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Errata

Typographical errors and amendments

1. p.iv, line 3, amend "ΠΘΥ" to "ΠΟΥ"

2. p. 10, para: 3, lines 4-5. amend to "How did Anatolian/Greek contact occur and did this contact contribute to elements of musical synthesis?"

3. p.17, fn 11, amend to "At Dawn In a Minor Mode."

4. p. 23, para: 3, line 4 amend to "[because in his view]"

5. p.24 paras: 2 and 3e, amend "Kosoff" to "Koskoff"

6. pp 24-25 para: 5, lines 3-4, delete "In some respects Greece is still strongly patriarchal" and footnote 16. Lines 4-7, amend to "This was reflected in the dominance of men in *rebetika* instrumental performance. The continued dominance of men in *rebetika* instrumental performance suggests that this is a reflection of the performance tradition." Delete "rather than a reflection of all of Greek society."

7. p.28, para: 2 and throughout thesis, amend "Skorelis" to "Schorelis."

8. p.29, para: 1 (and throughout the thesis) amend "Anouanakis" to "Anoyianakis" as recommended by Professor Holst.

9. p.30, para 3, line 3, insert after *tekes* "(low-life venues for hashish-smoking usually through a *nargile*, or bubble bubble pipe)"

10. p.37, para: 3, line 5, amend "Big Catastrophe" to "Asia Minor."

11: p.38, para: 2 and throughout thesis "*zebekiko*" to "*zeibekiko*".

Line 5, after " Many of the refugees lived around the port of Pireaus, where the rougher hew music of the hash-smoking rebetes flourished in the tekes." Insert "Others established themselves on certain Greek islands particularly Mytilini (Lesvos) and Syrns, which Holst-Warhaft (2002, pers.com.) described as "musical stepping stones between Asia Minor and Piraeus."

12. p.39, para 2, line 1, delete comma after "Dubin." Line 3, amend "peformance" to performance." Para: 3, insert "(originally a woman's dance although it was, and still is, danced by men in some areas of Greece amongst old Turkish populations)

13. p. 48, para: 1, line 8, delete " besides being relevant to the research topic they also turn out to be key points made by my informants."

14. p. 49, footnote 35, insert "The work of Peter Parkhill (see bibliography) is an exception to this statement.

14. p. 55, para: 1, line 8, amend "teritary" to "tertiary." Para: 2, line 2, amend "traditional music divided into two groups" to "traditional music can be divided into two groups."

15. p. 56, para: 1, line 5, amend to "Melbourne musician Argyropoulos observed:" Para: 4, line 1, amend "Daly (1994,., pers.com.) and Galiatsos (1994, pers.com.)" to "Greek-Irish musician Ross Daly (1994, pers. com.) and Greek-Australian musician George Galiatsos (1994, pers. com.)"

para: 4, line 6, insert "Nevertheless, we should note that recordings of *bouzouki* music (particularly those by Jack Gregory) imported from the USA to Greece played a role in popularising *bouzouki* music in the Greece in the late 1920s and 1930s."

16. p. 57, para: 2, line 12, amend "Volaris" to "Melbourne musician Volaris"

17. p. 59, para: 1, line 15, amend "[to some extent] "Greek traditional culture was expanding" etc. Para 2, line 2, delete "on contemporary Greek traditional music and dance developments" and insert " folklore politics and policies"

18. p.60, para: 2, line 1, insert after "poor" [that is, lacking in Western harmonic content], para: 3, line 4, insert after Sapekidis ", a Melbourne performer and instrument-maker", para: 4, line 7, amend "heterphony" to "heterophony."

19. p. 62, para: 1, line 3, amend "Anatolia" to Asia Minor." Line 6, amend "disapora" to "diaspora."

20. p. 64, para: 1, line 2, amend "Greece has always been open to influences from its Eastern Turkish and Arab neighbours" to "Greece has always been open to influences from its Eastern Turkish and Arab neighbours as well as those from Balkan and Russian regions."

End of para: 2, insert "Furthermore, Holst-Warhaft (2002, pers. com.) observed that intercultural contact between Turkish, Arab and Greek musicians in Australia "mirrors what has been happening for the last decade in Greece."

Para: 2, line 4, amend "they seek to learn from their Turkish-Australian colleagues" to "they seek to learn tuning and performance nuances associated with rebetika modes from their Turkish-Australian colleagues."

Line 7, amend "resecpted" to "respected."

21. p. 68, para 2, line 2, amend " "abrupt shift from rural life" to abrupt shift from rural and island life".

22. p. 74, para: 3, line, amend "perhaps Greek music-making would have been for private consumption" to "I speculate that Greek music would have been for private consumption".

23. p. 75, para: 3, line 2, amend "in tune with island (*nisiotika*) music" to "in tune with various forms of island (*nisiotika*) music".

24. p.77, para: 1, line 3, replace "remigration" with "repatriation."

Para 3, delete "This may be the reason why generation A musicians made little mention of their desire to return to Greece, referring to only one *bouzouki* player who had done so."

25. p. 78, para: 1, line 8, delete "migrations" and insert "trips or repatriation attempts"

26. p. 79, para: 3, lines 8-9, delete ", referred to as *ksenitya*,"

27. p.80, para: 5, line 4, amend "I have found better lyra players from the Dodecanese than from the Dodecanese" to "I have found better lyra players coming from the Dodecanese than the Dodecanese itself."

28. table 3.4, point 4, amend "associated with the idea of traditional music to "identified as an aspect of traditional music."

29. p.86, para: 3, line 3, amend "illiterate" to "non-literate".

30. p. 88, para: 1, line 5, amend "*aftoskethiasmos (αυτοσχεδιασμος)*" to "*aftoshethiasmos (αυτοσκεδιασσομος)*" Footnote 51, delete redundant "ose"

31. p. 96, para: 5, line 3, amend "*archondo* and elafro, (ελαΦρο), to "*archondo-* (high) and elafro (ελαφρο)."

32. p. 98, para 1: line 2, amend " it is safe to assume that different *akousmata* leaad to different 'hearings' and understandings of rebetika" to "it is same to assume that different *akousmata*, hearings, lead to different understandings of rebetika."

para: 2, line 9, delete "- underground -" and insert "- a contemporary Greek popular music club –", Para: 5, line 6, amend " I deal with the my informants' " to "I deal with my informants' "

para: 3, line 4, delete "Lambros"

33. p.101, para: 4, line 3, amend "including by the legendary Markos Vamvakaris" to including the legendary Markos Vamvakaris"

34. p. 102, line 65, delete "during" and insert "in"

35. p. 103, para: 2, line 11, delete " between 324AD – 453 AD" and insert " between ca 1453 – 1820"

36. p. 105, para 3, line, after "Greeks and Turks of Asia Minor" insert "(particularly the adoption and adaptation of the Ottoman makam modal system and certain musical instruments)"

35. p. 120, para: 1, line 1, amend "*nea*" to "*neo*"

36. p. 123, para: 2, line 12, after "Spanish flamenco" add "Like rebetika these forms of popular music are also associated with experiences of migration."

36. p. 124, para: 5, line 3, amend " The perception implies that it somehow belongs to ordinary people rather than the rich or upper classes" to "The perception implies that it somehow belongs to ordinary people rather than the rich or upper classes, i.e., folk music."

37. p. 127, para: 4, lines 8-9, delete "(i.e. personally reflective)"

38. p. 133, para: 2, line 3 and para: 4, line 4, amend "*café amanes*" to "*café aman*"

39. p. 134, para: 3, line 8, amend "Micro" to "Micra"

40. p. 140, table 5.1 We should be careful to note that Pagiatis' reference to "Greek Folk Scales" is confusing since it reinforces the notion of the dromoi and makamia as scales rather than modes.

40. p.143, para: 2, line 1, amend "I shall now examine briefly my informants' belief" to " I shall now examine briefly notions related to the idea"

41. p.150 and p. 153, figures 5.3 and 5.6, amend "koinos, anapodos and aptalikos" to "koino, anapodo and aptaliko"

42. p. 153 , para 1, line 2, amend "Their concerns are legitimate" to "Their concerns are of interest"

para: 4. delete " Even with the gradual watering-down of adult themes and the breaking down of gender barriers in relation to dance, the music rarely, as it where, served as family music in Greece until the 1950s. It was heard in drug dens, cafes and night clubs, not village (or even town) squares."

43. p. 165, para: 1, line 13, amend "κονδυλιες" to "κοντυλιες "

44. p. 167, para: 3, line 5, amend "αυτοσχεδιασμος" to "αυτοσχεδιασμος"

45. p. 168, para: 3, line 2, amend "γειασου" to "γεια σου"

46. p. 173, para: 2, line 6, amend "*koutsouvakikas*" to "koutsavakika"

47. p. 174, paras: 2 and 3, lines 7 and 3, amend "rebetic" to "rebetika"

48. p.176, para: 3, line 10, amend "Yianglouis" to "Yiangoulis"

49. p. 182, table 5.55, point 5, amend "*amanades*" to " *amanedes*"

50. p. 188, table 6.3, amend "potiri" to "Potiria"

51. p. 190, insert at the beginning of para: 2 " The earliest known recording of Greek popular music was made in 1896 in New York, United States of America. It featured the Royal Greek Orchestra of New York (Kounadis, 1993). Four years later the English Gramaphone Company sent a recording engineer to Constantinople to record urban popular song. These visits continued in 1903, 1905, 1907 and 1911. Recordings made at this time were sold in the United States through RCA Victor. Three German companies (Favourite, Odeon and Homokord) were also active in the area during these early years. Gauntlett (1994:40) notes the earliest attested use of the term "rebetiko" occurred on the label of a recording pressed in Germany by the Favourite Record Company ca 1913-1914 bearing a recording from Constantinople. Given the record company's use of the term "rebetiko" we can speculate that the term might have been in wider use. This might account for statements such as "Recording of rebetica (sic) began in Constantinople in c. 1905 ..."(Rebetica in Piraeus, vol 11, LC5390) or the title of reissued recordings on the compact disc Greek-Oriental

Rebetica Songs and Dances in the Asia Minor Style, 1911-1937, (Folklyric CD 7005). Commercial recording of Greek popular music in Asia Minor were significantly increased in 1910 when Arthur Clarke recorded 350 songss by local Smyrna performers (Pappas, 1999:355). It is not clear whether these early recordings made outside of the USA were meant for a local market (Constantinople, Smyrna and Athens) or for an export market comprised of the USA Greek diaspora. Smith (1995:125) notes a "relatively scarcity of Greek recordingsss from Greece and Asia Minor (in the USA) which prompted small independent Greek-American companies and larger national companies, such as Columbia and RCA, to record Greek artists from the "beginning" until, by 1917, there was a "stable and rapidly increasing" output of popular Greek music by immigrant musicians and singers."

50. p. 224, table 6.24, amend "rebetikia" to "rebetika"

51. p. 232, para: 1, line 2, amend "*katherevousa*" to "*katharevousa*"

52. p. 244, para: 2, line 11, amend "Vamvas" to "Vamavas"

53. p. 248, para 1, line 7, amend "Parochial" to "Community", line 8, insert after "*Apodimi*" "(Expatriate)"

54. p.259, line 1, amend "ΓΥΡΝΑ ΤΟΥ ΧΑΛΙ ΜΟΥ" TO "ΓΥΡΝΑ ΑΓΑΠΗ ΜΟΥ", line 13, amend "ΑΡΓΟΠΕΘΑΙΝΟ" to "ΑΡΓΟΠΕΘΑΙΝΩ" and line17, "Stamidis" to Siamidis"

55. p.262, footnote 88 and p.263, line 6, amend "ΞΕΝΙΤΕΙΑ" to "ΞΕΝΗΤΕΙΑ"

56. p. 266, para: 4, line 2, p. 269, para:1, line 4, p. 301, table 8.5, p. 302, table 8.6, amend "karsilimas" to "karsilamas"

57. p. 272, para: 4, line 2, amend "rebetic" to "rebetes"

58. p. 303, table 8.6, amend " Τα δυο χεριά" to " Τα δυο σου χεριά" and "Μες την πολλη σκοτουρα " to "Μες στην Πολλη σκοτουρα"

59. p.338, line 11, amend "Μπιθικοωτης" to "Μπθικωτης"

60. p. 336, appendix E, amend "Χρυμα" to " Χρημα", "Manolíς" to "Manolis" and "χαπηλειο" to "καπηλειο"

REBETIKA MUSIC IN MELBOURNE, 1950 – 2000:

OLD SONGS IN A NEW LAND – NEW SONGLINES IN AN OLD LAND.

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ABSTRACT

Rebetika is a traditional Greek urban popular music with its origins in late nineteenth century and early twentieth century Greece and Anatolia. Since the 1950s it has served as a 'voice' for three generations of Greek-Australian musicians and audience members in Melbourne, Australia. This thesis examines why and how the genre took root and remained alive in a location so far from its geographical and cultural place of origin. Issues related to the role *rebetika* has played in the Greek-Australian diaspora community in Melbourne and how the sound of the music in Melbourne became linked with extra-musical associations determined by musicians and audience members are investigated within a three-part methodology. The methodological process involves 1) a phenomenographic analysis of interview transcripts provided by musicians and audience members in Melbourne and a smaller number in Greece, 2) an organological review of rebetika instruments in Greece and Melbourne and 3) an historical overview of rebetika in Melbourne based on musicians' and audience members' memories, reflections, published and recorded material. The thesis finds that while the sound of rebetika has not been radically transformed by its relocation in Melbourne, extra-musical associations linked to *rebetika* were determined directly as a result of experiences of migration and the establishing and maintenance of a Greek-Australian identity. These extra-musical associations, as well as repertoire preferences and performance styles associated with *rebetika* in Melbourne, differed between generations as a result of different social and political contexts lived through by members of each generation. Nevertheless, *rebetika* music-making in Melbourne has played an important role in helping Greek-Australian migrant musicians, their children and audiences in Melbourne, from all three generations, adapt to the discontinuities caused inevitably by migration, giving them a sense of continuity between their old and new environments.

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STATEMENT OF DECLARATION

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university or other institution. I affirm that to the best of my knowledge, the thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference is made in the text of the thesis.

Candidate's signature ... [redacted] ... ...

Date ... 31. ... 5. ... 02 ... ...

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to acknowledge the musicians, scholars and audience members of *rebetika* in Melbourne and Greece who have helped and advised me during my field work. This thesis is based on their experiences. I am indebted to Professor Margaret Kartomi who has guided and supported me and offered supervisory advice throughout my candidature. I particularly wish to express my gratitude to Mr Archie Argyropoulos, Mr Hector Cosmas and other members of *Apodimi Compania* for their support and advice. I am grateful to Professor Stathis Gauntlett of the Hellenic Studies Department at La Trobe University, Professor Mary Kalantzis, Professor John Power and Doctor Gloria Latham of the Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology, University, Melbourne, for their collegiality and help during the editing process of the thesis. I am especially thankful to my wife, Poppy and daughter, Eliana, who have given me their love, support and patience throughout my involvement in this project.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION, AIMS, SOURCES, LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL INFLUENCES

In the late nineteenth century a genre of Greek traditional music emerged in the burgeoning urban centres of Greece and Anatolia. It became known as *rebetika.*[1] At first the sound of the music was created by male and female singers and instrumentalists in low-life tavernas and drug-dens making use o Eastern and European instruments such as the *oud, lyra, saz,* clarinet and violin to accompany songs about profligacy, love, drug-taking and exile, for example. Later *rebetika* became strongly associated with ensembles featuring the *bouzouki, baglama* and guitar. While the music began as an expression of the lives of members of Greece's low-life[2] classes in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, by the late twentieth century it had become a national sound icon of Greece.

Beginning in the early 1950s, a number of musicians travelled from one side of the world to the other, carrying with them their knowledge of *rebetika.* For the next fifty years this music served as a 'voice' for three generations of Greek-Australians in Melbourne, Australia. How and why did it remain alive in Melbourne? What role has it played in the lives of its performers and audience to this day?

To answer these questions we need to explore a key methodological problem in ethnomusicology: what is the relationship between musical sound and extra-musical

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[1] In this thesis I shall use the neuter plural word *rebetika* as a general term covering *rebetika* music and music-making, following the practice adopted by Tsounis (1997: 1).

[2] I use the term "low-life" with reference to members of the lower Greek, urban social classes at the end of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century following Gauntlett, 1991: 7.

associations which arise in the minds of musicians and audiences? It may seem hard to relate musical sound and extra-musical associations and yet once sound has been constructed in such a way that it is thought to be musical sound, it is linked with multiple extra-musical associations related to past and present human experiences within the relevant music-culture. The difficulty lies in understanding and explaining the multifaceted extra-musical associations determined by individuals experiencing the same musical genre, or even a single musical performance. Musical sound is perceived, not simply sensed.

How do the sounds of *rebetika* music relate to extra-musical associations in the minds of Greek and Greek-Australian musicians and audiences? How do their ideologies of class, ethnicity, gender and migrant experience, for example, relate to the musical practice?

For the three generations of Greek-Melbourne musicians, extra-musical associations are partly determined by their different sense of identity related to various styles of *rebetika*: an association closely linked with their experiences as migrants and off-spring of migrant families.

Another example of extra-musical association with *rebetika* in Melbourne concerns views about the significance of maintaining and/or adapting traditional practices from their place of origin in a new location. For Greek-Melbourne musicians this involved asking whether or not *rebetika* was an appropriate cultural phenomenon to represent Greeks in a foreign land or whether the tradition had any value at all to migrants who were expected initially to leave behind cultural practices from Greece in order to be assimilated into Australia.

Since musical sound has extra-musical associations involving meaning derived from human experience, musicians and audiences need musical competencies as well as social and personal skills required for the music's performance. This raises another

ethnomusicological problem: why and how do musicians become competent performers of particular musical traditions, acquire and develop their knowledge of repertoire and learn and perform items of repertoire? How too do audiences acquire listening competencies and skills?

To explore these questions we must become immersed in the practice of the music as performers or audience members and acquire access to the first-hand experiences of musicians by asking them to reflect on their experiences. We need to understand the complex of interrelated musical and social actions which occur in musical performances, or, to use Stone's terminology, "music event"[3] (Stone, 1982: 1). This will help us to construct a mosaic 'picture' of how and why individuals, ensembles and audiences acquire their musical skills in different historical periods and cultural settings.

Greek-Australian musicians in Melbourne needed to acquire specific instrumental and vocal techniques appropriate to different *rebetika* styles as well as skills in improvisatory forms, an important aspect of *rebetika*, but they also needed to be able to transmit these skills to other musicians and to establish relationships with their audiences. To do this, they needed knowledge of *rebetika* instruments, modes, tunings, repertoire and the socio-historical context of the genre.

As Brinner notes,[4] social and musical interaction between musicians and audiences is the prime process in which musical competencies are "attained, assessed and altered" (Brinner, 1995: 3.) How are they attained, and assessed and changed? The answer to this question, in relation to *rebetika* in Melbourne, involves understanding interrelated experiences of formal and informal learning processes, performance of remembered

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[3] Stone's theory of "music event" is defined and discussed in section 1.3, Literature Review and Theoretical Influences.

[4] Brinner's theory of musical competency is defined and discussed in section 1.3, Literature Review and Theoretical Influences.

repertoire and imitation of electronically recorded source material. The value of these methods differed for individuals according to which generation they belonged to. Over the fifty years covered by my research there has been a change from a reliance on remembered and recorded repertoire to intercultural and transcultural exchange of skills between musicians from Melbourne, Greece and other diaspora communities.

From the above discussion we can see that musical competencies, musical sound and extra-musical associations are interrelated aspects of music-making involving social and musical interaction between sound and listener. Thus, as Small argued, " it is only by understanding what people do as they take part in a musical act that we can hope to understand its nature and the function it fulfils in human life" (Small, 1998: 8).

The sounds of *rebetika* are characterized by melodic and rhythmic modes and instrumental timbres which evolved from a synthesis of Anatolian and Greek, oriental and occidental sources. The music began as an orally transmitted popular genre created by refugee and working class urban musicians in these regions. How did Anatolian/Greek contact occur, and why did musical synthesis occur?

The oriental sound and song themes associated with "low-life" (Gauntlett, 1991: 7) Greeks resulted in members of the middle and ruling classes describing it as being "un-Greek" and trying to ban it through informal and legal censorship. "Cleansing the oriental" influences from the music and its themes eventually made it more acceptable to the middle classes after the Second World War. At this time it underwent further stylistic changes due to its commercialization and its role as a popular traditional music in the post-war period. Today, Greek musicians and audiences in Greece and the Australian diaspora perceive *rebetika* as a national icon. It has even become part of the tourist experience of Greece. Thus, from its inception, the sound of *rebetika* has had particularly strong associations with issues of social class and ethnicity in Greece and its diaspora.

The story of *rebetika* music and musicians in Melbourne provides a window into the lives of Greek migrants and their families. Their experience has a resonance in every country of the world which has accepted migrant communities. An attempt to understand *rebetika* in Melbourne, which is one of several types of music associated with Greek-Australians, raises broad questions as to what it means to be Australian in general, since most Australians are descendants of, or have been touched in one way or another, by migrants and their experiences. How did Greek-Australians face the challenge of sensing and adapting to a new landscape and learning who they were in that landscape? How do such communities recontextualise their life experiences as they make huge adjustments to their personal, social and national lives and identity?

A musical map of their migratory journeys, a "map to the past" (Nettl, 1996: 2), influenced by psychological and physical traces left by previous travellers, will help us enter and experience the terrain occupied by Greek *rebetika* musicians in Melbourne.

The idea of a migratory musical map is not new to members of Australia's indigenous population, who imagine a map of Australia crossed by song lines. Aborigines believe that each of their songs is related to

> ...the original creation (by totemic ancestors) of the land marks and the human and animal population of the known world. A song is distributed along the same route as that taken by the original ancestor responsible for the particular history involved. The portion of a song which refers to sacred places within the care of a local group may be performed only by members of that group, and it is in their own musical idiom. Later sections of the song, dealing with other places along the route taken by the original ancestor, will belong to other groups, each implanting its own indigenous style on this one long musical composition. (Ellis, 1966: 137-138)

Like Aborigines who have migrated within Australia, migrants to Australia from all over the world bring their songs which in turn create new song lines as they are sung in a 'new' country.[5] Although Australia is 'new' to migrants it is in fact the country with perhaps the world's longest cultural history. *Rebetika* musicians laid their song-lines in Australia and extended them back to Greece in intercultural or transcultural journeys. In exploring how my informants laid their *rebetika* song-lines we shall discover how (to borrow a phrase from Therese Radic) they came to Australia "with a score, not to settle, but to sing – to sing up the country" (Radic, 1991: 26).

Thus, my aim is to study *rebetika* music transplanted from Greece to Melbourne (the location of the largest Greek diaspora community), including its syntax and extra-musical associations which are determined by Greek-Australian musicians' and audiences' ideologies and experiences, especially the experience of migrating and adjusting to the new Melbourne environment. Although I shall refer to song themes, my focus is not on text analysis.

1.2 Sources of information

The primary sources are (1) my field recordings of 43 interviews about *rebetika* performance in Melbourne, and a few in Athens, Greece, (2) 27 songs selected, performed and recorded for this study by members of *Apodimi Compania,* a key ensemble of *rebetika* performers in Melbourne and (3) songs from the ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ ΤΡΑΓΟΥΔΙΩΝ ΠΟΥ ΕΧΟΥΝ ΓΡΑΦΤΕΙ ΚΑΙ ΕΚΔΟΘΕΙ ΣΤΗΝ ΑΥΣΤΡΑΛΙΑ ΣΕ

[5] The question first articulated by Israelite migrants in Babylon 2500 years ago, "How shall we sing our song in a foreign land?" was also asked by members of Australian diaspora communities over the past 200 years.

ΔΙΣΚΟΥΣ Η ΚΑΣΕΤΤΕΣ, "A Catalogue of Greek Songs Written and Issued on Disc or Cassette in Australia".[6] (trans. Clidaras, M 1994, pers. com.)

An analysis and interpretation of the interview transcripts form the basis of the discussion in chapters three to five in which my informants are listed according to their gender, the generation to which they belong, the decade in which they arrived or were born in Melbourne, their return migrant experience (if any), and whether they are Greek- or Melbourne-born performers, instrument-makers or academics.

The *Apodimi* songs are examined and compared with recordings of the same songs identified by the musicians as their source material.

Secondary sources include information from Melbourne festival and concert programs, particularly the programs of the annual Melbourne Greek cultural festival known as Antipodes, the annual Brunswick Music Festival and local Greek newspapers, *Neos Kosmos* and *Ta Nea*. The latter are the source of articles on *rebetika* from the 1950s to the present day.

For statistical information on Greeks in Australia I refer to the Australian Bureau of Statistics Census data from 1911 to 1996.

Websites

I have also obtained data from the international discourse on *rebetika* presented on websites. In my view, websites dedicated to *rebetika* issues until the late 1990s fell into three categories: the views of the ill-informed enthusiast, the informed enthusiast

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[6] The catalogue was compiled by Mr Mimis Sophocleous of the Greek-Australian Archive Museum and Learning Centre of (the Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology) University. In my opinion the title of this catalogue needs clarification since, as we shall see in chapter seven, the catalogue in fact refers to recordings of Greek music produced in Greece, imported to Melbourne and Sydney, and then distributed in Australia, as well as songs composed, recorded and produced in Melbourne.

and vendors of *rebetika* recordings. Whilst some of the discussion was of interest, much of it was based on conjecture and fantasy and as such was not a reliable source of information. Yet even the conjecture and fantasy served to illustrate a growing world-wide interest in this Greek traditional music. For example, a member of an on-line forum wrote:

> Well, yesterday I made a discovery and wanted to share it with everybody. The word "mangas" comes from the old "manga" or "mangia," (with two gammas or gamma kappa), that means "Group – and conspiracy – of a bunch of out law rebels" from the time even before the revolution of 1821. [a reference to the Greek War of Independence] Now, if you write MANGIA in Greek but with a "digamma" instead of two "gammas" you write MAFIA!!! And remember the Illyrian and Greek word "bessa" has the same meaning with the Sicilians "omerta". Now we can understand why Al Capone had all those good feelings for Giorgos Katsaros [a Greek-American *rebetika* guitarist and singer]. (1998, August 2, http://userss.forthnet.gr/bb/ath/physiart/messages/498.html)

Here, the contributor tries to create an etymological connection between the low-life *mangas*[7] of pre-World War Two urban Greece, and their supposed European and USA counterparts in the Mafia. Since *manges* tended to be very individualistic and were not part of highly organized, international crime networks, the parallel is fanciful. It ranks with previous perceptions of "Alexander The Great and Jesus Christ

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[7] *Mangas* (sing) *Manges* (pl) is the name given to "men who formed a subculture on the fringe of [Greek] society. Many of them were actually in the underworld. The nearest equivalents in English are probably 'spivs', 'wide-boys' or 'hep-cats' (Holst:1975:14) The word is sometimes used with reference to *rebetika* performers from the Piraeotic period in general. However, this is incorrect, since not all performers from this period can be described according to the *mangas* description noted above.

as rebetes[8] *avant la lettre* or as devotees of the supposed *rebetika* of their day" (Gauntlett, 1991: 8). It illustrates how an on-line *rebetika* enthusiast can mythologise figures associated with the genre. Another reference, noted below,[9] likened Vamvakaris's music-making to that of Mozart, Couperin and a lengthy list of iconic moments in Greece's history.

In the past few years, the quality of the discussion on these websites has improved. Another group of website users involving academics from around the world has entered the electronic discourse and acquired the title of *rebetologists*. Many of these rebetologists took part in a recent[10] conference organized by the Modern Greek Section of the University of Cambridge University, UK, in collaboration with the Municipality of the Greek Island of Hydra. The themes of the conference – the history, sociology, music and research methodologies of *rebetika* – indicated the breadth of issues which were the concern of the academics taking part. Conference

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[8] *Rebetes* has become a term used to refer to a singer of *rebetika* songs but, as with other terms used to describe *rebetika* phenomena, its meaning and usage is contested. Gauntlett believes that "The essential nucleus of common usage of the term *rebetis* is the display of opposition to conformity and respectability" (Gauntlett, 1990: 85); for example, "idlers, vagabonds, rogues, heroic figures of the *bon vivant*, hash smokers and drunkards" etc. However, Gauntlett maintains that no single definition of the term can be "reliably founded on etymology". See Gauntlett, (1991: 84 -91) for a full discussion on the issue.

[9] "Markos was really a musical genius in the order of Mozart or Chopin, or perhaps a better comparison would be with Couperin who also created great works based on a single instument. He (Vamvakaris) certainly understood his country. I sometimes think that you can hear the entire history of Greece in Markos's music: the clang of the swords before the gates of Thebes, the slap of the oars on the foam of Sounion, the circumflexed vocatives of Ephebes debating with Socrates in the agora, the urgent emptiness of the wind sighing in the hills above Anos Syros, the Hagia Sophia, the leathery squeak of the skin of Daskoloyiannis being stripped of his flesh, the hiss and stamp of the death dance of the women of Souli, the ecstatic fizzing of the fuse which led to the powder kegs of Arcadi, the heart-breaking arpeggios of the laterna [barrel-organs] players of Plaka, the crackling flames of Smyrna. But most of all his style harks back to the great heroic age of the Hellenes as reflected in the masterpieces of Attic Black Figure vase paintings, a style which, like Markos's, is muscular, archetectonic, energetic, humorous, tragic and severe". (1997, May 8, http://www.Physics.uch.gr/songs/frames/first.eng.html)

[10] The Hydra *Rebetika* Conference took place on the Greek island of Hydra between October 18-21, 2001.

papers were presented mainly by Greek, Turkish, English and American scholars. Stathis Gauntlett represented Australia with a paper entitled "Mammon and the Muse: *Rebetika* as a Marketing Construct".

(http://www.geocities.com/hydragathering/summaries.html, Summary of Hydra conference papers, 2001). Turkish musicians were well represented, despite a long-held reluctance of some Greek *rebetika* enthusiasts to acknowledge non-Greek influences in *rebetika*. Ketencoglou's paper pointed to the "shared influences [between Greek and Turkish popular urban music] in Turkish Music and *Rebetika*" (Ketencoglou, 2001). He observed that *rebetika* enthusiasts would be surprised at the "wonderful local rebetiko ensemble [*Compania* Ketencoglou in Istanbul] whose members are permanent, not occasional, residents of the city (Ketencoglou, ibid). He described the ensemble's musicians as follows:

> Muammer Ketencoglou, a Turk from Izmir (Smyrna)... an exceptional virtuoso of the accordion... His instrumental and vocal performances stay true to the authentic style of the genre, even though he neither speaks nor reads Greek... Orhan Osman ... is the group's *bouzouki* player... Ivi Dermanci... is the group's vocalist. In her plain and very melodic voice she interprets the songs in the group's repertory accurately and authentically, with none of the theatrics and pseudo-impressions that might diminish their effectiveness. Lastly, Stelios Berberis, from Imvros, the sweet-voiced cantor of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate at the Phanar, provides the vocal ability necessary for the group's rendition of the older songs in the repertory. (Ketencoglou, 2001.)

The combining of Turkish and Greek musical skills, especially the involvement of "the sweet-voiced cantor of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate," within the *Compania* Ketencoglou, resonates across centuries of Byzantine and Ottoman cultural contact, which frequently centred around schism and conflict.

Films

The revival of interest in *rebetika* in Greece and the diaspora in Melbourne from the mid-1970s led to the making of a number of films based on documented or fictionalised accounts of the evolution of *rebetika*. In 1983 and 1985 two television serials produced in Greece[11] depicted the emergence of *rebetika* in a semi-fictional series. Both were shown on Special Broadcasting Service (SBS) Television, in Australia. In 1983, an Australian-produced film entitled Rembetika: The Blues of Greece, (de Montignie,1983) included a narrated acknowledgement of *rebetika* performance in Melbourne. It made the suggestion that Greek-Australians in Melbourne are "now discovering songs of the underworld; songs which their parents were ashamed to teach them" (Montignie, 1983). As we shall see in later chapters, Greek migrants to Australia in the 1950s may have been "ashamed" of the relatively crude elements in their *rebetika* texts, but there were other reasons for the rarity of *rebetika* music in Melbourne at that time, such as the pressing need to live and work successfully in a new land, leaving little time to promote a musical tradition. The film also shows a group of Melbourne musicians performing in an early 1980s *rebetika* club known as the *Tsakpina Club*. The significance of this film, the musicians and the club will be discussed in chapter eight.

The most recent film on *rebetika*, Nuits sans Lune[12] (Night Without Moon) (Bongrand, L, 2001) resulted from "two years work, co-produced with ERT and the Greek Ministry of Culture, retracing the history of rebetiko in parallel with Greek history" (Bongrand, 2001). The film's production is indicative of a widening

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[11] The series was entitled Μινορε της Αυγης (The Minaret of dawn) (Ferris, C 1983). In Melbourne, the series was shown under the title of *Piraeus Blues*, a name which was used in the 1990s for a restaurant and *rebetika* venue in Brunswick Street, Melbourne.

[12] Fatouros (1976:17-28) published an article on aspects of *rebetika* with the same title. In turn, this may have been a reference to Kaldaras's song, Night is fallen without a moon, recorded in 1947 which tells of a Leftist political prisoner spending a night in a prison cell. (Cowan, 1993:10)

international interest in *rebetika* amongst performers, scholars and commentators involved in various media.

1.3 Literature review and theoretical influences

In the following discussion I shall refer to scholars who have influenced my thinking and methodological approach to questions surrounding *rebetika* music-making in Melbourne. Discussion is built around the following ethnomusicolgical issues: 1) the nature of musical events and their multifaceted dimensions 2) the notion of musical competencies 3) processes and contexts of musical change 4) culture contact and intercultural impact 5) culture and identity 6) migration 7) gender and musical performance 8) historicism 9) history of *rebetika* 10) organology and instrument classification. I shall also refer to three doctoral theses which explore aspects of the *rebetika* genre.

As discussed above, a key focus of my study concerns explicating the relations between the sound of *rebetika* and extra-musical associations connoted by musicians and audience members. This necessarily involves considering the nature of musical performances. Stone refers to a musical performance as an "event" (Stone, 1982: 1) in which acoustic, kinetic and social activity involving musicians, dancers and audience members becomes an "integrally related cluster" of actions "occurring in particular time and space dimensions". Furthermore, "the event consists of the participants' dynamic processes of evaluation and action, creating the interaction from which the event's meaning is derived" (Stone, 1982: 2). Thus, Stone describes a musical event as an integration of multi-faceted musical, social and historical factors from which participants create meaning.

In exploring *rebetika* music in Melbourne and the role it has played in the lives of Greek-Australians I have kept in mind Stone's idea that focussing on interactions

between participants in a musical event "is profoundly important for it acknowledges the centrality of meaning created in interaction". (Stone, 1982: 4) Furthermore:

> The participants in music events include both the individuals producing music and the people experiencing the music performance as listeners or audience, and the auditors' meanings and interpretations are just as significant as those of the performers. (Stone, 1982: 4)

I have adopted Stone's suggestion that we should "explicitly examine responses to music performance as well as the performance itself...considering processes in musical events to entail analysis of the multiple dimensions of time as participants experience them" (Stone, 1982: 7). However, music is not always experienced as live performance. It may seem that we cannot consider listening to a musical recording as an interactive "event". However, I shall argue that while many of the immediate audio, kinetic and social actions are not present when listening to recorded music, listeners have strong *intrapersonal* responses to the music. These intrapersonal responses involve internal interactions and evaluations of the music based on the listeners' past and present, individual and social experience. The "listenings" form a basis for subsequent interpersonal, musical interaction. This was often the case for *rebetika* musicians and audiences in Melbourne.

Reflecting on issues concerning different types of skills required by musicians and audiences of *rebetika*, I have been influenced by Brinner's notion of "musical competencies" which he defines as:

> Individualized mastery of the array of interrelated skills and knowledge that is required of musicians within a particular tradition or musical community and is acquired and developed in response to and in accordance with the demands and possibilities of general and specific cultural, social, and musical conditions. (Brinner, 1995: 28)

Thus, musical competencies are "an integrated complex of skills and knowledge upon which a musician relies within a particular cultural context" (Brinner, 1995: 1). His definition of musical competencies and Stone's notion of a "music event" are related

by their acknowledgement of the multi-faceted and interrelated skills involved in individual and social music-making. In my fieldwork I set out to discover what *rebetika* musicians and audiences in Melbourne understood about the music and the competencies required for its performance. Working towards an understanding of "the full range of variation of these aspects of [their] musical life..."(Brinner, 1995: 2) was a central aspect of my research.

In examining the nature of *rebetika* in Greece from the early twentieth century and in Melbourne from the 1950s I have been inevitably drawn into considering notions of musical change. I have taken into consideration that "The key to understanding musical change and musical stability, if we are ever to deal with it in other than retrospective and subjective fashion, lies in a qualitative, multi-dimension approach" (Herndon, 1987: 457), because, as Blacking observed, musical change is not necessarily *caused* by intercultural contact or migration of people; "...it is brought about by decisions made by individuals about music-making and music on the basis of their experiences of music and attitudes to it in different social contexts" (Byron, 1995: 160). This study concerns the musical and social experiences of Greek-Australians in Melbourne. I take into account Blacking's view that the aim of studying musical change "must be to understand the *processes* that generate these music products" and thus we should study " the musical and social experience of communities who make and hear [the] music". (Byron, 1995: 167).

Since *rebetika* in Melbourne and Greece involves Greek and Australian cultural processes with influences from the Arab world, Turkey, Europe and the USA, I have also noted Nettl's view extrapolated from his discussion about the Western impact on world music and the variety of ways in which traditional musics have responded to it. He observed: "The roots of the variety seem to lie less in the character of individual music cultures than in the quality of the relationships between cultures and between musics" (Nettl, 1985: 6).

Rebetika began as a local Greek-Anatolian music, evolved through intercultural contact in the region and was carried to diverse parts of the globe via diaspora migration and electronic commercial media. In this study I examine the qualities of relationships between Greek and Australian musicians and between Greek-Australian musicians, Anglo-European Australian musicians and musicians from other disapora communities in Melbourne. This involved thinking about musical change in local, regional and global perspectives in order to address the question: how can we relate the musical sounds of a genre to the extra-musical associations determined by the music's performers' and audiences' ideologies and experiences such as nationalism, identity, religion, ritual, politics etc?

In recent times notions of culture within a "globalised context" have come to dominate political and economic rhetoric. Has globalisation[13] affected musical change? Some writers have argued that globalisation has brought about the end of local culture, since communication media have created a "borderless world," (Robins, 1992: 318), (Vargas Llosa, 2001: 2), in which national borders have disappeared. However, I argue that borders do not necessarily coincide with geo-political boundaries. Traditional music and dance may originate in one location, be carried to another by members of a diaspora group, and still remain a local cultural phenomenon, even though the locality is different. That is not to say that a music is not subject to change when it becomes a global phenomenon as is the case of much of today's so-called "world-music" which is a synthesis of local musical traditions and

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13 Globalisation, refers to the possibility and effect of instantaneous communication through technological means, which has brought about a "compression of time and space" (Robins, 1992: 318), in which "economies and cultures [are] thrown into intense and immediate contact with each other" (Robins: loc.cit.). However, I have also considered Nairn's view that , "Globalisation research today must challenge this cramped interpretation [the economic-centric view] of the great expansive moment we are in. Without neglecting economics, it needs to focus more on politics and culture: upon constitutional systems, nationality politics and the much longer historical and anthropological view needed to situate twenty-first century globalisation". (Nairn, 2002).

Western popular music characteristics. Even so, we must consider the relationship between musical sound and extra-musical associations whether its context is local, regional or global.

The relocation of a musical culture usually sets in action processes of musical change and synthesis as one music culture interacts with another. I have kept in mind Kartomi's view (which resonates with the discussion above) that "the process of intercultural musical synthesis...is a matter of setting into motion an essentially creative process, that is, the transformation of complexes of interacting musical and extra-musical ideas" (Kartomi, 1981: 232).[14]

In asking the question to what extent has *rebetika* music changed by its relocation from Greece, I have reflected on Kartomi's view that whilst "creative transformation, which may be termed syncretism, synthesis or transculturation normally occurs as a result of convergence" "(Kartomi, 1994: xi), "the effects of contact can range from the making of minor adjustments within existing musical styles...to the creative transformation of whole styles and of the ideological and music-organising principles on which the music is based" (Kartomi, 1994: xi).

Diaspora communities, such as the Greek-Australian community in Melbourne, confront the effects of intercultural contact resulting from their migration; particularly personal and social effects arising from evaluating senses of identity in a new land. The examination of the culture of such communities can give us insights into the nature of the dominant cultures in which they are situated. Thus, I have concurred with Bottomley who observed "diaspora identifications also offer dynamic counter-cultures to those that constitute immigrants as merely factory workers, slaves, 'wogs' or unwanted foreigners" (Bottomley, 1992: 217). Further more they "encourage a

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14 I am particularly indebted to Kartomi (1981) and Kartomi and Blum et al (1994) for guidance in the area of processes of intercultural musical contact.

kind of inter-textuality, a way of viewing the past within categories of the present, not as some uninterrupted continuity, but including disjunctions and conflicts..." (Bottomley, 1992: 217). How then, has *rebetika* music-making reflected notions of identity amongst Greek-Australians in Melbourne?

Stokes links issues of identity with issues of cultural diversity. He observed, "The ideology and politics of multiculturalism have created a public space for cultural diversity in official conceptions of Australian identity where none had existed before" (Stokes, G 1997: 144). In the 1950s Greek-Australian musicians lived with policies encouraging cultural homogeneity rather than diversity and yet their traditional music survived.[15] Can *rebetika* music in Melbourne be linked with experiences of cultural diversity and identity since, as Stokes commented, "amongst the countless ways in which we 'relocate' ourselves, music undoubtedly has a vital role to play" (Stokes, 1994: 3)? Indeed, has the genre played a role in helping Greek-Australians resist cultural homogeneity? As Vasilis Vasilikos and Steve Frangos, observed, "The Greek émigré maintains his identity abroad through the language he speaks and the music he listens to" and "music can be used to document and refute the assimilation process" (quoted in Chatzinikolou, and Gauntlett, 1993: 200). Or has *rebetika* simply served as an expression of a statement of wanting "to be"; that is, "to be" an identifiable Greek in Australia – a Greek-Australian?

For some members of the community the practice of traditional music, other arts and ritual, should not be regarded a medium for the assertion of cultural identity because they are fraught with nostalgia. Kypraios believed such practices to be the "big sickness of migrants [because] they remember things that no longer exist" (Kypraios, in Vondra 1979: 124). Kypraios's view raises the question as to whether *rebetika*

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[15] Greeks in Melbourne have often pointed out to me that the Greek language, the Orthodox religion and other aspects of Greek culture survived 400 years of Ottoman colonization.

music-making in Melbourne has merely served the purpose of satisfying nostalgic feelings, or has it had a deeper significance and relevance for its practitioners over the last fifty years?

I note at this point that issues of gender, which are closely related to issues of identity, were discussed very little by my musicians and audience members in Melbourne. It is a topic which deserves fuller examination in another project. However, in this study I have touched on gender with regard to dance, vocal style and instrument playing. Future researchers might ask to what degree does gender ideology in Greek and Greek-Australian communities affect its musical thought and practice? In considering issues of gender I have reflected on Kosoff's observation that:

> ...music performance provides one of the best contexts for observing and understanding the gender structure of any society. This may be so because in many societies the underlying conceptual frameworks of both gender and musical/social dynamics share an important structural feature: they both rely, to a greater degree, on notions of power and control. (Kosoff, 1989: 10)

Behaviours and attitudes of men and women towards issues of gender and sexuality encoded in *rebetika* performance practices and song texts are potentially a rich source for explorations of gender, power and control in the *rebetika*, and broader, scene.

Undoubtedly, discussion on gender relations within *rebetika* performance and composition must acknowledge firstly, that the genre originated in the patriarchal society of late nineteenth and early twentieth century Greece. In some respects, Greece is still strongly patriarchal.[16] This is reflected in the dominance of men in *rebetika* performance but not necessarily in other forms of popular music. This

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[16] I qualify my statement about Greece being "strongly patriarchal" on a *national* level since there are rural and island areas in Greece which still maintain matriarchal conventions such as lines of inheritance following the female family line.

suggests that the continued dominance of men in *rebetika* performance must be a reflection of the performance tradition rather than a reflection of all of Greek society.

Secondly, the role of women in *rebetika* changed in relation to stylistic periods. Although their role has always (with the exception of a few Greek-Australian –and other diaspora women?) been confined to singing and playing accompanying instruments such as the tambourine *(defi)*, finger-cymbals *(zilia)* and spoons *(koutalia)*, women singers were more prevalent in the *Smyrnaic* and *archondorebetika* periods.[17] Their presence in *Piraeotic* performance was reduced. As Holst noted, "Piraeus rembetika was exclusively male music" Holst, 1975: 42).

Why did *Piraeotic* musicians excl de women? And why have women been excluded from a more prominent role as *rebetika* instrumentalists. As we shall see, aspects of gender identification associated with *rebetika* dance and music have changed from the early twentieth century to the present day in Greece and Melbourne.

Issues of identity, migration and *rebetika* are inextricably linked in Melbourne since the music was brought here by Greek migrants. Bottomley, a key figure in scholarly discussion on the migration of Greeks to Australia suggested that issues of migration needed to be founded on three sets of factors: "pre-migration background, immigration experience and the receiving society" (Bottomley, 1979: 13) I have considered these factors when interpreting my informants' interview transcripts. The musicians and audience members involved in this study who were born in Greece reveal aspects of their pre-migration experiences, while those born in Melbourne relate to immigration experiences as the off-spring of Greek-Australian migrant parents. Others were involved in lengthy return visits to Greece or, in a few cases, return migration.

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[17] Rebetika period terminology will be discussed in Chapter Two.

In fact, over the last fifty years Australia has had "the largest immigration program of any country in the world relative to its existing population, bar (the unusual case of) Israel". (Kalantzis, 2001) The number of in-coming Greek migrants peaked in the 1970s. Today, the Greek diaspora community consists of over a quarter of a million people.[18] Clearly, a study of *rebetika* music-making in Melbourne must take into account its context within the larger Australian community since, as Gilroy observed in a discussion on the dialetics of diasporic identification, "It ain't where you're from, it's where you're at" (Gilroy:1990/91). Where the Greek-Australian community is "at" today, is a very different place from that of fifty years ago when Greeks began to settle in Australia in increasing numbers.

My historical account of *rebetika* in Melbourne is based on the reflections and memories of musicians and audience members in Melbourne, film, newspaper articles and concert programs. These sources reflect the multi-faceted contexts of *rebetika* in Melbourne from the past to the present. Therefore, in commenting on the historical events I have kept in mind Treitler's comment that

> Historicism insists upon locating the objects of its study in an eternal process of change. To contemplate something is to stop it only momentarily in its tracks; and to ask, what it is, is to ask what it has been and what it will be...(Treitler, 1989: 98)

Indeed, Treitler believes this temporal spectrum of historicism enables the historicist to "answer the recurring question [related to issues of identity], "Who are we, what do we stand for?" (Treitler, 1989: 98). Treitler's view of historicism also assists us in adopting a multi-contextual approach to the historical exploration of *rebetika* in Melbourne; a strategy which links it with my approach to considering the multi-

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[18] According to the 1996 census of the Australian Bureau of Statistics, 259,019 people said they used Greek as their first language at home.

faceted factors involved in explicating the relationship between musical sound and extra-musical associations, acquisition of musical competencies and issues of identity.

With regard to texts on the history of *rebetika* music in Greece I have referred to Holst (1975); an account of her discovery of *rebetika* music and musicians in Greece in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Her account has been an entry point into the story of *rebetika* for many non-Greeks, including myself. Holst's narrative text of the film Rembetika: The Blues of Greece, (1983) represents one of the earliest accounts of *rebetika* to recognise Melbourne as a location for Greek diaspora involvement in *rebetika*. Her 1988 essay provides a picture of the revival of *rebetika* in Greece from the late 1960s and acknowledges that in the 1980s "some of the best *rebetika* revival groups [were] playing in clubs and cafes outside Greece – in Holland, Sweden, Australia and the US" (Holst, 1988: 10) In Song, Self-Identity, and the Neohellenic (1997) she explored further the idea of *rebetika* as a revived popular music in relation to continuing issues of Greek identity: a discussion related to *rebetika* as a music of identity in Melbourne during the second half of the twentieth century. I also referred to Gauntlett (1982/83): a contribution to the definition of the term and the genre rebetiko tragoudi (song) through detailed analysis of its verses and of the evolution of its performance. His discussion was invaluable in helping me avoid some of the pitfalls associated with *rebetika* terminology, in "a discipline whose generic terms are not noted for their precision," (Gauntlett,1982/83: 101) and in his encouragement to musicologists and ethnomusicologists to engage in a "scholarly analysis of the music of the corpus...so that an integrated description and definition can be effected". (Gauntlett, 1982/83: 102). His 1991 historical outline of the "myth in and about *rebetika*" provided a succinct historical account of the political and social context of *rebetika*, while *Corpus Rebeticorum: a preview*, (1994) about a Melbourne-based project involving the creation of a data base of some 3000 commercially recorded *rebetika* performances brought together by scholars from Melbourne and La Trobe

universities, gave me an insight into the role of the music recording industry in the story of *rebetika*.

Conway Morris' (1981) article on 78 rpm recordings held by the British Institute of Recorded Sound is also referred to as a source for information on the early recording of *café-aman*[19] music in Greece. Three *rebetika* anthologies were used as sources for Greek views on the nature and history of *rebetika* music and dance (as well as a plethora of website articles), Petropoulos (1979), the second edition of the first *rebetika* anthology to be published on in Greece in 1968, Dragoumis, Petrides, Petropoulos and Papadimitriou in Butterworth and Schneider (1975); a collection of essays on *rebetika* dance, music and "*rebetika* and blues [music]," and Skorelis (1978); an anthology of *rebetika* songs transcribed into treble/bass score using Western notation.

My analysis and interpretation of accounts and perceptions of *rebetika* in Melbourne are supported by an organological discussion on *rebetika* musical instruments in Greece and Melbourne including suggestions regarding the classification of *rebetika*. I have been guided by Kartomi's work on concepts and classification of musical instruments (1990) and her observations on the subject with special reference to the 1990s (2001). Referring to processes of classification she observed: "It is frequently a multilevel, creative way of thinking and organizing knowledge about instruments and ensembles in ways that are consistent with socially influenced or structured ideas or belief systems" (Kartomi, 1990: 271). My discussion of *rebetika* instruments from the early twentieth century to the present day is a multilevel discussion involving an historical review of individual instruments and ensembles in Greece and Melbourne. I have also adopted Kartomi's terms "culture-emerging" to distinguish those so-called

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[19] *Café-Aman* refers to cafes in Greek urban centres in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries which promoted the performance of Oriental-style music (that is, music from the Levant and Middle East) to that of Western popular music heard in *café-chantants*.

natural classifications that emerge informally from within a culture or a sub-culture...from "observer-imposed" classifications that are conceived and imposed by an outsider..." (Kartomi, 2001: 298). Pennanen's work (1999) on the organological development and performance practice of the Greek *bouzouki* provided scholarly insights into the origin of the *bouzouki*, etymology of the word '*bouzouki*,' morphological developments of the instrument and *bouzouki* performance techniques. Conway Morris' (1981) research on musical instruments used in Greece's urban cafes in the 1920s to the 1940s, has also been an invaluable source. Anouanakis' (1976) ground-breaking, scholarly publication on Greek popular musical instruments enabled me to consolidate reflections and comparisons about organological developments of *rebetika* instruments in Greece and Melbourne after visiting the collection on which the book is based, in Athens.

Most recent research on *rebetika* music focuses on the nature of the songs' texts and their sociological contexts. Three doctoral theses stand out for their quality, the first for its textual analysis and the others for their musical analysis. One, by the literary specialist Stathis Gauntlett, was accepted by the University of Oxford in 1978 and was published in a modified form in 1985 as a book entitled *Rebetika* Carminae Graecia Recentoris. Another, by Ebhart Dietrich, published by Verlag der Musikalienhandlung, Hamburg, in 1987 as a book entitled Das Rebetiko: eine Studie zur stadtischen Musik Griechenlands. The third unpublished thesis, accepted by Adelaide University in 1997 was by Demeter Tsounis under the title, *Rebetika* Music-Making in Adelaide: diaspora musical style and identity.

Gauntlett's aim was to work "towards a definition of the genre [*rebetika*] through the analysis of its verbal component" (Gauntlett, 1985: 43).[20] He found that five "points

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[20] For further discussion of *rebetika* texts, see the theses, The Language of *Rebetika*: a description and analysis, was written by Enzilis, (1996), and the second, entitled The "Silent Text:" a contribution to the studies of the poetics of *rebetika*, written by Paivanas, (1992) both accepted by the University of Melbourne.

of transition [became] apparent in the process of stylisation and diversification of the content, complication of the form, and contrivance of the language" [of *rebetika* song] (Gauntlett, 1985: 190). Since they relate closely to the stylistic transformation of *rebetika* music and inform the stylistic periods shown in *table 2.1* Gauntlett's summary of the five points of transition is paraphrased below.

The first point of transition relates to the beginning of the public presentation of the content of under-world song into the repertory of the *café-aman*. The second point of transition involved the songs' transference from the oral tradition to "strongly personalised composition with commercial recording in mind" as well as further stylization of the under-world content. Thirdly, the themes and language of the songs were subject to "expurgation induced by the censorship of the Metaxas government" in the mid-1930s. Fourthly, stylization of content, complication of form and thematic diversification climaxed in the post World War Two compositions of a second generation of professional *bouzouki* players. The fifth point of transition involved, the "conscious revival of earlier forms of rebetiko and primitivism"[21] in the 1960s. (Gauntlett, 1985:191)

Changes in the musical sound of *rebetika* and extra-musical associations linked to the music, paralleled these five points of textual transition. The *café-aman* and low-life tavernas known as *tekes* were the performance locations in the emergent stages of *rebetika* in Greece and Anatolia. Changes in the musical characteristics of early forms of *rebetika* occurred as the genre gained acceptance as a commercially viable product by the early music industries in the USA and Europe. The musical sound of *rebetika*, as well as the themes and texts, was subject to "expurgation" by its association with orientalism. Change in the the musical sound of *rebetika*, and eventually extra-

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[21] Gauntlett's use of the term *primitivism* relates to a growing conviction in Greece in the late 1960s that "rebetiko had been corrupted by commerce, and in the search for the pure roots of the genre, a few minor composers and "veterans of the *bouzouki*" who had not hitherto been involved in the commercial exploitation of the rebetiko, were discovered" (Gauntlett, 1985: 160).

musical associations connected with the music, were instigated by the second generation of professional *bouzouki* players in the late 1930s. These changes were consolidated in the 1950s. Revived forms of the genre in Greece in the late 1960s, and in Greece and Melbourne in the mid-1970s, involved a return to the musical sounds and styles of pre-World War Two.

Gauntlett described his approach to the study of *rebetika* as being influenced by "relativism bridled by historicism" (Gauntlett, 1998, pers. com.). That is, he believed understanding variations in *rebetika* composition and performance need to be considered in multi-faceted contexts and (where possible) be historically documented. Gauntlet's approach has guided this study.

The core of Dietrich's study is the analysis of the musical characteristics of recorded *rebetika* from Greece. His thesis is one of the few detailed accounts of the musical characteristics of *rebetika*.[22] He examined and analysed 23 songs in terms of their melodic, rhythmic and structural content and style, followed by contextual discussion of the songs' rhythmic modes, dance rhythms and form. His approach to the examination and analysis of songs provided me with a foundation on which to build my analysis of 27 songs identified as source material by *Apodimi Compania*, members of a group of Melbourne performers of traditional Greek music.

The ethnomusicologist Tsounis analysed 28 "*rebetika* items"[23] (Tsounis, 1997: 184) examining the same musical characteristics as Dietrich but adding instrumentation, timbre and texture. Tsounis presents a discussion of the musical characteristics of

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22 Skoretis's (1978) anthology of rebetika songs provides many musical transcriptions of songs using Western notation. However, there is no space in this study for a systematic analysis of these transcripts.

23 The word "item" is used as a generic term for program components in competitive arts festivals known as *Eisteddfods* in Wales. The *Eisteddfod* tradition flourishes in Australia. This may account for Tsounis's use of the word.

songs which she recorded as an aspect of her ethnomusicological study of *rebetika* in Adelaide. She explored the contemporary re-creation of a traditional Greek urban music in Adelaide covering the period between 1980 and 1993, giving an analysis of a sample of local repertoire.

Tsounis argued *rebetika* embodied a "symbolic-ideological narrative" (Tsounis, 1997: 19-23). It involved perceptions of *rebetika* as "soul," "root" and "world" music. She believed that *rebetika* as "soul" music involving people in passionate, spontaneous and collective dance, was used as a "cathartic vehicle for the empassioned, spiritual and collective expression of its participants" (Tsounis, 1997: 206). She described "soul" music as a narrative which "privileges a collective participation in live music, [in which] experiences of heightened passion and pleasure are realized and shared within the solidarity of the *parea*, the network of friends and companions" (Tsounis, 1997: 206). "Roots music," on the other hand, was said to be belonging to a 'genuine' and 'authentic' Greek tradition...embedded in the long and continuous past of the Greek people, while *rebetika* as performed by specialised groups, was said to be

> one of the many 'traditional,' 'authentic' and exotic popular genres of "world music" which constructs a narrative of *rebetika* as a "purely aesthetic musical object for global consumption". (Tsounis, 1997: 209)[24]

Thus, Tsounis refers to the multi-faceted contexts of *rebetika* amongst the Greek-Australian diaspora. She argues that "symbolic constructions" about *rebetika* in Adelaide were "multi-layered and constantly undergoing negotiation for articulation and dominance..." (Tsounis, 1995: 99). Tsounis' focus on issues of identity and different ways in which *rebetika* music is perceived by Adelaide musicians and

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[24] Tsounis' notions of symbolic-ideological narratives in relation to *rebetika* in Adelaide are also applicable to *rebetika* music-making in Melbourne.

audiences, is a precedent to my study. As such it has been an important point of reference.

1.4 Methodological approach

It can be seen from the above discussion that a study taking into account notions of musical competency, interactivity, diaspora communities and variations of experience within both a global and local context needs a methodology which facilitates an examination of difference and variations of experience across a range of interrelated cultural phenomena. To achieve this I chose a four-part approach. Firstly, I chose a phenomenographic process involving interpretation and analysis of my informants' interview transcripts (see below). The analysis of the transcripts is followed by an organological examination of *rebetika* instruments in Greece and Melbourne. The third and fourth methodological elements involve an historical over-view of *rebetika* developments and analysis of *rebetika* music and performance in Melbourne in two parts: the first covers the period from the 1950s to the mid-1980s and the second covers the period form the mid-1980s to the present day. The question about how to relate musical sound with extra-musical associations is considered in the phenomenographic process. Brinner's and Stone's views on the acquisition of multi-faceted competencies and multi-contexts of musical performance have been a significant point of reference during my analysis of the story of *rebetika* in Melbourne.

Philosophies and techniques of phenomenography were originally developed by a research group in the Department of Education in the University of Gothenburg in Sweden (Marton, 1981:177-200). They were intended as a means of mapping the "qualitatively different ways in which people experience, conceptualise, perceive and understand various aspects of or phenomena in the world around them" (Marton, 1986:31).

Whilst there are differences between phenomenographic and phenomenological methodologies, the two methods share some characteristics. Giorgio states that in phenomenology "All objects... are to be described precisely as they present themselves in direct experience and not on the basis of past knowledge or inferences. (Giorgio, 1992: 4-5). A phenomenologist would look for that which is common to different forms of experience.

Marton describes differences between phenomenographic and phenomenological methods as follows:

> Phenomenographers try to characterise the *variations* of experience whilst phenomenologists maintain that the *essence* of experience is usually interpreted as that which is common to different forms of experience. Phenomenologists emphasise the distinction between immediate experience and conceptual thought The latter should be 'held in check' in an attempt to search for the former. Phenomenographers do not make this distinction trying instead to describe the relations between the individual and various aspects of the world around them, regardless of whether those relationships are manifested in the forms of immediate experience.(Marton, 1986: 31)

In phenomenography, the focus of the research is on both the research problem and the subjects participating in the study – the interviewees. The researcher looks for the "distinctive and essential" structural aspects of the relation between the individual and the phenomena, which in this study include the musical characteristics of *rebetika* and their social-historical context. It aims to discover the structural framework within which various categories of understanding exist. In chapter three I shall discuss my application of the phenomenographic process in further detail.

CHAPTER TWO

HISTORICAL OUTLINE OF *REBETIKA* IN GREECE AND MELBOURNE

I shall now summarise the history of *rebetika* in Greece based on the literature discussed above and outline briefly its history in Melbourne, including issues identified by musicians and audience members interviewed for my study as being associated with the music.

2.1 An historical overview of *rebetika* in Greece

In its early stages of development in Greece during the late nineteenth century, particularly in and around the port areas of Athens, Piraeus and Thessaloniki, *rebetika* was associated with the life style of the urban working class but particularly with the "low-life manners of *rebetes* (the protagonists of these songs)" Gauntlett, 2001: 43). By the first few decades of the twentieth century members of the Greek-American diaspora community had brought *rebetika* music to the United States of America and by the 1950s, the music had gradually assimilated into mainstream Greek social life, which led to transformations of its musical style. With historical hindsight, scholars and enthusiasts such as Petropoulos (1968), Butterworth & Schneider (1975), Holst (1975), Skorelis (1978), Gauntlett (1978), Dietrich (1987), Kotarides and Andriakaina (1996) and Tsounis (1997) agree that *rebetika* developed approximately as shown in *table 2.1* below:

Table 2.1

A periodic table of the evolution of *rebetika* in Greece[25]	
Late 19th century --1921	origins and early developments
1922-1932	*Smyrnaic* period
1932-1940	*Piraeotic* period
1940-1952	*laika* period
1952 to the late 1960s	*archondorebetika*
1974 to the present time	revivalist period

The significance of these periods to the evolution of *rebetika* in Greece is outlined below.

Origins and early developments

As stated above *Rebetika* originated in the second half of the nineteenth century in the tavernas and cafes of Asia Minor and Greece. Conway-Morris (1981) described the popularity of the cafes which featured performances by dancing boys and girls, accompanied by music played on *oud, kanoun, santour, lyra, defi* and *zilia,*[26] based on the *makam* system of Turkish classical music. In Greece these cafes became known as *café-aman,*

> probably because of the frequent occurrence of the word *aman* (alas! mercy!) in the Turkish songs which were their distinctive hallmark ... in order to distinguish them from the *café-chantants* where Western style music was played. (Conway-Morris, 1981: 81)

Greek urban popular music was also performed in *tekes, i.e.* venues frequented by hash-smoking society. The music "drew upon and contributed to the *café-aman*, but

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[25] I derive the adjectives *Smyrnaic* and *Piraeotic* from the nouns, *Smyrnaika* and *Piraeotika,* the nomenclature given to forms of *rebetika* from the Asia Minor area of *Smyrna* and Greek port of *Piraeus.*

[26] These instruments are described in detailed context in tables 6. 1- 4.

retained a number of distinctive features" (Conway Morris, 1981: 81) including the use of the key *rebetika* accompanying instruments, the *bouzouki* and *baglama*.[27] Customers smoked hash while listening to the music in both *cafes-aman* and *tekes*, and this became a common theme of *rebetika* songs.

The music of the *café-amans* and *tekes* continued to be cultivated in the first two decades of the 20th century.[28] During this period, some Greek and Turkish musicians in Asia Minor and urban ports of Greece played together with Arab, Gypsy and Balkan musicians. The extent to which this intercultural musical partnership was believed to have influenced *rebetika* styles by Greeks and Greek-Australians is linked to broader cultural issues which I shall discuss in the following chapters. However, we should note at this point that there have always been some Greek traditional music enthusiasts who have regarded *rebetika* as a 'purely' Greek phenomenon.

1922-1932 *Smyrnaic period*

In 1920, the greater part of Thrace and Smyrna was assigned to Greece under the Treaty of Sèvres. On marching into Asia Minor in 1922 to claim their territorial gains, the Greek army was defeated by Turkish nationalist forces, which led to the enforced exchange of Orthodox Christian and Muslim populations between Turkey and Greece and the resultant entry of over one million Greeks from Anatolia as refugees to the urban areas of mainland Greece. This event became known as The Big Catastrophe. Amongst the refugees were many musicians, particularly from the Smyrna region, who established themselves quickly alongside existing Asia Minor musicians in the *café-aman* and *tekes*. During the following decade, they played a major role in the

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[27] The exact point of entry of the *bouzouki* into Greece continues to be problematic: a matter which will be discussed in chapters 5 and 6.

[28] *Rebetika* from this period was recorded by field-workers from the early USA and Western European recording industries.

development of Asia Minor-style popular urban music in mainland Greece. Their musical style, strongly flavoured with the sounds of Oriental instruments such as the *oud, kanoun* and *santour* using modal scales from Asia Minor, became known as *Smyrnaika*. Many of the refugees lived around the port of Pireaus, where the rougher-hewn music of the hash-smoking rebetes flourished in the *tekes*. By the early 1930s, a style of music featuring a synthesis of *Smyrnaic* and *Tekes* styles had evolved into a popular style which then came to dominate the Greek urban musical scene between 1932-1940.

1932-1940 *Piraeotic period*

The new popular music flourished in the taverns of Piraeus and developed into what became known as *Piraeotika;* a style, which for some, represents the classical period of *rebetika*. It was based on δρομοι (dromoi), melodic modes adapted from the makam modal system from Asia Minor with touches of modal influences from the traditional rural and island music of Greece, known as *demotika* and *nisiotika* respectively. Four urban dance modes formed the basis of the genre's rhythmic structures: *zebekiko, tsifteteli, hasapiko* and *hasaposerviko.*[29]

The musical instrumental ensembles typically included a *bouzouki,* a *baglama,* a guitar and a singer. One example of an extremely popular ensemble (*Compania)* consisted of the musicians Markos Vamvakaris, Yorgos Batis, Stratos Payoumdzis and Delias Artemis, collectively known as the Piraeus Quartet. Official government policy in the mid-1930s fostered a general anti-Oriental campaign: an expression of Greece's long-held anti-Turkish feelings, feelings which resulted in the jailing of *rebetika* musicians and the banning of any music or instrument having "Oriental" connections. Anti-authoritarian and vulgar themes also fuelled the censorship of *rebetika* during the general purge of things Oriental.

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[29] *Rebetika* dance modes are discussed in detail in chapter five.

In the late 1930s a second generation of professional *bouzouki* players led a transformation in *rebetika* style. They reduced overt anti-authoritarian sentiments in song texts, explicit references to profligacy and petty criminal activity including drug usage. The term *laika,*[30] which loosely translates as 'popular', was henceforth used as a label for the next period of *rebetika*. This transformation coincided with the occupation of Greece during World War Two by the Axis Forces from 1941-1944.

1940-1952 *The Laika period*

According to Gauntlett (1993) and Dubin, (1994:151) although the electronic recording of *rebetika* ceased temporarily in 1941 on the occupation of Greece by the Axis Forces, peformance of the music continued to flourish during this difficult period in Greece's history. As Gauntlett observed:

> Gramophone recordings were suspended by the German occupation but tavernas operated freely and all kinds of songs circulated in the oral tradition. The occupation was another period of socio-economic levelling in Greece and the pool of potential rebetes expanded. In spite of severely limited opportunities for entertainment, particularly when thousands died of starvation in the famine of 1941-1942, it had to be noted that for the most part, *rebetika* musicians prospered during the German occupation. (Gauntlett, 1993)

In 1946 the recording resumed and the process of popularising *rebetika* continued with new compositions and toned-down *rebetika* being performed in tavernas catering for middle class clients. The music became known as *archondorebetika*, literally

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[30] In fact the term *laika* has layers of meaning. Describing the use of the terms *"dhimotiko"* and "laiko" in relation to Greek rural and urban popular music, Anouakis observed that the terms are used "interchangeably, even by specialists in the field of folk music...however, these two terms are not always considered to mean the same thing. 'Folk song' by definition, refers to the old songs of a given people, whereas 'popular song' refers to more recent musical creations...the more recent songs [include] modern *rebetika* songs...Nowadays...many ethnomusicologists reject this division of songs of a nation into old and new with the corresponding designations of folk song and popular song. They consider popular creativity a uniform phenomenon, as a continuous stream of invention, and so use a single term: *laiko traghoudi* (popular song)...(Anouanakis, 1976: 25-26)

translated as 'noble *rebetika*', to reflect the changed texts of the music and its acceptance by middle-class consumers.

1952 to the late 1960s, *Archondorebetika* period

These innovations were accompanied, from about 1952, by changes in the design and construction of the *bouzouki*. The *bouzouki* instrument-maker and performer Manolis Hiotis introduced a fourth course of strings to the formerly three-course string instrument and changed the tuning to "enable him to play faster and to supply full guitar-like accompaniments" (Holst, 1975:59), a development which will be discussed further in chapter six. Suffice it to note at this point that it facilitated virtuoso playing styles and increased the use of harmonic (that is, not simply chordal) accompaniment. Electronic amplification of musical instruments and the singing voice in Western popular music increased significantly at the same time as the innovations discussed above. *Rebetika* was not excluded from this development.

