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STUDII DE SLAVISTICĂ

Serie nouă

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Număr îngrijit de lect. dr. Angeliki Mouzakiti și
Conf. univ. dr. Marina Vraciu



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STUDII DE SLAVISTICĂ

XVI

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Hora, sirba and doina in Greek discography¹

George KOKKONIS²

Hora, sirba and doina in Greek discography. During the 19th century, the different genres of music circulating in the Balkans create a frame of exchanges and loans that remain largely uninvestigated. Thus, the *amane* (*mane*), sung in Turkish or Greek, which predominates in vocal expression throughout the Ottoman Empire, decisively influences the Romanian *manea*, according to Speranta Radulescu. This relationship has not, however, been sufficiently studied; Musicologists have studied the loans intended for the field of purely instrumental music even less. In Greek discography we often encounter three Romanian musical forms: *hora*, *sirba* and *doina*, which either maintain the original nomenclature, either deviate from it. More specifically, in early recordings the nomenclature remains unchanged, obviously suggesting a single musical network within the Ottoman Empire. After the establishment of nation states and while their music content does not differ substantially, the terms are transformed. So while *hora* remains *hora*, *sirba* becomes *hasaposerviko* and *doina* becomes *skaros*. In the existing recordings, the first two forms are privileged fields full of demonstrations of virtuosity, which are identified by the speed of execution and the high level of technical achievement. This virtuosity is expressed predominantly in urban areas by the violin, which is the leading instrument in both countries, and by the *tsimbalo* or *santouri*, which is the Greek version of the *cimbalom*. In the countryside, these forms are masterfully interpreted by the clarinet. The third form, *doina*, unlike the previous ones, is not diffused in a general way in the musical cultures of Greece and Romania, but refers to a specific cultural context on either side, a context associated with the area of the mountain breeder population, which in Greece is mainly that of the Vlachs.

Key-words: *hora*, *sirba*, *doina*, Romanian musical forms, Greek discography, musical networks

In the early nineteenth century, the immense geopolitical changes which led to the nation-states in the Balkans mark a series of upheavals in the field of popular music traditions. With regard to the Ottoman Empire, the major reforms beginning in 1839 and ending in 1876, known as The Tanzimat (Findley 2008: 11-37), play a crucial role (Çağlar 1998). With the dissolution of the military orchestra of the Janissaries (Mehter) which occurred in 1826 (O'Connell 2013: 13-14, Samson 2013:

¹ My heartfelt thanks to N. Dionysopoulos, A. Kalyviotis and S. Kourousis for their valuable contributions concerning the validation of the discography.

² Department of Traditional Music, TEI of Epirus, Arta, Greece.

152-153), not only is the Europeanization of military music already being promoted (O'Connell 2010: 19-37), but also, to a palpable degree, that of the royal court, with Giuseppe Donizetti being generally responsible as General Instructor (Araci 2002a και 2002b) in 1828. New musical instruments are introduced in order to replace older ones and new rhythmic standards are imposed via European dances, resulting in the creation of new aesthetics.

This change does not allow popular music to go unaffected, which encompasses a plethora of corresponding innovations and transforms accordingly. The urban environment in which musical Europeanization is manifested with greater intensity is without a doubt Smyrna (Zerouali 2006: 138-156). Relieved of the cumbersome yoke of representing the Empire that the capital Istanbul bears, it evolves more candidly and by the middle of the nineteenth century emerges as the most dynamic financial centre of the Near East (Frangakis-Syrett 1998, Zandi-Sayek 2011). Here, a singular blend of musical elements originating from the East, Europe but also the Balkans ensues, and which co-emanate into a tacit expression of musical pluralism, which embraces the forms of Ottoman art music traditions (şarki, gazel, taksim), and the corresponding popular ones (canto, amanes, kleftiko, zeibekiko, hasapiko, hora, cifteteli [belly dancing], syrto, balo et al.), the transformations of the 'genteel' European dances (the mazurka, the polka, the waltz, the march) but also the Europeanized habanera (Zerouali 2006: 138-156).

An analogous cultural pluralism is observed in other large urban centres of that period of financial prosperity, such as Thessaloniki, (Anastassiadou 1997, Mazower 2006), Alexandria (Ilbert 1992: 171-185), Brăila, Odessa et al. (Penannen 2004). It is not by chance that these urban centres are all part of a network of mainly port cities (Katsiardi-Hering: 2016). As Katsiardi-Hering quite correctly points out, Peran should also be included in this network as it constitutes a city within a city. From a musicological viewpoint, the nexus in which the different branches of the network intersect (Kavouras 1997: 44-74) is formed by concurrent musical characteristics, form, repertoire, instrumentation, aesthetics, uniform places of performance, similar commercial practices etc. The European companies of the emerging music industry³ choose, from the early twentieth century, to invest in the larger centres of the network, to which they send mobile workshops in order to record on site mostly the 78 rpm records.

