Greece: Traditional music

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Greek traditional music (dimotiki mousiki) consists of several autonomous regional styles with similarities that are apparent only at a second glance (the *skopos*principle, verse forms etc.). It includes the music both of minorities on the mainland (Vlachs, Albanians, Bulgarians, southern Slavs and Gypsies) and of Greek communities outside the state of Greece itself, particularly in Italy, the USA and Australia. Less well known are the Greeks of the Crimea and the Azov area. The Cappadocians, the Greeks of Pontos and the Bulgarian Greeks of Asia Minor now live in Makedonia. The Phanariots of Constantinople developed their own style of Ottoman art music and left their mark on the urban culture of Romania in the 18th and 19th centuries.

The music of Greece divides into three major stylistic areas: the mainland, the islands and Asia Minor. It can be further divided into urban and rural musics. The emergence in the 20th century of a small pan-Greek repertory (the *kritikos*, *pentozalis*, *kalamatianos*, *tsamikos* and *sirtos*) was the result of media influence (radio, records) and the promotion of folklore for tourists. Another pan-Greek form is Rebetika, arising from an urban sub-culture and developing between 1810 and 1955 into a taverna song and dance form. Folk terminology distinguishes between the secular singer, *tragoudistis*, and the Orthodox church singer, *psaltis*.

The oldest (neumatic) notations are of urban Phanariot songs of the 16th to 17th centuries from Athos. The instruments have been fully described by Karakasēs (1970) and in particular by Anoyanakis (1979). Theories about the ancient roots of Greek traditional music are largely hypothetical. The question of origin cannot be answered by the study of historical sources, and influences from other Balkan styles were already present by the Byzantine period. Conversely, it can be shown that Greek influence was brought to bear on Slav, Turkish and Arab music in the Ottoman period through the Phanariot and Levantine-Greek maritime trade. The intermediaries were professional Greek, Spanish-Jewish, Armenian and Gypsy musicians.

1. Pan-regional principles

- (i) Song, drone and metre
- (ii) 'Skopos'
- (iii) Dance
- (iv) Instruments

(i) Song, drone and metre

Traditionally the ancient term *mousiki* is hardly used at all. Classification is functional, depending on whether a piece is a song (tragoudi) or a dance (boros), the latter term being applied to purely instrumental dances. As well as instrumental dance music there are slow dance-songs (kato boros) sung after festive meals with verses improvised to fit the situation. Melodies sung rubato tis taylas, tou trapeziou ('at the table' of a taverna or feast) are called tragoudi; if they are danced the same melodies are called *boros*. Traditionally, song and dance titles are formed in terms of a personal possession 'skopos tou Georyiou' ('tune of George'), denote function (e.g. tou gamou, 'wedding song') or involve place names and regional names (e.g. kalamatianos, a dance from Kalamata; pogonisios, a dance-song from Povoni). Titles relating to content (e.g. zoumpouli, 'hyacinth') or quoting the opening line of the text are rare, and often derive from collectors. Songs with standard texts (ballads) are called *stereotipika*. Various ballad texts are frequently sung to the same melody (*idiomelos*).

The musicians themselves hardly think at all in terms of scales and chords, or if they do they describe them as *maiore* ('major') or *minore* ('minor'). Teachers but not village musicians know the *oktoibos* (*oktōēcbos*; *see* Byzantine chant). Terms such as *taksimi* and (*a*)*manes* are used synonymously, and the terms *makami* and *dromoi* only in *rebetika*.

Folksongs employ syllabic lines of 5, 6, 7, 8, 11, 12 and, very rarely, 13 syllables. In the Phanariot ballads of Constantinople the 15-syllable (8 + 7) line predominates (called 'political' verse from the Greek *polis*, 'city'). Scholars agree that there is no strict assignment of syllables to musical metres (*bronos protos*), instead syllables are freely distributed over a melodic line beginning with exclamations (*eri, more, aide, ela, aman*), with filler syllables (*tsakismata*, 'chopped pieces', inserts) and syllabic repetition (*yirismata*) within words and phrases, providing the melodic line with the requisite quantity of syllables. The analogy between the rhythm of the music and the rhythm of the verse corresponds to an ideal rather than practice in performance.