Thus, from the early decades of the twentieth century to the mid-1950s, the sound of *rebetika* and its social context changed dramatically. This was reflected in the music's commercialisation, acceptance by Greece's middle class, technological developments in instrument-making and the introduction of amplification on the instruments. *Rebetika* was now more likely to be heard massively amplified in venues specialising in *archondorebetika* known as *bouzoukia*, than in small, intimate, "low-life" tavernas as in previous decades. Ensembles now included drum-kits, electric guitars, *bouzoukis*, keyboards and amplified singing voices. Mainland Greek *rebetika* enthusiasts and observers such as Panagiotakopoulos (1993) and Kondoyiannis (1972), believed that these developments, when considered with the demise of the pre-World War Two rebetes and the reintroduction of censorship by the military Junta from 1968-1974, were the reasons for the gradual decline of *rebetika* in Greece. For

others, such as Holst, what happened in the 1960s proved that *rebetika* was not yet museum music. As she wrote,

> *Rebetika* had suffered a sea-change but the result was a rich and strange alliance between high and low culture – the music of Piraeus slums had become the basis of the sophisticated "art" song which was to dominate Greek music for the next decade. (Holst, 1988: 12)

1974 to the present time, The Revivalists period

The fall of the military junta in Greece in 1974 saw the emergence of a third generation of *rebetika* enthusiasts. Many of them sought to revive the repertoire and performance practices of the *Piraeotic* and *Smyrnaic* periods. Their efforts were under-pinned by the activities of the European and USA recording industries which re-issued hundreds of pre-1946 *rebetika* recordings which are still listened to. These *rebetika* recordings continue to form part of the "explosion of world music[31] clubs, concerts and festivals throughout Europe and North America" (Burton, 1994: introduction) in the 1990s and early 2000s which may be seen as part of a so-called globalised popular music culture.

As I noted above, whilst live *rebetika* performances continued during World War Two, the recording of the music ceased in 1941 and did not resume until 1946, one year after the end of the war. In my view, the stylistic differences in *rebetika* before and after 1946 are so marked that we shall refer below to the "pre-1946" and "post-1946" *rebetika* styles.

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[31] 'World Music' is a concept described by Burton (1994: introduction) as a concept "dreamed up" as a "marketing campaign" to sell " releases from African, Latin American and other international artists [which] were not finding rack space". However, the term is now used commonly to refer to styles of music involving elements of synthesis between traditional musics from different parts of the world and Western commercial popular music.

Although it is not difficult to piece together the evolution of *rebetika*, attempts to define it are complicated by its changing nature. However, Gauntlett submitted the following definition of *rebetika* for the 1997 edition of the Oxford English Dictionary: "A type of Greek song in oriental style, accompanied by original instruments and dances, and depicting the prodigal, life manners of the rebetes". (Gauntlett, 2001: 43) Nevertheless, as well as a generally perceived "conflict" about the "basic question of definition of the social context of the *rebetiko*" there has been some "discord among the critics on related issues such as the chronological termini of the tradition, its classification as folk song or popular song and ultimately, its cultural value" (Gauntlett, 1983: 78).

2.2 An introduction to issues arising from the history of *Rebetika* in Melbourne

Efforts to define *rebetika* by Greek-Australians in Melbourne involve describing the genre's musical characteristics and the role the music plays in their lives. Their descriptions are based on many variations on the experience of the music. The following summary of rebetika history in Melbourne will provide a context for an outline of related issues.

The 1950s saw a huge increase in the numbers of Greeks migrating to Australia. Most of them were from the rural areas and islands of Greece. They brought with them their traditional rural music known as *demotika*. Amongst them were a small number of musicians who brought with them amateur experience as *bouzouki* players and an interest in *rebetika*.

Although performances of *rebetika* were rare in Melbourne at this time, those that did take place reflected the *archondorebetika* style then current in mainland Greece. There were very few venues for such an "exotic" music. Nevertheless the Greek-Australian community was engaged in a lively debate about the value and merits of the music. The decade also saw the beginnings of a Greek-Australian music industry

consisting of shops which imported recordings of Greek popular music. These found a growing client-base as the Greek-Australian community expanded rapidly in the 1960s and 1970s: decades in which the first professional *bouzouki* players arrived in Melbourne, venues for *rebetika* performance expanded and performers of *rebetika* established themselves as significant contributors to the cultural life of Greek-Australians (and a growing number of non-Greeks) in Melbourne.

In the early 1980s a new generation of Greek-Australian musicians emerged; many of them had been born in Melbourne. Their interest in *rebetika* was more akin to the 1970s revivalists in Greece. Their *rebetika*-music-making was part of a process of reconnecting with their Greek roots involving a rediscovery of *Piraeotika* and *Smyrnaika*. It was also part of an increasing understanding of Greek-Australians and their cultural traditions in Melbourne amongst non-Greeks and a strengthening of Greek-Australian identity for the diaspora community. In my view, a number of musicians from this second generation became transmitters and educators of traditional Greek music in Melbourne not only to non-Greeks, but also to members of the previous generation, their peers and to a third generation of musicians emerging from the 1990s.

I shall now introduce issues referred to me by the musicians and audience members interviewed for this study.

Firstly, *rebetika* experience in Melbourne is influenced according to which of the three generations of Greek-Australians performers and audience belong. For reasons I shall discuss in chapter three, I refer to musicians who began their musical activity in Melbourne in the 1950s to the mid-1970s as generation *A* musicians. Musicians who became musically active from the late 1970s – early 1980s are referred to as generation *B*, and a third generation of musicians to emerge in the 1990s is referred to as generation *C*.

Different experiences of migration to Australia (perceived as part of a long history of migration from Greece since pre-Classical times) were felt to contribute to different experiences of *rebetika*. Generation *A* musicians migrated from Greece to Melbourne and experienced strong feelings of dislocation from their homeland and the strangeness of a new land. These feelings were not so strong for generation *B* musicians who either migrated to Melbourne with their parents, were born in Melbourne or migrated to Australia fairly recently. More recent arrivals did not experience the political and social environment faced by earlier migrants. However, tensions about their dual cultural identity as Greek-Australians were common to members of all generations. These inter-generational relationships and feelings of duality influenced perceptions of musical tradition, learning and transmission of repertoire and skills and the significance of intercultural contact to *rebetika* in Melbourne.

The significance of intercultural contact and its connection to *rebetika* in Melbourne relates to the extent to which intercultural contact enlivened or enervated *rebetika* music-making amougst the diaspora community. For some, but not for others, this involved the acknowledgement of intercultural influences on the development of Greek secular music since Byzantine times. It also relates to how Greeks and Turks acknowledge or deny shared Mediterranean cultural influences and how this issue connects to musical relationships between Melbourne's Greek-Australian and Turkish-Australian communities.

How important is the maintenance of a Greek traditional music to the presence of *rebetika* in Melbourne? As McDonald (1996) argued, perceptions of tradition differ according to the historical, social and political viewpoint of the perceiver;[32] in other

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[32] See Barry McDonald's 1996 article *The Idea of Tradition Examined in the light of Two Australian Musical Studies* for a detailed discussion on perceptions of tradition.

words, they are bridled by relativism or depend on the perceiver's context. Thus, different migrants perceive traditional practices differently according to their personal, social and historical context in Melbourne. For some, traditional practices were a nostalagic trip or "conceived in therapeutic, not to say cosmetic, terms [rather than] a return to the verities of tradition...with a critique of origins, not a return to them" as Foster argues. (Foster, 1983:x). I have already observed above that Kypraios believed that traditional practices were "the big sickness of migrants [because] they remember things that no longer exist" (Kypraios, in Vondra, 1979: 124) Others, such as Raftis (1994, pers.com.), propose that some migrants adhere to a form of reactionary tradition, freezing their Greek cultural heritage and thus preserving it intact. Yet others believe that "Australia's Greeks [have] successfully maintained their Greek culture and history more than some other Greeks" (Psaltopoulos, 1996:5) through a lived and changing experience of their traditional music and dance.

My informants described formal and informal transmission and learning of traditional Greek music as an essential element of the lived experience of *rebetika*. The anonymous, traditional oral transmission of *rebetika* declined rapidly in Greece in the first few decades of the twentieth century to be replaced (as was the case for other world traditonal music genres) by commercial performances and electronic recordings on shellac discs or radio performances. How did Melbourne musicians acquire musical competencies in relation to *rebetika* since they were so distanced from the post-World War Two centre of *rebetika* performance and recording in Greece? To what extent did Melbourne musicians who arrived here in the 1950s and 1960s rely on mainland Greek recordings as their 'memory bank' of repertoire, or did they rely on personally remembered songs? As discussion unfolds about my informants' memories and perceptions about how they maintained and developed *rebetika* repertoire, we shall see that variations of experience are particularly evident between generations *A* and *B*.

Changes to the *dromoi* brought about by the evolution of *rebetika*, and appropriate or inappropriate (depending on points of view) ways of performing them, are hotly debated by Melbourne musicians. This is not surprising since changes in *rebetika* modal practice interrelate with intercultural influences, migration of musicians and perceptions of tradition. I shall show that whereas some musicians are content to use a small number of *dromoi* on instruments constructed with equal temperament tuning, others (particularly generation *B* musicians) experiment with instrument construction and tunings in order to re-acquaint themselves with older (arguably, more diverse) modal practices.

Pre-1946 *rebetika* featured greater variations in the basic nine-beat rhythmic patterns of the *zebekiko*[33] dance. Most of these are no longer practised. In fact only two are heard regularly in Melbourne. However, a small number of generation *B* musicians have attempted to re-introduce others. The antithesis to this concern is discussed in the view of one generation *A* musician who describes a blatant disregard for rhythmic accuracy amongst some musicians in the 1960s and 1970s. With the exception of the *tsifteteli* (originally a woman's dance), *rebetika* dances were men's dances. In Greece and Melbourne, this has changed with both men and women taking part in modified variations of the dances. I discuss my informants' experience of dance and rhythmic style, noting how while traditional Greek dancing was once confined to Greek-Australian homes and festivals, it is now practised by Greeks and non-Greeks in numerous Melbourne clubs, pubs and tavernas.

Vocal style, along with the musical characteristics discussed above, is a key indicator of stylistic difference throughout the evolution of *rebetika*. Discussion related to this issue is based on Potter's view that vocal styles "depend on the sociological context in

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[33] The *zebekiko* is one of four main dances associated with *rebetika*. It is discussed in detail in chapter five.

which the music is sung" (Potter, 1998:xiii); another relativistic point of view. Evidence is provided to support the view that changes in *rebetika* vocal style in Greece reflected its association with the Greek urban working classes (including its refugee elements) in the hash-dens and *tekes*, clientele of the *café-amanes* and tavernas, and later *kosmikes*[34] tavernas and *bouzoukia* frequented by the middle classes. I refer to descriptions of vocal *chromata* (colour) in *Smyrnaic*, *Piraeotic* and post-1946 *rebetika*, outlining how Melbourne singers from generations *A* and *B* discuss what they feel is appropriate vocal style, and whether or not they feel technically and culturally equipped to sing *rebetika*.

Instruments from the nineteenth century to the present day are rich sources for research into the sound of *rebetika* in Greece and the Greek diaspora. Discussion on this issue provides a basis for an examination of *rebetika* instruments observed during my field work in Melbourne. These instruments have been either imported, made by local instrument-makers or handed down as family heirlooms. I refer to the construction of two local instrument-makers, describing their work as an example of the continuation of traditional Greek craft practices in Australia, involving innovative ideas for the solution of old construction problems.

Needless to say, issues related to the sound and style of *rebetika* discussed above have led to debate amongst Melbourne musicians regarding what constitutes authentic *rebetika* music-making. Efforts to replicate *Smyrnaic* and *Piraeotic* performance practices and repertoire in Melbourne were considered by some to be the attempts of overly concerned "purists". Others considered we should not be concerned with reviving older performance practices. Yet others considered all variations of *rebetika* performance practice as authentic. I shall return to this issue in later discussion.

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[34] The term *kosmikes* refers here to the up-market *archondorebetika* venues in Greek urban centres from the 1950s.

CHAPTER THREE

A PHENOMENOGRAPHIC ACCOUNT OF PERCEPTIONS OF *REBETIKA* IN MELBOURNE (PART ONE): TRADITION, IDENTITY AND MIGRATION

3.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses how *rebetika* is perceived by a total of forty-five informants whom I interviewed for this study. I aim to show through analysis and interpretation of my data that *rebetika* is a significant cultural experience for the first two generations of Greek-Australian musicians in Melbourne. I also aim to show that the musicians' and audience members' perceptions of the genre relate to their understanding of three central concepts: tradition, identity and migration. Following the phenomenographic method, the three concepts may be referred to as primary categories of relevance (COR); besides being relevant to the research topic they also turn out to be key points made by informants. They also relate to secondary and tertiary categories of relevance and relationships between all categories; however, these will be explained in later chapters.

My aim in the interviews was to encourage informants to talk about their experience of *rebetika* rather than to attempt to define what they thought *rebetika* was. The focus on their experience encouraged them to reflect on *rebetika* as it had touched their lives and not merely to repeat received opinion about the nature of *rebetika*, much of which is based on the efforts in Europe and the USA to mythologise *rebetika* music and its performers in promotional materials during the last ten years.

3.2 The Phenomenographic process

I shall now describe how the phenomenographic process was applied in my research.

The interviewees

Initially, informants were selected from those performers of *rebetika* in Melbourne who have a high profile in the local Greek-Australian community. I was gradually introduced to a network of people associated with the genre, who can be categorised as follows: 1) Melbourne- and Athens-born performers of *rebetika* 2) Melbourne- and Athens-born performers of *demotika* 3) scholars of Greek traditional music 4) Melbourne-based scholars of *rebetika* texts 5) male and female performers and 6) members of the first, second or third Greek-Australian generation of *rebetika* players.

Demotika performers (that is, performers of rural Greek traditional music) are referred to because most *rebetika* performers also play *demotika*. Melbourne's *rebetika* performers continue this tradition.[35]

It became apparent early in the interview process that the three generations had different perceptions and experiences of *rebetika* in Melbourne. These differences are associated with social and cultural changes experienced by Greek-Australians, particularly since the 1950s.[36]

I shall discuss these changes on *rebetika* performance in Melbourne over the last fifty years throughout the thesis. Suffice it to say now that in 1957, the Greek newspaper

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[35] Very little research work has been done in the area of Greek *demotika* music performance in Melbourne, or indeed in Australia, despite its lively presence in the Greek-Australian music scene.

[36] The significance of generational issues to the development of *rebetika* in Melbourne relates to Gauntlett's use of generational classification in his seminal work on the nature of *rebetika* texts in Greece, in which he refers to first and second generation professional *bouzouki* players between ca 1930-1960s and the generation of *rebetika* performers who emerged after the fall of the military junta in Greece in 1974. (Gauntlett, 1978: 52-53)

Neos Kosmos[37] featured an article which found the idea of *rebetika* in Melbourne "absurd," whereas by March, 2000, the local Greek Radio station 3XY had attracted a live audience of 600 enthusiasts to a *rebetika* performance. This indicates how attitudes towards *rebetika* amongst Melbourne's Greek-Australian community in the last 50 years have changed.

This popularity grew over three distinct generations of Greek-Australians who will be referred to as generations *A*, *B* and *C*. Generations *A* and *B* musicians are differentiated according to the different time spans of their performance activity and stylistic tendencies. Generation *C* comprises young performers who are mostly teenagers. For lack of space this study will focus on generations A and *B*. A follow-up study of the *rebetika* experiences and perceptions of generation *C* will be needed in the near future to explore their performance practices.

Generation *A* refers to Greek-Australians who were (and in many cases still are) active performers in the 1950s and 1960s. Generation *B* refers to those who were (and remain) active performers from the late 1970s to the present day. There was a considerable over-lap of *rebetika* performance practices between generations *A* and *B* in the late 1970s and current performance practices still involve both generations. The *A/B/C* distinction is a convenient way of avoiding confusion that otherwise must be created by referring to first, second and third generations within one family, for a first generation performer does not necessarily mean he was active in generation *A*. First generation interviewees arrived in Melbourne throughout all the five decades covered in this study. First generation interviewees were migrants to Melbourne whilst second and third generation interviewees were born in Melbourne.

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[37] Neos Kosmos, 1957, March 6: 1

As we shall see, the relationship between generation *A* and *B* performers plays a significant role in the story of *rebetika* in Melbourne. *Table 3.1* shows categories of informants divided according to the respective generation within one family, time span of performance activity and decade of arrival or birth in Melbourne.

Table 3. 1

key: **A = began active performance in Melbourne in the 1950s and 1960s**
B = began active performance in Melbourne from the late 1970s to the late 1980s
C = the newly emerging generation of performers born in Melbourne from the 1980s

Categories of informants divided according to the generation within one family, time span of performance activity and decade of migration to, or birth in, Melbourne.

Generation within one family	A,B,C generation	Decade of migration to, or birth in, Melbourne
First	A	1950s
First	A	1960s
First	B	1970s
First	B	1980s
First	B	1990s
Second	B	born in Melbourne between 1950s-late 1960s
Third	C	born in Melbourne from the 1980s

Table 3.2 shows the three categories of informants with their the initials in the first column.[38]

[38] See appendix A for the full list of informants names in alphabetical order

Table 3.2

Key: **m = male**
f = female
first, second, third = generation in family
a) = arrival in Melbourne, b) = birth in Melebourne
*** = Greek informants**
see *table 3.1* above for descriptions of generations *A*, *B* and *C*.

Categories of informants divided according to gender, generation, decade of arrival in or birth in Melbourne, return migrant experience, performer in Greece, performer in Melbourne, instrument maker or academic

Informant's initials, gender and generation in family	Generations according to time span of performance activity A,B,C	Decade of arrival in Melbourne(a) or birth (b)	Returned migrant (Melbourne-Greece-Melbourne)	Greek performer	Melbourne performer	Instrument maker	academic
AA (m) Second	B	1960s (b)	1994-1995 2000-	•	•	•	
GA							•
CA (m) First	B	1970s (a)			•	•	
GA (m) First	B	1990s (a)			•		
PA (m) First	B	1970s (a)			•		
CB				•			
CB i (m) First	A	1950s (a)		•	•		
HC (m) Third[39]	B	1960s (b)	1994-1995 1998-	•	•	•	
SC[40] (m)	B						
MD (m) *							•
TD (m) First	B	1970s (a)			•	•	
CD (f) First	B	1970s (a)	1994-1995 1997-1998	•	•		
RD (m) *				•			
VE (m) First	A	1960s (a)			•		
CG (m) *				•			

[39] This third generation informant is in fact a core member of generation *B* performers

[40] This informant is a second generation member of the Greek music industry in Melbourne.

Table 3.2 continued

GG (m) Second	B	1960s (b)	1969-1980 1994 -	•	•	•	
MG (m) Second	B	1960s (b)	1971-1980 1994 -	•	•	•	
TI i (m) Second	B	1970s (b)			•		
TI ii (m) First	B	1970s (a)			•		
AK i (m) First	A	1950s (a)			•		
GK (m) Second	B	1970s (b)			•		
NK (m) First	A	1950s (a)			•		
TK first (m)	B	1970s			•	•	
LK (f) *				•	•		
LL (m) *							•
GM (m) *				•			
M (m) *				•			•
DM (m) First	B	1970s (a)			•		
BP (m) First	B	1970s (a)		•	•		
AR (m) *							•
YS (f) First	A	1960s (a)		•	•		
MS (f) Second	B	1960s (b)			•		
GS (m) First	A	1960s (a)			•	•	
NS (m) Second	B	1960s (b)			•		
DS (f) *				•			
Th.S (m) First[41]	A	1960s (a)		•	•		
BS (m) First	A	1950s (a)			•		
HT (m) First	A	1950s (a)			•		

[41] I am grateful to Costas Tsicaderis for providing a copy of his interview with the late Themios Stathoulopoulos, recorded in 1980 and transcribed by Mary Clidaras in 1998. Stathoulopoulos is perceived by most of my informants to have played an important role in *rebetika* performance in Melbourne. This interview provides evidence of Stathoulopoulos' extensive experience as a *rebetika* performer both in Greece and Melbourne.

Table 3.2 continued

TT (m) First	A	1950s (a)			•		
CT (m) First	A	1950s (a)			•		
IV (f) Second	B	1960s (b)			•		
PV (m) First	A	1950s (a)			•		
AY (m) Second	B	1960s (b)			•		
EZ (m) First	A	1960s (a)			•		
KZ (m)[42] Third	B	1950s (b)			•		

As *table 3.2* shows, thirteen of the performers belong to generation *A* and twenty to generation *B*. In total, forty are male and five female, a gender ratio which supports the idea that *rebetika* performance is male-dominated. Eight informants were makers and players of *rebetika* instruments. Five performer- informants returned to Greece for a few years during which time they continued to perform *rebetika* music. Eleven informants were either mainland Greek-born performers or scholars associated with traditional Greek music and dance, or both.

3.3 Analysis of transcribed interviews

I began the phenomenographic analysis of transcribed interviews by "bracketing" (putting aside) my possible preconceived notions about the topic of dicusssion. In as much as I am not a Greek, a Greek-Australian or a participant-observer, the bracketing process did not, in my case, involve the shedding of preconceptions based on a lifetime of access to the music and its broader cultural contexts. Like many other ethnomusicologists, I was an outsider looking in on a relatively unfamiliar culture.

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[42] KZ refers to Komninos Zervos, a third generation interviewee who played a pivotal role between generations *A* and *B* musicians by creating the *Tsakpina* club, a meeting place and venue for both generations.

Nevertheless, I needed to put aside some received opinions about *rebeti* which I had acquired in the past five years of interviewing and listening to performe as I needed to question why and how *rebetika* came to be performed in Melbourne.

There is not enough space in this thesis to engage the reader in a step b ep account of the lengthy phenomenographic process of analysis. I had to return tinually to each transcript, grouping selected quotations together, allowing the fin tegories of transcription that tell us how the interviewees perceive *rebetika* to e ge. I shall summarise my research findings in terms of primary, secondar d teritary categories of relevance (COR), meaning and relationships between R and the concluding categories of description. The findings will explicate different experiences and understandings of *rebetika* sound and extra music sociations determined by the musicians and audience members in relation t *ebetika* in Melbourne. It should be noted that the quantity of references to C does not necessarily determine the significance of the final categories of desc n decided upon.

3.3(a) Primary categories of relevance : perceptions of tradition

The musicians' and audience members' perceptions of the history of *etika* as a form of traditional music divided into two groups. The first held that it n evolved form of popular music which was passed down through the generation mbers of which continually revivified its practice. The second held that instrumen nodes and other musical characteristics of *rebetika* in the pre-1946 period change they gave way to Western popular music influences after 1946. These percepti relate to *Rebetika* musicians in Melbourne who can be divided into: I) those whos formance practice reflects changes in the 'traditional' older modes and instrun types as typified in post-1946 mainland *laika* (popular) developments, and 2) tho who want to maintain the pre-1946 *rebetika* styles (when appropriate) in c emporary

performance. Most members of generation *A* support the former ew, whilst members of generation *B* were divided between the former and latter v s. This has created an energetic debate about the cultural and aesthetic valu so-called 'authentic' *rebetika* performances and *laika* performances in the c nunity. As Argyropoulos observed:

> It's very stagnant to say "Let's take tradition and just regurgitat s it was". I don't think most people do it. It's a tricky situation. Its to take a piece and say I will attempt to play this traditionally...Th s a personal side to the music apart from a tradition. [Referrin the changes in the post-1946s *rebetika* style], everything is being fl ed. I don't see much connection between the traditional makams o ek modes. (Argyropoulos, 1994, pers. com.)

Argyropoulos argues that performances of traditional music are rarely copies of received interpretations. Musicians often make changes to received mo However, there are musical characteristics of *rebetika* which, once changed be a certain point, detract from perceived traditional practices. The *dromoi* (k modes) exemplify these characteristics. Thus, changes to the sound of contem y *rebetika* involve changes brought about by personal stylistic influences, comm l interests, geographic and temporal distance from pre-1946 *rebetika* styles. Some ges affect perceptions of traditional performance practices while others do not. gyropoulos also indicates that *rebetika* has come to be associated with an her the primary COR: that of Greek and Greek-Australian identity.

In addition to changes in traditional musical characteristics of *rebetik* Daly (1994, pers. com.) and Galiatsos (1994, pers. com.) suggested that the line of the anonymous, collective *rebetika* song tradition and its oral transmission the first few decades of the twentieth century was largely brought about by the in ence of the recording industries in Greece, USA and Europe which recorded and su orted works by selected *rebetika* composers. Another factor was the practice a ongst some

composers to claim personal ownership of songs which hitherto had been ı ırded as belonging to the anonymous tradition.

However, the role which the recording industry has played in the evolution ·rebetika is a doubled-edged sword for diaspora musicians, especially those of ge: ation *B*. Whilst generation *A* performers experienced the immediate pre- or post- ·rld War Two Greek contexts of *rebetika*, neither generation experienced the anon; ous oral transmission of the early *rebetika* period. Instead, they had to rely on ı rded or electronic broadcast sources for learning the repertoire. Aspects of oral tr mission in Melbourne's *rebetika* developments will be outlined in chapter four. S ice it to state here that by the time the Greek recording industry had been establish in 1932, the anonymous, orally transmitted *rebetika* tradition had been replac by the eponymous (personally owned) period of *rebetika* composition.

A much longer-term view of tradition and its connection with *rebetika* held by those who believed that *rebetika* melodic modes were derived from Byzan church modes. This is a contentious issue, since *rebetika* modes are based on th urkish-Arab makam system which was absorbed over the centuries into Greek po ar urban music. The perception is deeply embedded in the dominant belief in Gree ational identity and its connection with the Byzantine period, a golden-era of Greec history between ca 324 and 1453: an era which immediately preceded one of Gre 's most oppressive periods of colonisation by the Ottoman Empire from ca 145 o 1821. Whether the connection between *rebetika* modes and the Byzantine perio xists or not, the perception is held to some degree by all members of generations *A* nd *B*. I shall refer to this last point in more detail in the following section on th primary COR 'identity'. Volaris observed that Melbourne *rebetika* musicians "have moved completely away (from makam-based modes) because the basis of those s s – the Byzantine scales – is really the Greekness in us that expresses the Gree eeling" (Volaris, 1996, pers. com). A number of generation *B* musicians, especial singers,

also said that their childhood experience of Byzantine church music i Melbourne influenced their later affinity with *rebetika* and demotika song.

Another aspect of *rebetika* tradition discussed by my informants invo d *rebetika* musical instruments. There is broad agreement between generations nd *B* that traditional *rebetika* instruments found in pre-1946 ensembles uded the unamplified acoustic *bouzouki, baglama, guitar, tzouras, tsimbou olin, saz, kanoun, santouri, defi, and toubeleki,* whereas post-1946 ensembles i ich drum-kits and electric and amplified keyboards and guitars were included, do The latter instruments are not used by generation *B* performers who specialis pre-1946 *rebetika* styles. *Rebetika* instruments used in Melbourne and Greece wi discussed in detail in chapter six.

There is also broad agreement between the two generations that mu nd dance traditions have to be 'lived' in order for them to have any real meaning erformers and audiences alike. Batis's comment is typical: "For a tradition to be u stood by a person he has to live it a little...the young people who avoid it don now what tradition is..." (Batis, 1994, pers.com.). Traditional customs and beliefs, said, have to be practised and experienced in order for their values and me gs to be understood.

Whilst agreeing in principle with this widely-held view, I feel it is nec ry to take into account the fact that traditional practices are comprised of different nents, and that variations in their maintenance or decline can provide insights into t asons for change in traditional practice. For some generation *A* musicians in M ourne, an adherence to post-1946 *rebetika* textual, melodic, rhythmic and trumental developments is a valid 'living' of the tradition. For others, notab those of generation *B*, 'living' the *rebetika* tradition involves researching a learning performance practices which reflect pre-1946 stylistic elements.

Rebetika was perceived to be in decline in mainland Greece by the late 1960s, while it was being established in Melbourne. The music was being heard in an increasing number of public venues, such as tavernas and restaurants. The decline in mainland Greece was exacerbated by six years of rule by the military junta between 1968-1974. The decline in Greece was checked with the emergence of a third generation of *rebetika* musicians and a second generation (generation *B)* in Melbourne in the 1970s. Members of both generations shared an enthusiasm for reviving pre-1946 *rebetika* styles and in so doing contributed to a *rebetika* renaissance in Greece and amongst the Greek-Australian community in Melbourne. While the tradition had reached a seemingly terminal period in Greece, it was once again perceived as being 'alive.' Diaspora musicians' contribution to this renaissance was acknowledged in strong terms by a number of Greek informants. Mavropoulos, the then artistic director of the Dora Stratou Dance Company (Greece's national theatre for traditional music and dance), said he believed that although he had once thought traditional Greek music would "die," he now felt that "Greek traditional culture was expanding and... many of these things in Greece start from abroad and come back" (Mavropoulos, 1994, pers. com.).

The President of the same theatre company, Alkis Raftis, who has a great deal of influence on contemporary Greek traditional music and dance developments, expressed admiration for a group of generation *B* musicians from Melbourne on tour in Greece in 1994 for "bringing back to Greece the old ways of playing" Raftis (1994, pers. com.). Although they played *demotika* music on the tour, the players were mostly key *rebetika* players of the pre-1946 tradition in Melbourne. Raftis believed the diaspora musicians in Australia had the ability to "freeze culture" by learning the repertoire and style from a limited number of old recordings, unlike the mainland counterparts who had access to "bigger resources". The implication was that diaspora musicians change fewer aspects of traditional music than those in mainland Greece

because they do not have access to, or are affected by, as many contemporary electronically recorded or orally transmitted influences.

His view reflects a somewhat nostalgic perception held by Greeks that their diaspora cousins are somehow 'guardians' of the traditional practices which they took with them to Australia. If this were the case Melbourne's musicians would indeed be 'freezing' traditional practices and perpetuating a moribund tradition rather than 'living' it. I do not wholly support Raftis's view because of my observations and discussions with Melbourne's musicians and because of their access to global recording industry resources as well as intercultural exchanges.

Some interviewees described pre-1946 *rebetika* as "poor" when they compared it with later developments. They said they believed that the introduction of Western harmonic principles and changes to post-1946 ensembles and instruments (particularly the introduction of a bouzouki with four courses of strings) added a 'richness' not heard in early *rebetika*. Sapekidis said that:

> Tunings changed and became a lot richer and gave a different style. I've heard excellent musicians play with four string instruments [*bouzoukis*] or the latest instruments from Greece and they sound more appealing to me. Why depress a music to keep it poor if you can make it richer and more widely heard. (Sapekidis, 1995, pers. com.)

This view is common amongst generation *A* performers. Apart from suggesting a preference for post-1946 *bouzouki* construction and tunings, it hints at the relationship between newly arrived migrants to Australia in the 1950s and 1960s and the low status of non-Western popular music in Australia in the same period: that is, *rebetika* was considered to be exotic and un-Australian. The sound of post-1946 *rebetika*, with its evolving Western harmonies and instrumentation, was more acceptable and less different than the sound of pre-1946 *rebetika*, with its heterphony, modes and instrumentation. This issue will be discussed further in the chapters five and six. The influence of Western popular music on mainland Greek musicians was pervasive. One

way in which they absorbed harmonic ideas into demotik music is expressed in Mavropoulos's comment:

> if you compare traditional music with art music, the traditional music is quite poor...I was raised with the Beatles so the hearings I have are mostly Western and once I have them transfer them in some way – chords –into the *demotika* I play. (Mavropoulos, 1994, pers.com.)

The extent to which non-Greek factors influence Greek cultural phenomena in contemporary Greece is deeply embedded in an on-going national debate published and broadcast in print and electronic media during the twentieth, and now twenty-first, centuries. For reasons already mentioned, Greece is particularly sensitive with regard to acknowledging the extent to which Turkish music and dance has become part of Greek music and dance. *Rebetika* has always been subject to this debate, not only in mainland Greece but also in the Greek diaspora in Australia.

Daly mentioned a perception relating to notions of national identity and ethnicity in traditional music. He argued that there is "no such thing as 'Greek music,' indeed that:

> there is no such thing anywhere in the world as an ethnic tradition. [Rather] There is more of a regional tradition which tends to move itself around according to various influences which are spread around by different people.

He went on to observe that thinking about traditional music:

> has come into play since we had mass media (because) music travels over long distances in short times...I think the whole idea of tradition is a very contemporary concern which is the product of musicologists. (Daly, 1994, pers. com.)

This generalisation can be refuted by reference, for example, to the musician-custodians of Australian Aboriginal song and their related rights of ownership and transmission. Nevertheless, Daly raises pertinent and important issues about musical performance as it is affected by changing geographical, regional and political

boundaries, as well as shifts from rural to urban communities and migration, all of which relate to *rebetika* music. *Rebetika* began on the small scale as a popular form of music in Anatolia and Greece, but later became associated with an international perception of 'Greekness.' It became an Hellenic icon largely, as Daly points out, due to its dissemination in the mass media but also to the fact that it "travelled over long distances in short times' as its musicians established disapora communities around the world. Relatively speaking, Melbourne's *rebetika* is small-scale and regional though still connected to the mother country as well as the global recording industry.

In summary, my informants' perceptions of tradition in *rebetika* accord with their generation and the time span of their performance activity in Melbourne. Generally, members of both generation *A* and *B* associate traditional *rebetika* with the performance practice up to the 1960s, while a number of generation *B* members associate traditional *rebetika* mostly with pre-1946 performance and compositional practices.

The music recording industry of the USA and Western Europe is believed to have supported selective performance styles in pre- and post- 1946 *rebetika* and bringing the tradition of orally transmitted, anonymous *rebetika* song to an end.

Rebetika melodic modes are perceived to be traditional because they are believed to have connections with Greek modes of the Byzantine period (even if this is a contentious issue) and the experience of Byzantine modes in the lives of some Melbourne *rebetika* performers contributed to their developing interest in *rebetika*. There is a broad agreement between the two generations that traditional *rebetika* instruments consist of those found in pre-1946 ensembles and that music and dance traditions have to be 'lived' in order for them to have meaning for performers and audience.

Mainland Greeks believe that members of the diaspora have a special role in maintaining traditional music and dance. Some generation *A* performers described the "poverty" of the pre-1946 monodic and heterophonic *rebetika* compared with the "richness" of post-1946 *rebetika*, with its additional electronically amplified instruments, the drum-kit, the introduction of a four double course stringed *bouzouki* and Western harmonic textures.

3.3(b) Perceptions of identity

The term 'identity' encapsulates a number of ways in which people perceive themselves and how others perceive them. It is also a composite term embodying concepts such as *sameness* [being as others], *association* [being with others], *relatedness* [being part of the customs and values of others], *oneness* [being part of a spiritual sense of others], *nationalism* [being part of an ethnic group] and *autonomy* [having freedom of will].

Nations, communities or individuals who experience these different aspects of identity may feel conflict between particular dualistic sets of historical and/or geographic circumstance. In terms of world history, a perceived division between Eastern and Western cultures has been commonly associated with regional identity and dualistic tensions.

As a 'gateway' between East and West, Greece is no stranger to this circumstance. Mavropoulos points to this duality when he refers to Western influences on Greek traditional music and the maintenance of a sense of Greek identity within it. He commented:

> Greece was all the time a cross road between East and West and what happened as a result was the Greek culture. It was not that the Greeks invented. The Greeks borrowed things and they made something else...I don't think it (traditional music) will die as long as Greece – one leg of it – belongs to the East. (Mavropoulos, 1994, pers.com.)

Here, Mavropoulos touches on a sensitive aspect of Greece's national identity. As a fount of Western culture, Greece has always been open to influences from its Eastern Turkish and Arab neighbours. Intercultural exchange between Greeks, Turks and Arabs brought about by the Ottoman colonisation of Greece between 1453-1820 and the forced exchange of Orthodox and Muslim populations between Greece and Turkey in 1922, still rankles contemporary Greeks and Turks. However, despite the presence of these dualistic tensions, *rebetika* has become a powerful symbol of identity for the majority of Greeks. However, there are differences of opinions about the value of *rebetika* and its origins according to how much the genre contributes to a sense of Greek identity.

The differences of opinion continue today in Greece, Melbourne and other diaspora communities. However, during my research I perceived a different attitude amongst generation *B* informants. Far from distancing themselves from Turkish and Arabic influences, they seek to learn from their Turkish-Australian colleagues. This intercultural contact is a measure of my informants' confidence in their Greek-Australian identity and music-making. Like the poetry of Tsaloumas, (one of the most resepcted Greek-Australian poets) whilst originating in Australia, their music-making has been "coloured" by the distance between "the two countries, (Greece and Australia) the two worlds, and the particular psychological climate this distance creates" (Tsaloumas,1985).

I shall now examine how an historical relationship between *rebetika* and a sense of Greek-Australian identity is perceived by my Melbourne informants. My analysis of the interview transcripts reveals seven notions related to the perceptions of identity mentioned above. They are: 1) stereotypical attitudes about Greeks held by non-Greeks, 2) changing attitudes of generations *A* and *B*, 3) a sense of cultural "awakening" amongst members of generation *B* in the late 1970s 4) multiculturalism

in Australia from the 1970s 5) *rebetika* instruments 6) regionalism and 7) ceremonial procedure.

I shall now discuss these notions in more detail and illustrate them with references from the research data.

Musicians in Melbourne mentioned two images of *rebetika* music and musicians and both involved stereotypes of Greek culture. The first image illustrated by Argyropoulos (1994, pers. com.) and held by the dominant Anglo-European population of Melbourne between the 1950s and early 1970s, perceived Greek popular culture as being comparable, for example, to the Greek custom of breaking plates at weddings: "People weren't aware. Non-Greeks considered Greekness to be souvlaki, breaking plates, a dance. That's what Greek culture was". This image of the wild, partying Greek was also propagated in mainland Greece especially in the post-World War Two tavernas, or *bouzoukia*, which hosted loud, electronic *rebetika* ensembles.

The second image, perpetuated by Greek-Australians, is based on an idealised sense of Greek identity, in which all things Greek are perfect. As Zervos commented:

> I was brought up as an Australian Greek and taught to believe that Greeks were a very virtuous people who did nothing wrong. So it was interesting to me to find out that the Greeks of the early 1900s were often in hash-dens smoking pipes...The thought of this really cool drug-taking society that happened in Greece – a Greece that my parents had put on a pedestal and told me was fantastic and no one ever did any wrong - was quite interesting. (Zervos, 1999, pers. com.)

This representation of the idealised Greek is still commonly adhered to by Greeks in Melbourne today. For Greeks, to 'present their better face' was even more important in the 1950s and 1960s when national policies of assimilation and integration were in place. Furthermore, most Greek migrants at this time originated from rural areas and adhered to the values of their villages rather than those of the working class urban

sprawl of Athens and Thessaloniki which were the spawning grounds of *rebetika* and its associated drugs and criminality. Thus, generation *A* musicians, and Greek-Australians of the 1950s and 1960s, kept a relatively low cultural profile until changing social attitudes in the 1970s encouraged a cultural awakening, not just amongst second generation Greek-Australians, but also amongst Australian communities in general.[43]

The Cultural awakening

The cultural awakening resulted from the developing Greek identity amongst second and third generation Melbourne musicians from the late 1970s. This awakening paralleled the renaissance of pre-1946 *rebetika* performance in Melbourne by generation *B* musicians and amongst the third generation of *rebetika* musicians in Greece. In 1979 Zervos played a key role in this awakening and its association with *rebetika* by opening a club specifically for those interested in *rebetika* music. It was known as the *Tsakpina* club and became a meeting place for generation *A* and *B* musicians. Finding that the *Tsakpina* club played an important role in the emergence of his sense of Greek identity, Zervos commented:

> I had grown up until the age of 30 not knowing whether I was Greek or Australian or what I was. So I set up part of Greece that doesn't exist anywhere any more in Melbourne. I sorted out my own identity (and) switched my name to Komninos [from the Anglicised name of Kevin]. (Zervos, 1999, pers. com.)

Tsicaderis, who came to Melbourne at the age of nine in 1954, proposed a slightly different view. For him the late 1970s 'awakening' and the post-Junta renaissance of traditional music in Greece "became a thing of identity for ... I was starting to look at

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[43] This cultural awakening coincided with a more general cultural awakening amongst Australians, as typified by the Gough Whitlam government call for the return of overseas Australian artists, musicians and writers to practise their arts in Australia .

my identity and saying I am not a dinky-die Ozzie. There is this element of Greek in me which needs to surface" (Tsicaderis, 1998, pers. com.).

He suggests that the emergence of his sense of Greek identity was inevitable. Even though, as generation *A* musicians Volaris (1998, pers.com.) suggested, it might take "100 or 200 years (until) you find an identity:" the slow emergence of Greek-Australian identity with that of a more general sense of Australian identity was bound to occur.

This notable time of awakening amongst first, second and third generation Greek-Australians involved the establishment of the Melbourne Greek cultural festival, *Antipodes*, in 1987. It also involved the emergence of new traditional music ensembles and venues. As Argyropoulos (1994, pers. com.) noted, "After going around playing at the Retreat Hotel, other people getting involved, other bands, theatres, lectures being given ...there was a whole awakening which started in the Greek community...Back in 1985 the only thing I remember...were a couple of clubs –*skiladika*[44] – the broken plates". Although *rebetika* and demotika performance had been established in public venues across Melbourne by generation *A* musicians, the performances featured mostly the post-1946 style.

Many generation *B* musicians and audience members saw a relationship between this awakening to the changing attitudes of non-Greeks towards Greek traditional music. Argyropoulos said that until the mid-1980s young Greek Australians of his generation would "have nothing to do with something Greek" (Argyropoulos, 1994, pers. com). To be involved in a traditional dance group would have been "totally uncool". During early performances of *rebetika*, his peers considered him to be "some

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[44] *Skiladika* describes a popular music singing style in derogatory terms. Literally it refers to a "dog-like" sound. The term is derived from the Greek word for dog – *skilos (σκυλος)*

kind of revolutionary". However, this soon changed as is made evident by the following:

> People would keep away. But then a lot of the younger generation grew up and realised that...they found some pride in their Greekness. They thought we are not just a bunch of peasants that left their sheep in the hills and came to Australia and worked their guts out in the factories. They realised there was something more behind the whole thing. (Argyropoulos, 1994, pers. com.)

Here, Argyropoulos acknowledges that the majority of Greeks who settled in Australia in the 1950s and 1960s needed to make an abrupt shift from rural life to the conditions of urban life in Melbourne under the prevailing policies of assimilation and integration. These policies discouraged a sense of identity which differed from that of the national norm of 'being Australian.' I heard numerous anecdotes about Greek-Australians stifling pubtic manifestations of Greek culture during this period. However, it seems (as Zervos noted) that a sense of Greek identity was strongly sustained within family life. Traditional music was (and remains) part of the lives of many Greek-Australian families. As Illiou commented: " It (traditional music) is something that was played in the household. My parents listened to it and that is the reason how I came to it. *Rebetika* was a big part of music at home" (Illiou, 1996, pers com.).

The importance of maintaining Greek customs and values to the development of a Greek- Australian identity is summed up by Tsicaderis as follows:

> You have to say (at some point) "this is it" and you change identities and block off the past and all that journeying. Not that I have experienced that but my parents (did) – but somewhere it's going to surface: sometimes not from parents but from the children - it's bound to come and then you find all these third and fourth generation Greeks suddenly discovering, wanting to know what their grandparents – what type of Greeks ?– what sort of music? – and being really p*roud* of their heritage. Its happened very strongly in Melbourne and we are a large community. (Tsicaderis, 1998, pers. com.)

Multiculturalism

The emergence of changing attitudes amongst Greek-Australians and Australians in general paralleled the emergence of multiculturalism in Australia between the 1960s and 1980s.

Multiculturalism is commonly referred to by Greeks in Melbourne to describe broad issues of diversity between cultures, (I shall discuss these issues in detail in the following chapter) not just ethnic diversity itself. Representatives of both generation *A* and *B* musicians such as Volaris and Argyropoulos are confident in the belief that their Greek music-making takes place in a country which "is a multicultural society (in which) we can all express our background" (Volaris, 1998, pers. com) and where "people will listen to each other's culture" (Argyropoulos, 1994, pers. com). Most informants also referred to times in the 1950s and 1960s when the prevailing values of the dominant Anglo-European population made it difficult to give public expression to Greek culture which had a negative effect on their sense of identity as Greek-Australians. Greek migrants in the 1950s and 1960s felt that to adopt Anglo-European values somehow meant to leave behind other ethnic cultural identities. During informal conversations with Greek-Australians born in Melbourne during the 1950s and 1960s, I have been told that for some children of migrants during this period, the expectation may even have provoked a sense of disconnection between an acquired Greek identity and the yet to be acquired Australian identity. However, the increasing acceptance by Australians of intercultural diversity from the 1970s and its relation to a broadening sense of Australian identity can be linked to the cultural awakening amongst Greek-Australians as previously discussed. As the acceptance of cultural diversity spread amongst the dominant Anglo-European population it became easier for Greek-Australians to give expression to things Greek, *rebetika* and demotika music and dance being among them.

Regionalism

The notion that multiculturalism means something more than simply ethnic diversity was emphasised by informants who described intercultural differences between various Greek subcultures in the towns and villages represented in Greek clubs in Melbourne. Melbourne has scores of these Greek clubs, each representing Greek-Australians from different regions and sub-regions of mainland Greece, such as the mainland regions of Thrace, Macedonia, Ipiros, Thessalia, Sterea Elada, Peloponese as well as Crete and the Ionian, Dodecanese, Cyclades, Sporades islands. Other clubs represent cities, towns and villages within these regions although there is no club representing Athens alone. It is interesting to note that the suburbs of Athens are occupied by the same regional populations as the clubs of Melbourne. This demographic characteristic reflects twentieth century internal migratory movements in Greece. If an Athenian is asked about his place of origin he always refers to his family's region, town or village in Greece. Greek- Australians in Melbourne respond in the same way. Some Melbourne musicians with family roots in Piraeus, Athens and Thessaloniki may claim that their family originated from the main Anatolian urban centres of Smyrna (Izmir) and Constantinople (Istanbul). In making this claim they refer to Greek urban cultural activity in Anatolia before the forced migrations of 1922. Thus, part of a sense of identity for Melbourne's Greek- Australians rests within their village or region. Since *rebetika* in Melbourne had its geographic and cultural origins in Greece and Melbourne, it has become a musical symbol of Greece in Melbourne. Thus, the music relates to national, regional and personal levels of identity in Melbourne.

Musical instruments and identity

Another factor associated with issues of identity relates to *rebetika* musical instruments. How do informants see the musical instruments on which *rebetika* is played in relation to issues of national, regional and personal identity? If *rebetika* has become a music associated with the nation of Greece rather than just its urban and rural centres, then the *bouzouki*, the main stringed instrument in *rebetika* ensembles, has become a sonic and visual icon of Greece. Gauntlett confirmed this when he commented that "*Rebetika* are a type of Greek song commonly associated with the *bouzouki* (now the national instrument of Greece, but once an instrument of low social standing)" (Gauntlett, 1991: 7). In discussing how various writers have attempted to trace the origins of the *bouzouki* to Greece and equate it with a sense of national identity, Pappas (1999: 371) noted that the *bouzouki* has become "grail-like" referring to the mythological status of the *bouzouki* in Greek culture. The high status of the *bouzouki* is due to the widely held belief that the instrument originated in Byzantine Greece or Ancient Greece. For example, a 1973 LP recording entitled Greece is...*BOUZOUKI* expresses this belief, as does the anonymous writer of the LP sleeve-note:

> (The) *Bouzouki* is the universally known and acclaimed popular musical instrument of Greece...The *bouzouki* belongs to the Greek musical instrumental group called LAGOUTO [lute]. It can be seen in paintings of the Byzantine era, of the 1821 Greek revolution and also in the works of famous Greek painters...., (EMI SOXLP 7576)

Like the web-site enthusiast referred to in chapter one, this anonymous writer is keen to associate the *bouzouki* with triumphant moments in Greek history. However, it is not known definitively when the instrument we call *bouzouki* emerged in Greece. Pennanen, discussing the *bouzouki* in the context of the "Westernisation and Modernisation of Greek Popular Music," maintains that whilst "Greek musicologists have tried to construct a continuum of the long-necked lute from Ancient to modern Greece, it is more likely that Oğuz Turks brought long-necked lutes to Asia Minor in the 13th century" (Pennanen, 1999: 122).

However, this view is problematic for those Greek and Greek-Australian musicians from generations *A* and *B* (including a minority of my informants) who are inclined to accept the *bouzouki* as an instrument with a pure Greek lineage. Kavouras (1998, pers. com.) and Spiridakos (1998, pers. com.) believed the instrument was introduced to Greece either by a Greek-Anatolian *tzouras* player who asked an Athenian instrument maker to create a larger form of the Turkish *baglama*, or by a Greek-American *oud* player who asked for an instrument "in between the mandolino and outi with a long neck". Their words emphasise a strong belief in the Greek origins of the *bouzouki*, even though it is not clear how the *bouzouki* evolved from other forms of lute-like instruments in the Middle and Far East. Other informants, especially those from generation *B*, are more open to the idea that all *rebetika* instruments, not only the *bouzouki*, evolved or were introduced to Greece as a result of cultural contact between Greeks, Turks, Arabs and (if the mandolin is taken into account) Italians over the past 3000 years.

Ceremonial gesture

Many informants said that they reached a point in their lives when they could reconnect (in the case of generation *A*) or connect (in the case of generation *B*) themselves to a sense of Greek identity which led to an integration of their Australian and Greek identities. For most informants, the path to this integration of identity involved the practice of Greek traditional music and dance. Ioannidis, for example, said that he believed this sense of "Greekness" can be experienced not only through family relationships but also through *rebetika* music and the associated dances, particularly the *zebekiko*. Furthermore, he believed that at moments of reconnecting the experience of *rebetika* song and dance with different levels of senses of Greek identity (such as personal, regional and national) were part of a "ceremonial gesture" of belonging. As he observed:

> Most of the *rebetika* songs are expressions through the body and through a related ceremonial procedure. They [dancers]are not just listening to the music. [For example] If a male rises to dance the *zebekiko* and his friends are kneeling around him following the rhythm, it is not an issue of an acrobatic performance. It is an issue of ceremonial procedure. I am not a musicologist but all I want to tell you is that I experienced my young boy (born in Australia) who is only 12. We happened to be at a wedding in Greece. It was unexpected. I had never seen him dance the *zebekiko*. I had never expected that he would. I had danced and had a few friends around and suddenly he jumped into the centre (and danced) and it was a very emotional experience. The boy was not born there. It was not acrobatics – just the raising of the hands, turning, swaying and being part of the ceremony. What attracted the boy to do that? I suppose , a gesture of belonging. A gesture of acceptance...Rebetiko songs through the dance they provide are creating a connection...because it is a vein which connects you to the whole river. It is a whole Greekness. It opens the window to more than what you hear. It is a stream of livelihood [*sic*] which you experience. (Ioannidis, 1998, pers. com.)

Ioannidis's story gives expression to a number of issues of identity which I have discussed, including the 'awakening' of a second generation of Greek-Australians to their Greek roots, changes in generational attitudes, and the integration of personal, regional and national experience of identity.

Thus, my informants felt that their experience of *rebetika* in Melbourne was an important part of establishing their personal and social identity as Greek-Australians and a channel for connecting with Greek culture past and present in mainland Greece as well as in Melbourne. These levels of identity involved an understanding of stereotypical attitudes about Greeks from the dominant Anglo-European population and from within the three generations of Greek-Australians which changed their attitudes to *rebetika* and its role in Melbourne's musical life and how it is perceived by generations *A* and *B*. *Rebetika* has played an important part in the integration of personal and social experience.

3.3(c) migration and *rebetika*

At the heart of the above discussion is the issue of migration, the experience of which engenders questions about personal, regional and national identity and the significance of traditional beliefs and customs. Greece has a long history of forced and voluntary migration and resulting intercultural contact which has contributed to the evolution of the *rebetika* genre.

From pre-Classical times, Greeks have migrated and been influenced by intercultural contact. Migrations have been forced or voluntary according to events such as Alexander the Great's military victories as far East as India, Slav domination during the supremacy of the Roman Empire, struggles and counter-struggles between Turks, Arabs and Greeks during the Byzantine period, 324 AD to 1453, and the 400 years of colonisation of Greece by the Ottoman Empire until independence was regained in 1821.

The emergence of *rebetika* coincided with Greece's early urbanisation process involving large-scale internal migration from rural to urban centres and population growth. For 3,000 years Greece had maintained a population of between one and two million but from the mid-nineteenth century the population increased rapidly, as did the number of external migrants to the USA, Canada, other European countries and Australia. The first Greek migrants to Australia are recorded as arriving in 1829 (De Stoop, 1996: 19). De Stoop noted that Greek setttement in Melbourne prior to World War One was sporadic, carried out mainly by young single men from the islands of Kythera, Castellorizo and Ithaca. As far as I am aware, there are no records describing the musical activity of these early Greek settlers; but given the pressures from Anglo-European Australians which they faced to conform to dominant values, perhaps Greek music-making would have been for private consumption, probably involving music from the islands known as *nisiotika*.

Soon after the first World War, Greece experienced a significant period of migration as a result of a Greek-Turkish conflict between 1918-1922. As I have shown in chapter one, an influx of refugees from Asia Minor to mainland Greece resulting from this conflict included musicians skilled in the urban style of *Smyrnaika;* a style of popular music now acknowledged to be part of the evolution of the *rebetika* genre which had already been established in Greek urban centres from the late nineteenth centry. According to Bottomley (1979: 43) many of these Asia Minor refugees emigrated to Australia.[45] Again, there is no documentation of their musical activity, but in the first four decades of the twentieth century these particular Greek migrants may have performed the music and dances of urban Greek Asia Minor, as was the case with Greek Anatolian migrants to the USA. Indeed, with the help of the early USA music recording industry these latter migrants played a large part in maintaining and disseminating *rebetika* music in the pre-World War Two period. As Demetriou argued, the different circumstances of the pre-1950s migrants to the USA and the post-1950s Australia migrants related to the type of popular music they chose to practise. That is,

> migrants who went to America in the 1920s took that culture [urban popular music] with them. They couldn't take it anywhere else. In fact they recorded their first songs in America because they couldn't record them in Greece...they were thrown out of Smyrna. That's the difference. We (Greek Australians) are like the 'grandchildren.' [belonging to a later generation]. (Demetriou, 1996, pers com.)

As discussed above, most early Greek settlers in Australia ("the grandchildren") were islanders who were more culturally in tune with island *(nisiotika)* music than the urban music of Anatolia.

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[45] Bottomley does not say how many Asia Minor refugees from the population exchange arrived in Australia. However, the 1921 census of the Greek-born population of Australia shows a significant increase from 1,798 in 1911 to 3,654 in 1921.

Enforced culture contact and migration were also part of Greece's national experience during the second World War. The population was brutally oppressed by the occupying Axis forces and virtually the whole of the Sephardic Jewish community of Thessaloniki, totalling 50,000, were deported to Auschwitz.

Between 1945 and the 1970s there was a dramatic increase in internal and external migration of rural Greeks to urban areas and cities around the world. Ten per cent of the population emigrated. Twenty-six per cent migrated internally. In Egypt, Nasser nationalised foreign firms and forced the majority of Egyptian-Greeks to emigrate, many settling in Melbourne.

Between 1959-1965, emigration from Greece rose from 24,000 to 117,000 individuals annually (Papageorgiou, 1972: 3-19). *Table 3.3* shows the Greek born population of Australia between 1901 and 1991. 1971 marks the peak of migration movement of Greeks to Australia. According to the 1991 census, forty-seven per cent of these Greek migrants lived in Melbourne.

Table 3. 3

Greek Born Population of Australia according to the Community Profile 1991 Census: Bureau of Immigration and Population Research, 1994.

1901	878
1911	1,798
1921	3,654
1933	8,337
1947	12,291
1954	25,862
1961	77,333
1966	140,089
1971	160,200
1976	152.908
1981	146,625
1986	137, 611
1991	136,028

It is estimated [as the above table illustrates] that at least 30,000 Greeks living in the state of Victoria returned to live in Greece from the 1970s to the early 1990s. The issue of return migration, or remigration, relates to the transmission of *rebetika* music between generations *A* and *B* musicians. In the mid-1970s most of the Greeks returning home did so because of :

> Improvements in economic opportunity and social stability in Greece itself: rapidly increasing housing costs in Australia: anger if trade qualifications did not find easy recognition in Australia: nostalgia for Greek customs and life: dismay at the 'permissiveness' and 'looseness' of Australian family life. (Price, 1975: 15-17)

This suggests early migrant experience often involved a great deal of physical and emotional effort to be established in a new cultural setting. This may be the reason why Generation *A* musicians made little mention of their desire to return to Greece, referring only to one *bouzouki* player who had done so. Most told of their willingness to practise their various trades and slowly to establish their music-making in taverna-restaurant venues. Melbourne composer and performer, Irini Vela, said that the need to make a living and settle in a new country might account for some of the 1950s performers neglecting their music-making and not finding the time to transmit musical skills to their children. She commented:

> We did get a situation when a lot of early Greek migrants who were players, gave it up for the factory. So there were a lot of musicians who didn't pass on the music so we had to rediscover it. When the migrants came, although there were a lot of good musicians, they never passed on their music because it wasn't something you wanted kids to do. (Vela, 1998, pers. com.)

Vela's comments suggest that the productive relationship between generation *A* and *B* musicians is relatively new, and that before the emergence of generation *B* musicians and their role in a renaissance of Greek traditional music in Melbourne, an age and experience gap interrupted the transmission to the new generation.

However, for a number of generation *B* musicians, return migration has been an issue. Five musicians who played central roles in establishing *rebetika* performance amongst the younger generation of Greek-Australians in Melbourne from the early 1980s told me that their initial and later interest in *rebetika*, and other traditional Greek music and dance, was due to a desire to establish their personal and social identity. They said that their gradual exploration of traditional Greek music had led to a greater understanding and strengthening of their Greek identity. As *table 3.2* shows they all made at least two return migrations to Greece. Four of them now live and perform in Greece, occasionally returning to Melbourne as guest performers or to visit family. In each case their return has been partly motivated by a desire to experience *rebetika* and demotika music in their home-land. Yet all have expressed frustration with their musical experiences there. Cosmas (1999, pers. com.) who currently performs full-time in an Athens *rebetika* band, complained that the music industry's profit-motivated values did not encourage mainland musicians to perform more "authentically". The Galitasos brothers, George and Manuel, reportedly have now returned to the performance of Celtic music in Athens (one of their first passions in Melbourne before developing their interests in Greek traditional music) having become disillusioned with the Athens *rebetika* scene. Argyropoulos returned to Thessaloniki for the third time in 1999 seeking, amongst other things, performance opportunities in mainland Greece.

Whether these musicians choose to make Greece their permanent home remains to be seen. Migrants tend to acquire dual affiliations in the old and new countries, for the homeland cannot be experienced the same way again. Returned migrant Kontakos commented: " People who come back to Greece, they're not accepted. I am proud to be Greek, but part of my life is in Melbourne. We get homesick for Australia too. If I

had the money I'd be there for six months and then here..." (Alexakis and Janiszewski,1995: 153).[46]

Hall (quoted in Appiganesi, 1987: 44) expressed the view dramatically: "Migration is a one way trip. There is no 'home' to go back to". Whilst the image of 'home' may be retained, its reality is subject to change. Tsicaderis related migration and the accompanying feelings of duality for the old and new countries to the journeys of Ulysses. He observed:

> The Greeks are very strong with the symbolism of the Odyssey – the symbolism of the journeys of Ulysses and wanting to return... as [the poet] Cavafy[47]says, it's the journey that is important - what happens in the experience of migrancy. You go the first years longing for home and then you settle but in some ways deny that other place [the homeland] is calling you. (Tsicaderis, 1998, pers. com.)

Liavas, an important Greek ethnomusicologist, referred to "the pain of separation and the desire for the home-coming...(how it) persists throughout the centuries in every form of popular and cultivated literature" (Liavas, 1992: 26). He went on to include the texts of popular Greek songs in this field. The notion of 'pain' (*Πονος)* (Ponos) was used by my informants (as by Greeks in general) as a generic term to refer to strong feelings of anguish and passion and is commonly referred to in *rebetika* song texts. Particular *rebetika* modes, *sabah* for example, are associated with the expression of *Ponos*. Painful feelings aroused by living in a foreign land, referred to as *ksenitya*, are exemplified in the title and text of a *rebetika* song composed by Andonis Dalgas ca 1935, Tis Ksenityas O Ponos, (The Exile's Pain)

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[46] See Alexakis and Janiszwski, 1995, Images of Home, for further instances of feelings of duality for returned migrants

[47] Tsicaderis refers to works of the Greek poet Constantine Cavafy (1863-1933), in particular to his poem *Ithaka*, which expounds on the joys of journeying and the relative lack of importance attached to arrival at a destination.

> It is for you I weep, oh mother dear, and I suffer in this land as one exiled. I beg you, mother, never shed a tear but light a candle for your child. (quoted in Folklyric CD 7005)

If migrants' feelings of *ponos* and divided loyalties to the homeland and the new country result in return migration, these journeys often involve them in intercultural activity. In the case of the five musicians previously mentioned, return migration offered them opportunities to compare the Greek-Australian musical world with that of Greece, and on returning to Melbourne again, to share *rebetika* performance, instrument-making experiences and newly acquired musical recordings with others in Melbourne. For example, for Galiatsos the experience of dual cultural affinities played an important part in his discovery of Greek traditional music. He commented:

> It was only after I'd left Greece and returned to Australia did I realise the importance of the music. The importance of the style of the music (*rebetika*). The culture itself. Not until I was deprived of all this did I start to show a real interest in learning Greek music and Greek culture that accompanies it. (Galiatsos, 1994, pers. com.)

The experience of distance from his homeland was an important factor in his discovery of Greek traditional music, as it was in other migrants' experience from the nineteenth century on.

The intercultural exchange works between both countries as Raftis (1994, pers. com.) noted earlier. Liavas, says further, that "sometimes the immigrants preserve better the traditions of the 1940s and 1950s – the time they left. Sometimes in Australia I have found better lyra players from the Dodecanese than from the Dodecanese" (Liavas, 1994, pers. com.).

A study of the musical characteristics of *rebetika* in chapter five will illustrate how the journeys of migrant musicians contributed to the syncretism of melodic and rhythmic modes, instruments and texts as a result of the mixing of Turkish/Arab makamlar modal system, the Dervish *zebekiko* and North Balkan *hasapiko* dance

modes, lute-like instruments in *rebetika* ensembles (the *bouzouki*, *tzoura* and *baglamas*), the adoption of Middle Eastern percussion instruments (eg the *zilia* and *toubeleki)* and later, Western European instruments (eg the piano, drum-kit, cello and electronic keyboards).

To conclude the first part of the phenomenographic analysis of my interviewee transcripts, variations of my informants' experiences of tradition, identity and migration in relation to *rebetika* music-making are shown below in tables 3.4, 3.5 and 3.6.

Table 3.4

Variations of experience of tradition according to Horn's informants
1. *Rebetika* is a traditional urban, popular music genre.
2. Pre- *Smyrnaic, Smyrnaic* and *Piraeotic* stylistic periods are considered as 'older' traditional facets of *rebetika*. *Archondorebetika* and revivalist *rebetika* are considered as more recent stylistic facets of the tradition.
3. Pre-1946 musical instruments and their tunings are considered to be more traditional than newer instruments and tunings introduced post-1946.
4. The oral transmission of *rebetika* in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century is especially associated with the idea of traditional music.
5. USA and European recording industries played a role in the decline of the oral transmission of *rebetika* and thus its traditonal nature.
6. A sense of tradition is linked with a perceived connection between *rebetika dromoi* and Byzantine modality
7. A sense of tradition is linked with a perceived connection between *rebetika* dromoi and Ottoman secular modality.
8. Tradition is perceived by some as part of a lived experience, and for others as a "frozen" cultural phenomenon.
9. Greeks believe that the Greek-Australian diaspora plays a significant role as a keeper of Greek traditional practices.
10. For some, the potential for *chromata* (colour) in pre-1946 ensembles is perceived as 'poor' compared with the 'richer' *rebetika* ensembles of post - 1946.

Table 3.5

Variations of experience of identity according to Horn's informants
1. In the 1950s and 1960s non-Greek Australians associated *rebetika* with stereotypical attitudes about Greek-Australians
2. Attitudes of non-Greek-Australians towards Greek-Australians (and traditional Greek music) have changed in the last fifty years
3. Issues of identity associated with *rebetika* differed between generations *A* and *B* musicians
4. A period of cultural awakening is linked with senses of Greek-Australian identity amongst generation *B* musicians
5. Experiences of multiculturalism in Australia contributed to aspects of Greek-Australian identity
6. Regional variations of traditional musics are associated with regional identities
7. For some, "ceremonial procedures" involving traditional dance displays are paralleled with rites of passage.
8. *Rebetika* musical instruments, particularly the *bouzouki,* are associated with perceptions of individual, social and national identity.

Table 3.6

Variations of experience of migration according to Horn's informants
1. Greece has an ancient history of migration
2. Mainland Greek and Anatolian migration contributed significantly to the evolution of *rebetika*
3. The Greek-Australian diaspora community is a result of a migrating population
4. *Rebetika* music-making occurs in Melbourne because of migration
5. Return migration to Greece facilitates intercultural and transcultural exchange
6. Priorities of settlement contributed to a break in transmission of *rebetika* music in Melbourne
7. Being a migrant, or member of a migrant family, contributed to feelings of duality about Greece/Australia and being Australian and/or Greek-Australian
8. Experiences of geographical and/or temporal dislocation were a common migrant experience amongst the Greek-Australian diaspora in the early years of relocation.

In the following chapter I shall show how the primary COR of tradition, identity and migration relate to secondary categories of relevance described as the significance of intergenerational contact, learning processes and intercultural contact.

CHAPTER FOUR

A PHENOMENOGRAPHIC ACCOUNT OF PERCEPTIONS OF *REBETIKA* IN MELBOURNE (PART TWO): THE SIGNIFICANCE OF INTER-GENERATIONAL AND INTERCULTURAL CONTACT AND *REBETIKA* LEARNING PROCESSES

4.1 Introduction

I shall now discuss my informants' perceptions and experiences of secondary categories of relevance (COR), focusing on: 1) the significance of generational experience, 2) learning to perform *rebetika* and 3) the influence of intercultural contact on the evolution of *rebetika* in Melbourne. My aim is to show how these secondary COR relate to my informants' perceptions of tradition, identity and migration (primary COR) and how they relate to their perceptions about the musical characteristics of *rebetika* discussed in chapter five.

4.1(a) The significance of the generations

As noted above, social and cultural changes experienced by Greek-Australians from the 1950s to the present day were factors in the criteria used to classify my informants into generations *A*, *B* and *C*. Different views of tradition, identity and migration between the generations and their implications for the practice of *rebetika* in Melbourne appear as a thread throughout my thesis. However, the generational divisions are a secondary category of relevance; my informants do not attribute the same significance to the issue as the primary COR. Nevertheless, in view of the whole

'picture' of *rebetika* in Melbourne, the issue is clearly of great importance and influences my construction of the concluding section of the phenomenographic process.

The members of generations *A*, *B* and *C*, are the leaders and maintainers of the *rebetika* tradition in Melbourne. The pioneers, generation *A* musicians, operated in a relatively unsympathetic cultural environment in the 1950s, but they persisted in their *rebetika* music-making and established several performance venues. They played *rebetika* in the post-1946 style called *archondorebetika*. Generation *B* musicians, who emerged in the late 1970s aged in their twenties, performed traditional Greek music which awakened their Greek identity. Reviving interest in pre-1946 *rebetika* styles, they laid the foundations for the cultural education not only of generation *C* but also of their own generation. To some extent this awakening amounted to what Nettl (1978: 131) termed a *nativistic musical revival*, which has been summarised as a "culture that has been dominated by another and has neglected its own music (but) eventually becomes aware of the danger of that music's possible extinction and makes efforts to revitalize it" (Kartomi, 1981: 237). Although generation *A* had managed to sustain the post-1946 style of *rebetika*, the traditional styles of pre-1946 *Smyrnaika* and *Piraeotika* were re-discovered by generation *B* musicians. This revival was responsible for a wider acceptance of *rebetika* in Melbourne by the generation *B* musicians' parents who had hitherto not wished to be associated with it in Australia, either because of its low-life origins or because of their mainly rural backgrounds and preference for rural traditional music.

4.1(b) The Learning processes

How did the musicians in Melbourne become interested in *rebetika* and acquire the musical competencies required for its performance? They distinguished between two modes of learning *rebetika*; and also spoke of 'educated' and 'uneducated' musicians.

We need to ask how these concepts related to formal and informal ways of learning *rebetika* and how developmental learning processes involved memory and mimetics; that is, the emulation of received performance styles. What was the role of the recorded music in the mimetic process? How did musicians learn song repertoire, modal knowledge and improvisation skills?

Sometimes my informants referred to learning as "education," by which they meant systematic musical instruction. At other times, they spoke of learning by "*akousmata,*"[48] by which they meant learning music through 'hearings' associated with specific life experiences.