Within this dynamic economic and cultural context unprecedented musical buoyancy for the wider area of the Mediterranean and the Balkans occurs. It is remarkable how older musical expressions, with intense local features, assume, in the aforementioned urban centres, the form of new expressive means, which encompasses experiences spanning the whole Empire. At the same time, however, this dynamic phenomenon signifies, dramatically, the end of an era: it is violently severed of various manifestations of musical nationalism, hence the popular is capitalized on as national (Georgelin 2005, Kokkonis 2008, Feldman 2016). A remnant is, however, salvaged in the late nineteenth century in America, where the dynamic of the

³ Indicatively we mention Gramophone, Odeon, Orfeon, Favorite, Columbia, Victor, et al. (Strötbaum 2008, Ünlü 2004, Kalyviotis 2002: 65-69, 120-129, Kounadis 2000: 285-294).

aforementioned syncretism is conveyed to the musical affiliation of all the Ottoman millets, which up until World War II shared the common feature of the immigrant there. The transatlantic recordings, which began in the early twentieth century and peaked during the 1920s and 1930s (Smith 1995, Kounadis 2000: 251-269, Frangos 2002) constitute a valuable source for the documentation of a musical abundance, which does not only spring from the American communities, but also from those which in this period are gradually being lost in the large urban centres of the Mediterranean and the Balkans. In recent years, ethno-musicological research (Buchanan 2007, Beissinger et al. 2016, Feldman 2016) and both the systematic digitization and indexing of recording archives (Spottswood 1990, Kalyviotis 2002, Dionysopoulos 2009, Kalyviotis 2015) are shedding more and more light on this unknown chapter of creative confabulation among multiple ethno-cultural groups, which still remain, to large extent, unexplored.

A creative confabulation such as this is the subject of the present research. It concerns an initial approach to the infiltration of popular musical traditions of Romania⁴ to those of the corresponding Greek ones, based on recording sources. 78 rpm discography, which was prevalent up until the 1950s, offers a plethora of examples which in their evolution document, on the one hand, a gradual decline of influence, and on the other the consolidation of transformations imposed in subsequent years. Focusing on three main musical forms; the *hora*, the *sirba* and the *doina*, which either maintained their original nomenclature or modified it, thus, gradually the *hora* was identified in the Greek as *hasapiko*, the *sirba* as *serviko* or as *hasaposerviko* and the *doina* as *skaros* and in some cases as *tzamara*.

The nomenclature and its dissemination are witnesses to a unified network within the Ottoman Empire, where popular musicians of multiple ethno-cultural groups participate, with the Roma/Gypsies (Marushiakova and Popov 2001, Farkova 2012) and the Jews as pioneers (Schwartz 1997, Feldman 2016). In 1836, an Englishwoman, Julia Pardoe, while visiting Istanbul, verifies without hesitation: 'Wallachian and Jewish musicians are common' (Pardoe 1838: 55-56), meaning Wallachian as the Roma of the Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia.

During the late Ottoman period, the terms *hora* and *sirba* of the Romanian language seem to have transformed into the Greek *hasapiko* and *serviko*, in the Hebrew (Yiddish) to *bulgar* and *freylekhs*, in the Turkish as *kasap*, *hora*, *longa* and *sirto* (Feldman 2016: 350). *Hasapiko* and *kasap* are key words for the comprehension of this evolution. In written sources *hora* and *sirba* seem to be identified with the butcher guild of Istanbul and the commercial connections concerning transportation of livestock from Moldavia and Wallachia to Istanbul, evidence of which exists already from the sixteenth century (Feldman 2016: 350, 355-357). The correspondence of a member of the stambouliote high society, Elisabeth Santi Lomaca-de Chénier⁵, of Cypriot descent, is of significance. She addresses the traveller Pierre Augustin Guys,

⁴This geographical definition is used here indicatively, since the points of reference are the areas of Wallachia, Moldavia, Bessarabia and Transylvania, as they were known before the establishment of the nation states.

⁵ Elisabeth Santi Lomaca-de Chénier was the daughter of a dragoon in Istanbul, wife of the French businessman and diplomat Louis de Chénier and mother to the renowned poet André de Chénier who was beheaded during the revolutionary movement in Paris, 1794.

who would include her letters in the publication of the first volume of his book *Voyage littéraire de la Grèce*, published in 1776 (Guys 1776: 196-220) and describes a dance which she calls 'arnaoute' (Bonnières 1879: 143-144):

L'Arnaoute, que vous auriez décrite bien mieux que moi, M., se danse à Péra, et plus communément encore à la place de l'Hippodrome à Constantinople par deux ou trois-cents Kassab-oglan*, et quelquefois davantage; ils sont rangés l'un à côté de l'autre et se tiennent par la ceinture pour être serrés de plus près: ils font le même pas, et semblent ne former qu'un corps. Ils ont à leur tête deux danseurs détachés qui ont un long couteau à la main. (...) Quinze autres danseurs détachés aussi de cette file et figurant avec elle, sont également armés, les uns avec des couteaux, les autres avec des bâtons ou des camchik**.

