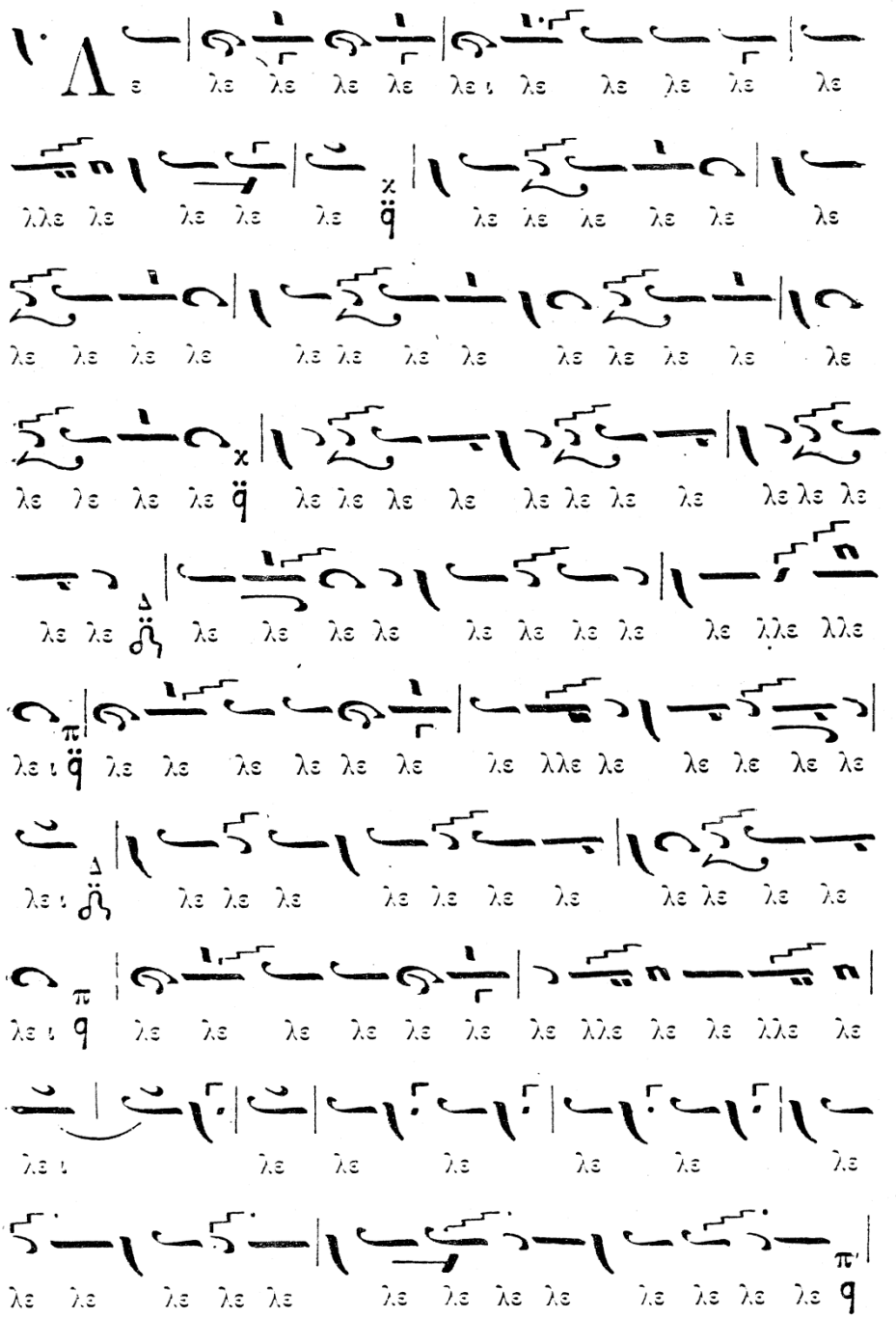
ΑΣΙΑΤΙΚΗΣ ΜΟΥΣΙΚΗΣ

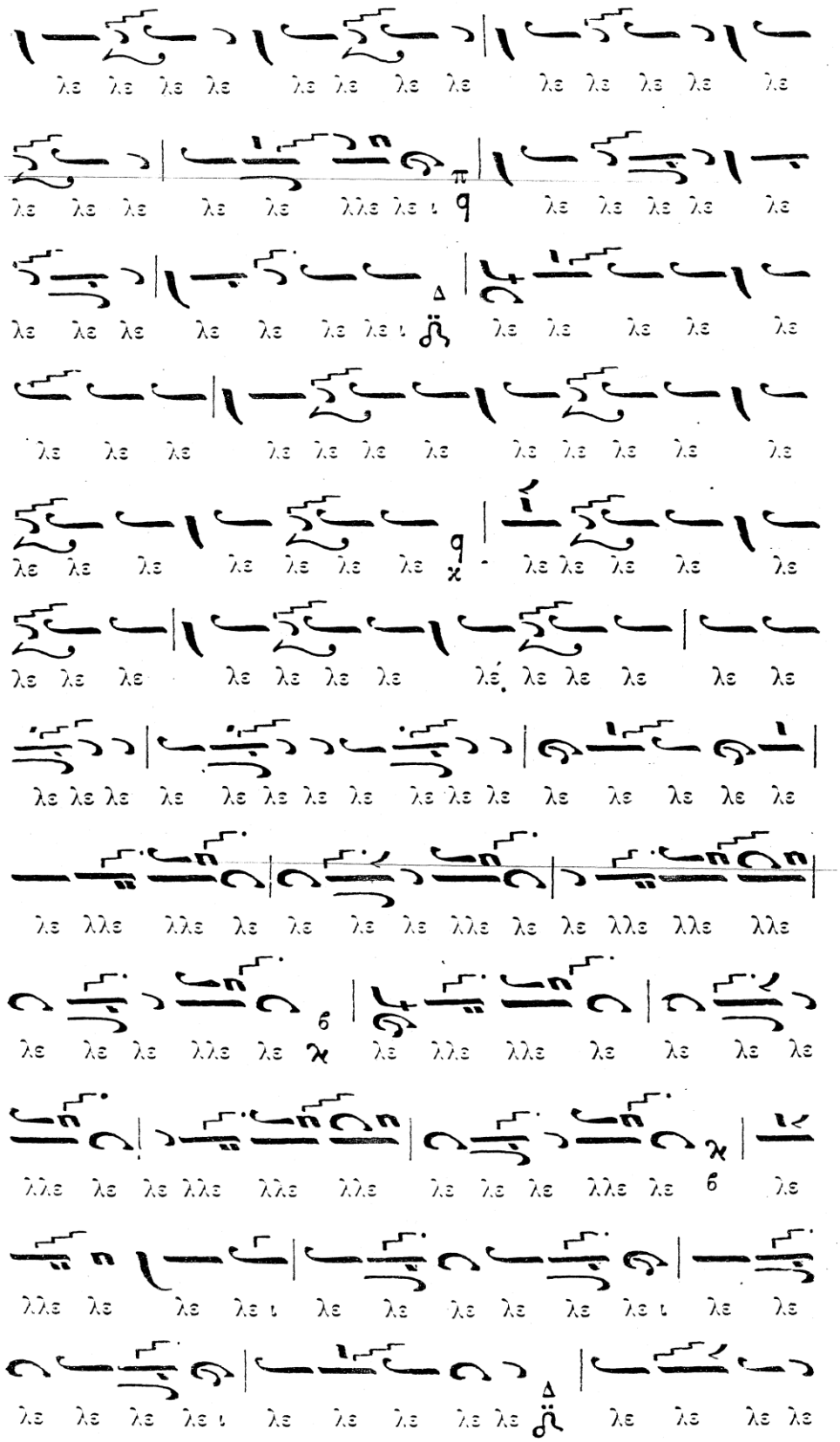
ΕΝ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΣ
ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΤΥΠΟΓΡΑΦΕΙΟΥ ΤΩΝ ΚΑΤΑΣΤΗΜΑΤΩΝ
ΣΠΥΡΙΔΩΝΟΣ ΚΟΥΣΟΥΛΙΝΟΥ
Πλατεία Ἁγίων Θεοδώρων
1908

Figure 13. The cover of "Asias Lyra," Athens 1908

ΜΕΛΟΣ ΚΟΥΡΔΙΚΟΝ

Χρόνος γοργὸς μέτριος. *Ἦχος* λ ϙ Πα





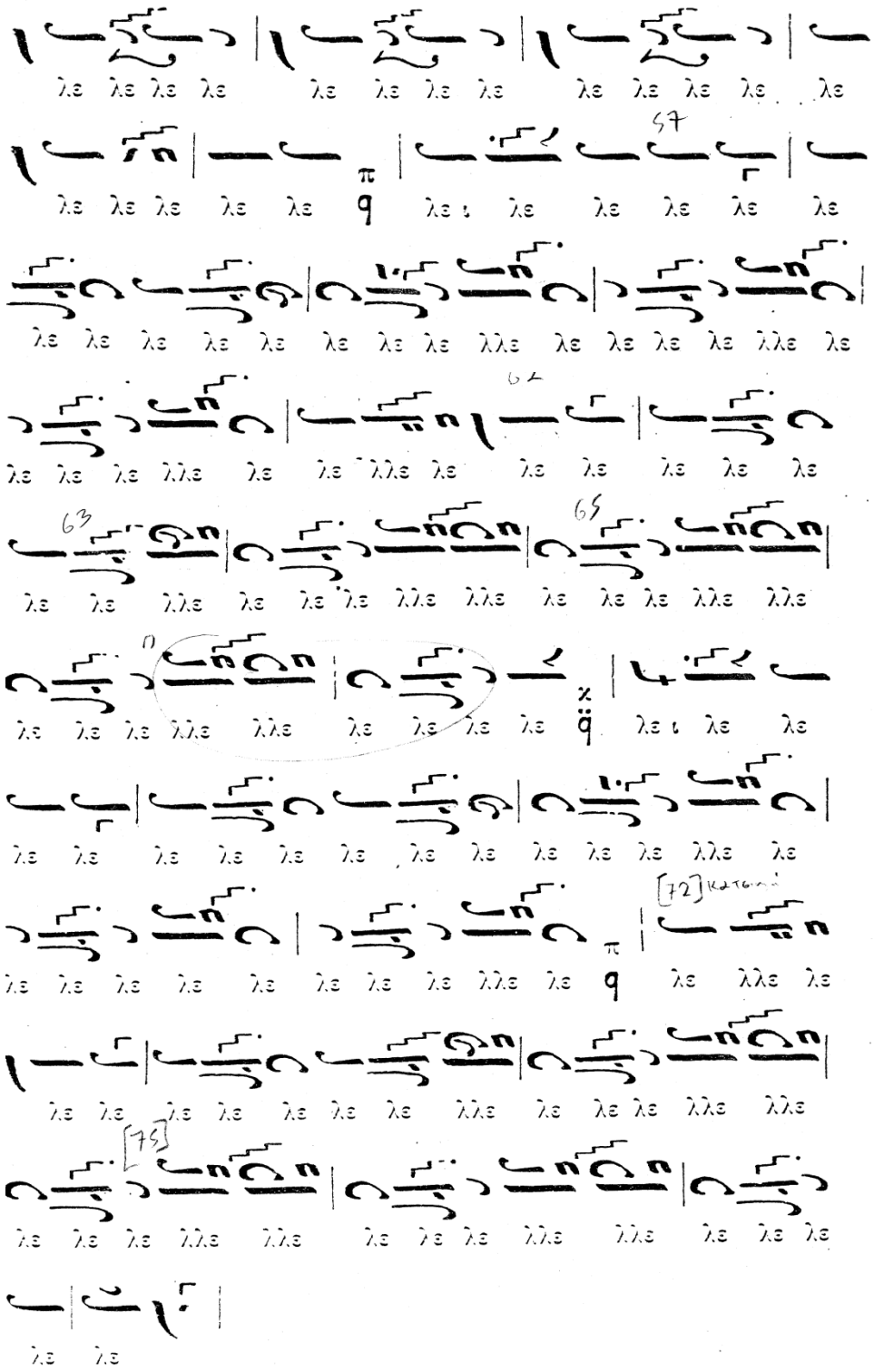


Figure 14. The transcription of "Melos Kourdikon" by Psahos in "Asias Lyra," (Psahos 1908, 55–8)

