Rebetika Music-Making in Adelaide:

Diaspora Musical Style and Identity

Volume 1

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Abstract

The *rebetika* belong to an urban music-making tradition of Greek-speaking people which developed over the past century in Asia Minor (now Turkey), Greece and the United States. They comprise composed songs of love, lament, celebration and social commentary, as well as instrumental pieces, dance music and free improvisations. Between 1920 and 1960, *rebetika* peaked in popularity as a commercially recorded music and influenced all subsequent popular music composition in Greece. In Australia since the 1980s, *rebetika* are performed within a special niche of the live music-making activities of Greek-Australians.

This thesis examines the contemporary significance of *rebetika* music in Adelaide, South Australia, by identifying the social and cultural processes which nurture this music in the Australian multicultural context. The study explores the dialectic between music and identity. It considers the particular cultural constructions of *rebetika* music created by a community of musicians and patrons of Greek descent, and the ways in which varied experiences of identity are constituted within *rebetika* music-making activities.

The thesis consists of five parts. Part 1 provides the theoretical, methodological and historical background to the study of *rebetika*. In Chapter 1, the aims, theoretical and methodological approaches employed in the study are discussed. Chapter 2 presents a brief history of the development of *rebetika* music. Chapter 3 discusses the controversial ideological discourse which has surrounded the development of *rebetika* and identifies two symbolic-ideological narratives—'soul' music and 'roots' music—embedded in this discourse. Chapter 4 introduces a third symbolic-ideological narrative of *rebetika* music identified as 'world' music which is located in local discourses of Australian multiculturalism and the world music industry.

The *rebetika* music-making community in Adelaide is introduced in Part 2. Chapter 5 discusses the migration and settlement patterns of Greek-Australians and their earliest music-making activities. Chapter 6 provides the setting for contemporary *rebetika* music-making activities in Adelaide by discussing the Greek music-making scene: venues, events, organisers and audiences. Chapter 7 focuses on the musicmakers—the bearers and developers of the *rebetika* music-making tradition—and examines their musical influences, education, musicianship and collaborations. The *rebetika* music repertoire is documented in Chapter 8 in the broader context of Greek and non-Greek types of music which are also performed at *rebetika* music-making events. The incidence of three *rebetika* styles—*smyrneïka, piraiötika* and *laïka*—is noted. Chapter 9 presents an analysis of the musical features of a selected *rebetika* repertoire performed and recorded live in Adelaide between 1980 and 1993.

This provides the foundation for an interpretation of the live performance of *rebetika* at music-making events in Part 3. Subsequent chapters discuss the performance, patron participation and reception of *rebetika* at social-dances (Chapter 10), restaurants (Chapter 11), life-cycle celebrations (Chapter 12), festivals (Chapter 13) and concerts (Chapter 14).

Finally in Part 4, Chapter 15 provides an epilogue which summarises the salient results of this study. It synthesises an understanding of the ways in which *rebetika* music-making activities constitute experiences of diaspora identity. The three Parts are followed by appendices containing ethnographic data, authorship details, song texts and translations of the *rebetika* music sample, a glossary of terms, and references including a discography. Volume 2 contains the music notations and Volume 3 the audio sound recording of the *rebetika* music sample.

This study argues that contemporary constructions of *rebetika* as 'soul' music, 'roots' music and 'world' music celebrate the 'soul'-liberating qualities of music-making, lay claim to an 'authentic' Greek tradition, and highlight the global value of *rebetika* as a dynamic urban popular music. These constructions are found to revitalise *rebetika* as a living tradition and empower the Adelaide community of music-makers and patrons. The study highlights the role of music-making activities in the cultural politics of identity construction within a multicultural society, and celebrates the dynamic creation of a Greek-Australian diaspora music-making culture.

It contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution and to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made in the text.

I give consent to this copy of my thesis, when deposited in the Barr Smith Library, being available for loan and photocopying with due acknowledgment of the author and respect to copyright law.

SIGNED: ..... DATE: 12/4/2002

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Editorial Notes

In this work the use of Greek language script is limited to the names of songs and instrumental pieces and song texts presented in the Appendix, the lyrics of songs in the music notations (Volume 2), and footnotes which quote original text from secondary literature. In most other cases words in the Greek language are presented in italicised transliterated form. The exception to this is the use of Greek words in the names of bands and ensembles, which are not italicised. A phonetic system of transliteration from Greek to the Roman alphabet is employed. It includes vowel endings equivalent to those in the Greek language to indicate grammatical conjugations. The Greek alphabet is transliterated as follows:

α	a
β	v
γ	g
δ	d
ε	e
ζ	z
η	i
θ	th (as in theatre)
ι	i
κ	k
λ	l
μ	m
ν	n
ξ	x
ο	o
π	p
ρ	r
σ, ς	s
τ	t
υ	y (as in *gynaika* = woman)
φ	f
χ	ch
ψ	ps
ω	o

Diphthongs are transliterated as follows:

αι	e	αυ	av
ει	i	ευ	ev
οι	i	ου	oo
υι	i		

except when appearing at the end of words to indicate grammatical conjugations of verbs, adjectives and nouns (e.g. θέλει = *thelei*). Varied endings of Greek nouns and adjectives in their singular and plural forms similarly refer to different grammatical cases (e.g. *rebetiko* = neuter singular; *rebetika* = neuter plural; *rebetiki* = feminine singular). When the pronunciation of two vowels in a sequence is distinct for each vowel, the diacritic mark is used (e.g.λαικό = *laïko*). The Greek letters ντ are translitered with d (e.g. ντέρτι = *derti*). For convenience, the plural neuter grammatical form of the Greek word "*rebetika*" (from *rebetika tragoudia*, "*rebetika* songs") and similar examples are used as an abstracted form.

Translations of Greek words and phrases are provided in the text of the thesis and in the glossary. In the bibliography, translated titles of literature are presented first followed by the original Greek text in square brackets. The exception occurs in references to recordings (discography) which present a transliteration of the Greek title followed by the English translation in square brackets. All translations

from Greek to English are made by the author with the assistance of Dr. Michael Tsounis and Dr. Leo Papademetre. The responsibility for their accuracy lies fully with the author.

Song texts of the *rebetika* sample have been transcribed in Greek with repeats, interjections and verbal exclamations as they were performed live in Adelaide at the specific events designated. For this reason, there are omissions, substitutions and grammatical errors present. Diminutive or endearing terms abound in the Greek language and are translated using various English words (e.g τα ματάκια= "little eyes"; Ελενίτσα = "darling Helen"). The English translations of *rebetika* song texts are provided to give the reader a general understanding of the songs discussed and therefore present literal rather than poetic interpretations.

Italics are also used for foreign words, the titles of songs or instrumental pieces, and for customary referencing of publications. Double quotation marks (" ") are used for the names of songs, direct quotations of primary and secondary sources, and English translations of Greek words. Single quotation marks (' ') are used for words with taken-for-granted meanings questioned in the discussion, and for discussion of concepts previously cited in specific literature.

Rebetika songs and instrumental pieces of the *rebetika* music sample which are discussed in Volume 1 are presented in alphabetical order in Volume 2 and on the audio recording (Volume 3).

List of Tables

List of Abbreviations

ABC	Australian Broadcasting Commission
AGUA	Adelaide University Greek Association
b.	bar number(s)
B	bracket of music
CANSA	Community Arts Network of South Australia
cf	compare
EPNNA	Hellenic Youth of South Australia
FILEF	Federation of Italian Migrant Workers and their Families
FUGA	Flinders University Greek Association
GEMES	Greeks of Egypt and Middle East Society of South Australia
GO	Greek Orthodox
GOCSA	Greek Orthodox Community of South Australia
HMASA	Hellenic Music Association of South Australia
I	item of music (i.e. song or instrumental piece)
MAC	Multicultural Artworkers Committee of South Australia
MACSA	Multicultural Artworkers Committee of South Australia
MARIA	name of organisation of non-English speaking background women in education
MATSA	Multicultural Arts Trust of South Australia
MP	Member of Parliament
NESB	non-English speaking background
No.	number
P	program of music
TUTA	Trade Union Training Authority
WOMAD	World of Music, Arts and Dance

Part 1 Introduction

Chapter 1 Musical Style and Identity: Theories and Methods

1.1 Introduction

Rebetika[1] music is a tradition of Greek-speaking people which developed over a period of a century in the urban centres of Asia Minor (now Turkey), the United States of America and Greece. This music-making tradition contains dance music, improvised instrumental music, and above all, composed songs of love, lament, celebration and defiance. *Rebetika* music became popular in Greece between 1920 and 1960 with live performance in taverns and nightclubs and through commercial recording and dissemination. After 1960, substantial recording of new compositions abated yet live performance of *rebetika* music in Greece has never ceased. In the 1990s, *rebetika* survive and thrive as live music in the diaspora communities of Greek-speaking people in Australia, the United States, and other parts of the world.

In Adelaide, South Australia, between the 1950s and 1970s, *rebetika* were a relatively small component of live music-making activities at Greek private and community celebrations. During the 1980s, however, *rebetika* began to be performed in concentrated presentations as a music genre in its own right. They were presented in the floorshow brackets of music at social-dances, at Greek music festivals and concerts, and at performances by ensembles specialising in *rebetika* music. Now in the 1990s, *rebetika* continue to be performed in multifarious ways, attracting both Greek and non-Greek music audiences at diverse events including multicultural carnivals and festivals.

This study documents the performance of *rebetika* music in Adelaide between 1980 and 1993 by Greek-Australian people.[2] It identifies the social contexts and activities of Greek-Australians which nurture *rebetika* music and through which *rebetika* acquire meaning and significance for local music-makers and patrons. Central to this study is an investigation of the cultural constructions of *rebetika* as a 'traditional popular Greek' music, and the ways in which these are manifested by a diaspora Greek-Australian music-making community living in an Anglophone yet 'multicultural' society. Thus, this study explores the central role that music-making plays in the cultural politics of diaspora identity construction in Australia.

The interest in *rebetika* music in Adelaide is a complex phenomenon and not easily explained. On careful observation, several obvious factors can be identified as having a direct influence upon the performance and popularity of *rebetika* music in Adelaide and other Australian cities. Most apparent is the continual exposure to and cultural contact with Greece by Greek-Australians via travel, communication and the mass media. Local Greek newspapers, radio programs and stations, cinema, television and general stores in Adelaide which sell commercial recordings of Greek music are all prominent forms of exposure to Greek culture. When Greek-Australians visit Greece they find that Greek music including *rebetika* is ever present in daily life.[3] Furthermore, the international acclaim of Greek films such as *Zorba The Greek* (Cacoyannis 1964) has significantly raised the public profile of *bouzouki*-oriented Greek music. Local Greek-Australians also patronise the numerous concerts and performances held in Adelaide by virtuoso singers and musicians from Greece, notably Stelios Kazantzidis, Giorgios Dalaras and Charis Alexiou. Cultural movements in Greece such as the 1970s 'roots' revival of 'traditional' genres of Greek music (ecclesiastical Byzantine hymns, rural demotic songs, *dimotika*,[4] urban *rebetika*) have also brought these genres into the limelight, especially after they were commercialised in the form of records, cassettes, videos and compact discs. Similarly, the print media and publications about Greek music, especially the book

[1] The neuter plural case *rebetika* will be used in most cases to refer to *rebetika* songs, music, dance and culture as a whole.

[2] The term "Greek-Australian" is a loose category which refers to people of Greek descent who reside in Australia. The category of Greek-Australian includes Australian-born as well as people born in Greece, Cyprus, Egypt, Asia Minor, Bulgaria, the former Soviet Union and other parts of the world.

[3] For example, during my visits to Greece in 1976 and 1979 and for fieldwork in 1989 and 1992, I found that not only did one have a large choice of traditional and modern music to listen to on the radio and at nightclubs, taverns and concerts in the cities, but also that *rebetika* music was performed and well-patronised throughout country towns and on the islands during the summer vacation.

[4] The Greek word *dimotika* derives from the word *dimos* which literally means "the people of a region". *Dimotika* refers to the music, songs and dances of 'the people of a region" and in this musical context refers to the music of rural agrarian or seaside regions. The transliterated word "demotic" is now used in English texts to denote "Greek folk" and subsequently will be used in this work.

Road to Rembetika (Holst 1975), have been an important source of enculturation into Greek music and *rebetika* for local musicians. At the same time, the development of a multicultural social policy in Australia has provided a favourable climate for a more public Greek diaspora music-making culture. In addition, the impact of the contemporary global information networks and the world music markets has generated a wide interest in all forms of indigenous and popular musics of the world, including *rebetika*.

Yet interest in *rebetika* music is not easily defined or explained. It has been variously assigned significance and status by Greek people, partly because of its tumultuous and controversial history marked by patriotic wars, Greek migrations to *xenitia*, "foreign lands", official condemnation, commercialisation, mass popular support and institutionalisation. During different periods of development, *rebetika* have been subject to contrasting representations as a genuine Greek tradition, an immoral foreign contamination, the voice of the marginal poor, the entertainment of the urban affluent, an exotic Greek fetish and a modern-day cathartic cult. *Rebetika* music abounds with multiple and contradictory constructions which include Romaic, Hellenist, folkloric, modernist, orientalist, and western popular discourses about culture, tradition, ethnicity, individuality, spirituality, solidarity and egalitarianism. The hybrid ways in which *rebetika* are represented and constructed make notions of '*rebetika*', 'Greek traditional music' and 'Greekness' highly problematic, especially for Greek-Australians far removed from the music's origins. In addition, the hybrid ways in which *rebetika* are constructed as a viable music-making culture in Australia also impel one to critically consider the experiences of Greek diaspora culture, Australian nationhood and multiculturalism.

In the remainder of this chapter, discussion first centres on *rebetika* as a contested cultural terrain. It then explores the ways in which music embodies meaning, identity and style. The concept 'symbolic-ideological narrative' is presented as a tool for interpreting cultural constructions by simultaneously embedding them in the performance event and in relations of power and domination, and thereby providing links between music, meaning, identity and style. Discussion proceeds to a consideration of the wider Australian multicultural context as the social environment within which *rebetika* are performed by a minority group. It then identifies theories of Greek diaspora identity which assist in the definition of a diaspora *rebetika* musical style. The chapter concludes with a discussion of methodological approaches employed in the study and a preview of subsequent chapters.

1.2 *Rebetika* as Contested Terrain

The heterogeneous, oppositional and contradictory constructions of *rebetika* music make it a highly contested terrain of symbols and meanings. At the heart of the controversial status and significance of *rebetika* lies a fierce cultural politics of Greek identity which spills over into the realms of musical aesthetics, artistic quality, cultural integrity, ethos, identity, ethnicity, nationalism and multiculturalism. Literary representations of *rebetika* are part of a long discourse about the nature of Greek music, Greek culture, *ethnismos*,[5] "nationism", Greek identity and Greek nationhood, concepts which can be traced to the Hellenic period in 500 B.C.[6] Steeped in assertions of historical 'fact' and 'authenticity', various perspectives of Greek national identity and culture have either asserted or resisted the idea of foreign domination, whether Egyptian, Phoenician, Persian, Roman, Arabic, Ottoman, Slavic, Albanian, Italian, Bulgarian, British, German or American. Since the eighteenth century in particular, and especially during the development of the academic discipline of *laografia*, Greek folklore, constructions of Greek identity were articulated in terms of a 'Hellenist' theory of the uninterrupted path of Greek culture from ancient Hellenic origins (see Kyriakidou-Nestoros 1983; 1986; 1988; Herzfeld 1986). By the twentieth century, a Greek 'Romaic' perspective recognised the importance of the more recent and broader medieval Byzantine (Eastern Roman, hence Romaic, Christian Empire) (c. 400-1400) heritage of Greek people and countered the Hellenist view. Herzfeld (1986) argues that the Romaic and Hellenist views represent a disemic tension between an indigenous self-defined perspective of Greek ethnicity on the one hand, and a western European

[5] The word *ethnismos* comes from the Greek word *ethnos* meaning a "group of people living together". It shares the same root *eth* (εθ or ηθ) with *ethos* which refers to the customs, habits or cult of a people. The original use of the word *ethnos* became confused from Homeric times when it acquired the meaning of "nation" (Liddell and Scott 1980: 226). Contemporary scholars attempt to clarify the different meanings of the terms by adopting the English terms *nasionismos*, "nationism", or *nasionalismos* "nationalism" when referring to the modern nation-state.

[6] Greek-speaking people who formerly practised separate identities on the basis of city-states (Athens, Sparta, Kalamata etc.) first united as "Greeks", *Hellenes*, around 600 B.C. and especially from 500 B.C. when they joined forces to resist a Persian invasion.

other-defined perspective on the other, "a battle between intimate social knowledge and official cultural form" (Herzfeld 1987: 154; also esp. 152ff). For Herzfeld, this disemic tension between interior and external perspectives is constituted at all levels of daily life in the distinction between self-pride and difference which is further elaborated within a relative and hierarchical segmentary system of distinction based on group shifters of insiderness (*diko mas*, "ours") and outsiderness (*xenos*, "foreigner") (Herzfeld 1987: 154ff), basic constructs which are found in all cultures.

Rebetika similarly became historically embroiled in oppositional discourses between official, western European, Hellenist, outsider, other-defined perspectives and on the other hand, indigenous Greek, eastern Mediterranean, Romaic, insider, self-defined perspectives. Stokes (1992: 9-11) observes this disemic tension when he notes that, like representations of Turkish *arabesk* music, *rebetika* were officially depicted as the "oriental" and "barbarised" music of a "peripheralized class" of "indigenous outsiders", in this case, the Asia Minor refugees. The problematic nature of *rebetika* for the Greek nation-state is also apparent to Stokes (1992: 9) who argues that *rebetika* have been constructed as the "perverted alter ego" and "pernicious interior otherness" of an ideal Greek society (see also Stokes 1994: 16).[7] Underpinning the debate regarding the ethnic worthiness of *rebetika* as a Greek tradition was an ambiguous discourse about the ethical and class status of the music. *Rebetika* have been variously represented as belonging to a disreputable underworld lumpen-proletariat, a noble working class, an upward-aspiring petite bourgeoisie, or an aristocratic middle class. Distinctions of social affiliations, especially of morality and class background, comprise another set of insider/outsider constructions embedded in the discourse of *rebetika* and Greek identity which require exploration.

In the Adelaide context, performers and patrons of *rebetika* relate to this music in a multiplicity of ways, articulating even more varied and polysemous constructions of *rebetika*. One of the key ways in which they talk about *rebetika* is as the 'soul of Greek music', a musical culture deeply expressive of the everyday life experiences, feelings, moods, personalities and social identities of 'ordinary' Greek people. In this view, *rebetika* are constructed as a 'soul music'. For example, people depict *rebetika* as a dramatic, *smypathitiko*, "endearing", "compassionate", and emotional music that expresses the deep feelings of Greek people. Evaluations of *rebetika* lyrics also provide explicit examples of the 'soul music' construction of *rebetika*. In comparison with the lyrics of contemporary commercial Greek pop music, the lyrics of *rebetika* are believed to be of high quality precisely because they depict the emotional experiences of everyday life including love, joy, sadness and especially passion, *pathos*.[8] A 'good' Greek "popular", *laïko*,[9] song is that which "concerns us", *mas provlimatizei*,[10] about the struggles of life rather than flippantly entertains us (Capetanakis 1992 pers. com.). There are mixed views as to whether the *rebetika* are happy and light-hearted or *varia*, "heavy", and sad. These are verbalised in contrasting distinctions between styles of *rebetika*. For some, the *smyrneïka* are happy, the *piraiötika* are sad, and the *laïka* melo-dramatic, while for others, the *smyrneïka* are depressing, the *piraiötika* are humourous, and the *laïka* are *parigoria*, "consolation". One musician (Tyllis 1992 pers. com.) reconciled the happy/sad binary opposition by arguing that even when he plays sad songs, it makes him feel happy inside.

The construction of *rebetika* as a 'soul music' is also present in discussions about the highly varied manifestations of personal expression which are elicited during music-making and dancing, especially during the improvisations of musicians and spontaneous dancing of patrons. The intensity of both improvised music and improvised dance are articulated in acute expressions of *kefi*, "high spirits", and *meraki*, "passion".[11] Within the myriad of ways in which *rebetika* are listened to and interpreted, the deep soul expression of the individual is iconically linked to *rebetika* as a Greek music genre.

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[7] SeeCefkin (1992) for a discussion of ideologies of authenticity surrounding Turkish folk music.

[8] In contrast, songs are considered 'not good' when they trivialise life experiences or revel in condemnatory sentiments such as, for example, in the song *Mi Mou Ti Chalas Ti Nichta*, "Don't Ruin My Night", which depicts a man reproaching a woman for 'ruining his night' by telling her to lie down, to not speak, and to go to sleep!

[9] The Greek word *laïko* (adj.) means "of the people" referring to an urbanised population. *Laïka* are Greek popular urban songs and music. The transliterated word "*laïc*" is sometimes used in English texts. The Greek word *laïko* will be retained in this work.

[10] The phrase *mas provlimatizei* also means "involves us", "problematises us".

[11] Stavropoulos (1988: 538) translates "*meraki*" as longing/yearning; good taste/artistry; and high spirits (*sta merakia* plural). *Meraki* comes from the Turkish word *merak* which is translated to mean "curiosity; whim; [or having a] passion (for something); amateur, connoisseur; fan; [or] devotee" (Hony and Iz 1984: 335). See also Zachos (1983: 320). I interpret this to mean 'being in the know about something dear to you', ie. having insight, knowledge and skill as well as passion, compassion, devotion.

Discussions concerning the origins, history and cultural authenticity of *rebetika* extend the 'soul music' view of *rebetika* to the notion that music is the expression of 'the Greek people'. When musicians talk about *rebetika* as a "Greek tradition", *elliniki paradosi*, they attribute inherent value to it as the past creation of Greek-speaking people. *Rebetika* are considered one of the 'true', 'authentic', 'unique', 'original', 'pure', traditional music genres alongside the *dimotika*, *nisiotika*, *kantades*, etc. which 'expresses Greekness'. One musician (N. Arabatsis 1992 pers. com.) remarked that *rebetika* are 'a genuine Greek product like olives' 'without any influence from any other country'. Another put it this way:

> " ...Greek *laïki mousiki*, ... Greek popular music, ... its obviously all the music that comes out now has like its roots back where it started in the *smyrneïka*, even before that, the *kantades* and all that ..." (Dalagiorgios 1988b pers. com.).

In this view *rebetika* are constructed as Greek *rizes*, "roots", that is, as a 'roots music' which must be rediscovered and preserved before it disappears.

In the 'roots music' construction of *rebetika*, the multi-talented Greek composers, lyricists, *bouzouki*-players and singers like Markos Vamvakaris and Vasilis Tsitsanis are regarded as the pioneers, 'true originators' and 'founders' of *rebetika*. The *laïko* and *piraiötiko* styles of *rebetika*, styles which both developed in the urban centres of mainland Greece, especially Piraeus, Athens and Thessalonika, and which featured the *bouzouki* as the primary instrument, are commonly cited as examples of *rebetika* as a 'pure authentic Greek tradition'. Discussion centres on the *laïko rebetiko* style of the 1938-1960 period. Tsitsanis, one of the most popular and prolificly recorded exponents, is hailed as the father of Greek *bouzouki* music, the first to put *bouzouki* music 'on the map' of Greek music. His compositions are regarded as the "original songs which aroused the love of the Greeks" (Kakoulis 1988 pers. com.). Such positive evaluations of *rebetika* exalt the music's uniqueness as an 'indigenous' 'authentic' Greek tradition. The notion of *rebetika* as culturally pure hints at the Hellenist ideology.

Discussion about the local reception of *rebetika* music provides another ideological link between 'soul music' and 'roots music' constructions of *rebetika*. Musicians point out that their parents as first generation Greek immigrants identify most strongly with the "popular" *laïka bouzouki* music because they were largely exposed to it during the peak migration years of the late 1940s-60s (Capetanakis 1988 pers. com.). The *laïka rebetika* are regarded as the music which bridges the time-space dislocation and alienation of Greek migrants, and engenders deep feelings of nostalgia for Greece and for all things Greek, as the following statement highlights:

> ... our parents when they left Greece they left in the time where *laiki mousiki* was very powerful and when they left it depicted the times ... they were having hard times, and they left with those songs in their hearts, they came here, they heard them again through records or singers that came to Australia, and ... the songs, the words, the music ... everything, made them feel close to Greece. (Dalagiorgios 1988a pers. com.).

The notable preference for the *laïko* style of *rebetika* in Adelaide is articulated in terms of the way the songs depict a severed tie with the homeland through *xenitia* and shared experiences of separation hardship and community ('roots'), especially among first generation Greeks who mostly migrated after the Second World War. The ways in which the *laïka rebetika* songs engender deep emotional ('soul') responses such as pain, love, courage and endurance are also cited as reasons for their popularity. A 'good' *laïko* song is that which triggers memories of and nostalgia for the homeland. In this way, the *laïka rebetika* are often referred to as *gnisia laïka tragoudia*, "genuine Greek popular songs", and their composers, performers and patrons are characterised as people with great passion, compassion and social consciousness for their compatriots. Here within *rebetika* musical culture, one observes a *laïko*, "popular", ethos as the union of 'soul music' and 'roots music' constructions.

However, the hypothesis that *rebetika* is a 'pure' 'genuine' Greek tradition is frequently contested in discussions of *rebetika* with local Adelaide musicians. For example, musicians highlight the Turkish or Arabic musical heritage of *rebetika* in their discussions of the Asia Minor exponents of the *smyrneïko* style of *rebetika*. They also point out that the *bouzouki* family of instruments, the core instrumentation of most *rebetika*, is related to the Turkish saz family of long-necked lutes with a small bowl. Turkish names (e.g.

ousak, *chitzaz*, *souzinak*) of many of the Greek modes employed in *rebetika* melodies are cited as examples of the hybrid if not foreign social origins of *rebetika*. One musician (Odontiadis 1992 pers. com.) exaggerated this view when he argued that to some extent, *rebetika* are not really Greek but Turkish. Others identify the *tsifteteli* dance form found in *rebetika* music as Turkish, not Greek (G. Capetanakis 1995 pers. com.). For some, the hybridity of *rebetika* and the similarities found among various musical cultures in the geographic region of the eastern Mediterranean are a curiosity and source of inspiration, as the following statement demonstrates:

> Now Greek music means a lot to me and its probably the tip of the iceberg, I know that it's so deep, that there is so much there that I would like to know more about, and it seems that its got eastern ties ... I thought it was Greek, kept in by the border (Delagiorgios 1992 pers. com.).

In these views, the Hellenist perspective which upholds the idea that there has been a unlinear evolution to the modern Greek nation-state is challenged by an oppositional Romaic ideology which recognises a wider eastern Mediterranean heritage, specifically Byzantine and Ottoman. Thus, the construction of *rebetika* as a 'roots music' is articulated within oppositional Hellenist and Romaic ideologies.

The notion of *rebetika* as 'roots music' extends to discussion about the social context and meanings of *rebetika* which are similarly articulated with contrasting views. Referring to the late 1930s-1960 period of *rebetika* development when they were commercially recorded, distributed and patronised by a wider audience, one view commonly articulated by local musicians in Adelaide is that *rebetika* are a mainstream "popular music", *laïki mousiki*, patronised by the 'majority of Greek people', the 'general public', the 'masses'. A contrasting view posits that the 'authentic' *rebetika* are a marginal music created and patronised by a 'low class' 'subculture' of 'down-and-outs' and 'street people'. Citing the *piraiötiko* songs, the earthy streetscape metaphors extend to an even 'lower' underworld level of petty crime, drug consumption, sexual promiscuity, gambling, imprisonment and death, associated with impoverished Greek people living in city slums. One musician (Odontiadis 1992 pers. com.) in support of this view questioned the assumption that *bouzouki* music was patronised by Greek aristocrats in the *kosmikes tavernes*, "high society taverns", arguing that it was an instrument constructed and played by prisoners. Further evidence for the marginal underworld social status of *rebetika* is found in the *chasiklidika*, "hashish songs", which are also attributed to the *piraiötiko* style. The ambiguity surrounding knowledge about the social origins of *rebetika* is apparent in the comments of one musician (Gardounis 1992 pers. com.) who 'corrected' himself within the span of a single sentence with 'it was the music of the masses, no, of a subculture'.

A third way in which local Adelaide musicians talk about *rebetika* concerns the special features of *rebetika* music and culture as a 'unique' popular music with a 'unique' musical form. Attention is given to the musical features (rhythms, modes melodies, forms, song texts, instrumental timbres and techniques etc.), the musical processes (musicianship, ornamentation, improvisation), the repertoires, *rebetika* musical styles, composers and exponents. In these cases, *rebetika* become an aesthetic object of contemplation with relative value as one of the many popular musics of the world worthy of interest. Here one notes a 'world music' construction—of ethnic and musical-aesthetic peculiarity—layered upon 'soul music' and 'roots music' constructions of *rebetika*.

Constructions of *rebetika* as a 'world music' are similarly varied. For example, qualitative distinctions are made between the 'simple' or 'sophisticated' *rebetika*, a dichotomy which parallels the marginal/mainstream opposition. Musicians emphasise the simplicity of the genre in their discussions of the core *bouzouki* family of plucked, fretted, long necked lutes featured in *rebetika*. Special mention is made of the smaller *tzouras* and *baglamas* members of the family which are described as easy to build and easy to play. A player sings and plays modal melodies and improvisations while strumming the three courses of strings to provide a 'simple' drone accompaniment. The repeated 15-syllable distich 'folksong' forms flanked by instrumental interludes, often variations of vocal melodies, are cited as examples of the 'simplicity' of *rebetika* music. Adelaide musicians contextualise the 'simple' *rebetika* by referring to the 'Pireaus school' whose most prominent exponent was Markos Vamvakaris. One musician (Tyllis 1992 pers. com.) was particularly attracted to the 'raw' 'heavier' gruff Pireaus style of Markos Vamvakaris and

Giannis Papaïoannou. Here 'uncultivated' simplicity close to nature is valued positively as a stylistic marker of authenticity. Furthermore, the ability for any one to participate in *rebetika* music-making without requiring rigorous musical training is remarked upon as an appealing feature of the musical culture and one which generates a 'down-to-earth' camaraderie among musicians.

In contrast to the aesthetic of simplicity, some musicians favour the *smyrneïka* because they belong to a more sophisticated musical system with an elaborate use of modes, melodies, improvisations and rhythms. The stringed instruments associated with *smyrneïka* are believed to be difficult to master, especially the untempered violin and oud (short-necked lute), as well as the multi-stringed *kanonaki* (plucked zither) and *santouri* (hammer dulcimer). The Asia Minor composer-musician Panagiotis Toundas is cited as an example of a more sophisticated *rebetis* musician who was musically trained and wrote many compositions.[12] However, in discussions with musicians, the *laïka rebetika* vie with the *smyrneïka* for first place in the hierarchy of sophistication. The 'ingenius' compositions of Vasilis Tsitsanis are regarded as the epitomy of sophisticated *rebetiko* style, because they liberated *rebetika* from their 'low' class associations. As one musician put it, "people felt intimidated by the *rebetis* [a player of *rebetika*]" who was regarded as a "scumbag". With the music of Tsitsanis, "people didn't feel intimidated ... and wanted to hear more of it" (N. Arabatsis 1992 pers. com.). Now "we idolise" the *rebetis* musician.[13] Tsitsanis was also attributed with extending the musical parameters of *rebetika* closer to western major and minor scales (with a predominance for *ousak, chitzaz, rast, niavent*); to include a wider range of dance rhythms (including Latin-American ballroom dance rhythms such as the *rumba* and *beguine*); and western instrumentation (including the drum kit, double bass, piano and piano accordion). In the context of *laïka rebetika*, the processes of diversification, standardisation and westernisation are valued positively as a sophistication of style. Musicians emulate the quality of musicianship, especially of the virtuoso *bouzouki*-playing and singing, found on recordings of *laïka rebetika*.

It is evident that beliefs in either the simplicity or sophistication of *rebetika* articulate a perception of *rebetika* as an abstract aesthetic musical form. In this 'world music' construction, music is removed from its personal and social-historical contexts of creation and meaning, and represented as a 'unique' musical culture. In a relativist tone, 'world music' constructions of *rebetika* resonate strongly within the Australian multicultural context which values cultural diversity and cultural tolerance.

Thus, knowledge about *rebetika* is a highly contested terrain. It contains multiple views and constructions about the nature of *rebetika* as a 'Greek traditional popular music', and about the relationship between *rebetika* and individual expression, cultural heritage and artistic form. This study aims to examine how contemporary *rebetika* music-making activities in Adelaide reconcile practice with constructions of *rebetika*. The first step towards this involves an exploration of how music becomes meaningful and constitutive of identity and style.

1.3 Music, Meaning, Identity and Style

Ascertaining meaning in music involves examining cultural constructions of coherence and affinity without implying absolutist or monolithic perspectives. It also involves recognising the variable nature of meanings which, as if looking through a kaleidoscope, project multiple images of significance. Meaning in music is partly constructed by the nature of music itself. The particular ways in which music is engaged in by people further generates meaning and significance.

The interpretation of meaning and significance in music-making is initially problematic because it involves the conceptual and verbal articulation of a largely nonverbal mode of communication. Music-making employs sonic (musical) and kinaesthetic (choreographic) forms which unfold in time and space. Musical forms can be synchronically abstracted and analysed as sonic structures using categories such as pitch, ornamentation, rhythm and accentuation which can be re-synthesized to reveal 'structural' rules, processes and systems. Similarly, choreographic forms can be abstracted and analysed as kinaesthetic structures and processes using categories such as facial gestures, torso postures, limb movements, foot

[12] He was also a master of many instruments, notated his compositions, worked as musical director of the Columbia record company, and was *maestros* of many ensembles and orchestras (see Schorelis 1978b: 295).

[13] Even Tsitsanis himself was quoted as saying that he used only major and minor scales (Holst 1975: 64), and that his music was not *rebetika*, but rather *'laïki mousiki'*, a declaration further removing his music from the subcultural connotations of the earlier style.

steps, rhythm, tempo, and group co-ordination. Yet music and dance are more than structure and form. As symbolic and aesthetic forms they already contain meaningful associations with typified experience. Moreover, as they unfold in time and space, sonic and kinaesthetic forms are employed and engaged by people in spontaneous and new ways, thereby undergoing contextual malleability. The spontaneous and flexible ways in which music and dance are engaged in by people in specific contexts is therefore of special concern in understanding the construction of meaning in music.

A major step towards this invovles a consideration of the human factor. This study highlights the dimension of music 'in the making'—the processes by which people make music and, in turn, the ways in which music engages people corporeally, sensately, immediately, collectively and socially in dance, celebration, ritual and spectacle. Various writers (Blacking 1976; Feld 1984a; 1984b: 13-16; Gilroy 1991 [1987]; Kapferer 1983; Keil 1985; Keil and Feld 1994; Merriam 1964; Seeger 1977: 7-8; 15; Shepherd 1982; Stokes 1994; Turino 1990) emphasise the importance of cultural and social factors in understanding the creation and reception of music, especially of the ways in which people construct music as a metaphor for emotions, values, knowledge, life experiences, identity, social relationships and power. The term 'music-making' rather than 'music' is therefore used in this study to focus attention on the complex dialectical relationship between musical and extra-musical, especially cultural and social, phenomena.

While music-making is largely a nonverbal medium, there are significant ways in which music-making involves verbal modes of communication as well. For example, *rebetika* song texts elicit linguistic-literary cognition and therefore comprise a 'tangible' semiotic-meaning complex for musicians and patrons. Musicians choose songs for the particular messages that they explicitly convey. Patrons also respond to songs as messages about life experience.

At another level, the talk and discussion that occur during and around the music-making event elicit linguistic-literary cognition of a reflexive, reflective, critical and analytical quality, which further generates particular meanings. The views expressed by musicians are naturally influenced by the context within which they are articulated. For example, the views expressed during a formal interview may be self-consciously prepared according to perceptions of what the interviewer may 'wish' to hear (e.g. 'music theory', 'folklore', adulation of 'Greek culture'). Alternatively, the talk generated around actual music-making events (i.e. during rehearsals, before, during and after performances) may be unself-consciously personal, deeply 'musical' or 'non-musical' with regard to 'musical' information. While theorised as an extra-musical phenomenon with its own set of linguistic constructions, and often "utterly vague, nebulous, inarticulate, not explicit at all" (Feld in Keil and Feld 1994: 165), talk about music does provide clues as to how music is experienced as meaningful. Talk about music often claims a 'truth'—a particular belief system or ideology—about the music and about personal experiences of that music. In addition, musicians' verbalised views in some ways reflect the views of their community of patrons in so far as musicians assimilate and articulate the desires, preferences and expectations of their community.

This study attempts a fused understanding of both musical and extra-musical aspects of *rebetika* music-making. In particular it outlines the interplay between *rebetika* performers, *rebetika* sonic, textual and choreographic forms, social contexts of performance, community participation, talk about the music, and literature, in order to present an informed interpretation of the meaning and significance of *rebetika* in Adelaide. By considering these multiple aspects of *rebetika* music-making, it will be seen that music is a special medium of self and community representation and communication, that is, a metaphor for 'identity' and 'style'. However, the notion that music is a metaphor for identity and style is complex and requires closer examination.

The concept of iconicity is central to an understanding of how music elicits meaning by functioning as a metaphor for identity and style. Becker and Becker (1981) argue that music is meaningful because of its iconic quality: the way in which coherence is rendered as 'natural' in reference to other realms or spheres of the phenomenal world. Similarly for Feld (in Keil and Feld 1994: 172), iconicity of style refers to "the multiple representations of one idea". The concept of iconity explains how, when the metaphorical properties of symbols take on a 'natural' quality, symbols come to stand for themselves, "and are experienced as feelingfully synonymous from one domain or level of image and experience to another" (Feld 1994a: 132). For Feld (in Keil and Feld 1994: 173), iconicity is the:

> feelingful, interpenetrated relationships, felt resemblances, imaginative connections between the thing-out-there and the feeling-in-here ... [the] bringing together of perception and feeling, the abstraction and the unabstraction of it.

In the case of *rebetika* in Adelaide, music resonates in multiple ways as an experience of the self, of the self-in-community, of Greekness, of Greek-Australianness, of Australianness. Ultimately, music and identity become one and the same thing. Taking the concept of iconicty and style even further, experiences of identification are more than symbolic: "You now *are* the Other, or the Other is *in* you. You are *in* the music. The music is *in* you" (Keil in Keil and Feld 1994: 169). In this sense, the musical experience of identity becomes embodied at a deeply integrated and organic level.

The deep levels at which music becomes embodied as meaningful identity is largely a result of the recreational and celebratory contexts within which it occurs which frame individual experience as subjective, pleasurable, emotional, spontaneous and group-oriented. Feld (1994a: 133) emphasises the role of pleasure, feelings and emotions in the processes whereby people make music theirs and in so doing, make music iconic of their identity and style:

> Indeed, by becoming icons, metaphors help one feel very much at home, and the critical word is "feel", since the link between play, pleasure, cognition, and emotions is where one validates the groove by not getting *into* it but getting *off on* it. ... That "making ours" is the overwhelming and seemingly spontaneous (whether predictable or not) pleasure that comes from a felt naturalness of the whole, as one finds oneself in and through the music and the music in and through oneself. The more iconic the metaphor, the more unconscious its coherence, the more affective its resonance, the more intuitive its invocation, and the more intense its radiance. (Feld 1994a: 133) [italics in original]

In further development of the idea that feelings are central to meaningful music, Mercer (1986) points out that experiences of pleasure are never neutral. With its "interstices of regret, desire, ambition, identification, nostalgia" (Mercer 1986: 53), pleasure has been at the centre of western European constructions of high culture and low culture and serious art and popular art: the former apparently marked by a 'distancing contemplation' and the latter by 'involuntary corporeal seductions' (Mercer 1986: 59-60). The oppositional code of pleasure—'contemplation' versus 'seduction'—pervades music-making in western culture where reflective intellectual experience is exalted at the expense of corporeal emotional engrossment. Significantly, the contemplation/seduction binary code operates with a disemic logic throughout *rebetika* music-making in Adelaide, especially in the contrasting concert/dance performance contexts, the 'roots music'/'soul music' constructions; and the western/Greek cultural representations of *rebetika*.

Mercer (1986: 61-2) warns that contemporary constructions of pleasure are not 'essential', but rather, consist of multivocal tensions and ambivalences. This is especially so in carnival, a ritualised arena in which the social order and social relationships are inverted, contested, and ultimately asserted again. Mitchell (1993: 336) also notes that multicultural music-making in Australia is often organised into carnivals, events which allow a kind of "vital disorder or permitted disent" to occur. During carnival, performances appear to occur haphazardly, sometimes with obscenity, grotesqueness, humour, sarcasm, send-up, frenzy and eroticism, yet simultaneously uniting people in an imaginary non-hierarchised community for the duration of the carnival. Deeply immersed in the here-and-now atmosphere of the performance event, symbolic power not normally possessed in daily life appears to become incarnated in people during carnival. In the *rebetika* music-making event, codes of pleasure and of emotional and corporeal engagement are similarly differentiated, antithetical, yet strongly formative of community. Participants appear to collectively incarnate power as free-willing empassioned and active individuals in ways which often contest official Greek and Australian constructions of culture, musicality and *rebetika*. Pleasure associated with *rebetika* music-making thus requires deconstruction in order to understand the particular ways in which *rebetika* are constituted as meaningful and function as 'strategic terrain' (Mercer 1986: 53) for the elaboration and negotiation of identity.

Identity is powerfully experienced through codes of pleasure because they are, according to Bourdieu's (1977: 72-73; 78-83) concepts of '*habitus*' and 'embodiment', part of an entire collective culture which is internalised and intimately inscribed in the individual at the level of the "body hexis": the system and patterns of postures, dispositions, competences, perceptions, appreciations, ethos, tastes and actions. Bourdieu is careful to point out that culture inscribed within the body is not fixed, but rather, a repertoire available for spontaneous improvisation. This dialectical relationship between the body and social time and space is like "history turned into nature" (Bourdieu 1977: 78), the 'internalization of the external', a kind of "appropriating by the world of a body thus enabled to appropriate the world" (Bourdieu 1977: 89). In many ways, an individual is appropriated by culture and appropriates culture no more subjectively, spontaneously and collectively than during music-making and dancing. As Turino (1990: 401) observes:

> The concept of *habitus* is meant to clarify the homologies, or iconicity, between forms and practices among people who share a similar relation to the objective conditions, i.e., social classes and groups, and it aids the conceptualization of coherence between musical practices and activities in other domains. More important, it points to why music is not just socially structured, but in addition, how society is partially structured since musical activity comprises one important public domain through which the internal dispositions are externalized.

The concept of embodiment thus informs an interpretation of music-making and identity in a number of ways. It recognises that individuals at intimate levels are enculturated with a repertoire or 'body hexis' of taken-for-granted sonic productions, musical aesthetics (valuations of 'good', 'correct, 'beautiful'), bodily gestures and sentiments which they spontaneously and collectively employ during music-making. It also recognises that music-making and identity are experienced intensely and personally as if 'second nature'. Thirdly, the shared and collective aspect of embodied culture reflects a social coherence which does not rule out spontaneous individual action and comprehension. Moreover, the concept of *habitus* accounts for the dialectical relationship between music and people—the ways in which people make music and music-making shapes communities. In these ways, it can be seen that music-making activities acquire potency as deep experiences of shared social identity.

Within the shared social context of *rebetika* music-making and dancing, experiences of identity are enhanced and constituted as the collective experiences of a community of music-makers. For Bottomley (1991: 107), the communication which music and dance engender make them "powerful embodiments of a form of collective identity which is constantly under threat in the fragmented world of industrial societies" (see also Bottomley 1984; 1988: 7-8). In this study, attention is given to the experiences of self-in-community: the collective experiences of solidarity generated by social actors engaged in music-making which generate shared meanings and significance for participants. Conversely, meanings are also read from the various forms of social differentiation, demarcation and distinction—collective, collaborative, competitive, hierarchical, insider, outsider, culture-bearer, voyeur—which music-making activities enact and delineate whether on the basis of participation in music-making events as organisers, musicians, listeners and dancers, or on the basis of other criteria such as nationality, ethnicity, regional origin, social class, civic affiliation, age and gender. Thus, by analysing the constructions of self-in-community and social difference enacted during *rebetika* music-making events, a discourse of identity emerges.

The arena of cultural 'consumption' (see García-Canclini 1988; Martín-Barbero 1988; Gilroy 1991 [1987]) is treated as an important strategic site for the construction and negotiation of meaningful social identity. To a large extent, the prescriptive, material-oriented and normative consciousness, behaviour, relationships, meanings and identities generated by dominant institutions in daily life and reality are suspended during music-making, enabling social actors to spontaneously, reflexively, actively and passionately (see Turner 1988: esp. 90) alter, mediate, manipulate, contest, subvert, redefine and re-create their lives and culture. In this study, social actors are regarded as having a primary role as agents in the mediation and construction of their culture, including musical culture.

The possibility of change is thus central to an understanding of musical culture. As Turner (1988: esp. 94) points out, the social dramas of performance and ritual simultaneously declare form and

indeterminancy. While music-making may display structural and formal elements, they are malleable, not fixed. Similarly, neither is 'tradition' orally transmitted without change, nor is a mass-mediated commodity passively consumed. Culture is understood as a positive and affirmative site of contestation and creation (Frow and Morris 1993: xxiv). In this study, musical culture is regarded as the affirmative musical creations of social actors in community.

Change and syncretism are regarded as central aspects of musical style, a concept which ethnomusicologists have attempted to embrace. Nettl (1978a; 1978b; 1986; 1987) presents concepts such as diversification, preservation, modernisation and westernisation for approaching the topic of the transplantation of music into urban contexts. Kartomi (1981) develops these concepts, proposing the concept of transculturation to explain the radical adoption of new conceptual and organisational principles by a musical culture. Trimillos (1986) applies these concepts to the Filipino-American youth population and finds a healthy heterogeneous music-making culture which employs varied strategies to maintain its specific ethnic identity. Reyes Schramm (1978: 5-8) locates a study of the music of urban migrants within the context of dominant and subordinate groups in society where ethnicity consists of context-based ascriptive processes which generate interaction, collective experiences, and delineate boundaries between self and other. In her work, Reyes Schramm (1978: 10-11) brings our attention to the social conditions of the host society such as population mobility and dispersal, and delineations between private and public spheres of life, which pressure a migrant culture to retain or discard certain apsects of tradition, but which make the notion of an enclave or ghetto unfeasible. She (Reyes Schramm 1978: 9; 14) also suggests that the segmental response to transplantation which occurs within the Hispanic-American community may be a feature of ethnicity (see Herzfeld 1987 above). Finally, Reyes Schramm (1978: 16) observes that as actors respond to their environment, the "heterogeneity of musical corpora [are] systemic and functional rather than aberrant" (see also Reyes Schramm 1982).

In other words, musical change, hybridity and syncretism are regarded as core features of music-making culture (see also Gourlay 1982: 414), sometimes serving to protect traditional styles, sometimes ensuring the organic survival of communities in rapidly changing social contexts, sometimes occurring for the sheer pleasure of it. Whether as an epistemological tool, an observation of society, or a plea for cultural democracy, change, hybridity and syncretism are concepts central to this study of music, culture, identity and style.

Some time ago, writing of the need to end our preoccupation with musical preservation and to partake in transcultural democratisation, McAllester (1979) appealed to a 'mixmusicology', a healthy 'trafficking in polymusicompositionality'. While a critique of preservation is important, the idea of 'trafficking' in music raises another intensely political issue, for it begs the question of who has the right to determine musical style and change. This not only concerns the struggle for migrant minorities to develop their arts in diaspora contexts, but also the effects of a hegemonic global music industry. Feld (1988: 31-37; esp. 36; 1994b) writes about the unevenly shaped three-cornered hat of the transnational popular music industry where record companies and elite pop artists reap profits from the labour of musicians—the traditional bearers and developers of musical traditions. In this set of relations, it is undoubtedly the record companies and elite pop artists who hold the reins to decisions regarding change or preservation of music, albeit never without a struggle from musicians. The need to examine the political ramifications of musical style and change is thus of concern in the Australian context. This study therefore considers issues of ideology and empowerment as central to an understanding of the relationships between music, meaning, identity and determinations of style.

1.4 Symbolic-Ideological Narratives[14] of Music-Making

In this study, meaning in music is interpreted as constituted within particular praxis-theories of reality, that is, within symbolic-ideological narratives which comprise the commonsense and taken-for-granted knowledge, values and practices of a social group. Symbolic-ideological narratives of music are not merely expressed as ideas through language, nor are they simply the abstract representations of the objective researcher. They constitute the meaning systems of a musical culture at the level of individual experience and social practice in the here-and-now.

[14] The term 'narrative' is used loosely to refer to the unfolding of a story or 'silent text'.

Largely constructed as 'natural', 'universal', 'common', 'permanent', 'originary', 'beautiful', 'correct' and 'authentic', a symbolic-ideological narrative imbues music-making with an 'imaginary coherence' (Hall 1979: 322) and logic of its own. Yet by virtue of strategic inclusions and exclusions, differentiations and demarcations, a symbolic-ideological narrative of music contains assumptions about authority, knowledge, identity and power. It may function either to legitimise the social status of certain social groups, social practices and ideas *vis-à-vis* others while masking inequalities, conflicts, contradictions and fragmented realities; or to reveal asymmetrical power relations and "reconstruct democratic public life" (Giroux 1992: 28). An ideology has the potential to empower socially-disadvantaged groups in society because it can either transfigure or disfigure, it can "care for the other in his/her otherness" or not care (Kearney in Giroux 1992: 24).

The concept of symbolic-ideological narrative accounts for an understanding of the field of symbols and meanings which are available to music-makers. These range from dominant to marginal. Some symbols are experienced as authoritative and hegemonic (Thwaites 1994: 157-158) because they are widely accepted and preside over others in the form of stereotypes and myths. Their dominance is often effected by removing constituent ideas, values and practices from their specific social, historical and political contexts. Other symbols may contradict dominant meanings because they are experienced as locally, historically and politically specific and therefore offer alternative and subaltern meaning systems. As such, symbolic-ideological narratives contain a range of varied, ambivalent and contradictory symbols and meaning systems.

One of the key functions of the symbolic-ideological narrative is to reconcile tensions between meaning systems and associated practices as well as between dominant and alternative meaning systems and practices. The concepts of "disjuncture" and "structural dislocation" (Hall 1979: 320; 323-325) help to explain the ambiguous and inherently contradictory nature of symbolic-ideological narratives. For example, the representation of certain musical cultures by non-practitioners (government officials, 'arm chair' academics, mass media critics, 'high art' musicians) often differs markedly from that of the 'practitioners' themselves (musicians, composers, dancers, patrons) who have a direct personal experience of the musical culture. These disjunctures in symbolic-ideological culture occur at the fundamental level of self- and other-defined experiences of culture (Bottomley 1979; Papademetre 1994). There may also be structural dislocations between music-making activities and linguistic representations of a culture, that is, between 'practice' and 'theory'. For example, there is a disjuncture between *smyrneïka* song texts about narcotic-consumption and the lived experience of *smyrneïka* exponents who did not consume narcotics (see Aulin and Vejleskov 1991: 146-147). Such contradictions highlight the complex symbolic-ideological nature of culture and the dynamic interplay which occurs between representations of culture as other-defined and lived experience as self-defined.

While symbolic-ideological narratives appear internally coherent, logical and iconic of 'nature', they often manage to contain contradictions by rendering them in binary metaphors. Binary oppositions abound in *rebetika* music-making culture. Some of these include concert/dance, musical/unmusical, star/band, amateur/professional, classical/popular, simple/sophisticated, urban/folk, traditional/modern, mainstream/marginal, high class/low class, insider/outsider, Greek/non-Greek, and western/oriental.

However, as Giroux (1992) reminds us, binary constructions of centre and periphery are often the weapons of a racist colonialist discourse about difference which function to contain and control varied social experience. Giroux (1992: 23-34) calls for an alternative pedagogy which employs the metaphor of 'border crossing' to analyse the ways in which power is inscribed differently into the body, the psyche, culture, history, knowledge, social relations, and institutions. Stokes (1994: 16) expresses this idea in another way when he argues that musicians are comfortable with their magpie-like behaviour, adopting and adapting various musics to their own sentiments and "often appear[ing] to celebrate ethnic plurality in problematic ways" (Stokes 1994: 16) from the point of view of official ethnicities and nationalisms. Underlying this study is an exploration of the ingenious ways in which *rebetika* music functions as a 'border crossing' or transgression of multi-layered, contradictory and centre-periphery oppositional constructions, and still maintains a sense of coherence and meaning for its community of musicians and patrons.

This study examines the nature of symbolic-ideological narratives found in *rebetika* music-making activities in Adelaide and proposes a model of three symbolic-ideological narratives—'soul music', 'roots

music' and 'world music'—identified above as resonating strongly in the local *rebetika* music-making scene. Having discussed them in broad terms with relation to the articulated views of local musicians, it is worth reiterating their essential features as symbolic-ideological narratives.

The first symbolic-ideological narrative identified is a musico-spiritual narrative which constitutes *rebetika* as a 'soul music': a special medium for individual expression. Although the term 'soul' is borrowed from African-American popular music culture,[15] the Greek word for "soul", *psychi,* psyche, also has a history of both secular and religious association. Though a metaphysical term, the 'soul music' narrative refers to a particular construction of the 'spiritual' self as an integration of emotion, thoughts and body and of the self-in-community. It refers to the secularisation of the 'soul' as a specifically corporeal experience and to the socialisation of the spiritual self as a specifically communal experience. The spontaneous expression of the individual as an agent of action within the context of the social group is central in the *rebetika* 'soul music' narrative.

The second symbolic-ideological narrative identified in *rebetika* music-making activities in Adelaide involves an ethno-specific construction of *rebetika* as 'roots music': an icon of Greek solidarity, Greek cultural heritage, and Greek national identity. Using the metaphor of *rizes*, "roots", the 'roots music' narrative constitutes *rebetika* as a 'genuine' and 'authentic' 'Greek tradition' with either deep (ancient, Hellenistic) or wide-spread (hybrid, Romaic) roots. The 'roots music' narrative has a diverse history in Greek discourse, but also belongs to a western European discourse which constructed the 'common folk' and popular culture, especially folksong, as representative of national culture.[16]

The third symbolic-ideological narrative identified in *rebetika* music-making activities is an egalitarian multicultural narrative which constitutes *rebetika* as a 'world music': one of the many indigenous popular music forms of the world worthy of recognition. The term is borrowed from a European record company category used in the 1980s for commercialised 'ethnic' and 'indigenous' fusion music. In the 'world music' narrative, *rebetika* are simultaneously constructed as an icon of cultural specificity and difference, and an icon of cultural tolerance and exchange. Here the 'unique' aesthetic forms of *rebetika* music and musical culture are constructed as exotic, novel, yet belonging to a global humanist culture.

As permutations of various dominant western European ideologies about the nature of individual expression, cultural heritage and artistic/musical form, the 'soul music', 'roots music' and 'world music' symbolic-ideological narratives of *rebetika* are viewed as functioning in deeply organic ways to legitimise and 'revitalise' (Keil 1966)[17] *rebetika* as a 'Greek music tradition' in the contemporary Adelaide context.

Thus, in order to unravel the complex history and contemporary significance of *rebetika* music for its Adelaide community of music-makers and patrons, it is essential to critically analyse the taken-for-granted myths, practices, knowledge and aesthetics surrounding *rebetika* music, together with the structural dislocations, decontextualisations and tensions between dominant and alternative meanings which are absorbed into apparently coherent symbolic-ideological narratives of *rebetika* music. It is posited that such an analysis will better inform an interpretation of the intricate tapestry of meaning and significance woven into *rebetika* music-making in Adelaide.

Having suggested some of the ways in which music is constructed as meaningful and constitutive of identity, it is now appropriate to consider the wider Australian multicultural context within which *rebetika* are performed, and the implications that this has for a theoretical approach to Greek diaspora identity.

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[15] The term 'soul' music is found in African-American popular culture, especially with relation to the gospel, blues, rhythm 'n' blues and soul musical cultures of the 1940s-1960s and the rap, hip-hop and house styles since the 1970s. In his discussion of soul ideology in African-American blues music culture, Keil (1966: 164-190) identifies numerous components of African-American soul ideology: the vital spiritual part of a person; the nitty gritty and pure heart; love; the body, movement and gestures; wisdom through suffering and perseverance; hard work; strong emotions and feelings; argot; sex; call-and-response processes; human agency; sincerity and truth; folklore; black solidarity and shared public culture. Constructions of the experience of the self/the individual in African-American popular music cultures is also discussed by Shepherd (1982).

[16] See for example Kyriakidou-Nestoros (1988:18-19); Herzfeld (1986); Bernal (1987: esp. 206).

[17] Keil (1966: esp. 43-49) discusses the concepts of revitalisation and appropriation with relation to African-American blues music and the study of Le Roi Jones' (1963) *Blues People*. Revitalisation is regarded as the synthesis of musical resources to enrich the African-American musical tradition.

1.5 The Australian Multicultural Context

The meaning and significance of *rebetika* music is not only embedded in the relationship between music and meaning, or in its history of associations and symbolic-ideological narratives, but also in its wider contexts of performance practice and community patronage. A discussion of the nature of Australian society is therefore necessary at this point to identify the broad context of *rebetika* performance.[18]

Australia is a modern nation-state established in the eighteenth century as a British penal colony and pastoral economy. With its legacy of the systematic destruction of indigenous Aboriginal society and its establishment upon the labour of convicts and migrants,[19] issues regarding the nature of Australian culture, identity and nationhood are paramount in contemporary Australia. Added to this are the pressures of a rapidly changing transnational capitalist economy. There now exists a global discourse concerned with the conflicts between capitalist homogenisation and cultural heterogenisation which is common to all ethnically heterogeneous capitalist societies. In this discourse, official multicultural policy has played an important role in the reconciliation of these national issues and global pressures.

Until the late 1960s, the culture of non-English speaking background indigenous Aboriginal Australians and migrants was marginal to Australian mainstream culture. During the period from the 1901 Immigration Restriction Act through to 1970,[20] Australian governments maintained an official 'white Australia' policy of assimilation to the dominant western anglophone institutions of employment, consumerism and public culture, that is, to an 'Australian Way of Life' (Castles *et al.* 1988: 12, 18-19; 43-56). Despite many positive experiences of employment and an improved standard of living, non-anglophone Australians, including Greeks, experienced considerable social dislocation, cultural fragmentation, structural exclusion from institutions of power, and alienating experiences of prejudice and racism. The Australian labour force was found to be highly segmented on the basis of ethnicity, with a high concentration of Southern European and Middle Eastern people, especially women, working in the lowest paid and most menial occupations (Castles *et al.* 1988: 25-26).[21]

Though immigration into Australia peaked in the 1970s,[22] the decline of the manufacturing industry put a strain on governments to provide employment and welfare services for socially disadvantaged groups—manual labourers, women, migrants and cultural minorities. Alongside these groups, migrants of non-English speaking background organised themselves into an ethnic politics movement for social reform in which they contested the structural exclusion from mainstream institutions and sought access and equity; democratic participation and representation in political institutions; economic security; and the right to determine their lifestyle and identity (see Castles *et al.* 1988: 25-26; 57-80; 119-122).

From the late 1960s, both Labor and Liberal Party Australian governments responded by undertaking social welfare programs and a social policy of cultural pluralism, subsequently called multiculturalism. The Whitlam Labor commonwealth government (1972-1975) responded with social welfare programs such as teaching English as a Second Language; the formation of Ethnic Communities Councils across the country; and funding of 'ethnic' bodies to continue their social welfare activities (Castles *et al.* 1988: 57-61). From the late 1960s the 'white Australia' assimilation ideology was rejected in favour of a social reform policy of 'migrant integration' which recognised the value of ethnic communities as providers of welfare services and grassroots participation. The subsequent Liberal Fraser commonwealth government (1975-1983) developed and consolidated a policy of 'multiculturalism' by institutionalising the ethnic lobby through the establishment of government sponsored state Ethnic Affairs Commissions. Under the Hawke/Keating Labor Commonwealth government (1983-1996) multiculturalism

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[18] This differs from a critical analysis of ideologies of multiculturalism presented in Chapter 4.

[19] See de Lepervanche (1975) and Collins (1975) for a detailed historical study of the relationship between Australian immigrants and the Australian economy.

[20] For details regarding Australian immigration laws, see de Lepervanche (1975) for the period 1877-1940 and Collins (1975) for the period 1945-1973.

[21] The mass migration program had ended by about 1970 yet migrants continued to arrive. By the end of 1981, 69,877 Indochinese refugees had arrived in Australia (Castles *et al.* 1988: 70). Present Australian migration policy gives preference to immigrants on the basis of wealth and education, and to a lesser extent, family repatriation and refugee status.

[22] By 1981, approximately forty percent of the Australian population were immigrants or children of immigrants and half of these, that is, one-fifth of the total population, were of non-British origin (Castles *et al.* 1988: 11; 25). The present Australian population comprises approximately 100 different ethnic groups speaking 230 different languages,150 of those being Aboriginal languages (Castles *et al.* 1988: 25).

was further institutionalised with the establishment of an Advisory Council on Multicultural Affairs, the Office of Multicultural Affairs, equal opportunity and anti-discrimination legislation.

A new multicultural ideology of Australian national identity now centred around constructions of cultural tolerance and cultural diversity. In contrast to previous European constructions of nationhood which were founded on myths of common origin, homogeneous populations and culture, and shared experiences of war and death (see Anderson 1991), post-1973 Australian governments defined the Australian 'imagined national community' (Anderson 1981) in terms of a peacefully united, ethnically diverse population, nicknamed 'unity in diversity'.[23]

Within this multicultural climate, there has been an overall diversification of Greek music-making repertoires, instrumentation, music-making events and audiences. *Rebetika* music-making in particular has blossomed as a Greek music genre of special interest. While early folkloric multicultural representations of migrant culture emphasised a pristine rural village otherness, the more recent populist multicultural climate favours the public performance of the contemporary urban and syncretic art forms of non-English speaking background migrant communities.[24] These include art forms which grapple with experiences of urban life, cultural difference, migration, poverty and cultural politics. From the point of view of official multicultural policy, Australia has opened up its heart to the multiple voices of diaspora arts.

Yet critical study of the music of Australian migrant communities is sparse.[25] In a survey of 'ethnic' music in Australia, Ryan (1988-89) corrects the stereotypic folkloric image of ethnic groups as homogeneous by arguing that 'idiosyncratic divergence' and diversity rather than group consensus characterise their musics. Despite folkloric trivialisation at institutionalised events, Ryan (1988-89: 16-17) observes that the quality of social interaction is central to ethnic music-making which functions in dynamic ways to project personal and group identities, social commentary, and as mechanisms for adaptation to Australian society. Other sympathetic accounts of the grass-roots music-making practices of non-English speaking background communities have been conducted outside of academic institutions by specific arts bodies such as the Commonwealth arts funding body the Australia Council,[26] and regional multicultural arts bodies such as the Boite (Victoria),[27] the Multicultural Artworkers Committee (South Australia),[28] and the Multicultural Arts Trust (South Australia).[29] Unfortunately, stereotypic representations of the music of non-English speaking background migrant groups in Australia, while common in the mass media, persist even in scholarly literature. Smith (1993: 333-334), in his otherwise excellent article on popular culture, writes about 'ethnic artists' in a derisive way when he insinuates that they conservatively preserve their music within closed communities instead of "turn[ing] the foreigness of their styles into an exploitable exoticism".[30]

Thus, apart from the issues of equity and democratic participation, the Australian experience of migration and of a culturally diverse population has been partly accommodated by multicultural policies and programs. Yet monocultural stereotypes of migrant culture prevail. The problematic ways in which cultural difference and migrant diaspora culture are respresented and constituted are central to this thesis

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[23] A more critical view posits that multiculturalism successfully institutionalised the social control of migrant communities (Jacubowicz 1984: 28-40; Castles *et al.* 1988: 64, 66; Gunew and Rizvi 1994: xii); courted the migrant vote (Castles *et al.* 1988: 120-1); masked the structural inequalities, segregations and segmentations which divide the country at the level of class, wealth, social status, political power, ethnicity, race and gender; maintained the hidden agenda of assimilation (Kalantzis, Cope and Hughes 1984/5: 212; Frow and Morris 1993: ix); trivialised hardships of immigration; and ultimately functioned as a regressive panacea for the common experiences of alienation, economic insecurity, and increasing homogenisation of culture characteristic in post-colonial societies (Castles *et al.* 1988: 13; 121-122). As Giroux (1992: 16) warns, "the issue is not to privilege difference through an appeal to a common culture, but to construct difference within social relations and a notion of public life that challenges networks of hierarchy, systemic injustice, and economic exploitation."

[24] Folkloric and populist ideologies of multiculturalism are discussed in Chapter 4.

[25] See for example, Linda Barwick (*Critical Perspectives on Oral Song in Performance: the Case of Donna Iombarda*. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, 1985.); Michael Ryan (*Brazilian Music in Sydney 1871-1984*. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Sydney, 1989).

[26] *Multiculturalism and the Arts* (Kefala 1986); *Multicultural Arts Today in Australia* series (Kefala and Karakostas-Seda 1987).

[27] *Music of Migration* (The Boite, n.d.); *Greek Music From Ancient Times to the Modern Period* (The Boite, n.d); *I Dimotiki. A Brief Introduction to the Traditional Music of Greece and Three Regional Folk Music Traditions* (Parkhill 1984); Record notes to *Kritiki Mousiki Stin Afstralia. Kostas Kai Giorgios Tsourdalakis. Cretan Traditional Music in Australia. Kostas and George Tsourdalakis.*, L.P. record (1985).

[28] *Newsletter*, the *Nexus* (1985-); *We Helped Build Australia* (1986); *A Bitter Song* (1987); *Shoulder To Shoulder* (1990).

[29] *Traditions and Visions* (1988-)

[30] See Chapter 4 for further dicussion of Smith (1993).

(see also Bottomley 1991). Despite the ideological problems with cultural pluralism as a philosophy,[31] there is much optimism in the ongoing multicultural debate regarding the significance of the musical subcultures of migrants in Australia.

Gunew (1988: 22-23; 25-26) believes that multiculturalism embodies a serious concern for Australia, that of the right to define what constitutes 'Australian' identity. For a cultural revolution to occur in Australia, she adds, a cultural politics of identity—the struggle over signs and meanings—must accompany social reform and social justice. Musicians as bearers and developers of dynamic musical traditions engage in a cultural politics of identity not necessarily because it is politically correct to do so, as the 'fusionist' multiculturalists may wish, but rather, because it is a matter of personal and artistic integrity. Arts bureaucrats, organisers, producers and critics often find this difficult to understand.[32] A dynamic arts for a multicultural Australia must view cultural diversity and difference as a special resource (Kalantzis and Cope 1994: 32-33) which can be harnessed with the aim of constructing a transnational human identity (Castles *et al.* 1988: 13) by exploring local and global diasporic networks with the full participation and enthusiasm of the whole population (Gunew 1994: 11).

Gunew (1994: 10) writes positively of the arts of non-English speaking background migrants when she emphasises the critical role they play in challenging premises of dominant western arts aesthetics which function as ideologies of exclusion:

> In postmodernism, particularly its intersections with postcolonialism, the margins fight back and take over definitions which are the aesthetic legacy of the master narratives of Modernisms and its pillaging of the Third World ... (Gunew 1994: 9).

Similarly, it will be shown in this study of *rebetika* that through music-making activities, Greek-speaking people challenge dominant meanings and stereotypes with narratives which inclusively engage people in culture-making.

Because of the tension inherent between the original culture and the host culture, the diasporic experience requires that every migrant culture of Australia maintains contact with its ethnic past, while also developing a local contemporary 'living' culture and interacting with the larger community within which it finds itself (Papastergiadis, Gunew and Blonski in Kalantzis and Cope 1994: 15). However, while a transplanted culture or its host society may idealise, romanticise, stereotype, exoticise, aestheticise etc. the homeland and the past, contemporary circumstances in multicultural Australia have the potential to generate "a new hybridised cross-cultural art that expresses energies of many non-English speaking background artists coming to terms with new locations and social relations." (Gunew and Rizvi 1994: xiii; Gunew 1994: 7). As Ang (in Gunew 1994: 8-9) points out, the empowering principle of identity is the 'where you're at' rather than 'where you're from'. Above all, the post-modern era is characteristed by "the in-between provisional process, the strategic location and the hybridity of all art" (Gunew 1994: 9).

> In Australia ... we are confronted not with the supposed authenticity of traditional culture safely located somewhere in the past as ethnicity or indigenous purity but of an urban hybridity which acknowledges the inevitable cross-cultural interactions of the past 200 years. Not only do these 'minority' arts bristle with experimental and avante-garde attributes, but they have always done so and they in turn dislocate and deterritorialise assumptions concerning the homogeneity of a putative national or mainstream culture. (Gunew 1994: 10).

Having considered the broad multicultural context within which *rebetika* music-making takes place, it is now appropriate to examine various theories of Greek diaspora culture and identity in order to understand the significant role that music plays in the construction of identity by Greek-Australians in Adelaide.

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[31] These are examined in more detail in Chapter 4.

[32] See Chapter 4 for a discussion of fusion and artistic integrity.

1.6 The Diaspora 'Road to *Rebetika*' [33]

After settling in Australia, Greek migrants established close-knit communities.[34] By maintaining a high degree of informal interaction through kin and friendship relationships and formal interaction through pan-Hellenic associations and regional fraternities, Greek-Australians were able to achieve considerable economic self-sufficiency and maintain a strong sense of solidarity with a common language and culture.[35]

At the same time, Greek people have always interacted with the Australian host society, whether because of forced assimilation to the dominant institutions of employment, government and lifestyle, or by voluntary choice through private, cultural, social and civic-political institutions. For example, Greek shopkeepers learnt to speak English to communicate with their customers; and rural workers isolated from Greek community networks learnt to speak English to communicate with their neighbours and fellow workers (Bottomley 1979: 101-103). More recently, the relatively high rates of intermarriage and Australian citizenship among Greek-Australians indicate considerable integration and enculturation.[36] Greek institutions and Greek-language newspapers have always promoted simultaneous loyalty to Australian and Greek law (Tsounis 1971: 208-216).

In the contemporary Australian context, significant changes have occurred in the Greek community. As Greek-Australians have gained a better standard of living and achieved greater integration and participation in the economic and political structures of Australian society, especially in trade unions, government, state bureaucracies, and as professionals, pan-Hellenic institutions such as the Greek Orthodox Community, the Greek Orthodox Church and the Greek language have lapsed or become irrelevant in the everyday life of Greek-Australians (Tsounis 1993: 31).

Significantly, private and cultural activities have become increasingly autonomous and prevalent as markers of in-group solidarity rather than the wider religious-political and social organisations of Greek-Australians. Bottomley (1979: 71-72; 75-76; 129) identifies that for second generation Australian-born Greeks in particular, voluntary associations based on informal kinship, friendship and neighbour-oriented relationships tend to form the basis of a positive identification with Greek ethnicity. Bottomley's Australian-born informants articulate a model of Greek core culture which includes kin-dominated interactions, especially of mutual assistance; regular contact with overseas kin and Greece in general; traditional naming practices; hospitality; observation of religious rituals; speaking, reading and writing in Greek; daily use of the Greek language; Greek music and dancing; Greek food and drink (Bottomley 1979: 73-104; 131-155).[37] Furthermore, Bottomley (1979: 73; 129; 160; 176; 179) suggests that formal ethnic organisations and institutions of the Greek-Australian community are partly an extension of primary kinship relationships into communal ethnically-defined fields of communication and interaction. These findings run parallel with the present multicultural climate which favours nonverbal, recreational and leisure forms of community-making. The arena of 'cultural capital' is becoming increasingly important as the terrain for experiences and negotiations of social identity. This study takes as its point of departure the observation that music-making activities are central to contemporary Greek-Australian constructions of and experiences of identity, and that such activities are generated from informal personal relationships into more formal organisations.

The question of the degree of maintenance of 'Greekness' in Australia has been posed from the point of view of the degree to which Greek migrants assimilate to the dominant Australian culture. Tsounis (1971: 492; 526-527) argues that native-born Greeks never completely adopt Australian cultural and behavioural norms, nor do they ever relinquish their cultural forms, choosing instead to maintain a Hellenic or Greek cultural life. However, Tsounis (1971: 492-493; 530) also highlights the concept of acculturation

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[33] This subtitle pays tribute to Gail Holst's book *Road to Rembetika* (1975), the first text read by the author about *rebetika* which planted the seed for my practical and scholarly interest in *rebetika*. The metaphor of 'road' not only refers to a modal improvisatory practice (i.e. *dromos* = "road", "mode") employed in *rebetika* music, but also to the personal journey of re-discovering *rebetika* musical culture.

[34] See Chapter 5 for a detailed discussion of the history of the Greek-Australian community.

[35] According to the 1986 census, ninety percent of the Greek-born population speak Greek in the home and maintain the Greek Orthodox Christian faith.

[36] Intermarriages are as high as forty percent in some communities (Tsounis 1993: 31). The census for 1986 also records that ninety percent of Greek migrants are Australian citizens (Tsounis 1993: 31).

[37] Other factors which influence definitions of a shared Greek ethnicity are whether Greek migrants are born overseas; settle in well-established migration chains; are self-employed; and participate in formal Greek institutions in Australia (Bottomley 1979: 155-159).

which more correctly accounts for the simultaneous process of adoption of host society norms and retention of former cultural norms. In the 1970s, the dual allegiance to Australian and Greek identity was a peculiar feature of the Greek-Australian community (Tsounis 1971: esp. 489ff). The same observation is made in the 1990s, when Tsounis (1993: 31) writes that Greek "immigrants are simultaneously Greek and Australian" since one does not necessarily exclude the other:

> All these trends point to very open *paroikies* ["communities"] and to [an] advanced stage of integration or what may be termed the Australianisation of Greeks. Among other things this means that Greeks have numerous choices in matters relating to cultural life and in the manner in which they shape and express their Hellenicity. (Tsounis 1993: 31)

In addition, Bottomley (1979: 159; 178-180) agrees with Martin (1972: 133 in Bottomley 1979: 159) that self-definition as Greek is not merely a defensive reaction to host society hostility, but rather, a positive process of self-identification. Regarding Greek-Australian identity, Bottomley (1979: 169) has also found that Greek-Australians practise alternation and situational selection which allows them to "operate adequately within a kaleidoscope of roles."

> Most [informants] saw themselves as composites, perhaps more one than the other, perhaps 'depending on circumstances'. Roles were compartmentalized to some degree, and the boundaries of group membership changed according to the situation. But everyone attempted to establish a coherent sense of identity by choosing membership groups that confirmed their self identification and avoided those that contradicted it." (Bottomley 1979: 178)

Language studies of Greek-Australians also confirm a dynamic process of bicultural identification. Self-defined and other-defined notions of group membership—of inclusion and exclusion, insiderness and outsiderness—are part of the dynamic cultural processes of identity formation. The sociolinguist Papademetre (1994) has found in his study of Greek language use in Adelaide that the issue is not the degree of continuity of an ethnic cultural heritage but, rather, the ways in which social groups are constituted by fluid processes of boundary construction, by "appearances and disappearances of communicative functions" (Papademetre 1994: 508ff). Papademetre has found that Greek people in Adelaide define themselves along a multi-tiered bilingual continuum from the "new Australian" who has Greek language competency to the "very Australian" who has some Greek and complete English language competency.[38]

> Language use in this Greek Australian community is constantly evolving, moving dynamically along a multi-tiered, interwoven continuum of 'intergroup', 'ingroup', and 'idio-group' relationships, depending on how actively and successfully the members participate in the maintenance and further evolution of that special sociolinguistic code defined by members as "half-Greek/half English". (Papademetre 1994: 519).

For Papademetre (1994), cultural identity in a multicultural yet monolingually-dominant society is a multidimensional on-going process of "logogenesis", a constant process of language and identity modification depending on the social situation.

The degree to which 'Greekness' is maintained in *xenitia* is not in question here, despite the amount of attention paid to the 'fall' of Greek culture in Australia and the 'need' for its preservation. Such discourse culminates in fundamentalist and nationalist prescriptions of hellenicity which overlook the

[38] The Greek-Australian bilingual "feels relatively secure in believing that s/he can communicate quite functionally in Greek. The understanding and solidarity established among bilingual members of the Australian sociolinguistic community is expected to be shared by all members of that broad membership continuum which is considered bound by any use of the Greek language—at all levels of competence—in or out of Greece. For, to link language with cultural identity is still considered viable in Australia by almost all members of the Australian-born generations." (Papademetre 1994: 521). See also Papademetre (1994b and 1988).

dynamic experimentation with syncretic forms of Greek identity by younger generations of Greek-Australians. This study challenges the purist notion that Greek diaspora music has diminished in cultural or even spiritual value because of its decreased frequency or function compared with that in Greek traditional rural society. Such views assume pristine originary forms of music-making, and impute that *rebetika* music in Australia enjoys merely an attenuated 'symbolic' or 'ritualistic' role.

On the contrary, on the basis of findings from contemporary local research, it is argued here that all music-making culture, including diaspora *rebetika* music-making in Adelaide, is symbolic, ritualised and constitutes meaningful social identity for its members precisely because it emotionally engages people in social and cultural processes which generate the construction of rituals, symbols, artistic styles and identity. While *rebetika* music-making in Adelaide may consist of a re-created musical subculture within a migrant minority subculture of Australia, the recreational, leisure and entertainment contexts of its occurrence do not qualitatively reduce its contemporary significance.

In the re-creation of a 'traditional' music, it becomes apparent that 'history' itself becomes a commodity of cultural ownership and control (Taussig 1989). Anderson (1991: esp. 141-145 and 187-196) argues that the process of ethnic identification one in which people are continuously 'rediscovering' their shared history and culture by constituting it within activities of the here-and-now, thereby creating a symbolic synchronicity of time and place with the imagined homeland. For Anderson (1991: 6), constructions of the imagined community have more to do with processes of style rather than with historical 'facts'. Thus, located in a fluid relationship through live contemporary music-making and dancing, *rebetika* are continuously acquiring iconic value as simultaneously collective and personalised activities which connect Greek migrants and Australian-born generations to, using the words of Anderson (1991), an 'imagined community', in this case, of Greekness. Furthermore, this imagined community accommodates multiple identities—personal, Greek, Australian, and global. The concept of diaspora musical style as adopted here accommodates polysemous identifications.

The notion of Greek culture as static, homogeneous entity thus poses many problems, especially in the Australian context where Greek people are historically and geographically dislocated from the 'homeland' and influenced not only by their adopted homeland, but also by the global dissemination of cultures. A dynamic concept of 'musicogenesis' parallel to 'logogenesis' (Papademetre 1994) may be appropriate for overcoming the preservation versus change debate by giving precedence to the right to define musical 'genre', 'style' and 'change', tropes which have been central to the history of *rebetika*. Especially with such a controversial music as *rebetika*, one is forced to consider the complex ways in which a residual cultural form or 'tradition' is re-appropriated and re-constituted as meaningful for its particular community of 'producers' and 'consumers'. Ginsburg (1992: 369) reminds us that at the core of culture-making activities are processes of identity and community construction which, far from reproducing pre-existent cultural forms, create new forms and meanings in their endeavours to accommodate conflicts and contradictions of contemporary life. Identity construction is treated as a mobile, differential and provisional process (Frow and Morris 1993: x) of negotiation through "a contested and conflictual set of practices of representation" (Frow and Morris 1993: xx).

The struggle for survival by minority cultures in the face of the cultural 'grey-out' effects of dominant western mainstream culture has been of major concern in ethnomusicology. Keil (1994) in his elaborate model for understanding musical 'style', recognises the dialectical relationship between hegemonic-dominant and minority-marginal cultures, including the role of mass mediation. Referring to blues and polka musical cultures in the United States, Keil defines style as "the struggles of 'peoples', ethnic segments of the working class, to keep control of their social identities in music" (Keil 1994: 202). For Keil, a community 'exists' through music by symbolically representing, consolidating and transforming itself. Keil firmly locates this symbolic process within the context of power struggles between dominant and subaltern symbols and meanings. In addition to the concept of musical style as an icon of feeling and identity, musical style is viewed in this study as synonymous with the identity of a community and the particular way in which that community dynamically creates and empowers itself through music.

Thus *rebetika* style in Adelaide is regarded as an empowering process in which participants continuously call upon the cultural baggage at hand, both 'Greek' and 'non-Greek', to create meaning and significance in their lives. When participants engage in *rebetika* music-making activities, they re-create *rebetika* with new forms, new sensibilities, new valuations and performance practices, i.e. they deconstruct

and reconstitute its practice as meaningful in the here-and-now. As a dynamic syncretic meaningful marker of social identity, *rebetika* music in the contemporary Australian context is treated as a 'living' musical tradition.

As such, any concept of *rebetika* as a 'pure' genre is problematic because it implies a homogeneity of social context, structure, form and content, and excludes considerations of variation, change and transformation.[39] Even with a comprehensive study of the entire recorded repertoire of *rebetika* songs, a feat being achieved by Gauntlett, Païvanas and Chatzinikolaou (forthcoming) who are compiling the largest corpus to date of over 3,500 *rebetika* songs, the determination of criteria for inclusion or exclusion is itself problematic, to say nothing of the importance of statistical information about performance practice and contexts of creation and reception which is largely unavailable.[40] For the purposes of this study, discussion of *rebetika* as a 'genre' refers to a broadly defined commonsense category for Greek traditional urban popular music composed up until approximately 1960. In contrast to the implications of homogeneity in the use of the term genre, this study recognises the fluid, hybrid, syncretic nature of *rebetika*—its heterogeneity of forms, performance practices, participation, social contexts and meanings—and the differentiated claims to its structures, forms, content, status, value and authenticity. Its very nature requires that *rebetika* be examined within specific contexts of practice and representation.

Rebetika music-making culture is treated as a collective social negotiation of space and time: of reality, history, identity, community and style. This investigation of *rebetika* music-making practices and symbolic-ideological narratives will demonstrate that *rebetika* functions as a double-edged sword wielded by insiders of the culture to, on the one hand, negotiate a positive and dignifying musical style and identity; and, on the other hand, to counter negative representations of *rebetika* music, 'ethnic' arts and 'ethnic' communities by public mainstream institutions. As such, it functions both as a protective enclosure (Said 1993) uniting a subculture or community, and as a bridge into the wider society by celebrating a common humanity through difference. For as Reyes Schramm (1989: 32) reminds us, the ethnomusicologist's focus must continually expand from the single culture, to the two-culture and multicultural frame "that takes diversity as the norm". Diaspora *rebetika* style in Adelaide is a dynamic heterogeneous intercultural musical 'imagining' of the Greek-Australian experience.

An understanding of the meaning and significance of *rebetika* music in Adelaide therefore requires an examination of a nexus of contexts within which music-making occurs: the ways in which sonic and kinaesthetic forms engage people and frame meaning; the social and culturally sedimented meanings transmitted over time as 'Greek' 'tradition', 'history', 'culture' and '*rebetika*'; the personal and collective experiences of *rebetika* music-making activities as pleasurable; and the social dynamics of groupings generated among the community of performers and patrons. By examining this nexus of *rebetika* music-making contexts, one is reminded of the multiple layers or polyvocality of meaning found in musical cultures, and of how music-making is a dynamic field for the negotiation of meaningful identity.

Entry into a understanding of diaspora *rebetika* musical style and identity in Adelaide thus requires a rigorous and dynamic approach to research. The methodologies employed in this study have simultaneously involved the personal participation in *rebetika* music-making culture from the point of view of a subjective insider, together with a critical analysis of information and knowledge from the point of view of an objective outsider. The final section of this chapter deals with the methods used in thus study of *rebetika* music in Adelaide.

1.7 Methodology

Critiques of research methodology insist that the researcher, like all social actors, is a socially and politically situated being whose research and writing is determined by many factors (see Gourlay 1978;

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[39] See Gauntlett (1982-3) regarding a discussion of the term *rebetiko tragoudi*, "*rebetiko* song", as a 'genre'. See also Randel (1992: 13) for a discussion of the problem with the term genre when applied to music.

[40] In their corpus of *rebetika*, Gauntlett, Païvanas and Chatzinikolaou (forthcoming) include those songs which have been designated '*rebetiko*' in printed and published sources, especially on the record labels of sound recordings. Their long-term project which scientifically and painstakingly documents *rebetika* songs will be invaluable in clarifying the parameters of *rebetika* 'genre'.

The availability of recorded *rebetika* has recently multiplied in size with the release of hundreds of original 78 rpm *rebetika* recordings onto multiple compact disc series. An additional challenge to the study of *rebetika* music is the documentation of *rebetika* music-making in live performance.

Clifford 1986: 6). This study recognises the 'artisanal' role of the author as researcher who selects and arranges knowledge in particular ways, decoding and recoding meaning systems of the culture being studied (Clifford 1986: 2-3). For my part this artisanal role is informed by both subjective and objective processes and experiences.

The motivitating force for this study of *rebetika* has always been the experience of music from the point of view of an 'insider'. However, experiences of insiderness/outsiderness are relative. The following more correctly describes my cultural proximity to *rebetika* music. As a person of Greek cultural background born in Australia I was exposed to Greek music and the activities surrounding its performance, especially spontaneous dancing, from an early age. I have unconsciously acquired the taken-for-granted ethos, knowledges and practices which enable me to experience Greek musical culture from an insider's point of view which is one saturated with feelings, ideas and moods. As such, my experience of Greek music-making has invovled a deeply personal, emotional and physical identification, i.e. at the level of the embodiment of musical culture. In the 1970s during my early teens I became conscious of *rebetika* music through listening to the recordings of Tsitsanis, Vamvakaris, Kazantzidis and Theodorakis at home, and participating in live music-making and dancing at Greek weddings and social-dances. This inspired me to begin learning to play *rebetika* music on the piano. My visits to Greece with the family in 1976 and 1979 strongly reinforced my love for the music. There I experienced the excitement of *rebetika* music blaring out from the juke-box of a tavern in the most remote village on the island of Ikaria, or played live by tertiary students at the crowded smokey restaurants and parties in Athens. Since then I have had the opportunity to hear and witness many wonderful musicians and exponents of *rebetika* in Australia and Greece. One of the earliest and most memorable performances was of the female singer Charis Alexiou performing *smyrneïka* in an ensemble of master musicians playing traditional instruments at the Adelaide Festival Theatre in 1976.

In my early teens I also commenced formal musical training and began to study western classical piano music, which I continued through to tertiary level where I completed western classical music studies at the University of Adelaide. Fostered by my introduction to Ethnomusicology and modern Greek language studies at University, I began to direct and perform in Greek music ensembles, the first being the Greek choir and music ensemble called Themelia, "Foundations", established by students of modern Greek at the South Australian College of Advanced Education in 1980. Since then I have played in and arranged music for numerous ensembles and choirs performing traditional and contemporary Greek music. In 1989 on a field trip to Greece I undertook lessons on the *baglamas*, the 'baby' of the *bouzouki* family of long-necked lutes, and the small goblet *toumberleki* drum. I have also presented seminars and radio programs on *rebetika* and Greek music, and composed music in a *rebetika* style for local musicians. My experiences of *rebetika* have thus been practical, creative and community-oriented. As participant, practitioner and culture-bearer, my experiences in *rebetika* music-making have indicated to me the varied knowledge and significance of this music for the Adelaide community of *rebetika* musicians and patrons. They have also helped me to value the specificity, complexity, heterogeneity and contextuality of *rebetika* music and to resist any attempt to make generalisations about the music. This study marks an attempt to halt the wheel of time and make sense of this multi-leveled experience of *rebetika* music, and ultimately, to pay my respects to the tradition.

Integrating knowledge about *rebetika* made available to me from diverse experiences has not always been an easy task. At times it has been necessary to distance 'work' from 'life' in order to document the experience and re-present this knowledge in a literary and scholarly academic context. The experience of a musical culture from the point of view of an insider-participant does not always sit comfortably with the objective value-free perspective required of the researcher. It has required a constant reflexive contemplation of the reasons for undertaking such a study. The primary reason for this study has been to learn more about the musical culture. Another has been to challenge certain myths about music, culture, identity, multiculturalism, *rebetika* and Greek history. A third has been to prove that there has always been a place for women in *rebetika* musical culture. The list continues *ad infinitum*.

One of my most important lessons throughout this journey into *rebetika* musical culture has been the discovery that deep personal involvement is sanctioned and exalted. This is evident at *rebetika* music-making events where musicians and patrons alike participate with conviction, passion and engrossment. It is also evident in musicians' talk about the need to experience and "live the music" (*prepei na ti vioseis*),

deeply with emotion (*na ti niotheis*) and with compassion (*prepei na ti sympatheis*). Some go as far as saying that if you have never experienced *kaïmos*, "sorrow", *ponos*, "pain", *chara*, "joy", or *sevdas*, "unrequited love", then you can never really understand *rebetika*. To gain deep insight into the spirit of *rebetika*, one is expected to emotionally and passionately immerse oneself in the practice and study of it. Perhaps the best expression of the culturally appropriate disposition required to experience *rebetika* music is that encapsulated in the concept *meraki*—passion, compassion, devotion, alertness, curiosity, insight, skill and knowledge. To have *meraki* for *rebetika* is to unite insider and outsider perspectives in a continuous cyclical oscillation of focus between the here-and-now subjective and emotional experience of the music and the reflective contemplation of *rebetika* as a serious object of study.

The dialectic involved in representing a traditional music in a scholarly way while practising and personally identifying with its contemporary recreation is complicated because it involves a critique of the very knowledge and practices of the researcher-practitioner. As an enculturated social actor, the knowledge and practices of the researcher-practitioner can be viewed as part of the shared knowledge and set of practices of a community. In a dialectical way, the subject and object of study become one.

Research methods used in ethnomusicology and anthropology which regard participant-observation as central to ethnographic fieldwork attempt to bridge the subject-object chasm. Participant-observation has provided the foundation for the fieldwork and collection of data in this study. Ethnomusicology is a discipline well-equipped with dealing with the study of music as a living tradition because it recognises the importance of the live performance of music as a site for the strategic construction of meaning and identity. In this study of live performance I have used critical scientific methods (quantitative, qualitative and deductive) to observe, analyse and interpret *rebetika* music-making structures, processes, ideologies and aesthetics. I have also studied printed and published literature related to the subject.

Fieldwork is largely centred in Adelaide,[41] the city in which I was born and have lived most of my life. In this study I document 181 Greek music-making events between 1980 and 1993 where *rebetika* music was performed (see Appendix 1). These events have been documented with varying degree of detail using field notes, sound recordings, video recordings, photographs and interviews. Discussion regarding local music-makers draws upon detailed interviews with thirteen musicians from a cross-section of groups, the taped comments of six other musicians (Mitileneos 1988), and informal discussion with countless other musicians.

The detailed music programs of seventy events were documented and provide important information about the *rebetika* music repertoire and programming. In these music programs, 185 different *rebetika* songs and instrumental pieces, or 'items', are identified. A sample of thirteen events and twenty-eight *rebetika* items are selected for the interpretive analysis of this study.

Having introduced the aims, theoretical and methodological approaches to this study, the remainder of Part 1 provides the background for an understanding of *rebetika* as a 'Greek music tradition' with a history of symbolic constructions and sedimented meanings. Chapter 2 presents a brief history of the development of *rebetika* music from their earliest appearance to present times and identifies three *rebetika* styles-*smyrneïka, piraiötika* and *laïka*. Chapter 3 discusses the controversial symbolic-ideological discourses which have surrounded the development of *rebetika*. It identifies 'soul music' and 'roots music' narratives as the legacy of the history of *rebetika* music. In Chapter 4, the emergence of a third symbolic-

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[41] Visits to Melbourne, Sydney, Canberra, Perth and Greece undertaken during the period of research have also informed this study. In Melbourne I attended performances of the *rebetika* music ensemble Apodimi Kompania, conferences and interviewed scholars. In Sydney and Canberra I attended conferences and witnessed Greek music performances. In Perth I was part of a Greek music ensemble Themelia which was hosted by the Perth Ethnic Music Centre and invited to perform and hold a series of workshops for the community throughout the week of International Women's Day.

In Greece in 1989, I attended the Popular School of Traditional Music, directed by Aristeidis Moschos, where I learnt to play the *baglamas* from Giannis Papagiannopoulos (player and teacher of the *bouzouki*, *tzouras*, *baglamas*, *oud* and guitar) and the *toumberleki* from Spyros Glenis (player and teacher of the *toumberleki*, *daouli*, *defi*, drum kit, and tablas). I also attended and recorded many Greek music performances, interviewed musicians and scholars, and gathered literature and commercial recordings of *rebetika* music. In 1992 I played with *rebetika* musicians on the islands of Skyros, Ikaria and Lesvos (Mytilene) where I also traced and played with a first generation exponent *bouzouki*-player and singer of *piraiötika rebetika*, Kostas Boras.

I am indebted to the following people in Greece for assisting me in my research: Dr Markos Dragoumis, Director of the Centre for Asia Minor Studies; Panagiotis Kounadis, Centre for the Research and Study of *Rebetika* Songs; Dr Rena Loutzaki, Director of the Peloponnesian Folklore Foundation; Dr Alkis Raftis, Director of the Dora Stratou Hellenic Dances; and Dr Anna Papamichael-Koutroubas, Director of the Research Centre for Greek Folklore, Academy of Athens. I am also indebted to various musicians who I interviewed: Giannis Papagiannopoulos, Eleftheria Arvanitaki, Giorgios Tzortzis, Kostas Boras, Giannis Gevenidis and Maria Karapanou.

ideological narrative of *rebetika*, 'world music', is located in ideologies surrounding multicultural and world music.

Part 2 documents the *rebetika* music-making scene in Adelaide. It commences in Chapter 5 with an account of the migration and settlement patterns of Greek-Australians and their earliest music-making activities. This provides a general historical backdrop to the contemporary Greek-Australian music-making community in Adelaide. Chapter 6 contextualises the contemporary *rebetika* music-making activities in Adelaide by discussing the events, venues, organisers and audiences. Chapter 7 focuses on the music-makers—the bearers and developers of the music-making tradition—and examines their musical influences, education and collaborations. Chapter 8 introduces the various genres of Greek music, the contents of local music repertoires and programs, and documents the *rebetika* music repertoires and programs which are performed in Adelaide. Chapter 9 presents an analysis of the salient musical features of a selected *rebetika* music sample of twenty-eight songs and instrumental pieces recorded live at thirteen Greek music-making events in Adelaide between 1980 and 1993.

This *rebetika* music sample then provides the foundation for an interpretation of the live performance of *rebetika* at specific music-making events in Part 3. The following chapters in turn discuss *rebetika* music-making at social-dances (Chapter 10), restaurants (Chapter 11), life cycle celebrations (Chapter 12), festivals (Chapter 13), and concerts (Chapter 14). In these chapters *rebetika* songs, instrumental pieces and dances are discussed in relation to their live performance, patron participation, reception and underlying symbolic-ideological narratives. Part 3, Chapter 15 then concludes the study with a summary of the ways in which *rebetika* music-making activities constitute diaspora identity and style.

The three Parts are followed by appendices containing ethnographic data, authorship details, song texts and translations of the *rebetika* music sample, a glossary of terms; and references combined with a discography. Volume 2 contains the music notations and Volume 3 the audio sound recordings of the *rebetika* music sample.

Chapter 2 *Rebetika* Music: A History

2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a brief historical account of the development of *rebetika*. It will help to contextualise discussion of the specific *rebetika* songs and instrumental pieces analysed in Parts 2 and 3 of this study. It acknowledges from the outset that there is a difficulty in providing a definition and concise history of *rebetika* because of the many interpretations of its complex history. Representations of *rebetika* are also imbued with ethical and nationalist sentiments which make it difficult to differentiate between ideology and reality. Discussion in this chapter draws from published literature and identifies particular streams, stages and styles in the development of *rebetika*. It traces the early history of *rebetiko* from the late nineteenth century in two sources—an oral pre-commercial tradition and an urban *café-aman* entertainment style—and follows its development through to the *smyrneïko*, the *piraiötiko* and *laïko* styles. From the 1950s, the distinction between *rebetika* and a broad Greek popular music movement known as *laïka*, "popular songs", becomes blurred. *Rebetika* were subsequently assimilated into all contemporary Greek urban music genres. In order to provide a sense of the continuation of the *rebetika* tradition in the second half of the twentieth century, the most derivative of these genres such as the *archontorebetika*, the "noble-*rebetika*", *entechna*, "art-popular songs", *neo-laïka*, "new-popular songs", and *neo-rebetika*, "new-*rebetika* songs", are also briefly discussed.

2.2 Pre-Commercial *Rebetika*

The earliest *rebetika* have been defined as a type of urban folksong or *dimotiko tragoudi*,[1] demotic or "folk" song, belonging to an oral tradition (Kounadis 1975-76: 8; Gauntlett 1985: 191) which developed in the towns, cities and ports of Greece and Asia Minor. In his study of *rebetika* song texts, Gauntlett (1985: 191) identifies a "homogeneous, original core" of *rebetika* songs consisting of strophic couplets in uniform iambic or trochaic eight-syllable or iambic fifteen-syllable metre. These were sung to unison melodies accompanied on long-necked lute instruments of the *bouzouki* family which in early times were three or six-stringed.[2] These 'original' *rebetika* belonged to an oral tradition and were improvised or 'composed' collectively. Singers took it in turns to improvise couplets which they chose from a shared repertoire of textual formula according to a single theme or changing the theme from verse to verse (Kounadis 1975-76: 9; Gauntlett 1985: 55-64). Songs were thus created spontaneously and varied from performance to performance (Gauntlett 1985: 192).[3]

Gauntlett (1985: 192-193) argues that since this mainland style of *rebetika* contains a type of generic originality, all other *rebetika* songs should technically be referred to as *rebetoeidis laïka tragoudia*, "*rebetika*-type popular songs". The transition from 'original' *rebetika* to '*rebetika*-type' songs was marked by commercial distribution, individualised authored composition, relatively stable form, and increased thematic and structural diversification (Gauntlett 1985: 171; 192-193).

Yet prior to the commencement of commercial recording around the turn of the century, a second stream of Greek urban music and song has been identified as an influential precursor ancestor of *rebetika*. This is the *café-aman*.

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[1] The Greek demotic "folk" music tradition evolved in agrarian and marine communities over the past 700 years. It consists of regional mainland, island and Asia Minor regional styles and instrumentation. Demotic songs, dances and music traditionally functioned to accompany various events such as harvest, rites of passage and saint days (see Anoyanakis 1979: 25-30; Beaton 1980).

[2] The *bouzouki* belongs to the *tambouras* family of plucked, fretted long-necked lute instruments with a small pear-shaped or tear-shaped bowl. One of its most standard tunings is d'd'-aa-Dd. Vamvakaris (in Kail 1973: 107-108) speaks about early forms of the *bouzouki* called *tsivouria* and *gonato* which were played in Syros in the 1910s. The smallest form of the *bouzouki*, now called the *baglamas*, was then known as the *tzouras*. Today the *tzouras* is regarded as the instrument in between the *baglamas* and *bouzouki* in size. Composite names such as the *tzouro-baglamas* depict hybrid sizes.

In Turkish musical nomenclature, the family of long-necked lutes with a pear-shaped bowl is known as the *baglama* or *saz* (Reinhard 1980: 270). There is also a Turkish family of long-necked lutes with an almost hemispherical body, probably larger in size than the *baglama*, known as *tanbur* (Reinhard 1980: 273).

[3] The similarity between the music-making processes of these earliest *rebetika* with the singer accompanying himself on a long-necked lute, and other geographically close cultures is striking (see Lord 1960: esp. 21 regarding Yugoslav epic singers; Utegalieva 1995 pers. com. regarding Turkmenian musicians; and Reinhard 1980 regarding Turkish *asik* folk poets and epic singers).

2.3 *Café-Aman*

The *café-aman* is part of a long tradition of Greek urban music. Baud-Bovy (1984: 55-57) believes that Greek urban music developed in Constantinople, Smyrna and Giannina as early as the sixteenth century and was closely linked to Arabic-Persian music. He finds evidence of the Greek love for Arabic-Persian music in sixteenth and seventeenth century notations of ecclesiastical music which appear to be adoptions of Persian songs, refrains or *melismata*. Greek music was apparently notated using the Arabic-Persian terms of *maqam* and *osul* to indicate modes and rhythms, further demonstrating its affinity with the Arabic-Persian musical tradition.

Among the documented exponents of early Greek urban music were the Phanariotes Greeks of Constantinople, a mercantile financial, administrative and educated urban elite of the Ottoman Empire (Mouzelis 1978: 8-9) well known for their musicianship. They apparently fused Byzantine, Arabic-Persian and western European elements in their compositions (Baud-Bovy 1984: 57-60). Baud-Bovy (1984: 57-65) also documents evidence of Greek-Gypsy musicians commissioned in the nineteenth century to compose and perform *Alipasalitika*, "secular songs for Ali Pasha", in honour of Turkish sultans and governor generals of Ottoman provinces. For example, Gypsy musicians were reported to have entertained the court of the Turkish governor of Epirus, Ali Pasha of Ioanina, with couplets in his honour. As they were frequently employed to play for Turkish and Greek communities, it is likely that Gypsy musicians added popular urban Asia Minor *skopoi*, "melodies", "tunes", together with local Greek demotic ones, to their repertoires. Gypsy musicians were renown for their highly ornamented wind instrumental style as well as for their singing and versification.

Gauntlett (1985: 65) documents evidence of the existence of *café-aman* as early as the seventeenth century. Kounadis (1975-76: 7) mentions the existence of urban music from the eighteenth century. In any case, this evidence invalidates Mazarakis' (1984: 50) suggestion that *café-aman* did not appear in Athens until after the Asia Minor Catastrophe.

Most authors recognise the existence of *café-aman* at least in the nineteenth century (Conway-Morris 1981: 79). The music of the *café-aman* is described as a kind of 'oriental' music-hall, *café-chantant* or *café-concert* (Gauntlett 1985: 65) which was patronised by an urban population in the *cafes* and theatres of urban Asia Minor, especially in Constantinople and Smyrni.

The first printed evidence of this 'oriental' urban music is in 1873[4] when press reports are made of a '*café santour*' venue featuring music played on the *santouri* hammer dulcimer (Chatzipantazis 1986: 25-27). It is not until its peak years around 1886 that this music begins to be referred to as *café-aman* (Chatzipantazis 1986: 25), most likely deriving its name from a type of song called *amanes* often performed in Greek *café*, coffee houses. Gazimihal (in Mazaraki 1984: 49, fn. 1) believes that the term '*café-aman*' is a Gypsy derivation of the Turkish term '*mani*', a type of song in which texts are improvised in a dialogue between two or three singers (Reinhard 1980: 269). The singers employ the exclamation interjection[5] '*aman aman*' to win time while thinking of new lyrics to sing. This type of improvisatory song, either in measured or unmeasured time, was subsequently called *amanes* or *manes* and was performed using the '*aman*' interjection. The word '*aman*' is a Turkish word meaning "mercy", "pity" (Zachos 1981: 53) or "alas", "woe is me". Songs featuring *amanedes* have also been glossed as *anatolitika*, "eastern songs" and subsequently became part of the *rebetika* repertoire.

Chatzipantazis (1986: 27-30) provides us with valuable information about the social and cultural context of the earliest *café-aman*. The *café-aman* came to the public's attention during the 1870s in the outer suburbs and country areas of Athens as an evening music performed in outdoor summer venues such as a garden or square flanked by a *café*. In the next decade *café-aman* rapidly proliferated into some of the most famous open-air and roofed music venues of Athens. In these more prestigious venues *café-aman* performances were described as generating a quiet concert-like religious and meditative atmosphere (Chatzipantazis 1986: 79-80). By 1886 *café-aman* had become so popular that it dominated the urban music entertainment scene of Athens and spread into drinking and dining venues of inner Athens and the Piraeus coast-line (Chatzipantazis 1986: 55-56, 81).

The professional music troupes of *café-aman* commonly consisted of two singers including a female singer/dancer and sometimes local male choristers, *ieropsaltes*, a violinist, lutist and *santouri*-player

[4] In the "Appendix of Texts" Chatzipantazis (1986: 115) dates this newspaper article as 1874. Meanwhile, Baud-Bovy records the first *café aman* venue opening in 1893 in Smyrna (1984: 65-66)

[5] *epifonima*

(Chatzipantazis 1986: 18, 57). Other instrumentation included clarinet,[6] *kanonaki* (trapezoid plucked zither), *defi* (single skin frame drum/tambourine) and on two reported occasions, a *bouzouki* (Chatzipantazis 1986: 66).

The *café-aman* program consisted of a diverse repertoire of eastern Mediterranean music, songs and dances (Chatzipantazis 1986: 67-73). The majority of songs were sung in the Greek language and consisted of demotic folk, urban popular (from Constantinople and Smyrni) and military music. The urban songs expressed love themes, some of which were particularly lewd. Other songs were hashish-orientated (Gauntlett 1985: 67, fn. 5). The *café-aman* repertoire also included Arvanite, Turkish, Armenian, Jewish, Romanian, Bulgarian and Egyptian songs and music. While the majority of musicians were of Greek or Armenian background, Jewish, Gypsy, Turkish, Romanian, Arvanite and Arabic musicians also appeared in *café-aman*. The musicians were apparently comfortable with their musically and linguistically heterogeneous repertoires because they shared a consciousness of the non-western European nature of their music-making (Chatzipantazis 1986: 68-9).[7]

From 1885, the dance component of *café-aman* also began to be documented in newspaper reports (Chatzipantazis 1986: 74-78). Dances were collectively referred to as *anatolikoi*, "eastern", and subdivided into Greek, Turkish, Arabic or Romanian. Individual dances performed at *café-aman* included the Greek *syrtos*, *karsilamas*, *chasapikos*, *tsamikos* and *zeïbekikos*. Mazaraki (1984: 48-49) also documents the *kalamatianos* seven-beat dance rhythm and a four-beat dance rhythm. The *zeïbekikos* was apparently a particularly spectacular dance preferred by dancers because of the opportunity to dress in the flamboyant *zeïbek*[8] costume and to carry a knife (Vokos in Chatzipantazis 1986: 77).

Chatzipantazis (1986: 81, 89, 91-92) maintains that *café-aman* cannot be aligned to a particular class since the music enjoyed a wide public patronage and appealed to social groups at both ends of the wealth and power spectrum: rich landlords, workers, travellers, sailors, shop-assistants, coachmen and *koutsavakides*, "tough guys"[9] the majority of whom were men. Baud-Bovy (1984: 65-66), however, claims that while members of the aristocratic high society attended private salons to hear western European music, *café-aman* venues were frequented by the *kosmakis*, "the little people", implying urban people of a less-privileged socio-economic status. Gauntlett (1985: 66) similarly notes that the *café-aman* were "less exalted" music venues. It is true that by the mid 1880s, the *café-aman* venue began to attract criticism in the Athenian press (Chatzipantazis 1986). If anything, these differences of opinion nevertheless confirm the wide public patronage of the music and the discrepancy in public opinion as to its social status.

Kounadis (1975-76: 8, 14-15) note that there was a resurgence in the popularity of *rebetika* from 1893 when Greek people migrated to the United States of America and began to have their music recorded. Yet Chatzipantazis (1986: 95-96, 103-104) argues that during the 1910s the popularity of *café-aman* style waned considerably and took backstage position as live vocal and instrumental accompaniment to the *karagiozi* shadow puppet theatre.[10] By the end of the nineteenth century, *karagiozi* performances had entered the venues recently entertained by *café-aman* troupes. Attracting thousands of people every night, *karagiozi* continued through to the 1950s as a popular form of entertainment.

The "Big Catastrophe", *I Megali Katastrofi*, in 1921 resulted in a massive influx of Greek Asia Minor refugees to Greece from Turkey.[11] The performance of the eastern Mediterranean musical culture

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[6] Chatzipantazis (1986: 46, 57) provides evidence for the presence of the clarinet in Athenian *café aman* performances in 1886, discounting Mazaraki's (1984: 46) claim that the clarinet was not present in Athens before 1925.

[7] Chatzipantazis (1986: 68) suggests that the comfort with such an heterogeneous musical repertoire among Greek, Gypsy, Jewish and Armenian musicians has a historical foundation in the role that they played as professional musicians during the Ottoman Empire.

[8] The *zeïbeks* were an ethnic group of Asia Minor trained and employed as warrior fighters (see Sideris 1912-1913).

[9] See Glossary.

[10] The *karagiozi* shadow puppet theatre centred around the character of Karagiozi, a popular hero who, as servant of a Pasha lord during the Ottoman Empire, uses his wit and humour to get out of difficult situations.

[11] The Greek-Turkish war has a complex and long history linked to the broader context of western European colonial expansion. By 1914, eighty-five percent of the globe was influenced by some form of western imperialism (Said 1993: 6). The peaking of western European power around the world must have encouraged Greece as the 'ancestor' of western European civilisation to undertake an irredentist war against Turkey and reclaim national territories (Mouzelis 1978: 18). This occurred under the governance of Venizelos who systematised programs of Europeanisation and urbanisation (Chatzipantazis 1986: 105; Mouzelis 1978: 18, 21). The unsuccessful irredentist war of 1921-22 to annex parts of Turkey began as the "Big Idea", *I Megali Idea*, but soon came to be known as the "Big Catastrophe", *I Megali Katastrofi*, when thousands of Christians were slaughtered by the large Turkish army. The final outcome was an agreement between the two governments in 1923 to a compulsory population exchange in which Muslims were forced to leave Greece and Christians were forced to leave Turkey, with the exception of some Greek residents of Istanbul, Imvros and Tenedos (Clogg 1980: 120). Some note that up until 1922 there had been three million Greek people living in Asia Minor (Kounadis 1992a: 2; Halaris n.d.: 9,16). Clogg (1980: 121) notes the census figures of 1,300,000 Greek refugees from Turkey, Russia and Bulgaria entering Greece. Many Asia

of these Asia Minor refugees altered the dominant western European music-making scene of Greek urban society and the *café-aman*, now called *smyrneïka*, "songs of Smyrna [Izmir]",[12] enjoyed a new wave, perhaps a third peak, of popularity, between 1920 and 1936 which extended to commercial sound recording.

2.4 *Smyrneïka*

The earliest commercial recording of Greek music is believed to have taken place in New York in 1896 (Spottswood 1990: 1135 in Gauntlett et al. 1994: 43). There is evidence to suggest that *smyrneïka* were among the first types of Greek music to be recorded in the United States and Asia Minor. The earliest recordings of *smyrneïka* were made in Constantinople and Smyrna as early as the 1910s (Smith 1989: 185; Aulin and Vejleskov 1991: 27).[13] Gauntlett et al. (1994: 43) note Strotbaum's (1992: 172-3, 188) documentation of the first known recording of a *smyrneïko* song attested with the term "*rebetiko*" which was made in Constantinople and pressed in Germany by the Favorite Record company in c. 1913-14.[14] By the 1920s, the commercial recording of *rebetika* was blossoming. The song "*Smyrnia*", "Woman From Smyrna", featuring the singer Marika Papagika, was another early *smyrneïko* song recorded in Chicago by the Greek Record Company and documented in a 1924 record company catalogue (Gauntlett et al. 1994: 43).[15]

The earliest evidence of recordings of *smyrneïka* in Greece is later, from about 1920[16] when recordings were made on wax discs by the English Gramophone Company which were then processed and produced in England and subsequently released in Greece (Gauntlett 1985: 74, 76). The compositions of Panagiotis Toundas and Vangelis Papazoglou and the voices of Roza Eskenazi and Rita Ambatzi are among the most representative of the mainland Greece *smyrneïko* style. As to the earliest attribution of the term "*rebetiko*" on the record label of the recordings made in Greece, O. Smith (1991: 323) tentatively suggests those performed by Giorgios Vidalis and documented in a 1931 catalogue. Throughout the 1920s a number of companies recorded *smyrneïka* and by 1930, Columbia had built a gramophone record factory in Rizoupolis, Athens, which was also used by other companies (Gauntlett 1985: 74-75) and became the centre of recording activity for some years.

The *smyrneïka* as a musical style shared much with the *café-aman*. It was performed in urban *cafés*, theatres and nightclubs, *magazia*, "shops", "clubs", with a small stage for performers (Mazaraki 1984: 49). Like the nineteenth century *café-aman*, the *smyrneïka* comprised a heterogeneous repertoire of music played *ala Turka*, "in a Turkish style", *ala Greka*, "in a Greek style", or *ala Franka*, "in a Frankish/ Italian style", meaning, in a western European style.[17] Most songs were about love and hashish consumption and sung in the Greek language. There were Asia Minor urban songs of anonymous and known authorship (Baud-Bovy 1984: 55-70), including *amanedes* sung in Greek (Gauntlett 1985: 67; Vamvakaris in Kail 1973: 96), all of which were played *ala Turka*, that is, with music based on the Turkish and Arabic-Persian *makam* classical music system (Baud-Bovy 1984: 55-70; Conway 1981: 81; Gauntlett 1985: 66; Mazaraki 1984: 49). Some of the most adept exponents of the *ala Turka* style were

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Minor refugees fled east into the Soviet Union. The entire population of Greece increased more than twofold from 2,600,000 in 1907 to 6,200,000 in 1928 with the population of Athens almost doubling between 1920 and 1928 (Clogg 1980: 121). Of further significance is the fact that Greek people became the ethnic majority in Greek Macedonia and Thrace where Slavophones and Turks had previously been dominant (Clogg 1980: 121). In any case, Greece was unprepared for such a drastic increase in population and much poverty and unemployment ensued.