* (On appelle Kassab-oglan ou corps des bouchers les Grecs employés aux boucheries. Ils sont Macédoniens, bien faits et hardis; ils jouissent de bien des privilèges que les autres Grecs n'ont pas, comme de porter de grands couteaux et de pouvoir en voyage porter le turban et l'habit vert, comme les Turcs).

** (Sorte de fouet avec un manche un peu long).

The arnaoute, which you, Sir, shall describe better than me, is danced in Peran, and even more commonly at the square of the Hippodrome in Istanbul by 200 or 300 Kassab-oglan*, occasionally even more; they line up next to each other and hold on to each other's belts, so as to be as close as possible: they take the same steps and seem to form a single body. They are led by two dancers who stand separately and who hold a large knife in their hand. (...) Another 15 dancers, similarly separate from the rest, who perform certain complicated dance moves, also armed, some with knives, while others with staffs or camchiks**.

* (The Greek Butcher Guild is called Kassab-oglan, they work in the Butcheries. They are Macedonians, well-built and brave; they enjoy a multitude of privileges, which other Greeks do not have, such as the right to carry large knives and, when travelling, to wear a turban and green clothes, like the Turks).

** (A whip tied to a rather long cane).

It is evident that de Chénier is a partaker of the all-franca culture and that she participates in the circles of the European diplomats and merchants, as Guys, something which justifies a series of insistent references to the ancient Greeks and Alexander the Great in her texts. She is, however, a child of Istanbul, where she was born in 1729 and stays with her family up to 1765. Therefore her reference to the butchers of Istanbul and the dance is of particular significance, since she describes it as a living performance practice, at least during the period she lives there. In contrast, the usual references in the existing bibliography, where the descent of the dance in question dates back to the age of the Byzantium and to the 'makelarides' (medieval word for butcher, from the Latin *macellarius* or from the ancient Greek *makellon*) is not accompanied by a specific reference to written sources (Sathas 1878: ιε', Holder and Vouras 1976: 33, Kounadis 2000: 393, Kliasiou 2004: 384, et al.)⁶.

The Istanbul hasapiko seems to also define the legendary revelry of Ash Monday in the region of Tatavla, which is also known as 'Bakla horani' or

⁶Nikolaos Vavritsas attempts an overview of these sources in his study on the hasapiko, emphasizing choreography forms (Vavritsas 2004).

'Baklahorani'⁷ (Chronografos 1896: 7-10). In the nineteenth century, Skarlatos D. Byzantios, castigating the members of the clergy who take part in secular entertainment, uses the expression 'dancing rhythmically the Bakla horan' (Vyzantios 1869: 451), something which means that the relevant public entertainment was identified with dancing. The writer gives no other evidence on the specific subject, but to references elsewhere on the dances of the period of Easter he informs us that 'at the Palatas of the Sinaitic Metochion' (εν Παλατά Σιναϊτικού Μετοχίου) the dancers were 'mainly students and apprentices of the various guilds, and mainly of the butchers who were among the Janissaries (kassab-oglan)' (Vyzantios 1869: 460). The connection in Istanbul between Lent, the hora and the hasapiko is also detected in other written references of the early twentieth century (Feldman 2016: 353). Consequently, the originating relationship of the hasapiko with Istanbul and especially with Tavatla explains why in subsequent recordings many musicians choose titles which attach epithetical definitions to the hasapiko dance from the specific geography (Istanbul, Tavatla, Galata), as we shall see further on.

The nomenclature is, however, only one side of the argument. In the Greek-speaking repertoire of rural musicians, as a new milieu, apart from the vocabulary the developments are significant with regard to the musical content as well: There are many dances called *hora*, *sirba*, *serviko*, *hasapiko*, *hasaposerviko*, *syрто hasapiko*, *syрто politiko* et al., composing a large group with common rhythmical features, even though they are spread over a broad music-dance geography (a vast amount of references at: Raftis 1995: 578, 587, 651, 736-743, 746). From this data, it seems that *hora*, identified with *sirba*, undergoes assorted local variations. Despina Mazaraki, in her study on the popular clarinet, documents references of popular musicians to the above terms, which were evidently widely used up to the end of the 1950s. Among them the word *hora* is prominent, while definitions such as 'Romanian' and 'Romanian dances'⁸ also appear, in addition to the other frequent references to Romania (Mazaraki 1959: 24, 32-33, 48-49, 124-125, 131).