Rhyme was introduced into the islands by the Crusaders at the end of the 14th century, but not until 1800 on the mainland, at the court of Ali Pasha at Ioannina (1792–1822). Rhymed 'political verse' also occurs in improvised couplets, introduced by the lead singer with an exclamation at the start. In the islands, improvised couplets (madinades, kotsakia) are more frequent than pre-set texts. Every half-line (only the second in Crete) is repeated by the chorus, in a tradition of competitive singing.

In Cappadocia, and in the women's songs of Thessalia, 15-syllable and 8-syllable lines occupy three melodic lines in the pan-Balkan ballads of *The Dead Brother*, *The Woman Sacrificed* and *The Husband Ruined by bis Wife*. This is also the typical form of a 'table song' on the mainland, the *rizitika* of Crete, the Carpathian *sirmatikos*, the Cypriot women's ballads and of laments for the dead in Mani. *Moirologia* ('laments for the dead') and *nanourismata* ('cradle songs') are not considered 'songs' or 'music'. They are sung only by women (often professional mourners) and only on the relevant occasion, since they are otherwise thought to bring bad luck. Work songs, songs linked to customs and children's songs (such as the *kalanda*, 'demand songs') are dying out.

In the areas of Greek, Vlach and Albanian settlement, Vlach influences (*doina*) can be found in the shape of pentatonics and tonality in 5ths. Greek melodies, on the other hand, are constructed on the tonic, sub-tonic or hyper-tonic. The migration of melodies within mainland Greece and between the islands and Asia Minor shows that scales and rhythms are not constant but can be exchanged, although a concept of melody common to them all does exist, and is distinct from both Western and *makami* principles.

Ipeiros (as elsewhere in the Balkans) has a diaphonic style with a choral drone in three parts employing microintervals. It is described by the singers themselves as 'Albanian' (with a narrow tonal range in the second part) or 'pastoral Vlach' (with the second part falsetto). Here, as elsewhere, it imitates the sound of Byzantine bells. Its origin and antiquity are not known and there is no proof of an archaic or monogenetic origin. The rhythm is regular or in a metre of five beats, and also occurs with seven syllables in the old Albanian area of settlement around Parnassos (Arahova).

On Karpathos, until about 1930, there was a two-part diaphony sung by women (with an alternating drone of sub-tonic and tonic) in imitation of the *tsabouna* (see \$(iv) below). The drone is called the *ison* or *bassos* (as in ecclesiastical song). On the islands and in Asia Minor the infix drone provides the tonal framework of the melody (with a

whole-tone alternating drone). On the mainland the low drone (e.g. of the *gaida*) either embeds the melody in a static sound surface or else turns into ostinato figures. In the Dodekanisa, since the Italian occupation (1912–47), the alternating drone (tonic and sub-tonic or tonic and hyper-tonic) or the drone of 4th + 5th (d–g–a–d') has become increasingly pseudo-harmonic (alternating d–g/d–a). The triadic harmonies of the Ionian islands and Italo-Greek area are imported from southern Italy.

The regional styles display considerable difference: regular time with a *bronos protos* on the islands, asymmetrical rhythms with two *bronoi* (long–short) on the mainland and a rapid basic tempo in Makedonia and among the Pontic Greeks. In Ipeiros and the Peloponnisos the 'Albanian' *tsamikos* in 3/4 occurs side by side with binary rhythms (e.g. *pogonisios* and *sirtos*). The 7/8 of the *kalamatianos* is purely Greek. Some rhythms of nine beats (the *karsilamas* and *zeibekikos*) are originally Turkish (*zeybek*) but display differences in melodics, emphasis and tempo. The derivation of all asymmetrical rhythms from the Turkish *aksak* is a theory that cannot be maintained, any more than Bartók's hypothesis of southern-Slav Bulgarian origin is tenable.

(ii) 'Skopos'

A monophonic melody can be formed either in terms of spatial pitch (*ibos/makami*) or on a structural principle of themes and motifs. In *ibos/makami* separate pitches refer spatially (high or low) to modal tones. Intervals and rhythms within a phrase do not shape the structure as a whole. In the motif principle the sequence of notes is conceived as a self-contained unit and one that can be transposed; it is based on internal intervals and internal rhythms shaping the structure.