The Asia Minor population exchange ended a 2,500 year presence of Greek people in Asia Minor (Clogg 1980: 117-121). There has been a debate over whether the presence of Greek people and culture in Asia Minor has been continuous or interrupted over this period of time (see Vryonis 1978 for an account of the debate).

[12] I now refer to *café aman* songs and music as *smyrneïka* in order to distinguish the latter as a commercially recorded genre as compared with the former non-recorded genre.

[13] O. Smith (1989: 185) states 1910 without providing further details.

[14] This information possibly contests O. Smith (1991: 322) suggestion that the practice of labelling songs as "*rebetiko*" began in the USA by expatriate Greeks and was later adopted in Greece.

[15] O. Smith (1992: 106) documents the recording of "*Smyrnia*" by Columbia in the United States of America in 1926, in the words of Smith, "at least before December 1926", although this is presented by Smith as 1925 (O. Smith 1991: 232).

[16] O. Smith (1989: 184) and Aulin and Vejleskov (1991: 28) posit 1925 as the beginning of *café aman* recordings in Greece.

[17] The heterogenous style of the *smyrneïka* is confirmed in reports of the clientele of the Marika Papagika's own *café aman* which she opened in New York on 34th Street in 1925. Apparently it attracted Greeks, Albanians, Arabs, Bulgarians, Syrians, Turks, Yugoslavs and a majority of Armenians (Frangos 1994: 43, 46). Frangos (1994: 44-45) notes that numerous languages apart from Greek were sung in Papagika's *café aman* , including Turkish, Armenian, Syrian and Ladino.

the Turkish-Gypsy clarinettists (Mazaraki 1984: 50-51). Also in the repertoire were Turkish songs sung in Turkish and Greek in an *ala Turka* style (Conway 1981: 81; Vamvakaris in Kail 1973: 96).

The songs played *ala Greka* included traditional Greek demotic folk songs, music and dances, including the *syrtos* dance form (Conway 1981: 81; Mazaraki 1984: 49; Gauntlett 1985: 67), and other demotic dances regionally typical of Asia Minor, such as the *zeïbekikos*, *karsilamas* and *chasapikos*. Vamvakaris (in Kail 1973: 96) mentions that Asia Minor Greeks brought with them *tsiftetelia*, *tzivaeria*,[18] and *aïvaliotika*.[19] In addition to this mixed repertoire, *smyrneïka* performances included the Slavic *allegro*, the Romanian *chora*, the Russian *cossak*, the Serbian *servikos* and *chasaposervikos* dances (Mazaraki 1984: 49), as well as western European arias and waltzes (Baud-Bovy 1984: 6; Gauntlett 1985: 67) played *ala Franka*.

As for the repertoire, it appears that there were no limits on the instrumentation of the *smyrneïki kompania*, "*smyrneïki* music ensemble", which included the violin, *santouri*, lute, clarinet (Mazaraki 1984: 49), *lyra* (lap fiddle) (Petropoulos 1983: 13; Aulin and Vejleskov 1991: 27), *oud* (short necked multi-stringed lute) cello and *kanonaki*. Together with the soprano and tenor voices, these instruments have been identified as constituting a *smyrneïko* style (Gauntlett 1985: 68; Aulin and Vejleskov 1991: 27). The mandolin and guitar were also featured in *smyrneïka* (Eskenazi 1982: 19). Instrumentalists accompanied male tenors with "*katsares fones*", "wavy [melismatic] voices", and female sopranos (Petropoulos 1983: 13; Gauntlett 1985: 68; Dietrich 1987: 14; Aulin and Vejleskov 1991: 27). Female vocalists also played percussion instruments such as the *defi* and castanets and danced versions of the *zeïbekikos*, *aïdinikos*, *tsifteteli*, and *chasaposervikos* (Mazaraki 1984: 49). Moreover improvisation continued to be practised by musicians, especially violinists, *kanonaki*-players and oud-players who played solo *taximia*, and vocalists who sang *amanedes*.

2.5 *Piraiötika*

The *piraiötika*, "songs of Piraeus", were the direct descendants of the 'original' pre-commercial *rebetika* style. These *bouzouki*-oriented *rebetika* developed during the nineteenth century in the urban centres of Piraeus, Athens and Syros island, i.e. as a 'mainland' rather than an Asia Minor style (Kounadis 1975-76: 6-15; Gauntlett 1985: 54-73; Smith 1989: 185; Aulin and Vejleskov 1991: 9). They were patronised by harbour, factory, craft and shop labourers in the less privileged settings of taverns, *tekedes*, "hashish-dens",[20] and prisons. The *bouzouki*-player /singer /composer Markos Vamvakaris (in Kail 1973: 109-110, 114) speaks about the generation of non-professional *bouzouki*-players such as Nikos the Aivaliotis from whom he learnt to play *bouzouki* in Syros and Piraeus in the 1920s. Vamvakaris (in Kounadis 1974a: 6) also notes that during the 1930s those music-lovers who could not afford violin entertainment, meaning *smyrneïka*, patronised *bouzouki* music venues. This indicates that Greek urban society had clearly become socially polarised and that class influenced the patronage of entertainment forms.

This early *bouzouki* style was first recorded in the United States of America some time soon after 1925[21] by Greek emigrants such as Giannis Katsaros and Giannis Ioannidis (Gauntlett 1985: 86-87; Aulin and Vejleskov 1991: 29). Yet Gauntlett (1985: 86, fn. 134) suggests that the association of the *bouzouki* family of instruments including the smaller *baglamas* with hashish dens, prisons and 'underworld' culture prevented it from being commercially recorded in Greece until the 1930s. One American recording in particular, the instrumental "*To Minore Tou Teke*", "The Minor Mode of the Den", which featured Giannis Chalikias playing *bouzouki*, reached Greece in the early 1930s and apparently made an impression on musicians and record companies who soon after began to record *rebetika* featuring the *bouzouki* family of instruments (Gauntlett 1985: 86-88; Smith 1991: 324). There is evidence of this early *bouzouki* style of *rebetika* simulated on guitar in a recording of A. Costis made in Athens as early as 1930 (Gauntlett 1985: 88).

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[18] The *tzivaeri* is a well known *amanes* from Smyrni (eg. "Tzivaeri", Sinasos n.d. track no. 9). It is also a major chromatic *dromos*, mode: DEF#GABbC#D (Papagiannopoulos 1992 pers. com.). The word *tzivaeri* also appears in songs as a term of endearment, i.e. *tzivaeri mou*.

[19] An *aïvaliotiko* is a piece of music from the town of Aivali in western Asia Minor. Further information regarding the *aïvaliotika* is unavailable.

[20] See Glossary.

[21] Evidence for this date is derived from the electrical production of the recordings which replaced acoustic recording from 1926 onwards (Gauntlet 1985: 86-87, fn. 133).

It appears that the first recordings of *rebetika* songs featuring the *bouzouki* were made in Greece as late as 1933 by Giorgios Batis (Aulin and Vejleskov 1991: 30 fn. 51). However, it was the recordings of Markos Vamvakaris singing and playing *bouzouki*, also recorded by Columbia in the same year[22] but released in 1934 that were the first *bouzouki*-oriented *rebetika* to be commercially released on 78 rpm discs in Greece (Gauntlett 1985: 88; Smith 1989: 184-185; 1991: 320). Because of the residence in Piraeus of many of these earliest exponents of the *bouzouki*-oriented *rebetika*, they came to be known as *piraiötika*. Vamvakaris (in Kounadis 1974a: 18) claims that in the 1930s, many of his recordings became *souxe*, "commercial hits", and sold 25,000-30,000 copies. Up until the time when these musician/composers enjoyed some recording success, they played informally for themselves and their friends in small taverns and *tekedes*. The important role that recording contracts played in launching the professional careers of *rebetika* musicians must not be underestimated. Vamvakaris first began to perform as a professional musician at a nightclub in 1935-36 (Vamvakaris in Kounadis 1974a: 6), a few years after he had begun his recording career. Other composers /singers /*bouzouki*-players contracted by record companies to record their music and referred to by Gauntlett (1985: 89-90) as the "first generation of professional *bouzouki* players" were Stelios Keromytis, Anestos "Artemis" Delias, Giorgios Batis, Dimitiris "Bagianderas" Gogos, Giannis Papaioannou and Michalis Genitsaris. Mention must be made of Ioannis Eitziridis (Giovan Tsaous) who played a variety of instruments including members of the long-necked lute family and was featured playing them in the recordings of *smyrneïka* compositions as well as the *piraiötika* (see Gauntlett 1985: 90; Kounadis 1988). These *piraiötika rebetika* musicians enjoyed considerable recording and performance popularity in Greece between 1934-1940 (Kounadis 1975-76: 14-15).

The *piraiötika* differed from the *smyrneïka* in orchestration by their use of the *errini trachia foni*, "nasal gruff voice" (Aulin and Vejleskov 1991: 30) and the "monotonous baritone" (Gauntlett 1985: 86), together with the predominant use of the *bouzouki* family of instruments and guitar.[23] Kail (1973: 23-24) outlines the main musical features of the leading exponent of the *piraiötiko* style, Markos Vamvakaris, as melodies based on the *dromoi*, modes, and accompanied by western harmonies. She adds that Vamvakaris' style was identified by the passionate expression of lyrics in an unadorned vocal melody sung with a steady staccato voice. Furthermore, Kail identifies that accompanying singers tended to sing loose harmonies in either *kantada*[24] or eastern singing styles which contrasted with the heavy gruff style of the lead singer. The *taximi* improvisatory practice was retained on the *bouzouki* family of instruments while the vocal *amanes* disappeared from the recorded genre. The music is also characterised by a steady dance rhythm. Finally, Kail (1973: 24) observes in this music "the newly-achieved blending of eastern and western elements", a type of musical interplay of both eastern Mediterranean and western European musical aesthetics.

Regarding the content of *piraiötika* song texts, Vamvakaris (in Kail 1973: 33-34) himself claimed that he was the first to sing for people, "their joys and their sorrows, their riches and their poverty, their orphanhood and their migration".[25] Kounadis (1974a: 6), however, categorises the songs of Vamvakaris into two types: the *paraponiarika*, "plaintive" songs in *zeïbekikos* dance rhythms; and the "satirical" and "happy" songs in *chasapikos*, *chasaposervikos* and *syrtos* rhythms. Yet there are exceptions to this, such as in the song "*Osoi Ginoun Prothipourgoi*", "Whoever Becomes Prime Minister", which is a humorous satirical song in a *zeïbekikos* rhythm describing the antics of a *rebetis* prime minister who will make his ministers and senators smoke marijuana. Gauntlett (1985: 93-94) identifies a wider range of song texts among the first generation *bouzouki*-players /composers which include the classic erotic love theme, "oriental fantasies", satirical and humorous narratives, glorification of underworld themes of hashish consumption and macho *mangas* male characters.[26] Aulin and Vejleskov (1991) agree with Gauntlett's

[22] Some years later, Vamvakaris recalls 1934 as the year he began recording his songs (in Kounadis 1974a: 18).

[23] The categorisation of *rebetika* items into the *smyrneïko* and *piraiötiko* styles on the basis of instrumentation and vocal style, while historically appropriate, is problematic because of the overlap of musical and non-musical features across the styles. One finds that items categorised within one style share important musical structures with those in the other, such as the occurrence of all varieties of the *zeïbekikos* rhythm in both styles. In addition, this categorisation does not account for the cross-over of instrumentation and players that must have occurred inside and outside of recording studios, and in the later *laïko* period of *rebetika*.

[24] Italianate serenades of the Ionian Islands. (See Chapter 9).

[25] "Σε έναν κόσμο που εγώ του τραγουδούσα τις χαρές και τις λύπες του, τα πλούτη και τη φτώχεια του, την ορφανιά του και την ξενιτιά του." (Vamvakaris in Kail 1973: 33-34).

[26] See Glossary.

(1985: 168) conclusion that pre-Second World War *rebetika* song texts depict two major themes: love and "marginal life".[27]

There is significant evidence that the *smyrneïka* and *piraiötika* styles did not develop in isolation. They certainly shared musical features such as the *zeïbekikos* and other dance forms as well as the use of *dromoi*, modes. Other evidence of their symbiosis occurs in the crossover between their exponents between 1934 and 1940 (Kounadis 1975-76: 15). *Smyrneïka* musicians invited *bouzouki* players to perform and record with them (Gauntlett 1985: 90) while they in return played *bouzouki* and recorded with *piraiötika* musicians (Aulin and Vejleskov 1991: 30-31). In contrast to Gauntlett's assertion (1985: 90) that the *piraiötika* began to dominate from 1934 onwards at the expense of the *smyrneïka*, Aulin and Vejleskov (1991: 31) suggest that without information on the number of discs sold, it is difficult to ascertain the degree of popularity of either style. Moreover, they have evidence of the continued prominence of *smyrneïka* in record company catalogues up to 1937 and in the simultaneous issue by different record companies of recordings of *smyrneïka chasiklidika*, "hashish songs", up to 1935.[28]

A drastic change took place from 1936 onwards in the development of *rebetika*. Even though the production and use of narcotics including hashish had been illegal in Greece from 1890 (Gauntlett 1985: 100), *rebetika* songs with narcotics-related song texts had circulated freely until August 1936. From this time onwards General Metaxas reactivated and enacted the prohibition law against narcotics. He also installed an official Committee of Censorship (Aulin and Vejleskov 1991: 31) in the Ministry of Press and Tourism (Gauntlett 1985: 100) to enforce a public censorship law.[29] This affected all public sound-recording and broadcasting as well as publications. Songs with texts referring to illegal drug-consumption, criminality, sexual promiscuity, criticism of the government, party politics, incitement of labour organisation, communism, and any other activity which allegedly indicted the Greek Orthodox religion, the Greek nation, Greek morals and customs were censored (Nikoloudis 1938: 88-89; Bellou 1987: 2). Smith (1989: 184-190) argues that the Metaxas 1936-1937 censorship generated a change in song texts away from marginal lifestyle themes, encouraging romantic love songs to flourish, but there is evidence of some songs with drug themes passing the censors in 1937. Aulin and Vejleskov (1991: 32) find that no new recordings of *chasiklidika* were made after 1936, but that earlier *chasiklidika* recordings continued to be circulated up to 1939.[30] Furthermore, new renditions and recordings of songs with hashish-orientated texts[31] were made with all reference to the use of narcotics removed. Notwithstanding, Gauntlett (1985: 101-102) notes that 'underworld' songs continued to be performed live despite their official censorship.

The Metaxas censorship also applied to Turkish sounding music, particularly *rebetika* and the *amanedes*, as well as music featuring the *bouzouki* family of instruments. Aulin and Vejleskov (1991: 32) note the gradual alteration of record company catalogue headings from "*Laïka, rebetika, manedes, anatolitika*" to simply "*Laïka*" by 1939. Even the record companies began to disassociate themselves from the *rebetika* music genre, indicating how strongly the reputation of *rebetika* had become linked with the 'underworld' and Turkish culture. The cultural purging extended to police harassment and the persecution of players of the *bouzouki* family of instruments. Vamvakaris (in Kounadis 1974a: 6) notes how he and others were hounded and raided by police and forced to play their instruments secretly. Many *rebetika* song texts depict a similar fate.[32]

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[27] Aulin and Vejleskov (1991: 11) translate Gauntlett's term "low-life" into "*perithoriaki zoi*", "marginal life", which I too feel is more appropriate since "low-life" tends to reinforce a derogatory social valuation of *rebetika* on the basis of a hierarchical class structure. The term 'underworld' is also used to refer to those *rebetika* song texts which depict a marginal lifestyle.

[28] As an example of this, Aulin and Vejleskov (1991: 31) cite "*Pasalimaniotissa*", "Woman From Pasalimani", and "*Ferte Preza Na Prezaro*", "Bring Me a Dose to Take", two songs composed by Panagiotis Toundas.

[29] There is confusion regarding the length of imposition of the censorship law. Kounadis (1981-2: 52) documents the censorship period from 1937-1946, which was then lifted for forty to forty-five days and reinstalled in 1946. Gauntlett (1985: 100-101; 128) states that the censorship period was from 4 August 1936-1941 and was reinstalled in 1944.

[30] For example, the song "*Ta Chanoumakia*", "The Little Turkish Women". The word *chanoumissa* is variously defined as "Turkish woman" (Stavropoulos 1988: 962); "madam" (Crighton 1960: 1636) and *chanoumaki* as "a woman suitable only for bed" (Zachos 1981: 534).

[31] Eg. "*Thelo Pringipessa*", "I Want A Princess", *"Kouventa Me To Charo*", "Conversation With Charon"

[32] Eg. "*Chtes To Vradi Sto Teke Mas*", "Last Night in Our Den". "Χθες το βράδυ στο τεκέ μας/ ήρθαν να πάρουν τον αργιλέ μας./Ψάξαν μαύρο να μας πιάσουν/ και το τεκέ μας να μας χαλάσουν./ Πήρανε τους μπαγλαμάδες/ μας πήραν όλους τους μπαγλαμάδες/ και να μας σπάσουν και τους λουλάδες." ["Last night at our den/ they came to take the hookah-pipe./ They looked for hashish to catch us red-handed/ and wanted to smash our den./ They took the baglamades/ they took all our baglamadades/ and broke our hubble-bubbles."]

2.6 *Laïka*

In the difficult socio-economic environment of the late 1930s, it is not surprising that *rebetika* composers were forced to adjust the nature of their compositions in order to survive the pressure of censorship and police persecution. While hashish songs were weeded out of the recorded genre for a period, Gauntlett (1985: 116-122; 190-191) observes that there was an increasing stylisation and glorification of the 'underworld' theme. Concurrently the recorded *rebetika* repertoire of songs expanded and diversified to include songs about idealised romantic love, melancholy, social malaise, exotic landscapes and escape (Gauntlett 1985: 111-113).[33] As such, *rebetika* developed into a more *laïko*, "popular" style that was commercialised and marketed on a mass scale. Vasilis Tsitsanis (in Gauntlett 1984: 5), a leading and prolific *laïko* composer, singer and "second generation *bouzouki*-player" (Gauntlett 1985: 110-118; 122-146), described the content of his songs as simply depicting "distressing circumstances or happy moments, or tortures, poverty, misfortune and the sorrows of those who have suffered", and ninety percent "*leventia* [manliness], relief and bravery".[34] He first began to record his music in 1937, and recorded as many as 329 songs (Anastasiou 1995). Other *laïka* exponents included Apostolos Kaldaras, Giorgios Mitsakis, Manolis Chiotis, Apostolos Chatzichristos, Sotiria Bellou, Proodromos Tsaousakis, Marika Ninou and Stelios Kazantzidis.

The *laïka rebetika* developed into a far more heterogeneous genre by assimilating music from both the *smyrneïka* and *piraiötika* styles, as well as from demotic folk music (eg. in the form of the *kalamatianos* and *syrtos* dance forms, and the use of clarinet), Athenian *plakiotika* serenades, and *evropaïka*, an *elafro*, "light", western European ballroom dance music style. However, the *bouzouki* remained the lead melody instrument in the ensemble.

The development of *rebetika* was further curbed with the suspension of the activity of recording companies during the German Occupation from 1941 to 1944 and the second enforcement of censorship of *rebetika* from 1946 onwards. It appears that during the German Occupation, the composition of new pieces (Tsitsanis in Chatzidoulis 1979: 19-25) and the live *rebetika* music scene continued (Genitsaris in Gauntlett 1992: 71).

After the Second World War, the pressures to succeed through commercial recording motivated *rebetika* composers towards an even closer identification with western European musical styles. The Greek modes were standardised to include mostly major and minor scales which corresponded with western diatonic tonality and harmonies of thirds and sixths (see Tsitsanis in Gauntlett 1984: 3), and included the harmonic minor.[35] The instrumentation of *rebetika* music expanded to include western popular music instruments (eg. piano, double bass, piano accordion, drum kit) and ballroom dance rhythms (waltz, tango, rumba, beguine, cha cha cha etc)[36]

2.7 *Archontorebetika*

A more flamboyant style of *laïka rebetika* emerged in 1946 after the Second World War in a venue that came to be known as the *kosmiki taverna*, the "high society tavern". These were the *archontorebetika*, the "noble-*rebetika*" (see Gauntlett 1985: 128-146) which centred on a cult of 'star' singers and *bouzouki*-players. The music catered to upwardly aspiring 'low' social classes (Gauntlett 1985:131) as well as a bourgeois class of clientele, hence the association with aristocracy in the term *archonto*, derived from the word *archontia*, "nobility".

In these taverns, the *bouzouki* was exalted as 'the' Greek instrument and its players became showmen who stood at the front of the bandstand next to star singers. Virtuoso *bouzouki*-players indulged in solo *taximi* improvisations displaying awesome speed and technique. Manolis Chiotis was one of the leading exponents of *bouzouki* music at this time and modified the construction of the *bouzouki* by enlarging the bowl and adding an extra course of paired strings. The standard tuning of the eight-stringed *bouzouki* became d'd'-aa-Ff-Cc, though players varied their tunings as they wished. Closer to the

[33] Kounadis (1975-76: 16) also notes the expansion of song themes from 1945 onwards.

[34] "Απλώς καταστάσεις θλιβερές η χαρούμενες στιγμές η τα βάσανα, τη φτώχεια, τη δυστιχία και τους καυμούς των πονεμένων έκανα τραγούδια ...", "Τα τραγούδια μου κατά ποσοστόν 90% τα χαρακτηρίζει η λεβεντιά, η ανακούφιση και η παλλικαριά." (Tsitsanis in Gauntlett 1984: 5)

[35] Nonetheless, the wider modal system of *dromous* continued to be employed in *taximi* improvisations on recordings. the continuation of the Turkish and Arabic-Persian *makam* musical orientation is also observed in the *laïka* songs of the 1950s and 1960s performed by the virtuoso singer Stelios Kazantzidis, and in the neo-demotic songs of Greek-Gypsies.

[36] More recently these songs are referred to as Latin American since the release of the double album titled *Latin*, (Dalaras: 1987).

mandolin or guitar family, the *bouzouki* could now be played much faster across the neck, rather than along the neck as with the six-stringed *bouzouki*, and could render harmonies of thirds and sixths more easily. Other famous virtuoso *bouzouki*-players at this time were Giannis "Sporos" Stamatiou and Giorgios Zambetas.

The repertoire of the *archontorebetika* expanded to include *elafra* "light" music heard in cabarets, ballrooms and review theatres, together with a more eastern Turkish and Arabic music (Gauntlett 1985: 132-135) some of which was inspired by or plagiarised from Indian cinema, a trend which Tsitsanis referred to derisively as 'Indocracy' (Tsitsanis in Chatzidoulis 1979: 39-44). Song text themes diversified to include melodramatic love songs, songs of despair, social injustice, misanthropy, revelry, bohemianism, and the mother figure (Gauntlett 1985: 137-141).

The need to disassociate the music from the hashish and 'underworld'-oriented culture was a primary concern of high society venues where *archontorebetika* were played. This was indicated in the story recounted by the virtuoso *bouzouki*-player Giannis "Sporos" Stamatiou (in Geramanis 1996: 96) who performed in clubs during the 1950s. Apparently one evening a group of 'godfather' clients entered the club where Stamatiou was playing and requested hashish songs. The proprietor made the musicians leave the stage one by one to dissipate the atmosphere. The unfulfilled clients shouted abuse, smashed up things and eventually left. The musicians who had been told to wait in a park were given the 'all clear' to return to the stage, whereupon they played until morning.

The *archontorebetika* peaked around the 1960s, after which substantial recording of new compositions in the *laïka rebetika* style abated.

2.8 *Entechna*

From the late 1940s, early 1950s, another stream of Greek popular music was developing among composers trained in the western European classical music tradition. This came to be known as the *entechna*, "art-popular songs", literally "enskilled songs". Composers such as Mikis Theodorakis, Manos Chatzidakis, Stavros Xarchakos, Giannis Markopoulos and Christos Leontis drew upon the various Greek music traditions—Byzantine ecclesiastical, *dimotika*, *nisiotika*, *rebetika*—as well as the western European classical music tradition, in their compositions for orchestras, symphonies, choirs, small ensembles, cinema and theatre. They set songs to the lyrics of contemporary poets such as Giannis Ritsos (Lenin prize winner), Giorgios Seferis and Odysseas Elytis (both Nobel prize winners), Garcia Lorca and Pablo Neruda. This poetry, which employed both metaphor and realism to cover every topic related to human society and the human condition, was chosen as a vehicle for the uplifting of the human spirit, especially of Greek people who had endured several years of destructive and oppressive political regimes, including the German Occupation and Greek Civil War (1946-1949).

The ways in which *entechna* composers drew upon *rebetika* differed from composer to composer. Some used *rebetika* musical structures such as dance forms, modes, and instrumentation. Others engaged *rebetika* singers and *bouzouki*-players in their performances and recordings. Chatzidakis and Theodorakis are two composers who assimilated *rebetika* in contrasting ways.

For example, Manos Chatzidakis presented a lecture on *rebetika* music in February 1949 at the Athens "Arts Theatre", *Theatro Technis*, which included the live performance of *rebetika* songs by leading exponents Markos Vamvakaris, Sotiria Bellou and Vasilis Tsitanis (Chatzidakis in Holst 1983: 154; Christianopoulos 1979: 176). Theodorakis (in Giannaris 1972: 129-130) rebuffed the significance of this tribute to *rebetika* by saying the lecture was for the Greek aristocracy, since Greek people not only knew about *laïki mousiki* but were also living it. Chatzidakis then presented a performance in 1950 of his own compositions titled *Exi Laïkes Zografies*, "Six Popular Pictures", for piano which were inspired by *rebetika* music (Angelikopoulou 1996: 30; Vasiliadis 1984: 106-107). A decade later in 1960 Christianopoulos (1979: 188) virulently accused Chatzidakis of "*rebeticising* the light song and lightening *rebetika* song"[37] with his imitations and derivations of *rebetika* music. Some years later in 1972 Chatzidakis recorded an album titled *O Skliros Aprilis Tou* '45, "*The Hard April of '45*" (Angelikopoulou 1996: 32) which featured a collection of famous *rebetika* songs arranged instrumentally for strings, wind and percussion in a light classical style once again without the *bouzouki*.

Theodorakis, on the other hand, employed the *rebetiko bouzouki*-player Manolis Chiotis, the *rebetiko* singer Grigoris Bithikotsis, and *rebetika* rhythms and modes in one of his most famous song

[37] "ρεμπετοποίησε το ελαφρό και ελαφροποίησε το ρεμπέτικο" (Christianopoulos 1979: 188).

cycles, *Epitaphios*, "*The Epitaph*" (Theodoraki n.d.) recorded in 1958-59 (Holst 1980: 14, 44-45, 234; Giannaris 1972: 290; Vasiliadis 1984: 107). The music was set to the poetry of Giannis Ritsos, written in 1938, which commemorated the suffering and struggles of Greek people. During rehearsals in 1959 for a performance of the work in an Athens concert hall, a scandal broke out when classical musicians of the Athens Radio Orchestra refused to share the same stage with the nightclub singer Bithikotsis and *bouzouki*-player Chiotis (Giannaris 1972: 130). The work was recorded in 1960 and through radio airplay and juke boxes became a national popular success (Holst 1980: 45).

The songs of Theodorakis' have been characterised as more *laïko* with explicit political and patriotic sentiments, while the music of Chatzidakis was found to be more *elafro*, "light", and western classical in style.[38] Yet both understood the potency of *rebetika* as a powerful symbol for Greek people. Also noteworthy is the fact that these compositions which drew heavily upon *rebetika* were among their first commercially successful works.

The development of *entechna* music during the 1950s was accompanied by controversial debates about the elitism of the *entechna* composers and their role in the refinement, politicisation or demise of *rebetika* which also implied claims to musical and cultural integrity and authenticity. One criticism of their elitism was the use of the term *entechna*, "enskilled songs", which implied that all other compositions were *atechni*, "unskilled" (Papagiannopoulos 1989 pers. com.). Others questioned their benevolence as self-defined members of a 'cultured' artistic intelligentsia claiming leadership of a national arts movement and represention of "the Greek people", *o Ellinikos laos*. Meanwhile, some *rebetika* musicians blamed these up-and-coming composers for the demise of their livelihood and musical tradition (Genitsaris in Gauntlett 1992: 83-83). Critics (Petropoulos in Gauntlett 1991: 23 fn 40; Christianopoulos 1979: 188) believed that rather than preserving the *rebetika* music tradition, they succeeded in striking a final blow to it. The debate raised the critical issue of whether the *entechna* composers were revitalising the tradition in their appropriation of its repertoire, musical forms and musicians.

2.9 The *Rebetika* Revival

In the 1970s, two processes worked simultaneously to effect a revival of interest in *rebetika* and perhaps its revitalisaion. One was generated by the grass-roots activities of musicians and audiences who continued to perform and patronise live *rebetika* music. The other was a commercial venture by record companies to increase profits in a waning market. There is evidence to suggest that interest in *rebetika* music never abated. For example, the writer Petropoulos was active in the organisation of *rebetika* exhibitions and concerts in which he invited first and second generation exponents to perform (eg. Markos Vamvakaris, his sons Stelios and Domenikos, Sotiria Bellou, Michalis Genitsaris, Giorgios Mouflouzelis, Stelios Keromitis and others) in 1968 and 1972 (Petropoulos 1983: 628-635). The degree to which *rebetika* were marginal is also unclear, especially since these concerts were held in the prestigious Hilton Hotel during the junta dictatorship.

The social context within which the *rebetika* 'revival' initially took place was during the junta dictatorship (1967-1971) when anti-junta music was banned and military and demotic music was broadcast twenty-four hours a day on Greek radio. In many ways the revival of *rebetika*, patronised by students, academics and artists, were constituted as music of resistance and defiance.

In any case, from about 1975, record collectors and record companies began to re-issue original recordings of *rebetika* on 33 rpm long-playing records. These reissues of *rebetika* have extended in the 1990s to compact disc series from England and the United States. Notwithstanding their value as archival musical resources, sometimes the quality of these reissues indicates their hasty compilation and reproduction.[39]

Alongside the release of reissued original recordings, record companies began to produce quality recordings of the traditional *rebetika* with nightclub singers (eg. *Otan Kapnizei O Loulas* with Apostolos Nikolaïdis,[40] *Chronia Ston Piraia*[41] and *Enas Mangas Sto Votaniko* with Spyros Zagoraios,[42] and elite

[38] See Papandreou (1993) for an interesting comparison of the styles and reception of Theodorakis and Chatzidakis.

[39] For example, many recordings are not reproduced from original masters, but from scratched copies. They are also sometimes poorly annotated with incorrect details about performers, authorship and recording details. In some cases, song texts are poorly transcribed.

[40] Nikolaïdis, n.d.

[41] Zagoraios, n.d.

[42] Zagoraios, 1975.

popular singers (eg. *Dodeka Laïka Tragoudia* with Charis Alexiou;[43] *Peninta Chronia Rebetiko Tragoudi* with Giorgios Dalaras;[44] and *Smyrneïka*[45] and *Apo ti Smyrni Ston Piraia*[46] with Glykeria) who always included *rebetika* in their live concert performances.

Also significant have been the activities of younger generations of musicians who have dedicated themselves to the *rebetika* repertoire, such as Stelios and Domenikos Vamvakaris, Dimitiris Kontogiannis, Bambis Goles and Agathonas Iakovidis. Some formed *rebetika*-specific ensembles such as *Rebetika Kompania*, "*Rebetika* Ensemble", *Athinaïki Kompania*, "Athenian Ensemble", *Opisthodromiki Kompania*, "Regressive Ensemble", *Rebetiko Singrotima Thessalonikis*, "*Rebetiko* Band of Thessalonika", and *Ta Pedia Ap' Tin Patra*, "The Kids From Patras". All continue to record albums and to perform live in the 1990s.

One can observe a continuity in the new composition of *rebetika* in the works of Apostolos Kaldaras, Manos Loizos and Christos Nikolopoulos (called *neo laïko*, "new-popular")[47] and of Nikos Papazoglou and Nikos Xidakis (called *neo rebetika*, new-*rebetika*").[48] Gauntlett (1991b: 37) refers to the recent *rebetika*-inspired compositions by Stavros Xarchakos and Nikos Gatsos for the soundtrack of the film *Rebetiko* as *metarebetika*, "post-*rebetika*". They are certainly compositions which reflexively and critically comment upon the *rebetika* as a traditional urban genre of Greek music.

2.10 The Contemporary *Rebetika* Scene in Greece

My fieldwork in Greece in 1989 and 1992 confirmed a healthy *rebetika* music-making scene in Greece. *Rebetika* are neither a mass market at the level of the 'top 40' commercial hits, nor are they completely marginal to the mainstream Greek music scene. *Rebetika* are a Greek music genre alongside many others which struggle for a place and voice in the diverse and competitive music-making scene of Greece.

At the level of local neighbourhood, whether in the urban metropolis of Athens or in a remote country village, *rebetika* music is always heard on personal sound systems, broadcast on radio, or played live at taverns, clubs and bars. The large nightclubs of Athens which showcase as many as six vocalists accompanied by a resident band always feature *rebetika* alongside Greek pop music. Many more smaller taverns and bars have come to be known as *rebetadika*, "*rebetika* clubs", and specialise in *rebetika* music.[49]

Throughout the 1980s *rebetika* flourished during the PASOK government (see Gauntlett 1991a; 1991b) which encouraged a populist cultural movement and institutionalised the study of traditional Greek music in academies and universities (see also Gauntlett 1991b). The PASOK party established the Traditional School of Popular Music directed by the master *santouri*-player Aristeidis Moschos. The school offered practical courses in traditional demotic and urban Greek music on over twelve traditional Greek instruments. During 1989 Aristeidis Moschos was also musical director of a television series on traditional Greek music produced by the government television station ET2 which recorded and broadcast weekly programs. Another example of the institutionalisation of *rebetika* includes the increasing use of *rebetika* images and symbols in commercial advertising, such as in the Heineken beer television commercial of 1992. This commercial featured the song "*Peftoun Tis Vrochis Oi Stales*", "Rain Drops Are Falling",

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[43] Alexiou, 1975.

[44] Dalaras, 1975.

[45] Glykeria, 1981.

[46] Glykeria, 1983.

[47] For example, the record albums *Mikra Asia* [Asia Minor] (Kaldaras 1972) with composer Apostolos Kaldaras, lyrics by Pythagoras, and vocalists Giorgios Dalaras and Charis Alexiou; *Byzantinos Esperinos*, [Byzantine Vespers] (Kaldaras 1973) with composer Apostolos Kaldaras, lyrics by Lefteris Papadopoulos; *Ta Tragoudia Tis Charoulas* [*Songs For Charoula*] (Loizos 1979) with composer Manos Loizos, lyrics by Manolis Rasoulis and Pythagoras, and vocalist Charis Alexiou.

[48] For example, *Ekdikisi tis Gyftias* [*Revenge of the Gypsy Way*] (Xidakis 1978) with music by Nikos Xidakis, lyrics by Manolis Rasoulis, and singers Nikos Papazoglou, Sophia Diamanti, Dimitris Kontogiannis and Dionysis Savopoulos.

[49] Nightclubs attended in 1989 which featured *rebetika* were Esmeralda (Bambis Goles), Epeigontos (Dimitris Kontogiannis and Opisthodromiki Kompania) and Oi Dalikes (Eleni Vitali, Vasilis Soukas). Taverns and *rebetadika* attended in 1989 and 1992 which featured *rebetika* included *Taximi, Rebetiki Istoria*, Ravanastron (Agathonas Iakovidis, Christos Zotos, Giannis Zevgolis), Astrofenggia (Giannis Gevenidis, Maria Karapanou), Ontas (Giannis Papagiannopoulos) and To Palio Mas Spiti (Giorgios Tzortzis). In the more remote island areas I heard *rebetika* performed live in Ikaria at various taverns such as Bouboulina's (with Giannis Gevenidis and Maria Karapanou), Nestoros' Taverna, Partheni (with Giorgios Tzortzis), Armenistis and Raches (with Kostas Porris); in Lesvos at various taverns (with Barbas Kostas Boras), and at the taverns of Glaros and Manolis on Skyros.

composed by Vasilis Tsitanis, played on *bouzouki* in a harbour-side tavern where fishermen are eating and drinking.

From the preceding discussion, it is evident that *rebetika* are an instrumental and dance music, and above all, a vocal music with songs about love, celebration and social lament. *Rebetika* are a vibrant urban musical culture with a long and diverse history. Developing within the social context of mass migration, wars, social dislocation and rapid urbanisation, *rebetika* were created out of the everyday experiences of Greek-speaking people. By the 1950s, they had captured the hearts and fulfilled the entertainment needs of a broad Greek population. The bearers and developers of *rebetika* continuously assimilated musical features from their immediate environment, including Greek demotic, urban, Byzantine, Turkish, Arabic-Persian, Balkan, Slavic, western European and Latin American, and created a hybrid musical culture.

Numerous streams and styles have been identified in the historical development of *rebetika* over a period of approximately one century and spanning a geographic area which includes the mainland and island Greece, Asia Minor, the United States and other diaspora communities. The two earliest streams of influence in the development of *rebetika* were an oral improvisatory 'folksong' *bouzouki* style created and enjoyed in informal settings, and an urban entertainment *café-aman* style of Asia Minor Greeks. The Asia Minor Catastrophe and the entry into Greece and the United States of over one and a half million Greek Asia Minor refugees was the catalyst for the further development and commercialisation of Greek urban music in the urban centres of Greece. Three styles developed through the commercial recording industry and mass dissemination. These were the *smyrneïka* which peaked in the 1920s; the *piraiötika* which peaked in the 1930s; and the *laïka* which dominated from the late 1930s to 1960. The *rebetika* tradition continued to be drawn upon as a musical resource and a source of inspiration by subsequent *archontorebetika*, *entechna, neo-laïka* and *neo-rebetika* composers. Today it is performed in Greece, Australia and in diaspora communities among many genres and styles of Greek popular music.

The historical development of *rebetika* proceeded with considerable controversy and contestation of knowledge about the nature of the musical culture. Exponents and patrons endured multiple ethical, ethnic and class discriminations as well as official and social censorship. The following chapter critically examines the turbulent historical development of *rebetika* from the point of view of the broader ideological climate within which it was created and received. This will help in an understanding of the contemporary meaning and significance of *rebetika* in the Adelaide context. In addition, it is acknowledged that the attempt to uncover the turbulent history of *rebetika* is part of an ongoing process of rediscovery of this dynamic musical culture.

Chapter 3 The Emergence of 'Roots Music' and 'Soul Music' Symbolic-Ideological Narratives

3.1 Introduction

The history of *rebetika* music has been interpreted from a range of perspectives. These have included broad themes such as the nature of the *dimotiki paradosi*, "Greek folk tradition", and the *laïki paradosi*, "Greek popular tradition", as well as specific themes concerned with the nature of Greek urban music and *rebetika*. This chapter examines a selection of publications by prominent philologists and musicians in Greece who debated these themes. The aim of this chapter is to identify prevailing ideological constructions of *rebetika* music that emerged in Greece during the last century. It reveals two ideological narratives—'soul music' and 'roots music'—which resonate strongly within the discourse on Greek popular music. An examination of the content and premises of these ideological narratives will inform an interpretation of the contemporary significance of *rebetika* in Adelaide.

3.2 *Laografia*, Greek Folklore, as a National Treasure: Hellenist and Romaic Perspectives

The ideological discourse of *rebetika* can be contextualised within a wider debate about the nature of Greek culture since the eighteenth century. This debate initially concerned western European scholars who regarded themselves as descendants of an ancient Greek civilisation. However, they viewed the nature of Greek culture as problematic because of Greece's lengthy membership of Byzantine (c. 400-1400) and Ottoman Empires (c. 1400-1800), civilisations that were deemed too close to the Levant. A western European educated Greek literary elite also participated in the discourse about Greek culture, especially during the nineteenth century when Greece established its independence from Ottoman rule. Following the establishment of Greece as a sovereign nation-state, an intense dialogue ensued regarding the symbolic constitution of Greece's national unity.[1] This dialogue about Greek national identity was thus framed in terms of Greece's relationship to western European civilisation as well as in terms of the nature of Greek culture and national unity.[2]

Let us now examine the range of perspectives espoused by the Greek intellectual literati of eighteenth and nineteenth century Europe. Constructions of Greek culture can be traced back to the eighteenth century Greek enlightenment, when 'reason' and the 'intellect' were defined as the supreme faculties of human life and culture. The social anthropologist Kyriakidou-Nestoros (1988: 16-18) observes that against this 'rationalist' measuring stick, *o Ellinikos laos*, "the Greek folk", fared badly, as an illiterate, uneducated and 'backward' peasant mass. Since 'the Greek folk' allegedly possessed 'irrational' customs, superstitions and prejudices, they required education and enlightenment. Concomitant with this rationalist perspective was the belief that the irrational culture of 'the Greek folk' had survived from 'primitive' times (Kyriakidou-Nestoros 1988: 16-18). The German romantic and European nationalist movements[3] further influenced definitions of 'the Greek folk' by viewing them as the innocent, inherently ethical, 'genuine' and indigenous repository of Greek national culture (Kyriakidou-Nestoros 1988: 15-16). Thus contemporary Greek folk culture, 'primitive' yet 'genuine', was linked to a distant past.

Herzfeld (1986: 24-38; 89) identifies two schools of thought regarding the nature of Greek folk culture that had emerged by the mid nineteenth century. One was a demoticist or 'literary' school that praised the vernacular and oral forms of Greek language, folk poetry and song. In the demoticist interpretation of Greek folk culture, the rural demotic 'folk' culture of Greek people developed within an Orthodox Christian Byzantine heritage and was sustained throughout the subsequent Ottoman Empire.

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[1] The establishment of Greece as an nation-state occurred over a long period of time and was sparked by revolts in 1821. King Otto of Bavaria arrived to assume leadership of the monarchical parliamentary democratic government of the new Kingdom of Greece in 1833 (Clogg 1979: 68 ff).

[2] The role of western Europe in the affairs of Greece cannot be underestimated since towards the end of the nineteenth century it dominated economic, political, military and cultural spheres of Greek society. Western European economic domination commenced as early as the sixteenth century in the Ottoman Empire when the Sultan granted trade concessions to western European merchants. It reached a peak in Greece in the last quarter of the nineteenth century when foreign capital funded the railways industry and generally determined Greek government expenditure (Mouzelis 1978: 5-24).

[3] Nationalist theories had become prominent between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries during the development of European nation-states: England, France, Germany, Finland, Ireland, Hungary and Norway (Kyriakidou-Nestoros 1988: 15).

Herzfeld refers to this perspective as the 'Romaic' thesis, from the name of the Eastern 'Roman' Christian Empire.[4] The Romaic thesis gained mainstream prominence by the late nineteenth century and is evident in the newspaper reports of the popular *café-aman* performances.

The second school of thought, the archaeological or 'patriotic' school, adopted an antiquarian thesis that Greek folk culture was the living survival of a 'classical Hellenic' culture in an unbroken continuous path since antiquity (Herzfeld 1986: 35-36). This is referred to as the 'Hellenist' perspective (Herzfeld 1986: 42).[5] In arguing for cultural continuity from the ancient past, the archaeological school maintained a xenophobic perspective because it found all evidence of foreign cultural influence, especially that of the medieval Byzantine and the feudal Ottoman Empires, problematic. The canon of ethnic or racial purity thus became a central ideological tool in support of the Hellenist thesis of cultural continuity which dominated discourse throughout most of the nineteenth century (Herzfeld 1986: 18, 23, 89).

The German romantic movement influenced the Hellenist thesis by assigning emotional, biological and spiritual attributes to the essence of folk culture (see also Kyriakidou-Nestoros 1988: 16). For example, the Greek folklorist Zambelios (in Herzfeld 1986: 53-54) argued that the "Greek folk" as a race embodied a national Hellenic 'spirit' and 'consciousness'. In other words, Greek national identity was inherited, inherent, and racially inscribed into 'the Greek people' at the deep level of the psyche, *psychi*, "soul". To legitimise the Hellenist thesis, constructions of emotion, consciousness and soul began to be ideologically conflated with notions of the 'inherent', natural', 'racial' and 'biological'. The discourse of Greek urban music and *rebetika* espoused such ideological conflations even more fervently during the twentieth century.

The ideological opposition between Hellenist and Romaic positions was seated in contradictory historical arguments. The Hellenist thesis claimed that Greece was the cultural ancestor of western European civilisation and democracy. Opponents pointed out its pagan polytheistic heritage (Herzfeld 1986: 113-117). Supporters of the Romaic thesis celebrated the Christian Byzantine heritage of Greek culture, but found it difficult to reconcile this with an eastern medieval feudal-agrarian Ottoman heritage (Herzfeld 1986: 90-96124-125). Thus Romaic culture was constituted as the 'barbaric' symbolic opposition to a 'pure' Hellenic heritage.

The ideological tension between these two perspectives was further elaborated within the academic discipline of *laografia*, "Greek folklore studies", established in 1884 by the first Hellenic Folklore Society. Partly established in response to the attack upon indigenous Greek culture by aristocratic Athenians, Greek folklorists employed rationalist empirical methods to ascertain a classical Greek heritage. In doing so, they essentially maintained a conservative Hellenist position (Kyriakidou-Nestoros 1988: 15).

The work of Nicolaos G. Politis, the first director of the Hellenic Folklore Society, was instrumental in the development of Greek *laografia*. He employed empirical positivist methods to organise Greek folklore studies into a taxonomic system (Herzfeld 1986: 97, 111). In this taxonomic system, he divided Greek folklore into two spheres: "monuments of the word" which referred to vernacular literature such as songs, poetry, narratives and myths; and "traditional activities or practices" which included customs, social organisation and art (in Herzfeld 1986: 113-117). Influenced by the demoticist school, Politis gave much attention to folk literature, especially songs.[6]

Influenced by current German romantic thought at the time, Politis believed that the irrational and spontaneous elements of the *laïki paradosi*, "folk tradition",[7] were like "sea shells"[8] (Politis in Kyriakidou-

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[4] During the Byzantine and Ottoman Empires, Greek speaking people called themselves Christians or *Romioi*, that is, speakers of "*romeïka*", i.e. Greek (Herzfeld 1986: 19-20; 124-125). Herzfeld (1986: 19-20, 23, 31) argues that the Romaic position is fundamentally an insider-defined designation by the Greek peasantry itself.

[5] The term 'Hellenist' comes from the Greek word *Ellines*, "Greeks", who were regarded as a mythical race (Herzfeld 1986: 19). Greek-speaking people began to use the self-designation *Ellines* after Homeric times in opposition to the *varvaroi*, "barbarians", which is an onomatopoeic word referring to "non-Greek-speaking" people.

[6] Kyriakidou-Nestoros (1983: 250) argues that *laografia* was essentially a literary science with a bias towards the written text. Many problems were associated with this. For one, *laografia* overlooked the importance of change and flexibility in folk culture by giving preference to documented rather than oral culture. Herzfeld (1986: 108, 120-121) also notes that Politis assumed the existence of an 'original' 'master' text, Urtext, for every song. Variations of a song were regarded as 'corruptions' of the 'master' text. In this way Politis was unable to recognise the centrality of collective composition and formulaic variation in Greek songs and poems.

[7] In this chapter the Greek word *laos* is variously translated according to its context of use. In the context of discussion of *laografia* and the study of rural Greek culture, I translate the term *laïki paradosi* as "folk tradition" and reserve the term "popular" for reference to urban culture. The ambiguity is effected in the Greek word *laos* which means "people, mass, populace, lower classes, common people, grass roots" (Stavropoulos 1988: 493).

[8] "Τα θαλάσσια κογχύλια" (Politis in Kyriakidou-Nestoros 1983: 252)

Nestoros 1983: 252), remains which had survived from the past. Unlike the English folklorists who believed in a primitive past, Greek folklorists and Politis in particular, sought to prove that contemporary Greek folklore had descended in an unbroken continuous line from the superior civilisation of the ancient Hellenes (Kyriakidou-Nestoros 1983: 250-253; Herzfeld 1986: 102-105). The 'Greek tradition' did not consist of "dead survivals" but rather, of "living monuments of Greek antiquity"[9] (Politis in Kyriakidou-Nestoros 1983: 251-253), especially evident in the contemporary oral culture—songs, stories and poems—of 'the Greek folk'.

For Politis (in Kyriakidou-Nestoros 1983: 250-251), "descent" was the feature that differentiated the *laïki paradosi*, "folk tradition", from the *logia paradosi*, "literate tradition". Politis believed that people inherited a culture that was either oral ("*laïki*", "folk"), as in the case of 'the Greek folk', or literate (*logia*, "scholarly"), as in the case of educated Greeks. However as Kyriakidou-Nestoros (1983: 254; 1988: 19) points out, Politis held a view of folk culture that was fundamentally static. For him, 'the Greek folk' were not the active creators of culture, but rather, the faithful passive "depository" or "guardians"[10] of ancient monuments, the inheritors by default of a 'genuine national' heritage. The 'folk' (*laïki*) tradition was constructed as a symbol of "preservation"[11] and differentiated from the 'literate' (*logia*)[12] tradition' which was the embodiment of modernity and change. Kyriakidou-Nestoros (1983: 255) reveals a paradox in this view, since in reality it appeared that the opposite was the case. From antiquity to the twentieth century the literate tradition refused the dynamic diachronic and synchronic assimilation of heterogeneous cultural elements while the 'folk tradition' underwent continual change adapting to new conditions of life.

Another observation of Kyriakidou-Nestoros (1983: 251) is that early twentieth century folklorists like Politis and Kyriakidis treated the "bearer"/ "carrier"[13] of the 'folk tradition' as diffused among a uniform 'Greek people', who were not divided by strata or classes, but by superstitions and beliefs. Greek folk culture was treated by these authors as essentially classless. In further discussion, it becomes apparent that literature about *rebetika* oscillates between class-based and multi-class or 'national popular' interpretations.

Numerous strategies were employed in Hellenist *laografia* to support the tenet of cultural continuity from ancient times. One such strategy involved the selection and alteration of cultural materials to overlook regional[14] and ethnic diversity and to emphasise pan-Hellenic unity and common ancestry (Herzfeld 1986: 4, 11-12, 113; Kyriakidou-Nestoros 1988: 18-19). For example, Politis included the categories 'historical', '*kleftika*'[15] and '*akritika*'[16] in his taxonomic genres (Herzfeld 1986: 113-121; 61-70) to specifically demonstrate the survival of ancient themes such as heroism. 'Historical' songs were selected to provide philological credibility for nationalist aspirations, in particular, the irredentist claims to

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9 "ζώντων μνημείων", "μνημεία της ελληνικής αρχαιότητος" (Politis in Kyriakidou-Nestoros 1983: 251-253).

10 "θεματοφύλακα" (Kyriakidou-Nestoros 1983: 254)

11 The word "συντήρησης" (Kyriakidou-Nestoros 1983: 255) also means "conservation" and "maintenance".

12 The word *logia* also means "scholarly", "learned", lettered" (Stavropoulos 1988: 508).

13 "ο φορέας" (Kyriakidou-Nestoros 1983: 251).

14 In Greek folklore studies, certain regions of Greece were claimed to be superior on the basis of their repository of ancient Hellenic civilisation. Asia Minor in particular was one such region deemed to have preserved ancient culture in its finest form (Herzfeld 1986: 70, 89).

15 In the mid 1880s Dora d' Istria (in Herzfeld 1986: 58) argued that folksongs about the *kleftes* brigand-guerillas depicted the heroic individualism of the classical Homeric myths and therefore were symbols of Greek national character and spiritual continuity. Despite evidence of their anti-Greek behaviour, klefts became so strongly associated with the classical heroes, national heroism and national cultural continuity, that by the 1860s folksongs about klefts, called *kleftika*, were co-opted into official folklore as a taxonomic category (Herzfeld 1986: 58-72).

Beaton (1980a: 102-111) argues that the depiction of klefts or social bandits in demotic folksong texts does not reveal any particular national political, military or religious allegiance and consciousness but rather an absolutist individualism, a disposition towards heroic death and a resistance to any form of authority. This is confirmed by the existence of kleftic songs prior to the 1821 Greek War of Independence (Beaton 1980a: 103), together with documented collaboration of klefts with Ottoman rulers (Beaton 1980a: 108). The klefts became associated with Greek nationalism after the 1821 uprising when they provided a significant armed resistance to the Ottoman army (Beaton 1980a: 103).

16 The *akritika* or Akritic songs depict the heroism of the military border guards of the Byzantine Empire. One particular song cycle recounts the adventures of the Byzantine hero Digenis Akritas in an epic narrative. It was discovered in a manuscript and published in 1875, but Beaton (1980a: 78) believes that this medieval epic of the ninth century predates Akritic folksongs which recount similar tales. The Digenis Akritas song cycle was interpreted as embodying the ideals of the Hellenic nation (Herzfeld 1986: 118-119). The mixed ancestry of the character Digenis Akritas, the son of an Arab emir and a Greek woman, did not hinder the Hellenistic interpretation by folklorists, who argued that the Akritic song cycle was the link between the heroes of the Hellenic past and modern folk culture (see Beaton 1980a: 78-82; Herzfeld 1986: 118-121). In a critique of the 'historicist' interpretation of the Digenes Akritas song cycle by early folklorists, Herzfeld (1980) argues that the narrative form of this song cycle functions as a metaphor for social ambiguity and mediation, the implication being that its form enabled it to be retold at any time with new content.

previous Greek territories in Asia Minor and Thrace. One such 'historical' song, the lament "Song of *Agia Sophia*",[17] was interpreted as promising redemption for the Greek people against the sins of Islamic oppression and Ottoman rule. Herzfeld (1986: 30, 42, 83) notes that folklorists also omitted poetry and song texts with bawdy and sexual references which did not fit the heroic criterion of their collections.

Constructions of Greek culture became more sophisticated in the discipline of *laografia*. Stilpon Kyriakidis, a folklorist and student of Politis, elaborated upon the definition of *laografia* as the study of the 'folk tradition' which has three characteristics: it is "of tradition", "collective" and "spontaneous".[18] These three characteristics corresponded and contrasted with the "modern", "individual" and "rational"[19] characteristics of 'higher' culture (Kyriakidis in Kyriakidou-Nestoros 1983: 251). In this perspective, Greek folk culture was now defined against the western European bourgeois canons of modernism, individualism and rationalism. According to these canons, Stilpon Kyriakidis was certain that indigenous Greek folk culture was not western European (Kyriakidis 1926:7 in Kyriakidou-Nestoros 1986: 205).[20] These oppositional concepts of tradition and modernity, the collective and the individual, the spontaneous and the rational which were elaborated by Stilpon Kyriakidis became central to subsequent definitions of Greek popular culture and Greek popular music.

While indigenous Greek folk culture was categorised as inherently traditional, collective and spontaneous, these were soon to be appropriated in discourse as desirable attributes of a Greek national culture. Both Kyriakidou-Nestoros (1988: 16) and Herzfeld (1986) argue that by selecting and systematising ideas about 'the Greek people' and the 'Greek folk tradition', and representing these ideas as belonging to a national consciousness, "folklore becomes a powerful ideological tool for the formation of national consciousness" (Kyriakidou-Nestoros 1988: 16) and was instrumental in defining Greek national identity (Herzfeld 1986: 144).

In summary, it is evident that throughout the nineteenth century, the discourse of 'the Greek folk' and the nature of Greek culture was framed in nationalist terms. The academic discipline of *laografia*, while concerned with the empirical scientific documentation, classification and interpretation of Greek culture, was also actively engaged in definitions of the nature of Greek culture, identity and nationhood. The archaeological and demoticist schools of thought may have differed in their Hellenist or Romaic approaches, yet together they crystallised constructions of 'the Greek people', *o ellinikos laos*, by locating culture in historical *rizes*, "roots" and in the innate *psyche*, "soul".

In the twentieth century, literary constructions began to shift towards a view of 'the Greek folk', now referred to as 'the Greek people', as a spontaneous and collective force which could be moulded to change. The influence of populist Marxist ideology added a revolutionary potential to the construction of 'the people'. They became of social force which could be educated and moulded by society, and, by the 1950s, an active creative force with the power to change society. Before this construction was fully developed, philologists and critics had to come to terms with the one feature of Greek culture that the folklorists had avoided, namely, the urban nature of Greek life and culture. An analysis of the ideological discourse of Greek urban music and in particular, of *rebetika*, is now appropriate at this point of discussion.

3.3 *Café-Aman*, Greek Urban Music, Bourgeois Interest and the Construction of Greek Popular Music as an Exotic Object

A significant portion of the debate about Greek urban music occurred against the backdrop of western European aesthetics and entertainment forms which were well-established in the expanding urban centres of Greece by the 1870s (Chatzipantazis 1986: 17-18, 31-32). The Athenian aristocracy listened to western European classical music in their private salons (Baud Bovy 1984: 65-66) in 1871 and established their own conservatorium of music, the Odeon, to teach western European music theory. Middle and working class urban Greeks attended coffee-houses known as *café-chantant* where western European

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[17] Saint Sophia is a Greek Orthodox Cathedral in Constantinople (now Istanbul).

[18] "κατα παράδοσιν", "ομαδικόν", "αυθόρμητον" (Kyriakidis in Kyriakidou-Nestoros (1983: 251)

[19] "νεωτεροποίον", "ατομικόν", "ορυολογικόν" (Kyriakidis in Kyriakidou-Nestoros 1983: 251)

[20] "... όταν λέγω νεώτερον βίον, εννοώ κυρίως τον ιθαγενή, τον πραγματικώς ελληνικόν βίον, και όχι τον δυτικόν, τον ευρωπαικόν, ο οποίος από τις συστάσεως ιδία του ελευθέρου ελληνικού κράτους εισώρμησε μεν αθρόως εις την Ελλάδα, ουσιαστικώς όμως παραμένει εισέτι εις την επιφάνειαν, δεν ηδυνήθη να ριζοβολήση και να εγκλιματισθή." ["... when I say contemporary life, I mean mainly the indigenous, the really Greek life, and not the western, the European, which from the establishment particularly of the liberated Greek state, invaded Greece *en masse*, however, essentially it remains still on the surface, not being able to take root and to be acclimatised.] (Kyriakidis 1926: 7 in Kyriakidou-Nestoros 1986: 205 fn 158).

music troupes featuring female dancers and singers travelled to Greece to perform Italian melodramas, French operettas and military band music. These performance troupes belonged to a tradition similar to that of the French *café-concert*, the German cabaret and the English music-hall[21] (Chatzipantazis 1986: 31-32). However, press reports of the live urban music scene in Athens in 1871 reported on the lewd performances of female singers in *café-chantant* troupes which apparently created a scandal among conservative Athenians who warned of the unethical sexual morality generated by such "foreign forms of entertainment"[22] (Chatzipantazis 1986: 32-33).

At the same time, the more eastern Mediterranean urban entertainment genre, *café-aman*, was being performed in Greek urban centres and patronised by Greek proletariat, petite bourgeois and bourgeois audiences. It was not only attacked by critics for its lewd female performances, but also for its treacherous celebration of the contaminating 'barbaric' eastern influences of Byzantine and Ottoman rule which needed to be expurgated (Skilitsis in Chatzipantazis 1986: 37-38). So strong was the disgust with eastern musical genres that a movement was initiated for the introduction of western European four-part harmony into the monophonic ecclesiastical Byzantine musical system (Chatzipantazis 1986: 34). As Chatzipantazis (1986: 22) reflects, there was an "intense ideological opposition of the western-nourished bourgeois education at that time towards the domestic eastern tradition of the popular strata".[23] The themes of ethical, ethnic and social class distinctions intertwined in subsequent discourse of Greek urban music.

An ironic change of sentiment occurred in the early 1880s among those who had, until then, fervently expressed their distaste for the eastern heritage of Greek culture. Athenians began to demonstrate a new preference for *café-aman* performances (Chatzipantazis 1986: 34-42), sparked by a performance in 1883 of an Armenian troupe of musicians at the Phaliron Theatre. The Armenian performance was controversial for at least two reasons: one because it was held in a theatre customarily reserved for western European music patronised by aristocratic Athenian audiences; and two, because of the ingenuity with which it fused Turkish and western European musical elements (Chatzipantazis 1986: 49-50). Greek composers who had previously positioned themselves as bearers of a western European heritage began to recognise the possibilities of drawing inspiration from their own 'indigenous' music traditions (Chatzipantazis 1986: 50-52). Chatzipantazis observes that writers now argued in favour of Greece's demotic and popular music traditions, claiming that there was a 'national' and 'Greek' union between indigenous Greek music and Arabic and Turkish music and instruments. Others pointed to the affinity between Greek ecclesiastical music and the *café-aman* eastern Mediterranean repertoire, evident in the performances of neighbourhood *ieropsaltes*, choristers, at *café-aman*. In addition, literary scholars including the poet, Kostis Palamas, timidly began to frequent the *café-aman* to cultivate their contact with the *laïkos politismos*, "Greek popular civilisation", and publicly defend the eastern Mediterranean musical tradition of Greek popular culture (Chatzipantazis 1986: 45-47). Moreover, for the first time during the 1880s the Greek press printed Turkish-adopted Greek terminology which was being performed at *café-aman* (Chatzipantazis 1986: 44-45). The change of climate was so marked that the circle of Athenian conservatives who had formerly criticised *avant garde* European forms of entertainment such as *café-chantant* now widened to include the Romaic-oriented Greek traditionalists in support of *café-aman* and Greece's Byzantine heritage. Yet underlying this apparent culturally-inclusive or cross-cultural perception of Greek musical culture was a national-political agenda concerning Greece's irredentist aspirations for *enosis*, the "union" of the kingdom of Greece.[24]

However, the Romaic interest in Greek urban popular music demonstrated by Athenians displayed a particular superficial admiration for the eastern Mediterranean heritage. Chatzipantazis (1986: 50-51) notes that composers merely 'ornamented' their western European musical compositions with eastern Mediterranean costumes, instruments and music. As musicians learnt to discern their own Greek demotic and popular music from that of their geographical neighbours, they then proceeded to arrange it for piano (Chatzipantazis 1986: 101-102). From the 1890s onwards as *café-aman* began to decline in popularity,

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[21] The English music-hall, the precursor of the French *café-chantant*, *café-concert* and cabaret, peaked in the nineteenth century as a performing arts venue for the urbanised proletariat and bourgeoisie. These venues served drinks and provided a variety of entertainment including romantic ballads, socio-critical songs, operettas, ballets, one-act sketches, poetry, small orchestras, acrobats, comedians, conjurers etc. (Castle 1982: 18-20; 70-72; Segel 1987: esp. 35-37; Appignanesi 1975: 9-30).

[22] "της ξενόφερτης ψυχαγωγίας" (Chatzipantazis 1986: 33)

[23] "σφοδρή ιδεολογική αντίθεση της δυτικοθρεμμένης αστικής παιδείας των χρόνων αυτών προς την εγχώρια αντολίτικη παράδοση των λαικών στρωμάτων ..." (Chatzipantazis 1986: 22)

[24] See Clogg (1979) and Woodhouse (1968).

visiting Arab, Armenian and Jewish troupes were represented in journalistic reports as "exotic spectacles and performances" without any relation to Greek culture and tradition (Chatzipantazis 1986: 94-95). Since the western European canon for measuring musical value had been firmly established with the *café chantant* prior to the spread of *café-aman*, the interest in Greek popular music expressed by the Europeanised Athenian bourgeoisie and aristocracy was less for its musical value than for its ethnic-national value as an exotic relic.

It is not surprising that by the end of the nineteenth century, all Greek musical forms were being perceived within a nationalist framework if one considers the volatile irredentist political climate at the time. Chatzipantazis (1986: 67-78) provides other evidence of the expression of nationalist sentiment at *café-aman*. For example, the singer/dancer Efthalia was reported to have performed a 'wild' and 'fiery' *tsamikos* demotic dance accompanied by a loud-playing ensemble which produced bullet-shot-like sounds and apparently "roused the soul like a sweet lullaby of national traditions" (Vokos in Chatzipantazis 1986: 77). The *tsamikos*, with its masculine kleftic guerilla fighter associations acquired during the Greek War of Independence, was enough to stir the patriotic sentiments of the male audience. (In contrast to Mazaraki's (1984: 49) claim that women did not sing kleftic demotic songs in the *café-aman* venue, Chatzipantazis (1986: 64) finds printed evidence of the performance of demotic songs by women vocalists.) Apparently it was not uncommon for musicians to be requested to play patriotic march tunes during which the same female dancer was reported to have executed fast leg kicks, exciting members of the audience so much that they responded by firing pistol shots into the air (Chatzipantazis 1986: 69,78).

Café-aman was essentially an urban music venue where heterogeneous musical forms were performed according to public taste. If militaristic and nationalist symbols were required, then demotic musical forms, which had been established by folklorists by that time as valuable repositories of Greek national culture, were highly suitable for generating a patriotic response.

3.4 *Café-Aman* as an Ethically and Ethnically Degenerate Music

The national content of Greece's urban popular music was soon to come under attack for both ethnic and ethical reasons. After 1886, journalists began to report a change in the atmosphere at *café-aman* venues. Those situated around the Piraeus harbour had apparently become rowdy and noisy venues where male patrons drank, shouted and cursed. Writers confirmed the presence of an alleged 'lower' class[25] of patrons such as sailors, workers, shop-assistants and coachmen (Chatzipantazis 1986: 81).[26] *Koutsavakides*, "tough guys", "hoods",[27] in particular, were represented as disreputable men responsible for the vulgar and violent misconduct at *café-aman* (Chatzipantazis 1986: 84-88).

Not surprisingly, these reports coincided with accounts of 'star' attractions at *café-aman*. The impassioned virtuoso performances of female vocalist-dancers apparently mesmerised and excited audiences (Chatzipantazis 1986: 42-46, 57-61, 64). In one case, the same young slim performer named Efthalia mentioned above was reported to have performed the *syrtos* dance with seductive swaying movements featuring swivels of her stomach (Vokos in Chatzipantazis 1986: 78). The occurrence of erotic performances by female vocalist-dancers must have been relatively novel for Athenian urban life. Mazaraki (1984: 49) suggests that the occurrence of female performers in the *café-aman* presupposed a relatively open and economically developed society which enjoyed frequent communication with other urban centres. It is also likely that *café-aman* performances were considerably influenced by the presence of female performers in the *café-chantant* and *café-concert* troupes. In any case, *café-aman* performances were soon met with condemnatory reports by conservative writers similar to those previously accorded *café-chantant* performances.

The police force mobilised against *café-aman* under the pretence of sexually immoral performances and rowdy patron behaviour (Chatzipantazis 1986: 88-89), yet the *café-chantant* could have been easily attacked for this too. It appeared that by the 1890s, the ideological dominance of a pro-Europeanisation sentiment was re-established and the *café-aman* were now construed as a morally unethical, 'barbaric' eastern, cultural inheritance (Chatzipantazis 1986: 84). Scholars had shifted their representations of 'the

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[25] In these depictions of the degeneration of urban life, Chatzipantazis (1986: 82-83) identifies the influences of western European writers such as Goethe, Hoffman and Zola upon Greek journalists who similarly described the lifestyles of the poor living in cities.

[26] Chatzipantazis (1986: 81, 89, 91-92) maintains that in reality *café-aman* enjoyed a wide public patronage and cannot be aligned to particular classes.

[27] See Glossary.

Greek people' as bearers of a 'deep' culture to bearers of a 'dirty' culture, polluted by Ottoman and Turkish ethnic and moral decay. 'The Greek people' continued to be constructed as the passive bearers of culture, this time of a contaminated eastern Mediterranean culture. The attack on the eastern Mediterranean heritage of Greece's popular music coincided with continuous military struggles for liberation of Greek regions, especially around 1897 when Greece was defeated in the attempted annexation of Thessaly and Crete from Ottoman dominion. All association with the culture of tyrannical Ottoman rulers needed to be removed from Greek culture, including the *café-aman* with its Asia Minor heritage. During the mid 1890s, *café-aman* began to disappear from inner city venues and return to the outskirts of Athens.

The above discussion indicates that in the late nineteenth century, literary discourse on the nature of Greek popular culture and Greek popular music articulated a web of oppositional ideologies.[28] Common to all of them, however, was that they were framed in relation to Greece's national identity. Two themes emerged throughout this ideological discourse of Greek urban popular music. One concerned race and ethnicity and constituted Greek urban music in a symbolic opposition between Greek purity and Turkish contamination. The other theme concerned morality and class and constituted Greek urban music in a symbolic opposition between 'low' class immorality and Greek *laïkotita*, "folksiness" or "popularity".[29] Ethnic and ethical values thus provided the ideological matrix for a discourse on the role of the Greek popular music in the constitution of Greek national identity. In the course of exploring these ideas it will become apparent that in particular contexts, the two themes of race–ethnicity and morality–class were conflated into a single ideological trope denigrating Greek urban music as 'oriental'–'low' class. In other contexts, the same ideological trope was upheld in support of the national worth of Greek urban music. Also present in morality–class constructions of Greek popular music are the beginnings of a 'sociological' perspective, albeit framed according to a bourgeois measuring stick.

The one symbol which united such oppositional constructions of Greek urban music as 'primitive' or 'civilised', 'indigenous' or contaminated, Hellenist or Romaic, was the national banner. By the early 1910s, Greece's irredentist activities had won over parts of Macedonia and some eastern Aegean islands. They escalated into the Balkan Wars against the Turkish Ottoman Empire between 1912 and 1913 (Clogg 1979: 101-104). With the resurgence of Greece's political aspirations to capture and reclaim parts of Asia Minor, the *santouria* of the *café-aman* "begin again to be driven back into the subconscious of Europeanised Athens" (Chatzipantazis 1986: 94). Irredentist Hellenist ideology best served nationalist fervour. Popular urban music with its eastern Mediterranean heritage declined to a backstage position to accompany the wayward character Stavrakas in *Karagiozi* shadow-puppet theatre.[30] The urban music scene was now dominated by 'Popular' Revue theatre with its western European musical forms such as the Italian canzonetta[31] and Viennese waltz (Chatzipantazis 1986: 103-104).

Echoing earlier representations, *café-aman* music was once again treated nostalgically as the music of a distant and 'exotic' 'other'. This is evident in the poem *I Anatoli*, "The East",[32] written by Palamas in 1912, some decades after he had personally attended *café-aman* performances in the 1880s (Chatzipantazis 1986: 107-108; 46-47). In this poem, the *anatolitika*, "eastern songs", are represented as plaintive fatalistic laments which express the melancholic Greek population suffering the legacy of Ottoman enslavement. The symbolic construction of eastern music as a plaintive lament becomes another trope in constructions of *rebetika*. The use of the word "*aman*" in *café-aman* and *rebetika* music as a musical exclamation of the sentiment "woe is me" amplifies this emotional association with eastern music. The iconic construction of 'oriental'–'eastern song'–plaintive lament peaks in subsequent constructions of the *rebetika* genre.

By the end of the nineteenth century, the concept of 'Greek popular music' was largely a paternalistic construction by a western-educated Greek elite who assumed the authority to define the culture

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[28] Chatzipantazis (1986: 24) states that his research is "Directly, [is] a history of points of views/opinions, preferences and perceptions."

[29] Stavropoulos (1988: 491) provides the following definitions of *laïkotita*: "popularity, populism, folksiness".

[30] The *Karagiozi* is a shadow-puppet theatre which featured the central character of *Karagiozi*, an impoverished 'hero' who used wit and cunning to get by. Karagiozi shadow-puppet theatre was improvised, and included live music interludes. It was a popular and comical urban entertainment form until it was largely superseded by the cinema (Patsi 1977: 156).

[31] A light vocal piece with many strophic stanzas (Randel 1986:138).

[32] "Long-drawn, sad eastern songs of Iannina, Smyrna and Istanbul, how my heart is dragged along with you; it is moulded by your music, and flies with the movement of your wings. ... A people live in you and wither; shackled lives that writhe; long-drawn, sad eastern songs of Iannina, Smyrna and Istanbul". (Palamas in Trypanis 1979: 558-560) [English translation Trypanis].

of Greek-speakers. In their representations of *café-aman*, the anti-Ottoman nationalist position with its 'oriental'–'low' class ideological trope eventually superseded the notion that 'the Greek people' were the innocent custodians of ancient Greek culture. The knowledge–power relationship between the voice of the educated authoritative observer and the contaminated indigenous 'exotic' culture-bearer was marked by a tension which shaped the orientation of subsequent discourse of Greek popular music.

3.5 The Peak of *Café-Aman* and the Romaic Perspective

If *café-aman* songs came to be exotically constructed as plaintive laments for Greek people under Ottoman domination, the singing of them as laments soon became a reality for those who experienced the tragedy of the Asia Minor war.[33] Approximately one and a half million Asia Minor refugees who settled in Greece endured economic hardship and social persecution. Despite such suffering, the western European record companies were quick to capitalise on the cultivated urban music traditions of the Asia Minor Greeks. Asia Minor musicians enjoyed considerable popularity at live music venues and on sound recordings during what Gauntlett (1991b: 13) observes was a fifteen year renaissance of *amanedes* and *café-aman* music.

At that time the Romaic thesis gained prominence. Replacing the Hellenist construction of 'the Greek people', *o laos*, as the passive bearers of an ancient heritage, the Romaic thesis idealised the *laos* as the inherently valuable passive bearers of Greek vernacular culture. The Romaic view was strongly articulated in the movement which rallied for the use of the demotic Greek language (Kyriakidou-Nestoros 1988: 19). It was within this context that *rebetika* musical culture emerged.

3.6 Constructions of *Rebetika* as an Exotic Underworld Subculture

As the Greek urban population increased and class differences became more marked, representations of 'the Greek people' began to be contextualised within particular concrete social, political and historical circumstances, a perspective lacking from previous Hellenist and Romaic representations of Greek culture (see also Kyriakidou-Nestoros 1983: 251, 253). By the time of the transformation of *café-aman* into the recorded *smyrneïka* style, notions of a *rebetika* musical culture and social milieu began to emerge. This was especially the case in constructions of the lifestyle of the *mangas*, "cool dude",[34] who belonged to a *rebetika* subculture.

The *mangas* was an assertive male character depicted in *rebetika* songs who allegedly belonged to a subculture of 'hoods', defended himself against violence and authority, smoked hashish and patronised *rebetika* music-making played on *bouzouki* and *baglamas* instruments. Gauntlett (1985: esp. 72-73) and Aulin and Vejleskov (1991: 136-148) find a stylised and romanticised construction of the *mangas* subculture in their analyses of pre-Second World War *rebetika* songs, noting, for example, that while song texts mentioned the *bouzouki* and *baglamas* instruments, they were rarely present in the actual recording of the songs (Vejleskov 1991: 139). Similarly, even though *smyrneïka* musicians sang about drug-consumption using official terminology, they themselves did not consume narcotics (Aulin and Vejleskov 1991: 146-147). The notion of a constructed *rebetika* cultural stereotype prior to the ascendancy of the *piraiötika* is confirmed in the research of Aulin and Vejleskov (1991: 130) who find that the word "*rebetis*" and "*rebetikos*" occur only once each in their sample of Piraeus songs. The term "*rebetiko*" was first used on the record label of recordings of *smyrneïka* music and subsequently applied to the recordings of the mainland *piraiötika*. Such evidence indicates that the *smyrneïka* were integral to the construction of the '*rebetika*' culture. The ideological disjuncture in *smyrneïka* contrasted sharply with the *piraiötika rebetika* culture in which there appeared to be a more intimate relationship between lifestyle and musical style: musicians played and sang about the *bouzouki* family of instruments and used street argot when they sang about the hashish that they consumed in real life.[35]

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[33] The psychologist Kanakakis (1989) has conducted research into the physical and mental healing effects of *moirologia*, Greek laments. He believes that people from Asia Minor sang *rebetika* as songs of physical and psychological healing (Kanakakis 1992, pers. com.).

[34] See Glossary.

[35] For example, *smyrneïka* songs used official terminology such as *chasisi*, "hashish", and *kokaïni*, "cocaine", while in the Piraeus style, slang words such as *doumani*, literally "thick smoke" (Stavropoulos 1988: 594) was used for marijuana, and *preza*, literally "dose" for heroin. Similarly in the *smyrneïka* style, the word for drug-user is the standard *chasiklis*, "hash-smoker", or *kokaïnopotis*, "cocaine-smoker", while the Piraeus style employed colloquial argot such as *mangas* or *dervisis* to indicate consumers of drugs (Aulin and Vejleskov 1991: 146-147).

Thus the association of *rebetika* with an exotic urban underworld subculture was established with the *smyrneïka*. The reputation of *rebetika* was further tainted during the Metaxas government[36] which imposed a censorship between 1936 and 1937 and from 1946 onwards.[37] *Rebetika* musicians were persecuted, the *bouzouki* family of instruments was outlawed, songs referring to illegal drug-consumption, criminality, sexual promiscuity, anti-establishment resistance and any other social behaviour deemed immoral and corruptive by the government were banned.[38] In contrast, narcotics consumption by rich people,[39] the thuggery of police, or the sexual promiscuity of bourgeois society were curiously absent from the concerns of the government.

The censorship of *rebetika* and persecution of its players confirmed a particular ideological construction of *rebetika* in this period as an 'underworld' subculture of drug-use, crime and prostitution. However, Smith (1989: 184-190) criticises Damianakos' (1976) theory that pre-war *rebetika* comprised mostly 'underworld' song themes, because, he argues, it was ill-informed by the anthology of Petropoulos (1983) which contained a predominant selection of 'underworld' songs for the pre-war period at the expense of love songs. Furthermore, Damianakos' (1976) contention that the predominance of romantic love songs in post-war *rebetika* was evidence of the transformation of *rebetika* into a noble proletarian working class musical culture was contested by Smith as a one-sided view which ignored the significant presence of *rebetika* love songs prior to 1936.

During the 1930s, despite the censorship, official negative public opinion, and dominant construction of 1930s *rebetika* as belonging to an underworld subculture, the overriding reality at the level of lived social experience was that *smyrneïka* and *piraiötika* were widely patronised music and enjoyed considerable commercial recording activity. The outlawing and persecution of *rebetika* music and musicians merely enhanced a marginal cult of secrecy, of "doing things on the quiet", *sti zoula*, and of coded resistance to police harassment and police authority. According to hearsay (Gauntlett 1994b pers. com.; 1985: 101-102) the so-called 'underworld' *rebetika* continued to thrive in private places.

Not only did *rebetika* thrive, but so too did hashish-orientated songs. For example, Smith (1989: 189) points out that the "market-conscious" Tsitsanis whose love songs became national hits, continued to record songs with drug themes such as "*I Drosoula*", "The Coolness of The Day", as late as 1946. This indicates that a popular demand for such songs persisted despite the Greek government's suppression of 'underworld' culture (Gauntlett 1985: 187). While the dictatorship eroded the centrality of the drug-orientated song theme which had been a defining feature of *rebetika* since the *café-aman* period, it did not result in its complete disappearance.[40] Notwithstanding this, the overall effects of government censorship and persecution were to give preference to the love song.

Government censorship also altered the musical orientation of recorded *rebetika*. Turkish and Arabic-Persian musical features were repressed. Tsitsanis (in Gauntlett 1984: 4) testifies that *amanes*-like "whining" music was rejected by the censors. The 'oriental' dispositions of *rebetika* with their plaintive laments were as much a target for police persecution as their *mangas* underworld associations. In its place, western European musical aesthetics prevailed and *rebetika* composers adapted by composing songs in western European major and minor tonalities and with western European ballroom dance rhythms. After

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[36] Mouzelis (1978: 26) argues that the Metaxas *coup d' état* of 1936 occurred in the interests of the bourgeois hegemony to suppress working class organisation. Active mass politicisation developed even more strongly during resistance to the German Occupation of World War Two.

[37] See Chapter 2 for further details regarding the censorship.

[38] These facts contrast with Close's (1992: 145) bewildering statements that Metaxas "had no intention of regimenting the creative arts in totalitarian fashion" and that there were "no drastic attempts to limit the foreign content of broadcasts" which he makes in his apologist thesis on the development of a national Greek consciousness by the Metaxas' government. The latter statement conflicts with his subsequent statements that Metaxas "tried to exclude foreign influences of diverse kinds" (Close 1992: 146) and severely treated Greece's own ethnic Slavophone minority (Close 1992: 148-149). Close (1992: 145 fn.57) does concede however that the nationalist agenda of Metaxas was defined by his preferences for the "cosmopolitan" "foreign" (western European) high culture of Greek educated classes.

[39] There is evidence that popular consumption of hashish persisted. Vamvakaris (in Kail 1973: 114) mentions that affluent people, *leftades, afentades*, smoked hashish with *argiledes*, hookah pipes, in their own homes, rather than in the *tekedes*, "dens".

[40] The censorship continues to this day, a recent example occurring in 1980, with the Tsitsanis' song *To Vapori Ap' Tin Persia*", "The Ship From Persia", about the haul of a cache of hashish on a ship in Corinth.

One way in which songs overcame censorship of everyday life themes was through the employment of metaphorical and allegorical lyrics. Musical genres other than *rebetika* which have continued the tradition of connecting music to the poetic expression of everyday life include the traditional demotic and *nisiotika* songs, *entechna* "art-popular" and *neo-kima* "new wave" political songs.

all, the Metaxas government pursued a nationalist agenda with a clear preference for western European 'progress' and modernisation (Gauntlett 1991b: 14).[41]

The 1940s was plagued by war and segmented political affiliations. While Greek people united in a resistance army against the German Occupation during the Second World War,[42] the Greek Civil War from 1946 to 1949 divided the country into left-wing and right-wing camps.[43] At this time, official folklore studies resurged with a nationalist agenda. The new ideology of a 'Hellenic-Christian civilisation' represented communists and any who resisted the authority of the establishment as opposing the fundamental Hellenic and Christian ideals of Greek society (Herzfeld 1986: 141). Thus the Greek Ministry of Education took a repressive stance against *rebetika* (Anoyanakis 1947 in Holst 1983: 139-141) as a musical culture which challenged the concocted national ideals of a 'Hellenic-Christian-western European' law and order.

In any case, while *rebetika* music was ideologically problematic, it was not easily disposed of. A journalistic discourse broke out at the end of the 1940s debating the value of Greek popular music. With its history of symbolic associations, Greek popular music was appropriated by critics, philologists and composers in a nationalist debate which aimed to remove the internal divisions within Greek society and define a 'common' Greek culture. The next section elaborates upon the development of constructions of "Greek popular music", *laïki mousiki*, as a powerful symbol of Greek nationhood. It will demonstrate how ethical, ethnic, class and 'spiritual' valuations of *rebetika* were conflated in the literature by employing the 'scholarly authority' of the social sciences such as history, sociology, folklore, musicology and psychology. It will also become apparent that such constructions legitimised a nationalist agenda, which in turn legitimised the *rebetika* genre.

3.7 Themes of Cultural Continuity and Ethnic Purity

It had been established over a century earlier that the canon of Greek national identity was best served by the Hellenist thesis of cultural continuity. During the bloody Greek Civil War (1946-1949, Greek national identity was a major concern. By the end of the 1940s, the canon of Greek national identity was being employed in debates about *rebetika* to claim that it was an ethnically and racially pure music, belonging to an unbroken Greek music tradition stemming from Byzantine if not ancient times. Yet the same presumption of Greek racial purity was articulated in oppositional arguments which asserted that *rebetika* was a musical culture corrupted by foreign influences and contaminations. A racial–nationalist ideological trope functioned to reconcile the culturally hybrid and diaspora aspects of *rebetika* with Greek civilisation and culture, especially pertinent to *rebetika* with its Asia Minor origins, exponents and musical forms.

In the late 1940s, arguments in support of the cultural continuity of *rebetika* abounded. For example, the musicologist Anoyanakis (1947 in Holst 1983: 139-141) posited that the *rebetiko laïko* song was the continuation of Greece's demotic and Byzantine music traditions.[44] Conscious of the hypocrisy of ethical arguments against *rebetika* by Greeks who adhered to the western European musical canon, Anoyanakis concluded with the rhetorical suggestion that tango and swing music should instead be questioned for their unethical corruption of Greek culture. Drawing upon the 'heroic' song theme of the *kleftika* in the Greek demotic tradition, Politis (1947 in Holst 1983: 143-144) argued that a similar 'heroic' *palikarismos* was present in some *rebetika* songs, further legitimising the thesis of cultural continuity between Greece's demotic and *rebetiko* traditions.

The composer Manos Chatzidakis (1949 in Holst 1983: 151-155) demonstrated his support for *rebetika* in 1949 at a public lecture in which he argued that the Byzantine ecclesiastical melodic origins of *rebetika* was evidence of its inherent musical value. He also pursued the Hellenist position by arguing that the union of lyrics, music and movement in *rebetika* was reminiscent of the formal structures of ancient

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[41] In his 'Third Greek Civilisation' ideology, Metaxas sought to unite ancient Hellenic, Byzantine and traditional folk culture into a modern panhellenic culture (Kyriakidou-Nestoros 1988: 19), yet Mouzelis (1978: 27) argues that after the Asia Minor Catastrophe, a more economistic ideology sought to unite the nation under the banner of free enterprise and anti-communism, replacing the heroic panhellenic irredentism. It appears that Metaxas' definition of modern Greece was determined by a western European model of the late nineteenth century.

[42] See Clogg (1979: 138-152).

[43] The Greek Civil War was a war of *adelfoktonia*, "fratricide", both in a literal and metaphorical sense because the 'enemy' was located within the borders of one's own country, if not within one's own family. See also Clogg (1979: 152-165).

[44] The argument that *rebetika* music is the continuation of a Byzantine musical tradition often implies a Hellenist position because of the knowledge that classical Greek music, especially the modes, influenced Byzantine music (see Randel 1986: 116).

tragedy. The argument of ethnic purity further resounded in his claim that the *zeïbekikos*, one of the two creative *rebetika* dance forms, is the "most pure contemporary Greek dance"[45] (Chatzidakis 1949 in Holst 1983: 154). Similar arguments for national continuity were employed by the composer Mikis Theodorakis (1949 in 1974: 160-164) when he listed the musical resources of *rebetika* to contain features of the Byzantine, demotic, *amanes* and *kantades* music traditions.

Not all writers were sympathetic towards *rebetika*. Some used the argument of cultural continuity to attack *rebetika* on the basis of its ethnic and national impurity. The composer Xenos (1947 in Holst 1983: 141-143), like Theodorakis of left-wing persuasion, was one such writer who argued that since *rebetika* were lacking the heroic ingredient of demotic songs, they were not a continuation of Byzantine and demotic music traditions. In this nationalist argument Xenos referred to the martial kleftic demotic songs which were regarded as emblems of Greekness because they allegedly depicted the 'heroic' struggle of the klefts for Greek independence.[46] His view about the heroic contrasted with Politis' above.

In his argument against the ethnic purity of *rebetika*, Xenos (1947 in Holst 1983: 142) mentioned the music of neighbouring countries which also shared similarities with Greek demotic music. This, he claimed, did not make their music 'Greek'. For Xenos, the hybrid nature of *rebetika* was clearly a feature which worked against its designation as a genuine Greek music. Similar arguments which questioned the ethnic and therefore national 'purity' of *rebetika* were present in the writings of the musicologist Vasilis Papadimitriou (1949 in Holst 1984: 149-150) who argued that *rebetika* music employs eastern chromatic scales and therefore does not share much with Byzantine music which is fundamentally diatonic. In addition, he claimed that the *zeïbekikos* is not Greek but a Turkish martial dance of the *zeïbek* people.[47]

The hybrid nature of *rebetika* was initially unproblematic for the music critic Sophia Spanoudi (1952 in Holst 1983: 155-158). In her written eulogy of the composer, singer and *bouzouki* virtuoso Vasilis Tsitsanis, she writes of the "variety of diatonic scales with interior subdivisions of the octave" which correspond to the Byzantine Dorian *tropos,* "mode", and which also demonstrate a unity of all "Eastern" music.[48] Her comments about the "generative racial traits" of this "national art"[49] (Spanoudi 1952 in Holst 1983: 156) demonstrate the equation of race with *ethnikotita,* a term which when translated means both "ethnicity" and "nationality". The above authors starting with Anoyanakis employ philological and musicological data, sometimes even the same 'facts' such as the heroic song text theme, to contribute in a scholarly way to the discourse either in support of or against the cultural continuity, racial purity and national value of *rebetika* music.

However, the problem of accepting the ethnically and musically composite nature of *rebetika* while maintaining a thesis of cultural continuity was not easily overcome. Spanoudi (1952 in Holst 1983: 158) alluded to this problem when she stated that the virtuoso *bouzouki* playing and vibrato techniques of Tsitsanis have nothing in common with a gypsy style. In order to prove the racial and national value of *rebetika*, a negative comparison is made with gypsy musical culture, the unstated premise being that since gypsies are racially impure and therefore their music is also impure and inferior to *rebetika*. However, Spanoudi contradicted her own assumption that *rebetika* is a racially pure music when she mentioned the "multi-sourced racial springs"[50] of Tsitsanis' rhapsodic melodies (1952 in Holst 1983: 157). In this ambiguous eulogy of Tsitsanis' music, arguments for ethnic purity are continually confounded by the composite musical structures and diverse cultural matrix of *rebetika* music.

Such arguments for the cultural continuity of Greek popular music never ceased. Later in the 1960s, the philologist Dinos Christianopoulos (1961: 8) wrote that *rebetika* is the continuation of a thousand year old demotic tradition.[51] Similarly the ethnomusicologist Kail (1973: 20) pointed out that *rebetika* musicians viewed their music as belonging to a "continuous living tradition",[52] evident in the close

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[45] "ο πιό σύγχρονος ελληνικός ρυθμός" (Chatzidakis 1949 in Holst 1983: 154).

[46] "The demotic song has a long tradition, it is created out of the struggle of the Neo-Hellene to maintain his traditions, to shape his nationality, to shake off the yoke [of Ottoman rule]." (Xenos 1947 in Holst 1983: 142)

[47] One view (Patsi 1977:123) maintains that the Zeïbeks were ancient Hellenes from Thrace who emigrated to Asia Minor and became Islamised.

[48] "... με την ποικιλία των διατονικών τρόπων και των εσωτερικών υποδιαιρέσεων της οκτάβας ... πλέκεται ο μεγάλος κύκλος της ενότητας της Ανατολικής μουσικής." (Spanoudi 1952 in Holst 1983: 156)

[49] "τα γενεσιουργά φυλετικά γνωρίσματα ... της εθνικής τέχνης" (Spanoudi 1952 in Holst 1983: 156).

[50] "πολύκρουνες φυλετικές πηγές" (Spanoudis 1952 in Holst 1983: 157).

[51] Beaton (1980a: 75-78) writes that the earliest forms of Greek folksong date from about the twelfth century, a date which does not quite tally with the thousand year estimate.

[52] "Τα στοιχεία που για τους δημιουργούς του λαικού τραγουδιού ήταν συνέχεια ζωντανή της παράδοσης" (Kail 1973: 20).

relationship between the Greek *dromous* and the modes of Byzantine music. As for Spanoudi, the fact that Greek *rebetika* modes are related to the larger traditions of Turkish, Persian and Indian music, and hence an eastern music tradition, does not detract from the continuity of the Greek tradition (Kail 1973: 26). The thesis of cultural continuity which insists on the cultural uniqueness of *rebetika* prevails in other more contemporary interpretations (Kounadis 1975-76: 4, 16-17).

The ideological tension between ethnic hybridity and ethnic purity was also an issue for *rebetika* exponents. Tsitsanis, for example, practised a heterogeneous style of musical composition by assimilating Latin American ballroom dance forms, yet he openly criticised the Turkish, Indian and Arabic influences in Greek popular music and regarded them as foreign music out to attack the 'genuine Greek popular song' (in Chatzidoulis 1979: 39-44).[53]

Kail (1973: 14-20) recognised the complex ideological matrix within which *rebetika* developed, especially the tension between ethnic hybridity and ethnic purity, when she wrote that the Greek 'popular tradition' and its Ottoman associations were problematic for the western Europeanised Greek bourgeoisie who had adopted the dominant Hellenist position.[54] Since Greece was dominated by the west, Kail (1973: 13-15) saw the need for a musicological study of this "neohellenic popular tradition" which was a fusion of indigenous popular, eastern and western European musical traditions.

In summary, the literature displays a dominant ideology of cultural continuity in which *rebetika* is held to belong to a long indigenous national tradition. The composite and eastern Mediterranean heritage of *rebetika* is a 'thorn in the side' of this 'national' tradition. As we shall see in the next section, from the late 1940s onwards we observe a shift in the discourse of *rebetika* towards the employment of sociological constructs such as urban context and social class which, to some extent, help writers reconcile the ethnic tensions inherent in *rebetika* music.

3.8 Themes of Urban Social Context

As early as 1947 Anoyanakis (in Holst 1983: 139) was aware of the relevance of the social context of *rebetika* when he wrote that it is "a genuine form of contemporary popular music" created under conditions of "rapid social differentiation" within the urban centres of Greece, especially after the 1922 Asia Minor catastrophe. The literature begins to bring into clear focus the notion of the social context—social conditions, class affiliation, social status, patronage—of *rebetika* as rooted in the growing urban centres of Greece which accommodated all social classes of people, including rural migrants, Asia Minor refugees, manual labourers, the homeless, unemployed and the poor.

As writers began to dispute the class affiliations of *rebetika* music, the social status of *rebetika* music-makers came into question. Xenos (1947 in Holst 1983: 142) was convinced that *rebetika* had nothing to do with indigenous Greek traditions, but was an adoption of Turkish music sung by degenerate members of a declining urban class in brothels, ill-famed taverns, hashish-dens, etc., that is, by the "most lumpen strata" of the "poverty-stricken economic capitalist system". He aimed to discredit *rebetika* culture as the most "anti- *laïko*" Greek tradition belonging to the least politicised and least scrupulous sector of the working class, conflating lumpenproletariat degeneracy of the working class with Turkish culture.[55] Papadimitriou (1949 in Holst 1983: 147) espoused a similar argument by locating *rebetika* with the "*rebet*", someone belonging not merely to the lower social classes of Turkish society, but living outside of society's laws, without racial or religious distinction. These authors identified Turks and any peoples related to the Turks, such as the Asia Minor refugees, often called *Tourkorizoi*, "rooted in Turkey", as scapegoats for the problems within Greek society. The conflation of Turkish cultural and social contamination with social poverty now served the nationalist ideology.

Writers in the 1960s altered this line of argument by requesting that the Turkish contaminated parts be filtered out. In the strong tone of an apologist, Christianopoulos (1961: 5-7) argued that *rebetika* is a

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[53] His racist tone in the use of the word *apithmeni*, "bottomless", "crass", to describe Indian music is disturbing (in Chatzidoulis 1979: 41).

[54] Kail (1973: 14-20) believed that the "popular tradition" of Greece was problematic for the western Europeanised Greek bourgeoisie who had adopted western European arts and rejected their own indigenous culture because of its associations with Ottoman enslavement, poverty and political weakness. She also observes that ancient Greek culture was regarded as the only suitable 'national' heritage of Greece, a heritage which western European scholars and rulers had maintained as their own ancestor.

[55] "Διαμορφώνεται από τα μελωδικά υπολείμματα του Τούρκου κατακτητή", "τραγουδιέται από τα πιο λούμπεν στρώματα που δημιούργησε η εξαθλιωτική οικονομική τακτική της κεφαλαιοκρατίας", "είναι φορέας των πιο αντιλαικών παραδόσεων" Xenos 1947 in Holst 1983: 142).

worthy Greek national tradition once it has undergone a catharsis of foreign and vulgar tendencies.[56] He acknowledged the Byzantine, Romaic, Turkish, Arabic cultural mix from which *rebetika* had arisen but credited Tsitsanis as the composer responsible for the "refinement", *lambikarisma*, of *rebetika* music.[57] This, Tsitsanis apparently accomplished by, among other means, removing the argot, the 'low' associations with hashish and the 'Turkish motives'.

Here we see that both supporters and critics of *rebetika* contextualised their discussions within an ideological opposition between cultural continuity-purity and cultural foreigness-contamination. Always framed within a discourse about the national and ethical value of *rebetika*, they now incorporated the sociological concepts of social class. Not unlike the discourse surrounding *café-aman* at the turn of the century, their arguments called for the elevation of *rebetika* from its lower class and Turkish contaminations to fulfil the canons of western European morality and musical aesthetics. The arguments raged on as authors refined their class definitions, simultaneously attempting to account for the drug and criminal culture associated with *rebetika* and the ethos of civil disobedience that it implied. The dialogue was addressed to the ranks of the political left who were as divided in their attitude towards *rebetika* as the conservative critics.

Alongside the arguments against the lumpenproletariat character of *rebetika* culture were those which constructed *rebetika* as a dignified national working class culture. Politis (1947 in Holst 1983: 144) denounced the lumpenproletariat analysis of Xenos and argued that *rebetika* songs were played in all contemporary "*laïko*" celebrations, the premise being that "*laïko*" referred to a wide and reputable sector of the population, not simply to an unlawful lower 'underground' class. In a clearer exposition of the argument, Theodorakis (1949 in 1974: 161-162, 168) wrote that *rebetika* music expressed the 'working people'. Some years later, Kail (1973: 13) similarly defined *rebetika* as "the popular song, the song of the Greek working class [*ergatia*]",[58] which "is born from the marriage of the popular tradition with the new city" (Kail 1973: 19). The rebetologist Kounadis (1975-76: 4-5, 8, 14) also confirmed that *rebetika* were the creation of a new proletariat class during the transition of Greek society from Ottoman agrarian feudalism to twentieth century monopoly industrial capitalism. For the sociologist Damianakos (in Smith 1989), the pre-war *rebetika* belonged to a lumpenproletariat and 'underworld' culture while the post-war *rebetika* had been transformed into a noble proletariat working class culture. By the mid 1970s, *rebetika* was retrospectively defined as working class music. The disreputable pre-war reputation of *rebetika* had dissipated into a 'popular' music which, as further discussion will reveal, finally acquired national significance.

Constructions of the patronage of *rebetika* along class lines may have been projections on the part of writers, for there is evidence that especially in an urban context where a heterogeneous population coexists, the identification of Greek people with *rebetika* crossed class boundaries. For example, the *laïko rebetiko* composer Tsitsanis categorised the *smyrneïka* music of Papazoglou as *laïko* because "all the social classes sang it", unlike the hashish-oriented *piraiötika* music of Vamvakaris. Yet he overlooked the fact that the drug theme existed in the earlier *smyrneïko* recordings and must have catered for a class of people that could afford to purchase records. Similarly, he overlooked the popularity of his own songs about smoking marijuana. Also in the same interview, Tsitsanis mentioned that he witnessed Markos (Vamvakaris), Batis and Delias playing *rebetika* for a company of rich Greeks at the Platano tavern in 1937 (Chatzidoulis 1979: 9, 17; 30-31). *Rebetika* music was obviously enjoyed by Greek urban people from all social backgrounds, as had been the case in the heyday of *café-aman*.

We have seen how the representations of *rebetika* suited the ideological interests of two different groups located at either end of the political spectrum. At one end was a conservative and Europeanised Greek elite who rejected *rebetika* as an unethical and 'oriental' foreign music; and at the other end was an 'orthodox' Marxist circle which condemned the *rebetika* culture as an underworld 'opiate of the masses'. Yet neither group could deny the popularity of the music. The following discussion traces the ideological

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[56] "χρειάζονταν παρά μια εσωτερική κάθαρση έπρεπε να φύγουν τα ξένα στοιχεία ... να λείψουν οι χυδαίες ροπές" (Christianopoulos 1961: 7).

[57] "Το λαμπικάρισμα αυτό το πέτυχε, σχεδόν μόνος του, ο λαικός συνθέτης και μάγος του μπουζουκιού Βασίλης Τσιτσάνης" (Christianopoulos 1961: 7).

[58] "το λαικό τραγούδι, το τραγούδι της ελληνικής εργατιάς" (Kail 1973: 13). Kail (1973: 27 fn. 3) defines the "popular tradition" as belonging to the tradition of illiterate peasants and the working class ("η παράδοση της αγράμματης αγροτιάς και εργατιάς") in contrast to the culture of the "literate Phanariote, Greek and diaspora bourgeois class". It is important to note that the Greek word "*astikos*" has the double meaning of "bourgeois" and "urban".

development of constructions which began to universalise the social foundations of *rebetika* as common to Greeks of all social strata (Kounadis 1975-76: 17). It explores the way in which the concept of "the popular", *to laïko*, becomes conflated with Greek national identity, and the way *rebetika* as a 'popular Greek tradition' becomes iconic of the 'common' national sentiments of Greek people.

3.9 Constructions of the *Laïko*, "the Popular", as an Appendage of National Politics

Even though Xenos (1949 in Holst 1983: 142-143) designated *rebetika* an "anti-*laïko*" tradition, he did recognise that there were 'good sides' which needed to be developed for the good of the people.[59] In a similar tone, Papadimitriou (1949 in Holst 1983: 145-151) wrote of the need to discriminate between two types of *rebetika*: the "real" *rebetika* about love; and the immoral *rebetika* which eulogise hashish, dens and pornography and have nothing to do with the 'Greek people'. In these representations, the 'underworld' *rebetika* are clearly excluded. Theodorakis (1949 in 1974: 161-162, 168-169) followed a similar line of thought when he argued that while *rebetika* is the creation of the lowest social strata found in *tekedes* and harbours, they do have a dignified form, "the genuine and true popular song", which reflects "the life and feelings of the working people" (Theodorakis 1949 in 1974: 168).[60]

Constructions of *rebetika* began to fit the national–popular trope as a music which unified Greek people. In a reflective interview conducted during the 1970s, Tsitsanis (in Chatzidoulis 1979) largely disassociated himself from *rebetika*, preferring to refer to his music as *laïki mousiki*. It is interesting to note that he believed that his career as a composer peaked during the German Occupation (1941-1945), a time which he characterised as tragic and shattering, yet one in which he was able to express the 'best' 'truth' of his 'soul' in his songs (Chatzidoulis 1979: 19-20). The German Occupation was a time which united Greeks against the Axis forces in a common cause for national liberation. The patriotic message was read into most songs of the time. Similar experiences of Greek solidarity are also implicit in the comments of the singer, composer and *bouzouki*-player Michalis Genitsaris (1992: 75-76) who said that during the German Occupation, musicians on stage had to deal with Italians and Germans, meaning, with a common enemy, while after liberation during the Greek Civil War, they were forced to deal with Greeks of polarised political persuasions.[61]

In a somewhat patronising tone, authors in the late 1940s proceeded to argue that both *rebetika* and the masses needed cultivation to realise a national-popular status. Papadimitriou (1949 in Holst 1983: 145-146) declared that because people cannot discriminate between the two types of *rebetika* and tend to label anything that is not *elafro*, "light popular", "*rebetiko*", all *rebetika* must therefore be attacked. Only the 'good' *rebetika*, meaning, those without 'low' class associations and ethnic contaminations, should be promoted to raise the national consciousness of 'the people'. It was not surprising to find that the best qualified to carry out this important social task were the western-trained composers.

Theodorakis espoused this ideology in his arguments, though not without flaws. In his (Theodorakis 1949 in 1974: 169) model for the development of a new national School of Greek Music, Theodorakis argued that *rebetika* was a suitable genre upon which to found a new song movement, firstly, because it belonged to a continuous Greek music tradition and secondly, because it provided an example of the way in which new music could be created from the assimilation of various musical sources. For Theodorakis, the composite nature of *rebetika* constituted its formal potential and inspiration for new compositions. However, *rebetika* song texts were once again considered problematic and requiring refinement of 'underworld' themes. Theodorakis (1949 in 1974: 165-168) isolated certain 'virtuous' *rebetika* song text themes—chivalrous love, bitterness, the tortures of poor people, the relationship between son and Mother—as those upon which a new song movement should be built. Yet, these directives contradicted his own statement that the music and lyrics of Greek popular music were intimately tied together as an

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[59] Christianopoulos (1979: 175) in his critical review of literature on *rebetika* since 1947, pointed to the hypocrisy of this final statement of Xenos who continued to condemn *rebetika* even after it had been cultivated with 'social value' 'for the people' by Mikis Theodorakis.

[60] "Το τραγούδι αυτό ξεκίνησε απ' τα κατώτατα κοινωνικά στρώματα, τους τεκέδες, τα λιμάνια και τις συνοικίες με τις ξύλινες μπαράγκες." (Theodorakis 1949 in 1974: 161-162)'"... το σύγχρονο, το αληθινό λαικό τραγούδι δεν έχει καμμιά απολύτως σχέση με τεκέδες, χασίσια κλπ.", "το περιεχόμενο του αντικαθρεφτίζει τη ζωή και τα συναισθήματα του εργαζόμενου λαικού, είναι μ'άλλα λογια γνήσιο και αληθινό λαικό τραγούδι."(Theodorakis 1949 in 1974: 168).

[61] "Γιατί εμείς είχαμε να κάνουμε με του Ιταλούς και με τους Γερμανούς. Τώρα με τα Δεκεμβριανά δεν ήξερες ποιός είναι ο ένας και ποιός ο άλλος." (Genitsaris in Gauntlett 1992: 75-76).

expression of working people (Theodorakis 1949 in 1974: 162), the implication being that the lyrics should not be separated from the entire musical culture.

Nonetheless, Theodorakis (1949 in 1974: 61-164; 168-169) believed that composers had a moral obligation to raise *rebetika* out of the lower social strata of its creation and to 'elevate' it into a 'higher' musical form.[62] The pendulum now appeared to swing back to the nineteenth century rationalist school which held that 'the people' are an ignorant mass requiring education. In the late 1940s version of the ideology, now embedded in a Marxist political ideology of social engineering, music needed refinement to raise the political consciousness of the oppressed and exploited masses. Yet this too contradicted Theodorakis' own view that 'the people' creates its own music according to its physical and social environment, struggles and traditions (Theodorakis 1949 in 1974: 157). On the one hand, *rebetika* was the 'genuine' 'true' musical and lyrical creation of a community, but on the other hand, it required the artistic ingenuity and political consciousness of certain gifted composers to elevate its forms into national-popular significance. As an up and coming popular music composer, Theodorakis was quick to realise the musical and national potential of *rebetika* which, despite its tainted reputation, was there to stay. He composed many stirring songs and music in a *rebetika* style which were successful.[63] Perhaps his own words best described his realisation of the potency of *rebetika* as a national symbol when he said that *rebetika* music "spreads and conquers the popular masses" (Theodorakis 1949 in 1974: 162).[64]

The discourse from the 1950s onwards referred to *rebetika* more and more as the *laïko tragoudi*, "popular song" and *laïki mousiki*, "popular music". The social status of *rebetika* in the public mind had transformed from an underworld subculture to a national popular culture. Ideologies had caught up with market reality which had established *rebetika* as a commercially viable product as early as the 1920s. While Tsitsanis was unanimously credited as the reputable representative exponent of *laïko* style of *rebetika*, even Vamvakaris (in Kail 1973: 96) retrospectively, in the late 1960s,[65] referred to his own music as the first kind of 'popular music'. The statements of both composers equate the "popular", *laïko*, status of their music with the success of their commercial recordings which reached a national audience.

Thus constructions of *rebetika* had now extended to include a national–popular uni-class affiliation. 'Popular culture' itself began to be complexly constructed as the particular aspirations of a 'community' of Greek people, and *rebetika* music as the soulful expression of a community. The following discussion moves to constructions of the *rebetika* musical culture which centred around notions of the individual–in–community. The male character of the *mangas* played a key role as the archetype of the individual insider of *rebetika* culture.

3.10 The Role of the *Mangas* and the Expression of the Individual–in–Community

Authors had always concerned themselves with describing the nature of expression in *rebetika* music. The primary evidence for their expositions was to be found in *rebetika* song texts, linguistic-literary constructs most amenable to further verbal elaboration. For example, Politis (1947 in Holst 1983: 143-144) argued that *rebetika* songs express all of the *pathoi*, "passions", of life—love, tortures, hate, humour, passion. Anoyanakis (1947 in Holst 1983: 140-141) commented on the tight relationship between *rebetika* music and poetry, especially the intense lyrical expression of *rebetika* songs, even *chasiklidika* "hashish songs" which he believed depicted the social misery of the period. For Christianopoulos (1961: 5), a "simple" man's view of *rebetika* was that "*Rebetika* are songs of the people. They arise from life and that's why they speak to the heart". Despite the fact that most *rebetika* songs are authored, their composers "are such *laïko* people and their song expresses so much the *laïko* feeling, that their name ceases to represent individual circumstances" (Christianopoulos 1961: 7).[66] In these constructions, *rebetika* are idealised and romanticised as the 'genuine' 'truthful' expression of the sentiments of a

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62 "Χρειάζεται ν' αφομοιώνουμε δημιουργικά τα λαικά στοιχεία, να τα μεταπλάθουμε και κατόπιν να τα συνθέτουμε σε ανώτερες μορφές." (Theodorakis 1949 in 1974: 168).

63 See *Epitaphios* (1958-59), *Epiphaneia* (1958-59) and *Ta Tragoudia tou Nekrou Adelfou* (1962).

64 "ξαπλώνεται και καταχτά τις λαικές μάζες" (Theodorakis 1949 in 1974: 162).

65 Interviews for the autobiography of Markos Vamvakaris commenced in 1967 and resumed in 1969 (Kail 1973: 7, 9).

66 "Το ότι γνωρίζουμε τους συνθέτες των ρεμπέτικων, δεν έχει σημασία: είναι τόσο πολύ λαικοί άνθρωποι και το τραγούδι τους εκφράζει τόσο πολύ το λαικό αίσθημα, που το όνομα τους παύει να αντιπροσωπεύει ατομικές καταστάσεις." (Christianopoulos 1961: 7).

collective whole, the Greek people'. Composers are similarly idealised and romanticised as the selfless voices of the community.[67]

In these views we see a new ideological narrative emerging in which *rebetika* are constructed as the 'genuine', direct emotional expression of the feelings and life experiences of a community. In his discussion of western rock music, Frith (1981) similarly identified a 'folk ideology' of music as the expression of a community.[68] From the late 1940s, Greek writers appear to have referred to this particular ideological thread with their frequent uses of the term *laïko*, "the popular" as an ethos surrounding *rebetika* music. *Laïko* folk ideology accommodated the ideological oscillation between mainstream and marginal constructions of *rebetika*.

The folk or *laïko* ethos of *rebetika* was further disclosed in textual representations of the *mangas*, "cool dude", "hood" character,[69] also used interchangeably with the term "*rebetis*", a player and/or patron of *rebetika*.[70] For Kail (1973: 16-19), *rebetika* music-making culture is essentially an unpoliticised resistance to bourgeois lifestyle by the *manges* (pl.) who belonged to a particular social group of the working class. The *mangas* measured his own self-worth in terms of a lifestyle shared with his *parea*, "company of friends". This lifestyle centred around individual expression of personality through various social activities and rituals, especially listening to and playing music, dancing, smoking hashish, romantic relationships, attire and conversation.[71] In Kail's (1973: 17-18) analysis of the lifestyle of the *mangas*, she finds that through these subcultural rituals, the *mangas* expressed himself within the social group of the *parea*. In other words, the activities of the *mangas* were generated both inwardly and outwardly:

> The *mangas* who will succeed in offering joy, consolation, courage, warmth, patience, hope, rhythm, song, wisdom etc. from his own [regional] homeland and from his own tradition, in a way that makes him acceptable, distinguishable and admired in his *parea* [company of friends], this *mangas* is recognised (Kail 1973: 19).

Above all, the *mangas* was a *meraklis*,[72] experiencing and appreciating life with dedication and *meraki*, "passion"[73] (Kail 1973:18).

The *mangas rebetika* subculture was a heterogeneous group. Vamvakaris (in Kail 1973; esp. 119-124) described a continuum of symbolic *mangas* types. At one end was the *koutsavakis*, "tough guys", the least reputable *mangas*, who stole, frequented gaol, carried a knife and was ever ready to defend himself with violence.[74] At the other end of the continuum was the noble *dervisis*, "dervish", a "quiet" but "smart" man comparable with his Sufi monk namesake who peacefully smoked hashish and enjoyed music.[75] Gauntlett (1995b: 38)[76] locates the construction of the *koutsavakis-mangas* type associated with *rebetika* musical culture in the Greek shadow-puppet theatre, Athenian review and later Greek cinema. He also observes the heterogeneous nature of the *rebetis* character which ranges from ancient muse to revolutionary

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[67] For Christianopoulos (1961: 7), *rebetika* so genuinely expressed 'the community' that it was comparable with the older and longer demotic music tradition, a genre well-established by folklorists in the nineteenth century as symbolic of the Greek nation.