In the same study many musicians refer as well to the *doina* (Mazaraki 1959: 69, 124-125, 130-134), which is associated to the *skaros* of Epirus, a form of similar structure and improvised technique. The *doina* displays many morphological similarities to other improvisational types of vocal and instrumental music, and especially to the *kleftiko* song, which in Greek tradition determined the aesthetic of all sedentary songs, i.e. a highly developed improvisational structure in slow and free tempo. Besides, according to their narrative aspect, both the *kleftiko* and the *doina* refer to the same subject matter, the outlaws called *kleftes* and *hajduks* respectively. For this reason, it is not surprising that in a recording of a *doina* in Istanbul in 1908 by

⁷The word stems from two compounds: bakla, which in Turkish means broad beans and from the Persian verb Khordan (present tense mi-khoram) which means to eat. Thus, it describes one who eats broad beans, clearly because of the fast during Lent. The relative bibliography is extensive, see indicatively: Chronografos 1896: 7-10, Melissinos 1913: 37-38, Michas 1970: 199, Türker 1998: 65, Massavetas 2011: 424-437.

⁸The tsimbalo (cimbalom) player Spyros Stamos records the 'Romanian' in 1922 (GRC 509) and the clarinet player Kostas Gadinis the 'Roumeinishe Hora (Hora Hasapiko)' in 1939 (Victor V-9050), (Spottswood 1990: 1222 and 1166 respectively).

the Jewish orchestra Goldberg, the record is credited with the label 'kleftiko vlachiko'⁹. Martin Schwartz, the editor of this specific recording in the context of a klezmer anthology, claims that it is a case in point of the receptivity of the Jewish musicians, in Istanbul and later in America, to incorporate melodies of varying origin into their repertoire. In the present case, taking into account the style and the Greek title, Schwartz, despite recognizing Romanian descent in the specific *doina*, connects it to the Greek audience of Istanbul. Besides, on the flip side of the record there is a Greek 'syrto', played by the same klezmer orchestra (Schwartz 1997: 8-11, Sullivan 2013: 813-814). Feldman (2016: 358) on his part, considers that the style of the *doina* in question is decidedly more Moldavian and that the granting of this title reflects the fact that the Greek language in this specific period is the most widespread in commerce. According to us, the title is not only pertinent to the mechanisms of commercial promotion of early discography, but gives evidence of the identification of the *doina* with the Greek *kleftiko*, which, besides, is undoubtedly the level of the musical content too. In other words, the word 'kleftiko' is not only a translation, but rather a definition of an autonomous musical genre in the Greek environment, seemingly having its starting point in Romanian origins.

Spatially, as mentioned before, the primary field of the above transformations is the urban environment, with Istanbul as the focal point. Besides, it is to the large cities of South-Eastern Europe that attract the representatives of the first international recording companies and it is from there that most documented recordings originate. In the urban popular song of the twentieth century, as engraved in these sources, the twosome *hora-sirba* is gradually completely transformed, establishing a new form, where the interchange slow-fast is either restricted to a concluding melodic turning to vocals or instrumental compositions¹⁰, or it takes the form of the *hasapiko*-*hasaposerviko*, with the slow part including old *horas* of slow tempo and the *fasthoras* of quick tempo, but also *sirbas*¹¹. Feldman (2016: 349) claims that the *hora* became a 'national' Jewish dance subsequent to the Zionist movement. In Greek urban popular music, in the late 1930s, the aforementioned coupling constituted a privileged field of skilful display of high speed performance of the *bouzouki*, constructing its dominating position in the orchestra. During this period, not only did the style of the *hasapiko* change but also the speed of the tempo, influencing the dance as well, which from circular transformed into frontal. In other words, the *hasapiko* became slower, differentiated from the old Istanbul type, while in contrast, its melodic turning, that is the *hasaposerviko*, became much faster. Post-war, its choreographic schema became

⁹This is track 6 of the 78rpm record by 'Orchestra Goldberg' (Istanbul 1908, Odeon 54701, XC2051). The piece begins with a slow *doina* and changes into a *sirba*, whose melody has been recorded with the title 'Nina' by D. Poggi in 1920 (Pan 7030), as well as by the orchestra of Kostas Papagikas (1928, Columbia, Co 56125-F). It is worth noting that the sheet music is published in Athens by the publishing house Fexi (Φέξη) with the title 'Nina', during the 1940s. This is an adaptation for voice and piano by N. Kokkinos.

¹⁰As in the Greek-speaking *amanes* (briefly: *manes*) of Smyrna or in song 'series' and instrumental melodies (Kokkonis 2011).