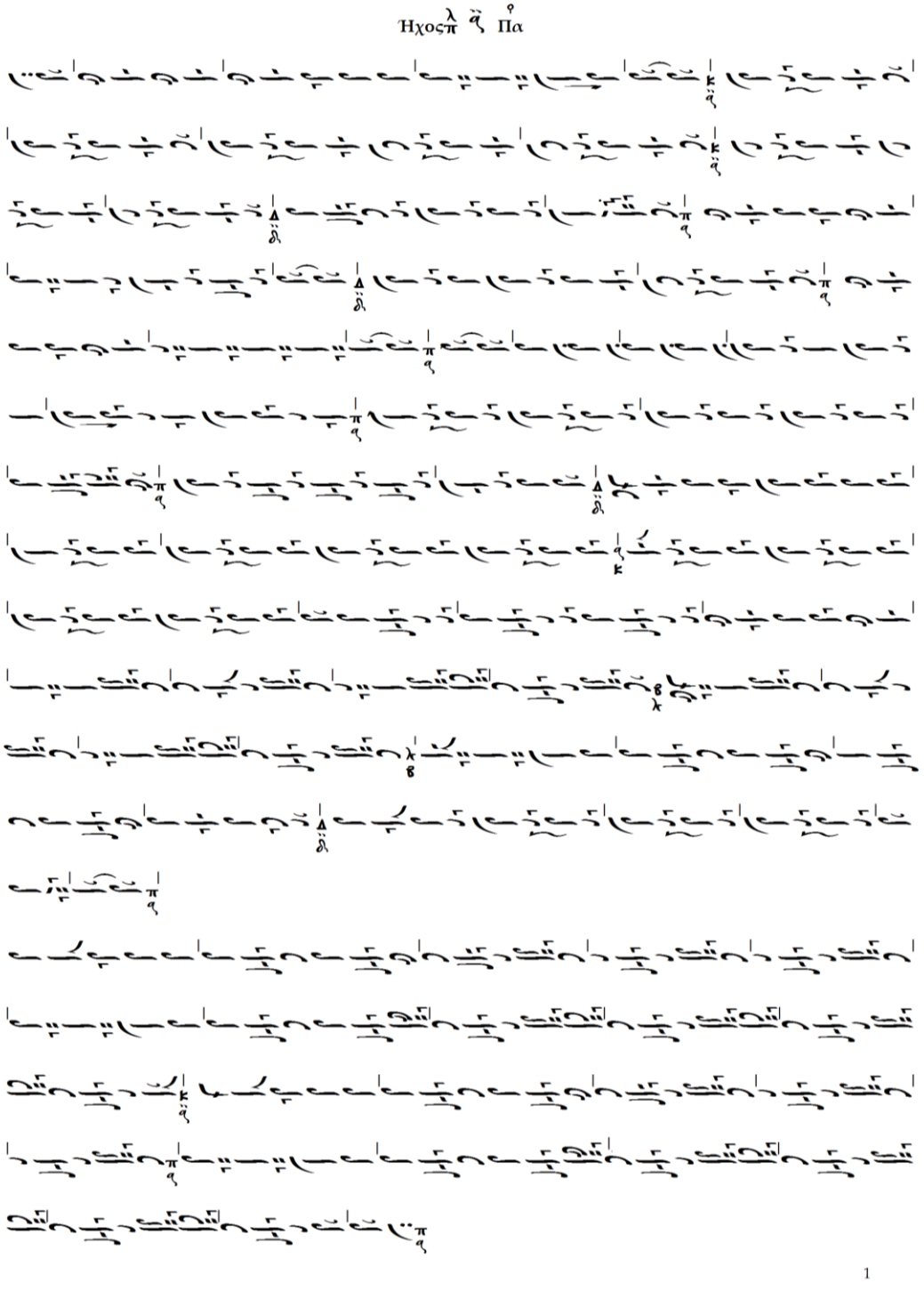
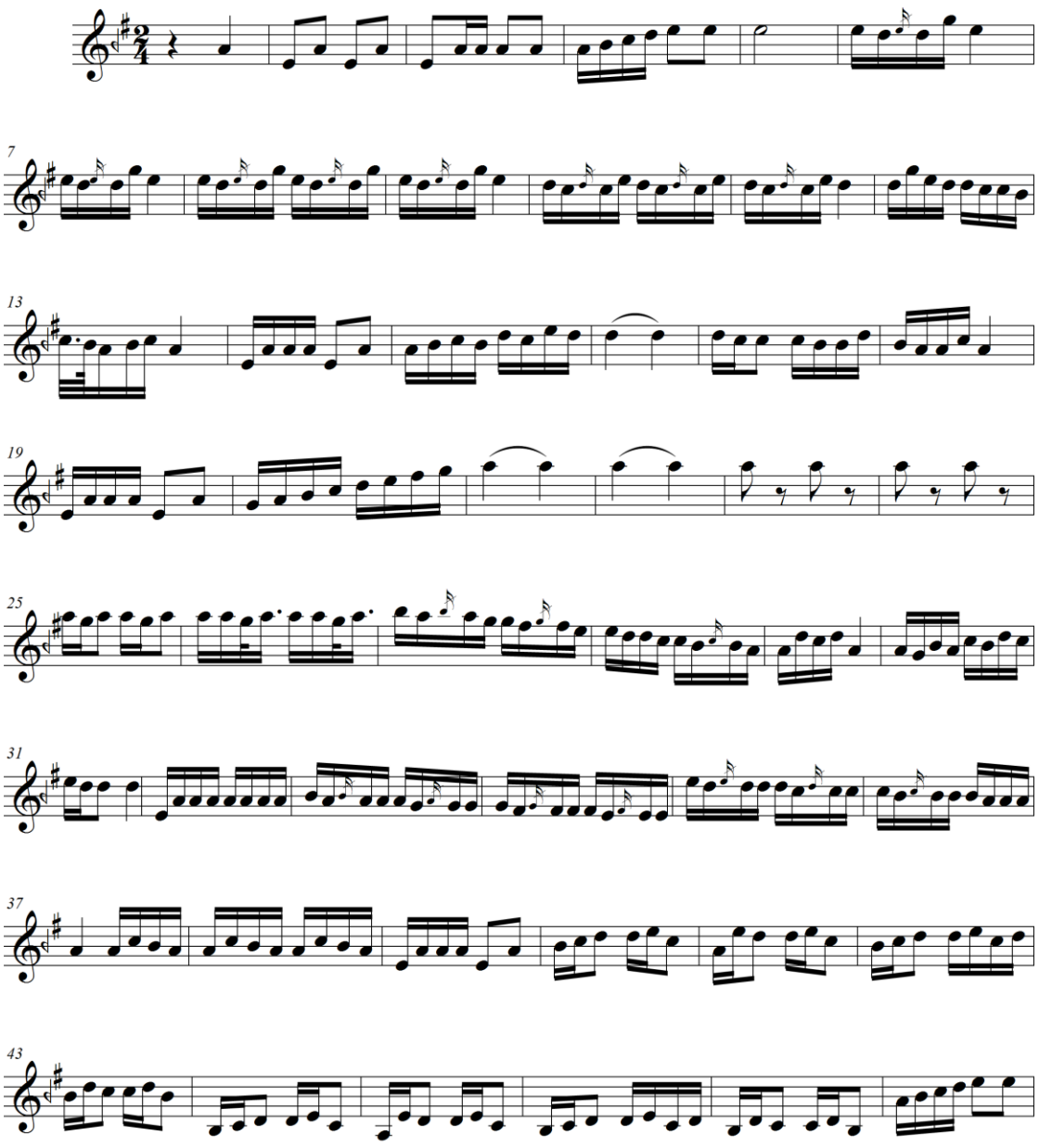


Figure 15. Stenographic attribution of the Psahos's transcription of "Melos Kourdikon" by the author

Çeçen kızı

Makam: Hüseyni
Usul:Nim Sofyan

Konstantinos Psahos' version



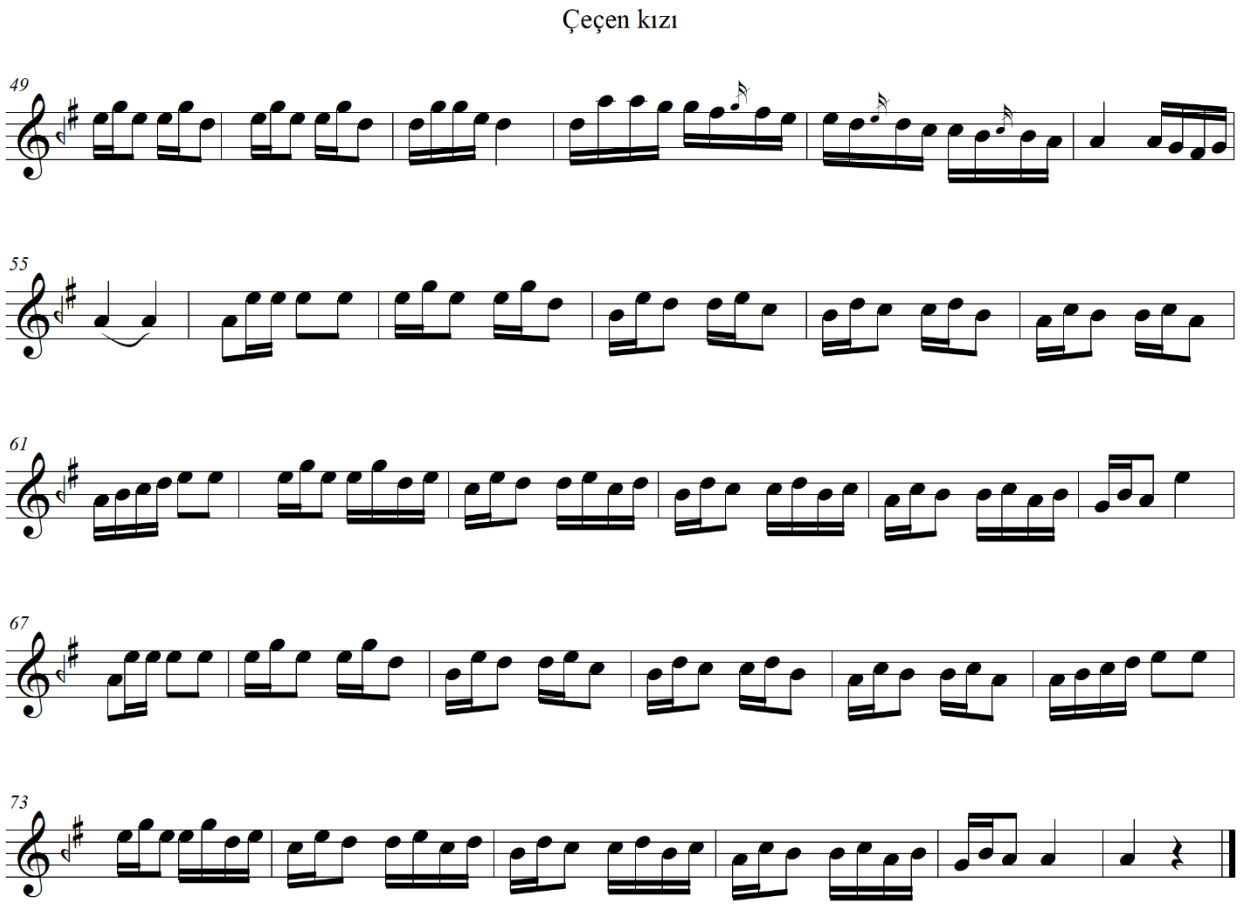


Figure 16. Transcription transferring from *Parasimantiki* to Western notation system of Psahos's score by the author

10 | THE PIANO IN GREEK POPULAR ORCHESTRAS OF THE EARLY 20TH CENTURY: AN OVERVIEW OF THE MATERIAL

NIKOS ORDOULIDIS

Prelude on "modeness"[1]

> The term "modeness" is used purposefully in order to include definitions usually consigned to the words "popular," "East" and "modality." The problems regarding the first two are patently clear: the in-between "places" between the poles of the high-status and the popular and that of the East and the West are innumerable, and hardly distinguishable. The third word, modality, presents two problematic points: on the one hand, it has been wrongfully connected to Eastern musics, even though it does not constitute their exclusivity; on the other hand, it describes a simple systematic analysis, of melodic movement and (rarely) its harmonization. The alternative term "modeness" renders, in its totality, the behaviour of a musical entity with its specific characteristics, rhythm, melody, harmony and so on as the epicentre, not, however, as a theoretical substance with self-contained rules, but as an implemented case. In other words, how it functions in the artistic act is examined: its creation context and utilization, the implementation of its protagonists (musicians, intermediaries, audience), performance practice and technique, technological issues and so forth. This approach incorporates those elements described by the terms "East" and "modality," simultaneously expanding their scope. At the same time, though, it highlights a fundamental characteristic of popular music expression, which is none other than the orality and ensuing fluidity during realization (Ordoulidis 2021a, x–xi).

[1] Many thanks for the valuable advice and generosity regarding historical material to Stelyo Berber, Cemal Ünlü, Panagiotis and Leonardos Kounadis, Nikos Dionysopoulos, Charles Howard†, Pekka Gronow, Tony Klein, Eleni Liaskou, Thanasis Gioglou and Kostas Vlisidis.

Modeness is borne out of the musical concept of the performers, placing the person-artist and their musical experiences at the epicentre, relegating the mechanized theoretical stereotypes to the background. In other words, modeness is not opposed to the West and the scholarly, but it also does not replace the Eastern and the popular. In parallel, it seems to exist as a tool in performance practices of not only popular musicians but also scholarly ones. This emerged modeness transforms these two large groups from typical categorizations which depend on their product, to more humanistic entities which depend on the creator of the product, permitting and facilitating the examination of the material which was created by the musicians who serve both categorizations.

This prelude was deemed necessary so that it is understood from the outset that the presence of the piano in the repertoires we will examine below essentially outlines in between spaces, between very powerful bipolar theoretical formations. In other words, on the one hand we are interested in seeing whether these implementations redraft the prevailing theoretical norms (*makam*, *laikoi dromoi*, classical European harmonization, et al.); whether the implementations give rise to the need to reconsider the theories, which observed musical phenomena from a variety of repertoires, high-status or popular. On the other hand, we are interested in including other parameters in our examination, equally serious and interesting, and which in the end seem to have often played a catalytic role in the final audio product. That is, on what kind of piano, with what sound equipment, in what historical-social context and with what cultural background a pianist played a piece, and, at the end, to what extent these elements influenced the way in which they harmonized, phrased, embellished the melodies and harmonies, and organized the rhythmic accompaniment they performed. Finally, through the tool of modeness, we are interested in examining whether Europeanization was solely responsible for the introduction and use of the piano in musical traditions that were far away from the centres of classical Europe, or whether innovation was also a dynamic factor that pushed folk-popular musicians to adopt tools that were unusual and/or unfamiliar, for the traditional musical models of the areas where they lived and created.

Introduction: An uncommon aesthetic cloak[2]

In the international reality, the piano appeared in its familiar "classic" identity, but it also appeared in alternative aesthetic attire: it performed a different repertoire in a different manner, constructing an autonomous entity. These alternative aesthetics, active even in the present, remained excluded from research.[3]

This text concerns the presence of the piano in non-high-status musical idioms of a specific part of the Greek-speaking world. The basis of the research is the historical discography, in an attempt to follow the instrument in the different paths it followed, from that of the classical music of Europe. The aim of the article is not the examination and analysis of the historical-social context that prevails each time in the places that present discographical products; in any case, through the references to specific historical documentation, issues regarding social trends, technological developments, the economic networks, national ideologies and more, are outlined.

It should be said from the beginning that the recorded repertoire focused on does not constitute a solid aesthetic body. This is neither a specific and uniform repertoire, with distinct aesthetic boundaries, nor a planned practice of piano performance. If two common features of all the cases could be named, these are: the recorded works cannot be categorized into what we would call "classical music," that is, a high-status form of art; and that the way in which the pianists perform the instrument in these recordings differs from the way in which it is performed in the pianistic tradition of classical

[2] The present study constitutes part of a broader project which, in the form of postdoctoral research, is funded by the State Scholarships Foundation of Greece (IKY) and is titled "Eastwards heterotopias of the piano" (2020–2022). The basic aim of the research project is the highlighting of a special and unexplored aspect of the piano: its role outside of its usual context, which is that of classical music. The research programme focuses on discography found in various musical realities within a broad geographical span (Eastern Europe, the Balkans, the Eastern Mediterranean, the Middle East and North Africa). This research is co-financed by Greece and the European Union (European Social Fund – ESF) through the Operational Programme "Human Resources Development, Education and Lifelong Learning" in the context of the project "Reinforcement of Postdoctoral Researchers - 2nd Cycle" (MIS-5033021), implemented by the State Scholarships Foundation (IKY).