[68] A folk ideology can be traced back to an eighteenth century German Romantic construction of "the common folk".

[69] See Glossary.

[70] While predominantly a male culture, *rebetika* song texts also depict an assertive female counterpart of the *mangas* who is variously referred to as the *mangiora*, *mangissa*, *tsachpina*, *derbederissa*, etc.

[71] In Kail's interpretation (1973: 17-18), the *mangas* defined himself as a lover of the 'nice things in life'. Even if he 'did time' in gaol, he was basically a good person, *filotimo*, "generous", "proud", "hard-working" (see Stavropoulos 1988: 938), respected and loved by others, a refined gentleman, *ipotis*, "knight", and a hard worker (Vamvakaris in Kail 1973: 93-124). Above all he never bothered anyone. Smoking hashish was a central activity which the *mangas* undertook in a *giavasiko* leisurely way without police harassment. The word *giavasiko* comes from the Turkish words "*giavas, giavas*" which mean "slowly and with patience" (Zachos 1981: 108). Playing and listening to music were also central activities of the *mangas*..

[72] "a person with *meraki*". The term *meraklis* comes from the word *meraki*. See Glossary.

[73] See Glossary.

[74] Reproducing what appear to be common derogatory representations of Asia Minor refugees, Vamvakaris (in Kail 1973: 95, 102) depicted Asia Minor refugees, especially those from Smyrna, as the most poverty-stricken and dishonourable criminal element of Greek society such as thieves, pick-pockets.

[75] On occasions when hashish was consumed, the *mangas* would sit quietly, watch, listen to the music and *remvaze*, "muse", without a bad thought in his mind. *Bouzouki*-players were exalted and their instruments regarded as sacred objects (Vamvakaris in Kail 1973: 130).

[76] *Ta Nea*, 1995, May 24.

bard of the seventeenth century Greek Revolution to twentieth century gangster, all of which suggest a complex history of representations of the *mangas* as symbolic type.

What these depictions of the *mangas* character and his relationship to *rebetika* music-making have in common is a central idea that the 'social' significance of *rebetika* dwells 'in people'. Constructions of the *rebetis* and *mangas* are potent symbols of personhood and of the individual–in–community. The notion of social relationship is reinforced in Kail's (1973: 19) statements that *rebetika* is the only living art produced from the 'marriage' of the 'popular tradition' with the 'new city' and the *manges* are the *koumbaroi*, "bestmen"/"godfathers". Kail's use of familial metaphors further highlights the construction of *rebetika* culture as residing within a close-knit community whose members share a common lifestyle and ethos as the bearers and developers of the *rebetika* music-making tradition.

The particular ethos which emerges from these views is one which celebrates the recreational freedom and lifestyle of the *mangas* who, in interaction with a tight community of friends, created and defined his own personality and social identity. Kail (1973: 18) identifies the way in which individuals within the *mangas rebetika* culture negotiated the dominant urban capitalist regime of productivity, time, material accumulation and *atomikopoiïsi*, "atomisation",[77] by emphasising the 'here-and-now' personal experience of 'self-in-community'. Kail elaborates upon a twentieth century theory of urban subculture within which the expressive arts have a dynamic style-making function. Her exegesis also highlights the inherently ambivalent construction of the *mangas* symbolic type. From the point of view of 'in-group' identity, the *mangas* construction contained a positive assertive and dignified persona. From the point of view of the outsider, especially of urban Athenian bourgeois culture, the *mangas* was an anti-social individual, inverting and subverting the socially accepted moral values of respectability, recreation, etc. Not only was *rebetika* the expression of a section of the Greek working class, but it also played an active role in the resistance to bourgeois culture (Kail 1973: 17; Dalaras 1975: 2).

Furthermore, such representations of the *mangas* culture depict a particular construction of the individual and the experience of the self. The *mangas* was a 'free spirit' who chose his own lifestyle. The way in which the *mangas* best empowered himself was through an empassioned engagement of all faculties of the body: mind, body and soul. In the next section, biological, psychological and emotional constructions of *rebetika* musical culture are explored with a view to understanding the ways in which *rebetika* music engages people at the deeper level of the individual—at the level of embodiment and the soul.

3.11 Biological, Psychological and Emotional Constructions of *Rebetika*

Chatzidakis (1949 in Holst 1983: 152-153) typified the patrons of *rebetika* as "an emotional people of one section of our people [nation], the most genuine and virginal, one would say, irrelevantly uneducated" (Chatzidakis 1949 in Holst 1983: 152).[78] Ottoman oppression and the relatively recent liberation are given as the reasons for the *partheniki psychikotita*, "virginal spirituality", of the Greek people. *Rebetika* itself functioned "sometimes to interpret us and sometimes to make us conscious of our most deepest self" (Chatzidakis 1949 in Holst 1983: 155). Such representations of emotionality, intellectual naivety and spirituality are conflated and embedded within the homogenising constructions of the 'natural', 'innocent' and 'instinctive' self. In other words, *rebetika* is so closely tied to a biologically innate disposition that it taps into the very psyche—the soul. A similar view was confirmed by Theodorakis (1949 in 1974: 164-166) in his statement that *rebetika* music was composed by "*laïko* types with an innate musical sensitivity"[79] (Theodorakis 1949 in 1974:164). In this approach, musicality was located in innate biology, hence also its inherent "simplicity" and "truth" (Theodorakis 1949 in 1974: 166).[80] At the other end of the 'primitive–civilised' opposition, Spanoudi (1952 in Holst 1983: 157) wrote about the veneration, passion and *aesthantikotita*, "feelingfulness/sensitivity", of *rebetika* singers with their "innate nobility and *laïko* aristocratism".[81] Here we see how emotional, psychological and spiritual features of *rebetika* music were consistently treated as biologically innate, an ideological strategy to

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77 "individualisation", "alienation"

78 "Στο κάτω κάτω τα τραγούδια αυτά απασχολούνε και συγκινούν το συναισθηματικό κόσμο μιας μερίδας του λαού μας, της πιο γνήσια και παρθένης, θάλεγε κανείς, άσχετο ακαλλιέργητης ..." (Chatzidakis 1949 in Holst 1983: 152).

79 "Συνθέτες των τραγουδιών αυτών ήταν λαικοί τύποι με έμφυτη μουσική ευαισθησία" (Theodorakis 1949 in 1974: 164).

80 "Στις εκδηλώσεις του είναι απλός και αληθινός " (Theodorakis 1949 in 1974: 166).

81 "Η τέχνη αυτή έχει μια σύμφυτη ευγένεια, κι ένα λαικό αριστοκρατισμό" (Spanoudi 1952 in Holst 1983: 157).

naturalise and thus render *rebetika* a legitimate genre.[82] Where in the past the 'natural, 'primitive' attributes tended to work against dignifying constructions of Greek culture, here we see how nature is appropriated to legitimise aspects of the *psyche*. By the 1960s, the *laïko* ethos of *rebetika* music as the deep and soulful expression of a community was dominant. Indeed, *rebetika* were finally established as a innately and spiritually honourable Greek tradition which, like the demotic genre, "also arose from the people and expresses the people's soul" (Christianopoulos (1961: 7). In these ways, constructions of the soul had become firmly entrenched in ideological narratives of *rebetika*.

Yet somehow the 'innate' and 'soul' constructions of *rebetika* needed to accommodate the 'orientalist' thread which had never been completely reconciled since the years of *café-aman*. Spanoudi (1952 in Holst 1983: 156) discussed the unity that *rebetika* music shared with eastern music with statements such as "the mysticism of its idiosyncratic chants", "its embryonic lyricism", "its persistent metrical rhythms" and its preference for the "nostalgic feelings of loneliness, separation, despondent sadness and nostalgic desire". Despite the frenzied Dionysiac *kefi* that *rebetika* generated among its patrons, Spanoudi (1952 in Holst 1983: 156) argued that its composer was governed by both the subconscious and the instinct.[83] Here we find that the well-known 'oriental' ideological trope of the mystical–nostalgic–passionate–melancholic are naturalised by Spanoudi as instinctive, subconscious and belonging to the 'deepest' part of the self–the soul.

While supporters of *rebetika* praised the innate "primitive"[84] passion of *rebetika* musical culture, others found it problematic. Christianopoulos' (1961: 7) point of departure is clearly racial when he attacks "eastern songs" as *aesthisiaka*, "sensuous/lascivious", eastern musical 'turns' [ornaments] which aroused "violent passions and impulses ... our deepest instincts cry out to be released in a frenzy, their rhythm brings forth lust".[85] Embedded in this biological-psychological-emotional construction is an oriental-sensual-erotic-innate icon reminiscent of the *café-aman* days. In the binary nature/culture opposition, "eastern songs" are far too close to nature and therefore dangerously corrupting. However, for Christianopoulos (1961: 7-8) the *rebetika* differ in that they are "sensitive"[86] rather than "sensuous" and therefore more worthy. He elaborating upon this position he further entangles himself in the description of *rebetika* as a "fatalistic"[87] lament reflecting the deepest *kaimos*, *meraki*, grievances, *parapona*, and devastation of the souls of the Greeks. For Christianopoulos, the Greeks are psychologically problematic: an "emotional people with an incurable heart and chronic *meraki* that rarely becomes *kefi*" (Christianopoulos 1961: 8). The existence of ample *rebetika* song texts testifying to an alternative non-fatalistic interpretation is glossed over for the sake of the argument.

In this section we have seen how biological, psychological and emotional constructions of *rebetika* culture reveal a particular ethos in relation to corporality, spirituality and the soul. In some arguments, biological, psychological and emotional constructions reinforce the close proximity between *rebetika* music, the 'natural' and the 'soul', which are then idealised as a 'pure', 'simple', 'genuine' and 'truthful' states of Greek music, culture and consciousness. In other arguments, the 'natural' and 'primitive' 'raw' passions are attributes of derision. *Rebetika* as the expression of a 'national spirit' is now linked to *rebetika* as the soulful expression of a community, and of individuals within that community.

This chapter has revealed the complex ways in which *rebetika* have been represented and constructed over the past century. It has highlighted the multiple ideological constructs and narratives of *rebetika* which either legitimised or undermined *rebetika* musical culture. It has also shown that commonsense knowledge about the history and significance of *rebetika* is far from neutral, but rather, engaged in an ongoing struggle for cultural ownership and control. As Taussig (1989) has suggested regarding constructions of 'history', *rebetika* music became a valuable cultural commodity in the construction of Greek history. In the process of its appropriation by a discourse concerned with defining

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[82] Similarly, the Professor of Folklore at the University of Athens, Giorgios Megas, in 1947 argued that the 'soul' of 'the Greek people' was an inherent metaphysical phenomenon of the Greek race (in Kyriakidou-Nestoros 1983: 253-254).

[83] "Γιατί ο συνθέτης τους υπακούει εξίσου στο αυστηρό υποσυνείδητο της τέχνης, όσο και στο παντοδύναμο ένστικτο που τον κατευθύνει" (Spanoudi 1952 in Holst 1983: 156).

[84] "πρωτόγονη" (Christianopoulos 1961: 8)

[85] "Τα ανατολίτικα είναι αισθησιακά: μες στα γυρίσματα τους μας ξυπνούν βίαια πάθη και ορμές: με τον αισθησιασμό τους, τα πιο βαθιά μας ένστικτα ζητούν να ξεσπάσουν ξεφρενιασμένα: ο πυθμός τους φέρνει στη λαγνεία." (Christianopoulos 1961: 7).

[86] "αισθηματικά" (Christianopoulos 1961: 7)

[87] "μοιραλατρικός" (Christianopoulos 1961: 8)

'Greek tradition' and Greek nationhood, the historical, social and cultural circumstances of its development were vigorously disputed. From this discourse, it has become clear that *rebetika* have acquired a spirit of their own as a national icon, albeit painted with contrasting images.

Ideological constructions of *rebetika* have centred on symbols of Greek national, cultural and individual identity. In constructions of Greek national identity, we have seen how a dominant Hellenist perspective of *rebetika* as 'roots music' simultaneously accommodated an alternative perspective of its polyethnic Romaic heritage. The general discomfort with the eastern cultural heritage of *rebetika* was a persistent theme which found further exposition in constructions of its 'unethical' disposition and 'low' class affiliations. The 'oriental'–unethical–low class attributes were partly inverted and reconciled by the 1950s in constructions of *rebetika* as a "Greek popular music", *elliniki laïki mousiki*, a noble genuine multi-class symbol of Greek ethnicity and nationality.

Other literary representations of *rebetika* elaborated upon notions of the individual–in–community and expression of the self. These constituted *rebetika* as a 'soul music': the expression of the passions and soul of the Greek people. Employing constructions of emotionality, corporality and spirituality, the racial purity or contamination of *rebetika* was debated. Emotional, psychological and spiritual features were equated with innate, biological, corporeal and racial attributes and glossed as 'natural'. It was seen how the naturalisation of ideological constructs legitimated *rebetika* as an honourable Greek music tradition.

Analysis of the literary discourse also demonstrated how soul attributes of *rebetika* were elided together with the 'roots' notions of heritage, ethics and class to ideologically transform *rebetika* into a 'common' yet polysemous icon of Greekness. In the form of *laïki mousiki*, *rebetika* were constructed as the 'soul' music of the Greek people which embodied the 'spirit' of the Greek nation. The collapsing of contrasting meaning systems into one 'common' 'or 'universal' symbol is another way in which ideology functions to hold multifarious constructions in suspension.

Thus, we have seen how *rebetika* has arrived in the repertoire of Adelaide musicians with a history of meaningful symbolic associations with typified experience. *Rebetika* was both a 'roots music' and a 'soul music' by the time it had arrived here. In Chapter 4, we turn our attention to a specifically Australian construction of the meaning and significance of *rebetika* music. Discussion focuses on the ideological constructions of multiculturalism and world music which converge together in what is called a 'world music' symbolic-ideological narrative of *rebetika*.

Chapter 4 The Emergence of the 'World Music' Symbolic-Ideological Narrative

4.1 Introduction

As for the concepts of 'soul music' and 'roots music', the term 'world music' is adopted for the purpose of this study to refer to a particular symbolic-ideological narrative identified in *rebetika* music-making in Adelaide. The 'world music' symbolic-ideological narrative was introduced in Chapter 1 as one of three praxis-theories of reality which contextualise the experience of *rebetika* as meaningful and significant for Adelaide musicians and patrons. This chapter examines two streams which have converged into the *rebetika* 'world music' symbolic-ideological narrative. The two streams are located in ideologies of multiculturalism which developed in Australia from the late 1960s and ideologies of 'world music' which emerged from western European and American popular music industries during the 1980s. Multicultural and 'world music' rhetoric is analysed here in terms of inherent ideological tenets and contradictions, and the possibilities for empowerment that symbolic-ideological narratives offer.

Central to both multicultural and 'world music' ideological streams is a discourse of otherness and cultural difference. Chapters 1 and 3 identified constructions of otherness and cultural difference as integral to the experience of migration and culturally heterogeneous societies. Martín-Barbero (1988) locates representations of otherness and cultural difference in various constructions of familiarisation or exoticisation. In an analysis of Latin American television culture, he (Martín-Barbero 1988: 458) argues that television operates to control difference by representing it as familiar to the viewer, as 'very much like us'. In contrast, the distancing process of exoticisation on television operates by converting difference into something absolutely foreign and unrelated. But, he adds, neither familiarisation nor exoticisation can negate the ways in which "difference challenges us, interrogates us, undermining the very myth of modernity: namely that there exists but one model of society compatible with 'progress' and therefore with the future" (Martín-Barbero 1988: 458). Martín-Barbero's insight brings attention to the inherent contradiction between capitalist homogenisation and cultural heterogenisation, namely, the way in which capitalism as a monocultural system of profiteering in the name of 'modernity' and 'progress' is forced to accommodate culturally diverse populations and societies. Thus, at the heart of the discourse of cultural difference is a symbolic-ideological tension between familiarisation and exoticisation.

Cultural diversity within Australia has been problematic from the time of British colonisation of the indigenous Australian Aboriginal land and society. The reception of non-English speaking migrants was also met with hostility as migrants were expected to abandon their original culture under the 'white Australia' policy of cultural assimilation and adopt the culture of their new homeland.[1] Aside from the issues of outright political-cultural domination, Gunew (1994: 4) identifies the 'diasporic dilemma' as the tension between maintaining the culture and traditions generated in another country and those developed in a newly adopted homeland. To different degrees, all migrants in Australia are forced to come to terms with the diasporic dilemma. Yet, as Gunew (1994: 4) correctly observes, recent debates about the appropriateness of carrying the cultural baggage from one's homeland into Australia are ethnically one-sided. For example, Greeks and Macedonians of the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia are condemned in the mass media for openly expressing their differences in Australia while it is taken for granted that the entire nation should enter into a debate about republicanism versus English monarchy, a legacy of British colonial rule.

Multicultural philosophies have developed in Australia especially from the activities of migrant minority communities, educationists and government officials. All have grappled with the issue of cultural difference and the acceptance of a culturally diverse Australian population. As discussed in Chapter 1, migrant minorities have been actively involved in a social movement for access, equity and equal opportunity since the 1970s. Educationalists (Kalantzis, Cope and Hughes 1984/85; Kalantzis and Cope 1986) suggested strategies for introducing multicultural pluralism and equity into the education system.

[1] See Chapter 1 for a discussion of the history of multicultural policy.

Governments developed official policy on multiculturalism and anti-racism legislation to reconcile Australian cultural difference with national unity. This chapter now turns to a closer examination of the tenets of multicultural ideologies embedded in offical multicultural policy. These ideologies have had repercussions for the reception and representation of the culture, arts and music of migrant minorities.

4.2 Ideologies of Multiculturalism

4.2.1 Folkloric Multiculturalism

During the first two decades of multiculturalism in Australia (1970-1990), a folkloric ideology of cultural difference prevailed. The culture of migrant minorities was represented in derogatory ways as the 'folkloric', 'ethnic' 'colourful' and 'exotic' personal private choices of lifestyle, religion, family relationships, beliefs and identifications. Migrant arts, music, dancing, costumes and cuisine which fitted the stereotype of an idealised past rural village life—the colourfully costumed dancers accompanied by quaint instruments—were reduced to the "decorative level of folkloric ethnic markers" (Frow and Morris 1993: ix). Migrant arts which reflected diasporic, urban, hybrid and contemporary experiences were met with hostility and exclusion. Such was the experience of the Greek music ensemble Themelia in Adelaide when it participated in an audition to perform at the Community Celebrations Shell Folkloric Concerts in 1983. The group was rejected on the grounds of not performing in traditional authentic costumes (they wore casual clothes), not performing a Greek demotic 'folk' piece (they performed a contemporary urban popular song about migration), and including non-Greek instruments (piano, guitar and recorder). When the Adelaide Festival Centre[2] organisers were questioned about their prescriptive and restrictive criteria for participation, they replied that they were informed by advice on 'authentic' Greek culture and even purchased 'authentic' Greek costumes from Greece for the occasion. Apart from the ten minute on-off performance requirement, the Festival Centre's refusal to accept contemporary, popular and hybrid forms of diaspora music attracted acute criticism from participant communities and the concerts ceased to occur from 1987 onwards. By the time of the 1988 Australian Bicentennial celebrations, Castles *et al.* (1988: 6) were compelled to conclude that "Our image of multicultural Australia is meant to be at the level of Trivial Pursuits: song and dance, food and folklore."

4.2.2 Folkloric Multicultural Constructions of 'Culture'

A critical examination of the folkloric ideology of multiculturalism reveals particular constructions of culture which contain monocultural premises. These are apparent in the writings of Smith (1993: 333-334) who, in his otherwise excellent article on popular culture, similarly represents 'ethnic artists' in a derisive way. Smith (1993: 333-334) claims that 'ethnic artists' are unable to "move far from their original audiences"; they possess a "conservative view of the relationship between their genres and their audiences"; and they are "unable to or unwilling to turn the foreigness of their styles into an exploitable exoticism." The first problem with these views is that Smith takes for granted use of the term 'ethnic' which is received by people of non-English speaking background as an offensive outsider-defined term inferring an inferior status of otherness.[3] Together with other labels such as 'migrant' and 'folkloric', the term 'ethnic' is applied to people of non-English speaking background, as if English-speaking Anglo, Irish, Scottish and Welsh settlers do not have experiences of migration, tradition and ethnicity (Kalantzis and Cope 1984/5: 212; Gunew 1994: 4-5). The terms 'ethnic' and 'migrant' also gloss the experiences of second and third generation Australian-born migrants as the same as for first generation migrants. As this study documents, this is clearly not the case. A third problem with Smith's comment that 'ethnic artists' cannot 'move far from their original audiences' is the insinuation that minority communities are trapped within closed ghettos, "frozen outside history and contemporary interactive relations" (Gunew 1994: 4-5). Here Smith does not account for the fact that artists of non-English speaking background have every reason to cherish long-established relationships with their audiences who are usually financially supportive, understand the artistic idioms involved, and above all, give artists positive reinforcement. Further repercussions of the

[2] The Adelaide Festival Centre is the peak mainstream arts institution in Adelaide which is subsidised by the state government.

[3] See Chapter 1, 1.5, especially Ryan (1988-89).

migrant ghetto stereotype, is that 'migrantness' is then defined in terms of an 'ethnicity model' in which the problems and disadvantages of migrant groups are attributed to so-called intrinsic, absolute and essential attributes of the particular group, rather than to specific manifestations of social dislocation in Australian society, or to the broader hierarchical socio-economic and political processes of capitalism (Morrissey 1984: 74-6; Gunew 1994: 4-5). In this way, differences between non-English speaking background migrant groups are defused as merely 'cultural', a construction which depoliticises migrant activity and decontextualises it from Australian socio-economic life (Castles *et al.* 1988: 123; 128; Gunew 1994: 6).

Contrary to Smith's (1993: 334) observations of artistic conservatism ('ethnic artists' have a "conservative view of the relationship between their genres and their audiences"), my research indicates that artists communicate and interact with audiences of mixed cultural background in dynamic ways by adapting repertoire, performance practice and verbal commentary, and furthermore, have done so for several decades. Finally, countering Smith's (1993: 334) comment about the unwillingness of 'ethnic artists' to exploit their foreigness and exoticism, it is precisely the stereotyping and exploitation of soul and life-sustaining art forms as 'exotic' objects that musicians in my study resist or subvert as much as possible. Exotic constructions of migrant music are discussed again below.[4]

In the folkloric ideology of multiculturalism, migrant participation in Australian mainstream public life is confined to the sphere of 'culture' which is glossed as the arts, celebration and recreation. In a fundamental way, 'culture' is depoliticised in the folkloric multicultural agenda as existing outside of the mainstream democratic institutions of Australian society. This view of migrant culture has influenced subsequent constructions of 'multicultural arts' as marginal to mainstream Australian culture and 'ethnic arts' as non-'high art', fusion art or exotic.

4.2.3 Populist Multiculturalism

The second type of multicultural ideology identified is a populist mainstream model which developed in the early 1990s during the incumbency of the Australian Labor government. Encapsulated in the slogan 'unity in diversity', this populist model of multiculturalism recognises the positive contribution that migrant minorities have made to Australian economic as well as cultural life. In this view, multiculturalism has become a national popular icon of the successful peaceful co-existence of a diverse population loyal to Australian law, democratic institutions and economic development. It is promoted by Australian governments to attract wealthy migrants and tourists, and to promote good international relations, especially with Asian-Pacific trading partners.

In this context, diaspora arts, previously derided as quaint relics of the past, have begun to be recognised and celebrated as contemporary, urban and syncretic forms. This was evident in the television broadcast (11/2/1996) of the Australia Day (26 January) Oz Concert, 1996, organised by the Commonwealth Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs and filmed by the Special Broadcasting Commission. Titled "Australian Citizenship", the concert presented over fifteen different performing Anglo-Celtic and non-Anglo-Celtic arts groups. Performers were encouraged to present their music, choreographies and costumes in spectacular and exotic ways. They were also encouraged to modernise and fuse their retentive cultural traditions into contemporary new creations in peculiarly 'Australian' ways. The presentation of large ensembles performing tightly synchronised activities in the one concert without '*prima donnas*', was highly commended by one interviewed technician. Artistic collaboration and cultural diversity were celebrated in the concert and constructed as symbolic of the peaceful co-existence of a nationally diverse Australian population.

In these official mass media representations of multiculturalism, the arts function to blur the boundaries between Anglo-Celtic and non-Anglo-Celtic, hegemony and subalternity, offering in their place the collective human face of urban public Australian culture where cultural difference and diversity are elided as 'all Australian'. Migrant arts begin to shift from the periphery of Australian public life into the

[4] Another problem with the promotion of folkloric multiculturalism as a national agenda has been the exclusion of indigenous Aboriginal people from the equation, a topic beyond the scope of this discussion.

mainstream.[5] Nevertheless, migrant or 'multicultural' arts, while they are ocassionally in receipt of government subsidy, as shall be seen, have yet to to fulfil the dominant canons of professional arts of excellence.

4.2.4 Multicultural Constructions of 'Art'

The arts of migrants of non-English speaking background are represented in multiple ways, some of which include constructions of the 'folk' or 'popular', collective, local community-based, amateur, celebratory, realistic, joyous, participatory, improvisatory, orally transmitted, corporeal, spontaneous, simple, hybrid, repetitive, archaic and derivative. In contrast, the western canon designates 'high arts' as belonging to the universal, professional, abstract, serious, contemplative, formal, literary, intellectual, composed, complex, pure, unique, modern, original and belonging to individual genius.

Thus, migrant arts fare badly in mainstream constructions of professional arts of excellence. Such constructions have served to alienate migrant arts and exclude them from inclusion in public representations of Australian culture. Yet as was noted in Chapter 3, many of the above listed attributes of both migrants arts and 'high arts' (e.g. folk, popular, collective, orally transmitted, spontaneous, archaic, pure, unique, original) are precisely those that were appropriated in a Greek nationalist discourse of Greek culture and will also be seen to resonate strongly in empowering constructions of *rebetika* music-making in Adelaide, especially in the 'world music' narrative.

In addition to the arbitrariness of such constructions of art, authors (see Gunew n.d.; Kalantzis and Cope 1984/5; Kalantzis and Cope 1994) have pointed out that the western canon itself contains inherent contradictions. For example, western classical music is claimed to be of pure form yet is as hybrid and syncretic as the rural and urban musical styles from which it has borrowed freely. The western canon of individual genius, originality and novelty conflicts with the note-for-note replication and preservation of past musical scores that is expected of classical musicians. While aesthetics are claimed to be embedded in form and structure over and above content and context, and the aesthetics of western art to be pure and universal *vis-à-vis* others, the claim to universal aesthetics is undermined by the specificity of 'high art' as an aristocratic and bourgeois western European cultural development of the last four centuries. The promotion of individual talent and genius by the western canon also fails to acknowledge the extended network of people, institutions and cultural traditions that together sustain and generate all arts activities (Kalantzis and Cope 1994: 18-19). The tenet that music should primarily be an intellectually uplifting experience for the individual at the expense of collective, spiritual and corporeal celebration or lament negates the ritual aspect of western classical music and the way that it too embodies and enacts the culture of a particular group in society, namely, of a western industrial middle class (see Small 1987). A stereotype representation of migrant art as 'moaning', 'complaining' (see Kalantzis and Cope 1994: 14) and coming from 'somewhere else' (Messariti, Tsoutas and Chandrabhanu 1993 in Kalantzis and Cope 1994: 23) overlooks the themes of exile and displacement which are central to Australian history and society from the time of British settlement, not just to recently arrived migrants.

Constructions of 'muticultural arts' thus designate migrant arts as fundamentally amateur and unprofessional, in opposition to 'high arts' which are professional. Professionalism largely implies economic viability, yet the dependence on government funding and educational institutions for support and survival of the 'high arts', especially of western classical music and ballet, is also overlooked. Having passed from constructions of culture to valuations of art, the discourse of cultural difference enters into the realm of economics. Indeed, the ultimate test of professional art according to the dominant canon is its commercial success in the competitive market place. This brings discussion to the world music industry which in many ways is the marketing arm of multicultural music.

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[5] Martín-Barbero (1988: 453ff) similarly observed the rise of populist movements during post-colonial changes in Latin American society, especially in the development of transnational communiciation technologies. He identified processes of 'democratization' and 'massification' such as "the rediscovery of the popular" as strategies for constructing collective experiences and constituting the 'popular' as no longer in a space of the other but now of the centre.

4.3 Ideologies of 'World Music'

4.3.1 Cultural Diversity and Cultural Tolerance

The concept of 'world music' is not alien to the study of folklore, comparative musicology and ethnomusicology which have been documenting the various musics of the world for several centuries. In its present popular use, the term world music refers to a category of commercially recorded popular music first used in 1987 by several American, British and European record companies (Mitchell 1993: 310) to launch recordings of urban diaspora musicians and traditional-western fusion music. Since then the world music market has proliferated to include the indigeneous, traditional and urban musics of non-western cultures, most having developed in contact with western culture.

Feld (1994b: 262) has observed that in the big picture, the world music industry functions as a 'scout' to discover new talent and markets which are then exploited by the multinational record companies, often in collaboration with elite western pop artists (see also Feld 1988). One of the most notable outcomes of the world music industry is the establishment of the WOMAD (World of Music Arts and Dance) company in London which produces commercial recordings and holds international festivals. Since 1992, Adelaide has become a major Australian city site for WOMAD Festivals. An examinaton of the music program of the third WOMADELAIDE festival held in 1995 will reveal some of the basic tenets of the 'world music' ideology.

Advertised as 'the global music event of the International Year for Tolerance', WOMADELAIDE '95 presented a large music program of 259 artists from twenty countries. Among the few Australian 'multicultural' acts featured in the program was the performance of the local Adelaide *rebetika* music ensemble, Rockin' Rembets, which performed a repertoire of *smyrneïka* and *piraiötika* songs accompanied by *bouzouki*, oud and guitars. The artistic directors (Brookman and Brooman 1995: 5) stated that the festival provides a model for "cultural understanding and tolerance in action" as well as for the "simplest tool of understanding: listening". As for multiculturalism, the central tenet of the festival is the recognition of cultural diversity of the many different indigenous popular musics of the world. In the promotion of WOMAD as a celebration of the "strength of the human spirit" (Brookman and Brooman 1995: 5), 'world music' ideology relativises musical specificity by contextualising it as part of a pan-human or global culture. A humanist ethos filters throughout the 'world music' narrative which is found in the cross-cultural circumstances of many *rebetika* music-making events.

The idea of cultural tolerance is rendered in a particular way in 'world music' rhetoric. In the statements of the WOMADELAIDE '95 directors, the people who most need to recognise cultural diversity, to learn tolerance and understanding are "us in the west" who find it difficult to imagine the "harshness" that many of these visiting artists have survived (Brookman and Brooman 1995: 5). The underlying premise in such a reflexive statement is that exposure to the world's musics inevitably benefits the west who need to learn the lesson of listening. While the business and politics of musical appropriation and expropriation continue unhindered at the transnational level, the noble objectives of cross-cultural communication and exchange contextualise the meaning and significance of music-making for musicians at the level of daily practice, including for those who perform *rebetika*.

The WOMADELAIDE '95 ethos of cultural diversity and tolerance was endorsed by the Commonwealth government as an event for the International Year of Tolerance. The then Australian Prime Minister Paul Keating sent a message in support of WOMADELAIDE '95 stating that Australia was a "nation of people from many cultural and linguistic backgrounds, with a wonderful range of talents, experiences, and histories" who all "share a commitment to our democratic traditions, and to creating a society in which differences are respected and celebrated" (Keating 1995: 4). The populist multicultural ethic of 'unity in diversity' was easily embraced by WOMADELAIDE as the dominant theme.

Apart from the international draw cards of well-established artists such as Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan, Papa Wemba, Geoffrey Oryema and Zap Mama, Australian Aboriginal performers were central to the music program as "one of the planet's oldest living cultures" and praised for making a great contribution to world music (Brookman and Brooman 1995: 5). Prime Minister Keating (1995: 4) added that the festival theme of tolerance "furthers our achievements of reconciliation between Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders and other Australians" in the first year of the International decade for the World's Indigenous People. It becomes apparent that world music festivals is a more appropriate arena than government

multicultural policy for the endorsement of Australian Aboriginal culture. Thus, WOMADELAIDE becomes the perfect 'cultural' and 'artistic' arena for the promotion of political agendas. The 'world music' narrative appears to comfortably contain both political and commercial constructions of cultural difference.

4.3.2 Music as Aesthetic Object

One of the most effective ways in which experiences of musical difference are constructed as belonging to a common and universal humanity is by divorcing them from their specific contexts of creation and meaning and highlighting their musical forms. In this way, long-lasting musical cultures are aestheticised as neutral, 'pure' and 'unique' forms. For example, the WOMADELAIDE '95 directors (Brookman and Brooman 1995: 5) advocated "the power of music as a force for cultural learning and understanding". The audience is encouraged to relax in the atmosphere of the global village and let the music 'speak for itself'. Indeed, the performance of songs in non-English languages passes almost unnoticed in the smorgasbord of the 'pure sound' of instruments and voices. The 'world music' symbolic-ideological narrative exalts in the uniqueness of diverse musical forms. This aestheticisation of music functions to further fill the gap of cultural difference. The construction of music as aesthetic object thrives even more strongly in constructions of music as exotic 'familiar other' objects of pleasure. These are now discussed in more detail.

4.3.3 Constructions of the 'Exotic'

In 'world music' ideology, notions of the 'exotic' and the 'familiar' as extensions of cultural difference and national unity are sustained within an uneasy tension. This is most apparent in an aesthetic of fusion music contained within world music recordings and performances. The fusion or musical merging of indigenous, traditional non-western music with contemporary western music is commonly framed in terms of the superiority of western forms, composers and markets to which indigenous and traditional forms are elevated. Fusion is an attempt to render a 'different' musical culture as not so different, as a 'familiar other'.

Australian multiculturalism of the 1980s and '90s similarly embraced the fusion tenet when, in order to procure funds from government arts bodies, artists were encouraged to develop their art within contemporary western forms rather than within a traditional 'monocultural' framework. However, Gunew (1994: 6) warns of superficial versions of cross-cultural art which plunder surface characteristics for fashionable imprints of the exotic. Her warning provides a point of departure for discussion of the ethics of musical appropriation and domination (see Feld 1988; 1994b) in contrast to a more organic process of musical hybridsation and empowerment.

An example of disempowering appropriation was experienced by the author regarding the invitation to contribute to a compact disc recording project featuring a compilation of original Greek-Australian compositions. After submitting the necessary curriculum vitae paperwork and demonstration tape along with several other participants, and once for funds were secured from the Commonwealth government arts funding body, the Australia Council, the author was informed by the first-time 'producer' that he would choose the items to be recorded, select the musicians, direct rehearsals and the recording, make final decisions regarding the editing and mixing, and above all, require that synthesised sounds be included on the recording to make it more contemporary. In view of this producer, the electronic popular music 'synthesis' obtained by using a synthesizer deemed the original composition contemporary, novel, experimental, sophisticated etc. As I could not agree to such conditions, I was excluded from the project. In this example the construction of Greek-Australian composition was prescribed by a producer according to a fusion model at the expense of the personal and artistic integrity of the composer.

Despite the continual negotiation for decision-making power and ownership of product which musicians encounter in their music-making activities, infinite possibilities for learning, dialogue and expression are available in such a heterogeneous and communication-oriented society. The 'world music' symbolic-ideological narrative as defined in this study thus also functions as an empowering ideology of individuality, musical variation, cross-cultural understanding and pan-human tolerance.

In Chapter 3 it was noted that constructions of *rebetika* as exotic by Greek writers attempted to accommodate the problematic ethnic, ethical and social class nature of Greek popular music. It was also noted that constructions of *rebetika* as 'soul music' and 'roots music' partly reconciled these associations by offering the possibility of an empowering music-making tradition. In the Australian context these two ideological streams converge in the 'world music' narrative. One is derived from a discourse of Australian multicultural identity in which multicultural constructions of migrant culture serve as the 'familiar other' in constructions of Australian nationhood. The other has emerged from the commercial world music industry and constitutes music as an exotic aesthetic object with commercial potential.

Of the three symbolic-ideological narratives identified in the study, the 'world music' narrative is the one closest in significance to the local and contemporary development of *rebetika* music-making in Adelaide. It embodies the tensions between cultural difference and national unity, cultural tolerance and cross-cultural communication, the exotic and the familiar, the local and the global. 'World music' as an icon of global pan-humanism accommodates the depoliticisation of cultural life, the disappearance of socio-historical origins, hard-core competititon in the market place, national agendas for unity, and the licence to appropriate the musical languages of living musical traditions in the name of fusion. As an icon of pan-humanism, the 'world music' narrative also offers a panacea for musicians whose music is labelled 'ethnic', 'multicultural' or 'world music' and who strive to maintain a sense of artistic integrity deeply rooted in old traditions.

Together with the 'soul' and 'roots' symbolic-ideological narratives (see Chapters 1 and 3), the contemporary 'world music' symbolic-ideological narrative provides the backdrop for an interpretation of the meaning and significance of *rebetika* music-making in Adelaide. Part 2 now turns to the *rebetika* music-making community and scene in Adelaide.

Part 2 The *Rebetika* Music-Making Scene in Adelaide: Contexts and Music

Part 2 presents information and data concerning the contemporary *rebetika* music-making scene in Adelaide to enable the interpretation of live *rebetika* music-making in Adelaide in Part 3. Firstly, an account of the migration and settlement patterns of Greek-Australians and their earliest music-making activities provides the broad socio-historical setting of the Greek-Australian community in Adelaide. Part 2 proceeds to document the various contextual factors of contemporary *rebetika* music-making activities in Adelaide: events, venues, organisers and audiences. Special attention is given to the life, interests and activities of the music-makers—the bearers and developers of the *rebetika* music-making tradition. The *rebetika* music repertoires and programs of these musicians are then examined with a view to understanding the occurrence and incidence of *rebetika* in live music performances in Adelaide. An analysis of the salient musical features of a selected *rebetika* music sample of twenty-eight songs and instrumental pieces performed and recorded live in Adelaide between 1980 and 1993 completes Part 2.

Chapter 5 A Historical Perspective of the Greek-Australian Community and its Music

5.1 Introduction

Greek people have always emigrated to *xenitia*, the "foreign land", and founded expatriate Greek communities. In ancient times they were known as city-states. In modern times they are called *paroikies*. Greek expatriate *paroikies* have provided a 'home away from home' by a nurturing a sense of place and identity. This chapter explores the salient features of the Greek-Australian community as a social group with certain shared common experiences. It highlights the ways in which Greek-Australians have created a community to provide for their economic, social and cultural needs. Discussion draws upon studies of the migration and settlement patterns of Greek-Australians which hold true for all parts of Australia, including Adelaide. This chapter also presents an outline of Greek music-making activities since the early part of this century. It will reveal the role of the *paroikia* in Greek music-making activities in Adelaide.

The chapter first explores the reasons for migration and the processes of settlement; employment; community collaboration; host society reception; and social integration. This information contextualises the role of the Greek-Australian community in nurturing the music-making activities of Greek-Australians, such as those found in Adelaide. The chapter then traces the earliest music-making and entertainment activities of Greek-Australians in Adelaide, in order to identify the first appearance of *rebetika* in the repertoires of local musicians. This historical account of the Greek-Australian community and its music-making activities provides a foundation for the interpretation of contemporary *rebetika* music-making in Adelaide by highlighting those socio-historical circumstances which are peculiar to its occurrence in Australia. This should explain the ways in which *rebetika* music-making has adapted to the social circumstances of the Greek-Australian community and the wider Australian society.

The discussion largely draws upon the research of Tsounis (1971) which maps out the historical development of Greek social institutions in Australia and of Bottomley (1979) which examines the individual-centred networks of Australian-born Greeks living in Sydney. Together, these studies provide valuable information about the nature of the Greek-Australian community and of Greek-Australian cultural identification. Such information will provide a backdrop for understanding the ways in which identity is constructed through *rebetika* music-making activities in Adelaide and, in turn, the ways in which *rebetika* music-making has contributed to the shaping of Greek-Australian identity.

5.2 A History of Migration and Settlement Patterns

Greek mass migration is largely a twentieth century phenomenon. Changes in the global economy such as rapid urbanisation and industrialisation attracted as many as 400,000 Greek-speaking people to migrate to the United States by 1922, after which restrictions were imposed on all immigrants (Tsounis 1993: 25-26). Greek people left their regions of origin largely to pursue better employment opportunities in developing countries. Apart from dire economic conditions in Greece, Greek people were also forced to emigrate because of the social devastation caused by a succession of wars, political manoeuvres and persecutions. These included the Balkan Wars of 1912-13, the Graeco-Turkish War of 1919-22 with its associated Asia Minor Catastrophe, the Second World War, the Greek Civil War of 1945-1949, the *junta* dictatorship of 1967-1971, and the 1974 invasion of Cyprus by Turkey. These wars internally divided the country and compelled Greek people to seek a more peaceful and prosperous life abroad as migrants, refugees and political exiles. Thus, the reasons for initial emigration of Greek people have been largely economic and political.

Australia was established as a penal colony and pastoral economy in 1788. From the outset British convicts provided forced labour for the Australian pastoral industry (Castles et al. 1988: 18-19). Further reception of immigrants has largely been for economic and political reasons. Chinese, Germans, Italians, South Pacific Islanders and others provided a labour force in rural areas, especially during the gold rushes. The earliest Greek immigrants to Australia were seven pirate convicts of the British government who arrived in 1829 (Gilchrist in Tsounis 1993: 32). Other immigrants during the nineteenth century included sailors who jumped ship in Australian ports. Most Greeks arrived in Australia as a result of chain migration, the process whereby Greek immigrants settled, found employment, and then sponsored relatives and friends from the same regions of origin (Price in Tsounis 1971: 35; 347-352). Up to Australian

Federation in 1901, the Australian Bureau of Statistics Census had recorded as few as 878 Greek residents in Australia (Tsounis 1993: 26). At that time Australia was a relatively homogeneous society, and became even more so from 1901 when the Immigration Restriction Act enforced a 'white Australia' policy which prevented non-Europeans, in particular Asians, from immigrating into Australia. In fear of an 'Asian invasion', immigration policy aimed to increase the Australian population in case of war. Racism and exclusion were imposed upon the indigenous Australian Aboriginal population whose society and lifestyle were systematically decimated.

By the First World War, the population of Greeks in Australia[1] was still no more than 3,000. Most of them initially came from Asia Minor and the Greek islands, especially from Kythera, Ithaka and Kastellorizo. By 1940, the total Greek-Australian population was about 15,000. A small number of Greek immigrants undertook rural work such as scrub clearing, market gardening, seasonal fruit picking and processing, sugar-cane farming, cotton picking and fishing (Tsounis 1971: 120-122). Some settled in Port Pirie and Port Augusta of South Australian and in Broken Hill of New South Wales to work in the mines and smelters (Tsounis 1971: 57). However, most Greek immigrants tended to settle in towns, metropolitan and inner city centres because of their propensity for self-employment in the catering and food trades, especially as shopkeepers.[2]

The effects of chain migration, economic independence and dense residence in cities were favourable to the development of in-group interaction and community formations. Tsounis (1971: 25; 36-37; 1993: 25) regards the history of Greek communities in Australia as commencing at the 'third' stage' of chain migration when Greek immigrants had settled, found employment, begun to raise families, and established personal and family security. It was then that Greek people regrouped and consolidated themselves in communities which were large and affluent enough to begin to institutionalise their social organisations.

The pioneering social formations of Greek-Australian immigrants were pan-Hellenic organisations. From as early as 1897 and up to 1940, the Greek Orthodox Community was the most important pan-Hellenic institution which provided the backbone of the Greek-Australian diaspora as a subculture (Tsounis 1971: 276; 284-285; 381; 496-498).[3] Tsounis (1971: 496) observed that "If the 'Church was the natural mother and protector of Greek people abroad', the [Greek Orthodox] Community was the microcosmos of the Greek nation state in Australia."

The institution of the Greek Orthodox Community consisted of a democratically elected Council which employed priests and other officers to manage and administer the Greek Orthodox Churches. Churches were among the first institutions established by Greek Orthodox Communities. They conducted religious sacraments in the Greek language; sanctioned the life cycle rituals of birth, baptism, betrothal, name-days, marriage and death; and presided over important religious and national-political events such as Easter, Christmas and March 25th Independence Day (Tsounis 1971: 498-501). The chanting of ecclesiastical Byzantine hymns in Greek Orthodox churches by priests and sometimes the congregation was an important part of religious life.

The Greek Orthodox Community also managed Greek language schools, halls, offices, sports teams, women's and youth group auxiliaries, artistic troupes, radio programs and publications as well as providing daily welfare and social services for individuals in need. These pan-Hellenic organisations always maintained close contact with Greece by commemorating important religious, political and national events. In short, Greek Orthodox Communities functioned as centres of religious, national, political, social, cultural and artistic collaboration. They "embodied most of the pan-Hellenic traditions and encompassed all Greeks including the atheist and the communist" (Tsounis 1971: 496). The activities of Greek Orthodox Communities, especially the commemorations, celebrations and religious rites, always generated Greek music-making.

The regional fraternity, *adelfotita*, "brotherhood", was the other most important pioneering social organisation of Greek-Australian immigrants. Regional fraternities united families and compatriots from

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[1] This estimation of the population of Greeks in Australia includes Australian-born and those of mixed marriages.

[2] The 1933 Australian Bureau of Statistics Census records 43% of the Greek work force in the category of 'employers' or 'self-employed', yet there were also 33% of the Greek population unemployed and 6% part-time employed at this time (Tsounis 1971: 203).

[3] Some of the first pan-Hellenic institutions established in Australia were the Greek Orthodox Community of Melbourne and Victoria in Melbourne (c. 1897), the Greek Orthodox Community of NSW in Sydney (c. 1898), the Hellenic Society of Queensland in Brisbane (1913), the Greek Orthodox Community of Queensland in Brisbane (1924), the Greek Orthodox Community of Innisfail (1934), the Hellenic Union (1918) and Greek Orthodox Community of WA in Perth (1923), the Greek Orthodox Community of Port Pirie (1924), the Hellenic Association of SA "Concord" (1924), and the Greek Orthodox Community of SA in Adelaide (1930) (Tsounis 1971: 37; 64-73; 533-571).100

the same region of origin, such as a village, island, prefecture or town. The earliest fraternity was the Kastellorizian Brotherhood of WA established in 1912 in Perth by Greeks from the island of Kastellorizo (Tsounis 1971: 72; 560).[4] Greek regional fraternities proliferated and diversified to 230 around Australia by 1970, representing Greek people from all of the mainland and island regions of Greece, Asia Minor, Cyprus and Egypt (Tsounis 1971: 381). These social organisations were also integral to economic, social and cultural life by providing a point of collaboration and support. Regional identification continues to be important for Greek people and is observed in the regular social-dances held by regional fraternities and in preferences for music from their particular regions of origin. People from Anatolian Asia Minor, Cyprus and the Aegean islands often show an interest in early styles of *rebetika* music with which their particular regional musical styles have much in common.[5]

Before the Second World War, the Greek-Australian expatriate *paroikia* was a relatively cohesive and homogeneous community. Through pan-Hellenic institutions and regional fraternities, Greek-Australians cultivated distinctive in-group identification with a common *ethnos*, "shared culture", of *ellinikotita*, "hellenicity" or "Greekness" and maintained ongoing contact with the homeland (Tsounis 1971: 115; Bottomley 1992: 4, 7).

The *paroikia*, however, did not exist in isolation of the wider Australian society. The research of both Tsounis and Bottomley indicates that Greek *paroikies* were established partly in response to the social conditions of the wider Australian society. Tsounis (1971: 489ff) observes that the Greek *parioikia* assisted and supported Greek people to establish themselves socially and culturally as well as economically and politically, thereby providing them with a solid base for their material and social existence. Concurrently, as Greek people established themselves economically within Australian society, they tended to engage more actively in Greek community institutions and activities (Tsounis 1971: 489ff; and Bottomley 1979: 73). In this way, the social organisations and formations of the Greek-Australian community have significantly facilitated the integration of Greek immigrants into Australian society.

Moreover, Greek community cohesion was essential in the face of a sometimes alienating, xenophobic and hostile 'white Australia' social environment in which non-English speaking background minority groups were both socially persecuted for their ethnicity and structurally excluded from mainstream institutions. The government insisted that all 'new-arrivals' assimilate to the mainstream institutions of society, yet the reality was that ethnic minorities were excluded, marginalised and often made scapegoats for economic problems. Ethnic conflict peaked in riots waged against European immigrants of non-British descent during the 1930s depression (Tsounis 1971: 123-130; 206-208). It appeared that competition for employment and resources were at the crux of social and 'ethnic' conflict in Australia.

Political and class issues began to fragment the Greek community from the depression years. Members of Greek-Australian pan-Hellenic institutions polarised around political agendas. The conservative *ethnikophrones*, "nationalists", became more concerned with the national-religious ethos of the pioneer pan-Hellenic institutions. Newly formed democratic and radical left organisations such as the Greek Atlas League in Sydney and the Greek Workers League Democritos in Melbourne in the 1930s (Tsounis 1971: 562; 565) agitated around Greek and wider Australian social, cultural and political issues.[6] These included the democratisation of Greek Orthodox Communities,[7] immigrant citizenship rights; unemployment; racism; and political freedom in Greece (Tsounis 1971: 235-257; 281; 312-331).

After 1945, the Australian government undertook a mass immigration program to increase the overall population of Australia, allegedly in fear of an Asian invasion, but in reality to provide a labour force for the burgeoning manufacturing and public works industries (Castles et al. 1988: 9). With this demand for labour, the largest influx of Greeks occurred after 1945. At this time the Australian Commonwealth government assisted the migration of non-British by subsidising their travel fares in return for a two year contract to work wherever directed. Between 1953 and 1966, 28% of the total number of Greek immigrants were assisted by the government (Tsounis 1971: 352). The remainder of Greek

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[4] Other pioneering regional fraternities included the Ithacan Philanthropic Society 'Ulysses' in VIC in 1916 (Tsounis 1971: 553) and the Kytherian Association of Australia of NSW in 1922 (Tsounis 1971: 544).

[5] At the same time, preferences for later styles of *rebetika* cut across regional identification since Greek people from country areas eventually settled in Athens, Piraeus, Thessalonika and other urban centres of mainland Greece and were inevitably exposed to this music.

[6] See Kourbetis (1992) for a history of the Greek left in Australia between 1915 and 1955.

[7] See Tsounis (1971; 1990; 1993: 29-30; 1994:18-19) for a discussion of the polarisation of the Greek community during the schism within the Greek Orthodox Church.

immigrants continued to settle in Australia through chain migration. Between 1945 and 1970, about 300,000 Greeks arrived in Australia from all parts of Greece as well as Cyprus, Egypt, Turkey and communist countries. Although migration to western countries by Greek people tended to be permanent, statistics show that large numbers of Greeks, as many as 22% in 1973 found conditions in Australia difficult and returned to Greece (Price 1973:15).

Large numbers of Greek immigrants entered factories as manual labourers (Tsounis 1971: 301-302) despite the fact that many were of rural agrarian backgrounds. However, Greek immigrants continued to prefer independent forms of livelihood (Tsounis 1971: 360).[8] By the 1960s, Greek people were more or less economically integrated into Australian society and mostly, approximately 90%, living in Australia's capital cities (Tsounis 1971: 200; 353). Also by the 1970s, some Greek people had begun to enjoy a degree of upward social mobility, completing training and tertiary education. The 1991 Census records that the majority of Greece-born people, approximately 60%, work as manual labourers, trades-persons and machine operators and drivers (Bureau of Immigration and Population Research 1994: 24-25). Approximately 18% of Greece-born people work in clerical, salespersons and service sectors, while 16% are represented in managerial and professional employment (Bureau of Immigration and Population Research 1994: 24-25). Among second generation Australian-born Greeks, the census statistics record a high number, 37%, with educational or occupational qualifications (Bureau of Immigration and Population Research 1994: 42-43). The trend in upward social mobility has continued throughout the 1990s.

Greek immigrants undertook long hours of hard work and were rewarded with a relatively comfortable standard of living. The extent of the economic success of Greek immigrants is evident in the Adelaide community which, by 1970, was an almost self-sufficient quasi-economic base subculture. Tsounis (1971: 514-515) cites, as an example, the vibrant community life of the Hindley Street neighbourhood in the north-west end of the Adelaide city centre with its Greek grocers, tailors, doctors, *cafés*, tourist agencies and gift shops. Significantly for this study, the Hindley Street area continued to be a hive of Greek music-making activity in *cafenia*, "coffee houses", restaurants, taverns, nightclubs and multicultural cabarets between the 1970s and early 90s.

Despite the strong forces of cohesion uniting Greek-Australian communities, as the Greek-Australian population increased, it also fragmented into numerous and diverse social organisations. Regional fraternities fragmented and multiplied. New Greek Orthodox Communities and Churches were established with the addition of women and youth auxiliaries. Pan-Hellenic institutions such as coffee-houses, Greek language newspapers, sports teams, consular authorities,[9] and arts and cultural organisations were formed and increased in number (Tsounis 1971: 366-406). Progressive Greek organisations joined forces with non-Greek groups and mobilised around local contemporary issues concerning democratic participation in Australian society. These included multiculturalism, anti-racism, and welfare services for socially disadvantaged groups.

The 1986 Census recorded 137,611 Greek people born in Greece and living in Australia. In 1991, the number of Greece-born decreased to 136,028 while the Census also recorded 151,082 second generation Greek-Australians (Bureau of Immigration and Population Research 1994: 6; 40). Thus, the total number of people of Greek background officially living in Australia in the early 1990s was 287,110. Because the 1991 Census, like past census figures, focuses on Greece-born immigrants, one is unable to obtain a clear picture of the size of Greek-Australian community. A more generous estimate, for example, records 337,000 people of Greek ancestry including Greek people born in Egypt, Asia Minor, Cyprus and Eastern European countries (Tsounis 1993: 26). Whatever the precise figure, Greek people are the second largest non-English speaking immigrant group in Australia after the Italians. In the local region of the Adelaide city, the 1991 Census (Bureau of Immigration and Population Research 1994: 7) recorded that 13,593 Greek people, 10% of the total Greece-born population, live in South Australia. A more generous estimate which includes Australian-born Greeks records 28,700, with the vast majority, 26,000, living in the city of Adelaide (Tsounis 1995 pers. com.).

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[8] The Australian Bureau of Statistics Census records fifty-five percent of the Greek workforce in the category of 'employers' or 'self-employed' in 1947, and thirty-six point three percent in 1954, still a relatively high number considering the mass entry of Greeks into the industrial sector (Tsounis 1971: 295; 357).

[9] Although appointed by the Greek government, the consular authorities are considered as part of the Greek-Australian community.

In summary, we have seen how Greek migration involved a pattern of initial disruption of social life in the homeland, dispersion to a new homeland such as Australia, resettlement, regrouping and consolidation, followed by diversification and fragmentation of Greek-Australian social institutions. It has become evident in this chapter that the *paroikia,* "Greek community", underwent continual transformation in the Australian context as it was shaped and defined by its members in interaction with the wider society. Today, the Greek community is a heterogeneous formation. Greek-Australians have diverse regional origins, occupations, wealth, political interests, institutional affiliations, cultural identifications and lifestyles. Yet Greek-specific social institutions and cultural collaborations persist. The diversity of Greek community affiliations reflects both the heterogeneous composition of the Greek population, and, as Tsounis (1993: 30) points out, the democratic structure of Greek social institutions. Most Greek-Australian institutions have always encouraged an active participation by members, and with their fluid segmentary-like structure, they have accommodated changing collaborative formations.[10] As members of a socially disadvantaged group within a monolingual and largely monocultural society, Greek people responded to wider social pressures and issues in the 1970s by uniting in pursuit of common economic, political, social and cultural interests. In these ways, the social organisations of Greek people assisted immigrants to achieve their aspirations for a better standard of living and democratic participation in Australian society. Greek community institutions played an integral role in this process by functioning as an arena for the development of Greek diaspora identity and by assisting Greek people in the successful integration into Australian society. The diversity of Greek-specific social affiliations demonstrates that Greek people exercise choices as agents of self- and community-identification. The persistence of Greek-specific social and cultural affiliations also demonstrates that Greek-Australians continue to positively identify with a sense of Greekness.

Having identified the salient features of the Greek-Australian community, its historical development in Australian, and its social organisations, it is now appropriate to consider a history of its music-making activities. This will provide a context for the detailed documentation of contemporary *rebetika* music-making activities in Adelaide.

5.3 A History of Greek Music-Making Activities

Greek-Australians have always organised, patronised and actively participated in the performing arts, especially music and theatre. This is evident in documentation of Greek-Australian cultural and artistic associations as early as 1915 with the Greek Music Lover's Society in Sydney, and 1916 with the Greek Amateur and Philanthropic Society Orpheus in Melbourne, both of which were dedicated to music, theatre and other arts activities (Kentavros 1916: 113 in Tsounis 1971: 67, 565). Other pioneering cultural associations included the Music Lover's Society of Brisbane established in 1923 (Tsounis 1971: 74) and the Orpheus cultural society of Perth established in 1939-1940 which produced plays and music concerts (Tsounis 1971: 265). From as early as 1924, the annual Grecian Ball was institutionalised in Sydney as a charity event and featured the social *debut* of Greek youth performing both traditional *dimotika* Greek dances and European ballroom dances. In Adelaide, the history of the Grecian Ball began in 1952. The Melbourne Greek community similarly organised social-dances and concerts from the earliest times (Tsounis 1971: 97-98), all of which indicate that whereever Greek people gathered, their activities were invariably accompanied by music-making and dancing.

Alongside these secular music associations, Greek Orthodox Churches were established where priests conducted religious sacraments accompanied by the chanting of sacred Byzantine hymns. Especially on major religious occasions such as Easter, congregations participated in the communal singing of the hymns. Participation in Byzantine ecclesiastical music by the congregation framed the reception of Greek music by Greek people in particular ways. Firstly, it reinforced music, particularly singing, as a integral part of daily life, albeit within a solemn religious context. Secondly, it prepared Greek people for the reception of a unique style of music, the fluid Byzantine hymns based on *ichoi* or modes which share much with the modal systems of *rebetika*, Turkish and Arabic-Persian music. Thirdly, collective singing during church services reinforced an ethos of active participation in Greek music-making.

It appears that Greek immigrants also patronised performing artists visiting from the homeland. As early as 1922, the *Ethniki Salpinx,* "National Bugle", newspaper (in Tsounis 1971: 113) reported the visit

[10] See Herzfeld (1987: 154ff) regarding segmentary processes.

of a vaudeville troupe of actors and musicians from Greece. The troupe stayed in Australia for almost a year, touring Melbourne, Sydney and Brisbane and performing plays and concert items.

Music patronage by Greek-Australians included the purchase of Greek records which were advertised in the weekly newspaper *Hellenic Herald*, now the *Greek Herald*, from as early as November 1926. Most private celebrations were accompanied by the latest sound recordings from Greece. Greek-language newspapers also provided an important outlet for the advertisement of Greek music performances by local and international musicians.

Regarding the instrumentation of Australia's earliest Greek music-making activities, the first book published about Greeks of Australia, *Life in Australia*, by Kentavros (1916 in Tsounis 1971) contains photographs of Greek immigrants taken before the Second World War which show musicians playing mandolin, violin and guitar.[11] Oral histories (M.P. Tsounis and M. Tsounis 1991 pers. com.) confirm that these instruments, together with the piano, were the most prevalent forms of instrumental accompaniment at Greek music-making events in Adelaide between the 1930s and 1960s. Nevertheless, some musicians in Adelaide played traditional instruments associated with their particular regions of origin, such as the clarinet, *santouri*, hammer dulcimer, and *lyra*, the underhand bowed fiddle (see Tsounis n.d.:7).[12] Moreover, there was apparently a lively Greek music-making scene at private parties and occasional Greek *choroesperides*, "evening dances", organised by groups such as the Return Serviceman's League, the Rhodian and Castellorizian fraternities (M.P. Tsounis and M. Tsounis 1991 pers. com.). The most popular types of music performed at these gatherings were instrumental music to accompany collective dancing. It was not uncommon, however, for dancers and patrons to sing along to the music if they knew the lyrics. Music genres performed at these gatherings included Greek ballroom dance music known as *evropaïka*, "European songs", *dimotika* folk songs such as "*Mantili Kalamatiano*", "Scarf of the *Kalamatianos* Dance", *nisiotika* island dance music, Ionian Island and Athenian *kantades* serenade music, traditional urban songs from Asia Minor,[13] and western classical ballroom dance music. Of the traditional Greek dances, the open circle *kalamatianos* and *syrtos*, and the *chasaposervikos* and *sousta* line dances, were popular. Popular songs played in Adelaide in the 1950s include "The Waistcoat Which You Are Wearing",[14] "How Beautiful You Are When You Cry",[15] and "I Play Poker, I Play Pinochle"[16] (M.P. Tsounis and M. Tsounis 1991 pers. com.). A concert performance by the visiting Greek singer and composer Nikos Gounaris held in Adelaide in 1957 (*Neos Kosmos* 1957) confirms that the *dimotika* and *elafra* love songs were popular among Greek people in Australia.

It appeared that the *rebetika* music genre required significant forms of exposure in Adelaide by high profile performers, concerts and movies before being accepted whole-heartedly by Greek-Australian audiences. Nonetheless, grass-roots level exposure to *rebetika* must have occurred, as is evident in the account of one informant (B. Saltis 1995 pers. com.) who recalled a sense of intrigue at his first exposure to *rebetika*. It happened in the late 1940s in a Greek coffee shop on Hindley Street known as the Greek Club, where he witnessed an inebriated Greek sailor, whose ship had docked at Port Adelaide, dancing a solo *zeïbekikos* to the accompaniment of a *rebetika* song playing on the gramophone.

By the 1960s, there was substantial cause for Greek musicians in Adelaide to form bands and play regularly at life cycle celebrations and Greek community events. The activities of pan-Hellenic and regional organisations were at their peak and required music to accompany their celebrations, commemorations and festivities. Bands such as the Pharaohs, Athens, Pentagrammo and Panos featured vocals, accordion, organ, saxophone, clarinet, bass and lead guitar and drum kit. It was not unusual for Greek musicians to collaborate with musicians of non-Greek background, such as Maltese, Spanish and Italian. The repertoire of these bands continued to centre on the *evropaïka* ballroom dance music (tango,

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[11] See also Tsounis (n.d.:7).

[12] Some of these musicians who played in the 1940's and 50's were Max Morris (Stratos Moraitis) who played western classical violin, Loula Galatis who played piano, Rose Taliangis-Gatoudis who played piano, Pantelis Psaltis who played violin, Mary Psaltis-Tsounis who played violin, Dimitrios Kalambournis who played clarinet and bassoon, Fantinos 'Roditis' who played violin, Sarris who played *lyra*, Peter Kalinikos who played violin, and Vasilis Mouhalos who played *santouri* (M.P. Tsounis and M. Tsounis 1991 pers. com.).

[13] Such songs were later incorporated into the *rebetika* genre.

[14] "*To Gilekaki Pou Foreis*". Composed by Spyros Ollandezos and Giorgos Theodoridis (*Rebetika Gia Panta No. 2*, L.P. Record. Fontana 9290 103, 1976. Side A, band 5.). Kounadis (1996: 90) documents the song "*To Gelekaki*" as a compostion for Athenian Revue recorded by Columbia (number DG 236) between 1930 and 1940.

[15] "*Ti Omorfi Pou Eisai Otan Klais*". Composed by Stelios Chrisinis and Ch. Kolokotronis (Schorelis 1987D: 269, 275).

[16] "*Pezo Poka, Pezo Pinochli*". Composed by D. Zakas [this information is unclear] and sung by George Katsaros on an early Victor recording in the United States (Spottswood 1990: 1179).

cha cha cha, samba, rumba), or '60/40' as it was known, with no more than two brackets of traditional Greek dance music per event (Capetanakis 1988 pers. com.).

It was not until the 1960s that Adelaide Greeks began to be exposed to *rebetika* and *laïka* genres of Greek urban music in significant way. The social stigma surrounding the genres and the *bouzouki* family of instruments was finally lifted following the arrival of acclaimed recordings of virtuoso *bouzouki*-players such as Giorgios Zambetas and Manolis Chiotis and of the music soundtracks to Greek films like *Zorba The Greek* and *Never On A Sunday*. The visit to Adelaide in the early 1960s and concert performance by the renowned Greek singer and master exponent of *rebetika*, *laïka* and *entechna*, Stelios Kazantzidis, must have further generated interest amongst Greek-Australians for *bouzouki* music. His concert was held in a packed Centennial Hall, Goodwood Road, Adelaide and featured a five-six member ensemble including *bouzoukia* and guitars (M. Tsounis 1995 pers. com.). The program contained all of the *rebetika* and *laïka* recorded hits of the 1950s including "*Zingouala*", "*To Telefteo Vradi Mou*", "My Last Night", and "*Kakourga Koinonia*", "Criminal Society".

By the 1970s, several musicians were playing Greek *laïka* on the *bouzouki* in Greek restaurants and taverns. These included Nick Sabaziotis, Anestos, Lefteris Darzanos and Christakis Kypraios. The Miltiadis brothers and the Giannopoulos brothers had added *bouzouki* to their instrumentation, largely to perform the 'lighter' contemporary *elafra* and *entechna*, "art-popular songs". They played in small ensembles, usually trios with *bouzouki* and guitars, at restaurants such as Charlie Browns which were frequented by Anglo-Australian tourists and Greek students (N. Arabatsis 1992 pers. com.). Other bands such as Panorama and Poseidon drew upon western popular music genres like blues, rock 'n' roll and rock to appeal to a new Australian-born generation. A third type of Greek band performed at restaurants such as Omonia, the Illiad and Salona, conforming to a Greek nightclub scene by playing *rebetika* and *laïka* hits from Athens for the more urbanised FOB 'fresh-off-the-boat' Greek immigrants.

From the earliest remembered and documented times, Greek ecclesiastical hymns, demotic folk songs and ballroom dance music were present in the music-making activities of Greek-Australians in Adelaide. By the 1950s, Greek urban music was entering the local repertoires. The 1980s was a decade in which bands began to diversify their repertoires in order to appeal to a wider group of patrons at a variety of music-making events. In this process they performed *rebetika* songs and instrumental pieces according to the circumstances of the event. By the 1990s, a broad range of urban music including *rebetika*, *laïka*, *elafra* and *entechna*, had become established in local repertoires with the *bouzouki* instrument prominent. It will be seen that the 1990s are marked by increasing differentiation and specialisation of Greek music-making at all levels—repertoire, programs, musicians, events, organisers, audiences.

Greek-Australian *paroikies* provided a hearth for Greek music-making and dancing activities. In the following chapter, the details of the lively Greek *rebetika* music-making community in Adelaide between 1980 and 1993 are documented and analysed. Attention is given to *rebetika* music-making venues, the types of events which feature *rebetika* music, and the participants.

Chapter 6 Contemporary *Rebetika* Music-Making Events in Adelaide

6.1 Introduction

Music is an integral and ever-present part of Greek social gatherings. As one musician (Gardounis pers. com. 1992) put it, "music-making is compulsory at Greek tribal corroborees ... I mean, have you been to one where there's no music?" In this study, the 'music event' is treated as a special recreational or leisure time event distinguished from everyday working life. Greek terms for the music-making event—*giorti*, "celebration"; *glendi*, "festivity"; *panigyri*, "festival"; *diaskedasi*, "entertainment" or "recreation"—additionally distinguish it from everyday working life. Greek music-making activities are identified by their close integration with other celebratory activities: dancing, singing, talking, socialising, eating, drinking and speech-making. While the focus of this study is 'music', one cannot conceptually separate nor ignore the presence of several inter-related celebratory practices, especially those of dance. Above all, they are marked by intense pleasurable engrossment. Greek people speak about music-making events in terms of 'forgetting one's problems', 'letting go', 'having a good time', and 'having a good laugh'. Cowan (1990) in her study of dance practices in northern Greece, similarly speaks of the 'dance-event' as a "temporally, spatially, and conceptually 'bounded' sphere of action"[1] during which "individuals publicly present themselves in and through celebratory practices—eating, drinking, singing, and talking as well as dancing—and are evaluated by others" (Cowan 1990: 4). The 'public' nature of music-making is integral to the music-making event. Its presence insists on an interpretation of the music-making event as a special non-verbal arena for social interaction and communication.

Rebetika is one type of Greek music among many featured at Greek music-making events in Adelaide. This chapter documents the occurrence of *rebetika* music at 181 music-making events held in Adelaide between 1980 and 1993 (see Appendix 1).[2] All data subsequently discussed and presented in Tables in this chapter derives from *rebetika* music-making activities at these 181 events.

The '*rebetika* music event' is defined as a music performance in which *rebetika* music is performed live. The degree to which *rebetika* is central to the Greek music-making event varies from event to event. At some events, *rebetika* holds centre stage. At others, numerous celebratory activities including dancing, socialising and other types of music, cluster around *rebetika* music. At yet other events, *rebetika* music plays a subsidiary role as a background to dining. As such, the *rebetika* music event may contain one *rebetika* item (song or instrumental piece) in a twenty minute performance; fifteen items in a 45-minute bracket of music; or as many as forty-five items throughout the duration of an entire music program.

Analysis of the data sample indicates that *rebetika* occured at five main types of music-making events, with a sixth 'miscellaneous' category accounting for irregularly occurring events (see Table 6.1).

Table 6.1 Types of *Rebetika* Music-Making Events

Event Type	
1	social-dance
2	restaurant
3	life cycle celebration
4	festival
5	concert
6	miscellaneous

Each type of *rebetika* music-making event comprised a nexus of contextual factors such as venue, organiser, patrons and response, musicians, music program and performance. In the remainder of this

[1] Stone (1992: 2; 127) describes the music-making event of the Kpelle of Liberia as a 'bounded sphere of action in which "music sound ... [is] part of an integrally related cluster of dance, speech, and kinesic-proxemic behaviour".

[2] This data documents performances of Greek music of twenty minutes or more in duration. Not included in this study though informed by them are the many private parties, rehearsals, workshops, seminars, radio interviews and live to air broadcasts which have featured *rebetika* music during this period (1980-1993).

chapter, the occurrence of *rebetika* music-making in Adelaide is contextualised according to the venues where *rebetika* were performed, the types of events within which *rebetika* were performed, the types of organisers of these events, the musicians who played *rebetika* music and the patron and audience response to these events. Subsequent chapters discuss musicians (Chapter 7), analyse music repertoires and programs (Chapter 8), *rebetika* items (Chapter 9) and performances (Chapters 10-14) in more detail.

6.2 Venues

The Greek saying "*opou gis kai patris*", meaning, "wherever there is land, there is a fatherland/homeland", holds true metaphorically speaking when we consider how Greek people construct spaces for music-making in almost any type of location. It will become apparent that celebration, music-making and dancing are formative processes during which people inscribe into public or private spaces a sense of belonging and an identity for themselves. For the finite duration of the music event, the venue space is transformed into a meaningful *topos*, "place", "country", "native land", where identity is constructed, experienced and celebrated.

There were numerous and diverse venues and locations where *rebetika* music-making events occurred in Adelaide. Practical requirements such as hire cost and size influence the choice of venue. For example, restaurants usually cater for no more than 100 patrons while weddings may be attended by as many as 400 guests. The prestige associated with certain venues also influences the choice of venue. Concerts held in the Convention Centre and social-dances held in the Hilton Hotel invariably attract a full house. In addition, the design requirements of the event also influence the choice of venue.

Table 6.2 shows the different types of venues where *rebetika* music-make events in the sample took place.

Table 6.2 The Incidence of *Rebetika* Music-Making Events: Venue Type

Venue Type			**Total No.**
Restaurant			**74**
	restaurant	45	
	reception centre	14	
	hotel-reception centre	9	
	restaurant-winery	6	
Community Hall			**36**
Arts Centre			**24**
Out-Door Public			**13**
Educational Institution			**9**
Hotel			**8**
	hotel	5	
	bar	3	
Concert Hall			**4**
Shopping Centre			**4**
Sports Clubrooms			**4**
Private House			**3**
Government Institution			**2**
Total No. of Venues			**181**

The majority of *rebetika* music-making events documented in Adelaide between 1980 and 1993 occurred at the broad category of restaurant (74 of 181, approximately 41% of the sample). This indicates that restaurants, while not music-focussed *per se*, were integral to the occurrence of *rebetika* in Adelaide where dining was a central activity. A significant number of venues for *rebetika* music-making events were community halls (36 of 181, approximately 20% of the sample), many of which were owned by ethnic communities and Greek regional fraternities. Arts centres, (24 of 181, approximately 13% of the sample) provided another important venue for *rebetika* music-making events in Adelaide. The Multicultural

Artworkers Committee Centre and the Adelaide Festival Centre[3] featured significantly. *Rebetika* music-making events occurred in almost any venue, including outdoor public venues such as ovals and parks (13 of 181, approximately 7% of the sample).[4] Some *rebetika* music venues were located outside metropolitan Adelaide such as the Clare Valley restaurant-wineries in the Adelaide Hills, the Renmark and Goolwa town ovals and Hotel Mount Gambier.

To some extent there was a correspondence between the type of venue and the type of event. Social-dances and life cycle celebrations were commonly held in community halls and reception centres. Many community halls were either Greek owned or belonging to other ethnic communities (eg. Slav, Estonian, Latvian, Italian, Lebanese, Slav-Macedonian, Irish, Bulgarian).

They all have in common a large dining area with tables and chairs to seat as many as 400 patrons; a large dance floor in the centre of the hall specially constructed with wooden floorboards or symbolically constructed by the arrangement of tables and seating; an elevated stage for musicians and the public address system; and a kitchen with catering facilities (stoves, refrigerators etc.).

Restaurants differed from venues for social-dances and life cycle celebrations in that space was confined and mostly occupied by customers. Musicians and dancers were allotted a small corner so as not to interfere with the activities of waiters and diners. However, if the need arose, tables and chairs were pushed aside to accommodate dancing.

Outdoor open-air venues such as ovals, parks and the foreshore of beaches provided settings for festivals. They were characterised by numerous stalls, marquees, and a larger central stage and dance floor area. Some *rebetika* music-making events were part of festivals held in mainstream arts centres such as the Adelaide Festival Centre.

Concerts were often held in theatres with auditoriums where audience seating was tiered and focussed onto the elevated stage area for performers. A dance floor space was notably absent from the concert venue yet enthusiastic patrons have been observed to dance in the aisles of a concert hall during a Greek music-making event.

In the miscellaneous category of event types, shopping centres, the fresh food market, an olive grove and private homes were documented. The miscellaneous category indicates that *rebetika* music-making took place at almost any type of venue.

6.3 The *Rebetika* Music-Making Event

Similarly, there appears to be no limit to the types of events which feature *rebetika* music-making. Table 6.3 provides a summary of the incidence of *rebetika* music-making at specific types of events in Adelaide between 1980 and 1993:

[3] The Adelaide Festival Centre is the most prestigious mainstream arts centre in Adelaide. *Rebetika* have yet to be performed in the main indoors venues of the Festival Playhouse or the Festival Space.

[4] There are four more outdoor venues if one considers the Adelaide Festival Centre outdoor venues (Foyer and Amphitheatre) featured in event numbers 104, 105, 109 and 159 (see Appendix 1). For the purpose of this study, however, these venues are categorised as 'arts centre'.

Table 6.3 The Incidence of *Rebetika* Music-Making Events: Event Type

Event Type		Sub-total	Total	% of Total
Social-Dance			**54**	30%
	social-dance	49		
	club	3		
	disco-dance	2		
Restaurant			**52**	29%
	restaurant	48		
	dinner	4		
Life Cycle Celebration			**32**	18%
	wedding	26		
	baptism	3		
	birthday	2		
	engagement	1		
Festival			**22**	12%
		22		
Concert			**12**	6%
		12		
Miscellaneous			**9**	5%
	market/shopping centre	4		
	book launch	1		
	meeting	1		
	party	1		
	picnic	1		
	pub	1		
Total No. of Events			**181**	

The characteristic features of the six types of *rebetika* music-making events are now examined more closely.

6.3.1 Social-Dance

Rebetika music occurred most frequently at social-dances (54 of 181, 30% of the total sample). The term 'social-dance' denotes a public community event organised by voluntary members of a social or civic association such as a Greek community organisation, a Greek regional fraternity, a sports association or an arts organisation. Greek people call the social-dance a *choroesperida*, "evening-dance", or simply a *choro*, "dance". Both terms highlight the important role of dancing at such events. Food and alcohol consumption, talking and socialising also featured prominently. The social-dance was held on numerous occasions: to commemorate the annual gathering of an organisation; to provide entertainment for a conference; to celebrate an annual event such as Christmas or the New Year; to raise funds with auctions and lottery raffles for an organisation or charity; or to celebrate a particular music group or music genre.

The 'club' was a category of social-dance which typically featured western popular music alternated with live Greek music. Like the hybrid disco-dance which featured a live band alternating with a disc jockey, the club catered for alcohol rather than food consumption. Apart from these features, the club and disco-dance functioned in ways similar to the social-dance where spontaneous and collective Greek dancing was a central activity.

6.3.2 Restaurant

The 'restaurant' event type comprised the second most frequent incidence of *rebetika* music-making in the sample (52 of 181; 29%). It included restaurant-wineries, reception centres and hotel-reception centres where formal dining took place as the central activity. At the restaurant event, live music occured as background music, a floorshow spectacle, and/or as musical accompaniment to spontaneous collective

dancing. The restaurant differed from other types of music events in that it was usually held at a permanent food catering venue. The exception to this was the hiring of a hall for a formal dinner (event no.75). The entrepreneurial nature of the restaurant also distinguishes it from other event types.

6.3.3 Life Cycle Celebration

The third most frequent event type where *rebetika* music occurred was the private 'life cycle celebration' (32 of 181; 18%). The life cycle celebration is a rite of passage such as an engagement, wedding, baptism or birthday. It was characteristically organised as a 'private' event for extended kin, friends and work colleagues. Of all life cycle celebrations, the wedding reception occurred most frequently. It was often the most extravagant of all music-making events, sometimes costing up to $20,000. Together with a series of wedding formalities, music-making and spontaneous collective dancing were central to wedding receptions.

6.3.4 Festival

The 'festival' is the fourth category of event which features *rebetika* music-making (22 of 181; 12%). The festival was commonly an event where various arts and entertainment activities, especially music-making, occurred simultaneously in different venues over a period of one or more days. These venues were located indoors and/or outdoors at an oval or park.[5]

6.3.5 Concert

The 'concert' category is the fifth *rebetika* event type featured in the sample (12 of 181; 6%). It is a distinct music performance event advertised as such where seating is arranged in an auditorium in front of a stage area and where music is passively received.[6] Concerts require a great amount of organisation, resources and publicity. While concert-like performances of *rebetika* music often occurred during floorshow brackets at social-dances, these have not been included in the concert category but rather, are documented with the abbreviation "B" as brackets of *rebetika* music (see Appendix 1) at social-dances.

6.3.6 Miscellaneous

Finally, the 'miscellaneous' category accounted for irregularly occurring *rebetika* music-making events at shopping centres, fresh food markets, a meeting, a book launch, a party, a picnic and an Australian hotel known as a 'pub'. In the sample, there were nine miscellaneous events (of 181, 5% of the total sample).

Having established the incidence of the types of events which featured *rebetika* music-making in Adelaide between 1980 and 1993, it is now appropriate to examine the contextual factors concerning their organisation.

6.4 Organisers and Organisations

A diverse range of organisers and organisations were responsible for holding *rebetika* music-making events. They have been categorised according to the 'ethnicity of organiser' and 'type of organisation'. Table 6.4.1 presents a summary of the incidence of *rebetika* music-making events according to the ethnicity of organiser and type of organisation.

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[5] Cafe Musica events (nos. 90 and 91) of the Multicultural Artworkers Committee, while offically publicised as Fringe Festival activities, have not been included in the category of 'festival' because they were organised by the Multicultural Artworkers Committee.

[6] The *rebetika* concert (event no.1) has been categorised as a 'concert' despite its listing as a Fringe Festival event because it was organised and advertised as a concert and performed in a concert hall.

Table 6.4.1 The Incidence of *Rebetika* Music-Making Events: Ethnicity of Organiser and Type of Organisation

Ethnicity of Organiser	Type of Organisation			Total		% of Total	
	Community	Entrepreneurial	Private				
Greek	47	8	18	**73**		40.5%	
Non-Greek	27	44	2	**73**		40.5%	
Multicultural	22	-	-	**22**	**35**	12%	19%
Mixed Greek & Non-Greek	-	-	13	**13**		7%	
Total	**96**	**52**	**33**	**181**			
% of Total	53%	29%	18%				

The category of type of organisations is divided into three broad types: 'community', 'entrepreneurial' and 'private'. The category of 'community' organiser is a wide category which includes those organisations and institutions whose activities are oriented towards the general public community (arts, community, educational, government, political, regional fraternities, religious, sports). Many of these community organisations are sustained by the voluntary efforts of dedicated members. In contrast, the category of 'entrepreneurial' organiser is primarily oriented towards private business and profit (restaurants, shopping centres, markets). The third category of 'private' organiser accounts for individuals who organise private events which are attended by personal invitation. In this sample most of these were life cycle celebrations.

The ethnicity of organisers is divided into four groups: Greek, non-Greek, multicultural, and mixed Greek and non-Greek. The term 'Greek' refers to people born in Greece and Greek-speaking places, or of Greek ancestry. The multicultural category specifies organisations with formal multicultural constitutions, policies and programs. Their activities support people from non-English speaking backgrounds and promote their equal participation in mainstream Australian society. The mixed Greek and non-Greek category of organisers accounts for inter-ethnic engagements and weddings.

The predominant ethnicity of organisers of *rebetika* music-making events was shared equally between Greek (73 of 181) and non-Greek (73 of 181), each comprising two-fifths of the sample (40.5%).[7] The multicultural category of organisers accounts for a significant portion of the sample, approximately one-tenth (22 of 181; 12%). When combined with the mixed Greek and non-Greek life cycle celebrations (13 of 181; 7%), the two figures together comprise approximately one-fifth of the sample (35 of 181; 19%) and reflect a significant trend in Australia towards the cross-cultural collaboration of people from different ethnic backgrounds. The combined figures of non-Greek organisers (73), multicultural organisers (22) comprises approximately 52% of the total sample (95 of 181), indicating that *rebetika* music-making events significantly take place outside of the Greek community. These are striking statistics when one considers the commonly held stereotype that Greek culture is bound within a closed Greek community, and that migrants of non-English speaking background generally maintain closed ghetto-like communities and refuse to interact with the wider public. On the contrary, this data sample indicates that *rebetika* music-making events occur equally in the wider community.

[7] The Greek composition of organisers is perhaps slightly higher when one considers the fact that Greek people as employees of multicultural and mainstream Australian bodies have largely been responsible for the engagement of Greek music at their events. For example, numerous Greek members of the Multicultural Artworkers Committee of S.A. were active in the organisation of Greek music-making events.

Table 6.4.2 below presents the incidence of *rebetika* music-making event types with relation to the ethnicity of organisers and type of organisations.

Table 6.4.2 The Incidence of *Rebetika* Music-Making Events: Ethnicity of Organiser, Type of Organisation and Event Type.

Ethnicity of Organiser	Type of Organisation	Event Type						Sub-Total	Total
		Social Dance	Restaurant	Life Cycle	Festival	Concert	Miscellaneous		
Greek									**47**
	Community								
	Regional Fraternity	11				1	1	13	
	Arts	5	1		4	2		12	
	Community	5			2	1		8	
	Educational	5				2		7	
	Sports	4						4	
	Political	2						2	
	Religious	1						1	
	Entrepreneurial								**8**
	Restaurant		8					8	
	Private								**18**
	Private			18				18	
		33	**9**	**18**	**6**	**6**	**1**	**73**	
Non-Greek									**27**
	Community								
	Arts	3			11	1	1	16	
	Political	3	1					4	
	Community	1	1		1			3	
	Government		1		1			2	
	Educational					1		1	
	Sports	1						1	
	Entrepreneurial								**44**
	Restaurant		40					40	
	Retail/Trade						4	4	
	Private								**2**
	Private			1		1		2	
		8	**43**	**1**	**13**	**3**	**5**	**73**	
Multicultural									**22**
	Community								
	Arts	12			3	3	2	20	
	Educational	1						1	
	Government						1	1	
		13			**3**	**3**	**3**	**22**	
Mixed Greek & Non-Greek									**13**
	Private								
	Private			13				13	
				13				**13**	
Total No. of Events		**54**	**52**	**32**	**22**	**12**	**9**	**181**	**181**

In reviewing the information presented in both Tables 6.4.1 and 6.4.2 regarding the incidence of types of events, ethnicity of organisers and type of organisation, we may identify certain salient features. One notes the important role that 'community' organisations played as the hosting bodies of *rebetika*. These were responsible for the organisation of approximately half of the sample (96 of 181; 53%; see Table 6.4.1). Greek organisations comprised the largest group of 'community' organisers (47 of 96 events), with regional fraternities featuring significantly (13) (e.g. Kastorian, Ikarian, Greeks of Egypt and Middle East Society), then arts organisations (e.g.Hellenic Music Association of SA) followed by pan-

Hellenic community organisations (8) (e.g. the Greek Orthodox Community of SA, Pan-Hellenic Youth of SA[8]). Greek educational organisations were also important (7), especially the Flinders University Greek Association (FUGA) which continues to organise Greek arts and cultural activities. Despite the years of settlement, for some as many as sixty, it is interesting to note the resilience and continued activity of some of the oldest Greek-Australian regional and pan-Hellenic community organisations.

Not surprisingly, the arts sub-category was an importrant type of organisation in the 'community' category. It included Greek (12), non-Greek (16) and especially multicultural organisations (20), providing for a total of 48 events. Arts organisations were largely responsible for the organisation of social dances, festivals and concerts. The majority of festivals were organised by multicultural arts institutions (13 of 22 events) such as the Adelaide Festival of Arts and the Focus Fringe Festival. Twelve music-specific institutions are responsible for the organisation of *rebetika* music-making events (see Appendix 1), a factor which points to the gradual specialisation of music and music organisations in Adelaide.

The second largest category of organisers was that of the restaurant entrepreneur which comprised almost one-third of the sample (52 of 181, 29%). The majority of restaurants in the sample were owned or managed by non-Greek people (40 of 52). The Ayers House Restaurants, a heritage restaurant venue complex once the residence of a nineteenth century South Australian premier, comprised the major portion of this category. Also included was Nanyetta's Gypsy Taverna, a restaurant owned and managed by Australian-Romani people. For some years Nanyetta's has maintained a weekly multicultural music program with a flamenco music focus. Greek restaurants such as Zorba's Restaurant were also present in the entrepreneurial category. The significant incidence of restaurants in the sample indicates both the competitive marketablility of *rebetika* and a trend in Greek music-making activities towards performance at non-Greek-organised events. The occurrence of *rebetika* music at Westfield Shopping Centre and the Central Market, categorised as miscellaneous entrepreneurial events, is also a reflection of the increasing marketability of 'multicultural' music. 'Good' business in Australia has become culturally inclusive business.

The third category of type of organisation comprised 'private' individual organisers of mostly life cycle celebrations: baptisms, engagements, birthday parties and especially weddings.[9] The category of private organisers comprised almost one fifth of the sample (33 of 181 events; 18 %), reinforcing the importance of kin-oriented activities of the Greek community observed in Chapter 4. The majority of private life cycle celebrations were organised by Greek people (18 of 32 events). An additional thirteen celebrated inter-ethnic Greek weddings (nine Greek/Australian marriages, two Greek/Italian, one Greek/Polish and one Greek/Yugoslav), indicating once again the importance of cross-cultural interaction. The popularity of life cycle celebrations by Greek people

The information presented above demonstrates that a concerted effort goes into organising *rebetika* music-making events. It also indicates there is an ethnic mix and wide range of organisations which host *rebetika* music in Adelaide. Furthermore, it demonstrates a parity in the incidence of Greek and non-Greek organisers of *rebetika* music-making events. Several prominent features of *rebetika* music-making events in Adelaide between 1980 and 1993 have been identified. Firstly, it was noted that they were largely hosted by community-oriented organisations of all ethnic categories; mostly non-Greek restaurant entrepreneurs; and Greek and non-Greek individuals. It is evident that Greek community organisations and multicultural arts institutions featured prominently in the organisation of social-dances, while non-Greek organisations were responsible for the majority of festivals. The sample demonstrates a startling collaborative and cross-cultural organisational practice in the Greek music-making scene of Adelaide. In addition, the statistics also highlight the specialisation of arts and music activities by Greek, non-Greek (mainstream) and multicultural bodies.

Having considered the organisational features of *rebetika* music-making events, it is now appropriate to turn to the key personnel of *rebetika* music-making activities, namely, the musicians.

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[8] Throughout the 1980s, the Pan-Hellenic Youth of SA (EPNNA) harnessed youth involvement in community development largely through the performing arts (theatre and music).

[9] The exception to this was the organisation of a private soirée home concert (event no.179).

6.5 Musicians

The following general discussion provides information about the size and nature of the community of musicians who performed at *rebetika* music-making events.[10] Musicians from Greek and non-Greek background come together to perform *rebetika*. There were 107 musicians documented as performing at *rebetika* music-making events in Adelaide between 1980 and 1993 (see Appendix 1).

The vast majority are Greek musicians who collaborate together in ensembles or *syngrotimata*, "bands", with a long-term commitment. Musicians also collaborate in temporary bands which are formed together under the leadership and instigation of certain individuals or organisations such as the HMASA for the sake of a one-off performance. Table 6.5 documents three types of engagement of musicians at *rebetika* music-making events in Adelaide between 1980 and 1993. They are 'bands', 'individual leaders' or 'organisations':

Table 6.5 Musicians Engaged to Perform at *Rebetika* Music-Making Events

Musicians		No. of Occurrences	Total
Band			**167**
1	Laiki Kompania	49	
2	Themelia	38	
3	Gypsy Trio	37	
4	Aman	22	
5	Meraki	8	
6	Odyssey	5	
7	Fantasia	3	
8	Zeus	2	
9	Charama	1	
10	Exodus	1	
11	Iparcho	1	
Individual Leader			**15**
1	Nick Arabatsis	3	
2	Peter Tsounis	2	
3	Jolanta Piekarz	2	
4	George & Tassos Capetanakis	2	
5	Demeter Tsounis	2	
6	Stratos Pikramenos	1	
7	Peter Antoniou	1	
8	John Kourbelis	1	
9	Dimo Alexiou	1	
Organisation			**5**
	Hellenic Music Association of SA	5	
Total No. of Engagements			**187**[11]

At the vast majority of *rebetika* music-making events (167 of 181), musicians performed as members of 'bands'. Eleven bands were identified in the sample.[12] Nine individual musicians (one a sibling pair) were identified as 'leaders' or central figures in the temporary formation of music groups for the purpose of one-off performances, some of which were for the performance of entire programs of *rebetika* music.[13] The one 'organisation' responsible for the provision of Greek musicians, the Hellenic Music Association of SA, had a membership of as many as sixty musicians during its active period

[10] More detail about musicians is provided in Chapter 7.

[11] The total number of engagements of musicians in the form of bands, individual leaders and organisations documented in Table 6.5 is 187 because on occasion, several bands performed at the same event.

[12] The *rebetika* music-making of the first six bands listed is documented and discussed in more detail in subsequent chapters.

[13] See event nos. 1, 110, 158 and 176 in Appendix 1.

between 1980 and 1990. At four of the five events organised by and featuring HMASA musicians, *rebetika* were performed as entire brackets of music.[14]

In summary, the statistics show that there was a large and active pool of musicians in Adelaide who performed *rebetika* (and other types of Greek) music.[15] Long-term collaborations in the form of ensembles and bands (167) provided the most common outfit for musicians. The prevalence of long-term collaborations in the form of bands and esembles also indicates that the services of musicians are regularly required, especially for social-dances, restaurants and life cycle celebrations. The temporary collaborations of musicians for one-off events (15) and the activities of the HMASA (5) which pooled the services of a large body of musicians also contributed to the performance of *rebetika* music as a special genre.[16] Above all, the collaborations and active engagement of musicians in *rebetika* music-making testify to a highly dedicated, organised and music-loving community.

6.6 Patron and Audience Reception

It is now appropriate to consider the features of the third group of social actors integral to *rebetika* music-making events in Adelaide—the patrons and audiences—in order to gain an overview of the nature of participation in and reception of *rebetika* music.

The level of attendance at *rebetika* music-making events varied according to many contextual factors. One of these concerns the type of event. Life cycle celebrations and social-dances were generally patronised with full attendance. At life cycle celebrations, guests comprised personally invited family and friends. Family and compatriots naturally tended to patronise their own social-dances. Concerts, on the other hand, often required additional publicity for a full-house which generally comprised a less intimately associated audience. Because of their specialised presentation of music, concerts often attracted both the networks of musicians and a music-loving or 'Greek culture'-loving niche. Restaurants attracted customers with expendable cash who could afford to wine and dine out. By comparison, the attendance of festivals was less certain, sometimes depending on contingencies such as weather or the drawcard of an 'international act' of musicians from Greece. As arts and cultural events, their audiences tended to be heterogeneous.

The type of reception and response to Greek music, a topic discussed in more detail in Chapters 10-14, was also partly influenced by the event type in combination with ethnicity and type of organisers. For example, Greek-organised social dances, life cycle celebrations and concerts attracted mostly Greek patrons. An ethnic mix was observed at inter-ethnic marriages, where guests naturally comprised the relatives and friends of the married couple. The wedding sample therefore included Anglo-Celtic Australians, Italian-Australians, Yugoslav-Australians and Polish-Australians. Some Greek-organised events such as festivals were marketed to a wide public and therefore attracted large numbers of non-Greek people as well as patrons of all ages. Regular non-Greek patrons were observed at the Glendi and Dimitria Festivals, for example, where their idiosyncratic dancing style with beer-can in one hand has become an annual feature on the main dance floor. Multicultural events specifically involved organisers, performers, audiences of mixed ethnic backgrounds, while non-Greek organised events may or may not have appealed to an ethnically diverse audience. For example, the customers of the Ayers House Restaurants, a non-Greek managed venue, were consistently ethnically mixed. Apart from Greek-organised concerts, social-dances and weddings, the overall majority of audiences at *rebetika* music-making events consisted of people of both Greek and non-Greek ethnic backgrounds.

Age differences were also observed at *rebetika* music-making events. For example, Greek-Australian youth in the age bracket from eighteen to thirty years were largely absent from Greek social-

[14] The activities of the HMASA have been largely replaced by the S.A. Council for the Greek Cultural Month of March, a cultural institution funded by the Greek Embassy and the Greek Government Ministry for Greeks Abroad.

[15] Approximately fifty to sixty musicians (ten to twelve bands) are actively engaged in any one year.

[16] The documentation of musicians who performed at *rebetika* music-making events also reflects the parameters of the author's fieldwork and personal participation as a musician in many of the above groups. For example, the author is documented as appearing on 134 occassions as a musician in Themelia, Laiki Kompania, Aman, Gypsy Trio, Meraki, HMASA and others). Other musicians who collaborated with the author are similarly featured in high numbers. They are Steve Papadopoulos (68 times, musician in Laiki Kompania, Gypsy Trio), Peter Tsounis (58 times, musician in Laiki Kompania, Aman) and Dimo Alexiou (51 times, musician in Meraki, Aman, Themelia, Fantasia).

dances and concerts. There were, however, exceptions to the generalisation. Recently this age group was specifically the target for social-dances which presented non-standard music programs such as western popular music forms, or for concerts where commentary and narration were conducted in English. Also noticeable was the high participation of Greek youth in amateur Greek dance troupes at *rebetika* music-making events.[17] In contrast, there was an age mix present at festivals and most life cycle celebrations which are family and peer-oriented gatherings.

Two broad types of reception were observed at *rebetika* music-making events in Adelaide. One consisted of a non-active reception in which patrons were seated, watched and listened. In the other type of reception, patrons actively participated in socialising and spontaneous collective Greek dancing. Participation in spontaneous collective Greek dancing occured at two-thirds of the sample (120 of 181), indicating that Greek dancing is a significant component of *rebetika* music-making events. Participation in Greek dancing took two forms. One consisted of the collective and uniform execution of a commonly shared line or open circle dance form with the leader occasionally improvising steps. The other consisted of unattached solo improvisatory dancing.

Greek dancing almost always occurred at social-dances, life cycle celebrations and Greek restaurants. In some cases it occurred at festivals, especially if attended by Greek people. Greek dancing also occurred at most of the events organised by multicultural bodies, and at some of the miscellaneous event types. For example, there was spontaneous Greek dancing at the Multicultural Artworkers Committee's Annual General Meeting and Christmas Party where both Greek and non-Greek attendants spontaneously participated. Only one-third of the sample, including most concerts[18] and some non-Greek restaurants, did not feature spontaneous Greek dancing.[19] In addition to spontaneous dancing, five events featured choreographed Greek dance floorshows by amateur Greek dance groups. Other events featured non-Greek dancing, such as break dance, belly-dance, flamenco, Torres Strait Islander and Yugoslav dance floorshows. Far from functioning as a substitute for spontaneous dancing, dance floorshows by amateur groups invariably inspired the subsequent spontaneous participation in Greek dancing at a*rebetika* music-making events.

The presence of Greek people in the audience was a general prerequisite for the occurrence of Greek dancing, yet while Greek people often initiated Greek dancing, non-Greek people invariably took part. The enthusiasm to learn and participate in Greek dancing by non-Greek attendants was observed as another catalyst for Greek dancing. Types of participation in Greek dancing varied from the mechanical execution of dance steps and patterns, to a vigorous and excited engagement, to the free and engrossed improvisation within dance forms. Beginners usually attached themselves to the end of lines to learn the patterns of dance steps. It is not uncommon, though, to observe non-Greeks participating and even leading lines with great competency, demonstrating their previous training in amateur dance groups and enculturation into Greek culture among friends

One can conclude that the occurrence of Greek dancing was an integral part of the *rebetika* music-making event. In addition, a disposition towards spontaneous Greek dancing existed on the basis of event type and the presence of Greek people. However, the sample also indicates that when there is a will there is a way, and the enthusiasm of non-Greek people to learn and participate often transformed concerts, restaurants and festivals into music-making events where Greek dancing became an integral component.

Having considered the overall nature of the Greek music-making scene in Adelaide with relation to the incidence of *rebetika* music-making events, it is now appropriate to turn to the protagonists of these events, the music-makers.

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[17] The Adelaide Greek community has a lively amateur Greek dance culture. For example, the GOCSA teaches approximately eighty young people Greek dancing. Many other Greek community organisations including regional fraternities manage their own dance troupes. There are also professional Greek dancers in Adelaide who perform at festivals, social-dances and restaurants.

[18] Concerts do not usually feature Greek dancing. The exception to this was at a "Soiree" concert held at a private house for non-Greek people on 28 August 1993. Members of the audience requested to learn some Greek dances, so chairs were pushed aside and a small dance floor area made available accomodating no more than eight people. One of the musicians lead a line of enthusiastic learners, teaching them two line dances while the remaining three musicians played songs featuring Greek dance rhythms.

[19] Exceptions to this occur at the Ayers House Restaurants where patrons were either Greek or requested ballroom dance music, and at Nanyetta's Gypsy Taverna where musicians' friends of Greek background came specifically to listen to and dance to live Greek music.

Chapter 7 The Music-Makers

7.1 Introduction

The music-makers are the 'protagonists' of the Greek music-making scene in Adelaide. Without their particular efforts, *rebetika* music would not be performed. As dedicated bearers and developers of a Greek music-making tradition, an understanding of musicians, their backgrounds and activities is therefore central to the study of *rebetika* in Adelaide. This chapter commences with a profile of musicians as a social group, then identifies their musical education including their first exposure to Greek music and to *rebetika* music in particular. It then proceeds to a discussion of the collaboration and employment of musicians in bands, their involvement in organisations and other music-related activities. Finally, it considers notions of musicianship, competence and talent with a view to outlining a performance ethos in practice.

7.2 Social Profile

Musicians who play *rebetika* and other types of Greek music belong to a heterogeneous group. Of the 107 musicians documented in the study,[1] the majority are male. Twenty-six female musicians are documented, approximately one-quarter of the sample (24%), yet only ten continue to perform publicly. Nonetheless women have a significant presence in a largely male-dominated Adelaide music-making scene as singers, instrumentalists and decision-makers.

The majority of musicians in the study are Greek-Australians born in Australia, i.e. 'second' or 'third generation migrants', with parents or grandparents who were born overseas and migrated to Australia between the 1950s and 1970s. The regional origins of musicians' parents and grandparents are represented by most Greek-speaking homelands, namely Asia Minor, Pontus, Cyprus, the Greek mainland, especially Macedonia and the Peloponnese, the Aegean and Ionian Islands, Crete and Egypt. A dozen Greek-Australian musicians not born in Australia were either born in Greece, Cyprus, Egypt or England. Also present in the sample are eight musicians of non-Greek background who performed from time to time at *rebetika* music-making events in the bands Themelia, Aman, Meraki or the Gypsy Trio. These musicians were of mixed Ango-Celtic and European background. They collaborated with these groups because of their acquaintance with Greek-Australian musicians and their interest in Greek music. Thus this study focuses on the second and third generation Greek musicians born in Australia who have played *rebetika* in their repertoires at some time or other, and especially those who perform *rebetika* as a special music genre.[2]

Musicians in this study tend to undergo a similar personal musical development. Many begin playing musical instruments in their adolescent years and by their late teens, are performing at the gatherings of family and friends. If their interest continues, they often form bands and perform publicly, continuing on into their middle age with varied intensity and dedication depending on the circumstances of life.

Another heterogeneous factor in the social profile of local musicians is their occupational and class background. A common experience of musicians is that their parents work as manual labourers, tradepersons or as self-employed small business owners. Musicians themselves carry on the management of small businesses or with education and training, become professionals (hairdressers, doctors, architects, computer programmers, scientists, teachers). Of necessity, most musicians work at day jobs in non-music related occupations, even if they have a residency a couple of nights a week at a restaurant or nightclub. For the majority, Greek music-making is an enjoyable yet serious 'hobby', a semi-professional activity which engages musicians approximately once or twice a week for rehearsal and once or twice a month for gigs. For this activity musicians are remunerated with a fee they call 'pocket-money'. One musician (Gardounis 1992 pers. com.) commented that playing Greek music in a band was an expensive hobby

[1] See Chapter 6, section 6.5.

[2] There are at least another dozen veteran musicians in the forties to sixties age range not documented in this study who were born in Greece or Cyprus and are first generation migrants. These musicians continue to play a variety of Greek music, including *rebetika* and *laika* in nightclubs, or traditional *dimotika* at social-dances and weddings.

because of the financial outlay for instruments, lessons, amplification equipment, transport, attire etc. Another musician (Papadopoulos 1992 pers. com.) who dreamed of giving up his day-time job to become a full-time musician believed that a professional musician is one who practises his instrument(s) daily and makes a living out of performing.[3] The notion of professionalism is understood in pragmatic terms as the ability to work at music 'full-time' or to make a living from music, rather than in the quality of musicianship. Less than half a dozen musicians in Adelaide work full-time in music and manage to make a living from music alone. They work as music teachers, sound engineers and/or performers.

On the other side of the equation, there are musicians documented in the study who played music as amateurs, receiving little or no remuneration at all for their activities. This was the case with Themelia whose many changing members over the years entered the group as beginners, learned to sing and play Greek music for the first time and since leaving Themelia, no longer practise or perform music. For them singing and playing music was a hobby.

7.3 Exposure to Greek Music

The family and Greek community are an important locus for nurturing the musical education of *rebetika* musicians. Musicians unanimously state that their introduction to Greek music occurred during their adolescent years when they were exposed to the music-making and dancing activities of their parents, grandparents, siblings, relatives and friends. Some remember hearing their grandparents singing traditional *demotika* songs, nursery rhymes, *kantades*, "serenades", or *amanedes*, vocal improvisations, informally at home. Others had parents or relatives who played musical instruments such as the clarinet, mandolin or violin. Many witnessed their parents having a good time and dancing to traditional *demotika* Greek circle and line dances or *evropaïka* western ballroom dances performed live by Greek musicians at local weddings and social-dances. Musicians recall the excitement and merriment generated at these Greek social gatherings as their first inspiration for Greek music: "... just seeing the way people reacted to the music ... it really appealed to me, it was a part of me, an extension of me..." (Dalagiorgios 1988b pers. com.). At the impressionable age of adolescence, the experience of observing one's family and friends pleasurably engrossed in collective music-making and dancing activities must have been awe-inspiring. One of the most memorable images was the transformation of one's elderly parents into agile and fun-loving celebrants. The Greek music-making event openly sanctioned empassioned emotional and physical engagement. In these descriptions, musicians link the emotionally-charged celebratory atmosphere to things peculiarly 'Greek'.

The music most immediately associated with Greek celebrations is Greek demotic 'folk' music with its open-circle dance forms for spontaneous collective dancing. This music was played live at social gatherings or on phonograms.[4] Musicians (N. and P. Arabatsis 1992 pers. com.) note a certain derisive attitutude towards the Greek demotic music by 'elitist' patrons who regard it as backward *choriatiki*, "village-like". Yet since the 1970s as Greek familes began to make the 'pilgrimage' back to their regions of origin in Greece to reunite with their families, musicians have begun to develop a special affinity with the demotic culture and music of their families' region of origin. Australian-born Greeks now visit Greece to 'get in touch with their roots'. The frequency and intensity of music-making in Greece always leaves a mark on Greek-Australian visitors. The recent inclusion of regional dance forms such as the Ikarian dance in musicians' repertoires indicates a local revival of interest in Greek regional culture (D. Tsounis 1986: 138-9).

Not all exposure to Greek culture was initially positive for musicians, as indicated above. For some, the pressure from parents to preserve a Greek identity which in the Australian social environment up until the 1970s was condemned as 'woggish', was enough to repel youth from their parents and anything to do with Greek regional village culture. In these cases, musicians listened mostly to western popular music and slowly warmed to Greek music in their adult years after hearing live performances and jamming with friends and peers.

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[3] This musician recently (February 1997) retired from his job of fifteen years and now resides in Greece. He now works there as a full-time musician.

[4] See Chapter 5, section 5.3.

Influenced by the musical tastes of family and friends who purchased and listened to commercial recordings imported from Greece, musicians were initially largely exposed to the music dating from the 1950s onwards—*laïka*, *elafra* and *entechna*. This music included famous singers, *bouzouki*-players and composers at the time such Kazantzidis, Angelopoulos, Mitropanos, Bithikotsis, Giota Lydia, Marinella, Parios, Vissi, Dalaras, Alexiou, Chiotis, Zambetas, Kokotas, Tsitsanis, Vamvakaris, Theodorakis, Chatzidakis, Xarchakos, Poulopoulos and Pythagoras. Musicians explain their parents musical tastes by arguing that the *laïka* songs of the 1950s and 60s contained lyrics which best expressed the feelings of migrants experiencing *xenitia*, "migration", separation and hardship. It was the music that offered a sense of *parigoria*, "consolation". The *laïka* and *entechna* were also musics which drew upon *dimotika* and *rebetika* dance forms and therefore had instant dance appeal. It was "music that was *chtipito*,[5] dancing, lively, get up and go sort of thing" (Odontiadis 1992 pers. com.). Undoubtedly the most important music that influenced local musicians was the soundtrack to the feature film *Zorba The Greek*, composed by the *entechno* composer Mikis Theodorakis (Theodorakis 1964). Throughout the 1970s and 80s the slow *chasapikos* and accelerating *chasaposervikos* instrumental piece called "Zorba's Dance" was almost compulsory for every band at every Greek music-making event.

Commercially successful hits from Greece have always been available in Adelaide. They were purchased from Greek general stores such as Pantheon and Lakis on Hindley Street during the 1970s, Gregory's Furniture Electrical on Gouger St and Emporium on Henley Beach Road in the 1970s and 80s, and at Kosmos, Henley Beach Road, in the 1990s. These records were played on radiograms (78 rpms) or record players (45 rpms) and provided a ready form of entertainment for name day and birthday parties in the private homes of family and friends. Greek features films of the 1940s, 50s and 60s also made their way into small cinemas in Adelaide. These were occasions for family outings to view the latest Greek film stars accompanied on screen by the music and actual appearance of the latest Greek singers and *bouzouki*-players.[6] One musician (Arabatsis 1992 pers. com.) recalled receiving his musical 'calling' upon first sight of the *bouzouki* being performed in a Greek film. His father scouted around the city the following day and found someone willing to sell him a *bouzouki* for his son to learn to play.

Of the *rebetika* genre, the music of Tsitsanis, especially the song "*Synnefiasmeni Kyriaki*", and the music of his peers of 'second generation professional *bouzouki*-players', were popular among Adelaide Greek-Australians. So too were the *kantades*-sounding *rebetika* of Markos Vamvakaris with songs such as "*Frankosyriani*" and "*Oloi Rebetes Tou Dounia*". *Rebetika* began to enter the record collections and repertoires of local musicians in a prominent way during the 1970s when record companies began to re-release original recordings of *rebetika* onto long-playing albums. Especially inspiring were the well-produced recordings of *rebetika* songs by popular singers such as Charis Alexiou[7] and Giorgios Dalaras.[8] The influence of the commercial recordings of Dalaras in particular has been astounding. His select choice of repertoire has sanctioned the inclusion of, for example, the *rebetika chasiklidika*, hashish songs, and Latin American-styled songs, in the repertoires of local musicians.[9] Musicians also supplemented their enthusiasm for *rebetika* by reading Gail Holst's (1975) book, *Road To Rembetika*. Its friendly personal tone contextualised *rebetika* in an endearing way. It also offered historical and musical details in English which helped to fill the large gap in knowledge about the genre. During the 1980s and 90s, exposure to *rebetika* has multipled a hundred-fold with the re-release of original recordings from Greece, England and the United States on compact discs and videos. This has provided access to a wide spectrum of styles that comprise the *rebetika* genre.

Young aspiring musicians began to learn their art by watching and listening to other musicians performing live in bands. such as Pentagrammo and Pente Asteria in the late 1960s, Poseidon and Panorama in the 1970s, and Aetos in the early 1980s. Some were intrigued by the traditional clarinet-

[5] The word *chtipito* is translated as "beaten, struck, striking, loud, flashy" (Stavropoulos 1988: 979-910).

[6] Imported Greek films were shown at cinemas in Adelaide approximately once a week during the 1970s and 80s. Greek music, especially *rebetika* and *laïka*, featured in Greek cinema in the 1950s and 60s (see Gauntlett 1985: 135).

[7] *Dodeka Laïka Tragoudia* (Alexiou 1975)

[8] *Peninta Chronia Rebetika* (Dalaras 1975)

[9] This was noticeable with the release of two commercial recordings in particular: *Ta Tragoudia Mou* (Dalaras 1983) which contained hashish songs and *Latin* (Dalaras 1987) which contained Latin American and Latin American-styled songs.

playing in demotic music, others with the charismatic sound of the *bouzouki*, while others were more attracted to the way musicians fused Greek dance music with a modern rock style playing electric lead guitars, bass guitars and drum kits. Western popular music genres such as rock, rock 'n' roll, rhythmn 'n' blues, blues, jazz, soul and funk, and more recently, western classical and other non-western musics, have always been of interest to local musicians. By watching older musicians making music, beginners were able to glean instrumental techniques and musical styles at the same time. They also unconsciously assimilated images and gestural codes of emotional engrossment, celebration, pleasure and expression which become inscribed into music-making practice.

The musical activities of other music groups and organisations in Adelaide during the 1980s further generated an awareness of *rebetika* and *laïka* among the younger generation of musicians. The music ensemble and choir Themelia, in accordance with the spirit of its name *themelia* which means "foundations", practised and performed a broad repertoire of traditional and contemporary genres of Greek music, paying tribute to the rich music and poetry available in Greek musical culture. Themelia always included some items of *rebetika* in its performances at concerts, social-dances and festivals. Both the Hellenic Music Association of South Australia (HMASA) and the Hellenic Youth of South Australia (EPNNA)[10] organised concerts and social-dances which featured a wide selection of *rebetika* and *laïka*. And finally the Greek Orthodox Community of South Australia continues to be active in the organisation of cultural and musical events, including those dedicated to the *laïka*.

Greek radio programs broadcast on 5EBI FM ethnic community radio have also played a role in the promotion of Greek music in Adelaide. During the 1980s, Tassos Capetanakis and others presented a weekly Greek music program titled *Mousikes Epiloges*, "Musical Selections", which provided a showcase of the biographies and music of many of *laïka* composers, writers, singers and musicians (Capetanakis 1988b pers. com.).