Both principles complement each other in the Greek *skopos* ('tune'). Each *skopos* has a *skeletos* (framework melody) of spatial pitch, lacking set rhythm and metre and usually consisting of two formulae established only in outline. These are neither motifs nor in the nature of the *makami*, since the *makami* melody is bound to a certain modality. The *skeletos* is independent of any scale, exists only in the minds of the musical ensemble of performers and can be extracted only through the comparison of many actual performances. Only in its realization can the *skeletos* be placed in a regional scale determined by initial notes. When it moves to another region other scales and rhythms can be used for the same 'skeleton'. Consequently, the same *skopos* may be pentatonic, tetrachordal or chromatic on the mainland but diatonic on the islands.

A second layer of music is added to this skeleton by the musician. This consists of figures and melismas, trills, runs, glissandi etc., structured within the intervals (as pseudo-motifs) and capable of transposition. These realize the *skopos* by substituting, paraphrasing or connecting the (imagined) notes of the skeleton with a figure or group of notes, socalled 'melodic folding' or 'melodic splitting'. Popular terms employed are stolidia ('ornamentations'), doxaries ('bow strokes'), figures played on a stroke of the bow, or daktilia ('fingers') and figures running on 'of themselves'. Such *stolidia* are also performed by singers. They are not part of the skeletos or bound to a scale but are characteristic of a musician and a musical landscape. Depending on the region they may be microtonic and perceptible separately from the skeleton (on the mainland and in the Peloponnisos), or diatonic and acoustically merged with the skeleton (on the islands). On the mainland, they result in the aesthetically important 'dirty playing' of the zournas or gaida. These improvised figures are fixed in the bronos (metre): either in one metre (on the islands) or in two (2 + 1, 3 + 2) on the mainland. The melodic and rhythmic tension they produce (*tonos* is the folk term) gives the imaginary skeleton temporal shape, with different lengths of phrases and lines. The duration of the line depends on function: in *kato* boros the melodic line coincides with the rhythmic periods; at the festive table or in the *cafeneion* the music is performed rubato (to the point of being in free metre), particularly in the case of kleftika.

Only the synthesis of both of these is described by musicians as *skopos* (*skeletos* + *doxaries* = *skopos*). Thus the *skopos* has one line with two melodic dimensions: the non-rhythmic tonally spatial *skeletos* and the metrically established figures rhythmically structured within themselves. In the identity of a *skopos*, therefore, scales and rhythms are subsidiary features, features that can be interchanged but are locally significant, so that when melodies migrate these features do not go with them.

Traditionally, a *parea* (company of musicians) performs in parts, in the same register and in hierarchical order. The singer or aerophone (or if there is none present a string instrument) leads, improvising the louder main part. The other musicians play subordinate, softer variants of the *skopos* (*lira*, violin) or the (alternating) drone (lute, *santouri*), i.e. the modal framework (tonic, sub-tonic or hyper-tonic, fourth, fifth). It is a general rule that the playing must be *simfono* ('in agreement'), that is, the musicians will 'all proceed in common [*simfono*] with the same aim [the *skopos*] but each in his own way, waiting for one another at certain places' (identical statements of this principle have been made in Ipeiros and Karpathos). These 'meeting

places' are the notes of the modal frame and are held for lengths of different duration depending on the *tonos* of the *stolidia* of the other players while one of the musicians adds a 'melodic splitting' figure. Consequently, there are several simultaneous realizations of a skeleton, producing heterophony. This is never understood as polyphony, since there are no vertical harmonics. Instead all the performers are performing one and the same melody 'in agreement' (*simfonia*).

Besides the instrumental *boros*, played for as long as is wished (e.g. the *sousta* and *pano boros* of the islands), with an open form of improvised sequences of small groups of notes repeated and varied three to four times (e.g. A + ... A' + B + ... B' + C + ... C' [+ A, B] + D ... etc.), there are certain melodic features in the urban Greek styles (Phanariot music, *rebetika* and some *kleftika*) that are analogous to the *iboi/makamia*. These are distinct from the *skopos* principle in having long paraphrases of tonal levels in a specific mode, involving sequences. The Greeks give the *makami* different axial tonal notes and melismas from those given them by the Turks.