[3] This type of pianistic repertoire in the discography is detected with certainty in the following countries: Russia, Serbia, Slovakia, Romania, Greece, Turkey, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Israel, Lebanon, Egypt, Tunisia, Algeria, India and Iran. Obviously, the performances and repertoires differ from place to place (see Ordoulidis 2022). Three large categories result from the examination of the material, which are also valid for the Greek-speaking repertoire which this article is to examine: recordings which present quite clearly an Eastern modeness, recordings whose modeness is probably more Easternesque, and recordings in which a balance of elements (Eastern or/and Easternesque with Western or/and Westernesque) is observed. Another characteristic observed in some of these areas is the marginality of performance practices, which waver between what is often called in the worlds of the musicians but also in ethnomusicology as "playing with the ear" and that of a more standard, even though clearly fluid, manner of performance (see also Lilliestam 1996).

Europe. The repertoire that will be placed at the epicentre concerns a wide range of genre categorizations, which in any case cannot be clearly defined. They begin with what we would call light song of the cities and extend to tunes that come from the folk repertoires of the countryside and, obviously, also the rebetiko, which is often considered as divided into two large categories: the Smyrnean and the Piraean.[4]

The article is divided into two parts: on the one hand, through the references to historical documentation, a general overview of the presence of the instrument is presented, not only in the territories of the modern Greek state in particular, but also generally in key cities with a strong presence of Greek-speaking musicians. Although the focus of the article is the musical experience of Athens, indeed covering a large period of time, there are also cases related to Smyrna (İzmir), Constantinople (Istanbul) and New York. At certain time periods, these cities presented—New York still does—a large and dynamic Greek-speaking community. Even though the historical-social context in these areas is completely different from that of Athens, the references in these cases help in understanding the various phenomena that occurred in Athens. At the same time, they constitute a viewing angle of the complex network of popular music formulations, since—at least until the early 20th century—cultural borders and the products produced rarely adhere to political borders. Often, musical recording is a tool of communication between Greek speakers living in different areas. In addition, examination of the discography clarifies issues concerning the historical period characterized by the passage from the reality of the great empires to the world of nation-states.

The first part of the article focuses on three categories of sources, the shortcomings presented in the research regarding them so far and the problems that these sources often give rise to: the historical press, the photographic material and the narratives of the leading figures. Supplementing the references to this documentation, samples from the historical discography are also used, in order to complete them and to crystallize their image as much as possible.

On the other hand, in the second part, the focus is on the historical discography in the same areas, examining samples of the recorded products of Greek-speaking musicians. In historical discography, we find the piano even in the time period of the mobile recording workshops, that is, right from the start of commercial discography (ca 1900). The recordings that will be examined in this article span the period from the

[4] For the problematic issues regarding these terms, see Smith (1991); Pennanen (1999); Gauntlett (2001); Kokkonis (2005); Andrikos (2018, 15–6, fn. 2); Ordoulidis (2021a, fn. 1).

beginning of the 20th century up to and including the 1950s. Invariably, these cases constitute a rather small sample of the overall corpus, which is of great interest regarding both its diversity and its time scope.

Historiographical remarks on the piano in Greek popular music

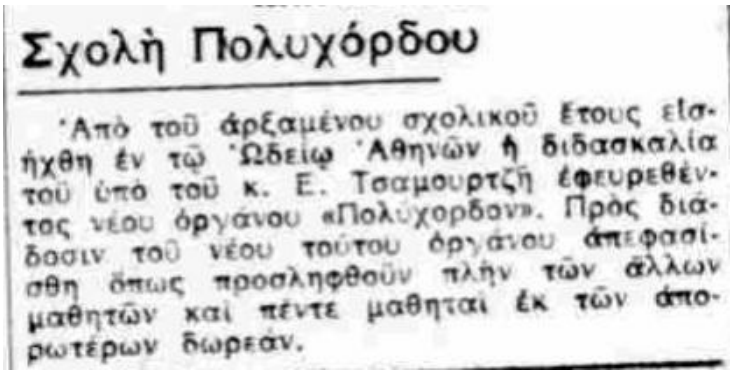
First of all, it is worth mentioning the work of Alexis Politis, who in his book *Romantic Years – Ideologies and Mentalities in the Greece of 1830-1880*, attempts to construct the historiographical map of the presence of the piano, both in the Greek peninsula and in places with an intense presence of Greek speakers. Politis indexes a large volume of primary sources, concerning locations and protagonists as well as the terminology used at the time, which referred to what later prevailed as "piano." Politis's research places the "beginning" of the presence of the instrument in the time of Thomas Bruce Elgin, whose wife brought a piano to Athens in 1802. Equally interesting is the reference to Veli Pasha, Ali's son, who brought an instrument to Tripolitsa in 1809. Politis records pianos that were in the homes of wealthy families, but also piano teachers, talking about several locations, such as Smyrna, Mytilene, and even Amaseia (Politis 2009, 127).

In terms of current research on folk-popular music traditions and the role of the piano in them, the historical press and its indexing is one of the most burning issues. A crucial mass has not yet been indexed, which will allow us to find out about musicians' names, live performance venues and concerts. To a large extent, the indexing of the historical press will come to complement the findings and information from the historical discography, which are at a better level today (see for example Figure 1 and 2).

Figure 1. Advertisement in the newspaper Hellas (23/12/1907, Athens). FEXI PIANOS You can very easily give your wife or daughter a PIANO, paying the FEXI store 50 drachmas per month.

Figure 2. Newspaper Hellas (3/2/1908). THE OUTDOOR PIANIST OF ATHENS. One day it snowed, the next, a travelling musician, the Italian Karolos Vasilitis, with his instrument, played in the middle of the square under the sun. (Photograph Mr Georgios Alexiou)

Nevertheless, the findings so far show that the instrument had gained a dynamic presence in places outside the European classical music reality. In addition, evidence suggests that attempts were made to manufacture piano-based instruments, which were originally intended for use in high-status repertoires, but ultimately failed. One such case is the so-called "polychordo" in the 1930s (Figure 3):



Σχολὴ Πολυχόρδου

Ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀρξαμένου σχολικοῦ ἔτους εἰσήχθη ἐν τῷ Ὠδείῳ Ἀθηνῶν ἡ διδασκαλία τοῦ ὑπὸ τοῦ κ. Ε. Τσαμουρτζῆ ἐφευρεθέντος νέου ὀργάνου «Πολύχορδον». Πρὸς διάδοσιν τοῦ νέου τούτου ὀργάνου ἀπεφασίσθη ὅπως προσληφθοῦν πλὴν τῶν ἄλλων μαθητῶν καὶ πέντε μαθηταὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀπορωτέρων δωρεάν.

Figure 3. An article in the newspaper Proia regarding the beginning of a teaching department of the new "polychordo" instrument at the Athens Conservatory (10/10/1937). School for Polychordo. At the beginning of the current school year, the teaching of the new "Polychordo" instrument, invented by Mr. E. Tsamourtzis, was introduced at the Athens Conservatory. In order to promote this new instrument, it was decided, apart from the rest, to accept five students for free.

Although the article will deal in detail with the historical discography below, it is worth mentioning at this point some of the few recordings that have been found so far, in which an instrument is heard which initially appears to be a canon. A closer look, however, reveals that the sound is probably produced by a hammer strike, after a keystroke. It may be that the polychord, which in its probably rather short life, managed to be introduced by folk-popular musicians in the historical discography (see for example Figure 4).

Figure 4. An example from the small number of recordings where perhaps the so-called "polychordo" participated. Vale me stin angalia sou[5] (Kounadis Archive Virtual Museum[6]).

A second critical source is the historical photographic material.[7] As regards the bouzouki-based rebetiko style, which starts en masse from 1933 with the recordings of Markos Vamvakaris in Athens, the photographic material of Ilias Petropoulos must be mentioned, some of which is published in his book *Rebetika songs* (1996 [1968]), in which many pianists, leading figures of the music stage, are depicted.[8] Through the observation of the photographic material, not only from the Petropoulos archive but also from other sources, certain extremely interesting findings result. For example, in an overwhelming majority we observe that the lid and the panels of the pianos in the venues are either open or removed, clearly to obtain intensity and clarity of sound. The number of panels which are open or removed seems to be connected to the size of the orchestra, the size of the venue but also the presence (and the type) of audio coverage of the music stage. In other words, if the piano participates in fairly large orchestras,

[5] Vale me stin angalia sou (Βάλε με στην αγκαλιά σου), Columbia CG 1014 – DG 6033, Athens, 1934: https://vmrebetiko.gr/en/item-en/?id=10491, accessed February 7, 2024. Other recordings where a polychordo may be involved: Chtes to vrady ston teke mas (Χτες το βράδυ στον τεκέ μας), Columbia CG 935 – DG 2124, Athens, 1934: https://rebetiko.sealabs.net/display.php?d=0&recid=5520; I foni tou argile – Pente chronia dikasmenos (Η φωνή του αργιλέ – Πέντε χρόνια δικασμένος), Columbia CG 1108 – DG 6066, Athens, 1934: https://rebetiko.sealabs.net/display.php?d=1&recid=6495; M' argile kai baglamades (Μ' αργιλέ και μπαγλαμάδες), Columbia CG 1206 – DG 6118, Athens, 1934: https://rebetiko.sealabs.net/display.php?d=0&recid=2468; Kolonaki Tzitzifies (Κολωνάκι Τζιτζιφιές), Odeon GO 4082 – GA 7490, Athens, 1949: https://rebetiko.sealabs.net/display.php?d=0&recid=5008, all tracks accessed February 7, 2024.

[6] Kounadis Archive Virtual Museum: https://vmrebetiko.gr/en/d-home-en/, accessed February 7, 2024.

[7] See the BA thesis of Kanella Politopoulou "The piano and the pianists in Greece through photographs from publications for the urban folk-popular song," at the Department of Music Studies of the University of Ioannina (2021).

[8] The rest of Petropoulos's photographic material is in the Gennadius Library in Athens.

the pianist is forced to open and remove both of the two large covers (the cover at the bottom in front of the legs and the cover in front of him, which covers the hammers).

From the photographic material, we also conclude that often the pianists are also the accordionists, playing sometimes the one and sometimes the other instrument.[9] Furthermore, it seems that they are possibly the only musicians using sheet music, as either on the music rack or on the closed lid of the instrument, we often see open or closed sheet music and their covers. The answer to the sheet music may lie in the biohistories of some of the protagonists of the 20th century.

In many sources we read about the polystylistic repertoire which is usually performed in the venues (see Ordoulidis 2021a, Chapter 13). Many times, it is the pianists who begin the musical programme with works from the light Greek repertoire, or even foreign hits. The sheet music constitutes certainly a quick and easy solution for the learning of many and various genres, as the pianists, in most cases, are musicians who know how to read and write.

An extremely interesting piece of evidence came into our possession from the daughter of one of the protagonists, about whom we shall speak in more detail below. It is a handwritten document by the pianist Mitsos Mertikas, which functions as a guide to the repertoire or even the sequence of the programme in the live performances of the orchestras in which he participated, in the music halls he worked in (see Figure 5). The repertoire range is obvious in this guide. Additionally, the fact that we found in the same archive, in the form of commercial sheet music, a variety of these titles, emphasises the aforementioned concept of the role of the pianists in the orchestras and in the musical programmes of the venues.

[9] We should not forget that the tradition of the free-reed key-based aerophones is an older story, as far as Greek-speaking musicians are concerned. Mainly in Constantinople at the beginning of the 20th century, musicians performed and recorded with the harmonika as the leading instrument, creating a school of technique. Two important cases are those of Giangos Psamatianos and Antonis Amiralis.

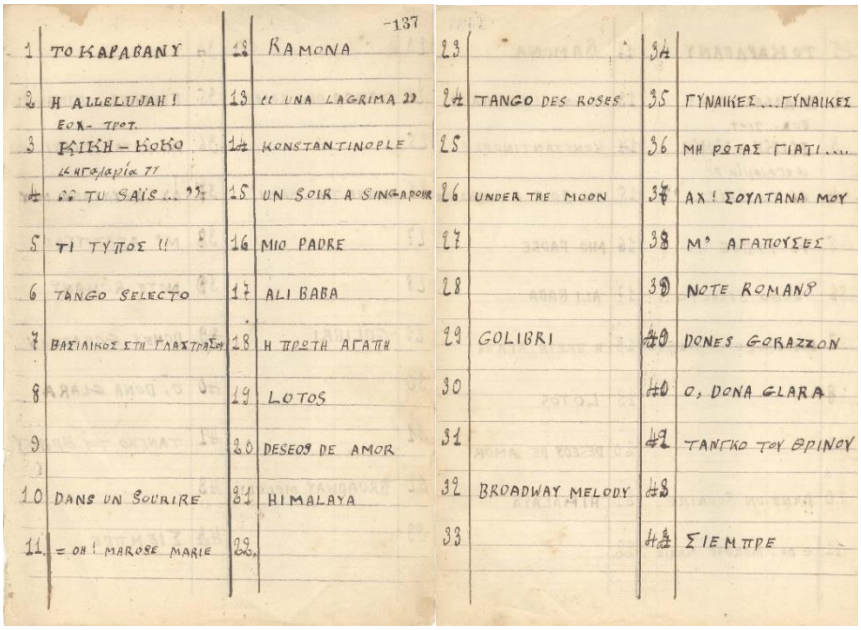


Figure 5. Pages from a programme guide from the Mitsos Mertikas archive.

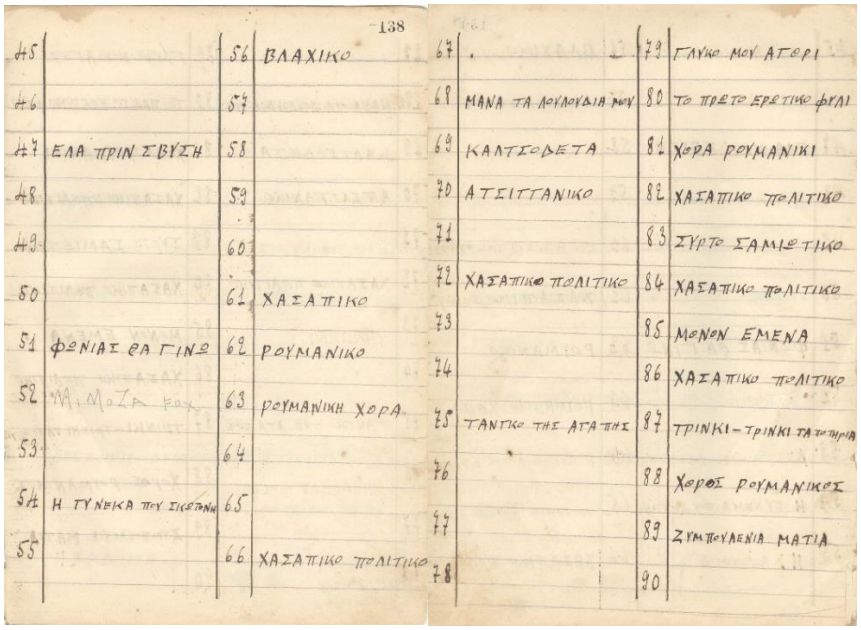


Figure 5b. Continuation of the previous.