An 'educated' musician was one, they said, who is musically literate[49] and has received a degree of formal music education, whereas the 'uneducated' musician is a musically illiterate person who is either self-taught or has acquired skills and repertoire through processes of aural transmission. This does not mean that the latter learning process is less important than the former which is associated with forms of popular and 'art' music which have been recorded, notated and theoretically underpinned. However, low status may have been attributed to aurally transmitted traditional *rebetika* in mainland Greece from the late nineteenth and first half of the twentieth century. *Rebetika* was likewise held in low esteem by Greek-Australians in Melbourne in the 1950s. Yet it always had a high profile, because its performances were contentious and popularly debated. Only recently did the Greek middle class apparently give equal status to traditional Greek popular music and 'art' music, as is evidenced by the fact that Greek universities did not include traditional music studies in their curricula until the 1990s. Until then, Western European 'art' music dominated the content of music courses. Apart from scholars and researchers such as Fivos

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[48] *Akousmata* is the plural of *akousma*, meaning ' hearings, ' 'reports' or 'news.' The word is derived from the verb *akouo*, 'to hear.'

[49] That is, familiar with both Western and/or Byzantine musical notation and theory.

Anouanakis, Elias Petropoulos, Tassos Skorelis, Markos Dragoumis and Giorgos Amarianakis, traditional urban popular music was not regarded as meriting serious study.[50]

Due to the potential to be misunderstood as derogatory, I have not adopted the terms 'educated' and 'uneducated' musicians, instead preferring to refer to musicians familiar with Western and Byzantine musical notations and theory (and who use the former skill in their *rebetika* music-making) and those who are not familiar with them. It is not the case that generation *A* and *B* musicians in Melbourne belong to one or the other category. Indeed, most of the key generation *B* players responsible for the revival of *rebetika* in Melbourne in the early 1980s are self-taught musicians who cannot read music. A few, such as the relatively newly arrived generation *B* musician Vasilis Polychronopoulos, had firm views on the importance of musical literacy, formal instrumental instruction and the teaching of *rebetika* to Melbourne's generation *C* players. As he observed:

> It [musical literacy] is very important; because if you play something with the 'ear' you understand about sixty per cent of the song. If you understand theory, you understand everything. The old songs...were passed down word and mouth, but it was mainly due to the fact that no one had studied music theory to be able to put it down, whereas [now] our music [through its notation] provides the opportunity for anyone with a background in music to make it. My students learn [first] practical, theoretical and then after this, *taxims*... [by which he means instrumental improvisations usually heard as an introduction or conclusion to a song]. (Polychronopoulos, 1997, pers. com.)

I do not agree with his view that the acquisition of theoretical musical knowledge necessarily leads to greater opportunities for practical music-making. However, in describing a set of developmental stages for the learning of *rebetika*, he raises some

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[50] In my view, during the 1990s, this undervaluing of traditional Greek popular music by Greeks, has changed significantly.

important questions about how musicians acquire *rebetika* repertoire and playing skills. For example, to what extent has musical literacy and formal instrumental instruction influenced the transmission of *rebetika* in Melbourne? What role does aural memory play in the musical education of *rebetika* musicians in Melbourne? At what stage are players considered to be ready or capable of *aftoskethiasmos (αυτοσχεδιασμος)* i.e. improvisation, in their performance?

As I have indicated, musical literacy has not played a large part in the transmission of *rebetika* in Melbourne. However, formal instruction developed by teachers such as Polychronopoulos is important amongst generation *C* players and will also affect future generations after that, especially if use continues to be made of text books recently published in Melbourne by Polychronopoulos. These books contain detailed instruction about *bouzouki* and guitar playing techniques for 62 popular Greek songs, many of them *rebetika* songs, (Polychronopoulos, 1992). Another of his books (the first of a series) deals with detailed *bouzouki* and guitar playing techniques for pieces played in five of the most frequently used *rebetika* modes (Polychronopoulos, 1997). Yet another of his books was designed to introduce *bouzouki* playing techniques, basic acoustics, melodic and rhythmic modes, music theory and selected songs to potential players (Polychronopoulos, 1998). Apart from a text book purchased in Greece by Argyropoulos on Greek folk scales (Pagiatis, ca 1990s[61]) and a book on Turkish makams (Signell, 1977) referred to by Cosmas and Argyropoulos (1996, pers. com.), there are no other theory books related to *rebetika* repertoire and performance to which my informants referred. Publication of Polychronopoulos' books for the purpose of delivery of formal instruction of *rebetika* amongst the Greek diaspora in Melbourne marks a significant development in the transmission of *rebetika* to

[61] Neither I nor the musicians who are our dancers have been able to verify the citation details of Pagiatis' publication.

Melbourne's next generation of musicians, even though *rebetika* were originally transmitted aurally amongst the urban lower-classes of Greece and Anatolia.

Some musicians in Melbourne, however, say that the aim of achieving musical literacy as a first stage in traditional music-making or formal instrumental instruction is i..appropriate. As Kiriakidis commented:

> I do as much research as I can, but I find that with traditional music you can't go by what is written in books... When it comes to the sound and method of playing, the only way is to listen to someone playing, or if not, from tapes. (Kiriakidis, 1995, pers. com.)

Demetriou, who supports this view, observed:

> When you play an instrument like a *bouzouki* you can't put yourself through classical training. You can learn music theory but it doesn't give you techniques and the knowledge you need for that style of music [*rebetika*] ...I think I learned more about music through playing and meeting other *bouzouki* players who showed me things they thought were important. Once you've got the basic[s] it was up to you to make sense of what was the best way to play. That is how I learned music. (Demetriou, 1996, pers. com.)

Both Kiriakidis and Demetriou whose experience is typical of my informants, say they received musical instruction from their peers. They referred to a network of musicians in Melbourne made up of generations *A*, *B* and *C* performers. As the singer and guitarist, Yiangoulis, noted:

> I was picking up material that suited the instrument, the voice, to play folk. That's how I got to meet Hector. [Hector Cosmas, a Melbourne generation *B rebetika* musician] Later I got to meet Takis [Takis Dimitriou, member of a number of *rebetika* ensembles] and as you know, there is a whole circle of people in the *rebetika* environment. (Yiangoulis, 1999, pers. com.)

During my fieldwork I observed that the membership of Melbourne's Greek traditional music ensembles was unstable. The "circle of people" referred to by Yiangoulis forms a pool of musicians from which ensembles group and re-group.

Ensembles disband only to re-form, usually among members of the network, in different configurations. This, according to Argyropoulos, has made it difficult for some to maintain their song repertoire. Describing how new members of *Apodimi Compania*[52] were taught the ensemble's repertoire, Argyropoulos recalled:

> Coaxing them to listen to the tunes, we must have had 200 plus songs; and it was really hard to learn all these with new people. It is virtually impossible, so now we are down [to] fifty or sixty songs and trying to increase that gradually each week. (Argyropoulos, 1994, pers. com.)

Learning song repertoire in this way involved aural transmission and memory. The process began at an early stage of their musical development, involving mimetics, i.e. the mimicking of songs heard in recordings[53] or from mentors within the Melbourne network. For most of my informants, learning *rebetika* songs from recordings has been central to their experience, whether they acquired knowledge of the songs from live-to-air radio performances in mainland Greece, such as Sapekidis, Alifragis and Tsicaderis, or from exposure to their parents' *rebetika* record collections as children, as in the cases of Illiou and Yiangoulis. This emulation of recorded songs affected the nature of *rebetika* in Melbourne, since musicians who relied on recordings depend on their availability. The availability of recordings in Melbourne depended on a small Greek-Australian music industry.

These issues will be discussed in chapters seven and eight. Suffice it to note at this stage that recorded performances of *rebetika*, and versions learned from fellow musicians, often differ. We need, therefore, to discuss the 'authentic' and 'non-

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[52] In its various configurations, *Apodimi Compania* included amongst its membership some of the most influential generation *B* musicians. When the ensemble did not include the Galiatsos brothers, it was known as the *Rebetiki Compania*. I shall discuss their contribution to *rebetika* in Melbourne in chapters seven and eight.

[53] I include under 'recordings' any music which has been electronically transmitted or stored. It includes *rebetika* heard via electronic media such as radio, television, film, analogue and digital recordings.

authentic' interpretations distinguished by my informants and I shall do so in the following chapter.

Lambros Liavas, Director of the Greek Museum of Popular Musical Instruments and Centre for Ethnomusicology in Athens, argued that the influence of recorded traditional music on the evolution of traditional Greek music has been profound. As he observed:

> All the new generations [post-1946] listen to tempered music. They can't easily recognise the modal scales or sing them. My children have a daily experience of TV. They listen to tempered scales. For the Greek generation under 40 years old, micro intervals mean nothing. (Liavas, 1994, pers. com.)

Liavas is correct in his view that the post-1946 music recording industry in the West, has reduced the ability of Greeks to hear 'older' and more varied tunings associated with traditional modes to the extent that microtonal nuances heard in pre-1946 *rebetika* [and demotika] music have been diminished. This is presumably because of the recording industry's market-driven criteria of repertoire selection. His view reflects the more broadly held opinion of my informants that regional variations in traditional music tunings have diminished as a result of influences from Western Europe and USA.

My self-taught informants usually learned a song by first memorising a recorded song. They then "worked out" the song, on an instrument, after which they become familiar with the mode of the song which in turn facilitated improvisation in performance. This process differs from the learning process suggested earlier by Polychronopoulos, i.e. by tuition in instrumental technique, musical theory, song repertoire, and improvisation. However, both processes feature improvisation as a later developmental stage of musicianship. Galiatsos linked the learning of modes closely with improvisation:

> I would learn the melody line of a tune; and after I'd learn that this tune was in a certain *makam* [mode], then I'd go back and play the notes separately, and try to improvise in the melody and discover the *dromos* (mode). (Galiatsos, 1994, pers. com.)

Alifragis, a self-taught *bouzouki* player, mirrored Galiatsos' process in the following observation:

> I listened to a song I always wanted to know....I couldn't play, so slowly, slowly [taught] myself note by note. Once you have the song in your head you know how they go and you try to find them on the instrument. I don't know, but the funny thing is, once you play a *taxim* you are in a *dromos*... You tend to follow the pattern [finger pattern)] even if you don't know it. (Alifragis, 1997, pers. com.)

Thus, my informants pointed out the importance of knowing the *dromoi* through formal and informal instruction. Technical proficiency is a further pre-requisite for improvised performance.

Seeking instruction in the modes involved some generation *B* musicians establishing mentor-type relationships with key generation *A* musicians. They included the *oud* player Christos Baltsidis. Argyropoulos, a singer and *baglama* player, recalled taking lessons from Baltsidis in order to "learn the makams properly" (Argyropoulos, 1994, pers. com.). Baltsidis, who has gained national respect as an *oud* player throughout Australia, does not "read music" and teaches modes "note by note" (Baltsidis, 1998, pers. com.). Emphasising the importance of knowing the modes, Argyropoulos commented:

> ...It would be best for young students to learn these [rather] than just learn the songs. You can keep on learning songs but if you want to get creative with an instrument and you don't know the *makams*, you'll soon reach a 'brick wall.' (Argyropoulos, 1994, pers. com.).

On arriving in Melbourne from Greece in the early 1990s, Athanasopoulos recalled turning to Melbourne *bouzouki* player and teacher, George Spirou, to learn the "basic 20-30 *dromoi*"[54] (Athanasopoulos, 1998, pers. com.).

For Takis Dimitriou, a Greek-Romanian Australian, the acquisition of modal knowledge began with discographic literature. He observed:

> I remember every record which came out. We'd rush and buy it and and apart from listening to it, we would read every single word on the cover or insert... in that material I discovered the word '*dromoi.*' Until then I didn't have a clue what it was. I can go even further – I didn't know what a major or minor chord was. It was discovered on the way. We struggled for a while to find out what these *dromoi* were. (Dimitriou, 1999, pers. com.).

For Argyropoulos, Athanasopoulos and Dimitriou, learning *rebetika* modes involved mimetic, formal and informal instruction from recordings and musical mentors but, as Vela observed, the usefulness of mimetic process diminishes when a performer becomes musically mature and skillful enough to improvise.

> When you are interested in something [a song] you learn by mimicking. That is the best way to learn the tune – from records. You might learn an improvisation [a recorded *taxim]* but you are mimicking... second and third generation Greek-Australians are still learning how to improvise in the modes. Improvisation is really the main thing in *rebetika* music – Greek folk music. Everyone can improvise but they can't improvise in that idiom [*rebetika*] because they have not been brought up in that type of improvisation tradition, so what they do is just play tunes. (Vela, 1998, pers. com.).

Vela makes the point that learning *rebetika* through mimetic processes is useful when learning modes and song repertoire, but that improvisation involves more than mimetic skills. In commenting on how young Greek-Australian musicians had "not

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[54] Musicians in Melbourne and Greece differ in their view as to how many *dromoi* are in current use. I shall discuss this issue when dealing with my informants' perceptions of the musical characteristics of *rebetika* in the following chapter.

been brought up in that type of improvisation," she referred to the fact that generation *A* players had little time to pass on their improvisational skills to generation *B* players because of their pressing need to adapt to, and earn a living in, a new country.

However, noting that many generation *B* informants are eager to learn more about the 'older' *rebetika* modes, and that indeed, some are turning to musical colleagues from the Turkish community for instruction, she makes the point that these players have: "Reached a point where they realise that if you really want to get into traditional [music] you've *really* got to learn. It's not a case of (merely) mimicking" (Vela, ibid.).

Thus far, I have outlined how my informants developed an interest in *rebetika* through formal and informal learning processes, both of which involved mimetics, either through imitating instrumental instructors or recorded song repertoire. The first process relates more closely to perceptions of musical education and the second, more closely to perceptions of *akousmata* as described by Demetriou; that is, "the sounds you have become familiar with; the sounds that you have grasped through experience and listening" (Demetriou, 1996, pers. com.).

I shall now turn to my informants' perceptions of *akousmata* and their relation to experiences of *rebetika*. The distinction made by my informants between educational experiences and *akousmata* in the learning of *rebetika* music does not refer to two polarised experiences; rather it describes two end points of a spectrum of learning experiences; that is, formal instruction and intuitive acquisition of knowledge. Generally, *akousmata* associated with *rebetika* are more likely to be experienced through intuitive acquisition in a cultural environment compatible to traditional music.

As I have noted, Melbourne's cultural environment has not always been sympathetic to non-Anglo-European traditional music. The 1950s and 1960s were certainly not a

fertile time for *rebetika*, but as my research shows, this has changed over the last fifty years. From the late 1970s it changed insofar as it could facilitate increased *akousmata* of Greek traditional music (including *rebetika*) for the children of the post-World War Two, and (later) Greek migrants. This changing environment helped a number of Greek- Australian musicians to establish venues in tavernas and restaurants for the performance of *rebetika*. It also provided enough cultural and economic stability to enable others to build on, and develop, a small Greek-Australian music industry. This industry, which had been in existence in the form of at least three Greek music specialist shops since, in one case, the 1950s[55] and in another two, from the early 1960s, not only imported *rebetika* recordings from Greece and the USA, but involved the establishment of a small number of independent recording companies. I shall discuss these activities in chapter seven.

As a result of this changed environment, musicians were able to heighten the awareness of *rebetika* and other traditional Greek music in the lives of second and third generation Greek-Australians. For many Greek-Australian children born in the 1950s and 1960s, being seen to be Greek within a dominant Anglo-European population was problematic in childhood and the early teen years. This resulted in young Greek-Australians needing to be seen as 'the same as' Anglo-Europeans, which probably arose because of a preference amongst young people to be different from their parents' generation and 'the same as' their peers. There was pressure on migrants and their children in Melbourne in the 1950s and 1960s in Melbourne to disregard cultural expressions, including music and dance which belonged to their

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[55] I refer to the music shops established in the 1950s in Swanston Street, Melbourne, City Road, Brunswick and Chapel Street, Prahan by Giannopoulos more commonly known by his Anglicised name Stanley Young. According to Spiros Caras and his father Dimitri, who together have owned Greek music and magazine stores in Melbourne since the 1960s, Giannopoulos imported *rebetika* recordings in the 1950s. Kevin Zervos informed me that his grandfather, who migrated to Melbourne in 1908 aged 12 years, acquired a large collection of imported *rebetika* recordings but was unable to say if they were bought in Melbourne before the 1950s or from which importers.

countries of origin. However, for many of my generation *B* informants, a change in attitude towards their Greek cultural heritage coincided with wider cultural changes that emerged in Australia during the 1970s. This period saw the emergence of an anti-war protest movement, questioning of gender and racist attitudes, a growing protest movement amongst the indigenous population, and a call for expatriates (including musicians) to return to Australia. In 1973, Immigration Minister Al Grassby announced:

> ...Australians who left for distant pastures green because nothing was happening at home, were now looking with renewed interest to their own country. I have found a new sense of interest, indeed excitement, amongst Australian exiles who felt their country was sleeping in the sun while the world passed it by. (Alomes, and Jones, 1991 pp. 354-55)

This new "excitement" extended to my informants who (as I have noted) recalled the mid 1970s and 1980s as a time of awakening. Argyropoulos described the last 15 years of the 20th century as a time of "Renaissance" for *rebetika* and traditional Greek music in Melbourne. He observed:

> Certain things have hit me, like kids beginning to be interested in the instruments, music and composers... Back in the 1950s [Greek] people wanted to be associated with Europeans. People [like] my dad growing up in Salonica in the 1950s were more interested in this type [of European popular music] than *rebetika*. (Argyropoulos, 1994, pers. com.)

Here Argyropoulos refers to a growing interest amongst the younger Greek-Australians in hearing *rebetika* performed in a pre-1946 style as opposed to the *archondo* and elafro, (ελαΦρο), (light) style of the 1950s, and how children of the 1950s migrants became confident in their association with their Greek cultural heritage. His comments also provide evidence of ways in which the cultural environment in Melbourne (and in other Australian urban centres) changed in the 1970s, and thus provided a more sympathetic climate for the change of previous

cultural attitudes towards the reception of traditional music-making among non-Anglo Europeans.

Another facet of *akousmata* was my informants' notion that acquiring an interest and skills in *rebetika* performance occurred as a 'natural' part of their lives. This may have involved childhood experiences of listening to parents' *rebetika* recordings. For those who were born in Greece, it involved experiences of hearing *rebetika* in cafes and tavernas. Alifragis recalled:

> We used to live in Greece. My aunt had a taverna. We used to live upstairs. When I was young, all day I could hear (*rebetika*) and the police came – drink – get drunk. All day I heard *rebetika* music. They used to dance. (Alfragis, 1997, pers. com.)

Thus, listening to home recordings of *rebetika* in Melbourne or live performances in Greek cafés both consist of *akousmata*. These listening and learning experiences are part of the day to day cultural environment. *Rebetika* performer Alifragis, observed that, as a youth in Greece before coming to Melbourne, he was not really "into" the music but he found that "It was there all the time. Even though I used to listen to the English (music), there was something there that was pulling [me] towards the Greek even though I wasn't listening to it" (Alifragis, 1997, pers. com.).

Reflecting Galiatsos' statement about his discovery of *rebetika* after his migration to Australia, Alifragis said he had had little interest in Greek music while living in Greece and yet on migrating to Australia he discovered a deeply felt connection with it.

Being denied access to their musical environment which they had 'taken for granted,' Alifragis and Galiatsos needed to reconnect with it in their new country. This is a common experience amongst migrants who develop magnified feelings and memories of their homeland culture.

However, generation *A* musician George Sapekidis felt an affinity to *rebetika* music and its performance environment as a young man in Thessaloniki. He observed:

> We learned to play in a *cafeneion* – drink a bit of ouzo and played for the guys. (We) learned from a radio in the café – some *rebetika* and some *laika*. It was a (live) broadcast. Not a record. It was never exact because it wasn't a recording. Bands would play it live. However it was picked up they would play it. Probably a percentage would be lost – changed slightly. They'd make serenades out of *rebetika* because they didn't know any other songs. They'd change the rhythms and charm the girls. (We) went to Thessaloniki and started working in a *skilathiko* - underground club – because they'd play nothing but *rebetika*. All the underworld, gangsters, druggies – the club would open at midnight and go on to dawn. (Sapekidis, 1996, pers.com.)

Sapekidis noted changes in elements of *rebetika* song when he learned the songs from recorded media by means of mimetics and memory; i.e. musical and textual elements changed according to how he memorised them. Christos Baltsidis agreed with this view, oberserving that:

> You hear music on the radio. [The) music comes from somewhere; you make it your own; you hear 30 per cent and make 70 per cent for yourself. It makes you design. It makes you αυτοσχεδιασμος [improvise]. You hear the original one and after that, you add something...(Baltsdis, 1998, pers. com.)

Baltsidis made the additional point that personalising or "making" a song "your own," involves improvisation. Improvisation not only involves the *akousmata* experience; it plays a part in effecting change in repertoire and individual performance styles, since spontaneous composition involves drawing on technical proficiency and knowledge *and* intuitive responses triggered during a performance. I shall discuss these issues further in chapter five when I deal with the my informants' perceptions of the musical characteristics of *rebetika*, and in chapters seven and eight in which I examine representative recordings of Melbourne *rebetika* from the 1960s-1990s.

As Demetriou observed, since *akousmata* are the "sounds you have grasped through experience and listening," it is safe to assume that different *akousmata* lead to different 'hearings' and understandings of *rebetika*. My informants supported this assumption. Polychronopoulos (1998, pers. com.) believed that small rhythmic variations made in performance would not be recognised by "simple people" because they listen differently from more sophisticated listeners. Polychronopoulos' "simple people" meant those who were not *rebetika* cognoscente. Other informants shared his view. Argyropoulos commented that "the everyday person...does not pick up these intricate things that happen in a song" (Argyropoulos, 1994, pers. com.). Referring to a perceived predominance of 'light' popular Greek music in the broadcast transmission of *rebetika* in Melbourne, Athanasopoulos felt that only a "small minority feel *rebetika*. [Most of his peers] cannot hear or understand the other [more traditional] sounds of Greek music". He commented further:

> It's not because they don't like the sound of it [*rebetika*]. They just aren't educated enough in the way. When I say education [I mean] to listen from a young age; to understand what the song is about. (Athanasopoulos, 1998, pers. com.)

Thus, Athanasopoulos linked *akousmata* with cognizance of *rebetika*. Adding to the view that different *akousmata* lead to different experiences and understandings of *rebetika*, and lamenting a perceived decline in the ability of mainland Greeks to understand traditional music, Lambros Liavas observed that if people were more actively involved in music-making and were more open to *akousmata* linked with traditional music:

> They would be able to recognise each time a musician improvises: to know what he does to it [the music]: to take part in the improvisation. [They would be more like] Arab/Islamic listeners [who] recognise and show their appreciation to the soloist if he makes an interesting modulation.... In traditional music everyone can take part by singing and dancing. It's a musical life not just a musical interpretation. (Liavas, 1994, pers. com.)

Liavas' emphasis on a "musical life," a connection between skill and knowledge of improvisation and *akousmata*, is supported by other informants. Athanasopoulos typified the younger players who feel they are developing skills to facilitate improvisation. He observed:

> My *taxims* at the moment are very poor. If you listen to Vamvakaris [a key figure in the evolution of *rebetika* in Greece] play a *taxim* and you listen to me, you'd say he was a god. I haven't developed my 'ear' [enough] to say let's express ourselves in a different way. I'm still at the beginning of learning. I play a lot of songs but in the *taxim* area I'm still behind. I don't feel I should copy what he [Vamvakaris] does...It's the way your 'ear' listens to the changes: what you like to listen to instead of putting it down on paper and working it out. (Athanasopoulos, 1998, pers.com.)

Athanasopoulos illustrates the point that whilst one musician might have a large repertoire of *rebetika* songs than another, the ability to improvise is seen to be a mature musical skill that cannot be acquired merely through mimetics.

A final aspect of *akousmata* referred to by my informants related to a traditional Greek learning practice known as 'stealing'; in which "apprentices were expected to steal tunes and tricks from their masters" (Raftis, 1994, pers. com.). Ross Daly commented:

> In olden times stealing something was not a matter of theft: of taking something which belonged to someone else. It was a matter of coming out of yourself, taking something and taking it back in again. It wasn't a matter of depriving someone else. In recent years these things have acquired a different meaning. [Traditionally] there was a totally different emphasis on the idea of possession in music. [today musicians may say] "This belongs to me. This is my piece. This is your piece". This sort of thing didn't exists say 100 years ago...Whereas now they [musicians] are all obsessed with it. What it really means is "This is my piece. I recorded it. I receive the royalties". (Daly, 1994, pers. com.)

Raftis and Daly described the traditional way of acquiring repertoire and performance skills through 'stealing' which used to involved a learning relationship between a skilled and unskilled musician. The song and performance skills were not owned by an individual. They belonged to the tradition of the people from whose culture it had emerged. However, with the advent of the North American and European recording industries in the first few decades of the twentieth century, *rebetika* song ownership became a contentious issue, because it could earn money from composition and performance work and involve the acquisition of the enhanced performance status associated with the new recording industries.

Generation *A* musician Takis Tourloubis felt that to steal in the traditional way involved being "clever" because "you can learn from a student. Everybody has something different" (Tourloubis, 1998, pers. com.). Tourloubis' learning process involved the kind of formal and informal experiences described by other informants. In addition, he acknowledged the essential 'stealing' process of observing and "taking in" the practices of skilled musicians. Describing his musical education Tourloubis observed:

> It has been many years and I am still learning...There is no end to learning music at any age. The δρομοι (dromoi) I started [to learn] from 1970 in Melbourne – by myself. Before, I played the songs on a *bouzouki* but I didn't learn the scales. I learnt the wrong way because if you go to school you learn δρομοι, but when you learn by yourself you say, "this is an easy song". It takes a long time to be a good *bouzouki* player and after, when you see a good player, you must watch to see what he does. (Tourloubis, 1998, pers. com.)

However, generation *A* musician Anestis Kavouras, the son of one of Greece's most celebrated pre-1946 rebetes, Yiorgos Kavouras, felt strongly that his father's songs were often stolen by other musicians for monetary gain, including by the legendary Markos Vamvakaris. However, he observed somewhat sympathetically:

> They [other *rebetika* musicians] were forced to steal so they could make some money. They were hungry. When they used to go to a

> studio to sing and it [the song] belonged to them they used to get 500 drachmas...They didn't get any more after that. If you wrote the music you got one or two per cent after that, but they ripped you off left, right and centre. (Kavouras, 1998, pers.com.)

Anestis Kavouras lived in Athens during its occupation by the Axis Forces during World War Two and was familiar with the sight of mass starvation. His childhood experiences, particularly via his father's status as a high profile *rebetika* performer in pre-World War Two Piraeus, provide us with an insight into one example of the type of relationship which existed between musicians of an urban tradition as they became entwined with the commercial demands of the recording industry. Whilst a minority of my informants come into contact with the intricacies of contract and copyright laws associated with today's recording industries, my field work convinced me that all are tuned into *akousmata* involving childhood and adult 'hearings' of live and recorded music, informal learning processes, even 'stealing' in the traditional sense, all of which contributed to the nature of *rebetika* in Melbourne.

I shall now discuss how these learning processes can be influenced by intercultural contact.

4.1(c) Intercultural contact

As noted above, the musical characteristics of *rebetika* evolved to include influences from the Arab world, Turkey, the Balkans, Italy and other Western European countries. Thus, the evolution of *rebetika* involved a process of intercultural musical synthesis, a process which nevertheless, has been most strongly rooted in Greece and its diaspora. Modal and instrumental facets of *rebetika* evolved as musicians and instrument-makers followed internal and external migratory pathways. Inevitably these migratory experiences led to intercultural exchanges between migrants and the dominant population of the country or region to which they emigrated. Above I outlined how my Melbourne informants related their migratory experience to their

knowledge and experience of *rebetika* in Melbourne and mainland Greece. I shall now discuss how my informants perceived intercultural exchanges (resulting from their migration) and their relation to *rebetika*. This will involve referring to 1) perceptions of Ottoman and Byzantine links with *rebetika* 2) historical and contemporary relationships between Greeks and Turks 3) perceptions about the impact of Western European music on *rebetika* 4) a perceived connection between traditional Celtic music in Melbourne and the post-1970s renaissance of *rebetika* in Melbourne and 5) more general Greek-Australian intercultural experiences.

Firstly, I have already noted how my informants associated certain Ottoman and Byzantine musical characteristics with *rebetika* and a sense of Greek tradition and identity. We can reasonably assume that these periods in Greece's history must have involved regional intercultural exchanges particularly between Greek, Turkish and Arab populations. I have also referred to ways in which political conflicts between Greece and Turkey from the Ottoman period to the present day have affected perceptions about the 'Greekness' of *rebetika*. Even if *rebetika* has become a Pan-Hellenic musical icon, we must acknowledge influences from Turkish and Arab musical traditions, especially the modal qualities of the *dromoi*. Ross Daly observed that the "makams came into Greek music during the Ottoman period" (Daly, 1994, pers. com.) between 324 AD- 453AD. He noted: " During the Ottoman time in Greece there were a lot of [Turkish] musicians especially in Northern Greece; so there was a strong tradition of Ottoman classical music in Greece" (Daly, 1994, pers. com.).

Despite reasonable assertions such as Daly's, some of my Melbourne informants expressed ambivalent feelings about acknowledging non-Greek influences on the evolution of *rebetika*. Some, such as Peter Volaris, whilst acknowledging intercultural influences between Greeks and Turks, commented:

> I tend to see a purer Byzantine tie with *rebetika* [than] to see Turkish as we know it, with *makams* and *amanades*. I would say that if a Greek from Asia Minor used a pure minor scale he would create a different

> song from that of a Turk using the same scale...(Volaris, 1998, pers. com.)

Here, Volaris supports the view that Greek urban traditional music has stronger links with the golden era of pre-colonised Greece – Byzantium - than with the culture of the Ottoman Empire. Whilst it is reasonable to assert that different cultures in neighbouring regions create different music using similar modes, and that *rebetika* modes as they came to be in the early decades of the 20th century, might have been influenced through a popular knowledge and experience of the Byzantine church modes, it is equally reasonable to assert (if not more so) that the secular instrumental and song tradition of the Greek/Arab/Turkish region were strong influences on the evolution of the adapted makam system which is at the core of *rebetika* melodic invention. It is more likely to be that: "The Ottoman Classical and Byzantine [traditions] were going along side by side for hundreds of years and there was a lot of cross-influence between one and another" (Daly, 1994, pers. com.).

In more general terms, Volaris felt that Greeks and Turks in Melbourne "shared a lot of things" and that relationships between the two communities were positive. However, he is not alone in holding ambivalent attitudes towards non-Greek influences being exerted on traditional Greek music. Although not a *rebetika* musician, Euclides Zougourides, one of Melbourne's leading practitioners of Byzantine music, expressed similar feelings. He observed:

> We try to make our church music to be not the same as Eastern music. We had to get rid of some techniques from Arab or Muslim music...Although, when I have listened to this music (Turkish) I used to get a few things to beautify or enhance the [Byzantine] scale. (Zougouridis, 1994, pers. com.)

In describing the cleansing of non-Greek musical influences from Greek orthodox music in Melbourne, Zougouridis implied that Islamic modal characteristics had had

an impact on local Byzantine musical practices and that despite their inappropriateness, he acknowledged their aesthetic value.

My informants' ambivalent perceptions about Byzantine and Ottoman influences on the evolution of *rebetika* are closely related to on-going tensions between Greeks and Turks, which have historic roots that resonate to the present day. However, an increasing number of Greeks are now ready to acknowledge that Greeks from Asia Minor (Anatolia) as well as Arabic and gypsy musicians, were significant initiators of *rebetika* in mainland Greece. It would be difficult for them to do otherwise since the migratory movements of Greeks (and others) and the music they carried with them are substantiated in relatively recent recorded history; particularly the mass exchange of Muslim and Orthodox populations between Greece and Turkey in 1922. Nevertheless, recorded history cannot necessarily change the ambivalent feelings of my informants. Volaris commented:

> I think that when people started to come across to Athens in 1922, that's when things [*rebetika*] started to develop. I don't think that region [Asia Minor] was influenced by Turkish music at all. So what the Greeks brought from there was quite unique. (Volaris, 1998, pers. com.)

This view comes close to denying that any Turkish-Greek intercultural exchange occurred. It does not take account of the long-standing intercultural exchanges between Greeks and Turks of Asia Minor nor does it acknowledge the documented presence of Arab, Gypsy and Turkish as well as Greek musicians in mainland Greek urban areas since the middle of the nineteenth century.

Spiridakos believed that many of the young Melbourne Greek musicians who have not lived in Greece imitate a current popular music trend in Greece which makes use of Turkish vocal techniques and that in so doing they "play this music [*rebetika*] like Easteners" (Spiridakos, 1998, pers. com.).

A different view of the 'Greekness' of *rebetika* is held by Vela and Demetriou. Demetriou commented:

> A lot of the early *rebetika* are sung in Turkish as well [as Greek]. It's the same music. Does it really matter who the music belongs to? What is more important is that we have this music and to accept whatever information we find out about [it] is something to learn and not to argue about. Arguments about whether a song is Greek or Turkish are meaningless. Greeks don't like saying we are connected with Turkish music, or Arabic. They prefer to say that their tradition comes from the Byzantine tradition. I am not questioning that. Of course we are made from our own traditions but at the same time I think we have a lot in common with those neighbouring countries. Not only in the modes but in the instruments. (Demetriou, 1996, pers. com.)

Early recordings of music which are now accepted as part of the *rebetika* genre support Demetriou's statement that *rebetika* at the turn of the twentieth century were sung in Greek and Turkish. Clearly, she does not think discussion about the extent to which *rebetika* is, or is not, influenced by Turkish music is important. Nevertheless, she acknowledges cultural contact between Greeks and Turks. Vela commented further:

> People talk about Turkish influences in Greek music – fine. There are [Turkish influences], just as there are Greek influences in Turkish music... It's a melting pot thing. I think that Greece is a Middle Eastern country. Its place in Europe is a contrived one, invented recently. Its borders have been invented just as those of Bulgaria. That's my answer to the idea that the music is exclusive. It's quite racist. But here, this music [*rebetika*] is distinctly Greek. The language makes it that. But it is never purely one thing. To say it came from somewhere first is a pointless exercise. (Vela, 1998, pers. com.)

Here, Vela acknowledged that cultural exchanges between Greece and Turkey were inevitable because of their regional proximity and that contrived political borders between countries cannot contain broader cultural activity. This latter point is associated with a problem of identifying intercultural exchange when referring to the commonly used concept of 'Western' culture. In using the common term 'Western' I acknowledge that it is problematic and share the view stated by Nettl that "a Western

cultural system may be a vast oversimplification". Nevertheless, as Nettl adds, "there seem to be cultures which have become part of the West..." (Nettl, 1978: 127).

I also note Nettl's elaboration of his use of the term in The Western Impact on World Music, in which he observed:

> Western music is all music produced in Western societies; or perhaps all music with which members of Western society or its segments, identify themselves; or perhaps all music regarded by the non-Western outsider as being "Western"....(Nettl. 1985: 4)

He suggests traits, principles and ideas that might be included in an understanding of the term Western music. They include:

> ...the system of functional harmony...the idea that music is normally made by groups, the larger the better with a form of dictatorial leadership. And further: the notion that planning is important, with the norm of the carefully composed piece...; the concept of radical innovation in musical content or style in composition, along with the need for precise repetition in performance; the principle of control as exhibited in notation; the concept of music as something sufficiently independent of other domains of culture that times, venues and contexts of performance are not rigorously determined by religious, ceremonial or social constraints; emphasis on doing what is difficult and showing it off...(Nettl, 1985: 5)

In chapter five I shall discuss the degree to which Nettl's definition of Western musical characteristics relate to my informants' perceptions about the musical characteristics of *rebetika*. In chapter six, I shall explore further the perception that the structure and tuning of *rebetika* instruments evidence intercultural influences. At this point, however, I shall simply note five notions held by my informants about Western music. The first, as already mentioned, is that Greece is the 'gateway' between East and West, a view held by Volaris and Sapekidis. Volaris observed that "Greece [is] at the cross-roads, where it uses Western, Byzantine and Middle Eastern scales" (Volaris, 1998, pers. com.), a comment that illustrates the idea that *rebetika* modes consitute evidence of intercultural influences.

Similarly, during discussion about his instrument-making activities, Sapekidis referred to the *bouzouki* as an instrument that is a "cross between Eastern and Western" instrumental types (Sapekidis, 1998, pers. com.). As Protheroe, (1996: 66) observed, Western European music has influenced Greek traditional music since the mid-nineteenth century; in particular Venetian influence was exerted in the Ionian Islands which were never under Ottoman domination, from 1797. During this time the violin and clarinet were introduced into Greece and became core instruments in *demotika* and later, *Smyrnaika* ensembles. Commenting on the contemporary Greek use of non-traditional instruments such as the saxophone, Argyropoulos observed:

> Is the violin a traditional Greek instrument? Is the clarinet a traditional Greek instrument? No. But if they have been blended in with certain musical areas and they work, why not? If it's used in a proper way it can produce something that is great. (Argyropoulos, 1994, pers. com.)

For Galiatsos, Western influences on Greek traditional music have brought about a decrease in the practice of improvisation. He felt that "the further you go away from makams; the more influenced you are by the West; there is less improvisation" (Galiatsos, 1994, pers. com.). This view is also held by Conway Morris (1981: 83).

Informants Galiatsos, Argyropoulos and Alifragis all described their initial musical interests as being centred on Western European popular music, saying their later interest in Greek traditional music was based initially on non-Greek music. This brings me to my informants' fourth notion about Western influences on *rebetika* music, which holds that traditional Celtic music influenced the musicians' growing interest in Greek traditional music in Melbourne. Galiatsos recalled how the Greek-based Irish musician, Ross Daly, played an important role in the late 1970s revival of traditional Greek music. The Galiatsos brothers (George and Emmanuel) also developed a musical relationship with the internationally known Irish musician Andy Irvine, who later went on to introduce the *bouzouki* into main stream Irish traditional music in Eire. Volaris felt that the "beautiful melodies which come out of Celtic

music [are] common with Greek [traditional music]" (Volaris, 1998, pers. com.). Vela noted: "With Habibis [the name of her band] we have a Celtic sound to our Greek music...There are a lot of Celtic influences. It seeps into our music" (Vela, 1998, pers. com.).

Referring to the early 1980s traditional music revival in Melbourne, she observed:

> When any Greek band plays the audience is divided 50/50 between Greek-Australians and Anglo-Celts because in a way their ears [Anglo-Celts] are used to that kind of music. [In the 1980s] that whole kind of multicultural Celtic thing which happened set a standard for what was to follow; that is, a thing of diversity...That kind of multicultural boom thing with Anglo-Saxons and Anglo-Celts playing folk music: there were two ways it happened. The Celtics discovering Balkan music that in a strange way got a lot of young Greeks of my generation into Greek music – to actually play it.(Vela, 1998, pers. com.)

None of my informants defined which specific aspects of Celtic music they associated with Greek traditional music. However, I suspect the experience may have prepared them for an introduction to music having a modal sound and being relatively free of popular Western music formulae. The 1970s revival of traditional musics in Melbourne also occurred in Europe, the USA and in Greece, where it paralleled the revival of the pre-1946 style of *rebetika* in the post-Junta years in Greece.

I observed above that Australians have tended to embrace multiculturalism as a central characteristic of their identity since the 1970s when the country became less isolationist. Members of the dominant Anglo-European population also began to experience the lively activities of migrant communities in cities and towns. In Melbourne, the Greek-Australian community is now widely spread with a particularly strong community in the north eastern area known as Brunswick, where Turkish, Arabic and Lebanese communities also live.[56] There are many Greek tavernas,

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[56] It is interesting to note how these Brunswick migrant communities live in similar proximity to the proximity of their countries of origin.

restaurants, night clubs and hotels (in Australia, licensed public premises are usually referred to as hotels) which support performances of *rebetika* in its various forms. Brunswick is also the area identified by my informants as an important meeting place between Greek and Turkish musicians. Gazi Yalcin observed:

> Australia is a multicultural country and Sila [his music school in nearby Coburg)] is a multicultural school. We accept students from all backgrounds. We already have someone in our ensemble who plays [the Western acoustic] guitar and I'm working on ways to combine the sound of the *baglama* [a Turkish string instrument] with the Greek *bouzouki*. (Nicholson, 1998: 20)

These words provide evidence of a Turkish musician exploring ways of integrating Greece's national instrument, the *bouzouki*, into a Turkish-Australian ensemble. Having noted the integration of the *bouzouki* into Turkish and Irish music, two of my informants reported that they used *rebetika* elements in their own compositions. For example, Tsicaderis described a composition which explores relationships between Australian migrant communities and indigenous people. He commented: "I start off [with] sticks and didgeridoo on a constant drone and then there's the flute like a European migrant...and then the *bouzouki*, being the Greek migrant" (Tsicaderis, 1998, pers. com.).

Vela incorporated the *rebetika zebekiko* dance rhythm into her opera Little City. She commented:

> I've used all these rhythms [traditional rhythms] without thinking they were Greek folk rhythms, but they are part of that [the opera] music. People don't think they are listening to Greek music...I didn't set out to write a *zebekiko*; it just grew that way...then you have a *zebekiko* sung in Greek, then Spanish and they come together in English. I think in a way it expresses what people think is Australian music. You could argue that aspects such as the modes were unfamiliar to people and some of the rhythms. In fact that is not the case because our ears in this country are now open. (Vela, 1998, pers. com.)

Vela has argued that intercultural influences between *rebetika* and many traditional musics found in Australia, are now such a familiar part of the acoustic landscape, that they are no longer heard as 'exotic' music. Furthermore, she suggested that a single synthesised form of Australia's migrant traditional musics could emerge and be seen as "the original music of this country". I do not agree with this view since I doubt it is possible for the hundreds of traditional musics represented in Australia to synthesise into one form. It would involve the subsequent loss of musical diversity in Australia. Nevetheless, there is no doubt that music produced as a result of intercultural contact is an increasing aspect of Australian musical life.

In concluding the discussion of my informants' perceptions about intercultural influences on Melbourne *rebetika*, I refer to Kevin Zervos's description of the entrance to his *rebetika* club known as *The Tsakpina Club*, in Lonsdale Street in the late 1970s.

> On the stairway up to *Tsakpina* there were koalas drawn life size walking up the steps holding *bouzouki*s and things like that. I suppose the stairway was a transition: leaving Australia and going up to Greece. (Zervos, 1999, pers. com.)

Whilst essentially jocular, the image brings together two iconic aspects of Greek-Australian culture: koalas and *bouzouki*s.

In this chapter the phenomenographic analysis has revealed my informants' variations of experience of generational relationships, learning processes and intercultural contact in relation to *rebetika*. These experiences are summarised below in tables 4.1, 4.2 and 4.3.

Table 4.1

Variations of experience of inter-generational contact according to Horn's informants
1. There are three generations of *rebetika* musicians in Melbourne.
2. Each generation experienced the Greek-Australian and Melbourne cultural environment differently.
3. There was a convergence of music-making between generations *A* and *B* in the late 1970s.
4. From the mid-1980s *rebetika* music-making in Melbourne involved inter-generational contact.
5. Generation *B* musicians played a cross-generational, community-wide role with regard to educating the Greek-Australian communities about their traditional musical heritage.

Table 4.2

Variations of experience of learning and transmission according to Horn's informants	
1.	Informants categorised musicians as either 'educated' or 'uneducated', musically literate or musically non-literate.
2.	Musicians learned *rebetika* through both formal and informal learning processes.
3.	Repertoire and performance skills may be acquired through the traditional concept of 'stealing.'
4.	*Akousmata* were an essential means for learning repertoire and performance skills.
5.	Recorded music was a prime source of *rebetika* repertoire.
6.	Acquisition of repertoire and performance skills usually involved mimetics and memory.
7.	Adoption of equal temperament tuning brought about a decline in the ability to hear 'older' tunings and micro-intervals for post-1946 audiences.
8.	While informants followed different learning processes, improvisation was always understood to be a skill acquired as a mature musician.
9.	Knowing the *dromoi* was a prerequisite for improvisation.

Table 4.3

Variations of experience of intercultural contact according to Horn's Informants	
1.	*Rebetika* is often held to be connected with Ottoman and Byzantine cultural history.
2.	Tension in 20th century Greek -Turkish relationships affected attitudes towards the cultural valuing of *rebetika*.
3.	Western world cultural/musical influences contributed to changes in *rebetika* style.
4.	Generation *B* informants identified a link between the renaissance of traditional Celtic music and post-1970s *rebetika* in Melbourne.
5.	Adaptation of melodic and rhythmic modes from the East reflected intercultural influences.
6.	Adaptation and/or inclusion of Turkish, Arab, Western musical instruments reflected intercultural influences.
7.	Greek-Australian *rebetika* musicians forged links with musicians from other diaspora communities.

In the following chapter, the phenomenographic analysis of my informants' interview transcripts continues, focussing on their perceptions of the musical characteristics of *rebetika*.

CHAPTER FIVE

A PHENOMENOGRAPHIC ACCOUNT OF *REBETIKA* IN MELBOURNE (PART THREE): MUSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

5.1 Introduction

In chapters three and four, discussion focussed on how my informants' perceptions of tradition, identity, migration, learning processes, intercultural and inter-generational contact are associated with their experiences of *rebetika*. I noted how the nature of these perceptions differed according to which generation of Greek-Australians the informants belonged. In this chapter I shall discuss their perceptions of the musical characteristics of *rebetika* (tertiary categories of relevance) and extra-musical associations attributed to these characteristics. Discussion will focus on six areas: 1) authenticity, 2) mode and melody, 3) dance and rhythm, 4) improvisation, 5) chords and harmony and 6) vocal style.

5.1(a) Authenticity

We have seen that though distanced in both time and space from its points of origin in Greece, *rebetika* as performed in Melbourne plays an important role in the lives of members of the Greek-Australian diaspora community. Can *rebetika* music performed in Melbourne over the last fifty years be considered as *bona fide rebetika*, however, in view of it having been performed, quite literally, on the opposite side of the world, indeed thousands of kilometres away in a country that until 1950s, had little cultural exchange with Greece? A further question arises: does the music embody 'authentic'

meaning for its performers and audience? Use of the term 'authentic' is not meant to suggest that Melbourne's *rebetika* must closely imitate or reflect its pre-1946 origins, or even possess similar meanings to that of the *rebetes* and Greek urban population of the first few decades of the twentieth century. Rather:

> 'authenticity' is a discursive trope of great persuasive power. It focuses a way of talking about music, a way of saying to outsiders and insiders alike 'this is what is really significant about this music', 'this is the music that makes us different from other people.' (Stokes, 1994: 9)

In discussing my informants' perceptions about the musical characteristics of *rebetika*, I shall aim to show which characteristics have significance for them and how this significance relates to their sense of being Greek-Australian. As noted above, the terminology used by *rebetika* performers is problematic. Can the term *rebetika* be defined specifically? Gauntlett's discussion of the term *rebetiko tragoudi* (*rebetika* song) and demarcation of the genre suggests a provisional solution to the problem i.e. to treat the term '*rebetika*' as historically variable and dynamic, and to make a non-prescriptive approach, accepting for inclusion in the genre whatever has been thus labelled, and noting each source of generic definition. (Gauntlett, 1991: 39)[57]

Gauntlett's view is that this definition of rebtika is necessarily "relativistic" and "bridled by historicism" (Gauntlett, 1998, pers. com.). He acknowledges the limitations of interpreting the term *rebetika* within a context in which social and cultural phenomena are determined partially by historical events. However, he adopted this approach to avoid forming "intuitive definitions [of the term] in very inexpert ways" and to " bring everything out into the open so that understanding of things [*rebetika* terminology] could be available for scrutiny rather than [encouraging] a covert method of propagating one's own prejudices" (Gauntlett, 1998, pers. com.).

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[57] Gauntlett discusses these issues in depth in Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies, vol. 8, 1992/83:77-102

This approach, in his opinion, typifies much discussion of the nature of *rebetika*. Guided by phenomenographic methodology and Gauntlett's relativistic approach to *rebetika* terminology, I refer to most of the terms commonly used by my informants in the contemporary *rebetika* discourse in Greece and Melbourne. Some informants based their usage of terms on their etymological knowledge about the terms while others used them in commonly accepted senses which vary in their degree of accuracy. In addition to referring to terms shown in *table 2.1* they use the terms pre- and post - World War Two and pre- and post-1922. The term Pre- World War Two is used to demarcate recorded *rebetika* styles recorded between ca 1900 and 1940, and Post-World War Two refers to recorded *rebetika* from 1946 onwards. The Pre-1922 and Post-1922 terms refer to recorded traditional Greek urban music before and after the catastrophic exchange of Orthodox and Muslim populations between Greece and Turkey. Stylistic developments in *rebetika* resulted from this interaction between refugee musicians from Asia Minor and other mainland working class Greek musicians.

We can now begin to explore my informants' perceptions of the specifically musical characteristics of *rebetika*. Many informants discussed *rebetika*'s musical elements in terms of whether or not a performance style should be considered 'pure.' Several meanings were attached to that term. For some, such as George Kiriakidis, it meant simply that if traditional acoustic instruments had been replaced by electronic instruments or traditional percussion instruments by drum-kits, he would not be buying the recordings. Illiou felt that ever since he became an experienced performer of *rebetika* music he could not listen to interpretations which did not reflect the composer's "intention and feeling", even though he could not have known them. Yet, he still said the composer's intents and feelings were important, as he disliked *rebetika* songs which were interpreted with a "night club feel just to boost record sales", which were "abuses of the song" and resembled stealing a song for the musician's "benefit". As he observed:

> You take a *rebetika* song and change the beat; change a few lyrics; change the melody around; put instruments which don't make the song better; throw in a synth [sic] or musical instruments which don't fit. Just changing it so it doesn't sound as if it was written in the 1930s. (Illiou, 1996, pers. com.)

As he maintained, the *Compania* with which he performed (i.e. the second formation of *Rebetiki Compania*) may not "play like it [the song] was in the 1930s, but we give it a kind of feeling that is along the lines of that, rather than turning it into a night club song" (Illiou, 1996, pers. com.). Thus, for Illiou certain instrumentations and performance styles are acceptable as *rebetika* and others are not. His comments address the key ethnomusicological question: how and why do music genres change? What cultural meanings can be associated with these changes? In chapters seven and eight we shall direct these questions to specific examples of Melbourne *rebetika* from the 1960s to the present day.

Another aspect of authentic *rebetika* performance in Melbourne was related by Kevin Zervos in describing the environment and atmosphere of his *rebetika* club in Lonsdale Street (*The Tsakpina Club*) in the late 1970s. He observed:

> It was like walking into another era. It really was. It was like travelling back in time and to another country. It wasn't like a normal shop front with a couple of pictures of Greece on the walls to give you that feeling. I managed to create an environment which was fairly authentic. (Zervos, 1999, pers. com.)

He described the 'authentic' environment of the club as follows:

> I set it [*The Tsakpina Club*] up with large photographs from Gail Holst's book [Road To Rembetika, 1975] plus photos of my own family from around the period of the 1920s which I had blown up. In my family's collection [of recorded music] I had found a lot of *rebetika* 78s amongst the demotika and dance music. I thought I had these links with the people. I decided to blow these photos up to life size and I set out the place in dark brown and yellow colour as I thought it might have been in Piraeus early in the century. (Zervos, 1999, pers. com.)

Whilst Zervos and other members of the club admired the specifically *Smyrnaika* and *Piraeotika* styles of *rebetika*, Zervos recalled how leading generation *A* musicians Varnavas and Stathoulopoulos would

> come [to the club] after their gigs... they would come regularly and we would be playing there until five or six in the morning...just listening to what Themios [Stathoulopoulos] could remember as rebetiko from Greece. Often these [songs] would get mixed up and joined together to make new combinations. (Zervos, 1999, pers. com.)

Stathoulopoulos, who migrated to Melbourne in the early 1960s with experience as an Athenian *rebetika* performer, is regarded by the Greek-Australian community as an important figure in the field of Greek-Australian popular music. According to Zervos, his performances did not involve reproducing exact copies of live or recorded Athenian versions of *rebetika*. Indeed, his "joining together" of remembered elements can hardly be regarded as being 'true' to the original or previous song versions. Nevertheless, his performances were felt to be 'authentic' in the sense that they were enjoyed and held meaning for many audiences from the 1960s until his death in the early 1990s.

The audience at the *Tsakpina* club included many of the emerging generation *B* musicians who went on to lead the Melbourne *rebetika* revival of the 1980s. At various times the core group of these musicians belonged to three *Compania*: *Rebetiki Compania* (first formation), *Apodimi Compania*, and *Rebetiki Compania* (second and third formations). These musicians were sometimes commended on, or accused of (depending on the point of view) being "purists". Argyropoulos, a key member of the *Compania* described *Apodimi Compania* as "100 per cent purist" because they "wanted to do the songs the way they should have been done". On the other hand, he did not think there was a "right or wrong way" of attempting a "purist" *rebetika* interpretation. Another member of *Apodimi Compania*, Hector Cosmas, described

how the *Apodimi* musicians would listen "to a tune, play it the right way and get a group way of doing it". As he commented:

> We pride ourselves on playing it close to the original... but quite often we are not so close when we get down to details. We develop our own way of doing it but we are not aware of it. (Cosmas, 1996, pers. com.)

Here, Cosmas tells us that that for *Apodimi Compania* there were degrees of "playing close to the original" song but that details were changed in a semi- conscious process of "personalising" the performance. George Galiatsos, one of the founding members of the *Rebetiki* and *Apodimi Companias* described the ensembles as "being purist" in the sense that they were not

> ... actually duplicating the style, but staying close to the style of especially the way it was played in the first phonograph period[58]....sticking to the basic melody and the style of playing. (Galiatsos, 1994, pers. com) music that was performed in the early part of the [twentieth] century:

For Demetriou, a focus on playing *rebetika* from pre-1946 recordings amounted to musicians "idolising" the performers and style of the *Smyrnaika* and *Piraeotika* periods. She felt that "authentic [as applied to *rebetika* sound] can never happen again". She is correct in stating that the pre-1946 style of *rebetika* cannot simply be reproduced, since instrumental technology and the wider cultural context of *rebetika* in post- 1950s Melbourne cannot be said to be the same as *rebetika* in pre-1946 Greece. However, when the stylistic features of the *Smyrnaika* and *Piraeotika* periods are explored by Melbourne (especially generation *B)* musicians, this is not, in my opinion, a matter of "idolising". It is more a matter of the musicians seeking contemporary meaning in the music: meaning which relates to a sense of Greek-

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[58] Galiatsos used the term 'first phonograph period' to refer to recordings of traditional Greek urban music made by USA and European recording companies from 1905 before the establishment of the first Greek recording industry in 1932.

Australian identity. The same could be said of the *nea kyma* (new wave) movement in Greece in the 1970s when composers such as Theodorakis and Hadzidakis included elements of *rebetika* music in their new style of popular music, using themes reflecting on Greek identity in the post-Junta years. Irini Vela said she agreed with this point, but also felt that a 'purist' approach to *rebetika* in Melbourne had its negative aspects. As she observed:

> There are some people who say if you are going to play *rebetika* from the 1920s you can only use a six string *bouzouki*: [rather than the later four string course *bouzouki* of the 1950s]: or you don't harmonise in a particular spot. I think some people think it's authentic because they work from a particular recording from the 1920s and they are living with a frozen moment in time. (Vela, 1998, pers. com.)

Her criticism of musicians who live in a "frozen moment of time" resonates with Raftis's view (mentioned in chapter two) that diaspora musicians tend to "freeze culture". However, Vela feels that interpreting *rebetika* from a "frozen" recording tends to stultify evolutionary developments in traditional Greek music, whilst Raftis believes that diaspora musicians who "freeze" traditional music styles are guardians of traditional practices. Linking a "purist" approach with Greek-Australians who maintain that *rebetika* and other traditional musics have undisputed links with Byzantine and Ancient Greek practices, Vela commented further:

> There is a whole school out there whose way of thinking is basically Fascist. I use strong terms but [they are] trying to construct a view of Greek music which is devoid of any other influences other than ancient and religious ones...There might be arguments [for this view] because lots of things go back to ancient times [and] I can't be sure there wasn't a zebekiko [dance] in Ancient Greece. You might be able to construct it [but] I sense the argument is coming from about being 'pure'. Some people play well, [some] mediocre in their own style [which is] not necessarily authentic. It's all positive but I think when you are a minority culture you tend to justify what you play by dressing it up. (Vela, 1998, pers. com.)

This is indeed a "strong" point of view. It serves to illustrate that the term "purist" and the idea of authenticity in relation to *rebetika* music in Melbourne includes a number of meanings, ranging from Greek nationalism to a simple avoidance of non-preferred styles. Vela also raised the idea that some musicians with a migrant background, in giving expression to how traditional musics have significance for them, embellish or "dress up" the importance of, as Galiatsos suggested, "staying close" to the original style. During my research I have heard many nationalistic opinions expressed by Greeks about *rebetika* style. However, for the most part, musicians who have found meaning in performance practices which reflect pre-1946 styles have done so because of their desire for authentic meaning and sense of personal and community identity, and as such, have contributed to the natavistic revival of Melbourne's *rebetika*.

I shall now discuss four perceptions of *rebetika* expressed by my informants which relate to the issue of authenticity. They are that 1) *rebetika* is the Greek form of the "blues" 2) *rebetika* is a music of the people 3) *rebetika* is simple music and 4) *rebetika* should or should not be electronically amplified.

In chapter two I outlined how the songs, dances and musical characteristics of *rebetika* have long been associated with Greece's urban lower classes. During the nineteenth century and first half of the twentieth century, this association reflected the demographics of the majority of the audience. From the post-Second World War years, *rebetika* became accepted by a broader, middle class audience and went on (despite periods of opposition and censorship) to become an international Greek sound icon. In reality, the music no longer belongs in the domain of the lower classes only. However, in my opinion, the relationship between the music and lower classes still exists as part of a popular myth in much the same way as the "blues" in the USA: a myth which in no way diminishes the significance and meaning of the American "blues" to its contemporary audience.

Indeed, *rebetika* is commonly referred to as "the Greek blues". For example, Stathis Gauntlett entitled his public lecture in Melbourne in 1993: Singing the Blues of Greece and Australia[59]. In it he outlined a case for using the "blues" label with reference to *rebetika*. Other examples are the 1983 Australian produced and scripted film *Rebetika*- The Blues of Greece[60] and Gail Holst's reference in Road To Rembetika, (Holst, 1975: 77).

In his 1993 lecture Gauntlett argued that *rebetika* be called the Greek "blues" because they are "songs of complaint". The marginal [social] status of the composers and performers are shared elements with the American "blues". (Gauntlett, 1993) However, he did not venture an opinion as to whether comparisons can be made between the musical characteristics of *rebetika* and the American "blues". In the film of 1983 the only direct reference to *rebetika* as blues music is spoken in the narration by Anthony Quinn, who observed:

> *Rebetika*, the music of Greece. Music that was once despised and suppressed. The music that belonged to the hashish smokers, the outcasts, the underworld. But the world is now witnessing a revival of that music. *Rebetika* – the "blues" of Greece. (quoted in Montignie, 1983)

A more substantial comparison was drawn by Holst, who wrote:

> The only parallel to rembetika [sic] music which I can think of is the urban blues of New Orleans, Chicago and Harlem. There is the same feeling of being on the outside of society, the same private language...the same power to communicate suffering, the same combination of submission and defiance. The blues and rembetika are both historical phenomena which have been allowed to degenerate and die, and have subsequently been dug up by the youth of the next generation and lovingly enshrined. (Holst,1975: 77)

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[59] This lecture took place on August 17th, 1993 at the Mechanics Institute, Brunswick.

[60] The film described Melbourne as one of the world's great centres of *rebetika*

Amongst my Melbourne informants there was a general acceptance of the "blues"-like nature of *rebetika*. Tsicaderis referred directly to the music as a form of "urban blues" (Tsicaderis, 1998, pers. com.), while Zervos claimed to have developed an interest in the music partly because "of the drug references and the blues nature of the lyrics" (Zervos, 1999, pers. com.). Hector Cosmas commented:

> [*rebetika* has] a "blues aspect when its sung in a certain way. Because it's "blues", it is heart-felt, not introverted, but in some ways more introverted than, say, cabaret. When you take a [*rebetika*] song to a different context it loses a lot of its punch. (Cosmas, 1996l, pers. com.)

Cosmas suggests that *rebetika* can be compared with the "blues" because of its reflective singing style. Excepting Cosmas's view, and Zervos's, who describe *rebetika* lyrics as being "blues-type," most of the discusssion about the "blues" nature of *rebetika* involves sociological comparisons which may be regarded as valid as both genres had their origins amongst the urban lower class (discounting at this point any earlier rural connections). Moreover the lyrics of the songs often give expression to human suffering. After facing initial disdain, the music was eventually accepted by the middle classes. In addition, there is a similar historical relationship between the musicians and music industries of the USA and Europe. Both the "blues" and *rebetika* have become commercially viable within the so-called 'world music' scene, but then the same could be said of other popular urban genres such as the Portugese *fado*, Argentinian *tango* and Spanish *flamenco*. The question remains therefore: is it valid to compare *rebetika* with the "blues" in other ways, particularly through its musical characteristics? I maintain that it is. Whilst *rebetika* has its characteristic sounds, which differ very strongly from the "blues", it shares certain generic musical characteristics belonging to the blues and other urban traditional musical genres. These characteristics are discussed by Reck (1997) who describes the "blues" scale system as having "tremendous tonal fluidity" between its tonal poles of the first, fourth and fifth degrees of its scale. (Reck, 1997: 221) He commented further:

> Notes are treated not as steps, but as points in a continuous fluctuation of sweeps, curves, and vibrations. Subtle microtonal slips and slides of pitch and wide vibratos, coloured by expressive use of vocal timbre and range, further add to this ambiguity. (Reck, 1997, loc. cit.)

Apart from the diatonic nature of the "blues", the same notion could be used to describe the tonal potential of the modes used in *rebetika*. Bearing in mind that the *dromoi* were adapted from the Turkish Arabic *makam* system, the comparison can be extended with reference to Reck's observation:

> ...many tonal systems are much, much more than empty scales and note series. The Turkish *maqam*, the Persian *gusheh*, and the Indian *raga*, and perhaps the American blues all include characteristic note groupings, musical phrases connected with the expressive purposes of a particular mood. (Reck, 1997: 224)

Other generic musical characteristics relevant to *rebetika* referred to by Reck include: "the organic development of melodic ideas... [such as] the slow Arabic introductions to the *maqam*..."(Reck, 1997: 247) and the common strophic song structure found in folk songs of the world. Thus, it may be argued that my informants' perception of *rebetika* as the "Greek blues" has validity beyond the sociological comparisons made by Gauntlett and Holst in that it shares generic musical characteristics of other world urban traditional musics.

I shall now discuss another perception of *rebetika* held by my informants: that it is a music 'of the people.' The perception implies that it somehow belongs to ordinary people rather than the the rich or upper classes.

As already noted, *rebetika* moved away from an anonymous oral tradition and became increasingly commercialised from the 1930s. Compositions and recordings became the commercial property of the music industry, a commodity acquired by a middle class audience. And yet, the idea persists that it is a music of the people. Demetriou holds the uncontroversial view that "*rebetika* is a true popular tradition in the sense that it came from the people" (Demetriou, 1996, pers. com). However, when she

described the origins of the music, she added: "*rebetika* resulted from the settling of the ports; [in urban Greece] those little shanty settlements [and the people's] poverty". All other perceptions relate to the same theme: that is, music of the people means music of the oppressed or under-classes. Spiridakos's view about this theme is typical. He commented: "The music and the lyrics always talk about the problems of the people; poor people; about love [and] many songs are about drugs and people" (Spiridakos, 1998, pers. com).

In the same vein, Trahanas observed:

> The music comes from the people. A lot of the old instrument players were not educated but they made such music that it still goes on. They are the only songs which talk about your life; mostly the misery of your life; the problems. It is connected with everyone's life; mostly the lower class; the workers; the suffering people and they are most of the people anyway. (Trahanas, 1999, pers. com.)

The blues-type lyrics frequently mention *o ponos* ("the pain of life"). History confirms the hard life endured by the lower classes in urban Greece in the first half of the twentieth century. What significance does this suffering have for Greek-Australians in Melbourne? My hypothesis is that the status of being migrants or children of migrants, together with remembered images and sound embodied in *rebetika* songs and dance, connect Melbourne's Greek-Australians with the travellers and refugees from Asia Minor in the early part of the twentieth century. The same may be said about different diaspora communities around the world who associate with other forms of popular urban music. They are no longer disenfranchised minorities enduring the suffering and oppression of homelessness and poverty,[61] yet the music they enjoy retains significance for the people as a medium which has (as

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[61] The relative affluence of modern-day audiences of *rebetika*, the blues and other urban popular musics, contrasts with other urban musics which are emerging from a context of oppression and poverty. South African Township Jive is an example of this. See Rob Allingham, 1994, pp. 373-390, for further details.

Holst described above) "the same power to communicate suffering, [and a] combination of submission and defiance".

Closely related to my informants' views about *rebetika* as the Greek blues and a music of the people is a perception that *rebetika* music is 'simple' music and as such, it is an inclusive music. That is, like most traditional music, its 'surface' characteristics are not complex, rather they are accessible to the majority of the people they have meaning for. I use the term 'surface' to distinguish the basic sound and structure of a so-called simple traditional music from other more complex psychological, emotional and sociological levels of experience that may be associated with the music. As Volaris observed:

> I think the structure [and] form it [*rebetika*] was composed in carried very strong melodies...It had a simplicity in it. It just grabs you like a lot of simple music does. It was not a complex thing. It was talking about the ills of society and maybe the hopes of society, in a very simple form [with] very basic words people could identify with. Certainly a melody was not a problem and easy to remember. (Volaris, 1998, pers.com.)

Volaris believed that even if musicians attained high levels of performance technique and musical knowledge, they would always acknowledge such things as "the simple melody of the *baglama*, or six stringed *bouzouki*, or the crudeness of harmony compared with modernistic harmonies which is what really gets people. You don't need all these modernistic harmonies to express your feelings". (Volaris, 1998, pers. com.) Volaris cites *rebetika* form, melody, text and harmony as simple elements, noting how "people could identify" with the music. Tsicaderis considered that whilst the music was simple, it also had "depth" and that simple lyrics were nothing to be "embarrassed" about. Recalling his uncle's tavern in Greece he commented:

> What I found fascinating in my uncle's tavern were all these little sheets of paper stuck on the wall. They were little sayings – ditties which were so terrific for *rebetika* songs. People [stuck on the wall] some clever little pieces or sayings...The point is in the days of

> *rebetika* they [the musicians] were not timid about the limits. They didn't say "oh this is a shit lyric. I won't use it" They set it to music. I'm saying that a lot of musicians here [Melbourne] shouldn't be embarrassed with that sort of lyric, but put down their thoughts and use it and write songs. (Tsicaderis, 1998, pers. com.)

Here Tsicaderis tells us of the value and poignancy of simple words and thoughts in relation to composing *rebetika* lyrics and reinforces the notion of 'simple' *rebetika* as being music and text which is accessible to, and inclusive of , 'ordinary' people.

Liavas (1994, pers. com.) also felt that *rebetika* is "simple" when compared with the more "complicated" rural *demotika* and maintained that *rebetika* melodic invention rests on variations of between "300-400" melodies and that most involved "simple strophic structures". The latter point is correct. However, he did not provide evidence for his claim that there was a stock of a few hundred basic melodies. In my view, his claim could have some validity, but only if he was referring to melodic formulae derived from the interval characteristics of the *dromoi* (modes) used in *rebetika* as opposed to the known composed song repertoire. This is particularly so if we take into consideration improvised elements of *rebetika* performance which are based on modal exploration.

We shall explore this issue further in the following section on mode and melody.

To conclude this discussion of my informants' perceptions about "authentic" rebetika performance, I shall record my informants' views on the issue of whether of not *rebetika* performances should be amplified electronically. Electronic amplification of *rebetika* performances was widespread from the early 1950s. Petropoulos (1979) provides photographic evidence of singers using microphones and *bouzoukis* with electronic pick-ups from the early 1950s. There is no doubt that as *rebetika* became popular entertainment in large night clubs and clubs specialising in *bouzouki* music *(bouzoukia)*, the demand for amplified *rebetika* grew. From an introspective, (i.e. personally reflective) acoustically produced music heard in small tavernas pre-1946, it

evolved into an often loud and less introspective music for the entertainment of the middle classes. Holst argued that the kind of *rebetika* heard in the 1950s and 1960s *bouzouki* clubs in Greece was amplified to a "literally deafening pitch and accompanied by the ubiquitous electronic organ" (Holst, 1975: 59), although in the 1960s it was still possible to find a few of the old pre-1946 rebetes performing in small Athenian clubs with a "minimum of amplification" (Holst, 1975: 75). Melbourne musician Nick Sapekidis recalled how his father in the early 1950s played in small Thessaloniki clubs without amplification and that the music was played "in silence". He observed:

> When they played they [the audience] would all listen. Whilst the music was playing or a guy was dancing there was total silence. *Rebetika* music requires silence to be heard...The audience was part of the music-making. There was respect for the music. (Sapekidis, N. 1996, pers. com.)