The concert tours to Australia and Adelaide throughout the 1970s, 80s and 90s by leading singers, instrumentalists and composers of Greek music have had a major influence on local musicians. They have been noted for their exquisite musicianship, arrangements and performances. These concerts have included performances of *dimotika* and *nisiotika* (Lakis Chalkias, Mariza Koch, Giannis Markopoulos, Domna Samiou, the Argonauts dance troup, the Lyceum of Greek Women, Chronis Aïdonidis), *rebetika* (Stelios Vamvakaris, Giorgios Dalaras, Sotiria Bellou, Glykeria, Giota Lydia), *entechna* (Mikis Theodorakis, Maria Farantouri, Stavros Xarchakos, Manos Chatzidakis), and *neo-laïka* (Mariza Koch, Giannis Glezos, Nikos Papazoglou, Nikos Xidakis, Eleftheria Arvanitaki). From the earliest visits to Australia by Gounaris in the 1950s and Kazantzidis in the early 1960s,[11] musical contact with the motherland has been ongoing.

7.4 Musical Education

Musicians were encouraged by their parents, relatives and peers at high school to take up instrument learning and form bands. They learnt to play the guitar, recorder, mouth organ, mandolin, violin, piano, piano accordion, drum kit and especially the *bouzouki*. The *bouzouki* had appeal both as an instrument for virtuoso display and intense expression. One musician (Gardounis 1992 pers. com.) claimed, "I wasn't going for the songs any more, I was going purely for the flashy pieces that would show off techniques". Many were struck by 'love at first sight' when they first saw and heard the *bouzouki* being played (Arabatsis 1992 pers. com.; Dalagiorgios 1988b pers. com.; Gardounis 1992 pers. com.). For some, learning to play the *bouzouki* appeased the hearts of their fathers or grandfathers (Arabatsis 1992 pers. com.; Odontiadis 1992 pers. com.). For another, it was a trade-off for serious study of the violin (Gardounis 1992 pers. com.).

Musicians employ both informal and formal methods when they learn to play Greek music. The primary learning methods are informal and centre on the oral-aural. Musicians listen to commercial recordings over and over again, mimicking parts and perfecting their mimesis by trial and error. There is an expression in Greek which aptly describes this process: it is, "to go digging around", *skalizeis*, for the melodies, modes and chords until you find the 'correct' or 'right' sound. This is especially so for the Greek

[10] EPNNA also produced theatre plays, festivals and concerts.

[11] Documentation of the concert including the precise date of the concert were not found in Greek newspapers.

modes found in *rebetika* (and *dimotika*) which not only contain unusual chromatic and augmented second intervals, but microtones as well. The significance of learning from commercial recordings cannot be underestimated since they take the place of the 'master' player-teacher in a traditional master-apprentice relationship. For example, *bouzouki*-players devour the recordings of virtuoso *bouzouki*-players such as Zambetas and Chiotis, adding their famous virtuoso pieces to their repertoires. Bass players pursue the latest releases of Greek pop music, adopting the slap technique scanned from contemporary western popular 'funk' music. Musicians study recordings, looking for appealing songs, versions of melodies, special arrangements, instrumental timbres and techniques, and strive to copy them as closely as possible. Some seek the earliest recordings of items while others emulate the latest renditions. The re-issue of multiple recordings of the same song or instrumental piece by different artists and at different times has added to musicians' awareness that there is an enormous and diverse range of performance styles and versions of any one item. The decision to learn a particular version is a deliberate one and involves a consideration of song text, melodic structure, chord progression, modality, tempo, rhythmic articulation, orchestral textures and ornamentation techniques. Sometimes musicians agree to arrange an item based on a number of versions, in effect establishing their own unique and hybrid arrangement.

The unusual and complex nature of the asymmetrical composite Greek rhythms in *rebetika* are another area for study. Competence in Greek rhythms is something which is often taken for granted by musicians, largely because they are exposed to them from a young age. Their participation in collective Greek dancing is probably the most direct method by which local musicians have assimilated these rhythms and feel them as 'natural' (P. Tsounis 1987 pers. com.). However, one musician (Gardounis 1992 pers. com.) did comment on the difficulty he experienced learning the asymmetrical nine-beat *aptalikos zeïbekikos* rhythm which he had to repeat a number of times before he 'got it right'.

Musicians invariably receive positive feedback and reinforcement from parents, relatives and friends throughout their years of learning and playing. This is amplified during informal 'jams' and rehearsals with friends. A relaxed pleasurable and friendly atmosphere prevails throughout most of the musical learning experiences of local musicians. This is when they claim they learn the most. Musicians also spend time listening to and watching other musicians in performance, either on films, documentaries and video recordings produced in Greece, or by observing them playing live in Adelaide.

At some stage instrumentalists take preliminary formal lessons to assist them in basic instrumental technique. This may be for a short period of a few months time or for longer periods of a couple of years. *Bouzouki*-players take formal *bouzouki* lessons from more experienced *bouzouki* players.[12] Some musicians have undertaken instrumental studies and western music courses at private and secondary school institutions. Others have graduated in music at tertiary educational institutions.[13] Vocalists, on the other hand, are usually completely self-taught, rarely taking singing lessons,[14] although some singers have found that learning to play an instrument helps them with their intonation and rhythm.

During formal training, musicians aim to master the technique of their instrument such as strumming and fingering, and to learn basic 'music theory', a term which is usually limited to reading notated music and chord charts in the treble clef and understanding the rudiments of key signatures and time signatures at the most. Some *bouzouki* teachers introduce their students to the *dromous*, the Greek modes, and to *bouzouki* manuals with instructions on the fingerings of scales.

A feature of the learning processes of local musicians is selective listening. Musicians, especially those born in Australia where English quickly takes over as the dominant language of communication, note that they have a tendency to 'tune out' from the Greek lyrics of songs and focus on the music.[15] This kind

[12] Musicians cited Nick Sabaziotis, Anestos, Lefteris Darzanos and Christakis Kypraios as *bouzouki* teachers in Adelaide in the 1970s. *Bouzouki* teachers during the 1980s were John Kourbelis, Michael Demetriou, Sam Gardounis, John Odontiadis, Bill Capsis and Jim Mountzouris.

[13] These musicians documented in this study are John Kourbelis, B.Mus. (guitar); Peter Tsounis, B.Mus. (bass), Demeter Tsounis, B.Mus.Hons. (ethnomusicology); Mary Raptis, B.Mus.Hons. (ethnomusicology); and Jolanta Piekarz, B.Mus. (violin). There are other musicians of Greek background not involved in this study who have also graduated from tertiary music studies (e.g. Tassos Bouyessis, B.Mus. (tenor); Letho Kotsioglou, B.Mus.(composition); and Soultanna Lagos, B.Mus. (soprano).

[14] The exception to this is Johanna Saltis, a member of Themelia and Meraki, who took vocal lessons in western classical music for five years.

[15] One musician (Gardounis 1992 pers. com.) claimed that he could not identify with the lyrics of many Greek songs because they were over-dramatic ('wrist-slashing') in sentiment.

of selective listening indicates a cognitive disjunction between the experience of the Greek language and lyrics, and a perception of the musical structures. A second type of selective listening occurs in perceptions of orchestration when singers tend to tune in to vocal melodies, *bouzouki*-players to *bouzouki* parts, and rhythm-chord instrument-players to harmonies, density and textures of rhythmic accompaniment.

The varied experiences of selective listening also occur at the level of practice and rehearsal. Those musicians with western training are more inclined to dissect and practise minute sections of an item, slowly at first and gradually increasing the speed with each repetition. *Bouzouki*-players and other instrumentalists tend to repeat 'riffs' and entire songs at the right speed until they 'get it right' with clarity of projection. Singers speak of concentrating on the 'feeling of a song' and the message of the lyrics when they rehearse their songs.

Discussion about the occurrence of selective listening and practice indicates that musicians contemplate their music-making activities in a conscious and reflexive way. They articulate varied experiences of knowledge and perception of Greek music, some of these linguistic, others musical, technical or emotional.

7.5 Musical Collaborations and Other Activities

As noted in Chapter 6, bands are the most prevalent form of collaboration for Adelaide musicians of Greek background. In effect these bands have become music entertainment units called upon for the variety of events to provide an afternoon or evening of music. One informant (Sophie Papadopoulos 1992 pers. com.) suggested that bands bear a great responsibility and provide an important service for the Greek community by performing so many types of Greek music "all condensed into one group". As entertainment units, bands have a stage name, a business card, their own public address and amplification equipment, a vehicle for transporting equipment, and a regular venue for rehearsals. Bands also function as a tight social group. Members are often kin-related (siblings, cousins, father-son) and close friends. They bond by socialising together, sharing lifestyle, attitudes, goals as well as music-making activities. For one musician, the band is like a "mini sub-culture", "a champion team" in which everyone "is into the same thing" and the music is "an expression of our sub-group ... our way of playing is valid, it is our self-expression" (Gardounis 1992 pers. com.). Relationships among band members are simultaneously personal, recreational and 'professional'. Above all, music-making in a band is a 'love job'.[16] Perhaps the camaraderie and bonding among members of a band explains the reason why many stay together for over ten years.[17]

Bands are usually engaged to perform by verbal agreement over the phone. A band fee is set while the hours of work, between 7.30 pm and 1.00 am, and the free meal are details usually taken for granted. A successful Greek band works once or twice a week. Most bands play a couple of times a month, having to compete with disc jockeys and visiting interstate and overseas 'star' musicians.

Musicians employed at restaurants or nightclubs differ from bands in substantial ways. They enjoy a residency at a particular venue, sometimes for as long as twenty years in the case of the Christakis Kypraios and Lakis Kalleas *bouzouki*-guitar duo at Zorba's restaurant.[18] Resident musicians of the venue are known by the name of the venue or by their own Christian names rather than by a band name. Unlike the 'mobile' bands, restaurant musicians do not have to transport equipment to different venues every time they play. Also unlike typical Greek bands who by and large perform a pre-set music program, restaurant musicians more readily accommodate patrons' spontaneous requests for songs and dances.

An egalitarian ethos prevails in typical Greek bands of Adelaide. Musicians collectively choose repertoire which is then recorded onto repertoire tapes for each member. Choices of songs must please singers and likewise choices of instrumental pieces must please *bouzouki*-players as lead instrumentalists. Unless the status of a member is identified as higher because of his/her musical experience and education, in which case he plays a major role in choosing repertoire, arranging music and directing rehearsals, all members take part in the arrangement of music at rehearsals. Each member of a band is equal in terms of

[16] My experience as a member of Themelia, Laiki Kompania, Meraki and the Gypsy Trio is memorable for the warmth of long-lasting friendships and the pleasure felt making music together with other people.

[17] For example, Orpheus, Odyssey, Exodus, Zorbas, Zeus, Cosmos, and Laiki Kompania.

[18] This duo was more recently joined by Michalis Gribilos on electric keyboard to form the Trio Zorbas.

decision-making and payment, unlike in Greece where a hierarchy of decision-making and payment descends from the musical director/arranger to the singers, lead instrumentalists and lastly the rhythm-harmony section (P. Tsounis 1979 pers. com.; Papagiannopoulos 1989 pers. com.).

While an egalitarian ethos prevails in bands, the role of the singer is special. The singer is treated as the leader of a band because of the primary role of songs in the Greek music repertoire. A singer is not only literally a 'front person', standing mostly before the band in the centre of the stage, but also the designated spokesperson for the band, negotiating engagements, music programs and repertoire and verbally communicating with patrons throughout an event. Above all, the singer is the main communicator with the audience, executing and interpreting song texts as vignettes, anecdotes, confessions and even prayers to life.

Bands often have their own followers or 'groupies': friends, relatives and people who share similar musical tastes and make a special effort to attend the music events where those bands perform. The presence of groupies highlights the continued importance of intimate face-to-face and daily relationships between musicians and their audiences. Groupies often stand out in the crowd with their enthusiasm and participation.

Music ensembles such as Themelia, Gypsy Trio, Meraki and Aman documented in the study differ from typical bands in numerous ways. Firstly, they do not prepare standard five and a half hour music programs organised into set brackets required at weddings and social-dances but insist on their own choices of repertoire. For example, Themelia played *rebetika* items in their heterogeneous repertoires of traditional *dimotika*, *laïka* and the modern *entechna* and *neo-kima*, although in its final year (1990) it performed mostly *rebetika*. The Gypsy Trio played a heterogeneous repertoire of Russian and Eastern European Gypsy together with Greek traditional and modern music. Both Meraki and Aman, on the other hand, included mostly *rebetika* and *smyrneika* in their music programs. Membership of the music ensemble is more fluid than it is for the typical Greek band. This was especially so for Themelia, which, while it consisted of a core group of half a dozen members for almost ten years, functioned as an open access community music group for people without musical training.

Music ensembles also differ from typical Greek bands in their choice of repertoire. While most typical Greek bands play some *rebetika* items in their heterogeneous repertoires, no more than one half in the case of Laïki Kompania, the music ensemble demonstrates a special preference for *rebetika* music. For example, the Aman ensemble formed in 1991 for the purpose of specialising in *rebetika*, including *smyrneika*, *chasiklidika* and *neo-rebetika*, many of which are learnt from original recordings made in the 1920s and 1930s. It performed publicly during 1991 and 1993 and in 1994 changed its name to the Rockin' Rembets.[19] Aman has performed at all types of events including private life cycle events, Greek community social-dances and concerts, Greek and non-Greek restaurants and festivals. It especially enjoys the informal events where spontaneous participation in Greek dancing occurs (Tyllis 1992 pers. com.; Dalagiorgis 1992 pers. com). The *rebetika* music ensemble practises an ethos of freedom from musical, social and economic constraints.

Various Adelaide organisations featured in the sample are central to the performance of *rebetika* music in Adelaide. The most prominent is the HMASA, a music-specific Greek association and organiser of five *rebetika* music-making events in the sample. The HMASA was founded in 1980 as an incorporated body and with some intermittent periods of recession, continued through to 1990. Its primary aim was to promote Greek music in the Greek and wider community. A secondary aim was to promote the talent and performance quality of local musicians involved in Greek music-making. Throughout the course of its activities it organised original song festivals, instrument-playing competitions, concerts of Greek *laïka* and *rebetika*, boites known as *Protopenies*, "First Tunes", theory and song-writing workshops, social gatherings and excursions. The largest membership of HMASA was approximately sixty in 1988, with the

[19] Apart from the Rockin' Rembets, the Melbourne group Apodimi Kompania, "Expatriate Ensemble", formed in 1984, is the only other group in Australia specialising in *rebetika* (see Gauntlett 1993a: 13-14). It's membership now includes a Cretan singer/lyra-player who plays a repertoire of Cretan music with them.

overwhelming majority of members born in Adelaide, in the twenty to forty age group and male singers, *bouzouki*-players and guitarists.[20]

Inherent in the founding of the HMASA was a discontent with the Greek music-making scene in Adelaide which limited the repertoires and performance events of local musicians. In particular, the HMASA aimed to generate an alternative arena to the 'pop star' music produced for commercial recordings and nightclubs in Greece. Instead, it wanted to stimulate interest in 'authentic' Greek popular music genres such as *kantades*, *smyrneïka*, *rebetika*, *laïka* and *entechna*. The HMASA also organised alternative events for live Greek music such as concerts where audiences would better be disposed towards appreciating local talent and different types of Greek music. Members reinforce these aims when they speak highly of performing at HMASA concerts: it is the "highest we can go" (N. Arabatsis 1992 pers. com.). or "the key" to Greek music (Kourbelis 1988 pers. com.). Concerts are exalted because of the exposure musicians receive where audiences are more attentive to their musicianship. They are also an opportunity to explore Greek music genres not normally performed at weddings and social-dances.

Adelaide musicians of Greek background are also involved in music-related activities other than performance. Some have been composing new music for a number of years. These have been presented at HMASA Greek Song Festivals since 1980, in theatre productions, and are gradually becoming included in the repertoires of bands. Some musicians have recorded their original music and traditional Greek music for commercial release on cassette, long-playing records and compact discs.[21] Other musicians have been teaching music privately or in primary, secondary and tertiary institutions. There is one Greek instrument-maker and repairer in Adelaide[22] who is largely self-taught but has spent monthly periods as apprentice with instrument-makers in Adelaide and Greece. He has made *baglamades*, *tzourades*, *bouzoukia*, guitars, harps and ouds.

7.6 Musicianship, Competence and Talent

In their discussions about Greek music-making, musicians of Adelaide evaluate notions of musicianship, competence and talent in various ways. In a curious combination of western and Greek *laïko*, "folk-popular",[23] ideas, a local philosophy and ethos of musicality emerges from their discussions.

Local musicians are concerned with mastering technique. This they regard as clarity of projection or attack (i.e. not 'fluffing' notes), playing the 'right' notes according to recorded versions, playing up to speed, and playing intricate ornamentation. Good technique is regarded as essential for self-expression: the ability to play whatever comes into one's mind (Gardounis 1992 pers. com.). 'Wrong' or 'fluffed' notes are usually unacceptable unless the musician is improvising. Similarly, a singer is expected to sing in tune and project his/her voice. Here we note the preoccupation with technical excellence found in the western classical tradition.

However, the concern for technique rarely stands alone as a criterion of musicianship. Culturally bound criteria influence finer evaluations of musical competence. For example, a singer is required to demonstrate comfort with the Greek language, especially the correct recall and pronunciation of text. Unclear enunciation or delivery of text such as fluffed words, or the repetition of verses due to the loss of memory, is often a sore point for members of the audience who are familiar with the Greek lyrics of songs and judge musician's musical integrity or cultural distance on the basis of their renditions of song text.

Technical competence is incomplete without attention to musical details. Musicians and bands who are fussy with their work and spend considerable time studying and practising all features relating to musical structures are regarded as good musicians. They are also commended if they pursue knowledge

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[20] One time president Tassos Capetanakis (1988pers. com.) suggested that the reason why older generation Greece-born musicians tended not to join the HMASA was because they had learnt to play Greek music in Greece and were now established as nightclub/restaurant musicians in Adelaide, and possibly had no need for the organisation.

[21] As early as 1978 the band Orpheus recorded the album *Orpheus. Mazi Sas*, "Orpheus. Together With You" (Orpheus 1978) which contains songs composed by John Kourbelis and Steve Papadopoulos, lyrics by A. Katsaros, and vocals by Athos Eftichiou. Since then others have produced cassettes, albums and compact discs in Adelaide including Dimitris Giannou, Jim Mountzouris and Odyssey, Polly and Nick Arabatsis, Demeter Tsounis and Stan 'The Man' Kontogonis.

[22] Peter Jim Dalagiorgios.

[23] Here I use the term *laïko* to refer to an ethos and ideology of the 'common folk' and of Greek 'popular culture' which is elaborated in this section in relation to cultural constructions of musical competence. See also Chapter 3.

about Greek music, and for that matter all other musics which feature their particular instrument. For example, a *bouzouki*-player is expected to study all the styles of music which have featured *bouzouki* music throughout the century. Similarly, a good guitarist knows how to play jazz or classical acoustic music as well as Greek music.

Technical competence also extends to mastery of the musical processes of ornamentation and improvisation found in the *dimotika*, *smyrneïka* and *rebetika* genres. One of the supreme criterion for Greek musical competence is knowledge of the Greek modes, *dromous*, and the ability to spontaneously improvise using them (Capetanakis 1988b pers. com.; Tyllis 1992 pers. com.). This involves exploring the infinite variety of rhythmic-melodies that can be created. The improvisatory role is usually confined to the *bouzouki*-player or any lead instrument and, to a lesser extent, the vocalist. Thus performative comfort with the Greek language and with modal improvisation are Greek-specific criteria belonging to a *laïko* ethos of musicianship.

The *laïko* ethos also ascribes a performance style which contrasts with a loud, 'fast and furious' aesthetic emulated by many young *bouzouki*-players in imitation of rock music culture. In this *laïko* ethos, musical sensitivity and simplicity are emulated. For example, the ability to play fewer notes (Odontiadis 1992 pers. com.), slower, more lyrical and in strongly accented rhythms, are prized as markers of good musicianship. A slower tempo, for example, is regarded as a feature of traditional Greek performance practice which gives dancers time to improvise steps (P. Tsounis 1987 pers. com.; Capetanakis 1988b pers. com.). These attributes were identified in the performance style of a visiting elderly veteran of *rebetika* from Lesvos, Greece, the singer and *bouzouki*-player 'Barbas' Kostas Boras.

The preoccupation with pure technique is additionally countered by an emphasis on emotional expression: especially dedication, passion and compassion. This is highlighted in comments such as 'you have to play with feel', 'you must live it' (*prepei na to vioseis*), 'I fell in love with the *bouzouki*' and 'to play music felt natural to me'. Singers speak of expressing themselves emotionally, of 'putting everything into it', when they sing (P. Arabatsis 1992 pers. com.; Saltis 1992 pers. com.). They compare themselves with other musicians who are technically precise yet play mechanically without feeling. Competence in Greek music-making requires that a musician loves playing or singing, is emotionally connected when playing, and personally empathises with the sentiments depicted in the song texts, the experiences of the creators of the music and ultimately his/her audiences. More poignantly it emphasises the importance of identifying emotionally and compassionately with the music-making tradition. In this version of the *laïko* ethos, the performer is valued as the creative 'voice' of the community in so far as it demonstrates a compassion for humanity as a whole. Musicians comment on the sheer joy they feel playing for a group of people and 'moving' them in emotional ways (*tous singinoume*). Musicians who do not personally 'feel the music', who do not understand the lyrics and who do not convey the emotional messages are regarded as immature, pretentious (*lene psemata*, "they tell lies"), or largely estranged from the musical milieu in which they are performing. In this sense the platitude, 'you can't feel it if you haven't lived it', serves to define boundaries between a *laïko* insiderness and a *xeno*, "foreign", outsiderness.

In addition to technical proficiency, a good musician is one who recognises the inherent value of all traditional and *entechna* Greek music. Such a musician of integrity is expected to study and perform traditional non-commercial Greek music genres, and has a moral obligation to do so to educate and elevate his/her audiences:

> If a musician is honest with himself and is a real professional and say [sic] right, this is good music, that's what I should play, that's what I should do, and I think as musicians they have the responsiblity to play what is good and to show people what is good." (Capetanakis 1988b pers. com.).

This contrasts with the view that those who pursue commercial pop hits fashionable at any one time compromise their musical integrity, even though they may be more successful in terms of employment and popularity.

The notion of talent in Greek music-making is an interesting concept because at a surface level it implies the notion of the natural gift of individual genius prevalent in western classic music culture. At a deeper level, talent is also another name for aptitude and the realisation of that aptitude in sacrifice, self-

discipline and hard work. In Greek culture, music-making ability and enjoyment is ascribed to everyone. Thus an aesthetic of egalitarianism prevails. However, there are those who spend more time working at music-making and therefore shine out from the crowd. Exceptional talent is measured in a hybrid way which employs both *laïko* and western canons. A superbly talented musician is one who has mastered more than one instrument, plays a large repertoire of music and above all can improvise. Yet people recognise that improvisation requires dedicated practice. In this sense, the term *kalitechnis*, "artist", literally meaning "a well-skilled person", is the most appropriate term for a talented musician because it emphasises the dedicated study and practice over a lifetime required to acquire expertise. The term *kalitechnis* shares much in common with the term *meraklis*, a person who pursues a passion with dedication.[24] Greek people often differentiate between the 'artist' and the 'professional', *epangelmatias*, the latter being a person whose talent and skills are publicly acknowledged through employment, a successful career, and adulatory publicity.

Those who have performed with master exponents in Greece are cited regularly as examples of dedicated talented professionals.[25] In Greece they proved their competence as guitarists by being able to read charts, by having the stamina to play large repertoires or various Greek music genres over long periods of time under the difficult circumstances of nightclubs and concert tours, and by 'producing the goods' under the pressure of an attentive audience generally 'in the know' about Greek music.

The *laïko* musicianship extends beyond the individual to group dynamics. The abilities of musicians to 'get on well' with each other, to play together as a tight sound unit, and to please their audiences, are congratulated.

The obsession with technique, theory, formal western music training, visual forms of western music notation have not been a hindrance to the practice and performance of Greek music in Adelaide. Even though some western musically educated musicians play a differentiated role as musical arrangers and directors of bands and concerts, there exists a strong counter '*laïko*' ethos among local musicians which emphasises other attributes. These include an aural-oral mode of learning, the supremacy of emotion, compassion, musical knowledge and detail of Greek music, choice of repertoire, good egalitarian relations between musicians, and communication with the audience. In these views we see the soul–roots ideological narratives emerging in the one concept of *laïko*, "the popular", which constitutes *rebetika* as the 'genuine', direct emotional expression of the feelings and life experiences of a community.

Competence, musicianship and talent do not necessarily require formal training, nor the ability to read music and understand western music theory. Yet there is an ambiguous regard for local musicians in Adelaide. They are said to display musical competence and fine musicianship, yet do not always maintain artistic integrity with their choice of repertoire. A structural dislocation appears between two oppositional *ethoi* of Greek music-making. One is that music-making with integrity is characterised by the fun and pleasure for the musician who pursues his/her art with free choice of musical taste. The other is that musicians have a role and a duty to entertain and make their listeners happy, or at least, *na tous singinei*, "to move them emotionally", which sometimes means to embrace their expectations for particular repertoire. The conflict is epitomised in the age-old opposition of art for art's sake, that is, for the integrity of the creator, or art at the service of a community, two contrasting *ethoi* which *rebetika* music-making accommodates.

In summary, musicians of Greek background in Adelaide are treated here as the custodians or 'bearers and developers' of Greek music (see Feld 1988: 34). They have been largely nurtured by their families, friends and the Greek community as a whole. They contribute with deliberation and dedication their particular learning experiences, interpretations and arrangements. The largely informal methods of aural learning have adequately equipped musicians with knowledge and skills for Greek music-making in Adelaide. Some have complemented this with formal instrument training and education in western music institutions. Embedded in the music-making culture of local Greek-Australian musicans is a *laiko* ethos

[24] In Greece a common term of endearment for a highly skilled musician who retains a friendly and humanitarian disposition and a sense of community is called a *mastoris*, "master artisan", the same term applied to craftworkers and fishermen.

[25] Three local musicians (Peter Tsounis, John Kourbelis, Steve Papadopoulos) have lived for a lengthy period of time in Greece and played there with leading Greek musicians.

which exalts musicianship centred on feeling, compassion, a wide repertoire, the special arrangements and the community 'use value' of music.

It is now appropriate to bring attention to the *rebetika* repertoire and music programs of local musicians. These will be contextualised within the broader repertoire of Greek music with which *rebetika* are often flanked. A discussion of the organisation of music repertoire into specific live music programs will highlight the *rebetika* content and help to elucidate the significance of the varied concentration of *rebetika* at Greek music-making events in Adelaide.

Chapter 8 *Rebetika* Repertoire and Programs

8.1 Introduction

This chapter documents the *rebetika* repertoire performed by local musicians at Greek music-making events in Adelaide. It firstly considers the wide range of Greek and non-Greek music genres available to musicians in their choices of repertoire, and the ways in which this repertoire is customarily organised into live music programs. It then documents and analyses the incidence and concentration of *rebetika* and *rebetika* styles in live music programs. The aim of this discussion is to determine the occurrence and significance of the performance of *rebetika* at different types of Greek music-making events in Adelaide.

8.2 Music Repertoires

While the focus of this study is *rebetika* music, *rebetika* are commonly flanked by other types of music when they are performed. The repertoire of a Greek band typically consists of a heterogeneous choice of songs and instrumental pieces, or 'items', selected from a diverse range of Greek and non-Greek musics. Greek music is performed without non-Greek music at a little less than half of the events documented in the sample (82 of 181; 45.3%, see Appendix 1). Thus, at over half of the *rebetika* music-making events documented, non-Greek music also occurs. To understand the particular significance of the *rebetika* genre within this broad repertoire of music, it is necessary to discuss the different types of Greek and non-Greek music performed at *rebetika* music-making events.

8.2.1 Greek Music Repertoires

Greek music can be broadly categorised as the *paradosiaka*, "traditional" music, and the *synchrona*,[1] "contemporary" music.[2] Table 8.1 lists the types of Greek music in these two categories:

Table 8.1 Types of Greek Music

Paradosiaka "Traditional Greek Music"		***Synchrona*** "Contemporary Greek Music"	
Dimotika "Folk Music"	***Laïka*** "Popular Music"	***Laïka*** "Popular Music"	***Xena*** "Foreign Music"
dimotika	*café-aman*	*laïka*	rock
mikrasiatika	*smyrneïka-rebetika*	*elafro-laïka*	blues
pontiaka	*piraiötika-rebetika*	*entechna*	jazz
nisiotika	*laïka-rebetika*	*neo-kima*	funk
kantades	*evropaïka*	*neo-laïka*	classical
kritika	*plakiotika*	*neo-rebetika*	etc.
kypraïka	*elafra*	*neo-dimotika*	
etc.	etc.	*neo-nisiotika*	
		etc.	

8.2.1.1 *Paradosiaka* ("Traditional Greek Music")

The *paradosiaka* is a gloss for traditional Greek music of both anonymous (i.e. collective) and authored composition. Within this cateogry, Anoyanakis (1979: 25) divides Greek traditional music into two broad types: the rural, agrarian-based *dimotika* demotic or "folk" music, and the urban *laïka* "popular" music. Greek demotic music is a centuries-old music-making tradition which developed during the Byzantine and Ottoman Empires in the numerous regional communities of mainland Greece (*dimotika*),

[1] As for the term '*rebetika*', the neuter plural forms of the transliterated words for "traditional songs", *paradosiaka*, and "contemporary songs", *synchrona*, are employed in this study to refer to 'music' *per se*.

[2] The following discussion of Greek music genres and styles is presented as an introductory guide only. The categories are regarded as loose rather than definitive.

Asia Minor (*mikrasiatika*, "Asia Minor songs"; *pontiaka*, "Pontian songs"), the Greek islands (*nisiotika*, "island songs"; *kantades*, Ionian Islands "serenades", *kritika*, "Cretan songs") and Cyprus (*kypraïka*, "Cypriot songs").

The second grouping, '*laïka*', refers to a broad tradition of urban popular music which developed, probably from as early as the sixteenth century,[3] throughout the nineteenth century to the 1960s in the urban centres of Anatolia (western Asia Minor), the Aegean and Ionian Islands, and mainland Greece. Sub-genres within the broad category of *laïka* include *café-aman*, *smyrneïka-rebetika*, *piraiötika-rebetika*, *laïka-rebetika*, *evropaïka*, *plakiotika* and *elafra*. The *plakiotika* are Athenian serenades with strong western European musical influences (e.g. guitar, violin; diatonic tonality; triadic homophonic harmonies; waltz rhythms). The *evropaïka*, "european light-popular" music, are related but more specifically refer to music which accompanies ballroom dances such as the waltz, samba, rumba and beguine. Composers of *rebetika* and *laïka* such as Tsitsanis, Chatzichristos, Chiotis and Zambetas, also included *evropaïka* ballroom dance rhythms in their compositions.

8.2.1.2 *Synchrona* ("Contemporary Greek Music")

The *synchrona* refers to a broad category of contemporary Greek music which has developed since the late 1940s. It may be divided into two broad types: music developed directly from Greek musical traditions and referred to as *laïka* "Greek popular songs"; and music created by Greek people recognised as belonging to non-Greek *xeno*, "foreign", music traditions, such as blues, jazz, classical and rock.

Within the broad category of *laïka*, a further subdivision is made by musicians between the *laïka* of the *rebetika* tradition, and the *elafro-laïka*, "light-popular songs", of a more western European tradition. Some regard the *elafra* as quintessentially modern western European, often played in ballad or rock style, with the only 'Greek' identifying features being the song texts in the Greek language and *bouzouki* instrumentation. On the other hand, *laïka* are regarded as the 'hard-core' Greek heart-rending songs about everyday realities. In the contemporary context, *laïka* are often associated with the song text theme of unrequited love, hence the various nick-names: *klapsourika*, "heavy crying" songs, *kapsourika*, "burning love songs" songs, and *skiladika*, "dog" songs.[4] At both extremes both *laïka* and *elafro-laïka* styles are commercially successful and enjoy a flamboyant Athenian nightclub scene.[5]

Most of the repertoire of typical Greek bands and resident musicians at Greek restaurants and nightclubs in Adelaide is drawn from the *laïka* and *elafro-laïka* pop hits imported from Greece. Yet local musicians articulate an ambiguous attitude towards these types of music. The *skiladika* are negatively glossed as over-dramatic, and the *elafra* too light, vis-à-vis *laïka* (and *dimotika*) which are considered the 'genuine' Greek songs.

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[3] See Chapter 2 for a discussion of the origins of urban popular music.

[4] The term *skiladika*, "dog songs", is a derogative label insinuating a 'howling' Greek music dominated by the theme of unrequited love and a nightclub scene of ostentation, underground crime and sexual promiscuity. *Skiladika* are also referred to as *bouzouktzidika*, "*bouzouki* club songs", the *bouzouki* being the dominant lead instrument alongside the voice. This music, with its characteristic ornamented and melismatic styles, is more closely equated with a *laïko* rather than an *elafro* heritage.

Ambiguous expressions of admiration for or repulsion from *skiladika* were noted among musicians in Greece. One Athenian musician and player of *rebetika* (Papagiannopoulos 1989 pers. com.) found the instrumental and vocal ornamentations and improvisations performed late one night at such a venue thrilling, skilful and soulful. He spoke about the creative ways in which these musicians employed Greek dance rhythms, fusing syncopated 'funky' ostinato lines during the *tsifteteli* dance rhythm; the ways in which they improvised using the modes, especially the preference for the *ousak* Phrygian minor mode; and the ways in which singers improvised vocal lines with deep conviction, 'speaking for' the ordinary working man about daily experiences of despair, drudgery, heartache and alienation through the medium of the heart-rending love song. Another, this time a singer (Arvanitaki 1989), found no problem with the music but suggested that the lyrics of some songs were offensive. More critical was the opinion of the musician/rebetologist (Kounadis 1989 pers. com.) who argued that the ethos of the *skiladiko* music scene centred around 'sleazy' macho men overdoing their *mangia* or machoness, frivolously and flamboyantly spending 'black' money on food, drink and women. The dichotomy between controlled and unrestrained expression and emotion appears to be common to these conflicting views of the *skiladiko* scene in Greece. In any case, a certain 'revenge' by musicians and patrons of this music scene has been occurring since the 1980s with the open recognition of the role that Greek-Gypsies, a repressed yet leading ethnic group in Greek music-making culture, have played in the transmission and creative development of many forms of Greek popular music. This is the subject of a record album of *neo-rebetika* music entitled "Revenge of the Gypsies", *Ekdikisi Tis Giftias*, released in 1978 (Xidaks 1978).

[5] The over-dramatic *elafro-laïka* song "*San Trello Fortigo*", "[You Are Like] a Crazy Truck", sung by Giannis Parios, was a commercial hit in 1989 and is an example of a slow rock style. The *elafro-laïka* song "*Eime Sto Chaï Mou*", "I Am High", is a love song made popular by Antipas in 1992, is a *laïko* 'oriental' Egyptian belly-dance disco-pop style.

The *entechna*, "art-popular songs",[6] are regarded as the most 'serious' 'cultivated' wing of Greek popular music.[7] They are the creations of western-trained Greek composers such as Mikis Theodorakis and Manos Chatzidakis who set contemporary poetry to music inspired by both western classical and traditional Greek ecclesiastical and secular music. The music of the *entechna* composers maintains a small but secure place in the repertoires of Greek musicians in Adelaide, especially since the international acclaim of their music soundtracks to the feature *films Zorba The Greek* (Theodorakis 1964) and *Never On a Sunday* (Chatzidakis 1960). A Greek band that does not play the Zorba theme is considered something of an anomaly.

The *neo-kima*, "new-wave", song movement developed in Greece in the 1960s around social and political songs. Two of the major exponents were Dionysios Savvopoulos and Mariza Koch who employed both Greek and western rock music idioms in their compositions. The *neo-laïka*, *neo-rebetika*, *neo-dimotika* and *neo-nisiotika*, refer to "new" contemporary compositions and lyrics set within the styles of their derivations, i.e. *laïka*, *rebetika*, *dimotika* and *nisiotika*.

The *xena*, "foreign songs", are composed by Greek people in western popular or Latin American styles. They have taken longer to arrive in the repertoire of local musicians and were not performed at the sample of events documented in this study. However, local musicians have dabbled in these, such as the band of University students called Theories which played Greek rock music in 1993.

8.2.2 Non-Greek Music Repertoires

Rebetika music-making events in Adelaide between 1980 and 1993 included non-Greek music genres and styles. At a little over half of the sample (99 of 181; 54.7%, see Appendix 1), non-Greek music flanked Greek music and was performed either live or played on sound systems from commercial recordings. At nineteen events featuring non-Greek music, English-language based western music was performed. This included western classical, western popular (blues, rock, rock 'n' roll, disco, funk, hip-hop, jazz), western ballroom and Anglo-Celtic folk. At the remaining eighty events which featured non-Greek music, music from the following cultures was performed: African, Australian-Aboriginal, Eastern European and Russian gypsy, Hungarian, Indian, Irish, Italian, Latin American, Middle-Eastern, Spanish, Spanish flamenco, Torres Strait Islander, Kurdish-Turkish and Yugoslav. Over and above the fact that twenty-one events were organised by multicultural-specific organisations (see Chapter 6), the occurrence of multicultural or polyethnic music programming at over half of the sample reinforces the all-pervading multicultural context within which much Greek music-making takes place in Adelaide.

Greek bands were also responsible for the live performance of non-Greek music. For example, Laïki Kompania, upon request, performed a bracket of ballroom dance music in the English and Spanish languages,[8] and rhythm 'n' blues and rock 'n' roll music in English.[9] Similarly, members of the band Odyssey improvised upon western popular forms such as blues, jazz and funk during wedding formalities at wedding receptions (Tsounis 1986: 73-78). Even at the typical Greek weddings and social-dances, taped African-American disco dance music—hip-hop, rap, soul, funk—is sometimes played through sound amplification systems for the benefit of younger Australian-born generations.

The performance of a diverse repertoire of music outside of Greek music and language genres at Greek music-making events reflects a flexible process of music programming by local musicians who actively and positively respond to the multiple musical tastes of Greek and non-Greek patrons.

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[6] See also Chapter 2, section 2.8.

[7] It is interesting to note that in Baud-Bovy's (1984: 55-71) discussion of the development of Greek urban music from the sixteenth century, he refers to all urban composed Greek music as Arabic-Persian-influenced "*entechni*" music (Baud-Bovy 1984: esp. 55, 57).

[8] For example, the song "It's Now Or Never", composed by Schroeder-Gold-Di Capua (Presley 1963) in English, the traditional Cuban song "*Guantanamera*" and the slow rock song "*Besame Mucho*" in Spanish, composed by Consuelo Velazquez.

[9] For example, the song "Blue Suede Shoes", composed by Carl Perkins (Presely 1956). Presently, Laïki Kompania also perform songs in the Italian language to cater for Italian patrons at Greek/Italian wedding receptions. The band Charama also includes songs sung in the English language.

8.2.3 Other Factors Influencing Repertoire

Musicians may articulate a belief that repertoire is largely a matter of personal taste, yet in reality there are many factors which influence personal taste and choice. These are worthy of closer consideration since they impact on the selection and incidence of *rebetika* in Adelaide.

Qualitative notions of 'tradition' and 'modernity' are embedded in choices of repertoire. Many musicians pursue the latest commercially successful *elafro-laïka* recordings of Greek 'star' nightclub singers because they are sanctioned by the mass-media as 'modern', 'new' and 'novel'. Moreover, since they are requested by Greek audiences in Adelaide, musicians realise that if they perform a considerable number of *elafro-laïka*, they will be engaged to play more frequently. Degrees of westernisation (instrumental technique, diatonic harmonisation, symmetrical metres, western instrumentation etc.) also function as the canon for the determination of quality and choice. For example, *bouzouki*-players often choose items which give them the opportunty to display a fast technique at the expense of lyrical phrasing.

By contrast, there is also a subculture of Greek musicians who dedicate themselves to learning, rehearsing and performing the traditional *paradosiaka*. This study documents many of those musicians with a passion for the traditional urban *rebetika*. These musicians articulate a *laïko* ethos of the traditional as 'unique', 'genuine', 'authentic' and 'good'. The *laïko* ethos is further complemented by socio-historical or 'sociological' criteria which consolidate the artistic, cultural and social contexts of the music's creation and hence its inherent value. Sociological criteria extend to notions of class, and *rebetika* and *laïka* are positively valued as the voice of diasdvantaged social groups. For others, posterity—the continued popularity of a song from generation to generation—is regarded as the ultimate criteria of a 'traditional' musical integrity. This belief is summarised by the Greek phrase, '*an menei sti mnimi, ine gnisio*', "if it endures over time, it is genuine."

In considering repertoire choices made by Adelaide musicians, lyrics and language also feature as key factors. The literal meaning of song texts is prominent in the discussion by musicians, especially singers. For example, singers feel that they must not only choose vocal melodies suited to their range, timbre and style, but that they must also 'agree' with the lyrics and messages of a song in order to be able to sing it well. A song is believed to 'speak' a 'truth' about the personal realities and experiences: "I think art is an expression of your inner feelings and that a good song will show this" (Capetanakis 1988 pers. com.). A musician's interpretation and projection of particular textual messages may thus delimit choice of song.

For musicians born in Adelaide, the Greek language poses a basic problem of understanding and meaning. While it may be the mother tongue in the early years of life, by the time that an Australian-born commences school, English becomes the dominant language. Greek subsequently becomes the second language for daily communication. Even Greek music rehearsals are conducted in English. There are incidents which indicate that a lack of understanding of Greek lyrics is a disadvantage. In one case, musicians in a band were questioned by a guest about the appropriateness of performing the *elafro-laïka* song "*Mi Mou Ti Chalas Ti Nichta*", "Don't Ruin My Night" (Karousakis 1976) on the occasion of a wedding reception which was supposed to be a cheerful and positive event for the newly-weds (Odontiadis 1992 pers. com.).[10] In another example, a musician (N. Arabatsis 1992 pers. com.) noted that when he first began to perform in public as a ten year-old, he often sang the song "*To Sentonaki*", "The Little Sheet", only to learn later in life that he had been singing an erotic love song.[11]

There is another side to the language and song text problem. For many born in Australia, Greek music-making is a valuable process in learning and maintaining the Greek language. It also encourages musicians to make conscious choices regarding song texts and themes. This has been significant with regard to representations of gender equality in Greek songs. Many songs performed in Adelaide by the

[10] However, this example may not necessarily demonstrate language incompetence, as a peculiar incident which occurred in a music bar on the island of Skyros in Greece has led me to believe. On this ocassion I was celebrating the engagement anniversary of a couple with a group of friends. The male partner requested and danced an engrossed and empassioned solo *zeibeikos* dance to the *rebetika* song by Markos Vamvakaris, "*Atakti*", "Unruly Woman", with the repeated refrain "I don't want you. I don't love you." I was led to believe that there was nothing sinister about this particular choice of song text since his female partner was happily encouraging him with cheering and clapping.

[11] The lyrics of the refrain are, "If I was the sheet on your bed, I would wrap around your body and receive your kiss." (Να 'μουνα το σεντονάκι στο δικό σου κρεββατάκι, να τυλίγω το κορμί σου και να παίρνω το φιλί σου.)

male majority of singers and musicians have androcentric, chauvinist, and in extreme cases, misogynist lyrics. Since the 1980s, groups like Themelia and Meraki with decision-making female vocalists and musicians have to some extent reversed that practice by consciously selecting songs which project endearing or positive constructions of assertive women. Two favourite songs were "The Waitress", about an assertive waitress who averts flirting and harassing male customers, and the song "The Veil", which portrays a woman liberating herself by removing her veil. In another example, the band Laiki Kompania encountered conflict with a member of the audience when it refused to perform the contemporary song "Death To Women", "*Na Pethanoun Oi Gynekes*" (Pantazis 1982), which is literally demeaning of women. The band escaped the obligation to play the song by truthfully replying that it did not know how to play it.[12]

8.3 Greek Music Programs

The Greek music repertoires of Greek bands are organised in particular ways in live music performance programs. A standard Greek music program is discerned in the organisation of Greek music repertoires by Greek bands. However, the programming of Greek music cannot be defined as regular or homogeneous, for there are some instances of the performance of non-standard music programs. Both standard and non-standard music programs are discussed below in some detail with a view to identifying the incidence of *rebetika* music in these programs.

8.3.1 Standard Greek Music Program

The basic functional requirement at a typical Greek music-making event such as a social-dance, life cycle celebration or restaurant, is to provide both dance and non-dance music. To cater for this, musicians organise their repertoires into what has become a conventional 'standard music program' which contains a particular order of brackets of music commencing with floorshow music, followed by ballroom dance music, and ending with Greek dance music. Each bracket of music contains ten to fifteen items and has an average duration of forty-five minutes. Sometimes items are joined together to form a medley of items, a trend well established in Greece at nightclubs and *panegyria*, festivals, and occurring more and more in Adelaide. At any one social-dance, wedding or restaurant, a band may play up to sixty different items throughout the event. Musicians often determine the items of a music program prior to an event to assist in the flow of music throughout the event.

8.3.1.1 Floorshow Bracket

The floorshow bracket is played at the commencement of an event in a concert-like atmosphere when patrons are seated and dining. Its contents are not restricted by the requirement to provide dance music and consequently, it contains an unlimited choice of music. As a result, the floorshow bracket has developed as a kind of 'signature' style of a band during which musicians provide a showcase of their particular choice of repertoire and performance style. This is confirmed by musicians who state that most of band rehearsal time is spent perfecting floorshow items (Arhontoulis 1992 pers. com.). It is also noted in their comments that they feel nervous during the opening floorshow bracket as they make their first impressions upon patrons.

The floorshow bracket provides a challenge for musicians to demonstrate their musicianship, especially their creative interpretation and special arrangement of Greek music (Arhontoulis 1992 pers. com.). It therefore commonly contains 'show' pieces: instrumentals which highlight virtuoso *bouzouki*-playing technique such as the works of Chiotis, Zambetas and Nikolopoulos; highly ornamented instrumental melodies; special ensemble orchestrations and arrangements; songs which emphasise vocal range, technique and expressive legato vocal styles; and items which present Greek dance rhythms not played during the Greek dance bracket. In floorshow arrangements, there is also an emphasis on dramatic features: extreme dynamic changes; staggered entries of instruments; unusual harmonic progressions; rhythmic changes including the use of jazz rock rhythms; medley formations of items; and tempo changes.

[12] In an attempt to understand the reason behind the popularity of misogynist Greek songs, the author has come to view these songs as providing an important public location for the articulation by Greek men of their intense experiences of emotionality, from ecstasy to death-wishes, which centre around obsessive relationships with women and their fear of the feminine aspect.

In these ways, floorshow brackets function to establish a rapport between musicians and patrons. They often contain contemporary items, especially the *elafro-laïka* and *entechna*, which function as show pieces. They may also contain special arrangements of traditional Greek dance items, especially of *rebetika* and *laïka* instrumental pieces, with unusual dance rhythms such as the *karsilamas* and *ballos*, which function to prepare patrons for participation in subsequent Greek dancing. As musicians comment, the floorshow bracket is "to make them [patrons] feel comfortable to get up and dance when the time comes, to let go ... to get used to the atmosphere" (N. Arabatsis 1992: pers. com.). In this sense, the floorshow bracket is very much like a "warm up" (Gardounis 1992 pers. com.), a comment which suggests that the really 'heated' work occurs in subsequent dance music brackets when musicians and dancers become more actively engaged in the music-making.

8.3.1.2 Ballroom Dance Bracket

The ballroom dance bracket accompanies the dancing of heterosexual couples[13] in face-to-face, arm-in-arm embrace. Music which accompanies ballroom dancing comprises a variety of ballroom dance rhythms, from the traditional Latin Amercian rumba, samba and beguine, to the western European waltz and contemporary slow rock rhythm. Ballroom dance brackets are often glossed as *evropaïka*, "european music", *ta valtz*, the "waltzes", *ta elafra*, "the light songs", and *ta oriental*, "the oriental songs". Most bands choose ballroom dance items from the contemporary commercial *elafro-laïka* pop hits which feature a slow four-beat rock rhythm. Others choose items from the *laïka* and *rebetika* genres which employ beguine and rumba dance rhythms. In yet other cases, ballroom dance items consist of slow western pop or rock songs sung in the English language.

8.3.1.3 Greek Dance Bracket

The Greek dance bracket typically contains a minimum set of nine open circle, line and solo Greek dance items. These comprise the *syrtos*, *kalamatianos*, *tsamikos*, *kotsari* and *tik* (traditional rural demotic dance of mainland, island and Pontus regions of Greece); the *chasapikos*, *chasaposervikos, zeïbekikos* and *tsifteteli* (traditional urban *rebetika* dances of Asia Minor) (see Tsounis 1986:131). Adelaide bands play traditional items as well as contemporary compositions to accompany this standard set of Greek dance rhythms. For example, the contemporary *entechno* song "*Giorti Ton Zeïbekidon*", "The Celebration of the *Zeïbeks*" (Kaldaras 1972), is commonly performed by Greek bands to accompany the Pontian *tik* dance form, even though it is in 6/8 time.[14] Similarly, the *syrtos* dance is accompanied by either demotic, *rebetika* or contemporary items. When contemporary Greek music is played to accompany traditional Greek dance forms, their 'traditional origin' is inherently recognised by the particular dance rhythm. It is interesting to note how particular dance rhythms are glossed as belonging to particular Greek music genres, even if they are accompanied by contemporary music genres. For example, one musician (N. Arabatsis 1992 pers. com.) stated that, "every time a band plays a *zeïbekiko*, they are playing *rebetika*".

Musicians believe that there is a fine art in organising the Greek dance bracket of music to incite and enhance a dance mood and participation by dancers. A pattern in the order of items in the Greek dance bracket is apparent. It commences with the collective open-circle and line dances performed by family groups and friends and ends with improvisatory solo dances and fast line dances. Two *rebetika* dance forms are often performed as the climactic finale of the Greek dance bracket. One is the *chasaposervikos*, a line dance, which is appropriate as a finale because it accelerates to a lively presto and leaves dancers puffing and panting with satisfaction. The other is the solo improvisatory *zeïbekikos* dance which functions more as a stately and moody finale for inebriated men at the peak of their dancing mood, *kefi*. For many bands, *rebetika* are performed late at night when the "die-hard *rebetika* lovers" request their favourite *zeïbekikos* or *rebetiko* song (Gardounis 1992 pers. com.). Other *rebetika* items also performed in Greek dance brackets are the *chasapikos* line dance and the solo improvisatory *tsifteteli* dance.

The choice of items from certain genres and their organisation into standard music programs demonstrates that musicians internalise Greek music-making expectations and conventions. For example,

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[13] Young children of both sexes can be seen couple dancing during the ballroom dance bracket.

[14] Kilpatrick (1980: 27-28) documents the Pontian *tik* as a long-short 5/8 or 7/8 meter.

in the choice of items for the floorshow, ballroom and Greek dance brackets at wedding receptions, there is a tendency to commence the music program with contemporary genres of Greek music and to proceed to traditional Greek music genres (see Tsounis 1986:138).

Aside from the observable patterns in the choice and organisation of Greek repertoire into standard music progams, music programs display significant diversity. Musicians accommodate different types of events and the special requests by patrons for particular dance forms, songs or instrumental pieces. Musicians also maintain their personal preferences through their music programming. These are now discussed as examples of non-standard music programs.

8.3.2 Non-Standard Greek Music Program

There are several cases in which non-standard Greek music programs occur at Greek music-making events in Adelaide. In the first case, musicians alter the repertoire choices and the standard music program typical of Greek-organised social-dances, life cycle celebrations and restaurants. Such alterations are most likely to occur in Greek dance brackets. For example, there are cases when the *zeïbekikos*, *tsifteteli* or *chasaposervikos* are requested in the middle of a Greek dance bracket rather than at the end, whereupon musicians shuffle their program around to oblige. This occurred at a wedding reception where the *tsifteteli* was performed at the beginning of the Greek dance bracket as the special bridal dance at the request of the bride and groom, and the bride and her mother. Flexibility is also evident in the performance of requested Greek dance forms not normally performed in the standard Greek dance bracket. These have included the Cretan *pentozali*, the Rhodian *roditikos*, the Ikarian *ikariotikos*, the *ballos* and *karsilamas* (of Thrace, Asia Minor and Cyprus regions).

In the second example of non-standard music programming, musicians select and perform a totally eclectic choice of songs and instrumental pieces according to their own personal tastes. In this case, musicians neither feel compelled to provide discrete functional brackets of music generally required at Greek-organised social-dances, life cycle celebrations and restaurants, nor feel the need to fulfil expectations by playing the latest contemporary *elafro-laïka* and *skiladika* pop hits. In the sample, the performance of non-standard Greek music programs is thus a feature of concerts, festivals, non-Greek restaurants and multicultural social-dances. The increasing concentration of *rebetika* music at Greek music-making events which this study documents has been one of the most outstanding features of non-standard Greek music programming in Adelaide.

The concert is a prime example of the performance of a non-standard music program. It features the special presentation of Greek music selected on the basis of a theme such as a cultural commemoration, composer or music genre. In Adelaide, concerts have featured traditional Greek music genres including *dimotika*, *smyrneïka*, *rebetika*, *nisiotika* and *laïka*; contemporary Greek music such as *entechna* and *neo-kima*; and local contemporary Greek-Australian compositions. Four concerts featured *rebetika* as the main part of the music program in Adelaide in this sample (see Table 8.7).

Certain music groups also exhibited non-standard preferences for traditional and contemporary Greek music genres in their music programs. The band Laiki Kompania, for example, selected at least half of its performance repertoire from the *rebetika* and *laïka* genres, while the band Zeus, by comparison, showed a preference for *dimotika*. Both Themelia, with its traditional, *entechna* and *neo-kima* genres, and Meraki with *smyrneïka*, *rebetika*, and *neo-rebetika*, presented an eclectic repertoire. Aman was a group dedicated to *rebetika* which it performed even at the typical Greek social-dances, life cycle celebrations and restaurants. Significantly, while Themelia, Meraki and Aman were less regularly employed in the Greek community in comparison with other bands, they were widely sought after by non-Greek music and cultural institutions.

Having considered the broader contexts of repertoire and music programming within which *rebetika* music occurs, it is now imperative to examine the actual incidence, concentration and types of *rebetika* at Greek music-making events documented in Adelaide between 1980 and 1993.

8.4 The *Rebetika* Repertoire

The smallest unit of the *rebetika* repertoire is identified here as the 'item', a term which refers to either a song or an instrumental piece. *Rebetika* items discussed here are categorised into three 'styles'—

smyrneïka, piraiötika or *laïka*—on the basis of previous discussion in Chapter 2 which identified the socio-historical and musical development of *rebetika*. The designation of *rebetika* style is derived from details regarding authorship of compositions and lyrics, the time and place of earliest recordings, and details of vocalists and instrumentation (see Appendix 4). Information which has assisted the designation of *rebetika* style was available from various sources: details provided with the earliest recordings; details provided with reissues of recordings; and a consensus of information in published documented literature. Items of unknown authorship are categorised as 'anonymous' and belonging to the *smyrneïko* style.[15]

In order to examine the incidence, concentration and types of *rebetika* that occurred at Greek music-making events in Adelaide between 1980 and 1993, the music programs of seventy Greek music-making events (of the 181, approximately 40% of the sample) were examined more closely.[16] A total of 185 different *rebetika* items were identified in the seventy documented music programs (see Appendix 2.).[17] Table 8.2 provides a summary of the incidence of 185 *rebetika* items according to *rebetika* style:

Table 8.2 *Rebetika* Items at Seventy *Rebetika* Music-Making Events in Adelaide (1980-1993): A Summary of Incidence and Style

Rebetika Style	No. of *Rebetika* Items	% of Total
smyrneïko	52	28.11%
piraiötiko	49	26.49%
laïko	84	45.40%
Total	**185**	

Table 8.2 demonstrates that the *rebetika* repertoire of local musicians contains all three styles of *rebetika* and is thus internally heterogeneous. It also indicates that there is a preference for the *laïko* style of *rebetika* with items totalling as much as 45% of the sample, and that the incidence of *smyrneïka* and *piraiötika* items comprise a substantial 28% and 27% respectively, each approximately one quarter of the sample. The figures show that the *laïka-rebetika* are the most popular among Greek-Australians in Adelaide, and also, that *smyrneïka* and *piraiötika* receive a substantial patronage.

Further analysis of the incidence of *rebetika* items in the music programs of different bands at the seventy events (see Appendix 3) confirms that preferences for particular *rebetika* styles differ from band to band. For example, Laïki Kompania played a generous number of *rebetika* items from all three styles, but featured *laïka* more frequently. Aman, which was dedicated to the *rebetika* repertoire, contained a preference for *smyrneïka* and *piraiötika*. Meraki, on the other hand, displayed a preference for *smyrneïka*.

Of the 185 different *rebetika* items documented in the sample, many items were found to recur from event to event, indicating their popularity as favourites among musicians and patrons in Adelaide. Table 8.3 provides a list of thirty-nine 'favourite' *rebetika* items which recur five times or more in the sample:

[15] This study recognises that knowledge of the authorship and origins of *rebetika* items is an ongoing process of research and discovery.

[16] The music programs of these seventy events were selected on the basis of the availability and quality of written song lists or sound recordings.

[17] Since the figure of 185 *rebetika* items represents a portion of the events documented in the sample, and since the events documented represent a portion of all *rebetika* music-making events in Adelaide between 1980 and 1993, it must be viewed as a conservative estimate. The number of different *rebetika* items actually performed in Adelaide during this period may have been closer to 300.

Table 8.3 Recurring[18] *Rebetika* Items at Seventy *Rebetika* Music-Making Events in Adelaide (1980-1993)

No.	*Rebetika Item*	No. of Occurrences	Total No.	% of Total
	***Laïko* Style**		**19**	49%
1	*Nychtose Choris Fengari*	19		
2	*Palamakia Palamakia*	19		
3	*O Zeppos (Kapetan Andrea Zeppo)*	13		
4	*Arapines*	10		
5	*To Telefteo Vradi Mou*	9		
6	*Omorfi Thessaloniki*	8		
7	*Synnefiasmeni Kyriaki*	8		
8	*Paliose To Sakkaki Mou*	7		
9	*Antilaloune Ta Vouna*	6		
10	*Den Thelo Pia Na Xana 'Rtheis*	6		
11	*Ena Tragoudi Ap' T' Algeri*	6		
12	*Ta Kavourakia*	6		
13	*To Minore Tis Avgis*	6		
14	*Gia Ta Matia P' Agapo*	5		
15	*I Gioul Bachar*	5		
16	*I Zaïra*	5		
17	*Kane Ligaki Ypomoni*	5		
18	*Skantaliara*	5		
19	*Tou Votanikou O Mangas*	5		
	***Smyrneïko* Style**		**14**	36%
1	*I Garsona*	31		
2	*Tatavlianos Choros*	20		
3	*Smyrneïkos Ballos (Sgoure Vasilike)*	18		
4	*To Feretze*	16		
5	*Oso Varoun Ta Sidera*	13		
6	*H Trata Mas I Kourelou*	11		
7	*Mi Me Steneis Mana Stin Ameriki*	10		
8	*Oi Lachanades*	10		
9	*Stopa Kai Sto Xanaleo*	9		
10	*Tha Spaso Koupes*	8		
11	*To Chariklaki*	7		
12	*Mia Melachroini*	6		
13	*Pergamos*	6		
14	*Sala Sala*	5		
	***Piraiötiko* Style**		**6**	15%
1	*Ta Matoklada Sou Lamboun*	15		
2	*O Chrousouzis*	10		
3	*Frangosyriani*	8		
4	*To Chaïdari*	7		
5	*Chthes To Vradi Sto Teke Mas*	5		
6	*Prin To Charama Monachos*	5		
Total No. of Recurring Items at Seventy Events			**39**	

Of the most frequently recurring *rebetika* items shown in Table 8.3, the majority (49%) are *laïka*. The preference for *laïka rebetika* articulated by musicians is matched by their prominent occurrence in

[18] Recurring items are items which occur five times or more in the sample of seventy *rebetika* music-making events.

actual music programs. *Smyrneïka* feature a substantial second (36%) and *piraiötika* are less recurrent (15%) as favourite *rebetika* items. The latter two figures differ slightly from the statistics of the entire *rebetika* repertoire in which *smyrneïka* and *piraiötika* comprise an equal quarter each of the sample (Table 8.2). This suggests that while musicians are prepared to play the more unusual *smyrneïka* and *piraiötika* on one-off ocassions, the *laïka* remain popular favourites. Nonetheless, a perusal of Appendix 3 indicates that over time, *smyrneïka* and *piraiötika* items have been included more frequently in the repertoires of bands.

8.5 The *Rebetika* Music Sample

For the purposes of this study, a sample of twenty-eight *rebetika* items (songs and instrumental pieces) has been selected from this pool of 185 *rebetika* items for closer musical analysis, discussion and interpretation in subsequent chapters. The criteria for selection of the *rebetika* music sample, though largely determined by the availability of music programs and the quality of sound recordings for the purposes of transcription and analysis, have been to provide a cross-section of *rebetika* items on the basis of:

1. the inclusion of items from all three *rebetika* styles
2. the inclusion of items performed at the five main types of *rebetika* music-making events: social-dances, restaurants, life cycle celebrations, festivals and concerts (thirteen different events are included)
3. the inclusion of different musicians performing those items
4. the inclusion of items that recur more than five times in the sample, i.e., rebetika 'favourites' (eighteen rebetika favourites are included in the *rebetika* music sample).

Table 8.4 below lists the names of the twenty-eight items in the *rebetika* music sample and their corresponding *rebetiko* style:

Table 8.4 The *Rebetika* Music Sample: Item and Style

	Title of *Rebetika* Item	*Rebetiko* Style
1	*Antilaloune Ta Vouna*	*laïko*
2	*Arapines*	*laïko*
3	*Bouzouki Mou Diplochordo*	*piraiötiko*
4	*Elenitsa Mou*	*smyrneïko*
5	*Ferte Preza Na Prezaro*	*smyrneïko*
6	*Gia Ta Matia P' Agapo*	*laïko*
7	*I Garsona*	*smyrneïko*
8	*Mi Me Stelnis Mana Stin Ameriki*	*smyrneïko*
9	*Mia Melachroini*	*smyrneïko*
10	*Nychtose Choris Fengari*	*laïko*
11	*O Bochoris*	*smyrneïko*
12	*Oi Lachanades*	*smyrneïko*
13	*Omorfi Thessaloniki*	*laïko*
14	*Osoi Echoune Polla Lefta*	*piraiötiko*
15	*Pente Manges*	*piraiötiko*
16	*Pergamos*	*smyrneïko*
17	*Synnefiasmeni Kyriaki*	*laïko*
18	*Skantaliara*	*laïko*
19	*Smyrneïkos Balllos*	*smyrneïko*
20	*Stous Apano Machalades*	*smyrneïko*
21	*Ta Matoklada Sou Lamboun*	*piraiötiko*
22	*Taka Taka Taka Ta Petalakia-Echo Koumparo Leventia* [19]	*laïko*
23	*Tatavlianos Choros*	*smyrneïko*
24	*Tha Spaso Koupes*	*smyrneïko*
25	*Ti Se Mellei Esenane*	*smyrneïko*
26	*To Feretze*	*smyrneïko*
27	*To Telefteo Vradi Mou*	*laïko*
28	*Zourlobenemenis Genna*	*smyrneïko*

The following Table 8.5 presents a summary of the total number of items in the *rebetika* music sample according to style. Slightly more than half the sample consists of *smyrneïka* items, *laïka* comprise a third of the sample, and the remaining four are *piraiötika* items.

Table 8.5 A Summary of the *Rebetika* Music Sample: *Rebetika* Style

Rebetiko Style	No.
smyrneïka	15
piraiötika	4
laïka	9
Total No.	**28**

The high incidence of *smyrneïka* reflects the repertoires of Themelia, Meraki and Aman since 1990 and shows a preference for the earliest style of commercially recorded *rebetika* music.

[19] The songs "*Taka Taka Taka Ta* Petalakia" and "*Echo Koumparo Leventia*", which belong to the *rebetika* genre, were performed in succession in a medley of items flanked by the same instrumental interlude, and are therefore discussed here as a single 'item' (i.e. as "*Taka Taka Taka Ta Petalakia*"). The item "*Omorfi Thessaloniki*" is also a *rebetiko* item which was performed in a medley of items, but since it was not followed in succession by other *rebetika* items in the medley, it is considered in isolation.

8.6 *Rebetika* Music Programs: Items, Brackets and Programs

Having considered the specific *rebetika* items documented in the repertoires of local musicians, it is now appropriate to consider the ways in which these *rebetika* items are presented in actual music programs. The organisation of *rebetika* items in the music programs of local musicians is found to cluster around three types of presentation:

1. individual *rebetika* **items** (songs or instrumental pieces)
2. **brackets** of *rebetika* music
3. entire *rebetika* music **programs**

These three categories represent different degrees of concentration of *rebetika* in performance from individual items to entire music programs. In order to gain a broader view of the presentation of *rebetika* as items, brackets or entire programs, it is worth returning to the full sample of 181 *rebetika* music-making events in Adelaide between 1980 and 1993. Table 8.6 documents the occurrence of *rebetika* as items, brackets or programs performed in the total sample of 181 *rebetika* music-making events:

Table 8.6 The Incidence of *Rebetika* Items, Brackets and Programs at *Rebetika* Music-Making Events in Adelaide (1980-1993)

Type of Presentation of *Rebetika*	No. of Events	% of Total
item	147	81%
bracket [20]	12	7%
program	22	12%
Total No. of *Rebetika* Events	**181**	

Rebetika performed in music programs as individual items were a clear majority of the documented events (147 of 181; approximately 81%). Typical Greek bands such as Odyssey perform half a dozen or so *rebetika* items in their music programs, while having several more in reserve to perform when requested. Other bands such as Laïki Kompania and Charama perform a substantial number of *rebetika* items scattered throughout their entire music programs in floorshow, ballroom dance and Greek dance brackets of music.

A little more than one-tenth of the sample, (22 of 181; approximately 12%), featured *rebetika* in entire music programs. The first performances of *rebetika* as an entire concert program occurred in 1980 at the Norwood Town Hall under the auspices of the Fringe Festival and eleven years later in 1991 at the Tribute to Tsitsanis concert held in the Adelaide Convention Centre. Since then the Aman ensemble was largely responsible for the performance of entire *rebetika* music programs in Adelaide, no longer confined to concerts, but also occurring at social-dances, restaurants, festivals and life cycle events.

Less numerous though still of interest as a halfway stage in the increasing concentration of *rebetika* from individual items to entire music programs, there were twelve events (approximately 7%) which presented *rebetika* music in discrete brackets of music. The first documented event occurred in 1982 at a Greek social-dance where *rebetika* was performed as an opening floorshow bracket of music. Together, the bracket and program categories of *rebetika* comprise almost one-fifth of the total sample (34 of 181; approximately 19%), providing evidence for the increasing incidence and concentration of *rebetika* music as a special Greek music genre in live performances. In the sample, the incidence of *rebetika* music in brackets and programs was mostly accounted for by the performances of Aman (22 of 181).

A discussion of the incidence of *rebetika* items, brackets and programs at different types of events (see Appendix 1) helps to further contextualise the performance and significance of *rebetika* in Adelaide.

[20] In this and subsequent tables, the category of 'bracket' includes two events which featured both brackets and items of *rebetika* music. In these two cases, the category of 'bracket' rather than 'item is counted.

Table 8.7 provides a summary of the occurrence of *rebetika* as items, brackets or programs according to the six types of music-making events identified in Chapter 6:

Table 8.7 The Incidence of *Rebetika* Items, Brackets and Programs: Event Type

Event Type	Item	Bracket	Program	Sub-Total
Social-Dance	47	6	2	55
Restaurant	42		10	52
Life Cycle Celebration	30		2	32
Festival	17	3	2	22
Concert	5	3	4	12
Miscellaneous	6		2	8
Total No. of Events	**147**	**12**	**22**	**181**
% of Total	**81%**	**7%**	**12%**	

The statistics indicate that items were most commonly performed at social-dances, restaurants and life cycle celebrations. The performance of *rebetika* items at these three type of events pre-dates the period of this study as a common occurrence. However, Table 8.7 documents the performance of discrete brackets of *rebetika* music at social-dances (6), festivals (3) and concerts (3), an occurrence unique to the period of this study. Entire *rebetika* music programs were performed at all types of music events, especially at restaurants (10) and to a lesser extent, concerts (4). The data indicates that life cycle celebrations are less likely to feature concentrated presentations of *rebetika* and thus appear as a more conservative type of music event. On the other hand, social-dances and restaurants feature more concentrated presentations of *rebetika* and thus appear to be flexible in their music programming. As to be expected, festivals and concerts as special music events are suitable for the concentrated presentation of *rebetika* in the form of brackets and entire music programs.

An understanding of the contextual nexus of *rebetika* performance is complemented with information from Appendix 1 regarding the ethnicity of organisers of *rebetika* music-making events. Table 8.8 presents a summary of the occurrence of items, brackets and programs of *rebetika* music at different types of events in terms of the ethnicity of organisers:

Table 8.8 The Incidence of *Rebetika* Items, Brackets and Programs: Event Type and Ethnicity of Organiser

Event Type		Ethnicity of Organiser			Sub-Total	
		Greek	Non-Greek	Multicultural and Mixed		
Social-Dance						**55**
	Item	27	7	13	47	
	Bracket	5	1	-	6	
	Program	1	-	1	2	
Restaurant						**52**
	Item	4	38	-	42	
	Bracket	-	-	-		
	Program	5	5	-	10	
Life Cycle Celebration						**32**
	Item	16	1	13	30	
	Bracket	-	-	-		
	Program	2	-	-	2	
Festival						**22**
	Item	4	11	2	17	
	Bracket	2	-	1	3	
	Program	-	2	-	2	
Concert						**12**
	Item	2	1	2	5	
	Bracket	3	-	-	3	
	Program	1	2	1	4	
Miscellaneous						**8**
	Item	-	3	3	6	
	Bracket	-	-	-		
	Program	-	2	-	2	
Total No. of Events		**72**	**73**	**36**	**181**	

The most obvious observation is that *rebetika* were performed as items at all types of events organised by Greek, non-Greek, multicultural and mixed organisers, especially at Greek social-dances, non-Greek restaurants, Greek and mixed life cycle celebrations, and non-Greek or multicultural festivals. The exception to this was the multicultural/mixed category which does not include restaurants.

Table 8.9 provides a more detailed breakdown of the concentrated performance of *rebetika* brackets and programs according to event type and ethnicity:

Table 8.9 The Incidence of *Rebetika* Brackets and Programs: Event Type and Ethnicity of Organiser

***Rebetika* Brackets**				
Event Type	**Greek**	**Non-Greek**	**Multicultural and Mixed**	**Sub-total**
Social-Dance	5	1		6
Festival	2		1	3
Concert	3			3
Sub-Total	**10**	**1**	**1**	**12**
***Rebetika* Programs**				
Social-Dance	1		1	2
Restaurant	5	5		10
Life Cycle	2			2
Festival		2		2
Concert	1	2	1	4
Miscellaneous		2		2
Sub-Total	**9**	**11**	**2**	**22**
Total	**19**	**12**	**3**	**34**

One may note that events organised by Greek people, mostly social-dances, restaurants and concerts featured slightly over half of the *rebetika* music brackets and programs (19 of 34). Key organisers of these events were the Hellenic Music Association of SA, Zorba's Restaurant and Yiannis Restaurant. Non-Greek organised events where *rebetika* music brackets and entire music programs were performed comprised approximately one third (12 of 34) of the total number of events featuring *rebetika* brackets and entire music programs. Five of these occurred at Nanyetta's Gypsy Taverna. Three multicultural organisations hosted *rebetika* music brackets and programs at a social-dance, festival and concert.

It is interesting to note that while events organised by Greek people are largely responsible for the more concentrated performance of *rebetika* music in brackets and concerts combined, non-Greek, multicultural and mixed organisers together provide a diversity of event types at which *rebetika* brackets and entire programs are included. The occurrence of *rebetika* as entire programs at more non-Greek, multicultural/mixed (13) than Greek (9) events suggests that Greek organisers may be slower than non-Greek and multicultural organisations to accept the highly concentrated performance of *rebetika* music.

In summary, standardisation and patterning are clearly observed in the organisation of music repertoires by Greek bands. However, the choices that musicians make and the occurrence of non-standard music programs and repertoires indicate that diversity, heterogeneity and flexibility are important features of Greek music programs. The element of choice also reflects contrasting *ethoi* about tradition, modernity, performance style and gender constructions. The inclusion of *rebetika* in concentrated presentations is one special feature of the flexibility of Greek music repertoires and programs in Adelaide. The occurrence of non-standard repertoires and music programs also suggest that, contrary to the perception that musicians are compelled to provide Greek commercial pop music and a finite Greek dance repertoire for Greek patrons, musicians act as agents of social change by selecting and performing a diverse repertoire in flexible music programs.

An analysis of the incidence of *rebetika* styles in relation to the concentration of its presentation as items, brackets and programs, and also in relation to *rebetika* style, event type and the ethnicity of organisers, has revealed another nexus of contextual factors which impinge upon performance and directly affect the significance of *rebetika*. While *laïka* comprised almost half of the *rebetika* music repertoire performed by musicians at the documented music-making events in Adelaide, *smyrneïka* and *piraiötika* together comprised a significant remaining half of the *rebetika* repertoire. It was noted that the preference for *rebetiko* style were differed from band to band. For example, Meraki, Aman and the Gypsy Trio demonstrated a preference for *smyrneïka*. Regarding the concentration of *rebetika* at music-making events, it was found that most *rebetika* were performed as individual items at the regular Greek social-dances, Greek and mixed life cycle celebrations, and non-Greek/multicultural festivals. Yet, the data indicated an increasing incidence of concentrated presentations of *rebetika* in the form of brackets and programs, especially at Greek-organised social-dances, Greek and non-Greek restaurants, and festivals and concerts of all types. The data surprisingly demonstrated that the highest concentration of *rebetika* in the form of an entire concert program was organised by non-Greek and multicultural organisations.

It is now appropriate to focus attention more closely on the *rebetika* music sample in order to examine the salient musical and textual features of the *rebetika* repertoire. This provides a foundation for the subsequent discussion of the live performance and significance of *rebetika* music in Adelaide.

Chapter 9 The Musical Features of *Rebetika*

9.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the salient musical and textual features of *rebetika* music. It also considers the stylistic particularity and generic unity of *rebetika*. Discussion is based on a musical analysis of the *rebetika* music sample[1] of twenty eight *rebetika* items. These items were recorded live in Adelaide between 1980 and 1993 (see Volume 3 *Rebetika* Music Sample: Audio Recordings), transcribed (see Volume 2 *Rebetika* Music Sample: Music Notations) and analysed in terms of the following macrostructural features of *rebetika*: instrumentation, timbre and texture; rhythm and tempo; musical form; song text themes and form; tonality and modality; melodic contour and phrasing; harmonisation and accompaniment; melody-text relationship; and ornamentation and expressive techniques.[2] A summary of the musical analysis is presented in tabular form in Appendix 5. The results of the analysis are discussed below in detail. This study acknowledges that there have been differing opinions about the nature of *rebetika* (discussed in Chapters 1, 2 and 3) and various approaches to the study of its musical features.[3] By providing an analysis of *rebetika* music based on its live contemporary performance in Adelaide, it is envisaged that a more dynamic musicological foundation for understanding *rebetika* music will be initiated.

Previously in Chapter 1 the assumption of a 'generalised' unity for the *rebetika* genre was questioned. This assumption was further explored in Chapters 2 and 3 where it was found that *rebetika* have been variously constructed over time. As a secondary aim to the musical analysis, this chapter turns to the assumption of generic unity by considering whether there are musical structures which constitute *rebetika* as a coherent musical system with its own internal logic. The musical analysis will tentatively offer a more fluid definition of *rebetika* by recognising the heterogeneous and flexible musical features of *rebetika* music. An even broader 'definition' of *rebetika* music will unfold in subsequent chapters after consideration of the ever-widening circles of context—of varied performance practice, reception and response—within which *rebetika* acquire meaning and significance.

A third aim of this chapter is to explore if there are sufficient musicological foundations to permit the categorisation of *rebetika* into the three component styles: *smyrneïka*, *piraiötika* and *laïka*. This information will be helpful in identifying correlations between specific musical features, *rebetika* items and styles, and their performance at particular music-making events in Adelaide, as are explored in Part 3. The discussion now proceeds to an examination of the musical and textual features of the *rebetika* music sample.

9. 2 Instrumentation, Timbre and Texture

The *rebetika* music sample features a variety of ensembles from small (trio, four-piece, five-piece) acoustic ensembles, to small electric ensembles (the typical Greek band), to larger (ten-piece) mixed acoustic and electric ensembles. Voice, strings and percussion instrument groups are the most prominent in *rebetika* ensembles and within these groups, there is a wide array of instrumentation. The dominant timbre of the music consists of a mixture of legato voice, mezzo staccato voice, resonant plucked or strummed strings, and the crisp staccato sound of percussion. Twenty-four items contained in the *rebetika* music sample are songs, while the remaining four are instrumental pieces.[4] This is representative of the customary organisation of repertoire of items in the music programs of Adelaide bands, with the majority of repertoire dedicated to songs and a smaller number featuring instrumental pieces. The exception to this occurred in the performances of the Gypsy Trio which contained an entirely instrumental repertoire.

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[1] See Chapter 8, section 8.5 for discussion of the *rebetika* music sample.

[2] The quality and size of live recordings of *rebetika* in Adelaide was not sufficient to permit a diachronic analysis of the sample. With recording technologies having improved markedly in the past five years, a future diachronic study would benefit from the collection of good quality sound recordings over a period of time so that comparisons can be made of the same items. Also of interest to the author for future research is the diachronic comparison of 'original' recordings of *rebetika* items with contemporary renditions of the same items.

[3] Although beyond the scope of this thesis, the musicological anaylsis of a selection of early *rebetika* repertoire by Dietrich (1987) provides a data base for future comparison with the results of this Adelaide study.

[4] Three of the four instrumental pieces ("*Smyrneïkos Ballos*", "*Ta Matoklada Sou Lamboun*" and "*Pergamos*") also have vocal song forms but in the documented Adelaide performances, they were rendered as instrumental pieces. The "*Smyrneïkos Ballos*" is known as a song called "*Sgoure Vasilike Mou*". "*Pergamos*" is sung as the song "*Antoule, Aman, Aman Chiotissa*".

Table 9.1 presents a list of instruments featured in *rebetika* ensembles at *rebetika* music-making events in Adelaide:

Table 9.1 Instrumentation

Voice	String	Percussion	Wind	Electronic	Other
choir vocals (in Greek)	bass guitar (electric) *baglamas* banjo *bouzouki* double bass guitar (acoustic, electric) oud *tzouras* violin	bongos castanets clap sticks congas drum kit maracas tambourine *toumberleki* wind chimes *zilia*	clarinet didgeridu recorder	drum machine keyboard	piano accordion piano (acoustic, electric)

Instrumentation always features stringed instruments, percussion and the male or female voice singing in the Greek language. The most common stringed instruments are the *bouzouki*, a long-necked strummed lute with three or four courses of paired strings, acoustic, electric and/or bass guitars, and the drum kit. The common line-up of the typical Greek band (male voice, the *bouzouki*, the acoustic or electric guitar, electric bass guitar and drum kit), while present in many ensembles, is notably superseded by a greater variety of instrumentation in *rebetika* music ensembles dedicated to the performance of *rebetika*. The more diverse though less common instrumentation of *rebetika* music ensembles features other members of the *bouzouki* family: the *tzouras*, slightly smaller with three courses of paired strings; and the *baglamas*, the 'baby' of the family. It also includes the short-necked multi-stringed *oud* lute, the violin, banjo, acoustic and electric piano, and a variety of percussion instruments including the *toumberleki*, a single-skinned hour-glass drum, *zilia*, brass finger cymbals, bongos, tambourine, maracas, castanets and even wind chimes. While relatively rare, wind instruments documented in the *rebetika* music sample consist of the recorder, clarinet and didjeridu.

The *rebetika* music sample demonstrates a preference for different sized ensembles and instrumentation according to *rebetiko* style. *Smyrneïka* and *piraiötika* (with one exception, "*Elenitsa Mou*") tend to be played in small acoustic ensembles on traditional instruments (e.g. "*Ferte Preza Na Prezaro*"), while *laïka* tend to be performed in larger electric ensembles on electric instruments (e.g. "*Nychtose Choris Fengari*"). These features indicate that local musicians mimic the instrumentation of *rebetika* on commercial recordings, especially original recordings. The *rebetika* music sample also demonstrates that in general, there is an increasing tendency towards the acoustic performance of *rebetika* using traditional instruments. Musicians often comment on the authenticity of 'correct' instrumentation, the beauty of special timbres and techniques of traditional 'Greek' instruments, and the musical possiblities that these instruments offer for performing *rebetika*.

In the *rebetika* music sample there is a correlation in the instrumentation of *rebetika* on the basis of style and event type. *Laïka* tend to be performed in electric ensembles at social-dances and wedding receptions (e.g. "*Arapines*") while *smyrneïka* and *piraiötika* tend to be performed in acoustic ensembles on traditional instruments at restaurants, festivals and concerts (e.g. "*Tha Spaso Koupes*"; "*Pente Manges*"). As the *rebetika* music-making event types have diversified, so too has the instrumentation of *rebetika* music ensembles.

The orchestration of instrumentation to create certain textures comprises another dimension of *rebetika* music. The voice-string-percussion instrumentation provides many possibilities for the production of both stopped percussive and sustained resonant timbres. In the *rebetika* music sample, a particular texture is created by the orchestration of these instruments in two interlocking layers: a lyrical-melodic layer with voice, *bouzouki*, violin, *baglamas*, and/or piano (in the middle to high register); and a rhythmic-harmonic 'bed' with drum kit, percussion, guitars, *baglamas* and/or piano in the middle to low register.

Since *rebetika* music is primarily a vocal dance music, the interplay between melodic and rhythmic textures is central. Singers and melody instruments, mostly *bouzouki* or violin in the *rebetika* music sample, play the role of 'lead' instruments. The remainder of the ensemble accompany the lead instruments by embedding and enhancing the melodic layer with rhythm and harmony. Percussion and chordal instruments provide a rhythmically tight and instrumentally dense rhythmic-harmonic 'bed' as a firm foundation for the highly ornamented thinner lyrical-melodic layer. Melodies develop from modal patterns which are either rendered heterophonically, that is, played simultaneously in unison or octaves by different instruments and varied according to instrumental technique; or homophonically, that is, played with parallel melodic movement in harmonies of thirds or sixths. To some degree, then, there is instrumental differentiation and specialisation. However, the music demonstrates a flexible orchestration when 'rhythmic-harmonic' instruments such as the guitar, piano and *baglamas* play a lead melodic role (e.g. "*Pente Manges*"), or when the *bouzouki* lead instrument provides chordal-rhythmic accompaniment ("*Arapines*").

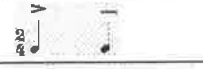
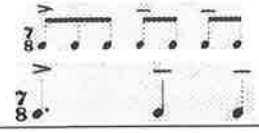
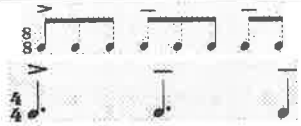
9.3 Rhythm and Tempo

9.3.1 Rhythmic Patterns

Each *rebetika* item documented in the *rebetika* music sample is set in a metred rhythmic pattern which is cyclically repeated throughout the duration of the item. Each rhythmic pattern has a name and an associated dance form. Twelve different rhythms are identified. Table 9.2 lists the different *rebetika* rhythms, their frequency of occurrence in the *rebetika* music sample, and their abstracted musical form:

The *zeïbekikos*, "dance of the *Zeïbeks*", is by far the most common *rebetiko* rhythm featured in each of the three styles. The *zeïbekikos* rhythmic pattern consists of a composite nine-beat rhythm grouped into smaller rhythmic cells of two and three (or 4+5) in various combinations and played at various speeds. Four sub-categories of the *zeïbekikos* are present in the *rebetika* music sample. The *koptos*, "cut", "staccato", also known as *kenourgio*, "new", or *varis*, "heavy", is a syncopated *zeïbekikos* rhythmic pattern grouped into 4+5 with primary accents on the one and five beats. The *syrianos*, "dance of Syros", also known as *palios*, "old", is a regular *zeïbekikos* rhythmic pattern grouped into 4+5 and also with primary accents on the one and five beats. The *aptalikos*, "back-to-front", *zeïbekikos* rhythmic pattern is grouped into 3+2+2+2 with the accents falling on the one and six (i.e. 5+4). The *aptalikos* is further differentiated as a syncopated *koptos* or regular *syrianos zeïbekikos*. In the sample, the *aptalikos koptos* is documented. The *kamilierikos*, "dance of the camel-driver", is the fourth *zeïbekikos* rhythm. It consists of a regular nine-beat pattern with cells of 2+2+2+3 beats and accents falling more frequently on the one, three, five and seven. A feature differentiating the *zeïbekikos* rhythm appears to be the regular (long-short-short) or syncopated (short-long-short) rhythmic cell. There also appears to be a tempo difference between the *kamilierikos* which is slightly faster and other *zeïbekikos* rhythms which are moderate or slow (e.g. compare "*Stous Apano Machalades*" with "*O Bochoris*").

Table 9.2 *Rebetika* Rhythmic Patterns: Frequency and Abstract Representation

Rhythmic Pattern			No.	Abstract Representation of Rhythmic Pattern
Simple	**Regular**	*bagion*	2	
		chasapikos	1	
		chasaposervikos	3	
Simple	**Syncopated**	*béguine*	1	
		tsifteteli	3	
		kalamatianos	2	
Composite	**Regular**	*zeïbekikos kamilierikos*	3	
		zeïbekikos syrianos	1	
Composite	**Syncopated**	*syrtos* [5]	4	
		zeïbekikos koptos	6	
		zeïbekikos aptalikos koptos	2	

Accentuation in Greek rhythms is documented according to the grouping of rhythmic cells, the first beat of each cycle taking the primary accent and the first beat of each subsequent cell-group taking secondary accents. In reality, accentuation in Greek music is variously interpreted. Accentuation may be rendered with micro adjustments of volume or tempo, such as, for example, when an instrumentalist playing a phrase of continuous quavers and semiquavers accents the underlying and more sparse rhythmic pattern within the phrase (e.g. "*Pergamos*"). Accentuation may be rendered by some instruments with an emphasis on the 'off-beats' of a rhythmic pattern which creates a dynamic cross-rhythm against the main rhythmic pattern. This readily occurs during the *zeïbekikos koptos* when the *baglamas*-player (or pianist) maintains a regular and unrelenting quaver pattern against the more sparse *zeïbekikos* rhythmic pattern, setting up a motivating cross-rhythm (e.g. "*Antilaloune Ta Vouna*", "*Osoi Echoune Polla Lefta*").

The difficulties of differentiating between *zeïbekikos* rhythms have been noted by Aulin and Vejleskov (1991: 36), especially with regard to the *syrianos* and *kamilierikos*.[6] In many cases, there are

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[5] One can also interpret the basic *syrtos* as a simple regular  rhythmic pattern.

[6] Aulin and Vejleskov (1991: 39-121) categorise the syrianos as a "*vari zeïbekikos*", the fast syrianos as a "*kamilierikos zeïbekikos*" (though their "*kamilierikos zeïbekikos*" is not consistently categorised, see p. 90 and 116); the *koptos zeïbekikos* as an "*alvaliotikos*

subtle and highly varied forms of articulation of the same rhythmic pattern by different instrumentalists, even during the one item. For example, in the instrumental piece "*Pergamos*", the guitarist and *toumberleki* player variously articulate the same *zeïbekikos aptalikos koptos* rhythm. 'Filling in' beats of the *syrianos* rhythm may render it as a *kamilierikos* and vice versa. This flexibility of rhythmic interpretation points to the importance placed on variation and improvisation in *rebetika* music. Musicians contribute to a re-creation of the music by freely improvising variations of standard rhythmic patterns.

In the sample, the *syrtos*, "dragging" or "shuffle" dance rhythm is found in *smyrneïka* items. It consists of a simple quadruple four-beat rhythmic cycle which is rendered in the sample as a syncopated composite eight-beat rhythm with cells grouped into 3+3+2 (dotted crotchet-dotted crotchet-crotchet). As with the *zeïbekikos* rhythms, a cross-rhythm is set up in the *syrtos* between the dotted crotchet rhythm and the underlying regular quadruple metre (e.g. "*To Feretze*").

The *tsifteteli*, "double strings" dance, also known as the belly-dance, is a common rhythm featured in the *rebetiko* repertoire and marked by its syncopated simple duple or quadruple metre. The basic repeated *tsifteteli* cycle consists of a quaver-crotchet-quaver-crotchet-crotchet rhythmic pattern. In variations, the repeated pattern may span the length of two bars. Whether or not one interprets the main accent as falling on the first or second beat of the cycle, a cross-rhythm is set up against an underlying quadruple metre.

The *chasaposervikos*, "Serbian-butchers" dance, is performed as an fast accelerating dance in simple regular duple or quadruple metre. However, one appears in the *rebetika* music sample, "*Pente Manges*", played at a steady allegro tempo.

The *chasapikos*, "butcher's" dance, is a simple regular duple or quadruple metre usually in a slow or moderate tempo. In this *rebetika* music sample there is only one example of the *chasapikos*, "*Omorfi Thessaloniki*", and it is played at an allegro tempo.

Other rhythms identified in the *rebetika* music sample include the *bagion*, a rhythm found in north eastern Greece and Asia Minor Greece, in simple regular quadruple metre with a crotchet-quaver-quaver-crotchet-crotchet pattern,[7] the *kalamatianos*, "dance of Kalamata", in a composite seven-beat cycle grouped in 3+2+2 rhythmic cells, and the *béguine*, a Latin American ballroom dance rhythm in a syncopated simple quadruple metre.[8]

It must be mentioned that that categorisation of *rebetika* songs into specific rhythms is not definitive. This is because different renditions of the same song are often found on recordings and in performance. For example, the song "*Ti Se Mellei Esenane*", while performed in this sample as a *bagion*, is found on a recording performed as a *tsifteteli*. This indicates fluidity in the rhythmic interpretation of *rebetika* songs.

Contrary to a commonly-held equation of *rebetika* with *zeïbekika* only, or, at the most, with the addition of the *tsifteteli*, *chasapikos* and *chasaposervikos*, the *rebetika* music sample documents eleven discrete rhythmic patterns, indicating that a wide range of dance rhythms have been incorporated into the repertoire. This observation makes the construction of *rebetika* as a homogeneous genre on the basis of dance rhythms difficult.

9.3.2 Tempo

Rebetika items generally maintain a constant speed until final *ritardando* phrases. The full range of tempo from slow to fast are represented in the *rebetika* music sample: *larghetto*, *adagio*, *andante*, *moderato*, *allegro* and *presto*. The most common tempo is the *allegro* which occurs in sixteen items. This is not surprising since *rebetika* music is performed to accompany energetic dancing.

Rhythmic variety is created by the relative rhythmic density of the music: the 'filling in' or 'doubling up' of time from longer note values to shorter note values. This is often rendered during songs by instrumentalists, when, for example, the vocalist sustains a crotchet-quaver melody while the instrumentalist simultaneously or in alternation renders the same melody with quavers and semiquavers

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zeïbekikos", and the *aptalikos syrianos* as "*ouroukikos zeïbekikos*". These examples alos suggest that there are various names and interpretations of Greek rhythms.

[7] The *bagion* was taught to the author by her *toumberleki* teacher, Spyros Glenis. Further information about this rhythm is unavailable.

[8] Dance rhythms not included in this *rebetika* music sample but present in the *rebetika* repertoires of Adelaide musicians are the *karsilamas* (a fast 2+2+2+3), the *aïdinikos* (a fast 2+3+2+2), and the waltz.

(e.g. "*Ti Se Mellei Esenane*", b. 17-18). This process of increasing the density of a rhythmic pattern while maintaining a regular speed is another example of the importance of variation.

Rarely does the tempo of an item change internally except during the *chasaposervikos* ("*Tatavlianos Choros*", "*Gia Ta Matia P' Agapo*") where it accelerates to an *allegro* or *presto* finale. In one other item ("*Nychtose Choris Fengari*") the introduction is played at a tempo considerably slower than the remainder of the song.

The *koptos*, *syrianos* and *aptalikos zeïbekikos* items tend to be played at a slower tempo (*larghetto*, *adagio*, *andante*, *moderato*) while the *kamilierikos zeïbekikos*, *tsifteteli*, *syrtos* and *chasaposervikos* are featured as up-tempo items.

9.3.3 Unmetred Music

Unmetred music in the *rebetiko* music sample occurs in the form of the *taximi*, a solo instrumental improvisation.[9] The *taximi* is 'unmetred' in the sense that it does not articulate an underlying regular metre or recurring rhythmic pattern. However, in and of itself it is extremely metred and rhythmic as the soloist improvises new melodic-rhythmic phrases. In the *rebetika* music sample the *taximi* is played on the *bouzouki*, *tzouras*, violin, oud, acoustic guitar and electric guitar. A *taximi* may occur at the commencement of an item as an introduction ("*Tatavlianos Choros*", "*Tha Spaso Koupes*", "*Oi Lachanades*", "*Osoi Echoune Polla Lefta*", "*Pergamos*", "*Elenitsa Mou*"). In this case it is accompanied by an occasional drone strum when played on a string instrument, or by a tremolando drone or chord when accompanied on other instruments. A *taximi* may also occur during an item as an instrumental intermezzo ("*Tatavlianos Choros*", "*Ta Matoklada Sou Lamboun*", "*Mia Melachroini*"), in which case the harmonic-rhythmic instruments continue to accompany the solo instrumentalist in the rhythmic pattern of the piece with a drone chord, a chord progression, or an ostinato phrase ('riff'), thereby creating a juxtaposition of the 'unmetred' solo against the metred accompaniment.

Analysis of the *rebetika* music sample demonstrates that the *rebetika* are a metred and rhythmically patterned music played at a stable tempo. The common *rebetika* rhythms consist of both simple and composite rhythms which are either regular or syncopated. Simple rhythms consist of duple and quadruple rhythms while the composite rhythms contain seven-beat, eight-beat and nine-beat rhythms grouped in two and three beat cells. *Rebetika* rhythms allow for considerable individual interpretation of rhythmic articulation with the processes of accentuation, variation and improvisation. The scope for unmetred *taximi* improvisation by lead and solo instruments is important in *rebetika*. The *chasaposervikos* rhythm with its accelerando section is an unusual though noteworthy feature when compared with the stable tempo of most *rebetika* items. *Smyrneïka* and *laïka* items demonstrate the most variety of rhythmic dance patterns. The *piraiötika* music sample, while small, indicates the preference for the *zeïbekikos* rhythm ("*Osoi Echoune Polla Lefta*", "*Bouzouki Mou Diplochordo*", "*Ta Matoklada Sou Lamboun*") and the *chasaposervikos* ("*Pente Manges*").

9.4 Musical Form

All songs in the *rebetika* music sample are strophic in nature, with different verses sung to the same repeated melodies. Half of the vocal sample contains songs in binary form with verses which are internally repeated and flanked by instrumental interludes, as represented in Table 9.3:

Table 9.3 Binary 'Folksong' Form

	Section
A	instrumental introduction
B	sung verse
A	instrumental interlude
B	sung verse
A	instrumental coda

[9] The solo vocal improvisation known as the *amanes*, though present in *rebetika* music-making in Adelaide, is not documented in the sample.

This form resembles the Greek demotic folksong.[10] The *piraiötika* items "*Osoi Echoune Polla Lefta*" and "*Bouzouki Mou Diplochordo*" are noticeable here. The other half of the *rebetika* song sample, all of the *smyrneïko* and *laïko* styles, contain a tripartite form with the addition of an autonomous repeated vocal refrain:

Table 9.4 Tripartite 'Vocal Refrain' Form

	Section
A	instrumental introduction
B	sung verse
C	vocal refrain
A	instrumental interlude
B	sung verse
C	vocal refrain
A	instrumental coda

There are various types of instrumental sections which flank vocal sections. The most common is the instrumental introduction which is repeated to function as the instrumental interlude and the instrumental coda, creating a binary song form. The instrumental introduction/ interlude/ coda may contain variations of vocal melodic material (e.g. "*Mi Me Stelneis Mana Stin Ameriki*") or independent melodic material which differs from that sung by the vocalist (e.g. "*I Garsona*").

A second type of instrumental section is the shorter instrumental interlude referred to as the *apantisi*, "response" phrase, which occurs as an 'answer' to a vocal melody (e.g. "*Zourlobenemenis Genna*"). Sometimes the *apantisi* plays the role of a short 'joining' phrase between vocal lines and between verse and refrain (e.g. "*Arapines*"). In any one song, there may be several instrumental *apantisi* phrases.

A third type of instrumental section consists of spontaneously improvised melodic material in the form of the *taximi*. The improvised instrumental *taximi* may introduce a piece of music, after which follows the metred composition with the other instruments. A *taximi* may also be improvised during an item as an intermezzo, or as the final of the piece as a coda, in which case it is accompanied by the entire ensemble. During the *taximi* an instrumentalist freely improvises music by exploring the mode of the composed piece, its standard intervallic pattern and key notes, and the way these notes are approached, departed from and resolved. The instrumentalist may 'quote' melodic sections of the composed item. Sometimes the *taximi* veers off into modes other than those featured in the item. The importance of freely improvised modal sections is borne out by the frequency of their occurrence in ten items of the *rebetika* music sample, and indicates a healthy survival in the Australian context despite having been trimmed or removed from many commercial sound recordings.

A fourth type of instrumental section is the composed instrumental intermezzo which introduces independent melodic material not present in the vocal melody or instrumental interludes. This creates a four-part or tetramerous song form as represented in Table 5 below:

Table 9.5 Tetramerous 'Intermezzo' Form

	Section
A	instrumental introduction
B	sung verse
C	vocal refrain
D	instrumental intermezzo etc.

There are many ways in which a *rebetika* song may conclude. Sometimes it concludes with a final verse (e.g. "*Synnefiasmeni Kyriaki*"), or a final rendition of the vocal refrain (e.g. "*Tha Spaso Koupes*"), a

[10] The parallels of *rebetika* song with Greek demotic folksong have been drawn by many authors, including Anoyanakis (1979: 31-32) and Gauntlett (1985: 192).

repetition of the instrumental interlude ("*Bouzouki Mou Diplochordo*"), an instrumental *apantisi* (e.g. "*O Bochoris*"), or a *taximi* coda (e.g. "*To Feretze*").

Repetition of sections is essential in *rebetika*. It involves the cyclical repetition of broad sections in binary form of instrumental interlude and verse (e.g. "*Bouzouki Mou Diplochordo*") or tripartite form with the addition of a vocal refrain (e.g. "*I Garsona*"). The cyclical repetition of sections are examples of the oral-aural folk tradition which has as a central principle the maximisation of material with minimum effort. Cyclical repetition also provides evidence of the presence of a formulaic process whereby repeated rhythmic-harmonic-melodic sections accommodate the substitution of new text, or whereby rhythmic-harmonic sections accommodate the substitution of new melodic material.[11]

Another feature of *rebetika* is the presence of larger multisectional forms. This is evident in the tetramerous form which has the addition of an instrumental intermezzo containing completely new melodic material (e.g. in "*Tha Spaso Koupes*") and in the addition of instrumental *taximia*, sometimes as an intermezzo (e.g. "*Mia Melachroini*") or a coda (e.g. "*To Feretze*"). These features suggest the presence of aggregative through-composed 'rhapsodic' music forms, especially in the *smyrneïka* and *laïka*, a feature which is characteristic of byzantine, Arabic-Persian and western classical music.

Another example of the aggregative form is the contemporary practice of stringing together a number of songs and instrumental pieces which share the same rhythmic pattern into a medley. This is a special feature of the band Odyssey and the performance of the items "*Taka Taka Taka Ta Petalakia-Echo Koumparo Leventia*" and "*Omorfi Thessaloniki*". Together with the occurrence of multisectional forms, there appears to be a tendency towards the performance of longer items. Not restricted by the canon of the three-minute commercial sound recording, this practice is firmly established in the uninterrupted all-night music-making practices in the city nightclubs and village festivals of Greece.

In summary, broad musical forms present in the *rebetika* music sample include binary, tripartite, tetramerous and multisectional forms. Repetition, substitution and aggregative expansion of sections are integral to the formal construction of *rebetika* music. The discussion reveals an interesting co-existence of different 'compositional' processes, one highly repetitive, cyclical and formulaic, the other aggregative and rhapsodic. Both processes accommodate a fluid performance practice by enabling musicians to repeat, add, remove and expand sections according to their musical knowledge, the amount of time available to them, their mood and the reception of the music.

9.5 Song Text Themes

The song texts and translations of twenty-four items were documented (see Appendix 6) and analysed. The *rebetika* music sample reveals that a variety of topics and themes are broached in *rebetika* songs, often simultaneously within one song. In this sense I regard *rebetika* songs as multi-themed, yet maintaining coherence. This contrasts with Gauntlett's (1985: 60-61; 76) observation of a thematically homogeneous repertoire. He notes an exception to this in the early oral non-commercial *rebetika* which were thematically hybrid in performance. Hybridity of song text theme is noted in a *smyrneïka* example of the *rebetika* music sample with the hashish song "*Stous Apano Machalades*", which oscillates between a personalised narrative to one in third person about whirling dervishes (see Appendix 6). The difference in observation of the nature of *rebetika* song text themes may simply be due to a difference in the definition of 'theme' which I treat loosely.

Table 9.5 lists the incidence of song text themes in the *rebetika* music sample:

[11] See for example Lord (1960: 3-67); Ong (1982) and Beaton (1980: 35-57) for a discussion of the formulaic process.

Table 9.6 The Incidence of *Rebetika* Song Text Themes

Rebetika Song Text Themes	Incidence
death	2
exoticism	1
hashish	3
human condition and suffering	3
love	
embittered/complaining love	2
flirtatious erotic love	3
love sickness	1
praise of loved one	4
rebuffing love	1
unrequited love	3
migration	1
police	1
politics	2
poverty	1
praise of city	1
imprisonment	3
profile and personalities	3
revelry and music-making	4
theft	2
wealth	1
womanhood	1
work	1

The theme of love in all of its shades is predominant, as confirmed in Gauntlett (1985) and Aulin and Vejleskov (1991). For example, in the song "*Mia Melachroini*" a man is infatuated with a beautiful woman. A translation of the first verse reads:

> A dark-skinned woman, a living doll,
> when I saw her dancing, I cannot hold on, I will go crazy,
> she was belly-dancing to a gypsy tune.

Gauntlett (1985) and Aulin and Vejleskov (1991) categorise the depiction of marginal lifestyle as the second dominant theme characteristic of *rebetika*. By this is meant the occurrence of song text themes depicting the street culture of socially disadvantaged people in Greek society, of poverty, social persecution, imprisonment, and illegal activities such as hashish consumption. This is also observed in the *rebetika* music sample. For example, the song "*Pente Manges*" provides an example of the hashish-oriented song:

> Five *manges*[12] from Piraeus passed by a den
> one from the *parea*[13] said, let's go and smoke a *nargiles*.[14]
> They went in for a smoke and called out to the den keeper
> fix a fresh *nargiles* for us with Persian *toumbeki*.[15]

On the theme of imprisonment, the song "*Oi Lachanades*" presents a humorous yet poignant account in street argot of two pick-pockets caught by police and pleading for mercy. One of the verses reads:

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[12] *manges* = "smart guy, hip, cool dude" (see Glossary)

[13] *parea* = "a company of friends"

[14] *argiles* = "hubble-bubble, water-pipe, bong"

[15] *toumbeki* = probably a derivation of the word "tobacco"; tobacco used for a *argiles*; possibly also refers to the leaf of the marijuana plant.

They took them to gaol and put them behind bars
and if they don't find the stolen wallets they will get a beating.
Mr. Policeman, don't beat us since you know very well
that this is our job and don't expect any bribes.

However, aside from these two broad themes, the *rebetika* music sample indicates a far wider range of song text themes depicting everyday urban life. These include revelry and music-making, personality profiles, the human condition and suffering, death and politics.

Some songs such as "*Arapines*" employ images of music-making and revelry in the context of love and hint at the cathartic healing of the *psychi*, the soul, through the physically engaging activities of music-making and exotic images of erotic love:

I speak to you with yearning, with anguish
I am nostalgic for all that madness.
The erotic lustful Arab women
with whisky, sweet-sounding guitars, merriment and drink.

Similarly, the *piraiötiko* song "*Bouzouki Mou Diplochordo*" depicts a man's appeal to the music of the *bouzouki* to appease his heart and soul:

My double-stringed *bouzouki*, my poor *bouzouki*
only you console every embittered person.

The profile of personalities is a common theme, but not to the exclusion of the portrayal of life from an assertive woman's point of view. The song "*I Garsona*", is about a deft waitress who knows how to deal with harassing male clients:

I am the best waitress
because I serve everyone with skill
In a flight I serve the shares
[and] appetisers on a plate with white bait and cheese.
And when someone tells me he loves me
he pays three times the price of an *oka*[16]
I water down his wine
and rattle him with the bill.

In an example of thematic heterogeneity, the song "*Ti Se Mellei Esenane*", portrays a woman who rebuffs a man's advances, but also alludes to her Asia Minor place of origin, her recent refugee status and her personal state of despair:

What's it to you where I am from
whether it's Karatasi, my light, or Kordelio.
Where I come from they know how to love,
they know how to hide their sorrow and how to have a good time.

The *rebetika* music sample reveals the presence of certain themes according to *rebetiko* style. For example, there is an absence of hashish oriented and street life songs in the *laïko* sample, a feature noted by Gauntlett (1985: 111-113) as characteristic of the 1936-1941 period of censorship.[17] Rather, *laïka* songs feature love, the human condition and suffering, death, politics, praise of a city, revelry and music-making.

[16] A measurement of drink: an *oka* = 1280 grams.

[17] However, the subsequent period of the development of *laïka rebetika* songs between 1941 to 1946 was marked by, apart from the emphasis on the erotic, exotic and melancholic, a glorification of hashish consumption (Gauntlett 1985: 122-124).

The *piraiötika* are concerned with the human condition, suffering, hashish-consumption and poverty/wealth, while the *smyrneïka* abound with songs of love and hashish consumption, and in two examples, poverty, theft and imprisonment.

The allusions to personal, cultural, social and historical contexts in the thematic content of *rebetika* songs provide many openings for imaginative and nostalgic readings of meaning. With these thematic features, the personal interpretation of *rebetika* songs becomes a re-creative and empowering experience for listeners and musicians several generations removed and continents apart from the creators of the music, yet connected by the shared experiences of migration, social dislocation and urbanisation.

9.6 Song Text Form

There are a large variety of song text sizes and forms present in the *rebetika* music sample. Song texts differ in length from one to six verses per song. Apart from length of authored songs which is set, the length of a song in performance is determined by the vocalist's knowledge of available verses from recordings and publications; and by the conditions of the performance context which may require a shortening or lengthening of songs depending on dancing participation or its placement within a medley. For example, the song "*Omorfi Thessaloniki*" contains only one sung verse because it is flanked by other songs within a medley. On the other hand, all six verses of the song "*Mi Me Stelneis Mana Stin Ameriki*" are performed because of the enthusiastic participation in spontaneous dancing.

The analysis of *rebetika* song text forms indicates the presence of two-lined (distich), three-lined (triplet), and four-lined (quatrain) verses. In the *rebetika* music sample, the *piraiötika* contain distichs while the *smyrneïka* and *laïka* exhibit larger verse sizes. The *smyrneïka* often repeat the hemistichs, lines or entire distichs to make a quatrain, a feature not found in *laïka*. The addition of a line to make triplet verses is found in both *smyrneïka* and *laïka*.

The obsevations regarding song text metre confirm a heterogeneous genre. A regular feature in all *rebetika* song text forms is the occurrence of 15 syllable distichs, whether in trochaic, iambic or mixed metre. This is partly confirmed by Gauntlett (1985: 61,79, 80, 95, 103, 108, 143,157) who documents a dominant occurrence of 15 syllable iambic and 8 syllable trochaic and iambic distichs in the songs of the *café-aman* style, and the folksong-influenced 15 syllable iambic distich in the *piraiötika* of the first generation of *bouzouki*-players (Gauntlett 1985: 171).[17] In addition to this, Aulin and Vejleskov (1991: 126)[18] find *piraiötika* with 15 syllable trochaic or 8 syllable trochaic distichs, as well as with distichs of mixed metres.

In the *rebetika* music sample, the *piraiötika* in comparison with the *smyrneïka* and *laïka* contain relatively regular verse structures. The 15 syllable distich is prominent. However in the song "*Bouzouki Mou Diplochordo*", the verse is in iambic metre and is extended in length to a quatrain by repetition of lines in reverse order (1,2,2,1). The song "*Osoi Echoune Polla Lefta*" contains 15 syllable distichs in mixed metre, while the *piraiötika* song "*Pente Manges*" contains the 8-syllable quatrain.

Apart from the *café-aman* songs which contain quatrains with 8 syllable trochaic distichs or repeated 15 syllable distichs, Aulin and Vejleskov (1991: 126-127) find that most *café-aman* songs in their *rebetika* music sample contain *migmata*, "mixed" verse metres, with iambic 15 syllable lyrics the second most common and trochaic 8 syllable verses the third. They also document other *café-aman* verse metres including mixed metres: trochaic 15 syllable; iambic 8 syllable; alternating trochaic 8 syllable and 7 syllable; trochaic 11 syllable; iambic 13 syllable; dactylic metre (long, short, short) and a mixed trochaic 8 syllable with the dactylic 10 syllable. In this regard their (Aulin and Vejleskov 1991: 129) findings differ substantially from those of Gauntlett.

The presence of mixed metres is also confirmed in the *rebetika* music sample. For example, *smyrneïka* and *laïka* song texts exhibit ample variation in verse size and metre. Sometimes verse metre is also found to be internally irregular. Those documented include trochaic distichs in mixed metres, some of

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[17] Traditionally, this form provided the framework for the continuous improvisation of new verses, as occurred in the early development of *rebetika* (Gauntlett 1985: 60-61).

[18] The analysis of Aulin and Vejleskov (1991) is based on song texts transcribed from original 78 rpm recordings reissued on the L.P. albums *Ta Apagorevmena*, "The Prohibited Songs", Volumes 1-3, plus nine songs transcribed by Gauntlett (1985), all with themes about drug use and recorded before the Second World War.

which included 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19 syllable lines (e.g. "*Ferte Preza Na Prezaro*"); trochaic triplet verses of mixed lengths (10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16 syllable lines) (e.g. "*Mia Melachroini*"); triplet verses with a 15 syllable trochaic distich plus a 7 syllable hemistich ("*To Telefteo Vradi Mou*", "*Skantaliara*"); 8 syllable trochaic quatrains ("*O Bochoris*"); 10 syllable iambic quatrains ("*I Garsona*"); 10 syllable quatrains of mixed metre ("*Omorfi Thessaloniki*"); and 10+13+10+13 syllable trochaic quatrains ("*Arapines*").

The diversification of verse size during the development by *café-aman* and *laïko* musicians ('second generation *bouzouki*-players') is documented by Gauntlett (1985: 69, 80, 109, 114, 125, 144, 162). In particular, Gauntlett (1985: 80) notes the general increase in verse size to the quatrain, and the expansion of the 15 syllable distich into the quatrain by repetition in *café-aman* (*smyrneïka*) and *piraiötika* compositions (Gauntlett 1985: 69, 157). Aulin and Vejleskov (1991: 127) note that quatrains are created by repeating distichs, sometimes in an inverted fashion (i.e. line 1,2,2,1), what I refer to as reversed order. *Café-aman* songs are also found with 3-lined (triplet), 6-lined and 8-lined verses (Aulin and Vejleskov 1991: 127).

Thirteen songs in the *rebetika* music sample feature an autonomous vocal refrain which is repeated after each verse. The occurrence of the vocal refrain is confined to the *smyrneïka* and *laïka*. In most cases vocal refrains contain independent textual material (e.g. "*Mia Melachroini*"). The two exceptions to this are in the *laïka* songs "*Antilaloune Ta Vouna*" (b. 24-25) and "*Gia Ta Matia P' Agapo*" which repeat a vocal text line and melody as a type of 'floating' refrain. The vocal refrain is also found to vary in length yet tends to be set consistently in trochaic metre.