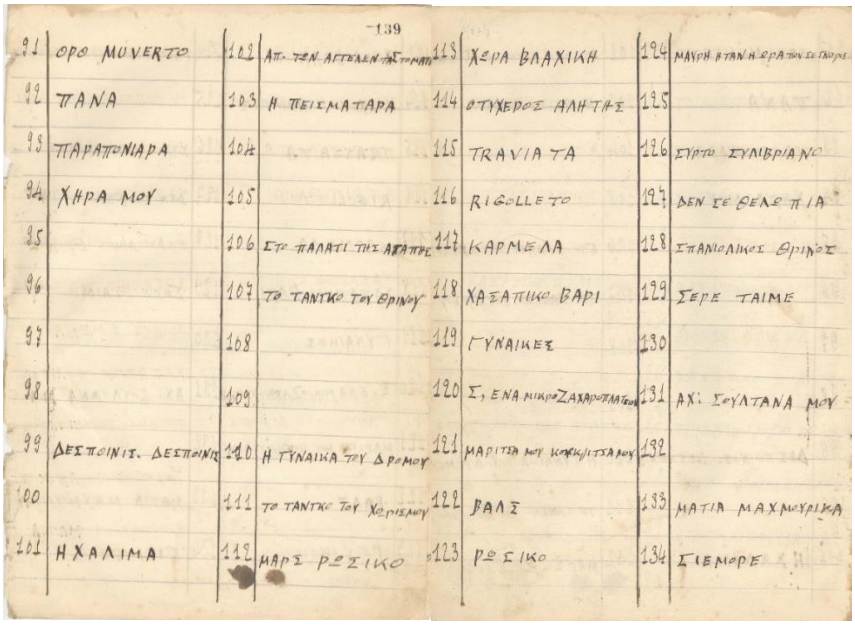


Figure 5c. Continuation of the previous.

Finally, the words of the musical protagonists saved by scholars are another source, which adds a different aspect to the research. Many times, the cross-referencing of sources is more than necessary, as often various problematic issues arise, such as, for example, intensely emotionally charged speeches of the protagonists, interventions in their speech, but even issues of fabrications and/or distortions of reality.

In Aggeliki Vellou Kail's biography of Markos Vamvakaris,[10] he states:

> There were many smoking dens, but the prince of dens was Gravaras in Athens, there on Anargiron Street [...] There was an orchestra inside, you smoked anything you liked, but in the beginning there was only a piano, Manolis the Turk, the epitome of tough. They loved him because he used to play a lot of heart-breaking Turkish pieces. All the tough guys loved him [...] Some heavy Turkish zebekika, some chasapika. Only on the piano (Vellou-Kail 1978, 114).[11]

[10] Indicative samples of Vamvakaris's discography, where the piano takes part: Adeiase mou ti gonia (Άδειασέ μου τη γωνιά), Parlophone GO 3697 – B 74078, Athens, 1946: https://youtu.be/1SPI26RMhLI; Kapoio vrady me fengari (Κάποιο βράδυ με φεγγάρι), Parlophone GO 4249 – B 74186, Athens, 1950: https://youtu.be/b-5F5VL30Ws; San me deis kai sou sfyrizo (Σαν με δεις και σου σφυρίζω), Parlophone GO 4250 – B 74186, Athens, 1950: https://youtu.be/mNNVAYsFpaQ, all tracks accessed February 7, 2024.

[11] Based on the data so far, it seems that Gravaras opened his first enterprise around 1925, in Vathis Square. The smoking den mentioned by Vamvakaris concerns the one that probably opened in 1930 on Anargyron Street. A photograph of this specific smoking den: https://bit.ly/3MjbwSQ, accessed February 7, 2024.

This is Manolis Mamounas, Thanasis Kataras also mentions him in his article "Popular music stages in Menidi." Kataras refers to the so-called "Paranga," the community kiosk of Acharnon, built in 1925.[12]

> In the summer of 1927 the first piano is purchased, with Dimitriadis as the pianist, who plays mainly European music (waltzes, mazourkas, fox trots etc.), but also various taksims [that is, eastern style improvisations] and other fantasies on popular musical themes. In 1927–1928 the kiosk changes hands and is taken over in partnership by Panagos Gikas and Mitsos Visarakis. On occasion, important pianists worked at the kiosk, such as Mitsos Mertikas, Manolis Mamounas aka The Turk, Vangelis Isychopoulos (who transformed the piano into a kanoon, striking the chords with hammers) and the blind pianist Eudokimos (Kataras 2014, 63–4).

> [...] In the earlier hours of the dawn, [Manolis Mamounas] stoned, he played amazing excerpts of operettas, arias, waltzes and so on. He too read sheet music, like me. He made the piano a cimbalom putting something on the chords. (Kataras 2015, 79).

Mitsos Mertikas, mentioned by Kataras in his article, came with his nephews Giannis and Grigoris, also pianists, but also with his father-in-law Agapios Masilis, a pianist from Smyrna. All three were leading figures in the music stages of Athens. Mitsos Mertikas was born in Smyrna, about 1900 and died in Athens in 1990. In 2018, his musical archive was given to the Department of Popular and Traditional Music of the Technological Educational Institute of Epirus, now the Department of Music Studies of the University of Ioannina by his daughter Zoe, with the aim of digitizing and cataloguing it, by the Workshop for Piano in Popular Musics (for Mertikas see also Skandali 1991 and 2008).

[12] "Manolis the Turk seems to have been active on the music stage for more than two decades. In 1936–37 he worked with Stauros Tzouanakos in the music hall 'O Theios,' the orchestra included a violin, guitar, piano, voice (Kataras 2014, 261). Additionally, Christos Dimopoulos, a musician who played a three-string bouzouki and was active in the 1950s, mentions in a narrative that he had worked with Stellakis Perpiniadis, Karatapakis and Manolis the Turk (Altis 2008, 74)" (Liaskou 2019, 16). The narration of Konstantinos Dimitriadis, whose godfather was Manolis Mamounas (or Mamonas, according to Dimitriadis himself) is extremely interesting: http://pikinos.blogspot.com/2015/02/blog-post.html, accessed February 7, 2024.

Agapios Masilis (Figure 6) was born in Bornova, Smyrna in 1907 and lived there until 1922, when he came to Greece with his family (mother and two siblings) after the Asia Minor catastrophe. He settled and lived in Athens until 1990. He married Zoe Skomopoulou, a refugee from Constantinople, and had three children (two girls and a boy). According to the testimonies of his family, he was an autodidact musician. He withdrew from the music stage early on due to health reasons, even though he was not old. At home, he had an upright piano and mainly played without sheet music. In the early 1980s, he was confined to a wheelchair and he never played the piano again. He worked in the nightclubs and cabarets of the period. Stefanos Vartanis, popular violinist and composer, was his friend and regular visitor.

Figure 6. Agapios Masilis (Mertikas family archive).

The case of Euangelia Margaroni constitutes a special chapter in the examination of the popular piano protagonists, and this because the issue of the presence of women in the world of the Greek popular music culture arises, both on the music stage as well as in recordings (see also Figure 7). Undoubtedly, the musicians' guild always constituted a particular circle, with their own code, as opposed to that of the singers. Margaroni constitutes a special case, as she is one of the few cases of a female presence in the world of the popular music culture, with many years of experience, who not only plays an instrument in the orchestra, but also arranges, harmonizes and inspires cooperation and trust in Vasilis Tsitsanis, who keeps her at his side for 34 years (Ordoulidis

2012, 36).[13] On the one hand, she is the daughter of the santur player Manolis Margaronis, something which means she has practical experience in popular music; she knows how it functions, its distinctive roles and the value system by which it is governed. On the other hand, her studies in classical piano render her part of a more scholarly and obviously literate world and tradition, but also of course a rationale regarding instrumental performance.[14]

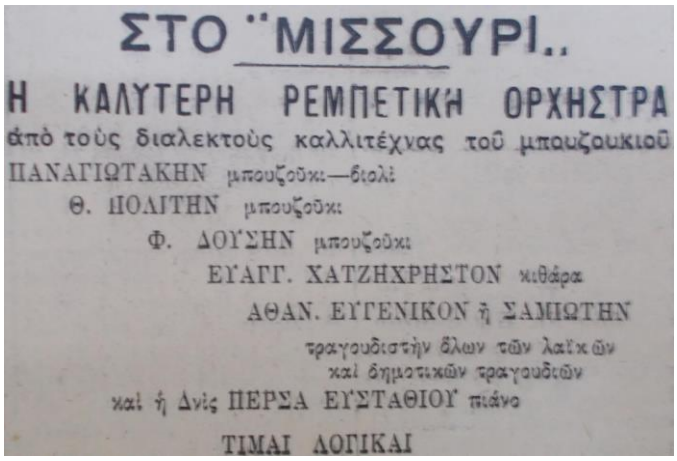

ΣΤΟ "ΜΙΣΣΟΥΡΙ..
Η ΚΑΛΥΤΕΡΗ ΡΕΜΠΕΤΙΚΗ ΟΡΧΗΣΤΡΑ
ἀπὸ τοὺς διαλεκτοὺς καλλιτέχνας τοῦ μπουζουκιοῦ
ΠΑΝΑΓΙΩΤΑΚΗΝ μπουζοῦκι—βιολὶ
Θ. ΠΟΛΙΤΗΝ μπουζοῦκι
Φ. ΔΟΥΣΗΝ μπουζοῦκι
ΕΥΑΓΓ. ΧΑΤΖΗΧΡΗΣΤΟΝ κιθάρα
ΑΘΑΝ. ΕΥΓΕΝΙΚΟΝ ἢ ΣΑΜΙΩΤΗΝ
τραγουδιστὴν ὅλων τῶν λαϊκῶν
καὶ δημοτικῶν τραγουδιῶν
καὶ ἡ Δνὶς ΠΕΡΣΑ ΕΥΣΤΑΘΙΟΥ πιάνο
ΤΙΜΑΙ ΛΟΓΙΚΑΙ

Figure 7. The newspaper Peiraiki Zoi (2/2/1949): a publication with the name of another female pianist.15 AT "MISSOURI." THE BEST REBETIKO ORCHESTRA with the finest bouzouki artists PANAGIOTAKIS bouzouki-violin, TH. POLITIS bouzouki, F. DOUSIS bouzouki, EVANG. HATZICHRISTOS guitar, ATHAN. EVGENIKOS or SAMIOTIS singing all the popular and folk song and Miss Persa Eustathiou piano. REASONABLE PRICES.

Another protagonist, mainly of the music stages, Giorgos Rovertakis, talking in his autobiography about the beginning of the 1930s, mentions:

> At the time, playing the bouzouki was a bit of a clandestine affair, Markos [Vamvakaris] had not yet appeared on the scene [Vamvakaris records for the first time approximately in 1933]. And the ones that did exist were not being

[13] Indicative samples of Tsitsanis's discography, where Margaroni plays the piano: Ta dialechta paidia (Τα διαλεχτά παιδιά), Columbia CG 2828 – DG 6913, Athens, 9 June 1951: https://youtu.be/3fTsQk5sDZk [last accessed 7/2/2024]; To karavi (Το καράβι), HMV 7XGA 229 – 7PG 2565, Athens, 24 March 1959: https://youtu.be/L8G3nIa4d98, both tracks accessed February 7, 2024.
[14] "Additionally, Lili Nikolesko is another woman we see working with important artists on the popular music stages, not only in this period but also the subsequent one. Through the photographic material (Alexiou 2003, 439) we see her work with Vasilis Tsitsanis in 1949" (Liaskou 2019, 19).
[15] Many thanks to Kostas Vlisidis for the discovery of this historical document.

> employed. The rebetiko was played by other instruments; the piano, the violin, the guitar (Schorelis and Oikonomidis 1973, 12).

Rovertakis was born in 1911 and left Smyrna in 1922 to settle in Piraeus with his family. His father died when he was young, so his mother put him in an orphanage with one of his eight siblings, he received some initial musical training there. In Greece, the Smyrnean Dimitris Voulgaridis hired him at his cinema "Ilisia." The silent movies of the time were accompanied by live music. At the "Ilisia" there were two instruments: a violin (Giorgos Dragatsis, nephew of Ogdontakis) and a piano. His enthusiasm with the piano led him to study it for hours, sometimes at the cinema and sometimes at the cabaret next door. Very soon, he followed the profession of musician.[16]

Regarding Smyrna, not only should Aristomenis Kalyviotis and his works be mentioned (2002), but also the many newspapers in circulation there too. Kalyviotis refers to an article by John Veinoglou, who claims that at the turn of the 20th century there were 2500 pianos in existence in Smyrna (2002, 42). The material published by Kalyviotis in his own book, as he presents the names of venues with musical instruments, piano importers, tuners, piano teachers etc., reinforces this claim. The fact that some of the earliest recordings of the Estudiantina Sideris, such as the song *Tounte – tounte,*[17] recorded in 1906–7, were conducted with the inclusion of a piano in its orchestra, reinforces, in turn, the dynamic role of the instrument in urban popular music implementations (see Figure 8). The song is known as *Tsopanakos imouna* (τσοπανάκος ήμουνα), and while the piano does not present any special interest regarding performance practices, it highlights the dynamic role and constant presence of the piano in Smyrna.[18]

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[16] A composition by Rovertakis, on which he possibly plays the piano: Mangika den mou xigiesai (Μάγκικα δεν μου ξηγιέσαι), Parlophone GO 3857 – B 74111, Athens, 1947: https://youtu.be/f94mhd-SkTo, accessed February 7, 2024.

[17] Τούντε – τούντε, Odeon CX 691 – 31330, Constantinople, 1906–7: https://vmrebetiko.gr/en/item-en/?id=4414, accessed February 7, 2024.

[18] Another early discographical reference to the piano in the world of the estudiantinas is a recording of the song S' ekeinin (σ' εκείνην), by the Estudiantina Christodoulidis, in 1906 in Constantinople: Odeon CX 707 – No 31315: https://vmrebetiko.gr/en/item-en/?id=5106, accessed February 7, 2024. For the Greek estudiantinas see Ordoulidis 2021a, 88–100 and 2021c.

Figure 8. Example of the historical discography related to Smyrna and Constantinople. Tounte tounte by the Estudiantina Sideris (Kounadis archive Virtual Museum).