Sapekidis tells us that in small Thessaloniki venues in the early 1950s, *rebetika* was performed in an introspective atmosphere in which players and audience had an implicit understanding that *rebetika* was to be heard as a reflective, almost understated type of performance. However, on moving to "bigger clubs" in the early 1960s, his father and fellow musicians changed their style to be more "*laika*" (popular) in style and they used amplification. (Sapekidis, 1996, pers. com.) Relating the issue to contemporary times he said he believed amplification has reached a point at which singers feel they have to use it excessively in order to be heard and "that is why it [*rebetika*] has lost its essence. He maintained that *rebetika* style could be obliterated if too much amplification is used. Similarly, generation *A* musician Volaris recalled when as a "youngster, they [musicians] didn't need microphones and yet when they played in the village you could hear it in the next village. Nowadays it is so much easier, with amplification, drums and drum machines. The style starts to change" (Volaris, 1998, pers. com.). Even *demotika*, as Volaris points out, became subject to amplification and subsequent style changes. During my initial field work in

Greece I witnessed many village square performances of *demotika* and *laika* which used amplification until the sound was completely distorted. Performances of similar music in Melbourne at Greek wedding receptions are also often amplified to the point of distortion. Dimitriou felt that the over-use of amplification has had a direct effect on the relationship between players and audiences, suggesting that it had "taught" them to "compete", (Dimitriou, 1999, pers. com) and that competition was not a true *rebetika* trait.

Commenting on his performances at the Brunswick restaurant, Piraeus Blues,[62] Yiangoulis observed: "At Piraeus Blues we are just background music and that, in a sense, is an insult because we are talking about music which was not necessarily played like that" (Yiangoulis, 1999, pers. com.). Recognising the secondary role of the music to the food in the restaurant's business, he said he believed that the situation will not change. Argyropoulos lamented the inevitable amplification of *rebetika* and recalled auditioning musicians who automatically used electronic amplification for their *bouzoukis*, which he felt gave a "tinny" sound to the instrument. As he commented, some of the "feeling goes if you electrify *rebetika*" (Argyropoulos, 1994, pers. com.).

In summary the evidence suggests that the development of electronic amplification in live musical performances and the electronic recording of music for distribution to a new and growing audience helped establish *rebetika* performances in larger venues, which necessitated the use of electronic amplification. This triggered less reflective relationships between the musicians, the music and their audience. Since the 1950s audiences around the world have become used to listening to popular music of all types at considerable levels of electronic amplification and this has become a listening

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[62] A Melbourne Greek restaurant name chosen to reflect the owners' interest in Piraeotika and the "blues" of Greece.

norm. At times, as Dimitriou suggested, the amplification levels force audiences and musicians to compete for acoustic and performance space. Thus, the issue of amplification and *rebetika* is problematic; it concerns those musicians who feel that the meaning and significance of the music is harmed by its excessive use.

5.1(b) Mode and Melody

In this section I shall discuss in more detail my informants' perceptions about *rebetika* modes *(dromoi)* building on their views which have already been recorded in chapters three and four. These views include firstly, that the *dromoi* have evolved partly through intercultural influences; especially through contact with modal practices of the Arabic/Turkish makam system. At this point, Signell's basic description of the *makam* as a "set of compositional rules by which the melodic component of a piece of [Turkish art] music is realised" (Signell, 1975: 16) will suffice to introduce the term. A more detailed description will emerge as my informants' experience of *rebetika* mode and melody emerges.

Secondly, the *dromoi* are influenced by Ancient Greek and Byzantine musical practices. Thirdly, the sounds of the *dromoi* are associated with senses of Greek and Greek-Australian identity, and fourthly, in Melbourne, knowledge of the *dromoi* is acquired through formal and informal processes and this knowledge must be acquired as a prerequisite for developing skills of improvisation.

My informants' views can be further divided into seven categories: 1) melody is one of the central elements of *rebetika* 2) *rebetika* melody can be perceived as simple or complex according to its stylistic period 3) the *dromoi* are the modal building blocks of *rebetika* 4) the nature of the *dromoi* facilitate a rich diversity of melodic invention 5) the perceived number of *dromoi* differs widely according to each informant 6) modulation between *dromoi* is an important element of *rebetika* melody and 7) the

dromoi are a synthesis of modal practices from Ancient Greece, Byzantium and the Arab/Turkish cultures.

Since *rebetika* is predominantly heterophonic (despite the fact that Western harmonic practices began to influence the genre from the 1930s) it is not surprising to hear Melbourne musicians suggest that in *rebetika*, melody "is everything" (Demetriou, 1996, pers. com.), or the "essence" (Sapekidis, 1996, pers. com.) of the music.

My informants used the term 'melody' generically. They did not ask questions about the meaning of melody in different cultures. Yet it is indeed a pertinent question with regard to the evolution of the *rebetika dromoi* because, 1) the central modal system used in *rebetika*, the *makam* system, is subject to regional variations in the Arab-Turkish world, 2) the *dromoi* are an adapted form of the Arab-Turkish *makam* system and 3), *rebetika* became increasingly influenced by the Western European diatonic system from the 1930s onwards. Apart from differences in the regional makam system and its adapted form in Greece, melodic material built from this modal system also varied according to whether it was performed in an untempered or tempered tuning tradition. I shall deal with this latter issue in chapter six when I discuss *rebetika* instruments; suffice it to say now that *rebetika* instruments and recordings from the first few decades of the twentieth century provide evidence of the change from untempered to equal temperament tuning in Greek popular music. This brings us to consider my informants' views about 'simple' and 'complex' melody according to its stylistic period for this links it with changes in *rebetika* modal practice.

Volaris (1998, pers. com.) and Dimitriou (1999, pers. com.) described *rebetika* song as having "simple melodies". This relates to discussion above on the perception of *rebetika* as 'simple' music, particularly when compared with what Liavas described as the more "complex" melodies of the *demotika* tradition. This distinction is also made between the relatively simple *Piraeotic* melodies and the "inventive" (Vela, 1998, pers. com. and Dimitriou, 1999, pers.com.) *Smyrnaic* melodies. These latter points

illustrate how my informants differentiate between qualities of the melodic characteristics according to the evolutionary style of *rebetika*.

For Volaris "the real feeling [of *rebetika*] comes through the *makams*" (Volaris, 1998, pers. com.). For Demetriou, musicians "communicate through the modes" (Demetriou, 1996, pers. com.). Argyropoulos, (1994, pers. com.) typifies an excitement about the melodic potential of the *dromoi*. He observed that "the possibilities of the makams are endless. It depends on your imagination". Athanasopoulos (1998, pers. com.) described the modal inventiveness of a Melbourne Turkish *tambour* player as "unbelievable".

As in the above references, some musicians when talking about melodic characteristics of *rebetika*, tend to use certain terms interchangeably - particularly, *mode, dromoi* and *makam*. And yet the terms *dromoi* and *makam*, for reasons I have suggested, are not the same concepts.

To explore fully the explanation behind this interchangeable use of *rebetika* modal terminology, a separate study needs to be made focussing on the evolution of the Arab/Turkish makam system and its adaptation in Greek traditional music. However, a brief discussion of the topic is necessary here in order to provide a context for my informants' perceptions about *rebetika* mode and melody and for the analysis of melodic characteristics of the songs to be examined in chapters seven and eight.

The discussion pivots around how changes in the intervallic shapes of the *dromoi* and their tuning changed specific characteristics and potential for melodic invention. In brief, early melodic forms of *rebetika* were based on untempered *makams* in which tonal material heard in expositions of the *makams* was fixed but rhythmic elements were free. As the *makam* were adapted for performance on equal temperament instruments in Greece these characteristics and potential for melodic invention changed. Discussing the music performed by Turkish, Arab, Gypsy and Greek

musicians in *tekes* and *café-amanes*, Conway Morris outlined the following framework of a *makam:*

> The *makam* (pl. *makamlar)* provides the musician with a melodic framework for both improvisation in free time and rhythmic composition, and consists of a prescribed starting note, an ascending and descending scale with certain distinctive melodic contours and particular notes which should be emphasised. (Conway Morris, 1981: 82)

Conway Morris notes how the *makam* melodic framework, which resembles other modal systems such as the *raga* system of the India, was associated with the music of both the low-life clubs (*tekes)* and the more sophisticated *café-amanes* in which the musical style of *Smyrnaika* flourished in the early part of the twentieth century.

During this period the Western equal tempered tuning system increasingly took hold in Greece. *Rebetika* instruments made at this time evidence a seemingly fast transfer to equal tempered tuning. Pennanen notes that the transformation of the *rebetika*'s core instrument, the *bouzouki*, "was rapid from the late 19th century to the mid-1950s" ...Features of the process, such as the introduction of inset metal frets set to equal temperament, can be interpreted as Westernisation" (Pennanen, 1999: 183).

Whilst the Westernisation of *rebetika* modal language was rapid, it was not suddenly imposed on Greek music. As I noted in chapter two, cafes frequented by the Greek middle classes known as *café-chantant* favoured Western popular music, which existed in parallel with the *tekes* and *café-amanes*. Italian *kantades* from the Western Greek islands constituted another Western influence on *rebetika* in the first half of the twentieth century. Thus, the tuning and intervallic characteristics of early *rebetika* styles, created from the untempered *makam* system, co-existed with the Western diatonic system. By the 1930s the sound of *rebetika dromoi* was largely based on versions of the *makams* converted to equal temperament, especially when fretted instruments such as the *bouzouki*, *baglamas* and guitars were involved. Equal

temperament tuning became even more established from the 1940s onwards with the introduction of equal tempered keyboard instruments such as the accordion, piano and synthesizers, and the creation by Manolis Hiotis, of the *bouzouki* with four, instead of three, courses of double strings.

In this period of change, quarter-tone and three-quarter-tone nuances typical of *rebetika* based on older *makam* modal practices began to be lost. Demetriou (1996, pers. com.) felt that elements of the untempered modes could still be heard in contemporary Greece and Melbourne, particularly modes which had "survived from the older tradition". However these should be "left to [be played on] those [unfretted] instruments" which are still used in *rebetika* performance such as the *oud* and violin. In Melbourne, generation *A* musicians generally tended to play equal tempered instruments, but from the 1980s generation *B* players began to pay attention to, and introduce into their ensembles, instruments more commonly heard in *Smyrnaika* ensembles such as the *oud*, violin and *tsimbous*. This paralleled their interest in exploring playing techniques which enabled them to reintroduce some of the lost microtonal elements of *rebetika*. The result, I believe, probably mirrored the modal and tuning flux of the 1920s and 1930s in Greece. Commenting on the effect on modal sound when *Apodimi Compania* simultaneously used tempered and untempered instruments Galiatsos observed:

> In that sense we were not playing clean *makams;* especially if you were doing an improvisation on the guitar. There is no way you can get close to it [microtonal nuances of the untempered *makam]*. It's just the basic notes and you don't have all those quarter tones. I've tried it sometimes on the lute because it's got moveable frets and you can arrange the scale, but not very often. I tended to find that when we played live I couldn't do it because we'd spend a lot of time trying to get back in tune for the next piece. If I was playing a tune from Micro Asia I'd be forced to play the basic melody line [and leave the microtonal elements] to other melodic instruments such as the fiddle, or the *oud* which are fretless. (Galiatsos, 1994, pers. com.)

Thus, Galiatsos and his fellow musicians in the 1980s onwards had the choice of either playing tempered *dromoi* or attempting to play microtonal nuances on unfretted instruments in combination with equal tempered instruments. The option of the entire ensemble playing untempered *dromoi* was not open to them, since very few musicians from either generation *A* or *B* were skilled in this element of the modal language in the early 1980s. *Oud* player Christos Baltsidis would have been an exception to this. From the 1990s, an increasing number of Melbourne musicians began to seek playing skills and knowledge of the older *dromoi* sounds. Whilst Galiatsos described the limitations of equal temperament instruments in playing *dromoi,* he nevertheless suggested that the combination of tempered and untempered instruments could be "beneficial in the sense that if you have a variety [of tunings] " this could create "*chromata*: the colour of the instruments, and maybe they do blend at some stage" (Galiatsos, 1994, pers. com.).[63]

Daly was adamant that "it is impossible to play *makams* on a tempered instrument" (Daly, 1994, pers. com.). However, as he said, " you can play certain *makams* very approximately, but others you can't even approximate". He demonstrated how contemporary *bouzouki* players attempt to create microtonal nuances in the *dromos* known as *ousak* which "needs the second degree lowered by two kommas and an accent on the fourth degree" (Daly, ibid) by rocking their fingers on the fret board upwards and downwards to approximate quarter tones but in doing so changed the mode altogether.

Thus the predominant use of equal temperament tuning contributed to a change in *chromata* in *rebetika* music. As Argyropoulos observed when commenting on Greek

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[63] The concept of *chromata* in Greek music covers a wide area of performance and compositional techniques and can be used to refer to a complete performance/composition or components of a performance/composition such as use of ornaments, accents, rhythmic and melodic interpolations and sound of instruments. It extends to include the concept of χρωματίζω (*chromatiso),* musical modulation,which is an important aspect of *rebetika* improvisation.

modes and changes in the perceived traditional sound of *rebetika* "Everything is being flattened". However, my research indicates that there has been a conscious effort by some Melbourne musicians to re-claim and re-introduce microtonal nuance into performances of *Smyrnaika* and *Piraeotika:* a change which is also reflected in the interests of some musicians in Athens and Thessaloniki today. However, Cosmas, who returned to live in Greece in 1998 and now plays *rebetika* professionally in Athens, suggested to me that many of the professional *rebetika* club musicians he performs with are not as interested as generation *B* Melbourne musicians are in exploring "older" *rebetika* musical characteristics (Cosmas, 2000, pers. com.).

My informants' understanding of how many *dromoi* were used by pre-1946 musicians and how many are used in Melbourne and Greece today offers further evidence of changes made in *rebetika* modal language. In the following discussion, I shall use the spelling of *makam* nomenclature used in quoted references or commonly used spellings used by my informants. Following the view that the adaptation of the *makam* system involved a diminishing of available *chromata* Panagiotakopoulos (1999) observed that the price paid for adopting Western European harmonic practices "was a gradual fading out of its [*rebetika* music] modal character" and that "rebetiko borrowed eleven out of the one hundred Arabian and Turkish modes and later added the four Western-European scales (major, melodic minor, diatonic minor and harmonic minor)" (Panagiotakopoulos, 1999). He does not expand on how he arrived at the precise numbers of eleven out of one hundred. This is typical of most discussion about the number of extant *makams* or *dromoi* at any given time in the history of *rebetika*.

Discussing the evolution of the Arab/Turkish *makam* modal system Daly (1994, pers. com.) noted how "cross-influences" within the Middle East resulted in variations in modal practice and in the number of *makams* used. He believed that the Turkish

makam system represents the "tradition in its most developed form". He commented further:

> In the Arab countries you'll find that Iraq has the largest *makam* tradition with between 33-35 in use. In other countries such as Egypt, you have a very small number; 15-16. Other countries like Morocco or Algeria even fewer; 7-8. In Turkey [there are] approximately 120-150 as real possibilities. (Daly, 1994. pers. com.)

In contemporary Greece Daly has encountered between 20 –30 *dromoi;* fifteen to twenty of which are used "in the vast majority of pieces". He named 14 of them as *rast, hidzas, houzam, huseyni, cargah, ousak, nihavent, sabah, kurdi, beyati, humayun, suzmak, mahur, nikris*. Perceptions about the number of *dromoi* used in Melbourne vary between eight and thirty. Dimitriou named the following *dromoi* as those he used most often in performances: *hidzas, houzam, nihavent, ousak, minore, rast, sabah and* "ocassionally" *kurdi*. Tourloubis felt that "there are too many, but the *bouzouki* uses only about ten or eleven and you don't need to learn the others" (Tourloubis, 1998, pers. com.). Here, Tourloubis inferred that instruments common to pre-1930s *rebetika* which included the untempered *oud, kanoun* and fiddle, were used to perform a greater range of *dromoi*. He separated the *dromoi* into "major" and "minor" modes as follows: *rast, hidzas, piraeotiko, houzam* and *majore* (this refers to the *Ionian* mode) (major): *ousak, nihavent, sabah, kurdi, minore* (this refers to the Aeolian mode) (minor). He added *pimeniko* which he described as "very good for old songs" suggesting that some of the "older" songs were based on *dromoi* which are less commonly used today. This latter point reflects Demetriou's previous comment that some *dromoi* have "survived from the older tradition".

Christos Baltsidis, the *oud* player, believed that the Turks "got everything from Greece" including the *makams* which he believed were acquired by the Turks who then "made extra notes" and "called them different makams". This is probably a one-sided view of a process of musical synthesis however, like Toulourbis, he defined

eight "basic" Greek *makams:* four major and four minor. These were: *hidzas, hidzaskar, houzam* and *rast (major) ousak, nihavent, sabah and kurdi (minor)* Galiatsos (1994, pers. com.) felt that "*rebetika* is based on *makams* but not in as much variety as in Turkey or the Arab countries". He also suggested "Greek music uses a restricted number of [*makams*] around twelve to fifteen". He did not name these *makams* but recognised the names of "*rast, huseyni, hicaz, kurdi, ussak* and *sabah*" from those listed as "13 "basic" makam scales" by Signell (1977: 34-35)[64] belonging to modal practice in Turkish art music. Signell's full list is as follows: *Cargah, puselik, kurdi, rast, ussak, huseyni, nevu, hicas, humayun, uzzal, zengule, karcigar, suzinak.*

Athanasopoulos maintained that he had always used *hidzaz, houzam,* and *piraeotiko* modes but informed me that he had learnt between 20-30 *makams* in Melbourne from 1996. Polychronopoulos' book of 62 popular Greek songs published in 1997 features nine *dromoi*: *hijaz, hijazskar, major, ousak, sabah, niavent, melodic minor harmonic minor, natural minor*. In his book for students, Ορφεας 98, (1998) the first seven form the basis of his students' learning. Argyropoulos and Cosmas (1994, pers. com.) both referred to an Athens publication of Haralambos Pagiatis entitled Greek Folk Scales and Their Practical Approach. This manual features twenty *dromoi.* They are referred to in the following order: *hitzaz, hitzazkar, Pireotikos, major, rast, houzam, sengiah, kiourdi, nisiotiko minore, ousak, sabah, katzigar, pimeniko, harmonic minor, niavent,, melodic minor, houseini, neveseri, tsigunikos and tabahaniotikos.*

The above discussion shows how the number of *makams* or *dromoi* believed to be extant is a matter of debate according to country, region and use by individual musicians. According to the above information, eight *dromoi* are most commonly

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[64] Signell's book Makam Modal Practice in Turkish Art Music (1996) has been an important source of information for a number of generation *B* musicians.

used in Melbourne: of these four are referred to as major: *rast, hijaz, hijazskar, houzam* and four referred to as minor: *ousak, nihavent, sabah and kurdi.* However, as we shall see in chapters seven and eight, other *dromoi* are used more than intermittently. *Table 4.1* below shows twenty *dromoi* published in Athens as extant "Greek Folk Scales" for "keyboard, guitar and *bouzouki*" (Pagiatis, ibid: 4-26). The tonic is given as D, which reflects the common tuning of *rebetika* chordophone instruments which possess three courses of strings, D-A-D'. Equal temperament tuning is assumed. It is possible (as Polychronopoulos teaches in Melbourne), to play each of the *dromoi* by starting on any of the twelve degrees of the major diatonic scale.

Table 5.1 *Twenty* dromoi *published in Athens as extant "Greek Folk Scales" according to Pagiatis (pp: 4-22).*

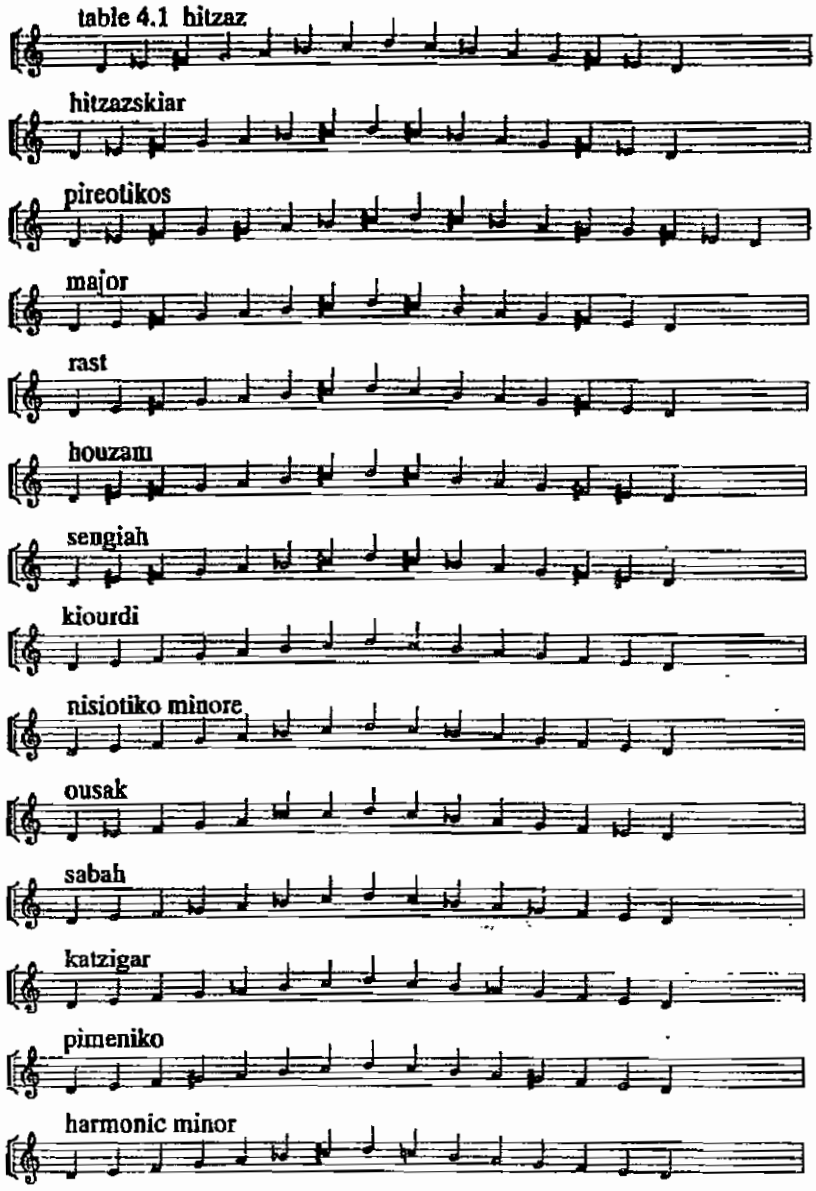
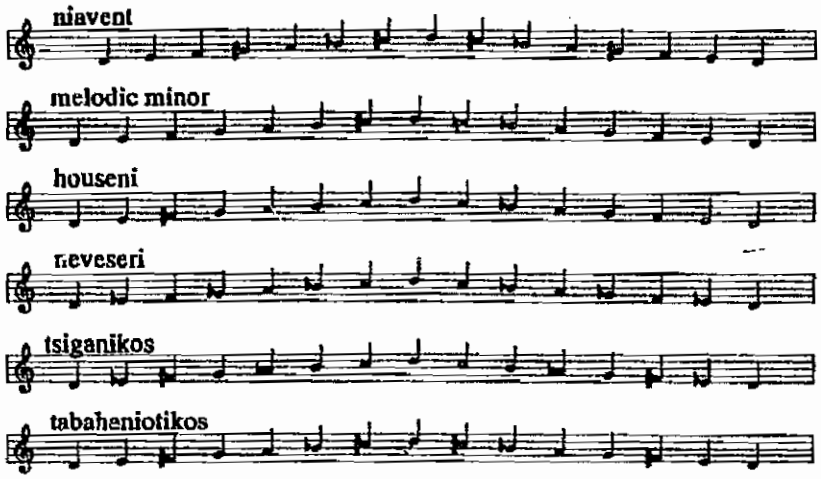


Table 4.1 continued...



So far I have explored issues of modal change, the potential for melodic invention, tuning and views about the numbers of extant *dromoi* according to regional and historic place and time. I shall now turn to discussion on modulation and its significance to my informants' musical experience. It is a topic closely related to the issue of improvisation and *rebetika* which I shall discuss in more detail later in this chapter.

Dromoi translates as roads. It is a dynamic metaphor and likens moving from one *dromos* (sing.) to another, to journeying through a system of interlinked 'roads', 'streets', 'pathways' and 'lanes'. Parkhill commented:

> Each *makam* has its own character. What it feels like, where it might come from, what little pattern of notes comes with it; building blocks which can be used for joining other modes which can be used for travelling up and down between important notes. It is a complex system. Over the years musicians have contributed ideas for ways of changing from one *makam* to another, little melodies, melodic cuts which add to the character of the *makam:* ways to enter a *makam*, ways to leave it. Other musicians sometimes remember and play them. It is an aural tradition. (Parkhill, 1996).

It is because the exposition or performance of *makams* is an aural tradition, which involves melodic invention rather than a simple statement of scale, that it is difficult to rely on a written description to convey what is in effect, a musical journey. Suffice it to note at this point that a *makam* according to Signell (1986) is made up of a tetrachord and a pentachord and the scale is shown as an octave in compass. Melodic building blocks can be made from these tetrachords and pentachords to be used as stepping stones to tetrachords and pentachords in other *makams*. Each *makam* contains tones which act as characteristic gravitational tonal centres. The way these tonal centres are used as points of rest, arrival and/or departure are important factors in a process of modulation. Thus the *makam/dromoi* practice of modulation is complex. Daly, referring to Persian musicologist Homus Fahat, suggests a useful and simple way of describing a *makam* is to imagine two points on a line: point *A* and point *B*. "Point *A* represents tonal scale material and point *B* represents a complete melody. Any *makam* is at some point on this line. Some are closer to 'this' and some are closer to 'that' and some are in the middle" (Daly, 1994, pers. com.). See *figure 5.1*

Figure 5.1 ***A spectrum of makam melodic exposition according to Daly's reference to Fahat.***

Tonal scale material — complete melody

A — *B*

Potential line of makam melodic exposition

Apart from the huge variation of material which meets Fahat's criteria for acceptance as a *makam* as shown in *figure 5.1*, when discussing changes in the evolution of the Greek *dromoi*, we must also take into account variations in tunings which might occur as part of a musician's playing technique or need to comply (or not) to specific

tunings, and the effect on tuning resulting from the type of ensemble combination of tempered and untempered tuning as described previously by Galiatsos. Tuning is a complex issue that is important to considerations of *chromata* in *rebetika*. Put most simply, Melbourne musicians either perform using instruments and techniques which facilitate equal temperament tuning or they use ornamental techniques such as 'bending' notes to produce pitches outside equal temperament tuning or they re-train their Western 'hearing' in order to learn older playing techniques and modes to produce *dromoi* which reflect pre- 1940s tuning practices.

I shall now examine briefly my informants' belief that the *dromoi* are a synthesis of Ancient Greek, Byzantine and Arab/Turkish modal practices. I have already noted that they relate the *dromoi* to senses of Greek identity and tradition. But does the available evidence of musical characteristics support this view? Are the *dromoi* perhaps largely based on adaptations of the Arab/Turkish *makam* system which, after all, has been present in Greece at least since the fifteenth century? Greek merchants, who have been in Turkey since Byzantine times and the Arab/Persian world, were certainly in contact with Byzantium. Byzantine church modes were "established by the 8th century" (Sadie, 1980: 555) just over three hundred years after the end of the Classical Greek era: perhaps not too distant in time for aurally transmitted Classical Greek modal practices to still resonate in Byzantium? Daly believed this was the case observing that "Byzantine church music was based on a lot of similar treatises of Aristoxenes and other Ancient Greeks. But they also took a lot of influence from the Arab theoreticians of the Middle Ages" (Daly, 1994, pers. com.). Nettl proposed that:

> Greek folk music, like that of some other Balkan countries, seems to be a combination of archaic and more recent melodies and contain a great diversity of styles. It is possible to find traces of the ancient Greek modes, and many Greek songs fit perfectly into the system of the diatonic modes [Byzantine]. Many other songs however, are more chromatic...In most ways, however, Greek folk music seems to show the influences of centuries of Turkish and Muslim occupation. What

> remains of the Ancient Greek traits seem best preserved in Asia Minor and the islands of the Aegean. (Nettl, 1973: 99)

If this latter point could be substantiated more systematically it could be added to the recorded link between the evolution of *rebetika* and the inter-regional movement of Greek/Turkish musicians from Anatolia Manuel's view on the issue is more tentative. He observed: "The sources of *rebetika* are mixed. Its earliest origins may lie in Byzantine music and certain general Mediterranean musical practices shared by Middle Eastern Jews, Greeks, Turks and Arabs" (Manuel, 1988: 128). As I mentioned earlier, much more research is needed to substantiate the strong intuitions and guess-work expressed in most of the literature about syncretic processes and the evolution of the Greek *dromoi.* However, there is no doubt that the experience of *rebetika* connects Greeks and Greek-Australians to strong feelings of more than a recent history. One of the most significant musical events in post-Junta Greece was a live recording in Athens which, according to the recording's cover notes, aimed to "bridge an important gap in the history of Greek musical tradition – the "missing link" between Byzantine music and early Greek folk songs" (anon: 1988). The performance was produced as a collaboration between Greek and Turkish musicians who "shared a common emotional sensibility of people who belong to the same geographical region and have common cultural traits". (Ozgen,1988) Musicologist Yiannis Zannos commented:

> As far as the music is concerned we have indications already from the time of the Seldyuk Turks concerning the mutual influence of Persian and Byzantine musicians ...The Seldyuk Turks situated as they were between Persians and Byzantines were bound to absorb influences from both. Right from the start, therefore the music of the Melevi [a Dervish sect] shows a kinship with Byzantine music. During the whole of the Ottoman Empire these two related musical traditions never ceased to influence and enrich the one with the other (Zannos, 1988).

5.1(c) Chords and harmony

Rebetika began as a heterophonic genre. However, chordal and harmonic practices developed during the genre's evolution beginning with simple *ison* (drone) accompaniments in the late nineteenth century and leading to accompaniments involving primary, diminished and some seventh chords common to the major/minor diatonic system in the mid-1960s.

Performance practices of *rebetika* revivalists in Greece from the 1970s and Melbourne from the 1980s involved returning to the simple chord and *ison* accompaniments of pre-World War Two *rebetika* styles, at the same time, using harmonic practices for post-World War Two repertoire when appropriate.

Liavas described the development of harmonic practices in Greek traditional music as a move from "horizontal thinking" to "vertical thinking". As he observed:

> All Oriental traditional music is characterised by horizontal thinking. The development of melody is horizontal. We [Greeks] had the *ison* as a point of reference which helped us estimate the gentle and expressive microtonal elements [of the *dromoi*]. When you have a constant point of reference – a tonic – you can estimate all the slight variations given by microtones. An active audience could recognise all this. Now we have passed to vertical thinking which is harmonic and we no longer have the *ison*. This is how we started including thirds, and even seventh chords [into traditional Greek music]. (Liavas, 1994, pers. com.)

Liavas describes how the development of harmonic practices in traditional music (including *rebetika*) gradually caused a decline in the use of microtonal melodic characteristics and prepared the way for the introduction of instrumental and vocal harmonies.

Discussing virtuoso instrumental techniques introduced by Manolis Hiotis in the 1950s, Dimitriou observed:

> In traditional *rebetika* music it [harmonisation] is very rare. I don't think you would come across a sixth or ninth [chord]. Even the diminished [chord] appeared later on in the *rebetika* scene. As soon as you hear a player throw in one of these chords into his *taxim*, he departs from [traditional practices]. The way a *bouzouki* player uses his open strings is another indication as to how he follows traditional line or how much he wants to get into the trends which Hiotis [introduced] (Dimitriou, 1999, pers.com.).

Here, Dimitriou refers to Western harmonic practices such as those introduced by Manolis Hiotis in the 1950s as non-traditional. Andronicos, believed that harmonic thinking in post-1950s *rebetika* was helped by Tsitsanis, a leading *rebetika* performer, who "had classical training and probably thought in terms of chords" (Andronicos, 1997, pers. com.). This view is reflected in a Tsitsanis statement quoted by Holst in which he is purported to have said "in rembetika (sic) there are only major and minor scales" (Holst, 1975: 65). Holst goes on to make the point that whilst this statement was not true "major and minor harmonies were being applied to rembetika melodies wherever and whenever they would fit, and frequently where they wouldn't" (Holst:loc. cit.).

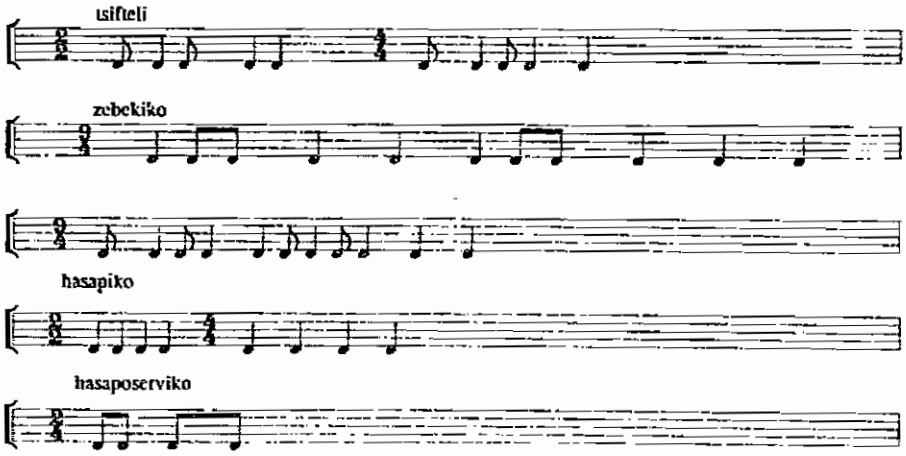
My informants linked chordal and harmonic practices in *rebetika* to specific instruments, in particular the guitar and its predecessor, the *laouto* (lute). Both instruments, along with the *bagiama*, have a central chordal/rhythmic role to play in *rebetika*. The *laouto* was more commonly heard in *Smyrnaika* and revivalist *rebetika*, although both instruments were in use from the nineteenth century onwards. I shall discuss this issue in more detail in chapter six.

5.1(d) Dance and rhythm

The rhythmic characteristics of *rebetika* music can be discussed in two categories: the fixed dance rhythms of the songs and free rhythmic invention heard in the main improvisational forms of *rebetika*: the instrumental *taxims* and vocal *amanades*.

In this section I shall discuss the dance rhythms, leaving discussion on the rhythmic aspects of *taximia* and *amanades* to a later section which deals with *rebetika* improvisation. Before looking at my informants' perceptions of these rhythmic elements, I shall briefly outline the characteristics of the four main dance rhythms associated with *rebetika*: the *tsifteteli, zebekiko, hasapiko and hasaposerviko.* Descriptions of these dance rhythms in *rebetika* literature (Petrides, 1975), (Manuel, 1988) and (Panagiotakopoulos, 1999), for example, differ very little. I shall refer mainly to Cowan (1990) who talks about *rebetika* dances and their social contexts and Tsounis (1995), who relates the musical and choreographic characteristics of the dances to feelings and expressions of "*kefi*" (high spirits) and "*meraki*" (passion). Tsounis outlined the main characteristics of the four core *rebetika* dances as shown in table 5.2 below:

Figure 5.2 The characteristics of four rebetika dances according to Tsounis (1995)



The teaching of Greek traditional dances in Melbourne has been a strong element in Greek primary, secondary and community language schools since the 1950s. However a distinction must be made between *demotika* dances which have set steps, and

rebetika dances which are mostly improvised and as such are dances which are not taught formally. They are dances which were, and still are, learned through social experience. Of the four dances, Cowan (1990) described the *zebekiko*[65] as being the "most characteristic" of *rebetika*. It is a dance closely associated with the "*rebetes* or *mangas*," a male "who lived outside the accepted standards of traditional Greek society, and who showed contempt for the establishment in all its forms" (Petropoulos, in Butterworth and Schneider, 1975: 11).

The *zebekiko* is also the dance most commented on by my informants: in fact, almost to the exclusion of the other dances; perhaps because the *mangas* is still a potent image of masculinity in Greek and Greek-Australian societies. Cowan observed:

> A man's *mangia* – the essence of his "self" as a *mangas* – was expressed through gestures both subtle and aggressive: ...Other men acknowledged a man's *mangia*, by the quiet, respectful distance they kept from him (Cowan, 1990: 174).

Whilst no longer associated with a criminal underworld, the spirit of *mangas* is still present in Melbourne particularly amongst young males who dance the *zebekiko* both as an "introspective, psychological private act" (Cown, 1990: 177) and, as described by Panagiotakopoulos (1999), a showy "acrobatic" performance. George Sapekidis recalled how as a young musician in Thessaloniki he saw the *zebekiko* danced. He described the dancing as follows:

> They [*rebetes*] would go to the club to have a drink; listen to the music and dance. The *rebetes'* way of showing off – letting off steam. When he got up to do his thing he would be the centre of attraction and the music could be heard. Many guys died when they opened their mouths when they shouldn't have (Sapekidis, 1994, pers. com.).

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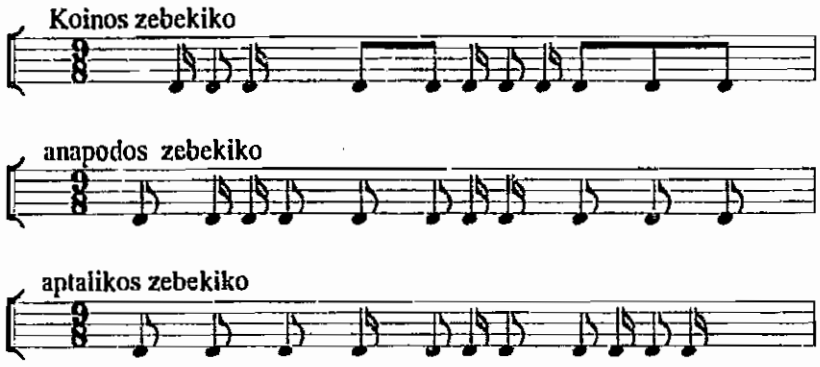
[65] Holst (1975: 67) describes the *zebekiko* as the "commonest rhythm and therefore the commonest dance".

In my research for this study, I have witnessed many *zebekiko* dances in clubs, pubs and family festivities. Whilst I have never seen (or heard of) the kind of aggression described by Sapekidis, the intensity of the improvised dances is powerful. In a wedding celebration, when men typically dance the *zebekiko*, I too have experienced the intensity of the circular movements, the swaying of spread-eagled arms and the feelings of being surrounded by other men kneeling on the ground urging me on as I performed my improvised dance. My experience relates to that described by Tassos Ioannidis in chapter three, in which he described his son dancing the *zebekiko* for the first time. As he observed, "*rebetika* songs are expression through the body". Having attested to the *mangas* experience of the *zebekiko* I must note that I have also observed in Melbourne and Greece, the *zebekiko* danced by women, either solo or in pairs. This is a post- World War Two development reflecting broader social change and a very different expression of the dance to that of the *mangas* in pre-World War Two Greece.

A less qualitative perception of *zebekika* expressed by my informants involved a notion that the number of *zebekiko* variations have diminished since the 1940s. Discussing the rhythmic repertoire of the generation *B* ensemble *Apodimi Compania*, Argyropoulos observed: "There used to be four or five different *zebekika* but today there is only one. I am sure there are types of *zebekiko* that I haven't heard of but we [*Apodimi Compania*] do about three or four" (Argyropoulos, 1994, pers. com.).

In chapter eight we shall discuss *Apodimi's* use of *zebekiko* in repertoire chosen by members of the ensemble to reflect aspects of post-1980s *rebetika* in Melbourne. Both Galiatsos (1994, pers. com.) and Tourloubis (1998, pers. com.) agree that only one *zebekiko* rhythm is commonly heard today. Music teacher, DJ and performer Polychronopoulos (1998, pers. com.) agrees with Argyropoulos, stating that "*zebebiko* has several forms originally". He lists three forms of the dance rhythm in his student instruction book (1998). They are shown in *figure* 5.3.

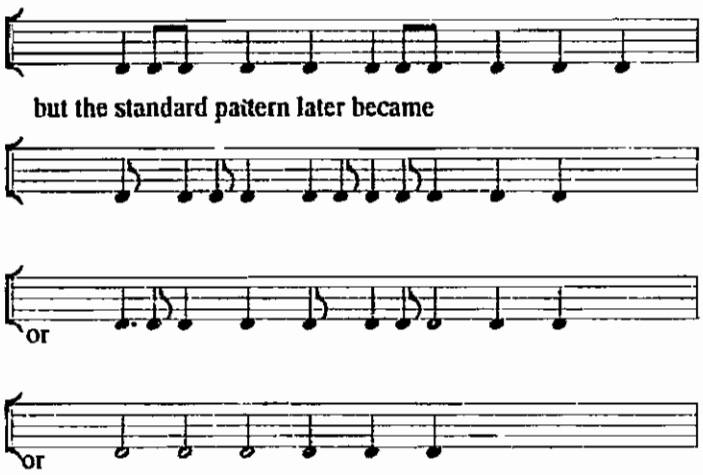
Figure 5.3



The *koinos zebekiko* is the most commonly heard *zebekiko* form both in contemporary Greece and in Melbourne. However, according to Holst (1975: 67), it was preceded by the rhythmic pattern widely used by *rebetes* Markos Vamvakris in the 1930s and 1940s, i.e. the rhythmic pattern which Polychronopoulos called the *anapodos zebekiko* ("the wrong way round") (Pring, 1982). Some of my informants translated the term as "inverted," but this is confusing since a true inversion of the *koinos* rhythm is in fact the *aptalikos*. Since the *anapodos* rhythm is older than the *koinos*, we might suppose that it refers to a difference between it and another *zebekiko* form. However, I am not able to confirm this. It is difficult to find a definition of the term *aptalikos*, but Sophocleous (2000, pers. com.) suggested it denotes a faster tempo and less " heavy" or βαρυ (vari) version of the *zebekiko*.

Holst (1975 loc. cit.) observed that the "nine beats [of the *zebekiko]* are broken up in several ways. In early recordings of rembetika (*sic)*... the grouping is as follows:"(see *figure 5.4)*

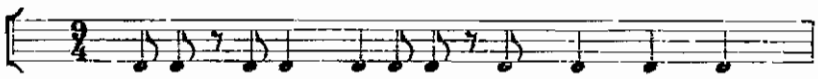
Figure 5.4



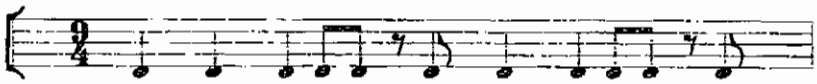
Apparently quoting Petrides (in Butterworth and Schneider, 1975 : 27) Manuel refers to two "most frequently found" *zebekika*. "The first and by far the most popular is the *kophto* style, which creates a feeling of syncopation. The second is the *Syriano* style, the rhythm of the *vari* [heavy] *Zeybekiko* which Markos Vamvakaris played when he first began his career" (Manuel, 1988: 130). The two forms are given as follows in *figure 5.5*.

Figure 5.5.

Kophto



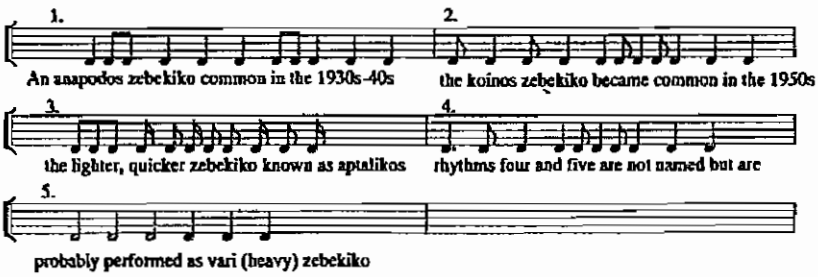
Syriano



The *zebekiko* called *kophto* by Petrides differs from the one commonly called *koinos* only in name only.

Together, Polychronopoulos, Holst, and Petrides provide us with a list of five *zebekiko* rhythms which can also be varied in tempi, the slower tempi versions with longer note durations being considered more or less "heavy". They are shown in *figure 5.6.*

Figure 5.6



As Argyropoulos and Polychronopoulos indicated, Melbourne musicians from generation *B* are keen to maintain *zebekiko* rhythms other than those in the *koinos* form. In some cases their attempts to acquire variations of rebetiko dance rhythms from pre-1946 source recordings are made difficult when the musicians hear something that "doesn't fit" (Argyropoulos, 1994, pers. com.) with their understanding of the dance rhythm. The *zebekiko* is an additive rhythm usually comprised of two units of four and five beats. If the musicians do not hear this grouping they suspect "something is wrong" (Cosmas, 1996, pers. com.). They consider it unusual to hear a "guitarist who has to put an extra beat in to correct [the

rhythm]" and then they ask "Is it the way they [the recorded musician] played it, or couldn't he work it out?" (Cosmas, 1996, pers. com.) Their concerns are legitimate, since it is not unusual to hear rhythmic additions or deletions in pre-1946 *rebetika* recordings. Nor is it possible to know for sure whether the different rhythmic form was intentional or merely a mistake. This type of unreliability in interpreting recorded repertoire is another point to consider when referring to old recordings as source material in pursuit of 'authentic' performances.

According to Volaris, some Melbourne musicians in the 1960s and 1970s were not concerned about rhythmic exactitude. As he commented:

> They would miss a beat every so often and when you questioned them - having studied some rhythms – you would point things out to them but they would say "people dance to my music. What are you complaining about?" (Volaris, 1998, pers. com.).

If this practice of omitting or adding beats in *rebetika* performance was wide-spread and (and here I hypothesise) involved borrowing from other musical styles prevalent at the time such as Latin-American dance music, it would account for changes in Melbourne's *rebetika* rhythmic performance. However, I suspect the effect of this practice was not great.

For some informants, mostly generation *B* musicians, *rebetika* dance was part of their childhood experience. This is noteworthy in itself, since *rebetika* began as an adult music. Reflecting, as they did, explicit sexual and drug themes, its texts were not for the ears of children; nor (presumably) were children a part of *rebetika* audiences in low-life taverns and drug dens. Initially the dances (with the exception of the *tsifteteli)* were the domain of men. Even with the graduat watering-down of adult themes and the breaking down of gender barriers in relation to dance, the music rarely, as it where, served as family music in Greece until the 1950s. It was heard in drug dens, cafes and night clubs, not village (or even town) squares. As I have already mentioned, these may be some of the reasons why *rebetika* was not the dominant

music of rural Greek-Australian migrants in the 1950s: rather Latin-American and rural *demotika* dances dominated community festivals and early Melbourne Greek club life. When generation *A* musician Bill Spiridakos began to perform in Greek restaurants in the early 1960s he sang "European style: Italian, Latin-American songs [also] some English and French and a lot of Greek-European style songs" (Spiridakos, 1998, pers. com.).

And yet Irini Vela recalled as a child in the 1960s:

> I really enjoyed listening to folk music as a kid: going to weddings and christenings. I loved dancing in those days. You always got a section of the night that included *rebetika*. I didn't know it was *rebetika*, but it was when people got up and did their *zebekiko*.(Vela, 1998, pers.com.)

Spiridakos' and Vela's comments suggest that in the very early 1960s in Melbourne the *zebekiko* may not have been commonly danced in restaurants, yet it was familiar amongst Melbourne's Greek-Australian community. For Vela , as a young girl in the 1960s, Greek dancing was an enjoyable activity. A different experience of Greek traditional dance in Melbourne was cited by Argyropoulos who recalled: "When I was growing up here; going to school [in the 1970s] I wouldn't be caught dead dancing. A lot of people wouldn't be caught dead doing anything Greek" (Argyropoulos, 1994, pers. com.)

The difference between experiences of Greek traditional dance for Vela and Argyropoulos, two generation *B* musicians, may be accounted for in three ways: Firstly, until the late 1970s traditional Greek dance (including *rebetika* dances) were performed as part of family festivities but not often as public displays in places such as restaurants. Secondly, even in the early to mid-1970s, second generation Greek-Australians did not feel comfortable with open displays of Greek culture. Thirdly, the descriptions of the two dance experiences were coloured by gender attitudes. That is, in the 1970s it was acceptable for girls to dance in public but less acceptable for boys to do so.

In Melbourne, the performance of traditional dances and music from cultures other than the dominant Anglo-European culture is now a regular feature of city and community life. As I have discussed, this was not always the case. The same is said about other parts of the Greek diaspora. During the 1980s in Chicago, USA, Mavropoulos observed a resurgence in traditional Greek dancing. As an expert in traditional Greek dance from the Dora Stratou theatre in Athens, he was asked to go to Chicago to teach members of the Greek-Chicago community long-forgotten dances. When dances were presented to him as traditional dances, he said he felt the dancers "didn't know what they were dancing. Choreographers in Greek dancing schools had changed the dances and the costumes were made of satin [not traditional material for dance costumes]". However,

> They had people in the community who had left their villages many years ago, old people, who knew the dances. They did not dance there...I saw someone from Kalimnos in Atlanta. I felt very sad for him. When I asked him if he missed his island he was crying. I asked if he had ever danced a kalimnos [dance] and he said no, never, from the day he went there [Atlanta] in 1910. I told him to teach the dances and he said they had never asked him. Now they do. They have many things to learn. They have costumes which they took from Greece and they had left them in boxes and trunks. Now you can see the difference. The young people are trying to learn the dances in the USA and Australia. (Mavropoulos, 1994, pers. com.)

Mavropoulos describes members of the American-Greek diaspora community who, in the 1980s, had modernised their traditional dances to such an extent that they bore little resemblance to those remembered by older members of the community. My field work has shown that traditional dance amongst Melbourne's Greek-Australian community has remained relatively intact, compared with the Atlanta experience. This may be because Melbourne's Greek-Australian community is 'younger' than that of Atlanta. That is, it has had less contact with the dominant culture of the 'new' country since Melbourne's migrant population was established later than the migrant population of Atlanta. It may also reflect Australia's relative geographical and cultural

distance from USA and Western European influences until later in the twentieth century.

Turning to the issue of performer/audience relationships to traditional dance, Demetriou felt that audiences preferred to dance the Kalamatianos; a *demotika* dance in 7/8 and that they:

> ...don't feel comfortable about getting up to dance because the *bouzouki* isn't electric or loud enough so they don't feel we are entertaining them I think we do play a lot of dance music but the way we play does not signify to them – doesn't encourage them to dance (Demetriou, 1996, pers. com.).

Demetriou raises again the question of whether or not to amplify *rebetika*. Is it practical to play without amplification in a Melbourne pub setting? Does the norm of post-World War Two amplification of popular music make introspective *rebetika* performances for the musicians difficult? She also suggests that young club audiences are still attracted strongly to the *demotika* dances of their parents which they were encouraged to learn formally in schools and informally at family festivals. Alifragis felt that "90 per cent" of the *rebetika* audiences at the Brunswick venue, The Retreat Hotel, "come just to dance [not to listen]" and that this is because in Melbourne "not many people struggle. As he said, "All the young kids who go [to The Retreat] have well-off parents. They haven't got the 'black' experience" (Alifragis, 1997, pers. com). Here, Alifragis compares the young *rebetika* audiences in late twentieth century Melbourne with the working-class clients at his aunt's tavern in Piraeus in the 1960s who were often "into drugs and who struggled [financially]". Volaris, on the other hand, enjoys audience dancing because "the more people dance and express themselves, the more exciting it [the musical event] gets" (Volaris, 1998, pers. com.).

Whilst my informants differ in their views about the extent to which Melbourne audiences engage in dance they share the idea that there is a relationship between the musicians and audience on the one hand and the dance and music on the other. Some

musicians are encouraged by the dancers' response to their music, while others would prefer listeners who are more attentive to their music. Yet others experience conflict between a musician's and an audience's need for amplification and the type of traditional dance: *demotika* and *rebetika*.

Finally, an informant feels that Greeks and Turks in Melbourne danced the *zebekiko* differently. As Spiridakos commented: "The Greek *zebekiko* is like ballet. The people are on the beat but the Turks go off the beat. The Greeks dance it with their heads up. The Turkish [heads] are down" (Spiridakos, 1998, pers. com.).

If Spiridakos' perception is correct, it suggests that the *zebekiko* dance is subject to regional variations just as the *dromoi* or *makams* are. The variations include private and public forms of the dance, male, female and male/female versions, as well as variations in the basic additive nine-beat rhythmic pattern.

5.1(e) Improvisation

So far my informants' experiences of musical improvisation have been outlined in relation to the decline and revitalisation of traditional music practices and the acquisition of *rebetika* performance skills. More specifically, I referred to how 'personalising' a song involved spontaneous changes made to *rebetika* songs in performance whilst maintaining their core characteristics: that is, changing the song to reflect performance idiosyncrasies of the performer. This 'personalising' process contributed to the revitalising of a traditional repertoire. I also noted that technical and business priorities of the European and USA recording industries contributed to a decline in *rebetika* improvisatory practice, modal knowledge was an essential pre-requisite for the practice of *rebetika* improvisation forms known as *taximia* and *amanades* and that *akousmata*, "sounds that you have grasped through experience", (Demetriou, 1996, pers. com.) were closely related to improvisational practice.

In this chapter I shall expand on these issues whilst discussing my informants' specific perceptions about improvisation and how these perceptions relate to the views of other commentators. These perceptions involve the following issues: 1) the subjective experience of improvisation 2) the nature of *taximia* 3) the nature of *amanades* 4) the nature of ornamentation 5) formulaic improvisation and 6) the effects of Westernisation and modernisation on *rebetika* improvisation.

Argyropoulos described an experience of improvisation as involving "a strange feeling that you get sometimes. You feel a strange, different type of existence: more part of everything. I feel it every now and again" (Argyropoulos, 1994, pers. com.). Thus, for Argyropoulos, improvisation occasionally leads to states of heightened awareness in which a sense of personal and musical 'wholeness' or unity is experienced.

Alifragis (1997, pers. com.) maintained that "you have to be in the mood" to improvise and "it's got to come from inside" and for this reason prefers to improvise when "alone" rather than when he is involved in public performance. Whilst all my musician informants practised improvisation outside performances, Alifragis is the only one to suggest that a positive performer/audience relationship did not encourage an improvisational 'environment.' His view raises the questions, what constitutes a 'positive' performer/audience relationship and does it in fact facilitate improvisation?

General support for the view that the performer/audience relationship is an important element of improvised musical performance is typified by Morrish and Wilhemshaven. Morrish observed: "The synthetic nature of improvisation is in the combination of the known and unknown which produces the performance. Both audience and performers are constructing their experiences (Morrish, 1995: 4).

Here Morrish echoes Argyropoulos' experience of heightened awareness and feelings of 'wholeness' with reference to the synthesis of diverse performance content and

audience/performer experience. Wilhemshaven described this synthetic relationship as one which

> derives its momentum in emotional efficacy and aesthetic consistency, from human interplay, through a feedback process involving active and direct communication between artist and the initiated listener...(Wilhemshaven, 1991: 10)

Thus Wilhemshaven maintains that a "feedback" loop between musicians and audience heightens the senses of those taking part in the performance event which in turn encourages improvisation. Further, he notes that the more initiated (cognizant of performance content and practices) musicians and audience are, the more likely improvisation is to take place. The notion of the "initiated listener" in relation to improvisation was also discussed by Daly (1994, pers. com.) He believed that musicians must first learn a modal language and playing techniques from "inspired" and "initiated" musicians who are skilled in "enlivening" these experiences within the learner. He maintained that this process was more likely to occur within a master/apprentice relationship more commonly found in cultures which practise oral transmission of traditional music. In this process of initiation the learner endeavoured to acquire experience and knowledge from the master who then acted as an "inspired musician" who became a "conduit for a living essence" which was "passed on". He felt that this kind of "initiation and inspiration" was not encouraged in contemporary educational "music establishments". Daly's views relate strongly to the significance of *akousmata* to improvisational practice.

Yiangoulis (1999, pers. com.) felt that improvisation is something that "you do without thinking" because "it is inbred in most of us who grew up in that culture". His view suggests that the acquisition of improvisational skill depends more on general cultural exposure than on specific processes of initiation and raises the question 'to what extent is improvisation in Greek traditional music "inbred" in Melbourne *rebetika*?' It may have been part of Yiangoulis' cultural background, but as Vela

noted above, in her view "most people can improvise" but they cannot improvise "in the *rebetika* idiom because they have not been brought up in that type of improvisation tradition" (Vela, 1998, pers. com.). In other words, they were not initiated into *rebetika* improvisation.

Another view of subjective experience in *rebetika* improvisation was described by Tsicaderis as a "magic" experience. As he observed:

> It was like sitting down and conversing. You are not conscious about the *dromous* or the set pattern or whatever it is. You just go and somehow the magic moment is when it comes from the next phrase of the other players and then you come through and you weave in and out (Tsicaderis, 1998, pers. com.).

Putting aside for the moment the important question relating to the extent of improvisation in Melbourne *rebetika* performance, Yiangoulis' and Tsicaderis' comments are linked by their association with a perception of improvisation being part of cultural practice. Specifically it is associated with experience and knowledge shared by performers and audience acquired through processes of initiation. Less specifically, it is associated with a general exposure to musical improvisation within Greek-Australian musical practice. Perhaps then, we should focus on the *degree* to which an audience/performer relationship facilitates improvised performance: a relationship which depends on a "speaking [musical] vocabulary" (Hood, 1975: 25-26) which allows an improvising musician to "extemporise for an audience educated in the tradition in much the same manner as a polished orator can deliver a spellbinding speech without references to notes".

Hall expounds a useful theory on this question of *degree* (1992: 223-235). He maintains that the more cultural and musical knowledge the performer and audience share, the greater the possibilities for improvisation to take place are. He argues that the converse is also true. That is, the more limited the 'shared knowledge' between the performer and audience, the more limited the possibilities for improvisation

become. The analogy being similar to close friends having come to know each other intimately, are able to quickly transcend polite social formulae and achieve deeper and more intimate communication. The close friends know each others' context at a deep level and are able to create nuances of communication without constantly referring to the more basic elements of their relationship. Two strangers on first meeting know relatively little about each other and are unable to transcend the fundamental elements of establishing a social interaction because they know less about each other's context. Hall describes the close friends as having a "*high context*" (Hall, 1992: 229) relationship and the strangers as having a "*low context*" relationship.

Similarly, a musician in a performance relationship with a highly cognizant audience would be in a *high context* relationship and thus improvisation at a deep level would more likely occur. A musician performing to an audience with relatively little knowledge of the music or performer would be in a *low context* situation and the possibilities for improvisation to occur would be less. Even though the performer/audience relationship is central in the improvisational process during a performance, it is obvious that musicians also improvise when alone. That is, lack of an audience will not prevent them from improvising at an intrapersonal level.

If we follow Yiangoulis' view that improvisation is "something you do without thinking about" because "it is inbred in most of us [Greek-Australians] who grew up in that culture," we might assume that performers and audiences for *demotika* music provide a *high context* for musical improvisation since the majority of Melbourne's Greek-Australian community are from rural backgrounds. On the other hand, if we follow Vela's view that generation *B* musicians were "not brought up" on a *rebetika* improvising tradition, then we might assume contemporary *rebetika* performers and audiences meet at a *low context* level and improvisation occurs less in *rebetika* performance than in *demotika* performance. As this discussion unfolds, I shall

illustrate how in fact, improvisation is perceived to be of great significance to Melbourne *rebetika* musicians – for Vela (1998, pers. com.) "it is the ultimate [musical] goal"- but its performer/audience "context" is something that fluctuates according to individual and collective musical experience. On a more philosophical level, it also fluctuates, according to Daly (1994, pers. com.), depending on the extent to which performers and audience can "step outside of time". By "stepping outside of time" Daly referred to the idea that the improviser must be in tune with past, present and potential future experience in an holistic experience of time, rather than in an experience of time in which only immediate experience is apprehended. He described this experience of time in the improvised moment as paradoxical because whilst spontaneous composition takes place in present time *per se*, the improviser must simultaneously be in touch with past and potential future experience to draw on such things as musical formulae, emotional states and their placement and structuring in the improvisational process. In this way Daly believed that "stepping outside of time" (an ecstatic experience?) is only sustainable for short periods and thus qualities of musical improvisation fluctuate. He further maintained that "stepping outside of time" necessitated "stepping outside oneself" or becoming less "obsessed with self-expression," which, he argues, is a negative "Western" cultural trait.

Thus my informants' subjective experiences of improvisation in *rebetika* involved a spectrum of spontaneous creativity from the intrapersonal to the interpersonal.

I shall now turn to discussion on my informants' understanding of the nature of *taximia (pl.)* (*taximi*, sing.). The term *taximia* is derived from the Turkish term *taqsim* which is described by Feldman as "a broad generic continuum in which the *taksim* (sic) is one vehicle for the expression of *tarab* (musical rapture or ecstasy)" an Eastern Mediterranean musical "style that emphasizes live musical performances, gives prominence to instantaneous modal creations, and treats music as an ecstatic experience"(Feldman, 1993:1, quoting Racy, 1991: 9). Thus, *taximia* is the term

adopted by Greeks to refer to musical improvisation, usually based on *makam (dromoi)* modal expositions. The term is also used with reference to musical improvisations based on Greek *demotika* modes.

My informants referred to *taximia* in relation to their function, their place in the structure of a musical performance and to conventions attached to their creation.

Einarsson considered a *taximi* "to be one of the *bouzouki* player's most effective tools in guiding the atmosphere, supporting and encouraging the right kind of responses..." (Einarsson, 1989:181) from an audience. Similarly, Tsicaderis (1998, pers. com.) believed that *taximia* gave musicians "scope to create an [introductory] atmosphere" and to show their "musicality," or as Athanasopoulos suggested, as a means for musicians to "express themselves". Galiatsos described an example of his improvisation process as:

> ..starting to play a *makam* and, depending on the mood you are in, you could jump from one *makam* to another where there are only one or two notes difference [between the tonal material of two modes].You could improvise in the [second] *makam* and then come back to the original one. I could play for a while mucking around at some stage jump into a tune having played a phrase that reminds me of a tune. Sometimes I might just go on playing for five or ten minutes until I run out of ideas or my mood changes and I stop (Galiatsos, 1994, pers. com.).

Here, Galiatsos describes what Spiridakos refers to as "finding the scale" (Spiridakos, 1998, pers. com.); that is, sounding the characteristic melodic material inherent in a song's *dromos*. Baltsidis (1998, pers. com.) described the same process as "giving other musicians a foundation" from which to perform a song.

Whilst *taximia* may occur in the middle or end of a song, introductory *taximia* held special significance for my informants. Tsicaderis likened introductory *taximia* to a "foreword of a book" which gave the audience an outline of material to be heard during a song or dance.

Whilst *taximia* develop from spontaneous composition, there are certain conventions which govern their creation. As Daly observed: "Within the framework of tonal material you have been given you can change modes according to certain aesthetic rules. There are certain *makam* changes which produce a jar to the ear" (Daly, 1994, pers. com.). He did not define which "changes" produce this effect or how. However, Parkhill described "rules which govern" the "behaviour" of *makam* expositions as follows:

> These rules govern such elements as melodic variation, ornamentation and the process by which one *makam* may modulate to another, or in other words, the relation, or potential relation of one *makam* to another during performance. Rather like a key change in a Beethoven symphony, the composer ensures that such progressions take place through an appropriate 'pivot' note. In the *makam* system, such a pivot note is most usually the fourth or fifth note of the lower tetrachord or pentachord. It functions as a common note to both sections ...[and] as a basis for modulation... A taksim (sic) may consist of any number of *makams* played in any order, provided the rules governing modulation are observed (Parkhill, 1984:17-18).

It is likely that Daly's reference to "aesthetic rules" relates to what Parkhill refers to as knowing the rules governing modulation within the *makam* system which are described above. Thus, in order to improvise in *rebetika* music, musicians must know not only the characteristics of individual *makams* but also the relationship between each *makam* and how to use certain pivotal tones to achieve a modulation that, as Daly observed, does not "jar".

My field work indicates that whilst generation *A* and *B* musicians acquired the knowledge of ornamentation and *makams (dromoi)* usually through familiarity with a song in a certain *makam*, a 'deeper' knowledge governing modulation and melodic variation in *rebetika* is acquired through 'deeper' initiation into the *dromoi* and song and dance repertoire. This is achieved through performance practice and contact with

other more experienced musicians in the community or from Greece, and from within the Melbourne-Turkish community.

I have noted previously that the concept of *chromata* (colour) in Greek music covers a wide area of performance and compositional techniques including the use of various types of embellishment. Before discussing my informants' perceptions about what constitutes improvised embellishment in *rebetika* music we must first consider what it is that is being embellished or coloured. In chapter eight, I shall discuss this issue in relation to *rebetika* songs selected by generation *B* musicians. Each song is examined for improvised and fixed elements within the limits of identifying spontaneous and fixed composed elements from source recordings and recordings of live Melbourne performances of the same song. However, we know that there is a concept of core melodic material in relation to some Greek traditional music. Daly (1994, pers. com.) referred to this concept as μελωδικος πυρηνας (melodikos pireenas) which means, melodic nucleus. However, he used the term in relation to a form of Cretan traditional music known as κονδυλιες (kondilies) which is based on formulaic improvisations on given melodic phrases. That is, the repetition of the phrases are "equivalent in essence but not in detail" (Smith, 199: 38), and based on "a process of substitution – of creating new phrases on the model of a few basic patterns, rather than repeating a stock of memorised clichés..." (Smith, 1991:48).

Rebetika songs do not consist of a stock of given composed melodic phrases, and therefore we cannot consider *rebetika* improvisation as formulaic in the sense that the term applies to Cretan *kondilies*.

However, I maintain that it is possible to use the concept of a melodic nucleus in relation to *rebetika* in two senses: firstly, in relation to the melodic material given in each *dromos*. This is so even though there are regional variations in the *makams* from which they have been adapted and even if there are variations in the same *dromoi* presented in current musical literature. In Melbourne, the *dromoi* are stable enough to

be recognised commonly as *rast, ousak, houzam,* etc by musicians from generations *A, B* and C.

Secondly, composed verses and choruses which have been transmitted through recorded sources rather than through an oral tradition, contain enough stable melodic and rhythmic material to be considered as *melodic nuclei.*

A *makam (dromos)* and its exposition consist of fixed intervallic material. Its colouring depends on degrees of embellishment created within free-rhythmic development, instrumental timbre and ornamentation. Tsounis agrees that embellishment or "ornamentation" is a significant aspect of *rebetika* performance. As she observed:

> ...ornamentation is a central feature of *rebetika* music-making. Together with the melismatic phrases of the vocalist, instrumental melodies are characterised by a large degree of ornamentation. The most common technique is the doubling in time of melodies from longer values to shorter note values...Other ornamentation techniques include trills, tremolandi, glissandi, turns, acciacturas (crush notes), upper and lower mordents, and terraced scale-like phrases (Tsounis, 1997: 238).

Tsounis does not include dynamics in this list. She maintains that "dynamics are not a usual concern of *rebetika* musicians. They are generally regarded as a non-musical feature dependent upon the venue and the nature of the acoustics" (Tsounis, 1997: 213). My field work confirms this view, as does Galiatsos (1994, pers. com.).

Describing how he embellishes songs instrumentally, Galiatsos commented: "I play the basic tune; the basic notes, adding in doubling up notes, a couple of triplets; a repeated phrase or the addition of a line and another repeated phrase" (Galiatsos, 1994, pers. com.).

Returning to the notion of embellishments as *chromata,* Volaris (1998, pers. com.) believed that Greeks do not "use straight intervals," rather they "colour them". He

extends this notion to harmonic progression, stating " our [Greeks'] heart and mind drop different chord progressions. Subconsciously we move through different progressions to that of Anglo-Saxons". He suggested the nearest equivalent Greek concept to Western concept of musical ornamentation was στροφη (strophi), meaning a turn or change of direction. A 'turn' does not refer to the Western musical ornament known as a turn, (although these are common in Greek traditional music) but to any form of embellishment or colouring movement between two notes: the type of movement depending on the performer's need and skill. Volaris said that Greek musicians do not tend to "think about" the term *strophi,* rather they "take it for granted," thus reinforcing Tsounis' observation that musical embellishment is a central feature of *rebetika* music-making.

Volaris (1998, pers. com.) and Polychronopoulos (1998, pers. com.) also referred to φιγουρα (figoura) as a generic term for musical decoration, without which, Volaris maintained, a musician cannot "impress" or "show off" decorative figures. In addition, Polychronopoulos used the term καρτεσα (kartesa) to describe fast scale playing and κοστες (kostes) for staccato notes. My informants also used common Italian musical terms such as *glissandi, appoggiatura* and English terms such as hammer-on and hammer-off to refer to embellishments particular to plucked string instruments.

Finally, the term "solo" is sometimes used in Melbourne instead of *taxim.* As Volaris observed:

> *Solo* means the performer 'goes to town.' It [the *solo]* doesnot follow the confined chord structure as it is known in the English context. The musician is free...*Αυτοσχεδιασμος* (autoskethiasmos) improvisation, is just *solo;* people know it so you just 'go to town' for half an hour.

> There are different styles according to which part of Greece you are from (Volaris, 1998, pers. com.).[66]

The discussion so far has dealt specifically with instrumental forms of improvisation or general descriptions of concepts used by Greeks and Greek-Australians to refer to *rebetika* improvisational practices. I shall now turn to improvisation in relation to vocal aspects of *rebetika* music-making. In particular, we need to consider the vocal equivalent of *taximia;* that is, *amanades (*also known as *amanes).* Conway Morris described *amanades* as:

> ...consisting of virtuoso vocal improvisation in a particular *makam.* It is normally introduced by a short instrumental improvisation establishing the outline of the *makam.* Then one or more couplets are sung in free time beginning with, and extended and embroidered by frequent interpolations of the word *aman* (alas!mercy!) and sometimes other Turkish words of similar import, such as *merded (*mercy! aid!) and *yara* (sorrow!). In most cases the singer pauses during the song and the leading musician plays a refrain or a passage of improvisation (Conway Morris, 1981: 86).