(iii) Dance

Dance rhythm is independent of the *skopos* and can change from region to region. Emphasized beats form a rhythmic framework and the unemphasized beats are improvised. If there is no drum present the rhythm is marked by plucking the lute and the stamping of feet. Only in the Pontic style does the dance sometimes go against the rhythm.

Dancing in villages is confined to saints' days (*paniyiria*), weddings, christenings and farewell parties for emigrants (*tis xeniteias*, 'the foreigner'). To this day, these occasions are the traditional opportunity for young people to flirt. Traditionally, there are no couple-dances between men and women but instead a hierarchical arrangement in ranks or in a circle with the musicians standing or sitting in the middle. In Makedonia, only the drummer or bagpiper moves with the lead dancer. Men and women dance together, very occasionally separately.

Dances in tavernas are urban (*rebetika*) or are performances for tourists, as solos or with two dancers performing opposite each other or with three to four men in a row. The *rebetika* as danced in the *tekkedes* gave rise to spontaneous solo dances, the dancer being surrounded by men clapping the rhythm (*zeibekikos*, *servikos*, *basapikos* or *tsifteteli*).

Dancing is usually anti-clockwise, and is clockwise only in certain dances (e.g. zervos). A hierarchy analogous to that of the parea among musicians prevails: the lead dancer (usually a man, a woman only in specific parts of a wedding or christening dance) improvises leaps, turns etc., employing a traditional canon of figures. He is usually held by one hand, or by a cloth. The second most important role is allotted to the second dancer, who may be male or female. He or she must hold the first dancer's hand and lead the other dancers, of both sexes, who perform only the basic steps. After a few rounds the lead dancer changes, and the musicians are paid. On the mainland these musicians are Gypsy professionals, on the islands they are semi-professional village musicians who take turns to play without interrupting the dance. Large dance forms containing over five separate dances are found on Cyprus (the karsilamas suite). On Karpathos, the pano boros is danced for up to ten hours without a break.

A special form of traditional music is the wedding march (in Iperios the *patinada*) *tou dromou* ('on the way', i.e. to the church, to the bride's house, to the place of the wedding celebrations), generally in a stately 6/8 or 4/4. The wedding sponsor and family friends go at the head of the procession, dancing and singing, while the bride and bridegroom walk at a serious, measured pace.

(iv) Instruments

The *floiera* is an obliquely held end-blown flute of cane or wood. In mainland Greece it is generally associated with shepherds and goatherds, although in villages it may also provide solo dance music.

The terms *pipiza* and *karamoutsa* (*karamouza*) are commonly used in the regions of Roumeli and the Peloponnisos to denote a double-reed wind instrument. There is no clear distinction between these two instruments: each has seven finger-holes and a thumb-hole, a conical bore and is about 30 cm long. Several additional holes are bored in the bell of the instruments (possibly to tune the lower notes). In Makedonia, Ipeiros and Thrakia musicians use a larger form of this instrument called the *zournas*. These are traditionally played in pairs (*ziyia*). One sustains a tonic drone while the other interprets the melodic line with tonal inflections, slides and ornamental formulae, commonly referred to as *dreves*. The performers use circular breathing to provide a continuous melody, whose piercing tone quality is well-suited to outdoor playing.

The *klarino* (keyed clarinet), which was introduced to Greece in the first half of the 19th century, is the principal melodic instrument of the mainland. The Albert-system clarinet in C is the most common, and

full use is made of cross and partly covered fingerings. The clarinet usually forms part of an instrumental ensemble consisting of lute or guitar and violin, which doubles the clarinet in unison or the octave in heterophonic style. These ensembles accompany dancing as well as the Kleftic ballads.

There are two types of bagpipe: the *gaida*, which has a single chanter and a drone pipe (with a single reed), is found in mainland Greece, while the tsabouna (or askomandoura), with a double chanter but no separate drone, is played in the islands. The bagpipes are played solo or (in the case of the gaida) may accompany singing with a drone. On the island of Karpathos, the *tsabouna* is often played in an ensemble with the string instruments lira and laouto. Elsewhere it may be accompanied by the drum known as daouli or by the toumbi, its smaller version. The daouli (also termed toubano) is the most common type of drum. It is a large cylindrical double-skin drum, hung from the player's left shoulder. The main accented beats of the metre are played with a heavy wooden beater held in the right hand, while subtle subdivisions of these beats are played with a light flexible stick held in the left hand. The daouli provides rhythmic accompaniment to the zournas (as well as the pipiza and the karamoutsa) and may also accompany the bagpipes and, less commonly, the *lira* (e.g. on Crete).