¹¹Walter Feldman points out a corresponding pair in Jewish music (klezmer), where the slow *horra* (*zhok*) is succeeded by the quick *bulgar* (Feldman 1994: 10). Besides, this interchange is a musical marker of Central-European musical tradition, as the case of Hungary, where the corresponding terms are *lassú* and *friss*.

extremely popular, and reached its zenith with the help of the cinema, which capitalized it as a mark of Greekness¹².

The sirba and the hora in recordings

The large bulk of recordings and the up to now lack of systematic examination renders the subsequent approach imperfect. However, the existing information is enough for one to form an indicative image.

The word *sirba* is observed very early in the recordings of Greek interest, from the first decade of the twentieth century. How popular the genre is, is evident in the repertoire recorded by brass bands and *estudiantinas* in Istanbul. The *Greek Estudiantina* records a *sirba* in 1907 (Odeon 46095), so does the mandolin orchestra of Nikos Hristodoulis approximately in 1910. A brass band, the *Orchestra Orfeon*, records the same title in Istanbul in 1912, seemingly composed of Jewish musicians, even though in the Orfeon catalogues it also appears as *Greek Orchestra* (Schwartz 1997: 7-8).

The joint use of the term *sirba-hasapiko* is established in subsequent decades. At the beginning of 1918 in New York, the violinist Georgios Makrygiannis or Nisyrios records for Victor his version of a *sirba*, accompanied by the lute and the santur¹³. On the label, the piece is given the title 'Serba (Hasapiko)', placing this second characterization in brackets. The Latin transcription of the terms, a rule on American soil, labels 'Serba' and 'Hasapeko' respectively. It should be noted, that the second term is now not in brackets, but with a dash next to the first: 'Serba-Hasapeko', indicating either identification, or melodic turning.

In American discography, the words are given frequently in misconstruction, due to the accent of musical performers, which was not understood by the musical producers and technicians¹⁴. The latter ones were of unknown cultural origin, not necessarily familiar with the various repertoires recorded. It is well known that the word 'sirba' is a transcription of the Romanian *sărbă*, whose accent is closer to the Greek 'si' rather than 'se'. The distortion to 'serba', however, is compounded and gradually leads to the incorrect correlation of the *sirba* with Serbia¹⁵, establishing the now common forms of *serviko*, *hasaposerviko* and *servikaki*.

¹²The films 'Never on a Sunday', 1960 and 'Zorba the Greek', 1964, music by M. Hadjidakis and M. Theodorakis respectively constitute the pinnacle, with Hadjidakis winning the Oscar award. Through these the *hasapiko* (i.e. the *hora*) transformed into the *sirtaki*, compounding modernism.

¹³With V. Katsetos (lute) and G. Klosteridis (santur) for Victor (69921-B, B 21350-1), (Dionysopoulos 2011: 55).

¹⁴A corresponding case is the recording by the violinist from Ioannina Alexis Zoumbas in New York with the enigmatic title 'Bil-Bil'. Quite a few record collectors identified the title with the Albanian *bil-bil* or the Turkish *bulbul* which in both cases means the nightingale. A more careful listening to the piece, however, is enough to understand that Zoumbas, instrumentally, plays the song 'Dear Birbili' (Dear Birbili where are the sheep), a word which Zoumbas of course pronounces with the Ioannina dialect and the producer did not understand.

¹⁵Walter Feldman (2006: 355) also doubts the case of Serbian influence, at least in Istanbul: 'Although as if simply to confuse matters, in rural areas of northern Greece -but not in Istanbul- some *hasapiko* tunes are indeed Serbian or Macedonian in inspiration'.

The pair *sirba-hasapiko* is detected in the discography of Kostas Gandinis, clarinet player from Siatista, in Northern Greece. Gandinis is recording for Victor in New York in 1929 a piece whose label reads *Haspiko-Sirba*. Earlier, in 1927, he records a *Romanian-hasapiko*. The two pieces identify style-wise, ascertaining that the definition 'Romanian' means *hora* or *sirba*. Gandinis records a multitude of *hasapikos* in America, cooperating even with Jewish musicians: in 1937 a *Gypsy hasapiko*, and in 1939 a *Hora-hasapiko*, a *Romanian Hora*, and also a *Vlachiko-hasapiko* (Spottswood 1990: 1164-66).

The definition 'Vlachiko' is not a novelty, as shown above. It has been documented in recordings of the band called *Trio* (Klein 2013: 18) in Istanbul from as early as 1905, while in America the mandolin orchestra of Ierotheos Shizas records the *Vlachiko-hasapiko* in 1928 (Spottswood 1990: 1220, Klein 2013: 89). The clarinet player Ioannis Kyriakatis records 'Vlachiko hasapiko' in America in 1924, and Vasilis Psamathianos, brother of the renowned Giangos, in Istanbul in 1929. The correlation to the 'Kleftiko-Vlachiko' of the Goldberg orchestra is clearly obvious.