Improvised vocal interpolations (referred to as *tsakimata)* such as those referred to by Conway Morris also included terms such as γειασου (yiasou) (a term used in greeting or recognition of someone but literally meaning, 'to your health'), or exclamations such as *ach! och!*

Amanades were performed mostly in the *cafés-aman* during the first few decades of the twentieth century. Holst observed that "the term 'oriental music'...is often synonymous with *amanes*...[and] the oriental and female side..." of the Greek inheritance". (Holst, 2002). As *rebetika* evolved in urban Greece during the early part of the twentieth century, "the long melismatic voice passages [typically involving

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[66] For information on other vocal improvisation forms in Greek traditional music see Parkhill, 1984:21-27.

highly ornamented microtonal intervals] were left to the instrumentalists and the word 'Aman' became a brief interruption in the song". (Holst, 1975: 20)

Whilst *taximia* are very much part of contemporary Greek and Greek-Australian *rebetika*, the same cannot be said of *amanades*. They are sung, but are much rarer than *taximia*. Why is this so?

I asked Domna Samiou, (1994, pers. com.) Greece's leading supporter and performer of traditional songs, if her repertoire included *amanades*. It did not. To paraphrase her response, this was so because contemporary performers were unable to experience the same *angst* as that experienced by the Greek lower classes at the end of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century; nor were they capable of singing the same microtonal nuances. The evidence of recorded *rebetika* supports Samiou's observation of the decline of the *amanades*. Indeed, as I have previously discussed, technical and business priorities of the European and USA recording industries contributed to the decline of improvisatory practice. Galiatsos encapsulated the main points of this discussion in the following observation:

> The advent of the phonograph period [and the recording of Greek traditional music ca 1905] restricted the use of *makams* in terms of improvisation...vinyl restricted the musicians to three and a half minutes or so. They didn't have much opportunity to improvise. The improvisations would be at the beginning of the tune. They only had about 20 seconds or so until the tune started. That sort of thing was restrictive. Before the phonograph period it was known in live performances musicians would improvise a lot more. It is only in the last ten years or so that [improvisation] is being encouraged [again]. There is more time space available with the advent of Compact Discs [digital technology] (Galiatsos, 1994, pers. com.).

This decline in improvisatory practice being the case in mainland Greece, we might expect *amanades* to be even rarer amongst the Greek-Australian community given the musicians' distance from Greece and its musical culture. In my field work, I found that this was so; *amanades* were rarely performed. However, I have heard a few

examples. In 1997[67] I recorded a performance of songs from Smyrna involving an ensemble consisting of both generation *A* and *B* musicians, together with two visiting singers; one from Greece and the other from Melbourne's Turkish community. The Turkish singer was renowned for his *amanades* singing ability. The mainly Greek-Australian audience responded to his improvised singing with stamping, cheering, whistling and shouting indicating their appreciation and understanding of the performance. It was as if the singer had triggered their feelings in a special way. The audience response was similar to the only *amanades* performance I have heard sung by a woman in Melbourne during my field work. The performance involved Yiota Stathoulopoulos during a concert given in 2001 with a group of generation *B* musicians on a return visit to Melbourne from Athens where they now live.

Generation *B* singer, Varnavas believed that all singers of *rebetika* "must have the *amanades* inside them". He commented:

> *Amanades* are hard because *amanades* [involve] real feelings; what you believe about yourself at the time and you have to give it to the people. It is a very big risk. It's harder than singing with words. So many singers cannot do *amanades* because it is hard. But if you are a singer you must have *amanades* inside you (Varnavas, 1998 pers. com.).

Here Varnavas tells us that singing *amanades* is difficult both technically and emotionally. Yiangoulis agreed with this view and observed:

> It's a kind of wailing and its also much freer in form which is very characteristic of Arab or Turkish improvisatory stuff. When I am singing, I get my notes and secondly [think] how can I decorate it [the *amanades]* from my starting point and end point, consciously keeping it in key. Its easy to fall out [of key] (Yiangoulis, 1999, pers. com.).

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[67] The performance took place on June 15th, at the Darebin Arts Centre, Preston, Melbourne

Yiangoulis describes the skill needed by a singer to maintain the tonal characteristics of a mode whilst embellishing it.

In summary, improvisatory practice in *rebetika* ranges from small embellishments to full-scale *taximia* and also includes spoken interpolations known as *tsakimata*. My informants' experiences of improvisation relate to a perception about the decline and revitalisation of traditional musical practices and the acquisition of performance skills. The presence or absence of improvisation was seen to be an indicator of the vitality of traditonal music. Subjective experience of improvisation in Melbourne involved states of heightened awareness which depended on a positive audience/performer relationship. This relationship depended on the degree of initiation into the music and the resulting degree of shared understanding about *rebetika* music and its meaning for performers and audience. *Taximia* were considered to be an important in *rebetika* performance in terms of creating and introductory "atmosphere," and outlining tonal material present in a *dromos*. Whilst *taximia* were composed spontaneously, there were accepted 'rules' guiding their creation. Ornamentation was a central feature of *rebetika* improvisation and essential for *chromata*.

Performances of *amanades* in Melbourne are rare because singers feel they are too distanced from the type of life-experience associated with their performances in the early part of the twentieth century and because their creation was considered to be difficult and "risky".

5.1(f) *Rebetika* Vocal Style

The characteristics of *rebetika* vocal style are a topic which would be a useful future research project, since vocal style, along with melodic and rhythmic modes, instrumentation and text, is a key indicator of stylistic difference throughout the

evolution of the *rebetika* genre. It is important, therefore, to provide an outline of the issues related to the subject to facilitate discussion in chapters seven and eight.

My sources for the outline of issues include 1) the views of my informants 2) published references on the subject made by commentators on re-issued *rebetika* recordings of pre- and post-1946 *rebetika* and 3) my observations of changes in *rebetika* vocal style acquired as a listener of live and recorded examples. Central to this discussion is Potter's view with which I agree, that "stylistic renewal [of vocal styles] is driven by the need to deliver the text. Exactly what these are, depend on the sociological context in which the music is sung" (Potter, 1998: xiii).

Like all cultural phenomena, vocal style is affected by its socio-cultural context. Thus any discussion of the nature of *rebetika* vocal style must take into consideration cultural factors that 'shaped' its characteristics. To do so we must refer again to the dates and nomenclature of *rebetika* style periods delineated in this study, as shown in table 2.1 in chapter two.

The historical development of *rebetika* as discussed in chapter two tells us that *rebetika* had its roots amongst the urban lower classes in the low-life hash dens and *tekes* of Greece. The Asia Minor musicians who frequented the *café-aman* and established the *Smyrnaic* song style belonged to a relatively cultivated social class compared with the low-life musicians of the *tekes*. However, as the *Smyrnaic* musicians joined the ranks of the *tekes*, influenced by *Piraeotic* ensembles, their musical style gave way to the *Piraeotic* style. A second generation of *rebetika* musicians active at the end of the *Piraeotic* period, went on to broaden the appeal of *rebetika* to the middle classes in the 1950s. Many of the young revivalist musicians in the early 1970s also belonged to Greece's middle class student population.

Thus it can be seen that *rebetika* music emerged from Greece's urban lower classes, evolved amongst the Piraeus proletariat, and went on to become part of the musical experience of the middle class.

Following this association between *rebetika* and social class, Schwartz observed that, "The Greek urban lower class was the matrix of a subculture characterised by distinctive values" (Schwartz, 1991: 4) including values associated with speech, dialect and language. An anonymous writer supports Schwartz's view referring to the "husky affected voice of manges" (anon:19?:25) and their special language known as *koutsouvakikas,* based on the contemporary working class slang of Athens and Pireaus. Although *rebetes* were not necessarily *manges,* male *Piraeotic* singers often adopted a 'husky' voice and *koutsouvakikas* language in their performances. Commenting on differences between *Smyrnaic* and *Piraeotic* vocal style Schwartz (loc. cit.) observed that Smyrnaic "singing was richly and subtly ornamented" compared with the *Piraeotic* vocal style which was "far more roughly-hewn and folksy than the vocal styles of Asia Minor".

Additional contextual factors which may have contributed to *rebetika* vocal style developments include 1) speech and singing styles of Gypsies and Arabic singers in the *tekes* environment 2) elements of regional rural speech and singing styles brought into urban areas as a result of internal migration in Greece 3) the introduction of microphones and amplified performances in the post-1946 *kosmikes taverns* and *bouzoukia* and 4) the influence of pre- and post -World war Two Western popular music singing styles.

Making a point about vocal style and the gender of *rebetika* singers, Leydi suggested that in the Piraeus *tekes* "the singers were all men without the vocal qualities of singers" (Leydi, 1995:1). He did not elaborate on what he meant by "vocal qualities of singers" but commented that *Smyrnaic* singers were mostly (but not exclusively) women. Male singers often associated with the *Smyrnaic* period such as Kostas

Roukounas and Dalgas, are accounted for by the fact that their early careers involved them as "*café-aman* singers in the Asia Minor tradition" (Leydi, 1995:17). I understand Leydi to be making the point that the *Smyrnaic* song tradition involved more women than the *Piraeotic* tradition which was certainly dominated by male singers. The domination of *rebetika* by male singers changed after World War Two when Tsitsanis "after the long and uncontested domination of the male voice [in Piraeotika] ...brought to the fore various female singers" (Leydi, ibid:19). Indeed, from the 1950s onwards *archondorebetika* featured a more equitable balance of male and female singers.

I shall now turn to the issue of embellishment and *rebetika* vocal style. Lomax makes the point that "embellishment...is a device used by performers as a kind of qualification of, or ornamentation upon, the "basic" melodic line...embellishment is closest to the melodic dimension, [whereas] tremelo and glottal shake [are] more closely connected with vocal qualifiers" (Lomax, 1968: 22-23). The latter term refers to vocal sounds associated with *chromata* other than composed melodic elements. As discussed in chapter five, I suggest that the "basic" elements of rebetic melody (the *μελωδικος πυρηνας*, melodic nucleus) are contained in the melodic characteristics of each *dromos* and modal patterns particular to a song. Additional repetition of notes, sequences and melisma are embellishments, whereas ornaments such as glottal shakes and turns, acciacturi, glissandi, portamenti, hammer-on and-off string playing techniques (all aspects of *rebetika* music) can be regarded as vocal (and instrumental) qualifiers.

In general, the closer *rebetika* songs reflected influences from Asia Minor, the more embellished the vocal style was likely to be. Thus *Smyrnaic* vocal style was more embellished than *Piraeotic* vocal style. That is not to say that *Piraeotic* and *archondorebetic* vocal styles did not include embellishments. However, with regard to

the latter, I would argue that the relatively sophisticated singing style of the post-1946 *rebetika* featured more embellishment than many *Piraeotic* performances.

Bearing in mind Potter's view regarding the relationship between vocal style and sociological context, I shall now examine the perceptions of *rebetika* vocal style held by my informants. Their perceptions fall into the following categories: 1) musical experiences other than *rebetika* 2) *Smyrnaika* 3) *Piraeotika* and 4) vocal embellishments. In addition there are two general perceptions held about who is capable of singing *rebetika*. On the one hand, as Demetriou maintained "Everyone can sing *rebetika*. I don't know of any Greek who can't sing *rebetika*" (Demetriou, 1996, pers. com.). Here Demetriou refers to the popularity of some *rebetika* songs which are known throughout Greece and its diaspora. These songs have become virtual *rebetika* anthems. On the other hand, Varnavas and Argyropoulos are more circumspect about their broad experience of *rebetika* singing. Varnavas felt that:

> *Rebetika* music is not easy for everyone to sing [because] you must first have the colour or the [right] voice to sing *rebetika* music. It is difficult for many to sing because you must have the right feeling. Good *chromata* depends on having the right feeling. [However] As long as you believe in the song and sing with passion, it doesn't matter whether you have a bass or thin voice (Varnavas, 1998, pers. com.).

Here Varnavas tells us of the importance of vocal 'colour' to the sound of *rebetika*. Varnavas was (and still is) well known for his 'dark' and 'earthy' voice which has elements of the 'husky' Piraeotic *chromata*.

Even though Argyropoulos is an experienced *rebetika* singer, he is tentative about certain aspects of singing *rebetika*. He observed that:

> I still feel uneasy about singing certain songs because I can't put across the feeling. I wouldn't touch a Kavouras song (Giorgos Kavouras, a pre-1946 rebetis renowned for what his son Anesti called his "sweet voice" (Kavouras, 1998, pers. comm). When I first began I couldn't sing rebetiko. I wasn't used to singing rebetiko. I could see there was a completely different way of doing it. I just learned slowly. It [acquiring

> *rebetika* vocal *chromata*] just happened and it is still happening. With certain songs I can't describe the emotion....its just amazing and sometimes I feel tears come to my eyes. You get immersed in this feeling (Argyropoulos, 1994, pers. com.).

In the 1960s and 1970s, generation *B* musicians were familiar with vocal styles related to *demotika*, *Byzantine* chant and (like most people) Afro-American popular music. However, for musicians such as Argyropoulos, *rebetika* vocal style was something that one learned as a young adult. For others, such as generation *A* musician Spiridakos, acquisition of rebetic vocal style was preceded by experiences of popular Italian, French and Latin-American vocal styles. Yiangoulis added *bel canto* techniques to these influences and suggested that *rebetika* singers had always been open to intercultural influences from Eastern and Western European sing styles. He observed that:

> ...bel canto technique has been an increasing influence in the late twentieth century. You got singers who were finer in their craft than those from earlier in the century. Vamvakaris [a *Piraeotic* rebetis] was all throat and chest. He had lots of volume [but] his range was limited. This was a distinctive style of singing *rebetika*. Then you got Eskenazy [a Smyrnaic performer] who could sing beautifully and who could have been an opera singer. She had a technique that was comparable to something from the West but she also had ingredients from the East in her singing. Her inflections – a turn in the melody – [reflected] an Eastern style of singing (Yianglouis, 1999, pers. com.).

In referring to "bel canto," Yiangoulis did not argue that post-1946 *rebetika* singers had acquired a 'full-blown' *bel canto* technique with all the aesthetic and cultural context that surrounded the rise of the technique. Rather, he made the point that as *rebetika* performance moved away from anonymous urban *tekes* and *taverna* singers into the domain of professional singers in *bouzoukia* and night-clubs, vocal style became less 'rough-hewn' and 'husky' and more reflective of Western European style and *chromata*. However, it is significant that Yiangoulis makes distinctions between

Western and Eastern, male and female and *Smyrnaic* and *Piraeotic* vocal styles. He added that :

> You can't sing *rebetika* in a strictly Western style. [*Rebetika* involved] pitching it [vocal sound] differently: it is placed in the throat. You know cries of agony depending on the text. You do a lot of that without thinking. I think it happens because we grew up in that culture (Yiangoulis, 1999, pers. com.).

Yiangoulis' account of *rebetika* vocal style suggests that second and third generation Greek-Australians acquired vocal techniques and styles through both formal learning and cultural instinct (an aspect of *akousmata).* He also suggested that *rebetika* vocal style, particularly embellishments, demonstrated intercultural influences, especially influences from Arabic and Turkish improvisatory music. These comments reflect those made by other informants about the effect of intercultural influences on the evolution of *rebetika* discussed in chapter four.

To what extent then, does *rebetika* vocal style in Melbourne reflect the sociological context of the Greek-Australian diaspora musicians? A more detailed answer will be given in chapters seven and eight which are based on discussion and analysis of my informants' musical experience, available recordings and general social context. However, in discussion so far, we can see that they are keenly aware of stylistic developments related to different periods in the evolution of *rebetika*.

In terms of the phenomenographic analysis process, variations of experiences of the musical characteristics of *rebetika* in Melbourne as discussed by my informants are summarised in tables 5.1, 5.2, 5.3, 5.4 , 5.5 and 5.6.

Table 5.1

Variations of experience of "authentic" rebetika music-making according to Horn's informants
1. Attempts by generation *B* musicians to find authentic meaning through the recreation of pre-1946 instruments, repertoire and performance styles are regarded by some as the endeavours of "purists". 2. Personalising a song by changing musical details in each performance is regarded as not threatening the song's authenticity as long as the changes are "appropriate". 3. A notion of *rebetika* as "simple" music relates to the perception of the genre as an authentic music of ordinary people. 4. Similarly, naming *rebetika* as the 'Greek blues' related to describing the music as an authentic traditional, popular, urban music. 5. For some generation *B* musicians, excessive electronic amplification of *rebetika* detracted from the authenticity of a performance.

Table 5.2

Variations of experience of rebetika modes and melody according to Horn's informants
1. *Dromoi* are considered to be the "building blocks" of melodic invention.
2. *Rebetika dromoi* are evidence of intercultural influences.
3. The *dromoi* are an adapted form of the Turkish/Arab *makam* system.
4. The number of *dromoi* believed to be extant in Greece and Australia today varies according to the experience of informants.
5. The number of extant *dromoi* decreased with the advent of equal temperament tuning on fretted *rebetika* instruments.
6. It is not possible to produce accurately *dromoi* which feature microtonal intervals on *rebetika* fretted instruments tuned to equal temperament.
7. The skill of modulation from one *dromos* to another is considered to be an essential aspect of *taximia*.
8. Despite the introduction of diatonic chords to *rebetika* accompaniments from the 1930s, the genre is essentially an heterophonic music.

Table 5.3

Variations of experience of chords and harmony in rebetika music-making according to Horn's informants
1. Music of the pre-1946 period of *rebetika* was largely heterophonic. Chords based on the first, fifth and seventh degree of modes were common accompanying chords, but were not used as a basis for harmonic progression.
2. Instruments not tuned to equal temperament were part of the tradition of heterophonic tradition.
3. The introduction of equal temperament tuning to *rebetika* instruments (particularly the *bouzouki*) facilitated greater use of chordal accompaniments.
4. The post-1946 introduction of a four-course *bouzouki* facilitated increased chordal playing as did the inclusion of accordions and other keyboard instruments with equal temperament tuning into *rebetika* ensembles.

Table 5.4

Variations of experience of rebetika dance rhythms according to Horn's informants	
1.	There are four main dances associated with *rebetika*: *zebekiko, hasapiko hasaposerviko* and *tsifteteli*. In terms of discussion related to rhythmic change and variation amongst my informants, the *zebekiko* has particulary strong associations with *rebetika*
2.	The first three dance forms were originally men's dances and the latter a woman's dance. In Greece and Melbourne all dances are now danced by men and women.
3.	Informants believed that the number of *zebekiko* rhythm variations declined post-1946.
4.	Some generation *B* musicians have attempted to revitalise *zebekiko* variations.
5.	In the 1950s and 1960s in Melbourne, *rebetika* and demotika dancing took place mostly in homes and family ceremonies.
6.	From the 1970s, *rebetika* dance forms became an increasing part of the Greek-Australian hotel and club experience.
7.	The dances have been disseminated amongst non-Greek *rebetika* enthusiasts in Melbourne.

Table 5.5

Variations of experience of improvisation in rebetika music-making according to Horn's informants
1. Improvisatory practice in *rebetika* ranged from small embellishments to full-scale *taximia, amanades* and included spoken interpolations known as *tsakimata.*
2. Perceptions of improvisation in Melbourne related to the decline and revitalization of traditional music practices and the acquisition of advanced performance skills.
3. The experience of improvisation involved heightened states of awareness which depended on a positive audience/performer relationship.
4. Instrumental *taximia* occurred as introductory, interpolated and concluding sections. Introductory *taximia* outlined tonal characteristics of a song's *dromos.*
5. *Amanades* are rarely performed in Melbourne: singers feel they are too distanced from life-experiences which contribute to their spontaneous composition. However, amanades are occasionally performed.
6. Ornamentation was a central feature of improvisation.

Table 5.6

Variations of experience of rebetika vocal style according to Horn's informants
1. The singing of *rebetika* songs amongst different social classes is a significant factor in accounting for different *rebetika* vocal styles.
2. Values associated with speech, dialect and language contribute to different vocal styles.
3. Additional contextual factors which may have contributed to *rebetika* vocal styles include speech and singing styles of Gypsy and Arabic singers, regional rural speech and singing styles, the introduction of electronic amplification and influences from Western popular music singing styles.
4. The degree of embellishment of *rebetika* songs differed according to stylistic period.
5. Generally, *Smyrnaic* songs were more embellished than *Piraeotic* songs.
6. Vocal styles in Melbourne may be 'coloured' by experiences of demotika and Byzantine chant.
7. Vocal styles are acquired by Melbourne singers through formal and intuitive learning experience.

In chapters three, four and five I have identified primary, secondary and tertiary categories of relevance arising from an analysis of my informants' interview transcripts. Rather than conclude the phenomenographic analysis at this point, I will now provide contextual evidence to support my informants' perceptions. The evidence is discussed in an organological examination of *rebetika* instruments in chapter six and a chronological and historical framework of *rebetika* developments in Melbourne in chapters seven and eight. I shall conclude the phenomenographic analysis in chapter nine.

CHAPTER SIX

REBETIKA INSTRUMENTS IN GREECE AND MELBOURNE

In this chapter I shall compare *rebetika* instruments and ensembles used in Greece since the early twentieth century with those played in Melbourne during the last fifty years. The examination supports, and adds to, my informants' perceptions about *rebetika* musical instruments discussed in chapter five, and provides further evidence of the similarities and differences of *rebetika* music-making between Greece and Melbourne.

Discussion will be in six parts: 1) descriptions of individual *rebetika* musical instruments in Greece from the early twentieth century to the 1940s 2) descriptions of *rebetika* ensembles from the *Smyrnaic* period to the present day 3) a more detailed examination of the instruments referred to as the "principle" (Anouanakis, 1976: 31) instruments of the classical period of *rebetika*; the *bouzouki, baglama* and *guitar 4)* other instruments 5) the Melbourne instruments 6) construction of instruments in Melbourne and 7) proposals for the classification of *rebetika* instruments.

6.1 *rebetika* instruments

In the discussion so far I have referred to musical instruments as used in *rebetika* on the basis that they were used on *rebetika* recordings, referred to in the available literature on *rebetika*, or referred to as such by performers of *rebetika*.

I shall now refer to musical instruments described as *rebetika* instruments on electronic recordings made in Greece, Asia Minor and the United States of America

between 1906 to 1940,[68] a span of time which includes what Argyropoulos calls "proto" [the first] or pre-*Smyrnaic* (Argyropoulos, 1994, pers. com.) *rebetika*, *Smyrnaika* and *Piraeotika* stylistic periods. In *tables 6.1, 6.2, 6.3* and *6.4.*, I shall refer to instruments according to the Hornbostel-Sachs classification system following Anouanakis (1976).

Table 6.1

The Chordophone category of *rebetika* instruments played and recorded between 1906 and 1940	
Instrument name	**Description[69]**
bouzouki	The modern *bouzouki* used in Greece is a long necked lute-type instrument exclusively carvel built with fixed metal frets and metal machine tuning heads. The instrument has three or four double courses of metal strings and is played with a plectrum. The version with four courses of strings was developed in Greece in the early 1950s.
baglama	The *baglama* is a miniature version of the *bouzouki*, but with a carved resonator, fixed frets and three double courses of metal strings. It differs from the Turkish *baglama*, which is a long-necked lute with moveable frets.
tzoura –	The *-tzoura* has a small carved wood or carvel-built resonator (between the size of a *bouzouki* or *baglama)* and a neck equal in length to that of the *bouzouki*. It has three double courses of metal strings and fixed frets.
guitar	A string instrument of the lute family, plucked or strummed, with frets along the finger board. It has six strings, a wooden resonating chamber with curved side walls and a flat back. Generally, *rebetika* players prefer guitars with a not too reverberant sound. A shorter reverberation facilitates the guitar's rhythmic role in the *rebetika* ensemble.
violin	A Western European bowed, four-stringed instrument introduced into Greece in the eighteenth century. It is likely that violinists playing popular urban music in the early part of the twentieth century "... tuned the instrument to G-D-A-D [because it made] playing sweeter (and) allowed the folk

[68] See appendix B for the discography

[69] My descriptions are based on entries in The New Grove Dictionary of Musical Instruments, 1984.

	performer to control the intervals of the natural scale more easily, as well as micro-tonal intervals with the small, almost imperceptible glissandi, by using only the first three fingers of the left hand". (Panagiotopoulos, 1997) This tuning is known as "alla Turka" (Turkish tuning). The folk violinists played the instrument holding it in front of them like the [bowed] *lyra*. (Manuel, 1988: 75)
santouri	A box zither of the Middle East, the Caucasus, South Eastern Europe and South Asia. It is played by striking the strings with two hammers held in three fingers of each hand.
kanonaki	A plucked box zither or psaltery of the Middle East: it is trapeziform in shape, one of the sides being rectangular.
mandolin	A plucked, lute-like instrument with a finger board and round body, carved or carvel-built usually with four double courses of strings. Probably introduced to Greece from Italy.
mandola	Probably the name of the instrument of which *mandolini* is the diminuitive but it could be a larger version of the *mandolin*.
cembalo	In Greece the term 'tsimbalo' denotes a Hungarian-style box zither or an instrument similar to the *santouri*, but strung and tuned differently.
lyra	A short-necked Greek fiddle: either a pear-shaped instrument found principally on the Greek islands or a bottle-shaped instrument found primarily near the mainland Greek-Turkish border. Players hold the instrument in front of them resting on the thigh.
outi	A short -necked plucked lute of the Arab world, known as the *ud* consisting of a large, pear-shaped sound-box attached to a short neck with five double courses of strings.
laouto	A Greek long-necked lute, the chief accompanying instrument of traditional ensembles. The bowl-resonator is carvel-built and the sound-table has a single sound hole. The neck has eleven moveable gut or nylon frets and an additional eight or more wooden ones glued to the sound table. The four double courses of metal strings are tuned in fifths. The instrument is traditionally strummed with a goose quill but plastic plectra are also used.
piano	The Western European pianoforte of nineteenth and twentieth centuries.
tsimbous	A Turkish long-necked lute. It has a circular metal bowl resonator covered with a screw-tensioned sound-table made of hide. It resembles the banjo, but has a deeper bowl resonator and a wider, unfretted neck. The six double courses of metal strings are attached to metal tuning heads.
cello	The Western European violincello of the bowed lute family.

Table 6. 2

The aerophone category of *rebetika* instruments played and recorded between 1906 and 1940	
Instrument	**description**
accordion	A portable instrument of the reed organ family consisting of a treble keyboard (with piano keys or buttons) and casework connected by bellows to the bass casing and button board. A chromatic instrument with a uniform tone which became standard by the beginning of the twentieth century though smaller diatonic instruments were also popular. [Listening to early recordings of Greek popular song which feature accordion-type instruments, it is not possible to define which instrument-type is being used. However, photographic evidence in Petropoulos (1968), if the photographs are dated accurately, suggest that chromatic accordions with piano keyboards were used by *rebetika* ensembles from the 1930s].
klarino	The Western European clarinet with the Albert key system, introduced into Greece in the nineteenth century. It gradually replaced the *zourna*, a double reed pipe instrument, as the main popular wind instrument in Greece.
brass band	A brass band is noted by Conway-Morris (1981) as having recorded *café-aman songs* (brass instruments were, and still are, a feature of demotika music in Northern Greece) but this was rare. However, it is likely that brass bands would have arranged popular songs from any source to include in their repertoire.

Table 6.3

The idiophone category of *rebetika* instruments recorded and played between 1906 and 1940	
Instrument	**description**
zilia	The Greek term for brass finger cymbals. They were played by women singers and dancers in the *cafe-aman*, many of whom were Greek refugees from Asia Minor.
koutalia	Wooden or metal spoons struck together in pairs. In the early decades of the twentieth century, they were usually played by Greek women refugees from Asia Minor.
trigono	A struck metal triangle
potiri	Wine glasses struck together
komboloi	A string of beads struck together

Table 6.4

The membraphone category of *rebetika* instruments recorded and played between 1906 and 1940	
Instrument	**Description**
defi	A single-headed frame drum, with or without jingles, mostly played by women.
toubeleki	A goblet-shaped metal drum with hide head secured by a (usually) brass rim which is tensioned by the player's hand pressure in performance to alter the pitch of the note.
timbano	Τυμπανο (timbano) the Greek generic term for drum

The instruments listed in tables 6.1 to 6.4 were not used in ensembles uniformly. This is confirmed by Conway Morris (1981) in his survey of all commercially recorded 78 rpm discs of Greek café music currently archived in the British Institute of Recorded Sound (BIRS). In the survey he does not refer to specific recording dates other than to observe that they represent recordings "made from the earliest days of commercial recording of Greek café music at the beginning of the [twentieth] century up until the years following the Second World War..." (Conway Morris, 1981: 89). In *table 6.5* below instruments referred to by Conway Morris are listed in order of number of references to each instrument.

Table 6.5

Instruments used in Greek café music from the early twentieth century to the years following World War Two according to Conway Morris (1981)

Instrument	Number of recorded uses	Instrument	Number of recorded uses
violin	69	cello	6
guitar	56	*daouli*	6
oud	54	*baglama*	4
santouri	22	*laouto*	4
kanonaki	22	*koutalia*	3
toubeleki	22	*timbano*	2
clarinet	22	*defi*	1
bouzouki	21	piano	1
accordion	14	brass band	1
mandolin	9		

Before commenting on the variations in the number of occurrences of the instruments in *table 6.5.* we must note that Conway Morris described the BIRS collection of 78 rpm recordings as "modest" (Conway Morris, 1981), that the music of the *café-aman* was "very well represented", it included "an extensive number of discs made in America by Greek emigrants from Asia Minor and Greece", and that there were "a number of interesting discs of the *bouzouki* played by" Markos Vamvakaris and Vasilis Tsitsanis (first and second generation professional *bouzouki* players). Conway Morris also noted that the majority of the recordings were made in the 1920s and 1930s. Thus, instruments shown in table 6.5 reflect mostly those used in *Smyrnaic* style *rebetika*. This accounts for the predominance of instruments such as violin, guitar, *oud, santouri, kanonaki, toubeleki, clarinet, bouzouki* (three stringed), *accordion* and *mandolin:* a confirmation of the type of instruments which commonly composed *Smyrnaic* ensembles.

It was in 1932 that the Greek recording industry was established. Whilst instruments and ensembles from earlier decades continued to be heard in live and recorded performances as *Smyrnaic* musicians joined the ranks of *Piraeotic* musicians, the "classic" ensemble of *bouzouki, baglama, guitar* and voice eventually dominated recordings of this period. If USA and Western European recording companies had shown a preference for the *Smyrnaic* ensembles and music as opposed to 'rougher' music of the *tekes*, the Greek industry initiated regular recordings of ensembles featuring the *bouzouki, baglama* and guitar. An anonymous cover-note writer of the CD, Rebetica in Piraeus, Volume 11. 1933-1937, Heritage HT CD 30a, 1995, observed:

> In 1933 things changed. A variety of musicians were engaged to record, and the repertoire was greatly extended. Of the seven hundred or so sides the company waxed over the next four years, some forty to fifty were true Piraeus rembetica (sic)

I hypothosise that the *in situ* nature of local recording studio managers (some of whom were musicians featured on recordings) were in a position to influence who and what was to be recorded, and in this way reflected *Piraeotic* aspects of the contemporary *zeitgeist*. It is certain that the increase in the recording of *Piraeotic* music reflected a contemporary trend involving the gradual demise of *Smyrnaic* ensembles and the growing popularity of the *bouzouki, baglama* and guitar *rebetika* ensembles: a situation which remained beyond 1941 during the occupation of Greece by the Axis Forces.

Table 6.6 lists the core instruments of the *Piraeotic rebetika* period.

Table 6.6

Core instruments of the Piraeotic ensembles			
Chordophone	**Aerophone**	**Idiophone**	**Membraphone**
bouzouki (six stringed)	accordion	*potiri*	defi
baglama		komboloi	*toubeleki*
guitar			

In the post-World War Two period of *archondorebetika*, *rebetika* instruments and ensembles changed significantly. Firstly, as I noted above, Manolis Hiotis introduced a *bouzouki* with four double courses of strings in the early 1950s, facilitating guitar-like chord playing and faster playing techniques. Secoudly, electronic amplification of instruments and voices became the norm and thirdly, the drum-kit (or parts of it) became the predominant rhythmic instrument. The electrification of *rebetika* continued in the 1960s with the inclusion of solid-bodied electronic rhythm and bass guitars and electronic keyboards. Thus, from this period, the category of

electrophone[70] can be added to the Hornbostel-Sachs classification. *Table 6.7* lists instruments commonly found in the *rebetika* ensembles of the 1950s and 1960s.

Table 6.7

Instruments commonly found in the *rebetika* ensembles of the 1950s and 1960s				
Chordophone	**Aerophone**	**Idiophone**	**Membraphone**	**Electrophone**
amplified *bouzouki* (four string courses) amplified *baglama* amplified acoustic guitar piano	accordion	zilia komboloi *potiri*	defi drum-kit i.e. the modern drum set with its core of bass drum, snare drum and high-hat cymbal	electric keyboards electric rhythm and bass solid-bodied guitars

The revivalists of the post-Junta period gave rise to a renaissance of the *Piraeotic* (and later) *Smyrnaic* instruments and ensembles. Whilst electrophone instruments were avoided by these musicians, a degree of amplification of public *rebetika* performances remained. In my view this related to the previously mentioned world-wide norm, associated with popular music involving its amplification in the second half of the twentieth century. Nevertheless, revivalists brought about a certain de-electrification of the *rebetika* ensemble, even if its excessive amplification continues to this day in clubs throughout Greece and the Greek diaspora. Thus, from the mid-1970s *rebetika* ensembles ranged from those which only used pre-1946 acoustic instrumental groupings to those which included electronically amplified and synthesised instruments. *Table 6.8* lists instruments included in these ensembles.

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[70] According to Kartomi (20001:285), the English writer Francis Galpin first proposed the category of electrophones in 1937.

Table 6. 8

Instruments included in *rebetika* ensembles from the mid-1970s.				
Chordophone	**Aerophone**	**Idiophone**	**Membraphone**	**Electrophone**
bouzouki (six and eight strings, acoustic and amplified *baglama* guitar (acoustic and amplified) violin *oud* *lyra* *laouto* *saz* mandolin *tsimbous* *santouri* *kanonaki* cello piano	clarinet accordion	*zilia* *koutalia* *potiri* *komboloi*	*toubeleki* *defi* drum-kit	electronic keyboards solid-bodied guitars electronic keyboards

Tables 6.1 to 6.8 show that whilst stylistic periods in the evolution of *rebetika* are characterised by certain instruments, the *bouzouki, baglama* and guitar remained as core instruments. Furthermore, as I noted in previous chapters, the *bouzouki* and its family members, the *baglama* and *tzouras,* became embedded in the Greek national psyche by their association with perceptions of Greek identity. Because of the particulary close relationship between the *bouzouki* family of instruments and *rebetika* it would be useful to examine factors relating to their nature and origins. Surprisingly, there has been little systematic research on the *bouzouki.* As Pennanen observed: "The musicological study of the *bouzouki* has been almost non-existent in Greece. One of the main reasons for this is the low status of the instrument in the Greek academic environment" (Pennanen, 1999: 119). I agree with Pennanen's view generally. However, I note in addition, that the music department of Athens University through its association with the Museum of Greek Popular Musical Instruments, has encouraged research since 1991.

The origins of the Greek *bouzouki* (like the music of *rebetika*) are shrouded in inter-cultural folk developments in the Middle East, Near East and Central Asia. However, we can state confidently that the instrument is a lute-like instrument which has had reasonably stable identifying characteristics since approximately the third decade of the twentieth century. These characteristics include the instrument's carvel-built resonator, its overall length, width and depth, fixed metal frets, three or four courses of metal strings, metal machine tuning heads and equal temperament tuning.

However, pictorial, photographic and literary references (notably Petropoulos, 1968) to the presence of instruments known as *bouzouki, baglama* and *tzouras* in late nineteenth century and early twentieth century Greece provide evidence of instruments called *bouzouki*s which did not conform to the above characteristics. In my view many of the instruments labelled by Petropoulos as *bouzouki*s from the Byzantine era to the eighteenth century (Petropoulos, 1968: 311, 314, 320, for example) could just as well be claimed to be other types of Middle Eastern lute-like instruments which share some of the characteristics of the modern *bouzouki*.

The Byzantine origin of the *bouzouki* is proposed and argued for notably by Anouanakis (1976: 209-210) and Petropoulos (ibid). Anouanakis noted that the people of Greece have long used the term *tambouras* to denote a series of plucked instruments of the lute family, irrespective of the dimensions of the instruments or the number and tuning of their strings. "Instruments resembling the *tambouras* ...can be traced as far back as classical times in the Greek world, where they were known as the *pandhoura* or the *trichorda* (three-stringed)" (Anouanakis, 1976: 209). He observed further that instruments appearing under the generic name of *tambouras* included "*sazi, bouzouki, baghlamas, yiougari, boulgari, kitelli, kavonto, tzivouri, karadouzen etc*" however, of all these instruments "only the *bouzouki* and the *baghlamas* are still played today". He suggests the names of the latter two instruments arose from "long years of contact with the Turks " but their wide distribution throughout Greece was

primarily due to the influence of those Asia Minor Greeks who fled to Greece in the aftermath of the Greco-Turkish war of 1922..." (Anouanakis, 1976: 210). This account of the origins of the *bouzouki* implies that the instrument, although bearing a Turkish derived name, had its ancestry in Classical Greek times and was introduced into Greece by Greek refugees from Asia Minor.

Referring to an earlier work of Anouanakis (1965) in which he shows the term *bouzouki* "now covers both larger (*sazi*) and smaller (*baglamas*) long-necked lutes in Greece", Picken (1975:271) commented that the term *bouzouki* is "surely a local variant of Turkish *bozuk*," thus introducing the idea that the *bouzouki* not only derives its name from the Turkish instrument, but also that its morphology might be traced to that of the Turkish *bozuk*. Conway-Morris lends qualified support to this theory by stating that "the nineteenth century *bouzouki* was indistinguishable from the Turkish BOZUK [sic] with its carved wood or carvel-built bowl resonator, moveable gut frets and wooden tuning-pegs" (Conway Morris, 1984: 255). If this was the case then we can pin-point major morphological changes to the *bouzouki* as having occurred in the first three decades of this century; in which case existing instruments from this period could tell us what these changes were and how the morphological changes might have been reflected in modal and performance practices heard in recordings made in Greece, Anatolia and the USA from 1906.

If an instrument labelled as a *bouzouki* in late nineteenth century Greece was "indistinguishable" from the Turkish *bozuk*, then we may suppose that the term *bouzouki* is yet another example of how the Greeks create diminuitive versions of non-Greek terms: for example, *santouri*, for *sandour*, *outi* for *oud*, *kanonaki* for *kanoun*.

Conway-Morris (1981: 81) described the characteristic instruments of Greek and Turkish nineteenth century low-life hash dens and prisons as "the *bouzouki* and its smaller relations: the *tzoura* (Turkish *curu*), and the *baglamas* (like the Turkish *baglama* in form, but much smaller)..." Here again he suggests that *baglamas* found in Greece at the end of the nineteenth century were similar to the Turkish instruments;

presumably meaning that, apart from being smaller, they also had moveable frets. He also implies here that the *tzoura* is at least related etymologcally to the Turkish *cura* describing the instrument as having "a very small carved wooden bowl, but a neck equal, or very nearly equal in length to that of the *bouzouki* [whilst] the *baglama* is a miniature version of the *bouzouki*" (ibid).

If we follow Conway Morris, an argument exists for suggesting that the *bouzouki* and its relations are members of the Turkish *saz* family. But before examining this idea more closely it would be useful get a more concrete idea of construction variations of late nineteenth century and early twentieth century *bouzouki*s and *baglamas* by comparing *baglamas* and *bouzouki*s listed in Anouanakis's seminal book Greek Popular Musical Instruments (1976). Details of these variations are shown in *tables 6.9 and 6.10* below.

Table 6.9 ***selected characteristics of*** **baglamas** ***shown in Anouanakis (1976)***

Date	Fret type and number	String courses	Body type	Length, width and depth in centimeters, Peg type and position
End of 19thC	Fixed metal 7	Three single	Carved	47.5, 8.5, 8.5 Wooden front
End of 19thC	Fixed metal 11	Three single	Carved	51, 11, 8.5 Wooden side and front
End of 19thC	Fixed metal 18	Three single	Carved	51. 7.5, 8 Wooden side and front
End of 19thC or early 20thC	Moveable gut 9	One double two single	Carved	1,13,11.5 Wooden side and back
1939	Fixed metal	Three double	Tortoise shell	43, 9, 6 Ivory/bone side
Inter-war years	(not clear)	Three double	Tortoise shell	50, 14.5, 9 Side
1955	Fixed metal 22	One single two double	Tortoise shell	76, 10, 6 Ivory/bone Side
1955	Moveable brass 12	One single two double	Carved	58,15, 8 Wooden Side and front
Inter-war years	Fixed metal	Two single one double	Carved	41.5, 7, 5 Metal coins
Inter-war years	Fixed metal	Three double	Carved	38.5, 8.5, 6 Bone on side
Inter-war years	Fixed metal	Three single	Carved	53, 6.5, 7 Wooden side

Table 6.10

Selected characteristics of *bouzoukis* shown in Anouanakis (1976)

Date	Fret type and number	String courses	Body type	Peg type	Length	Width	Depth
End 19thC or early 20thC	Moveable brass 17	Three double	Carved?	wooden side and front	93 cm	17 cm	15 cm
End of 19thC	Fixed metal 26	Three double	carvel	eight bone on side	93 cm	25 cm	16 cm
Early 20thC	Moveable gut 12	Three double	Carvel	wooden front and side	91 cm	18.5 cm	18 cm
Early 20thC	Moveable gut 17	Three single	Not clear	Wooden side	87 cm	19.5 cm	14 cm
Early 20thC	Fixed metal	Three double	Not clear	wooden front and side	92.5 cm	24 cm	12 cm

In *table* 6.9 and *6.10* we see that construction details of both the *bouzouki* and *baglama* in the Greek world of the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century were in flux. Frets were both moveable and fixed, metal and gut, numbers of strings varied, resonators were carved and carvel-built, position of pegs differed, lengths, widths and depths of the *bouzoukis* varied by six centimeters, eight centimeters and six centimeters (respectively) and the *baglamas* had various forms of moveable and fixed frets, number of strings, position of pegs, length, width and depths varying by 35 cm, 9 cm and 6.5 cm (respectively).

Returning to the argument that the *bouzouki* family is related to the Turkish *saz*, Picken (1975: 209-210) described the general group of *saz* as having "different size-categories". These are shown in *table 6.11* below.

Table 6.11 ***varied sizes of* saz *instruments according to Picken (1975).***

Name	Overall Length	Width
Cura	74cm	10 cm
Baglama (old style, small	76cm	14 cm
Tanbura or cura-baglama	95 cm	15 cm
Bozuk or baglama	118 cm	20 cm
Divan sazi	135 cm	28 cm
Meydan sazi	140 cm	23.5 cm (sic) possible editorial error and should read 28.5?

Comparing the average measurements of the Anouanakis instruments with the instruments described by Picken in *table 6.11* we can see that the *bozuk* exceeds the average *bouzouki's* overall length, it being closer to the *tanbura* or *cura baglama*. However, the average width of the *bozuk* is similar to that ot the Anouanakis' *bouzoukis*. The Anouanakis *baglamas* are similar in length and width to the *cura* and *old style baglama*. The comparison shows us how it is possible to construct the view that the *bouzouki, tzoura* and Greek *baglama* originated as members of the Turkish *saz* family. After undergoing radical construction changes, a Greek *baglama* became distinguishable from a Turkish *baglama;* the instrument in Greece with a carved body, three courses of strings mid-size between the *bouzouki* and *baglama*, became known as the *tzoura* and the form of largest member of the family, the *bouzouki*, became a relatively stable carvel-built, equal temperament tuned lute-like instrument with three double courses of strings. We do not yet know the details of time and location of these changes.[71] The perception that the *bouzouki* and its "relations" are

[71] "It seems that in Greece the development [of the *bouzouki*] took another direction than in Turkey; instead of adding moveable microtonal frets, possibly already in the 19th century the Greek urban *bouzouki* players started fretting their instruments chromatically according to Western equal temperament" (Pennanen, 1999: 131).

descendents of the Middle Eastern *saz* is not uncommon but is not accepted by all. Three of my informants (Daly, 1994, Sapekidis, 1996 and Kondanis, 1998 pers. com.) for example, suggest *saz* and *bouzouki* playing techniques are so un-related as to make the connection tenuous.

If we were to take a carvel-built resonator as a defining feature of the *bouzouki* (as opposed to the carved resonators of the saz and Turkish and Greek *baglamas*) its origins would have Arabic roots since, as Picken (1977: 75-84) noted, there were unambiguous references to carvel-built instruments in tenth century Arabic-writings and indirect evidence to show that the technique may have been known to the Arabs in the ninth century and that (apart from the *oud)* the lack of evidence of carvel-building in (Western) medieval lutes, suggested that the method of construction was adopted for the European lute as a consequence of direct borrowing from the Arabs and not as a result of indigenous development.

Holst confirms problems associated with identifying the arrival of the *bouzouki* in Greece when she observed that "the *bouzouki* or an instrument very similar to it was played long before rembetika was developed" (Holst, 1975: 68-69) and that the earliest *bouzouki* she has seen bears a repair date of 1901. She presents illustrations loaned from Ilias Petropoulos and Costas Hadzidoulis of an early *bouzouki* "possibly made around 1901," and an early *bouzouki* from Syros " almost indistinguishable from a saz." a bouzouko-*baglama* "made in jail about 1920" and a "*tzouras* or long-handled *baglama*... made in jail about 1920". She offers tentative or qualified nomenclature and dates. Holst's reference to an instrument named as a "bouzouko-*baglama*" and the ambiguous description of a "*tzouras* or long-handled *baglama*" indicates the occurrence of hybrid instruments (instruments constructed with characteristics of more than one instrument) amongst *rebetika* instruments in the first few decades of the twentieth century. Pennanen (1999:123-139) also refers to *bouzoukis* which feature hybrid elements. In particular she names the "rural *saz*-

bouzouki, urban *saz-bouzouki*, *laouto-bouzouki*, mandola-bodied *bouzouki*" (a large-sized mandolin) and further observed "During the transitional period mid-1930s to the mid-1940s - from the mandola-bodied *bouzouki* to the "classical" *bouzouki*, old and new structural and technical features in construction were often met side by side in one instrument" (Pennanen, 1999: 139). Later, I will note the continuing occurrence of hybrid *rebetika* instruments in Melbourne.

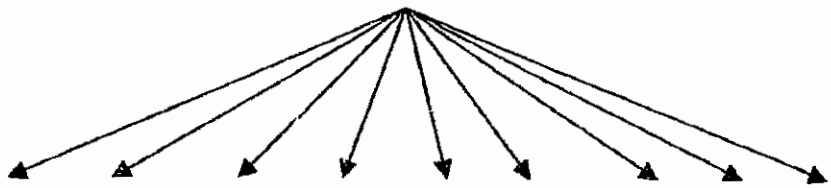
Tentative perceptions discussed above about the origins and evolution of the *bouzouki* family are summed up in *figures 6.1 and 6.2 below.*

Figure 6.1

pandhoura (name of generic lute-like instruments Classical Greece – 12thC)

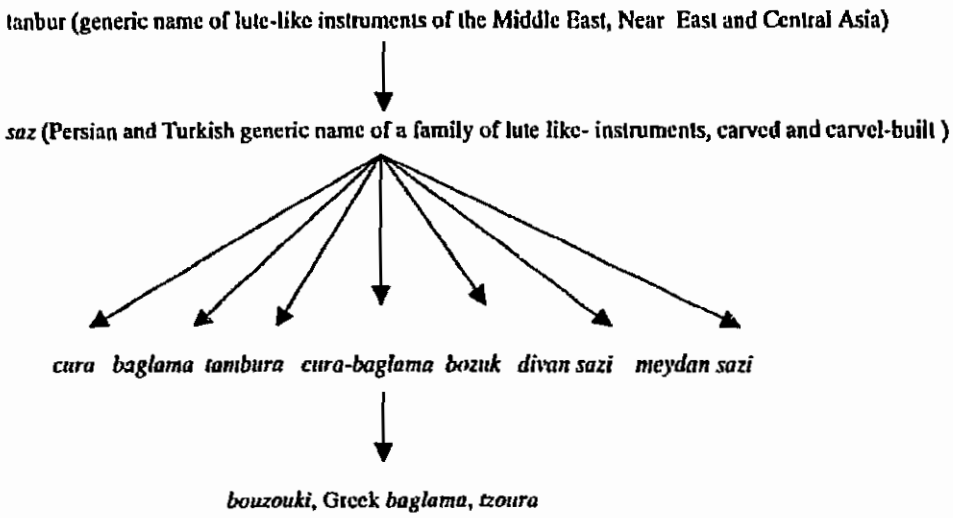
↓

tambouras (name of generic lute-like instruments in Byzantine Greece and Ottoman Empire to present day)



Saz, *bouzouki*, *baglamas*, *yiongari*, *boulgari*, *kitelli*, *kavonto* , *tzivouri*, *karadouzeni*

Figure 6.2



I shall now discuss instruments associated with *rebetika* music-making in Melbourne.

6.2 The Melbourne Instruments

My research into the Melbourne instruments involved a conventional process of identifying, measuring, noting construction elements, musical possibilities and acquisition history. Following my classification of informants into generations *A* and *B* and their respective periods of musical activity, the instruments can be divided into two chronological periods:

1. 1950s-1980s: instruments of generation *A rebetika* performers

2. 1980s-present day: instruments of generations *B* and *C rebetika* performers

Tables 6.*12* and *6.13* list the types of instruments used in each period under the Hornbostel-Sachs classification system. An asterisk indicates that the instrument was amplified in performance.

Table 6.12

Instruments used in Melbourne by generation *A* performers between the 1950s and 1980 * = amplified in performance ** = hybrid instruments				
Chordophone	**Aerophone**	**Idiophone**	**Membraphone**	**Electrophone**
*bouzouki**	clarinet	cymbal	*defi*	solid bodied rhythm and bass guitars
*baglama**	accordion	triangle	*toubeleki*	
acoustic guitar*	flute		drum-kit	Electronic keyboards
violin*				
*oud**				
piano				
double bass				

Table 6.13

Instruments used in Melbourne by generation *B* and *C* performers between the 1980s to the present day				
Chordophone	**Aerophone**	**Idiophone**	**Membraphone**	**Electrophone**
six-and eight-string *bouzouki**	accordion	*zilia*	*tarabouka*	electronic keyboards
baglama		*koutalia*	*defi*	
tzoura		*potiri*	*toubeleki*	solid-bodied guitars
guitar		*komboloi*	drum-kit	
laouto				
mandolin				
tsimbous				
oud				
*bouzouki-saz***				
*tzouro-saz***				
*miso-bouzouki***				

Table 6.12 shows generation *A rebetika* ensembles paralleled those of mainland Greece during the *laika* and *archondorebetika* periods but also included occasional use of the *oud* and clarinet. My research has not revealed how many *oud* players there

were in Melbourne the 1950s and 1960s. I suspect, very few. However, we do know that the instrument was heard in Melbourne from the 1950s due to the migration of the Thessaloniki *oud* player Christos Baltsidis. The clarinet may have been more common because of the number of migrant clarinet players from rural Greece familiar with the *demotika* tradition.

Table 6.13 also shows a parallel between Melbourne and mainland Greek *rebetika* ensembles in that revivalist bands of the 1974+ post-junta period re-introduced *Smyrnaic* and *Piraeotic* instruments and ensembles. Their re-introduction in Melbourne began in the mid-1980s as a result of instrumental explorations initiated by the founding members *Apodimi Compania*. A significant addition to instruments used by generation *B* musicians were a group of hybrid instruments resulting from ventures into the making of new instruments (see below).

Bouzouki playing is popular amongst Greek-Australians of all ages. Whereas it was once an instrument confined to Greek-Australian festivities and perceived by the Melbourne community at large as a 'wog' instrument, it is now heard in numerous Melbourne venues. Most generation *C* players learn to play the amplified eight string instrument. However, the older three-stringed *bouzouki* is favoured by many generation *B* musicians. At the present time, repertoire acquisition seems to be biased towards post-1950s *archondorebetika* material, with the exception of a few 'classic' pre-1950s favourites. This is not the case for many of my generation *B* informants who, as we shall see in chapter eight, source much of their repertoire from pre-1946 material.

The instruments referred to below are those acquired, owned and sometimes made by the musicians interviewed for this study. Their presence in Melbourne attests to the strength of Greek popular music amongst the Greek-Australian community in Melbourne. What then, if anything, do the details of their construction, tuning and

acquisition history tell us about *rebetika* music in Melbourne and its performance during the last fifty years?

The *bouzoukis*

In the course of my research I examined thirteen *bouzoukis*. I shall now outline their measurements, places of construction and variations in construction features. *Table 6.14* illustrates variations in over all length, (measured from tail to top of peg-board) width (measured across widest part of the face) and depth (measured from face to mid-back of resonator).

Table 6.14

Variations in measurements of the Melbourne *bouzoukis*
Length 100 cm – 84.5 cm: difference of 15. 5 cm
Width 31 cm - 27 cm: difference of 4 cm
Depth 21 cm - 13 cm: difference of 8 cm

Table 6.14 shows a considerable variation in the length and depth of the instruments, thus further illustrating a degree of fluidity (and the practice of hybridization in instrument construction?) in the design and construction of instruments labelled as *bouzoukis*. Places of construction included Athens, Thessaloniki, Piraeus and Melbourne: locations associated with the main urban centres of mainland Greece and Greece's largest diaspora community. Dates of construction coincide with the main migration periods of Greeks to Australia ranging from 1948 to 1998.

Another factor affecting variations in *bouzouki* construction related to particular sound qualities required by instrument- makers or musicians. These variations included:

- length , depth and width of body and neck
- number of courses of strings. Eight of the *bouzoukis* in Melbourne have four double courses of strings and five have three double courses.
- gauge and material of strings
- materials used for decoration
- woods used for various parts of the body
- placement of internal trusses
- choice of 'old' or 'new' fret board lengths (see below)
- type of glue
- machine or hand cut fretting
- number of δουγες (douges) or staves (individual segments of the carvel-built resonators) ranged from 17-80. Instrument-makers and players in Melbourne differ in their opinion as to whether a greater or smaller number of *douges* affects the quality of tone of the instrument.

Each of these elements influence the over-all sound and suitability of the *bouzouki* for its role in *rebetika*: even the smallest elements have their part to play and this is where local materials contribute to sound-qualities. An example of this would be materials used in decorative inlays. Mass-produced *bouzoukis* from Greece use a form of cellulose plastic. Melbourne instrument-makers believe the abalone and New Zealand Paua shells are not only more beautiful but absorb less vibration than softer materials. *Table 6.15* lists in-lay materials used in Greece and Melbourne.

Table 6.15

Decorative inlay materials used in Greece and Melbourne	
Greece	**Melbourne**
Early 20th century mother-of –pearl	1980+ mother-of-pearl
Casein (a plastic-type milk derivative)	casein
Cellulose plastic	cellulose plastic
	Abalone shell
	New Zealand Paua shell

Decorative features included: mother of pearl inlay, plastic black and white leaf pattern, Jacaranda and pine flower design, floral decoration, butterfly and floral decoration and vine leaf decoration casein in-lays.

Woods used for Melbourne *bouzoukis* show both local and international origins. A mixture of woods suitable for different acoustic and performance functions include the roots of cherry trees from a Melbourne back garden to imported Peruvian walnut. Melbourne instrument maker George Sapekidis, believed that the sweeter the fruit of the tree the wood is taken from, the sweeter the sound of the instrument. The mulberry tree is often used in Greece.

Table 6.16 below, lists the woods used in the construction of Melbourne *bouzoukis*:

Table *6.16*

Woods used in the construction of Melbourne *bouzoukis*
Peruvian walnut
Asian and European walnut
American maple
Western cedar
Ebony
Rosewood
Rock maple
Spruce
Cherry
Plum
Spruce
Chestnut
Pine

Asked about their view on the origin of the *bouzouki*, Melbourne musicians reflected the uncertainty expressed above or strongly maintain either it is a derivative from the Middle Eastern *buzuk*, it has evolved from the Byzantine *pandhoura*, a Greek-American *tzoura* player on returning to Greece asked an instrument-maker to create a large *tzoura* to disguise its Turkish origins or a saz player in Athens asked for the instrument to be modified for the same reasons.

The *baglamas*

The *baglama* is the smallest member of the *bouzouki* family and has two roles in *rebetika* music: 1) to provide a rhythmic accompaniment and 2) to double and /or decorate the *bouzouki* melody at an octave. Its diminutive size and portability made it an ideal instrument to be hidden in jails, where, in the early part of the twentieth century in Greece, it was used to accompany jail songs. Greek *bagalma* resonators are usually carved from one piece of wood[72] and have three double courses of strings

72 Examples of *baglamas* in the Athens Museum of Popular Greek Musical include instruments made from cocoanuts and oil tins.

tuned to D-A-D. Eleven *baglamas* in Melbourne are referred to below. One instrument is carvel-built and another is a Turkish *baglama*-saz.

Variations in their length, width and depth (measured in the same way as the *bouzoukis*) are shown in *table 6.17 below.*

Table 6.17

Variations in the measurements of the *baglamas* in Melbourne
Length 54 cm – 49 cm: a difference of 5 cm
Width 12 cm – 8 cm: a difference of 4 cm
Depth 10 cm – 6 cm: a difference of 4 cm

The instruments (the first type of instruments to be made by generation *B* musicians) were made in Athens and Melbourne between 1990 –1996 using spruce, iron wood, rosewood, maple, κελεβ, ebony, Honduran mahogany, walnut, pine and cherry. Decorative features included: herring-bone veneer edging, rosewood and pine vase and flowers, makers initials, leaf patterns on the face, and mother of pearl neck edging.

<u>The guitars</u>

The six-stringed guitar is the central rhythmic instrument in a *rebetika* ensemble. In executing this role players aim to produce crisp, unsustained chords. For this reason Melbourne guitarists generally preferred guitars with narrow resonating bodies which assist in avoiding excess reverberation. The Melbourne guitars were made in Korea, USA, Melbourne between 1964 and 1994 using spruce, walnut, maple rosewood and mahogany.

Table 6.19 below, shows variations in length, width and depth of the Melbourne guitars.

Table 6.18

Variations in the measurements of the *guitars* in Melbourne
Length 109 cm – 95.5 cm: a difference of 13.5 cm
Width 42 cm – 34.5 cm: a difference of 7.5 cm
Depth 10.5 cm –10 cm: a difference of 0.5 cm

The *tzouras*

The *tzoura* is smaller than a *bouzouki* and bigger than a *baglama,* with three double courses of strings tuned to D-A-D. Melbourne instrument-maker George Sapekidis, has produced an experimental *tzouras* with four double courses of strings thus following Hiotis' introduction of the four course *bouzouki* in the early 1950s. As far as I know, the addition of a fourth course of strings on the *tzoura* has not become a widely accepted practice. The resonating body of a *tzoura* can be carved or carvel-built. Its role within the *rebetika* ensemble can be to either double the *bouzouki* or *baglama* or, to replace either of the instruments. Five instruments were observed during this study. *Table 6.19* below, shows variations in length, width and depth of the Melbourne *tzouras.*

Table 6.19

Variations in the measurements of the *tzouras* in Melbourne
Length 89 cm – 65.5 cm: a difference of 23.5 cm
Width 22.5 cm – 6.5 cm: a difference of 16 cm
Depth 14 cm – 11 cm: a difference of 3 cm

The instruments were made in Greece, Athens and Melbourne between 1986 and 1995 using ebony, matchstick, cherry, birds eye maple, rosewood and rock maple. Decoration on the *tzouras* included matchstick inlay around plectra guard, floral and lyra in-lays of NZ paua and abalone.

The Mandolins

The mandolin, a lute-like instrument with four double string courses, entered Greece via Italy and featured as a melodic instrument in *rebetika* ensembles particularly in the *Smyrnaic* ensembles in Greece and the USA. It is used for both melodic and chordal work. Three mandolins were observed. *Table 6.20* shows variations in length, width and depth of the instruments.

Table 6.20

Variations in the measurements of the Melbourne mandolins.
Length 95 cm – 66 cm : a difference of 29 cm
Width 28 cm – 25 cm: a difference of 3 cm
Depth 18 cm – 6 cm: a difference of 12 cm

The instruments were made in Michigan, USA, and Famagusta, Cyprus. One instrument is dated as having been made in 1920. Construction dates of the other

mandolins are not known. Woods used in their construction included mahogony, rosewood, maple and ebony.

The *oud*

The *oud*, one of the oldest documented carvel-built lute-like instruments usually with a single bass string and five other double courses of strings, was one of the central melodic instruments in *Smyrnaic* ensembles. Its fretless neck facilitated nuances of intonation required in the exposition of makam modes. As discussed above, it has been played in Melbourne at least since the 1950s and is favoured by generation *B rebetika* players as an instrument which facilitates a closer understanding of untempered melodic potential of the *dromoi*.

Table 6.21 below, shows variations in length, width and depth in the five instruments observed for this study.

Table 6.21

Variations in the measurements of the *ouds* in Melbourne
Length 98 cm - 32 cm: a difference of 66 cm
Width 36 cm – 14 cm: a difference of 22 cm
Depth 20 cm – 6 cm: a difference of 14 cm

The earliest instrument from Lebanon dates from 1921. Other *ouds* made in Izmir, Thessaloniki and Cairo date between 1991 and 1997.

Percussion *(krousta)*

Percussion instruments observed in Melbourne for this study included most of those listed in *tables 6.3 and 6.4:* that is, idiophones and membraphones used during the *Smyrnaic and Piraeotic* periods. Places of construction included Greece and Turkey. The modern drum-kit and synthesised percussion sounds found on electronic keyboards are commonly used by Greek-Australian ensembles known as 'reception bands,' that is, ensembles hired for formal and informal celebrations.

Instruments owned by my informants in Melbourne are shown in *table 6.22*:

Table 6.22

Melbourne Percussion instruments
a *tarabouka* - a ceramic drum 38cm in length with hide head
a *defi* with bells
two *toubelekis* - metal alloy and brass rimmed drums, 37 cm and 39 cm in length, with flat head tensioned by the hand to change pitch
Zilia- brass finger cymbals
Potiri - thick wine glasses clicked against one another
Komboloi - string of beads clicked against *potiri*

Other instruments

Instruments mentioned below are used by musicians in Melbourne for the performance of *Smyrnaic* repertoire.

Tsimbous: made 1990 and imported to Melbourne from Istanbul, Turkey in 1996. This is a fretless instrument with a round metal resonating body and wooden neck (similar in shape to a banjo), six double courses of strings and a plastic membrane face, tuned in fifths. It is mostly used to produce bass versions of melodies.

Violin: A French instrument made in 1908 with a modern bow. Spruce front, maple body and ebony finger board.

Accordion: An Italian 80 button instrument with three reed combinations.

Clarinet: An Amati-made Czech instrument with the Albert key system: the system used by *Smyrnaic* musicians.

Lyra: Made in Melbourne in 1992 by local instrument-maker from one piece of plum-tree wood. The bow is made from maple.

The Hybrid instruments:

Three of the five instruments are the result of Melbourne musicians deconstructing and reconstructing instruments in order to understand the nature of *rebetika* instruments. That is, their reconstruction involved the creation of hybrid instruments from deconstructed instrumental parts: thus mirroring a practice found in Greece from the late nineteenth century.

Bouzouki-saz: named thus because it has a *bouzouki* fretted neck and the resonating body of a *saz*. *Saz* strings are used to produce a "softer" (Alifragis, 1997, pers. com.) sound. Its measurements are: length 96cm, width, 22.5 cm, depth, 23 cm. The original saz sound-hole has been filled in. It has a spruce front, ebony finger board, and a resonating body of maple.

Tzouro-baglama: this instrument has the length of a *tzoura* and the width and depth of a *baglama*. The body is made from one piece of American cherry, the face of spruce and finger board of rosewood. Its sound is described by its makers (Argyropoulos and Galiatsos) as "less sharp than a smaller *baglama*".

Tzouro-saz: this instrument has the measurements of a *tzoura* but the moveable plastic frets of a saz. It is a production-line instrument from Turkey, made in 1997.

Tzouro-bouzouki: an instrument created from a mandolin body and shortened *bouzouki* neck.

Kitharobouzouki: a larger-sized *bouzouki* with a neck wide enough for six courses of strings.

Bouzoukoni: an instrument with four double courses of strings created by George Sapekidis with a *bouzouki* pear-shaped, flatbody and guitar-like neck. Sapekidis

believed that the flatbody of the instrument would make it easier to hold against the body particularly for younger players. He has made twelve of these instruments.

The following discussion on *bouzouki* construction processes according to two professional instrument-makers in Melbourne, illustrates how traditional instrument-making skills have been maintained in Melbourne and how the Melbourne-made instruments contribute to continuity and change in the design and construction of Greek traditional instruments in the diaspora community.

The making of *rebetika* instruments in Melbourne began, according to my informants, around the late-1980s. Generation *B* musicians were particularly eager to deepen their understanding of traditional Greek music by making their own instruments. Amongst instrument-makers interviewed for this study were two professional instrument-makers specialising in the creation of Greek popular chordophones, that is, *bouzoukis, baglamas, tzouras, laoutos, guitars* and (in one case) a new version of the *bouzouki* known as the *bouzoukoni (see above)*. The following account of how a *bouzouki* is made is based on interviews with both instrument-makers, George Sapekidis and Thanasis Kondanis.

Kondanis described *bouzouki* construction as a four-part process: 1) the making of the resonating bowls, necks, heads etc 2) piecing the parts together 3) decorative marquetry and 4) polishing.

Firstly, wood is selected for the body and neck. Walnut and mulberry are favoured for the body and harder woods, such as rosewood and ebony for the neck and fingerboard. The material is usually acquired as mature wood and then left in a selected environment to dry naturally. A large percentage of moisture is allowed to dissipate (moisture meters are used to check the wood's moisture content). If left to get too dry, the wood beings to take in moisture again.

To begin constructing the resonating body a pear-shaped wooden mould (or jig) is selected according to the size of the instrument being made. Sapekidis has five of these jigs and Kondanis, ten. In this way carvel-built bodies of *bouzoukis*, *tzouras* and *baglamas* can be made to different sizes according to the type of instrument and overall sound quality required. If professional instrument-makers in Greece and Asia Minor have traditionally held a range of different sized jigs, it would account partially for the large range of variation in the measurements of instruments described above in *tables 6.14* to *6.22*.

A small dove-tailed block of wood known as a δασκος (daskos) or neck stop, is fitted into a groove at top of the pear-shaped jig. It marks the starting point for attaching a number of triangular strips of wood known as δουγες (*douges*) which eventually form the resonating body. Each *douge* is planed to the desired thickness and shape by passing it over a lathe blade fixed facing upwards and secured in a bench vice. The first *douge* is placed vertically in the middle of the jig (although some makers begin on one side of the mould) and attached with small nails.

Thin strips of veneer wood are then placed adjacent to the *douges*, glued and tacked, before a hot iron is passed over the strips to shape it to the contour of the mould. The heat of the iron acts on the glue in a similar way to solder when heated, that is, it becomes fluid enough to fill spaces compactly. Both instrument-makers in Melbourne use only animal glue, although in Greece, glue made from fish bone is also used. At this point in the making of the instrument, the maker's craft involves choosing the correct viscosity of the glue and temperature of the iron. Different viscosities of glue are used for different parts of the instrument. The alternate process of attaching, gluing and ironing *douges* and veneer strips continues until two final, and larger *douges* are placed on either side and around the bottom of the moulded *douges* and spring-clamped until the glue (of a different viscosity for this thicker wood) dries. Sapekidis named these larger *douges* as *plaino (side-piece)*.

The number of *douges* on instruments varies depending on how the instrument- maker subdivides the surface of his mould. Kondanis commented:

> This is a matter of becoming familiar with your mould and knowing the subdivisions of a particular mould. We have small moulds for *tzouras*. This is another skill you have to know. You cannot sit here and say this is 2.5 millimeters here so I'll shape it and do it. It comes with years of doing it. The shape of each of these *bouzouki* bodies changes and there are minute differences and if you can't shape it with your eyes the whole thing won't close (Kondanis, 1998, pers. com.).

Although some musicians do not believe the number of *douges* affects the overall sound of the instrument, others believe the greater the number of *douges*, the greater degree of sound reflection takes place inside the resonator. Some instrument-makers create false in-laid *douges* for visual effect. Kondanis claimed to have seen a *bouzouki* with 120 *douges*. Today, the average production-line *bouzouki* has 21 *douges*. Sapekidis has made *bouzoukis* with one hundred *douges*. However, when asked if the number affected the sound quality of the instrument he replied that after completing the resonating body he would knock on it and decide whether the instrument had a "good sound" or not. Here, Sapekidis implied that the successful construction of *douges* was ultimately more important to the sound of an instrument, than the mere number of *douges*. Nevertheless, he believed that as long as the douges are 'real' the number of *douges* affects the sound because " the more *douges* you have the more pieces of timber you have to vibrate" (Sapekidis, 1998, pers. com.).

Once the resonator is constructed a sheet of foil-like material is placed onto the inside of the resonator to increase the sound reflection of the resonating body.