Gauntlett (1985: 80; 97; 144) and Aulin and Vejleskov (1991: 128) note the presence of the fixed refrain in the first recorded *rebetika* of the *café-aman* and its absence from the *piraiötika* of the first-generation of profesional *bouzouki*-players, a feature confirmed in this *rebetika* music sample. Gauntlett (1985: 171) argues that the vocal refrain was consolidated after the Second World War by the second-generation of professional *bouzouki*-players, and together with the extension of verse size, is exemplary of the overall evolutionary complication of *rebetika* song form. Yet the presence of the refrain in the *smyrneïka* and *laïka* but not in the *piraiötika*, technically a 'middle' phase of the recorded evolution of *rebetika*, suggests, instead, that two streams of *rebetika* song form co-existed: one closer to the folksong 15 syllable distich in binary form; and the other to an urban song lineage of aggregative song form. This feature seems to be reinforced by the research of Baud-Bovy (1984: 55-57) who found evidence of the vocal refrain in Greek urban music from as early as the twelfth century.[19]

In variance with Gauntlett's findings, and of Greek folksong structure in general,[20] the *rebetika* music sample does not indicate an overriding prevalence of the 15 syllable iambic distich, nor the consolidation of the refrain as a post-war feature. As is also the case for Aulin and Vejleskov (1991: 126), the *rebetika* music sample points to the dominance of mixed verse lengths and metres, especially in the *café-aman* (*smyrneïka*). The *rebetika* music sample also demonstrates the presence of a fixed and independent refrain in twelve (of sixteen) *smyrneïka*, even in the anonymous songs ("*Tha Spaso Koupes*", "*Mia Melachroini*", "*Elenitsa Mou*"), a feature which further reinforces the idea that the *smyrneïka* developed from an urban tradition of aggregative song writing different to that of the formulaic demotic folksong and *piraiötiko* style.[21]

Integral to *rebetika* song text structure and form is the occurrence of the interjection, *epifonima*. Also known as the *tsakisma*, "a breaking" or "tearing apart" (Chianis 1967), the interjection is a word, syllable or line interruption of a vocal-melodic line. It often takes the form of exclamatory words of excitement or distress, such as the common interjection in *rebetika*, *aman aman*, "woe is me". In the *rebetika* music sample, interjections function in two ways. One function is to lengthen the verse line to fit the metre. In the case of the song, "*Ferte Preza Na Prezaro*", the bracketed interjection, " 'ρε ψεύτη

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[19] Baud Bovy (1984: 67-68) discusses at some length the significance of eleven-syllable distichs in the vocal refrains of Greek urban songs, a feature also present in the *rebetika* music sample in vocal refrains ("*Taka Taka Taka Ta Petalakia*", "*Gia Ta Matia P' Agapo*") and verses ("*Mi Me Stelneis Mana Stin Ameriki*", "*Tha Spaso Koupes*").

[20] See Dragoumis (1980: 20).

[21] Without identifying his sample, Christianopoulos (1961: 8) generalises the structure of *rebetika* songs texts to iambic 15 syllable rhyming distichs, sometimes divided into halves and repeated to become four lined verses, and sometimes with a refrain.

ντουνιά" is added to lengthen the line to fit 15 syllables, yet in this case the singer adds an additional syllable, " 'ρε" which lengthens it beyond its metre:[23]

Κιαν τραγουδά ('ρε ψεύτη ντουνιά) μέσα η καρδιά του κλαίει

ki an tragouda, ('re psefti dounia,) mesa i kardia tou klei

The second function of the interjection is as a vocal extemporisation linked to the duration of the melody rather than the metre. In the example of the song, "*To Feretze*", the bracketed interjections "αχ, αχ, σεβντάλη" and "αμάν, αχ, μερακλή" function to the to 'fill in' the melody rather than the metre which is 8 syllables:

Θέλω στη θερμή σου αγκάλη (αχ, αχ, σεβνταλή)
Για να γύρω το κεφάλι (αμάν, αχ, μερακλή)

thelo sti thermi sou angali (ach, ach sevdali)
gia na giro to kefali (aman, ach, merakli)

In his musicological analysis of the use of the *tsakisma* in the *tsamikos* demotic music[24] of Roumeli and the Peloponnesus, Chianis (1967: 165-186) argues that these text interruptions, while metrically extraneous, are nevertheless a vital part of Greek folk song text structure. They not only have an expressive function but also serve to lengthen the text line, especially the first hemistich (Chianis 1967: 165). For Aulin and Vejleskov (1991: 34, 126), "interjections function to adapt lyrics to the melody of a song". A more flexible definition of the interjection and closer to the findings would be that it functions "to reconcile the poetic verse and melodic phrase" (Gauntlett 1985: 62).

In the *rebetika* music sample, *smyrneïka* differ markedly from the *laïka* and *piraiötika* in the ample use of interjections, especially to accompany musical phrases rather than to elongate text lines (e.g. "*Mia Melachroini*", b. 44-47).

The use of the Greek language, while an entire study in itself, can be commented on with the following observations. First, all *rebetika* items in the *rebetika* music sample contain rhyming text, either of hemistichs, lines, first and third lines of triplet verses and second and fourth lines of quatrains. Aulin and Vejleskov (1991: 127) state that the rhyming distich is the basic unit of all *rebetika* songs and it is present in all iambic 15 syllable verses.[25]

Second, there is not only a dominant use of vernacular or colloquial demotic Greek, but also of argot or street slang.[26] Much use of argot significantly occurs in association with the depiction of hashish use, as in the song "*Ferte Preza Na Prezaro*". But Aulin and Vejleskov (1991: 130) observe an interesting phenomenon in the varied use of argot. They find that the Piraeus songs employ argot words such as *mangas* and *dervisis* instead of the more common technical words *chasiklis*, "hashish smoker", found in the *café-aman* (*smyrneïko*) songs. Similarly, they argue that the more technical terms for narcotics such as "cocaine" are found in *café-aman* songs while the Piraeus songs tend to refer to narcotics with argot such as "*preza*"[27] (Aulin and Vejleskov 1991: 130-131). This is not confirmed in the *rebetika* music sample with the *smyrneïko* song "*Ferte Preza Na Prezaro*" (b. 37-40) which uses the slang word *preza* as well as the more technical word *chasisi*.

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[23] The interjections are indicated in brackets.

[24] The *tsamikos* is a regional dance in a three beat cycle (often articulated against a two-beat cross-rhythm) found in Epirus, Macedonia, Thessaly, and the Peloponnese.

[25] Aulin and Vejleskov (1991: 128) further note that these rhymes are not grammatically matching such as "*manges/aristokrates*" or "*cheria/sekletia*". More significantly they are frequently intimately associated with descriptions of the hashish-smoking environment, such as "*tekedes/arghiledes*" and "*tsimbouki/bouzouki*" (Aulin and Vejleskov 1991: 128).

[26] See Gauntlett (1985) for an analysis of the use of variant grammatical forms.

[27] The word "*preza*" means "a dose [of drugs]" (Stavropoulos 1988: 732) or more specifically of heroin (Zachos 1981: 420) and comes from the Italian word "presa" meaning "receipt; capture" (Zachos 1981: 420).

Thirdly, the use of foreign words in *rebetika* are present in the *rebetika* music sample and confirmed by Aulin and Vejleskov (1991: 130)[27] as another feature of *rebetika*. Examples of this include the French words *au revoir*, "goodbye", and *pourboire*, "tip", in the song "*I Garsona*" (b. 136-140), and the Turkish word *çiftetelli* in the song "*Tha Spaso Koupes*" (b. 42, 50).

In summary, *rebetika* songs demonstrate a variety of text structures and forms. The *smyrneïka* and *laïka* demonstrate a greater heterogeneity of text structure than the *piraiötika*.

9.7 Tonality and Modality

The *rebetika* music sample indicates the presence of a variety of heptatonic and octatonic modes in use in the *rebetika* repertoires of local musicians. These can be categorised according to two criteria. Local musicians distinguish between major and minor modes on the basis of the presence of the major or minor third.[28] A second criterion employed by Chianis (1980: 679-680) is the distinction between chromatic modes which contain intervals of semitones, tones and augmented seconds; and diatonic modes which contain tones and semitones.

All four types of modes—diatonic major, diatonic minor, chromatic major, chromatic minor—occur in the *rebetika* music sample. In some cases, one mode is featured throughout an entire item. More often, however, there is more than one mode, or at least segments of more than one mode, present in any one item. The primary mode is regarded as that in which most of the item is played, often commencing and ending with it. Secondary modes are those which are referred to or passed through in the course of the item. Table 9.6 presents a list of the twelve primary and secondary modes featured in the *rebetika* music sample.[29] For ease of comprehension, they are represented in a D tonality:

Table 9.7 Modes (*Dromous*)

No.	Modes (*Dromous*)	Interval Pattern	Example
	Diatonic Major		
1	major (*matzore*)	TTSTTTS	DEF#GABC#D
2	*rast*	TTS(S)TTTS	DEF#G(G#)ABC#D
	Diatonic Minor		
3	*ousak*	STTTSTT	DEbFGABbCD
4	natural minor (*minore*)	TSTTSTT	DEFGABbCD
	Chromatic Major		
5	*tzivaeri*	TTSTS3SS	DEF#GABbC#D
6	*chitzaz*	S3SSTSTT	DEbF#GABbCD
7	*chitzazskiar*	S3SSTS3SS	DEbF#GABbC#D
8	*chouzam*	3SSSTTS(S)T	DE#F#GABC(C#)D
	Chromatic Minor		
9	harmonic minor (*armonikos*)	TSTTS3SS	DEFGABbC#D
10	*kiourdi* (*kartsigar*)	(S)TSTS3SST	D(Eb)EFGAbBCD
11	*nigriz* (*souzinak*)	TS3SSTS(S)T	DEFG#ABC(C#)D
12	*neveser* (*niavent*)	TS3SSS3SS	DEFG#ABbC#D

[27] Aulin and Vejleskov (1991:131) point this out as an omission of Gauntlett (1985).

[28] Musicians in Greece also make this distinction (Boras 1992, pers.com.)

[29] There is little agreement as to the correlation of modes and their names. I have referred to a number of sources to decide upon a set of categorisations. Primary have been the nomenclatures of practising Adelaide musicians, especially of guitarist Peter Tsounis and *bouzouki*-player Bill Carapetis. Other sources of information are Papagiannopoulos (pers. com. 1992), Harrison (1984: 18) and Pagiatzis (1987).

The modes documented in this study represent a few of the many found in *rebetika* music. Kounadis (1989 pers. com.) suggests there are as many as sixty in use in *rebetika*, with another 120 in use in "eastern" music. Reinhard (1980: 275) notes 347 "theoretically conceivable scales", with almost 100 preferred in Turkish music.

A number of observations can be made regarding the modality of *rebetika* items in the *rebetika* music sample. First, there is an equal distribution between major and minor modes. However, chromatic modes are more popular than diatonic modes (eight out of twelve). The latter feature is interesting when one considers the assertion by Chianis (1980: 679) that most Greek demotic folk music is diatonic, and the assertion by Baud-Bovy (1984: 62, 64) that most Greek demotic mainland music is not only diatonic but anhemitonic. Baud Bovy (1984: 55-71) traces the development of Greek urban music from a distinctly Arabic-Persian influence of highly ornamented hemitonic music.[30] This suggests that the chromaticism of *rebetika* marks it as an urban genre distinct from Greek demotic folk music.

Second, unimodality is a rare occurrence in the *rebetika* music sample. Exceptions to this are the unimodality in two *piraiötika* items ("*Bouzouki Mou Diplochordo*" and "*Ta Matoklada Sou Lamboun*"), a *smyrneïko* item ("*Ferte Preza Na Prezaro*") and a *laïko* item ("*Nychtose Choris Fengari*"). Some items feature the addition of a single passing note accidental ("*Skantaliara*", b. 67, 69).

Third, the complication of modality occurs when the music moves to a secondary tonal centre within the same mode, creating the atmosphere of a temporary shift in tonality. For example, a number of items in the natural minor or major modes move to their relative major or minor through the VI or III degrees (e.g. "*Mi Me Stelneis Mana Stin Ameriki*" moves from A *ousak* and natural minor to III, C major; "*To Telefteo Vradi Mou*" moves from F major to III, A minor, b. 12), while those in *chitzaz* comfortably move to the IV ("*Bouzouki Mou Diplochordo*" moves from D *chitzaz* to G minor; "*Tatavlianos Choros*" moves from C *chitzaz* to F minor, b. 33-34). Because of the nature of the mode in use, two *laïko* songs, "*Arapines*" and "*Antilaloune Ta Vouna*", create an interesting bimodal tension when their melodies hover between the I and V degrees of the A harmonic minor (ABCDEFG#A), lending the modality to a *chitzaz* interpretation from the fifth degree (EFG#AB).

Fourth, signs of polymodality occur in the *rebetika* music sample with the inclusion of passing note accidentals which link the home mode to other closely related modes in a kind of network of modulations (i.e. "*Oi Lachanades*" and "*Taka Taka Taka Ta Petalakia-Echo Koumbaro Leventia*" hover between *chouzam* and *rast*; the instrumental introduction of "*I Garsona*" moves first through *neveser* and then the *nigriz* modes).

Finally, in the *rebetika* music sample we find that all items contain a dominant tonal centre: a 'tonic' or 'home' tonality, which, if not the opening pitch of the melody, is always the concluding pitch. A mode or *dromos*, "road", sets forth from the tonic. However, the *rebetika* music sample also demonstrates ample examples of the modulations of the *dromoi* far away from home tonality in a more labyrinth-like development of polymodality. This occurs with the simultaneous move to other degrees of the original mode and with the introduction of accidentals. It is significant that key examples of polymodality belong to the *smyrneïko* sample (e.g. "*Pergamos*", "*Tha Spaso Koupes*", "*Mia Melachroini*", "*Smyrneïkos Ballos*"). The song "*Zourlobenemenis Genna*" is also noteworthy because it includes examples of both the modulation to different degrees of the mode while remaining within the same mode, as well as the inclusion of extraneous accidentals to temporarily alter the modal tonality. In this song, the instrumental interlude which is a variation of the vocal melody, commences by hovering between the lower pentachord of C major (CDEFG) with a D natural, and the home mode of G *kiourdi* (*kartsigar*) (G(Ab)ABbCDbEFG) (b. 1-2). In the execution of the second line of the distich, the vocal melody moves to the VII (F major tetrachord, FGABb) and then to the IV (C) in a V-I relationship (b. 11-12), settling on the *chitzaz* mode of C (CDbEFGAbBbC) (b. 15). The meandering melodies of these *rebetika* items lock into each other in an unpredictable labyrinth-like sense of modality, always returning to the tonic of the home mode.[31]

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[30] Baud-Bovy (1984: 62-65) attributes the popularity of hemitonic melodies, chromatic modes employing the 'gypsy' flattened second, and a florid improvisatory style of singing and instrumental playing in demotic music at least, to the migration into Greece since the eleventh century of the highly musical Gypsies.

[31] The analysis of the modal structure of *rebetika* music would be an interesting subject for future research. It could posit the existence of a dynamic system of melodic contour and extemporisation associated with the use of *dromous*, including patterns for ascending and descending passages, ornaments, key pitches, degrees, pivot points and accidentals which lead to modulations into related modes as well as opening, joining, half-close and full-close cadential phrases, and their relationship to the rendering of text.

9.8 Melodic Contour

As a vocal music, *rebetika* contain memorable melodies which are recalled, hummed and sung by patrons together with vocalists. It may be that certain recurring melodic characteristics demonstrated in the *rebetika* music sample help to explain the memorable quality of *rebetika* melodies. Those identified are a step-wise undulating motion (e.g. "*Antilaloune Ta Vouna*", b. 4-5); ascending and descending scale-like or terraced phrases (e.g. "*Zourlobenemenis Genna*", b. 11-12); and the repetition of phrases (e.g. "*Oi Lachanades*", b. 6-7). Melodies evolve through expansion, contraction, repetition, sequence, and the use of joining and cadential phrases. To a lesser degree, some songs have melodic contours with intervallic leaps larger than seconds, namely thirds, fourths, fifths, sixths and octaves (e.g. "*Bouzouki Mou Diplochordo*", "*I Garsona*", "*Nychtose Choris Fengari*").

Some melodic phrases display a responsorial call-and-answer structure, especially in songs with binary verse melodies. The 'call' and 'answer' phrases are sometimes differentiated by a half-close cadence on the IV or V degree for section A and a full-close cadential phrase on the tonic for section B (e.g. "O *Bochoris*" b. 1-2, "*Ti Se Mellei Esenane*", "*Bouzouki Mou Diplochordo*"). Reponsorial patterns also occur between verse and refrains sections (e.g. "*I Garsona*", "*Skantaliara*").

The range of vocal melodies spans between a sixth and a twelfth. The most common ranges are the octave and the ninth. Songs with the smallest vocal range of a sixth were three *smyrneïko* songs ("*Ferte Preza Na Prezaro*", "*Tha Spaso Koupes*", "*Oi Lachanades*"), while those with the highest of an eleventh and twelfth included *smyrneïko* songs ("*Mia Melachroini*", "*Zourlobenemenis Genna*") and *piraiötiko* songs ("*Bouzouki Mou Diplochordo*", "*Osoi Echoune Polla Lefta*") which all had a characterstic leap into the upper octave for the final hemistich or repeat of the distich.

In turning attention to the melodic structures of instrumental sections, there are significant examples in the *rebetika* music sample of the introduction or aggregation of new and extraneous instrumental melodic material, transforming tripartite forms into tetramerous forms. The first example of this is the occurrence of the instrumental intermezzo which introduces new 'composed' melodic material different to that contained in the melodically discrete instrumental introductions, interludes and vocal melodies (e.g. "*Ti Se Mellei Esenane*", "*Tha Spaso Koupes*", "*Stous Apano Machalades*"). New melodic material is also found at the end of items in the instrumental coda (e.g. "*Stous Apano Machalades*"). The introduction of new instrumental melodic material in aggregative forms only occurs in *smyrneïko* items, indicating a greater degree of instrumental melodic fluidity in this style.

Total freedom of melodic-rhythmic expression occurs during the instrumental solo improvisation, *taximi*, at the commencement of items (e.g. "*Oi Lachanades*" on *tzouras*, "*Elenitsa Mou*" on guitar, "*Tatavilanos Choros*" on violin, "*Osoi Echoune Polla Lefta*" on *bouzouki*); or during the item as an intermezzo (e.g. "*To Feretze*" on *bouzouki*, "*Mia Melachroini*" on violin, "*Ta Matokalda Sou Lamboun*" on electric guitar). The *taximi* appears to be integral to the entire *rebetika* genre, occurring in all three styles of *rebetika*.

The *rebetika* music sample demonstrates the presence of two melodic systems, heterophony and homophony, in all three *rebetika* styles. When several instruments and the voice simultaneously execute the same melody with variations and ornamentations, a heterophonic texture is created. This occurs, for example, in the *smyrneïko* song "*O Bochoris*". A homophonic melodic texture is created when melodies are rendered in harmonies of parallel thirds above or sixths below, as in the *laïko* song "*Synnefiasmeni Kyriaki*".

9.9 Harmonisation and Accompaniment

Harmony in *rebetika* music is defined by the character of the modes employed. A basic accompaniment occurs when the bass and middle strings of the six-stringed *bouzouki*, *tzouras* and *baglamas* are strummed while the melody is played on the upper strings. In most cases, the drone accompaniment is transferred onto guitar, *baglamas* and piano instruments with triadic primary chords which immediately contextualise *rebetika* music within a homophonic texture.

In the *piraiötiko* songs and some *smyrneïka* we find a 'primitive' harmony of I-V chords accompanying the melody (e.g. "*Oi Lachanades*", "*Osoi Echoune Polla Lefta*") which, together with the repeated *zeïbekikos* rhythmic cycle, creates a kind of rhythmic-harmonic ostinato throughout the song. A

more dense homophony is noticeable in sections of songs with major tonality (e.g. the *laïka* songs "*To Telefteo Vradi Mou*" b. 8, "*Synnefiasmeni Kyriaki*" and "*Antilaloune Ta Vouna*") which are harmonised by chordal accompaniment and melodic thirds.

In the *rebetika* music sample, melodies are harmonised using chords derived from the particular modes and melodic contours. For example, the *chitzaz* mode is typically harmonised with thirds in the melody and the 'primary' chords of I, II^b, IVm, VIIm (e.g. "*Bouzouki Mou Diplochordo*", "*Elenitsa Mou*", "*Ferte Preza Na Prezaro*", "*Gia Ta Matia P' Agapo*"). The *rebetika* music sample contains occasional examples of the use of larger seventh chords and the diminished seventh also derived from the modal pattern (e.g. "*Omorfi Thessaloniki*" b. 10, "*Pente Manges*").

9.10 Melody-Text Relationship

Melody-text relationships centre around the ways in which hemistichs, lines and text in general, are rendered in melodic phrases. The *rebetika* music sample indicates a variety of attributes which range from the repetition of relatively small melodic units to the introduction of new melodic material for different text and the syllabic or melismatic rendering of text by melody.

By far the most common music-text relationship in the *rebetika* music sample involves the process of repetition of melodic phrases corresponding with the repetition of verse lines (e.g. "*Gia Ta Matia P' Agapo*", "*Mi Me Stelneis Mana Stin Ameriki*", "*Nychtose Choris Fengari*", "*Stous Apano Machalades*", "*Zourlobenemenis Genna*", "*Synnefiasmeni Kyiriaki*", "*Ti Se Mellei Esenane*" b. 9-16). A second type of repetition occurs when the same melody accompanies different verse lines or hemistichs (e.g. "*Osoi Echoune Polla Lefta*", "*Stous Apano Machalades*", "*Ferte Preza Na Prezaro*", "*To Feretze*", "*Taka Taka Taka Ta Petalakia-Echo Koumbaro Leventia*", "*Tha Spaso Koupes*", "*I Garsona*", "*O Bochoris*"). Vocal refrains may contain internally repeated melodies to accompany different lines of the text (e.g. "*Mia Melachroini*", "*Omorfi Thessaloniki*", "*Taka Taka Taka Ta Petalakia*" b. 37-40, "*I Garsona*"). A more interesting manifestation of music/text relationship is the staggered introduction of new melodic material across repeated text (e.g. "*Stous Apano Machalades*" b. 16-17, "*Oi Lachanades*", "*Mia Melachroini*", "*Bouzouki Mou Diplochordo*"), a feature which produces an interlocking lattice-like music/text relationship. Another technique present in the *laïko* songs "*Skantaliara*" and "*Arapines*" (b. 12-18) is the use of the sequential repetition of melodies over different text.

Melodic material is recycled when entire vocal melodic sections are repeated as instrumental interludes (e.g. "*Osoi Echoune Polla Lefta*"), in slight variation (e.g. ""*Mi Me Stelneis Mana Stin Ameriki*"), or when vocal subsections are repeated in variation as instrumental interludes (e.g. "*Arapines*", "*Zourlobenemenis Genna*", "*Nychtose Choris Fengari*" b. 2-3 and 5-6, "*Elenitsa Mou*", "*Gia Ta Matia P' Agapo*", "*Ferte Preza Na Prezaro*", "*Stous Apano Machalades*").

A significant number of songs, especially *laïka* songs, demonstrate the introduction of new and different melodic material in every hemistich of the verse (e.g. "*Skantaliara*", "*To Telefteo Vradi Mou*", "*Nychtose Choris Fengari*", "*Omorfi Thessaloniki*", "*Antilaloune Ta Vouna*", "*Synnefiasmeni Kyriaki*", "*Elenitsa Mou*", "*Pente Manges*" b. 9-16). The melodic material of these songs tends to contain a composite of smaller melodic cells which build upon each other to form larger melodic units by meandering at a slower pace through the various degrees of the modal scale. While their melodies may sound derivative, they constitute a more 'urban' song form in comparison with the discrete shorter and repeated melodic phrases of the traditional Greek 'folksong' style (e.g. "*Mi Me Stelneis Mana Stin Ameriki*", "*O Bochoris*", "*Bouzouki Mou Diplochordo*").

The use of the instrumental *apantisi* "response" and joining phrases between vocal sections and before the refrain may consist of repeated vocal melodies (e.g. "*Elenitsa Mou*"), or new melodies (e.g. "*Arapines*", "*Zourlobenemenis Genna*", "*Mi Me Stelneis Mana Stin Ameriki*").

Once again the *laïka* and *smyrneïka*, in comparison with the *piraiötika*, exhibit a higher incidence of the introduction of new and different melodic material.

At a more micro-structural level, the melody-text relationship can be discussed in terms of the occurrence of syllabic or melismatic renderings of lyrics. A summary of the occurrence of syllalbic and melismatic vocal melodies in the *rebetika* music sample is presented in Table 9.7. Syllabic vocal melodies

consist of a single note per syllable (e.g. "*Bouzouki Mou Diplochordo*"), while melismatic vocal melodies contain ornamented melismas on one syllable of a word (e.g."*Tha Spaso Koupes*" b. 19).

Table 9.8 Syllabic, Melismatic and Mixed Vocal Melodies

Syllabic		**Melismatic**	
1. *Bouzouki Mou Diplochordo*	P	1. *Antilaloune Ta Vouna*	L
2. *Gia ta Matia P' Agapo*	L	2. *Elenitsa Mou*	S
3. *I Garsona*	S	3. *Mi Me Stelneis Mana Stin Ameriki*	S
4. *Omorfi Thessaloniki*	L	4. *Mia Melachroini*	S
5. *Pente Manges*	P	5. *Nychtose Choris Fengari*	L
6. *Ti Se Mellei Esenane*	S	6. *Oi Lachanades*	S
		7. *Synnefiasmeni Kyriaki*	L
		8. *Tha Spaso Koupes*	S
		9. *To Feretze*	S
		10. *To Telefteo Vradi Mou*	L
		11. *Zourlobenemenis Genna*	S
Both Syllabic and Melismatic			
1. *Arapines*	L		
2. *Ferte Preza Na Prezaro*	S		
3. *O Bochoris*	S		
4. *Osoi Echoune Polla Lefta*	P		
5. *Skantaliara*	L		
6. *Stous Apano Machalades*	S		
7. *Taka Taka Ta Petalakia*	L		

S = *smyrneïko*; P = *piraiötiko*; L = *laïko*

As Table 9.7 indicates, just under a third of the songs (7 of 24) in the *rebetika* music sample contain mixed syllabic and melismatic vocal melodies. In mixed syllabic and melismatic songs, the melismas occur at certain parts of melodic phrases, often at the end of phrases (e.g. "*Stous Apano Machalades*", "*O Bochoris*" b. 3). The occurrence of syllabic or melismatic vocal melodies does not occur strictly according to a particular *rebetiko* style, since both vocal melody types occur in all three styles. The *rebetika* music sample suggests that since *piraiötika* items are not found in the melismatic vocal type, perhaps a syllabic vocal type is a distinguishing feature of the *piraiötiko* style. The prominence of unadorned vocal melodies was identified in Kail's (1973: 23) analysis of Vamvakaris' songs.

9.11 Expressive Techniques and Ornamentation

Dynamics are not usually a concern of *rebetika* musicians. They are generally regarded as a nonmusical feature dependent upon the venue and the nature of the acoustics. At most, dynamics are viewed as developing naturally according to the rapport between musicians and to the way musicians 'feel' the music. Yet there are songs in the *rebetika* music sample which are specially arranged with the inclusion of dynamics and orchestration (e.g. "*Nychtose Choris Fengari*", "*Elenitsa Mou*"). In these cases, variations in texture are created by the co-ordination of dynamics and orchestration. Softer instrumental introductions by solo instruments and single vocal lines during the sung verses and refrains are contrasted with the louder *tutti* ensemble sections during instrumental interludes.

On the other hand, ornamentation is a central feature of *rebetika* music-making. Together with the melismatic phrases of vocalists, instrumental melodies are characterised by a large degree of ornamentation. The most common ornamentation technique is the doubling in time of melodies from longer note values to shorter note values, especially semiquavers (e.g. "*I Garsona*", "*Ti Se Mellei Esenane*"). Other ornamentation techniques include trills, *tremolandi*, *glissandi*, turns, *acciacaturas* (crush notes), upper and lower mordents, and terraced scale-like phrases. Melodic ornamentation provides a special expressive avenue for improvisation by musicians.

This discussion of the results of a musical analysis of the *rebetika* music sample merely touches the surface of the pool of detail available about *rebetika* music. Nonetheless the *rebetika* music sample identifies features which are common to the entire *rebetika* genre, while at the same time pointing to stylistic difference and an internally hybrid and flexible musical system.

Rebetika music in this sample demonstrates the primacy of the voice, strings and percussion. The music presents a delicate balance between melodic variation, harmonic-rhythmic accompaniment and form. Melodic texture is provided by voice and strings and embedded in modal tonality, ornamentation, heterophony and harmony. The analysis documents twelve different modes with a preference for chromatic modes and polymodality. Melodies demonstrate common patterns such as step-wise, undulating and scale-like passages. Melody-text relationships are characterised by varying degrees of repetition or the introduction of new and different melodic material. Vocal melodies are characterised by syllabic, melismatic or mixed syllabic-melismatic treatment. *Rebetika* songs are strophic. The typical binary 'folksong' form in which each verse is followed by an instrumental interlude prevails. The repertoire also contains tripartite forms which include a vocal refrain; or tetramerous forms which include an instrumental intermezzo; or multisectional aggregative forms with additional instrumental sections. Song text themes of love and marginal lifestyle are common to items in the repertoire, but not exhaustive of themes which include music-making and revelry, the human condition, personalities, poverty and police. *Rebetika* song text structures are not confined to the traditional 15-syllable distichs, but include triplets, quatrains and vocal refrains of different and sometimes mixed metres. The use of interjections and street argot are common to all styles, yet articulated in different ways from style to style.

A horizontal chordal accompaniment is provided by guitars, the *bouzouki* family instruments and the keyboard. It ranges from the 'primitive' I-V triadic chords to more complex dominant seventh and diminished chords, all of which are derived from the modes.

The percussive and rhythmic requirements of *rebetika* as a dance music feature simple and composite rhythmic patterns with regular and syncopated metres. Contrary to the stereotype that equates *rebetika* with *zeibekika*, the *rebetika* music sample documents eleven different dance rhythms.

Expressive dynamics are of secondary importance, while *rebetika* music is coloured by a multitude of accentuation and ornamentation techniques. Free improvisation is central to *rebetika* music and practised by most members of the ensemble.

Rebetika music performed in Adelaide reveals a coherent yet diverse musical system with both standardised and flexible forms. The *smyrneïka* and *laïka* in particular demonstrate larger elaborated musical and textual forms in comparison with the *piraiötika* which contain smaller regular repeated units. In the following section, Part 3, items of the *rebetika* music sample are discussed with regard to the ways in which they are rendered and received in live performances at specific *rebetika* music-making events in Adelaide.

Part 3 *Rebetika* Music-Making and Meaning: An Interpretation of Contemporary *Rebetika* Music-Making Practices in Adelaide

Part 3 undertakes an examination of *rebetika* music at specific music-making events—social-dances, restaurants, life cycle celebrations, festivals and concerts—in Adelaide between 1980 and 1993. It focuses on the twenty-eight items of the *rebetika* music sample, the *rebetika* style of each item, the specific events at which they were performed, and the bands or ensembles which performed them (see Table 10.1).

In particular it examines the live performance and reception of *rebetika* styles, songs, instrumental pieces and dances. Underlying this examination is a critical interpretation of the three symbolic-ideological narratives of *rebetika* music—'soul', 'roots' and 'world'—which together weave an intricate tapestry of meaning and significance for *rebetika* musicians and patrons of Adelaide.

In Chapter 8, twenty-eight *rebetika* items were selected from the data as the *rebetika* music sample for musicological analysis. These are now discussed in relation to the twelve specific events at which they were performed. The following table lists them.

Table 10.1 The *Rebetika* Music Sample: Title, Style, Event and Musicians

Rebetika Item	*Rebetika* Style	Event Type	Event No. [1]	Date	Event	Musicians
		Social-Dance				
Elenitsa Mou	S		4	27/08/82	Night of *Rebetika*	HMASA
Nychtose Choris Fengari	L		4	27/08/82	Night of *Rebetika*	HMASA
To Teleftaio Vradi Mou	L		36	14/07/84	Greek Football Club	Laïki Kompania
Skantaliara	L		36	14/07/84	Greek Football Club	Laïki Kompania
Gia Ta Matia P' Agapo	L		41	1/09/84	Opening Ball, Greek Cultural Week	Laïki Kompania
Mi Me Stelneis Mana Stin Ameriki	S		78	6/09/86	National Community Arts Conference Club	Themelia
Osoi Echoune Polla Lefta	P		176	7/08/93	*Rebetiki Vradia*	Nick Arabtsis and The Rebetes
Ferte Preza Na Prezaro	S		176	7/08/93	*Rebetiki Vradia*	Nick Arabtsis and The Rebetes
		Restaurant				
Smyrneïkos Ballos	S		153	21/12/91	Ayers House Restaurants	Gypsy Trio
Tatavlianos Choros	S		153	21/12/91	Ayers House Restaurants	Gypsy Trio
Zourlobenemenis Genna	S		177	12/08/93	Zorba's Restaurant	Aman
Stous Apano Machalades	S		177	12/08/93	Zorba's Restaurant	Aman
Pente Manges	P		177	12/08/93	Zorba's Restaurant	Aman
		Life Cycle Celebration				
Ta Matoklada Sou Lamboun	P		74	18/05/86	Wedding Reception	Odyssey
Arapines	L		14	10/09/83	Wedding Reception	Laiki Kompania
Taka Taka Taka Ta Petalakia-Echo Koumbaro Leventia	L		74	18/05/86	Wedding Reception	Odyssey
Omorfi Thessaloniki	L		71	10/05/86	Wedding Reception	Odyssey
		Festival				
To Feretze	S		109	10/03/91	State Bank Multicultural Carnival	Meraki
Mia Melachroini	S		112	31/03/91	25th National Folk Festival	Meraki
Antilaloune Ta Vouna	L		112	31/03/91	25th National Folk Festival	Meraki
Tha Spaso Koupes	S		112	31/03/91	25th National Folk Festival	Meraki
		Concert				
Pergamos	S		93	3/07/88	Evolution of *Laïki Mousiki* Concert	HMASA
Ti Se Mellei Esenane	S		93	3/07/88	Evolution of *Laïki Mousiki* Concert	HMASA
O Bochoris	S		93	3/07/88	Evolution of *Laïki Mousiki* Concert	HMASA
I Garsona	S		93	3/07/88	Evolution of *Laïki Mousiki* Concert	HMASA
Oi Lachanades	S		93	3/07/88	Evolution of *Laïki Mousiki* Concert	HMASA
Bouzouki Mou Diplochordo	P		93	3/07/88	Evolution of *Laïki Mousiki* Concert	HMASA
Synnefiasmeni Kyriaki	L		93	3/07/88	Evolution of *Laïki Mousiki* Concert	HMASA

S = *smyrneïko* P = *piraiötiko* L = *laïko*

[1] See Appendix 1.

Chapter 10 Social-Dances

10.1 Introduction

Social-dances are the first of the *rebetika* music-making events to be examined. The casual celebratory atmosphere of the social-dance is characterised by food and drink consumption, socialising, music-making and dancing. Sometimes formalities such as speech-making and auctions interrupt the almost continuous music-making and dancing. In Chapter 6 the social-dance was documented as the most common type of event where *rebetika* music is performed. It was also found that social-dances were largely organised by Greek or multicultural associations. Furthermore, Chapter 8 revealed that at social-dances *rebetika* are predominantly presented as individual items in the heterogeneous music programs of Greek bands. Though statistically less common, *rebetika* music was also found to be performed at social-dances in more concentrated forms of presentation, such as in entire brackets of music or entire music programs. The following examination of the live performance of *rebetika* at specific social-dances highlights these findings.

Laïki Kompania featured prominently as a band which performs individual *rebetika* items throughout all brackets of its heterogeneous music program. Two occasions on which this occurred were the *choroesperida*, "evening-dance", of the Greek Football Club (14 July 1984); and the Opening Ball of the Greek Cultural Week organised by the student Flinders University Greek Association (1 September 1984). These are discussed below in more detail.

10.2 Laïki Kompania: Greek Football Club *Choroesperida* and Greek Cultural Week Opening Ball

Laïki Kompania, the "Popular Music Ensemble", was formed in 1983 as a five-piece band with voice, *bouzouki*, electric piano, guitar, electric bass and drum kit. In marked contrast to most other Greek bands in Adelaide, the repertoire of Laïki Kompania displayed a preference for traditional demotic, island and urban Greek music with the addition of some contemporary compositions. However, in response to the requests of both Greek and non-Greek patrons over the years, the band has added to its repertoire more contemporary Greek songs, floorshow items sung in Italian, a ballroom dance bracket in English and Spanish, and a rock 'n' roll dance bracket in English.[1] Laïki Kompania continues to perform at weddings, baptisms, parties, social-dances, festivals, concerts, picnics and clubs, though with an altered membership since its inception.

On the occasions of the Greek Football Club dance and the Flinders University Greek Association Ball, the music program was typical of most social-dances. It contained an eclectic and heterogeneous repertoire of music arranged into floorshow, ballroom dance and Greek dance brackets. At these particular events, approximately half of the repertoire of Laïki Kompania contained *rebetika* scattered throughout the evening's music program of floorshow, ballroom dance and Greek dance brackets.

In the floorshow bracket, Laïki Kompania performed a selection of *rebetika*, *laïka* and *entechna* items in 'raw' arrangements copied from the commercial recordings of composers and exponents. These items contained dance rhythms, genres, improvisatory forms and performance styles associated with Greek dance music. For Laïki Kompania, the aim of the floorshow bracket is to create a celebratory atmosphere and inspire patrons to participate in subsequent Greek dancing. Thus during the floorshow bracket patrons were gently 'psyched' up for spontaneous dancing. While seated at their tables, they were observed clapping to the music and swaying their arms up above their heads in a symbolic dance gesture. *Rebetika* items with dance rhythms such as the *kamilierikos*[2] and *karsilamas*[3] which are not typically included in the

[1] Recently the band Laïki Kompania added the jazz songs of Cole Porter and Frank Sinatra to its ballroom dance bracket (Carapetis 1997 pers. com.)

[2] The item "*Ta Kavourakia*", "The Little Crabs", in a fast koptos *kamilierikos* rhythm, is a satirical song about adultery with a family of crabs as the characters. It was composed by Vasilis Tsitsanis and first recorded in 1952 (Anastasiou 1995: 134-135). Schorelis (1987D: 35) documents Eftichia Papagiannopoulou as the writer of the lyrics but Tsitsanis contests this, arguing that the recorded versions contain his own lyrics (Chatzidoulis 1979: 174-175).

standard Greek dance bracket were performed during their floorshow bracket. In this way, the band took the opportunity to perform *rebetika* items which would otherwise be excluded from the music program because of not fulfilling the Greek dance-accompaniment function. Laïki Kompania also performed *rebetika* items with waltz or *béguine* rhythms during the ballroom dance bracket.

The highlight of the social-dance event, however, occurred in the latter part of the evening during the performance of the Greek dance brackets. By this time patrons had dined, socialised, listened to the floorshow brackets of music, danced to several ballroom dances and open-circle Greek demotic dances. Having reached the height of their *kefi*, "high spirits",[4] they were then in the mood for improvisatory dancing to two *rebetika* dances, the *zeïbekikos* and *tsifteteli*. Laïki Kompania performed *rebetika* items to accompany these two *rebetika* dance rhythms.[5]

At the Greek Football Club social-dance (14/7/1984), Laïki Kompania performed the *rebetiko laïko* song "*To Telefteo Vradi Mou*", "My Last Night", to accompany *zeïbekikos* dancing. The song is a favourite among Adelaide musicians and patrons (see Chapter 8, Table 8.3), partly because it is best associated with the voice of Stelios Kazantzidis who is one of the most highly acclaimed Greek singers and composers of the *laïko* style. The lyrics of the song suggest a Buddhist philosophy of life, commenting on the life cycle of birth and death and the irreversible departure from the material world where human suffering, the 'tortures and yearnings', remain (see Appendix 6 for a transcription of the song text). A translated excerpt reads:

> I am living through my last night
> now that I am leaving life
> I forgive all those who have embittered me.
>
> Wherever I go tears and pain never pass
> the tortures and yearnings will stay here in life and I shall leave alone.
>
> Life has two doors, I opened one and entered
> I journeyed one morning and by sunset
> I departed from the other door.

The lyrics of the song contained a regular 15 syllable distich plus 7 syllable hemistich verse structure and a repeated 15 syllable distich refrain, which were easily remembered by patrons. They were observed singing the song text along with the vocalist and expressing pathos with their facial gestures.

As the song "*To Telefteo Vradi Mou*" was performed, men and women alike gathered on to the dance floor to dance the *zeïbekikos*. The formation of dancers on the dance floor was loose, with dancers congregated around their *parees*, company of friends, or dancing face-to-face in male-female, male-male or female-female pairs. Some danced completely solo, without any gestural relationship to others. The *zeïbekikos* is a solo dance in the sense that it is danced unattached without handhold between people.

Laïki Kompania performed the song with a slightly different instrumentation to that normally featured in a Greek band. In addition to the male voice, *bouzouki*, guitar, electric bass guitar and drum kit, the acoustic piano was present. The latter four instruments provided the solid rhythmic-harmonic bed which punched out the syncopated *koptos zeïbekikos* nine-beat dance rhythm at a constant moderate Larghetto tempo. It motivated dancers to pace around the dance floor employing stereotypic steps and body movements commonly observed during *zeïbekikos* dancing. They stepped backwards, forwards and sideways, rotated and swirled with arms outstretched to the side and torso bent over towards the ground. Yet the *zeïbekikos* is an improvisatory dance and dancers were observed to variously articulate and

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[3] The item "*Gia Koita Kosme Ena Kormi*", "Look World At This Body", is a song featured in the floorshow bracket as a fast nine-beat *karsilamas* dance. It was composed by Vasilis Tsitsanis and first recorded in 1955 (Anastasiou 1995: 163). See also Schorelis (1987: 32) and Petropoulos (1983: 183).

[4] The word *kefi* is translated as "high spirits", "cheerfulness", "gaiety", "merriment", "joviality", "good humour", "liveliness" in Stavropoulos (1991: 446).

[5] Other bands often choose contemporary compositions to accompany the *zeïbekikos* and *tsifteteli* dances.

improvise within this set of stereotyped dance gestures in their own individual way according to their mood and skill.

Among *zeïbekikos* dancers, two styles of dancing were observed. One was a flamboyant acrobatic style which was performed by inebriated men in their late teens and twenties.[6] In this dancing style, the dancer moved across a wider floor area while exhibiting fast and agile dance gestures. The *zeïbekikos* appeared to be a favourite dance of young men who performed especially agile movements such as a sudden leap into the air followed by a low swoop to the ground, much like an eagle in flight and attack, hence also the characterisation of the *zeïbekikos* as an "eagle dance" (Petrides 1975: 57).[7] In this *zeïbekikos* dancing style, a particularly 'masculine' expressive aesthetic of extroverted confidence, assertiveness, *leventia*, "manliness" and "fearlessness", and *mangia*, male "craftiness" and "coolness", was observed. The *zeïbekikos* became a symbol of *mangia*, a personal style which expresses the assertive 'masculine' self.

The male and martial origins of the *zeïbekikos* are most evident in this acrobatic style of dancing. Petrides (1975: 57) and Petropoulos (1983: 12) have identified the social origins of the *zeïbekikos* as a martial dance of the *Zeïbek* ethnic group of Asia Minor who were brigands sometimes employed by the sultans, but mostly exterminated by the Turks (see also Sideris 1912-1913; Patsis 1977).[8] Visual representations in drawings and photographs (Petropoulos 1983: 283, 285, 286, 288, 301) depict the *Zeïbekides* (pl.) in girded attire and fully-armed with swords, guns, rifles and knives. Over decades of social history, the *zeïbekikos* has crystallized as a symbol of masculine courage, strength, prowess, individuality and above all, independent assertiveness.

A second more introverted and reserved style of dancing the *zeïbekikos* was observed at the Greek Football Club social-dance. Performed by most other dancers, especially women and elderly men, it consisted of pacing around a minimum of dance floor area with arms slightly raised from the sides. Dancers moved with facial expressions of conviction. Sometimes, young men were observed adopting this style as a consciously chosen'laid back' style of *zeïbekikos*. The reserved *zeïbekikos* style revealed a second expressive aesthetic of *zeïbekikos* dancing, that of an introverted expression of deep feelings, especially of compassion.

The *zeïbekikos* song "*To Telefteo Vradi Mou*" with its lyrics about the suffering endured in the material world, and of forgiveness and death as a spiritual liberation from material delusion, is precisely the kind of song that elicits an emotional response from dancers. Terms used to describe the *zeïbekikos* as the dance that best expresses *kaïmos*, "sorrow" and "anguish", poignantly indicate the aesthetic of deep expression associated with the *zeïbekikos* dance. Songs texts depicting *sevdas*, intense "love-sickness" (e.g. "*Zourlobenemenis Genna*"), or the crippling experience of social injustice (e.g. "*Nychtose Choris Fengari*") are also common to the *zeïbekikos* and discussed below. It is not surprising, then, that because of the lyrics and the stately *zeïbekikos* dance rhythm, locals class "*To Telefteo Vradi Mou*" as a *vari*, "heavy", song, a term which not only refers to its moderately slow syncopated rhythm, but also to its emotional weight in mood and meaning.

In an ironic way, the melodic structure of "*To Telefteo Vradi Mou*" facilitated this expressive emotional catharsis of dancers with its 'warm' major tonality (FGAB^{b}CDEF) which momentarily veered away with the hint of chromaticism (F$^{\#}$ and G$^{\#}$ passing note accidentals) in the *bouzouki* melody. The undulating melodies which gradually ascended and descended in step-wise movement through all degrees of the mode to return to the tonic home base symbolically marked the inevitable path of the life journey, a journey that was underpinned by the I-II-III-IV-V-I (F, Gm, Am, B^{b}, C, F) chord harmonisations. The occasional 'aggressive' slapping technique of the electric bass disturbed any hint at a predictable symbolic journey, reminding listeners that the serious lyrical message and deeply engaging *zeïbekikos* dance form were not to be taken lightly.

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[6] It is not uncommon to hear young men eagerly calling to the musicians, "Παίξε ζειμπέκικο. Θέλουμε ζιεμπέκικο!" [Play a *zeïbekiko*, we want a *zeïbekiko*!].

[7] There is a striking similarity between some dance gestures of the *zeïbekikos* and the martial arts movements and sword patterns of Chinese Yeuh Fei Kung Fu, such as the swooping to the ground in a low squat with hands forming cuts and spears, and the double kick with hands slapping the toes.

[8] Without further description, Reinhard (1980: 271) identifies the *zeybek* folk dance of western Turkey which he notes has become a national dance.

The *zeïbekikos*, of all the Greek dances, is typified by Greek people as the most cathartic dance. Comments like, 'I break out', 'I let go of my worries and inhibitions', 'I don't care what other people think' indicate that *zeïbekikos* dancers, in the process of 'dancing' their deepest feelings including sorrow, experience a liberation from them and from the mundane world and everyday relationships. It ma be that the solo nature of the *zeïbekikos* dance triggers a kind of existential consciousness of the relationship between the individual and the word, a soul searching experience evoked in the words of one singer (P. Arabatsis 1992 pers. com.):

> ... everyone wants to feel their own self, ... and they just express the way they feel, they want everybody to know how they feel, and they feel by [sic] their own, they're dancing the *zeïbekiko*, they feel on top of it, ... and the lyrics, cause you see so much pathos, I mean the people are singing the lyrics and they're so into it, ... they feel like someone understands them and the *zeïbekiko*, and I think they feel the *zeïbekiko* understands them, the way they feel.

Here, *zeïbekikos* dancing is symbolically constructed as an intense and unself-conscious experience of assertive individualism, deep emotion, and the very nature of one's soul. Moreover, the peaking of one's mood, *kefi*, during *zeïbekikos* dancing occurs within the publicly shared experience of the social event.[9] In a peculiar way the *zeïbekikos* dance also becomes fetishised—imbued with its own energy and spirit—and anthropomorphised with its own consciousness which in turn 'empathises' with the dancer ('they feel the *zeïbekiko* understands them'). The solo dancer, the music and the dance become a dynamic entity of energy and emotion. In the words of Keil, "You now *are* the Other, or the Other is *in* you. You are *in* the music. The music is *in* you." (Keil in Keil and Feld 1994: 169). *Rebetika* music-making, particularly through *zeïbekikos* music-making and dancing, constitutes a symbolic-ideological narrative of 'soul music', of the expression of deep feeling, mood and compassion, within the context of community.

When people incorrectly substitute the term *zeïbekiko* for *rebetiko* and vice versa, they hint at the way in which the *zeïbekikos* as a dance form with its aesthetic associations of *leventia*, *mangia*, assertiveness and deep expression, has become an icon of *rebetika* musical culture *per se*, of a music of subcultural resistance.

It is interesting to note how the *zeïbekikos* dance ethos is 'translated' when it is performed by women. Cowan (1990: 4, 19-20) in her analysis of the dance practices of Greek-Macedonians in Sohos, northern Greece, argues that *kefi* in dance is not only experienced with differentiated power relations and gendered meanings, hence the observation in Adelaide that men tend to request the *zeïbekikos* and females the *tsifteteli*, but that it is also experienced with ambiguously gendered meanings. This was evident at the Greek Footbal Club social-dance when women were observed dancing the *zeïbekikos* and men the *tsifteteli*. When women of various status—single, single mother, divorced, remarried, with careers, owners of their own homes—known to the author, were observed dancing the *zeïbekikos* during "*To Telefteo Vradi Mou*" in the reserved style, certain symbolic messages were embodied in their dancing. As women danced the *zeïbekikos* without a male partner, engrossed in their own self-expression, they were oblivious to how they appeared and were viewed by others. By claiming a traditionally male held public space, a traditionally male-gendered dance form, and also the right to challenge a traditional convention which requires that women be chaperoned by male partners at public social events, these female dancers symbolically acquired the assertiveness, independence and self-determination associated with the dance. The *zeïbekikos* was transformed into an empowering female rite of autonomy and independence. Such inversions of gender-dance associations and meaning are rendered non-threatening precisely because they are framed and contained within the recreational parameters of the celebratory music event. In this way, spontaneous *zeïbekikos* dancing challenged the hierarchical gender conventions and presented a socially accepted time and space for the egalitarian participation of women in public spaces and public culture. Hierarchies and differences were deconstructed and reconstructed within the boundaries of dynamic Greek music-making practices.

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[9] The smashing of plates at the feet of a *zeïbekikos* dancer is another example of the public display of *kefi* during *zeïbekikos* dancing.

The *tsifteteli* is the second unattached solo improvisatory *rebetiko* dance documented in the study. The name of the dance is derived from the Turkish words "*cifte*" meaning "paired" and "*telli*" meaning "stringed" (Hony and Iz 1984: 112, 460), probably referring to a stringed instrument which accompanies the dance.[10] At the Greek Football Club social-dance, the *laïko rebetiko* song "*Skantaliara*", "The Mischievous Woman", was played by Laïki Kompania during the Greek dance bracket to accompany *tsifteteli* dancing. In comparison with the 'heaviness' of the *zeïbekikos*, the song "*Skantaliara*" was played in a fast and lively quadruple *tsifteteli* rhythm which lightened the atmosphere to one of playful, sensuous and sexy belly-dancing. The song text (see Appendix 6), also in an easily memorised 15 syllable plus 7 syllable verse structure, this time with a repeated 8 syllable quatrain refrain, centred on the theme of love which is typical of *tsifteteli* songs. A translated excerpt reads:

> Tonight, mischievous woman, I see you're in the mood
> sweet mama, how I admire you, I hope you have something good in mind,
> you've come well-dressed too.
>
> Lower your eyes a little, my doll;
> they are mischievous and coquettish,
> and I get in a passionate mood.

The lyrics of this song revel in a flirtatious erotic love. Like the playful nature of the dance, they depict the excitement of seductive tease. The lyrics were set to melodies in the E major *chitzaz* mode which unfolded with an opening leap of a third and then proceeded in the typical step-wise undulating ascending and descending style which produced both a syllabic and melismatic vocal style common in *laïka rebetika*. The vocal refrain featured a sequential descending pattern partly imitated during the instrumental interlude. As usual, the guitars, drum kit and piano provided a tight rhythmic-harmonic section which accompanied the syncopated quaver-crotchet-quaver rhythmic cell of the *tsifteteli* dance rhythm with the simple I-II-IVm-VIIm chords characteristic of the *chitzaz* mode. On the night of the Greek Football Club social-dance, the playful nature of the song and dance was also reflected in the chirpy semiquaver melodies of the *bouzouki apantisi* phrases and instrumental interlude which descended from the upper octave in sequential pattern.

As for the *zeïbekikos*, dancers congregated loosely on the dance floor as individuals, in pairs or clusters during the *tsifteteli*. They danced by similarly improvising movements upon a set of stereotypic dance gestures. Two distinctive styles of dancing the *tsifteteli* were observed at the Greek Football Club social-dance. A more reserved and inhibited style of *tsifteteli* dancing prevailed on the dance floor whereby dancers gently swayed their bodies, legs and hips from side to side in an undulating movement while moving their hands and arms in front of the body, above the head and to the side of the body in snake-like swirls and rotations. In this style, dance gestures were subtle and suggestive. In a second more extroverted style, the highly aroused dancers performed a larger repertoire of dance gestures, such as fast swivels of the hips and shoulders known as 'shimmies', and arched back bends with the arms continually swirling in front of the chest. In this style one could see the influence of professional belly-dance training with its large and more acrobatic repertoire of dance gestures.[11]

With the focus of body movements on the waist and hips, both *tsifteteli* dance styles celebrate a sexual sensuality. The dance is generally characterised as a sensual and erotic 'feminine' belly-dance believed to have ancient origins in women's fertility rites (Petrides 1980: 45). It is not surprising that the *tsifteteli* tends to be requested and performed by female dancers of all ages: girls, teenagers, women including elders. However, a symbolic-ideological tension exists between the two styles. The reserved style embodies an ethos of sexual chastity while the extroverted style is proudly sensuous and seductive. The socially non-threatening context of the celebratory event appears to publicly mediate and sanction the

[10] The words "*cifte-telli*" also refer to a playing technique on the stringed instrument whereby the melody is played on one string while the second string is strummed as a drone accompaniment. Reinhard (1980: 270) mentions that the *çifte* is a Turkish folk wind instrument with a single reed and double pipe found on the west coast of the Black Sea.

[11] Belly-dancing is a burgeoning 'multicultural' industry in Australia at present. The styles taught and performed by mostly European-Australian professional dancers belong to Egyptian or Lebanese nightclub entertainment genres. Australian teachers promote belly-dancing as a highly developed art form with health benefits for women.

sensuality and sexuality of the dance, whether overt or implied. This was particularly evident when a pre-pubescent girl dressed in a skin-tight outfit performed an extroverted *tsifteteli* dance surrounded and cheered on by members of her family.

This was also evident when men and boys danced the *tsifteteli*, not an uncommon occurrence in Adelaide. Generally, men danced the *tsifteteli* in a reserved style with their female partner. Yet there was one male couple who performed an extroverted 'mounted' version of the *tsifteteli*. In this performance, one man leapt up into the air, clasping his legs around the second man's waist. He then lowered his upper torso to the ground in a half back flip while waving his arms around in time with the music. The two were cheered by onlookers. In this context, male dancers of the *tsifteteli* alter the gender boundaries of exclusion, claiming sensuality and sexuality as an equally male experience, while simultaneously dancing a parody of the sexual act, all with the dancer's licence of expressive spontaneity which is acceptable in the here-and-now of live music-making and dancing.

The importance of the *zeïbekikos* and *tsifteteli* dances as expressive celebratory forms for individuals is evident in musicians' statements that an event without *tsifteteli* and *zeïbekikos* dancing is a rare occurrence. The two *rebetika* solo dances are confirmed as signifying a 'good night' because people have spontaneously and enthusiastically reached an intense peak of *kefi*, "high spirits". This occurred on the nights of the social-dances in question. Musicians perceive the two dances as attracting a hard-core of "die-hard" music lovers and dance enthusiasts (Gardounis 1992 pers. com.). These are the *meraklides*, the dancers who express intense *meraki*, "passion",[12] for Greek music. A discussion of the terms *kefi* and *meraki* will help to clarify the significanceof *rebetika* solo dances at Greek music-making events.

The words *kefi* and *meraki* when used in descriptions of collective music-making and dancing, are terms layered with meaning. *Kefi* refers to a positive and empassioned disposition for celebration and merriment. For Greek people, the essential criteria required to dance and make music is simply that one has *kefi*. In opposition to this, music-making and dancing without *kefi* is considered to be pretentious and a clear marker of cultural estrangement.

Zachos (1983: 320) confirms that the term *meraki* connotes all-consuming "passion "or "yearning" for someone or something. The term *meraki* is used in the song text of "*Skantaliara*" to describe a man's empassioned state over a woman (μπαίνω στο μεράκι, "I get in a passionate mood"). The term *meraki* also refers to an empassioned curiosity to gain knowledge about something. In this sense, the *meraklides* or 'good' dancers of the *zeïbekikos* and *tsifteteli* are those who not only dance with *kefi*—a good mood—but also with *meraki*—empassioned engrossment and a knowledge of the music, songs and especially of possible dance gestures. Expressions of *kefi* and *meraki* by dancers are externalised in gestures of self-absorbed concentration and purposeful body movement. These gestures are 'read' by participants as celebratory signals of mood and high spirits (*kefi*), as well as passion, skill and knowledge (*meraki*). People recognise these externalised markers of *kefi* and *meraki* with remarks about the 'honest'[13] expression of the dancer. Thus, music-making and dancing with *kefi* and *meraki* are fundamental markers of Greek cultural authenticity.

Use of the terms *kefi* and *meraki* with relation to *rebetika* solo dances articulates a particular construction of *rebetika* as a passionate 'soul' music which engages the individual at the deep level of feeling (mood, passion, compassion, catharsis), the body (agility, assertiveness, sensuality, sexuality) and the mind (musical and choreographic knowledge and skills). In the particular construction of the body which emerges through *rebetika* solo dancing, the body appears to become a liberating site for emotional repression and a creative site for emotional expression. Dreitzel (1981: 205) argues that since the fifteenth century, there has been increasing control and repression of spontaneous physical and emotional activity in the western world. He (Drietzel 1981: 221-222) observes that this trend is recently being reversed as individuals are making more reflective and reflexive choices about their own corporal and emotional expression from the range of cultural practices available in their heterogeneous societies. *Rebetika* music-making and dancing appear to be one such empowering site for the realisation of corporal and emotional expression.

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[12] The word *meraklides* (pl.) comes from the word *meraki*. Stavropoulos (1988: 538) translates "*meraki*" as longing/yearning; good taste/artistry; and high spirits (*sta merakia* plural). See glossary.

[13] 'Λέει την αλήθεια, δεν λέει ψέματα. Νιώθει τη μουσική, το χορό.' [He tells the truth. He does not lie. He feels the music, the dance.]

Despite the solo nature of the *zeïbekikos* and *tsifteteli* dancing, the role of the music-making collectivity is central here. In her translation of *kefi* as "high spirits", Cowan (1990: 106) points out that "spirits" not only relates to alcohol consumption in a literal sense, but also to "an ideal state of communal sociability". Having a good time with *kefi* is thus ultimately connected to a shared and public expression of passion and mood, an exaltation of individual expression within the collective. This was further demonstrated in an observation of the use of space during *rebetika* solo dancing where each dancer symbolically claimed a physical space on the dance floor while dancing around and among others. At times when the dance floor was full of people, dancers gracefully vied with each other for dance space in the smallest of areas, sometimes as small as the size of one step in each direction. Through *rebetika* solo dancing, then, the individual was 'soulfully' engaged within the public collectivity of the 'community'. A paradox of both *tsifteteli* and *zeïbekikos* dancing is the 'unisonance' of expressive solidarity that they embody and engender despite their solo and improvisatory forms. This unisonance of expressive solidarity is even more apparent in *rebetika* line and circle dances such as the *chasaposervikos*.

Music to accompany the *chasaposervikos* dance was performed by Laïki Kompania at the Opening Ball of the Flinders University Greek Association Greek Cultural Week (1/9/1984). It consisted of the *laïko rebetiko* song "*Gia Ta Matia P' Agapo*", "For The Eyes I Love", composed by Vasilis Tsitsanis. The predominant choice of *laïka rebetika* is typical of Greek bands who have played regularly at Greek weddings and social-dances since the early 1980s.

The *chasaposervikos* is a line or open-circle dance performed towards the end of a Greek dance bracket as a climactic finale. The name *chasaposervikos* literally means "butcher's-Serbian" dance and refers to a hybrid dance form which began with a slow or moderate *chasapikos* and accelerates into an *allegro* finale. Nowadays, its is performed as an allegro dance. The *chasapikos* was apparently a dance of the butcher's guild in Constantinople since the Byzantine Empire (Stratou 1966: 26; Petrides 1980: 13). The 'Serbian' label of the dance possibly indicates Serbian musical and dance influences, or, as Petrides (1980: 25) suggests, the colloquial Greek term for any music that is fast.[14] In Adelaide, the *chasaposervikos* is commonly referred to as the 'Zorba dance' because it is often accompanied with music from the soundtrack of the feature film *Zorba The Greek*.

Laïki Kompania commenced the song "*Gia Ta Matia P' Agapo*" with a dramatic introduction which hinted at the excitement to come. The rhythm-harmony instruments sustained a tremolando chord progression VII-II-I in free time which set the D tonic of the *chitzaz* ($DEbF^{\#}GAB^{b}CD$) mode of the piece. The instruments then launched into the duple 'oum-pah' metre of the *chasaposervikos*, with the harmony and *bouzouki* melody centred on the VII degree. This momentarily shifted the modality of the piece to C *nigriz* (*souzinak*) ($CDE^{b}F^{\#}G$), a minor chromatic mode on the VII degree, creating an ambiguous tonality which was resolved when the instrumental interlude returned to D *chitzaz*, only to shift again to a third tonal centre based on the IV degree, creating a G major modality by naturalising the B note. The music returned to the D *chitzaz* modality at the commencement of the vocal melody, but the alternation between the three tonal centres continued throughout the song, all of which added to the forward driving force of the *chasaposervikos* dance.

The energetic nature of the dance was also paralleled in the lyrics of the song which conjured the image of empassioned frantic merry-making in the guise of love, yet containing a hint of political repression and the prophecy of doom in the third verse (see Appendix 6). A translated excerpt reads:

> Bring me the most expensive drink
> I pay any price for the eyes I love.
>
> My heart clouds over
> my tears flow like rain
> for sure we will [end-up there]
> you seven foot under and I in gaol.

[14] To my knowledge the *chasaposervikos* is the only Greek dance which gradually increases in speed. Other dances may have a sudden speed change into a new tempo in the course of the music.

During the instrumental introduction of the song, people quickly formed lines or open-circles with shoulder-to-shoulder hand clasp and commenced the repeated six-step leg-kicking dance pattern. The dance lines moved in an anti-clockwise direction circling the dance floor many times throughout the song. In the regular duple rhythmic pattern of the *chasaposervikos*, a strong music-dance syncopation was created as the musicians accented the down beat while the dancers kicked a leg in the air on the up-beat. The music-dance syncopation added to the momentum of the piece and the gay abandon mentioned in the lyrics.

The *chasaposervikos* is recognised as a dance which tests both the fitness and grace of dancers. During the *chasaposervikos* dancers were observed enduring the speed of the music while maintaining lightness and agility. *Meraklides* dancers were those with immense physical stamina who broke away from the dance line, sometimes as individuals, sometimes in a pair, and moved into the centre of the open circle to improvise fast footwork using the *pas de Basque* step (see Petrides 1980: 25, 27) and Cossack-style squats and leaps. Improvisation of the *chasaposervikos* requires not only high spirits and passion but also creative ability. The performance of "*Gia Ta Matia P' Agapo*" was regarded as a 'good' dance because it made dancers 'sweat it out' while they spontaneously improvised steps in time with the music. The lead melodies played on *bouzouki* also demonstrated the virtuoso touch of a *meraklis* musician who ornaments melodic passages with great speed and passion. The *chasaposervikos* dance is commonly typified as the most 'Greek' dance, partly because of its associations with *Zorba The Greek*,[15] but also because of the highly aroused and climactic state of solidarity it elicits when people are engaged in its musical-textual-choreographic forms.[16] These features were all present at the FUGA Opening Ball.

The performance of *laïka rebetika* songs by the band Laïki Kompania provided musical-textual forms to accompany the *rebetika* solo and line dances at the Greek Football Club and FUGA social-dances. Through the experiences of *kefi*, *meraki* and intense emotional, corporal and collective engagement, a 'soul music' symbolic-ideological narrative was identified as underpinning the performance of *rebetika* at these events.

10.3 Themelia: National Community Arts Conference Club

The presentation of *rebetika* music in the form of single individual items was also a feature of multicultural-organised social-dances. This occurred at the National Community Arts Conference Club social-dance (6 September 1986) which was co-organised by the Community Arts Network of South Australia (CANSA) and the Multicultural Artworkers Committe of South Australia (MACSA). On this occasion, the Themelia music ensemble performed alongside other groups in a diverse program of popular and folk music and dance performed by Adelaide people of Aboriginal, Torres Strait Island, Italian, Greek, Latin American and Anglo-Celtic backgrounds. The Conference Club event was held as part of a week-long conference dedicated to community arts. Both organising bodies were autonomous non-profit organisations funded by state and federal governments to support and promote community-based arts practice. The priority of MACSA was to support artists and groups from non-English-speaking backgrounds. Through model art projects and the community access facilities, both MACSA and CANSA promoted social justice and democratic participation in the arts and endeavoured to challenge dominant assumptions about the role and uses of art in Australian society.

The Conference Club social-dance was held in the MACSA space, an old factory warehouse with brick walls, cement floors and a high iron ceiling. The recycled space not only generated a relaxed, informal and sociable atmosphere by negating any pretense about 'high arts', it also symbolically asserted a positive message about the role of art in transforming a post-manufacturing industrial society.[17]

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[15] The populist image of Greek music as a particularly passionate and participatory music has largely been constructed through internationally successful films such as *Zorba The Greek*. The character of Zorbas is that of a middle-aged happy-go-lucky Cretan man who takes it upon himself to enculturate a visiting bourgeois Englishman into the liberating ways of the Greeks. Music and dance feature prominently in this process, and it is significant that the music score of the film soundtrack composed by Mikis Theodorakis employs *rebetika* musical forms such as the *chasapikos* and *chasaposervikos* dance rhythms together with the *bouzouki* instrument.

[16] This contrasts with the observation by Petrides (1980: 13) that mastering the intricate and elaborate steps of the *chasapikos* dance best typifies 'Greekness'.

[17] MACSA has since been rehoused in as clinical hospital-like renovated section of the factory warehouse premises called the Lion Arts Centre, named after the Lion flour factory.

The Conference Club was well attended by approximately 200 participants. There was noticeably a large ethnic mix of patrons in the audience including Greek people who attended to hear Greek music and who were generally 'groupies' of Themelia. Also evident in the vocal and physical response to the entire music and dance program was a shared respect among participants for the values of social equity, community arts and multiculturalism.

At the time, Themelia was a five member group featuring two singers and players of the recorder, guitar and bongos. All members were Australian born of Greek or Cypriot background apart from the recorder-player who was born in England of English-French background. Within the tightly scheduled program, the Themelia performance was limited to approximately thirty minutes in duration. It contained a heterogeneous repertoire of *entechna*, *nisiotika*, *dimotika* and *smyrneïka*. The selection included items with standard Greek dance forms (*chasaposervikos*, *zeïbekikos*, *syrtos* and *kalamatianos*), topical song texts, and songs in unusual five-beat and nine-beat dance rhythms. For the benefit of non-Greek speaking patrons, Themelia began to introduce their items with information about the genres and translations of the texts. However, they soon abandoned the lengthy verbal introductions when they realised that Conference delegates were eager to participate in spontaneous Greek dancing.[18] At the commencement of the first Greek dance item by Themelia, patrons filled the dance floor with spiralling open-circles, chatting and cheering in excitement as they shuffled along in time with the music. The performance of dance items by Themelia then followed each other in quick succession.

One of the *rebetiko* items in their performance was the *smyrneïko* song of contested authorship (see Appendix 4) "*Mi Me Stelnis Mana Stin Ameriki*", "Mother, Don't Send Me To America". A noticeable feature of the repertoire of atypical Greek music ensembles such as Themelia was their preference for *smyrneïka rebetika*. The piece commenced with the recorder introducing the instrumental melody which is a variation of the vocal melody and functions as an instrumental interlude between each verse. The rhythm-harmony instruments of guitar, bongos and tambourine immediately entered playing the syncopated eight-beat (or quadruple) *syrtos* dance rhythm. Because of the enthusiasm of the dancers, the singers sang the entire six verses to give the dancers a 'good run'.

The irregularly sized 11 and 13 syllable distichs of this song text are expanded into four-part phrases with the recorder 'responding' to the first line of each verse with an *apantisi* and the second line of each distich being repeated. The lyrics of "*Mi Me Stelnis Mana Stin Ameriki*" depict a kind of feminist defiance more characteristic of *rebetika* than of songs comprised of the traditional distichs. In the text, an assertive female character refuses to migrate to America with the lure of wealth, preferring poverty and the man of her choice. Once again death appears as the ill-fated out-come (see Appendix 6). A translated excerpt of the song reads:

> Mother, don't send me to America
> because I will waste away and die there.
>
> I don't want dollars, how can I say it
> better to eat bread and onions and be with the one I love.

The melismatic vocal melody, typical of *smyrneïka*, contained a binary call-and-answer form with the first line of each distich sung in the relative C major mode on the III degree of the home mode, and the second 'answer' line returning to the A *ousak* 'home' mode ($AB^bCDEFGA$), via the IV degree. This ambiguous tonal pull between the minor and relative major was typical of many demotic and *rebetika* songs (see also "*Antilaloune Ta Vouna*" and "*Pente Manges*"). The binary form of the verse-instrumental interlude is replicated in the melodic call-answer phrases between first and second text lines and in the modal oscillation between the two vocal melodies. Together they embody an aesthetic of dialogic communication inherent in many *rebetika* songs, which is further mirrored in the song text narrative between the female character and her mother, and in the final verse between the female character as narrator and the 'audience'.

Throughout the performance of "*Mi Me Stelneis Mana Stin Ameriki*", a dialogic communication persisted between musicians and dancers, with musicians cheering dancers on as dancers circled many

[18] Prior to the performance by Themelia, the audience had listened to two brackets of floorshow music.

times around the dance floor in an anti-clockwise direction typical of all Greek open-circle dances. The twelve-step *syrtos* dance form, which in Adelaide is the same as that danced for the *kalamatianos*,[19] required four bars of music to complete one cycle, which when synchronised with the four-bar melodic phrases, interlocked perfectly and reinforced the participant–music–dance synchronicity. During the *syrtos* dance form the dancers repeated the twelve-step pattern cycle of "shuffle" or "dragging" steps as the name of the dance suggests (see Stratou 1966: 14). They clasp hands creating a "W" shaped arm position while the remainder of the torso is held upright. As one of the longest and most difficult of the Greek dance forms, Greek patrons were observed counting out the dance steps and instructing their non-Greek friends in the forwards then backwards step-skip movements of the dance. On occasion the leader of one line was observed to make contact with a second line by weaving her line underneath the hand clasp of two people in the second line, whereupon the second line then halted its movement and held time until all dancers in the first line had passed through. At other times the leader changed the direction of his/her line by turning the line back on itself in a S-bend to proceed in a clockwise direction for a momentary period. These variations of line direction demonstrated a high degree of group co-ordination and collaboration, both within a line and between lines of dancers. A cross-cultural exchange occurred through the teaching, learning and movement of the *syrtos* dance, reinforcing solidarity among dancers all sharing the experience of Greek culture.

In the Themelia performance of "*Mi Me Stelneis Mana Stin Ameriki*", the 'soul music' narrative of spirited and empassioned engagement was extended to a mixed multicultural audience. Here we note the emergence of a 'multicultural' or 'world music' symbolic-ideological narrative in *rebetika* music-making, whereby through the medium of cross-cultural dance participation, the principles of cultural diversity and cultural tolerance are experienced and celebrated.

10.4 Hellenic Music Association of South Australia: Night of *Rebetika*

From the Greek and non-Greek organised social-dances which featured individual *rebetika* items, we move to a discussion of a social-dance which featured a greater concentration of *rebetika* items in the form of an entire bracket of music. This occurred at the Night of *Rebetika* social-dance (27 August 1982) organised by the Hellenic Music Association of South Australia (HMASA). Although the occurrence of brackets of *rebetika* music are far less common than the occurrence of individual *rebetika* items, occurring only six times at social-dances, their occurrence indicates an increasing dedication to the *rebetika* genre which this study documents. The HMASA Night of *Rebetika* is, moreover, significant in itself as one of the earliest documented occurrences of the concentrated presentation of *rebetika* music in Adelaide. As an organisation dedicated to support of Greek music and local Greek musicians, it is also noteworthy that the first genre-specific event organised by the HMASA was *rebetika* music. The Night of *Rebetika* epitomised a local consciousness about Greek popular *laïki* music, the formative role of *rebetika*, and the influence of Greece with its then current *rebetika* 'revival'.

At the Night of *Rebetika* social-dance, a musical director arranged and directed the performance of a floorshow bracket of music which contained five well-known *rebetika* songs.[20] The careful arrangement of music for the floorshow bracket contrasted with the 'raw' arrangements by Laïki Kompania (see 10.2). The music was performed by a large sixteen-member voice-strings-percussion ensemble containing both 'traditional' acoustic and electric instruments: vocalists, *bouzouki*, acoustic and electric lead and bass guitars, *baglamas*, drum kit and percussion.

The first two songs of the bracket, "*Elenitsa Mou*", "My Darling Helen", an anonymous *smyrneïko* song, and "*Nychtose Choris Fengari*", "Moonless Nightfall", a *laïko rebetiko* composed by Apostolos Kaldaras, are discussed in more detail as they are representative of the style of presentation employed thoughout the entire bracket. The performance was introduced with a dramatic *taximi* improvisation to "*Elenitsa Mou*" played on an Ovation acoustic guitar in a style which simluated the warm and resonant

[19] Literally meaning "dance of Kalamata", the *kalamatianos* is a demotic 'folk' dance rhythm far older than the history of *rebetika*. It has been a part of Greek rural and island culture throughout the Ottoman Empire, and many suggest that in its relation to the *syrtos* as a "shuffle" or "dragging", dance form, it is of ancient origins (Anoyanakis 1979: 16-17; Chianis 1980: 677; Stratou 1966: 7, 14; Petrides 1975: 73). During the nineteenth century after the liberation of Greece from Ottoman rule, the *kalamatianos* in particular enjoyed pan-Hellenic status (Bottomley 1986: 4).

[20] These were "*Elenitsa*", "*Nychtose Choris Fengari*", "*Ta Matoklada Sou Lamboun*", "*Acharisti*", and "*Synnefiasmeni Kyriaki*".

timbre of the oud.[21] The guitarist meandered through the E *chitzaz* (EFG#ABCDE) mode, establishing the mode of the song, quoting parts of the A major mode, and spontaneously creating new rhythmic-melodic phrases in all registers of the instrument. The ultimate opportunity for a musician to express *meraki* is to improvise a solo *taximi*. The guitar *taximi* of "*Elenitsa Mou*" was applauded as a 'good' *taximi* because it was rendered with feeling (intense engrossment and conviction), knowledge (employing the 'home' and related modes), and skill (the creation of new rhythmic-melodic phrases which created anticipation, expectation and release).

The guitarist ended his solo with the *cliché* II-I-VII-I cadential phrase, and then played the first statement of the instrumental introduction, an ornamented variation of the vocal refrain melody. Upon repetition, this was joined by the conga player with a closed syncopated version of the *tsifteteli* rhythm. The soft moody *taximi* and staggered entry of the congo created a suspense which climaxed with a *tutti crescendo* for the entry of the vocalist. The highly melismatic vocal melody adorned a song text of irregular metre centred on the theme of *sevdas*, of the "love-sickness" a man feels for a woman (see Appendix 6). A translated excerpt of the lyrics reads:

> When I don't see your two eyes I become ill
> when I see them I go crazy
> and they send me to Hades.
>
> Woe is me, my doll, my little doll
> you've driven me mad, my darling Helen.

The vocal line was repeatedly interspersed with the interjection *aman*, "woe is me", reminding listeners of its *smyrneïko* origins and contextualisng the song as one depicting heart-rending love. Verses were followed by rhythmically tight instrumental *apantisi* passages and the vocal refrain was followed by instrumental interludes performed first by a pair of *bouzoukia* playing the melody in harmonies of thirds, and then followed by the softer tender *baglamas* playing in the higher register with most other instruments dropping out. At all other times, the percussion instruments, bass and guitars created an interlocking 'funky'[22] syncopated rhythmic-harmonic bed over which the melody instruments wove in and out. The 'soulful' modal *taximi*, the frisky *tsifteteli* rhythm-harmony section, the tight *bouzouki*-family instrumental interludes, and the melismatic 'love-sick' vocal line together set the mood for the remainder of the song and entire night as one of empassioned music-making and dancing.

The song "*Elenitsa Mou*" was followed by the more sober and serious song "*Nychtose Choris Fengari*", "Moonless Nightfall". It commenced with a soft *tremolando* melody, a variation of the vocal melody, played on *bouzouki* and guitar and accompanied by high pitched *tremolando* notes on the *baglamas* and wind chimes. The underlying *zeïbekikos koptos* rhythm was lightly articulated by the instruments. A staggered entry of instruments built up to a *tutti* rhythm-harmonic section by the fourth bar when the voice entered singing the first verse. The *zeïbekikos koptos* rhythm was now more strongly articulated by the rhythm-harmony instruments. The second line of each 15 syllable trochaic distich was repeated to create triplet verses. The lyrics of the song were embedded with a cryptic message against

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[21] The oud is a multi-stringed short-necked lute.

[22] Funk music is an African-American popular music of the 1960s-1970s which arose out of rhythmn 'n' blues and soul music. The original interpretation of the word to mean "smelly" has extended to "sexy" and anything "groovy". It also refers to a particularly syncopated dance music. The funk music culture revolved around black consciousness, civil rights and the importance of dance and bodily engagement (see Fiedman 1993).

The *rebetika* association with funky music is especially apparent in the syncopated *tsifteteli* dance. This became evident at the event of a Flinders University Greek Association youth dance where a standard Greek band alternated music brackets of music with a disc jockey. As the music changed over from a song in a syncopated *tsifteteli* dance form performed by the Greek band to an African-Amercian soul song played by the disc jockey, a female Greek-Australian dancer was observed to barely alter her dance gestures and facial expression for the African-Amercian song. In this context, both the *tsifteteli* and the African-American song are experienced by dancers as a syncopated dance music with a 'funky groove' requiring little if any translation of dance gesture and expression from one genre to the other.

social injustice which the description of the window and door suggest as the confines of a gaol and imprisonment.[23]: The sigh and anguish hint at the ill-fated political execution of the male character:

> The night came without moon, darkness weighs heavily
> yet a brave young man cannot sleep.
>
> I wonder what he is waiting for from night till morning
> beside a narrow window lit by a candle.
>
> A door opens and shuts with a heavy sigh[24]
> if I could only guess his heart's anguish

As for "*Elenitsa Mou*", instrumental interludes with new melodic material were interspersed between the three verses. Intricate *bouzouki* melodies were also rendered in harmonies of thirds. The dynamic changes in the performance, especially in the louder *tutti* instrumental sections were noticeable. The song ended softly after a descending *chitzaz* scale at a slower ritenuto pace, suggesting a similar sensitivity and compassion for the message of the song.

The reception of the opening floorshow bracket of *rebetika* at the HMASA Night of *Rebetika* was highly charged with excitement at the novelty of special attention given to the *rebetika* genre, the sight of so many musicians playing together, and the quality of the arrangement and performance. The attention of patrons was concert-like during each item, and then exploded into enthusiastic applause and cheering after each item. The special arrangement, conducting and performance of *rebetika* by such a large ensemble during the floorshow bracket, a time when patrons are the most attentive, created a formal context in which the *rebetika* genre was 'received' not merely as a worthy, but also a deeply central Greek tradition. A 'roots music' narrative in which *rebetika* are symbolically constructed as an icon of Greek culture emerges in the concert-like presentation of the *rebetika* floorshow bracket. The effect of the floorshow performance was to generate and scatter *kefi* even more strongly among patrons, who then participated in subsequent collective Greek dancing with much gusto until early morning.

10.5 Nick Arabatsis and *The Rebetes*: *Rebetiki Vradia*

The final social-dance to be discussed in this chapter presented *rebetika* music as the entire music program. This occurred at the *Rebetiki Vradia*, "*Rebetika* Night" social-dance organised by the Women's Auxiliary of the Lemnos Fraternity (7 August 1993). A seven-piece ensemble, Oi Rebetes, "The *Rebetes*", was formed specifically for the occasion and played for almost four continuous hours. The aim of the event, apart from raising funds for the Lemnos Fraternity, was to provide an entertaining music program of *choreftika*, "danceable", *rebetika*.

The stage and dance floor were positioned in the centre of the oblong shaped space with patrons seated at tables to the side and in front of the dance floor. The musicians were seated on the stage in a row in a fashion suggestive of *rebetika* ensembles of the 1930s documented in period photographs (see Petropoulos 1983). Instrumentation was also appropriate to the 1930s era with voice, *bouzoukia*, *baglamas*, guitars and double-bass. The four singers and the *bouzouki* players took it in turns to 'lead' songs, thereby dividing the workload between singers and *bouzouki*-players and increasing the size of the repertoire for the occasion. The remaining instrumentation—double bass, two guitars, and *baglamas*—functioned as the rhythmic-harmonic accompaniment throughout the entire program. A 'traditional' acoustic sound reminiscent of the early *rebetika* was reproduced with the use of acoustic instruments and microphone amplification. The warm and light-hearted 'authentic' *rebetika* atmosphere was complemented by period attire and hairstyles (e.g. suits, berets, moustaches) worn by musicians.

The music program consisted of a long floorshow bracket followed by two Greek dance brackets. Two *rebetika* items are discussed in detail to indicate the nature of music-making and dancing at a social-

[23] The composer Apostolos Kaldaras (Kaldaras 1989) speaks of the way in which he was required to change the lyrics from "cell" to "candle" for the song to pass the censors.

[24] Also translated as "he sighs heavily".

dance in which *rebetika* music was featured as an entire music program. The floorshow commenced with the *piraiötiko* song, "*Osoi Echoune Polla Lefta*", "Those With A Lot of Money", composed and written by Markos Vamvakaris. The song was introduced with a leisurely solo *taximi* improvisation played on the *bouzouki*. This set the tonality of the piece in D major (DEF$^{\#}$GABC$^{\#}$D) and quoted the *chouzam* (DE$^{\#}$F$^{\#}$GABC(C$^{\#}$)D) variation. Upon commencement of the set instrumental introduction on *bouzouki*, the accompanying instruments entered with the metred nine-beat *zeïbekikos koptos* rhythm in a moderate tempo. The melody of the instrumental interlude introduced a G$^{\#}$ passing note which suggested an additional mode, this time the *rast* (DEF$^{\#}$GG$^{\#}$ABC$^{\#}$D). For the remainder of the song, the *bouzouki* instrumental interlude, a variation of the vocal melody, alternated with the 15 syllable distich verses sung in a syllabic style by a tenor voice, first with parlando then legato. The vocal style and chirpy major melody suited the sardonic song text which questions the futility of hoarding wealth and the impermanence of the material world. The narrator in the song added some humour with the confession that marijuana was his cure for all earthly heartaches (see Appendix 6). An excerpt of the translated song text reads:

> Those with a lot of money, I wish I knew what they do with it
> I wonder if, when they die, *vr' aman, aman*,[25] they take it with them
>
> I never keep cash in my pocket
> and all my heartaches[26] pass, *vr' aman, aman*, only when I am stoned

As the opening song of the program, patrons warmed to the song's message, spurred on to eat, drink, socialise and enjoy life in the here-and-now. Patrons were observed visiting and socialising with friends seated at other tables, taking photographs, singing among themselves and smiling. The song was so popular that it was requested and played again as the finale to the entire event.

A ballroom dance bracket, usually following the floorshow bracket, was noticeably absent from the music program at the *Rebetika* Night. While *rebetika* items do exist to accompany ballroom dancing, the music program at this event was planned to cater for communal line and solo dancing rather than arm-in-arm couple dancing. Instead, the amateur Greek Hellenic Youth dance troupe performed a floorshow bracket of Greek dancing, the appearance of a Greek dance troupe being a common occurrence at Greek community social-dances.

The membership of the dance troupe consisted of approximately one dozen male and female dancers in their teens and twenties who were dressed in causal and colourful clothes: black pants, monochrome silk shirts for females and white shirts for males, and black shoes. They performed two choreographed dance items: one a *syrtos-ballos* and the other a *zeïbekikos*. Both dances were accompanied by taped music of the vocalist Apostolos Nikolaïdis singing two *rebetika* songs[27] which employed ample *rebetika* symbols—*bouzouki*, heavily accented dance rhythms, *taximi*, 'heavy' nasal tenor voice, vocal interjections and street argot such as "*moutro*", "head", and "*ela angouri*", "come on you cucumber"—features which added to the '*laïko*' performance aesthetic of the evening.[28]

The dancers moved confidently around the dance floor in changing formations, first in an open circle *syrtos* formation, then in face-to-face male-female pairs for the *ballos* style, always dancing in the sprightly light footed *pidichtos* "jumping" or "springing" style (see Stratou 1966: 14). Each member of a pair then took it in turns to improvise steps in the centre of a stationary open-circle line, reinforcing all three forms of Greek dancing in the one item: line, couple and solo dancing. The performance of the second *zeïbekikos* item by the men only was also ingeniously choreographed in line and solo-group formations which combined stylised *zeïbekikos* and *chasapikos* dance movements of forwards, sideways and backwards steps, kicks, swirls and squats.

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[25] Βρε αμάν αμάν (interjection) = "hey you, woe is me, woe is me"

[26] ντέρτι = heartache, pain, onging, sorrow (see Glossary).

[27] These songs were "In The Turkish Baths of Constantinople" and "A *Mangas* Is Out For a Stroll" from the album *Otan Kapnizei o Loulas. Rebetika Tragoudia* (Nikolaïdis n.d.), Side A, bands 6 and 2.

[28] In a later chat with one of the dancers of the troupe, the Night of *Rebetika* performance was regarded as 'very *laïko*' compared with a more reserved performance by the same troupe for a non-Greek audience at the MacLaren Vale winery (3/11/93).

The Greek Hellenic Youth dancers defied the stiff, serious and forced folkloric performance style of other Greek dance troupes which perform a strictly demotic repertoire in official 'authentic' national-rural costumes. Instead, they exuded a contemporary, youthful, casual and highly spirited style, smiling profusely throughout the performance, and obviously personally identifying with the music and dance. Their performance was all the more significant by its identification with the *rebetika* musical theme of the event and the choice of modern 1970s-80s '*laïko*' renditions of *rebetika* items. In this context, *rebetika* became emblematic of a personal youthful connection with Greek musical culture and a springboard for Greek-Australian modernity.

After the spirited performance of the dance troupe, it was not surprising that patrons filled the dance floor at the commencement of the first Greek dance bracket by the *Rebetes* ensemble. As with most floorshow brackets, especially dance floorshows, the Greek Hellenic Youth dance troupe had succeeded in disseminating *kefi* for the subsequent spontaneous and communal Greek dancing. The musicians launched into a program of Greek dance items with songs accompanying *syrtos*, *chasapikos*, *zeïbekikos*, *tsifteteli*, *chasaposervikos*, *karsilamas*, and *kalamatianos* dance forms.[29]

The performance of the song "*Ferte Preza Na Prezaro*", "Bring Me A Dose To Take", reinforced the strong shared identification with the *rebetiko* and '*laïko*' aesthetic of the evening. Placed within a series of open-circle dance songs, its controversial narcotics-oriented song text theme appeared to pass unnoticed as dancers shuffled around the packed dance floor to the seven-beat *kalamatianos* dance rhythm. Even if the lyrics were heard, they may not have been understood because of the use of colloquial street argot in the song text (e.g. *preza*, "heroin") (see Appendix 6). The use of street argot in the lyrics may have, inversely, invited listeners familiar with drug-oriented street argot to share a complicity of understanding with the musicians, a kind of 'cool' in-culture. A translated excerpt of the lyics is:

> Babe Irene has driven me crazy with the loquat-coloured high-heels[30]
> Hey, I talk to her but she doesn't come clean, she bursts out laughing and wiggles.
> Ah, bring me a dose to take and hashish to smoke.
>
> The empassioned human being doesn't tell of his pain
> and if he sings, hey false world, inside his heart he weeps.

For those that understood, the song would have appealed to the listener's compassion for a drug addict's emotional and spiritual suffering. The refrain conjured up an image induced by hallucination in which the 'woman' may be a metaphor for the narcotic ('Babe Irene has driven me crazy'). The additional repeated 'floating' refrain "bring me a dose to take and hashish to smoke" refers to a once functional song text form in which the actions of narcotics-consumption were sung and carried out (see Gauntlett 1985: 190).

In typical *rebetika* song form, instrumental interludes were interspersed between the two verses and refrain. The melody meandered through the *chitzaz* mode ($DE^{b}F^{\#}GAB^{b}CD$), commencing on the upper tonic during the instrumental interludes and gradually descending to the lower tonic, from which the vocal melody departed and continued in a mostly step-wise undulating contour over a small vocal range of a sixth ($d\text{-}b^{b}$).

The social dynamics on the full dance floor reached a climax with the sprightly allegro pace of the song, together with the momentum of the *kalamatianos* rhythm,[31] a composite rhythm of long-short-short 3+2+2 accented rhythmic cells. Dance lines were made up of *parees* of related and acquainted people who were seated at the same table and reinforced their shared *kefi* and solidarity through dance. Different lines now vied for any tiny space on the dance floor through which to thread their spiralling lines. Line sizes underwent constant change as friends from other tables joined on and others broke away to form their own smaller lines. Both male and female leaders of lines were observed displaying their dexterity by weaving their lines in and out of other open-circles while maintaining the repeated dance form at a manageable pace.

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[29] The Greek dance brackets noticeably omitted demotic dance rhythms-the *tsamikos*, *tik* and *kotsari*-which usually occur in standard Greek dance brackets. These demotic dance rhythms are not present in the *rebetika* repertoire.

[30] Το μουσμουλί = loquat fruit. Το γιοβάκι = η μικρή γόβα = a woman's small high-heel shoe; a small slipper.

[31] See fn. 19

The very capable ones managed to improvise steps at the same time. Dancers took it in turns from item to item to lead a dance line, reflecting an altruistic spirit of egalitarianism.

A sense of status was clearly gained from dancing at the head of a line, evident in the way people tended to join a line as close as possible to the beginning, and in the gestures of unease or embarrassment of dancers when they found themselves at the end of a line. On the other hand, some dancers joined on at the end of a line in a deliberate gesture of defiance against dance-line hierarchy. From time to time, a cluster of dancers within a line or at the end of a line were observed cheering each other on to change the customary 'laid back' *syrtos* "dragging" dance style to a more sprightly *pidichtos* style, thereby generating *kefi* and discovering a 'free' space where they could also improvise while maintaining handhold with the remainder of the line. This was possible because within the overall pattern of the repeated open-circle *kalamatianos* dance form, dancers could exercise improvisatory spontaneity no matter where they were positioned in a line.

The *meraklides* dancers were quickly discernible from others by their explicit expressions of *kefi* and *meraki*: the enthusiasm and passion evident on their faces, their singing of the lyrics to the song, their spirited agile body movements, and the skill and knowledge evident in their varied articulation of dance steps and forms in time with the music. It is the *meraklides* who are often given the nonverbal licence to dominate the leadership of dance lines or the dance floor as solo dancers. It is not uncommon for a dancer to detach himself or herself from a dance line and improvise solo steps in the centre of the dance floor and of all encircling dance lines. In the context of the Greek community social-dance in Adelaide, dance leaders and *meraklides* do not appear to reflect traditional social hierachies among dancers with the male head of a family leading, followed by senior males, senior women and last of all children (see also Bottomley 1988: 9-10; Loutzaki n.d.: 42-43; Peristeres 1962: 9-10; Raftis 1985:41, 47). On the contrary, several principles—egalitarianism, merit, and Greek notions of *kefi* and *meraki*, the desire to develop a passion and knowledge for something—appear to resonate more strongly here.

The empassioned manifestations of *kefi* and *meraki* were a feature of *rebetika* music-making and dancing at the Greek-organised social-dances where Laïki Kompania and Nick Arabatsis and the Oi Rebetes performed: in the instrumental *taximi* solos; the spontaneous participation in the solo *zeïbekikos* and *tsifteteli* dances; the group *chasaposervikos*, *syrtos*, and *kalamatianos* dances; the moody vocal melodies and lyrics about everyday life; the meandering modalities and melodies; the driving dance rhythms; the expressions of joy and release, *kefi*, and independent assertiveness, *mangia*. These features point towards the constitution of a 'soul music' symbolic-ideological narrative of *rebetika* music-making and dancing practices which highlights the deep 'soulful' experience of the individual-in-community. At other Greek-organised social-dances discussed, glimpses of two other symbolic-ideological narratives emerged. One comprised a 'roots music' narrative which consolidated an ethnic solidarity within the 'Greek community' by highlighting the 'Greek' nature of the *rebetika* genre (HMASA). A third 'world music' narrative of *rebetika* resonated at the multicultural/non-Greek-organised social-dance where Themelia performed in which all participants were united within a cross-cultural experience of cultural otherness, Greekness, and cultural diversity.

Chapter 11 Restaurants

11.1 Introduction

The category of restaurant is the second most common event type for *rebetika* music-making in Adelaide. Like the social-dance, the restaurant is an informal event where drinking, eating, talking, socialising, listening to music and dancing occur. Of all the event types, restaurants featured the highest incidence of the concentrated presentation of *rebetika* in the form of entire *rebetika* music programs. However, music sometimes plays only a peripheral role in the 'background' while dining is the central activity of the restaurant. At other times, patrons of a restaurant do not share the intimacy of family, friends and community so often present at the social-dance. In such cases *rebetika* music may function as a passively-received form of 'entertainment' for a more 'anonymous' public with the social distance of patrons from the music performed greater than that experienced at a social-dance. However, when the restaurant is attended by friends and 'groupies' of the musicians specifically to hear the music, a personal and intimate atmosphere is quickly generated.

Rebetika music is presented at restaurants managed by either Greeks or non-Greeks as either individual items in the heterogeneous music programs of bands, or as entire music programs. Greek bands which play at Greek-managed restaurants generally include *rebetika* items in their repertoires, especially since this is the music which originally developed in *cafés* and urban taverns of Greece. Individual *rebetika* items were also included in the music programs of music ensembles which played at non-Greek-managed restaurants, as was the case for the Gypsy Trio which played at the Ayers House Restaurants and is discussed in more detail below. Restaurants were also noted for their hosting of the Aman *rebetika* music ensemble which performed an entire rebetika music program at Nanyetta's Gypsy Restaurant owned by Anglo-Romani people, Jerusalem Sheshkebab House owned by Lebanese people, and Zorba's restaurant owned by Greek people. The latter is discussed in more detail below.

11.2 Gypsy Trio: Ayers House Restaurants

In the first example, the Gypsy Trio performed at the non-Greek-managed Ayers House during a four month residency, sometimes playing as many as three times a week. This restaurant complex was the residence of Sir Henry Ayers, the premier of the Colony of South Australia between 1863 and 1873. Now a national heritage site, the building has been restored with five different restaurant spaces (Henry's Brasserie and Wine Bar, the Henry Ayer's Room, the Ballroom, the Library and the Kingston Room). At least one space is open to the general public for dining while others are engaged for private functions such as birthday celebrations, weddings, conference, business or workplace dinners. When the Gypsy Trio performed at Ayers House, they was required to move from space to space, spending from half an hour to two hours in any one space so that as many patrons as possible could be entertained with live music. The following discussion primarily documents the music-making activitiy of the Gypsy Trio on 21 December 1991 (see Table 10.1).

The Gypsy Trio consisted of a violinist as lead melody player, a guitarist who provided the harmonic-rhythmic accompaniment, and a player of piano, *baglamas* and *toumberleki*. The repertoire of the Gypsy Trio was entirely instrumental(many of the pieces were originally vocal songs) and contained a heterogeneous selection of items from Greek *dimotika*, *nisiotika*, *smyrneïka*, *rebetika*, *laïka*, *entechna*, *neo-rebetika* and *neo-laïka* genres; and Jewish and Gypsy music from Poland, Rumania, Russia, Hungary and Israel. The selection accommodated the cultural backgrounds and personal tastes of each member, two of whom were born in Australia of Greek background and the violinist who was born in Australia of Polish-Russian background. The members often relished in the 'luxury' of playing in public the music closest to their heart. An added bonus was the opportunity to play without amplification in relatively small venues where the wooden furniture and floors added to the warm resonance of the acoustic music.

Even though live music at Ayers House was performed as a background while patrons dined and socialised, there were memorable occasions when more active responses were observed from customers. The clientele of Ayer's House was culturally diverse and included people of Anglo-Celtic, Indian, Russian and Greek backgrounds. Their ethnicity became more apparent to the musicians from their particular responses to the music rather than from their physical appearance.

On the occasion of 21 December 1991, the Gypsy Trio performed the anonymous *smyrneïko* instrumental "*Smyrneïkos Ballos*", "*Ballos* Dance of Smyrna", which was played in one of the Ayers House venues celebrating a Greek-Australian wedding. This epic-sized multisectional instrumental piece contained five discrete melodic sections, one of which was regularly repeated as the 'strophic vocal' section. Both the piano and guitar provided the rhythmic-harmonic accompaniment. Triadic chords supported the main degrees of the melodic movement and a light *syrtos* rhythm with *ballos*[1] and *tsifteteli* variations created multiple cross-rhythms. The home modality of the piece was E *chitzaz* (EFG$^{\#}$ABCDE), but the undulating, terraced ascending and descending melodies played on the violin and piano passed through other modalities: a C$^{\#}$ accidental moved the music through the D *nigriz* (*souzinak*) tetrachord (DEFG$^{\#}$) on the VII degree; and a D$^{\#}$ accidental suggested E *chitzazskiar* (EFG$^{\#}$ABCD$^{\#}$E). The modal fluctuations in "*Smyrneïkos Ballos*" created a labyrinth-like modality which always returned to the home mode of E *chitzaz*. The melodic performance was ornamented with violin *glissandi* and piano mordents and trills. Melodic sections were elongated with sequential triplet repetitions which culminated in either half-close joining phrases or cadential phrases. The ample modal, melodic and rhythmic interest of the piece inspired the musicians as one of their favourite pieces to repeat large sections and extend the length the item.

Even if the "*Smyrneïkos Ballos*" was unknown to patrons, its various musical structures, especially the driving *syrtos* dance rhythm which embodies a cross-rhythm in its quadruple-syncopated eight beat cycle, contained adequate information to signify 'Greek' 'dance' music and to act as a dance cue for people of Greek background. On this occasion, tables and chairs were frantically pushed aside to create a dance area around the musicians who were almost trampled in the excitement of the moment. Within a short time, patrons were spiralling around the musicians in an open-circle formation, dancing the *kalamatianos* dance to the "*Smyrneïkos Ballos*". The music had triggered a spontaneous response among the Greek guests to actively participate in the Greek dancing which distinguished their 'Greekness' vis-à-vis other Australian guests and provided them with an expressive medium for collective co-ordination.

The Gypsy Trio followed this instrumental with another dance tune, this time the anonymous *smyrneïko chasaposervikos* "*Tatavlianos Choros*", "Dance of Tatavla", named after the Tatavla area of Constantinople.[2] The composition opened with a dramatic *taximi* in the C *chitzaz* mode (CD^{b}EFGA^{b}B^{b}C) played on violin and accompanied by a *tremolando* tonic drone on the guitar with scattered pitter-patter sounds on the *toumberleki* drum. Signalling the end of the *taximi* with a repeated upper turn, the violinist slided into the set melody with a *glissando* from below, accenting the one-beat of the regular duple *chasaposervikos* rhythm at the slow tempo of her choice. The violinist gradually increased the speed of the much repeated binary melodies, setting up a momentum synchronised with the dancers.

As always with "*Tatavlianos Choros*", this instrumental piece elicited an enthusiastic and elated response from both Greek and non-Greek patrons. Greek patrons were observed instructing their non-Greek friends how to dance the *chasaposervikos*, calling out the 'step-behind-step-kick-step-kick' pattern until the novice dancers had mastered the form. For non-Greek people especially, the *chasaposervikos* appears to typify the ultimate Greekness, an icon of Greek joy and the 'devil-may-care' mentality that Lisbet Torp (1992: 207) suggests is represented as typically Greek in the film *Zorba The Greek*. On the night of the 21 December, once the instrumental piece was established at a moderate speed, the violinist commenced a second *taximi*, this time an intermezzo in metred accompaniment, during which the guitar and *toumberleki* maintained a tonic ostinato. The violinist improvised another dramatic rubato melody which extended into the highest register of the violin with imitated bird-calls, followed by and ascending and descending *glissandi*. These violin pyrotechnics caught the attention of most patrons, after which she launched into a final repetition of the melodies at breakneck allegro speed. The piece ended with a dramatic syncopated supertonic-tonic cadence.

Even those who did not rise to dance responded to the temporal and timbral drama of "*Tatavlianos Choros*" with eye contact, smiles and clapping in time with the main beats, cheers of "yee-hah", and applause at the end. Non-Greek patrons approached the musicians to enquire about the music, asking what

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[1] The *ballos* is a light sprightly couple dance in duple metre (long-short-short-long-long) found in the Aegean Islands and western Asia Minor.

[2] The piece is also called "*Politikos chasaposervikos*", "*chasaposervikos* dance of the' Polis' [Constantinople]".

type of music was being performed, what culture it belonged to, and from what cultures the musicians came. One patron mistook the musicians for international visitors, implying that he thought they were from Greece. The identification of Greek music was a cue for non-Greek patrons to request the "Zorba The Greek Theme" and to recall their visit to a nightclub of Plaka below the Acropolis in Athens, or to the Greek islands. The musicians inquired about the cultural background and musical tastes of the patrons and found that patrons were more ready to confess the finer distinctions of their Anglo-Celtic-Australian ethnicity as Welsh or Irish rather than simply 'pure Australian', as was the usual response in the past.

The performance of other items on the unusual *baglamas* and *toumberleki* instruments generated many inquiries by patrons, especially the *baglamas* with its endearing 'baby' size and high pitch. These instruments were explained by the player with both 'ethnomusicological' and anecdotal information. For example, the *baglamas* was described as the smallest member of the long-necked lute family of *bouzoukia*, which endured police persecution and imprisonment in the 1930s. Patrons tried to pronounce the name of the instrument, being prompted with words that sound similar and familiar, such as the word "*baklava*" for a Greek sweet, or the Russian word for the "*balalaika*" instrument. The two main tones of the *toumberleki*, the resonant bass *doum,* (*bota* in Greek), and the high rim *tek*, (*prima* in Greek), were further sources of fascination. Patrons were particularly impressed with the description of the *toumberleki* as the 'belly-dance' drum of middle-eastern and north African origins. Such statements solicited empathy for the instruments and music by mixing novelty with 'fact'. The comments of patrons further indicated a perception of the Gypsy Trio music as unique and 'authentic' to the country of origin. Informal discussion between musicians and patrons invariably centred on two themes: music and ethnicity. Judging the inquisitive and friendly nature of discussion, music was clearly the hearth of interaction and communication at the Ayers House restaurants.

A pattern in the response to the music of the Gypsy Trio became apparent not only on this evening, but on other nights during the residency. The rhythmical and lyrical qualities of the music appeared to predispose people towards involvement and participation. Some demonstrated this in their need to talk about the music. Discussion revolved around coming to terms with differences and 'otherness' in music and ethnicity, with the cultural gap between people, a gap which the music-making activities appeared to bridge. Musicians were also ready to respond with information, indicating a process of reflection whereby musicians think and act biculturally, communicating in the register appropriate to the listener.

Other patrons responded in physical ways. On occasions such as the 21 December when Greek people were also present, their first reactions were to actively participate in the communal dancing. At other times, non-Greek people recognised the ballroom dance rhythms in the music and specifically requested them again so that they could dance. In these ways the ethnic composition of patrons was made evident to musicians. For example, in another venue of Ayers House, there was an enthusiastic spontaneous applause by patrons after the performance of the Gypsy items. It was soon discovered that patrons were celebrating the wedding of a couple of Russian background, hence there were people of Russian background in attendance. Whether or not patrons responded to the Russian and Jewish items, or the 'Gypsy' style of violin-playing with abundant ornamentation, *glissandi*, micro-tonal inflections, *rubato* lyrical execution of melodies, a sharper definition of dynamic changes, contrasting tempo changes and the use of accelerando, the reactions indicate that music is a complex symbol which people identify with in terms of ethnicity. In addition, the 'multicultural' setting—Greek and Gypsy music played by Greek-Australians and a Polish-Russian-Australian for Russian-Australians in Adelaide—demonstrated an example of global musical and cultural diversity and immediately contextualised the music as 'world music'.

The performance and reception of *rebetika* music by the Gypsy Trio at Ayers House added another layer of meaning assigned to *rebetika* music. In the context of a mainstream and official Australian government heritage site, Ayers House with its grand colonial building and decor is a venue which creates an aura of official dignity, reverence, respect and legitimacy for any music performed there. The performance of *rebetika* music was thus symbolically experienced as novel, not only because of its 'authentic', 'traditional', ethnic-specific and multicultural readings, but also because of the opportunity to actively participate in its choreographic forms. This created an interesting paradox of culture in which the subcultural music of a migrant minority was moved to centre stage and, more significantly, to the hearth of respectable Adelaide restaurant entertainment culture.

Various 'musical' features contributed to this generous reception of *rebetika* on the occasion in question. As instrumental rather than vocal music sung in the Greek language, *rebetika* were predisposed to a less ethno-specific and therefore less 'alienating' reception by non-Greek audiences. The possibility of dance participation added a corporeal and more personal level of engagement and interpretation. The violinist's dramatic Gypsy performance style, though not alien to Greek music, resonated strongly with Adelaide audiences because of its association with the European classical violin music tradition, especially through Jewish and Russian composers.

Far removed from its Asia Minor, Greek and United States origins, the performance of the *smyrneïka rebetika* instrumental dance items maintained a tradition of restaurant entertainment, this time in the form of 'light' entertainment for a largely non-active audience of listeners. The musically pluralist entertainment program at Ayers House Restaurants, and the positive response to *rebetika* alongside other types of Greek, Jewish and Gypsy music, indicated the remarkable effects on the leisure and entertainment business sector of a multicultural social climate. This music, especially in its instrumental form, provided a special medium for border-crossing linguistic and cultural boundaries by embracing all within the structures of its sonorous forms in a way which transcended cultural and ethnic specificity. Such tolerance of cultural difference was transformed into a positive appreciation of global pan-human musical expression.

11.3 Aman: Zorba's Restaurant

This second section features the performance of *rebetika* presented as an entire music program by the *rebetika* music ensemble Aman at the Greek-owned Zorba's Restaurant. Zorba's Restaurant was situated on Hindley St, the west end of the Adelaide city centre, for over twenty years. During this period it catered for Greek and non-Greek clients with a resident trio of musicians. The restaurant consisted of a long bar and grill, a small stage opposite which barely seated four players, with a small square wooden dance floor in front of it, and surrounded by tables and chairs which seated approximately eighty diners.

As an alternative music program to that played by the resident trio every Friday and Saturday night, the *restauranteur* of Zorba's Restaurant engaged different musicians on Thursday nights to perform other Greek music genres. On 12 August, 1993, Aman was engaged to perform an entire *rebetika* music program for a "*Rebetika* Night", *Rebetiki Vradia*. There was a small attendance of four *parees*, approximately forty people. Among those present were musicians and friends who came especially to hear *rebetika* music. Other patrons comprised Greek and non-Greek people who came' off the street' to dine.

At the time Aman was a five-member ensemble. Instrumentation consisted of voice, *bouzouki*/banjo/oud, violin, *baglamas*/*toumberleki*, acoustic guitar and double bass, with two members changing instruments from time to time. The Aman repertoire contained *smyrneïka*, *piraiötika* and *neo-rebetika*. At rehearsals, the group played through a large number of items learnt from the earliest recordings. During rehearsals there was some repetition of parts and verbal discussion about orchestral and dynamic arrangements. In their choice of instrumentation repertoire according to style of original recordings, the ethos of the band centred around the enjoyment of musicians first and foremost.

The Aman ensemble thrived in smaller more personal and intimate venues which they believed were closer to the original performance spirit of the music. They disliked the stress of concert-like performances. The markedly casual and relaxed disposition of the ensemble was exemplified by the fact that they did not prepare a music program or order of items prior to the event. Rather, the vocalist/*bouzouki*-player chose most songs as they came to mind. Others were occasionally suggested by fellow musicians. On the night of the Zorba evening the *bouzouki*-player commenced a song with either a solo *taximi* or the instrumental interlude and without any verbal instruction. The other musicians entered the music as soon as they recognised the item, sometimes from the modal exegesis of the *taximi*, otherwise from the first notes of the instrumental introduction.

On the evening of the *Rebetiki Vradia*, one of the items chosen was the *smyrneïko* song "*Zourlobenemenis Genna*", "The Mad-Born Woman", composed by Vangelis Papazoglou. In this case the *bouzouki*-player commenced the instrumental melody and was then joined by the guitarist and finally by the other musicians. In unison and octaves they played the ascending and descending scale-like melodies heterophonically, which were set in the driving nine-beat *kamilierikos zeïbekikos* rhythm. The melodies of

the song passed through at least two chromatic modes, the *kiourdi* (*kartsigar*) on G (G(A^b)AB^{b}CD^bEFG), and the *chitzaz* from its fourth degree (CD^bEFGA^bB^{b}C), as well as C major and F major tetrachords. The song is generally favoured by the musicians because it is a rarely performed *smyrneïko* in an unusual rhythm with bimodal melodic interest for the musicians.

The baritone vocal melody was melismatically rendered in ascending and descending scale-like and sometimes terraced patterns. The song portrayed the intense *sevdas*, unrequited "love-sickness", of man for a woman he claims is driving him crazy (see Appendix 6). A translated excerpt of the lyrics reads:

> mad-born woman, come to my arms
> [come and] cool the passion I have for you
> mad-born woman, you've driven me mad

The characteristic vocal leap into the upper octave for the final repeated line of each verse is a dramatic expressive technique well-suited to the desperation portrayed in the lyrics. Consequently the contour of the vocal range is relatively large, spanning an eleventh (A-$d^{b'}$), and entering into the tenor range which adds to the dramatic quality of the song. The bimodal scale-like melodies, the relentless *kamilierikos* rhythm and the vocal leap into the upper octave set the item apart from the other *rebetika* styles as a distinctly *smyrneïko rebetiko* song. The response it elicited in Greek listeners that night indicated their enculturation into *rebetika*, as they clapped in time with the music, a rhythm difficult to follow unless one has been substantially exposed to it or is musically trained, and they moved their upper torso and arms in gestures of appreciation and engrossment.

Another item performed by Aman on the 12 August, also in a driving Allegro *kamilierikos zeïbekikos* rhythm, was the anonymous *smyrneïko* song, "*Stous Apano Machalades*", "In The Upper Neighbourhoods". This time two other features of the song highlighted its interest for the Aman ensemble and its audience. The first was the hashish-oriented content of the song text, a common feature of *smyrneïka* and *piraiötika* styles and of the Aman repertoire in general. Greek hashish *rebetika* songs were, until recently, rarely included in the repertoires of Greek bands in Adelaide.[3] The lyrics of "*Stous Apano Machalades*" contained what appears to be a two disparate themes: one which portrayed dervishes, probably of Constantinople (Istanbul), consuming hashish; and the other which portrayed the drug addiction and downfall of a man's life. The two themes are obvious in verse 3 where the first distich of 8-syllable quatrain contains theme 1 while the second distich of the same verse contains theme 2, all in all suggesting a distich rather than quatrain verse size. It also demonstrates the formulaic process of composition whereby, upon repetition of the second distich of each verse, a hemistich may be substituted, as occurs in verse three (underlined). The song text structure of "*Stous Apano Machalades*" is presented in Table 11.1 in a translated version of the song:

[3] However, on one occasion the author was present during a performance by the band Laïki Kompania of the song "*Mes Stis Polis To Chamam*", "In the Harem of Constantinople", and noticed that when the singer came to the phrase about the lack of availability of hashish in Athens, he substituted the word "Virginia" for "Athens". Virginia is a market gardening area north of Adelaide well-known for its cultivation of marijuana in tomato glass-houses. The joke was received with big grins by those patrons who understood the lyrics.