What is interesting is that on the flip side of Shizas's mandolin orchestra record, which was just mentioned, one finds the extremely popular *Karotseris* (Klein 2013: 57-59), something quite deserving of a little attention. The piece seems to have been particularly well known in Istanbul and in fact linked to the region of Tattavla¹⁶, something which is characteristically imprinted in the Greek lyrics 'Coachman come on, let's go to Tattavla' (Καροτσέρη τράβα να πάμε στα Ταταύλα), as well as in the variation 'Coachman chop-chop let's go to baklahorani'¹⁷(Καροτσέρη μάνι-μάνι, πάμε στο μπακλαχοράνι). The melody, however, dates even further back: it is the renowned 'Hora Morii', also known as 'La Moara la harta-scarta', whose topic is used by George Enescu in 1901 in *Romanian Rhapsody No 1 in A major, Op. 11*, claiming that he incorporates popular melodies from the tradition of the *lautari*¹⁸.

To whom does the authorship of this particular melody belong? The question is difficult to answer¹⁹, given the oral dissemination and the constant renegotiation of the musical content of popular traditions such as this specific one, which span a vast geographical range. Researchers emphasize detection of the oldest transcription; however, no matter how much this aspect sheds light on the dissemination, it is not enough to certify the origin. In this specific example, it is primarily the unadulterated structure in the performance of the piece from the tradition of the *lautari* which is indicating the provenance. What is especially interesting, however, is that the musicians of Istanbul not only familiarized themselves with these Romanian melodies,

¹⁶There are a lot of recordings of this particular piece (Klein 2013: 57-59), not only in Greece but also in America, the versions of the Kyria Koulas orchestra in 1920 (Pan 5027/P118), Markos Sifnios in 1924 (Columbia 56015-F/59872) and Ierotheos Shizas in 1928 (Columbia 56109-F/W205829).

¹⁷The reference to *baklahorani* is in the performance of Aggeliki Karagianni in 1926 (Pharos America PH 821/439). In the recording of Dalgas in Athens in 1926 (HMV AO 164) the lyrics 'Coachman drive straight, take us to Patisia' were added.

¹⁸*Lautari* in Romania generally means popular musicians. One such example being the gypsy violinist Lae Chioru (real name Nicolae Filip) who taught Enescu the violin when he was a child (Zlateva 2003: 9).

¹⁹A similar case has preoccupied Donna Buchana who is investigating the descent of the well-known song 'Üsküdera gider iken' and in Greek 'From a foreign land' (Buchanan 2007: 3-56).

but they also ‘capitalized’ them as an element of their identity: by the means of discography, they established them as *Hasapiko of Istanbul*²⁰, *Hasapiko of Tatabla*²¹, *Hasapiko of Galata*²² and *Syrto of Istanbul*²³. In all the aforementioned recordings, the melodies may be either originals or variations, that maintain, however, the rhythmic and morphological structure which characterises the pair *hora-sirba*.

At this point it must be stressed that the above appropriation does not have a ‘national’ but rather a local disposition, since the form itself as well as the synonymous dance are adopted by not only the Greek-speaking community, but also by the Turkish (*kasap havasi*) and Bulgarian ones (*kasapko oro*)²⁴. Besides, the term was and remains widespread in the environment of the near countryside as ‘*Hasapia*’, especially in the broader region of Western Thrace. Feldman (2016: 358-359) highlights the similarity between the *hasapiko of Tatabla* by Amiralis²⁵, with that of *Sher* No 180, whose musical text is published in the 1920s by Moshe Beregovski according to the performance by Barkagan, a Jewish clarinet player from South Ukraine. Feldman in fact links the two versions with a *longa* from Istanbul as well, which he dates to the late nineteenth century²⁶. Indeed, the melody corresponds, at least in the beginning, to the *Hasapiko of Galata* by Poggis, who was mentioned before, but not to the version by Trimis (see footnote 20).

To sum up, the term *hasapiko*, which in discography was identified with Istanbul, seems to be the result of an aggregation of two forms, the *hora* and the *sirba*.

²⁰In Athens in 1926 with Ioannis Kyriakatis on the clarinet (Odeon GA-1339), in America in 1926 with the Trio Ath. Vrouva (Columbia CO-56046-F). His melody was used by shadow puppetry, hence the trademark ‘Karagiozis’. Indicatively, we mention the pieces recorded by the virtuoso of the harmonica Antonis Amiralis or Papatzis in 1927 with Dalgas and Davos (HMV AO-190/BF920-1) with the same title, and in 1931 with the title ‘Slow Hasapiko of Istanbul’ (HMV AO-1012/OW 94).