Regarding the estudiantinas and their protagonists in Constantinople and Smyrna, it is worth mentioning the trip some of them made to New York, setting off on 8 December 1922 from Constantinople and reaching New York on 8 January 1923. Among others, musicians like Zounarakis and Christodoulidis worked on the ship; all together recorded in New York, on 19 January 1923. In the orchestra, the Italian De Vapoli also participated as a pianist (see Kalyviotis 2009). Two estudiantinas in Constantinople well known from the historical discography, are the Estudiantinas Zounarakis and Christodoulidis.

> In the bands of Smyrna and with the "toys" [instruments] we would express our sorrow in Minor, with violoncellos, pianos, harps, santurs, mandolins, guitars and violins (Papazoglou 1994, 9).

The memoirs of Angela Papazoglou (1994), wife of Vangelis Papazoglou, constitute another vivid source. The latter was a leading figure, not only in Smyrna but also later in Athens. The memoirs refer to many aspects of the piano, but also to the names of the protagonists on the music stages, such as Roupenis, Tsalapatanis and Michalakis, names of teachers, venues etc. Not only the pianos, which are connected to Smyrnean Europeanization, but also the music in general, characterize the reality of Smyrna, at least regarding its Greek-speaking element. Angela, in one of the many times she mentions the music, talking about the historical events (the Greek army about to disembark, the hopes of the residents to unite with the Greek state etc.), says:

Doum-Doum the big drums
In the big band of joy
On the big stage of the world.
Doum-Doum the big drums
I finally got a job in freedom
And my voice buried, centuries of silence
writhing at my feet.
Thousands of santurs… Doum-Doum the big drums
Thousands of pianos… thousands of guitars…
Thousands of harps… Doum-Doum the drums (Papazoglou 1994, 28–9)

Historical discography and the piano

The indexing and validation of the Greek-speaking historical discography has flourished in the last ten years. One of the substantial improvements made has to do with the documentation of the non-Athenian discography, until then almost eclipsed by scholarly interest in the Athenian. Greek commercial recordings have been found in Constantinople, Smyrna, Athens, Thessaloniki, Cairo, Alexandria, Berlin, London, Milan, New York, Chicago, and New Jersey.

Each of these places had its own characteristics and composed a different condition each time, under different terms. In many cases we find Greek-speaking musicians who are on the move, often due to concerts, recording in places where strong Greek communities were established, such as in Egypt where musicians travelled from Smyrna and Constantinople were often recorded. In America, the migratory currents also carried musicians, who established themselves there and ultimately left a large discographical imprint. A crucial element relates to the construction of local recording and production factories. Until then, factories were found in major European cities where the first and largest companies were usually based, such as Gramophone in London, Pathé in Paris and Lindström in Berlin with its popular Odeon label.[19] They initially sent mobile recording crews to virtually all continents except, of course, America.

[19] Indicative bibliography regarding the early history of the recording industry: Gronow (1981; 2014), Ewbank and Papageorgiou (1997), Tschmuck (2006), Martland (2013).

Soon factories were constructed in places that cater to the needs of the nearby areas. In Constantinople Orfeon built a factory around 1911, Columbia in Athens in 1931.

Discographical research reveals that musical networks were created rapidly, in which music and musicians dwelled: for example, we see wandering musical melodies in various places in the Mediterranean, the Balkans, Eastern Europe and America,[20] where local musicians became familiar with them and reconstructed them, but also borrowings in performance practice.[21] The capacity of the repertoire is endless, which was de-territorialized and blended with other repertoires, forming, now, glocalized characteristics: the cosmopolitan traits of the large urban centres, in combination with the new technological means, promoted polystylisms and polymorphisms of the musical realities.

It is important to understand the context of recording by mobile workshops, as there were still no suitably designed sites, adequate audio media, specific corporate policies, not even specific local musical identities, as the musicians themselves were often on the go, employing a variety of repertoires, and coming from diverse ethno-cultural groups etc.

In other words, we see the piano in this early discography only if an instrument already exists in one of the sites chosen by the recording workshop. Based on the samples of the early discography, it seems that the places which fulfilled the (rudimentary for the time) requirements had upright pianos, which were also used by the protagonists of high-status musical forms to record their own repertoire. The cost of purchasing a piano was often high, and when it was not, the instrument being heard is in very poor condition. Most of the time, older instruments from Europe arrived in Greece for resale. In this early discography, both in Athens and in America, it seems that companies chose scholarly, literate musicians who performed folk or folk-like (δημώδη, *dimodi*) songs, and of course often compositions by scholarly composers, Greek or foreign. One of the most special cases in the early discography of Athens was Ioannis Sakellaridis, one of the most popular chanting personas of the Orthodox Church.[22]

[20] See Ordoulidis, 2021b.
[21] A look at the catalogues contained in the absolutely monumental work of Richard Spottswood Ethnic Music on Records (1991) is enough to confirm the musical networks of the time. See also the virtual room in Kounadis Archive Virtual Museum, titled "Cosmopolitanism in Greek Historical Discography:" https://vmrebetiko.gr/en/cosmopolitanism-en/, accessed February 11, 2024.
[22] For Sakellaridis, see Ordoulidis (2021a).

Sakellaridis left his discographical imprint in the 1900s, recording folk and folk-like songs with piano accompaniment (see Figures 9 and 10).

Figure 9. Example of the historical discography of Sakellaridis in Athens. Sta Salona,[23] for piano and voice (Kounadis Archive Virtual Museum).

Figure 10. Example of the historical discography of Sakellaridis in Athens. To Erinaki,[24] for piano and voice (Kounadis Archive Virtual Museum).

In Athens, it is also worth mentioning both the Panellinios (Panhellenique) Estudiantina and George Savaris, in whose recordings a piano was used. Their performances swayed between scholarly and popular. The Panellinios Estudiantina seems to have been introduced to Athens by Savaris, and made recordings in the mid-1920s (see

[23] Sta Salona (Στα Σάλωνα), Odeon GX 14 – No 65080, Athens, 1907–8: https://vmrebetiko.gr/en/item-en/?id=5173, accessed February 7, 2024.
[24] To Erinaki (Το Ερηνάκι), Odeon GX 168 – XG 181 – X 58574, Athens, 1907–8: https://vmrebetiko.gr/en/item-en/?id=5142, accessed February 7, 2024.

Figure 11). And Savaris, born in Tinos around 1880, was active in Smyrna and Constantinople as a member of the estudiantinas, and eventually moved to Athens.

Figure 11. Example from the discography of the Panellinios Estudiantina with the participation of a piano. To chasisi[25] (Kounadis Archive Virtual Museum).

In addition, in this pre-bouzouki period in Athens, it is worth mentioning the case of Michalis Lagoudakis, from Sitia, Crete. According to Stauros Kourousis and Konstantinos Kopanitsanos (2016, 111–2), Lagoudakis recorded in Athens in the mid-1920s for the Polydor company six Cretan tunes. In two of these recordings, he plays the violin and is accompanied by a piano (see Figure 12).

Figure 12. Sample from the discography of Michalis Lagoudakis, with the participation of a piano. O pentozalis[26] (Kounadis Archive Virtual Museum).

[25] To chasisi (Το χασίσι), Odeon GA 1045 – GO 24 – A 154033, Athens, 1925: https://vmrebetiko.gr/en/item-en/?id=10314, accessed February 7, 2024.
[26] O pentozalis (Ο πεντοζάλης), Polydor 4563 ar – V 45092, Athens, 1926: https://vmrebetiko.gr/en/item-en/?id=5350, accessed February 7, 2024.

In America, from the 1910s, the personas of Marios Lymberopoulos (see Figure 13), Tetos Dimitriadis (see Figure 14), and Loukianos Kavvadias (see Figure 15) dominated the discography. All three use the piano to the fullest. Especially Kavvadias, who was born in Constantinople in 1879 and later immigrated to America, eventually settled there, founded a music school, and made several recordings in which he performed the piano himself. In addition, Kyriakoula Antonopoulou and Marika Papagika made few recordings where a piano was involved, which according to American records seems to be performed by a woman called "Mrs Virginia" (probably Virginia Magidou).

Figure 13. Pale methysmenos,[27] a recording by Marios Lymberopoulos in New York (Kounadis Archive Virtual Museum).

Figure 14. Pseutopokadoros,[28] a recording by Takis Nikolaou, pseudonym of Tetos Dimitriadis, in New York (Kounadis Archive Virtual Museum).

[27] Pale methysmenos (Πάλε μεθυσμένος), Columbia 58582-1 – E 3611, New York, ca September 1917: https://vmrebetiko.gr/en/item-en/?id=4594, accessed February 7, 2024.
[28] Pseutopokadoros (Ψευτοποκαδόρος), Victor Orthophonic CVE 39645 – 68852-B, New York, 1927: https://vmrebetiko.gr/en/item-en/?id=4269, accessed February 7, 2024.

Figure 15. Hetzaz taksim,[29] a recording with the participation of Loukianos Kavvadias, in New York (Kounadis Archive Virtual Museum).

The appearance of the piano in the discography of Athens became more regular in the era of the local factory, which was built in 1931 while its recording studio started operating in 1936, obviously because in the factory it was a permanent fixture in the recording studio. The fact that in America, in the recordings of the Greek-speaking world, we see the piano firmly established much earlier, is no coincidence, as the factories of the large corporations there constituted the sole condition.[30]

The discographical repertoire which has been collected up to now is diverse: song recordings which could be placed under the "umbrella" of the Café Aman style; recordings belonging to the so-called light and burlesque song, which is often dressed in popular attire, mainly regarding forms, performance practice, the chordal sequences, etc.; recordings of Piraean rebetiko based on the bouzouki; recordings of contemporary popular and popular-like (λαϊκότροπα, *laikotropa*). The examination of the deployment of the piano by the popular artists highlights an adoption trend of anything coming from "outside" (instruments, forms, aesthetics and so on). As far as instruments are concerned, the history of such appropriations is rich: the clarinet, brass instruments, the violin, the violoncello and so on.

[29] Hetzaz taksim (Χετζάζ ταξίμ), Panhellenion Record 208 A, New York, 1919–1920: https://vmrebetiko.gr/en/item-en/?id=4946, accessed February 7, 2024.
[30] For Greek-speaking recordings made in America see Bucuvalas (2019).

Analysing samples from the historical discography

In very few cases do we know any biographical data, much of which is uncertain, of the names of the pianists who took part in recordings. In many cases, we do not even know the names of the contributors. Discographical documentation, especially concerning urban folk-popular music, is one of the thorniest issues in Greek musicology, something which has been touched upon frequently in the past (see Smith 1989 and 1991; Aulin and Vejleskov 1991, 12–23; Pennanen 1995, 2004, 18 and 2005; Kokkonis 2005; Ordoulidis 2012, chapter 3).

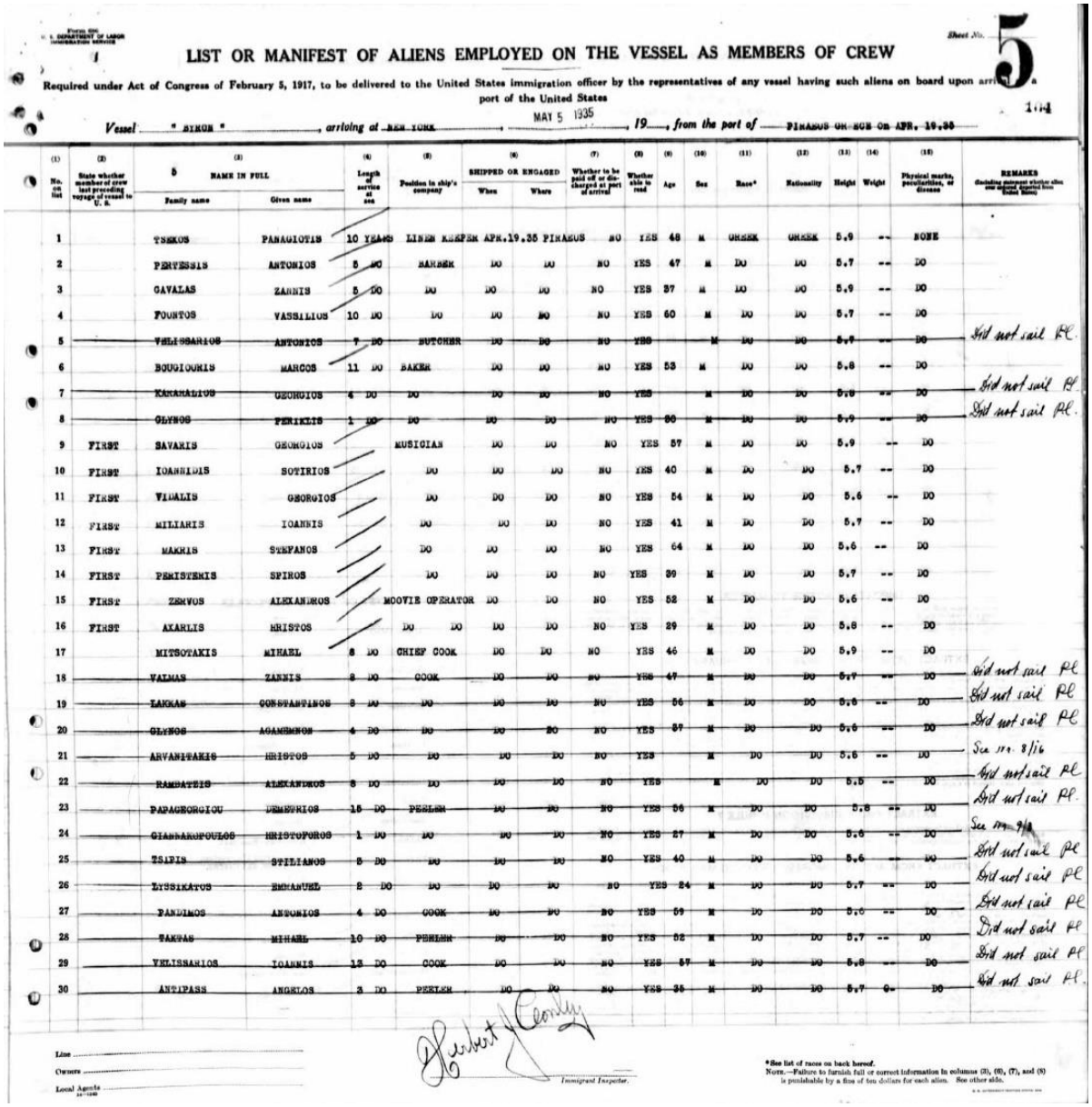
The performance technique in many of the pianistic cases that we will examine is extremely interesting, since, on the one hand, it deviates from the customary—for the general public—classical pianistic sound, something which automatically poses issues of aesthetic, and, on the other hand, introduces itself as a field of important musicological value, regarding orchestration manner, applied modality on the piano, popular rhythms, cultural syncretism, polystylism and a multitude of others, whose examination and analysis can provide answers to issues concerning both musicians and musicologists.