Table 11.1 Song Text Structure of "*Stous Apano Machalades*"

Verse No.	Translated Song Text	Theme	Quatrain	Distich	Hemistich
Verse 1	In the upper neighbourhoods	theme 1	quatrain 1	distich 1	hemistich 1
	in the upper neighbourhoods				
	in the upper neighbourhoods				
	two dervishes were sitting				hemistich 2
	and they are smoking hashish			distich 2	hemistich 3
	to get high				hemistich 4
	and they are smoking hashish				hemistich 3
	to get high.				hemistich 4
Verse 2	About hashish	theme 2	quatrain 2	distich 1	hemistich 1
	about hashish				
	about hashish				
	I learnt from a widow				hemistich 2
	she turned me into a street-boy, hey,			distich 2	hemistich 3
	a hashish-smoker and a scruff				hemistich 4
	she turned me into a street-boy, hey,				hemistich 3
	a hashish-smoker and a scruff.				hemistich 4
Verse 3	The dervishes are whirling around	theme 1	quatrain 3	distich 1	hemistich 1
	the dervishes are whirling around				hemistich 1
	the dervishes are whirling around				hemistich 1
	and in the middle are hubble-bubbles.				hemistich 2
	The hubble-bubble and bamboo pipe, hey,	theme 2		distich 2	hemistich 3
	led me into this mess				hemistich 4
	the hubble-bubble and hashish				hemistich 5
	led me to this life.				hemistich 6

Songs about hashish consumption invariably elicit a response from Greek speakers. In this case it was evident in their smiles and winks at the musicians. This song in particular may have evoked exotic images of whirling dervishes sitting at their hubble-bubbles, an image which was probably familiar for those middle-aged patrons of Greek ancestry born in Egypt or Asia Minor where such activity was probably common.[4] Hashish songs may also have reminded listeners that consumption of marijuana, illegal though decriminalised, is a common occurrence in Australia, especially among youth, and that middle-aged parents are indeed confronted by the issue with their children who may not only consume drugs but also cultivate and sell it, a severe criminal offence.

The song was of additional interest to the musicians because of the opportunity to play lengthy melodic sections in the instrumental interludes, especially in the intermezzo and *coda*. In these sections new melodic material is introduced and moves from B *ousak* (BCDEF$^{\#}$GAB) to E *tzivaeri* (ED$^{\#}$CBAG$^{\#}$) with the addition of C$^{\#}$ accidental. The feeling created by the performance of this music on acoustic stringed instruments was one close to the Turkish or Arabic-Persian classical music ensemble, further enhancing the *smyrneïko* style or the music. The importance of improvisation through ornamentation was a special feature of these sections, especially evident in the heterophonic texture of several instruments ornamenting the same melody differently, and in the coda part where the violinist improvised a counter melody.

The flexibility of the Aman music program was evident in the way items were chosen on the basis of their dance rhythm once patrons began to participate in spontaneous dancing. For this Aman provided an assortment of *rebetika* dance items such as the *syrtos*, *kalamatianos*, *chasapikos*, *karsilamas*, *tsifteteli*,

[4] One of the patrons in question commended the group on their performance and added that he loved the repertoire because it contained many of the songs he grew up with as a teenager in Alexandria, Egypt.

zeibekikos, *kamilierikos* and *chasaposervikos*. Because Aman's eclectic repertoire included items which feature unusual rhythms such as the *karsilamas* and *kamilierikos* not customarily performed in Adealide, patrons who participated in dancing demonstrated a more specialised knowledge of *rebetika* and traditional Greek music *per se*. This was observed in the spontaneous dancing of one patron of Pontian Greek background who exhibited great confidence and ease of expression with the composite structures and speed all of the nine-beat rhythms.[5]

In a third item performed by Aman at the *Rebetiki Vradia*, patrons without necessarily possessing more specialised musical knowledge were able to participate in collective dancing to the song "*Pente Manges*", "Five Manges", a *piraiötiko* song composed by Ioannis Eitziridis (Giovan Tsaous). In a leisurely *chasaposervikos* rhythm that did not accelerate into a presto like most *chasaposervika*, the song text portrayed a narrative between five friends seeking a smoke of marijuana. The song hints at the persecution of smokers at the time and their need to resort to secret hideaways such as in a cave for a peaceful smoke (see Appendix 6). A translated excerpt of the song reads:

> Five *manges*[6] from Piraeus passed by a den
> one from the *parea*[7] said, let's go and smoke a *narghile*.[8]
> Let's go to [Kounelaki], I've got a hidden *narghile*
> *manges*, let's go for a smoke, let's give the den a miss.
> And if they close the dens in Piraeus, Kremidarou
> then I'll cart my rug to the cave.

The dotted rhythms of the instrumental melodies, together with the I-IV-V chord progressions, the seventh chords, and the 'turn-around' cycle of fourths chord progression (I7-IV-VII-III), created a light swing jazz feel in "*Pente Manges*" which contrasted with the 'on-the-beat' rhythm of the syllabic vocal melody. The street argot in the lyrics and the images of the characters 'hanging out' for a smoke was also a source of humour for musicians and patrons because of its local contemporary significance.

At Zorba's restaurant, the 'Greekness' of diners became apparent by their particular responses to the music—singing along with the lyrics, applauding enthusiastically after the performance of certain songs, and dancing to the music. Their dialogic responses with musicians reflected an 'insiderness' to the tradition, a knowledge of the music, song texts and dance forms. Some Greek patrons even commented on the 'authenticity' of Aman's performance of *rebetika*, remarking on the vocalist's fluency of the Greek language as a native-speaker born in Cyprus; the use of acoustic instruments, and the choice of songs from the early period of *rebetika* development.

At the same time there was an extent to which meaning was embedded in the music without the listener requiring an intimate social knowledge of *rebetika* music and culture. Non-Greek people gestured and talked raucously, obviously inebriated by alcohol; moved the upper parts of their bodies and clapped along with the main beats of the music in what appeared to be gestures of listening and appreciation. At times their hand clapping did not coincide with the main beats of the nine-beat rhythms, indicating their 'outsiderness' to the music and to the culture.

The unusual songs, modes, melodies, rhythms and instrumentation, especially of *smyrneïka* items, reinforce the 'aesthetic' musical value of the Gypsy Trio and Aman performances of *rebetika* at restaurants. Playing for ethnically mixed audiences characteristic of the restaurant contextualised *rebetika* music within a 'world music' symbolic-ideological narrative which highlighted the uniqueness and 'originary' 'authenticity' of the music as an aesthetic object (melodies, rhythms, texts, solos, timbres). The experience of *rebetika* for Greek audiences was constituted more within 'roots music' and 'soul music' narratives in which *smyrneïko rebetika* are loaded with an 'eastern' symbolic history and associations with

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[5] Some Pontian dance rhythms are extremely fast composite five, seven and nine beat patterns. See Kilpatrick (1980: esp. 174-177) for a study of Pontian rhythms.

[6] *manges* = "smart guy", "cool dude" (see glossary)

[7] *parea* = "a company of friends"

[8] *narghile* = "hubble-bubble, water-pipe, bong"

empassioned choreographic engagement (e.g. driving *zeibekikos* rhythms, polymodal meandering melodies, hashish songs). The restaurant category is a notable event type for *rebetika* music-making because, while music tends to play a subsidiary role second to the activity of dining, restaurants in Adelaide have inadvertently provided an important venue for the live performance of *rebetika* music as items in non-Greek restaurants and entire music programs in Greek-managed restaurants.

Chapter 12 Life Cycle Celebrations

12.1 Introduction

The life cycle celebration is the third largest category of *rebetika* music-making event in Adelaide and includes baptisms, birthday parties, engagement parties and wedding receptions. These events are typically private events for personally invited kin, friends and colleagues. Guests at a life cycle celebration therefore tend to share a considerable degree of social intimacy. Like the social-dance, life cycle events are filled with wining, dining, socialising, music-making and dancing activities. In slight variation to the social-dance, however, many formal moments and activities punctuate the life cycle celebration in ways which highlight the 'rite of passage' of the celebrant(s). Since wedding receptions comprise the majority of life cycle celebrations in the sample, they will be explored in more detail below.

The wedding is one of the most important 'rites of passage' for Greek people (Cowan 1990: 89; Loutzaki n.d.: 36; Raftis 1987: 43). It celebrates the symbolic transition of two people into their new social statuses of adulthood and marriage. At one level marriage is the legal and religious institution which legitimises the union of a heterosexual couple and the procreation of a family, yet at other levels it is the union of two families, of property, wealth, business relations and in some cases, the securing of care for the elderly. Most analyses of marriage are concerned with the celebration of the social organisation of gender and sexuality (see for example Cowan 1990), yet in the context of a multicultural society where inter-ethnic marriage is increasing in frequency and documented in this sample (see Chapter 6), the wedding celebration has become a dynamic site for the constitution of social identity—individual, regional, cultural and national. The discussion below examines the nature and activities of the wedding reception celebration, the role that *rebetika* music plays and the ways in which identity is constituted through these activities.

Wedding receptions are an extravagant and expensive event in which the bridal couple host and entertain as many as 400 guests. An expense of as much as $20,000 may be incurred to pay for the church service, bridal gowns and suits, rings and *stefania*, "wedding wreaths", chauffeur-driven cars, hall hire, food catering (between $30 and $60 a head), the wedding cake, hiring musicians and a public address amplification system and video documentation. This expense is usually shared by the couple and their immediate families. Large amounts of money are invested in the wedding celebration, with the consequence that there is the high expectation that the celebration will be memorable and the marriage prosperous.

The wedding reception is a highly organised and ritualised event. A standard set of formal bridal activities are scattered throughout the event. They include the bridal party entrance and procession, speech-making, toasting the bridal couple, cutting the wedding cake, throwing the bouquet and garter, and the human farewell arch through which the bridal couple depart. There are also formal "bridal dances", *nifikous chorous*, reserved for the bridal couple and bridal party. These usually consist of a bridal waltz which is danced by the bridal couple; a bridal waltz which is danced by the entire bridal party (bridal couple, parents, *koumbaroi*, "bestman" and "matron of honour", bridesmaids and groomsmen), and a bridal *kalamatianos* which is also danced by the entire bridal party. Wedding formalities function to mark and celebrate the new married status of the bridal couple and the symbolic unity of their two families (Tsounis 1986: 29-45; 62-79; 93-121). There are many occasions when celebrants alter the typical protocol of wedding formalities, adding their own choice of activities such as telegram readings, poetry readings and public gift exchanges. The individual design of formalities occurs in other types of life cycle celebrations, especially parties.[1]

[1] In one unusual case, a Greek-Australian couple held a secular 'baptism' or 'naming' celebration (15 May 1993) for their infant child. The relatives and friends of the parents, approximately eighty guests, were gathered at a hired hall rather than a Greek Orthodox Church for the occasion. The celebration commenced with speeches by the Master of Ceremonies, a good friend of the parents, and the three *koumbaroi*, "godparents". These were followed by the reading of a poem by the child's cousin, and culminated in the collective participation in the *kalamatianos* Greek dance. The band was requested to play and sing the traditional Greek-Macedonian demotic song, "*Milo Mou Kokkino*", "My Red Apple", a favourite tune of the infant, while all of the guests joined hands to form a long open-circle led by the father carrying the infant, then the mother. With over fifty guests joined together on the dance floor, the open-circle spiralled inwards and encircled the floor a number of times. The father eventually led the line through the tiers of circles to the outside of the spiral. The substitution of a formal religious Greek Orthodox service conducted by a priest with the secular ceremony of speeches, poems and a collective open-circle Greek dance highlights a flexible and dynamic social practice among Greek-Australians living in Adelaide with music and dance central to the ritual.

Wedding receptions also contain the most ritualised music programming of all Greek music-making event types because the music is tied in with the wedding formalities. In many ways music structures the wedding celebration from beginning to end. Much like the occurrence of music at social-dances, music at the wedding reception is organised into a standard music program of floorshow, ballroom dance and Greek dance brackets. Musicians also accompany most of the formal bridal activities with an assortment of tunes, riffs and dance music (see Tsounis 1986).[2] Yet there is a tendency towards the latter part of the evening for the celebration to free up from formalities as people participate in spontaneous and collective dancing, especially Greek dancing. By the time the bridal couple make their departure from the wedding reception through the human arch, the wedding celebration is much like any Greek social-dance.

At wedding receptions, *rebetika* are presented as individual items scattered throughout the heterogeneous floorshow, ballroom and Greek dance music brackets of Greek bands. As long as the *rebetika* items fit the requirements of each bracket, they may be included.

The following discussion centres upon the music-making activities at three different wedding receptions at which the bands Odyssey and Laïki Kompania performed. To capture the flow of activities in the course of a single wedding reception, the discussion follows the performance of *rebetika* items in an order from floorshow, to ballroom and Greek dance brackets as would typically occur at a wedding reception. The order of the three events in question is therefore juggled to accommodate this, as presented (see Table 12.1):

Table 12.1 *Rebetika* Items, Style, Bracket, Band and Event at the Wedding Reception

***Rebetika* Item**	***Rebetika* Style**	**Bracket of Music**	**Band**	**Event No.**	**Date**
Ta Matoklada Sou Lamboun	P	Floorshow	Odyssey	74	18/05/86
Arapines	L	Ballroom Dance	Laïki Kompania	14	10/09/83
Taka Taka Taka Ta Petalakia-Echo Koumbaro Leventia	L	Greek Dance	Odyssey	74	18/05/86
Omorfi Thessaloniki	L	Greek Dance	Odyssey	71	10/05/86

12.2 Odyssey: Wedding Reception, Serbian Centre Hall

As discussed previously in Chapter 8, the floorshow is the time when patrons are dining and therefore relatively quiet. On the occasion of the wedding reception held at the Serbian Centre Hall (18 May 1986) where Odyssey performed, musicians took this opportunity to present their carefully arranged bracket of floorshow items. A concert-like atmosphere prevailed during which guests were observed listening attentively to the music and discussing the performance with their *parees*, evaluating musicians' abilities, choice and rendition of particular songs and instrumental pieces.[3]

The *piraiötiko* item "*Ta Matoklada Sou Lamboun*", "Your Eyelashes Shine", normally a vocal song, was performed in the opening floorshow bracket in a carefully arranged contemporary version.[4] The two *bouzoukia* provided the melodic section which commenced with the internally repeated descending-ascending-descending melody of the instrumental interlude set in A natural minor (ABCDEFGA). This alternated with the ascending-descending melody of the 'vocal' section. The electric guitar, electric bass and drum kit provided the rhythmic-harmonic accompaniment to the *kamilierikos* rhythm with its light regular nine-beat, and the repeated underlying III-IVm-V-Im (C-Dm-E-Am) harmonic cycle. Without detracting any fundamental musical structures from this *piraiötiko* item, Odyssey performed the item in a peculiarly modern western popular style. The drummer filled in the *kamilierikos* rhythm in a loose 'cool jazz' style using cymbals and tom-toms to syncopate the regular rhythm. The electric and bass guitarists accompanied the melodies with 'jazzy' chromatically descending 6^{th}, 7^{th} and 9^{th} chords. The electric guitarist improvised a bluesy intermezzo *taximi* which ventured outside of the home mode of the piece into

[2] For example, during the throwing of the bouquet and garter, the band Odyssey improvised to rhythm 'n' blues and jazz riffs, ending with the wedding formalities with dramatic drum rolls and crashes on the cymbal.

[3] Chapter 14 Concerts, discusses in more detail the ethos and aesthetics which prevail at concerts.

[4] The Odyssey arrangement closely modelled an arrangement by Manos Chatzidakis found on the LP record *"O Skliros Aprilis Tou 45"*, "The Harsh April of '45" (Chatzidakis 1972), which features the arrangement of numerous *rebetika* songs.

the blues pentatonic scale (ACD#EGA). Together with the use of popular western electric instruments, variations in dynamics and multiple complex chordal accompaniment, these musical processes recreated a 'traditional' *rebetiko* item through a kind of 'Greek-jazz' fusion which symbolically stated the successful co-existence of the traditional with the modern, the Greek with the western, principles which members of the band uphold as a special innovative feature of their performance (Gelios 1988 pers. com.). Thus, through their organic preoccupation with musical structures and styles from the point of view of insiders re-negotiating symbols and meanings, rather than from the point of view of outsiders appreciating Greek culture, the Odyssey performance of "*Ta Matokalada Sou Lamboun*" constituted a variation of the 'world music' narrative.

12.3 Laïki Kompania: Wedding Reception, Fogolar Furlan Centre

This 'Greek-jazz' fusion style of playing *rebetika* contrasted sharply with the more 'traditional' performance of *rebetika* by the band Laïki Kompania. Yet the term 'traditional' when applied here also has its multiple layers of meaning. Moving to the ballroom dance bracket featured at wedding receptions, the band Laïki Kompania performed a *rebetiko* item during the ballroom dance bracket. On the occasion of the wedding reception held at the Fogolar Furlan Centre (10 September 1983), Laïki Kompania was requested to play the *laïko rebetiko* song, "*Arapines*", "Arab Women", as the second formal 'bridal waltz' danced by both the newly-weds and the entire bridal party.[5]

In a kind of cultural irony, the 'traditional' style of performing "*Arapines*" was in a Latin American style since the song in question was composed by Vasilis Tsitsanis in the quadruple *béguine* (*rumba*-like) dance rhythm.[6] The rhythmic-harmonic instruments of guitar, electric bass, piano and drum kit articulated the underlying *béguine* rhythm by accenting the weak off-beats and driving it at an allegro pace. The presence of ballroom dance rhythms in Greek music is not unusual in the *laïko rebetiko* style, since by the mid 1940s, Latin American dance rhythms were popular throughout Europe and the western world and freely appropriated by Greek composers (see Chapter 8). Since the wedding event celebrated the marriage of a Greek-Italian couple, a Latin American ballroom dance style was also familiar to guests.

The song text of "*Arapines*" evoked nostalgic 'exotic' and erotic images of whiskey-drinking, love-making with Arab women and revelry, all of which added to the hybrid construction of 'oriental'-Latin otherness (see Appendix 6). A translated excerpt of the lyrics reads:

> Dream-like magic nights
> lustful loves forgotten in a foreign land.
> My mind hurries back to my past
> to beloved evenings in Arab lands.
>
> I speak to you with yearning, [with] anguish
> I am nostalgic for all that madness.
> The erotic lustful Arab women
> with whisky, sweet-sounding guitars, merriment and drink.
> Arab women with glowing eyes
> with exotic snake-like bodies.

The couples of the bridal party glided across the dance floor in what was for the older members a nostalgic experience of ballroom dancing days and for the younger generation a rather quaint experience of ballroom dance culture. In Laïki Kompania's performance of "*Arapines*" that night, the Latin American feel was also reinforced by the dramatic descending and ascending scale-like *staccato* instrumental

[5] Events have been documented where the bridal couple requested particular songs or dance rhythms for the bridal waltz and the bridal *kalamatianos*. On one occasion, the bride requested a bridal *tsifteteli* which was performed by the bride with her mother (see Tsounis 1986: 101-108; 116-120).

[6] This rhythm is identified from recordings of the song, though not documented as such. On the original record label the song is labelled as in an "oriental" dance rhythm (Chatzidoulis 1979: 94-96; Anastasiou 1995: 52). The anomaly in nomenclature between oriental and Latin may not be as confused when one interprets 'oriental' as equivalent to 'other' or 'non-western'. The anomaly is extended even further when one considers the general term for all Greek ballroom dance music as *evropaika*, "European [songs and dances]".

melodies in B harmonic minor (BC#DEF#GA#B) with its characteristic augmented second intervals. The descending harmonic progression Im-VII-VI-V (Bm-A-G-F#) accompanying the B natural minor descent in the vocal melody hinted at a 'Spanish' flavour. The sudden dramatic breaks prior to the scalic passages in the instrumental melodies spurred the couples on around the dance floor, as did the vocal bridge section which makes a personal plea to the listeners for compassion. The song generated further momentum with an ambiguous tonal, modal and melodic pull between the I and V degrees: B harmonic minor (BC#DEF#GA#B), B natural minor (BC#DEF#GAB), and F# *chitzaz* (F#GA#BC#DEF#). Couples, some in close intimate embrace, others in a loose clasp, shuffled around the dance floor in slow rotations swaying from side to side and keeping in time with the main beats of the music.

Overall the performance of "*Arapines*" by Laïki Kompania demonstrated a clear example of the *laïko* period of *rebetika* development with its greater degree of musical complexity in both textual and melodic structures, features which make it more palatable as an appropriate 'sophisticated' song for the specially reserved bridal waltz. During the ballroom dance bracket of the wedding reception, music and dance structured inclusivity and exclusivity. Relations between the newly-wedded couple and the bridal party, the bridal party and the wedding guests, and among wedding guests are embodied through participation in the sonorous temporal and choreographic forms. At a symbolic level, music and dance externalise and delineate social identity: in the case of the floorshow bracket items, between 'traditional Greek' and modern 'Greek-Australian'; in the case of the ballroom dance bracket, between 'Greek' and 'European', 'Greek' and 'non-Greek', or 'Greek-Australian' and 'Italian-Australian'. Thus, varied constructions of *rebetika* as 'roots music' and 'world music' can be seen to resonate here.

12.4 Odyssey: Wedding Receptions, Serbian Centre Hall, Estonian Hall

In moving to a consideration of the performance of *rebetika* items in Greek dance brackets at wedding receptions, we turn to two performances by Odyssey. On the occassion of the wedding reception (18 May 1986) held at the Serbian Hall, Odyssey played a *laïko rebetiko* item for the bridal *kalamatianos* dance, the special Greek dance reserved for the bridal party. The basic requirement of the bridal *kalamatianos* is that the music features either a *kalamatianos* or *syrtos* rhythm which can accompany the open-circle *kalamatianos* dance form (see Chapter 10). By the time the bridal party had gathered onto the dance floor, the band was well and truly into the *laïko rebetiko* song "*Taka Taka Taka Ta Petalakia*", "Clippity Clop Go The Horseshoes", which was followed in medley succession by the *laïko rebetiko* song "*Echo Koumparo Leventia*", "I Have a Young Handsome Best Man". Both songs were composed by Manolis Chiotis.

In this performance, the rhythmic-harmonic section of electric guitar, electric bass and drum kit provided the driving composite seven-beat *kalamatianos* rhythm which they played at a fast Allegro pace. Led by the groom, the bridal party performed the repeated twelve-step cycle of the *kalamatianos* dance, each cycle being completed with four cycles of the seven-beat rhythm. With the song "*Taka Taka Taka Ta Petalakia*", one cycle of the *kalamatianos* dance form sporadically interlocked with four-bar melodic phrases, creating a powerful synchronicity of dancers with music. The collectivity of the dancers generated through dance and music was reinforced by the "W"-shape hand clasp that links dancers. The groom, bride, parents and *koumbaroi* took it in turns to lead the dance line, symbolically enacting the sharing of power. The reservation of bridal dances in general and the leadership of the dance line are practices reminiscent of traditional demotic Greek wedding celebrations in which certain songs and dances mark key members of the families involved (see Bottomley 1986; Loutzaki n.d.; Peristeres 1960; Raftis 1985).

The lyrics of the first verse of the song "*Taka Taka Taka Ta Petalakia*" refer to a carriage ride, while the lyrics of the second verse ("*Echo Koumbaro Leventia*") specifically refer to marriage, a theme appropriate for a bridal dance (see Appendix 6). A translated excerpt of the song reads:

> I went and ordered the wedding rings, my love
> we will marry, my eyes, the days are nigh.
>
> I have a young handsome best man to marry us off
> at our wedding the musicians will be paid in gold coins.

The practice of stringing together a number of songs for the bridal *kalamatianos*, especially songs which literally refer to the wedding event, points to a fluid aggregative tradition in which music is adapted to the circumstances of the celebration.

The music of the song was bright and chirpy, also making it suitable as a bridal dance. Highly ornamented *bouzouki* melodies in the D *chouzam* (DE$^{\#}$F$^{\#}$GABC$^{\#}$D) and D rast (DEF$^{\#}$GABC$^{\#}$D) major modes were harmonised with simple I-IIm-IV-V (D-Em-G-A) chord progressions by the harmony instruments. The quaint use of onomatopoeic text such as *dringi dringi dringi*, "ding ding ding", and *taka taka taka*, "clippity clop clop", in the first vocal refrain, automatically cued the dancers to break hand clasp and clap along with the long-short-short accents of the *kalamatianos* dance rhythm while keeping time over the same spot. Such co-ordination of dancers with music further enhanced the collective nature of the bridal *kalamatianos*.

At the symbolic level, the performance of *rebetika* items to accompany the bridal *kalamatianos* externalises and delineates social identity of a slightly different kind to that manifested in the bridal waltz. It both differentiates the bridal party from other guests, as do all bridal dances, and also embodies a construction of the 'Greek' collectivity through the symbolically loaded 'pan-Hellenic traditional' Greek *kalamatianos* dance, and presents this symbol as 'spectacle' (i.e. a wedding formality) which is viewed and admired by wedding guests. Additional glimpses of the 'roots music' narrative appear here.

After the bridal *kalamatianos*, everyone was invited to participate in the remainder of the Greek dance bracket, which consisted of Greek line, open-circle and solo dancing. From here on, regardless of sex, age, marital status or region of origin, everyone participated in the collective Greek dancing which continued on into the early hours of the morning.

Another *rebetika* dance form featured during the Greek dance bracket at wedding receptions is the *chasapikos*.[7] This occurred at a Greek wedding reception (10 May 1986) held at the Estonian Hall where Odyssey was engaged. During the Greek dance bracket, Odyssey performed a medley of songs in the *chasapikos* dance rhythm which included an abridged version of the *laïko rebetiko* song, "*Omorfi Thesaloniki*", "Beautiful Thessaloniki", composed by Vasilis Tsitsanis. The song commenced with the bright metallic *staccato* sound of the two *bouzouki*a playing the triplet melody in the chromatic minor G *neveser* (GABbC$^{\#}$DEbF$^{\#}$G) mode. The vocal melody of the verse alternated between G *neveser* and G harmonic minor (GABbCDEbF$^{\#}$G) by hovering around the third degree with the following nostalgic lyrics (see Appendix 6):

> You are the pride of my heart
> sweet, beautiful Thessaloniki
> and if I live in enticing Athens
> I sing about you every night.

The vocal refrain lifted the piece in sentiment with a G major modality via a B natural accidental, and the "o, o" interjection accompanied in thirds by a back-up singer (the drummer). All along the harmonic-rhythm section of electric guitar, electric bass and drum kit thumped out the off-beats of the regular quadruple *chasapikos* rhythm in a 'chunky' style. The simple I, IVm, V (D, Gm, A) chords, the I-VIm-IIm-IV-V-I (G-Em-Am-C-D-G) jazzy turn-around progression, the use of the diminished D^{b} chord, the 'swinging' quadruple rhythmic accompaniment together with the hemiola rhythm (triplet against duple) in the melody rendered this *rebetiko* song with a strong jazz interpretation. The tempo of the piece was unusually fast for a *chasapikos*, perhaps reflecting the manic energy that was generated during the Greek dance brackets among dancers and musicians.

In the *chasapikos* line dance form, dancers were linked together with shoulder-to-shoulder arm clasps. Most performed the dance in a choreographed style commonly observed in Adelaide, in which dancers take a series of steps to the left and right, forwards and backwards, kick their legs, and end the

[7] The *chasapikos* is popularly known among tourists as the '*syrtaki*' because of its similarities with "Zorba's Dance" from the soundtrack of the film *Zorba The Greek* (Petrides 1980: 13; Torp 1992: 208-209). Due to its popularity in the harbours and ports of Greece as a dance for two or three men confined in a small area, the *chasapikos* is also referred to as the 'sailor's dance' (Petrides 1980: 13).

pattern with quick squat to the ground. However, during the performance of "*Omorfi Thessaloniki*", a group of teenage girls were observed on the dance floor recalling a more lengthy choreography of the *chasapikos* dance form which they had probably learnt at Greek school or as members of a Greek dance troupe. In their spontaneous performance one could observe a traditional improvisatory *chasapikos* style[8] which contained a greater repertoire of step patterns including grape-vine steps, changes of direction, squats, jumps and foot and leg slaps. The girl dancers, with their engrossed movements and obvious joyful experience, were immediately noticeable as having a 'good feel' and *meraki* for the music. In their dancing style, these girls affirmed the remarks of the dancer teacher Ted Petrides (1980:13) who wrote in the mid 1970s that the *chasapikos* "is unquestionably the dance that one associates most vividly with Greece, and to learn to do it puts the icing on the cake of a stay in Greece". In this statement Petrides was hinting at the dance knowledge and skill required to perform the intricate *chasapikos*.[9]

In the discussion of the *rebetika* items "*Ta Matoklada Sou Lamboun*", "*Arapines*", "*Taka Taka Taka Ta Petalakia*" and "*Omorfi Thesaloniki*", which were performed at various wedding celebrations in Adelaide, one notes the important place that *rebetika* has in the life cycle celebration, albeit as individual items spread throughout the course of an evening's music program. The occurrence of *rebetika* items throughout the three major music brackets—floorshow, ballroom and Greek dance—indicates that music programs are heterogeneous and flexible. Furthermore, it is evident that *rebetika* items can be adapted, arranged and performed for all parts of a Greek music program. The prominence of *laïka rebetika* items during wedding receptions (except for the item "*Ta Matoklada Sou Lamboun*" which, while composed by Markos Vamvakaris in a *piraiötika* style, was composed relatively recently in 1960), suggests that musicians are less reluctant to include earlier *rebetika* styles in their wedding repertoires. Also interesting are the musical appropriations from other musical cultures in the arrangements of *laïka rebetika*: the jazzy arrangements in "*Ta Matoklada Sou Lamboun*" and "*Omorfi Thesaloniki*", the Latin American *béguine* and 'oriental' images in "*Arapines*", the demotic folk *kalamatianos* of "*Taka Taka Taka Ta Petalakia*".

In many ways the life cycle celebration encapsulates aspects of the two previously discussed event types—the social-dance and restaurant. The wedding celebration contains the standard Greek music program found at the social-dance, with the separation between floorshow, ballroom and Greek dance brackets. For all three event types, the quieter concert-like opening floorshow bracket contrasts with the stately European ballroom dancing and the climactic revelry of the Greek dance brackets.

Finally, the potential for engrossed engagement in spontaneous and collective dancing by patrons occurs at weddings, social-dances and restaurants. Much of this type of engagement is elicited during the performance of *rebetika* items. The empassioned manifestations of *kefi* and *meraki* are a special feature of *rebetika* music-making and dancing at weddings. This is evident in the ornamented modal melodies on *bouzouki*; the driving rhythmic-harmonic sections; the moody vocal melodies and lyrics about everyday life; the formal bridal dances; and the spontaneous participation in line dances. 'World music', 'roots music' and 'soul music' narratives were found to resonate during various parts of the wedding reception, yet the 'soul music' symbolic-ideological narrative which celebrates the soulful experience of the individual–in–community appeared to peak during the improvisatory *chasapikos* of the Greek dance bracket.

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[8] When danced in this traditional style the *chasapikos* was a tightly synchronised improvisatory dance containing a large repertoire of step patterns cued by the leader of the line.

[9] It is not uncommon for Greek bands to accelerate a *chasapikos* item into a fast *chasaposervikos*, thereby relieving the tension built up in the pacey dance form of the *chasapikos*. Odyssey often plays the classic "Zorba The Greek Theme" as the *chasaposervikos* finale.

Chapter 13 Festivals

13.1 Introduction

The festival is the fourth most frequent event type which features *rebetika* music-making and dancing. Festivals documented in the Adelaide sample are predominantly organised by mainstream arts institutions and organisations. Some are also organised by multicultural and Greek institutions. The festival event is held either in a large open space such as an oval or park, or in numerous closed venues generally in the same vicinity, such as at a university or community centre. It contains a heterogeneous program of music and dance activities. Some are presented on a raised stage as spectacle for a non-participatory audience while others provide space for the active participation of audiences in workshops or spontaneous communal dancing. Other features of festivals are food, arts, craft and information stalls.

The atmosphere at a festival is the most informal and casual of all events considered in this study. Social intercourse and communication, especially through music-making and dancing, are the focus of attention and energy. Moreover, the interaction among performers from different groups, and between performers and audiences, is a special feature of the festival. A detailed discussion of this interaction is presented below with regard to two festivals—an Adelaide multicultural arts festival and a national folk festival.

13.2 Meraki: State Bank Multicultural Carnival

The Meraki ensemble performed at the State Bank Multicultural Carnival held at Elder Park (10 March 1991).[1] The event was organised by the Multicultural Arts Trust of South Australia (MATSA), an autonomous multicultural arts organisation funded by the State government to promote and publicise the activities of artists of non-English-speaking background. The aim of MATSA was to raise the public profile of 'multicultural' artists through mainstream activities. To this end it printed annual events calendars and a monthly bulletin called *Traditions and Visions*[2] and organised visual arts exhibitions, music/dance concerts and the Multicultural Carnival.

The Multicultural Carnival was in many ways the more liberal descendant of the Community Celebrations Shell Folkloric Concerts of the Adelaide Festival Centre (see Chapter 4). The Carnival developed as a 'world music' festival for local performers and community groups of various ethnic backgrounds to present their contemporary music, dance traditions and arts in their own way. Marketed to attract families and those interested in the arts, the Carnival was advertised as "music, dance, art and fabulous food in a kaleidoscope of cultures in the summer sun" (Kapetopoulos 1991: 5). The emphasis was on 'having a good time' by personally experiencing in a corporeal way (aurally, visually, sensually, gastrically, kinesthetically, socially) the consumables of different cultures. Like most festivals, it was a day festival with a structured program of music and dance presented at multiple venues (outdoor stages, marquees, river, amphitheatre, bistro), together with music and dance workshops, art, craft and food stalls, martial arts displays, and Chinese dragon boat races in the Torrens River. Many venues contained spaces in front of the performers which were used as dance-floors for spontaneous dance participation.

The Meraki performance was programmed in the picturesque open-air Amphitheatre of the Adelaide Festival Centre flanked by a large Aboriginal mural on one side and native Australian trees behind the stage. The conical structure of the amphitheatre provided good acoustics, with musicians set up at the base of the amphitheatre in front of a dance floor area, and listeners seated in the semi-circular tiers around the remainder of the theatre. The music was amplified with microphones which reproduced the acoustic and resonant sound of the music, instruments and performance style.

Meraki was a five-piece acoustic Greek music ensemble which performed during 1991. The voice-strings-percussion timbre of the ensemble was produced with voice, violin, *bouzouki*, *baglamas*, *toumberleki* and other percussion. In the spirit of its name, which is loosely translated here as "passion" (see Glossary), the group chose an eclectic repertoire of love songs and dance music from *dimotika*, *nisiotika*, *smyrneïka*, *rebetika*, and *neo-laïka* genres of Greek music. As an atypical band, the group

[1] The venue for the Carnival incorporated the park, the Torrens River and some venues of the Adelaide Festival Centre.

[2] The bulletin *Traditions and Visions* is now called *Traditions and Visions/Synapse* and is produced in Melbourne.

played a relatively small repertoire of approximately thirty-five items. It did not see itself as fulfilling the role of the typical Greek band which plays at Greek social-dances and weddings for five hours. Rather, it set out to select a repertoire fulfilling the desires of the members and to perform no more than three brackets of music at shorter events. Items were organised into floorshow and Greek dance items, the latter of which included the *syrtos*, *kalamatianos*, *tsifteteli*, *zeïbekikos*, *chasapikos* and *chasaposervikos*.

In taking the role of the 'front-person', the vocalist communicated with the audience in English, the language with which the vocalist and band members are most fluent and comfortable. She introduced the ensemble and items and provided a flowing commentary in between items. Occassionally, song titles were introduced in Greek and then translated into English for the ethnically mixed audience.

At the performance of the Multicultural Carnival, the vocalist welcomed the audience, prepared them for a repertoire of Greek dance music, and encouraged them to dance if they felt like it. The audience commenced with approximately fifty people and grew to 150 people during the performance. Many were friends and relatives of the musicians gathered specifically to hear the group and participate in Greek dancing. Others were patrons of the Carnival as a whole, wandering from venue to venue for a performance that captured their interest. Meraki commenced its performance with instrumental pieces and moody songs as 'floorshow' items: three *rebetika* and one contemporary *neo-rebetiko* in *zeïbekikos* and *chasaposervikos* dance rhythms. By the third item, children had made their way to the dance floor and were moving and jumping to the music in their own uninhibited way. Meraki then launched into songs which featured *kalamatianos* and *syrtos* dance rhythms so that audience members could dance. A group of adults moved onto the dance floor, formed a large open-circle and began dancing the *kalamatianos* dance in its typical anti-clockwise direction. A person of Greek background, a friend of the musicians, who knew the dance steps, led the line.

They danced to the performance of the anonymous *smyrneiko* song "*To Feretze*", "The Veil". It commenced with four bars of the syncopated quadruple *syrtos* rhythm played on the *toumberleki* at a *presto* tempo. This short rhythmic introduction set the rhythm and tempo for the song. Then the guitar, *bouzouki* and violin entered playing the instrumental introduction, a binary melody containing melodic material independent of the vocal melody and set in the D *chitzaz* mode (DEbF$^{\#}$GAB^{b}CD) mode.[3] Each section of the two part instrumental melody was repeated, first with a half-close on the IV degree (G), and then with a full-close on the tonic (D). A joining phrase introduced the singer who commenced the vocal melody on the V to shift to the IV and return to the tonic on the repetition.

The lyrics were joyous and liberating, representing the voice of a woman in first person who has decided to remove her veil and enjoy her sexuality. In the context of the period in which the earliest recording was made, probably in the 1920s, when a women's sexuality was officially bestowed to belong to the private affairs of one's husband, the song presented an autonomous and assertive alternative to the conventional female experience. The group regarded these images and sentiments in the song as positive for the representation of women and they made a point of including such songs in their repertoire. Adding to the intensity of the female message was the ample use of emotive interjections such as "ah", "woe is me", "my heart-throb" and "empassioned man". These were executed in melismatic phrases which together with the textual images of music and dance revelry, added to the expressive excitement engendered by the song. A translated excerpt of the song reads:

> I am wearing a veil, my *giavri*,[4] I shall remove it to please myself [I desire to remove it]
> I will enjoy myself now, my *giavri*, that [I removed] the veil
> I will party with hurdy-gurdies, ah, ah, you kissed me
> I will party in the taverns, ah, ah, you've made me crazy.

The second and third lines of the triplet verse were sung to a repeated melody which alighted from the III, moved to the upper tonic, and closed on the lower tonic. The introduction of different text for the second

[3] Tabouris (n.d.c.: 18) documents the recording of "*To Feretze*" in the *choumagioun* mode.

[4] The word *giavri* (interjection) ="little child".

hemistich of the second line on the repeat hints at the presence of formulaic substitution,[5] a feature common to Greek demotic folksong and found in other *rebetika* songs such as "*Stous Apano Machalades*".

In the instrumental and vocal sections, there was an alternation of stasis and motion between the two types of modal melodic contour, one, undulating melodies which hovered around the IV and V degrees, the other, ascending-decending passages which reached between upper and lower tonics. The effect was to create a gravitational energy away from and back to the tonic which generated energy in the song and among the dancers.

The varied musical interpretation of the *syrtos* dance rhythm by the *toumberleki*-player and guitarist added further momentum to the song and the dancers. While the guitarist played a slightly more sparse crotchet-quaver-crotchet-quaver-crotchet *syrtos* rhythm, the *toumberleki* filled it in with quavers and semiquavers. Yet both players accented the syncopated long-long-short pattern of the *syrtos* dance rhythm. Layered over the syncopated *syrtos* rhythm were the instrumental and vocal melodies in regular quadruple time which created an interlocking cross-rhythm, all of which added to the enlivened co-ordination of the *syrtos* dancers.

The guitarist provided homophonic accompaniment with chords which supported the melodic contour and the main degrees of the mode. These were I, IVm and VIIm (D, Gm, Cm) which in the *rebetika* music sample are typical harmonisations of the *chitzaz* mode. The chromatic major tonality was momentarily altered to a diatonic G major tonality in the upper tetrachord when B natural replaced B^b during ascending melodies. This alternation of major and minor modalities common in *smyrneika* items prevented any stereotypic association of major tonality with joy and minor tonality with sadness, since the engrossed engagement in *rebetika* music-making is constructed as an all-embracing experience of passion.

Another 'empassioned' feature of the performance of "*To Feretze*" was the impromptu solo intermezzo *taximi* improvised by the *bouzouki*-player, a spontaneous occurrence which lengthened the song for the benefit of the dancers. The *taximi* reinforced the importance of individual expression as a valued part of the performance of *rebetika* music. It was also a gauge of the high level of *kefi*, enjoyment and joy, and *meraki*, empassioned skill and knowledge, which was being mutually generated and expressed by musicians and dancers.

The audience responded enthusiastically to the music, clapping, cheering and whistling at the end of every item. A substantial group of dancers of mixed cultural background were participating in the communal Greek dancing. Greek people were distinguished by their engaged response to the music—their facial gestures of acknowledgement, smiling, clapping and singing along to the words of the songs and their participation in and knowledge of the dances. They also requested particular songs or dances. Other dancers included Anglo-Australians and Spanish-speaking people who had lingered after the previous performance by the Latin American music group Clave Latina. They were observed participating in the Greek dancing to the best of their ability, picking up steps along the way. This was facilitated by the performance of the open-circle dance, since it is structurally an egalitarian and communal dance that allows any person to participate by simply joining on at the end of a line. At the same time it accommodates those in the know by allowing them to lead or dance when positioned at the beginning of the line, as was the case on that day. The performance elicited a great ease of participation, cross-cultural interaction, and pleasurable engagement among patrons.

Dancers continued dancing during the solo *rebetika* dance items, some breaking the line to perform unattached solo dancing for the *tsifteteli* and *zeïbekikos*, others maintaining a shortened line to dance the *chasapikos* to *zeïbekikos* music. Dancers formed loose groups, danced opposite each other in pairs, or on their own among the collectivity of dancers on the dance floor. For the finale, Meraki performed the *chasaposervikos* "*Tatavlianos Choros*", "The Dance of *Tatavla*", an accelerating dance in duple time which united dancers for the last time in the open-circle dance formation.[6]

The Meraki performance of *rebetika* items was symbolically contextualised as one of the many musics of Australia by its placement within the celebratory atmosphere of the Multicultural Carnival. This 'pplace' among many musics of Australia was soon complemented by a construction of Greek cultural specificity which was brought to the attention of the audience by the verbal introductions. In these verbal

[5] See Lord (1960).

[6] See Chapter 11 Restaurants for a detailed discussion of this item.

commentaries by the singer, particular genres, items, dance forms and song texts (i.e. 'Greek', '*rebetika*', 'Greek dance', 'belly-dance', 'love-song') were more finely differentiated. Without necessarily requiring a linguistic translation of song lyrics, audiences were engaged in the 'meaning' of the music through the personal, communal, emotional, corporeal and reflective experience of its sonorous and choreographic forms. The driving accented rhythms with their underlying regular 'beats' strongly motivated people to participate in dancing, even if they did not know the dance steps. Similarly the setting up of cross-rhythms between players and the modal contours of melodies created recognisable dramatic interest. The triadic chordal accompaniment of melodies on guitar, while quite different to the tonic-dominant diatonic tonalities, added to a familiar 'western' texturing of sound. In these ways *rebetika* music performed at the Multicultural Carnival was not only a deep soulful expression of Greek roots for those enculturated into things Greek, but also an endearing medium for cross-cultural communication, that is, of a 'world music'.

13.3 Meraki: 25th National Folk Festival

The performance by Meraki at the 25th National Folk Festival (31 March 1991) is another example of the contextualisation of a traditional Greek music in a way which embodies experiences of 'soul music', 'roots music'and especially 'world music' constructions of the exotic. The annual National Folk Festival was held at the Flinders University of South Australia. It attracted musicians and dancers of different musical and ethnic backgrounds from around the country. Initially a festival for Anglo-Celtic Australians, it expanded to include 'ethnic', 'multicultural' and 'world' music groups from as early as 1983 when the Greek ensemble Themelia participated. In programming over 100 acts with a strong music-dance focus, the expressed aim of the 25th National Folk Festival was to preserve and develop a living folk culture in Australia as a form of community development, cultural heritage and celebration (Preston 1991: 3). The Festival spanned an entire week and provided opportunities for intense interaction between performers and audiences during performances and workshops.

Meraki performed a bracket of Greek music in the pavilion marquee as part of the community music segment called "Music Works" recorded by the Australian Broadcasting Commission (ABC) National Radio station for the weekly Music Deli folk-multicultural music program. Approximately 200 people were seated in rows facing an elevated stage. Among the *rebetika* items in their repertoire, Meraki performed the anonymous *smyrneïko* song "*Mia Melachroini*", "A Dark-Skinned Woman", which, as for the song "*To Feretze*", was introduced on *toumberleki* playing the syncopated *syrtos* rhythm at a presto tempo. The *bouzouki* and violin as lead melodic instruments entered playing the instrumental introduction, a melodically autonomous section common to most songs in the *smyrneïko* style. The melody alighted from VII degree (G) and descended, ascended, then descended to the A tonic note. Similarly the vocal section of the verse alighted from the VII degree, hovering around it in an undulating fashion until it finally settled on the tonic by the second line of the verse, to then veer off into other degrees of the A *ousak*-minor ($AB^{b}(B)DEFGA$) mode. An $F^{\#}$ accidental in the melody suggested a G major tonality and a pull in tonality between the VII and I throughout the song. These musical features, together with the apparently directionless melismatic and repetitive undulating and cascading verse and refrain melodies symbolically depicted the uncertainty and agony of the male character in the song text who tells of his infatuation with a beautiful woman (see Appendix 6). A translated excerpt of the text reads:

> A dark-skinned woman, *giala*[7], a living doll, *giala*, e
> when I saw her dancing, *giala*, ah, I cannot hold on, (*giala*), I will go crazy,
> she was belly-dancing to a gypsy tune.
>
> How shall I tell her, *giala*, that I love her, *giala*, e
> deep sorrow will eat me up, *giala,* where can I find her, (*giala*), to tell her?
> How can I make her mine and marry her?

Other musical features added drama and expression to the song. There was ample use of interjections such as "*giala*" and sudden *tutti* breaks in the music for an entire bar. The short reference to

[7] *giala* = "hey"

the lower tetrachord of the C *nigriz* (*souzinak*) (CDE^{b}F$^{\#}$) mode in the refrain suggested a labyrinth-like modality common to the *smyrneïko* style. In the final hemistich of the refrain "and everything was turned upside-down for her sake", the vocal melody leapt to the upper octave and descended slowly, a dramatic textual-melodic technique found elsewhere in the *rebetika* sample which seems to appeal to the listener for additional compassion. The vocal range of "*Mia Melachroini*" is a rather demanding range of a eleventh (g-c''). The solo intermezzo *taximi* on the violin complemented the dramatic content of the song, defying the unrelenting *syrtos* rhythm with syncopated and sustained melodies in the upper range. All were accompanied on guitar with triadic chords which supported the degrees of the mode around which the melody hovered: Im, IIIm, IV, Vm, VII, VIIm (Am, Cm, D, Em, G, Gm).

A second *laïko rebetiko* song performed by Meraki called "*Antilaloune Ta Vouna*", "The Mountains Echo", and composed by Vasilis Tsitsanis was introduced as a song about unrequited love, similar in theme to the previous one. A short *bouzouki* cue introduced the instrumental introduction at a lively allegro tempo. The guitar and *baglamas* provided the underlying rhythmic texture, creating cross-rhythms with the underlying quaver metre of the *baglamas* against the syncopated *koptos zeïbekikos* rhythm of the guitar, which occasionally veered through the *syrianos zeïbekikos* rhythm. The varied musical interpretation of the *zeïbekikos* rhythm points to a fundamental connection between all types of *zeïbekikos* rhythms as mere variations of one another. The three melody instruments—voice, violin and *bouzouki*—shared the melodic sections monophonically, heterophonically and in harmonies. They ascended, descended and wavered through the A harmonic minor (ABCDEFG$^{\#}$A) mode which quoted related modes. These featured the 'Spanish' A natural minor descent VIIIm-VII-VI-V (Am-G-F-E) with a G natural (also in the song "*Arapines*"); the C major tetrachord (CDEFG); and pull towards E *chitzaz* (EFG$^{\#}$ABCDE) from the V degree of the mode. Throughout the rendition, the chordal instruments accompanied the modal meanderings with harmonisations derived from these modes. The alto voice sang in a melismatic mostly step-wise contour with the occasional leap of a 4th or 6th, her range also an average ninth (b-c'').

The *laïko* song text of "*Antilaloune Ta Vouna*" typically depicted in dramatic terms the suffering inflicted by love sickness (see Appendix 6). A translated excerpt reads:

> The mountains echo as I weep at sunsets.
> You've filled me with wounds and the pains have consumed me
> you threw me into the fire and nothing will save me.

In a conservative use of musical material, the first line of verse one functioned as the repeated refrain, in this case without autonomous melodic and textual material as is common in *rebetika* refrains. The verses are triplets, a feature shared with *smyrneïka* songs in the Meraki repertoire ("*Tha Spaso Koupes*", "*Mia Melachroini*", "*To Feretze*").

Spontaneous variation and improvisation took numerous forms during the course of the Meraki performance at the Folk Festival For example, during the song "*Antilaloune Ta Vouna*", the vocalist ornamented the vocal melody by slightly delaying the timing of it in rubato style, or by adding an ornamental turn to a note. Similarly, while accompanying the vocal melody in heterophonic style, the *bouzouki*-player ornamented it with semiquavers in harmonies of thirds. The violinist ornamented melodies with *glissandi* and *portamento* while the guitarist added melodic riffs or 'runs' between chords to join vocal lines or instrumental sections. In other songs the *toumberleki*-player improvised music by accenting rhythmic patterns to create cross-rhythms, and by 'filling in' the rhythmic pattern with smaller note values to make it more dense in texture. Thus musicians spontaneously varied and recreated the microstructures of the music for expressive purposes.

A third song performed by Meraki was introduced as "*Tha Spaso Koupes*", "I will smash cups for your bitter words, a *tsifteteli* belly-dance so why not get up and move your bellies!". This time the song commenced with a brooding violin solo *taximi* accompanied by a *tremolando* tonic drone on *bouzouki* and guitar. After an anacrusis, all the instruments entered with the instrumental introduction of the song played to the underlying syncopated quadruple *tsifteteli* rhythm (quaver-crotchet-quaver-crotchet-crotchet), once again at an up-tempo allegro pace. The melodic material of the song contained much repetition since the instrumental melodies were derived from vocal melodies, many of which were also repeated. The melismatic and undulating vocal melody spanned a relatively small range of a sixth (d'-b') and hovered

between two closely related modes: the E natural minor (EF$^{\#}$GABCDE) and the *ousak* (EFGABCDE) mode with an F natural. It moved to the III degree on G, and then to the II suggesting the D *chouzam* lower tetrachord with an E$^{\#}$ accidental (DE$^{\#}$F$^{\#}$G). Once again, as typical of *smyrneïko* songs, the modal relatives were explored in the melodies of the song. With multiple interjections of "a", "*gialeleli*" and "*aman*" and the use of Turkish words, the lyrics in first person expressed the distraught experience of love sickness (see Appendix 6). The narrator in the text does not indicate gender as shown in the translated excerpt which reads:

> I will smash cups for those words you spoke
> and glasses for those bitter words.
> Woe is me, woe is me

The aggregative form of the piece was not only indicated by the introductory *taximi* and the triplet refrain verse, but also the instrumental intermezzo which introduced entirely new melodic material, this time exploring other modal areas by moving to certain degrees and chromatically introducing accidentals. This happened when it moved to the V (B minor), to the VII where it introduced C$^{\#}$ and G$^{\#}$ (D *nigriz*, C$^{\#}$DEFG$^{\#}$), then to the VI (C major, BCDE), all of which suggested labyrinth-like modality bordering on chromaticism. Each of the three songs performed by Meraki was applauded enthusiastically by the seated audience.

The multiple features of the music—the unusual modal chord progressions, the meandering modal melodies, the one-bar breaks in the refrain when the *toumberleki* played solo, the vocal syncopation, the overall resonant and percussive texture strong in melody and rhythm—all drew the attention of the listener to the details of the music in terms of the music itself. In the context of the National Folk Festival the sonorous forms of the music itself became an aesthetic object of contemplation and comparison with other musical genres and systems available in the smorgasbord of sounds presented at the festival. One did not need to speak Greek or to participate in spontaneous Greek dancing to appreciate the performance of Meraki. The 'unique' 'novel' and 'exotic' performance of instruments and arrangement of their sounds were enough to hold the attention and interest of the listener.

In contrast to the social-dance and life cycle celebrations in which patrons are often enculturated listeners and dancers, or non-Greek learners of Greek dance, the festival audience, sharing some similarities with restaurant patrons, was more diverse. At these events *rebetika* music was received in two distinct ways: with active participation in Greek dancing, and with attention to musical features and structures. Verbal communication with the audience helped to bridge the cultural and linguistic barriers with the use of verbal constructs familiar to non-Greek patrons such as the "Zorba dance" or "belly-dance".[8] Despite the homogenising verbal constructs, the actual experience of the music was largely 'novel' and 'unique' to the listener because of its rich variety of musical structures which hitherto had rarely been heard in Adelaide. *Rebetika* music was contextualised for non-enculturated audiences in a 'supra-musical' way, as an aesthetic object for contemplation, by such means as contemporary translations of song texts, the use of traditional acoustic instruments, lyrical vocal styles, improvisations, variations, ornamentations and modal extemporisations. This type of construction of *rebetika* placed it squarely within the contemporary context of multiculturalism and the symbolic-ideological narrative of 'world music' with its tolerant appreciation of the exotic yet familiar musical traditions of musical minorities.

In addition, the nature of the festivals firmly embedded the reception of *rebetika* music within a personal, friendly and direct involvement in the musical culture, a focus far removed from the purely reflective, serious, critical and 'intellectual' reception of music required at the concert. Moreover, since each group was responsible for determining its own entertainment 'value' in the context of a multicultural arts festival, each was compelled to present its music with a consciousness of its 'otherness'. The way in which Meraki reconciled in performance the experience of 'otherness' and exoticism was to positively

[8] After their performance at the National Folk Festival, Meraki received friendly criticism from Melbourne Greek patrons of *rebetika* for doing precisely this. The Zorba icon is a complex one and for both Greek and non-Greek people has become an homogenising construct of Greek music difficult release. This is unfortunate since the music of the *Zorba The Greek* soundtrack is so good.

affirm the musical aesthetic 'essences' of *rebetika*, Greek music-making and dancing with as much musical, choreographic and socio-historical detail as possible.

Chapter 14 Concerts

14.1 Introduction

The concert is the final category of *rebetika* music-making event documented in the study. While the number of concerts featuring *rebetika* is relatively low compared to other types of events featuring *rebetika* (see Chapter 6), the concert event enjoys a high profile within the Greek community as a 'respectable' and 'prestigious' music event. Between 1980 and 1993, the organisations responsible for holding concerts were Greek, non-Greek and multicultural arts- or music-specific organisations. Vast of resources were invested in the organisation and publicity of any one concert, and it was usually patronised with a full house averaging 300-400 attendants per event.

With the exception of floorshow performances at social-dances, weddings and restaurants, the concert differs markedly from all other types of events. The concert as event type develops to the utmost the elements of the floorshow bracket: a quiet and attentive atmosphere; a passive audience; and full attention to musicians, their performance and music. This 'serious' and 'reflective' atmosphere is assisted by the tiered seating of the auditorium venue, which focusses attention onto one stage area. The term for "concert" in Greek is *synavlia*, literally meaning "with flute", referring to the accompaniment of musical instruments. The term more commonly used for Greek-organised concerts is *ekdilosi*, "presentation", "show", a term which emphasises the aural and visual spectacle of the concert as a densely mediated and formally narrated 'text'. Greek music concerts which have been organised in Adelaide have usually been carefully prepared multiple media productions of live music with sound amplification, recorded music, verbal narration, lighting, video projection of photographs, costume and stage design.

Concerts of *rebetika* music and of Greek music in general which feature local musicians are a relatively recent and irregularly occurring phenomena in Adelaide. Since the success of the Evolution of *Laïki Mousiki* concerts held in 1988 by the HMASA, Greek organised concerts have become more frequent in Adelaide. The music program of concerts emphasises choice of musical genre, era or composer, indicating that Greek people have a consciousness about their musical culture and history. For example, some concerts present programs of particular music genres (e.g *entechna*, *laïka*, *nisiotika*, Greek-Australian compositions). Other concerts present the compositions of particular composers (e.g. Vasilis Tsitsanis, George Loizos), lyricists (e.g. Giannis Ritsos), or themes (e.g. "Songs of Migration",[1] "Polytechneio"[2]).

In concert programs, *rebetika* have been performed as single items in heterogeneous brackets of music (e.g. by Themelia), as single brackets of music (e.g. at the Evolution of *Laïki Mousiki* concert) and as the music of an entire concert program (e.g. at the *Rebetika* Concert, Tribute To Tsitsanis). The performance of *rebetika* as an entire concert program by Greek musicians in Adelaide is an unusual though noteworthy phenomenon. To the best of my knowledge, the first concert of *rebetika* music performed in Adelaide by local musicians was the *Rebetika* Concert, Music of the Ethnic Communities, held at the Norwood Town Hall (21 March 1980) under the auspices of the Focus Fringe Festival.[3] The performance featured a seven-piece band with vocals, *bouzoukia*, *baglamas*, piano accordion, guitars and electric bass. The group performed a repertoire of mostly *piraiötika* and *laïka rebetika*.[4] Unlike recent concert presentations, the only stage set was a small *argiles*, "hookah pipe", placed at the centre front of the stage. The concert was attended by a mixed Greek and non-Greek audience of approximately 100 people. Since then eleven other concerts featuring *rebetika* music have been held in Adelaide, but the following discussion centres on the Evolution of *Laïki Mousiki* Concert which exemplified key characteristics of the concert.

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[1] The "Songs of Migration", "*Tragoudia Tis Xenitias*", concert was held on 7th April 1993 at the Convention Centre.

[2] The Greek Orthodox Community of SA annually commemorates the November 17th Polytechnio uprising of students and the massacre that followed in 1973, with a concert called an *ekdilosi*, "exhibition", "presentation", which features local musicians performing *entechna* music set to poetry with political messages.

[3] Event no. 1 in the sample (see Appendix 1).

[4] For example, songs such as "*O Manolis*", "*Karadouzeni*" and "*Enas Alitis Pethane*".

14.2 Hellenic Music Association of South Australia: Evolution of *Laïki Mousiki* Concert

This discussion centres on the performance of *rebetika* brackets of music at the concert entitled Evolution of *Laïki Mousiki*, held at the Royalty Theatre (3 July 1988). It was organised by the Hellenic Music Association of South Australia, the pan-Hellenic music-specific organisation of local Greek-Australian musicians. In this concert, *rebetika* music was presented as part of the chronological development of *laïki mousiki*, "Greek popular music". The music program was divided into four sections based on genre-periods of music and titled '*Smyrneïka*', '*Sebetika*', '*Laïka*' and '*Entechna*'. Each genre-period was rendered with a bracket of five to ten songs and instrumental pieces with the exception of the *Laïka* section which contained three brackets featuring the composer/performers—Tsitsanis and Papaioannou; Chiotis; and Kazantzidis. In all but the *smyrneïka* and *rebetika* brackets, the medley technique, whereby two or three songs were joined together and condensed into one item, was used to increase the selection of music performed without increasing the length of the bracket.

The *rebetika* items from the *smyrneïka*, *rebetika*, *laïka* brackets selected for discussion from the Evolution of *Laïki Mousiki* Concert are listed below in Table 14.1:

Table 14.1 Items of the *Rebetika* Music Sample Performed at the Evolution of *Laïki Mousiki* Concert

Items of Bracket	*Rebetika* Item	*Rebetika* Style
'Smyrneïka'	*Pergamos*	S
	Ti Se Mellei Esenane	S
	O Bochoris	S
	I Garsona	S
'Rebetika'	*Oi Lachanades*	S
	Bouzouki Mou Diplochordo	P
'Laïka'	*Synnefiasmeni Kyriaki*	L

The music was performed on instruments deemed traditional and authentic to each style and therefore differed from style to style. Each bracket was introduced by a verbal narration in both English and Greek and accompanied by photographic images and live footage projected onto the back of the central stage. Some musicians appeared in period 'costumes' for the *Smyrneïka*, *Rebetika* and *Laïka*-Chiotis brackets.

The concert commenced with a narrated introduction which stated that the *laïko tragoudi*, "Greek popular song", first appeared at the beginning of this century but acquired its name during its peak years of 1940 to 1960 (Capetanakis 1988: 1). The narration continued, stating that the music "originally gave expression to the lower classes of Greek society", but with its mass commercialisation and establishment as the most popular style of Greek music, "confusion arose as to what exactly is *laïko tragoudi*" (Capetanakis 1988: 1). The dominance of the *bouzouki* instrument as an identifying feature of the *laïko tragoudi* was stated: "virtually all songs featuring the *bouzouki* as the main instrument came to be included in the term *'laïko tragoudi'* (Capetanakis 1988: 1). The aim of the concert then, was to "restore" the "proper meaning [of the *laïko tragoudi*]—as the song which expresses most authentically the feelings and the soul of the commonfolk of the Greek nation" (Capetanakis 1988: 1). Here in the concert narration a 'roots music' symbolic-ideological narrative is heralded in the opposition between two constructions of *laïki mousiki*: one as the 'authentic expression' of an homogeneous group, 'the commonfolk of the Greek nation'; and the other, as an undesirable marginal music of Greek society further corrupted by mass commercialisation. With the help of a 'thick description' (Geertz 1973) of the HMASA concert it will become apparent that oppositional constructions of *laïki mousiki*, constituted as much in the absences and omissions as in the highly mediated structure of the concert, were not resolved, merely suspended in ambiguous terms.

A second ambiguity appeared in the narration with the statement that the bouzouki became the defining instrument of *laïki mousiki*. This not only stated a fact, but alluded to the appropriation of the *bouzouki* by 'undesirable' Greek musics such as *elafra*, *skiladika* and Greek 'pop'. In attempting to 'restore the proper meaning' of *laïki mousiki* and the *bouzouki*, an ideology of authenticity was constructed

which set about defining the 'true' nature of *laïki mousiki* and, by oppositional default, the primacy of the *bouzouki* as representative of 'authentic' Greek popular music.

Using video projections, the concert attempted to present the 'big picture' with live footage from the Asia Minor catastrophe and images of singers and composers. Yet a third stated intention of the concert was to present songs, some well-known, others not so well-known, from the major representatives of the four periods (Capetanakis 1988: 1). In the particular selection of singers and composers, certain 'individuals', all male, were represented as playing the major roles in the development of Greek popular music. A tension was thereby set up between two different types of representations of *rebetika* history: one a 'big man' reading of history in which individuals, mostly male composers, singers and *bouzouki*-players, are the forces behind great social movements; and the other, a socio-historical interpretation of the *laïko tragoudi* as sculptured by diverse and conflictual social, historical, economic and political forces and conditions.

In the introduction to the first of the four periods of *laïki mousiki*, the *Smyrneïka*, the narrators emphasised the eastern musical influence upon *smyrneïka*, the higher quality of its musical structures, and the significant influence of *smyrneïka* upon subsequent *rebetika* composers (Capetanakis 1988: 2). The narrators added that the *smyrneïka* "remind us of the tragic history of the expatriate Greek people" (Capetanakis 1988: 2), a comment which linked the 'origins' of *laïki mousiki* to national wars, mass migrations and intense human suffering. The narration, however, omitted any mention of the official and public disdain towards Asia Minor refugees at the time of their arrival, and the censorship of the *smyrneïka* and *piraiötika* narcotic-oriented themes and Turkish-oriented music during the Metaxas dictatorship (1936-1941).[5]

A spotlight directed the audience's attention to a small stage on the left side of the central stage where the five-piece *Smyrneïka* ensemble was seated. The oud-player commenced the first piece of the entire concert, with a moody and dramatic solo *taximi* improvisation in unmetered time which was applauded by the audience half way through the taximi. He explored the E *kiourdi* (*kartsigar*) (E(F)F$^{\#}$GAB^{b}C$^{\#}$DE) mode of the piece, occasionally striking the low E as a bass drone. After the *taximi* the other instrumentalists (violinist, guitarist, and *toumberleki*-player) joined in with the metred composition in an *aptalikos koptos zeïbekikos* rhythm (3+2+2+2) which was played at an andante pace and highly ornamented on the *toumberleki*. The instrumental piece[6] was an anonymous *smyrneïko* titled "*Pergamos*", literally meaning "bergamot", and is also the name of a town in western Asia Minor. Together the violin and oud played the step-wise ascending and descending melodies at an andante pace. These meandering melodies suggested a polymodal tonality, opening in the tonic mode of E *kiourdi* (*kartsigar*) (E(F)F$^{\#}$GAB^{b}C$^{\#}$DE), passing through a D major phrase which alighted from B (BAGF$^{\#}$ED), and then to the lower tetrachord of the leading note mode in D harmonic (AB^{b}C$^{\#}$DEF) by introducing the F natural. These labyrinth-like melodies characteristic of *smyrneïka* were rendered with demisemiquaver mordents and turns on the oud, all of which were harmonised on guitar by root chords derived from the modes. The moody *taximi* introduction played on the oud together with the *aptalikos zeïbekikos* and polymodal melodies immediately contextualised the music as belonging to a 'Greek-eastern' tradition reminiscent of Byzantine music, and the audience warmly applauded at the end of the piece.

The *smyrneïka* ensemble continued onto their vocal pieces with a female vocalist. They began with the song "*Ti Se Mellei Esenane*", "What's It To You", a cheeky anonymous *smyrneïko* song in which a woman rebuffs the advances of a man (see Appendix 6). A translated excerpt of the song is:

> What's it to you and you are always asking me
> what village I am from, since you don't love me.
>
> What's it to you and you are always asking me
> since you do not feel pity for me, my light, and you torment me.

[5] See Chapter 2, FN 29.

[6] "*Pergamos*" also has a vocal rendition.

The use of the interjection "*fos mou*", "my light", lightens the tone of the lyrics by suggesting compassion.[7]

The oud and violin commenced the instrumental introduction, a melody derived from the vocal refrain, accompanied by the *toumberleki*-guitar rhythm section which remained the same for the entire bracket. The piece was set at a lively *allegro* pace in the *bagion* rhythm, a regular quadruple rhythm (crotchet-quaver-quaver-crotchet-crotchet). An underlying duple metre emerged from the *bagion* which, together with the quaver-quaver cell on the second beat, drove the music on with the feeling of a swaying 'travel' rhythm—the clippity clop of a horse and cart, a form of transport many Asia Minor refugees took to flee Turkey during the war.

The song was played in the B natural minor-*ousak* (B(C)C$^{\#}$DEF$^{\#}$GAB) mode. The mostly syllabic vocal melody opened with a rise to the fifth and moved by step, settling on the IV degree. The IV degree became the pivot point for a modulation using accidentals into the B *kiourdi* (*kartsigar*) (BC$^{\#}$DEFG$^{\#}$AB) mode with the use of chromaticism, during the second line of each verse. These modes were harmonised by the guitar with Im-IVm (Bm-Em), VII-IV (A-E), and III (D) chords. *kiourdi* mode. The two repeated melodies of each verse matched the repeated text lines. The refrain melody wavered between the III and I degrees and was repeated over two lines of text. The alto vocal range was a generous ninth, (g$^{\#}$-a'), a common *tessitura* in the sample. The song "*Ti Se Mellei Esenane*" ventured outside of the standard verse-refrain song form into a tetramerous aggregative form by including a fourth section, an instrumental intermezzo, which introduced new melodic material, reversing the rise to the V degree in the vocal melody with a fall to the V from the upper tonic. With its heterophonic style accompaniment, the oud provided ornamentation with quaver turns and semiquaver upper mordents.

The *smyrneïko* ensemble then proceeded to the anonymous *smyrneïko* song "O *Bochoris*", a story about a man called Bochoris who is robbed while travelling on a ship. The lyrics elicited compassion for the ill-fortuned character (see Appendix 6). A translated excerpt reads:

> *Aïnte*,[8] poor old Bochoris, they tricked him on the ship,
> and they took hundreds from him in pounds and *grosia*.[9]
>
> *Aïnte*, poor old Bochoris, they entangled him on the ship's stern,
> and they beat him playing dice, *aïnte*, (and) took his new belt.

The rhythmic instruments provided a light *koptos zeïbekikos* rhythm at an andante pace. In typical 'folksong' binary form, the verses were interspered with instrumental interludes which, in this case, contained independent melodic material. As usual the oud-player 'filled in' the melody with semiquaver and demisemiquaver note values, adding a fuller percussive resonance to the *smyrneïko* timbre. The entire piece was set in the A *chitzazskiar* (AB^{b}C$^{\#}$DEFG$^{\#}$A) mode, with two accidental passing notes, and was accompanied by only two chords, the I and VIIm (A, Gm). The first phrase of the binary vocal melody was repeated for the first pair of lines of the 8-syllable quatrain verses, a third time for line 2, and once again as an instrumental *apantisi* "response" phrase, giving the song an aggregative feel. All melodies were mostly undulating with some leaps in the instrumental interlude of a 3rd, 5th and 8ve. As is typical of *smyrneïka*, the vocal melody was mostly melismatic, and in this case consisted of a terraced descent from VII within the alto vocal range of a ninth from g$^{\#}$-a'. The continuous use of the vocal interjection "*ainte*" to accompany melodic phrases, together with the instrumental *apantisi* passages, added to the aggregative feeling of the song.

The fourth item in the *smyrneïko* bracket was the song "*I Garsona*", "The Waitress", composed by Panagiotis Toundas and first recorded in the mid 1930s. During the performance of his songs, photographic images of Toundas and his contemporaries of the 1930s were projected by video onto the

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[7] Though not performed at this concert, an additional verse of the song indicates that the female character is an Asia Minor refugee from Smyrna and seeks a new life and love in Athens. It reads: Απ' τη Σμύρνη έρχομαι να βρω παρηγοριά/ να βρω μεσ' την Αθήνα μας αγάπη κι αγκαλιά. ["I have come from Smyrna to find consolation, to find love and warm embrace in Athens."]

[8] άιντε = "go on"

[9] *grosia* = *piastre*, small Spanish silver coin but also Turkish and Egyptian coin.

back of the central stage. The images literally put a face to the sound, contextualising the music as that authored by a known individual, as distinct from the anonymous compositions of other *smyrneïka*.

The rhythm section established a sprightly *andante bagion* quadruple rhythm while the oud and violin introduced the song with an independent instrumental section. This melody alighted from the V degree, the pivot point for the bimodal tonality which alternated between E *neveser* (EF#GA#BCD#E) and E *nigriz* (*souzinak*) (EF#GA#BC#DE) modes. After several ascending and descending scalic passages the instrumental interlude closed on the tonic. From there the mostly syllabic vocal melody departed in E harmonic minor (EF#GABCD#E) with a melodic contour which gradually ascended and descended in a terraced fashion from I-IV-I. The three quatrain verses contained wordy 10 syllable lines, without internally repeated text. There was an independent vocal refrain which was repeated after each verse and again at the end as part of the coda. Together with the use of French words and the western Im-IVm-V7 (Em, Am, B7) harmonisations, the cheeky lyrics about an assertive waitress suggested a modern urban cabaret/*café chantant* image (see Appendix 6). A translated excerpt of the song reads:

> I am the best waitress
> because I serve everyone with skill
> And they say to me, "Hey, what a babe!
> Loveable[10] waitress, bring us some wine."
>
> And when someone tells me he loves me
> he pays three times the price of an oka[11]
> I water down his wine
> and rattle him with the bill.

The *smyrneïka* songs displayed a multitude of musical and textual features, some close to the traditional demotic folksong, others imbued with urban song form, which challenge any suggestion of stylistic *rebetika* homogeneity. The detailed representation of song text characters—the assertive female Asia Minor refugee, the unlucky Bochoris, the assertive waitress—also testify against a monothematic or monolithic representation of the archetypal male *rebetis* character. By presenting these items through the passive medium of the concert performance the audience was invited to reflect upon the significance of *smyrneïka*. The *smyrneïka* concert bracket contextualised the entire urban Greek music tradition by presenting musical information which indicated that Greek popular music, *laïki* mousiki, was rooted in an Asia Minor entertainment culture. The absence organisers of *amanedes*, free vocal improvisations, or similarly explicit Arabic-Persian musical features, in the *smyrneïka* bracket perhaps suggests a discomfort with Asia Minor culture and its connections to the east.

The audience applauded the ensemble at the end of the *smyrneïka* bracket. This was followed by the performance of a song as an interlude. A duo of voice and guitar performed the contemporary *entechno* song "*I Smyrni*",[12] about the Asia Minor Catastrophe composed by Apostolos Kaldaras with lyrics by Pythagoras, a contemporary poet. As an *entechno* song, it contrasted with the chronological ordering of brackets. The lyrics, however, referred to the tragedy of the Greek-Asia Minor War, with the repeated vocal refrain, "Romiosini, Romiosini, you will not quieten. You live one year of peace, and burn for thirty."[13] Black and white footage of Asia Minor refugees fleeing Turkey with meagre belongings packed onto camels and animal-drawn carts was projected onto the back of the stage. There were close-ups of people's faces depicting fear, exhaustion and anguish. The performance not only 'brought home' the migration experiences of Greek listeners in the audience, but also functioned to link *smyrneïka* to nationalist war and forced emigration. By omitting information about the politics of a failed irredentist war

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10 The word ντερπιά is of Turkish origins (*derbeder*) and ambiguous in translation. According to Zachos (1981: 373) it refers to both a loveable and honourable person, and to one who plays with the feelings of others.

11 A measurement of drink: an oka = 1280 grams.

12 This song was recorded and released on the L.P. record *Mikra Asia* (Kaldaras 1972), side B, band 1.

13 "Ρωμηοσύνη, Ρωμηοσύνη, δεν θα ησυχάσης πια./ Ένα χρόνο ζεις ειρήνη και τριάντα στη φωτιά."

and of the 'betrayal' of European allies,[14] the presentation worked towards a nostalgic representation of *smyrneïka* as 'the expression of the Greek community', the dominant homogenising construction of *laïki mousiki* which recurred throughout the entire concert. Interwoven in this concert presentation through the particular presentation of sonorous, textual and visual structures was a 'roots music' symbolic-ideological narrative linking Greek *laïki mousiki* to Greek struggle and hardship, Greek patriotism and the Greek-Australian migration experience.

At this stage of the concert, the curtains were drawn and the audience was once again addressed by the narrators who introduced the "*Rebetika*" bracket of music, in this context referring to the *piraiötika*. In their narration they highlighted the marginal and underworld context of *rebetika* and its association with a particular group of people, the *rebetes*; with a particular type of behaviour, *mangia*; and with particular venues, the *tekedes* (Capetanakis 1988: 3). The narration mentioned the use of narcotics yet excluded hashish songs from performance. Ironically, the narration omitted mention of the anti-establishment associations of *rebetika* with criminality and prisons, yet included songs about imprisonment. The audience was presented with an ambiguous 'common knowledge' understanding of *rebetika* with the prison-hardship theme winning out in actual performance practice. The narrative also omitted mention of the performance and recording success and popularity of *rebetika* (*piraiötika*) at the time, and that this success depended on a relatively affluent social class of Greek people able to afford entertainment at nightclubs and the purchase of recordings. These omissions highlighted the dominance of the 'official' construction of *rebetika* as a mysterious underworld subculture. They also masked the highly contradictory socio-historical conditions of its creation, which, on the one hand, enticed composers and musicians to record best selling hits in multinational recording studios such as Columbia, and to draw crowds into night life entertainment clubs, while on the other hand, with the Metaxas government censorships and persecutions, hounded musicians for practising a creative and live music-making culture. As for the *Smyrneïka* bracket, the *piraiötika* performed in the *Rebetika* bracket were similarly constructed *vis-à-vis* '*laïki mousiki*' which subsequently developed to greater levels of sophistication as the 'authentic' music of the 'commonfolk' of the Greek nation.

One way in which musicians dealt with the internal contradictions of the concert was through humour and parody, some of which was spontaneous and unconscious, some staged. Apart from one musician crossing in front of the narrators to get to the small *rebetika* stage on far right and causing a titter through the audience, the *rebetika* musicians amused the audiences with their period costumes—suits, jackets worn in *manges* style with one sleeve on and the other draped over the shoulder, hats, and fake moustaches. To open the *Rebetika* bracket, the male vocalist played a short *taximi* solo on the *tzouras*, repeating a melodic cue for the musicians, who were standing in a corner chatting informally and playing their *kombologia*, "worry-beads", as if in a tavern. The audience burst out laughing. The sight of the fake moustache hanging from the mouth of one of the *bouzouki*-players who was having difficulty keeping it on was enough to invert any sombre atmosphere created during the previous *Smyrneïka* bracket. The *Rebetika* bracket functioned as a comical interlude to the serious nature of the concert event. The musicians finally took their seats and commenced their performance.

The *Rebetika* ensemble, seated in a row, consisted of male voice, *tzouras*, *baglamas*, two eight-stringed *bouzoukia*, and a guitar—the 'classic' small acoustic *Rebetika* ensemble centred around the *tambouras* long-necked plucked lute family of instruments. Without further ado the *tzouras*-player commenced a *taximi* proper which the audience applauded enthusiastically in the same way that they did during the oud *taximi* of the *Smyrneïka* bracket. The band then launched into the song "*Oi Lachanades*", "The Pick-Pockets", a *smyrneïko* song composed by Vangelis Papazoglou and first recorded in the 1934 in Athens.[15] The song was so popular at the time that at least four different recordings were made and released in the same year (see Appendix 4) and at least seventy recordings of the song have been released since then (Schorelis 1978C: 49).

In a mixed serious-humorous way, the lyrics recount relations between a pair of pick-pockets and the police (see Appendix 6). A translated excerpt reads:

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[14] See Chapter 2, FN 11.

[15] The earliest recordings of the song "*Oi Lachanades*" appear to feature guitar, not *bouzouki* (*Papazoglou, To Smyrneïko Tragoudi Stin Ellada Meta To 1922*, n.a.).

Down at Lemonadika there was trouble
they caught two pick-pockets who acted innocently.

Mr. Policeman, don't beat us, since you know very well
That this is our job and don't expect any bribes.

There is a suggestion of convivial connivance between the pick-pockets and the policeman.[16]

The solo *taximi* of the *tzouras* led the ensemble into the metred song, an *aptalikos koptos zeïbekikos* rhythm in a moderate tempo. The instrumental melody, set in D major which veered between the D *chouzam* ($DE^{\#}F^{\#}GABC^{\#}D$) mode and the D *rast* ($DEF^{\#}G(G^{\#})ABC^{\#}D$) mode, contained the characteristic descending tiered octave scale passage from the tenth to the III degree, the apparent tonal centre of the entire piece. The 'harmony' line commenced on the upper octave and descended to the tonic. The first statement of the instrumental interlude was played on the *tzouras* with the other two pairs of strings simultaneously strummed as a drone on the main beats of the *zeïbekikos*. The second statement was played with the addition of the two highly ornamented *bouzouki* parts in harmonies of thirds. The guitar and *baglamas* provide a simple tonic-dominant (D-A) chordal accompaniment with the guitar playing a more sparse syncopated rhythmic pattern and the *baglamas* unrelenting quavers.

The melismatic tenor vocal melody undulated between $f^{\#}$-d', a range of a sixth, emphasising the III degree as the tonal centre. The tenor singer added considerable descending portamento for expression. Each verse was sung to a repeated binary melody but a staggered effect was created when the melody changed on the third repeat of the first hemistich as shown in the example of verse 1 (underlined) in Table 14.2:

Table 14.2 Song Text / Melody Relationship of Verse 1, *Oi Lachanades*

Song Text: Verse 1	Line	Hemistich	Melody
Down at Lemonadika	line 1	hemistich 1	melody A
down at Lemonadika		hemistich1	melody A
[instrumental *apantisi*]			melody A
Down at Lemonadika	line 1	hemistich 1	melody B
there was trouble		hemistich 2	melody B
they caught two pick-pockets	line 2	hemistich 1	melody B
who acted innocently.		hemistich 2	melody B

The remaining songs performed in the *Rebetika* bracket exalted the lifestyle of the *rebetis* as a *mangas* tough guy ("*Ematha Pos Eisai Mangas*", "I've Found Out You Are A *Mangas*")[17] and friend of the world ("*Oloi Rebetes Tou Dounia*", "All the *Rebetes* in the World"). The song "*Bouzouki Mou Diplochordo*", "My Double-Stringed *Bouzouki*", headed a group of songs composed by Markos Vamvakaris.[18] In this lament for poverty and human suffering, especially that inflicted by love, the *bouzouki* is praised as a symbol of consolation. The song text alludes to a poverty-stricken urban class associated with *bouzouki* music (see Appendix 6). A translated excerpt of the lyrics reads:

My double-stringed *bouzouki*, my poor *bouzouki*
only you console every embittered person.

They avoid me now, they call me a bum
what do I want with such a life, let Charon take me.

[16] A fifth verse not performed at the concert indicates that the motivation of the pick-pockets is to be free from hunger. "Δεν μας φοβίζει ο θάνατος, μον' μας τρομάζει η πείνα/ για αυτό τσιμπούμε λάχανα και την περνάμε φίνα." ["We are not afraid of death, only of hunger, that's why we pick pockets and have a fine time."] (Schorelis 1978C: 68).

[17] Documented as "*Oi Neoi Chasiklides*", "The New Hashish-Smokers".

[18] Kounadis (1993 pers. com.) believes that this song was composed by Spyros Peristeris and given to Markos.

In "*Bouzouki Mou Diplochordo*", the *syrianos zeïbekikos* was played at a moderate tempo and rendered according to small rhythmic cell groupings (2+2+2+3) with strong accents on the first, third, fifth and seventh beats. Once again the *bouzouki* instruments ornamented the call-and-answer melody of the independent instrumental interlude with semiquaver 'fill in' of the undulating melody. Binary isorhythmic melodies in the stable D *chitzaz* ($DE^{b}F^{\#}GAB^{b}CD$) mode create a call-and-answer (with a half-close cadence on the V degree and a full-close cadence on the tonic), accompanied in characteristic *chitzaz* fashion with I, II, IVm, VIIm (D, E^{b}, Gm, Cm) chords. The undulating syllabic vocal melody alighted from and the IV degree (G) for the first melodic phrase and then dramatically leapt into the upper octave II degree (Eb) for the second melodic phrase which the singer rendered in a slightly *falsetto* voice. Each melodic phrase is repeated to create a quatrain verse with the lines of each distich reversed upon repetition (i.e. 1, 2, 2, 1). The tenor vocal range was a generous eleventh (d-g') because of the leap into the upper register.

The remainder of the *Rebetika* bracket paid tribute to the music of Markos Vamvakaris, the composer, *bouzouki*-player and singer most associated with the *piraiötika* of the 1930s.

The narrators then entered front stage position and introduced the next period of *laïki mousiki* as the *Chrysi Epochi*, "Golden Age" of the '*laïko tragoudi*' featuring compositions by Vasilis Tsitsanis and Giannis Papaioannou. They stated that the end of *Rebetika* was uncertain, but that with the advent of recording in 1937, there was now a "need for a new style to give expression to a wider audience" (Capetanakis 1988: 4). The narration continued:

> It was not long before new composers appeared on the scene, building on the framework of the *rebetika*, turned out tunes with richer musical structure and lyrics. Society's fringe-dwellers and outcasts were no longer the only people identifying with these songs. This music now had a wider appeal and was reaching a broader cross-section of the population. (Capetanakis 1988: 4).

A clear break, musically, lyrically, and socially, was made from the earlier *smyrneïko* and '*rebetiko*' styles. That the music of these earlier styles was also popular, that many of the subsequently famous composers, singers and *bouzouki*-players such as Vasilis Tsitsanis, Giannis Papaioannou, Manolis Chiotis and Stelios Kazantzidis began their musical careers learning from and playing alongside these earlier *rebetika* musicians, and that all subsequent development of *laïki mousiki* continued to borrow heavily from previous *rebetika* styles, is curiously absent from the narration. The concert narrative generated an evolutionist construction of Greek popular by representing the *smyrneïka* and *piraiötika* as the unfortunate 'primitive' predecessors of subsequent 'superior' and 'authentic' Greek popular music. Similarly, the protagonists of the subsequent phase of *rebetika* development were constructed as reputable charismatic public figures, a construction which Greek cinema assisted greatly.

The 'golden age' of *laïki mousiki* was thus accorded a grand opening spectacle. In the darkness of the theatre, all that was heard was the amplified sound of an original recording of Vasilis Tsitsanis playing a solo *taximi* on *bouzouki*. The curtains were drawn apart and seated on the central main stage was a large ten-piece acoustic and electric ensemble. It launched into the song "*Synnefiasmeni Kyriaki*", "Cloudy Sunday". The centrality of the large stage reflected the central place that the following brackets of music enjoyed in the narrative of the concert. The song was one of Tsitsanis' most popular, composed during the German Occupation (1941-1945) and first recorded in 1948.

An extended rhythmic-harmonic section with drum kit, percussion, electric bass, guitar, *baglamas* and acoustic piano played a moderate stately *syrianos zeïbekikos* rhythm as the *bouzoukia* played the instrumental interlude in harmonies. The dramatic juxtaposition of an original recording of the composer himself playing *bouzouki* with the local and live Adelaide ensemble 'completing' the song elicited yet another enthusiastic applause from the audience. The song contained original but derivative melodies which meandered with ascending and descending scale-like passages through all the degrees of the D major scale which was accompanied by simple I, IIm, IV, V (D, Em, G, A) chords. The melodies of this song reflected a pattern noticed in several *laïka rebetika* songs whereby the melodies pass through and linger around most notes of the mode over a longer period of time. In the case of "*Synnefiasmeni Kyriaki*", there

were four melodic phrases for each 15-syllable trochaic distich, mostly moving in a step-wise manner but with the addition of larger intervals of 3rds, 5ths and 6ths. They were 'answered' with instrumental *apantisi* phrases including descending cascading piano scales. The presence of harmonies in the *bouzouki* parts, the back-up vocalist singing harmonies in thirds on the repeated second line, and the piano chords, indicated a homophonic orientation. The homophonic musical structures and biblical references in the lyrics together rendered the song in a western hymn-like fashion (see Appendix 6). A translated excerpt of the song reads:

> Cloudy Sunday you resemble my heart
> which is always cloudy, Christ and the All Holy Virgin Mary.
>
> You are just like the day I lost my joy
> Cloudy Sunday, you make my heart bleed.
>
> When I see you [raining], I can not rest for a moment
> you blacken my life and I sigh heavily.

Though on the surface the song depicts another case of unrequited love, some commentaries have pointed to its patriotic sentiments as a song written during the horrors of the Second World War. The use of the Christ, Virgin Mary, "Sunday" and "bleeding heart" added a Christian guise to the *laïko* style thematic trope of human suffering (see Chatzidoulis 1979: 20, 66-68).

Features which marked the Tsitsanis music *vis-à-vis* the previous *Rebetika* bracket were plentiful: the larger more diverse instrumentation, the stately execution of the *zeïbekikos*, homophony and harmonies, major diatonic tonality, and the heart-rending dramatic and patriotic sentiments of the song texts. The *Laïka* bracket continued with a number of compositions by Tsitsanis in various rhythms including a slow *chasapikos*, a moderate *chasaposervikos*, and a beguine. These were followed by two songs in a *syrtos* rhythm composed by Papaioannou.

A twenty minute intermission followed, with much enthusiastic feedback passed on to the musicians from members of the audience. After only the first half of the program, the concert was hailed a success.

The remainder of the chapter follows the course of the concert program in order to reveal the broader context within which the previous *rebetika* items were performed. After intermission, the fourth bracket, still categorised as *Laïka*, featured the music of Manolis Chiotis. He was introduced by the narrators as a virtuoso *bouzouki* player who popularised the *bouzouki* instrument and whose compositions with their Latin and North American influences "found acceptance among the upper classes of Greek society" (Capetanakis1988: 5). Musical success was measured in terms of the supremacy of the *bouzouki* instrument and the assimilation of western music principles such as solo virtuosity, commercial success, and upper class patronisation. In this section of the concert an even stronger association was made between the music and the individual, in this case, with the virtuoso musician. The *bouzouki*-player in the *Laïka*-Chiotis bracket similarly adopted an entertaining 'showman' demeanour by standing close to the freely wandering singer at the front of the stage, an image often observed of Chiotis himself as he appeared in Greek feature films of the 50s. The cult of the virtuoso musician was obvious in the note-for-note replication of *bouzouki* melodies and improvisations learnt from recordings of Chiotis. The female vocalist appeared on stage wearing a gold satin dress especially designed to reflect the period. She swayed and stepped to the music in the 1950s nightclub style of the *kosmiko kentro*, "high society club", reminiscent of Chiotis' 'side lady', Mary Linda. During the song "*Perasmenes Mou Agapes*", "My Past Loves", composed by Manolis Chiotis (Schorelis 1987D: 183, 244-445) and documented as a mambo dance rhythm,[19] the *bouzouki*-player executed a well-known *bouzouki* solo interlude with immense precision and speed, smiling self-consciously about his almost perfect rendition of the *bouzouki* part. The Chiotis bracket featured songs in *zeïbekikos*, beguine, swing, mambo and rumba rhythms.

The narrators introduced music of the fifth bracket of *Laïka* by talking about the difficult social and political context of the Second World War years. "Out of these unhappy circumstances flowed an inexhaustible source of inspiration for composers of the *laïko tragoudi*—songs which were loved by the

[19] *Giorgios Dalaras. Latin.* (Dalaras 1987), record 2, side B, band 1.

people because they mirrored and expressed their daily lives, their history and their struggles" (Capetenakis 1988: 6). In this representation of *laïki mousiki* as the 'popular' expression of everyday emotions and struggles, social and class differences are glossed over and the romantic construction of the 'Greek commonfolk', *o laos*, is reinforced. The stage is set for the presentation of the music of Stelios Kazantzidis as the singer who personified the *laïko tragoudi*: He "is himself the *laïko tragoudi*, "the singer of the people", "through his voice, the people themselves sang of their heartaches, their suffering and their hopes and aspirations" (Capetanakis 1988: 6). The cult of the individual is here depicted as peaking in the personification and embodiment of the emotions of 'the Greek people' by Kazantzidis the singer.

In similar style to the presentation of the Tsitsanis bracket, the Kazantzidis bracket commenced with an original sound recording of Stelios Kazantzidis's voice singing a melismatic *amanes* vocal improvisation with the syllable "*ach*", "ah!", a commonly used interjection to express deep pain and emotion. In similar presentation style to that used for the song "*Synnefiasmeni Kyriaki*", the recorded *amanes* introduced the song "*Afti I Nichta Meni*", "This Night Alone Remains", composed by Stelios Kazantzidis (Diakogiannis 1983: 340) and performed in the concert by a ten-piece ensemble. The audience applauded the musical entry of the ensemble by clapping along with the main beats of the *syrtos* rhythm. Once again it appeared that the audience was responding to the dramatic effect created by the juxtaposition of an original recording of Kazantzidis singing, with the local and live Adelaide ensemble 'completing' the song. The entire bracket featured the melismatic and virtuoso singing style of Kazantzidis strongly associated with the meandering modal melodies of Arabic and Indian music, love songs, and three *zeïbekika* songs about migration and exile. These were introduced by the male vocalist as songs "which we migrants will recognise". Photographic images and live footage of Kazantzidis performing with groups and posing with friends were projected onto the back of the central stage during the bracket.

The final *Entechna* bracket of music functioned as a climax to the concert. *Entechna* composers, according to the narrators, added *kalitechniki piotita*, "artistic quality", and "dimensions of sophistication and refinement to the music" (Capetanakis 1988: 7). In this context 'sophistication' was equated with lyric poetry, western musically-educated composers, western instruments, the use of the concert venue and the role fo the composer–maestro (Capetanakis 1988: 7). The narration alluded to the assimilation of western performance aesthetics in its description of the 'sophistication' of *laïki mousiki*. Unlike previous brackets, no mention was made of the turbulent political context of the 1960s and 1970s during which this music developed, particularly of its anti-junta sentiments and the government censorship of Theodorakis' music. It may be that this period of *laïki mousiki* was 'too close to home' to be comfortable for social and political contextualisation of the kind offered for the previous periods of music. This omission in the narrative suggested that 'music as the expression of a community' is problematic when it is historically close and politically self-conscious.

The presence of a conductor, in this case also the musical director, on stage, added to the aura of western respectability which endorsed the *entechna* as a reputable genre. The conductor stood before the ensemble, counted the items in, set the tempo and cued instrumentalists. The cult of the individual presented in the *entechna* was one step further removed from the intimate relationship with the 'people' as represented the previous brackets of *Smyrneïka*, *Rebetika* and *Laïka* (Tsitsanis-Papaioannou, Chiotis and Kazantzidis). The meaning of the music was no longer embodied in the *penies*, "strummings"/"tunes", of the *bouzouki*-player or the voice of the singer, but rather in the figurehead of the highly skilled, educated and specialised composer, personified in this concert by the conductor. The dominance of western performance aesthetics was also established with the use of western classical performance genres such as the German romantic lieder hinted at in the performance of the song "*Pame Mia Volta Sto Fengari*", "Let's Take A Walk To The Moon", composed by Manos Chatzidakis. This was performed by a solo voice and acoustic piano, with a second harmony voice entering during the vocal refrain. The concert narrative constructed the climax of the development of *laïki mousiki* as the *entechna*, i.e. the successful asssimilation of western musical asethetics by western trained music specialists. However the syncopated and asymmetrical *zeïbekikos* rhythm of "*Pame Mia Volta Sto Fengari*", reminded the listener of its traditional Greek roots. The symbolic tension between 'tradition' and 'modernity' was present throughout the concert.

During the grand finale, the twenty-eight musicians who had performed throughout the evening gathered together onto the stage to sing "*Aspri Mera Kai Gia Mas*", "There Will Be Better Days, Even For Us", the contemporary song composed by Stavros Xarchakos with lyrics by Nikos Gatsos (Xarchakos

1986). Alluding to Greek dictatorial rule of 1967-1974, the song text called upon hope and patience for a bright day to shine again. Performed in a slow four-beat *chasaposervikos*, the collective vocal participation by musicians and audience in "*Aspri Mera Kai Gia Mas*" confirmed a 'unisonality' of Greek national identity, a kind of Greek "We Are The World" unity of musicians, and of musicians with audience, of Greek people in Adelaide, and of Greekness which transcend both space (Greece the motherland) and time (*laïki mousiki* up to the 1970s).

During the *entechna*, the populist, nationalist and evolutionist ideological tropes of the concert finally established the meaning of *laïki mousiki* according to the 'roots music' trope of 'Greek music as the expression of a community'. Throughout the course of the concert 'authentic' *laïki mousiki* shifted from representing the hardships of a subculture to the liberation of a nation. In a strange collage of ideologies, also present in the narrative was a communist populist view of the masses and mass movements needing guidance by the intellectual and artistic leaders (composers, conductors). The conductor symbolically subverted the image of a unified egalitarian collectivity by appropriating it as the pinnacle of a set of hierarchical relationships between performers, between performers and audience, and between the *entechna* bracket and all previous brackets of music.

However, the grand finale was two-part. In juxtaposition to the image of unity presented in the collective singing of "*Aspri Mera Kai Gia Mas*", the tempo of the music gradually began to accelerate under the direction of the conductor into a fast two-beat *chasaposervikos* instrumental which ended with a presto coda. The instrumental *chasaposervikos* and its dual associations with both *rebetika* music and the *entechna* "Zorba The Greek" theme reinforced the ambivalence of the finale without resolving the tensions between 'tradition' and modernity', 'Greekness' and 'otherness', and above all, *rebetika* and *laïka*.

The response of the audience to the Evolution of *Laïki Mousiki* concert was reported as enthusiastic, positive and ecstatic (Dalagiorgios 1988a pers. com.). People had clapped and sung along with the singers throughout the concert. An anecdote supporting the 'excellent quality' of the concert was that a patron had been so enthralled by the performance that he had decided to cancel his tickets to a concert by an elite Greek pop singer visiting from Greece. Another was that members of the audience felt the Adelaide performance of the *entechna* excelled beyond what the composers themselves could have achieved (Dalagiorgios 1988a pers. com.). The multi-media 'educational' 'socio-historical' spectacle of the concert was highly praised for providing reference points which enabled the audience to identify with the music. The continuous stream of extra-musical 'performance'—bilingual narration, visual images, excerpts of original recordings of master exponents, costumes, theatre—combined to bridge the barrier between 'performers' and 'audience' and elicit a personal engagement with the music.

Musicians themselves (in Mitileneos 1988) expressed patriotic sentiments in relation to the importance of the concert in preserving and promoting Greek culture and music before it disappears; stimulating interest among younger generations; and paying tribute to the heritage of Greek elders. Musicians also found the concert musically challenging. They enjoyed the opportunity to perform Greek music not normally performed in their band repertoires at regular gigs. They gained confidence performing at the concert because the audience listened attentively and critically to their musicianship, virtuosity, choice of repertoire, performance and interpretation, (*erminia*), of songs, all of which are legacies of the western classical music concert which constitute concert music as serious and concert musicians as professional artists. At the same time the musicians were anxious, given such a formal context, to play the notes 'correctly', meaning, without fluffing notes. They compared this with the relatively casual and informal atmosphere at weddings and *choroesperides*, where patrons are primarily concerned that music has a good dance beat (Odontiadis 1992, pers. com.). Here we see the presence of the two kinds of ethos in play: one in which music is to be performed 'correctly' according to an Urtext of authenticity for the passive consumption and contemplation of audiences; the other in which music serves the active participatory engagement of its community members.

The concert as event type, because of its formal structuring of performance and reception, constructs a largely monologue narrative. The monologue narrative of the Evolution of *Laïki Mousiki* concert 'restored the proper meaning of *laïki mousiki*' through a 'roots music' symbolic-ideological narrative with a particular evolutionist-modernist-populist-nationalist construction. By presenting the history of Greek popular music within a chronological evolutionary time frame, Greek music history was constituted as a

movement from a primitive period (the '*Smyrneïka*' and '*Rebetika*' under the yoke of the Ottoman Empire, orientalism, 'polluted' with narcotics, and lower social classes), to a more elevated period ('*Laïka*', Tsitsanis-Papaioannou, Chiotis, Kazantzidis, national unity, the superiority *bouzouki*, major tonalities), and finally to the most sophisticated period ('*Entechna*', Theodorakis, Xarchakos, Xhatzidakis, the western-trained composer and conductor) with westernisation, commercialisation and the specialised genius musician as measuring yardstick. The concert established the 'Greek' 'roots' of the *laïko* musical tradition and then hierarchically structured all subsequent development against them. By default, the *smyrneïka* and *piraiötika* '*rebetika*' were represented as the benchmark against which all subsequent evolutionary development towards improvement, sophistication and national popularity was measured. That the *Smyrneïka* provided a 'high musical quality' and *Rebetika* the *bouzouki* instrument, was not enough to elevate the early *laïka* out of its denigrate associations with the 'orientalised' Asia Minor refugees, poverty, urban subculture and civic disobedience. Humour and parody functioned to ease the severity of the denigration.

The *smyrneïka* and *piraiötika*, however, were paradoxically the musical resource and source of inspiration for all subsequent development of Greek popular music, as articulated in the narrative and evident in the musical structures. Some members of the audience conceded this when, despite the exhilaration created during the last bracket, they spoke more fondly of the *Smyrneïka* and '*Rebetika*' brackets. Yet the performance of the *Smyrneïka* and *Rebetika* received the same amount of attention and applause as every other bracket, suggesting there was a sense in which the songs and musical structures spoke for themselves despite their contextualisation in a highly structured formal narrative. At An aural level *rebetika* music withstands the test of denigration by the appeal of its sonorous and lyrical forms.

The opposition between two constructions of *laïki mousiki* suggested in the opening narration of the concert, one as the 'authentic expression' of 'the commonfolk of the Greek nation', and the other as a mass commercialised and popular music, was ambiguously subsumed and suspended within a unifying evolutionist-modernist-populist-nationalist construction. The primacy of the *bouzouki* as representative of the genre was similarly unquestioned, despite the gradual enlargement of the orchestra to include a diverse range of instruments throughout the brackets. The 'big man' reading of Greek popular music history, in which individuals, mostly male composers, singers and *bouzouki*-players, were the forces behind great generic developments, eventually superseded the pseudo socio-historical presentation of the initial brackets of music. Any consideration of the diverse and conflicting social, historical, economic and political forces and conditions which sculptured the development of Greek music was noticeably absent.

For the sake of maintaining an argument of the ethnic authenticity and homogeneity of Greek popular music, the concert succeeded in overlooking the hybrid development of *laïki mousiki* with its assimilation of eastern and western European musical processes and aesthetics. This analysis has revealed that if there is a 'proper meaning of *laïki mousiki*', it lies in its ability as a symbol of Greek national identity to suspend a multitude of contradictory understandings and meanings.

Part 4 Diaspora *Rebetika* Style and Identity in Adelaide

Chapter 15 Epilogue

This study has explored the contemporary re-creation of a traditional Greek urban music, *rebetika*, in a multicultural context. It has examined the live performance of *rebetika* by a Greek-Australian community in Adelaide, South Australia, which has nurtured a healthy diaspora music-making scene since early settlement. With an emphasis on the dimension of music 'in the making', this study has highlighted the complex nexus of historical, ideological, social, cultural, musical and performance contexts within which *rebetika* has acquired meaning and significance for music-making participants in Adelaide. To provide an informed interpretation of the *rebetika* music-making practice in Adelaide, it has examined the interrelationships between *rebetika* music-making participants, *rebetika* sonic, textual and choreographic forms, social and cultural contexts of performance, community participation and knowledge about the music articulated in talk and literature.

The *rebetika* are a music-making tradition of Greek-speaking people with a diverse century-long history. Three historical-musical styles—*smyrneïka*, *piraiötika* and *laïka*—have been identified as integral to the development of the *rebetika* genre. These *rebetika* styles are characterised by a structurally rich, heterogeneous and flexible musical language with influences from the many cultures with which they have been in contact. As an urban music, the *rebetika* emerged from the everyday experiences of migration, urbanisation and social dislocation. The development of *rebetika* was accompanied by a controversial discourse regarding their national, social, cultural and artistic value which was framed in terms of Greek ethnic purity, ethical morality and social class affiliation. *Rebetika* have been transmitted to Australia and absorbed into the repertoires of local Adelaide musicians loaded with a history of controversial symbolic-ideological associations. In Adelaide they have evolved further and acquired meanings and significance specific to the local context.

This study has shown that Greek music-making activities in Adelaide have been central to Greek-Australian family and community life, generated by intense kinship networks and community collaboration, especially by regional, pan-Hellenic, arts and music organisations and the restaurant food business. As such, the Greek music-making scene in Adelaide may be characterised as an active, highly organised and largely self-sufficient community of hosts, musicians and patrons. For several decades, musicians have provided a diverse Greek and non-Greek repertoire of dance music and songs at social-dances, restaurants, life cycle celebrations, festivals and concerts which have been hosted and patronised by music-loving and dance-loving Greeks.

In exploring the occurrence of *rebetika* music in Adelaide, this study has documented certain trends in the Adelaide Greek music-making scene between 1980 and 1993. Contrary to the commonly-held belief that Greek music is limited to the performance of Greek pop music at closed Greek community social-dances and weddings, the study has demonstrated that a multitude of musicians, organisers, repertoires, performance practices, patrons, events and venues have provided diverse settings in Adelaide for Greek music-making. For example, diversification of Greek music-making is evident at Greek weddings which have become cross-cultural celebrations of inter-ethnic marriages. Restaurant dining, festivals and concerts now provide alternative and viable settings for Greek music-making. Diversification is a feature of organisers of events which now include non-Greek hosts and multicultural organisations. Music repertoires and programs have also become flexible selections from a wide variety of genres and cultures including *rebetika*.

This study has demonstrated that there is a trend toward the specialisation of Greek music-making activities. Central to this has been the increasing incidence and concentration of *rebetika* with the consequent formation of the *rebetika*-specific music ensemble. In addition, *rebetika* music-making activities in Adelaide are increasingly hosted by art and music-specific organisations, events and venues.

This study has found that the multicultural social environment now pervades all aspects of contemporary *rebetika* music-making activities in Adelaide. This was evident in the considerable incidence of *rebetika* at over half of the documented music-making events hosted by non-Greek people, multicultural organisations, and Greek and non-Greek people in collaboration. The importance of the multicultural context was also evident in the heterogeneous music programs; the collaboration of non-Greek musicians

with Greek musicians; the patronage of events by non-Greek people; and ultimately, in the symbolic-ideological narratives which contextualised *rebetika* music as meaningful for participants.

This study has shown that musicians—singers and instrumentalists—who play *rebetika* are highly dedicated and skilled custodians of the *rebetika* music-making tradition. With their particular musical education, life experiences, musical preferences, choices, interpretations and arrangements, they have significantly shaped the nature of *rebetika* music-making in Adelaide. The co-existence of Greek *laïko* and western approaches to music has been observed in their syncretic music-making practices. For Adelaide musicians, musicianship and musical competence entail practical knowledge; instrumental technique; personal feeling and identification; the reproduction of *rebetika* according to the recorded tradition; an improvisatory performance practice; free orchestrations and arrangements of *rebetika*; the pursuit of knowledge about historical origins; social contexts and musical features; and the community 'use value' of music.

In this study, the *rebetika* repertoire of local musicians is heterogeneous, containing *smyrneïka, piraiötika* and *laïka* items in significant numbers. It has also demonstrated a rich musical language of orchestral, formal, rhythmical, textual and pitch structures which are employed in flexible ways in performance practice. The *laïka*, the most recent *rebetika* style which contain a sedimentation of the two precursor styles, feature as the recurring favourites of Adelaide musicians and audiences. The *smyrneïka*, the earliest recorded style most recently 're-discovered' on sound recordings,[1] with their unusual instrumentation, ornamented modal melodies, vibrant rhythms, and everyday song text themes, received special attention in local *rebetika* music programs in the concentrated repertoire of the *rebetika* music ensemble. To a lesser extent the *piraiötika* were present in Adelaide Greek music programs as well-known 'classic' choices. The study revealed that musicians practise a wide and diverse choice of *rebetika* repertoire.

In exploring the meaning of *rebetika* music for participants in Adelaide, it was found that the socio-cultural origins of *rebetika* which centred around the need to create identity and community in the face of everyday experiences of migration, urbanisation and social dislocation, were similar to those experienced by Greek-Australians. The culture of the everyday constituted in *rebetika* music-making was observed to express the entire range of human experience and emotion, especially the need for communal celebration, individual expression, passion, sensuality, assertiveness, joy, humour and celebration.

In identifying the contemporary significance and meaning of *rebetika* for Adelaide participants, the concept of symbolic-ideological narrative was proposed as a praxis-theory of reality through which music is constituted as meaningful at the level of individual experience and social practice. Symbolic-ideological narratives were shown to function as polysemous border crossings which mediate between multiple contradictory, ambiguous, stereotypic and dominant constructions of experience and culture to create coherence and meaning for participants in the here-and now.

Three symbolic-ideological narratives were found to resonate as frameworks within which *rebetika* are experienced and interpreted as meaningful in the Adelaide context. They were identified as 'soul music', 'roots music' and 'world music' symbolic-ideological narratives. Although these different narratives were often demonstrated to co-exist in the one event, they each displayed specific features which enable them to be conceptualised and discussed as discrete narratives.

A 'soul music' narrative was observed in Adelaide performances of *rebetika*. It was constituted by various constructions of the individual self. These were characterised by the immediate, personal, emotional, corporeal, sensate and ultimately spiritual engrossment in *rebetika* music-making and dancing. The 'soul music narrative' of *rebetika* resonated strongly at social-dances, as was evident at the performances of Laïki Kompania at the Greek Football Club and the Greek Cultural Week Ball; at restaurants as occurred during the performance of Aman (Zorba's Restaurant); and at weddings as was observed in the performances of Odyssey (Serbian Centre Hall, Estonian Hall). It was especially obvious during the *rebetika* solo *zeïbekikos* and *tsifteteli* dances of the *laïka rebetika* when patrons participated in spontaneous improvisatory dancing. During these dances, there was a peaking of *kefi* and *meraki*, of a

[1] With the recent proliferation of re-issued original recordings of *rebetika* on compact disc, it is now possible to undertake a detailed musicological analysis of *rebetika* items according to musical structure, authorship and style, in order to identify the musical parameters and historical development of the genre. Future research could also include a comparative analysis of contemporary *rebetika* repertoires such as those documented in this study with earliest recordings. The findings from such research could then be compared with other genres of Greek music, and with contemporary *rebetika* music-making practices in other cities of Australia, and in other diaspora communities around the world.

highly spirited and impassioned engagement in the music, in which the individual dancer harnessed choreographic skills, compassion and knowledge for ultimate expression. It was observed that expressions of soul were also differentiated on the basis of gender. Participation in *zeïbekikos* dancing constituted an experience of *leventia* and *mangia*, of independent 'masculine' assertiveness, while participation in the *tsifteteli* constituted an experience of erotic 'feminine' sensuality. Soul expression was also manifest when musicians improvised unlimited melodic-rhythmic variations with *kefi* and *meraki* during the *taximi*. The 'soul music' narrative filtered through to the *chasapikos*, *chasaposervikos*, *syrtos*, and *kalamatianos* line and circle group dances by embodying a heightened experience of the individual-in-community. In these dances the spontaneous expression of the individual was sanctioned and supported by the collectivity of the *parea* and of the entire gathering of participants, an observation which confirms the view that Greek expression of the self is rarely constituted in isolation to others.

This leads to the second symbolic-ideological narrative identified in *rebetika* music-making practices in which *rebetika* were constructed as a 'roots music' of 'Greek people'. The 'roots music' narrative was a collective patriotic imagining of Greek culture and identity. Employing evolutionist, populist and nationalist perspectives, *rebetika* were viewed as one link in the continuous evolution of Greek popular music to higher 'cultivated' forms. The 'roots music' narrative resonated strongly in floorshow brackets at social-dances such as the HMASA Night of *Rebetika*; and especially at concerts such as the HMASA Concert, Evolution of *Laïki Mousiki*.

In the third symbolic-ideological narrative, *rebetika* music-making activities were constructed as a 'world music': an icon of cultural specificity, authenticity, diversity and global pan-humanism. This was especially the case when *rebetika* were performed by Themelia at multicultural social-dances, such as the Conference Club; by the Gypsy Trio at non-Greek managed restaurants such as Ayers House; and most strongly by Meraki at multicultural festivals such as the Multicultural Carnival and National Folk Festival. In these contexts, *rebetika* music with its unusual and 'unique' rhythms, modes, melodies, instruments, improvisatory forms and topical song texts, was experienced as familiar in its otherness: a 'unique', 'exotic' musical-aesthetic 'Greek' icon of cross-cultural engagement and understanding.

These observations of *rebetika* music-making practice and meaning revealed an interesting concert/dance dichotomy. It appeared that the more *rebetika* were performed as finely arranged orchestrations in highly organised and mediated contexts such as the concert or the floorshow bracket, the more they were constituted as 'roots music', an 'authentic Greek tradition'. The *laïka rebetika* were prominent in this representation. In contrast, the performance of *rebetika* in more spontaneous and informal contexts such as at social-dances and weddings, where unlimited variation, improvisation and dancing participation took place, tended to constitute *rebetika* as a passionate engaging 'soul music'. In these contexts, all types of *rebetika* were featured, but especially the *smyrneïka rebetika*. Concerts appeared to set up hierarchies of authenticity and expertise, while dance contexts equalised and democratised social relations. In a paradoxical inversion of symbolic-ideological narratives, the concert as the archetypal epitome of cultivation, modernity, musicianship and respect for Greek music traditions, with its monologic representation of music and its immobilisation of audiences, may result in the final demise of the genre, while the dance event as archetypal epitome of individual expression, catharsis and collective celebration, may provide the revitalising spirit for the survival of *rebetika* music in the Australian diaspora context.

The 'world music' symbolic-ideological narrative was observed as a special feature of *rebetika* music-making in Adelaide. It was observed to bridge concert–'roots music' and dance–'soul music' constructions at both concert/dance performance contexts (Gypsy Trio–Ayers House; Meraki–Multicultural Carnival and National Folk Festival). It also simultaneously contained experiences of music aesthetics and ethnic specificity, cultural difference and pan-global humanism.

This study has noted how in the cultural politics of representation and identification, social actors play a primary role as agents in the re-creation of traditional musical culture and diaspora style. The live performance of *rebetika* testifies to the perseverance of 'traditional' music in a contemporary diaspora context in spite of the marginalising and homogenising effects of mass-mediated culture in the western world. As a diaspora style, *rebetika* music is wielded like a double-edged sword by culture-bearers to negotiate a positive and dignifying musical style and identity, and, at the same time, to counter negative representations of *rebetika*, Greekness, ethnicity, migrantness, multiculturalism etc.