The face, or sound board of the resonator, is shaped from a single piece of wood (usually spruce) and sanded to between 2 and 2.5 millimeters thickness. It has two 'bridges' or 'trusses' placed on the inside, either side of the front central sound hole to affect the amount of "treble" or "bass" sound of the instrument. Placed closer to the

bridge position, the more high pitched "treble" sounds it creates, and further away from the bridge, the more lower pitched "bass" is the sound.

Both Kondanis and Sapekidis paid special attention to strengthening the structure of the necks of their instruments which (like most wooden lute-like instruments) have a tendency to warp in the Australian climate. This is often the case with instruments imported from Greece. The solution partly involved constructing the *bouzouki* neck from a "sandwich" of hard woods such as ebony, rock maple or rosewood (Kondanis suggested six pieces for a "good instrument"), reversing the grain of each piece so that the grain of one works against the other in order to counter a potential warping effect in each piece.

Kondanis did not reveal other techniques used to avoid warped necks other than to say that it had something to do with "changing the composition of the neck which involved complicated geometry" (Kondanis, 1998, pers. com.). Sapekidis (a skilled maker of guitars) described how he makes use of guitar-building technology involving metal rods inserted at an angle throughout the length of the neck. An over-tensioned or warped neck can be adjusted by tightening the nut on the end of the rod. As the angled rod changes so does the neck. Sapekidis uses this technique for his *bouzouki*-family of instruments.

The neck is then planed with spoke shaves to produce a curved back leaving a flat front for the placing of the fingerboard. The tuning head was made separately by Kondanis and dove-tailed onto the neck. Sapekidis preferred to make the neck and head from one piece of wood believing it provided a stronger structure.

The neck and head are then jointed onto the resonating body at an angle to create the correct degree of pressure between the neck, tensioned strings and resonating bowl.

The finger board, usually made from ebony or rosewood is cut to a specific length according to the instrument design. Lateral cuts are made in the fingerboard using a

measuring template to hand-cut the fret marks. Production line instruments are marked by a computer programmed cutting machine. Different sized measuring templates are used for different members of the *bouzouki* family. Sapekidis' templates for fret marking were cut using computerised measurements. However, he hand-cuts additional frets on instruments according to customer specification. He noted that although hand-cut fret marks were part of a craft-person's skills, there were inevitably slight variations in their measurements. Thus, modern technology has made the standardisation of fret-marking possible. This has resulted in the standardisation of tuning variations which hitherto may have been an inevitable result of tuning-related construction details involving older instrument-making skills.

Both Kondanis and Sapekidis referred to the length of the neck and the sub-division of frets from nut to bridge according to specific measurements as "scales". Referring to his father's *bouzouki* which has a fingerboard measuring 68 centimeters in length, he described it as having the "old scale," while instruments with finger boards measuring 67 centimeters in length, had "the new scale". The changing of the length of the finger and fret board from 68 centimeter to 67 refers to one of the innovations in *bouzouki* construction introduced by Manolis Hiotis in the early 1950s. Kondanis believed the different "scales fractionally affected the treble or bass sound of the instrument rather than the tuning" (Kondanis, 1998, pers. com.). According to Pennanen, "The new standard 670 mm...shorter neck and string length served two purposes: they diminished the string tension and made playing easier" (Pennanen, 1999:143).

Plectra guards made of plastic or tortoise-shell are fitted to protect scratching of the polished surface of the instrument by the plastic plectra.

Instruments were decorated with veneered in-lays, often put on the perimeters of the face or sound-board. Common plectra guard decoration included floral patterns, vine-

leaf patterns and patterned in-lays of caseine or nitrocellulose plastic, depicting butterflies.

6.3 Classification of rebetic instruments

Work on classification systems for Greek popular musical instruments is limited, and as far as taxonomic study is concerned, is practically non-existent.[73] The most significant work done in this area is that of Fivos Anouanakis. Indeed it is his collection of instruments which form the core of the collection at the Museum for Greek Popular Instruments (M.G.P.M.I) in Athens, and it is his 1976 publication, Greek Popular Musical Instruments, which is the most common source for initial ethnomusicological studies on the topic. Anouanakis confirms this view in his introduction to the second edition (1991). Commenting on the fifteen years between the publication of the first and second edition of his book he observed:

> Research in ethnomusicology has advanced very little from 1976 to the present: the creation of a university chair in Crete, the founding of the Museum of Greek Popular Musical Instruments and the publication of a limited number of specialised studies and records is of course important, but not sufficient for the study of an area of particular national and cultural significance. (Anouanakais, 1976: foreword)

Anouanakis and the M.G.P.M.I use the Hornbostel/Sachs system of classification. As yet there have been no systematic proposals for the classification of *rebetika* instruments although, as I have illustrated in discussion so far, a start could be made by outlining an historically-based classification of the instruments with reference to stylistic periods of the genre described in *table 2.1* and detailed in *tables 6.5, 6.6, 6.7* and *6.8*. Similarly, classification according to variations in measurements, number and

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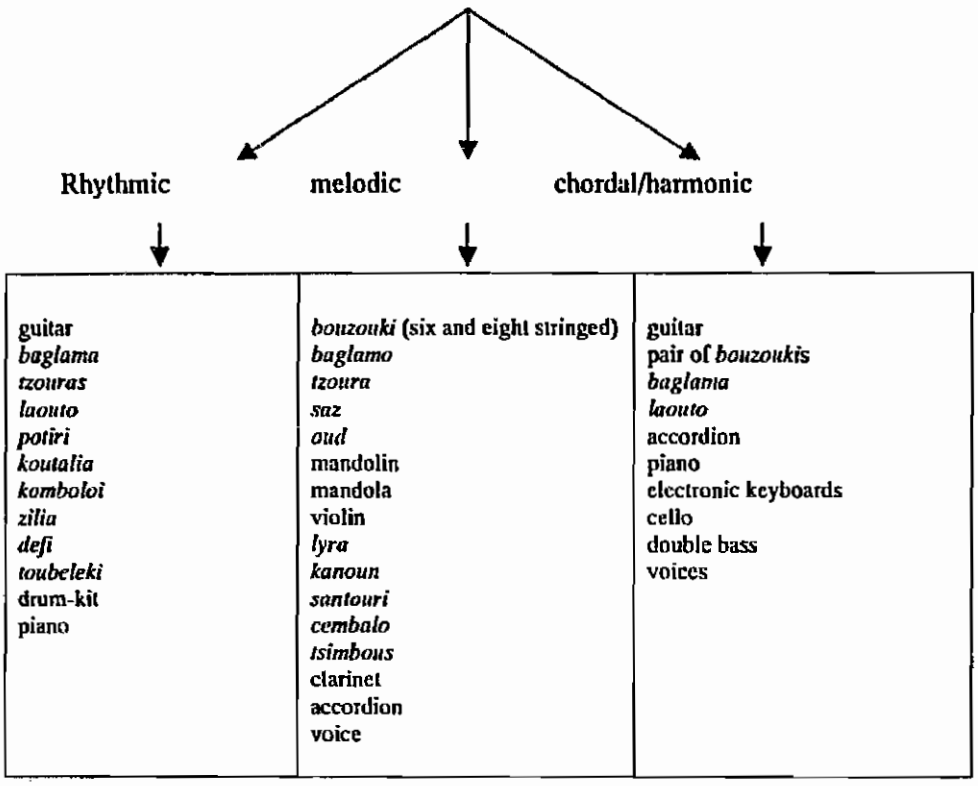
[73] The lack of taxonomical study of Greek popular musical instruments was confirmed in informal discussion with Dr Lambros Liavas, the director of the Museum for Greek Popular Musical Instruments in Athens, in 1998.

types or frets, string courses and positioning and type of tuning heads and pegs, decorative features and woods used in construction, all touched on in *tables 6.9* to *6.22*, are areas of classification which could be considered.

To broaden classification discussion I have taken into account Kartomi's use of the terms "culture-emerging" (CE) and "observer-imposed"(OI) (Kartomi, 2001: 298): terms used "to distinguish those so-called "natural" classifications which emerge informally from within a culture or sub-culture" from "observer-imposed" classifications that are conceived and imposed by an insider or outsider musician, scholar or museologist...". In the tables below I have used the abbreviations of the terms CE and OI to indicate which one applies to my proposed categorizations of *rebetika* instruments. My first categorisation, shown in *table 6.23* lists the instruments by their generalised musical role: that is rhythmic, melodic and chordal/harmonic.

Table 6.23

Generalised musical roles in *rebetika* ensembles (CE)



I have noted in previous chapters that the heterophonic nature of Pre-World War Two *rebetika* music interrelated with the monophonic nature of the instruments. The evolution of *rebetika* style involved the gradual introduction of Western harmonic ideas played on instruments capable of producing polyphonic sound. *Table 6.24* offers a different reading of the melodic and chordal/harmonic roles of instruments categorising them as either monophonic or polyphonic instruments.

Tables 6.24

monophonic and polyphonic roles of rebetikía instruments	
Monophonic	**polyphonic**
bouzouki	*bouzouki*
baglama	*baglama*
tzoura	*tzoura*
violin	*laouto*
santouri	guitar
kanonaki	accordion
cembalo	piano
mandola	
lyra	
oud	
tsimbous	
cello	
double bass	
clarinet	

A smaller group of instruments with melodic roles associated with the performance of extended improvisations – *taximia,* are shown in *table 6.25* below.

Table 6.25

instruments specifically associated with the performance of *taximia (CE)*
bouzouki
oud
violin
lyra
kanoun
clarinet

The history of *rebetika* tells us that there has been a continuous debate about the relation of *rebetika* music to perceptions of Oriental and Occidental culture and the ambiguous (or dual?) cultural positioning of Greece within this debate. In fact, cultural phenomena in the Balkan, Near and Middle East regions often result from regional intercultural contact. Indeed, as discussed above, *rebetika* is an example of this. In this case and others, attribution of a single ethnic origin to a cultural phenomenon becomes problematic. However, *rebetika is* now perceived, world-wide,

as a Greek popular urban music. A useful approach to a detailed examination of the intercultural elements present in *rebetika* could include a detailed classification of *rebetika* instruments in terms of their perceived national and regional identity. This could be substantiated in terms of construction techniques and performance locations and techniques. In *table 6.26* below I categorise *rebetika* instruments in relation to popular views of their regional origins according my informants (excepting those informed by more systematic organological research).

Table 6.26

***Rebetika* instruments categorised in terms of the popular perception of their regional identity (OI)**		
Western European	**Greek**	**Arab-Turkish**
violin	*bouzouki* (six and eight stringed)	*oud*
guitar	*baglama*	*kanoun*
accordion	*tzoura*	*santouri*
mandolin	*laouto*	*saz*
piano	*lyra*	*tsimbous*
drum-kit	*potiri*	*baglama-saz*
cello	*komboloi*	*toubeleki*
double bass	*koutalia*	*zilia*

The playing of most *rebetika* instruments is predominantly a male occupation. Thus, classifying the playing of the instruments in terms of gender, particularly historically in Greece, illustrates a simple picture. That is, all *rebetika* instruments are played by men, whereas only the *zilia, koutalia* and *defi* are instruments played traditionally by women. However, this raises the question as to whether the same situation exists in the Greek diaspora in Melbourne. In fact, since the mid-1980s, a small number of women musicians in Melbourne have played a greater range of instruments. Future consideration of gender distribution and instrumental performance in the Greek diaspora may reveal a changing gender role with regard to *rebetika* performance. *Table 6.27* below, illustrates the distribution of gender instrumental performance observed for this study in Greece and Melbourne.

Table 6.27

gender instrumental performance in Greece and Melbourne (OI)

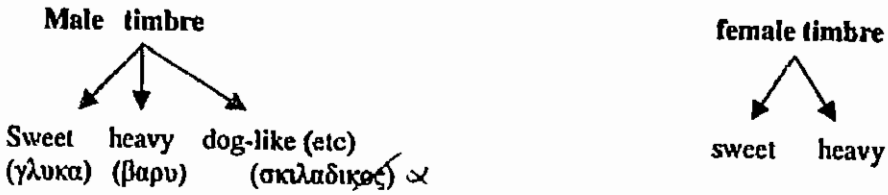
Greece		Melbourne	
Male	female	male	female
Voice and all Instruments	voice	voice and all instruments	voice
	defi		defi
	zilia		zilia
	koutalia		koutoulia
			(instances of)
			bouzouki
			baglama
			mandolin
			laouto

Another diaspora-related categorisation involves instrument usage by different generations. If intergenerational *rebetika* music-making features differences and similarities in other parts of the Greek diaspora, as it does in Melbourne, then categorisation of instrument preferences amongst generations, as illustrated in *tables 6. 12* and *6.13* might tell us more about *rebetika* music-making amongst generations in the world-wide Greek diaspora. The application of this categorisation in the USA would be particularly interesting given that Greek diaspora communities in the USA have been established there for over one hundred years.

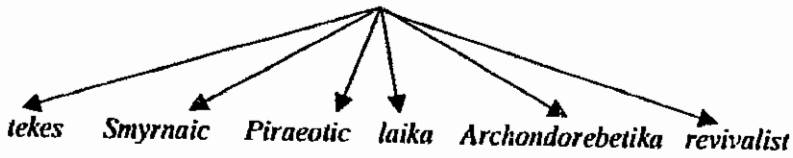
To conclude this section on the potential for classification of *rebetika* instruments, I propose that types of singing voice associated with *rebetika* be included in future classification work related to *rebetika* music. In chapters four, five and six, I argued that vocal style is a key indicator of *rebetika* style. Work on classification of the *rebetika* singing voice could begin with the following categories shown in *table 6.28(a) and (b)* below.

Table 6.28(a)

Stylistic traits of the *rebetika* singing voice (OI)



6.28 (b) **types of vocal embellishments**



CHAPTER SEVEN

REBETIKA PERFORMANCE IN MELBOURNE FROM THE 1950S TO THE MID-1980S

7.1 Introduction

The four preceding chapters examined variations of the *rebetika* experience in Melbourne and the relation between these perceptions of experience, the sound of *rebetika* and extra-musical associations which arise in the minds of musicians and audience members.

This chapter explores *rebetika* performance in Melbourne from the 1950s to the mid-1980s. Discussion is divided into two parts. The first part presents a chronological sketch of *rebetika* developments in Melbourne, based on the memories and reflections of my informants, documented evidence from newspapers, performance programs and advertising material.

Further research is needed to document in more detail the stories and memories of Melbourne's *rebetika* musicians whom I have not included, i.e those who did not form part of my network of interviewees but have since come to light. Further research is also needed to scan systematically the Greek-Australian newspapers which have been published in Victoria over the past half century. These publications will be a rich source of minutiae for future researchers. I shall examine firstly the music-making of generation *A* musicians from the 1950s to the mid-1970s and secondly, the music-making of generation *A* and *B* musicians from the late 1970s to the mid-1980s.

The second part of the chapter examines the evidence of recorded *rebetika* music which has been available in Melbourne from the 1960s to the mid-1980s and forms part of the archive resource known as the ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ ΤΡΑΓΟΥΔΙΩΝ ΠΟΥ ΕΧΟΥΝ ΓΡΑΦΤΕΙ ΚΑΙ ΕΚΔΟΘΕΙ ΣΤΗΝ ΑΥΣΤΡΑΛΙΑ ΣΕ ΔΙΣΚΟΥΣ Η ΚΑΣΕΤΤΕΣ[74] (A Catalogue of Songs which have been written and recorded in Australia on disc or cassette). The music is used to demonstrate stylistic features of recorded material available in Melbourne and, where appropriate, to substantiate the recollections of my informants. Entries in the catalogue end in 1992. I shall refer to post-1985 recordings and recordings not included in the catalogue which relate to generation *B* musicians in chapter eight. I shall also refer briefly to the accessibility of 78 rpm recordings in the 1950s which were not available for my study.

As we shall see, the reference to music "recorded in Australia" is misleading since it does not necessarily mean the recording was produced from performances in a Melbourne studio or venue. In many cases, the recordings were produced from a pressing of a master copy imported from Greece and distributed in Melbourne.

I refer below to my informants' recollections regarding venues, the commercial environment in Melbourne and their activities as musicians during successive decades beginning with the 1950s.

7.2 The 1950s

The earliest reference to a probable *rebetika* performance in Australia pre-dates the 1950s. Gauntlett noted that the earliest touring exponent of *rebetika* to visit Australia "may have been [that] claimed for 1925 and 1926 by the Greek-American

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[74] I am grateful to Mr Mimis Sophocleous, Director of the Greek-Australian Archive Museum and Learning Centre at the Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology University, who compiled this catalogue and gave me access to the resource for my research.

guitarist/vocalist George Katsaros, but he seems to have been a member of a theatre group rather than as an exponent of *rebetika*..." (Gauntlett, 1993: 343). As Gauntlett went on to observe:

> By the late 1950s the notoriety of *rebetika* was a major issue in Greece, and echoes of the sanctimonious condemnations of the songs as decadent and anti-Hellenic can be found in the Greek-Australian press, but significantly without reference to a local tradition. (Gauntlett, 1993: 344)

As we shall see, a few Greek-Australian musicians from the period claimed to have included *rebetika* songs in their performances. Apparently these inclusions of *rebetika* in public performances were not of sufficient interest to be noted in the local Greek newspapers. While these early performances in Melbourne can be seen as continuations of the *rebetika* tradition in Greece, *rebetika* as a "local tradition" in Melbourne had yet to be established.

Two articles (Strathgopoulou, March 6th, 1957 and Christidis, March 20m 1957) printed in the Greek-Australian newspaper *Neos Kosmos*, indicated the flavour of the then current debate about *rebetika* amongst Melbourne's Greek-Australian community. They are of particular relevance to Gauntlett's comments and this discussion. I have provided a translation of both articles below. The first is entitled *Rebetika* Song. (Strathgopoulou, 1957).

Rebetika Song. (trans: P.Horn, 2000)

> There is an artistic and sociological subject which from time to time comes up in the newspapers and broadcast media. The subject is *rebetika* songs. Are they an appalling aspect of the lowest form of music in our country? Or, to the contrary, do they represent the fine art of Greek music? When intellectuals and artists argue with academics they give their opinion strongly and say that *rebetika* are clearly Greek and constitute genuine *laiki* music: perhaps even more worth mentioning than Classical music.

Unfortunately when they say that, they are simply producing a 'prophecy sitting on a tripod' like the Delphic Oracle. Under no circumstances do they offer convincing words, evidence or professional proof about their beliefs etc so that they can enlighten we ignorant listeners and readers. They avoid explaining why those songs are called *rebetika* and what the word rebetes means. They are silent instead of explaining to us why these sorts of songs saw the light for the first time, or rather the half-light [a reference to hashish dens] which is where they [*rebetika* performers] used to partake of the narghile; and why, from then on, and for many years until today, *rebetika* songs were praising a manufactured paradise [a reference to drug induced states?]. They avoid telling us the bases and facts which are shared by *rebetika* and Greek laiki art. If words have not lost their meaning, song must mean: a sung poem - basically poetic verses and phrases: and the purpose of the music is to interpret and accentuate the meaning of the lyrics and create the appropriate acoustic atmosphere for each poem. The unity of the poetic text and the musical form is a fundamental rule in the architeeture of the song. Here, therefore, exists the key of the matter. Let's look at the verses of *rebetika* songs.

You may go since you want to go somewhere else. Leave the tricks, the nagging and silliness. When the loulas [section of pipe where hashish is burnt] is smoking you shouldn't talk. Look around and the manges are all doing toubeki. [heavy Persian tobacco] Leri, leri leri, leri, leri, the truants, you sucker, are thousands In the dounia. Hey you ridiculous mangas. Stop the rubbish. Don't get too close to my girl. The mangas went out for a stroll to find a tekes.

If we accept as poetry this ghastly underworld slang – even folk poetry – we must ask, what is the quality of a music which expresses, interprets and creates the acoustic atmosphere to the words " *konxes* (tricks), *trihes* (rubbish), *loulathes* (upper end of pipes where hashish is burnt), *narghiles,* (hash pipe), *toubeki* (Persian tobacco), leri, leri (nonsense words), *kopanes* (truants), *koroitha* (suckers, fools), *gomenes* (the broads), *tekethes (hash dens)* etc"

The music to which this hideous poetry corresponds is equally hideous. How is it possible for us to load this unmentionable art on the shoulders of the Greek people? If the ardent followers of the *bouzouki*, the all-knowing experts, answer us, then we will admit our mistake and we will acknowledge our error and admit that today, Greece is going through the "Golden Age of the *Bouzouki*". (Strathgopoulou, 1957:1)

Before I comment on Strathgopoulou's article, I should mention that the views are expressed in a form of the Greek language called *katherevousa,* which was created by intellectuals and bureaucrats after the Greek War of Independence (ca 1830) in an effort to purify the Greek language of Turkish and Slav influences. It was meant to be constructed from Ancient Greek and demotic forms of the Greek language. Whilst the language was used by officialdom until well after the Second World War, it was never used by the mass of Greek people; and in 1976, the *demotic* form of Greek was officially adopted as the national form of Greek language. Thus, it is most probable that the *Neos Kosmos* article was produced from a mainland Greek paper for inclusion in the Melbourne Greek newspaper (this was a common practice). This view is supported by Mimis Sophocleous (2001, pers. com.) who believed that it would have been unlikely in the 1950s that a Greek-Australian would have expressed these views in *katharevousa.*

Nevertheless, the article was published for Melbourne readers and they succeeded in provoking a local response, as we shall see below. We can safely assume that the Strathgopoulou article reflected a significant part of the official mainland Greek view of *rebetika* in the late 1950s.[75] That is, the vernacular form of Greek language used by *rebetika* composers and the kind of low-life depicted in the songs were considered to be an insult by those adhering to the official view of ancient Greek heritage.

Strathgopoulou leaves us in no doubt that *rebetika* text and music are so appalling as to be practically "unmentionable" to the Greek people. She feels this was so even if "intellectuals" and "artists" maintained that *rebetika* were "clearly Greek and genuine *laiki* (of the people) music. However, her final comment presents another commonly held view about *rebetika* in Greece in the 1950s: that is, from the 1950s the appeal of

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[75] See Gauntlett 1991 for further details on the debate about the nature and role of *rebetika* in mainland Greece.

rebetika had broadened and *archondorebetika* could be heard commonly in *kosmikes* tavernas and *bouzoukia*. Thus, the period was believed by some to be "the Golden Age of the *Bouzouki*". This article provoked a quick response from a Melbourne contributor to the March 20th, 1957 edition of *Neos Kosmos*. Entitled, The *Rebetika* Songs: (Can *rebetika* songs be characterised as laika songs?, Christidis observed: (trans: P. Horn, 2000)

> Those who don't want to delude themselves and to delude others, categorically answer - no - without hesitation. How then did this wrong term, the notion that rebetiko song is laiko, continue? By the term *laikos*, do we mean all of the people who are citizens of a country, who have the same ethnicity: ranging, let's say, from a poor Greek farmer, to an unskilled Greek factory worker and to a Greek Bothosakis, Nearhos [wealthy shipping owner]? We say no. The term, and the terms *laos* and *laiko*, are used mainly to mean the poverty stricken inhabitants of villages and cities. Each person who thinks he occupies, or really does occupy a place of value in the community, denies the label. This means that not only is he not a *laos*, but is something "superior" and better than a *laos*. The newest teacher, doctor, solicitor, even a small manufacturer or member of a small circle of business people, feels it is a curse, a beating, if he is characterised as a *laos* person or *laikos*. Generally, he understands the term *laos*, to mean paupers; in particular, the poor of the villages and the unskilled workers, the large mass of people – citizens of a country – who are sunk in the depths of misery and wretchedness and, because of the economic, social and political position which make up the hard reality of their life, it is impossible for them to feel and move around like the perverted and unnatural social types of the *rebetika* song who narrate criminal acts of adultery, theft, hashish smoking and free love with a peculiarity of idiomatic language plainly unrelated, independent of and unconnected with the linguistic tools of the Greek people. So from a linguistic perspective, historical view and social reality, it [the writer's argument] is proven. The term, 'rebetiko' song, cannot be established [or] supported as a Greek laiko song. Such a view is a perversion and slander against the Greek people who have roots deep in the past. It is a reaction of those Greek classes who - from social fear - think of the laiko type of people as criminals who, with their manufactured paradises, turn their backs on hard social-economic reality. Nevertheless, it won't be long before the real Greek laiko song will be heard (Christidis, 1957).

Christidis, asking whether or not *rebetika* can be considered to be truly of the people, i.e. *laika,* maintains that it cannot, because whilst the terms *laos or laikos* refer to "the large mass of people" in Greece who are poor, they are not to be equated with the "perverted and unnatural types" associated with rebetiko song.

These articles in the national Greek-Australian newspaper, *Neos Kosmos* reflect negative attitudes about *rebetika* in Melbourne which were around in the late 1950s. The few informants who arrived in Melbourne in that decade confirmed this negative attitude for me. Tourloubis said he believed that: "In 1954, if you talked Greek or sang in Greek in Melbourne, they [Anglo-European Australians] would [metaphorically] kill you" (Tourloubis, 1998, pers. com.). Nevertheless, he claimed to have been playing his six-stringed *bouzouki* and singing in the same year at a venue called *Kirinia* and in *cafenion* (small Greek cafes usually frequented by men). Later, Tourloubis and Christos Baltsidis sang and played the *bouzouki* in the *Pirina Café* in Russell Street. Tourloubis commented:

> [At that time] there were no night clubs. The drinking laws were very tough. I remember when we played at a place where Greeks went to dance, they put beer in their cups to drink and sometimes the police came to protect the areas [from illicit alcohol consumption] (Tourloubis, 1998, pers. com.).

Tourloubis showed me a photograph, dated December 24th, 1954, which had been taken of himself and another *bouzouki* player at the Delphic Peceptions near the corner of Burke Street and Russell Street in the city of Melbourne. Another photograph, dated 1955 shows Tourloubis, *oud* player Christos Baltsidis and another anonymous player, which Tourloubis described as the "first [Greek-Australian] trio in Melbourne.

Tourloubis claimed that when he arrived in Melbourne in 1954, "nobody was singing *rebetika*" except himself which is not quite accurate. However, he observed correctly that:

> Not many people liked *rebetika* [in the 1950s]. There were about 5000 people in Melbourne; maybe about 100 liked *rebetika*. Those who came from the country liked *demotika*. But a lot of people from Asia Minor were here – they liked it. They liked all the *bouzouki* music (Tourloubis, 1998, pers. com.).

He was wrong about the size of the Greek-born population in Melbourne in 1954, which actually numbered 25,862 (see *table 3.3*). However, the spirit of his observation is fair. Given the migratory pattern of Greeks from Asia Minor and their significance in the evolution of *rebetika*, it is worth noting again that the 1921[76] census of Greek born Australians showed a significant increase from the 1,798 in 1911 to 3,654 10 years later. In chapter eight I shall refer to a theatrical play written in the 1990s which explored the experience of migrants from Asia Minor who settled around Yarraville in Melbourne.

Christos Baltsidis, who arrived in Melbourne in 1953, recalled how there used to be "no Greek places to play music [and] all these people [Greek-Australians] came to Victoria, opened shops, businesses and they were looking for musicians" (Baltsidis, 1998, pers. com.). According to Tourloubis, a year later Baltsidis found one or two fellow musicians. Thus we can be certain that a few newly-arrived musicians of the 1950s brought with them experience of *rebetika* music and they played instruments such as the *bouzouki* and *oud*. However, it seems that their public repertoire, whilst featuring some *rebetika* and *demotika* music, consisted of a great deal of European and Latin-American-type popular music. This was confirmed by Tsicaderis who observed:

> I was a young boy [in the 1950s], but the pressure from the radio stations ... was the European light popular style ... A lot of the migrants of the 1950s came from country towns and they would have been hearing *demotika* – *rebetika* very little, although some of the musicians we had would have known *rebetika* (Tsicaderis, 1998, pers. com.).

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[76] This year coincided with the mass exchange of populations between Greece and Turkey in 1921-22.

Key performers of *rebetika* music in Melbourne in this period were named by generation *A* informants as: Jim Pappas (drummer), Takis Tourloubis (*bouzouki*), Fotis Gonis (a *bouzouki* player who later went on to play *bouzouki* in a Broadway production of *Zorba The Greek*), Jim Ballas (*bouzouki*), Christos Baltsidis (*oud*), Takis Kavouris (keyboard), George Tatris (Violin), Anestis Kavouras (guitar) Con Sapklanderis (*bouzouki*), George Fretsasidis (*bouzouki*), George Cosmopoulos (*bouzouki*), Peter Tsingounis (*laouto*). Undoubtedly, there must have been other players, but the musicians listed above were those most frequently mentioned by my informants.

Early commercial interest in *rebetika*

In addition to the evidence provided by newspaper articles, entrepreneurs and active musicians, there is also information documenting the early Greek-Australian commercial interest in *rebetika*.

Spiros Caras and Harry Trahanas, are today both involved in Melbourne's Greek-Australian music recording importing business. They recalled that the Yiannopoulos Greek Emporium was situated near the corner of Swanston and Lonsdale streets in the 1950s. Among other products it distributed Greek 78rpm recordings manufactured from imported matrices (Caras, 1999, pers.com.), (Trahanas, 1999, pers.com.). Trahanas claimed to have bought imported *rebetika* recordings from this store in 1955. Tourloubis recalled buying *bouzouki* strings from the same store in the 1950s.

Zervos (1999, pers. com.) commented how as a boy he smashed many imported Greek 78rpms by throwing them into the air "like frizbees". These recordings belonged to his grandfather who came to Australia in 1908 aged 12. Zervos thinks that his grandfather may have bought these recordings from the Yiannopoulos Greek Emporium.

However, Con Zahar, (the Head of Hellenic Music Distribution in Australia who began his career in the Greek-Australian recording industry in Sydney in 1951), doubted that Zervos's grandfather could have acquired *rebetika* recordings in Melbourne during the early 1950s. According to Zahar, Yiannopoulos began the Emporium in 1949/50. At first, the business dealt in Greek magazines and Orthodox church items; and later it introduced Greek records. Zahar observed:

> EMI imported the records. We (Zahar and his uncle in Sydney) and he (Yiannopoulos in Melbourne) were placing our orders with EMI Australia who were getting them from England. Greece was doing the recording but the manufacturing was done in England so we were bringing in the 78rpms in wooden crates from England. When they started the little 45rpms, everything was manufactured in Greece (Zahar, 2001, pers.com.).

Here, Zahar tells us that it would have been possible for Greek-Australian record shops to import post-1946 recordings of *archondorebetika*. However, he went on to maintain that:

> At that time when we were bringing in records, *rebetika* was not in existence...it was *zebekika* that was the popular music of the day...*Rebetika* was more [about] the underworld and involved people who were on drugs. *Zebekika* involved talking about problems in homes and relationships. People would get up and dance to *zebekiko* even if they were sad (Zahar, 2001, pers. com.).

Thus, Zahar makes a clear distinction between *rebetika* and *zebekika*. He even stated that Tsitsanis and Papaioannou were "rebetes" pre-1946 and that "after the Second World War, the same people wrote different songs. The songs were not *rebetika* but zebekika". By itself, the term *zebekika* (pl.) or *zebekiko* (sing.) is a qualitative designation referring to a dance rhythm. I believe the term *zebekika* is used to describe some post-1946 popular Greek songs which were based on a *zebekiko* rhythm but do not contain other *rebetika* characteristics. However, some songs

referred to as *zebekika* also involved other *rebetika* characteristics, in which case they may qualify as being called *rebetika*-related songs.[77] Zahar recalled: "In 1955 the popular *rebetika* (sic) singers such as Katie Grey, were singing zebekika and *tsifteteliа*". (Zabar, 2000, pers. com.). Following Zahar's view a popular Greek song simply based on a *rebetika* dance mode does not qualify the song to be referred to as a *rebetika* song. A similar argument could be used in reference to a "blues" song. That is, a song based on the twelve bar harmonic forumulae does not make it a "blues" song. To fall into the "blues" category other characteristics particular to forms of "blues" music would have to be included. Similarly, a *rebetika* song or *rebetika*-related song would have to contain more than one musical characteristic of the *rebetika* genre. Defining at which point on this stylistic continuum a Greek popular song can said to belong to the *rebetika* genre is not a scientific exercise. The situation adds to the problem we face concerning "the vagaries of commercial usage [which] have contributed to the confusion which prevails in popular usage of the term [rebetiko] and perception of the genre, as well as reflecting it" (Gauntlett, 1983:84).

We can see from the preceding evidence that *rebetika* performance in Melbourne in the 1950s was rare. However, an interested audience existed whose regard for the genre extended to buying imported recordings, attending early Greek-Australian music performances (some of which included *rebetika* songs) and responding to articles raising the issue of *rebetika* in *Neos Kosmos*.

Not until the 1960s did *rebetika* become strongly established in Melbourne. Its popularity was related to a huge increase in Greek immigration from the early to mid-1960s. In 1961 the Greek born population of Australia was 77,333. Within five years

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[77] I use the terms *rebetika-related songs* cautiously to refer to songs which contain, in my judgement, enough *rebetika* musical characteristics as discussed in chapter five to be considered as a feature of the *rebetika* genre. However, I note that this criterion does not agree with Gauntlett's "sole criterion for eligibility for inclusion in" the Melbourne *rebetika* database, Corpus Rebeticorum: that "being attestation as rebetiko in a verifiable source" (Gauntlett, 1994: 46).

it had reached 140,089 (see *table 3.3*). The Greek-Australian community began to establish entertainment venues including *bouzoukia;* i.e venues for the performance of popular *bouzouki* music. As Gauntlett observed:

> The arrival of the *bouzoukia* in Melbourne in 1960 was announced in *Neos Kosmos* as 'incredible but true,' and while no details are given of the provenance and repertoire of the musicians, their venue, 'MU Hall' at 158 Hoddle Street, is claimed to have the style and menu of an Athenian *taverna*...by 1962 the *bouzouki* was perceived to be sufficiently acclimatised in Australia to sustain the first of a long sequence of visits by leading exponents of *rebetika* and *rebetika*-derivatives [from Greece]...(Gauntlett, 1993:344)

7.3 1960s

Whilst the *bouzouki* may have become a familiar sound in Melbourne in the 1960s, my research shows that the instrument had been used for occasional performances of *rebetika* music from the mid-1950s. Nevertheless, the early 1960s marked the beginning of a boom of *rebetika* performance in Melbourne even if some musicians remained wary about the music's acceptability in Australia. Spiridakos commented: "When I came here [in 1961] I joined a band [of Egyptian-Greeks] and talked about *rebetika tragoudia*. Firstly, these people didn't play *rebetika* and they told me no one wanted it. [They said] "If you try to sing songs like that, maybe they'll kick you out of the place" (Spiridakos,1998, pers. com.). Thus, forays into *rebetika* were not acceptable to all Greek-Australians in the early 1960s. Greeks from Egypt were known for their preference for the more "sophisticated Latin-American music rather than *rebetika*" (Clidaras, 1994, pers. com.). Thus, Latin-American dance music and other popular European ballad music of the early 1960s were the preferred forms of music of the first licensed Greek Tavern in Melbourne which, according to Spiridakos (1998, pers. com.) was established in Toorak, featuring musicians playing *bouzouki*, accordion, drum-kit and electric organ. Greek *laiki* music, including a number of *rebetika* songs, was always played at the end of their performances; late in the

evening. This structuring of performance content was common and can still be found in contemporary wedding receptions and Greek night-clubs where heavily amplified versions of *demotika* and *rebetika* begin after midnight after which (in my experience) *kefi* (high spiritedness) increases.

During the 1960s, the total pool of Greek-Australian musicians increased with the arrival of a number of key players including Nikolaras - one of the first *bouzouki* musicians to work professionally - (Spiridakos, 1998, pers. com.), Thomas Papadopoulos, (*bouzouki*), David Davidopoulos, Varnavas (voice) and Themios Stathoulopoulos (*bouzouki*). The latter two musicians were mentioned by my informants as having played a particulary important role in the evolution of *rebetika* in Melbourne.

Varnavas, who arrived in Melbourne from Cyprus in 1964 at the age of 17, observed that there were only "a couple of Greek night clubs" (Varnavas, 1998, pers. com.) in Melbourne at that time and they were frequented by "half and half nationalities: half Italian [or] half Greek, English, Australian and Yugoslavian". He began to sing in these clubs at the age of 18 and in 1965 met Themios Stathoulopoulos. Varnavas and Stathoulopoulos formed a long-lasting musical partnership. Describing his initial meeting and consequent partnership with Stathoulopoulos, Varnavas commented:

> Themios came here [Melbourne] in 1964 and I met him in a coffee bar in Exhibition Street. I saw a man walk in with a *bouzouki*. He took the *bouzouki* out. We sang a few songs and that was the first *bouzouki* player I had met in Australia. [Stathoulopoulos said] "I came [to Australia] with my wife. She is a singer and we are getting ready to sing at a Greek night club named *Olympus*. He invited me to sing with them. *Olympus* was in [Chapel Street] Prahran [but it burnt down] and Themios said "we'll open our own place". Which is what we did in St Kilda Junction. He named the place *Nostalgia* (Varnavas, 1998, pers. com.).

In 1967, Varnavas managed the musical program of the *Athenaika Taverna* (originally called the *Alikante Restaurant*) in Collins Street. He described the *taverna* as a "place

where thousands of people met" during the period when "Greeks were arriving in Melbourne in ships such as the Patris, Ellinis, Australis". The original *Athenaika Taverna* remained open for one year before being closed by the police because of illicit alcohol consumption. Soon after Varnavas opened other places with the same name: two in Little Lonsdale Street and another in Church Street, Richmond.

Themios Stathoulopoulos' contribution to *rebetika* music in Melbourne warranted a substantial entry in the 1993 edition of The Oxford Companion to Australian Folklore.[78] To paraphrase Gauntlett's entry, Stathoulopoulos claimed to have been the "first and most authentic *rebetika* musician in Melbourne". The son of a *saz* player, he began playing the *bouzouki* in 1948, "learned to play *rebetika* songs by ear from gramophone records," and started to play in his native province of Messinia before running away to "live rough on the outskirts of Piraeus". After completing his national service, he married Yiota Panayou, an accomplished singer who recorded several popular songs with Columbia Records in the early 1960s. Soon after, Themios and Yiota were "brought to Melbourne" to perform at a Greek club. Finding that it had closed, they started performing at the *Olympus Club* in Prahran. After the club had been destroyed, he became "joint proprietor" [with Varnavas] of the Montecarlo Club which was renamed the *Nostalgia*. The on-going licensing problem which faced early Greek club owners arose again. "Unable to afford a liquor license...the joint owners of the club frequently had their stock of alcohol confiscated by the police. *Nostalgia* closed down and Stathoulopoulos turned to plastering to meet domestic expenses. He appeared in a 1967-1968 "floor show as part of an international cabaret at the *Zorba Club*, Prahran and later opened a café near-by, where he performed live *bouzouki* music (Gauntlett, 1993: 350-351).[79]

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[78] See Gauntlett, 1993: 350-352, for the complete entry.

[79] I shall return to the *rebetika* careers of Varnavas and Stathoulopoulos during the discussion of *rebetika* developments in Melbourne during the 1970s and 1980s.

With the increased Greek-Australian population and subsequent establishment of *rebetika* and venues for its performance, related commercial activity increased including the establishment in 1960 of a souvenir shop owned by Dimitris Caras at 189 Lonsdale Street which developed into an important music business. His son, Spiros commented:

> [The shop] closed after about six years before re-opening at 215 Lonsdale Street. Over the years the business developed into a music store involving manufacturing and importing. Originally Jim Caras [his father] had not intended developing a music business but a market existed amongst Greek migrants. Music was a link with Greece at a time when communications between Australia and Greece were less easy. (Caras, 2000, pers. com.)

Communications between Australia and Greece in the 1960s depended on expensive telephone calls and written correspondence, but it was Caras' view that live musical performances and the acquisition of imported recordings of Greek music were valued highly by migrants whose homeland was on the other side of the world.

Around the same time as the opening of Caras' business, two other music stores opened in Melbourne. One was located in Lonsdale Street and named after its owner, Salapatas, which "brought over records, souvenirs and books" (Trahanas, 1999, pers. com.). The other was established by George Bitsis at 246 Russell Street, named The Odeon. Bitsos, and Zahar in Sydney, became the exclusive distributors of imported Greek music recordings for EMI Records in Australia.

7.4 1970s-1985

By the end of the 1960s the performance of *rebetika* music in Melbourne had taken root. It was made possible by the arrival of competent *bouzouki* players, the growth of an audience, the establishment of venues and the opening of music shops able to import recordings of *rebetika* to supply a steady demand. These developments increased in the 1970s. More new venues were established encouraged by an easing of

the licensing laws. For example, Tourloubis named the Brunswick venues such as the Iparko (later renamed Kresta), Cocacabana Club, The Retreat Hotel and East Brunswick Hotel, while Zervos named La Luna café in Brunswick. In 1979 Stathoulopoulos began performing with Varnavas at the Aristotle Tavern, Fitzroy and in "*rebetika* soirées at the Melbourne branch of the multicultural *Boite* ..." (Gauntlett, 1993: 351). The very existence from the late 1970s of the *Boite*, an organisation in Melbourne dedicated to the encouragement and dissemination of traditional music from around the world, indicates how general attitudes towards non-Anglo-European music in Melbourne had changed from those of the 1950s. *Boite* still exists at the time of writing.

The *rebetika* environment of the 1960s and 1970s outlined so far was the one into which most of the generation *B* musicians were born and grew up. Indeed, by the end of the 1970s many of them were taking their first performance steps in the Greek traditional music scene. One of these players (who more accurately falls into a cross-generation age group) was Tassos Ioannidis. He observed:

> When I first came to Australia in 1971 I earned my living by playing in places where they played *rebetika* music. The most prominent place was called Cocacabana in Sydney Road, Brunswick where they played a lot of the popular songs of the day but they always included *rebetika* in their repertoire (Ioannidis, 1998, pers. com.).

Between 1975 and 1979, as he observed, he also "presented a music program at La Mama Theatre where we [he and his brother Christos] presented several kinds of music but again *rebetika* songs were often played" (Ioannidis, 1998, pers. com.).

The Tsakpina club, 1979-1981

Thus, the 1970s was a decade in which generation *A* and generation *B* musicians began to converge. This merging was recalled by musicians from both generations who described a particular venue, the *Tsakpina Club*, as a meeting point. This club,

created in 1979 by Komninos Zervos, had particular significance for those following *rebetika* developments in Melbourne. Zervos described the club as follows:

> It was a rebetiko playground for Australian-born Greek kids. The entry was in Waratah Place and you went upstairs to the first floor of 185 Lonsdale Street. It became a popular venue for non-Greek people as well as young Australian-born Greeks: particularly left-wing progressive youth clubs: then it became popular among the general Greek population. We opened until very late at night: until 3.00am or 4.00 am. When Melbourne artists finished their shows they would come along to us. We stuck fairly rigidly to *rebetika* music for our entertainment. It was like walking into another era: like travelling back in time and to another country. People like Themios Stathoulopoulos and Varnvas would come here after their gigs. In 1980 I published a record: a rebetiko EP of originals that Themios had written here in Australia. They were real *rebetika* times. When they did a show and the hookah came out, the music started playing: it was very authentic. Sotiria Bellou [a celebrated female *rebetika* singer who performed with many of the post-1946 Greek rebetes] visited the place when she came to Melbourne. So did Manolis Hadzidakis (a Greek composer) and Gail Holst, author of the book Road To Rembetika, (sic) [the book which inspired Zervos to create *Tsakpina*]. (Zervos, 1999, pers. com.)

Zervos describes the *Tsakpina Club* as a hive of *rebetika* activity in the late 1970s and early 1980s. His ackowledgment of Holst's influence recognises her contribution to the *rebetika* discourse as the product of an Australian musicologist - not a Greek musicologist. This is significant not least because little had been published about *rebetika* outside of Greece in the mid-1970s, but also because as Holst observed "The Australian Council for the Arts was sufficiently enlightened to believe that research into Greek music was relevant to Australia [in the early 1970s] and financed [her research] trip to Greece" (Holst, 1975: 8). The 1983 film, Rembetika: The Greek Blues, included a section filmed in *The Tsakpina Club* featuring Themios Stathoulopoulos and his wife, singer Yiota Stathoulopoulos. The narrator in the film observes how Greek-Australians in Melbourne are "now discovering songs of the underworld: songs their parents were ashamed to teach them" (Holst, 1983). I am not aware of the extent to which the "shame" of *rebetika* themes played a role in the

transfer of *rebetika* repertoire between generations *A* and *B*. However, I do know as Vela observed in chapter two, that work and establishing themselves in Australia was a priority for generation *A* musicians in the 1950s and 1960s.

The Tsakpina Club was remembered by Vela as a "*rebetika* inspired hang-out. It created something that they [the owners] thought would have reflected the 1920s. It was semi-Oriental and you could sit on cushions" (Vela, 1998, pers. com.). She also described the club as:

> ...quite political...They had political groups. Groups like *Resistance* could go in and have their meetings always with *rebetika* music being played in the background. There was a women's night: no men allowed. It was available for a lot of radical groups (Vela, 1998, pers. com.).

Here Vela provides a rare observation linking *rebetika* in Melbourne with political activism, especially the early days of the politicisation of gender awareness in the late 1970s.

Zervos also recalled the later years of the club as being more "political". He chose to close the club in 1982 after deciding to "move on to other things...". Moreover, he "created Tsakpina as a piece of Greece that no longer existed even in Greece". This latter statement is debatable since clubs featuring pre-1946 *rebetika* style music were created in Athens during the 1970s by *rebetika* revivalist musicians.

Bearing in mind that the *Tsakpina club* had been frequented by both generation *A* and *B* musicians, and that the club's existence spanned the late 1970s and early 1980s, it is worth noting that its most active period began shortly after the fall of the Greek Military Junta in Greece in 1974 and the emergence of revivalist *rebetika* bands. It also paralleled a surge in political awareness and activity involving anti-war sentiments and demonstrations amongst Melbourne's Greek population. It is not unreasonable to suggest that this political awareness associated with significant events

in both Greece and Australia, may have contributed to what my informants had previously referred to as "an awakening" to things Greek amongst their peers. A core group of these young Greek-Australian musicians met at Melbourne University in the early and mid-1980s. As Gauntlett (1993: 343) noted, "the University of Melbourne was among the first in the world to offer undergraduate courses and foster scholarly research on the genre".

Archie Argyropoulos, Paulos Andronikos, Hector Cosmas, Christella Demetriou, George Galiatsos, Irini Vela and Achilleas Yiangoulis were among these undergraduates. All were later to become important figures in Melbourne's *rebetika* scene. Vela commented:

> I started at university. I got involved in the Greek club; not seriously but I met a friend who said there was a Greek Socialist youth organisation. They said they needed a guitarist for a choir. I accompanied this choir for basic Greek worker songs: some were based on folk music; some more *rebetika* style – Mikis Theodorakis. In a sense my introduction to *rebetika* occurred via Theodorakis' interpretation of *rebetika*. Later, I came across players who were to become the original players of *Apodimi Compania,* George and Manoli Galiatsos. They were called *Rebetiki Compania.* I, and a woman called Christella , a *bouzouki* player, formed a group. As women we were just there. They [the men] were desperate for players. Christella was a *bouzouki* player and I was a guitarist. It freed George [Galiatsos] to play the *baglama* and they needed a bigger sound. That was my introduction to *rebetika*: as a political thing. I saw it as political music. (Vela, 1998, pers. com.)

Vela raises the question as to whether *rebetika* can be regarded as a "political music". Music as sound *per se* cannot be political, but the social ramifications of making music can be. As such, it is not difficult to understand the perception that *rebetika* in Melbourne in the 1980s was political for some of the emerging generation *B* players. In Greece it was similarly perceived as political. In pre- and post-war Greece, the music was both vilified and encouraged at various times by all major political parties. Vela's description of how she and Demetriou became involved as instrumentalists in

Rebetiki Compania suggests that, at the very least, male members of the ensemble were willing to include women as key instrumentalists rather than to exclude them as had been the norm in Greece and Melbourne. Vela and Demitirou were clearly keen to change the idea that women could not be players of key *rebetika* string instruments.

Tsitsanis, one of the most popular performers and composers of post-1946 *rebetika* songs, died in Greece in 1984. His death was marked in Melbourne by a memorial concert organised in March of that year by enthusiasts who "brought together half a dozen local *rebetika* ensembles for repeated performances to packed audiences at the National Theatre before touring inter-state" (Gauntlett, 1993: 343). The performances attracted broad publicity, even from the non Greek-Australian press. As Gauntlett observed:

> Even the Anglo-European press recorded this 'outburst of plinking and plonking' or '*bouzouki* bonanza', defining *rebetika* as 'the music Greeks like to hum when they have had a bad day at the races or the wife has run off with the refrigerator mechanic.' (*The Age*, March 10th, 1984)

Later in the same year, *The Age* carried an advertisment proclaiming "Greek is great. Smashing Christmas parties up to 150 people. Zorba music, dancing, plate smashing and all that". A year later a review of a Greek television drama based on *rebetika* music and life-styles, Pireaus Blues, was summarised as 'Nana Mouskouri meets Arthur Daly" (*Age*, 18 May, 1985 quoted in Gauntlett, 1993: 344).

The musical director of the Tsitsanis concert, Peter Volaris, had ambiguous feelings about the event. He commented:

> People were very happy with it. It was very authentic. We had created a good musicians' club at the time and that was one of the things we did. But there was not much interest after that and the whole thing [interest in Tsitsanis' music] collapsed. We had Themios Stathoulopoulos and his wife [Yiota]. We had Varnavas: What a voice! A good gravelly voice. Stathis Gauntlett spoke and did an introduction to the coucert. It was a messy thing. It wasn't professional but it was a

> good idea. There was David Davidopoulos who said he had played accordion with Tsitsanis.[80] (Volaris, 1998, pers. com.)

Apodimi Compania origins

From Volaris' description, the concert was significant because it was held to revere an important Greek rebetis. However, the significance of the performance did not seem to be a concern of the non-Greek press, whose comments about *rebetika* in Melbourne had more in common with views about non Anglo-European music expressed in the 1950s than with views expressed in the relatively enlightened 1980s. The concert also featured an ensemble of young generation *B* musicians called *Parikiaki Compania* (Parochial Ensemble), which in fact was one of the first public appearances of the musicians who were to later form the influential *Rebetiki Compania* and *Apodimi Compania*.

Such is the significance attributed to *Apodimi Compania* by the Greek-Australian community in Melbourne for their role in the evolution of *rebetika* in Melbourne that, like Themios Stathoulopoulos, they too are given an entry in The Oxford Companion to Australian Folkore, (1993). Likening *Apodimi Compania* to revivalist bands from mainland Greece, the author noted:

> These bands characteristically focus their repertoire on historic or little known recordings of the pre-war era and seek to reproduce their supposedly authentic, pre-commercial style on acoustic traditional instruments. The results have aptly been compared with 'old 78s without the scratches' and are sometimes open to criticism as contrivedly primitive, hypercorrect and unhistorical (Gauntlett, 1993:13).

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[80] The claim to have performed with Tsitsanis was also made by Stathoulopoulos. Anestis Kavouras, son of pre-1946 rebetes George Kavouras, was also introduced to Tsitsanis during a trip made to Greece in search of memorabilia concerning his father.

Here, Gauntlett refers to the debate about authentic or 'pure' *rebetika* performance discussed in chapter five in which (as I noted) for the most part, musicians who found meaning in pre-1946 performance practices and styles did so because their desire for authentic meaning related to personal and community identity.

The ensemble was founded by the brothers George and Manolis Galiatsos. George Galiatsos began his musical career by playing the guitar and organising cultural events for the Cretan Brotherhood[81]. His initial musical interest was Celtic folk music and from this he turned to Greek music, playing with local musicians such as Costas Tsicaderis who were "composing Greek music [and] putting music to Greek-Australian lyrics" (Galiatsos, 1994, pers. com.). Galitasos commented:

> At some stage in the 1980s, my brother and I were playing *rebetika* with Irini Veta and then playing contemporary Greek-Australian music at various venues for the Greek and Australian community at large. Later we formed our own band, *Apodimi Compania,* playing mainly *rebetika* music and eventually branched out and started playing Greek folk music, mainly from the islands (Galiatsos, 1994, pers. com.).

Galiatsos' comments provide a sketch of *Apodimi Compania*'s stylistic developments. The ensemble began as a group of Greek-Australian musicians involved in the performance of a number of styles of traditional music but particularly of Celtic music. They went on to develop an interest in pre-1946 *rebetika* music and then branched out to include *demotika* music in their repertoire. In fact the first part of their regular weekend performances at The Retreat Hotel in Brunswick between 1989-1994, usualty began with *demotika*: the *rebetika* repertoire began around midnight.

For many Greek-Australians and other Australians, *Apodimi* were not simply performers of traditional music but also disseminators of traditional Greek cultural

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[81] The Galiatsos family originate from Crete. The Brotherhood is one of many similar associations in Melbourne which acts as a social focus for Greek-Australian communities from various mainland regions of Greece.

practices in general. Ensemble vocalist and *baglama* player Archie Argyropoulos observed:

> It [*Apodimi Compania*] began in 1986. A lot of people have been through *Apodimi*. The band was formed trying to discover tradition and to see what role it played in society. [Although it began] as a musical thing eventually it became something more: it became an analysis of the times that the music came from. It has been wonderful to present to the modern Greek-Australian public aspects of Greek culture that they never knew existed (Argyropoulos, 1994, pers. com.).

Here Argyropoulos tells us that the musicians of *Apodimi* included a network of generation *B* players who, apart from performing in the ensemble, were interested in discovering what traditional Greek music meant for contemporary Greek-Australians. Was it a journey of discovery involving young musicians helping their peers (and others) to consider their cultural heritage? Yes, it probably was.

At the same time as the emergence of *Apodimi Compania,* Stathoulopoulos continued to develop his own career with performances at *Kalyva*, a Richmond taverna. Here, the clientele was "diverse, with non-Greek customers often forming the majority" (Gauntlett, 1993: 351). The clients may have been non-Greek, however:

> ...Thymios's (sic) repertoire remained firmly focussed on *rebetika* by Tsitsanis, Vamvakaris, Yenitsaris and Mitsakis [first and second generation Greek rebetes] and traditional songs: he preferred to add older songs to his repertoire, rather than modern, non-traditional compositions (loc.cit).

In 1985, Stathoulopoulos produced an LP titled *The Rembetika of Melbourne,* with assistance from the Music Board of the Australia Council. The record featured twelve of his own compositions. I shall discuss this recording in the second part of this chapter.

Thus, in the 1980s, *rebetika* in its various forms, could be heard by both the Greek-Australian and Anglo-European communities. For the latter, it seems to have been based on stereotypical, tourist images of Greece: an image that has largely been

replaced with a more informed image, although as recently as 1995 a flyer advertising "*bouzoukia* in the 90s," presented by Zorba Brothers at the Billboard, 170 Russell Street, promised "dips....plate smashing...free ouzo shots during the night".

7.5 Greek popular music recorded, manufactured or distributed in Melbourne between the 1960s and mid-1980s

In the second part of this chapter I shall examine examples of *rebetika* music recorded, manufactured or distributed in Melbourne between the 1960s and mid-1980s. I have selected the mid-1980s as the end-point of my discussion in this chapter because it coincides with a significant moment in the recordings of generation *A* musicians, in particular with the production of a recording by Themios Stathoulopoulos entitled ΤΑ ΡΕΜΠΕΤΙΚΑ ΤΗΣ ΜΕΛΒΟΥΡΝΗΣ (THE *REBETIKA* OF MELBOURNE) (Stathoulopoulos, 1984), and the beginnings of generation *B* recordings which I shall discuss in the following chapter. Thus discussion at the end of chapter seven and the beginning of chapter eight will merge and examine the point of convergence of musical activity between generations *A* and *B*.

My sources of information for this chapter include the Hellenic Music Distribution (HMD) catalogue of Greek recorded music which lists much of what was available in Australia from the 1960s to 2000[82] and archive material contained in the ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ ΤΡΑΓΟΥΔΙΩΝ ΠΟΥ ΕΧΟΥΝ ΓΡΑΦΤΕΙ ΚΑΙ ΕΚΔΟΘΕΙ ΣΤΗΝ ΑΥΣΤΡΑΛΙΑ ΣΕ ΔΙΣΚΟΥΣ Η ΚΑΣΕΤΤΕΣ from the Greek-Australian Archive Museum and Learning Centre at the Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology,

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[82] I am grateful to Mr Con Zahar of Hellenic Music Distribution, Earlswood, New South Wales for providing me with the HMD General Catalogue of Greek Compact Discs 2001 and for his information regarding the development of the Greek music industry in Melbourne from the 1950s. The catalogue lists many recordings available since 1960 and which are currently available on Compact Discs. However, it does not list recordings which have been deleted or discontinued, nor important recordings such as Charlie Howard's cleaned-up 78 rpms distributed by Rounder Compact Disc, Massachusettss, USA.

University, referred to at the beginning of this chapter. I am also grateful for information from Con Zahar, the Managing Director of Hellenic Music Distribution, and members of the Greek Music Industry in Melbourne, particularly Harry Trahanas (formerly of *Salapatas* music store) and Spiros Caras of *Caras* music store, both situated in Lonsdale Street, Melbourne.

My aim is to show how a growing demand for recordings of *rebetika* in Melbourne (and efforts of small local independent recording companies and larger importers of recorded music to meet this demand since the 1960s) contributed to the further evolution of *rebetika* in Melbourne, particularly in relation to the activities of generation *A* musicians.

I shall also discuss the *rebetika* recordings referring to the musical characteristics identified by my informants and discussed in chapters five and six, i.e. mode, melody, dance rhythms, instrumentation, form, vocal style and improvisation.

Firstly, it would be useful to list the types of recorded Greek music which have been available in Melbourne since the 1960s according to the HMD catalogue of recorded Greek music. The catalogue lists over 9000 recordings each of which is classified by genre as shown in table 7.1 below.

Table 7.1

Classification of popular Greek music genres[83] recorded in Greece and imported into Australia between 1960-2000, according to the Hellenic Music Distribution Catalogue 2001.	
birthday	pop [usually Western European]
Christmas	laika [a generic term for Greek popular music]
dimotika [*sic*] [traditional rural music]	classical
documentary	elafrolaika [light Greek popular music]
ethnika [national and military music]	latin
endehno [a form of popular music	nisiotika [traditional island music]
referred to as 'art' or 'alternative' music]	pedika [children's songs]
	poetry
ekklisiastika [religious and sacred music]	Pontiaka [traditional music from
funk	Pontos]
heavy metal	paradosiaka [traditional music]
horodrama [dance-drama]	*rebetika*
instrumental	rock
Ipirotika [traditional music from Ipiros]	soundtrack
Kantades [choral song from the Ionian	satirika [satirical]
Islands]	theatrika [theatre]
Kipriotika [traditional music from Cyprus]	

Table 7.1 My analysis of the HMD catalogue shows how many recordings of particular genres were available in the 1960s, 1970s, 1980s and 1990s. The most heavily represented genre in every decade is *laika*. In *tables 7.2, 7.3, 7.4* and *7.5* below I show the number of *rebetika* recordings listed in the HMD catalogue between 1960-1999 in relation to other genres for which an equal or higher demand existed.

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[83] The genre terminology is that used by the compilers of the HMD catalogue. I am grateful to Professor Stathis Gauntlett (2002, pers. comm.) for suggesting that we should be cautious about the taxonomy used in the catalogue and the economics of its application. As I have noted above, the term *laika* can be used to refer to more than one type of popular music – including *rebetika*. Some CDs of "*rebetika*" include other song types on the compilation.

Table 7.2

The number of *rebetika* records shown in relation to other genres for which an equal or higher demand existed in the 1960s.	
Laika	104
Elafrolaika	10
Endehno	10
Theatrika	9
Soundtrack	8
Poetry	8
Instrumental	8
Dimotika	7
Rebetika	7

Table 7.3

The number of *rebetika* recordings shown in relation to other genres for which an equal or higher demand existed in the 1970s.	
Laika	480
Rebetika	50
Elafrolaika	42
Endehno	41
Dimotika	41

Table 7.4

The number of *rebetika* recordings shown in relation to other genres for which and equal or higher demand existed in the 1980s.	
Laika	520
Endehno	82
Elafrolaika	72
Rebetika	55
Dimotika	48

Table 7.5

The number of *rebetika* recordings shown in relation to other genres for which an equal or higher demand existed in the 1990s.	
Laika	2711
Elafrolaika	694
Endehno	419
Dimotika	371
Rebetika	311

While the HMD catalogue may not take into account the transfer of all vinyl recordings of Greek popular music to CD format in the 1990s, *tables 7.2, 7.3, 7.4* and *7.5* show how trends for recorded Greek music grew over forty years. Demand for, and availability of, the *laika* genre was always greater than any other genre, the availability of *rebetika* followed a parallel increase. It is interesting to note that the demand for, and availability of, *rebetika* and *demotika* recordings were similar in each decade.

The range of genres listed in the HMD catalogue is not replicated in mainland Greek and Melbourne recording labels sourced from the Greek-Australian archive ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ ΤΡΑΓΟΥΔΙΩΝ ΠΟΥ ΕΧΟΥΝ ΓΡΑΦΤΕΙ ΚΑΙ ΕΚΔΟΘΕΙ ΣΤΗΝ ΑΥΣΤΡΑΛΙΑ ΣΕ ΔΙΣΚΟΥΣ Η ΚΑΣΕΤΤΕΣ. However the catalogue does contain examples of *elafrolaika, laika, endehno, demotika* and *rebetika.*

The catalogue consists of 61 vinyl recordings of Greek popular music. They are mostly 45-rpm recordings although there are a few 33-rpm recordings. Together they contain about 160 songs. In my view, 72 can be classified as *rebetika* or *rebetika-*

related songs according to the musical characteristics discussed in chapters five and six.[84]

As far as I can ascertain, fifty-two[85] of these recordings were produced between the 1960s and 1985. They all featured the work of generation *A* musicians. A further twenty,[86] recorded from 1986 to 1992, featured the work of generation *B* musicians. The recordings were either made in Greece and manufactured and distributed by Melbourne distributors, or recorded, manufactured and distributed locally.

Although I have attempted to interpret the manufacturing information on each disc and label, unfortunately it has not been possible to categorise each of the recordings by the year of production. Nor have I been able to identify the names of all of the recorded musicians. This is so for two reasons. Firstly, even though the HMD catalogue is recognised as the most systematic record of information available, some Greek imported recordings are not shown in the HMD catalogue. Secondly, my efforts to ascertain manufacturing information were hindered by the non-availability of information provided by Melbourne distributors and local independent recording companies. Indeed, referring to the keeping of such information, Caras observed that:

> There were a lot of problems with discs and people [who] were producing anything. There was no copyright [regulation]. I wouldn't be too sure of the authenticity of the [record] label information. (Caras, 1999, pers. com.)

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[84] Thirty nine of these songs are labelled as *rebetika* songs and thus partly meet Gauntlett's criteria for "attested" material discussed above: that is, "the sole criterion for eligibility for inclusion in the corpus [the Melbourne *rebetika* data-base, *Corpus Rebeticorum]* being attestation as rebetiko in a verifiable source" (Gauntlett, 1994: 46). I have included another thirteen songs using selection criteria based on the musical characteristics discussed in chapter five.

[85] See appendix C for discographic details.

[86] See appendix D for discographic details.

Con Zahar agreed with Caras' view and believed that the lack of systematic information keeping resulted from independent Greek-Australian record producers "not doing a professional job. The Greeks would say I want to make a record so they would go to the studio, record, pay and go round selling it themselves" (Zahar, 2001, pers. com.). Disregarding for the moment the professional or amateur status of record producers, the lack of information from Melbourne distributors and local independent recording labels has limited my ability to place Melbourne *rebetika* recordings in chronological order. Nevertheless I believe the following information gleaned from my informants and the RMIT archive record labels and 'sleeves' is useful to the developing picture of recorded *rebetika* music in Melbourne and could be of use to future scholars attempting to unravel the 'tangle' of record companies involved in the importation and/or recording and manufacturing of Greek and Greek-Australian music in Australia.

Amongst the archive collection are imported recordings manufactured by companies located in Greece but distributed by Melbourne and Sydney companies. Others were recorded, manufactured and distributed by Melbourne companies. They are listed alphabetically in *table 7.6* below.

Table 7.6

Record manufacturers and distributors involved in the production or marketing of Greek and Greek-Australian music in Australia between ca 1960s-1980s listed in the ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ ΤΡΑΓΟΥΔΙΩΝ ΠΟΥ ΕΧΟΥΝ ΓΡΑΦΤΕΙ ΚΑΙ ΕΚΔΟΘΕΙ ΣΤΗΝ ΑΥΣΤΡΑΛΙΑ ΣΕ ΔΙΣΚΟΥΣ Η ΚΑΣΕΤΤΕΣ	
Record company	**Information from disc labels and Melbourne music industry informants**
Antonik	- known for its recordings of Greek-Australian pop singer, John Tekes. I have not been able to confirm the owner's name although Trahanas (1999) suggested it could have been "Nick Anton". One recording has inscribed on it "made in Australia El Greco". The John Tekes recordings include the address of the company as Antonik Records, 365 Chapel Street, South Yarra.
Apollo	- a distributing label created by George Young (otherwise known as Yiannopoulos) the owner of Yiannopoulos Music Emporium in Melbourne since c1949/50.[87]

[87] I am grateful to Professor Stathis Gauntlett for the following information on the Apollo company.

"It was apparently in response to EMI's suspension of supplies of Greek records to him [George Young] in 1958 for breach of their terms of distribution, that Young launched his own "Apollo" label, which featured distinctive gold lettering on a green background, a golden bust of the eponymous god, and the catalogue prefix SY [=Stanley Young, the name of George's son]. The earliest mention of this Apollo label occurs in a reference to an allegation it used recordings made by Columbia in Greece (EMI archives: Greece 16/6/58 L.A. Collins to R. Mackenzie). Mackenzie is instructed to desist from any direct supply of Greek records to Australian retailers except by confirmation of EMI (Australia). Mackenzie acknowledged that the "Apollo label [...] has had some success[...] because room was left for it in the market" (EMI Archives: Greece 19/11/62 R. Mackenzie to G.N. Bridge and J.M. Bevierre). In a letter of 31/10/62 to G.N. Bridge (Hayes), George Young claims to have "stopped new pressings of my label" on the expectation of 11,000 records from the Columbia Gramophone Company of Greece. He claims the volume of sales of his label nto be "similar" to those he had promised Mackenzie [sc.56,000 records. P.a.] and "Therefore the status quo will remain unaltered".

Young produced about 150 "Apollo" records altogether (mostly 78 rpm), by one account using matrices imported from the USA, where visiting artistes often made cover-recordings of Athenian hits for Greek-American record companies, notably Nina and Liberty. [[fnote. Mr Costas Zaharopoulos suggested this origin for the matrices [personal interviews, Gauntlett, 2000-1]. He also opined that Young may well have had his "Apollo" records pressed at the EMI Homebush factory, in spite of having fallen from grace as an EMI distributor.]] (Gauntlett, 2002, pers. com.)

Echophonic	- details of the label are not known. However, the recording ΓΥΡΝΑ ΤΟΥ ΧΑΛΙ ΜΟΥ is inscribed with the words "made in Australia MUSE (see below) by E.P [*Echophonic?*] Recording Studio, 1964".
Elladisc	- a Greek company formerly distributed by *Philips*, later taken over by *Polygram* which in turn was taken over by *Poly Universal*.
Golden Sound	- one recording bears the name of this company. Little is known about the label but the performers named on the disc include generation *A* musician Takis Tourloubis. It is most likely to be a 'one-off' Melbourne independent label.
Koala Munga Record Company	- owned by Kevin (Komninos) Zervos, the owner of the *Tsakpina Club* referred to above. The company was created in 1980 to record an EP of four *rebetika* songs composed by Themios Stathoulopoulos and featuring the singer Varnavas. In the same year the same musicians recorded a single 45-rpm on the same label entitled ΑΡΓΟΠΕΘΑΙΝΟ ΜΕΣ ΤΗΝ ΞΕΝΙΤΕΙΑ.
Levendopetha	- the name of a band and record label owned by Peter Volaris, musician and music shop owner in Sydney Road, Melbourne.
Muse	- one recording features the name. The label states "made in Australia," and the composer and singer named as Stamidis. The words "Stamidis Traveller" are etched on the inner vinyl. This is also likely to be a 'one-off' local company.
Nina Records	- a company owned by a Greek-American Chris Peters based in New York. Con Zahar now distributes the label through his company HMD. However, Spiros Caras claimed that his father Jim Caras originally acquired the rights to the label in Greece and brought it to Melbourne where the company "made" 45 rpm recordings in the 1960s and 1970s (Caras, 2000, pers. com.).
Panivar	- a Greek owned company formerly manufactured by *Elladisc*.
Panvox	- a Greek company which became known as *Musibox*. It was taken over by *Lyra*, now owned by *Kinisis* which also owns *MBI* and about 20 other smaller recording companies in Greece.
Politis	- both Caras and Zahar agree that this was a distributing label owned by Spiros Politis, owner of the Politis Emporium, a music and electrical store in Smith Street, near Sydney Road in the 1960s. According to Zahar, Politis obtained a license to distribute the Greek *Lyra* label in Melbourne. Thus some archive recordings have both *Lyra* and *Politis* names on their labels.
Peterphone	- according to Caras (2000) Peterphone was "probably owned by Peter Vrettos, the owner of Moonlight Receptions and former owner of an electrical store in Bridge Road, Richmond" (Caras, 2000).