The first recording of the historical discography that we will examine was conducted in 1935 in New York. The new Politakia, the legendary estudiantina of Smyrna, worked in the lounge of the ocean liner Byron. In two voyages to New York, led by Spyros Peristeris, "orchestrator" of the Piraean rebetiko and son of Aristeidis Peristeris, founder of a Smyrnean estudiantina and a Corfiot by birth, 16 songs are recorded. One of them titled *Beykos,*[31] for piano and mandolin (Figure 16).

[31] Beïkos (Μπέικος), Orthophonic, CS 89815-1 – S 674 and VI 38-3057, New York, 7 May 1935: https://vmrebetiko.gr/en/item-en/?id=4916, accessed *February 7,* 2024.

Figure 16. The record label of Beïkos, recorded in 1935 in New York (Kounadis Archive Virtual Museum).

From the way the piano accompanies, we surmise that the pianist is a popular music *insider*. He is familiar with the harmonic landscape of the piece and even though he exhibits no special skill, one can tell that he knows how to set the tempo and groove of the piece, in order to prepare the rhythmic-harmonic foundation for the mandolin. The aggressive, that is abrupt, short in duration and with a particular intonation, staccato of the performance manner of the chasapiko and the I–V degree alternations on the bass played by the left hand, show that he knows the "job." In the orchestra of the ship Sosos Ioannidis, who is a pianist, also participates (see Figure 17). Comparing the sound of the piano in *Beïkos* with other recordings in Athens, on which we know Ioannidis plays, it is safe to surmise that the pianist here too is one and the same.



LIST OR MANIFEST OF ALIENS EMPLOYED ON THE VESSEL AS MEMBERS OF CREW

Required under Act of Congress of February 5, 1917, to be delivered to the United States immigration officer by the representatives of any vessel having such aliens on board upon arrival at a port of the United States

Vessel "BYRON", arriving at NEW YORK, MAY 5 1935, 19..., from the port of PIRAEUS ON SUS ON APR. 19.35

Sheet No. 5

No. on list	Name in full: Family name	Name in full: Given name	Length of service at sea	Position in ship's company	Shipped or engaged: When	Shipped or engaged: Where	Whether to be paid off or discharged at port of arrival	Whether able to read	Age	Sex	Race*	Nationality	Height	Weight	Physical marks, peculiarities, or disease	Remarks
1	TSEKOS	PANAGIOTIS	10 YEARS	LINEN KEEPER	APR.19.35	PIRAEUS	NO	YES	48	M	GREEK	GREEK	5.9	--	NONE	
2	PENTESSIS	ANTONIOS	8 DO	BARBER	DO	DO	NO	YES	47	M	DO	DO	5.7	--	DO	
3	GAVALAS	ZANNIS	8 DO	DO	DO	DO	NO	YES	37	M	DO	DO	5.9	--	DO	
4	FOUNTOS	VASSILIOS	10 DO	DO	DO	DO	NO	YES	60	M	DO	DO	5.7	--	DO	
5	VELISSARIOS	ANTONIOS	7 DO	BUTCHER	DO	DO	NO	YES		M	DO	DO	5.7	--	DO	Did not sail PL
6	BOUGIOURIS	MARCOS	11 DO	BAKER	DO	DO	NO	YES	53	M	DO	DO	5.8	--	DO	
7	KAVAKADIOS	GEORGIOS	4 DO	DO	DO	DO	NO	YES		M	DO	DO	5.8	--	DO	Did not sail PL
8	GLYNOS	PERIKLIS	1 DO	DO	DO	DO	NO	YES	36	M	DO	DO	5.9	--	DO	Did not sail PL.
9	FIRST	SAVARIS	GEORGIOS	MUSICIAN	DO	DO	NO	YES	57	M	DO	DO	5.9	--	DO	
10	FIRST	IOANNIDIS	SOTIRIOS	DO	DO	DO	NO	YES	40	M	DO	DO	5.7	--	DO	
11	FIRST	VIDALIS	GEORGIOS	DO	DO	DO	NO	YES	54	M	DO	DO	5.6	--	DO	
12	FIRST	MILIARIS	IOANNIS	DO	DO	DO	NO	YES	41	M	DO	DO	5.7	--	DO	
13	FIRST	MAKRIS	STEFANOS	DO	DO	DO	NO	YES	64	M	DO	DO	5.6	--	DO	
14	FIRST	PERISTERIS	SPIROS	DO	DO	DO	NO	YES	39	M	DO	DO	5.7	--	DO	
15	FIRST	ZERVOS	ALEXANDROS	MOOVIE OPERATOR	DO	DO	NO	YES	52	M	DO	DO	5.6	--	DO	
16	FIRST	AXARLIS	HRISTOS	DO DO	DO	DO	NO	YES	29	M	DO	DO	5.8	--	DO	
17		MITSOTAKIS	MIHAEL	8 DO CHIEF COOK	DO	DO	NO	YES	46	M	DO	DO	5.9	--	DO	
18		VAIMAS	ZANNIS	8 DO COOK	DO	DO	NO	YES	47	M	DO	DO	5.7	--	DO	Did not sail PL
19		LAKKAS	CONSTANTINOS	8 DO DO	DO	DO	NO	YES	56	M	DO	DO	5.6	--	DO	Did not sail PL
20		GLYNOS	AGAMEMNON	4 DO DO	DO	DO	NO	YES	37	M	DO	DO	5.6	--	DO	Did not sail PL
21		ARVANITAKIS	HRISTOS	5 DO DO	DO	DO	NO	YES		M	DO	DO	5.6	--	DO	See no. 8/16
22		RAMBATZIS	ALEXANDROS	8 DO DO	DO	DO	NO	YES		M	DO	DO	5.5	--	DO	Did not sail PL
23		PAPAGEORGIOU	DEMETRIOS	15 DO PEELER	DO	DO	NO	YES	56	M	DO	DO	5.8	--	DO	Did not sail PL.
24		GIANNAKOPOULOS	HRISTOFOROS	1 DO DO	DO	DO	NO	YES	27	M	DO	DO	5.6	--	DO	See no. 9/8
25		TSIPIS	STILIANOS	8 DO DO	DO	DO	NO	YES	40	M	DO	DO	5.6	--	DO	Did not sail PL
26		LYSSIKATOS	EMMANUEL	2 DO DO	DO	DO	NO	YES	24	M	DO	DO	5.7	--	DO	Did not sail PL
27		PANDIMOS	ANTONIOS	4 DO COOK	DO	DO	NO	YES	59	M	DO	DO	5.6	--	DO	Did not sail PL
28		VAKAS	MIHAEL	10 DO PEELER	DO	DO	NO	YES	52	M	DO	DO	5.7	--	DO	Did not sail PL
29		VELISSARIOS	IOANNIS	13 DO COOK	DO	DO	NO	YES	57	M	DO	DO	5.8	--	DO	Did not sail PL
30		ANTIPASS	ANGELOS	3 DO PEELER	DO	DO	NO	YES	35	M	DO	DO	5.7	--	DO	Did not sail PL.

Robert J. Cooley
Immigrant Inspector.

Line
Owners
Local Agents

*See list of races on back hereof.
NOTE.—Failure to furnish full or correct information in columns (3), (6), (7), and (8) is punishable by a fine of ten dollars for each alien. See other side.

Figure 17. The passenger list of the Byron, on which we see the musicians: Savaris, Ioannidis, Vidalis, Milliaris, Makris, Peristeris (https://heritage.statueofliberty.org [last accessed 7/2/2024]).[32]

The sound of the piano in the following recordings is very close to the sound of *Beïkos*. It does not accompany in the "classic" pianistic manner but chooses an "à la popular" manner of performing, that is, characterized by the aggressive staccato in the style, with the rationale of the "bass-piano"—the left hand plays octaves in the lower part of the keyboard usually performing the I–V of every chord, performing abruptly

[32] Many thanks to Tony Klein for pointing out to me the passenger list of the Byron.

and with intense intonation the notes and/or creating basslines from one chord to another, while the right hand in the middle or higher part of the keyboard plays chords in variant ways (for more examples see Table 1).

Title	Label	Matrix	Catalogue	Rec. date	Link
Tatauliano chasapiko	Columbia (USA)	W 205348-2	CO 56031F	May 1926 ca	https://youtu.be/WnNnwl4Y5fI accessed February 7, 2024
Karotseris	Victor (USA)	BVE 40605-4	VI 80322 & S 327 & V 19021	7 Nov 1927	https://bit.ly/3j9yw8n accessed February 7, 2024
Gia des me pos	Victor (USA)	CVE 57912	VI 58045	13 Dec 1929	https://youtu.be/UTR8BKHlNno accessed February 7, 2024
San roufao to krasi	Victor (USA)	CVE 57914	VI 58045	13 Dec 1929	https://youtu.be/xxKVxTofmyo accessed February 7, 2024
Vre manges fylachtheite	Odeon (Greece)	GO 2056	GA 1722	1934	https://youtu.be/aXYOdM5lblI accessed February 7, 2024
I babesa	Orthophonic (USA)	89814	ORS 672	1935	https://youtu.be/Le7tEN5TvCc accessed February 7, 2024
Ithela na 'cha dyo kardies	HMV (Greece)	OGA 652	AO 2441	1937	https://youtu.be/MPcuz1ppPsI accessed February 7, 2024
Ennoia sou Anastasia	HMV (Greece)	OGA 840	AO 2518	1938	https://youtu.be/QjKbpGNaNcc accessed February 7, 2024

Table 1. Chasapikos in the Greek-speaking discography with the technique of "bass-piano."

It is worth mentioning certain details regarding the second song of the above table, extracted from the discographical lists of the electronic archive *Discography of American Historical Recordings* (DAHR, https://adp.library.ucsb.edu [last accessed 7/2/2024]) as well as the electronic archive of Erik Butterworth (www.goldov.com/butterw/emdb [last accessed 7/2/2024]). The violin is played by Lazaros Constantine or Constantin who is registered as of Romanian descent. The piano is played by Michael Corm. After communicating with Tony Klein and Tony Russell (researchers of historical recordings) the following information resulted:[33] The New York inventory of 1925 contains similar Greek names and surnames: Lazar, Lazarus, Lazaros, Constantine, Constantino, Constantinos. However, the only name which is accompanied by the characterization "musician" is that of Lazar Constantino, who, as his wife Pasha, comes from Russia. Michael Corm, in the 1940 inventory, declares himself as a "concert pianist." According to the DAHR list, the accounting ledgers of Victor have the piece in question registered as Greek.

[33] Communication through electronic correspondence on 5th August 2016.

It must be noted that in the Greek-speaking discography of America, on the one hand discography validation is easier because of the effective organization of a large part of the material and, on the other hand, many of the characteristics of the repertoire appear different from that of the major metropolises (Athens, Constantinople).[34] One of these has to do with instrumentation and the more frequent appearance of the piano in a leading role.

Another interesting piece of evidence deals with the fact that there are many recordings in which the only accompanying instrument is the piano, something which indicates that a different trend prevails from the eminent typical orchestra of the Piraean rebetiko (bouzouki-guitar). The fact that most of this type of recordings were conducted in America presents special research interest. Even more so when we deal with songs that have already been recorded in Greece, using the orchestra of the Piraean rebetiko typical of the time, while the same songs, in the recordings of America, change this classical orchestra and in the new type the piano takes on a role.

The next audio example is a recording from 1936, Athens, composed by Kostas Skarvelis and titled *Agapa ti manoula mou*. The piano has a more dominant role, as it performs not only the introduction but also the other parts, at the same time playing on the vocal parts.[35] In the next piece, by Kostas Karipis, also recorded in 1936, the piano has a similar role, sharing the introduction with the violin. In both recordings, the embellishments of the right hand are of special interest, as well as the sense of a "saloon"[36] which the instrument grants the recording, which is titled *Ti to les kai den to kaneis*.[37]

The next recording constitutes a special case. First of all, it is the popular *Minore manes* of Smyrna,[38] recorded for the first time around 1908, a musical pattern which we see at least 50 more times in Greek discography until the 1950s (see Ordoulidis, 2018). The example in question was recorded in Greece and it is credited to Spyros

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[34] See also Ordoulidis 2021d.
[35] Agapa ti manoula mou (Αγάπα τη μανούλα μου), Columbia CG 1485 – DG 6259, Athens, 1936: https://youtu.be/9F5FrmpDnwY, accessed February 7, 2024.
[36] Rhythmic structures in triplets, specific embellishments of the right hand, responses with specific chromatic ascending structures in a major environment, specific descending chordal analysis.
[37] Ti to les kai den to kaneis (Τι το λες και δεν το κάνεις), HMV OGA 442 – AO 2362, Athens, 1936: https://youtu.be/8YjCUb_8oQc, accessed February 7, 2024.
[38] It concerns the gazel form, popular in Ottoman music, which we see in Greek-speaking discography as manes or amanes. The minore manes is a Greek-style voice improvisation with rhythmical accompaniment and it constitutes a very dynamic entity, which developed into a production musical form, a pattern for new musical melodies, but it also experienced multiple unadulterated repetitions. Regarding gazel and manes see for example: Feldman 1993; O'Connell 2003; Pennanen 2004, 9–12, 21; Kounas 2010 and 2019; Kokkonis 2017, 97.

Peristeris, who possibly also plays the piano. Due to the fact that Peristeris is familiar with the condition of Smyrna, the whole manes seems to depend on him, that is, the piano.[39] Spyros Peristeris is a key persona in the urban popular, a protagonist early on, from the music stages of Smyrna, and later artistic director of Odeon-Parlophone in Athens. In discography but also in photographs on music stages we see him also as a pianist (see Figure 18). From his early references in Athens, we see him in the club "Mourouzis," in 1924 participating in the orchestra as a pianist. About ten years later, we see him again as a pianist on the music stage with Vasilis Tsitsanis.

Figure 18. Spyros Peristeris on the music stage as a pianist (Tsitsanis archive).