In these ways, contemporary *rebetika* music-making practices have been shown to constitute experiences of identity which include all dimensions of experience: of the self (soul), of community (roots),

and of humanity (world). Music thus becomes a multi-imaging icon of identity. This study has shown that, in the multicultural Australian environment, *rebetika* have become a multi-imaging icon of diaspora identity. Diaspora *rebetika* style in Adelaide is indeed a dynamic musical 'imagining' of the Greek-Australian experience.

Appendix 1 *Rebetika* Music-Making Events in Adelaide (1980-1993)

No.	Date	Event	Type of Event	Venue	Type of Venue	Organiser	Type of Organiser	Ethnicity of Organiser	Greek Music Program	Greek Dancing	Musicians	Instrumentation	Non-Greek Music
1	21-Mar-80	*Rebetika* Concert, Music of the Ethnic Communities	concert	Norwood Town Hall	concert hall	Focus Fringe Festival	arts	non-Greek	*rebetika* (P)[1]	no dancing	Peter Tsounis, Jim Mountzouris, Con Carapas, John Diamantis, John Soutis, Stratos Stergiou, Sam Gardounis, Steve Papadopoulos	vocals, 2 *bouzoukia*, *baglamas*, piano accordion, 2 guitars, electric bass, drum kit	two week arts festival
2	2-Oct-81	SACAE Greek Students End of Year concert	social-dance	SACAE Hartley Concert Hall, Adelaide	concert hall	Themelia, Adelaide College of Arts and Education Greek Students	arts	Greek	*dimotika*, *nisiotika*, *rebetika* (I), *entechna*	no dancing (only to taped Greek music)	Themelia [2]	choir, acoustic piano, guitar, drum kit	-
3	20-Nov-81	*choroesperida*, *Mousikochoreftiki Vradia*: Last *Bouzouki* + Instrument Competition	social-dance	Hellas Club, North Tce	community hall	Hellenic Music Association of SA	arts	Greek	*rebetika* (I), *dimotika*, *laïka*, *elafra*	dancing	HMASA; Orpheus [3]; Odyssey[4]; John Kourbelis (musical director), John Karamanos, Sam Georgiadis, George Loizi; Themelia ('Adelaide College Choir') [5]; competition entrants	vocals, *bouzouki*, electric guitar, electric bass, drum kit, percussion	-
4	27-Aug-82	*Choroesperida*, *Rebetika* Night	social-dance	Hellas Club, North Tce	community hall	Hellenic Music Association of SA, Dimitria Festival	arts	Greek	*rebetika* (B, I), *dimotika*, *laïka*	dancing (not in *rebetika* floorshow)	HMASA [6]+ Orpheus	vocals, 3 *bouzoukia*, *baglamas*, acoustic guitar, electric guitar, electric bass, drum kit, bongos, congas, percussion, maraccas, wind chimes	-

[1] P = program; I = item; B = bracket

[2] Helen Pavlou, Johanna Saltis, George & Olga Galanis, Bill Georgaris, Katerina Mitropoulou, Kathleen and Gerry Patistsas Jim Beroukas, Helen and Esta Paraskevas, Ourania & Grammatiki Basilis, John Piliouris. Musicians: Demeter Tsounis, John Kourbelis, Jack Marinos.

[3] Orpheus: Athos Eftichiou, Steve Georgiadis, John Karamanos, George Loizi, Sam Gardounis.

[4] Odyssey: Tassos Capetanakis, Sandy Vatsila, Jack Marinos, Michael Demetriou, Paul Gelios, John Kourbelis.

[5] Demeter Tsounis, Helen Pavlou, Johanna Saltis, Helen & Esta Paraskevas, Tammy Odontiadis, Ourania & Grammatiki Basilis, John Piliouris.

[6] John Kourbelis, Athos Eftichiou, Sam Savas, Tassos Capetanakis, Sandy Vatsila, Bill Kapsis, Steve Georgiadis, Michael Demetriou, Sam Gardounis, John Karamanis, Arthur Giannopoulos, Jack Marinos, Con Dalas, George Loizi, Paul Gelios, Gerry Trikaliotis, Nick Arabatsis.

Appendix 1 ***Rebetika*** **Music-Making Events in Adelaide (1980-1993)**

No.	Date	Event	Type of Event	Venue	Type of Venue	Organiser	Type of Organiser	Ethnicity of Organiser	Greek Music Program	Greek Dancing	Musicians	Instrumentation	Non-Greek Music
5	8-Oct-82	*Choroesperida*, Themelia: An Evening of Greek Folksong	social-dance	Hellas Club, North Tce	community hall	Themelia	arts	Greek	*dimotika*, *nisiotika*, *rebetika* (B), *entechna*	dancing	Themelia + musicians [7]	vocals, piano, *bouzouki*, guitars, electric bass, *baglamas*, drum kit, percussion	-
6	5-Dec-82	Greek Youth Festival	festival	Bonython Park	out-door public	Greek Orthodox Community of SA	community	Greek	*rebetika* (I), *nisiotika*, *dimotika*, *laïka*, *entechna*, *elafra*	no dancing (only in other segments of festival)	Themelia: Helen Pavlou, Johanna Saltis, Demeter Tsounis, Pat Kelly, Martinne Jusserand	vocals, percussion, recorder	-
7	3-Mar-83	17th National Folk Festival	festival	Adelaide College of Advanced Education Magill	educational institution	Australian Folk Trust	arts	non-Greek	*dimotika*, *rebetika* (I), *entechna*, *neo-kima*	no dancing	Themelia: Demeter Tsounis, Mary Apostolodis, Johanna Saltis, Helen Pavlou, Pat Kelly, John Kalentzis, Dimo Alexiou	vocals, percussion, acoustic piano, guitar, *bouzouki*	multicultural, folk
8	11-Jun-83	Wedding Reception	life cycle celebration (wedding)	Serbian Centre Hall, Woodville Park	community hall	Private Greek-Cypriot, Greek	private	Greek	*rebetika* (I), *nisiotika*, *dimotika*, *laïka*, *entechna*, *neolaïka*	dancing	Laïki Kompania: George Diakos, Bill Carapetis, Steve Papadopoulos, Demeter Tsounis, Peter Tsounis, George Loizi	vocals, *bouzouki*, piano, ovation guitar, electric bass, drum kit	-
9	1-Jul-83	Norwood High School Greek Night	concert	Norwood High School	educational institution	Norwood High School Greek Parents Association	educational	Greek	*dimotika*, *nisiotika*, *rebetika* (I), *entechna*	no dancing (+ Greek dance floorwhow)	Themelia: Demeter Tsounis, Johanna Saltis, Helen Pavlou, Pat Kelly, Martinne Jusserand	vocals, piano, recorder	Waltzing Matilda sung in Greek
10	23-Jul-83	Wedding Reception	life cycle celebration (wedding)	Marion High School Hall	educational institution	Private Greek, Greek	private	Greek	*dimotika*, *nisiotika*, *rebetika* (I), *laïka*, *entechna*, *neo-laïka*	dancing	Laïki Kompania: George Diakos, Bill Carapetis, Steve Papadopoulos, Demeter Tsounis, Peter Tsounis, Arthur Galatsianos	vocals, *bouzouki*, acoustic piano, ovation guitar, electric bass, drum kit	-

[7] Helen Pavlou, Johanna Saltis, Helen & Esta Paraskevas, Tammy Odontiadis, Ourania and Grammatiki Basilis, John Piliouris. Musicians: Peter Tsounis, Steve Papadopoulos, John Odontiadis, Angelo Capsis, Jim Mountzouris, Paul Gelios, Jack Marinos.

No.	Date	Event	Type of Event	Venue	Type of Venue	Organiser	Type of Organiser	Ethnicity of Organiser	Greek Music Program	Greek Dancing	Musicians	Instrumentation	Non-Greek Music
11	21-Aug-83	Restaurant	restaurant	Seafood House Restaurant, Gouger St	restaurant	Seafood House	restaurant	Greek	*dimotika*, *nisiotika*, *rebetika* (I), *laïka*, *entechna*, *neo-laïka*	dancing	Laïki Kompania: George Diakos, Bill Carapetis, Steve Papadopoulos, Demeter Tsounis, Peter Tsounis, Arthur Galatsianos	vocals, *bouzouki*, piano, ovation guitar, electric bass, drum kit	-
12	4-Sep-83	Restapurant	restaurant	Seafood House Restaurant, Gouger St	restaurant	Seafood House	restaurant	Greek	*dimotika*, *nisiotika*, *rebetika* (I), *laïka*, *entechna*, *neo-laïka*	dancing	Laïki Kompania: George Diakos, Bill Carapetis, Steve Papadopoulos, Demeter Tsounis, Peter Tsounis, Arthur Galatsianos	vocals, *bouzouki*, piano, ovation guitar, electric bass, drum kit	-
13	6-Sep-83	Women's Performance Evening	social-dance (club)	Lark and Tina's Club, Hindley St	bar	Women's Art Movement	arts	non-Greek	*dimotika*, *nisiotika*, *rebetika* (I), *laïka*, *neo-kima*	no dancing	Themelia: Demeter Tsounis, Johanna Saltis, Helen Pavlou, Martinne Jusserand, Pat Kelly	vocals, piano, recorder	western popular
14	10-Sep-83	Wedding Reception	life cycle celebration (wedding)	Fogolar Furlan Centre, Felixstow	community hall	Private, Greek, Italian (Vassiliki Kakarikou)	private	mixed Greek and non-Greek	*dimotika*, *nisiotika*, *rebetika* (I), *laïka*, *entechna*, *neo-laïka*	dancing	Laïki Kompania: George Diakos, Bill Carapetis, Steve Papadopoulos, Demeter Tsounis, Peter Tsounis, Arthur Galatsianos	vocals, *bouzouki*, piano, ovation guitar, electric bass, drum kit	Italian
15	11-Sep-83	Restaurant	restaurant	Seafood House Restaurant, Gouger St	restaurant	Seafood House	restaurant	Greek	*dimotika*, *nisiotika*, *rebetika* (I), *laïka*, *entechna*, *neo-laïka*	dancing	Laïki Kompania: George Diakos, Bill Carapetis, Steve Papadopoulos, Demeter Tsounis, Peter Tsounis, Arthur Galatsianos	vocals, *bouzouki*, piano, ovation guitar, electric bass, drum kit	-
16	24-Sep-83	*Choroesperida*	social-dance	Finsbury Hotel	hotel	Kastorian Fraternity	regional fraternity	Greek	*dimotika*, *nisiotika*, *rebetika* (I), *laïka*, *entechna*, *neo-laïka*	dancing	Laïki Kompania: George Diakos, Bill Carapetis, Steve Papadopoulos, Demeter Tsounis, Peter Tsounis, Arthur Galatsianos	vocals, *bouzouki*, piano, ovation guitar, electric bass, drum kit	-

Appendix 1 *Rebetika* Music-Making Events in Adelaide (1980-1993)

No.	Date	Event	Type of Event	Venue	Type of Venue	Organiser	Type of Organiser	Ethnicity of Organiser	Greek Music Program	Greek Dancing	Musicians	Instrumentation	Non-Greek Music
17	1-Oct-83	*Choroesperida*	social-dance	Hackney Hall	reception centre	Ikarian Fraternity	regional fraternity	Greek	*dimotika*, *nisiotika*, *rebetika* (I), *laïka*, *entechna*, *neo-laïka*	dancing	Laïki Kompania: George Diakos, Bill Carapetis, Steve Papadopoulos, Demeter Tsounis, Peter Tsounis, Arthur Galatsianos	vocals, *bouzouki*, piano, ovation guitar, electric bass, drum kit	-
18	8-Oct-83	Wedding Reception	life cycle celebration (wedding)	Hackney Hall	reception centre	Private Greek, Greek	private	Greek	*dimotika*, *nisiotika*, *rebetika* (I), *laïka*, *entechna*, *neo-laïka*	dancing	Laïki Kompania: George Diakos, Bill Carapetis, Steve Papadopoulos, Demeter Tsounis, Peter Tsounis, Arthur Galatsianos	vocals, *bouzouki*, piano, ovation guitar, electric bass, drum kit	-
19	22-Oct-83	*Choroesperida*	social-dance	Engineering & Water Supply Hall, Grand Junction	government institution	Ornonia Soccer Club	sports	Greek	*dimotika*, *nisiotika*, *rebetika* (I), *laïka*, *entechna*, *neo-laïka*	dancing	Laïki Kompania: George Diakos, Bill Carapetis, Steve Papadopoulos, Demeter Tsounis, Peter Tsounis, Arthur Galatsianos	vocals, *bouzouki*, piano, ovation guitar, electric bass, drum kit	-
20	29-Oct-83	Wedding Reception	life cycle celebration (wedding)	Hackney Hall	reception centre	Private Greek, Australian	private	mixed Greek and non-Greek	*dimotika*, *nisiotika*, *rebetika* (I), *laïka*, *entechna*, *neo-laïka*	dancing	Laïki Kompania: George Diakos, Bill Carapetis, Steve Papadopoulos, Demeter Tsounis, Peter Tsounis, Arthur Galatsianos	vocals, *bouzouki*, piano, ovation guitar, electric bass, drum kit	-
21	19-Nov-83	*Choroesperida*	social-dance	Greeks of Egypt and Middle East Society of SA Hall, Keswick	community hall	Greeks of Egypt and Middle East Society of SA	regional fraternity	Greek	*dimotika*, *nisiotika*, *rebetika* (I), *laïka*, *entechna*, *neo-laïka*	dancing	Stratos Pikramenos, George Alexiou, Dimo Alexiou, Demeter Tsounis	vocals, *bouzouki*, piano, ovation guitar	-
22	4-Dec-83	Independence Day Dance	social-dance	Prospect Town Hall	community hall	Eureka Australian Independence Movement	political	non-Greek	*dimotika*, *nisiotika*, *rebetika* (I), *laïka*, *entechna*	dancing	Themelia: Dimo Alexiou, Sophie Alexiou, Chris Brocklebank, George Alexiou, Barbara Alexiou, Pat Kelly, Demeter Tsounis, Johanna Saltis, Helen Pavlou, Julie Pavlou, Martinne Jusserand	vocals, ovation guitar, recorder, percussion, piano	Australian folk

Appendix 1 ***Rebetika*** **Music-Making Events in Adelaide (1980-1993)**

No.	Date	Event	Type of Event	Venue	Type of Venue	Organiser	Type of Organiser	Ethnicity of Organiser	Greek Music Program	Greek Dancing	Musicians	Instrumentation	Non-Greek Music
23	26-Dec-83	*Choroesperida*	social-dance	Hackney Hall	reception centre	Messinian Association of SA	regional fraternity	Greek	*dimotika*, *nisiotika*, *rebetika* (l), *laïka*, *entechna*, *neo-laïka*	dancing	Laïki Kompania: George Diakos, Bill Carapetis, Steve Papadopoulos, Demeter Tsounis, Peter Tsounis, Arthur Galatsianos	vocals, *bouzouki*, piano, ovation guitar, electric bass, drum kit	-
24	14-Jan-84	Wedding Reception	life cycle celebration (wedding)	Lebanese Maronite Hall, Westbourne Park	community hall	Private Greek, Yugoslav	private	mixed Greek and non-Greek	*dimotika*, *nisiotika*, *rebetika* (l), *laïka*, *entechna*, *neo-laïka*	dancing	Laïki Kompania: George Diakos, Bill Carapetis, Steve Papadopoulos, Demeter Tsounis, Peter Tsounis, Arthur Galatsianos	vocals, *bouzouki*, piano, ovation guitar, electric bass, drum kit	-
25	29-Jan-84	Australia Day picnic	miscellaneous (picnic)	Victor Harbour Beach	out-door public	Messinian Association	regional fraternity	Greek	*dimotika*, *nisiotika*, *rebetika* (l), *laïka*, *entechna*, *neo-laïka*	dancing	Laïki Kompania: George Diakos, Bill Carapetis, Steve Papadopoulos, Demeter Tsounis, Peter Tsounis, Arthur Galatsianos	vocals, *bouzouki*, piano, ovation guitar, bass guitar, drum kit	-
26	29-Jan-84	*Choroesperida* +disco	social-dance (disco-dance)	Arkaba Hotel, Glen Osmond	hotel-reception centre	Flinders University Greek Association	educational	Greek	*dimotika*, *nisiotika*, *rebetika* (l), *laïka*, *entechna*, *neo-laïka*	dancing	Laïki Kompania: George Diakos, Bill Carapetis, Steve Papadopoulos, Demeter Tsounis, Peter Tsounis, Arthur Galatsianos	vocals, *bouzouki*, piano, ovation guitar, electric bass, drum kit	DJ disco dance music (western popular)
27	25-Feb-84	Wedding Reception	life cycle celebration (wedding)	Veneto Club, Beverly	community hall	Private Greek, Greek	private	Greek	*dimotika*, *nisiotika*, *rebetika* (l), *laïka*, *entechna*, *neo-laïka*	dancing	Laïki Kompania: George Diakos, Bill Carapetis, Steve Papadopoulos, Demeter Tsounis, Peter Tsounis, Arthur Galatsianos	vocals, *bouzouki*, piano, ovation guitar, electric bass, drum kit	-
28	3-Mar-84	Engagement	life cycle celebration (engagement)	Maronite Hall, Westbourne Park	community hall	Private Greek, Greek	private	Greek	*dimotika*, *nisiotika*, *rebetika* (l), *laïka*, *entechna*, *neo-laïka*	dancing	Laïki Kompania: George Diakos, Bill Carapetis, Steve Papadopoulos, Demeter Tsounis, Peter Tsounis, Arthur Galatsianos	vocals, *bouzouki*, piano, ovation guitar, electric bass, drum kit	-

Appendix 1 *Rebetika* Music-Making Events in Adelaide (1980-1993)

No.	Date	Event	Type of Event	Venue	Type of Venue	Organiser	Type of Organiser	Ethnicity of Organiser	Greek Music Program	Greek Dancing	Musicians	Instrumentation	Non-Greek Music
29	4-Mar-84	*Choroesperida* + disco	social-dance (disco-dance)	Arkaba Hotel, Glen Osmond	hotel-reception centre	Flinders University Greek Association	educational	Greek	*dimotika*, *nisiotika*, *rebetika* (l), *laïka*, *entechna*, *neo-laïka*	dancing	Laïki Kompania: George Diakos, Bill Carapetis, Steve Papadopoulos, Demeter Tsounis, Peter Tsounis, Arthur Galatsianos	vocals, *bouzouki*, piano, ovation guitar, electric bass, drum kit	DJ taped disco dance music (western popular)
30	17-Mar-84	Wedding Reception	life cycle celebration (wedding)	Renaissance Tower, Rundle Mall	reception centre	Private Double Greek, Australian, (Dimitra and Larry Tod)	private	mixed Greek and non-Greek	*dimotika*, *nisiotika*, *rebetika* (l), *laïka*, *entechna*, *neo-laïka*	dancing	Laïki Kompania: George Diakos, Bill Carapetis, Steve Papadopoulos, Demeter Tsounis, Peter Tsounis, Arthur Galatsianos	vocals, *bouzouki*, piano, ovation guitar, electric bass, drum kit	taped disco dance music (western popular)
31	31-Mar-84	*Choroesperida*	social-dance	Shandon Hotel, Seaton	hotel	Messinian Association of SA	regional fraternity	Greek	*dimotika*, *nisiotika*, *rebetika* (l), *laïka*, *entechna*, *neo-laïka*	dancing	Laïki Kompania: George Diakos, Bill Carapetis, Steve Papadopoulos, Demeter Tsounis, Peter Tsounis, Arthur Galatsianos	vocals, *bouzouki*, piano, ovation guitar, electric bass, drum kit	-
32	23-Apr-84	Wedding Reception	life cycle celebration (wedding)	Renaissance Tower, Rundle Mall	reception centre	Private Greek, Australian	private	mixed Greek and non-Greek	*dimotika*, *nisiotika*, *rebetika* (l), *laïka*, *entechna*, *neo-laïka*	dancing	Laïki Kompania: George Diakos, Bill Carapetis, Steve Papadopoulos, Demeter Tsounis, Peter Tsounis, Arthur Galatsianos	vocals, *bouzouki*, piano, ovation guitar, electric bass, drum kit	taped disco dance music (western popular)
33	24-Mar-84	Themelia performance, Westfield Shoppingtown Opening	miscellaneous (shopping centre)	Westfield Shopping Centre, Kilkenny	shopping centre	Westfield Shoppingtown Kilkenny	retail, trade	non-Greek	*dimotika*, *nisiotika*, *rebetika* (l), *entechna*, *neo-laïka*	no dancing	Themelia: Demeter Tsounis, Martinne Jusserand, Pat Kelly, Helen Pavlou, Julie Pavlou, Chris Brocklebank, Barbara & George Alexiou, Johanna Saltis, Diana Busolin	vocals, piano, percussion, recorder, guitar	multicultural

Appendix 1 ***Rebetika*** **Music-Making Events in Adelaide (1980-1993)**

No.	Date	Event	Type of Event	Venue	Type of Venue	Organiser	Type of Organiser	Ethnicity of Organiser	Greek Music Program	Greek Dancing	Musicians	Instrumentation	Non-Greek Music
34	27-Apr-84	Themelia performance, Westfield Shoppingtown Opening	miscellaneous (shopping centre)	Westfield Shopping Centre, Kilkenny	shopping centre	Westfield Shoppingtown Kilkenny	retail, trade	non-Greek	*dimotika*, *nisiotika*, *rebetika* (I), *entechna*, *neo-laïka*	no dancing	Themelia: Demeter Tsounis, Martinne Jusserand, Pat Kelly, Helen Pavlou, Julie Pavlou, Chris Brocklebank, Barbara & George Alexiou, Johanna Saltis, Diana Busolin	vocals, piano, percussion, recorder, guitar	multicultural
35	19-May-84	*Choroesperida*	social-dance	Croation Hall, Riddleyton	community hall	Greek Orthodox Community & Parish of Prophet Elias Norwood and Eastern Suburbs	religious	Greek	*dimotika*, *nisiotika*, *rebetika* (I), *laïka*, *entechna*, *neo-laïka*	dancing	Laïki Kompania: George Diakos, Bill Carapetis, Steve Papadopoulos, Demeter Tsounis, Peter Tsounis, Arthur Galatsianos	vocals, *bouzouki*, piano, ovation guitar, electric bass, drum kit	-
36	14-Jul-84	*Choroesperida*	social-dance	Colossus Hall, Torrensville	community hall	Greek Football Club	sports	Greek	*dimotika*, *nisiotika*, *rebetika* (I), *laïka*, *entechna*, *neo-laïka*	dancing	Laïki Kompania: George Diakos, Bill Carapetis, Steve Papadopoulos, Demeter Tsounis, Peter Tsounis, Arthur Galatsianos	vocals, *bouzouki*, piano, ovation guitar, electric bass, drum kit	-
37	21-Jul-84	*Choroesperida*	social-dance	Estonian Hall, North Adelaide	community hall	Ikarian Fraternity	regional fraternity	Greek	*dimotika*, *nisiotika*, *rebetika* (I), *laïka*, *entechna*, *neo-laïka*	dancing	Laïki Kompania: George Diakos, Bill Carapetis, Steve Papadopoulos, Demeter Tsounis, Peter Tsounis, Arthur Galatsianos	vocals, *bouzouki*, piano, ovation guitar, electric bass, drum kit	-
38	26-Jul-84	Concert, The Greek *Laïko* Song and How it Expressed the Life of the Greek People	concert	Olympic Hall, Franklin St	community hall	Greek Orthodox Community of SA	community	Greek	*dimotika*, *rebetika* (B), *laïka*, *entechna*	no dancing	Themelia [8]+ Polly Arabatsis, Nick Arabatsis, Steve Papadopoulos	vocals, 2 guitars, piano, recorders, *bouzouki*, percussion	-

[8] Demeter Tsounis, Martinne Jusserand, Pat Kelly, Helen Pavlou, Julie Pavlou, Dimo Alexiou, Barbara & George Alexiou, Johanna Saltis, Diana Busolin, John Kalentzis, Chris Brocklebank.

Appendix 1 ***Rebetika*** **Music-Making Events in Adelaide (1980-1993)**

No.	Date	Event	Type of Event	Venue	Type of Venue	Organiser	Type of Organiser	Ethnicity of Organiser	Greek Music Program	Greek Dancing	Musicians	Instrumentation	Non-Greek Music
39	11-Aug-84	*Choroesperida*	social-dance	Hellas Club, North Tce	community hall	Panhellenic Women's Society	political	Greek	*rebetika* (I), *nisiotika*, *dimotika*, *laïka*, *entechna*, *neo-kima*	no dancing	Themelia: Julie Pavlou, Helen Pavlou, John Kalentzis, Martinne Jusserand, Johanna Saltis, Dimo Alexiou, Demeter Tsounis	vocals, ovation guitar, *bouzouki*, recorder, electric piano	-
40	25-Aug-84	Wedding Reception	life cycle celebration (wedding)	Oberoi Hotel, North Adelaide	hotel-reception centre	Private Greek, Australian (Scopolites, Chaplin)	private	mixed Greek and non-Greek	*rebetika* (I), *nisiotika*, *dimotika*, *laïka*, *entechna*, *neolaïka*	dancing	Laïki Kompania: George Diakos, Bill Carapetis, Steve Papadopoulos, Demeter Tsounis, Peter Tsounis, Arthur Galatsianos	vocals, *bouzouki*, piano, ovation guitar, electric bass, drum kit	western popular ballroom dance music (in English), rock'n'roll dance music (in English)
41	1-Sep-84	Opening Ball of Greek Cultural Week	social-dance	Renaissance Tower, Rundle Mall	reception centre	Flinders University Greek Association	educational	Greek	*rebetika* (I), *nisiotika*, *dimotika*, *laïka*, *entechna*, *neolaïka*	dancing	Laïki Kompania: George Diakos, Bill Carapetis, Steve Papadopoulos, Demeter Tsounis, Peter Tsounis, Arthur Galatsianos	vocals, *bouzouki*, piano, ovation guitar, electric bass, drum kit	-
42	5-Sep-84	Concert, Greek Cultural Week	concert	Adelaide High School Hall	educational institution	Flinders University Greek Association	educational	Greek	*dimotika*, *nisiotika*, *rebetika* (I) , *entechna*, *neo-kima*	no dancing	Themelia: Julie Pavlou, Helen Pavlou, John Kalentzis, Martinne Jusserand, Pat Kelly, Johanna Saltis, Dimo Alexiou, Demeter Tsounis + Parikiaki Kompania (Melbourne)	vocals, piano, *bouzouki*, recorder, ovation guitar, bongos	-
43	13-Oct-84	Wedding Reception	life cycle celebration (wedding)	Latvian Hall, Wayville	community hall	Private Greek, Australian	private	mixed Greek and non-Greek	*rebetika* (I), *nisiotika*, *dimotika*, *laïka*, *entechna*, *neolaïka*	dancing	Laïki Kompania: George Diakos, Bill Carapetis, Steve Papadopoulos, Demeter Tsounis, Peter Tsounis, Arthur Galatsianos	vocals, *bouzouki*, piano, ovation guitar, electric bass, drum kit	western popular ballroom dance music (in English)

Appendix 1 ***Rebetika*** **Music-Making Events in Adelaide (1980-1993)**

No.	Date	Event	Type of Event	Venue	Type of Venue	Organiser	Type of Organiser	Ethnicity of Organiser	Greek Music Program	Greek Dancing	Musicians	Instrumentation	Non-Greek Music
44	27-Oct-84	Wedding Reception	life cycle celebration (wedding)	Grange Golf Club	sports club	Private Greek, Australian (Con Atsidavgis & Robyn Cox)	private	mixed Greek and non-Greek	*rebetika* (I), *nisiotika*, *dimotika*, *laïka*, *entechna*, *neolaïka*	dancing	Laïki Kompania: George Diakos, Bill Carapetis, Steve Papadopoulos, Demeter Tsounis, Peter Tsounis, Arthur Galatsianos	vocals, *bouzouki*, piano, ovation guitar, electric bass, drum kit	western popular ballroom dance music (in English)
45	4-Nov-84	Greek Youth Festival	festival	Bonython Park, Adelaide	out-door public	Greek Orthodox Community of SA	community	Greek	*dimotika*, *nisiotika*, *rebetika* (I), *laïka*, *entechna*, *elafra*	no dancing	Themelia: Helen Pavlou, Julie Pavlou, Johanna Saltis, Dimo Alexiou, Sophie Alexiou, Pat Kelly, Martinne Jusserand, Demeter Tsounis, Christos Touloumis, Mrs Touloumis; GOCSA Children's Choir	vocals, recorder, piano accordion, ovation guitar, piano	-
46	10-Nov-84	*Choroesperida*	social-dance	Hellas Club, North Tce	community hall	Muscular Dystrophy Association	community	non-Greek	*rebetika* (I), *nisiotika*, *dimotika*, *laïka*, *entechna*, *neolaïka*	dancing	Laïki Kompania: George Diakos, Bill Carapetis, Steve Papadopoulos, Demeter Tsounis, Peter Tsounis, Arthur Galatsianos	vocals, *bouzouki*, piano, ovation guitar, electric bass, drum kit	-
47	8-Dec-84	*Choroesperida*	social-dance	Findon High School Hall	educational institution	Findon High School Greek Parents Association	educational	Greek	*rebetika* (I), *nisiotika*, *dimotika*, *laïka*, *entechna*, *neolaïka*	dancing	Laïki Kompania: George Diakos, Bill Carapetis, Steve Papadopoulos, Demeter Tsounis, Peter Tsounis, Arthur Galatsianos	vocals, *bouzouki*, piano, ovation guitar, electric bass, drum kit	-
48	24-Dec-84	*Choroesperida*, Christmas Eve	social-dance	The Century Hotel, Hindley St	hotel	Hellenic Youth of SA	community	Greek	*rebetika* (I), *nisiotika*, *dimotika*, *laïka*, *entechna*, *neolaïka*	dancing	Laïki Kompania: George Diakos, Bill Carapetis, Steve Papadopoulos, Demeter Tsounis, Peter Tsounis, Arthur Galatsianos	vocals, *bouzouki*, piano, ovation guitar, electric bass, drum kit	-

Appendix 1 *Rebetika* Music-Making Events in Adelaide (1980-1993)

No.	Date	Event	Type of Event	Venue	Type of Venue	Organiser	Type of Organiser	Ethnicity of Organiser	Greek Music Program	Greek Dancing	Musicians	Instrumentation	Non-Greek Music
49	29-Dec-84	Wedding Reception	life cycle celebration (wedding)	Payneham Civic Centre	sports club	Private Greek, Greek, (Peter Kotsionis)	private	Greek	*rebetika* (I), *nisiotika*, *dimotika*, *laïka*, *entechna*, *neolaïka*	dancing	Laïki Kompania: George Diakos, Bill Carapetis, Steve Papadopoulos, Demeter Tsounis, Peter Tsounis, Arthur Galatsianos	vocals, *bouzouki*, piano, ovation guitar, electric bass, drum kit	-
50	30-Dec-84	*Choroesperida*, New Year's Eve	social-dance	Lemnos Hall, Thebarton	community hall	Ikarian Fraternity	regional fraternity	Greek	*rebetika* (I), *nisiotika*, *dimotika*, *laïka*, *entechna*, *neolaïka*	dancing	Laïki Kompania: George Diakos, Bill Carapetis, Steve Papadopoulos, Demeter Tsounis, Peter Tsounis, Arthur Galatsianos	vocals, *bouzouki*, piano, ovation guitar, electric bass, drum kit	-
51	5-Jan-85	Wedding Reception	life cycle celebration (wedding)	Fogolar Furlan Centre, Felixstow	community hall	Private Greek, Italian	private	mixed Greek and non-Greek	*rebetika* (I), *nisiotika*, *dimotika*, *laïka*, *entechna*, *neolaïka*	dancing	Laïki Kompania: George Diakos, Bill Carapetis, Steve Papadopoulos, Demeter Tsounis, Peter Tsounis, Arthur Galatsianos	vocals, *bouzouki*, piano, ovation guitar, electric bass, drum kit	Italian, western popular ballroom dance music
52	6-Jan-85	Wedding Reception	life cycle celebration (wedding)	Ruggiero Reception Centre, Hendon	reception centre	Private Greek, Australian	private	mixed Greek and non-Greek	*rebetika* (I), *nisiotika*, *dimotika*, *laïka*, *entechna*, *neolaïka*	dancing	Laïki Kompania: George Diakos, Bill Carapetis, Steve Papadopoulos, Demeter Tsounis, Peter Tsounis, Arthur Galatsianos	vocals, *bouzouki*, piano, ovation guitar, electric bass, drum kit	western European ballroom dancing music (in English), taped disco music
53	27-Jan-85	Wedding Reception	life cycle celebration (wedding)	Ruggiero Reception Centre, Hendon	reception centre	Private Greek, Greek-Cypriot, (Stan Kontogonis & Pam Themistocelous)	private	Greek	*rebetika* (I), *nisiotika*, *dimotika*, *laïka*, *entechna*, *neolaïka*	dancing	Laïki Kompania: George Diakos, Bill Carapetis, Steve Papadopoulos, Demeter Tsounis, Peter Tsounis, Arthur Galatsianos + Stan Kontogonis (jamming)	vocals, *bouzouki*, piano, ovation guitar, electric bass, drum kit	-
54	2-Feb-85	Baptism, Double	life cycle celebration (baptism)	Colossus Hall, Torrensville	community hall	Private	private	Greek	*rebetika* (I), *nisiotika*, *dimotika*, *laïka*, *entechna*, *neolaïka*	dancing	Laïki Kompania: George Diakos, Bill Carapetis, Steve Papadopoulos, Demeter Tsounis, Peter Tsounis, Arthur Galatsianos	vocals, *bouzouki*, piano, ovation guitar, electric bass, drum kit	taped disco music (western popular)

Appendix 1 ***Rebetika*** **Music-Making Events in Adelaide (1980-1993)**

No.	Date	Event	Type of Event	Venue	Type of Venue	Organiser	Type of Organiser	Ethnicity of Organiser	Greek Music Program	Greek Dancing	Musicians	Instrumentation	Non-Greek Music
55	16-Feb-85	*Choroesperida*	social-dance	Renaissance Tower, Rundle Mall	reception centre	Hellas Soccer Club	sports	Greek	*rebetika* (I), *nisiotika*, *dimotika*, *laïka*, *entechna*, *neolaïka*	dancing	Laïki Kompania: George Diakos, Bill Carapetis, Steve Papadopoulos, Demeter Tsounis, Peter Tsounis, Arthur Galatsianos	vocals, *bouzouki*, piano, ovation guitar, electric bass, drum kit	-
56	9-Mar-85	Wedding Reception	life cycle celebration (wedding)	Renaissance Tower, Rundle Mall	reception centre	Private Greek-Macedonian, Australian	private	Greek	*rebetika* (I), *nisiotika*, *dimotika*, *laïka*, *entechna*, *neolaïka*	dancing	Laïki Kompania: George Diakos, Bill Carapetis, Steve Papadopoulos, Demeter Tsounis, Peter Tsounis, Arthur Galatsianos	vocals, *bouzouki*, piano, ovation guitar, electric bass, drum kit	-
57	16-Mar-85	Glendi Greek Festival	festival	Thebarton Oval	out-door public	Glendi Greek Festival	arts	Greek	*rebetika* (I), *nisiotika*, *dimotika*, *laïka*, *entechna*, *neolaïka*	dancing	Laïki Kompania: George Diakos, Bill Carapetis, Steve Papadopoulos, Demeter Tsounis, Peter Tsounis, Arthur Galatsianos	vocals, *bouzouki*, piano, ovation guitar, electric bass, drum kit	break dance floorshow (hip hop, rap)
58	17-Mar-85	Glendi Greek Festival	festival	Thebarton Oval	out-door public	Glendi Greek Festival	arts	Greek	*rebetika* (I), *nisiotika*, *dimotika*, *laïka*, *entechna*, *neolaïka*	dancing	Laïki Kompania: George Diakos, Bill Carapetis, Steve Papadopoulos, Demeter Tsounis, Peter Tsounis, Arthur Galatsianos	vocals, *bouzouki*, piano, ovation guitar, electric bass, drum kit	break dance floorshow (hip hop, rap)
59	23-Mar-85	*Choroesperida*	social-dance	Slav Hall, Thebarton	community hall	Asturian Soccer Club	sports	Greek	*rebetika* (I), *nisiotika*, *dimotika*, *laïka*, *entechna*, *neolaïka*	dancing	Laïki Kompania: George Diakos, Bill Carapetis, Steve Papadopoulos, Demeter Tsounis, Peter Tsounis, Arthur Galatsianos	vocals, *bouzouki*, piano, ovation guitar, electric bass, drum kit	-
60	30-Mar-85	*Choroesperida*	social-dance	Slav Hall, Thebarton	community hall	Platon Club	political	Greek	*rebetika* (I), *nisiotika*, *dimotika*, *laïka*, *entechna*, *neolaïka*	dancing	Laïki Kompania: George Diakos, Bill Carapetis, Steve Papadopoulos, Demeter Tsounis, Peter Tsounis, Arthur Galatsianos	vocals, *bouzouki*, piano, ovation guitar, electric bass, drum kit	-

Appendix 1 ***Rebetika*** **Music-Making Events in Adelaide (1980-1993)**

No.	Date	Event	Type of Event	Venue	Type of Venue	Organiser	Type of Organiser	Ethnicity of Organiser	Greek Music Program	Greek Dancing	Musicians	Instrumentation	Non-Greek Music
61	20-Apr-85	Wedding Reception	life cycle celebration (wedding)	Bulgarian Hall, Fulham Gardens	community hall	Private Greek, Greek	private	Greek	*rebetika* (I), *nisiotika*, *dimotika*, *laïka*, *entechna*, *neolaïka*	dancing	Laïki Kompania: George Diakos, Bill Carapetis, Steve Papadopoulos, Peter Tsounis, Demeter Tsounis, Arthur Galatsianos	vocals, *bouzouki*, piano, ovation guitar, electric bass, drum kit	-
62	21-Apr-85	Wedding Reception	life cycle celebration (wedding)	Ruggiero's Reception Centre, Felixstow	reception centre	Private Greek, Cypriot Greek (Kyriakou)	private	Greek	*rebetika* (I), *nisiotika*, *dimotika*, *laïka*, *entechna*, *neolaïka*	dancing	Laïki Kompania: George Diakos, Bill Carapetis, Steve Papadopoulos, Peter Tsounis, Demeter Tsounis, George Arabatsis	vocals, *bouzouki*, piano, ovation guitar, electric bass, drum kit	-
63	27-Apr-85	Wedding Reception	life cycle celebration (wedding)	Macedonian Hall, Findon	community hall	Private Greek, Greek	private	Greek	*rebetika* (I), *nisiotika*, *dimotika*, *laïka*, *entechna*, *neolaïka*	dancing	Laïki Kompania: George Diakos, Bill Carapetis, Steve Papadopoulos, Peter Tsounis, Demeter Tsounis, George Arabatsis	vocals, *bouzouki*, piano, ovation guitar, electric bass, drum kit	-
64	1-Sep-85	Dimitra Tsounis and Combo: A Night of Alternative Greek Music. *Mousiki Sto Etsi*	social-dance (club)	Tou Can Tou Club, Hindley St	bar	Flinders University Greek Association	educational	Greek	*entechna*, *laïka*, *neolaïka*, *dimotika*, *nisiotika*, *rebetika* (I)	dancing	Demeter Tsounis, Peter Tsounis, George Arabatsis, Steve Papadopoulos, Dimo Alexiou, Michael Demetriou, Martinne Jusserand, Johanna Saltis, Peter Galanis	vocals, acoustic piano, *bouzouki*, *baglamas*, harmonica, recorder, ovation guitars, electric bass, drum kit, percussion	taped disco dance music (western popular)
65	23-Nov-85	Wedding Reception	life cycle celebration (wedding)	Mawson House, Hyde Park	restaurant	Private Greek, Australian, (Peter & Joy Christopher)	private	mixed Greek and non-Greek	*laïka*, *rebetika* (I), *nisiotika*, *dimotika*	dancing	Stratos Pikramenos, George Alexiou, Dimo Alexiou, Demeter Tsounis	vocals, *bouzouki*, ovation guitar, electric piano	-
66	11? or 28? November 1985	Not The Casino Club	miscellaneous (pub)	Centralia Hotel, North Tce	hotel	SA Folk Federation	arts	non-Greek	*dimotika*, *rebetika* (I), *laïka*	dancing	Themelia: Helen Pavlou, Julie Pavlou, Pat Kelly, Dimo Alexiou, George Alexiou, Martinne Jusserand, Stratos Pikramenos, John Kalentzis	vocals, *bouzouki*, recorder, ovation guitar, electric piano, percussion	Australian folk

Appendix 1 *Rebetika* Music-Making Events in Adelaide (1980-1993)

No.	Date	Event	Type of Event	Venue	Type of Venue	Organiser	Type of Organiser	Ethnicity of Organiser	Greek Music Program	Greek Dancing	Musicians	Instrumentation	Non-Greek Music
67	30-Nov-85	Themelia performance, Three Cities Three Cultures Project Conference dance	social-dance	Eastwood Community Centre	community hall	Multicultural Artworkers Committee of SA & Hellenic Youth of SA	arts (& community)	multicultural and Greek	*dimotika*, *nisiotika*, *rebetika* (l), *neo-laïka*, *entechna*	dancing	Themelia: George Alexiou, Demeter Tsounis, Dimo Alexiou, Martinne Jusserand, Helen Pavlou + EPNNA Choir	vocals, acoustic piano, recorder, ovation guitar	Turkish, Italian, Yugoslav dance floorshow
68	7-Dec-85	Kim Mayes, ALP MP Campaign Dance	social-dance	The Orphanage, Goodwood	educational institution	Kim Mayes M.P. Labor Party Campaign	political	non-Greek	*laïka*, *nisiotika*, *rebetika* (l)	dancing	Peter Tsounis, Dimo Alexiou, Kevin Amanatidis, George Alexiou, Demeter Tsounis, Peter Lambropoulos	vocals, *bouzouki*, electric piano, ovation guitar, electric bass, drum kit	-
69	31-Dec-85	*Choroesperida*, New Year's Eve	social-dance	Kos Hall, Prospect	community hall	Kos Fraternity	regional fraternity	Greek	*laïka*, *entechna*, *rebetika* (l) *dimotika*, *nisiotika*	dancing	Dimo Alexiou, George Alexiou Johanna Saltis, Kevin Amanatidis, Demeter Tsounis	vocals, *bouzouki*, electric piano, ovation guitar, tambourine	-
70	25-Apr-86	*Choroesperida*, *Laïki Vradia*	social-dance	Payneham Civic Centre	sports club	Hellenic Youth of SA	community	Greek	*laïka*, *rebetika* (l), *dimotika*	dancing	Odyssey: Jim Mountzouris, Michael Demetriou, Stan Magias, Sam Gardounis, Jack Marinos, Paul Gelios + Steve Papadopoulos, Vasilis Ioanidis	vocals, 2 *bouzoukia*, electric guitar, ovation guitar, electric bass, drum kit	-
71	10-May-86	Wedding Reception	life cycle celebration (wedding)	Estonian Hall, North Adelaide	community hall	Private	private	Greek	*entechna*, *laïka*, *rebetika* (l), *dimotika*, *elafra*	dancing	Odyssey: Jim Mountzouris, Michael Demetriou, Stan Magias, Sam Gardounis, Paul Gelios, Jack Marinos	vocals, 2 *bouzoukia*, electric guitar, electric bass, drum kit	western popular
72	11-May-86	Wedding Reception	life cycle celebration (wedding)	Alessandro Minicozzi Reception Centre, Hackney	reception centre	Private Greek-Cypriot, (Helen Pavlou & Nick Toumazos)	private	Greek	*entechna*, *elafra*, *laïka*, *rebetika* (l), *dimotika*	dancing	Iparcho: Peter Galanis, Peter Antoniou, Terry Soukoukis, Peter Lambropoulos (+ Kevin Amanatidis, Dimo Alexiou, George Alexiou)	vocals, *bouzoukia*, ovation guitar, keyboards, drum kit	-
73	18-May-86	Wedding Reception	life cycle celebration (wedding)	The Abbey Restaurant, Hyde Park	restaurant	Private Greek, Australian	private	mixed Greek and non-Greek	*entechna*, *laïka*, *rebetika* (l), *dimotika*, *elafra*	dancing	Odyssey: Jim Mountzouris, Michael Demetriou, Stan Magias, Sam Gardounis, Paul Gelios, Jack Marinos	vocals, 2 *bouzoukia*, electric guitar, electric bass, drum kit	western popular, "Auld Lang Syne" (Celtic)

Appendix 1 *Rebetika* Music-Making Events in Adelaide (1980-1993)

No.	Date	Event	Type of Event	Venue	Type of Venue	Organiser	Type of Organiser	Ethnicity of Organiser	Greek Music Program	Greek Dancing	Musicians	Instrumentation	Non-Greek Music
74	18-May-86	Wedding Reception	life cycle celebration (wedding)	Serbian Centre Hall, Woodville Park	community hall	Private	private	Greek	*entechna*, *laïka*, *rebetika* (I), *dimotika*, *elafra*	dancing	Odyssey: Jim Mountzouris, Michael Demetriou, Stan Magias, Sam Gardounis, Peter Tsounis, Jack Marinos	vocals, 2 *bouzoukia*, electric guitar, electric bass, drum kit	western popular
75	28-May-86	ADTSE Union Dinner	restaurant (dinner)	TUTA Building, Wayville	government institution	Association of Drafting, Supervisory and Technical Employees	political	non-Greek	*dimotika*, *rebetika* (I), *laïka*, *entechna*	no dancing	Themelia: Helen Pavlou, Julie Pavlou, Demeter Tsounis, Dimo Alexiou, Steve Papadopoulos, Martinne Jusserand	vocals, piano, 2 guitars, recorder	-
76	3-Aug-86	Jubilee 150 Coca-Cola Youth Music Festival	festival	Adelaide Festival Centre Piano Bar	arts centre	Jubilee 150 Youth Music Festival	arts	non-Greek	*dimotika*, antartika, *rebetika* (I), *laïka*, *entechna*, *neo kima*	no dancing	Themelia: Helen Pavlou, Martinne Jusserand, George Alexiou, Demeter Tsounis, Steve Papadopoulos	vocals, recorder, piano, ovation guitar, percussion	-
77	28-Jun-86	A Night of Music and Dancing, Opening of Multicultural Artworkers Committee of SA	social-dance	Multicultural Artworkers Committee of SA Living Arts Centre, North Tce	arts centre	Multicultural Artworkers Committee of SA , Hellenic Youth of SA	arts (& community)	multicultural and Greek	*laïka*, *dimotika*, *rebetika* (I), *entechna*	dancing	Themelia: Helen Pavlou, Julie Pavlou, Demeter Tsounis, Dimo Alexiou, Steve Papadopoulos, Martinne Jusserand	vocals, piano, 2 guitars, recorder	multicultural, folk
78	6-Sep-86	National Community Arts "Conference Club"	social-dance	Multicultural Artworkers Committee of SA Living Arts Centre, North Tce	arts centre	Multicultural Artworkers Committee of SA, Community Arts Network	arts	multicultural and non-Greek	*dimotika*, *nisiotika*, *entechna*, *rebetika* (I),	dancing	Themelia: Demeter Tsounis, Helen Pavlou, Julie Pavlou, Dimo Alexiou, Martinne Jusserand	vocals, piano, ovation guitar, recorder, percussion	Latin American, Italian, Torres Strait Islander, western popular, Celtic folk
79	27-Sep-86	Riverland West-End Multicultural Festival	festival	Berri Oval	out-door public	Riverland Cultural Trust, Arts Council of SA	arts	non-Greek	*dimotika*, *nisiotika*, *rebetika* (I), *laïka*, *neo-laïka*, *entechna*	dancing	Charama: George Dimas, John Giannis, Patrakos Michaelidis, Dimo Alexiou, Demeter Tsounis, Steve Katsambellis, John Soutis	violin, vocals, *bouzouki*, piano, ovation guitar, electric bass, drum kit	multicultural, folk

Appendix 1 ***Rebetika*** **Music-Making Events in Adelaide (1980-1993)**

No.	Date	Event	Type of Event	Venue	Type of Venue	Organiser	Type of Organiser	Ethnicity of Organiser	Greek Music Program	Greek Dancing	Musicians	Instrumentation	Non-Greek Music
80	14-Dec-86	Celebration of Summer	social-dance	Multicultural Artworkers Committee of SA Living Arts Centre Courtyard, North Tce	arts centre	Multicultural Artworkers Committee of SA	arts	multicultural	*dimotika*, *rebetika* (l), *entechna*	dancing	Themelia: Dimo Alexiou, Themis Tunis, Demeter Tsounis, Julie Pavlou, Martinne Jusserand, John Giannis, Steve Katsambellis, Pat Kelly	vocals, piano, *bouzouki*, ovation guitar, electric bass, recorder, bongos, percussion	African, Italian, Australian folk
81	28-Mar-87	A Night For Nicaragua	social-dance	Multicultural Artworkers Committee of SA Living Arts Centre, North Tce	arts centre	Multicultural Artworkers Committee of SA & Latin American Support Committee	arts (& political)	multicultural and non-Greek	*dimotika*, *nisiotika*, *rebetika* (l), *laïka*, *neo-laïka*, *entechna*	dancing	Themelia: Themis Tunis, Julie Pavlou, Demeter Tsounis, Dimo Alexiou, John Giannis, Steve Katsambellis	vocals, *bouzouki*, piano, ovation guitar, electric bass, bongos	Latin Amercian, theatre-dance floorshow
82	25-Jul-87	*Choroesperida*, *Laïki Vradia Rebetika* Night	social-dance	Ikarian Hall, Unley	community hall	Hellenic Youth of SA	community	Greek	*laïka*, *rebetika* (l), *dimotika*, *nisiotika*	dancing	Themelia: Julie Pavlou, Themis Tunis, Demeter Tsounis, Johanna Saltis, Martinne Jusserand, Christos Nizamis + Laïki Kompania [9]	vocals, piano, ovation guitar, clarinet, recorder, bongos	-
83	26-Jul-87	MAC Annual General Meeting	miscellaneous (meeting)	Multicultural Artworkers Committee of SA Living Arts Centre, North Tce	arts centre	Multicultural Artworkers Committee of SA	arts	multicultural	*dimotika*, *nisiotika*, *rebetika* (l), *entechna*	dancing	Themelia: Demeter Tsounis, Themis Tunis, Johanna Saltis, Julie Pavlou, Christos Nizamis, Martinne Jusserand	vocals, piano, guitar, clarinet, recorder, bongos	-
84	25-Sep-87	Multicultural Cabaret, 9th SA Folk Festival Fundraiser	social-dance	Irish Hall, Carrington St	community hall	SA Folk Federation Multicultural Artworkers Committee of SA	arts	non-Greek and multicultural	*dimotika*, *nisiotika*, *rebetika* (l), *neo-laïka*,	dancing	Themelia: Demeter Tsounis, Themis Tunis, Julie Pavlou, Martinne Jusserand, Dimo Alexiou	vocals, piano, ovation guitar, recorder, bongos, percussion	multicultural, folk
85	11-Oct-87	9th South Australian Goolwa Festival	festival	Goolwa Oval	out-door public	S.A. Folk Federation	arts	non-Greek	*rebetika* (l), *laïka*, *dimotika*, *entechna*	dancing	Themelia: Demeter Tsounis, Themis Tunis, Martinne Jusserand, Julie Pavlou, Eltahir Malik (jamming)	vocals, electric piano, guitar, recorder, bongos, percussion, congas	multicultural, folk

[9] George Diakos, Bill Carapetis, Steve Papadopoulos, George Loizi, Jim Sousouros.

Appendix 1 *Rebetika* Music-Making Events in Adelaide (1980-1993)

No.	Date	Event	Type of Event	Venue	Type of Venue	Organiser	Type of Organiser	Ethnicity of Organiser	Greek Music Program	Greek Dancing	Musicians	Instrumentation	Non-Greek Music
86	24-Oct-87	United Nations Day Eastwood Community Centre Open Day	festival	Eastwood Community Centre, Glen Osmond	community hall	Eastwood Community Centre	community	non-Greek	*rebetika* (I), *dimotika*, *nisiotika*, *neo-laïka*, *entechna*	dancing	Themelia: Themis Tunis, Julie Pavlou, Martinne Jusserand, Demeter Tsounis	vocals, piano, recorder, bongos, percussion	multicultural, folk
87	20-Nov-87	MARIA Celebrations	social-dance	The Parks Community Centre	community hall	MARIA NESB Professional Women in Education	educational	multicultural	*dimotika*, *nisiotika*, *rebetika* (I), *entechna*, *neo-laïka*	dancing	Themelia: Demeter Tsounis, Themis Tunis, Helen Pavlou, Julie Pavlou, (Soula Stefanou-Haag jamming)	vocals, piano, bongos, tambourines	-
88	28-Nov-87	Greek and Chilean Pena	concert	Multicultural Artworkers Committee of SA Living Arts Centre, North Tce	arts centre	Multicultural Artworkers Committee of SA	arts	multicultural	*dimotika*, *nisiotika*, *rebetika* (I), *entechna*, *neo-laïka*, Greek-Australian composition	dancing	Themelia: Johanna Saltis, Demeter Tsounis, Pat Kelly, Helen Pavlou, Julie Pavlou, Themis Tunis, Dimo Alexiou, Martinne Jusserand	vocals, piano, recorder, guitars, bongos, percussion	Chilean, South American
89	26-Feb-88	Opening Night Street Party, Focus Fringe Festival	festival	Rundle St East	out-door public	Focus Fringe Festival	arts	non-Greek	*dimotika*, *nisiotika*, *rebetika* (I), *entechna*, Greek-Australian	no dancing	Themelia: Johanna Saltis, Themis Tunis, Demeter Tsounis, Martinne Jusserand, Dimo Alexiou	vocals, piano, recorder, ovation guitar, bongos	folk, western popular, multicultural
90	10-Mar-88	Cafe Musica Women Performers' Night	concert	Multicultural Artworkers Committee of SA Living Arts Centre, North Tce	arts centre	Multicultural Artworkers Committee of SA	arts	multicultural	*dimotika*, *nisiotika*, *rebetika* (I), *neo-laïka*, *entechna*	dancing	Themelia: Demeter Tsounis, Themis Tunis, Martinne Jusserand, Johanna Saltis	vocals, piano, recorder, guitar, bongos, percussion	multicultural, folk
91	11-Mar-88	Cafe Musica Greek Night	social-dance	Multicultural Artworkers Committee of SA Living Arts Centre, North Tce	arts centre	Multicultural Artworkers Committee of SA	arts	multicultural	*dimotika*, *rebetika* (I), *laïka*	dancing	Zeus: Thanasis Giannou, Stephanos Kakoulis, Jim Giannou, Trans Giannou, Con Dalagiorgios, Ilias Patsilivas	vocals, clarinet, *bouzouki*, guitar, electric bass, drum kit	-

Appendix 1 ***Rebetika*** **Music-Making Events in Adelaide (1980-1993)**

No.	Date	Event	Type of Event	Venue	Type of Venue	Organiser	Type of Organiser	Ethnicity of Organiser	Greek Music Program	Greek Dancing	Musicians	Instrumentation	Non-Greek Music
92	19-Mar-88	Cafe Musica, National Community Arts Conference Night	social-dance	Multicultural Artworkers Committee of SA Living Arts Centre, North Tce	arts centre	Multicultural Artworkers Committee of SA & Community Arts Network	arts	multicultural and non-Greek	*dimotika*, *nisiotika*, *rebetika* (I), *laïka*, *neo-laïka*, *entechna*	dancing	Themelia: Themis Tunis, Martinne Jusserand, Johanna Saltis, Demeter Tsounis, Dimo Alexiou, Mary Raptis, Linsey Pollak (guest musician)	vocals, piano, recorder, violin, clarinet, guitars, bongos, percussion	multicultural, folk
93	3-Jul-88	Evolution of *Laïki Mousiki* Concert	concert	Royalty Theatre, Gouger St	concert hall	Hellenic Music Association of SA	arts	Greek	*rebetika* (B), *laïka*, *entechna*	no dancing	Hellenic Music Association of SA musicians [10]	[11]	
94	9-Sep-88	Cafe Musica Greek Night	social-dance	Multicultural Artworkers Committee of SA Living Arts Centre, North Tce	arts centre	Multicultural Artworkers Committee of SA	arts	multicultural	*dimotika*, *rebetika* (I), *laïka*, *entechna*	dancing	Fantasia: Vasilis Ioanidis, Dimo Alexiou, Dino & George Stasinopoulos, Demeter Tsounis	vocals, *bouzouki*, ovation guitar, electric piano, drum kit	-
95	8-Oct-88	Baptism	life cycle celebration (baptism)	Clovelly Park Community Centre	community hall	Private	private	Greek	*dimotika*, *rebetika* (I), *laïka*, *entechna*	dancing	Fantasia: Vasilis Ioanidis, Dimo Alexiou, Dino & George Stasinopoulos, Demeter Tsounis	vocals, *bouzouki*, ovation guitar, piano, drum kit	-
96	9-Oct-88	Wedding Reception	life cycle celebration (wedding)	West Lakes Hotel Resort	hotel-reception centre	Private Greek, Polish	private	mixed Greek and non-Greek	*dimotika*, *rebetika* (I), *laïka*, *entechna*	dancing	Fantasia: Vasilis Ioanidis, Dimo Alexiou, Dino & George Stasinopoulos, Demeter Tsounis	vocals, *bouzouki*, acoustic piano, ovation guitar, drum kit	taped western popular
97	10-Oct-88	Evolution of *Laïki Mousiki* Concert	concert	Royalty Theatre, Gouger St	concert hall	Hellenic Music Association of SA	arts	Greek	*rebetika* (B), *laïka*, *entechna*	no dancing	Hellenic Music Association of SA musicians [12]	[13]	
98	30-Dec-88	Restaurant, Christmas	restaurant	Gothic Hotel, Adelaide	hotel	Gothic Hotel	restaurant	Greek	*laïka*, *rebetika* (I)	dancing	Peter Antoniou, John Kourbelis, Stratos Stergiou.	vocals, *bouzouki*, keyboards, ovation guitar, drum machine	-

[10] Paul Gelios, Mary Raptis, Steve Papadopoulos, Trans Giannou, Pam Karakousis, Nick Arabatsis, Bill Kapsis, John Odontiadis, Ilias Patsilivas, Harry Papadimitriou, John Karpathakis, Con Perifanos, Demeter Tsounis, George Arhontoulis, Stratos Stergiou, Sam Gardounis, Jack Marinos, Ilias Arhontoulis, Con Dalagiorgis, Jim Giannou, Trans Giannou, Polly Arabatsis, John Diamantis, Stan Magias, Jim Mountzouris, Steve Kakoulis.

[11] *Smyrneïka*: vocals, violin, oud, guitar, *toumberleki*. *Rebetika*: vocals, 2 *bouzoukia*, guitar, *tzouras*, *baglamas*. *Laïka*: vocals, *bouzoukia*, piano, guitar, bass guitar, *baglamas*, piano accordion, drum kit, percussion.

[12] Paul Gelios, Mary Raptis, Steve Papadopoulos, Trans Giannou, Avra Velis, Nick Arabatsis, Bill Kapsis, John Odontiadis, Ilias Patsilivas, Harry Papadimitriou, John Karpathakis, Con Perifanos, Demeter Tsounis, George Arhontoulis, Stratos Stergiou, Sam Gardounis, Jack Marinos, Ilias Arhontoulis, Con Dalagiorgis, Jim Giannou, Trans Giannou, Polly Arabatsis, John Diamantis, Stan Magias, Jim Mountzouris, George Diakos.

[13] *Smyrneïka*: vocals, violin, oud, guitar, *toumberleki*. *Rebetika*: vocals, 2 *bouzoukia*, guitar, *tzouras*, *baglamas*. *Laïka*: vocals, *bouzoukia*, piano, guitar, bass guitar, *baglamas*, piano accordion, drum kit, percussion.

Appendix 1 ***Rebetika*** **Music-Making Events in Adelaide (1980-1993)**

No.	Date	Event	Type of Event	Venue	Type of Venue	Organiser	Type of Organiser	Ethnicity of Organiser	Greek Music Program	Greek Dancing	Musicians	Instrumentation	Non-Greek Music
99	2-Mar-89	Lunchtime Concerts	concert	Flinders University Plaza	educational institution	Flinders University of South Australia Music Advisory Committee	educational	non-Greek	*dimotika*, *nisiotika*, *rebetika* (I), *laïka*, *entechna*, *neo-laïka*	no dancing	Themelia: Demeter Tsounis, John Odontiadis, Julie Pavlou, Johanna Saltis	vocals, piano, *bouzouki*, bongos	-
100	5-Mar-89	Multicultural Henley Seafare	festival	Henley Beach Square	out-door public	City of Henley & Grange	government	non-Greek	*dimotika*, *nisiotika*, *rebetika* (I), *laïka*, *entechna*, *neo-laïka*	dancing	Themelia: Demeter Tsounis, John Odontiadis, Helen Pavlou, Julie Pavlou, Johanna Saltis, Soula Stefanou-Haag, Steve Papadopoulos	vocals, *bouzouki*, guitar, piano, bongos, percussion	western popular, multicultural, folk
101	19-Jan-90	*Nychtes Magikes* "Magic Nights"	social-dance	Cityscape Restaurant, Rundle Mall	restaurant	Hellenic Music Association of SA	arts	Greek	*laïka*, *rebetika* (B, I)	dancing	Exodus: Ilias & George Arhontoulis, John & Jim Karpathakis, Stelios Capetanakis + Stan Kontogonis (guest singer) + Hellenic Music Association of SA musicians [14]	vocals, *bouzoukia*, *tzouras*, *baglamas*, guitars (in *rebetika*); drum kit, electric bass, maracas, bongos, congas	-
102	10-Mar-90	Cafe Musica, Greek Reveries and Hungarian Rhapsodies	social-dance	Multicultural Artworkers Committee of SA Living Arts Centre, North Tce	arts centre	Multicultural Artworkers Committee of SA & Fringe Festival	arts	multicultural and non-Greek	*dimotika*, *rebetika* (I), *nisiotika*, *neo-laïka*	dancing + Greek dance floorshow	Themelia: Con Perifanos, George Alexiou, Themis Tunis, Demeter Tsounis, Dimo Alexiou	*bouzouki*, vocals, bongos, guitar, *baglamas*, *toumberleki*	Hungarian
103	11-Mar-90	State Bank Multicultural Carnival	festival	Adelaide Festival Centre Bistro	arts centre	Multicultural Arts Trust of SA	arts	multicultural	*dimotika*, *rebetika* (I), *nisiotika*, *neo-laïka*	dancing	Themelia: Con Perifanos, George Alexiou, Themis Tunis, Demeter Tsounis, Dimo Alexiou	*bouzouki*, vocals, bongos, guitar, *baglamas*, *toumberleki*	multicultural, folk

[14] Con Dalas, Steve Papadopoulos, George Diakos, John Odontiadis, Sam Gardounis.

No.	Date	Event	Type of Event	Venue	Type of Venue	Organiser	Type of Organiser	Ethnicity of Organiser	Greek Music Program	Greek Dancing	Musicians	Instrumentation	Non-Greek Music
104	15-Mar-90	Adelaide Festival of Arts Outdoors Programme	festival	Adelaide Festival Centre Festival Foyer	arts centre	Adelaide Festival of Arts	arts	non-Greek	*dimotika*, *rebetika* (I), *nisiotika*, *neo-laïka*	no dancing	Themelia: Con Perifanos, George Alexiou, Themis Tunis, Demeter Tsounis, Dimo Alexiou	*bouzouki*, vocals, bongos, guitar, *baglamas*, *toumberleki*	folk
105	16-Mar-90	Adelaide Festival of Arts Outdoors Program	festival	Adelaide Festival Centre Festival Foyer	arts centre	Adelaide Festival of Arts	arts	non-Greek	*dimotika*, *rebetika* (I), *nisiotika*, *neo-laïka*	dancing	Themelia: Con Perifanos, George Alexiou, Themis Tunis, Demeter Tsounis, Dimo Alexiou	*bouzouki*, vocals, bongos, guitar, *baglamas*, *toumberleki*	jazz
106	3-Jun-90	*Rebetika* Night (Greek Blues)	social-dance (club)	Cargo Club, Hindley St	bar	Hellenic Youth Assoociation of the Greek Orthodox Community of SA	community	Greek	*dimotika*, *nisiotika*, *rebetika* (B)	dancing	Zeus: Stephanos Kakoulis, Con Dalagiorgios, Jim Giannou, Trans Giannou, Ilias Patsilivas + John Odontiadis, Demeter Tsounis	vocals, 2 *bouzoukia*, *baglamas*, guitar, electric bass, *toumberleki*, piano	-
107	30-Nov-90	Christmas Party	miscellaneous (party)	Multicultural Artworkers Committee of SA Living Arts Centre, North Tce	arts centre	Multicultural Artworkers Committee of SA	arts	multicultural	*dimotika*, *nisiotika*, *rebetika* (I), *neo-laïka*	dancing	Demeter Tsounis, Dimo Alexiou, Johanna Saltis	vocals, ovation guitar, *baglamas*, *toumberleki*, electric piano	-
108	3-Mar-91	Music Works	social-dance	Lion Theatre, Living Arts Centre	arts centre	Adelaide Community Music	arts	non-Greek	*dimotika*, *rebetika* (I), *neo-laïka*	dancing	Meraki: Johanna Saltis, Jolanta Piekarz, Sam Gardounis, Demeter Tsounis, Dimo Alexiou	vocals, *zilia*, bongos, violin, *bouzouki*, ovation guitar, *baglamas*, *toumberleki*	multicultural, folk, blues
109	10-Mar-91	State Bank Multicultural Carnival	festival	Adelaide Festival Centre Amphitheatre	arts centre	Multicultural Arts Trust of SA	arts	multicultural	*dimotika*, *rebetika* (I), *neo-laïka*	dancing	Meraki: Johanna Saltis, Jolanta Piekarz, Sam Gardounis, Demeter Tsounis, Dimo Alexiou	vocals, *zilia*, bongos, violin, *bouzouki*, ovation guitar, *baglamas*, *toumberleki*	South American, multicultural, folk

Appendix 1 *Rebetika* Music-Making Events in Adelaide (1980-1993)

No.	Date	Event	Type of Event	Venue	Type of Venue	Organiser	Type of Organiser	Ethnicity of Organiser	Greek Music Program	Greek Dancing	Musicians	Instrumentation	Non-Greek Music
110	13-Mar-91	Concert, Tribute to Vasilis Tsitsanis	concert	Adelaide Convention Centre, North Tce	hotel-reception centre	Greeks of Egypt & Middle East Society of SA Forty Years of Activity 1951-1991, Glendi '91 & Greek Ministry of Culture	regional fraternity (+ arts + Greek government)	Greek	*rebetika* (P)	no dancing	George Capetanakis, Tassos Capetanakis, John Kourbelis (musical director), Steve Papadopoulos, John Odontiadis, Christos Touloumis, Avra Veli, Vasilis Ioanidis, Michael Tyllis	vocals, 3 *bouzoukia*, piano accordion, *baglamas*, ovation guitar	-
111	29-Mar-91	25th National Folk Festival	festival	Flinders University of South Australia	educational institution	SA Folk Federation, Australian Folk Festival	arts	non-Greek	*dimotika*, *rebetika* (I), *neolaïka*	dancing	Meraki: Johanna Saltis, Jolanta Piekarz, Sam Gardounis, Demeter Tsounis, Dimo Alexiou	vocals, *zilia*, bongos, violin, *bouzouki*, ovation guitar, *baglamas*, *toumberleki*	Indian fusion, multicultural, folk
112	31-Mar-91	25th National Folk Festival	festival	Flinders University of South Australia	educational institution	SA Folk Federation, Australian Folk Festival	arts	non-Greek	*dimotika*, *rebetika* (I), *neolaïka*	dancing	Meraki: Johanna Saltis, Jolanta Piekarz, Demeter Tsounis, Dimo Alexiou, Sam Gardounis	vocals, violin, *bouzouki*, *baglamas*, ovation guitar, *zilia*, *toumberleki*, bongos	celtic rock, folk, Hungarian, multicultural
113	25-May-91	Seacliff Yachting Club Dance	social-dance	Seacliff Yachting Club	sports club	Seacliff Yachting Club	sports	non-Greek	*dimotika*, *rebetika* (I), *neo-laïka*	dancing	Meraki: Johanna Saltis, Jolanta Piekarz, Demeter Tsounis, Dimo Alexiou	vocals, bongos, *zilia*, violin, ovation guitar, *baglamas*, *toumberleki*	-
114	26-May-91	Ikarian Wine Festival	social-dance	Ikaros Hall, Unley	community hall	Ikarian Fraternity	regional fraternity	Greek	*dimotika*, *nisiotika*, *rebetika* (I), *neo-laïka*	dancing	Meraki: Johanna Saltis, Jolanta Piekarz, Demeter Tsounis, Dimo Alexiou	vocals, bongos, *zilia*, violin, ovation guitar, *baglamas*, *toumberleki*	-
115	31-May-91	Cafe Musica	social-dance	Living Arts Centre, North Tce	arts centre	Multicultural Artworkers Committee of SA	arts	multicultural	*dimotika*, *nisiotika*, *rebetika* (I), *neo-laïka*	dancing	Meraki: Johanna Saltis, Jolanta Piekarz, Demeter Tsounis, Dimo Alexiou	vocals, bongos, *zilia*, violin, ovation guitar, *baglamas*, *toumberleki*	belly dance floorshow
116	26-Jul-91	Birthday Party	life cycle celebration (birthday)	Private House, Hove	private house	Private (John Spoehr), Hove	private	non-Greek	*dimotika*, *nisiotika*, *rebetika* (I), *neo-laïka*	dancing	Gypsy Trio: Jolanta Piekarz, Demeter Tsounis, Peter Tsounis	violin, guitar, *baglamas*, *toumberleki*	-

Appendix 1 ***Rebetika*** **Music-Making Events in Adelaide (1980-1993)**

No.	Date	Event	Type of Event	Venue	Type of Venue	Organiser	Type of Organiser	Ethnicity of Organiser	Greek Music Program	Greek Dancing	Musicians	Instrumentation	Non-Greek Music
117	3-Aug-91	Restaurant	restaurant	Ayers House Restaurants	restaurant	Ayers House Restaurants	restaurant	non-Greek	*dimotika*, *nisiotika*, *rebetika* (l), *laïka*, *neo-laïka*, *entechna*	dancing	Gypsy Trio: Jolanta Piekarz, Demeter Tsounis, Steve Papadopoulos	violin, ovation guitar, piano, *baglamas*, *toumberleki*	gypsy, western & latin popular, taped western classical
118	10-Aug-91	Restaurant	restaurant	Ayers House Restaurants	restaurant	Ayers House Restaurants	restaurant	non-Greek	*dimotika*, *nisiotika*, *rebetika* (l), *laïka*, *neo-laïka*, *entechna*	no dancing	Gypsy Trio: Jolanta Piekarz, Demeter Tsounis, Steve Papadopoulos	violin, ovation guitar, piano, *baglamas*, *toumberleki*	gypsy, taped western classical
119	15-Aug-91	National Migrant Women's Conference Dance	social-dance	Adelaide Convention Centre, North Tce	hotel-reception centre	United Trades and Labour Council	political	non-Greek	*dimotika*, *nisiotika*, *rebetika* (l), *laïka*, *neo-laïka*, *entechna*	dancing	Meraki: Johanna Saltis, Jolanta Piekarz, Steve Papadopoulos, Demeter Tsounis	vocals, *zilia*, bongos, violin, piano, *baglamas*, *toumberleki*, ovation guitar	gypsy
120	17-Aug-91	Restaurant	restaurant	Ayers House Restaurants	restaurant	Ayers House Restaurants	restaurant	non-Greek	*dimotika*, *nisiotika*, *rebetika* (l), *laïka*, *neo-laïka*, *entechna*	no dancing	Gypsy Trio: Jolanta Piekarz, Demeter Tsounis, Steve Papadopoulos	violin, ovation guitar, piano, *baglamas*, *toumberleki*	gypsy, taped western classical
121	24-Aug-91	Restaurant	restaurant	Ayers House Restaurants	restaurant	Ayers House Restaurants	restaurant	non-Greek	*dimotika*, *nisiotika*, *rebetika* (l), *laïka*, *neo-laïka*, *entechna*	no dancing	Gypsy Trio: Jolanta Piekarz, Demeter Tsounis, Steve Papadopoulos	violin, ovation guitar, piano, *baglamas*, *toumberleki*	gypsy, taped western classical
122	31-Aug-91	Restaurant	restaurant	Ayers House Restaurants	restaurant	Ayers House Restaurants	restaurant	non-Greek	*dimotika*, *nisiotika*, *rebetika* (l), *laïka*, *neo-laïka*, *entechna*	no dancing	Gypsy Trio: Jolanta Piekarz, Demeter Tsounis, Steve Papadopoulos	violin, ovation guitar, piano, *baglamas*, *toumberleki*	gypsy, taped western classical

Appendix 1 ***Rebetika*** **Music-Making Events in Adelaide (1980-1993)**

No.	Date	Event	Type of Event	Venue	Type of Venue	Organiser	Type of Organiser	Ethnicity of Organiser	Greek Music Program	Greek Dancing	Musicians	Instrumentation	Non-Greek Music
123	1-Sep-91	Restaurant	restaurant	Woodstock Winery	restaurant-winery	Ayers House Restaurants	restaurant	non-Greek	*dimotika*, *nisiotika*, *rebetika* (l), *laïka*, *neo-laïka*, *entechna*	no dancing	Gypsy Trio: Jolanta Piekarz, Demeter Tsounis, Steve Papadopoulos	violin, ovation guitar, piano, *baglamas*, *toumberleki*	gypsy, taped western classical
124	7-Sep-91	Restaurant	restaurant	Ayers House Restaurants	restaurant	Ayers House Restaurants	restaurant	non-Greek	*dimotika*, *nisiotika*, *rebetika* (l), *laïka*, *neo-laïka*, *entechna*	no dancing	Gypsy Trio: Jolanta Piekarz, Demeter Tsounis, Steve Papadopoulos	violin, ovation guitar, piano, *baglamas*, *toumberleki*	gypsy, taped western classical
125	13-Sep-91	Restaurant	restaurant	Ayers House Restaurants	restaurant	Ayers House Restaurants	restaurant	non-Greek	*dimotika*, *nisiotika*, *rebetika* (l), *laïka*, *neo-laïka*, *entechna*	no dancing	Gypsy Trio: Jolanta Piekarz, Demeter Tsounis, Steve Papadopoulos	violin, ovation guitar, piano, *baglamas*, *toumberleki*	gypsy, taped western classical
126	14-Sep-91	Restaurant	restaurant	Ayers House Restaurants	restaurant	Ayers House Restaurants	restaurant	non-Greek	*dimotika*, *nisiotika*, *rebetika* (l), *laïka*, *neo-laïka*, *entechna*	no dancing	Gypsy Trio: Jolanta Piekarz, Demeter Tsounis, Steve Papadopoulos	violin, ovation guitar, piano, *baglamas*, *toumberleki*	gypsy, taped western classical
127	21-Sep-91	Restaurant	restaurant	Ayers House Restaurants	restaurant	Ayers House Restaurants	restaurant	non-Greek	*dimotika*, *nisiotika*, *rebetika* (l), *laïka*, *neo-laïka*, *entechna*	no dancing	Gypsy Trio: Jolanta Piekarz, Demeter Tsounis, Steve Papadopoulos	violin, ovation guitar, piano, *baglamas*, *toumberleki*	gypsy, taped western classical
128	28-Sep-91	Restaurant	restaurant	Ayers House Restaurants	restaurant	Ayers House Restaurants	restaurant	non-Greek	*dimotika*, *nisiotika*, *rebetika* (l), *laïka*, *neo-laïka*, *entechna*	no dancing	Gypsy Trio: Jolanta Piekarz, Demeter Tsounis, Steve Papadopoulos	violin, ovation guitar, piano, *baglamas*, *toumberleki*	gypsy, taped western classical

No.	Date	Event	Type of Event	Venue	Type of Venue	Organiser	Type of Organiser	Ethnicity of Organiser	Greek Music Program	Greek Dancing	Musicians	Instrumentation	Non-Greek Music
129	2-Oct-91	Restaurant	restaurant	Ayers House Restaurants	restaurant	Ayers House Restaurants	restaurant	non-Greek	*dimotika*, *nisiotika*, *rebetika* (l), *laïka*, *neo-laïka*, *entechna*	no dancing	Gypsy Trio: Jolanta Piekarz, Demeter Tsounis, Steve Papadopoulos	violin, ovation guitar, piano, *baglamas*, *toumberleki*	gypsy, taped western classical
130	5-Oct-91	Restaurant	restaurant	Ayers House Restaurants	restaurant	Ayers House Restaurants	restaurant	non-Greek	*dimotika*, *nisiotika*, *rebetika* (l), *laïka*, *neo-laïka*, *entechna*	no dancing	Gypsy Trio: Jolanta Piekarz, Demeter Tsounis, Steve Papadopoulos	violin, ovation guitar, piano, *baglamas*, *toumberleki*	gypsy, taped western classical
131	12-Oct-91	Restaurant	restaurant	Ayers House Restaurants	restaurant	Ayers House Restaurants	restaurant	non-Greek	*dimotika*, *nisiotika*, *rebetika* (l), *laïka*, *neo-laïka*, *entechna*	no dancing	Gypsy Trio: Jolanta Piekarz, Demeter Tsounis, Steve Papadopoulos	violin, ovation guitar, piano, *baglamas*, *toumberleki*	gypsy, taped western classical
132	17-Oct-91	Mount Gambier Gas Centenary Celebrations Dinner	restaurant (dinner)	Hotel Mount Gambier	hotel-reception centre	S.A Gas Company	government	non-Greek	*dimotika*, *nisiotika*, *rebetika* (l), *laïka*, *neo-laïka*, *entechna*	no dancing	Jolanta Piekarz, Demeter Tsounis	violin, piano, *baglamas*, *toumberleki*	gypsy, taped western classical
133	23-Oct-91	S.A. Public Relations Awards Dinner	restaurant (dinner)	Hyatt Hotel, North Tce	hotel-reception centre	S.A. Public Relations Awards	community	non-Greek	*dimotika*, *nisiotika*, *rebetika* (l), *laïka*, *neo-laïka*, *entechna*	no dancing	Gypsy Trio: Jolanta Piekarz, Demeter Tsounis, Steve Papadopoulos	violin, ovation guitar, piano, *baglamas*, *toumberleki*	gypsy, taped western classical
134	26-Oct-91	Restaurant	restaurant	Ayers House Restaurants	restaurant	Ayers House Restaurants	restaurant	non-Greek	*dimotika*, *nisiotika*, *rebetika* (l), *laïka*, *neo-laïka*, *entechna*	no dancing	Gypsy Trio: Jolanta Piekarz, Demeter Tsounis, Steve Papadopoulos	violin, ovation guitar, piano, *baglamas*, *toumberleki*	gypsy, taped western classical

Appendix 1 ***Rebetika*** **Music-Making Events in Adelaide (1980-1993)**

No.	Date	Event	Type of Event	Venue	Type of Venue	Organiser	Type of Organiser	Ethnicity of Organiser	Greek Music Program	Greek Dancing	Musicians	Instrumentation	Non-Greek Music
135	1-Nov-91	Restaurant	restaurant	Ayers House Restaurants	restaurant	Ayers House Restaurants	restaurant	non-Greek	*dimotika*, *nisiotika*, *rebetika* (I), *laïka*, *neo-laïka*, *entechna*	no dancing	Gypsy Trio: Jolanta Piekarz, Demeter Tsounis, Steve Papadopoulos	violin, ovation guitar, piano, *baglamas*, *toumberleki*	gypsy, taped western classical
136	2-Nov-91	Restaurant	restaurant	Ayers House Restaurants	restaurant	Ayers House Restaurants	restaurant	non-Greek	*dimotika*, *nisiotika*, *rebetika* (I), *laïka*, *neo-laïka*, *entechna*	no dancing	Gypsy Trio: Jolanta Piekarz, Demeter Tsounis, Steve Papadopoulos	violin, ovation guitar, piano, *baglamas*, *toumberleki*	gypsy, taped western classical
137	5-Nov-91	Restaurant, Melbourne Cup Day Lunch	restaurant	Ayers House Restaurants	restaurant	Ayers House Restaurants	restaurant	non-Greek	*dimotika*, *nisiotika*, *rebetika* (I), *laïka*, *neo-laïka*, *entechna*	no dancing	Jolanta Piekarz, Demeter Tsounis	violin, ovation guitar, piano, *baglamas*, *toumberleki*	gypsy, taped western classical
138	15-Nov-91	Restaurant	restaurant	Ayers House Restaurants	restaurant	Ayers House Restaurants	restaurant	non-Greek	*dimotika*, *nisiotika*, *rebetika* (I), *laïka*, *neo-laïka*, *entechna*	no dancing	Gypsy Trio: Jolanta Piekarz, Demeter Tsounis, Steve Papadopoulos	violin, ovation guitar, piano, *baglamas*, *toumberleki*	gypsy, taped western classical
139	15-Nov-91	*Rebetika* Music, Cafe Musica	concert	Living Arts Centre, North Tce	arts centre	Multicultural Artworkers Committee of SA	arts	multicultural	*rebetika* (P), *neo-rebetika*	dancing	John Kourbelis, Michael Tyllis, Paul Gelios	vocals, *bouzouki*, *baglamas*, guitar,	-
140	23-Nov-91	Restaurant, Grand Prix Week	restaurant	Ayers House Restaurants	restaurant	Ayers House Restaurants	restaurant	non-Greek	*dimotika*, *nisiotika*, *rebetika* (I), *laïka*, *neo-laïka*, *entechna*	no dancing	Gypsy Trio: Jolanta Piekarz, Demeter Tsounis, Steve Papadopoulos	violin, ovation guitar, piano, *baglamas*, *toumberleki*	gypsy, jazz, taped western classical

Appendix 1 ***Rebetika*** **Music-Making Events in Adelaide (1980-1993)**

No.	Date	Event	Type of Event	Venue	Type of Venue	Organiser	Type of Organiser	Ethnicity of Organiser	Greek Music Program	Greek Dancing	Musicians	Instrumentation	Non-Greek Music
141	29-Nov-91	Restaurant	restaurant	Ayers House Restaurants	restaurant	Ayers House Restaurants	restaurant	non-Greek	*dimotika*, *nisiotika*, *rebetika* (l), *laïka*, *neo-laïka*, *entechna*	no dancing	Gypsy Trio: Jolanta Piekarz, Demeter Tsounis, Steve Papadopoulos	violin, ovation guitar, piano, *baglamas*, *toumberleki*	gypsy, taped western classical
142	30-Nov-91	Restaurant	restaurant	Ayers House Restaurants	restaurant	Ayers House Restaurants	restaurant	non-Greek	*dimotika*, *nisiotika*, *rebetika* (l), *laïka*, *neo-laïka*, *entechna*	no dancing	Gypsy Trio: Jolanta Piekarz, Demeter Tsounis, Steve Papadopoulos	violin, ovation guitar, piano, *baglamas*, *toumberleki*	gypsy, taped western classical
143	1-Dec-91	Restaurant, Ayers House Lunch Catering	restaurant	Woodstock Winery	restaurant-winery	Ayers House Restaurants	restaurant	non-Greek	*dimotika*, *nisiotika*, *rebetika* (l), *laïka*, *neo-laïka*, *entechna*	no dancing	Gypsy Trio: Jolanta Piekarz, Demeter Tsounis, Steve Papadopoulos	violin, ovation guitar, piano, *baglamas*, *toumberleki*	gypsy, taped western classical
144	6-Dec-91	Restaurant	restaurant	Ayers House Restaurants	restaurant	Ayers House Restaurants	restaurant	non-Greek	*dimotika*, *nisiotika*, *rebetika* (l), *laïka*, *neo-laïka*, *entechna*	no dancing	Gypsy Trio: Jolanta Piekarz, Demeter Tsounis, Steve Papadopoulos	violin, ovation guitar, piano, *baglamas*, *toumberleki*	gypsy, taped western classical
145	7-Dec-91	Restaurant	restaurant	Ayers House Restaurants	restaurant	Ayers House Restaurants	restaurant	non-Greek	*dimotika*, *nisiotika*, *rebetika* (l), *laïka*, *neo-laïka*, *entechna*	dancing (to Greek ballroom dance music)	Gypsy Trio: Jolanta Piekarz, Demeter Tsounis, Steve Papadopoulos	violin, ovation guitar, piano, *baglamas*, *toumberleki*	gypsy, taped western classical, DJ taped disco music (western popular)
146	8-Dec-91	Restaurant	restaurant	Woodstock Winery	restaurant-winery	Ayers House Restaurants	restaurant	non-Greek	*dimotika*, *nisiotika*, *rebetika* (l), *laïka*, *neo-laïka*, *entechna*	no dancing	Gypsy Trio: Jolanta Piekarz, Demeter Tsounis, Steve Papadopoulos	violin, ovation guitar, piano, *baglamas*, *toumberleki*	gypsy, taped western classical

Appendix 1 *Rebetika* Music-Making Events in Adelaide (1980-1993)

No.	Date	Event	Type of Event	Venue	Type of Venue	Organiser	Type of Organiser	Ethnicity of Organiser	Greek Music Program	Greek Dancing	Musicians	Instrumentation	Non-Greek Music
147	12-Dec-91	Restaurant	restaurant	Ayers House Restaurants	restaurant	Ayers House Restaurants	restaurant	non-Greek	*dimotika*, *nisiotika*, *rebetika* (I), *laïka*, *neo-laïka*, *entechna*	no dancing	Gypsy Trio: Jolanta Piekarz, Demeter Tsounis, Steve Papadopoulos	violin, ovation guitar, piano, *baglamas*, *toumberleki*	gypsy, taped western classical
148	13-Dec-91	Restaurant	restaurant	Ayers House Restaurants	restaurant	Ayers House Restaurants	restaurant	non-Greek	*dimotika*, *nisiotika*, *rebetika* (I), *laïka*, *neo-laïka*, *entechna*	no dancing	Gypsy Trio: Jolanta Piekarz, Demeter Tsounis, Steve Papadopoulos	violin, ovation guitar, piano, *baglamas*, *toumberleki*	gypsy, taped western classical
149	14-Dec-91	Restaurant	restaurant	Ayers House Restaurants	restaurant	Ayers House Restaurants	restaurant	non-Greek	*dimotika*, *nisiotika*, *rebetika* (I), *laïka*, *neo-laïka*, *entechna*	no dancing	Gypsy Trio: Jolanta Piekarz, Demeter Tsounis, Steve Papadopoulos	violin, ovation guitar, piano, *baglamas*, *toumberleki*	gypsy, taped western classical
150	15-Dec-91	Restaurant, Ayers House Lunch Catering	restaurant	Woodstock Winery	restaurant-winery	Ayers House Restaurants	restaurant	non-Greek	*dimotika*, *nisiotika*, *rebetika* (I), *laïka*, *neo-laïka*, *entechna*	no dancing	Gypsy Trio: Jolanta Piekarz, Demeter Tsounis, Steve Papadopoulos	violin, ovation guitar, piano, *baglamas*, *toumberleki*	gypsy, taped western classical
151	18-Dec-91	Restaurant	restaurant	Ayers House Restaurants	restaurant	Ayers House Restaurants	restaurant	non-Greek	*dimotika*, *nisiotika*, *rebetika* (I), *laïka*, *neo-laïka*, *entechna*	no dancing	Gypsy Trio: Jolanta Piekarz, Demeter Tsounis, Steve Papadopoulos	violin, ovation guitar, piano, *baglamas*, *toumberleki*	gypsy, taped western classical
152	19-Dec-91	Restaurant	restaurant	Ayers House Restaurants	restaurant	Ayers House Restaurants	restaurant	non-Greek	*dimotika*, *nisiotika*, *rebetika* (I), *laïka*, *neo-laïka*, *entechna*	no dancing	Gypsy Trio: Jolanta Piekarz, Demeter Tsounis, Steve Papadopoulos	violin, ovation guitar, piano, *baglamas*, *toumberleki*	gypsy, taped western classical

Appendix 1 ***Rebetika*** **Music-Making Events in Adelaide (1980-1993)**

No.	Date	Event	Type of Event	Venue	Type of Venue	Organiser	Type of Organiser	Ethnicity of Organiser	Greek Music Program	Greek Dancing	Musicians	Instrumentation	Non-Greek Music
153	21-Dec-91	Restaurant	restaurant	Ayers House Restaurants	restaurant	Ayers House Restaurants	restaurant	non-Greek	*dimotika*, *nisiotika*, *rebetika* (I), *laïka*, *neo-laïka*, *entechna*	no dancing	Gypsy Trio: Jolanta Piekarz, Demeter Tsounis, Steve Papadopoulos	violin, ovation guitar, piano, *baglamas*, *toumberleki*	gypsy, taped western classical
154	27-Dec-91	Aman Dinner	restaurant (dinner)	Jerusalem Sheshkebab House, Hindley St	restaurant	Aman	arts	Greek	*rebetika* (P), *neo-laïka*	dancing	Aman: Michael Tyllis, Jim Dalagiorgios, John Odontiadis, Jolanta Piekarz, Demeter Tsounis	vocals, *bouzouki*, *tzouras*, violin, guitar, *baglamas*, *toumberleki*	taped Lebanese music
155	29-Dec-91	Restaurant, Ayers House Lunch Catering	restaurant	Woodstock Winery, Adelaide Hills	restaurant-winery	Ayers House Restaurants	restaurant	non-Greek	*dimotika*, *nisiotika*, *rebetika* (I), *laïka*, *entechna*, *neo-laïka*	no dancing	Gypsy Trio: Jolanta Piekarz, Demeter Tsounis, Steve Papadopoulos	violin, ovation guitar, piano, *baglamas*, *toumberleki*	gypsy, taped western classical
156	31-Dec-91	Restaurant, New Year's Eve	restaurant	Ayers House Restaurants	restaurant	Ayers House Restaurants	restaurant	non-Greek	*dimotika*, *nisiotika*, *rebetika* (I), *laïka*, *entechna*, *neo-laïka*	no dancing	Gypsy Trio: Jolanta Piekarz, Demeter Tsounis, Steve Papadopoulos	violin, ovation guitar, piano, *baglamas*, *toumberleki*	gypsy, taped western classical
157	31-Dec-91	*Choroesperida*, New Year's Eve	social-dance	Hilton International Hotel, Victoria Square	hotel-reception centre	Greek Orthodox Community of SA	community	Greek	*laïka*, *entechna*, *rebetika* (I), *dimotika*, *nisiotika*	dancing	Laïki Kompania: George Diakos, Bill Carapetis, Andrew Christanthopoulos, Steve Papadopoulos, Jim Sousouros, Nick Cosmopoulos	vocals, 2 *bouzoukia*, guitar, electric bass, drum kit	-
158	8-Feb-92	*Choroesperida*, One Night at Tzitzifies	social-dance	Renaissance Tower, Rundle Mall	reception centre	Greeks of Egypt & Middle East Society of SA	regional fraternity	Greek	*rebetika* (B), *laïka*	dancing	Tassos & George Capetanakis, Nick & Polly Arabatsis, Bill Ioanidis, Michael Tyllis, John Odontiadis, Chris Touloumis, Con Dalas	vocals, 3 *bouzoukia*, guitar, *baglamas*, piano accordion, drum kit	-

Appendix 1 *Rebetika* Music-Making Events in Adelaide (1980-1993)

No.	Date	Event	Type of Event	Venue	Type of Venue	Organiser	Type of Organiser	Ethnicity of Organiser	Greek Music Program	Greek Dancing	Musicians	Instrumentation	Non-Greek Music
159	29-Feb-92	Foyer Cafe, Adelaide Festival of Arts	festival	Adelaide Festival Centre Foyer	arts centre	Adelaide Festival of Arts	arts	non-Greek	*rebetika* (P), *neo-laïka*	dancing	Aman: Michael Tyllis, Demeter Tsounis, Jim Dalagiorgios, John Odontiadis	*bouzouki*, banjo, vocals *baglamas*, *toumberleki*, guitar, vocals, *tzouras*	folk, western popular, multicutural
160	1-Mar-92	State Bank Multicultural Carnival	festival	Adelaide Festival Centre Bistro	arts centre	Multicultural Arts Trust of SA	arts	multicultural	*rebetika* (B), *neo-laïka*	dancing	Aman: Michael Tyllis, Demeter Tsounis, Jim Dalagiorgios, John Odontiadis	*bouzouki*, banjo, vocals *baglamas*, *toumberleki*, guitar, vocals, *tzouras*	flamenco, multicultural, folk
161	7-Mar-93	Rhythms of Life Festival	festival	Thebarton Oval	out-door public	Adelaide Community Music & Thebarton City Council	arts (& goverment)	non-Greek	*rebetika* (P), *neo-laïka*	dancing	Aman: Michael Tyllis, Jim Dalagiorgios, Demeter Tsounis, Jolanta Piekarz, Kevin Kulpe, Munjat D' Argher (guest musician)	vocals, *bouzouki*, banjo, guitar, vocals, *baglamas*, *toumberleki*, vocals, violin, didgeridoo, clap sticks, oud	Irish, folk, multicultural
162	19-Mar-93	Restaurant	restaurant	Nanyetta's Gypsy Taverna, Sturt St	restaurant	Nanyetta's Gypsy Taverna	restaurant	non-Greek	*rebetika* (P), *neo-laïka*	dancing	Aman: Michael Tyllis, Jolanta Piekarz, Jim Dalagiorgios, Steve Papadopoulos, Demeter Tsounis, Kevin Kulpe	vocals, *bouzouki*, banjo, violin, tambourine, guitars, vocals, *baglamas*, *toumberleki*, piano, vocals, didgeridu, clap sticks	belly dance floorshow
163	20-Mar-93	Glendi Greek Festival	festival	Ellis Oval	out-door public	Glendi	arts	Greek	*rebetika* (B), *neo-laïka*	no dancing (only during other segments)	Aman: Michael Tyllis, Jolanta Piekarz, Demeter Tsounis, Jim Dalagiorgios	vocals, *bouzouki*, banjo, violin, *baglamas*, *toumberleki*, guitar	-
164	21-Mar-93	Glendi Greek Festival	festival	Ellis Oval	out-door public	Glendi	arts	Greek	*rebetika* (B), *neo-laïka*	no dancing (only during other segments)	Aman: Michael Tyllis, Jolanta Piekarz, Demeter Tsounis, Jim Dalagiorgios	vocals, *bouzouki*, banjo, violin, *baglamas*, *toumberleki*, guitar	-
165	25-Mar-93	Restaurant	restaurant	Nanyetta's Gypsy Taverna, Sturt St	restaurant	Nanyetta's Gypsy Taverna	restaurant	non-Greek	*rebetika* (P)	dancing	Aman: Michael Tyllis, Jolanta Piekarz, Demeter Tsounis	vocals, *bouzouki*, banjo, violin, tambourine, *baglamas*, *toumberleki*	belly dance floorshow

Appendix 1 *Rebetika* Music-Making Events in Adelaide (1980-1993)

No.	Date	Event	Type of Event	Venue	Type of Venue	Organiser	Type of Organiser	Ethnicity of Organiser	Greek Music Program	Greek Dancing	Musicians	Instrumentation	Non-Greek Music
166	26-Mar-93	Restaurant	restaurant	Nanyetta's Gypsy Taverna, Sturt St	restaurant	Nanyetta's Gypsy Taverna	restaurant	non-Greek	*rebetika* (P), *nisiotika*, *dimotika*, *neo-laïka*	dancing	Aman: Michael Tyllis, Jolanta Piekarz, Demeter Tsounis, Steve Papadopoulos	vocals, *bouzouki*, banjo, violin, tambourine, *baglamas*, *toumberleki*, guitar	flamenco music and dance, belly dance floorshow
167	10-Apr-93	Restaurant	restaurant	Nanyetta's Gypsy Taverna, Sturt St	restaurant	Nanyetta's Gypsy Taverna	restaurant	non-Greek	*rebetika* (P), *nisiotika*, *dimotika*, *neo-laïka*	dancing	Aman: Michael Tyllis, Jolanta Piekarz, Demeter Tsounis, Steve Papadopoulos	vocals, *bouzouki*, banjo, violin, tambourine, *baglamas*, *toumberleki*, guitar	flamenco music and dance
168	15-May-93	Baptism	life cycle celebration (baptism)	Maltese Hall	community hall	Private Panagiotis' Naming Celebration (Olympia & Kerry Koutlakis)	private	Greek	*rebetika* (P), *dimotika*, *nisiotika*, *neo-laïka*	dancing	Aman: Michael Tyllis, Jolanta Piekarz, Demeter Tsounis, Dimo Alexiou + Johanna Saltis	vocals, *bouzouki*, banjo, violin, tambourine, *baglamas*, *toumberleki*, vocals, guitar, vocals	western classical
169	16-May-93	Restaurant, Lunch, Clare Valley Wine Festival	restaurant	Seven Hills Winery	restaurant-winery	Yiannis Restaurant Catering	restaurant	Greek	*rebetika* (P), *neo-laïka*	dancing + Greek dance floorshow	Aman: Michael Tyllis, Demeter Tsounis, Dimo Alexiou	vocals, *bouzouki*, banjo, *baglamas*, *toumberleki*, guitar	-
170	29-May-93	Book Launch of "The Shared Table" by M. Symons	miscellaneous (book launch)	Olive Grove, East Tce	out-door public	Office of Multicultural Affairs	government	multicultural	*dimotika*, *nisiotika*, *rebetika* (I), *neo-laïka*	no dancing	Gypsy Trio: Jolanta Piekarz, Demeter Tsounis, Dimo Alexiou	vocals, violin, guitar, *baglamas*, *toumberleki*	-
171	12-Jun-93	Cafe Musica	social-dance	Multicultural Artworkers Committee, Nexus Cabaret, Lion Arts Centre	arts centre	Multicultural Artworkers Committee of SA	arts	multicultural	*rebetika* (P), *dimotika*, *nisiotika*, *neo-laïka*	dancing	Aman: Michael Tyllis, Jolanta Piekarz, Demeter Tsounis, Dimo Alexiou, Kevin Kulpe	vocals, *bouzouki*, banjo, violin, tambourine, *baglamas*, *toumberleki*, vocals, guitar, vocals, didgeridu, clap sticks	Marjolein & Jenny belly dance floorshow
172	1-Jul-93	Restaurant	restaurant	Zorba's Restaurant, Hindley St	restaurant	Zorba's Restaurant	restaurant	Greek	*rebetika* (P), *nisiotika*, *dimotika*, *neo-laïka*	dancing	Aman: Michael Tyllis, Jolanta Piekarz, Demeter Tsounis, Dimo Alexiou	vocals, *bouzouki*, banjo, violin, tambourine, *baglamas*, *toumberleki*, guitar	-

Appendix 1 ***Rebetika*** **Music-Making Events in Adelaide (1980-1993)**

No.	Date	Event	Type of Event	Venue	Type of Venue	Organiser	Type of Organiser	Ethnicity of Organiser	Greek Music Program	Greek Dancing	Musicians	Instrumentation	Non-Greek Music
173	4-Jul-93	Music Works	social-dance	Lion Theatre, Lion Arts Centre, North Tce	arts centre	Adelaide Community Music	arts	non-Greek	*rebetika* (B), *dimotika*, *neo-laïka*	dancing	Aman: Michael Tyllis, Jolanta Piekarz, Demeter Tsounis, Dimo Alexiou	vocals, *bouzouki*, banjo, violin, tambourine, guitar, *baglamas*, *tourberleki*	jazz-folk, flamenco music and dance
174	22-Jul-93	Restaurant, *Rebetiki Vradia* "*Rebetika* Night"	restaurant	Zorba's Restaurant, Hindley St	restaurant	Zorba's Restaurant	restaurant	Greek	*rebetika* (P), *dimotika*, *nisiotika*, *neo-laïka*	dancing	Aman: Michael Tyllis, Jolanta Piekarz, Demeter Tsounis, Dimo Alexiou	vocals, *bouzouki*, banjo, violin, tambourine, *baglamas*, *tourberleki*, guitar	-
175	31-Jul-93	Central Market Entertainment	miscellaneous (market)	Central Market, Gouger St	shopping centre	Central Market	retail, trade	non-Greek	*rebetika* (P), *neo-laïka*, *nisiotika*	no dancing	Aman: Michael Tyllis, Jolanta Piekarz, Demeter Tsounis, Dimo Alexiou	vocals, *bouzouki*, banjo, violin, tambourine, *baglamas*, *tourberleki*, guitar	-
176	7-Aug-93	*Choroesperida*, *Rebetiki Vradia* "*Rebetika* Night"	social-dance	Hellenic House, Sturt St	community hall	Lemnos Fraternity, Women's Section	regional fraternity	Greek	*rebetika* (P), *laïka*	dancing + Greek dance floorshow	Oi Rebetes: Nick Arabatsis, Polly Arabatsis, Michael Tyllis, John Karpathakis, Steve Papadopoulos, Ilias Arhontoulis, Peter Tsounis	vocals, 2 *bouzoukia*, *baglamas*, 2 guitars, double bass	-
177	12-Aug-93	Restaurant, *Rebetiki Vradia*	restaurant	Zorba's Restaurant, Hindley St	restaurant	Zorba's Restaurant	restaurant	Greek	*rebetika* (P), *nisiotika*, *dimotika*, *neo-laïka*	dancing	Aman: Michael Tyllis, Jolanta Piekarz, Demeter Tsounis, Dimo Alexiou, Peter Tsounis	vocals, *bouzouki*, banjo, violin, tambourine, *baglamas*, *tourberleki*, guitar, double bass	-
178	28-Aug-93	Central Market Entertainment	miscellaneous (market)	Central Market, Gouger St	shopping centre	Central Market	retail, trade	non-Greek	*rebetika* (P), *neo-rebetika*	no dancing	Aman: Michael Tyllis, Demeter Tsounis, Dimo Alexiou, Peter Tsounis	vocals, *bouzouki*, banjo, *baglamas*, *tourberleki*, guitar, double bass	-
179	28-Aug-93	Christobel's Soiree No. 35: *Rebetiko* Music By Aman	concert	Private House, Hove	private house	Private, Christobel	private	non-Greek	*rebetika* (P), *neo-rebetika*	dancing	Aman: Michael Tyllis, Demeter Tsounis, Dimo Alexiou, Peter Tsounis	vocals, *bouzouki*, banjo, piano, *baglamas*, *tourberleki*, guitar, double bass	-
180	4-Sep-93	Restaurant	restaurant	Nanyetta's Gypsy Taverna, Sturt St	restaurant	Nanyetta's Gypsy Taverna	restaurant	non-Greek	*rebetika* (P), meta-*rebetika*	no dancing	Aman: Michael Tyllis, Jolanta Piekarz, Demeter Tsounis, Dimo Alexiou	vocals, *bouzouki*, banjo, *baglamas*, *tourberleki*, guitar, violin	flamenco and belly-dance floorshow

Appendix 1 ***Rebetika*** **Music-Making Events in Adelaide (1980-1993)**

No.	Date	Event	Type of Event	Venue	Type of Venue	Organiser	Type of Organiser	Ethnicity of Organiser	Greek Music Program	Greek Dancing	Musicians	Instrumentation	Non-Greek Music
181	25-Sep-93	40th Birthday Party	life cycle celebration (birthday)	Private House, Keswick	private house	Private, Helen Pavlou & Nick Tomazos	private	Greek	*dimotika*, *nisiotika*, *rebetika* (P), meta-*rebetika*	dancing	Aman: Michael Tyllis, Jolanta Piekarz, Demeter Tsounis, Dimo Alexiou, Peter Tsounis + Johanna Saltis, Panicos & Stavros Christou (guest singers)	vocals, *bouzouki*, banjo, violin, *baglamas*, *toumberleki*, castanets, guitar, double bass	taped Ikarian music

Appendix 2 The Incidence and Style of 185 *Rebetika* Items at 70 Music-Making Events in Adelaide (1980-1993)

			Rebetiko Style		
No.	*Rebetika* Item	No. of Occurrences	*Smyrneïko*	*Piraiötiko*	*Laïko*
1	*Acharisti*	4			L
2	*Aeroplano Tha Paro*	2	S		
3	*Agapisa Kai Misisa*	1			L
4	*Agiothodoritisa*	1	S		
5	*Alaniaris*	3		P	
6	*Aliti M' Eipes Mia Vradia*	2			L
7	*Alla Mou Len Ta Matia Sou*	3			L
8	*Angaze N' Cho Vapori*	2		P	
9	*Antilaloune Ta Vouna*	6			L
10	*Ap Ta Psila Sta Chamila*	2			L
11	*Apopse Fila Me*	2			L
12	*Apopse Kaneis Bam*	2			L
13	*Arabas Perna*	1			L
14	*Arapines*	10			L
15	*Archontissa*	3			L
16	*Armenitsa Mou*	1	S		
17	*As Min Ximerone Pote*	2			L
18	*Barbagianakakis*	2	S		
19	*Baxe Tsifliki*	3			L
20	*Bouzouki Mou Diplochordo*	2		P	
21	*Bros Sto Rimagmeno Spiti*	1			L
22	*Chalali Sou*	1			L
23	*Chasaposervikos Re Minore*	4	S		
24	*Chasaposervikos Tou Tsitsani*	3			L
25	*Chorisame Ena Dilino*	1			L
26	*Chtes To Vradi Sto Teke Mas*	5		P	
27	*Den Me Stefanonesai*	3			L
28	*Den Thelo Pia Na Xanartheis*	6			L
29	*Dio Manges Mes Sti Filaki*	3	S		
30	*Dodeka Chrono Koritsi*	3	S		
31	*Ego Eimai Ena Paliopaido*	1			L
32	*Ego Mangas Fenomouna*	1		P	
33	*Ego Thelo Pringipessa*	1	S		
34	*Elenitsa Mou*	3	S		
35	*Ena Roloï*	1			L
36	*Ena Tragoudi Ap' T' Algeri*	6			L
37	*Enas Alitis Pethane*	3			L
38	*Epidromi Ston Peiraia*	1		P	
39	*Ferte Preza Na Prezaro (To Erinaki)*	3	S		
40	*Frangosyriani*	8		P	
41	*Frantzolitsa*	3		P	
42	*Ftochokalivo*	3			L
43	*Gia Koita Kosme Ena Kormi*	1			L
44	*Gia Sou Kaïki Mou Aï Nikola*	1			L
45	*Gia Ta Matia P' Agapo*	9			L
46	*Gia Tin Aponia Sou*	3			L
47	*Giati Agapi Mou Giati*	2			L
48	*Giati Me Xipnises Proï*	2			L
49	*Giovan Tsaous*	1		P	
50	*Girizo Ap' Ti Nychta*	2			L
51	*Glyko To Voli*	1		P	
52	*Glykocharazoun Ta Vouna*	3			L
53	*Gyftopoula Sto Chamam*	1		P	
54	*I Derbederisa*	2			L
55	*I Drosoula*	1			L

Appendix 2 The Incidence and Style of 185 *Rebetika* Items at 70 Music-Making Events in Adelaide (1980-1993)

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No.	*Rebetika* Item	No. of Occurrences	*Smyrneïka*	*Piraiötika*	*Laïka*
56	*I Foni Tou Arghile*	4	S		
57	*I Garsona*	31	S		
58	*I Gerakina*	2			L
59	*I Gioul Bachar*	5			L
60	*I Serach*	2			L
61	*I Skia Mou Ke 'Go*	3			L
62	*I Trata Mas I Kourelou*	11	S		
63	*I Zaïra*	5			L
64	*Ilio Vasilemata*	2			L
65	*Isos Avrio*	1			L
66	*Kane Ligaki Ypomoni*	5			L
67	*Kantone Stavro*	1		P	
68	*Kapia Mana Anastenazei*	2			L
69	*Karabimberim*	2	S		
70	*Karotseri Trava*	2	S		
71	*Kathe Vradi Tha Se Perimeno*	2		P	
72	*Laou Laou To Pigeneis*	3		P	
73	*Mangas Vgike Gia Sergiani*	1			L
74	*Mantalena*	1	S		
75	*Marika Chasiklou*	2	S		
76	*Mavra Matia Mavra Fridia*	1		P	
77	*Mes Stis Athinas Tis Omorfies*	1	S		
78	*Mes Stis Pentelis Ta Vouna*	1		P	
79	*Mes Tis Polis To Chamam*	11		P	
80	*Mi Me Stelneis Mana Stin Ameriki*	10	S		
81	*Mia Melachroini*	6	S		
82	*Mikros Aravoniastika*	2		P	
83	*Nychtose Choris Fengari*	19			L
84	*O Barba Thomas*	1			L
85	*O Bochoris*	2	S		
86	*O Boufetzis*	2		P	
87	*O Chrousouzis*	10		P	
88	*O Kapetanakis*	2	S		
89	*O Kavouras*	2		P	
90	*O Manolis*	1	S		
91	*O Michalis*	2		P	
92	*O Pikinos*	1	S		
93	*O Psilos*	2	S		
94	*O Sarkaflias*	2			L
95	*O Thermastis*	1		P	
96	*O Travmatias*	1			L
97	*O Votanikos*	1			L
98	*O Zeppos (Kapetan Andrea Zeppo)*	13			L
99	*Och Aman*	1	S		
100	*Oi Fambrikes*	1			L
101	*Oi Lachanades*	10	S		
102	*Oi Mavrogorites*	1		P	
103	*Oi Neoi Chasiklides*	3	S		
104	*Oloi Oi Rebetes Tou Dounia*	4		P	
105	*Omorfi Thessaloniki*	8			L
106	*Oso Varoun Ta Sidera*	13	S		
107	*Osoi Echoune Polla Lefta*	3		P	
108	*Osoi Ginoun Prothipourgoi*	1		P	
109	*Otan Boukaro Sto Teke*	1		P	
110	*Otan Kapnizei O Loulas*	1			L
111	*Palamakia Palamakia*	19			L
112	*Paliose To Sakaki Mou*	7			L

No.	*Rebetika* Item	No. of Occurrences	*Smyrneïka*	*Piraiötika*	*Laïka*
113	*Papatzis*	3	S		
114	*Pare To Dakri Mou*	3			L
115	*Pente Manges*	3		P	
116	*Perasmenes Mou Agapes*	3			L
117	*Pergamos*	6	S		
118	*Pethane O Periklis*	1		P	
119	*Pezei To Baglamadaki*	3		P	
120	*Po Po Po Maria*	1			L
121	*Politechnitis*	1		P	
122	*Politisa*	4		P	
123	*Pou 'Souna Tsachpin*	1	S		
124	*Pou Tha Pas*	2			L
125	*Prin To Charama Monachos*	5		P	
126	*Pseftikos Einai O Dounias*	1		P	
127	*Rixe Tsingana*	2		P	
128	*Sala Sala*	5	S		
129	*Saltadoros*	4		P	
130	*San Pethano (O Fthisikos)*	4	S		
131	*Se Touto To Paliospito*	1			L
132	*Se Vasanizoune*	3		P	
133	*Servikos*	3	S		
134	*Skantaliara*	5			L
135	*Smyrneïkos Ballos (Sgoure Vasilike)*	18	S		
136	*Soferaki*	1	S		
137	*Souromenos Tha 'Rtho Pali (Faliriotisa)*	3		P	
138	*Sta Trikala*	3			L
139	*Stin Agia Sofia*	1	S		
140	*Stin Alana*	1			L
141	*Sto Tounezi Stin Barbaria*	1			L
142	*Stopa Ke Sto Xanaleo*	9	S		
143	*Stou Linardo Ti Taverna*	2	S		
144	*Stous Apano Machalades*	4	S		
145	*Strose Mou Na Koimitho*	1			L
146	*Synnefiasmeni Kyriaki*	8			L
147	*Synnefies*	1			L
148	*Syrtos Mikrasiatikos*	3	S		
149	*Ta Dialechta Pedia*	2			L
150	*Ta Dio Sou Cheria (Vergoules)*	1		P	
151	*Ta Kavourakia*	6			L
152	*Ta Matoklada Sou Lamboun*	15		P	
153	*Ta Pedia Tis Gitonias*	3		P	
154	*Taka Taka Ta Petalakia-Echo Koumbaro Leventia*	3			L
155	*Tatavlianos Choros*	20	S		
156	*Th' Arostiso Mana*	1			L
157	*Tha Kano Dou Vre Poniri*	1			L
158	*Tha Spaso Koupes*	8	S		
159	*Ti Se Mellei Esenane*	2	S		
160	*Ti Sou Leei I Mana Sou Gia Mena*	2		P	
161	*Ti Zoula Mou Anakalipsan*	1			L
162	*Tis Kinonias I Diafora*	1			L
163	*Tis Mastouras O Skopos*	1			L
164	*To Chaïdari*	7		P	
165	*To Chariklaki*	7	S		
166	*To Chatzikyriakio*	1		P	
167	*To Feretze*	16	S		
168	*To Koritsi Apopse Thelei*	1	S		
169	*To Minore Tis Avgis*	6			L