²¹In 1926 with the Kavadias orchestra (Columbia America 56031-F), in 1927 with Vasilis Psamathianos on the harmonica (Columbia England 12317/W 22086), in 1928 with Amiralis (HMV AO 265 BF 1659-1) with the melody for ‘Karagiozis’, in 1934 with Sp. Peristeris (Odeon GA-1853) et al.

²²In 1927 with the Dionysis Poggis orchestra (New York, Columbia 56064-F) performing the melody of Istanbul, in 1928 with Amiralis (HMV AO 219 BF 1658-1, on side B of the Tatabla [HMV AO 265 BF 1659-1] of the previous footnote), in 1935 with the Mihalis Trimis orchestra (Odeon of Greece GO-2284) et al.

²³This category is the only one which differs in rhythm and melody, since the pattern of the *balos* creeps in. Indicatively, we mention recordings with Amiralis (Athens 1929, Columbia England 8341 and Athens 1931, HMV AO-1013), with Antonios Sakellariou (New York 1928, Orthophonic S-641), with D. Semsis (1927, Columbia England 8001/20024), and Ilias Litos (1928, Pathé X-80058) et al.

²⁴Feldman (2016), p. 355, Timothy Rice (2001), p 979.

²⁵1930, which is suggested by Feldman as a recording date for ‘*Hasapiko of Tatabla*’ and ‘*of Galata*’ by Amiralis, should be corrected to 1928, according to discography archives.

²⁶It concerns the well-known ‘*Soultani Yegah*’, which is credited to the Turkish violinist Sâdi İşlay, husband to the celebrated Hanende Eftalia of Istanbul. There is, however, the opinion that it is not his composition, but that he brought it from Romania to Istanbul in the early twentieth century, see Georgios Papadakis, ‘One the one hand, Socialist realism, on the other hand a good example...’, *Estudiantina Nea Ionia Volos: Smyrna* (record review), *Eleftherotypia* 07/01/2004.

Even though this does not occur systematically, with precision and consistency, its birth must be understood as a process of musical transformation and deterritorialization, marked by the epithetical definitions 'Romanian' and 'Vlach'. Despite the subsequent use of the term *hasapiko* and its evolution to *hasaposerviko* which was eventually imposed in the discography environment, its nature is derived from a broad geographical spectrum, with multicultural components.

Post-war, the use of the word *sirba* declined sharply, due to the epithetical definitions of *serviko* and *hasaposerviko*, with which it was substituted²⁷. In post-war discography the term survives in the region of Epirus and in particular in the Vlach-speaking region of Vovousa, something that means that it is in use among the Vlach-gypsy musicians of Pindos mountain range. The clarinet virtuoso Manolis Papageorgiou, active in the broader region of Thessaly, records a *sirba* in the 1950s; so does another virtuoso of the clarinet, Giannis Vasilopoulos. Another interesting point is the recording of two pieces titled *sirba* on the island of Leros, obviously introduced from Istanbul. There is a good reason to assume that indeed several 'Vlaches' from the islands may pertain to *horas-sirbas*. Of course the image depicted by such examples is weak, since the musicians of the rural environments were only partially integrated into discography, and with a very significant delay.

In contrast, the term *hora* seems to have a better survival rate, mainly in the orchestras of the clarinet, recorded by many virtuosos not only as an independent form but also as a melodic turning in other compositions, which adopt the coupling slow-quick. In many cases, of course, the term *hasapiko* creeps in, but the rhythmic conduct remains consistently quick. It seems that in contrast to the *sirba*, which seeps through the channels of urban music (Istanbul, Smyrna, Athens), the *hora* penetrates mainland Greece through the networks of the Gypsy musicians, who either cooperate directly with Romanian musicians²⁸, or they emulate them indirectly, through discography.

Without it being always stated, the *hora* or the *sirba* is the compulsory melodic turning (finale) in the *alla-greca manes*, which, in Smyrna mainly, define a Greek-speaking otherness in relation to the much more widespread *alla-turca manes* and *gazels*, where the melodic turning was always the *cifteteli* (Kokkonis 2017: 97-131).

The doina in recordings

The third form, the *doina* (Alexandru 1980: 49-55, Cernea 2011, Lupaşcu 2016), does not follow the musical culture of Greece and Romania in the general manner mentioned before, but rather pertains in both cases to a specific identity, congruent to the region of mountain farming. In Greece this is linked to the Vlachs.

²⁷The comparison is made with pre-war discography, where the appearance of *sirba* is significant.

²⁸There are many reports of Greek musicians in visits of Romanians to Greece and vice versa. The musicians of Epirus are the protagonists here (Mazarakis 1959: 124-125) and especially from the region of Zagori. An interesting testimony results from the interview given by the santur player Aristidis Moshos to Georgios Papadakis, where he states that he learnt how to play the santur from the Romanian cimbalom player Nestoras Batsis, who used to play at the café-aman of his father, Kostas Moshos or Fouskoboukas in Missolongi in 1938 (Papadakis 1983: 201-204).