As far as the "exchange" between scholarly and popular musicians is concerned, and their borrowings in artistic languages, a rather illustrative example is the case of Yorgos Bacanos. By religion, a Christian, a resident of Constantinople during the switch from the condition of the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Democracy, of gypsy stock and, Greek-speaking. He was born in 1900 and died in 1977. Bacanos is known for the redefinition and popularity which the oud acquired.[40] Despite this, perhaps influenced by the Europeanization of the Ottoman Empire, he records with a piano as well. In his historical taksim, recorded circa 1928,[41] he uses the same technique as that used in the gazel sung by Kemal Bey, some years later. In these recording, the effort to

[39] Minore manes, sklilro to pepromeno mou (Μινόρε μανές, σκληρό το πεπρωμένο μου), Odeon GO 2067 – GA 1766, Athens, 1934: https://youtu.be/gxNt_tWP8kA, accessed February 7, 2024.
[40] Regarding Bacanos, see Bacanos (1997) and Andreou (2014).
[41] Piyano İle Taksim, Odeon CO 320 – RA 202521, Istanbul, 1928: https://youtu.be/tlEJ8GXBWKA, accessed February 7, 2024.

implement the kanoon technique is evident. Technology and the sound architecture of the piano seem to help Bacanos not only to implement but also to evolve it on the spot. All this in a taksim in which, theoretically, he must adhere to a specific composition form, many times with the rationale of the "theoretically orthodox." In his attempt to achieve this goal the piano does not seem to hinder Bacanos who complies with a traditional perspective regarding melodic development (*seyir*) of the makam Hicazkâr. If nothing else, Bacanos reveals that he has fully comprehended the mechanics of the instrument, how it "functions," something which helps him to transcend the mimicked kanoon. Bacanos dismisses the theoretical canons and grants us historical recordings, with the piano outlining the in-between, of West and East, a pragmatic place of a period which is characterized by the *dialogical reciprocity* among culturally diversities.

Bacanos, however, is a protagonist in popular repertoires too. That is, he performs at night in music halls. This type of repertoire, again with the piano, is recorded with his brother Alekos, who plays the kemence: *Arap Çiftetellisi* (also known as *Rast Oyun Havası*).[42] Yorgos accompanies his brother in a singular manner. What is interesting is the structure, which passes from one section of the piece to the other. Evidently, they perform together and feel artistic familiarity with each other. On the other hand, Yorgos seems to know the instrument, and in combination with knowing the repertoire well, he lays the rhythmic-harmonic foundation for Alekos, transcending the theoretical issues of the equal-tempered/untempered dipole. The way in which he creates sound on the piano is something worthy of analytical examination. He seems to possess a singular perception of the keyboard, the sound colours of the instrument but also the implementation of modality on the piano. So far, twelve recordings where he appears to play the piano have been partially validated.

These recordings of Bacanos are one of those special moments when the popular reveals its aesthetic substance. This substance lies between the two charged dipoles, East–West and scholarly–popular, "taking a stand" and not caring about the theoretical literature which, in any case, came after its creation. With a more technical language, it is amazing how Bacanos managed the micro-interval language of the lyre in *Rast oyun havasi* and he accompanied it with an instrument, which theoretically cannot recreate the same intervals, it can, however, "communicate," showing that Bacanos knows this "language." In essence, breaking away from these theoretical dictates,

[42] Arap Çiftetellisi, Odeon RX 131543, Istanbul, circa 1940: https://youtu.be/kIGd3mDRXJc, accessed February 7, 2024.

Bacanos transforms the interval diversity of the piano into an advantage, proposing, through his recordings, a different way of performing with the instrument; another "language" with which the instrument can articulate "speech" and be a protagonist.[43]

Epilogue

In this article we have attempted a general overview of the available categories and types of documentation regarding the research concerning the presence and the role of the piano in the popular music of the Greek-speaking world. The overview was accompanied by samples of these types of documentation. In the future, the indexing and validation of these sources will greatly contribute to the crystallization of the image of the instrument in this research. In addition, we wanted to cite a sample of the recording corpus that has been collected so far, in order to demonstrate the repertoire range and the diversity observed in performance practices. The piano, like other accompanying instruments in popular orchestras, has built its own identities in terms of ways of performing. Popular musicians "pulled" it towards the aesthetics of the repertoires they served each time they adopted it and built new languages of expression. Clearly, the whole issue is directly related to several key issues, such as social and technological developments, within a historical context long in duration and large in geographical dispersion, which starts from the industrial revolution and reaches up to the birth of the nation-states and the phenomena observed in their own histories. Regarding the historical discography, although as mentioned the research has advanced considerably, there are many and, in many cases, perhaps unsolvable problems, such as finding the names of the protagonists who took part in the recordings, but also of course the indexing and validation of as large a volume of recordings as possible. The instrument, like the repertoires in general, displays "parallel lives," depending on the location where the recordings take place. This is an extremely serious issue, as repertoires are performed in different aesthetic terms in each region, often by the same

[43] A photograph of Bacanos on the piano can be found here: https://bit.ly/3mYoVRp, accessed February 7, 2024. Although the article is not concerned with modern discography and repertoires, it is worth mentioning the case of Stavros Xarchakos, a literate composer who belongs to the school of popular-like composers. In the LP album released in 1968 titled "Markos our teacher" (Markos o daskalos mas, Μάρκος ο δάσκαλός μας), Xarchakos records a taksim for piano, which he probably performs himself. This is the song titled O kavouras (Ο κάβουρας). In this taksim Xarchakos shows that he has listened to the taksim of Bacanos, whose articulation and technique he emulates: https://youtu.be/GR_zFxHojZA, accessed February 7, 2024.

musicians who recorded them elsewhere earlier, which opens the door to even more research issues. Finally, the whole issue of the presence of the piano in these repertoires is not a museum issue, with a beginning and an end. On the contrary, its presence and its diversity of expression is enriched over the years, and continues to play an active role in the more modern genres too, such as the popular-like songs of scholarly composers, such as Manos Hadjidakis and Mikis Theodorakis. Moreover, quite often, pianist-composers emerge, whose work is extremely interesting in terms of the role they give to the instrument and the way in which they compose popular-like songs, as for example in the cases of Mimis Plessas, Stavros Kougioumtzis and Giannis Spanos. To this day, performance practices continue to shape and evolve in parallel with artistic trends, finding new avenues of expression.

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11 | POPULAR MUSIC OF ISTANBUL AND OTTOMAN ORIENTALISM[1]

PANAGIOTIS C. POULOS

The journalist and Turkish theatre historian, Ahmet Refik Sevengil (1903–1970) in his celebrated book entitled *How did Istanbul groove?* published in 1927, four years after the establishment of the Turkish Republic, offers the following historical account on the *meyhane*s (taverns) of Istanbul in the Ottoman period:

> These taverns were lighted by candles whose candleholders lied on the floor. It was quite later that they started using petrol lamps. The time-bell signalling customers was abandoned, the hookah and the tabacco pipe were removed. At that time the tavern districts were restricted, and it was prohibited to open one in an area inhabited by Muslims, especially near a mosque or a prayer hall/chapel. Later on, nightclubs and musical coffeehouses serving alcohol opened and spread round in Beyoğlu. In there, drunk foreign prostitutes sung and danced in the accompaniment of bad orchestras, while hundreds of people stared on them/had their eyes on them enjoying the view, and even clapping until their hands exploded/the hell out of themselves.
>
> [Bu meyhaneler önceleri toprak şamdanlar içinde mumlar yakılarak aydınlatılırdı. Daha sonra büyük petrol lambaraı kullanılmaya başlanıldı. Çıngırak terk edildi, nargile ve çubuk dürülüp kaldırıldı. Aynı zamanda meyhane bölgeleri sınırladırılıp, Müsülmanlar'ın oturdukları yörelerde, özellikle cami ve mescit yakınlarında açılması yasaklandı. Daha sonraları Beyoğlu'nda gazinolar ve içinde içki de kullanılan çalgılı kahvehaneler açıldı, yayıldı. Buralarda sarhoş yabancı fahişeler, kötü bir orchestra eşiliğinde şarkı

[1] I would like to thank the Suna and İnan Kıraç Foundation for granting me permission to reproduce an image of the painting Two Musician Girls by Osman Hamdi Bey, and Jacob Olley and Eleni Kallimopoulou for their insightful comments and suggestions.

söyleyip dans eder, yüzlerce kişi bunları tutkun (hooked) gözlerle izleyip beğenir, avuçları patlayıncaya dek alkışlardı.]

(Sevengil 1998 [1927], 145)

This excerpt first and foremost describes a process of transformation that the music taverns of Istanbul had been through. Although historical time is not explicitly indicated it is assumed that this process took place in the nineteenth century. Yet, as opposed to most transformations related to other fields of social and cultural life during that period this one seems to have had a negative denouement. While pre-modern features, like candle lighting, bell signalling and water-pipe smoking were gradually abandoned, excessive drinking, prostitution, bad music, and the presence of noisy crowds dominated those spaces. On a secondary level, this extract points to the way (ethno)religious distinction of Ottoman society regulated the spatial limits of Istanbul's entertainment life. Musical taverns, as this excerpt confirms, was a professional domain of non-Muslims subjects of the empire, Christians and Jews, and their function was state-regulated in accordance with Islamic ethics. Overall, our author achieved in constructing a decadent imagery of these spaces of entertainment of late Ottoman Istanbul by weaving diverse elements like the moral overtones of prostitution, the kinetic aspect of dance and clapping and the sensory dimension of sound and music, notably "bad music."

This decadent imagery of Istanbul's nightlife was a prevailing motif in the writings of post-Ottoman cultural critics in the 1920s.[2] This imagery extends further from the traditional domain of music taverns to the modern nightclubs that featured western-styled popular and jazz music and accommodated the needs of the society of interwar Istanbul (Woodall 2015). Ahmet Refik Sevingil's approach to the late Ottoman entertainment life of Istanbul adhered to the ideological agenda of the early republican era, that is of the 1920s, which perceived the Ottoman past as an outmoded and foreign in national terms historical period of the Turks. However, views on those "decadent" aspects of urban social life that managed to escape from the modernization program of the Ottoman state were quite strong also during the second half of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century. As argued by Woodall (2015), in

[2] Ottoman entertainment practices and cultures are broad topics whose detailed overview lies beyond the scope of the present study. For relatively recent studies covering various aspects of entertainment in the Ottoman Empire, see Faroqhi and Oztürkmen 2014, and Boyar and Fleet 2019.

the 1920s narratives of decadent nightlife were signs of the process of modernity that were located "at the heart of the emergence of the appropriately modern" (2015, 30). This manifestation of modernity can be traced back in late Ottoman era. Indicatively, "bad music," debauchery and connotations of prostitution of music nightlife were juxtaposed and discussed in the press of the 1870s in relation to the dominant notions of "civilization" (medeniyyet) and progress (Olley 2021).

This ambivalence in positioning music entertainment and nightlife within the social and cultural modernization processes is a prevailing feature in musical and cultural discourse which was articulated in the late Ottoman and early republican era. Critical in understanding this ambivalence in the process of music modernization overall in the concept of orientalism and the genealogy of critical thinking that was launched by Edward Said's monumental work (1978); more precisely, orientalism as produced by the Ottomans themselves. Ussama Makdisi (2002), in his study entitled *Ottoman Orientalism* argued towards the existence of a locally produced orientalism by the ruling elites that went largely hand in hand with the urge for political and social reform. Ottoman orientalism was based on the contrast between a "degraded Oriental self" and a "Muslim modernized self" (Makdisi 2002, 770). As Makdisi puts it, Ottoman orientalism "discredited Western representations of Ottoman indolence by contrasting Ottoman modernity with the unreformed and stagnant landscape of the empire" (2002, 772–73).[3] This article focuses on the musical components of this "unreformed and stagnant landscape," which largely identify with the decadent spaces described by Ahmet Refik Sevingil. Through the critical juxtaposition of Ottoman iconographic, literary, and musical sources on the topic this study attempts to establish the lineage between late Ottoman orientalist approaches to popular music and that of the early Republican years. "Ottoman orientalism" constituted a powerful heritage for the republican state with great impact in the transformation of mentalities (Eldem 2015, 101–2).

Ottoman visual orientalisms

The painting *Two Musician Girls* (Image 1) which is nowadays exhibited in Pera Museum, in Beyoğlu, is a fine example of Orientalist painting (Eldem 2010, 200–5).

[3] On a recent discussion on local Ottoman discourse on "laziness" and "productivity" see Hafez 2022.

Although the depiction of the two elegant Ottoman ladies holding musical instruments complies with the iconographical conventions of nineteenth-century Orientalists painting, this is the work of the Ottoman celebrated painter and archaeologist Osman Hamdi Bey (1842–1910) (Eldem 2010; Shaw 2000). Born in 1842 in family of high rank statesmen, Osman Hamdi Bey raised within a liberal environment that was highly affected by the spirit of political and cultural reforms. He studied Fine Arts in Paris and was a student of Gérôme, Gustave Clarence and Rodolphe Boulanger. Apart from his artistic output, Osman Hamdi Bey had a pioneer role in the formation of Ottoman archaeology and in the development of the Imperial Museum in 1872, nowadays Archaeological Museum of Istanbul. He was also involved in the drafting of the first state law on antiquities. The work visually captures the dense cultural relations between Istanbul and the major European centres like Paris. However, from the point of view of musical iconography, it is certain that Osman Hamdi Bey's familiarity with the practical aspects of Ottoman art musical tradition was elementary: holding and playing the long-necked *tanbur* while standing, as in the case of one of the two lady musicians depicted in this painting, is rather unconventional. In addition, the tanbur was not a typical instrument played among Ottoman females, as opposed to the *lavta* and the *kanun*. This non-realistic representation of a musical theme, as well as other features of this painting, complies with the orientalist tropes that Osman Hamdi Bey was following at that time.

Image 1. *Two Musician Girls* by Osman Hamdi Bey, by courtesy of Suna and İnan Kıraç Foundation Orientalist Paintings Collection.

Although music related features are occasionally depicted in some of Osman Hamdi Bey's work (e.g. the ney in Kaplumbağalı Adam, see Eldem 2010, 322–6), music in general does not constitute an independently favoured theme.[4] Within these few examples that involve to music, a rather intriguing work is a sketch published in 1868 in the French magazine *Les Salons, dessins autographes* with the puzzling name *L' escamoteur (iskâmoter) Juif a Constantinople* [Jew Conjurer in Istanbul] (Image 2)

[4] For an introductory study on music iconography in the works of Osman Hamdi Bey see Maniatakou 2020, where the work entitled Kaplumbağalı Adam is discussed.