Odeon	- a distributing label associated with the Odeon Music House at 246 Russell Street, created by George Bitsis ca 1960 and later involving Con Zahar who "supplied recordings to the business" (Zahar, 2001).
Okkas	- little is known about this label. However, Zahar associated the name with an electrical store in Bridge Street, Richmond (Peterphone?).
White & Gillespie (W&G)	- according to Nick Koikas W&G was a record processing and distributing company based in "West Melbourne in the 1960s" (Koikas, 1999). The company also made several custom recordings of Greek musicians.

Table 7.6 outlines an account of record manufacturers and distributors involved in the production or marketing of Greek and Greek-Australian music in Australia (mostly in Melbourne and Sydney) between ca 1960s – mid-1980s and provides evidence of a lively demand for popular and traditional Greek music during that period. A closer analysis of the production details and musical content of the 52 *rebetika* recordings performed by generation *A* musicians and produced between ca 1960-1984, will further illustrate the nature of the music during this period.

The recordings were made and/or distributed by the following companies, *Muse, Okkas, Koala Mungo, Golden Sound, Apollo, Politis/Musicbox, W&G, Nina, His Masters Voice and Columbia.* As shown above, the first six were Melbourne based companies and *Nina*, an American-based company distributed by HMD in Melbourne and Sydney. The latter two were "made in Australia" by EMI Australia (in Sydney). That is, the recordings were manufactured in Australia from imported matrices.

Twenty of the recordings are found on double sided vinyl 45-rpm discs, four songs are found on a vinyl 45-rpm Extended Play discs and 28 on vinyl 33-rpm Long Play discs. According to Martland, vinyl 45-rpm and 33-rpm recordings were introduced in the early 1950s and dominated the market by the mid-decade. Production of shellac 78-rpm recordings ceased in 1961. Digital audio compact discs (CDs) were introduced in 1982 and dominated the market by the mid-1980s (Martland, 1982: 154-

247). These dates support my supposition that the above recordings were produced between ca 1960 and the mid-1980s.

Performers listed on the discs include generation *A* musicians mentioned in previous chapters and additional musicians who can be added to this list. They include: (names are given as provided on the discs) Dimitris Stamidis, D. Siamidis, Peter Vrettos, Stella Papadopoulos, Evangelios Plomaritis, M. Portokali, P. Vagias, K. Sotalis, N. Kiridis, F. Panopoulos and Stelios Kipouridis, Noula and Panos Iordanou, Thomas Papadopoulos, Dimitris Selemidis, D. Pavlidis. These details further confirm the involvement of generation *A* Melbourne performers in the recording and manufacturing of *rebetika* music in Melbourne. I shall now discuss the musical characteristics of the recordings.

7.6 The musical characteristics of 52 rebetika songs recorded ca 1960s mid-1980s sourced from the ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ ΤΡΑΓΟΥΔΙΩΝ ΠΟΥ ΕΧΟΥΝ ΓΡΑΦΤΕΙ ΚΑΙ ΕΚΔΟΘΕΙ ΣΤΗΝ ΑΥΣΤΡΑΛΙΑ ΣΕ ΔΙΣΚΟΥΣ Η ΚΑΣΕΤΤΕΣ archive.

For the purposes of this discussion I have divided the recordings into two groups. The first group consists of twenty recordings made (as far as I can ascertain) ca 1960s-1970s. The second group consists of thirty-two recordings made between 1979 and 1985.

The two groups are differentiated by their range of performance styles and instrumental groupings. I also divided group one recordings into two sections, 1(a) and 1(b).

Section 1 (a)[88] includes seven songs which in my view contain characteristic elements of *Smyrnaic* sound and post-1946 *rebetika* musical characteristics. Section 1(b) includes thirteen songs which I categorise as post-1946 *archondorebetika* performances. They do not contain *Smyrnaic* sounds but included some or all of the following post-1950 performance characteristics: amplified or semi-amplified instruments (particularly the *bouzouki* and guitar) electronic keyboards, *bouzouki*-playing techniques and ornamentation typical of a four-course (and therefore post-1950s) instrument and drum-kit accompaniment.[89]

In discussing the musical characteristics of the recordings I acknowledge that my interpretations are bound by the limitations of the human ear to hear accurately details of recorded sound, especially when many of the recordings are of poor quality.

In the following discussion on group one recordings, I shall refer firstly to *Smyrnaic* sounds which differentiate section (a) and section (b) recordings. This will be followed by a comparison of instrumental and acoustic qualities featured in sections (a) and (b) recordings. I shall then discuss musical characteristics which are common to recordings in the whole of group one.

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[88] The recordings include ΓΙΑΤΙ ΓΛΥΚΕΙΑ ΜΟΥ ΚΛΑΙΣ (HMV 7XGA 971), ΜΑΝΑ ΚΑΙ ΞΕΝΙΤΕΙΑ (HMV 7XGA 1335), ΔΥΣΤΥΧΙΣΜΕΝΕΣ ΒΑΣΑΝΗΣΜΕΝΕΣ (Golden Sound, P.N.I. No. 333), ΠΑΡΕ ΜΕ ΝΟΙΚΟΚΥΡΑ ΣΟΥ (Panivar, PA-532-B), ΤΑ ΤΕΡΤΕΜ ΕΓΩ ΤΡΑΓΩΔΩ (W&G CWG 8301 TP 808-B), ΕΝΑΝ ΡΑΚΙΝ (W&G 7016B), ΗΓΡΑΙΑ ΚΑΙ ΤΟ ΜΙΝΙ (W&G 7016A).

[89] The recordings include: ΘΑ ΤΟ ΠΩ ΦΑΝΕΡΑ (HMV 7XGA 1545) ΠΑΩ ΣΤΗΝ ΑΥΣΤΡΑΛΙΑ (HMV 1544), ΣΚΙΖΩ ΤΟ ΔΙΑΒΑΤΗΡΙΟ, (Columbia, 7XCG 2741), ΓΕΝΤΙΚΟΥΛΕΣ (Apollo SY-17 S6 366), ΤΟ ΠΛΟΥΣΙΟΠΑΙΔΟ (NINA P-945), ΕΜΠΑ ΣΤΟ ΚΑΡΡΟ ΚΟΥΚΛΑ ΜΟΥ, (NINA 4513B), ΚΛΑ[illegible] ΧΑΛΙ ΜΟΥ (MUSE DS 105A), ΠΗΡΕΣ ΨΗΛΑ ΤΟΝ ΑΜΑΝΕ (Peterphone, PV-33-B), ΠΩΣ ΝΑ ΧΩΡΙΣΟΥΝ ΔΥΟ ΚΑΡΔΙΕΣ (Greek Favourites, OKKAS 002-A), ΧΕΛΙΔΟΝΙ ΜΟΥ ΣΕ ΠΗΡΑΝ (Elladis, Panivar . PA 4A), ΑΜΑΝ Η ΓΡΗΝΙΑ ΣΟΥ (W&G-GS-4003), Η ΞΕΝΙΤΕΙΑ ΕΙΝΑ ΒΑΡΕΙΑ, (W&G NK 701B), Ο ΑΣΩΤΟΣ ΥΙΟΣ, (Politis, Musicbox 847A)

Instrumentation and acoustic qualities of Group one recordings, section 1(a)

Examples of *Smyrnaic* sounds are heard in ΓΙΑΤΙ ΓΛΥΚΕΙΑ ΜΟΥ ΚΛΑΙΣ which begins with a brief microtonal violin *taxim* based on *dromos Nisiotika*. The male and female vocal ornamentation is similar to that heard on *Smyrnaika* recordings of the 1920s and 1930s as previously discussed. However, the sound and playing styles of the accordion, double bass and guitar are post-1946 in style. ΜΑΝΑ ΚΑΙ ΞΕΝΙΤΕΙΑ includes *Smyrnaic*-like heterophonic violin and accordion accompaniment and *toubeleki* rhythmic accentuation, whilst *bouzouki* glissandi in thirds and klezmer-like glottal shakes and accents of the voice (a style that I have only heard on this recording) indicate later influences. The 'edgy' vocal sound and glottal shakes and slides of the female singer along with the lively *karsilimas* rhythm driven by the *toubeleki*, contribute to a *Smyrnaika* sound in ΔΥΣΤΥΧΙΣΜΕΝΕΣ ΒΑΣΑΝΙΣΜΕΝΕΣ, whilst the heavy amplification and playing style of the *bouzouki* reflects a post-1946 *bouzoukia* sound. The vocal slides, glottal shakes and turns heard on ΠΑΡΕ ΜΕ ΝΟΙΚΟΚΥΡΑ ΣΟΥ create a strong *Smyrnaic* 'flavour.' Even the sound of the highly amplified electronic guitars and flute do not hide their affinity with their instrumental predecessors, the *oud* and *neh*. Similarly, the heterophonic role between the electric keyboard and voice, the lively *toubeleki* playing and vocal and instrumental ornamentation for ΤΑ ΤΕΡΤΕΜ ΕΓΩ ΤΡΑΓΩΔΩ give this performance strong Oriental over-tones. The addition of an *oud* to the ΕΝΑΝ ΡΑΚΙΝ and Η ΓΡΑΙΑ ΚΑΙ ΤΟ ΜΙΝΙ ensembles strengthens the *Smyrnaic* connection.

The question arises, does the presence of *Smyrnaic* sound characteristics in these recordings suggest that some Greek-Australian musicians in the 1960s and 1970s maintained musical links with the Asia Minor tradition despite the preference for *laika* music amongst the general Greek-Australian population of the period? I believe the answer is yes, because even though the majority of generation *A* musicians performed in the *laika* and *archondorebetika* styles, there was a significant number of

musicians who either played instruments such as the *oud* or *saz*, singers who were familiar with *Smyrnaic* vocal ornamental style through their Asia Minor family roots, or whose musical education had involved links with musical neighbours in Asia Minor. *Oud* player Christos Baltsidis and violinist Nick Koikas are notable examples of such musicians.

Instrumentation and acoustic qualities of group one recordings, sections (a) and (b)

In *tables 7.7 (a)* and *7.7 (b)* below I have listed the instrumental groupings of sections 1(a) and 1(b) respectively in the order they are listed above and refer to what Pennanen calls sonic organisation (Pennanen, 1999: 154): that is, the acoustic or electronically amplified sound of certain instruments. In describing the amplified or acoustic nature of the recordings, I acknowledge problems in identifying accurately whether or not the sound of an instrument has been altered through electronic amplification. However, since these recordings were made from the 1960s it is safe to assume that, at the very least, instruments would have been recorded through microphones, the sound stored and manipulated by studio engineers. I have described the sound as *studio acoustic* if I have been reasonably sure that instruments have been recorded in this way. However, if the *chromata* [colour] of the instrument (particularly the *bouzouki)* clearly indicates that it has been electronically amplified, i.e. its volume is greater and it has a more 'metallic' and reverberant tone than that normally associated with an acoustic instrument, then I have referred to it as amplified.

Tables 7.7(a) and 7.7(b)

A comparison of instrumentation found in the section 1 (a) and 1 (b) recordings.

Key:

Bz = *bouzouki*, guit = guitar, acc = accordion, d.bass = double bass, elec. bass = electric bass guitar, toumb = toubeleki, bag = *baglama*, dkit = drum-kit elec kbd = electronic keyboard, vln = violin, fl = flute, cl = clarinet , *oud* = *oud*, saz = saz, pno = piano, defi = defi

* = one studio acoustic instrument
x = one amplified instrument
** = two studio acoustic instruments
xx = two amplified instruments

Section 1(a)

Bz	Guit	Acc	Dbass	Elec bass	Toumb	Bag	Dkit	Elec kbd	Vln	Fl	Cl	Oud	Saz	Pno	defi
*		*	*						*						
**		*	*		*				*						
x	*			x	*										
x	x				*					*					
			*		*			x							
					*			x				*	*		
								x					*	*	

Table 7.7(b) section 1(b)

Bz	Guit	Acc	Dbass	Elec bass	Toumb	Bag	Dkit	Elec kbd	Vln	Fl	Cl	*Oud*	Saz	Pno	defi
xx		*	*		*						*				
xx		*	*												
xx				x		*									*
*	*	*													
**	*	*													
**	*	*													
xx	*	*	*												
**						*	*								
x	*			x			*								
**	x					*				*					
		*							*					*	
x	x	*					*								
*				x		*									

Eleven of the twenty recordings were probably recorded in Melbourne (according to label information) and featured local musicians. The other nine recordings involved Greek performers. A comparison of the components of the ensembles in tables 7.7 (a)

and 7.7 (b) reveals that between ca 1960s-1970s, musical instruments played and/or heard in *rebetika* performances by generation *A* musicians and audiences involved varied combinations of sixteen instruments, some of which were common to both sections 1 (a) and 1 (b) recorded examples. Instances of the use of *saz, oud,* absence of *bouzouki* and regular use of a hand-held single drum (usually the *toubeleki)* in section 1 (a) illustrates references to *Smyrnaic* instrumental *chromata*. Occurences of instruments in section 1 (b) recordings illustrate greater use of two *bouzoukis* to facilitate the playing of post-1946 harmonic developments in *rebetika*, greater instances of amplified *bouzouki, baglama*, accordion, guitar and electric bass guitar and the replacement of a single hand-held drum with a drum-kit. This kind of instrumentation reflected the growing use of electronic amplification in mainland Greek in post-1946 *rebetika* music, development of instrumental technologies and the post-1946 performance practices and playing styles of the majority of generation *A* musicians in Melbourne during the 1960s and 1970s.

I shall now discuss other musical characteristics such as melodic and rhythmic mode, form and the inclusion or exclusion of *taximia* which can be discussed in relation to the whole of group one recordings.

Melodic Mode

The songs were based on nine of the *dromoi* discussed in chapter five. However, whilst one *dromos* is often featured throughout a song, many songs move through other *dromoi* (or parts, i.e. tetrachords and pentachords, of *dromoi*) *Dromoi* heard in the recordings included: *rast, hitzaz, hitzaskiar, houzam, ousak, nisiotika, harmonic minor and melodic minor.*

Rhythmic Mode

Rhythmic modes included the common rebetiko dance rhythms: *zebekiko, tsifteteli, hasapiko, hasaposerviko, karsilimas* and one example of *kalamatianos*. It is

CK.6

interesting to note that with the exception of one recording, all *zebekiko* rhythms are of the *koinos* type; the other being the *anapodos*. The dominant use of the *koinos* rhythm was a strong trait of post-1946 *rebetika*. Tempi for the *zebekika* ranged from the slow (*adagio*) and *vari* [heavy] to an *allegro*, lighter tempo.

Form

The forms of the songs were the same as those found by Tsounis (1997), who outlined strophic binary and tripartite forms as follows in figure 7.1:

Figure 7.1

Binary - instrumental introduction
Sung verse
Instrumental interlude
Sung verse
Instrumental interlude etc.

Tripartite - instrumental introduction
Sung verse
Vocal refrain
Instrumental interlude
Sung verse
Vocal refrain etc

In addition to Tsounis' observations I found that the sung verse and/or refrain often consisted of two phrases based on the tetrachord and pentachord of the base *dromos*.

Improvisation

Sixteen of the recorded performances included a *taxim*. As I discussed in chapter five, *taximia* occur as an introduction to a song, a middle interlude or as a concluding section. Most of the *taximia* heard on the recordings were introductory *taximia* played on the *bouzouki*. However, there were two introductory violin *taximia*, one on

the *oud,* and one interlude on the clarinet. The *taximia* were of various durations. Since they occur in approximately three-quarters of group one recordings they show that despite both recording technology limitations and distancing from extended *taximia* as practised in earlier forms of the genre, they were an important element of traditional music-making amongst the diaspora in Melbourne.

7.7 The musical characteristics of rebetika performances recorded ca 1979, 1980, 1984 and 1985 sourced from the ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ ΤΡΑΓΟΥΔΙΩΝ ΠΟΥ ΕΧΟΥΝ ΓΡΑΦΤΕΙ ΚΑΙ ΕΚΔΟΘΕΙ ΣΤΗΝ ΑΥΣΤΡΑΛΙΑ ΣΕ ΔΙΣΚΟΥΣ Η ΚΑΣΕΤΤΕΣ.

Group two recordings include *rebetika* and *rebetika*-related songs 1979, 1980 ,1984 and 1985. The songs illustrated further the range of *rebetika* recordings available in Melbourne from local and mainland Greece sources. In addition the group includes one of the first instances of musical exchange between Melbourne and Greece exampled by the 1984 LP recording by Greek-Australian musician Christos Ioannidis entitled, ΑΠΟ ΤΗΝ ΑΥΣΤΡΑΛΙΑ ΜΕ ΑΓΑΠΗ (FROM AUSTRALIA WITH LOVE). As we shall see in chapter eight, the exchange of musical performances between Greece and Australia was developed further by generation *B* musicians. I shall now discuss the recordings in chronological order.

The 1979 LP featured singer Ilias Klonaridis performing twelve popular compositions by *rebetika* composers including Tsitsanis, Papaionnou, Zambetas, Mitsakis and Peristeris. The recording was imported from Greece and manufactured by Elladisc, Australia. Its significance to this discussion is that it represents the importation to Melbourne of a professionally recorded compilation of 'hit' post-1946 *rebetika* songs. The performances illustrated a mid-1950s and onwards preference for voice and *bouzouki* parts doubled in thirds which give the music a strong harmonic characteristic. Apart from two instances of *dromos nisiotika* and one instance of *dromos hitzaz* for a *Serviko* dance, this harmonic characteristic is made stronger by

the predominant use of the diatonic major, melodic and harmonic scales. The first example is an instrumental and includes the only introductory and interlude *taxim* on the recording. Rhythmic modes include the *hasapiko, hasaposerviko, syrtos, karsilimas* and *zebekiko.* A *tsifteteli* is not included.

The ensemble for each song consists of *bouzouki*, accordion, drum-kit and double bass with the occasional addition of a triangle or *defi*. In general, the performances feature less variety in modes and instrumentation than many found in the group one recordings. It is interesting to note that the recording was available in Australia in the same year (1979) that Komninos Zervos opened the Melbourne *Tsakpina* club, dedicated to the performance of local *rebetika* music. A year later, Zervos financed and produced an EP[90] featuring local *rebetika* musicians Themios Stathoulopoulos and Varnavas.

The EP included four songs, three of which were based on *dromos hitzaz* and the fourth on *ousak* performed by an ensemble of *bouzouki, baglama,* electric bass guitar with the addition of *defi* and *toubeleki*. *Rebetika* dance modes were represented by the *zebekiko, tsifteteli* and *karsilimas* As mentioned above, Varnavas was noted for his "gravelly" vocal style and minimal ornamentation: a style closer to the *Piraeotic* style of singing than the smoother *laika chromata* and ornamentations of later post-1946 *rebetika* singers. In comparison with the performance style of Ilias Klonaridis and others in Greece at the same time, Stathoulopoulos and Varnavas captured some of the 'earthy' essence of *rebetika*.

In 1984 Christos Ioannidis produced the LP entitled From Australia With Love. It consists mainly of songs about the life experiences of a Greek-Australian. Most of the songs are light and popular in style, however the recording includes three songs which

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[90] The recording was produced by the Koala Munga Record Company on the ΔΙΣΚΟΙ ΤΣΑΚΠΙΝΑ no. 221180 A.F. 491G

include enough *rebetika* characteristics to qualify for inclusion as *rebetika*-related songs. This mixture of repertoire reflected live club performances given by the Ioannidis brothers, Christos and Tassos, in Melbourne in the late seventies and early 1980s. Two of the songs are heavy *zebekika* and a third a *tsifteteli*. All three are based on the *nisiotika* mode and share a similar instrumentation which include, two *bouzoukis*, electric guitar, electric bass guitar, drum-kit and the addition of a *defi* or *toubeleki/bongo*. The drum-kit is used in a typical mid-1950s style. That is, it accents the dance mode rhythm and in the case of a *zebekiko*, decorates phrase endings with a crescendo roll on the last half of the ninth beat of a measure leading to the first beat of the next measure. Ioannidis' light vocal *chromata* and limited use of ornamentation is a singing style common to *rebetika*-derived songs in the 1970s.

Whilst mainland Greek audiences were hearing (perhaps for the first time) *laika* ballads from Melbourne's 1984 Greek-Australian diaspora, key members of generation *A* musicians, led by Themios Stathoulopoulos, were preparing what was to become a 'land-mark' recording of new *rebetika* songs – The Rembetika of Melbourne. The LP recording featured 12 compositions by Stathoulopoulos, each of which portrayed aspects of a Greek-Australian's experience in Melbourne. The copy and performance rights belonged to Stathoulopoulos but significantly, the project was supported by the Music Board of the Australia Council: an indication of how far Greek-Australian music was acknowledged by the predominant music-funding body in Australia at this time. Anonymous notes on the recording sleeve state that:

> Many Greeks in Australia have retained unique cultural elements brought with them from Greece – cultural elements that are vanishing in Greece, yet retained in Australia. Thimios Stathoulopoulos is a genuine unspoilt rebetis in both musical expression and life-style. In this record Thimios expresses his happy and sad moments, his dreams and disillusionments from his 22 years experience as a Greek musician in almost every dancing hall of Melbourne, and the Rebetikes Taverns of the working class suburbs of Melbourne. (Anon. 1985, TS Records 1)

This reference raises a number of questions. To what extent can it be argued that Melbourne Greek-Australians retained cultural elements which had vanished in Greece? Can Stathoulopoulos be truly referred to as a "rebetis?" What does the writer mean by "the Rebetikes Taverns of the working class suburbs of Melbourne?"

Firstly, the anonymous writer echoes similar ideas to those discussed in previous chapters which refer to the idea that members of the Greek diaspora are somehow keepers of Greek traditions which are no longer practised in mainland Greece. Previously, I stated that this was typical of a rather nostlagic image Greeks hold of their diaspora. However, in chapter one I also stated that by the 1960s interest in *rebetika* music in mainland Greece was waning but in Melbourne it was just beginning to flourish. Thus, it can be argued that Melbourne's generation *A* musicians were holding on to a musical tradition which was declining in mainland Greece. Since Stathoulopoulos clearly played a key role in the development of *rebetika* in Melbourne, this may partially account for Gauntlett's observation that Stathoulopoulos "claimed that he was the most authentic *rebetika* musician in Melbourne" (Gauntlett, 1993: 350). However, can it be reasonably argued that he was a genuine 'rebetis '? This depends on the definition of the term 'rebetis.' If *rebetis* was merely the noun used to refer to a singer of *rebetika* songs, then Stathoulopoulos (and many others) may have claimed to be *rebetes.* However, as Gauntlett observed, the term had previously been used to refer to a range of personal types ranging from an "idler, vagabond [or] rogue" to a "heroic figure of the *bon vivant* who, disdaining conventional thrift and seeking solace from the harsh realities of life, turns to hashish (in pre-war compositions) or more prestigious intoxicants (in post-war compositions:)" (Gauntlett, 1982/83: 85-86). It would be defamatory to suggest that Stathoulopoulos or any of the Melbourne *rebetika* musicians were associated with any negative associations with the term *rebetes.* In order to understand how he used the term in his own words, we must turn to the composer's self-description in the song I am an old rembetes in which he comments:

> I am one of the old rembetis and found myself in a foreign land. I could never have imagined what fate had written for me. With my *bouzouki* for company and with my *baglama*, I forgot all my bitterness and all my ordeals. I have been away for many years and I am still away. I play and sing the old *rebetika*. I didn't take money into account. It has no meaning. Wherever I walked, I was appreciated. (Stathoulopoulos, 1984, trans. P. Horn)

The song tells us, that for Stathoulopoulos, being a *rebetis* involved remaining true to his *rebetika* music and finding solace from the ordeals and feelings of bitterness associated with migration. This new Melbourne *rebetika* composition fits neatly into the canon of *rebetika* and demotika songs dealing with experiences of exile, although in this case the song contains optimistic sentiments. As we shall see below, Greek songs of exile are often deepty pessimistic.

As to the reference to "Rebetikes Taverns of the working class suburbs of Melbourne", I assume this is a reference to a range of venues which encouraged the performance of *rebetika* music including the working class Greek mens clubs of West Melbourne to the more salubrious clubs and taverns that have existed in Melbourne since the late 1950s.

Before I examine further the themes of Stathoulopoulos' songs to see what they reveal about the rebetic nature of his "musical expression and life-style", (anon.1985) details of their instrumentation, melodic and rhythmic modes, form and inclusion or exclusion of *taximia* must be noted. In fact, these musical characteristics reflect largely similar details to those discussed in regard to early and mid-1980s *rebetika* recordings. That is, Stathoulopoulos' ensemble was based around two eight-stringed *bouzouki*s, piano-accordion, a six and twelve string acoustic guitar, electric bass guitar, *baglamas*, male and female voices with the addition of *tzouras*, *defi* and bongoes. A sleeve note photograph of the ensemble clearly shows that the instruments (except the solid-bodied electric bass guitar) were played acoustically

whilst being recorded through appropriately positioned microphones. This accounts for the studio acoustic sound of the ensemble.

Melodic modes included the most common major and minor *dromoi; hitzaz, hitzazkiar, houzam, ousak* and harmonic minor. Four dance modes were present: *hasaposerviko, koinos zebekiko, karsilimas, tsifteteli.* All songs are structured around a binary form with varying symmetrical section and phrase lengths.

Of seven *taximia* featured on the recording, five are introductory examples played on the *bouzouki*, accordion and electronic synthesised *santouri*. The latter keyboard synthesised sound represents an acknowledgement of the *santouri* role in *Smyrnaika.*[91] An introductory and concluding *taxim* are played on electronic synthesised flute and a *bouzouki* respectively.

I shall now examine further the themes of Stathoulopoulos' songs to see what they tell us about the *rebetika* nature of his "musical expression and life-style".

The themes include songs of love, lost love, songs of exile and the nature of *rebetika* in Melbourne. Two songs consist of light-hearted comments about *rebetika* characters and music. The first, A Tribute to Tsitsanis, suggests how on hearing the news of Tsitsanis' death, *rebetika* musicians already in "Hades" picked up their instruments, smoked hashish, dressed up in their best clothes and turned Hades into Faliro [an Athenian district associated with *rebetika* musicians]. Opa Opa my *baglama* equates the *baglama* instrument and music as a friend or family member associated with happy times.

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[91] A year later Melbourne *santouri* player Chris Pantzaras recorded with *Apodimi Compania*.

Apart from I am an old rembetes, there are three other songs of exile which paint a strong picture of the experience of *ponos* – the pain experienced by migrants. In I am dying in a foreign land, (trans. P.Horn) Stathoulopoulos commented:

> I am slowly dying in a foreign land. My body is wasting away. It seems that my fate was written. For all that, you are responsible cursed poverty. From a young age, through ordeals...I left, took the path and came to foreign lands. I lost everything and I lost you too. I am always depressed and where will I end up? My youth and my body will end in a foreign land and I will leave my sweet mother in black (Stathoulopoulos, 1984).

Here Stathoulopoulos names fate and poverty as the reasons for migration and the ensuing suffering. The themes are extended in Alone suffering in a foreign country: (trans. P. Horn)

Similarly, in I never managed (trans. P. Horn) the composer tells us that:

> I was never able to see a white [good] day. You'd think I had been cursed by everyone in this world. I wander in this black foreign land. Sometimes I am up late in the clubs and sometimes in the taverns. This is my story and my destiny: to wander and to stay up late pouring out my sorrows (Stathoulopoulos, 1984).

I am playing a beautiful tune, Thimios' Tsifteteli, My Beautiful Gypsy Girl, and I am having my drink, represent four songs concerned with both the joys and sorrows of love. Two songs relate specifically to the nature of *rebetika* in Melbourne. The first, *Bouzouki*a in Melbourne, relates how the composer has become established in Melbourne. The lyrics tell us that he is:

> In Melbourne for ever now. The beautiful nights. *Bouzouki*a are playing in the clubs and taverns. Clearly the Greeks dance and have a good time. With Australian wine they get drunk and break plates. Beautiful Greek girls full of grace are dancing the zebekiko and are proud of it. Envious Australian girls with their blonde hair, are now dancing zebekiko and are weakening its quality (trans. P. Horn) (Stathoulopoulos, 1984).

This song confirms my finding that at the time of its recording in 1984, Greek-Australian music and dance were well established in tavernas: so much so that non-Greek girls were also attempting to dance the *zebekiko*. However, their versions of the dance were not informed by the same cultural experience as the Greek girls and this (according to Stathoulopoulos) was leading to a decline in the spirit and quality of the *zebekiko* in Melbourne.

The strongest hints about the nature of *rebetika* in Melbourne in the mid-1980s according to Stathoulopoulos are to be found in the final song on the LP. The seemingly trite title, Tra la la, tra la la, (trans. P. Horn) conceals Stathoulopoulos' perceptions about the evolution of *rebetika* in Melbourne and (I believe) Greece in the last fifty years. In the song he observes that:

> Now everyone is singing tra la la, tra la la. The songs have gone. The old songs have died.We have been deafened by the foreign drummers and they are all mixed up with the tra la las. Some mother is sighing – ah! Poor heart. A night without a moon. All is forgotten now. And the violin we are beating; and the violin is playing tra la la. All the excess of movement, all the tra la la. That's the doing of the Americans. Our culture has demotika, laika and *rebetika*. All the excesses of movement. That's the doing of the Europeans. Hey people! What happened? What will become of all this? Cut it out a bit, this tra la la (Stathoulopoulos, 1984).

Here, Stathoulopoulos expresses in strong terms his perception that American and Western European cultural influences in Greece and Melbourne had changed the nature of Greek traditional music: so much so in fact, that the music was in danger of becoming trivialised.

By the mid-1980s the musical paths of both generations *A* and *B* had begun to converge as was witnessed by performances at the 1984 memorial concert to Vasilis Tsitsanis and a growing number of public performances at Melbourne University, clubs and hotels by the new generation of Greek-Australian performers of traditional music. Barely eighteen months after the release of Stathoulopoulos' land-mark LP,

the young generation *B* ensemble known as *Apodimi Compania*, released their own LP recording of *rebetika* music entitled

Ρεμπετικα Τραγουδια Με Την Αποδημη Κομπανια, *Rebetika* Songs Featuring *Apodimi Compania*.

In the following chapter I shall discuss the significance of the music of this recording along with other examples of the *rebetika* performance of Melbourne's generation *B* players from the mid-1980s onwards.

CHAPTER EIGHT

REBETIKA PERFORMANCE IN MELBOURNE FROM 1986- TO THE PRESENT DAY.

8.1 Introduction

The previous chapter ended with discussion about the *rebetika* performance of generation *A* musicians in Melbourne in the mid-1980s. I noted how at the same time, a new generation of Greek-Australian musicians (generation *B)* was beginning to emerge. In this chapter I shall examine *rebetika* developments in Melbourne from the mid-1980s to the present day, paying particular attention to the recordings and performances of generation *B* musicians. My sources for this discussion include the remaining twenty recordings from the ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ ΤΡΑΓΟΥΔΙΩΝ ΠΟΥ ΕΧΟΥΝ ΓΡΑΦΤΕΙ ΚΑΙ ΕΚΔΟΘΕΙ ΣΤΗΝ ΑΥΣΤΡΑΛΙΑ ΣΕ ΔΙΣΚΟΥΣ Η ΚΑΣΕΤΤΕΣ, field recordings of live *rebetika* performances, commercial recorded performances made by local musicians and the observations of my informants.

Firstly, I shall discuss two generation *B* recordings of *rebetika* music from 1986/7 and 1989 in order to examine further the convergence of *rebetika* music-making of the Melbourne musicians of both generations *A* and *B*. I shall then discuss *rebetika* developments in Melbourne during the 1990s based on the memories and reflections of my informants and documented evidence from newspapers, performance programs and advertising material. This discussion will provide a context for an examination of the musical characteristics of *rebetika* music in Melbourne as evidenced by later generation *B* recordings and live performances (some of which include generation *A* musicians). In the final part of the chapter I shall discuss twenty-seven recordings of pre-and post-1946 *rebetika* recordings selected by members of *Apodimi Compania* as

a representative cross-section of the genre which are used by them as source songs for inclusion in their Melbourne repertoire.[92] These recordings are compared with two field recordings of the same material performed by the ensemble to explore the extent to which recent examples of Melbourne *rebetika* music are changed by contemporary performers. I shall note in particular what elements of the music are changed and comment on how these changes relate to the evolution of *rebetika* and its performance in Melbourne.

8.2 The first generation *B rebetika* recording

As part of the City Council's Community Arts Program in 1986/7, Brunswick City Council commissioned *Apodimi Compania*'s recording of *rebetika* songs entitled ΡΕΜΠΕΤΙΚΑ ΤΡΑΓΟΥΔΙΑ ΜΕ ΤΗΝ ΑΠΟΔΗΜΗ ΚΟΜΠΑΝΙΑ (*Rebetika* Songs Featuring *Apodimi Compania).* In 1989, the same ensemble (but comprised of a different group of musicians) produced a second LP entitled Patris (Homeland). This recording contained traditional Greek songs from the islands, the Greek mainland and Asia Minor. It marked a broadening interest in traditional Greek music - other than *rebetika* - amongst Melbourne's generation *B* musicians.

Stathoulopoulos was concerned about the 'tra la la-ing' of *rebetika*, that is, the weakening of traditional Greek musical characteristics due to European and USA influences. However, he may have been encouraged to hear the *rebetika* performance style of *Apodimi Compania*[93] as it appeared on ΡΕΜΠΕΤΙΚΑ ΤΡΑΓΟΥΔΙΑ ΜΕ ΤΗΝ ΑΠΟΔΗΜΗ ΚΟΜΠΑΝΙΑ. The reason for this is that the performances

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[92] See appendix E for discographic details

[93] The musicians involved with *Apodimi Compania* for this recording included: George Galiatsos, Manuel Galiatsos, Nick Vergopoulos, Jim Dimitriou, Chris Pantsaras, Rena Hatzilepou and Nick Sereslis.

illustrated an attempt to return to performance practices and repertoire of pre-1946 *rebetika* forms. In his recording sleeve-notes Gauntlett observed:

> In offering the present selection of *rebetika*, "*Apodimi Compania*" have had the good taste to concentrate on earlier phases of the evolution of the genre; anonymous songs of the oral tradition and relatively uncontrived professional compositions of the mid-war period are well represented. They have also had the decency to use unamplified traditional instruments, notably the six-string acoustic *bouzouki*, its diminutive relative, the *baglamas*, the oriental lute (ud), and they have added a few connoisseur flourishes, such as a wine glass strummed on worrybeads. The result is far superior to the supremely low kitsch which commonly masquerades as "rebetiko" in metropolitan Greece. It will surely delight the initiated and usefully instruct the novice (Gauntlett, 1986).

Here, Gauntlett allies himself with the 'anti-tra la la' view of *rebetika* commenting on the "good taste" of *Apodimi Compania*, their choice of pre-1946 repertoire, "decency" in using unamplified acoustic traditional instruments and their avoidance of a "low kitsch" (thus, pretentious) form of *rebetika* performance sometimes heard in mainland Greece in the 1960s. Gauntlett does not indicate whether he intended to include Greek revivalist *rebetika* bands in the "low kitsch" description. I assume that he did not, since revivalist musicians generally tended to avoid stylistic traits associated with *bouzoukia-type rebetika* performance practices. He also acknowledged the potential "instructional" role of the recorded music and thus its role in disseminating *rebetika* to those Greek-Australians and non-Greeks yet to be initiated into *rebetika*.

The instruments

The instruments used on the recording (see *table 8.1* below) provide a clear indication of the musicians' intention to recreate an authentic sound: not only authentic in relation to their own aesthetic practices, but also authentic in terms of historical practices.

Table 8. 1

Instruments used in the recording of Ρεμπετικα Τραγουδια με την Αποδημη Κομπανια		
chordophones	Idiophones and membraphones	aerophones
bouzouki (six string) *baglama* *tzoura* *oud* fiddle *santouri* *tzouras*	*koutalia* *zilia* *tarumbouka (sic)* sticks *potiri* *komboloi*	accordion

The instruments listed in *table 8.1* are similar to those listed in *Smyrnaic* and *Piraeotic* ensembles discussed in chapter six. They indicate a greater potential for creating variations in ensemble *chromata* and performance practices than was possible in Melbourne's *rebetika* ensembles of the 1960s to the mid-1980s. This extended range of *chromata* is supported by greater variation in the use of *dromoi* which in this recording included: *ousak, nisiotika, harmonic minor, sabah* (minor) and *hitzaz, houzam, rast and sengiah* (major) and preservation of heterophonic textures. Oddly, the extended use of mode and instrumentation is not matched in the range of dance modes featured in the eleven songs. In fact, the *anapodos zebekiko* is the only dance mode used. Variation is found in the varying tempi which range between *andante* (crotchet equals 92) and *allegro moderato* (crotchet equals 118). However, the exclusive use of the *anapodos zebekiko* is further evidence of the musicians' attempt to be 'true' to pre-1946 *rebetika* style since the *koinos zebekiko* became the most common *zebekiko* rhythm after 1946.

Vocal style

The songs involved three singers (two male and one female) either as soloists in the first part of a song's binary structure, or as duettists, particularly when the second part of a song is doubled at the octave or accompanied by a vocal *ison*. Thus, the

instrumental heterophony is supported by the vocal lines. Again, this is stylistically 'true' to characteristics of the pre-1946 repertoire featured on the recording, as is the use of a natural vocal tone[94] and the inclusion of vocal embellishments. However, I suggest that the vocal embellishment in the older traditional songs is closer in style to *Piraeotic rebetika* than it is to *Smyrnaic* vocal style. According to my field-work observations, Melbourne singers have not acquired the same range of vocal techniques as those demonstrated on recordings by *Smyrnaic* singers. These attempts at vocal 'authenticity' reflected revivalist attempts to re-create pre-1946 performance techniques in mainland Greece. Amongst generation *B* musicians and their peers in Melbourne, these attempts also illustrated a reconnecting with the traditional music of their forbears.

Taximia

Six of the songs begin with extensive *taximia:* two on *bouzouki*, two on *oud* and one each on the violin and *santouri*. Unlike the keyboard-synthesised *santouri taxim* heard in Stathoulopoulos' The *Rebetika* of Melbourne, this *taxim* is performed on a natural instument. The notable elements of these *taximia* are the diversity of instruments and their duration. Both elements represented a renewed commitment to the role of *taximia* in pre-1946 *rebetika* repertoire.

It can be seen from the above discussion that just as Stathoulopoulos' The Rembetika of Melbourne recording can be described as a 'landmark' in generation *A rebetika* performance, so too *Rebetika* Songs With *Apodimi Compania* can be noted as a 'landmark' *rebetika* recording for generation *B* performers. A period of only 18 months separated the release of these recordings.

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[94] In using the term 'natural voice' in relation to *rebetika* I refer to the non-use of quasi-*bel canto* or adopted popular Western singing styles. As noted above, the voices of *rebetika* singers recorded from the early part of the century (with some exceptions) often sound nasal, throaty, 'raw' or 'edgy.'

As I observed above, like most performers of *rebetika*, *Apodimi Copnipania* musicians also developed their performance skills and repertoire in traditional Greek rural music. Unlike mainland Greek musicians they did not perform the music of a single place of regional origin. Based on the group's origins which included Crete, Thessaloniki and Romania, their *demotika* repertoire in the late 1980s began to explore the music of many Greek regions. Their work resulted in the issuing of the first LP recording of demotika by Melbourne's generation *B* musicians entitled Πατρις [Patris] (Homeland).[95] The reason why I have referred to this recording is that it exemplifies how a group of generation *B* performers[96] became an inter-generational, inter-regional and intercultural 'voice' for Greeks in the Melbourne diaspora. The repertoire chosen for the recording included songs and dances from Crete, Thrace, Dodecanese Islands, Slavic Macedonia, Aegean Islands and Asia Minor as well as a number of collaborations with Irish musician Andy Irvine. The instruments used in the recording (see *table 8.2*) illustrate further the inter-regional, cultural, rural and urban diversity of the musical performances which were to become characteristic of Greek-Australian diaspora music-making in Melbourne in the 1990s.

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[95] *Patris* was the name of one of the ships which brought Greek migrants to Australia. *Apodimi Compania* dedicated the recording to "our parents and to all those who sailed in the *Patris* and migrated to Australia, bringing with them, amongst others things, their rich, traditional musical heritage" (*Apodimi Compania*, 1989). The illustrations of the ship *Patris* and Sydney Road Brunswick (by Anastasia Bekou) used to decorate the LP sleeve-cover, are themselves interesting historical documents for Melbourne's Greek diaspora community. The front illustration of the stern of the ship pictures migrants at play, talking or staring pensively over the sea. Attached to the boat by a heavy metal chain is a piece of Greek land covered in architecture of national symbolic importance (such as the Parthenon and windmills of Mikonos), as if to tell us that the migrants are carrying in their hearts a part of their homeland. The back cover of the LP sleeve features a painting of The Retreat Hotel on Sydney Road, Brunswick, which has played a central role as a venue for Greek music in Melbourne. The painting reveals that the hotel was built in 1892. Thus, the Melbourne hotel flourished at the same time as the tekes, café-amanes and hash-dens of late 19th century Greece.

[96] The performers in this configuration of *Apodimi Compania* included Takis Dimitirou, Manuel Galiatsos, George Galiatsos, Tassos Dimitriou, Andy Irvine, Rena Hatzilepou, Michael Melambiotis, George Lentzios, Mairead Hannan and Tony Tiganis.

Table 8.2

Instruments used in the recording of Πατρις/Homeland (1989), Brunswick City Council Recording 0010			
chordophones	**Idiophones and membraphones**	**aerophones**	**vocals**
bouzouki (six string) *oud* mandolin *tsoura-saz* *laouto*. Irish *bouzouki* (also referred to on the LP sleeve as a mando-guitar). violin Cretan lyra guitar	*bedir* cymbals sticks *darabuka*	whistles	male female

The instruments listed in *table 8.2* (with the exception of the Irish *bouzouki*) link Melbourne's Greek-Australian disapora of the late 1980s with those of their ancestors in Greece and Asia Minor over 100 years ago.

These developments of *rebetika* and demotika repertoire, performance practices and instrument-making, the musical activity of generation *B* musicians discussed above, led to a huge development in the interest of Greek traditional music in Melbourne during the 1990s.

8.3 The 1990s

This burgeoning interest in *rebetika* was partly due to the growth of an international commercial interest in *rebetika* supported by the re-issuing on Compact Disc of many pre- and post-1946 recordings. These recordings became readily available in Melbourne's Greek and non-Greek music stores. Current interest in *rebetika* is also fed by performances by generation *B* and *C* players and many of my informants belonging to generation *A*, who continue to perform in a plethora of venues.

In 1992 *Apodimi Compania* released a third commercial recording entitled Melisma (Brunswick Recordings, CD17).[97] Once again the ensemble included guest musicians. Gauntlett described the "line up" as being:

> ...shaped by a confluence of multicultural musical forces which appears unique, but probably has parallels all over the Greek diaspora, particularly in the USA, where Greek folksongs were first recorded in the same studios as Negro blues in the 1920s, often on similar instruments (Gauntlett, 1992).

Nine rebetika songs are amongst the recording of eighteen songs which includes traditional material from Macedonia, Crete, Thrace and two melodies especially written for *Apodimi Compania* by their Irish collaborator, Andy Irvine. Instruments used on the Melisma are shown below in *table 8.3*.

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[97] For this recording *Apodimi Compania* included George and Manuel Galiatsos, Archie Argyropoulos, Hector Cosmas and "special guests" Michael Melambiotis and Tony Hargreaves.

Table 8.3

Instruments used for songs recorded by *Apodimi Compania* on the 1992 CD Melisma, (Brunswick City Council Recordings 17, Melbourne)		
Chordophones	**Idiophones and membraphones**	**Aerophones**
oud *saz* *bouzouki* mando-cello banjo mandolin *tzoura* *tzoura-saz* guitar (6 and 12 string) *laouto* Cretan lyra bowed tambour *bagluma* violin	*toubeleki* *bedir* *cymbals*	accordion whistles

The list of instruments shown above shows how musicians involved with *Apodimi Compania* further developed instrumental playing skills between 1989 and 1992 and thus increased their ability to create instrumental *chromata* in various forms of Greek traditional music. By this stage in the early 1990s, Melbourne's *Apodimi Compania* had "evolved beyond the typical mould of metropolitan Greek revivalist bands in response to the multicultural influences to which they have been exposed over the last seven years..." Gauntlett (1992). Furthermore, members of the ensemble had become:

> ...avid collectors of old recordings of every kind of traditional Greek music and Manuel Galiatsos manufactures traditional Greek and Middle Eastern stringed instruments in defiance of the conventional wisdom that Greek music in Melbourne revolves primarily round the cosmopolitan bouzouki and its tourist appeal (Gauntlett, 1992).

Thus, for the musicians of *Apodimi Compania* a pathway to a point of reconnection with their musical heritage involved contemporary intercultural experience in Melbourne and explorations into "old" recordings of traditional Greek music. This

was a different pathway from that experienced by Greek mainland revivalists who did not have to encounter the geographical and generational dislocation or multicultural contexts of Greek-Australians in Melbourne.

Key pre-1946 stylistic musical characteristics are maintained such as the heterophonic relationship between instruments and voice, *taximia* (especially a heart-wrenching violin *sabah taxim* in a version of the traditional *Smyrnaic* song of forsaken love entitled O Γιατρος (The Doctor); and in my opinion, vocal embellishments (including slides, glottal tremelo and glottal shakes) have a stronger presence in the nine *rebetika* songs especially when heard in conjunction with the minor *dromoi ousak* and *sabah*.

Public performances

In 1994, the organisers of the Sandy Beach Centre devised a "Greek Taverna Concert"[98] as part of their Sunday afternoon tea and concert series, with *Apodimi Compania* as the guest ensemble. The musicians were described by the non-Greek organisers as "authentic Greek musicians and professional exponents of the Greek *Rebetika* tradition". Of course, a polite Sunday afternoon tea party in Melbourne was a far cry from the hash-dens of late nineteenth century and early twentieth century Greece or even the post-1946 *bouzoukia*. It is not difficult to speculate how these utterly different performance contexts contributed to the *kefi* (spirit) of such historically-distanced *rebetika* performances. However, it was clear to me that the audience were moved and appreciative of what, for many of them by this stage in the 1990s, would have been a reasonably familiar sound of Greek traditional music.

In the same year, Christos Baltsidis (*oud*), Archie Argyropoulos (lute), Hector Cosmas (violin) and George Kiriakidis (*toubeleki*) created two performances for the

[98] The Sandy Beach concert, *Apodimi Compania – Greek Taverna Concert*, took place at the Sandy Beach Centre, May 22, 1994.

Antipodes festival[99] (Melbourne's annual Greek-Australian festival). The first, entitled, Greek Eastern Mediterranean Music consisted mainly of *Smyrnaika*. The second, given as part of the Fitzroy Boite Concerts, included an illustrated "history and evolution of laika songs from the 1920s to today," beginning with a concert of *rebetika* from the "Golden Era"; that is, from the 1920s-1930s. For many Melbournians the Greek Eastern Mediterranean Music concert would have been one of the first opportunities to experience live *Smyrnaika* performed as a result of a collaboration between generation *A* and *B* musicians, in the year that marked the first decade of generation *B* performances.

It was fitting, therefore, that in February of 1994 another inter-generational concert of traditional Greek music was given, this time at Melba Hall, Melbourne University. Entitled A Journey Through Greek Music,[100] the concert set out to "demonstrate the continuation of this music (traditional Greek) and the important role it played in Greek cultural development and connection" (Neos Kosmos, 1994, February 14th:7).

As *rebetika* achieved a new level of recognition in Melbourne's traditional music scene from 1994, some of the musicians largely responsible for the music's profile (Christella Demetriou and core musicians of *Apodimi Compania*) decided to leave Melbourne and return to Greece. The Galiatsos brothers left in 1994 to seek performance opportunities in Greece, with one brother also completing his national Greek service. Archie Argyropoulous followed, as did Hector Cosmas (a third generation Greek-Australian) on his first trip to Greece.

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[99] The Antipodes Festival was established in 1987 by the Greek Orthodox Community of Melbourne and Victoria in cooperation with the Victorian Tourism Commission. The word 'Antipodes', translated, means the land down under.

[100] Performers included Costas Tsicaderis, Yiota Stathoulopoulos, Christine Theodosakis, Archie Argyropoulos, Hector Cosmas and George Kiriakidis.

From 1994, these musicians travelled between Melbourne and Athens to explore *rebetika* music and its mainland context. To some extent, their journeys involved transcultural experience as they moved between Melbourne's diaspora community and Greece. On their return to Melbourne they brought with them their contemporary *rebetika* experience from Athens and Thessaloniki, while on their sojourns in Greece they took with them a Melbourne diaspora experience of *rebetika*.

In 1995 Hector Cosmas (a member of *Apodimi Compania* who, at that time, had not yet migrated to Greece) produced a concert for the 1995 Brunswick Music Festival entitled Songs of Greek Migration. The songs (which included *rebetika*) were described in the program as including "Melbourne's best Greek musicians [in] an afternoon highlighting the joys and sorrows of migrants and those left behind" (Brunswick Music festival program, 1995:9). An anonymous speaker at the concert prefaced the performance by commenting that:

> Music of migration is an important concept because it highlights the necessary and very critical role that Greek music has played for the disapora. In this context it is important not only to maintain the culture and to try and keep traditional Greek music going, but it is also about developing the music in a different form (Anon.1995).

Here, the speaker made a rare acknowledgement of how the maintenance of traditional music amongst Melbourne's Greek diaspora involved changes in its presentation: the kind of changes brought about by intercultural influences discussed previously and also present in a 1995 performance at the Brunswick Mechanical Institute entitled Παραδοσιακο «ταξιμ» στο Brunswick,[101] (Neos Kosmos, 1995, August 7). This performance involved Greek and non-Greek players of the *oud, saz, bouzouki,* accordion, flute and flamenco guitar in an exploration of *taxim* connections in the music of Greece, Turkey, Italy and Spain.

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[101] Performers for Παραδοσιακο ταξιμ στο Brunswick included Christos Baltsidis, John Norton, Michael Kondakristos, Ohil Carol and Antony Kandsion.

Habibis, a group of musicians led by Irini Vela who specialise in traditional music of Greece, the Middle East and Balkans, was well established by 1995. Their repertoire included *rebetika*. At this time *Habibis* repertoire typically included music from Smyrna, Macedonia, Greece and Turkey. Their arrangements of traditional songs from these regions resulted in a fusion of styles: a fusion emphasised by their use of *bouzouki, oud, laouto* in an ensemble that also included double bass, cello and recorder, the latter instrument being played by Rebecca Cogan – a musician with a Dutch family background.

The broader and more inclusive view of *rebetika* shared by musicians in Melbourne from generations *A* and *B* which acknowledged intercultural influences on the evolution of the genre was also shared by a growing number of non-Greek-Australians in Melbourne: for example, playwright Rhondda Johnson. She believed also in the broader significance of *rebetika* experience in Melbourne's Greek diaspora. Thus, in 1995 she devised a play called The Rebetes.[102] Johnson observed:

> The Rebetes is a play which represents the experience of life for many Greek migrants, who upon arriving [in Melbourne] found themselves emulating the experience of the Asia Minor refugees who gave birth to the rebetiko legend. The narrow lanes of Piraeus, where many rebetes, after the devastation and defeat in Asia Minor, gather; in this play are mirrored by the Greek migrant experience in the working class neighbourhoods of Melbourne's industrial heart land (Neos Kosmos, March 20, 1995:5).

The *Neos Kosmos* report described the playwright as someone who had lived amongst "the rebetes of Yaraville in a small enclave where many Greek migrants, many of whom had refugee backgrounds from Asia Minor, settled" (Neos Kosmos, loc. cit.).

Johnson commented:

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[102] The Rebetes was performed in the Beckett Theatre, The C.U.B. Malthouse, Melbourne, between March 29 and April 15, 1995.

> Yarraville has often been referred to as being a small Greek village with its tiny 'kafeneia' which dot the narrow streets of the main shopping strip. These coffee houses offered a soothing refuge to many Greek migrants, predominantly male, who cultivated a ritualistic existence in and out of these smoke filled dens. Today only a few remain – the Antipodean 'rebete'[sic] is a dying breed. This play is not about the trendy 'pseudo-rebetes' who have surfaced in recent years. It is about real life experiences...For those free spirits of the 'rebetes' of Yarraville...(Neos Kosmos, March 20, 1995:5).

Johnson's comments raise a number of questions. To what extent can the Melbourne Greek-Australian coffee houses patronised by backgammon-playing men be compared with the *tekes* of pre-1946 Greece? Can the men who patronised Yarraville's *kafeneion* be referred to justifiably as "rebetes?" What is meant by Johnson's reference to "recent pseudo-rebetes?"

Firstly, the *kafeneion (sing.)* or *kafeneia (pl.)* referred to by Johnson have been present in Melbourne since the 1950s. Although smaller in number, these *kafeneia* still exist today. They provide a meeting place where Greek men drink coffee, play cards and backgammon and, no doubt, discuss contemporary issues. The venues mirror similar establishments in urban and rural Greece where (particularly in the villages) it is customary for men to meet together in the evening. Nevertheless, I believe there is a distinction to be made between *kafeneia* in Melbourne during the 1950s and 1960s and "smoke-filled dens" typified by pre-1946 Greek *tekes*, and low-life tavernas frequented by *manges* and *rebetes* in Greece. Whilst the 1950s and 1960s *kafeneia* of Melbourne were frequented by migrants who lived to some extent on the margins of mainstream society, they were not frequented by people belonging to a subculture involving *manges* or *rebetes*. The latter term is defined by Johnson as being used to refer to men who "lived the life of the sub-culture in which the music [*rebetika*] was played". (Johnson, 1995) Whilst this definition compares reasonably with that referred to in the previous chapter, I do not believe it can be applied to Greek-Australian migrants in Melbourne in the 1950s and 1960s. In Yarraville there may

have been what Johnson describes as "the generation of Greek people born to those refugees [who] came as teenagers and young adults to find a new life in Australia..." (Johnson. ibid) but their life experience, whilst sharing aspects of geographical and related emotional fracture, would have been very different from that experienced by the Anatolian refugees to Greece in 1922. However, Johnson maintained that:

> While the 'rebetes' are considered to be from the past, the tradition was transported to Australia and acted as solace for those who also felt the pain of being 'outsiders;' a part of their survival depending on re-creating, re-loving, romanticising and celebrating the song and dance of the rebetes – a seemingly contagious catharsis as interest in it continues to develop (Johnson, 1995).

By "tradition", I assume that Johnson is referring to *rebetika* music and dance. If this is the case, my comments regarding the authentic experience of *rebetika* in Australia echo her views. That is, it relates to making sense and meaning of the experience of migration rather than trying to recreate a past experience belonging to the lives of the pre-1946 *rebetika* musicians in Greece. However, as my study shows, there were few venues for the performance of *rebetika* until the 1960s and the *kafeneia* would have been frequented mostly by migrants from rural Greece with a preference for *demotika*.

Unfortunately, Johnson died recently; and I am therefore only able to guess at the meaning of her reference to "pseudo-rebetes". Perhaps she was making a value judgement about the *rebetika* music-making of certain musicians from the 1980s onwards and comparing their life experience with both men and women who formed part of her life in Yarraville as a non-Greek amongst "migrants who went to schools with her in the 1950s and 1960s" (Johnson, 1995).

The significance of her play to this study lies in it having been written by a non-Greek Melbourne woman in the 1990s which exemplified the integration of cultural experience particular to Melbourne.

For a brief period in 1996, enthusiasm for *rebetika* music in Melbourne was such that a new taverna opened at 400 Sydney Road, Brunswick named ΡΕΜΠΕΤΙΚΟ (REMBETIKO). It featured performances by "authentic rebetes" (Neos Kosmos, 1996, August 15) three nights a week. Musicians included singers Yiota Stathoulopoulos, Maria Stathoulopoulos, Kostas Mouzedakis, guitar, Babis Georgakakis, *bouzouki* and a *baglama* player named "Christos" (Christos Alifragis?). In the nearby Retreat Hotel, *rebetika* continued to be performed every weekend by ensembles consisting of musicians already referred to. Indeed, as groups of musicians formed, disbanded and reformed, new venues (many short-lived) for *rebetika* became available. Since its opening in 1996, *Piraeus Blues* (another Brunswick Street Greek restaurant named after the owner's interest in *Piraeotika)* has continually supported the live performance of *rebetika*.

March, 1996, saw the return of *Apodimi Compania* musicians on a brief visit which included performances at their 'old haunt' The Retreat and at The Sydney Road Street Party. I have already mentioned that this was the first of many return visits to Melbourne made by these musicians. A particularly noteworthy return performance occurred in 1997 when, accompanied by singer Lizetta Kamilera from Macedonia, Christos Baltsidis, *oud* and Melbourne Turkish singer Erham Alptekin, the ensemble reached new heights in their exploration of authentic performance practices. Held in Darebin Arts and Entertainment Centre on June 15, a large audience representative of Greek-Australians from three generations were loudly appreciative of a program entitled Songs From Smyrna. The loudest appreciation was shown for the rare performances of a number of *amanades* sung by the Turkish-Australian musician Erham Alptekin. As an audience member, I was intensely aware of a surge in *kefi* (heightened spirits) which seemed to relate to a deeply felt sense of identification with the passion of the improvised singing. Later in the same year Neos Kosmos noted that "over 500 parents and grandparents saw second and third generation Greek-Australian students from *Protypo Greek Education Centre* singing [the songs of rebetis]

Tsitsanis...during their annual school concert..." (Neos Kosmos, 1997, October 9). Thus in the late 1990s the popular songs of rebetes Tsitsanis were being disseminated in at least one Melbourne Greek school.

In 1998, the Thessalonikian Association of Melbourne (also known as The White Tower) hosted a performance entitled Night of the Rebetes at the Estonian House, Brusnwick. They planned a program described in Neos Kosmos as: "A night of *rebetika* from its humble beginnings in Asia Minor to its peak of glory in the 1950s" (Neos Kosmos, 1998, March 30). In the same article the President of the Thessaloniki Youth said that "the urban sounds of *rebetika* will be a cultural awakening for Greeks who were born years after its time. It will educate the younger people about the history of *rebetika*, how it started and the importance of the *bouzouki*" (Karambouropoulos, K, 1998:9). Here Stavros Saristavros, the President of the Thessalaoniki Youth, confirms the observations of my informants discussed in chapter three regarding the role *rebetika* played in the "awakening" of second and third generation Greek-Australians to their cultural heritage.

Six days later in the same year, another regrouping of generation *B* players known as *The Divers* appeared; this time featuring singer Julie Latras with *Apodimi Compania* players Hector Cosmas, Archie Argyropouolos Tony Illiou and George Kiriakidis. The latter performers joined Anestis Kavouras (the Melbourne-based son of pre-1946 rebetis George Kavouras) in a concert entitled A tribute To George Kavouras: *Apodimi Rebetika*[103] which show-cased the works of Kavouras the elder. This performance demonstrated that a direct link existed between Melbourne generations *A* and *B rebetika* musicians and an Athenian *rebetis* of the *Piraeotic* period.

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[103] The Kavouras concert took place at The Mechanics Institute, Brunswick, March 15, 1998.

The decade also saw many generation *B* musicians reaching a point of musical maturity. The Greek-Australian community saw them as respected cultural leaders in their field (as evidenced by their entry in The Oxford Companion to Australian Folklore). Commercial and public broadcasting organisations featured *rebetika* performances. Ensembles recorded the music locally. Certain members of the Greek-Australian community, who in the past would have been unlikely supporters of the music, chose to acknowledge the genre (to a degree) as an acceptable part of Greek music. This latter point is best illustrated by *rebetika* performances organised by what Yiangoulis described as "ladies' auxiliary clubs". As he observed:

> Lately I am beginning to see more Ladies' Auxiliary Clubs organising *rebetika* nights as fund-raisers. It is really ironic. A lot of these associations are having *rebetika* nights which are very lukewarm in their approach to the program. They look for songs which are not too controversial. We can't talk about *Αραπια* [Arabic content]. We can't talk about hashish. There is this lukewarm representation of *rebetika*. They say "*rebetika* has its place in history and we should respect it" [but] they give misinformation about where the music came from and why. We have found that a lot of people are hopping onto the band-wagon and marketing something that has much deeper roots and they don't understand what the implications are in terms of annotating history (Yiangoulis, 1999, pers. com).

As Yiangoulis pointed out, on the one hand *rebetika* had become acceptable to a broad cross-section of Melbourne's Greek-Australian community - acceptable enough to use it as a fund-raising event; on the other hand, in the case of the Ladies' Auxiliary Club referred to, the program has to be sanitised and cleared of themes which might be considered as crude or ideologically incorrect. This is a form of censorship of *rebetika* that would have been familiar to musicians in pre-World War Two Greece.

According to Yiangoulis, avoiding controversial issues such as acknowledging Arabic and Turkish influence on the evolution of the musical genre (which some Greek-Australians perceive as uniquely Greek music) and the sexual and drug-related mores, does not facilitate a broader view of *rebetika*. That is, a view which recognises the

social and historical importance to Greek-Australians and the collaborative musical work between some of my informants and Turkish-Australian musicians referred to above. Another example was the 1998 collaborative performance between Melbourne's Greek and Spanish communities, who devised a performance of *rebetika* and flamenco music entitled Rembetico Flamenco. The organisers observed:

> [The concert] will present an evening dedicated to Spanish and Greek music and dance, emphasising the potential of a multicultural city...The cultural synthesis will impress upon an audience the belief that Melbourne is and will remain the city where artists from diverse backgrounds will have the forum to create a synergy which brings out many similarities between rembetico (sic) and flamenco music and dance as expressed by Spanish and Greek artists from Melbourne (anon. quoted in Rembetico Flamenco, 1998:1).

In fact, the music performed at this concert was not a synthesis of two styles. Rather, two ensembles - one *rebetika* and one flamenco - played alternately. Nevertheless, the performers acknowledged "many shared similarities" between "rembetico, jazz, blues and flamenco" (Rembetico Flamenco, loc.cit.). Eleven *rebetika* songs out of the sixteen performed were *zebekika;* nine of these were composed by Tsitsanis between 1942-1949 and as such represented a small cross-section of available *rebetika* repertoire. Nevertheless, as the program notes suggested, the shared platform attested to the increasing attempts by Melbourne's traditional music-performers to acknowledge shared cultural experience and their musical expressions. In some cases these musical collaborations resulted in a degree of synthesis of musical style, such as between Greek and Turkish musicians. In other cases it involved the sharing of performance space and time, as illustrated by Rembetico Flamenco, and performances heard as part of intercultural festivals encouraged and supported by local councils such as Brunswick, Footscray and Coburg. This wide recognition of the significance of *rebetika* (and other Greek traditional music) in Melbourne has increased dramatically during the 1990s.

Such was the standing of *Apodimi Compania* within the Greek-Australian community that they were invited to return as guests of the 2000 and 2001 Antipodes and Port Fairy festivals as well as the 2001 Brunswick Music Festival.

The 2000 Antipodes festival program noted: "Following a two year absence, one of Melbourne's most popular Greek bands, *Rebetiki*, (a name given to the *Apodimi Compania* musicians when the Galiatsos brothers were not involved) marks its return to the music scene with the launch of two new CDs; ΠΕΡΙ ΟΥΣΙΑΣ (In Essence) (DEXCD4197) and *Apodimi Compania* Plays *Rebetika* Live At The Retreat (PMI 52CD256)".[104] In the following year *Apodimi Compania* made a return visit to the Antipodes festival. The festival program described them as "this revivalist band of mostly Australian-born musicians" who will "present an authentic interpretation of *rebetika* and folk music from different regions of Greece". Here, the anonymous program writer equates the Melbourne musicians with mainland *rebetika* musicians, using the term "revivalist," and describes their interpretation of *rebetika* as "authentic".

Similarly, in the anonymous program notes of the 2001 Brunswick Music festival *Apodimi Compania* are described as :

> ...one of the most influential bands in the world of Greek diaspora. Formed in Melbourne in the early eighties....they went on to bring a new perspective to revivalist *rebetika* in Australia. The band further influenced by Melbourne's multicultural communities expanded their work introducing Cretan, Balkan and eastern Mediterranean music in their repertoire (anon. quoted in the 2001 Brunswick Music festival Program).

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[104] See appendix D for discographic details

The writer does not state what he meant by " a new perspective to revivalist *rebetika* in Australia", but I believe that this is a reference to the development by *Apodimi Compania* of a special focus on the pre-1946 *rebetika* repertoire.

I shall now describe and examine briefly the two most recent *Apodimi Compania* performances released in 2000 and mentioned above.

ΠΕΡΙ ΟΥΣΙΑΣ, is a compilation of material recorded recorded between 1997-1998 at two Melbourne studios: Atlantis Studios (Hawthorn) and S.B.S Studios (Southbank). According to Argyropoulos the translated title of the recording, "In Essence," refers to the musicians' intention to demonstrate "the soul of the [*rebetika*] music [and to] get back to the roots of the music" (Argyropoulos, 2001, pers. com.). Thus the songs chosen for inclusion on the recording were mostly pre-1946 *Smyrnaic* and *Piraeotic* compositions, although two songs are included from the early 1950s. The recording also shows how the musicians[105] featured on this recording have remained true to their commitment to authentic *rebetika* performance practice and repertoire for nearly twenty years.

Instruments used in this recording are listed in *table 8.4*

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[105] Performers on ΠΕΡΙ ΟΥΣΙΑΣ include Archie Argyropoulos, Hector Cosmas, Tony Illiou, George Kiriakidis, Chris Alifragis, Pascal Latra and George Stathos.

Table 8.4

Instruments used in the recording ΠΕΡΙ ΟΥΣΙΑΣ		
Chordophones	**Idiophones and membraphones**	**aerophones**
oud *baglama* violin *bouzouki* *tsimbous* cello *kanoun* guitar	*toubeleki* *zilia.*	clarinet.

A range of instruments is used again, allowing for the performance of authentic *chromata* in *Smyrnaic, Piraeotic* and *Laika* repertoire as do the range of *dromoi: ousak, kartzigar, rast, hitzaz, niavent, nisiotiko* and dance modes: *tsifteteli, zebekiko anapodos* and *koinos, karsilimas, hasaposerviko, ballos and kalamatianos.* Introductory, interlude and concluding *taximia* are played on *bouzouki,* violin, accordion, *tsimbous* and clarinet.

As I have mentioned, *Apodimi Compania* Plays *Rebetika* Live At The Retreat was released at the same time as ΠΕΡΙ ΟΥΣΙΑΣ. The anonymous writer of the CD sleeve-notes observed:

> This CD captures the extraordinary experience that was *Apodimi Compania* at the Retreat Hotel. Those who shared the experience will find great pleasure in this recording and those who did not, will understand why it was one of the most remarkably vibrant musical scenes of the past decade in Melbourne. This CD presents a part of that history, selected from recordings made by the band of various performances at The Retreat Hotel, Brunswick 1993-1994. At this time, *Apodimi Compania* comprised the Galiatsos brothers, George and Manuel, Hector Cosmas and Archie Argyropoulos. This line up had already been playing regularly at The Retrear Hotel for a few years, creating a unique musical and social experience, attracting people from different cultures and musical traditions...[The band generated] a devoted following in Australia and Greece (Anon. 2000).

Even though members of *Apodimi Compania* continue to perform in Melbourne, the anonymous writer of the CD sleeve-notes created an almost valedictory historical sketch of the ensemble's achievements. He emphasized their musical and social contribution to Melbourne's cultural life for Greek-Australians and non-Greek-Australians. In this digital recording, made from analogue recordings by the musicians during 1993-1994, the range of instruments used is not as broad as in more recent performances. *Smyrnaic* instruments such as *oud, kanoun, santouri tsimbous*, for example, are not included. However, the sixteen songs included on the CD range across *Smyrnaic, Piraeotic* and *laika* repertoire.

Undoubtedly, *Apodimi Compania* played an important role in bringing this repertoire to the attention of a wider audience in Melbourne, many of whom attended a *rebetika* event in 2000[106] organised by *bouzouki* player and teacher Bill Polychronopoulos and sponsored by Melbourne's Greek radio station 3XY and Greek newspaper *Ta Nea*. It was a remarkable success and attracted an audience of 600 to hear *rebetika* music performed by an ensemble of generation *B* and *C* players. The concert's title Πριν το Χαραμα, (Before the Dawn) indicated Polychronopoulos' presentation of an historical view of the evolution of *rebetika* with its roots in Classical and Byzantine Greece. Such a large audience, together with the recognition given to the music by the Greek-Australian mass media, illustrated a significant change in mind-set by Melbourne's Greek-Australians towards *rebetika* music from that of the 1950s and 1960s.

8.4 Issues of change related to contemporary performances of rebetika in Melbourne

In chapter seven, and in this chapter so far, I have shown how the sound of *rebetika* in Melbourne since the 1950s underwent change. Aspects of this change paralleled the

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[106] Πριν το Χαραμα took place at the Radio 3XY theatre in Bell Street, Preston in 1999.

evolution of *rebetika* style in mainland Greece but other elements reflected inter-generational and intercultural influences particular to the Greek-Australian diaspora in Melbourne. I shall now discuss issues of change related to musical characteristics and performance techniques in 27 *rebetika* songs selected by *Apodimi Compania* as representative of the *rebetika* genre. Two *Apodimi Compania* performances of the same songs are compared with source recordings identified as such by members of the ensemble. The number of field recordings were limited by the availability of the musicians who, as I have shown, have lived partially in Greece and partially in Melbourne since 1994. The two Melbourne performances must also be classified as command performances; i.e. the musicians recorded the songs especially for me and without an audience. Thus, elements of a public performance, particularly the musician-audience relationship which affects the *kefi* of such an occasion, are not present.