Traditionally in parts of mainland Greece but especially in the islands, the principal melodic instrument is the lira, a fiddle which is held upright on the player's knee and played with underhand bowing. There are four basic types of lira, three of which, the Cretan lira (fig.9), the lira of the Dodekanisa, and the Thrakian lira, are pear-shaped and have three or four metal or gut strings which are stopped from the side by the fingernails, allowing for glissandos and fine ornamentation. Bells on the bow were once common, but are now rare. The fourth type, the Pontic lira or lira or

The chief accompanying instrument of traditional Greek ensembles is the *laouto* (lute). The neck has 11 movable frets (an additional eight are glued to the soundboard) and the four double courses of metal strings are tuned in 5ths (c-g-d'-a'). Traditionally the *laouto* is played with a quill plectrum. Except on Crete, where it is usually used to play a simplified version of the melody, in heterophony with the *lira*, its

prime role is to provide a rhythmic or chordal accompaniment. In some areas it is rapidly being replaced by the guitar and the *laoutokitbara* (a guitar with added tuning pegs, movable frets, tuned as a *laouto*).

The *santouri* and *tsimbalo* are trapeziform dulcimers; like the *laouto* they provide chordal accompaniment in ensembles. The strings of both instruments are struck with cotton-covered mallets. The basic difference between the two lies in the distribution of their strings and in their tuning. The *santouri* is more closely allied to the instrumental and vocal music of the (eastern Aegean) islands, while the *tsimbalo* is more commonly found on the mainland.

Two instruments of great importance in urban music are the <u>Bouzouki</u>, a long-necked lute, and its smaller version, the *baglamas*. The *bouzouki* has three or four double courses of metal strings tuned either e-b'-e' or d-g-b'-e' and is played with a plectrum. It was closely associated with <u>Rebetika</u> musicians, and through virtuoso performers, such as Manolis Hiotis, and widespread recording it has become extremely popular.

2. Music regions

(i) The mainland and the Peloponnisos

Ipeiros (including southern Albania as far as Gjirokastër) has a selfcontained regional style taking in the Vlach area of Metzovo and northern Thessalia. Greeks, Albanians and Vlachs have settled side by side in Ipeiros. Dance is dominated by the sirtos (2/4, 2/4), tsamikos (arvanitikos, 3/4, from Camen in Albania) and the local dances in regular time of Pogoni and Delvino (2/4, 4/4). The end-blown floiera and tzamara flutes are dving out. A regional feature is a diaphonic style of vocal polyphony. A composite style developed under the Albanian Ali Pasha of Ioannina, its outstanding features are the *Ioannitika*, Alipasalitika and other kleftika ('robber ballads' of the 19th century) in free metre. This style was influenced by the Phanariots and the Ionian islands, but transmitted to the mainland (Makedonia, Thessalia, Roumeli and Peloponnisos) by the Gypsy professional ensemble known as koumpaneia (Albanian saze) consisting of clarinet in C, violin, *laouto* and *defi* (frame drum). In this ensemble the violin plays double-stopped ostinato figures, while the lute plays drone ostinati. In the *koumpaneia* styles of Drama and the Peloponnisos the violin plays only the drone. Instrumental preludes in free metre called doina indicate Vlach origins. The *cafe aman* existed in towns in these areas until 1930. The klarino style, with electronic amplification after 1960, is hardly found at all on the islands, but during the years 1960–90 it superseded the *daouli-zournas*, also Gypsy music, on the mainland, and competed successfully with *bouzoukia* at *paniyiria*.

Makedonia has song-lines of 7, 6, 8 and 15 syllables. An irregular 7/16 (3 + 2 +2) is found in the Makedonian *oro*, and the Bulgarian *rezenitsa* (7/16, 2 + 2 + 3) corresponds to the *madilatos*. In western Makedonia (Kozani and Kastoria) the dominant ensemble is a *kobaneia* influenced by southern Slav military music, consisting of clarinet, cornet (or trumpet in E), concertina, *daouli* and cymbals. *Kleftika* are performed at festive tables as instrumental pieces in free metre. The structure is simpler (using drone ostinati) than in Ipeiros.