(Eldem 2010, 306–9). This drawing portrays a man, sitting cross-legged and holding a tambourine, a *def*. This sketch is part of a group of Osman Hamdi Bey's drawing closely related to a missing painting by the same title. Leaving aside the complicated relations between the individual items of this group that also explain its incomprehensible title, this published sketch draws from the western tradition of pseudo-ethnographic documentations of representative figures of different ethnoreligious groups of the Ottoman Empire. This iconographic material is typical of travelogues and popular orientalism of the time (Eldem 2010, 196–9, 326). Osman Hamdi Bey's engagement with this genre is as best demonstrated in his famous *Costumes Populaires de la Turquie* (1873), a photographic album of a collections of traditional costumes that were featured in a Universal Exposition in Vienna in 1873. This kind of intensive description and documentation of dress by Hamdi Bey has been identified as a technology of modernization of the Ottoman subjects, particularly those of the Arab provinces (Makdisi 2002, 785–7). Often such figures were further identified with a certain profession which was supposedly typical among that ethnic or ethnoreligious group. In this case, this sketch suggests either the category of a "Jewish musician" or of a "a non-Muslim musician." The body posture and musical instrument places him into the context popular music of the old-regime, that of urban popular music, often professed in public spaces. While both works, *Two Musician Girls* and the *Jew Conjurer in Istanbul* draw from a common artistic tradition, the "Jewish musician" further fulfils the image of an internal Oriental Other, or better a "familiar Other" (Minawi 2023, 109), as it will be demonstrated later on. Although this racial designation of a musician was not a common one, as opposed to that of the "Gypsy musician," yet it can be found in other reports of the vibrant nightclub scene of Direklerarası in Istanbul (Ayas 2023, 653; see also Olley 2021).

Image 2. *L' escamoteur (iskâmoter) Juif a Constantinople* [Jew Conjurer in Istanbul], *Les Salons, dessins autographes,* source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France.

Musical and discursive juggling

A similar image of the non-Muslim tambourine player is found in an example of late Ottoman literature, and particularly the work of "[…] one of Istanbul's great writers," as Orhran Pamuk (2006, 134) calls him, Ahmet Rasim (1864–1932), an almost contemporary of Osman Hamdi Bey. In his book *Fuhs-i Atik* (Ancient prostitution) the author narrated in a captivating semi-autobiographical style his initiation to Istanbul's entertainment life. In the chapter entitled, *A Carnival night in Beyoğlu* (Beyoğlu'da

bir Karnaval Gecesi) the author guided by his Armenian friend by the name "Barber" (Perükâr) to an adventurous bar-crawling in Beyoğlu district ended up through a huge staircase at the back of a lodge into to a venue where there was musical performance by an *ince saz* ensemble (indoors urban music ensemble):

> This salon, a den, it was a kind of low-class cabaret found by the pretty lady Evangeliki,
>
> > However, the barber said to us:
> > Here, they call it "fuaye"…There is booze, coffee, tea to drink, they play music and dance.
> > He was saying. We sat at a table.
> > The barber, turning round and bending on someone:
> > - Aram, where is Kalost?
> > - They are taking care of their business. They squeezed in one for each of them on their armchairs! They will wait for us inside "Konkordya"! I like Akribaz so I will listen to one piece by him, I said.
> > - Who is Akribaz?
> > - He is the kemençe player…next to him is the lavta player Lambo, I don't know the other one …The Arab playing the tambourine is the famous Ibrahim. Pay attention now.
>
> The barber put his hand in his pocket and took out a coin. He hurled it straight to the instrument. Ibrahim takes his right hand of the tambourine and with a rapid move he clasps the coin in his palm. This was truly a wonder. Even a conjurer cannot do such a trick with his hands.

> [Bu salon, âdi, haniya Evangeliki'nin, o güzel yosmanın bulunduğu baloz gibi bir yerdi.
>
> > Fakat perukâr bize:
> > Buraya 'fuaye' derler…İçki, kahve, çay içilir, saz çalınır, oynanır.
> > Diyordu. Bir masaya da biz oturduk.
> > Perukâr, dönüp eğilerek birine dedi ki:
> > - Aram, Kalost nerede?

- Onlar işlerini uydurdular…Koltuklarına birer tane sıkıştırdılar!…Bizi iç 'Konkordiya'da bekliyecekler!.. Ben Akribaz'i severim de bir parça dinliyeyim, dedim.
- Akribaz kim?
- Kemençeci…İşte yanındaki lavtacı Lambo, ötekini bilmiyorum…Def çalan Arap da meşhur İbrahim. Şimdi siz dikkat edin.

Perukâr, ellini cebine soktu, bir mecidiye çıkardı. Çalgıya doğru fırattı. İbrahim sağ elini deften çekerek ânî bir hareketle parayı avucuna oturttu. Hakikaten şaşılacak bir meharet. Değme kokabaz böyle bir el perendesi yapamaz]

(Rasim 1987 [1922], 141–2)

In this excerpt we are stepping into the "unreformed and stagnant landscape" of late Ottoman Istanbul. This could easily have been our first author's source when he described the nineteenth-century gazino's and musical coffeehouses. The reference to the venue's Greek female patron "Evangeliki" [and to their friends waiting for them in this other nightclub Konkordiya] implies prostitution. The main actors of the scene were mainly non-Muslim musicians of the Ottoman popular urban music. This was a typical multi-ethic ensemble consisting of an Armenian, a Greek Orthodox (Rum) and an Arab Muslim. The names of the musicians in the text allude to specific figures on that time. "Akribaz" could be possible identified with the violin player Akrepas, who was a celebrated nightclub performer during the Abdülhamid era according to Ekrem Reşad Koçu's *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* (Anonymous 1958, 534). The *lavta* player Lambo could have been Lambo Bacanos, the father of the celebrated Rum musicians Yorgo and Aleko (Poulos 2013, 58–64). The peak of this narrative is certainly the performance by the tambourine player Ibrahim, an "Arab" whose mastery in catching the coins thrown to the ensemble by the audience, was praised more that his actual music mastery. By the way, the word used in the original text while comparing him to a skilful conjurer is *hokabaz*, same meaning as the French *escamoteur (iskâmoter)* used in Osman Hamdi Bey's sketch of the Jew tambourine player.

The racial designation used by Rasim for the tambourine player is of particular significance given the social implications of the term "Arab" in this context (Minawi 2023, 49, 108–29). In the narrative racialization stands out firstly because Ibrahim as a Muslim contrasts with the other two musicians who are Christians and secondly

because his ethnoracial identity is mentioned by another Muslim. Interestingly, the "Arab" was indeed a prominent theme in the work of Osman Hamdi Bey (Eldem 2010, 39–43) whose engagement with the various racial and social overtones of the term stem from the above-mentioned Ottoman orientalist view. Yet, the question about the relation between Osman Hamdi Bey's "Jewish tambourine player" and Ahmet Rasim's "Arab tambourine player" persists. Is this a coincidence or does the shift of the racial or ethnoreligious identity between a Jew and an Arab musician falls into the broader orientalist context of that time?

What differentiates Ahmet Rasim's text from that by Ahmet Refik Sevengil cited at the beginning of this chapter is that ethnoreligious segregation is thoroughly trespassed in this case. The author and his company are at ease within the primarily non-Muslim environment of the nightclub, mediating between this decadent space and the world of late Ottoman literati. Ahmet Rasim is gaining access in this space through his narrative, in which he describes a familiar Other: the nightclub musician. Rasim was certainly not the case of the rigorous westernizer neither was he a member of the privileged elite, as opposed to the painter Osman Hamdi Bey. On the contrary, his life and work was largely identified with the joyful and rougher aspects of city life, particularly the nightlife of Istanbul. Like most people of his generation, he received traditional style primary education. Later, due to his family background he studied at the Dârüşşafaka, a school for orphan and indigent Muslim children, that gave emphasis on the teaching of Islamic values adjusted to the need of modern life. This ideology was aligned with the values of the state program of "Ottomanism" that aim to unite all subjects of the Empire under a common citizenship, regardless of religion or ethnic background. There he received a broader education that included familiarization with European literature, French classics in particular (Aktaş and Özcan 1989). Ahmet Rasim was also a prolific songwriter of the Ottoman urban popular music. In this capacity, he was very close to two of the most famous non-Muslim nightclub performers of late nineteenth century, namely the Armenian Kemani Tatyos Ekserciyan (1858–1913) and the Greek Vasilaki (1845–1907) (Sürelsan 1977, 9–12).

Ahmet Rasim felt familiar with the nightclub visit. He did not feel any need to reform this world and he actually adored its soundscape. Being the songwriter of some classics of the *meyhane* repertoire he was technically part of this world. Still though, to his modest Muslim background this vibrant world of Greek musical tavern bares some kind of exoticism, which he could avoid inflicting it in his text. The flashy

performance of the Arab tambourine player overshadows the whole musical act, also drifting the rest of the musicians. The concept of "practical orientalism" (Herzfeld 2005, 134) is at work in this case: the image of this "Arab hokabaz," Ahmet Rasim's "familiar Other" and a discursive artifact of hegemonic ideology "[…] infiltrates the habitual spaces of ordinary experience" (Herzfeld 2005, 134). This discursive artifact derives from the very sensual experience of the Other as a *lived body* which is engaged into the production of *intercorporeal* encounters (Haldrup, Koefoed, and Simonsen 2006). Is this case it is the skilful, extraordinary, even irrational ("truly a wonder"), bodily performance of the "famous Ibrahim" which defines his subjecthood. It seems that what connects the "escamoteur Juif" by Osman Hamdi Bey and the "Arab hokabaz" by Ahmet Rasim it is the conjurer as a *lived body* that circulated in textual and iconographic sources of late Ottoman period, forming also a discursive heritage for the ideological discussions on entertainment and modernity in early twentieth century.

To further explore the nuances of the social poetics of "otherness" in the Ottoman case, one only needs to bring into the discussion of Ottoman orientalism the intercommunal dimension. Ahmet Rasim might have been enjoying himself in the premises of the Greek female patron "Evangeliki" under the sounds of the *ince saz*, however, his enthusiasm was not shared by everyone in the Greek Orthodox community of Istanbul; especially by the members of the literate and clerical elite. For Christodoulos Melissinos (1913, 213–4), the Metropolitan of the district of Tatavla, nearby Beyoğlu the centre of the *meyhane* activity, western music and particularly its "method" was the means to social development, which was not tolerate at all to the sounds of the "γιντζέ σαζ" [ince music]:

> It is due to the proper method and artistic melodies of those western music orchestras that the ear becomes addicted to these elements, the musical feeling develops, and thus becomes impossible for one to tolerate the rarely found in nowadays developed societies yindje saz, the amanedes, and any kind of monotonous so-called- melodies produced by ill-treated people. How is it possible to reverse the river's flow to the right direction after that?
>
> [Και εκ της ευμεθόδου και καλλιτεχνικής μελωδίας τούτων, είς ήν εθίζεται το ους, αναπτύσσεται το μουσικόν συναίσθημα, είς ο ηκιστα ανεκτά απόβαίνουσιν ουτω, το σπανίως απαντώμενον σήμερον εν ταις ανεπτυγμένοις κοινωνίαις

> γιντζέ σαζ, οι αμανέδες, και πάσα μονότονος μελωδία, ή μάλλον κακωδία, εξ ακαταρτίστων και μή γεγυμνασμένων επαρκώς προσώπων. Και κατόπιν τούτων, επιμένομεν να μεταστρέψωμεν τον ρουν του ποταμού προς τα άνω]
>
> (Melissinos 1913, 213–4)

Here music becomes a discursive field for the negotiation of social progress (Poulos 2014, 98) and consequently the music of nightclubs emerges as the "unreformed and stagnant" soundscape of the Greek-Orthodox community of Istanbul. The notion of "nesting Orientalism" (Bakić-Hayden 1995) seems apt in this case, as it can account up to a certain extent for the complex hegemonic relations between Muslim and non-Muslims, Muslim Turks and Muslim Arabs, and overall the internal processes of "Othering" among Ottoman subjects. Nevertheless, this shared notion of modernization by the Greek-Orthodox and Muslim elites highlights the importance of social stratification in analysing cultural phenomena, like popular music in late Ottoman society.

A concluding illustrative example of this social dimension is the following remark by the Greek daring entrepreneur and later "national benefactor" Andreas Syggros (1830–1899), a, more of less, contemporary of Melissinos. In his memoires, Syggros offers a very informative view on the entertaining life in late Ottoman Istanbul, giving on the one hand subtle distinctions of social context and on the other hand a hint to his personal ambition and experience of social mobility:

> Instead of the masquerades of the lower classes (those of the Hamalbashi [the chief carrier]), which I sometimes frequented during Carnival, I upgraded to such dances called Misiri (at the Hôtel d'Angletèrre)
>
> [...αντί των χορών των προσωπιδοφόρων της κατωτέρας τάξεως (οίον του Χαμάλμπαση), εις ους κατά τας ημέρας της Απόκρεω κάπως εσύχναζον, προβείβασα εμαυτόν εις τους τοιούτους χορούς του Μισίρη (Hôtel d'Angletèrre) λεγομένους...]
>
> (Syggros 1908, 173)

Concluding remarks

The painter and archaeologist Osman Hamdi Bey, the columnist and writer Ahmed Rasim, the Metropolitan of Tatavla Melissinos and the Greek entrepreneur Andreas Syggros are all connected to each other, by forming a network that is based on their shared concern over the "unreformed and stagnant landscape" of late Ottoman entertainment. Their works embodied features of *practical orientalism* which played a central role in encountering and constructing the "Other" within the transitional political and cultural context of the late Ottoman period. Some of them felt the urge to reform it whereas others did not. The Armenian Kemani Tatyos Ekserciyan, the Greek Vasilaki and the def player Ibrahim were also in a way part of this network. In contrast to the ahistorical, stereotypical imagery about musicians of popular music in late Ottoman Istanbul, they did in fact participate in their own ways in the Ottoman modernizing process (Erol 2015; Olley 2017; Poulos 2022). Greeks, Armenians, Jews and Gypsies were part of the local economy of the flourishing nightclub entertainment and were also actively engaged with the newly established recording industry. Even if they were looked down by the emerging Ottoman bourgeoisie of the century this did not devalue their stakes in the project of Ottoman modernity.

In the Republican times the work of Ahmet Rasim had its followers, like the columnists Sermet Muhtar Alus (1887–1952) and Istanbul's encyclopaedist Reşat Ekrem Koçu (1905–1975). With a first reading the works of this genealogy of authors falls into the genre of nostalgic narratives lamenting a lost, and largely idealized world. This is the type of reading that has been extensively reproduced since the 1990s in Turkey and has been much analysed regarding the political implications of nostalgia (Poulos 2013). However, their works do indeed document a whole sensorial regime of the entertainment scene that has totally lost and this makes them really valuable sources. The nightclub popular music of Turkey might have transformed significantly did not thoroughly disappeared. It is still perceived by certain people in Turkey as part of an "unreformed and stagnant landscape" and its actors as their familiar Other. This kind of continuity in the ways popular music of Istanbul is perceived from the late Ottoman Empire through into the Turkish Republic serves, as a good example of "cultural intimacy" (Herzfeld 2005).

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National and Kapodistrian University of Athens press

ISBN 978-960-466-342-2