VI. ARTE ȘI STUDII PATRIMONIALE

As a purely vocal expression the *doina* is identified with the songs of the hajduk (Fircă 2008: 173-174). In Greece, corresponding elements of style are detected to a great extent in the kleftiko vocal song, not only in the field of rhythmic structure (performed always in free rhythm), but also in that of melodic development (use of standard expressions and embellishments). In Greek discography, however, the word *doina* describes exclusively instrumental pieces, which of course boast the two above characteristics.

Previously mentioned is the *sirba* recorded in America in 1918 by Georgios Makrygiannis. On side B of the disc a *doina* is recorded²⁹. The editor, clearly the same who documented the *sirba* as 'Serva', presents the *doina* as 'Dohena' as well, also bracketing the definition 'kleftiko'. In America, the violinist Alexis Zoumbas also records a 'Doina' in 1927³⁰, while seven years later, in 1934, the clarinet virtuoso Nikitas Kostopoulos attaches the word 'kageli'³¹. Soon after the word *doina* is replaced by the characterization 'vlachiko' or 'kleftiko', as in the case of the Goldberg orchestra.

In Greek discography, with the rural areas as a point of reference and in particular Epirus, the word *doina* is already being replaced by the word *skaros* in the first decades of the twentieth century. Of ancient etymology, the word signifies night time pasturing and clearly pertains to the context of livestock, i.e. the Vlachs, while in structure and melodic phrasing it is reminiscent of the kleftiko song. Thus, 'vlachiko' and 'kleftiko' become a permanent part of the genre vocabulary.

Many versions of *skaros* are recorded by all the masters of the clarinet in Epirus, their counterparts in the rest of Greece³² following suit. In Epirus and South Albania, this genre is the only one, apart from the instrumental dirge, which allows an exhibition of virtuosity through melodic development not only to the protagonist, that is the clarinet, but also to the other instruments of the orchestra (violin, lute). An emblematic form for the rural environment, the *doina* must have infiltrated early on, as witnessed by its identification with two older instruments; the floghera (type of flute) and its metallic version in Epirus, the tzamara. Hence, the characterization 'tzamara' instead of 'doina' in recording titles of this form by virtuoso popular musicians within and outside of Epirus³³.

In conclusion, the three musical forms examined pass through Romania into Greece and are functionally incorporated in the traditions there, either as autonomous instrumental pieces or as part of a series. In discography documentation, the first two are offered as a display of virtuosity, which require performance speed and a high-level technique. Adopted, primarily, in urban environments by the violin, a predominant instrument in both countries, but also by the santur, the Greek version of the cimbalom, and the harmonica, the predecessor of the accordion. The bouzouki

²⁹Victor America, 69921-A.

³⁰On the label: 'Doina', Victor America, 68877.

³¹On the label: 'Doina and kageli', Odeon, GA-1771.

³²The discography is vast. Indicatively, Kitsos Harisiadis (Athens 1930, Columbia Greece DG-61/WG-56), Ilias Litos (Athens 1928, Pathé X-80047/70053), Vasilis Batzis (Athens 1958, Odeon Greece GA-8079/LG-1112) et al.

³³Indicatively mentioned are Alexis Zoumbas on the violin and Georgos Hatzelis or Veva on the tsimbalo (New York 1928, Columbia 56094-F), Ilias Litos on the clarinet and Lazaros Rouvas on the lute (Athens 1930, Pathé X-80213/70294), Nikos Karakostas (Athens 1934, Columbia Greece DG-6097), Haralambos Margelis (Athens 1935, HMO 2228/OGA- 63), et al.

follows later, and uses them with renewed appellations (hasapiko, serviko and hasaposerviko), in order to confirm its leading role. In the rural environment, all three forms are rendered masterfully by the clarinet. For all Gypsy musicians, they are the basic field faculty: there are many testimonies of old musicians that confirm that the programme of the country fairs began with suites of horas before the dancing commenced. This introductory performance allowed musicians to display their artistic trademark with as much gusto and skill as they could muster in order to win the crowd, and a loyal following.

In every manifestation, these forms attest the great affinity and familiarity that the popular musicians of Greece and the Balkans felt with the music of the lautari, which they respected and studied. This relationship was moulded through time, and experienced within a wide musical network with multicultural characteristics. The vast political changes concerning the establishment of the nation states downgraded the interaction of Greece with the Northern Balkans, despite their large Greek communities. In the late nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth, the journey of the aforementioned musical forms could be considered as the last trace of a great and flourishing Balkan musical network, prior to the subsequent introversion.

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