Until 1917 Thessaloniki had a predominantly (70%) Jewish population and it developed a synthesis of Turkish, Western European and southern Slav music which now exists only in historic recordings. In 1924 refugees from Asia Minor settled here and were integrated. They gave a new home to *rebetika* when it was driven out of Athens in 1940.

An older form of ensemble (the 'Thrakian *makam*' or 'Thrakian *amanes*') is found in eastern Makedonia around Drama, a former hunting preserve of the sultans, in an area extending to Alexandroupolis. It is based on the Ottoman *fasıl* ensemble and is known as the *psili foni*, with clarinet, violin, *outi*, *sadouri* (dulcimer) or *kanonaki* (psaltery) and *toubeleki* (goblet drums). The *makamia* are the same as the *iboi* in the Phanariot tradition.

Near the eastern coastal area of Smyrna (now Izmic) the music of Asia Minor divides into Cappadocian and Pontic traditions (since 1924 in Makedonia). The music of the Pontic Greeks of the Black Sea is a composite Graeco-Lazian style (the Lazis are from Georgia) with parallel 4ths and 2nds and a hexachordal system using a rapid basic tempo with many asymmetrical rhythms. The instruments are the *kementses* or *Pontiaki lira* (see \$1(iv) above) and the *touloumi* (*tsabouna*), as well as the *daouli-zournas* ensemble.

Cappadocia had an ensemble consisting of *sine keman* (a box-shaped fiddle with resonating strings) and *outi*, sometimes with *toubeleki* (a pair of goblet drums). All the instruments are of urban origin. At festivals, women performed danced ballads with two forms of the 12-syllable line (5 +7 and 7 + 5), as well as 15-syllable lines and 11-syllable lines with emphasis falling on the 10th syllable.

The Thrakian *lira* tradition and the Byzantine ballad cycle of *Akritika* (of the 13th century, telling the tales of the heroes Digenis Akritas and Mikrokonstantinos) survive around Serres (five villages around Ayia

Eleni) through the Orthodox sect of anastenarides (fire-dancers). A hexachordal system with d–g–a tonality (the tuning of the lira) predominates. Whole villages from <u>Bulgaria</u> were resettled here in 1924, so that a repertory similar to the Bulgarian exists, with asymmetrical rhythms (e.g. baidouska, rezenitsa) played on the gaida, together with daouli and the Bulgarian <u>Kaval</u>, or shepherd's pipe.

Centres of the exclusively Gypsy, professional *daouli-zournas* ensemble (consisting of two large conical oboes and double-headed drum, with the second oboe playing an alternating drone), which developed from the Janissary band, include Makedonia, Pelion and Parnassus, Arkadia and Xanthi, and the Pontic region. It has superseded the village bagpipe and drum ensemble. Since 1924 there has been a composite repertory, the result of Pontic-Greek influence. No research has yet been done on the music of the Pomaks of the Thrakian and Turkish border.

The stylistic region of Roumeli and the Peloponnisos contains remnants of an older Albanian tradition (around Delphi and as far as Thebes) including *kleftika*. It has been influenced by the style of Iperios since 1960. The old *karamouzes* ensemble (small conical oboe and *daouli*) and the *floiera* shepherd's flute are dying out. In the Peloponnisos the dominant style is an older one, Christian cum Albanian cum Vlach, with *kleftika*, *Alipasalitika* and *tsamika*. The scales are tetratonic, pentachordal and pentatonic, with microtonic ornamentation (*stolidia/psevtikes*). The repertory of Arkadia is similar to that of Roumeli. As well as the *sirtos* in regular time asymmetrical rhythms are found: e.g. the *kalamatianos* is in 7/8 time, the Albanian *kagkeli* in 7/8 time moving into 2/4 time and the Albanian *tsakonikos* from Çamen in 5/4 time. The Mani in the Taigetos mountain range is famous for its laments for the dead (*moiroloyia*), a legacy of blood feuding.

(ii) The islands

Companies of Singspiel performers kept the Ionian islands and Dalmatia (Ragusa, now Dubrovnik) in cultural touch from the 13th to the 19th centuries. Southern Italian influences reached Ipeiros and Athina. The guitar (lute) and an unorthodox harmonic system of 3rds and triads was imported into the Athenian *kantades*(canzonas) by way of the Heptanes (Ionian islands).