The first command performance involved six musicians including one of the founders of *Apodimi Compania,* George Galiatsos and other key members of the group, Christos Alifragis, Archie Argyropoulos, Hector Cosmas, George Kiriakidis and Tony Illiou. The second performance involved only the latter four musicians who perform in Australia under the name of *Rebetiki Compania.* The different number of musicians affected the range of instruments used in the second recording. That is, a lesser range of instruments was used in the second performance than in the first performance. This fluidity of ensemble type is typical of Melbourne *rebetika* performances.

The ambience of the recording studio for the first performance seemed to emphasise the extent to which the musicians crafted their performance. This probably reflected the early days of *rebetika* recording when performances in makeshift studios such as schools and hotel rooms, must surely have differed from performances in the *tekes* or taverna environments.

Bearing in mind the above limitations, I believe the performances provided enough authentic material to make the comparisons discussed below.

Initially, I asked the musicians to select a group of songs according to criteria which they believed would be representative of the genre. *Table 8.5* lists their criteria for selection.

Table 8.5

***Apodimi Compania* criteria used in the selection of 27 songs representative of the *rebetika* genre.**			
Dromoi	**Rhythmic mode**	**Theme**	**Stylistic period**
hitzaz *hitzaskiar* *rast* *kourdi* *ousak* *sabah* *harmonic minor*	*zebekiko* *tsifeteli* *hasapiko* *hasaposerviko* *karsilimas*	exile and migration jail taverna life love death hashish tuberculosis	pre-1922 "catastrophe" post-1922 Smyrnaika Piraeotika post-World war Two

As we shall see below, the criteria suggested in *table 8.5* is not comprehensive. That is, it does not represent the full range of *dromoi*, themes or *rebetika* styles actually performed by the musicians.

Table 8.6 below, lists the source songs[107] in order of recording in Melbourne, and categorised according to the given criteria with additional criteria suggested by the musicians after completion of the command performances.

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[107] See appendix E for discographic details

Table 8.6

The source songs listed in order of recording in Melbourne, and categorized according to the given criteria.				
Title	**Melodic mode**	**Rhythmic mode**	**Theme**	**Stylistic period**
Ο Ψαρας (the fisherman)	Kurdi-nisiotiko	Anapodos zebekiko	Social commentary and injustice	Piraeotika
Μαυρα ματια μαυρα φριδια (Dark eyes, dark brow)	Nisitiotiko	Hasapiko	Love	Piraeotika
Ο Συναχης (The Sniffer)	Sabah	Anapodos zebekiko	Drugs	Piraeotika
Το Χρυμα δεν το λογαριαζω (I don't care for money)	Hidzaskiar	Hasapiko	love	Late Piraeotika
Σαν γυριζα απ'τον Πολο (As I returned from Pylos)	Rast	Zebekiko	Drugs	Piraeotika
Αθηναισα (Athenian girl)	Nisiotiko-kartzigar	Zebekiko	Love	Piraeotika
Απ τον καιρο που αρχισα (Ever since I started)	Rast-nisiotiko	Hasapiko	Drugs	Piraeotika
Τα ματοκλαδα σου (Your eyelashes)	Nisiotiko	Zebekiko	Love	Piraeotika
Τραβα τραβα (Drive on)	Rast	Hasaposerviko	Life-style fun	laika
Στο χαπηλειο του Φοτη (At Fotis's tavern)	Pimeniko	Zebekiko	Love	Piraeotika
Μες στου Μανθου τον τεκε (In Mantho's hash den)	Piraeotiko	Zebekiko	Drugs	Piraeotika
Θωμας (Thomas)	Hidzaz	Karsilimas	Drugs	revivalist
Μες στης Πολης χαμαμ (In the town baths)	Kurdi	Tsifteteli	Drugs and love	Smyrnaika
Μες στου Βαβουλα τη γουβα (In Vavoula's gouva)	Rast	Zebekiko	Love	Piraeotika
Φερτε πρεζα να πρεζαρω (Bring me some heroin)	Hidzaz	Kalamatianos	Drugs and love	Late Smyrnaika
Ζουρλοπαινεμενης γεννα (Child of a crazy mother)	Hidzaz-ousak	Karsilimas	Love	Piraeotika
Ο Καλογερος (The monk)	Hidzaskiar	Hasapiko	Love	Piraeotika
Μικρος αρραβωνιαστηκα (I was engaged young)	Hidzaz	Hasaposerviko	Love	Piraeotika
Τι παθος ατελειωτο (Endless passion)	Piraeotiko	Zebekiko	Death	Late archondo*rebetika*
Παλιοζωη (False	Ousak	Zebekiko	Love	Piraeotika

world)				
Πεντε Ελληνες στον Αδη (Five Greeks in Hell)	Ousak	Tsifteteli	Social commentary	laika
Τα δυο χερια (Your two hands)	Nisiotiko	Zebekiko	Love	Piraeotika
Οι μαγκες δεν υπαρχουν πια (There are no manges left)	Ousak	Tsifeteli	Social commentary	revivalist
Ντερμπεντεριασα (Polite lady)	Hidzaz	Syrtos	Love	Smyrnaika
Μες την πολλη σκοτουρα μου (Amongst all my troubles)	Melodic minor	Zebekiko	Love	Late Piraeotika
Για σενα μαυρα ματια μου (My dark eyed girl)	Harmonic minor	Hasapiko	Love	Piraeotika
Κατινακι (Katinaki)	Ousak	syrtos		Piraeotika

As the above table indicates, the categories were not intended to be definitive. In fact, of the songs eventually selected and performed, none involved the themes of tuberculosis and exile. The melodic modes *nistiotiko, pimeniko* and *Piraeotika* and *kalamatianos* and *syrtos* rhythmic modes were added, whilst the major mode *houzam* was omitted.

The stylistic periods are broad categories. Songs from both the *Smyrnaic* and *Piraeotic* periods were further categorised (post-performance) as "late" *Smyrnaic* and *Piraeotic.*

The comparison between recent Melbourne performances and source recordings discussed below, is diachronic in nature. I believe that diachronic observations are particularly useful in identifying quantifiable changes between phenomena being examined, but less useful for identifying qualitative processes of change which rely more on participants' "voices" to ensure authenticity. That is, participants and observers separated by long periods of time and geographic distance (such as early *rebetika* musicians and contemporary Greek-Australian musicians) include those who have died or who were not known or accessible. Therefore, it is important to bear in mind processes of change involved in the evolution of *rebetika* in Greece and

Melbourne discussed in previous chapters. These processes of change form the context for discussion on diachronic comparisons which follows.

I adopted the diachronic approach in response to suggestions made by Tsounis and Gauntlett who both expressed views supporting greater examination of *rebetika* musical texts. Tsounis expressed interest "for future research [through] a diachronic comparison of 'original' recordings of *rebetika* items with contemporary renditions of the same items" (Tsounis, 1997:184). Gauntlett commented that "...the most pressing desideratum of scholarly commentary on *rebetika* remains a comprehensive, reliably transcribed,[108] documented and annotated corpus of verbal and musical texts of *rebetika*" (Gauntlett, 1991: 38). In 1994 he re-stated a plea for a "future musicological project" (Gauntlett, 1994:41) to assist in the examination of the Melbourne collection of *rebetika* recordings known as *Corpus Rebeticorum.*

Table 8.7 below outlines in broad terms, differences and similarities between the source recordings and the two *Apodimi Compania* performances. Musical characteristics discussed in chapters four, five and six are referred to: i.e. occurrence or non-occurrence of *taximia*, types of *dromoi* and rhythmic mode, vocal style and instruments. Terms such as 'raw', 'throaty', 'rough' and 'drawl' are descriptions of vocal characteristics associated with *rebetika* vocal style, but particularly with male singers of the *Piraeotic* period. Unless stated, all voices are produced with a natural tone; that is, not affected by professional vocal training in special techniques. References to 'doubled at the octave' or 'doubled in thirds' refers to doubling of voice parts at the stated intervals. The terms crotchet and quaver are abbreviated to 'cr' and 'qu.'

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[108] The question of what type of musical transcription would be appropriate for *rebetika*, a genre which originated as an oral musical tradition and evolved to include different tuning systems, modal practices and performing techniques, is yet to be addressed.

Table 8.7

Comparison of differences and similarities between source performances and two *Apodimi Compania* performances of 27 *rebetika* songs

	Source Song	***Apodimi* 1**	***Apodimi* 2**
Title	The Fisherman	The Fisherman	The Fisherman
Taxim	*bouzouki* introduction	none	none
Dromos	kurdi-nisiotika on D	kurdi-nisitoika on D	kurdi-nisiotika on D
Dance mode	*anapodos zebekiko* qu =138	*anapodos zebekiko qu =116*	*anapodos zebekiko qu =126*
Vocal style and embellishments	male *Piraeotic* 'raw' mangas drawl. No embellishments	male voice, mordents and turns	male, mordents and turns
instruments	*bouzouki*, guitar	*tzoura*, *bouzouki*, *baglama*, guitar	*bouzouki*, *baglama* and guitar
Title	Dark eyes, dark brow	Dark eyes, dark brow	Dark eyes, dark brow
Taxim	none	none	none
Dromos	nisiotiko on E	nisiotiko on D	nisiotiko on D
Dance mode	hasapiko qu = 112	hasapiko qu = 120	hasapiko qu = 126
Vocal style and embellishments	male, glottal mordents	male, glottal mordents, doubled at octave	male, glottal mordents
instruments	*bouzouki*, guitar, accordion	*bouzauki*, baglanma, *tzoura*, guitar and *potiri*	*bouzouki*, *baglama*, guitar
Title	The sniffer	The Sniffer	The Sniffer
Taxim	none	*bouzouki* introduction	none
Dromos	sabah on C	sabah on D	sabah on D
Dance mode	*anapodos zebekiko* cr = 80	*anapodos zebekiko* cr = 100	*anapodos zebekiko* cr = 96
Vocal style and embellishments	raw mangas, not embellished	male, doubled at the octave	male
instruments	*bouzouki*, guitar and *potiri*	*bouzouki*, *baglama*, *tzoura*, guitar and *potiri*	*bouzouki*, *baglama* and guitar
Title	I don't care for money	I don't care for money	I don't care for money
Taxim	none	none	none

Dromos	hidzaskiar on C#	hidzaskiar on C	hidzaskiar on C
Dance mode	hasapiko cr = 100	hasapiko cr = 104	hasapiko cr = 96
Vocal style and embellishments	mangas drawl, no embellishment	male, doubled in thirds, glottal tremelo	male, doubled in thirds
instruments	*bouzouki*, *baglama*, and guitar	*bouzouki*, *baglama* and guitar	*bouzouki*, *baglama* and guitar
Title	As I returned to Pylos	As I returned to Pylos	As I returned to Pylos
Taxim	none	none	none
Dromos	rast on F	rast on F	rast on D
Dance mode	zebekiko cr = 132	zebekiko cr =126	zebekiko cr = 132
Vocal style and embellishments	raw mangas, not embellished	male, not embellished	male, doubled in thirds
instruments	violin, guitar, kanoun and *potiri*	*bouzouki*, *baglama*, guitar and violin	*bouzouki*, violin and guitar
Title	Athenian girl	Athenian girl	Athenian girl
Taxim	none	*bouzouki* introduction	none
Dromos	nisiotiko- kartzigar on C	nisiotiko-kartzigar on D	nisiotiko-kartzigar on D
Dance mode	zebekiko cr = 98	zebekiko cr = 100	zebekiko cr = 96
Vocal style and embellishments	mangas drawl, no embellishment, doubled at octave	male, doubled at octave	male, doubled at octave
instruments	*bouzouki*, *baglama* and guitar	*bouzouki*, *baglama*, guitar, *tzoúra* and *potiri*	*bouzouki*, *baglama* and guitar
Title	Ever since I started (source song not given)	Ever since I started	Ever since I started
Taxim		*bouzouki* introduction	none
Dromos		rast-nisiotiko on G	rast-nisiotiko on G
Dance mode		hasapiko qu = 138	hasapiko qu = 144

Vocal style and embellishments		male, no embellishment	male, no embellishment
instruments		*bouzouki*, *baglama* and guitar	*bouzouki*, *baglama* and guitar
Title	Your eyelashes	Your eyelashes	Your eyelashes
Taxim	*bouzouki* introduction	none	none
Dromos	nisiotiko on F	nisiotiko on D	nisiotiko on F
Dance mode	zebekiko cr = 126	zebekiko cr =116	zebekiko cr =138
Vocal style and embellishments	male	male, glottal trills and mordents	male, glottal trills and mordents
instruments	*bouzouki*, *baglama* and guitar	*bouzouki*, *baglama*, *tzoura* and accordion	*bouzouki*, *baglama* and guitar
Title	Trava Trava	Trava Trava	Trava Trava
Taxim	none	none	none
Dromos	rast on Ab	rast on D	rast on D
Dance mode	hasaposerviko qu = 192	hasaposerviko qu = 200	hasaposerviko qu = 192
Vocal style and embellishments	male,doubled in thirds, no embellishments	male, doubled in thirds, no embellishments	male, doubled in thirds, no embellishments
instruments	*bouzouki*, guitar, accordion and wooden block	two *bouzoukis*, *baglama* guitar and accordion	*bouzouki*, *baglama*, guitar and accordion
Title	At Fotis' tavern	At Fotis' Tavern	At Fotis' Tavern
Taxim	none	none	none
Dromos	pimeniko on C	pimeniko on A	pimeniko on A
Dance mode	*anapodos zebekiko* cr = 132	*anapodos zebekiko* cr = 120	*anapodos zebekiko* cr = 116

Vocal style and embellishments	male, glottal trills	male, glottal trills and turns	male, glottal trills and mordents
instruments	piano, violin	*bouzouki*, *baglama*, guitar, violin and accordion	violin, guitar and *baglama*
Title	In Manthon's hash-den	In Manthon's Hash-den	*No second version provided*
Taxim	none	*bouzouki* introduction over a guitar *ison*	
Dromos	Piraeotiko on D	Piraeotiko on D	
Dance mode	Zebekiko cr = 112	Zebekiko cr = 104	
Vocal style and embellishments	male but a smoother tone than the raw mangas sound	male, doubled at the octave, no embellishments	
instruments	guitar	two *bouzoukis*, *baglama*, guitar	
Title	Thomas	Thomas	Thomas
Taxim	none	none	None
Dromos	hidzaz on D	hidzaz on F	hidzaz on D
Dance mode	karsilimas qo = 200	karsilimas qo = 200	karsilimas qo = 197
Vocal style and embellishments	mangas drawl, doubled in thirds	male, doubled at the octave	male doubled at the octave
instruments	*bouzouki*, *baglama*, guitar, violin and accordion	*bouzouki*, guitar, *baglama* and accordion	*bouzouki*, *baglama* and guitar
Title	In the town baths	In the town baths	In the town baths
Taxim	*bouzouki* introduction	*bouzouki* middle	none
Dromos	kurdi on C#	kurdi on D	kurdi on D
Dance mode	sirtaki cr = 106	sirtaki cr = 110	sirtaki cr = 112

Vocal style and embellishments	heavy mangas drawl, no embellishment	male, doubled at the octave	male, doubled in thirds
instruments	*bouzouki*, or saz? *Baglama*, guitar	*bouzouki*, *baglama*, *tzoura*, guitar, *toubeleki*, *potiri*	*bouzouki*, *baglama* and guitar
Title	In Vavoula's Dive	In Vavoula's Dive	In Vavoula's Dive
Taxim	none	none	none
Dromos	Rast on C#	rast on D	rast on D
Dance mode	βαρυ (heavy) zebekiko cr =96	zebekiko cr =104	zebekiko cr = 108
Vocal style and embellishments	natural male, doubled at the octave	natural male, doubled at the octave	natural male, no embellishments
instruments	*bouzouki*, *baglama* and guitar	*bouzouki*, *baglama*, *tzoura*, guitar, accordion and *potiri*	*bouzouki*, *baglama* and guitar
Title	Bring me some heroin	Bring me some heroin	Bring me some heroin
Taxim	none	none	none
Dromos	hidzaz on C	hidzaz on E	hidzaz on E
Dance mode	kalamatianos, qu =200	kalamatianos qu = 176	kalamatianos cr = 168
Vocal style and embellishments	raw mangissa (female), no embellisbment	male, doubled at the octave with sections doubled in thirds, glottal shakes	male doubled at the octave with sections doubled in thirds, no embellishments
instruments	violin, *oud* and guitar	violin, *tsimbous*, guitar aod *toubeleki*	violio, *bouzouki*, *baglama* and guitar
Title	Child of a crazy mother	Child of a crazy mother	Child of a crazy mother
Taxim	none	none	none
Dromos	hidzaz-ousak on C	hidzaz-ousak on G	hidzaz-ousak on G
Dance mode	karsilimas qu = 152	karsilimas qu = 152	karsilimas qu = 1152

Vocal style and embellishments	raw mangissa, glottal trills	male, turns and mordents	male, turns and mordents
instruments	violin and guitar	*bouzouki*, *baglama*, guitar and accordion	*bouzouki*, balama and guitar
Title	The Monk	The Monk	The Monk
Taxim	none	none	none
Dromos	hidzaskiar on D	hidzazskiar on C	hidzaskiar on C
Dance mode	hasapiko cr = 104	hasapiko cr = 112	hasapiko cr = 108
Vocal style and embellishments	male, doubled at octave with female voice at closing sections	male, doubled at octave	male
instruments	*bouzouki* and guitar	*bouzouki*, *baglama* and guitar	*bouzouki*, *baglama* and guitar
Title	I was engaged at a young age	I was engaged at a young age	I was engaged at a young age
Taxim	none	none	none
Dromos	hidzaz on G	hidzaz on E	hidzaz on E
Dance mode	hasaposerviko cr = 116	hasaposerviko cr = 108	hasaposerviko cr = 198
Vocal style and embellishments	mangas drawl, no embellishments	male, no embellishment	male, doubled in thirds
instruments	*bouzouki* and guitar	*bouzouki*, *baglama*, guitar and *potiri*	*bouzouki*, *baglama* and guitar
Title	Endless passion	Endless passion	Endless passion
Taxim	none	none	none
Dromos	piraeotiko on D	piraeotiko on D	piraeotiko on D
Dance mode	zebekiko cr = 63	zebekiko cr = 63	zebekiko cr = 69
Vocal style and embellishments	male, glottal mordents	male, glottal shakes	male, glottal shakes

instruments	*bouzouki*, *baglama* and guitar	*bouzouki*, *baglama* and guitar	*bouzouki*, *baglama* and guitar
Title	False world	False world	False world
Taxim	none	none	none
Dromos	ousak on C	ousak on B	ousak on A
Dance mode	zebekiko cr =76	zebekiko cr – 63	zebekiko cr = 69
Vocal style and embellishments	male double at the octave by female in closing section	male, doubled at the octave, Turns and acciaturas	male, turns
Instruments	not discernable on recording	*bouzouki*, *baglama*, guitar and *potiri*	*bouzouki*, *baglama* and guitar
Title	Five Greeks in Hell	Five Greeks in Hell	Five Greeks in Hell
Taxim	violin introduction	none	none
Dromos	ousak on Bb	ousak on A	ousak on A
Dance mode	slow tsifteteli cr = 76	tsifteteli cr = 69	tsifteteli cr = 69
Vocal style and embellishments	mangas drawl, glottal mordents and shakes	male, glottal shake	male, glottal shakes
instruments	violin and guitar	*bouzouki*, *baglama* and guitar	*bouzouki*, *baglama* and guitar
Title	Your two hands (source not given)	Your two hands	Your two hands
Taxim		none	none
Dromos		nisiotiko on B	nisiotiko on B
Dance mode		zebekiko cr =108	zebekiko cr = 88
Vocal style and embellishments		male, doubled at the octave	male, glottal shakes

instruments		*bouzouki*, *tzoura*, guitar and *potiri*	*bouzouki*, *baglama*, guitar
Title	No more manges	No more manges	No more manges
Taxim	none	violin concluding	none
Dromos	ousak on D	ousak on D	ousak on E
Dance mode	tsifteteli	tsifteteli cr == 1104	tsifteteli cr = 108
Vocal style and embellishments	male	male with ison accompaniment	male
instruments	*bouzouki*, guitar, violin, cymbal	*bouzouki*, *baglama*, guitar, violin and *potiri*	*bouzouki*, violin and guitar
Title	Polite lady	Polite lady	Polite lady
Taxim	none	violin interlude	none
Dromos	hidzaz on Ab	hidzaz on F#	hidzaz on F#
Dance mode	syrtos cr = 80	syrtos cr = 80	Syrtos cr = 80
Vocal style and embellishments	male, technically expert, highly embellished	male, highly embellished, turns, glottal shakes	male, less embellished than version one
instruments	violin, guitar and koutalia	violin, *tsimbous* and guitar	guitar, violin and *baglama*
Title	Amongst all my troubles	Amongst all my troubles	Amongst all my troubles
Taxim	none	none	none
Dromos	melodic minor C#	melodic minor D	melodic minor D
Dance mode	anapodos zebekiko cr = 100	anapodos zebekiko cr =104	anapodos zebekiko cr = 104
Vocal style and embellishments	mangas drawl, glottal slides	male doubled at octave, glottal trills and slides	male, less embellished than version one

instruments	*bouzouki*, guitar and *baglama*	*bouzouki* and *baglama*	*bouzouki* and *baglama*
Title	Dark eyed girl	Dark eyed girl	Dark eyed girl
Taxim	none	none	none
Dromos	harmonic minor A	harmonic minor G	harmonic minor G
Dance mode	hasapiko cr = 80	hasapiko cr -= 80	hasapiko cr = 80
Vocal style and embellishments	mangas drawl	alternating male solos	male, doubled at ocvtave
instruments	*bouzouki*, accordion and guitar	*bouzouki*, *baglama* and guitar	*bouzouki*, *baglama* and guitar
Title	Katinaki	Katinaki	Katinaki
Taxim	middle section on clarinet	none	none
Dromos	ousak on E	ousak on F#	ousak on E
Dance mode	syrtos cr = 116	syrtos cr 144	syrtos cr = 116
Vocal style and embellishments	male solo doubled with male ison, glottal shakes, turns	male, glottal trills	male, less embellished than version one
instruments	violin, cello, *tsimbous*, *toubeleki*, clarinet	guitar and *tsimbous*	violin, *baglama* and guitar

The above comparison of the three versions of the songs show how Melbourne performers in the 1990s personalised the music (made spontaneous and individual changes to the musical characteristics of the songs) whilst maintaining core characteristics where it has been practically possible.

Criteria used for the inclusion or exclusion of *taximia* depend very much on the *kefi* of each performance rather than a standardised formula. This is reflected in the Melbourne performances. However, Cosmas felt that for him, "the more Anatolian

[the song], the more likely it seems to need a *taxim*" (Cosmas, 1996, pers. com.). Of more significance, is the musicians' recognition of the importance of *taximia* to *rebetika* and their eagerness to develop their improvisatory skills.

Dromoi were always maintained. This was to be expected since the *dromoi* contain core melodic characteristics. However, the "tonic" degree of the *dromoi* were often different from those of the source song. This could be accounted for by changes in tuning practices of Greek musicians, differences in string tensions and instrument construction: or perhaps, if the source song was heard with a starting degree of C# or Ab, the pitches may well have been rough pitchings of D or G; that is, closer to traditional tuning practices for *rebetika* chordophone instruments in the first half of the twentieth century. Differences in "tonic" notes could also be related to the preferences of individual singers for particular pitches. This practice is common amongst singers all over the world.

Except for slight changes in tempi, rhythmic modes were also maintained: another factor depending on the context for each performance.

As discussed in chapter five, vocal style (as with other musical characteristics) depends on its historical and social context. Thus, differences in vocal style between the source songs and the two Melbourne performances were distinct. Most of the source song singers belonged to the lower classes of pre-World War Two Greece, were familiar with the *tekes* and low-life taverna culture and, in some cases, adopted the language and mannerisms of the *manges*. In addition, they were in close contact with contemporary *Smyrnaic* and *Piraeotic* vocal embellishment practices. In contrast, the Melbourne singers belong to a relatively affluent class of Greeks in Australia and are distanced in time and location from the musical context of the source singers. The *Apodimi Compania* singers do not choose to affect a *mangas* drawl and, in my opinion, have not acquired the techniques required to produce the range of *rebetika* vocal embellishments heard in recordings made of the music in the

first half the twentieth century. The result is that singing on the Melbourne recordings is less 'raw' in sound and less embellished than the source recordings. That is not to say their singing style lacks authenticity. On the contrary, to develop vocal styles appropriate to their context is more authentic than affecting (or merely copying) the vocal sound of the source recordings.

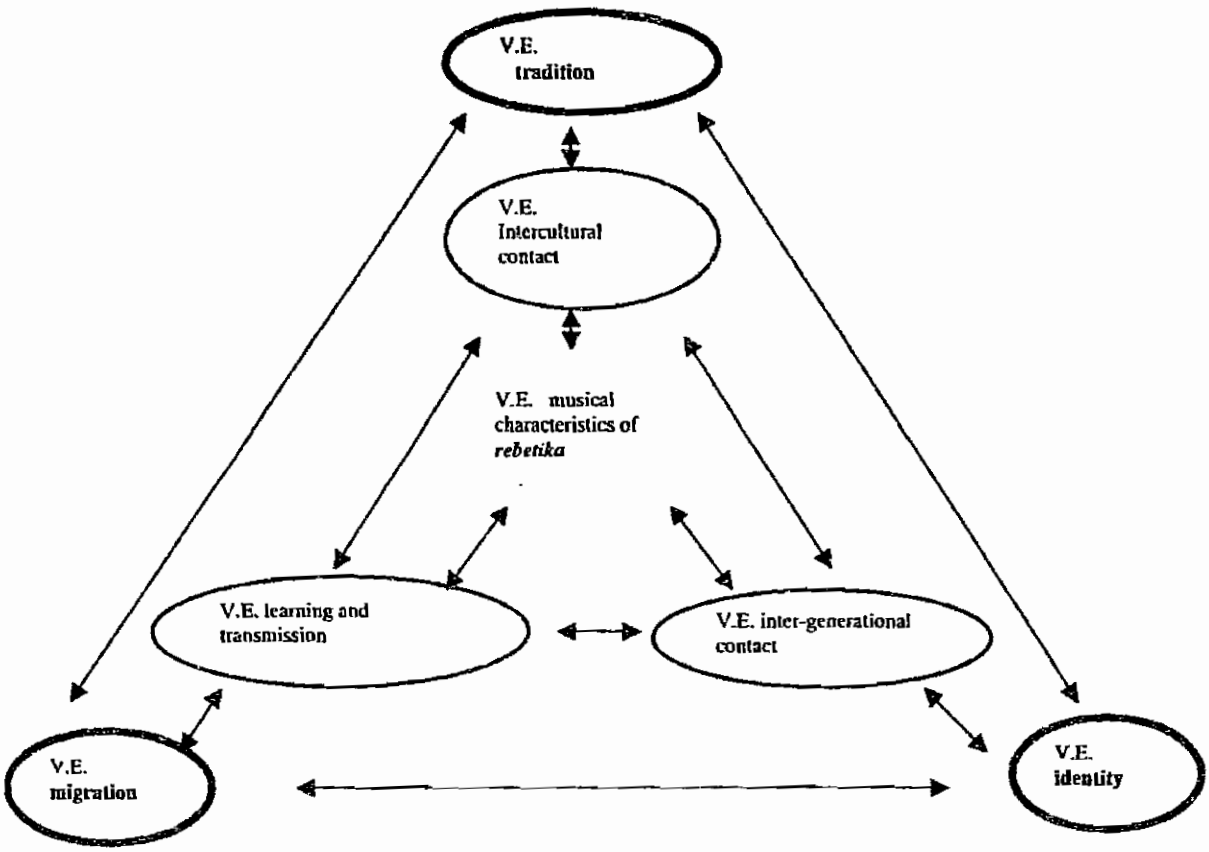
Differences in instrumentation reflected a fluid approach common to traditional music-makers around the world. That is, instruments central to the style and *chromata* of music were used wherever possible. In the Melbourne performances this involved the *bouzouki, baglama, tzoura* and guitar. The violin and *tsimbous* indicated *Smyrnaic* and early *Piraeotic chromata.* Only instruments not available to the Melbourne players at the time of performance, such as the *kanoun* and piano, were omitted.

CHAPTER NINE

CONCLUDING THE PHENOMENOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS

This study began by exploring how members of Melbourne's Greek-Australian diaspora communities faced the challenge of sensing and adapting to a new landscape and learning who they were in that landscape; how performers and audiences of Greek traditional music created new songlines in an old land. In *figure 9.1*, entitled Mapping New Songlines, I summarise how variations of musical, social and historical aspects of musicians' and audiences' experiences (variations of experience shown in figure 9.1 as V.E.) are interrelated in the songlines, which are shown by arrows in figure 9.1. In phenomenographic terms, the figure illustrates the structural framework within which various categories of experience and understanding about *rebetika* in Melbourne exist.

Figure 9.1 Mapping New Songlines



Different musicians had different experiences, in terms of the primary, secondary and tertiary categories of relevance (tradition, identity, migration, intercultural contact, learning and transmission, inter-generational contact, and the musical characteristics of *rebetika*) which are shown in equilateral triangles to reflect the non-hierarchical relationship between them, while the arrows show the interconnectedness between all the variations of experience. 'Pathways of discovery' are not indicated since variations of experience of *rebetika* differ for each traveller - musicians and audience members - along the songlines. Thus we can conclude that *rebetika* music in Melbourne occurs *in part* because Greek-Australians want to acquire or maintain a sense of their identity. It also occurs because of a desire to maintain a musical tradition or as part of the sharing of experiences between generations and different cultural groups in Melbourne. Pathways of discovery taken by individual musicians from generations *A*, *B* and *C* illustrate the different contexts of *rebetika* experience for each of the musicians, yet, the varied experiences of *rebetika* are interconnected: the micro-elements of variations of experience (shown above in tables 3.4, 3.5, 3.6, 4.1, 4.2, 4.3, 5.1, 5.2, 5.3, 5.4, 5.5 and 5.6) connect with the macro elements of categories of relevance.

The connections between the micro- and macro-elements of experience become clear in the following examples in which I consider pathways of discovery concerning 1) the skill of modulation from one *dromos* to another as an essential aspect of *taximia* and 2) acquisition of *rebetika* playing skills and repertoire in Melbourne. I have extrapolated the examples from several musicians.

The son of a Greek-Australian who arrived in Melbourne in the 1960s wished to deepen his understanding of *rebetika* modes after hearing *taximia* performed by a Greek-Australian *oud* player who arrived in Melbourne in the 1950s. He made contact with the musician to acquire modal experience and knowledge. The *oud* player introduced the student to a network of *oud* players in Melbourne including players

from the Turkish diaspora. Both student and teachers were in contact with a music brought to Australia by migrant musicians and their families. In the process of acquiring a deeper understanding of *rebetika* modes, he deepened his understanding of a Greek urban musical tradition and its connection to his sense of being a Greek-Australian. The example illustrates a pathway of discovery involving experiences of migration, intercultural contact, inter-generational contact, learning and transmission, identity, tradition and the acquisition of musical competencies.

The second example involved a group of second generation young Greek-Australians with basic instrumental skill and repertoire knowledge of *rebetika*. They formed a network amongst themselves to share their developing passion for traditional Greek music. Unable to find musicians more knowledgeable than themselves they sought recordings of *rebetika* songs, particularly reissued songs from the pre-1946 period, imported from Greece. Instrumental playing techniques, tunings, ensemble-types and song repertoire were acquired through processes of imitation. Eventually members of the network formed ensembles for public performances of their traditional repertoire. Over a period of ten years, they made contact with musicians from the preceding generation, shared and acquired their skills and became acknowledged by the Greek-Australian community as skilled and authoritative performers. In this example the pathway of discovery involved experiences of learning and transmission, tradition, inter-generational contact and acquisition of musical competencies.

The final categories of description resulting from my phenomenographic analysis are shown in relation to the categories of relevance in *table 9.2* below.

Table 9.2

Categories of description resulting from the phenomenographic analysis of experiences of rebetika in Melbourne in this thesis.

Categories of relevance	Category of description
Tradition Identity Migration	Continuity and discontinuity in human experience
Intercultural contact Inter-generational Contact Learning and transmission	Recontextualising and consolidating human experience
Musical Characteristics	Musical sound and extra musical associations

CHAPTER TEN

CONCLUSIONS

As a methodology for studying "differing ways in which people perceive, apprehend, understand and conceptualise various phenomena in, and aspects of, the world around them" (Marton: 1986: 31), I have found the phenomenographic method to be an effective tool for 1) examining how Greek-Australian musicians in Melbourne comprehend their lives 2) allowing the voices of participant musicians and audience members to be heard authentically and 3) explicating variations of musical experience and understandings derived from them.

The phenomenographic process applied to my informants' interview transcripts has shown that *rebetika* musicians in Melbourne have individually mastered "the array of interrelated skills and knowledge that is required" of musicians and audiences in the Greek-Australian tradition or musical community (Brinner, 1995: 28). This involved musicians and audience members in multiple experiences of tradition, identity, migration, intercultural and inter-generational contact, learning and transmission of skills which resulted in different perceptions associated with the sound of *rebetika*.

The mostly limited knowledge of *rebetika* repertoire, melodic and rhythmic modalities and improvisation practices of the amateur musicians who arrived in Melbourne in the 1950s formed the basis from which the music took root. It was their musical tenacity that eventually engaged an audience from amongst the Greek-Australian community big enough to make possible the development of more *rebetika* venues in the 1960s as well as encouraging an interest in the music large enough to support the development of a small, local Greek-Australian music industry. It was an

environment lively enough to attract professional *rebetika* instrumentalists to Melbourne in the 1960s. This trend continued throughout the 1960s and 1970s as musicians and audiences increased their experiences of *rebetika* music associated particularly with the *laika* and *archondorebetika* period.

From the mid-1970s a second generation of Greek-Australian musicians emerged in Melbourne. They were approximately the same age as the revivalist *rebetika* musicians who established themselves in Greece after the fall of the Military Junta in 1974. In the early stages very few of these musicians acquired their initial performance and repertoire skills from musicians of the previous generation. Instead, they developed their skills initially through an interest in other popular music and, for some, in traditional Celtic music. This led to an interest in the traditional music of Greece, particularly *Smyrnaic* and *Piraeotic rebetika* repertoire and the acquisition of skills associated with its performance. Recordings of pre-1946 *rebetika* were a main source of repertoire. Imitating the modal and instrumental sounds of these recordings was the main means by which the musicians acquired the musical competencies needed to perform the music. They were particularly keen to deepen their knowledge of mode and instrumental timbre and improvisational skills of *rebetika* performance known as *taximia* and *amanades*.

Some musicians, particularly from generation *B*, consider pre-1946 performance styles and instrument types as being part of an 'older' (the implication being more authentic) *rebetika* tradition compared with *rebetika* in Greece and Melbourne in the 1950s and 1960s. Another line of demarcation between 'older' and 'newer' perceptions of *rebetika* tradition related to the oral transmission of the music in the early twentieth century and later transmission via the USA and European recordings industries from the 1930s. Some Greek musicians held that Greek-Australian musicians play an important role as keepers of Greek traditional music practices, believing that diaspora musicians are able to "freeze" traditions since they have not

been subject to the same influences of change that have occurred in mainland Greece since the 1950s: Thus performers of traditional Greek music amongst Melbourne's Greek diaspora communities played a role in the maintenance of Greece's global identity.

In the 1950s and 1960s in Melbourne, non-Greeks tended to endow the sound of *rebetika* with stereotypical, sometimes racist, attitudes about Greek-Australians. Attitudes such as these were related to official policies aimed at the assimilation of people of non-Anglo-European origin and the achievement of cultural homogeneity in Australia: an infertile context for *rebetika*, other world traditional musics and for developing a sense of Greek-Australian identity. From the 1970s these policies and associations waned to be replaced by cultural policies based on ideologies of multiculturalism and cultural diversity. The adoption of these policies coincided with the emergence of generation *B* musicians in the late 1970s and early 1980s. As members of the dominant culture in Melbourne increased their awareness and acceptance of cultural differences, they became more tolerant of non-Anglo-European traditional music.

Issues of identity associated with *rebetika* differed between generations *A* and *B* as a result of different social and political contexts lived through by members of each generation. For most musicians and audience members *rebetika* music-making has been a means for sustaining or reconnecting to their Greek identity. For some musicians and audience members, observing the spontaneous involvement of third generation Greek-Australians in traditional dance displays amounted to a "ceremonial gesture" of reconnection to their traditional Greek heritage.

Issues of gender identity in relation to *rebetika* were scarcely mentioned by male musicians. The few references to gender were made by two women *bouzouki* (and other instruments) players both of whom began their association with *rebetika Compania* in the early 1980s and went on to form their own traditional Greek music

ensembles. However, men and women musicians generally understood that historically, *rebetika* has been an androcentric genre in which women were assigned the role of singers and players of rhythmic accompanying instruments, while men were both singers and the main instrumentalists in *rebetiki Compania*. Generally, this is still the case today in Melbourne. A scholarly exploration of issues of gender and sexuality in relation to *rebetika* would be a useful addition to research in this field.

Greek experiences of migration to Melbourne and other parts of Australia are seen as part of Greece's ancient history of migration. The story of *rebetika* music, a cultural phenomenon which evolved partly as a result of forced and voluntary, internal and external migration, is part of this history. In Melbourne tensions associated with feelings of dual identity and experiences of geographic and temporal dislocation resulting from migration to Australia, affected perceptions of the role of *rebetika* in a new land and its transmission from generation *A* to generation *B*. That is, most rural Greek migrants in the 1950s and 1960s probably believed rebetika music did not represent an acceptable aspect of Greek identity in their new land. Furthermore, adapting to Australia and work commitments were more important than the maintenance of traditional music outside family and community festivals.

As *rebetika* music came to have meaning for the second generation of Greek-Australian musicians in Melbourne, contact between musicians from generations *A* and *B* grew as their music-making converged in the late 1970s. However, differences in their experience of *rebetika* in Melbourne remained a significant factor of their relationship.

The relocation of Greeks to Melbourne brought *rebetika* musicians and their music into contact with a new cultural environment. While extra-musical associations linked to *rebetika* in Melbourne were determined directly as a result of experiences of migration, the sound of *rebetika* has not been radically transformed, for example, through synthesis with other forms of music in Melbourne. However, acquisition of

instruments, the learning and sharing of musical skills and collaborative performance events between members of the Greek, Turkish, Spanish and Irish communities have resulted from intercultural contact. Connections with Ottoman and Byzantine musical and cultural history, adaptations of oriental and occidental melodic and rhythmic modes and adaptation and/or inclusion of Turkish, Arab and Western European musical instruments, are perceived to be evidence of intercultural influences on *rebetika* in Greece and Melbourne.

Whilst the sound of *rebetika* in Melbourne has not been radically transformed, musical sound qualities heard on recordings of Greek popular music imported to Melbourne from Greece, produced from an imported master disc and then distributed in Australia, or performed and recorded and produced in Melbourne, confirm differences in the sound of *rebetika* performed or listened to by Greek-Melbournians from the 1960s to the present day. Some early recordings, particularly those featuring generation *A* musicians, featured sound qualities originating from the broad spectrum of music from Asia Minor achieved by the use of *oud, saz, toubeleki,* violin and vocal techniques heard in *Smyrnaic* song. Other recordings verify instrumentation and performance styles akin to mid- and late-*archondorebetika*, particularly the electronic amplification of instruments and inclusion of electronic guitars, keyboards and parts of the modern drum-kit.

Early recordings of *rebetika* performed by generation *B* musicians indicate their propensity for *Piraeotic* and *Smyrnaic* rebetika styles and their desire to recreate authentic *chromata* through the use of appropriate tunings, modes and instrumentation. Later recordings show the results of intercultural contact with musicians from the Irish and Turkish communities.That is, performance and recording collaborations with visiting performers of traditional Irish music, members of Melbourne's Irish diaspora community and acquisition of modal knowledge and improvisation skills from Turkish-Australian musicians.

A comparision of two command performances with source recordings of 27 songs identified by the Melbourne ensemble *Apodimi Compania* to represent the *rebetika* genre, showed how a group of generation *B* musicians personalised the music by making spontaneous and individual changes to the musical characteristics while maintaining the core characteristics of the original songs. These changes included pitching songs to either match individual vocal abilities, changing the pitch of a source recording to reflect more closely perceived norms of instrumental tuning, variations in tempi, varying instrumentation according to availability or personal preferences and exclusion or inclusion of spontaneous elements of *rebetika* performance such as *taximia* and ornamentation.

Generally, generation *B* singers did not affect singing styles such as the *Smyrnaic* ornamentation, mangas drawl or *skilathika* style of the post-1950s *bouzoukia* or *kosmiki* tavernas: the latter, because of a disdain for the style and the former, because the singers have not acquired the same range of techniques used in pre-1946 *rebetika* performance. Nevertheless, they aimed to achieve an authentic personal sound that was "true" to their music-making.

The learning and transmitting of *rebetika* repertoire and playing skills across three generations have been a significant aspect of Melbourne's Greek-Australians' attempts to construct and then maintain their identity. Musicians acquired musical competencies through both formal and informal learning processes. The majority of generation *A* and *B* musicians did not consider themselves to be "educated" musicians as they were not musically literate. Rather, they learned to listen and acquire repertoire and performance skills informally. However, more recent evidence suggests that formal learning processes involving musical literacy are becoming more significant to generation *C* musicians.

Transmission of *rebetika* performance skills from generation *A* to generation *B* was delayed by the pressing need of generation *A* musicians to face the challenges of

settling into a new country. However, from the early-1990s, inter-generational contact between *rebetika* musicians in Melbourne facilitated the transference of modal knowledge, improvisation skills and knowledge of repertoire from generation *A* to generation *B* musicians. From the same time, a number of generation *B* musicians extended their musical competencies through contact with musicians in Greece. This involved the musicians in extended visits to the country, or permanent return migration.

The range and quality of musical competencies associated with *rebetika* performance in Melbourne have grown considerably over the last fifty years. For some generation *A* and *B* musicians, the acquisition of skills involved making *rebetika* musical instruments. Comparison of musical instruments used by both generations of musicians shows that those interested in the performance of pre-1946 *rebetika* styles had either to import or to make appropriate instruments themselves. Their ergological efforts often involved the deconstruction and reconstruction of instruments, which sometimes led to the creation of hybrid instruments, a practice not uncommon in Greece during the first half of the twentieth century. There are still two professional Greek-Australian instrument-makers in Melbourne, one of whom has created two instruments unique to Melbourne known as a *bouzoukoni* (part-guitar and part-*bouzouki)* and a *tzoura* with four (instead of three) double courses of strings.

Systematic studies of classification systems for traditional Greek musical instruments, including *rebetika* instruments, are limited. Future research projects are needed. From my organological review of rebetika instruments I believe that classification of the instruments could begin with an historically-based classification referring to stylistic periods. With regard to plucked and bowed string instruments classification according to variations in number and types of frets, string courses and positioning and type of tuning heads and pegs, decorative features and woods used in construction etc are areas of classification which could be considered. I have also suggested (using

Kartomi's terms) "culture-emerging" and "observer-imposed" (Kartomi, 2001: 298) for classification of rebetika instruments. These schemes are based on 1) generalised musical roles of instruments in rebetika ensembles such as rhythmic, melodic, chordal and harmonic 2) monophonic and polyphonic roles of instruments 3) instruments associated with the performance of *taximia* 4) perceived regional identities/origins associated with instruments 5) gender instrumental performance and 6) stylistic traits of the rebetika singing voice.

Each of the above experiences compelled Greek-Australian musicians and audiences to face issues of cultural, geographical, individual and social change as they made sense of the continuity and discontinuity caused by migration in their lives. Musicians from generations *A* and *B* and their audiences faced the challenges of change according to their personal histories, membership of social class, and cultural experience as they adjusted to Melbourne's environment. As they migrated and settled in Melbourne, they and their children matured in a different environment from that of their parents. They had to question what was stable or unstable, permanent or impermanent, connected or disrupted in their lives. To make sense of continuities and discontinuities they began to lay down their *rebetika* (and *demotika*) songlines in their new land. Thus *rebetika* music in Melbourne functioned as a map to the past, a sign of the present and a pointer to the future for the musicians and their audience.

Rebetika is now performed in a plethora of clubs, restaurants, pubs, festivals and community celebrations and is regularly broadcast on national and local radio stations. *Rebetika* music-making in Melbourne has demonstrated how musicians and audiences have "intertwined" musical and "other modes of social interaction" (Brinner, 1995: 3) in a process of recontextualising and consolidating their lives in a new land. Although *rebetika* was once a local music in Greece's urban ports, it has acquired a global audience in the last 50 years through its dissemination by global

electronic media and relocation by diaspora musicians. At the same time it is still a local music with varied styles as in Melbourne and Adelaide.

Thus, *rebetika* has played an important role in helping Greek-Australian musicians and audiences in Melbourne adapt to the discontinuities caused inevitably by migration, giving them a sense of continuity between their old and new environments, allowing them to recontextualise their former cultural experiences and consolidate their sense of Greek-Australian identity.

My research has involved my undertaking a personal journey of sonic, social and historical discovery. As a non-Greek in the community of Greek-Australians, my view of the music, its development and identity is limited and remains that of a foreign male outsider, despite basing my analysis on their accounts, views and performances of men, and a few women, in the Greek-Melbourne community. The story of the Melbourne experience begs the question: what does it mean to be Greek-Australian in other Australian communities? The music of the stories, other songlines, await to help us 'sing up the country' in the twenty-first century.

APPENDIX A

Names of informants listed in alphabetical order

Alifragis, Chris
Argyropoulos, Archie
Amarianakis, Giorgos
Andronikos, Pavlos
Athanasopoulos, George
Baltsidis, Christos
Batis, Christos
Cosmas, Hector
Caras, Spiros
Dragoumis, Markos
Dimitriou, Tassos
Demetriou, Christella
Daly, Ross
Euripidou, Varnavas
Gergelis, Christos
Galiatsos, George
Galiatsos, Manolis
Illiou, Tony
Ioannidis, Tassos
Kavouras, Anestis
Kiriakidis, George
Koikas, Nick
Kondanis, Thanasis
Kamilera, Lizetta
Liavas, Lambros
Mavropoulos, Georgos
Mavropoulos, Panayiotis
Milonas, Dionysius
Polychronopoulos, Bill
Raftis, Alkis
Stathoulopoulos, Yiota
Stathoulopoulos, Maria
Sapekidis, George
Sapekidis, Nick
Samiou, Domna
Spiridakos, Bill
Trahanas, Harry
Tourloubis, Takis
Tsicaderis, Costa
Vela, Irini
Volaris, Peter
Yiangoulis, Achilleas
Zougouridis, Euclides
Zervos, Komninos

APPENDIX B

Discography of electronic recordings featuring musical instruments described as rebetika instruments on recordings made in Greece, Asia Minor and the United States of America between 1906 and 1940.

Αγνωστες ηχογραφησεις ρεμπετικων 1922-1940 (Unknown recordings of rebetiko songs, 1922-1940) The Greek Archives, The Greek Phonograph, vol. 12, 1996

Διαφοροι Το ρεμπετικο τραγουδι, (Various artists: rebetiko songs) No. 4, Columbia 26117 2, 1994/1987/1988

Διαφοροι Το ρεμπετικο τραγουδι, (Various artists: rebetiko songs) No. 5, Columbia 26118 2, 1994/1987/1988

Greek-Oriental Rebetica: Songs and Dances in the Asia Minor Style, The Golden Years: 1911-1937 Folklyric CD 7005, 1991

Γυναικες του ρεμπετικου (Women of the Rebetiko Song), The Greek Archives 632, The Greek Phonograph, Vol. 6, 1996

Lost Homelands, The Smyrnaic Song in Greece, 1928-1935, Heritage CD 27. 1994.

Μαγκικα, Songs of the Manghes, vol. 1, 1928-1938, The Greek Archives FM 753, 1998

Μαγκικα, Songs of the Manghes vol. 2 1926-1940, The Greek Archives FM 754, 1998

My Only Consolation, Classic Pireotic Rembetica, 1932-1946, Rounder CD 1136, 1999

Περι Ινδικης Κανναβεως (About Indian Cannabis) 1928-1946, The Greek Archives, FM 756, 1997

Rembetica in Piraeus vol. 11, 1933-1937, Heritage CD 30, 1995.

Τα τραγουδια του λιμανιου, Alfa MI Records CD 583 1, 1997.

The Giants of Rebetiko, AEPI/EMSE Music Circle 5000-001, 1995

Το ρεμπετικο τραγουδι στην ΑΜΕΡΙΚΗ (The Rebetiko Song in America) 1920-1950, The Greek Phonograph,The Greek Archives 629, vol. 1, 1996

Τραγουδια του υποκοσμου (Songs of the underground), The Greek Phonograph, vol. 5. The Greek Archives 631, 1996

ΣΜΥΡΝΕΙΚΑ & ΑΜΑΝΕΔΕΣ 1927-1937, ΑΥΘΕΝΤΙΚΑ ΡΕΜΠΕΤΙΚΑ ΤΗΣ ΑΜΕΡΙΚΗΣ, ΦΑΛΗΡΕΑ Music Box International CD 118

Smirneiko et Rebetiko, Les Grandes Chanteuses, (The Great Singers of Smirneiko and Rebetiko) Enregistrements Historique 1915-1936, Silex Memoire CD Y225114, 1995.

APPENDIX C

Discographic details of fifty two rebetika and rebetika-related songs recorded ca 1960s-1985 sourced from the ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ ΤΡΑΓΟΥΙΩΝ ΠΟΥ ΕΧΟΥΝ ΓΡΑΦΤΕΙ ΚΑΙ ΕΚΔΟΘΕΙ ΣΤΗΝ ΑΥΣΤΡΑΛΙΑ ΣΕ ΔΙΣΚΟΥΣ Η ΚΑΣΕΤΤΕΣ

45 rpms

ΓΙΑΤΙ ΓΛΥΚΙΜΟΥ ΚΛΑΙΣ (HMV 7XGA 971)
ΜΑΝΑ ΚΑΙ ΞΕΝΙΤΕΙΑ (HMV 7XGA 1335)
ΔΥΣΤΥΧΙΣΜΕΝΕΣ ΒΑΣΑΝΙΣΜΕΝΕΣ (Golden Sound, P.N.I. No. 333)
ΠΑΡΕ ΜΕ ΝΟΙΚΟΚΥΡΑ ΣΟΥ (Panivar, PA-532-B)
ΤΑ ΤΕΡΤΕΜ ΕΓΩ ΤΡΑΓΩΔΩ (W&G CWG 8301 TP 808-B)
ΕΝΑΝ ΡΑΚΙΝ (W&G 7016B)
Η ΓΡΑΙΑ ΚΑΙ ΤΟ ΜΙΝΙ (W&G 7016A)
ΘΑ ΤΟ ΠΩ ΦΑΝΕΡΑ (HMV 7XGA 1545)
ΠΑΩ ΣΤΗΝ ΑΥΣΤΡΑΛΙΑ (HMV 1544)
ΣΚΙΖΩ ΤΟ ΔΙΑΒΑΤΗΡΙΟ, (Columbia, 7XCG 2741)
ΓΕΝΤΙΚΟΥΛΕΣ (Apollo SY-17 S6 366)
ΤΟ ΠΛΟΥΣΙΟΠΑΙΔΟ (NINA P-945)
ΕΜΠΑ ΣΤΟ ΚΑΡΡΟ ΚΟΥΚΛΑ ΜΟΥ, (NINA 4513B),
ΚΛΑΙΩ ΤΟ ΧΑΛΙ ΜΟΥ (MUSE DS 105A)
ΠΗΡΕΣ ΨΗΛΑ ΤΟΝ ΑΜΑΝΕ (Peterphone, PV-33-B)
ΠΩΣ ΝΑ ΧΩΡΙΣΟΥΝ ΔΥΟ ΚΑΡΔΙΕΣ (Greek Favourites, OKKAS 002-A),
ΧΕΛΙΔΟΝΙ ΜΟΥ ΣΕ ΠΗΡΑΝ (Elladis, Panivar , PA 4A)
ΑΜΑΝ Η ΓΡΙΝΙΑ ΣΟΥ (Athénée W&G-GS-4003)
Η ΞΕΝΙΤΕΙΑ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΒΑΡΕΙΑ, (W&G NK 701B)
Ο ΑΣΩΤΟΣ ΥΙΟΣ, (Politis, Musicbox 847A)

Extended Play 45 rpm

ΔΙΣΚΟΙ ΤΣΑΚΠΙΝΑ, 1980, (KOALA MUNGA RECORD COMPANY no. 221180 A.F. 491G,) includes the following songs featuring Thimios Stathoulopoulos and Varnavas: 1) ΤΣΙΓΓΑΝΑ ΜΟΥ ΣΑΤΡΑΠΙΣΣΑ 2)ΑΡΓΟΠΕΘΑΙΝΩ ΜΕΣ ΤΗΝ ΞΕΝΙΤΕΙΑ 3) ΜΠΑΓΛΑΜΑ ΜΟΥ 4) ΤΣΙΦΤΕΤΕΛΙ ΤΟΥ ΘΥΜΙΟΥ

Long Play 33 rpm

ΗΛΙΑΣ ΚΑΩΝΑΡΙΔΗΣ (1979) Panivar, D152, songs include:
ΧΑΤΖΗΚΥΡΙΑΚΕΙΟ
ΚΟΜΠΟΛΟΓΑΚΙ
ΣΕΡΒΙΚΟΣ ΧΟΡΟΣ
ΒΑΓΓΕΛΙΤΣΑ
Ο ΑΝΤΩΝΗΣ Ο ΒΑΡΚΑΡΗΣ Ο ΣΕΡΕΤΗΣ
ΑΡΧΟΝΤΙΣΣΑ
ΜΠΑΞΕ ΤΣΙΦΛΙΚΙ
ΣΥΝΝΕΦΙΑΣΜΕΝΗ ΚΥΡΙΑΚΗ
ΧΑΘΗΚΕΣ

ΚΑΠΕΤΑΝ ΑΝΔΡΕΑ ΖΕΠΠΟ
ΧΑΡΑΜΑΤΑ ΜΕ ΤΑ ΜΠΟΥΖΟΥΚΙΑ
ΤΟ ΜΙΝΟΡΕ ΤΗΣ ΑΥΓΗΣ

ΑΠΟ ΤΗΝ ΑΥΣΤΡΑΛΙΑ ΜΕ ΑΓΑΠΗ, 1984, Columbia 062-1700621

ΕΙΔΑ ΝΑ ΓΥΡΝΑΣ ΣΤΟΥΣ ΔΡΟΜΟΥΣ
ΤΑ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΑ
ΗΤΑΝ Η ΝΥΧΤΑ
ΣΕΧΡΑΖΑΤ

ΤΑ ΡΕΜΠΕΤΙΚΑ ΤΗΣ ΜΕΛΒΟΥΡΝΗΣ, 1985, TS Records 01

Αφιερωμα στον Τσιτσανη (A Tribute to Tsitsanis)
Ρεμπετης ειμαι απο τους παλιους (I am one of the old rembetes)
Αργοπεθαινω μες στην ξενιτια (I die slowly in a foreign country)
Τσιγγανα μου σατραπισσα (My beautiful gypsy girl)
Ριχνω μια ομορφη πεννια (I am playing a beautiful tune)
Το τσιφτετελι του Θυμιου (Thimios' tsiftiteli)
Μπουζουκια στην Μελβουρνη (Bouzoukia in Melbourne)
Πινω το ποτηρι μου (I am having a drink)
Μοναχος με βασανα στα ξενα (Alone suffering in a foreign country)
Οπα, Οπα μπαγλαμα μου (Opa, Opa my baglama)
Εγω δεν μπορεσα ποτε (I never managed)
Τραλαλα-τραλαλα (Tralala –tralala)

APPENDIX D

Discographic details of twenty rebetika and rebetika-related songs recorded between 1986 and 1992 sourced from the ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ ΤΡΑΓΟΥΔΙΩΝ ΠΟΥ ΕΧΟΥΝ ΓΡΑΦΤΕΙ ΚΑΙ ΕΚΔΟΘΕΙ ΣΤΗΝ ΑΥΣΤΡΑΛΙΑ ΣΕ ΔΙΣΚΟΥΣ Η ΚΑΣΕΤΤΕΣ and two Compact Disc recordings produced by *Apodimi Compania* in 2000 entitled *Apodimi Compania* Plays Rebetika Live At The Retreat and ΡΕΜΠΕΤΙΚΗ 'ΠΕΡΙ ΟΥΣΙΑΣ' (Rebetiki in ESSENCE).[109]

Rebetika Songs featuring *Apodimi Compania*, 1986/7, Brunswick Recordings 03, Melbourne

ΜΑΝΑ ΔΙΩΞΕ ΤΟΥΣ ΓΙΑΤΡΟΥΣ, (Σ. ΧΡΥΣΙΝΗ) (Mother send the doctors away)
ΧΡΙΣΤΙΝΑΚΙ (Μ. ΒΑΜΒΑΚΑΡΗ) (Little Christina)
ΧΤΕΣ ΤΟ ΒΡΑΔΥ ΣΤΟΥ ΚΑΡΙΠΗ (ΠΑΡΑΔΟΣΙΑΚΟ) Last night at Karipis
ΤΑ ΧΑΝΟΥΜΑΚΙΑ (Κ. ΚΑΡΙΠΗ) The harem girls
ΤΟ ΚΑΤΣΑΡΟ ΣΟΥ ΤΟ ΜΑΛΛΙ (ΠΑΡΑΔΟΣΙΑΚΟ) Your curly locks
ΑΠΟΨΕ ΜΕ ΕΓΚΑΤΕΛΕΙΨΕΣ (Σ. ΧΡΥΣΙΝΗ) Tonight you deserted me
ΤΟ ΣΑΚΚΑΚΙ (Α. ΔΕΛΙΑ) The coat
ΟΙ ΜΠΑΓΛΑΜΑΔΕΣ (Σ. ΚΗΡΟΜΥΤΗ) The baglamas
ΜΕΣ ΣΤΗΝ ΑΘΗΝΑ ΤΡΙΓΥΡΝΑΣ (ΠΑΡΑΔΟΣΙΑΚΟ) In Athens you roam
ΜΑΣ ΤΗ ΣΚΑΣΑΝΕ (ΠΑΡΑΔΟΣΙΑΚΟ) They double crossed us
ΟΙ ΦΥΛΑΚΕΣ ΤΟΥ ΟΡΩΠΟΥ (Γ. ΜΠΑΤΗ) The prisons of Oropos

Patris, (Homeland) Brunswick Recordings No. 0010, Melbourne, 1989

ΚΑΗΚΕ ΕΝΑ ΣΧΟΛΕΙΟ (ΠΑΡΑΔΟΣΙΑΚΟ) A school was burnt down

***Apodimi Compania*, Melissma** Brunswick Recordings BRCD 17, Melbourne, 1992

ΑΠΟ ΚΑΤΩ ΑΠ' ΤΙΣ ΝΤΟΜΑΤΕΣ (ΠΑΡΑΔΟΣΙΑΚΟ) Under the tomato vines
ΨΕΥΤΙΚΟΣ ΝΤΟΥΝΙΑΣ (Μαρκος Βαμβακαρη) (False World)
ΟΤΑΝ ΜΠΟΥΚΑΡΩ ΣΤΟΝ ΤΕΚΕ (Ανεστη Δελια) (When I go into the hash-den)
ΕΣΥ ΤΑ ΦΤΑΙΣ (Κωοστα Κανουλα) (It's your fault)
Ο ΓΙΑΤΡΟΣ (ΠΑΡΑΔΟΣΙΑΚΟ) (The Doctor)
ΔΕΝ Σ'ΑΓΑΠΩ (Κωοστα Καρυτη) (don't love you)
ΤΖΙΤΖΙΦΙΩΤΙΣΣΑ (ΑΝΟΝ.) (The lass from Tzitzifies)

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[109] Live at the Retreat includes recordings made by *Apodimi Compania* of various performances at the Retreat Hotel, Brunswick between 1993-1994. Rebetiki In Essence was recorded in 1997-1998 at Atlantis Studios, Melbourne, in March 2000.

ΜΕΣ ΣΤΟΝ ΤΕΚΕ ΤΗΣ ΜΑΡΙΓΩΣ (Σπυρου Περιστερη) (In Marigo's Hash-den)

***Apodimi Compania* Plays Rebetika Live at the Retreat, (PMI, 2000, Through Studio 52, 52CD256)**

Φανταξες σαν πριγκηπεσσα (Princess) (Basilis Titsanis)
Δεν σε θελω ψευτη μορτη (I want you no more) (P. Tounas)
Παρε πια το δρομο σου (Take your road I'll take mine) (A.K. Smimeos/D. Traiforos)
Ενας μαγκας στον τεκε μου (A wise guy in my hash-den) (Kostas Dzovenos)
Αθηναιΐσα (Athenian Girl) (Anestis Delias)
Καλογερακι (The Monk) (Yannis Papaioannou)
Σακραμεντο (Sacramento) (George Katsaros)
Λα μινορε τσιφτετελι (A-minor Tsifteteli) (not known)
Σμυρνεικο (Instrumental from Smyrna) (traditional)
Πρεπει να ξερεις μηχανη (You need to be wily) (Markos Vamvakaris)
Μες στη πολλη σκοτουρα μου (In all my trouble) (Basilis Tsitsanis)
Περσεφονη/Γλεντι και χορος (Persephone/ Fun and dance hasaposerviko)
Παραπονιαρικο κουκλι (Whingeing Doll) (Apostolos Hatzihristos)
Δυο μαγκες μες στη φυλακη (Two wise guys in jail) (Kostas Dzovenous)
Μην ορκιζεσσαι βρε ψευτρα (G. Petropouleas/D. Semsis)

Rebetiki ΠΕΡΙ ΟΥΣΙΑΣ, (Rebetiki In Essence) (PMI, 2000, DEXCD 4197).

Μεθυσμενος (The Drunkard) (Y. Ogdontakis)
Κατινακι (Katinaki) (K. Karipis)
Γι' αυτα τα μαυρα ματια σου (For your dark eyes) V. Tsitsanis)
Τουρκολιμανιωτισσα (Girl from Tourkolimano (K. Skarvelis)
Μπατιρη με καταντησες (You made me desititute) (V. Tsitsanis)
Μην κανεις ονειρα τρελλά (Forget your crazy dreams) (A. Kaldaras)
Ειναι μια στο Περιστερι (There's a girl in Peristeri) (P. Tountas)
Πες το ναι (Just say yes) (K. Skarvelis)
Ενας μαγκας στον τεκε μου (A wiseguy in my hash den) (K. Dzovenos)
Να με αφησεις ησυχο (Leave me in peace) (V. Tsitsanis)
Για σενα μαυρομματα μου (Dark eyed girl) (S.Dark eyed girl) (S. Peristeris)
Λαλα, αηδονι, λαλα (Sing, nightingale, sing) (D. Georgiadis)
Αντε να πεθανεις (I wish you were dead (traditional)

APPENDIX E

Discographic details of twenty seven recordings of *rebetika* recordings selected by members of *Apodimi Compania* as a representative cross-section of the genre which are used by them as source songs for inclusion in their Melbourne repertoire.

Ο Ψαρας (The Fisherman), composed by Mitsakis, recorded ca 1946, sung by Stratos reissued on Sinthetes Tou Rebetikou, Giorgos Mitsakis 2, Minos-EMI, 72 43 48 06 95 28, 1995.

Μαυρα ματια μαυρα φρυδια (Dark eyes, dark brow), composed by Markos Vamvakaris, recorded by Vamvakaris, 1935, reissued on Markos Vamvakaris, EMI 062-1702 001, 1987.

Ο Συναχης (The sniffer),composed and performed by Markos Vamvakaris, recorded in 1934, reissued on The Greek Archives, Songs of the Manghes, vol., 1928-1938, FM 753, 1998.

Το Χρ~~υ~~μα δεν το λογαριαζω (I don't care for money), composed by Manolio Hiotis, sung by Stratos, reissued on Rebetika Historia, 1925-1955, EMI, 14C 048-70365, 1975.

Σαν γυριζα απ'τ~~ο~~ν Πυλο (As I returned from Pylos), recorded in 1935, sung by Stratos Payoumdzis, reissued on Rembetica in Piraeus, vol. 1, 1933-1937, HT CD 30, 1995.

Αθηναιησσα, (Girl from Athens), recorded by Anestis Delias ca 1937, reissued on Rebetica In Piraeus, 1933-1937, vol. 11, HT CD 30, 1995.

Απ τον καιρο που αρχισα (Ever since I started), composed and sung by Anestis Delias, recorded 1935, reissued by Minos-EMI, CD Διωνο 31 Τα Σκληρα, 1998.

Το ματοκλαδα σου (Your eyelashes), composed by Markos Vamvakaris, recorded ca 1936, source version sung by Steïios Vamvakaris, reissued on 40 Χρονια, Βαμβακαρης, EMI-Minos, CDs nos: 185, 71262, 4802032 and 1967/83/87

Τραβα τραβα (Drive on) composed and sung by Χατζιχρηστου, recorded 1952, Αρχειο Συνθετες του ρεμπετικου. 37, Apostolos Χατζιχρηστου 1, Minos Nargo, no. 8225, 1981.

Στο χαπηλειο του Φωτη (At Fotis' tavern), composed and sung by Kostas Roukounas, ca early 1930s, reissued on Οι Μεγαλοι του ρεμπετικου, No. 8, Kostas Roukounas, Fable Sound, EMI-Minos, 01 4802677, 1994

Μες στου Μανθου τον τεκε (In Manthos hash den), performed and recorded by Dalgas ca 1932, reissued on Dalgas, 1928-33, HT CD 34, 1997.

Θωμας, (Thomas), composed by Stavros Sarhakos, recorded 1983, Ρεμπετικο, CD CBS 450637 2, 1983.

Μες στης πολης το χαμαμ (In the town baths), composed and sung by Anestis Delias, reissued on CD Τα Απογορευμενα Ρεμπετικα, nos. 1 and 2, CD EMI D3 4010121, 1993.

Μες στου Βαβουλα τη Γουβα, (In Vavoula's dive), recorded in 1937, composed by St. Keromitis, sung by St. Keromitis and Ef. Payioumidzis, reissued on Rembetica in Piraeus, vol. 11, 1933-1937, HT CD 30. 1995.

Φερτε πρεζα να πρεζαρω (Bring me some heroin), recorded 1934, composed by P. Tounda, sung by Rita Abadazi, reissue on Lost Homelands, The Smyrnaic Song In Greece, 1928-1935, HT CD 27, 1991.

Ζουρλοπαινεμενης Γεννα, (Child of a crazy mother), composed by E. Papazoglou, reissued on Smirneiko et Rebetiko, Les Grande Chanteuse, enregistrements historique 1915-1936, Silex Memoire CD Y225114, 1995.

Ο Καλογερος (The Monk), composed by Markos Vamvakaris, sung by Vamvakaris and Rosa Eskenazey, recorded 1935, reissued by, 40 Χρονια, Βαμβακαρης, EMI-Minos, CD nos: 185, 71262, 4802032 and 1967/83/87

Μικρος αρραβωνιαστηκα (I was engaged young), composed by Vamvakaris, recorded 1938, reissued on, 40 Χρονια, Βαμβακαρης, EMI-Minos, CDs nos: 185, 71262, 4802032 and 1967/83/87

Τι Παθος ατελειωτος, (Endless Passion), composed by Vamvakaris, recorded by Γρηγορης Μπιθικοωτης on 40 Χρονια ΒαμΒακαρις, EMI Minos, CDs nos: 185, 71262, 4802032 and 1967/83/87

Παλιοζωη (False world), (*Apodimi Compania* acquired this song from an "unknown" cassette recording source).

Πεντε Ελληνες στον Αδη (Five Greeks in Hell), composed Γ. Παπαιωαννου, sung by Odyseus Moskonas, ΜΥΘΟΣ ΡΕΜΠΕΤΙΚΟΣ, no. 1. Papaioannou, Fable Sound, Minos-EMI, CD 8571712.

Τα δυο χερια (Your two hands), composed by Vamvakaris, sung by Vamvakaris and Apostolos Hatzihristos 1937, reissued on Markos Vamvakaris, Bouzouki Pioneer, 1932-1940, Rounder CD 1139, 1995.

Οι μαγκες δεν υπαρχουν πια (There are no more manges left), composed by Nikos Papazoglou, 1988, ΤΑ ΔΗΘΕΝ, Lyra, CD 00119, 1988.

Ντερμπεντερισσα (Polite lady), composed and sung by Antonis Dalgas, recorded in 1933, reissued on Lyra CD 4621, 1992.

Μες τη πολλη σκοτουρα μου (Amongst all my troubles). Μυθος ρεμπετικου. Τσιτσανης, 4, Minos-EMI, no. 72433 57206228, 1997.

Για σενα μαυρα ματια μου (Dark eyed girl), composed by Spiros Peristeris 1937, sung by Stratos Payoumdzis and Kosta Roukounas, Rebetika Tragoudia, Fable Sound, Dureco [1] DP1 029, 1992.

Κατινακι (Katinaki) Great Voices of Constantinople, 1927-1933, Rounder CD 1113, 1997.

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