The capital of Evvoia, Halkis, has remnants of an old Albanian tradition (the *kagkeli*) and was a centre of *rebetika*. Ensembles of violin and *laouto* and *koumpaneia* ensembles perform in musicians' cafés in the marketplace, where music in *makami* style (*dromoi*) is played. In

the south of the island the *ziyia* ensemble still exists, consisting of a pear-shaped *lira* and *daouli*, performing old Albanian songs.

There are no asymmetrical rhythms in the Aegean area. Regular time without clear accents dominates. The scales are heptatonic or hexatonic, with a tonality of d–g–a–d'. Until 1930 Siros, from which such well-known *rebetika* musicians as Markos Vamvakaris came, was a place of cultural exchange between East and West. The music of the Dodekanisa was influenced by the Italian occupation of 1912–47. Thanks to the Muslim minority, a mixture of Levantine and Italian influences exists on Rhodes, Naxos and Hios.

Since 1985, modern love songs and drinking songs of the Sporades and Cyclades, sung to the *ziyia* ensemble of violin and lute or *santouri*, have become known throughout Greece as *nisiotika* (island songs). They are accompanied by an alternating chordal drone (fourth/fifth + tonic) in the basic metre.

In the Aegean, Cyprus and Crete form two focal points for the region, along with the old-fashioned *lirotsabouno* style of Karpathos, and Kasos and Halki which have akritika sung at the festive table in the same way as the kleftika on the mainland. Only Crete has its own kleftika (rizitika). The pear-shaped lira occurs here (see \$1(iv) above) and so do the *tsabouna* of the *tulum* type and the *askomandoura*, *laouto* and santouri (on Kasos). The Cretan lira tradition has been in decline since the master musicians Nikos Xilouris and Yorgos Moudakis died without successors. The kondilies, melodic blocks in different modes put together to form strophes, are characteristic of western Crete. Baud-Bovy suspected Venetian influence on the vocal music of eastern Crete. The urban boulgari (small long-necked lute) and the violin zivia style of the old Turkish coastal towns of Crete are in decline. The Cretan Muslims were resettled around Bodrum in Asia Minor in 1924. There are still itinerant *poitarides* ('bards') on Cyprus. Their melodies are called *fonai* or *fones*.

(iii) Urban musics

The art music of Asia Minor and Greek Armenia is a branch of the Turkish *makamat* with its own modal characteristics. The Phanariots use Greek terminology, and the Smyrna style employs Graecized Turko-Arabic terms. The main source is the 'Pandora' collection made in 1830 in opposition to the Western art music favoured by King Otto I (1832–62), with its Western polyphony and tonal system. This art music has compositions in a synthesis of *iboi* and *makamat*.

Related to this form of art music are the *Smyrneïka* (pieces in the Smyrna style) which emerged around 1820, with *makami/dromoi* ('paths') melodies or European song forms, *taksimia* and *(a)manedes* (sung *taksimia*, 'amorous laments'). The women singers (many of them Armenian Jewish, e.g. Roza Eskenazi, Rita Arbatzi and Marika Ninou) are accompanied by violin, *outi*, *çumbus* and *defi* (Turkish: *def*, frame drum). They performed in public in seaport towns in the *cafe aman*, the Turkish version of the French *café chantant*. Both forms existed from 1893 (when the first *cafe aman* opened in Smyrna) until 1950 in all the seaports of the Levant, and were in existence as early as around 1810 in Yalata, Thessaloniki, Ioannina and Arta.

After the forcible resettlement of Greeks from Asia Minor in 1924, rebetika developed from the professional Smyrna style and a nostalgic subculture (with songs sung to the small long-necked baglamas lute) in the tekkedes ('hashish bars') around the bazaars of Athens, Piraeus and Thessaloniki. Despite police bans and censorship, they spread fast through recordings made in the USA by emigrants. Vasilios Tsitsanis started to use European scales (maiore, minore) instead of the dromoi (makami) in about 1955, and the texts have subsequently been toned down. A typical group is the <u>Bouzouki</u> ensemble, comprising a baglamas, one or two bouzouki, piano and percussion.

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