Appendix 2 The Incidence and Style of 185 *Rebetika* Items at 70 Music-Making Events in Adelaide (1980-1993)

No.	Item	No. of Occurrences	*Smyrneïka*	*Piraiötika*	*Laïka*
170	*To Pitsirikaki*	1		P	
171	*To Sakaki*	1		P	
172	*To Scholio*	1		P	
173	*To Telefteo Vradi Mou*	9			L
174	*To Trelokoritso*	1			L
175	*To Varvakeio*	2			L
176	*To Vouno*	2			L
177	*Tora Pou 'Mai Pantremenos*	1	S		
178	*Tou Votanikou O Mangas*	5			L
179	*Vale Me Stin Angalia Sou*	3	S		
180	*Valte Me Dio Kanavouries*	1	S		
181	*Vangelitsa Mou*	3			L
182	*Volta Mesa Stin Ellada*	1			L
183	*Vre Manga To Macheri Sou*	2		P	
184	*Xekinaei Mia Psaropoula*	1			L
185	*Zourlobenemenis Genna*	2	S		
Sub-total		**662**	**52**	**49**	**84**
% of Total			**28.11%**	**26.49%**	**45.41%**

Appendix 3 The Incidence and Style of 185 *Rebetika* Items at 70 Music-Making Events in Adelaide (1980-1993): Bands

No.	Date of Event	Band	*No. of Rebetika* Items			Total No. of *Rebetika* Items	Total No. of Repertoire Items
			Smyrneïka	*Piraiötika*	*Laïka*		
1	9.2.77	Themelia			2	2	17
2	20.11.81	HMASA + Themelia	1	1	4	6	> 12
3	9.8.78	Themelia	9	11	10	30	46
4	5.12.82	Themelia	2			2	11
5	3.3.83	Themelia	2		1	3	8
6	11.6.83	Laïki Kompania	4	4	5	13	26
7	1.7.83	Themelia			1	1	8
8	6.9.83	Themelia	2		1	3	7
9	10.9.83	Laïki Kompania	1	1	5	7	12
10	29.1.84	Laïki Kompania	1	1	2	4	10
11	24.4.84	Themelia		1		1	7
12	27.4.84	Themelia		1		1	7
13	14.7.84	Laïki Kompania			3	3	11
14	11.8.84	Themelia	1			1	7
15	25.8.84	Laïki Kompania	3		9	12	41
16	1.9.84	Laïki Kompania	4	3	14	21	48
17	5.9.84	Themelia	1			1	13
18	13.10.84	Laïki Kompania	8	3	9	20	57
19	27.10.84	Laïki Kompania	3	2	7	12	36
20	6.1.85	Laïki Kompania	1		4	5	26
21	1.9.85	Demeter Tsounis			2	2	27
22	30.11.85	Themelia	2		2	4	14
23	31.12.85	Dimo Alexiou	7	3	11	21	50
24	25.4.86	EPNNA			2	2	31
25	10.5.86	Odyssey	2	2	10	14	65
26	18.5.86	Odyssey	1	2	4	7	40
27	18.5.86	Odyssey	3	2	7	12	60
28	28.5.86	Themelia	2			2	9
29	28.6.86	Themelia	1			1	10
30	3.8.86	Themelia	1			1	9
31	6.9.86	Themelia	2			2	11
32	27.9.86	Charama	3	4	15	22	74
33	4.10.86	Themelia	1			1	10
34	18.10.86	Themelia	1			1	10
35	6.12.86	Themelia	2			2	9
36	28.3.87	Themelia	2			2	16
37	25.7.87	Themelia	4	2	1	7	9
38	26.7.87		3	1	1	5	8
39	25.9.87	Themelia	2	1	1	4	13
40	11.10.87	Themelia	2	1	1	4	11
41	24.10.87	Themelia	1	1		2	8
42	20.11.87	Themelia	3	1	1	5	17
43	28.11.87	Themelia	7	2	2	11	33
44	26.2.88	Themelia	3			3	9
45	10.3.88	Themelia	4	1	2	7	21
46	19.3.88	Themelia	4	1	2	7	21
47	3.7.88	HMASA	7	5	19	31	46
48	10.10.88	HMASA	7	5	19	31	46
49	2.3.89	Themelia	4		1	5	15
50	5.3.89	Themelia	2	1	3	6	41
51	19.1.90	HMASA	1	3	6	10	41
52	10.3.90	Themelia	10	7	3	20	33
53	3.6.90	GOCSA	1	3	8	12	> 12
54	3.3.91	Meraki	9	1	3	13	18
55	10.3.91	Meraki	7	1	1	9	13
56	13.3.91	GEMES, GLENDI			30	30	30
57	29.3.91	Meraki	5	1	2	8	10

Appendix 3 The Incidence and Style of 185 *Rebetika* Items at 70 Music-Making Events in Adelaide (1980-1993): Bands

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No.	Date of Event	Band	*No* of *Rebetika* Items			Total No. of *Rebetika* Items	Total No. of Repertoire Items
			Smyrneïka	*Piraiötika*	*Laïka*		
58	31.3.91	Meraki	5		1	6	6
59	31.5.91	Meraki	12	7	3	22	34
60	15.8.91	Meraki	10	1	4	15	33
61	21.12.91	Gypsy Trio	7	1	1	9	26
62	27.12.91	Aman	7	4		11	14
63	29.12.91	Gypsy Trio	7	1	2	10	21
64	1.3.92	Aman	6	2		8	11
65	19.3.93	Aman	2	4		6	9
66	20.3.93	Aman	2	2		4	6
67	21.3.93	Aman	2	2		4	6
68	12.6.93	Aman	13	13	2	28	33
69	7.8.93	Nick Arabatsis	10	13	20	43	> 46
70	12.8.93	Aman	12	12	2	26	32
Total			**254**	**141**	**271**	**666**	**1517**
% of Total *Rebetika* Repertoire			**38.14%**	**21.17%**	**40.69%**		
% of Total Repertoire			**16.74%**	**9.295**	**17.86%**	**43.90%**	

Appendix 4 Authorship of the *Rebetika* Music Sample

1. No.	2. Title of Item			3. Composer	4. Lyricist	5. Earliest Known Recording	6. *Rebetika* Style	7. Place of Recording	8. Vocalists on Recording	9. Recording Details and Sources
	English Transliteration	Greek	English Translation							
1	*Antilaloune Ta Vouna*	Αντιλαλούνε τα Βουνά	The Mountains Echo	Vasilis Tsitsanis	Eftichia Papagiannopoulou (TS 1987: 32); Nikos Routsos (IP 1984: 112)	1951 (ThA: 123)	*laïko*	Athens	Vasilis Tsitsanis, Marika Ninou, Stavros Tzouanakos (ThA: 123)	Reissue on His Master's Voice 062 1701791 (1987) (ThA: 123)
2	*Arapines (Nichtes Magikes)*	Αραπίνες (Νύχτες Μαγικές)	Arab Women (Magic Nights)	Vasilis Tsitsanis	Vasilis Tsitsanis	1946; two recordings (DCh; ThA: 52; PK 1993)	*laïko*	Athens	Ioanna Georgakopoulou, Stellakis Perpiniadis; Fotis Polimeris (ThA: 52)	His Master's Voice 1190-2722; Odeon 3665-736 (DCh: 60-61); HMV 2722 2nd issue (ThA: 52).PK 1993 no details.
3	*Bouzouki Mou Diplochordo*	Μπουζούκι Μου Διπλόχορδο	My Double-Stringed *Bouzouki*	Markos Vamvakaris (attributed to Spyros Peristeris on disc) (PK 1981-2 c: 56)	Markos Vamvakaris	1937 ? (IP 1983) 1961 (SG et al.)	*piraiötiko*	Athens	Markos Vamvakaris	IP no details. Odeon/ Parlaphone GDSP 2610, 1961 (SG et al.)
4	*Elenitsa Mou*	Ελενίτσα Μου	My Darling Helen	anonymous (TS 1981: 58); Ioannis "Ogdontakis" Dragatsis (PK 1993)	unknown	8 February 1928 (RS); 1928 (PK 1993)	*smyrneïko*	New York	Amalia Bakas	Victor 59088 (12") matrix no. CVE 42422-1 (RS: 1139). Also in Columbia 8391 catalogue c1930, Vocalist Andonis Dalgas (SG et al.)
5	*Ferte Preza Na Prezaro (To Erinaki)*	Φέρτε Πρέζα Να Πρεζάρω	Bring Me A Dose to Take	Panagiotis Toundas	Panagiotis Toundas	January 1934 record catalogue (A&V)	*smyrneïko*	Athens	Stella Bogiatzi	Parlaphone catalogue 1934 (A&V: 86). Also in His Master's Voice A02183 catalogue 1935, vocalist Rita Abatzi (A&V: 31; SG et al.)
6	*Gia Ta Matia P' Agapo (Ego Plirono Ta Matia P' Agapo; Ximeronei Ke Vradiazei)*	Για Τα Μάτια Π' Αγαπώ (Εγώ Πληρώνω Τα Μάτια Π' Αγαπώ)	For The Eyes I Love (I Pay For the One That I Love; Day Breaks and Night Falls)	Vasilis Tsitsanis	Vasilis Tsitsanis. Contested by Nikos Routsos (IP 1973)	1949-50 (ThA: 101)	*laïko*	Athens	Marika Ninou, Prodromos Tsaousakis, Vasilis Tsitsanis (ThA: 101)	Columbia 6786 (ThA: 101)

Appendix 4 Authorship of the *Rebetika* Music Sample

1. No.	2. Title of Item			3. Composer	4. Lyricist	5. Earliest Known Recording	6. *Rebetika* Style	7. Place of Recording	8. Vocalists on Recording	9. Recording Details and Sources
7	*I Garsona*	Η Γκαρσόνα	The Waitress	Panagiotis Toundas	Panagiotis Toundas	1936 (PK 1993) 1938 record catalogue (SG et al.)	*smyrneïko*	Athens	Rita Abatzi (KCh)	No further details.
8	*Mia Melachroini*	Μια Μελαχροινή	A Dark-Skinned Woman	anonymous	unknown; set to lyrics in the 1950s or 60s (PK 1993).	?	*smyrneïko*	?	?	?
9	*Mi Me Stelneis Mana Stin Ameriki*	Μη Με Στέλνεις Μάνα Στην Αμερική	Mother, Don't Send Me To America	Dimitris Semsis (LT 1993: 32-33 fn 59) or Ioannis 'Ogdontakis' Dragatsis ("Agapo Manoula") (TS 1978a: 34-35)	Dimitris Semsis or Ioannis 'Ogdontakis' Dragatsis	1928 (TS 1978a: 34)	*smyrneïko*	Athens	Rita Abatzi (LT)	A02196 no other details (LT: 32-33 fn 59)
10	*Nychtose Choris Fengari*	Νύχτωσε Χωρίς Φεγγάρι	Night Came Without Moon	Apostolos Kaldaras	Apostolos Kaldaras	1 November 1947 (SG et al.)	*laïko*	Athens	Stella Chaskil (PK 1993)	no details
11	*O Bochoris*	Ο Μποχώρης	Bochoris	anonymous	unknown	1927-28 (SG et al.) July 1929 "To Bohori-Zeibekiko" (RS)	*smyrneïko*	?New York	Giorgios Vidalis (SG et al.)Marika Papagika (RS)	Odeon GA 1128 (SG et al.) Columbia 56158-F (12") matrix no. W206264-1 (RS: 1204)
12	*Oi Lachanades (Kato Sta Lemonadika)*	Οι Λαχανάδες (Κάτω Στα Λεμονάδικα)	The Pick-Pockets (Down at Lemonadika)	Vangelis Papazoglou. (IP 1983: 118; 1984: 23) questions his authorship, suggesting it is an anonymous song.	Vangelis Papazoglou (VP)	January 1934 (Four recordings of the same song performed by different vocalists were released in the same year) (VP)	*smyrneïko*	Athens	Kostas Roukounas; Katina Chomatianou; Roza Eskenazi; Stellakis Perpiniadis (VP)	Parlaphone B21765; Parlaphone ?; His Master's Voice AO2141; Columbia DG604 (OS: 186)
13	*Omorfi Thessaloniki*	Ομορφη Θεσσαλονίκη	Beautiful Thessaloniki	Vasilis Tsitsanis	Vasilis Tsitsanis	1950 (ThA: 118-9)	*laïko*	Athens	Prodromos Tsaousakis, Rena Dalia, Vasilis Tsitsanis	His Master's Voice 2964 (ThA: 118-9)
14	*Osoi Echoune Polla Lefta*	Οσοι 'Εχουνε Πολλά Λεφτά	Those With A Lot of Money	Markos Vamvakaris	Markos Vamvakaris	1936 (PK 1981-2 c: 52; IP 1983: 103)	*piraiötiko*	Athens	Markos Vamvakaris	no details

Appendix 4 Authorship of the *Rebetika* Music Sample

1. No.	2. Title of Item			3. Composer	4. Lyricist	5. Earliest Known Recording	6. *Rebetika* Style	7. Place of Recording	8. Vocalists on Recording	9. Recording Details and Sources
15	*Pente Manges*	Πέντε Μάγγες	Five *Manges*	Ioannis Eitziridis (also known as Giovan Tsaous)	Ioannis Eitziridis (also known as Giovan Tsaous)	1936	*piraiötiko*	Athens	Andonis Kalivopoulos	Columbia DG6192 (A&V: 79); (SG: 76-77; 249-250)
16	*Pergamos (Zeïbekiko Menemenio, Aman Aman Chiotissa)*	Πέργαμος (Μενεμένιο Ζεϊμπκέκικος, Αμάν Αμάν Χιώτισσα)	Pergamos (Zeïbekiko From Menemeni; Aman Aman Woman From Chios)	anonymous	unknown	1919-1920 (RS)1900-1910 (PK 1993)	*smyrneïko*	New York	unknown (RS)	Panhellenion 5039 "Aman Aman Chiotissa-Zeïbekiko" (RS: 1227); Also on The Greek Archives Vol. 9 track no. 4 "Antoule/ Pergamos" with vocalist Andonis Dalgas
17	*Skantaliara (Tetoia Koukla Kai Tsachpina)*	Σκανταλιάρα (Τέτοια Κούκλα Και Τσαχπίνα)	The Mischievous Woman (What a Doll And Teaser)	Meropis and Christos Kolokotronis (SK)	Meropis and Christos Kolokotronis (SK)	c. 1953 (PK 1993)	*laïko*	Athens	Stelios Kazantzidis, Rena Stamou (PK 1993)	(SK track A/4) No further details.
18	*Smyrneikos Ballos (Sgoure Vasilike Mou)*	Σμυρνέϊκος Μπάλλος (Σγουρέ Βασιλικέ Μου)	Ballos (Dance) Of Smyrna (My Curly-Leaved Basil)	anonymous	unknown	18-Nov-22	*smyrneïko*	New York	(instrumental: Nicholas Relias clarinet, Markos Sifnios violincello, G. Papagikas cymbalon [hammer dulcimer])	Victor 68611 (12") matrix no. C27131-2 (RS: 1200)
19	*Stous Apano Machalades*	Στούς Απάνω Μαχαλάδες	In The Upper Neighbourhoods	anonymous	unknown	1923	*smyrneïko*	New York	Marika Papagika	Columbia E5277, 11785 (12") matrix no. 59806 (RS: 1200)
20	*Synnefiasmeni Kyriaki*	Συννεφιασμένη Κυριακή	Cloudy Sunday	Vasilis Tsitsanis	Vasilis Tsitsanis. Contested by Nikos Routsos and Alekos Gouveris (TS 1987: 35, 36, 67, 97, 116; DCh: 73-75; IP 1973: 9)	11 August 1948 (LT: 177) Composed between 1941-1946 (DCh: 56)	*laïko*	Athens	Prodromos Tsaousakis, Sotiria Bellou	His Master's Voice 2834 (ThA: 76). Also documented as His Master's Voice 1396-2374 (DCh: 77)

Appendix 4 Authorship of the *Rebetika* Music Sample

1. No.	2. Title of Item			3. Composer	4. Lyricist	5. Earliest Known Recording	6. *Rebetika* Style	7. Place of Recording	8. Vocalists on Recording	9. Recording Details and Sources
21	*Ta Matoklada Sou Lamboun*	Τα Ματόκλαδα Σου Λάμβουν	Your Eyelashes Shine	Markos Vamvakaris	Markos Vamvakaris	1960	*piraiótiko* (composed much later than the hey-day of *piraiótika*)	Athens	Grigoris Bithikotsis	Columbia/ His Master's Voice catalogue 7PG2713 (SG et al.)
22	*Taka Taka Taka Ta Petalakia-Echo Koumparo Leventia* §	Τάκα Τάκα Τάκα Τα Πεταλάκια-Εχω Κουμπάρο Λεβεντιά	Clippity Clop Go The Horseshoes-I Have a Young Handsome Best Man	Manolis Chiotis Attributed to M. & Mich. Chiotis on original recording (SG et al.)	Nikos Routsos (IP 1973; AEMI)	? (probably post WWII)	*laïko*	Athens	?	Parlaphone B74204, no date (SG et al.)
23	*Tatavlianos Choros*	Ταταυλιανός Χορός	Dance Of Tatavla	anonymous	none (instrumental)	1926	*smyrneïko*	New York	Likianos Kavadias (piano)	Columbia 56031-F 11502 (12") matrix no. W205348-2. Called "Tatavliano Kassapiko" (RS: 1142)
24	*Tha Spaso Koupes*	Θα Σπάσω Κούπες	I Will Smash Cups	anonymous	unknown (possibly lifted Turkish text PK 1981-2 b: 45)	21-Jan-07	*smyrneïko*	Smyrni	Giannis Tsanankas, Lefteris Menemenlis	Favorite 1-59086/ 7508t (PK 1981-2 a: 25-26; 1981-2 b: 45)
25	*Ti Se Mellei Esenane*	Τι Σε Μέλλει Εσένανε	What's It To You	anonymous	unknown	1927	*smyrneïko*	New York	Marika Papagika	Columbia 56061-F, 11610 (12") matrix no. W205569-1 (RS: 1203). Also in Odeon 1927-28 catalogue K28044 with vocalist Giorgios Vidalis (OS 1991: 323)
26	*To Feretze*	Το Φερετζέ	The Veil	anonymous (attributed to Roza Eskenazi in PT n.d.: 18, 33)	unknown	?	*smyrneïko*	Athens	Rita Abatzi	(PT n.d.: 18, 33) No further details.
27	*To Telefteo Vradi Mou (Dio Portes Echei I Zoi, Ola Einai Ena Psema)*	Το Τελευταίο Βράδυ Μου (Δυο Πόρτες 'Εχει Η Ζωή; 'Ολα Είναι 'Ενα Ψέμα)	My Last Night (Life Has Two Doors; Everything Is A Lie)	Stelios Kazantzidis (TS 1987: 321)	Eftichia Papagiannopoulou (TS 1987: 321)	1953-60	*laïko*	Athens	Stelios Kazantzidis, Marinella	(SK track C/6) No further details.
28	*Zourlobenemenis Genna*	Ζουρλομπαινεμένης Γέννα	The Mad-Born Woman	Vangelis Papazoglou	Vangelis Papazoglou	1935 (VP)	*smyrneïko*	Athens	Rita Abatzi	(VP track B/6) No further details.

§ Details unavailable for *Echo Koumbaro Leventia*

Appendix 4 Authorship of the *Rebetika* Music Sample

KEY TO REFERENCES:

A&V	Suzanne Aulin and Peter Vejleskov (1991)
DCh	Dinos Christianopoulos (1994)
AEMI	A.E.M.I.
IP 1973	Ilias Petropoulos (1973)
IP 1983	Ilias Petropoulos ([1979] 1983)
IP 1984	Ilias Petropoulos (1984)
KCh	Kostas Chatzidoulis (1981)
LT	Lisbet Torp (1993)
OS	Ole Smith (1989)
PK 1981-2 a	Panagiotis Kounadis (1981-2), I
PK 1981-2 b	Panagiotis Kounadis (1981-2), IV
PK 1981-2 c	Panagiotis Kounadis (1981-2), XII
PK 1993	Panagiotis Kounadis (1993)
PT	Petros Tabouris and Christos Chatzistamou (n.d.)
RS	Richard Spottswood (1990)
SG	Stathis Gauntlett (1985)
SG et al.	Stathis Gauntlett et al (forthcoming)
SK	Stelios Kazantzidis (1981)
ThA	Theofilos Anastasiou (1995)
TS 1981	Tassos Schorelis (1981)
TS 1978a	Tassos Schorelis (1978a)
TS 1987	Tassos Schorelis (1987)
VP	Vangelis Papazoglou (n.a.)

Appendix 5 Analysis of the *Rebetika* Music Sample

Name of Item	Style	Instrumentation	Timbre and Texture	Rhythm	Tempo	Musical Form	Song Text Themes	Song Text Form	Tonality and Modality	Melodic Contour	Harmonisation	Music / Text Relationship	Ornamentation and Expressive Techniques
Antilaloune Ta Vouna	*laïko*	female voice, violin, *bouzouki*, *baglamas*, guitar	small acoustic ensemble: female voice and strings; homophonic	*zeïbekikos koptos* 9-beat (2+2+2+3)	Allegro crotchet = c. 68	blurring of tripartite form with repetition of vocal melody as refrain; strophic verses and refrain flanked by instrumental interludes with different melodic material	unrequited love; metaphor for hardship of politics and war	2 verses; 8+8+15 syllable iambic triplets; line 1 of verse 1 functions as repeated 8 syllable distich refrain	A harmonic minor (ABCDEFG#A); pull towards E *chitzaz* (EFG#ABCDE) in interlude with focus on V degree; with G natural accidental moves into A natural minor (ABCDEFGA) and to the III (C major tetrachord)	ascending and descending scale-like melodies; undulating mostly stepwise vocal melody with occasional intervals of 4th and 6th; highly melismatic; passes through all degrees of mode; contralto vocal range 9th (b-c'')	Im; IVm; V (Am; Dm; E); VII; VI; V (G; F; E); VII-III (G-C)	different melodies in instrumental interludes and for each line of verse; repeated refrain derived from first line and melody of verse 1	vocal rubato portamento; legato; triplets; syncopation; violin/*bouzouki* pentuplets; mordents; trills; turns; tremolando; 3rds; sequences of 2nds; violin glissandi; *bouzouki* 'fill ins'; guitar accented strums
Arapines	*laïko*	male voice, *bouzouki*, electric piano, guitar, electric bass, drum kit	small electric ensemble; prominent driving rhythm section	*béguine* quadruple	Allegro crotchet = 140-142	tetramerous form; instrumental interlude flanks strophic verses; bridge and refrain; instrumental *apantisi* 'joining' phrase between verse and refrain	nostalgic exotic and erotic images of black women; music and merriment; praise of loved one	2 verses; 10+13+10+13 syllable quatrains; followed by a bridge vocal distich of 10+9; then the repeated vocal refrain quatrain of 10+14; 10+15 syllables; mixed trochaic and iambic metre	B harmonic minor (BC#DEF#GA#B); A natural shifts tonality to B natural minor (BC#DEF#GAB); shift to F# *chitzaz* (F#GA#BC#DEF#); pull between I and V as tonal centres	large 1½ octave ascending and descending instrumental passages; undulating step-wise vocal phrases; vocal melody both syllabic and melismatic; some sequences; tenor vocal range 7th (f#-e')	Im; V (Bm; F#); I; VII; VI; V (Bm; A; G; F#); VI-V (G-F#)	sequential repetition of melodic material; instrumental interlude with repeated and original melodies; use of instrumental *apantisi* 'joining' phrases; sequential melodies for vocal lines and hemistichs; refrain lines 1 and 2 function as "bridge"	tutti syncopated scalic passages; staccato bass and drums articulate the Latin American rhythm; sudden breaks add dramatic effect; piano glissandi add dramatic effect
Bouzouki Mou Diplochordo	*piraiötiko*	2 male voices; *tzouras*, *baglamas*, 2 *bouzoukia*, guitar	small acoustic ensemble; strings and voice	*zeïbekikos syrianos* 9-beat (2+2+2+3); isorhythmic vocal parts	Moderato crotchet = c. 102	tripartite form: instrumental interlude with different melodic material flanks strophic verses in binary call (B) and answer (C) form	lament for the human condition; a man finds consolation from his *bouzouki*	5 verses; 15 syllable iambic distichs; each verse repeated in reverse order	D *chitzaz* (DEbF#GABbCD); B natural as passing note in descending melodies	largely undulating; instrumental leap to 5th (via 4th); vocal leap to 4th; strong move to IV and II in vocal part; stylistic leap into upper octave for reversed repeat of verse; syllabic vocal melody; tenor vocal range d-g' (11th)	characteristic chitzaz harmonisation I; II; Ivm; VIIm (D; Eb; Gm; Cm)	binary repetition of each melody; staggered repetition of melody over change of verse line text; use of half- and full-close phrases suggest call-and-answer form	falsetto male voice in upper register; highly ornamented *bouzouki* parts

Appendix 5 Analysis of the *Rebetika* Music Sample

Name of Item	Style	Instrumentation	Timbre and Texture	Rhythm	Tempo	Musical Form	Song Text Themes	Song Text Form	Tonality and Modality	Melodic Contour	Harmonisation	Music / Text Relationship	Ornamentation and Expressive Techniques
Elenitsa Mou	*smyrneïko*	male voice, 2 *bouzoukia*, *baglamas*, acoustic guitar, electric guitar, electric bass guitar, drum kit, congas, percussion	large acoustic and electric ensemble of voice, strings and percussion; special arrangement (solo/tutti); homophony	*tsifteteli* syncopated quadruple	Allegro crotchet = 124-126	acoustic guitar *taximi*; instrumental introduction; strophic verses followed by independent refrain and autonomous instrumental interlude	praise of loved one; desire to marry; unrequited erotic love	3 verses; trochaic 14+16 syllable trochaic distichs; followed by refrain of 14+11 syllable distich; use of repeated interjections "*aman*"; "a" to lengthen line	E *chitzaz* (EFG#ABCDE); pull towards A major tonality in upper tetrachord with C# accidental	undulating and terraced ascending and descending melodies mostly stepwise; leap of 4th in opening melody; sustained key degrees (I; IV; V; VI; VII); *bouzouki* melodies in 3rds; melismatic *rubato* vocal melody; tenor vocal range c-d' (9th)	I; IVm (E; Am); VIIm; II (Dm; F)	improvised solo *taximi*; different melodic material in verse and refrain; verse lines interspersed with instrumental *apantisi* "response" phrases; instrumental introduction variation of refrain melody; instrumental interludes consist of original melodic material	use of soft/loud dynamics and solo/tutti arrangement for dramatic effect; highly ornamented *bouzouki* parts; highly melismatic; syncopated and *rubato* vocal part
Ferte Preza Na Prezaro	*smyrneïko*	2 male voices, 2 *bouzoukia*, *baglamas*, 2 guitars, double bass	small acoustic string and voice ensemble	*kalamatianos* 7-beat (3+2+2)	Moderato quaver = 232 to Allegro quaver = 264	tripartite form; instrumental interludes flank strophic verses and refrain; repetition of melodic material within and between sections	lament for personal and human suffering; desires a heroin and hashish to alleviate the pain	2 verses; distichs of 15; 16; 17 and 19 syllables; a 17+19 syllable distich repeated refrain; additional 'floating' 8 syllable distich refrain after each verse and refrain; all in trochaic metre; use of interjections to lengthen lines	D *chitzaz* (DEbF#GABbCD); B natural accidental	ascending and descending step-wise patterns around key notes I; II; IV; V; VII; internal of third common; mostly syllabic vocal melody; tenor vocal range d-bb (6th)	I (D); IVm (Gm); VIIm (Cm)	instrumental interlude shares melodic material with floating refrain; repetition of melody for lines 1 and 2 of verses and refrain; floating refrain 'answered' with instrumental *apantisi*	sparse use of vocal ornaments; contrasts with 'filled in' *bouzouki* part; synchronised rhythmic-harmonic guitar and *baglamas* accompaniment

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Gia ta Matia P' Agapo	*laïko*	male voice, *bouzouki*, electric piano, guitar, electric bass guitar, drum kit	small electric ensemble; driving rhythm section	*chaseposervikos* duple	Allegro crotchet = c. 118; gradual acceleran do to crotchet = c. 148	tripartite form; instrumental interludes with new and repeated melodic material flank strophic verses; refrain consists of repeated vocal section line 2; coda consists of instrumental vocal melodies; sung refrain; and instrumental interlude finale	abandoned celebration of life because of an embittered love with the prophecy of murder and imprisonment	3 verses; each containing 16+13+11 syllable trochaic lines; the 3rd line is repeated; producing a quatrain; 3rd line of verse 1 becomes repeated 'refrain' at end of song	D *chitzaz* (DEbF#GABbCD); B natural shifts music to G major tonality (GABCD) for small section; instrumental interlude commences on VII degree; i.e. Cm *nigriz* (*souzinak*) pentrachord (CDEbF#G)	undulating with ascending and descending passages; most step-wise; syllabic vocal melody; opening vocal melody of 3rds I-III-V-VII; vocal range tenor d-d' (8ve)	I; II; IVm; VIIm (D; Eb; Gm; Cm); IV (G)	instrumental introduction contains both new melodic material (A) and variation of vocal melody (C1); different melodies for verse line 1 (B) and line 2 (C)	dramatic opening with sustained tremolando chords introduce metred section; piano chromatic and diatonic scales contrary motion to *bouzouki* scales; jazz swing feel created in rhythmic accompaniment with chunky chords; tutti breaks build tension and drive; vocal exclamations of singer comment on and add to excitement
I Garsona	*smyrneïko*	female voice, violin, oud guitar, *toumberleki*	small acoustic ensemble; strings, percussion and voice	*bagion* quadruple or duple	Andante crotchet = c. 94	tripartite form: instrumental interlude containing different melodic material flanks strophic verses and refrain; instrumental repetition of verse and vocal refrain sung as coda	an assertive waitress who knows how to handle harassment on the job	3 verses; 10 syllable iambic quatrains; followed by quatrain refrain of 10+12+10+12 syllable lines in trochaic metre; use of French words	E *neveser* (EF#GA#BCD#E); E *nigriz* (*souzinak*) (EF#GA#BC#DE) during instrumental interludes; E harmonic minor (EF#GABCD#E) in vocal sections	ascending and descending scalic melodies alight from V; descend to I for instrumental interlude; V (B) as pivot for two modes; gradual terraced ascent and descent from I-IV-I in vocal section; vocal melody mostly syllabic; contralto vocal range b-b' (8ve)	Im; IVm; V7 (Em; Am; B7)	different melodic material for verse and refrain; binary repeated melodies within verse and refrain sections	staccato and legato contrast in violin melody; oud and *toumberleki* 'fill in' their parts with smaller rhythmic values

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Mia Melachroini	*smyrneïko*	female voice, back-up voices, violin, *bouzouki*, guitar, *toumberleki*	small acoustic ensemble: female voice, strings and percussion; mostly heterophonic	*syrtos* syncopated quadruple (or 8-beat)	Presto crotchet = 180-186	multisectional; aggregative; instrumental interlude flanks 2 strophic verses and refrain; smaller instrumental *apantisi* "responses"; violin *taximi* intermezzo; call-and-response phrases; many repeated and varied melodies	a man is infatuated with a beautiful dark-skinned woman and the erotic way she dances	2 verses; 10+15+15 syllable triplets; pentuplet refrain with 8+8+13+8+8 syllables; repetition of first hemistich and first line; all in trochaic metre; ample use of interjections "*giala*"; "*ach*"; "*vai*" accompanies melodic phrases	A *ousak* (ABbCDEFGA); B natural shifts tonality to A natural minor (ABCDEFGA); then to G major with added F# (GABCDEF#G); short reference to lower tetrachord of C *nigriz* (*souzinak*) (CDEbF#); labyrinth-like modality	melody alights from VII; suggests tonal pull between I-VII (A minor and G major; highlights all degrees of mode; undulating and cascading terraced passages; melismatic vocal part leaps to upper 8ve for final vocal line; contralto vocal range g-d" (12th)	VII; Im; Vm; IV; IIIm; VIIm (G; Am; Em; D; Cm; Gm)	different melodic material for each section and subsection; internal repetition of melodic phrases; staggering of different melody over repeated hemistich in refrain	exclamatory vocal interjections create excitement; dramatic tutti breaks of one bar; unison melodic section in refrain with descending scale reinforces heterophonic style
Mi Me Steineis Mana Stin Ameriki	*smyrneïko*	2 female voices, recorder, guitar, bongos, tambourine	small acoustic ensemble	*syrtos* syncopated quadruple (or 8-beat)	Allegro crotchet = c. 164	binary call-and-answer (AB) form: strophic verses flanked by instrumental interludes	emigration to America; praise of loved one	6 verses; mixed trochaic and iambic distichs of 11; 12; 13 and 14 syllable lines when accounting for elisions; 2nd line of each distich repeated	A *ousak* (ABbCDEFGA); B natural when melody ascends; shift to III (relative major C major)	step-wise and undulating; alights from V; moves to degrees of lower tetrachord; melismatic vocal melody; contralto vocal range g-c'' (11th)	I-VII (Am; G); III (C); IV (Dm)	instrumental interludes contain variation of vocal melody; different melodies for lines 1 (A) and 2 (B) of verse; section A melody repeated as instrumental *apantisi* "response"	the recorder decorates melody with mordents; the vocal melody is syncopated
Nychtose Choris Fengari	*laïko*	male voice, 2 *bouzoukia*, *baglamas*, acoustic guitar, 2 electric guitars, electric bass guitar, drum kit, bongos, wind chimes	large acoustic and electric ensemble of voice, strings and percussion; special arrangement (solo/tutti); mixture of heterophony with homophony	*zeïbekikos koptos* 9-beat (2+2+2+3)	Adagio crotchet = c. 66; begins and ends at slower ritenuto pace	tripartite from: instrumental interludes flank strophic verses	allusion to an imprisoned man to be executed the following day and suffering angst	3 verses; 15 syllable trochaic distichs; 2nd line of each verse is repeated	D *chitzaz* (DEbF#GABbCD);	melismatic undulating vocal melody; some intervals of 3rds; 6ths; vocal melody hovers or alights from most notes of mode; long scale-like ascending and descending instrumental passages; tenor vocal range c-eb' (10th)	I; II; IV; VII (D; Eb; Gm; Cm)	instrumental introduction contains section of vocal melody and original material; different melodic material for each hemistich of text line; instrumental interlude introduces .original melodic material	use of dramatic dynamics between interludes and vocal sections; tutti-solo instrumental arrangement; marked slower speed opening and closing sections

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O Bochoris	*smyrneïko*	female voice, violin, oud guitar, *toumberleki*	small acoustic ensemble; strings, percussion and voice; mixture of heterophony and homophony	*zeïbekikos koptos* 9-beat (2+2+2+3)	Andante crotchet = c. 78	binary form: instrumental interlude with different melodic material flanks strophic verses; instrumental *apantisi* "response" repeats melody of line 2 and 4	narrative; profile of a man called Bochoris who is robbed of his possessions on a ship	3 verses; 8 syllable trochaic quatrains; 2nd line repeated; use of interjection "*ainte*" accompanies melodic phrase	A *chitzazskiar* (ABbC#DEFG#A); D# accidental passing note; B natural accidental in upper octave	mostly undulating; terraced descent in refrain from VII; some leaps in interlude of 5th; 3rd and 8ve; mostly melismatic vocal melody; contralto vocal range g#-a' (9th)	I; VIIm (A; Gm)	verse contains two melodic phrases A and B; A accompanies line 1; line 2; repeated line 2 and functions as instrumental *apantisi;* ending on half-close V degree; B accompanies line 3; line 4 and functions as instrumental *apantisi;* ending on I degree	oud 'fills in' with semiquavers
Oi Lachanades	*smyrneïko*	2 male voices, *tzouras*, *baglamas*, 2 *bouzoukia*, guitar	small acoustic ensemble of strings and voice; mixture of heterophony and homophony	*zeïbekikos aptalikos koptos* 9-beat (3+2+2+2)	Andante crotchet = c. 96	introductory *taximi* on tzouras; binary form; instrumental interludes with different melodic material flank strophic verses	poverty; theft; imprisonment and police relations	4 verses; 15 syllable distichs; mostly iambic; staggered repetition of first hemistich; use of interjection "*paidia*" accompanies melodic phrase	D major; D *chouzam* (DE#F#GABC#D) G# accidental suggests D *rast* (DEF#G(G#)ABC#D)	descending scale-like passages of 10th; internally sequentially tiered; melismatic vocal melody undulates from V-III and VIII-III; III degree distinct tonal centre; tenor vocal range f#-d' (6th)	I-V (D-A)	repeated interlude melody with half- (III) and full-close (I) cadential phrases; verse contains two repeated melodies; hemistich repeated over staggered change of melody	highly ornamented *bouzouki* parts contrast with simple *tzouras* part; vocal portamento
Omorfi Thessaloniki	*laïko*	2 male voices, 2 *bouzoukia*, electric guitar, electric bass guitar, drum kit	small electric ensemble; homophonic texture	*chasapikos* quadruple	Moderato-Allegro crotchet =116-122	tripartite form; instrumental interlude precedes strophic verse and refrain; refrain has independent melodic material	praise of the city of Thessaloniki	only 1 verse performed; 10+10+11+10 syllable quatrain; followed by 8+10 syllable distich refrain; interjection "o" accompanies melodic phrase	G *neverser* (GABbC#DEbF#G) in instrumental introduction; shifts to G harmonic minor (GABbCDEbF#G) in the verse; and to G major in the refrain; alternation between G major and G minor tonality	use of larger intervals (8ve; 3rds) and scale-like melodies in instrumental introduction; undulating stepwise vocal melody emphasises III; mostly syllabic; refrain melody contains half- and full-close phrases; tenor vocal range d-f#' (10th)	Im; IVm; V (Gm; Cm; D); bV (Db°); I-VIm-IIm-IV-V-I (G-Em-Am-C-D-G) 'jazzy' 'turn-around' chords	each section and subsection has different melodic material; different melody for each line of verse; same melody for both lines of refrain	triplets contrast with quadruple time; electric bass 'on-the-beat' notes and guitar 'off-the-beat' 'chunk' chords add to a swing feel

Appendix 5 Analysis of the *Rebetika* Music Sample

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Osoi Echoune Polla Lefta	*piraiōtiko*	male voice, *bouzouki*, *baglamas*, 2 guitars, double bass	small acoustic string ensemble	*zeībekikos koptos* 9-beat	Andante crotchet = 100-108	introductory *bouzouki taximi*; followed by binary call-and-answer form; strophic verses flanked by instrumental interludes containing variation of vocal melodies	sarcastic view against the accumulation of material wealth	3 verses; mostly 15 syllable distichs in mixed trochaic and iambic metre; 2nd line of each verse is lengthened with use of interjections and repeated; evidence of formulaic substitution in final hemistich of verse 3	D major (DEF#GABC#D); G# passing note suggests *rast* (DEF#GG#ABC#D); B# in cadential phrase	undulating step-wise ascending and descending passages; melody hovers around I; II; V degrees; vocal melody both syllabic and melismatic; vocal range tenor c-f#' (11th)	I-V (D-A)	same melodic material shared by instrumental interlude and verse line 1 (AA) and line 2 (BB)	voice sings in parlando in upper octave; then legato in lower register
Pente Manges	*piraiōtiko*	male voice, *bouzouki*, violin, *baglamas*, guitar, double bass	acoustic ensemble; resonant string texture	*chasaposervikos* quadruple	Allegro crotchet = 146-148	tripartite form; instrumental interlude flanks strophic verses	narrative; five men seek a smoke of marijuana	4 verses; 15-syllable trochaic quatrain; ample use of street argot	D natural minor (DEFGABbCD); C# accidental below lower tonic; shift to III (F major, relative major)	ascending and descending stepwise melodies; vocal melody mostly syllabic; spans entire octave; tenor vocal range c#-d' (9th)	I7; IV (D7; Gm); III; VII (F; C); Im; V; Im; (Dm; A7; Dm); all strictly within the mode	original melodic material in instrumental interludes and verse	dotted rhythm creates 'swing' feel; use of dominant 7ths adds to 'jazz' feel; guitar bass runs gives momentum to the rhythm
Pergamos	*smyrneīko*	violin, oud guitar, *toumberleki*	instrumental; small acoustic string and percussion ensemble; mixture of heterophony and homophony	*zeībekikos aptalikos koptos* 9-beat (3+2+2+2)	Andante crotchet = c. 86	introductory oud *taximi*; two repeated sections (AB) followed by a modulated variation (A1); much internal repetition of and similarity within melodic material; presence of isorhythms; suggests formulaic structure			E *kiourdi* (*kartsigar*) (E(F)F#GABbC#DE) with B natural accidental; moves to VIIm (D harmonic minor) and IV (A; V of D); descends through VII (D major BAGF#ED) via F natural; suggests labyrinth-like modality	ascending and descending step-wise and terraced melodies; open with B natural which pulls away from E kiourdi into E minor modality; key notes I; IV; V; VII	Im; IIIm; IVm; VII (Em; Gm; A; D) harmonisations follow moves to VIIm; IV; V (Dm; A; Bb)		oud demisemiquaver ornamentation with mordents and turns

Appendix 5 Analysis of the *Rebetika* Music Sample

Name of Item	Style	Instrumentation	Timbre and Texture	Rhythm	Tempo	Musical Form	Song Text Themes	Song Text Form	Tonality and Modality	Melodic Contour	Harmonisation	Music / Text Relationship	Ornamentation and Expressive Techniques
Skantaliara Mou	*laïko*	male voice, *bouzouki*, electric piano, guitar, electric bass guitar, drum kit	driving rhythm-chord section underlying melismatic and ornamented melody	*tsifteteli* syncopated quadruple	Allegro crotchet = 134	tripartite form; instrumental interludes flank strophic verses; joined to refrain by *apantisi* "response" instrumental melody	a flirtatious and erotic woman	3 verses; 15 syllable distichs + additional 7 syllable hemistich in iambic metre; followed by the 8 syllable quatrain refrain in trochaic metre; each line of refrain repeated in reverse order	E *chitzaz* (EFG#ABCDE); C# accidental passing note in vocal and *bouzouki* parts	undulating ascending and descending step-wise melodies; syllabic and melismatic vocal melody alights from I to the III; contains half-close and full-close phrases; refrain has sequential descent from upper to lower octave; tenor vocal range d-e' (9th)	I; II; IVm; VIIm (E; F; Am; Dm)	different melodic material in all subsections of instrumental interlude; verse and refrain; different melodies for each text line	co-ordinated tutti breaks during instrumental interludes; 'funk' riffs and vocal melodies played on electric bass
Smyrneikos Ballos	*smyrneïko*	violin, piano, guitar	instrumental; trio ensemble; heterophonic and homophonic texture	*syrtos* syncopated quadruple (or 8-beat)	Presto crotchet = 178-180	instrumental; multisectional (A;B;C;D;E) in various orders; suggests aggregative form with addition of different melodic sections and phrases; B section is repeated instrumental version of a strophic vocal section	-	-	E *chitzaz* (EFG#ABCDE); C# accidental moves melody to VII; D *nigriz* (*souzinak*) tetrachord (DEFG#) and E *chitzazskiar* (EFG#ABCD#E); use of other accidental passing notes suggest labyrinth-like modality	some terraced descending passages; mostly undulating ascending and descending melodies; some leaps of 3rd and 4th; some sustained I and V (E; B) notes; many sequential patterns	I; II; IVm; VI; VIIm (E; F; Am; C; Dm)	-	violin portamento; piano mordents and trills; guitar and piano chordal syncopations

Appendix 5 Analysis of the *Rebetika* Music Sample

Name of Item	Style	Instrumentation	Timbre and Texture	Rhythm	Tempo	Musical Form	Song Text Themes	Song Text Form	Tonality and Modality	Melodic Contour	Harmonisation	Music / Text Relationship	Ornamentation and Expressive Techniques
Stous Apano Machalades	*smyrneïko*	male voice, *bouzouki*, violin, *baglamas*, guitar, double bass	small acoustic string ensemble; heterophonic texture	*kamilierikos zeïbekikos* 9-beat (2+2+2+3)	Allegro crotchet = 126-130	multisectional form; instrumental interludes share vocal melodic material and function as *apantisi* phrases flank strophic verses; instrumental intermezzo; concludes with instrumental coda; suggests aggregative form	disparate verses about dervishes smoking hookah pipes and a man smoking hashish; complaint of previous love	3 verses; 8 syllable trochaic quatrains; first hemistich repeated three times; second line repeated; verse 3 indicates formulaic substitution of final hemistich in repetition	B *ousak* (BCDEF#GAB); C# accidental sometimes in ascending melody; descending shift to E *tzivaeri* (ED#CBAG#) melody	opening descending passage; undulating step-wise with occasional scale-like passages; opening descending 5th in vocal melody; syllabic and melismatic vocal melody; baritone vocal range A-b (9th)	mostly Im-III-VIIm-Im (Bm-D-Am-Bm); shift to IV (E) in intermezzo	instrumental introduction repeats variation of verse melody; different melodies per line; staggering of new melody to repeated text line; then new melody and text for lines 3 and 4; original melodic material in instrumental intermezzo and coda	violin legato; portamento and turns contrast with bright staccato of lute instruments; contrasts also created with heterophonic variations of same melody
Synnefiasmeni Kyriaki	*laïko*	2 male voices, 2 *bouzoukia*, *baglamas*, piano accordion, piano, guitar, electric bass guitar, drum kit	large acoustic and electric ensemble; homophonic	*zeïbekikos syrianos* 9-beat (2+2+2+3)	Andante crotchet = c. 63	recorded *taximi* on *bouzouki*; binary form; instrumental interludes with different though derivative melodic material flank strophic verses; instrumental *apantisi* phrases 'response' vocal lines	allusion to Second World War and German Occupation using Christian metaphors of Sunday, bleeding heart, Christ and Virgin Mary	3 verses; 15 syllable trochaic distichs; staggered repetition of both hemistichs of 2nd line	D major (DEF#GABC#D)	ascending and descending scale-like passages; mostly stepwise; some intervals of 3rds; 5ths; 6ths; passing through all degrees of the mode; melismatic vocal melody; tenor vocal range d-e' (9th)	I; IIm; IV; V (D; Em; G; A)	different but related melodic material per hemistich; repetition of line 2 melodies; instrumental *apantisi* at the end of some hemistichs	piano decending cascading scales

Appendix 5 Analysis of the *Rebetika* Music Sample

Name of Item	Style	Instrumentation	Timbre and Texture	Rhythm	Tempo	Musical Form	Song Text Themes	Song Text Form	Tonality and Modality	Melodic Contour	Harmonisation	Music / Text Relationship	Ornamentation and Expressive Techniques
Taka Taka Ta Petalakia - Echo Koumparo Leventia	*laïko*	2 male voices, 2 *bouzoukia*, electric guitar, electric bass guitar, drum kit	small electric ensemble; prominent driving rhythm section	*kalamatianos* 7-beat (3+2+2)	Allegro quaver = c. 288	2 different 'songs'; probably strophic; flanked by the same instrumental interlude	praise of loved one; proposal to marry; celebration	3 verses; verse 1: 8 syllable trochaic quatrain; followed by refrain 1; 11 syllable distich; verse 1 and refrain 1 repeated; onomatopoeic use of words in refrain 1; verse 3: 15 syllable distich; followed by refrain 2; 15 syllable distich repeated in reverse order; use of shorter 2-bar *apantisi* phrases between vocal lines	D *chouzam* (DE#F#GABC(C#)D) in instrumental interlude with E# & G# accidental passing notes; D *rast* (DEF#GABC#D) in vocal sections; C natural accidental during melodic descent in instrumental interlude and verse 1 and refrain 1	melodic variety; repeated phrases; step-wise contour with some 3rd intervals; melodies accentuate all notes of mode; half- and full-close phrases in refrains 1 and 2; vocal melody both syllabic and melismatic; tenor vocal range d-e' (9th)	Interlude I-V^{6}-V (D-A^{6}-A); Song 1: I- V (D-A); Song 2: I; IIm; IV; IV#; V7 (D; Em; G; G#; A7); chordal 'turn-around' I-V-II-IV-V-I (D-A-Em-G-A-D)	different melodies for every hemistich or line; except for refrain 1; repetition of refrain 2 melodies do not follow reversed repetition of text lines	fast highly ornamented *bouzouki* parts playing in 3rds; back-up voice sings with slight falsetto in refrain 1
Ta Matoklada Sou Lamboun	*piraiötiko*	2 *bouzoukia*, electric guitar, electric bass guitar, drum kit	instrumental; small electric ensemble; prominent driving rhythm section	*kamilierikos zeïbekikos* 9-beat (2+2+2+3)	Allegro crotchet = c. 124-144	instrumental; binary form; AB; final phrase of each section is cadential; electric guitar *taximi* intermezzo before final AB	-	-	A natural minor (ABCDEFGA); accidental passing notes F#; G# create an E major tonality from the V; D# in the *taximi* moves through blues pentatonic scale (ACD#EGA)	A: ascending-descending passage between I and V with cadential leap from VIII-V; B: reverse ascending passage from I-V; much internal repetition within melodic sections	underlying III-IV-V-I chord progression; use of extended 6th, 7th and 9th chords descending in sequence	-	loose 'jazz' drumming syncopates nine-beat rhythmic cycle; blues style guitar solo venturing outside of mode; jazz-*rebetika* fusion created with use of extended 'jazz' chords
Tatavlianos Choros	*smyrneïko*	violin, guitar, *toumberleki*	instrumental; strings and percussion trio ensemble; homophonic texture	*chasaposervikos* duple	Adagio crotchet = c. 70. Accelerando to Allegro crotchet = c. 158	introductory violin *taximi* followed by repeated binary AB sections; violin *taximi* intermezzo; much repetition within sections; A and B share cadential phrase	-	-	C *chitzaz* (CDbEFGAbBbC); shift to IV (F minor tetrachord)	undulating between range of 9th; melody emphasises all notes of mode; characteristic approach to tonic from below; much sequential repetition; shift to F tonal centre	I; II; IV; VII (C; Db; Fm; Bbm)	-	glisandi; portamento trills; harmonics and bird sounds in violin *taximi*

Appendix 5 Analysis of the *Rebetika* Music Sample

Name of Item	Style	Instrumentation	Timbre and Texture	Rhythm	Tempo	Musical Form	Song Text Themes	Song Text Form	Tonality and Modality	Melodic Contour	Harmonisation	Music / Text Relationship	Ornamentation and Expressive Techniques
Tha Spaso Koupes	*smyrneïko*	female voice, violin, *bouzouki*, guitar, *toumberleki*	small acoustic ensemble: female voice, strings and percussion; heterophonic	*tsifteteli* syncopated quadruple	Allegro crotchet = 132	introductory violin *taximi*; multisectional aggregative form; instrumental interlude flanks strophic verses and refrain; instrumental intermezzo contains new material	unrequited erotic love	2 verses; 11+12 and 11+15 syllable distichs; repetition of first line; triplet refrain with 11+11+12 syllable lines and repeated 3rd line; mixed trochaic and iambic; much use of interjections "aman"; "a"; "*gialeleli*" in refrain; and Turkish words to accompany melodic phrases	E natural minor (EF#GABCDE); moves to VII; D *chouzam* with E# accidental (DE#F#G); passes through *ousak* (EFGABCDE); in *intermezzo* passes to V (B minor); VII (D *nigriz*; C#DEFG#); VI (C major; BCDE) with accidentals; chromatic labyrinth-like modality	undulating and sequential ascending and descending melodic cells; highly melismatic vocal line over relatively small contralto range of 6th (d'-b')	Im-IVm-III-II (Em-Am-G-F); VII-III (D-G); VI (C); i.e. all degrees except V	instrumental interlude derived from vocal melodies; same melody for each line of verse; different melody for line 1 and 3 of refrain; much repetition of melodies	violin turns and trills; *bouzouki* lower turns; mordents; lute-like muted melodies in lower register; vocal syncopation and portamento; toumberleki syncopations in breaks
Ti Se Mellei Esenane	*smyrneïko*	female voice, violin, oud, guitar, *toumberleki*	small acoustic ensemble; female voice, strings and percussion; mostly heterophonic with secondary homophony	*begion* quadruple or duple	Allegro crotchet + c. 156	tetramerous form: instrumental interlude based on variation of vocal refrain flanks strophic verse and refrain; instrumental intermezzo with new melodic material precedes verse 3	immigration; rebuffing a man's advances; Asia Minor Greek female refugee in Athens seeking love	3 verses; 12+13 or 12+12 syllable distichs; each line repeated; refrain 12+13 syllable distich; mostly trochaic; much use of elisions to fit metre; use of interjection "*fos mou*" to accompany melodic phrase	hovers between B natural minor-*ousak* (B(C)C#DEF#GAB); and B *kiourdi* (*kartsigar*) (BC#DEFG#AB)	undulating ascending and descending; vocal melody mostly syllabic; opening 5th in verse melody settles on IV; pivot point for kiourdi mode; refrain melody wavers between III and I; intermezzo reverses 5th with a fall; contralto vocal range g#-a' (9th)	Im-IVm (Bm-Em); VII-IV (A-E); III (D)	verse contains two repeated melodies matching repeated lines; first one ends on half-close IV degree; second one ends on full-close I degree; refrain contains different melody repeated over two lines of text	oud hammer on; semiquaver turns and upper mordents

Appendix 5 Analysis of the *Rebetika* Music Sample

Name of Item	Style	Instrumentation	Timbre and Texture	Rhythm	Tempo	Musical Form	Song Text Themes	Song Text Form	Tonality and Modality	Melodic Contour	Harmonisation	Music / Text Relationship	Ornamentation and Expressive Techniques
To Feretze	*smyrneïko*	female voice, violin, *bouzouki*, guitar, *toumberleki*	small acoustic ensemble: female voice, strings and percussion	*syrtos* syncopated quadruple (or 8-beat)	Presto crotchet = 178-180	tetramerous form: instrumental interlude flanks strophic verse and refrain; use of instrumental *apantisi* 'joining' phrase between vocal lines; *bouzouki taximi coda*	a woman has fallen in love and decides to remove her veil to have some fun	2 verses; trochaic triplet verses in varied lengths; interjections function to lengthen lines and accompany melodic phrases	D *chitzaz* (DEbF#GABbCD); B natural creates G major tonality for small section	undulating; ascending and descending scale-like melismatic vocal melody; with half- and full-close phrases; focus on III; IV; V; mezzo soprano vocal range 9th (c'-d'')	I; IVm; VIIm (D; Gm; Cm)	different melodic material for instrumental interlude; call-answer melody for line 1; repeated melody for lines 2 and 3; in verse 2 second line repeated with formulaic substitution by new hemistich; some internal repetition of phrases	heterophony produced by *bouzouki* and violin parts contrasts guitar homophony; *tourberleki* varies 'closed' *syrtos* rhythms; *bouzouki* flurry of notes during *taximi*
To Telefteo Vradi Mou	*laïko*	male voice, *bouzouki*, acoustic piano, guitar, electric bass guitar, drum kit	small electric ensemble; driving rhythm section; homophonic sound with chordal accompaniment and *bouzouki* 3rds	*zeïbekikos koptos* 9-beat (2+2+2+3)	Larghetto crotchet = c. 63	tripartite form; instrumental interlude flanks strophic verses and refrain	philosophical song about departing from life; a 'false' life of betrayal; suffering and fate	3 verses; 15 syllable distich + additional 7 syllable hemistich; followed by a 15-syllable distich refrain; in mixed metre	F major (FGABbCDEF); F#; G# accidentals as passing notes; melody passes through all degrees of mode	undulating ascending and descending and sequential; mostly step-wise movement; melismatic vocal melody; some leaps of 3rds and a 6th; baritone vocal range C-d' (9th)	I-V (F; C); II; IV; (Gm; Bb); II (Am)	much original melodic material in interlude; verse and refrain; different melody for each hemistich; except for final hemistich of refrain; instrumental *apantisi* "response" after each hemistich of verse line 1 and after line 2	bass: 'walking bass' voice leading; slap; syncopation; voice rubato and legato
Zourlobenemenis Genna	*smyrneïko*	voice, *bouzouki*, violin, *baglamas*, guitar, double bass, tambourine	small acoustic ensemble: male voice, strings and percussion; heterophonic texture	*kamilierikos zeïbekikos* 9-beat (2+2+2+3)	Allegro crotchet = c. 132	binary form; instrumental interludes flank strophic verses	love sickness	3 verses; 15-syllable trochaic distichs; each line is repeated	G *kiourdi* (*kartsigar*)-*ousak* (G(Ab)ABbCDbEFG); hovers between G *kiourdi* and lower pentachord of C major (CDEFG); moves to *chitzaz* on IV (CDbEFGAbBbC); and F major tetrachord on IV of C (FGABb); labyrinth-like modality	ascending and descending scale-like sometimes terraced melodies; sequential descents of tiered 3rds; melismatic vocal melody; vocal leap to upper octave for final line of each verse; baritone vocal range 11th (A-db')	minimal homophony; Im; IV (Gm; C); shift to IV (C) and VII (F; IV of C)	instrumental interludes based on variations of vocal melody; different melody for line 1 (A) and line 2 (B); with half and full-close phrases; vocal line followed by instrumental *apantisi* "response"	appogiatura mordents; trills; accented passing notes; semiquaver hammer on

Appendix 6 *Rebetika* Song Texts and Translations

ANTILALOUNE TA VOUNA

Music: Vasilis Tsitsanis
Lyrics: Eftichia Papagianopoulou[1]
Performers: Meraki
Event No. 112: 25th National Folk Festival
Venue: Flinders University
Date: 31 March 1991

ΑΝΤΙΛΑΛΟΥΝΕ ΤΑ ΒΟΥΝΑ

Verse 1
Αντιλαλούνε τα βουνά
Σαν κλαίω εγώ τα δειλινά.
Περνούν οι ώρες θλιβερές σ' ένα παλιό ρολόι
Εγώ τους αναστεναγμούς τους παίζω κομπολόι.

Refrain
Αντιλαλούνε τα βουνά
Σαν κλαίω εγώ τα δειλινά.

Verse 2
Μουγκρίζ' απ' τις λαβωματιές
Κι απ' τις δικές σου μαχαιριές
Λαβωματιές με γέμισες και μ' έφαγαν οι πόνοι
Και στη φωτιά που μ' έριξες τίποτα δεν με σώνει.

Refrain
Αντιλαλούνε τα βουνά
Σαν κλαίω εγώ τα δειλινά.
Αντιλαλούνε τα βουνά
Σαν κλαίω εγώ τα δειλινά.

THE MOUNTAINS ECHO

Verse 1
The mountains echo
as I weep at sunsets
Melancholy hours pass by on an old clock
and I count my sighs on worry beads.

Refrain
The mountains echo
as I weep at sunsets.

Verse 2
I groan from the wounds
and stabs of your knifings
You've filled me with wounds and the pains have consumed me
you threw me into the fire and nothing will save me.

Refrain
The mountains echo
as I weep at sunsets.
The mountains echo
as I weep at sunsets.

[1] See Appendix 4.

ARAPINES

Music/Lyrics: Vasilis Tsitsanis
Performers: Laïki Kompania
Event No. 14: Greek-Australian/Italian-Australian Wedding Reception
Venue: Fogolar Furlan Centre
Date: 10 September 1983

ΑΡΑΠΙΝΕΣ

Verse 1
Νύχτες μαγικές ονειρεμένες
αγάπες λάχνες [*sic*][3] ξεχασμένες στη ξενιτιά.
Τρέχει ο νους μου προς τα περασμένα
[τα][4] βράδια μου τ' αγαπημένα στην
Αραπιά.

Refrain
Σας μιλάω με καημό σε [*sic*][5] σπαραγμό
για τόσες τρέλες που νοσταλγώ.
Αραπίνες λάχνες [*sic*] ερωτιάρες
με ουίσκι με γλυκές κιθάρες γλέντι και
πιοτό.
Αραπίνες μάτια φλογισμένα
Και κορμιά φιδίσια καμωμένα σαν εξωτικά.

Verse 2
Κάθε βράδυ δυό μεγάλα μάτια
αράπικα σωστά διαμάντια αναζητώ.
Μα δεν βρίσκω τέτοια μαγεμένα
σαν τ' άλλα τα ονειρεμένα γι' αυτό θρηνώ.

Refrain
Σας μιλάω με καημό σε [*sic*] σπαραγμό
για τόσες τρέλες που νοσταλγώ.
Αραπίνες λάχνες [*sic*] ερωτιάρες
με ουίσκι με γλυκές κιθάρες γλέντι και
πιοτό.
Αραπίνες μάτια φλογισμένα
και κορμιά φιδίσια καμωμένα σαν εξωτικά.

THE ARAB WOMEN[2]

Verse 1
Dream-like magic nights
[lustful] loves forgotten in a foreign land.
My mind hurries back to my past
to beloved evenings in Arab lands.

Refrain
I speak to you with yearning, [with] anguish
I am nostalgic for all that madness.
The erotic lustful Arab women
with whisky, sweet-sounding guitars,
merriment and drink.
Arab women with glowing eyes
and exotic snake-like bodies.

Verse 2
Every night I look for two large eyes
arabic, true black diamonds.
But I do not find those magic eyes
I dream of so I lament them.

Refrain
I speak to you with yearning, [with] anguish
I am nostalgic for all that madness.
The erotic lustful Arab women
with whisky, sweet-sounding guitars,
merriment and drink.
Arab women with glowing eyes
and exotic snake-like bodies.

[2] Αραπίνες = also "black women from Africa"
[3] Documented as λάγνες in Anastasiou (1995: 52).
[4] The word σαν is incorrectly sung by the lead voice 1.
[5] Documented as με in Anastasiou (1995: 52). Sung correctly by back-up voice 2.

BOUZOUKI MOU DIPLOCHORDO

Music/Lyrics: Markos Vamvakaris[6]
Performers: Hellenic Music Association of South Australia
Event No. 93: "Evolution of *Laïki Mousiki*" Concert
Venue: Royalty Theatre
Date: 3 July 1988

ΜΠΟΥΖΟΥΚΙ ΜΟΥ ΔΙΠΛΟΧΟΡΔΟ	MY DOUBLE-STRINGED *BOUZOUKI*
Verse 1 Μπουζούκι μου διπλόχορδο μπουζούκι μου καημένο μονάχα εσύ παρηγορείς κάθε φαρμακωμένο μονάχα εσύ παρηγορείς κάθε φαρμακωμένο μπουζούκι μου διπλόχορδο μπουζούκι μου καημένο.	Verse 1 My double-stringed *bouzouki*, my poor *bouzouki* only you console every embittered person only you console every embittered person my double-stringed *bouzouki*, my poor *bouzouki*.
Verse 2 Το ντέρτι που ΄χω στην καρδιά το ξέρεις και λυπάσαι πριν να με κάψεις, άπιστη, ποιός ήμουν το θυμάσαι πριν να με κάψεις, άπιστη, ποιός ήμουν το θυμάσαι το ντέρτι που ΄χω στην καρδιά το ξέρεις και λυπάσαι.	Verse 2 You know my heartache and you are sad before you burn me, faithless one, remember who I was before you burn me, faithless one, remember who I was you know my heartache and you are sad.
Verse 3 Τώρα με αποστρέφονται με λένε αλανιάρη τι θέλω τέτοια μια ζωή ο Χάρος ας με πάρει τι θέλω τέτοια μια ζωή ο Χάρος ας με πάρει τώρα με αποστρέφονται με λένε αλανιάρη.	Verse 3 They avoid me now, they call me a bum what do I want with such a life, let Charon take me what do I want with such a life, let Charon take me they avoid me now, they call me a bum.
Verse 4 Κι αν ειμ' αλάνης φουκαράς δεν φταίω σας το λέω για δυό ματάκια ψεύτικα μέρα και νύχτα κλαίω για δυό ματάκια ψεύτικα μέρα και νύχτα κλαίω κι αν ειμ' αλάνης φουκαράς δεν φταίω σας το λέω.	Verse 4 And if I am a poor bum I tell you, it's not my fault I weep day and night for two lying eyes I weep day and night for two lying eyes and if I am a poor bum I tell you, it's not my fault.
Verse 5 Μπουζούκι σύντροφε πιστέ εσύ μονάχα μένεις αυτή τη ψεύτικη ζωή να μου την εγλυκαίνεις αυτή τη ψεύτικη ζωή να μου την εγλυκαίνεις μπουζούκι σύντροφε πιστέ εσύ μονάχα μένεις.	Verse 5 *Bouzouki*, my faithful companion, only you remain sweeten for me this false life sweeten for me this false life *bouzouki*, my faithful companion, only you remain.

[6] See Appendix 4.

ELENITSA MOU

Music: Anonymous[7]
Lyrics: Unkown
Performers: Hellenic Music Association of South Australia
Event No. 4: *Rebetika* Night Social-Dance
Venue: Hellas Club
Date: 27 August 1982

ΕΛΕΝΙΤΣΑ ΜΟΥ

Verse 1
Τα ματάκια σου τα δυό
δεν τα βλέπω κι αρρωστώ
σαν τα βλέπω με τρελαίνουν
και στον Άδη με πηγαίνουν.

Refrain
Αμάν αμάν α ούπλες[8]
κούκλα μου κουκλίτσα μου
'συ με ΄χεις τρελάνει
Ελενίτσα μου.

Verse 2
Με τα φρίδια τα σμιχτά
τα χειλάκια τ' ανοιχτά
μου ΄χεις κάψει τη καρδιά μου
και πονούν τα σωθικά μου.

Refrain
Αμάν αμάν α ούπλες
κούκλα μου κουκλίτσα μου
'συ με ΄χεις τρελάνει
Ελενίτσα μου.

Verse 3
Έλα να σε παντρευτώ
Ελενάκι ζηλευτό
άλλη μια φορά στο λέω
μ' έκανες λολό και κλαίγω.

Refrain (repeated)
Αμάν αμάν α ούπλες
κούκλα μου κουκλίτσα μου
'συ με ΄χεις τρελάνει
Ελενίτσα μου.

MY DARLING HELEN

Verse 1
Your two little eyes
When I don't see them I become ill
When I see them I go crazy
And they send me to Hades.

Refrain
Aman,[9] *aman*, a *ouples*,[10]
My doll, my little doll
You've driven me mad
My darling Helen.

Verse 2
With (your) thick eyebrows
Your open lips
You've burnt my heart
And my heart of hearts is in pain.

Refrain
Aman, *aman*, a *ouples*,
My doll, my little doll
You've driven me mad
My darling Helen.

Verse 3
Come and marry me,
Enviable Helen
I tell you once more,
You've driven me mad and I'm weeping.

Refrain (repeated)
Aman, *aman*, a *ouples*,
My doll, my little doll
You've driven me mad
My darling Helen.

[7] See Appendix 4.
[8] ούπλες = όπλες. Documented as όπλες in Schorelis (1981: 58) and Tabouris (n.d.b: 16-17).
[9] *aman* (interjection) = "woe is me".
[10] *ouples* (interjection) = is similar to *opa* [ώπα] = "steady", "oops" (Stravropoulos 1988: 993)

FERTE PREZA NA PREZARO

Music/Lyrics: Panagiotis Toundas
Performers: *Oi Rebetes*
Event No. 176: *Rebetika* Night Social-Dance
Venue: Hellenic House
Date: 7 August 1993

ΦΕΡΤΕ ΠΡΕΖΑ ΝΑ ΠΡΕΖΑΡΩ

Verse 1
Μη με ρωτάτε, βλάμηδες γιατί όλο συλλογιέμαι
Καρά για 'κείνη μεσ' στη καρδιά έχω και τυραννιέμαι.
Αχ, φέρτε πρέζα να πρεζάρω και χασίσι να φουμάρω.

Refrain
Με 'χει λωλό[12] το Ερηνάκι με το μουσμουλί γιοβάκι
'ρε του μιλώ, δεν μου ξηγιέται, σκάει απ' τα γέλια κι όλο κουνιέται.
Αχ, φέρτε πρέζα να πρεζάρω και χασίσι να φουμάρω.

Verse 2
Ο μερακλής ο άνθρωπος πονεί μα δεν το λέει
Κι αν τραγουδά, 'ρε ψεύτη ντουνιά, μέσα η καρδιά του κλαίει.
Αχ, φέρτε πρέζα να πρεζάρω
Και χασίσι να φουμάρω.

Refrain
Με 'χει λωλό το Ερηνάκι με το μουσμουλί γιοβάκι
'ρε του μιλώ, δεν μου ξηγιέται, σκάει απ' τα γέλια κι όλο κουνιέται.
Αχ, φέρτε πρέζα να πρεζάρω και χασίσι να φουμάρω.

BRING ME A DOSE TO TAKE

Verse 1
Don't ask me, blood-brothers, why I am always deep in thought
I have a blackness for her in my heart and I am being tormented.
Ah, bring me a dose[11] to take
and hashish to smoke.

Refrain
Babe Irene has driven me crazy with the loquat-coloured high-heels[13]
Hey, I talk to her but she doesn't come clean, she bursts out laughing and wiggles.
Ah, bring me a dose to take
and hashish to smoke.

Verse 2
The impassioned human being feels pain but doesn't speak of it
and if he sings, hey false world, inside his heart he weeps.
Ah, bring me a dose to take
and hashish to smoke.

Refrain
Babe Irene has driven me crazy with the loquat-coloured high-heels
Hey, I talk to her but she doesn't come clean, she bursts out laughing and wiggles.
Ah, bring me a dose to take
and hashish to smoke.

[11] The word πρέζα= "pinch", "dash", "dose" (of drugs), also refers to "heroin" (Zachos 1981: 420).
[12] Spelt λωλό in Schorelis (1978b:348).
[13] το μουσμουλί= "loquat fruit". το γιοβάκι= η μικρή γόβα= "a woman's small high-heel shoe"; "a small slipper".

GIA TA MATIA P' AGAPO

Music/Lyrics: Vasilis Tsitsanis[14]
Performers: Laïki Kompania
Event No. 41: Opening Ball of Greek Cultural Week Social-Dance
Venue: Renaissance Tower, Rundle Mall
Date: 1 September 1984

ΓΙΑ ΤΑ ΜΑΤΙΑ Π' ΑΓΑΠΩ

Verse 1
Ξημερώνει και βραδιάζει
πάντα στον ίδιο το σκοπό
φέρτε μου να πιώ το ακριβότερο πιοτό
εγώ πληρώνω τα μάτια π' αγαπώ
φέρτε μου να πιώ το ακριβότερο πιοτό
εγώ πληρώνω τα μάτια π' αγαπώ.

Verse 2
Κι όταν βλέπεις ταβερνιάρη
να σπάω να παραμιλώ
μη με κατακρίνεις μη με παίρνεις για τρελό
εγώ πληρώνω τα μάτια π' αγαπώ
μη με κατακρίνεις μη με παίρνεις για τρελό
εγώ πληρώνω τα μάτια π' αγαπώ.

Verse 3
Η καρδιά μου συννεφιάζει
πέφτουν τα δάκρια βροχή
σίγουρα θα πάμε μια και θα 'σ' όμως [*sic*][15]
εκεί
εσύ στο χώμα και εγώ στη φυλακή
σίγουρα θα πάμε μια και θα 'σ' όμως [*sic*]
εκεί
εσύ στο χώμα και εγώ στη φυλακή.

Refrain (from Verse 1)
Φέρτε μου να πιώ το ακριβότερο πιοτό
εγώ πληρώνω τα μάτια π' αγαπώ
φέρτε μου να πιώ το ακριβότερο πιοτό
εγώ πληρώνω τα μάτια π' αγαπώ.

FOR THE EYES I LOVE

Verse 1
The day breaks and night falls
always in the same way
bring me the most expensive drink
I pay any price for the eyes I love
bring me the most expensive drink
I pay any price for the eyes I love.

Verse 2
Tavern-keeper when you see me
carrying on and raving on
don't criticise me, don't take me for a crazy man
I pay any price for the eyes I love
don't criticise me, don't take me for a crazy man
I pay any price for the eyes I love.

Verse 3
My heart clouds over
my tears flow like rain
for sure we will [end-up there]
you seven foot under and I in gaol
for sure we will [end-up there]
you seven foot under and me in gaol.

Refrain (from Verse 1)
Bring me the most expensive drink
I pay any price for the eyes I love
Bring me the most expensive drink
I pay any price for the eyes I love

[14] See Appendix 4.
[15] Documented as φτάσαμ' ως (Anastasiou 1995: 101).

I GARSONA

Music/Lyrics: Panagiotis Toundas
Performers: Hellenic Music Association of South Australia
Event No. 93: "Evolution of *Laïki Mousiki*" Concert
Venue: Royalty Theatre
Date: 3 July 1988

Η ΓΚΑΡΣΟΝΑ

Verse 1
Η πιό καλή γκαρσόνα είμαι εγώ
Γιατί με τέχνη όλους τους κερνώ
Κι αυτοί μου λένε μάνα μ', τι 'σαι εσύ
ντερπιά [16] γκαρσόνα φέρε μας κρασί.

Refrain
Στα πεταχτά μοιράζω τις μισές
Στο πιάτο δυό [*sic*][18] μεζές, μαρίδα και τυρί
Τότε κι αυτοί μου λένε [*sic*][19] μπουμπουάρ
Τους δίνω μπουμπουάρ [*sic*][20] και φεύγουνε στουπί.

Verse 2
Πουλώ κρασί οκάδες με μεζέ
χωρίς ποτέ να δίνω βερεσέ
κι όταν αρχίζω[23] τις γλυκές ματιές
τότε μεθάνε όλοι δυό φορές.

Refrain
Στα πεταχτά μοιράζω τις μισές
Στο πιάτο δυό [*sic*] μεζές, μαρίδα και τυρί
Τότε κι αυτοί μου δίνουν μπουμπουάρ
Τους λέγ' αρεβουάρ και φεύγουνε στουπί.

Verse 3
Κι όταν μου πεί κανείς πως μ' αγαπά
Πληρώνει τρεις φορές τη μιά οκά
Του βάνω[25] μέσα στο κρασί νερό
Και τον ταράζω στο λογαριασμό.

Refrain (repeated)

THE WAITRESS

Verse 1
I am the best waitress
because I serve everyone with skill
and they say to me, "Hey, what a babe!
Loveable[17] waitress, bring us some wine."

Refrain
In a flight I serve the shares
[and] appetisers on a plate with white bait and cheese
Then they [give me] a tip[21]
[I say goodbye][22] and they reel out drunk!

Verse 2
I sell litres of wine with appetisers
without ever giving credit
and when I start[24] the sweet eyes
then they all get twice as drunk.

Refrain
In a flight I serve the shares
[and] appetisers on a plate with white bait and cheese
Then they give me a tip
I say goodbye and they reel out drunk!

Verse 3
And when someone tells me he loves me
he pays three times the price of an *oka*[26]
I water down his wine
and rattle him with the bill.

Refrain (repeated)

[16] Documented as γλυκιά = "sweet" in Schorelis (1978b: 323).
[17] The word ντερπιά is of Turkish origins (*derbeder*) and ambiguous in translation. According to Zachos (1981: 373) it refers to both a loveable and honourable person, and to one who plays with the feelings of others.
[18] Documented as κι ο μεζές (Schorelis 1978b: 323)
[19] Documented as δίνουν (Schorelis 1978b: 323).
[20] Documented as λέω αρεβουάρ (Schorelis 1978b: 323).
[21] *pourboire* (French) = "drink money"; "tip"
[22] *au revoir* (French) = "goodbye"
[23] Documented as αρχίσουν (Schorelis 1978b: 323).
[24] Should be "they start" (αρχίσουν).
[25] Documented as βάζω (Schorelis 1978b: 323).
[26] A measurement of drink: an oka = 1280 grams.

MIA MELACHROINI

Music: Anonymous
Lyrics: Unkown
Performers: Meraki
Event No. 112: 25th National Folk Festival
Venue: Flinders University
Date: 31 March 1991

ΜΙΑ ΜΕΛΑΧΡΟΙΝΗ
Verse 1
Μια μελαχροινή, γιάλα, κλούκλα ζωντανή, γιάλα, ε
Σαν την είδα στο χορό, γιάλα, βαχ [*sic*],[27] δεν βαστώ, γιάλα, θα τρελαθώ
Να χορεύει τσιφτετέλι σ' ένα γύφτικο σκοπό.

Refrain
Είχ' ένα κορμί σαν χέλι
Βάι, βάι, βάι, βάι, βάι, βάι, βάι, βάι, βάι
Είχ' ένα κορμί σαν χέλι
χόρευε το τσιφτετέλι
χόρευε το τσιφτετέλι
χόρευε σκορπούσε κέφι με τον [*sic*][29] ντέφι της,
με τον [*sic*] ντέφι της, γιάλα, με τον [*sic*] ντέφι της
κι όλα γίναν άνω κάτω
για γούστο και για κέφι της.

Verse 2
Πως να της το πω, γιάλα, πως την αγαπώ, γιάλα, ε
Θα με φάει ο καημός, γιάλα, που να τη βρώ, γιάλα, να της το πω
Πως να γίνει πιά δικιά μου
Και να της σταφανωθώ.

Refrain (repeated)
Είχ' ένα κορμί σαν χέλι
Βάι, βάι, βάι, βάι, βάι, βάι, βάι, βάι, βάι
Είχ' ένα κορμί σαν χέλι
χόρευε το τσιφτετέλι
χόρευε το τσιφτετέλι
χόρευε σκορπούσε κέφι με τον [*sic*] ντέφι της,
με τον [*sic*] ντέφι της, γιάλα, με τον [*sic*] ντέφι της
κι όλα γίναν άνω κάτω
για γούστο και για κέφι της..

A DARK-SKINNED WOMAN
Verse 1
A dark-skinned woman, *giala*,[28] a living doll, *giala*, e
when I saw her dancing, *giala*, [ah], I cannot hold on, *giala*, I will go crazy,
she was belly-dancing to a gypsy tune.

Refrain
She had a body like an eel
vai'[30] *vai*, *vai*, *vai*, *vai*, *vai*' *vai*, *vai*, *vai*, *vai*
She had a body like an eel
she danced the belly-dance
she danced the belly-dance
she danced spreading joy with her tambourine
and everything was turned upside-down
for her sake.

Verse 2
How shall I tell her, *giala*, that I love her, *giala*, e
deep sorrow will eat me up, *giala,* where can I find her, *giala*, to tell her?
How can I make her mine and marry her?

Refrain (repeated)
She had a body like an eel
vai'[31] *vai*, *vai*, *vai*, *vai*, *vai*' *vai*, *vai*, *vai*, *vai*
She had a body like an eel
she danced the belly-dance
she danced the belly-dance
she danced spreading joy with her tambourine
and everything was turned upside-down
for her sake.

[27] Should be αχ.
[28] *giala* = "hey"
[29] Grammatical mistake. Should be το.
[30] The meaning of the word *vai* is not documented in the literature.

MI ME STELNEIS MANA STIN AMERIKI

Music/Lyrics: Dimitris Semsis or Ioannis 'Ogdontakis' Dragatsis[32]
Performers: Themelia
Event No. 78: National Community Arts "Conference Club" Social-Dance
Venue: Multicultural Artworkers Committee, Living Arts Centre
Date: 6 September 1986

ΜΗ ΜΕ ΣΤΕΛΝΕΙΣ ΜΑΝΑ ΣΤΗΝ ΑΜΕΡΙΚΗ

Verse 1
Μη με στέλνεις, μάνα, στην Αμερική
Γιατί θα μαραζώσω και θα πεθάνω εκεί
Γιατί θα μαραζώσω και θα πεθάνω εκεί.

Verse 2
Δολάρια δεν θέλω, πως να σου το πώ
Κάλιο ψωμί κρεμύδδι κι αυτόνε π' αγαπω
Κάλιο ψωμί κρεμύδδι κι αυτόνε π' αγαπω.

Verse 3
Αγαπώ,[33] μανούλα, κάποιο στο χωριό
Όμορφο λεβέντη και μοναχογιό
Όμορφο λεβέντη και μοναχογιό.

Verse 4
Με 'χει φιλημένη μες' στις ρεματιές
Και αγκαλιασμένη κατ' απ' τις μυρτιές
Και αγκαλιασμένη κατ' απ' τις μυρτιές.

Verse 5
Κιαν με δείρεις μάνα με το τσόκαρο
Εγώ θα τον επάρω τον νέο π' αγαπώ
Εγώ θα τον επάρω τον νέο π' αγαπώ.

Verse 6
Σαν αρνί με πάνε να με σφάξουνε
Μ' από τον καημό μου θα με θάψουνε
Μ' από τον καημό μου θα με θάψουνε.

MOTHER, DON'T SEND ME TO AMERICA

Verse 1
Mother, don't send me to America
because I will waste away and die there
because I will waste away and die there.

Verse 2
I don't want dollars, how can I say it
better to eat bread and onions and be with the one I love
better to eat bread and onions and be with the one I love.

Verse 3
I love someone in the village
a beautiful, manly lad and an only son
a beautiful, manly lad and an only son.

Verse 4
He has kissed me by the brooks
and embraced me under the myrtle trees
and embraced me under the myrtle trees.

Verse 5
And, mother, if you beat me with a wooden clog
I will marry the young man I love
I will marry the young man I love.

Verse 6
They take me like a lamb to the slaughter
but I will die from my sorrow
but I will die from my sorrow.

[31] The word *vai* is not documented in the literature.
[32] See Appendix 4.
[33] One voice begins to sing Verse 4 with "Με έχει".

NYCHTOSE CHORIS FENGARI

Music/Lyrics: Apostolos Kaldaras
Performers: Hellenic Music Association of South Australia
Event No. 4: *Rebetika* Night Social-Dance
Venue: Hellas Club
Date: 27 August 1982

ΝΥΧΤΩΣΕ ΧΩΡΙΣ ΦΕΓΓΑΡΙ

Verse 1
Νύχτωσε χωρίς φεγγάρι το σκοτάδι είναι βαρύ
Κι όμως ένα παλικάρι δεν μπορεί να κοιμηθεί
Κι όμως ένα παλικάρι δεν μπορεί να κοιμηθεί.

Verse 2
Άραγε τι περιμένει απ' το βράδυ ως το πρωί
Στο στενό το παραθύρι που φωτίζει ένα κερί
Στο στενό το παραθύρι που φωτίζει ένα κερί.

Verse 3
Πόρτα ανοίγει πόρτα κλείνει με βαριά αναστεναγμό
Ας μπορούσα να μαντέψω της καρδιάς του τον καημό
Ας μπορούσα να μαντέψω της καρδιάς του τον καημό.

MOONLESS NIGHTFALL

Verse 1
The night came without moon, darkness weighs heavily
yet a *palikari*[33] cannot sleep
yet a *palikari* cannot sleep.

Verse 2
I wonder what he is waiting for from night till morning
beside a narrow window lit by a candle
beside a narrow window lit by a candle.

Verse 3
A door opens and shuts with a heavy sigh[34]
if I could only guess his heart's anguish[35]
if I could only guess his heart's anguish.

[33] *palikari* = "brave young man"
[34] Also translated as "he sighs heavily".
[35] *kalmos* = "anguish", "sorrow" (see glossary).

O BOCHORIS

Music: Anonymous
Lyrics: Unkown
Performers: Hellenic Music Association of South Australia
Event No. 93: "Evolution of *Laïki Mousiki*" Concert
Venue: Royalty Theatre
Date: 3 July 1988

Ο ΜΠΟΧΩΡΗΣ

Verse 1
Άιντε, του καημένου του Μποχώρη[37]
Του τη σκάσαν στο βαπόρι, άιντε,
του τη σκάσαν στο βαπόρι
Και του πήραν πεντακόσα
Όλο λίρες κι όλο γκρόσα [*sic*].[38]

Verse 2
Άιντε, το καημένο τον Μποχώρη
Τον τυλίξανε στη πλώρη, άιντε,
τον τυλίξανε στη πλώρη
Και του πήρανε στο ζάρι
Άιντε, το καινούργιο του ζουνάρι.

Verse 3
Άιντε, του Μποχώρη τον εμπλέξαν
Στα στενά και του της βρέξαν, άιντε,
στα στενά και του της βρέξαν
Και του πήραν τα ψιλά του
Άιντε, και τον στείλαν στη δουλειά του.

O BOCHORIS[36]

Verse 1
Aïnte,[39] poor old Bochoris
they tricked him on the ship, *aïnte*,
they tricked him on the ship
and they took hundreds from him
in pounds and *grosia*.[40]

Verse 2
Aïnte, poor old Bochoris
they entangled him on the ship's stern, *aïnte*,
they entangled him on the ship's stern
and they beat him playing dice
aïnte, (and) took his new belt.

Verse 3
Aïnte, they entangled Bochoris
in the narrows and beat him up, *aïnte*,
in the narrows they beat him up
and they took his cash
aïnte, and sent him on his way.

[36] According to Tabouris (n.d.c: 11-12), the word "Bochoris" is of Jewish origin and means the first-born son. Apparently, Greek people referred to Jewish women as "*bochorines*".
[37] Spelt Μποχώρης in Petropoulos (1983: 203) and Gauntlett (1985: 231-232).
[38] Grammatical error. Should be γκρόσια.
[39] άιντε = "go on"
[40] *grosia* = *piastre*, small Spanish silver coin but also Turkish and Egyptian coin.

OI LACHANADES

Music/Lyrics: Vangelis Papazoglou[41]
Performers: Hellenic Music Association of South Australia
Event No. 93: "Evolution of *Laïki Mousiki*" Concert
Venue: Royalty Theatre
Date: 3 July 1988

ΟΙ ΛΑΧΑΝΑΔΕΣ

Verse 1
Κάτω στα Λε-, κάτω στα Λε-, κάτω στα Λεμονάδικα
Κάτω στα Λεμονάδικα έκαναν φασαρία
Δυό λαχανάδες πιάσανε που 'κάναν την κυρία.

Verse 2
Στα σιδερά, στα σίδερα, στα σίδερα τους βάλανε, οπ'
Στα σίδερα τους βάλανε και στη στενή τους πάνε
Κι αν δεν βρεθούν τα λάχανα το ξύλο που θα φάνε.

Verse 3
Κυρ' αστυνό-, κυρ' αστυνό-, κυρ αστυνόμε μη βαράς
Κυρ' αστυνόμε μη βαράς αφού καλά το ξέρεις
Πως η δουλειά μας ειν' αυτή και ρέφα[42] μη γυρεύεις.

Verse 4
Εμείς τρώμε ,εμείς, παιδιά, εμείς τρώμε τα λάχανα
εμείς τρώμε τα λάχανα, τσιμπούμε τις παντόφλες
Για να μας βλέπουνε συχνά τις φυλακές οι πόρτες.

THE PICK-POCKETS

Verse 1
Down at Le-, down at Le-, down at Lemonadika,
down at Lemonadika there was trouble
they caught two pick-pockets who acted innocently.

Verse 2
Behind bars, behind bars, they put them behind bars, *op*
They took them to gaol and put them behind bars
and if they don't find the stolen wallets they will get a beating.

Verse 3
Mr. Police-, Mr Police-, Mr Policeman, don't beat us
Mr Policeman don't beat us since you know very well
that this is our job and don't expect any bribes.

Verse 4
We pick, we, hey folks, we pick pockets
we pick pockets, we pinch wallets
so the gaol doors can see us often.

[41] See Appendix 4.
[42] Also documented as ρέστα = "small change" (Schorelis 1978b: 68)

OMORFI THESSALONIKI

Music/Lyrics: Vasilis Tsitsanis
Performers: Odyssey
Event No. 71: Greek Wedding Reception
Venue: Estonian Hall
Date: 10 May 1986

ΟΜΟΡΦΗ ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΝΙΚΗ

Verse 1 [43]
Είσαι το καμάρι της καρδιάς μου
Θεσσαλονίκη όμορφη γλυκιά
Κι αν ζω στη ξελογιάστρα την Αθήνα
Για σένα τραγουδώ κάθε βραδιά.

Refrain
Ο, όμορφη Θεσσαλονίκη
Ο, τα μάγκικα [44] σου βράδια νοσταλγώ.

BEAUTIFUL THESSALONIKI

Verse 1
You are the pride of my heart
sweet, beautiful Thessaloniki
and if I live in enticing Athens
I sing about you every night.

O, beautiful Thessaloniki
O, how I yearn for your *mangika*[45] [magic] nights.

[43] There are three verses in this song (Anastasiou 1995: 118).
[44] Documented as μάγικα = "magic" in Anastasiou (1995: 118).
[45] *Mangika* = "smart", "cool"

OSOI ECHOUNE POLLA LEFTA

Music/Lyrics: Markos Vamvakaris
Performers: *Oi Rebetes*
Event No. 176: *Rebetika* Night Social-Dance
Venue: Hellenic House
Date: 7 August 1993

ΟΣΟΙ ΕΧΟΥΝΕ ΠΟΛΛΑ ΛΕΦΤΑ

Verse 1
Όσοι έχουνε πολλά λεφτά να 'ξερα τι τα κάνουν
Άραγες σαν πεθάνουνε, βρ' αμάν αμάν,
μαζί τους θα τα πάρουν.
Άραγες σαν πεθάνουνε, βρ' αμάν αμάν,
μαζί τους θα τα πάρουν

Verse 2
Εγώ ψιλή στη τζέπη μου ποτές δεν αποτάζω
Κι όλα τα ντέρτια μου περνούν, βρ' αμάν αμάν, μόνο σαν μαστουριάζω.
Κι όλα τα ντέρτια μου περνούν, βρ' αμάν αμάν, μόνο σαν μαστουριάζω

Verse 3
Αφού στον άλλονε ντουνιά λεφτά δεν θα περνάνε
Θα 'χουν και τα θυμιάζουνε, βρ' αμάν αμάν, δεν ξέρουν να τα φάνε.
Θα 'χουν και τα θυμιάζουνε, βρ' αμάν αμάν, δεν ξέρουν να τα φάνε.

THOSE WITH A LOT OF MONEY

Verse 1
Those with a lot of money, I wish I knew what they do with it
I wonder if, when they die, *vr' aman*, *aman*,[46] they take it with them
I wonder if, when they die, *vr' aman*, *aman*, they take it with them.

Verse 2
I never keep cash in my pocket
and all my heartaches[47] pass, *vr' aman*, *aman*, only when I am stoned
and all my heartaches pass, *vr' aman*, *aman*, only when I am stoned.

Verse 3
Since in the other world money will not count
they will fawn upon it, *vr' aman*, *aman*, they don't know how to spend it
they will fawn upon it, *vr' aman*, *aman*, they don't know how to spend it.

[46] Βρε αμάν αμάν (interjection) = "hey you, woe is me, woe is me"
[47] ντέρτι = heartache, pain, onging, sorrow (see Glossary).

PENTE MANGES

Music/Lyrics: Ioannis Eitziridis (alias Giovan Tsaous)
Performers: Aman
Event No. 177: *Rebetiki Vradia*
Venue: Zorba's Restaurant
Date: 12 August 1993

ΠΕΝΤΕ ΜΑΓΚΕΣ

Verse 1
Πέντε μάγκες στον Πειραία πέρασαν απ' τον τεκέ
Ένας είπ' απ' την παρέα παμ' να πιούμε ναργιλέ.[48]
Μπήκαν μέσα να φουμάρουν φώναξαν τον τεκετζή
Φτιάξε ναργιλέ αφράτο με Περσίας τουμπεκί.

Verse 2
Δύο τάλιρα το πίνεις, τρία θα πληρώσουμε
Αν η γκλάβα θα γεμίσει θα σε προτιμήσουμε.
Φούμαραν και ήταν ζούλα [*sic*][53] φώναξαν τον τεκετζή
Δαν κατάλαβαν μαστούρα ήταν σκέτο τουμπεκί.

Verse 3
Εσύ νόμιζες πως έχεις τίποτα κορτάκηδες
Ούτες πιτσιρίκια έχεις ούτες και πρεζάκιδες.
Πάμ' εκεί στο βουναλάκι[55] έχω ζούλα ναργιλέ
Πάμε μάγκες να το πιούμε να μη πάμε στο τεκέ.

Verse 4
Εσύ νόμιζες πως έχεις τίποτα κορτάκηδες
Ούτες πιτσιρίκια έχεις ούτες και πρεζάκιδες.
Κι αν θα κλείσουν τους τεκέδες Πειραιά Κρεμμυδαρού
Τότες πια θα κουβαλάω στη σπηλιά την κουρελού.

FIVE *MANGES*

Verse 1
Five *manges*[49] from Piraeus passed by a den
one from the *parea*[50] said, let's go and smoke a *nargiles*.[51]
They went in for a smoke and called out to the den keeper
fix a fresh *nargiles* for us with Persian *toumbeki*.[52]

Verse 2
Two dollars for a smoke[54] but we'll pay three
if we get a hit we'll prefer you.
They smoked, it was [only a drag], they called the keeper
they didn't get a hit, it was pure leaf.

Verse 3
You think you've got some womanisers
you've got no youngsters here, nor junkies.
Let's go to [Kounelaki], I've got a hidden *nargiles*
manges, let's go for a smoke, let's give the den a miss.

Verse 4
You think you've got some womanisers
you've got no youngsters here, nor junkies.
And if they close the dens in Piraeus, Kremidarou
then I'll cart my rug to the cave.

[48] The word ναργιλέ also appears as ν' αργιλέ , i.e. ένα αργιλέ.
[49] *manges* = "smart guy", "hip", "cool dude" (see Glossary)
[50] *parea* = "a company of friends"
[51] *argiles* = "hubble-bubble", "water-pipe", "bong"
[52] *toumbeki* = probably a derivation of the word "tobacco"; tobacco used for a *argiles*; possibly also refers to the leaf of the marijuana plant.
[53] Documented as τζούρα (Kounadis 1988).
[54] Literally "drink", i.e. to suck on the hose of the hookah pipe.
[55] Documented as Κουνελάκι (Kounadis 1988).

SKANTALIARA

Music/Lyrics: Meropis & Christos Kolokotronis
Performers: Laïki Kompania
Event No. 36: Soccer Club Social-Dance
Venue: Colosuss Hall
Date: 14 July 1984

ΣΚΑΝΤΑΛΙΑΡΑ

Verse 1
Απόψε, σκανταλιάρα μου,
σε βλέπω στο ντουζένι
Μανίτσα μου, να σε χαρώ
έχεις κα' 'να καλό σκοπό
Και μου 'ρθεις στολισμένη.

Refrain
Τέτοια κούκλα και τσαχπίνα
δεν υπάρχει στην Αθήνα
δεν υπάρχει στην Αθήνα
τέτοια κούκλα και τσαχπίνα.

Verse 2
Χαμήλωσε τα, κούκλα μου,
τα μάτια σου λιγάκι
Γιατί 'ναι σκανταλιάρικα
έλα και παιχνιδιάρικα
Και μπαίνω στο μεράκι.

Refrain
Τέτοια κούκλα και τσαχπίνα
δεν υπάρχει στην Αθήνα
δεν υπάρχει στην Αθήνα
τέτοια κούκλα και τσαχπίνα.

Verse 3
Που θες να πάμε, κούκλα μου,
για να σ' ευχαριστήσω
Μαζί σου ξημερώνομαι
κι όπου θες το στρώνομε [*sic*][58]
Φθάνει να σε γλεντήσω.

Refrain
Τέτοια κούκλα και τσαχπίνα
δεν υπάρχει στην Αθήνα
δεν υπάρχει από 'σένα [στον Πειραία][59] πιο
ωραία.

THE MISCHIEVOUS WOMAN

Verse 1
Tonight, mischievous woman
I see you're in the mood
Sweet mama,[56] how I admire you
I hope you have something good in mind
you've come well-dressed too.

Refrain
There is no such doll and teaser[57] in Athens
in Athens there is no such doll and teaser.

Verse 2
Lower your eyes a little, my doll,
they are mischievous
and coquettish,
and I get into a passionate mood.

Refrain
There is no such doll and teaser in Athens
in Athens there is no such doll and teaser.

Verse 3
Where do you want to go, my doll,
for me to please you
I will be here with you till day break
and we can settle anywhere you like,
as long as I can give you a good time.

Refrain
There is no such doll and teaser in Athens
there is no other more beautiful than you in
Piraeus.

[56] Μανίτσα μου = "sweet mama", "hey babe!"
[57] τσαχπίνα= "teaser", "flirtatious woman", "sexy woman"
[58] Should be "στρώνουμε".
[59] Not clearly audible.

STOUS APANO MACHALADES

Music: Anonymous
Lyrics: Unknown
Performers: Aman
Event No. 177: *Rebetiki Vradia*
Venue: Zorba's Restaurant
Date: 12 August 1993

ΣΤΟΥΣ ΑΠΑΝΩ ΜΑΧΑΛΑΔΕΣ

Verse 1
Στους απάνω μαχαλάδες,
στους απάνω μαχαλάδες,
στους απάνω μαχαλάδες
κάθονταν δυό ντερβισάδες
Και φουμάρουνε μαυράκι
για να σπάσουνε κεφάκι
Και φουμάρουνε μαυράκι
για να σπάσουνε κεφάκι.

Verse 2
Τη νταλμίρα,[60] τη νταλμίρα,
τη νταλμίρα, τη νταλμίρα,
τη νταλμίρα, τη νταλμίρα,
μου την έμαθε μια χήρα
μ' έκανε και αλανιάρη, βρε,
χασικλή και κουρελιάρη
μ' έκανε και αλανιάρη, βρε,
χασικλή και κουρελιάρη.

Verse 3
Γύρω γύρω ντερβισάδες,
γύρω γύρω ντερβισάδες
Γύρω γύρω ντερβισάδες
και στη μέση οι λουλάδες.
Ο λουλάς και το καλάμι, βρε,
μ' έφεραν σ' αυτό το χάλι
Ο λουλάς και το χασίσι
μ' έφεραν σ' αυτή τη ζήση.

IN THE UPPER NEIGHBOURHOODS

Verse 1
In the upper neighbourhoods,
in the upper neighbourhoods
in the upper neighbourhoods
two dervishes were sitting
and they are smoking hashish
to get high
and they are smoking hashish
to get high.

Verse 2
About hashish, about hashish
about hashish, about hashish,
about hashish, about hashish
I learnt about hashish from a widow
she turned me into a street-boy, hey,
a hashish-smoker and a scruff
she turned me into a street-boy, hey,
a hashish-smoker and a scruff.

Verse 3
The dervishes are whirling around,
the dervishes are whirling around
the dervishes are whirling around
and in the middle are hubble-bubbles.
The hubble-bubble and bamboo pipe, hey,
led me into this mess
the hubble-bubble and hashish
led me to this life.

[60] Grammatically incorrect. Should be νταμίρα (Zachos 1981: 371).

SYNNEFIASMENI KYRIAKI

Music/Lyrics: Vasilis Tsitsanis[61]
Performers: Hellenic Music Association of South Australia
Event No. 93: "Evolution of *Laïki Mousiki*" Concert
Venue: Royalty Theatre
Date: 3 July 1988

ΣΥΝΝΕΦΙΑΣΜΕΝΗ ΚΥΡΙΑΚΗ

Verse 1
Συννεφιασμένη Κυριακή μοιάζεις με την καρδιά μου
Που έχει πάντα συννεφιά, συννεφιά,
Χριστέ και Πα-, Χριστέ και Παναγιά μου.
Που έχει πάντα συννεφιά, συννεφιά,
Χριστέ και Πα-, Χριστέ και Παναγιά μου.

Verse 2
Είσα μια μέρα σαν κι αυτή που ΄χασα την [*sic*][62] χαρά μου
Συννεφιασμένη Κυριακή, ματώνεις τη, ματώνεις τη καρδιά μου
Συννεφιασμένη Κυριακή, ματώνεις τη, ματώνεις τη καρδιά μου.

Verse 3
Όταν σε βλέπω πρόχερη [*sic*][63] στιγμή δεν ησύχάζω
Μαύρη μου κάνεις τη ζωή, τη ζωή,
Και βαριανα-, και βαριαναστενάζω
Μαύρη μου κάνεις τη ζωή, τη ζωή,
Και βαριανα-, και βαριαναστενάζω.

CLOUDY SUNDAY

Verse 1
Cloudy Sunday you resemble my heart
which is always cloudy, Christ and the All,
Christ and the All Holy Virgin Mary
which is always cloudy, Christ and the All,
Christ and the All Holy Virgin Mary.

Verse 2
You are just like the day I lost my joy
Cloudy Sunday, you bleed, you make my heart bleed
Cloudy Sunday, you bleed, you make my heart bleed.

Verse 3
When I see you [raining], I cannot rest for a moment
you blacken my life, my life, and heavily, and I sigh heavily
you blacken my life, my life, and heavily, and I sigh heavily.

[61] See Appendix 4.
[62] Should be τη.
[63] Incorrect text. Documented as βροχερή = "raining" (Anastasiou 1995: 76)

TAKA TAKA TAKA TA PETALAKIA - ECHO KOUMPARO LEVENTIA

Music: Manolis Chiotis[64]
Lyrics: Nikos Routsos
Performers: Odyssey
Event No. 74: Greek Wedding Reception
Venue: Serbian Centre Hall
Date: 18 May 1986

ΤΑΚΑ ΤΑΚΑ ΤΑ ΠΕΤΑΛΑΚΙΑ

Verse 1
Άμα θες κυρά μου γούστα
Πάμε τσάρκα με τη σούστα
Να κρατάς το χαλινάρι
Όλο σκέρτσο και καμάρι.

Refrain 1
Τάκα τάκα τάκα τα πεταλάκια
Τρίγκι τρίγκι τρίγκι τα κουδουνάκια
Τρίγκι τρίγκι τρίγκι τα κουδουνάκια
Τάκα τάκα τάκα τα πεταλάκια.

Verse 2 (Verse 1 repeated)

Refrain (Refrain 1 repeated)

ΕΧΩ ΚΟΥΜΠΑΡΟ ΛΕΒΕΝΤΙΑ

Verse 3
Επήγα και παράγγειλα, αγάπη μου, της βέρες
Θα παντρευτούμε, μάτια μου, ζύγωσανε οι μέρες.

Refrain
Έχω κουμπάρο λεβεντιά που θα μας στεφανώσει
Τα όργανα στο γάμο μας με λίρες θα πληρώσει
Τα όργανα στο γάμο μας με λίρες θα πληρώσει
Έχω κουμπάρο λεβεντιά που θα μας στεφανώσει.

CLIPPITY CLOP GO THE HORSESHOES

Verse 1
If you like some fun my love
let's go for a ride in the carriage
you can hold the reins
full of gaiety and pride.

Refrain 1
Clippity clop clop go the horseshoes
ding ding ding go the bells
ding ding ding go the bells
clippity clop clop go the horseshoes.

Verse 2 (Verse 1 repeated)

Refrain (Refrain 1 repeated)

I HAVE A YOUNG HANDSOME BEST MAN

Verse 3
I went and ordered the wedding rings, my love
we will marry, my eyes, the days are nigh.

Refrain
I have a young handsome best man to marry us off
at our wedding the musicians will be paid in gold coins
at our wedding the musicians will be paid in gold coins
I have a young handsome best man to marry us off.

[64] See Appendix 4.

THA SPASO KOUPES

Music: Anonymous
Lyrics: Unkown
Performers: Meraki
Event No. 112: 25th National Folk Festival
Venue: Flinders University
Date: 31 March 1991

ΘΑ ΣΠΑΣΩ ΚΟΥΠΕΣ

Verse 1
Θα σπάσω κούπες για τα λόγια που ΄πες
Θα σπάσω κούπες για τα λόγια που ΄πες
Και ποτηράκια για τα πικρά λογάκια.

Refrain
Αμάν αμάν αμάν γιανιορουμπεν [*sic*][65]
Α αμάν αμάν σεβιορουμπεν [*sic*][66]
Α, α, chιφτετέλι [67] αμάν αμάν γιαλελέλι
Α, α, chιφτετέλι αμάν αμάν γιαλελέλι.

Verse 2
Εχτές το βράδυ είδα στ' όνειρό μου
Εχτές το βράδυ είδα στ' όνειρό μου
Πως είχες τα μαλάκια σου ριγμένα στο λαιμό μου.

Refrain
Αμάν αμάν αμάν γιανιορουμπεν [*sic*]
Α αμάν αμάν σεβιορουμπεν [*sic*]
Α, α, chιφτετέλι αμάν αμάν γιαλελέλι
Α, α, chιφτετέλι αμάν αμάν γιαλελέλι.

I WILL SMASH CUPS

Verse 1
I will smash cups for those words you spoke
I will smash cups for those words you spoke
and glasses for those bitter words.

Refrain
Aman,[68] *aman*, *aman*, [?][69]
Aman, *aman*, *aman*, I yearn for you[70]
a, a, belly-dance, *aman*, *gialeleli*[71]
a, a, belly-dance, *aman*, *gialeleli*.

Verse 2
Last night I saw in my dream
Last night I saw in my dream
that your hair was draped around my neck.

Refrain
Aman, *aman*, *aman*, [?]
Aman, *aman*, *aman*, I yearn for you
a, a, belly-dance, *aman*, *gialeleli*.
a, a, belly-dance, *aman*, *gialeleli*

[65] *yaniyozumben* (Turkish) (Arvanitaki 1984)
[66] *seviyozumsen* (Turkish) (Arvanitaki 1984)
[67] From the Turkish word *çiftetelli*.
[68] *aman* = "woe is me" (interjection) (see Glossary)
[69] *yaniyozumben* = ? [Greek translation illegible] (Arvanitaki 1984). Translation not found in the literature.
[70] *seviyozumsen* = "I love you", "I yearn for you" (Arvanitaki 1984)
[71] Translation not found in the literature.

TI SE MELLEI ESENANE

Music: Anonymous
Lyrics: Unknown
Performers: Hellenic Music Association of South Australia
Event No. 94: "Evolution of *Laïki Mousiki*" Concert
Venue: Royalty Theatre
Date: 3 July 1988

ΤΙ ΣΕ ΜΕΛΛΕΙ ΕΣΕΝΑΝΕ

Verse 1
Τι σε μέλλει εσένανε από που είμαι εγώ
Τι σε μέλλει εσένανε από που είμαι εγώ
Απ' τον [*sic*][72] Καρατάσι, φως μου, η απ' τον Κορδελιό
Απ' τον [*sic*] Καρατάσι, φως μου, η απ' τον Κορδελιό.

Refrain
Τι σε μέλλ' εσένανε κι όλο με ρωτάς
Από πιο χωριό είμαι εγώ αφού δεν μ' αγαπάς.

Verse 2
Απ' τον τόπο που είμαι εγώ ξέρουν ν' αγαπούν
Απ' τον τόπο που είμαι εγώ ξέρουν ν' αγαπούν
Ξέρουν τον καημό να κρύβουν ξέρουν να γλεντούν
Ξέρουν τον καημό να κρύβουν ξέρουν να γλεντούν.

Refrain
Τι σε μέλλ' εσένανε κι όλο με ρωτάς
Από πιο χωριό είμαι εγώ αφού δεν μ' αγαπάς.

Verse 3
Τι σε μέλλ' εσένανε κι όλο με ρωτάς
Τι σε μέλλ' εσένανε κι όλο με ρωτάς
Αφού δεν με λυπάσαι, φως μου, και με τυραννάς
Αφού δεν με λυπάσαι, φως μου, και με τυραννάς.

Refrain (repeated)

WHAT'S IT TO YOU

Verse 1
What's it to you where I am from
what's it to you where I am from
whether it's Karatasi, my light, or Kordelio
whether it's Karatasi, my light, or Kordelio.

Refrain
What's it to you and you are always asking me
what village I am from, since you don't love me.

Verse 2
Where I come from they know how to love
where I come from they know how to love
they know how to hide their sorrow and how to have a good time
they know how to hide their sorrow and how to have a good time.

Refrain
What's it to you and you are always asking me
what village I am from, since you don't love me.

Verse 3
What's it to you and you are always asking me
what's it to you and you are always asking me
since you do not feel pity for me, my light, and you torment me
since you do not feel pity for me, my light, and you torment me.

Refrain (repeated)

[72] Documented as το (neut.) in Tabouris (n.d.a: 7).

TO FERETZE

Music: Anonymous[73]
Lyrics: Unknown
Performers: Meraki
Event No. 109: State Bank Multicultural Carnival Festival
Venue: Amphitheatre, Adelaide Festival Centre
Date: 10 March 1991

ΤΟ ΦΕΡΕΤΖΕ	THE VEIL
Verse 1 Φερετζέ φορώ, γιαβρί μου, να το βγάλω να χαρώ[74] Θέλω στη θερμή σου αγκάλη, αχ, αχ, σεβνταλή Για να γύρω το κεφάλι, αμάν, αχ, μερακλή.	Verse 1 I am wearing a veil, my *giavri*,[75] I shall remove it to please myself [I desire to remove it] I want, in your warm embrace, ah, ah, you lovelorn man, to rest my head, *aman*,[76] ah, you passionate man.
Verse 2 Τώρα θα γλεντώ,[77] γιαβρί μου, που 'βελα [*sic*][78] το φερετζέ Θα γλεντάω με λατέρνες, αχ, αχ μάκια[79] μου 'κανες Θα γλεντάω στις ταβέρνες, αχ, αχ, εσύ με τρέλανες.	Verse 2 I will enjoy myself now, my *giavri*, that [I removed][80] the veil I will party with hurdy-gurdies, ah, ah, you kissed me I will party in the taverns, ah, ah, you've made me crazy.

[73] See Appendix 4.
[74] Sounds and is documented as λαχταρώ = "I desire" in Tabouris (n.d.b: 18; track no. 14).
[75] The word *giavrí* (interjection) ="little child".
[76] *aman* (interjection).= "woe is me"
[77] Documented incorrectly as γελώ = "laugh" in Tabouris (n.d.c: 18). On the sound recording, Rita Abatzi actually sings "γλεντώ". In the same CD notes there are other incorrectly transcribed lyrics for the song "*To Feretze*".
[78] Incorrect text. Documented as "που 'βγαλα" (Tabouris n.d.c: 18). έβγαλα = "removed".
[79] Documented as μάγια = "magic" in Tabouris (n.d.c: 18).
[80] Incorrect text. Documented as "που 'βγαλα" in Tabouris (n.d.c: 18). έβγαλα = "I removed".

TO TELEFTEO VRADI MOU

Music: Stelios Kazantzidis
Lyrics: Eftichia Papagianopoulou
Performers: Laïki Kompania
Event No. 36: Soccer Club Social-Dance
Venue: Colosuss Hall
Date: 14 July 1984

ΤΟ ΤΕΛΕΥΤΑΙΟ ΒΡΑΔΥ ΜΟΥ

Verse 1
Το τελευταίο βράδυ μου απόψε το περνάω
Κι όσοι με πίκραναν πολύ τώρα που φεύγω απ' τη ζωή
Όλους τους συχωρνάω.

Refrain
Όλα είναι ένα ψέμα, μια ανάσα μια πνοή
Σαν λουλούδι κάποιο χέρι θα μας κόψει μιαν αυγή.

Verse 2
Κι όπ-[*sic*][81] όπου πάω δεν περνά το δάκρυ και ο πόνος
Τα βάσανα και οι καημοί εδώ θα μείνουν στη ζωή
Και 'γω θα φύγω μόνος.

Refrain
Όλα είναι ένα ψέμα, μια ανάσα μια πνοή
Σαν λουλούδι κάποιο χέρι θα μας κόψει μιαν αυγή.

Verse 3
Δυό πόρτες έχει η ζωή άνοιξα μια και μπήκα
Σεργιάνησα ένα πρωινό κι ώσπου να 'ρθει το δειλινό
Από την άλλη βγήκα.

Refrain
Όλα είναι ένα ψέμα, μια ανάσα μια πνοή
Σαν λουλούδι κάποιο χέρι θα μας κόψει μιαν αυγή.

MY LAST NIGHT

Verse 1
I am living through my last night
now that I am leaving life
I forgive all those who have embittered me.

Refrain
Everything is a lie, an inhalation, a breath
we are like a flower that will be cut at dawn.

Verse 2
Wherever I go tears and pain never pass
the tortures and yearnings will stay here in life
and I shall leave alone.

Refrain
Everything is a lie, an inhalation, a breath
we are like a flower that will be cut at dawn.

Verse 3
Life has two doors, I opened one and entered
I journeyed one morning and by sunset
I departed through the other door.

Refrain
Everything is a lie, an inhalation, a breath
we are like a flower that will be cut at dawn.

[81] Vocalist adds syllable "οπ".

ZOURLOBENEMENIS GENNA

Music/Lyrics: Vangelis Papazoglou
Performers: Aman
Event No.177: *Rebetiki Vradia*
Venue: Zorba's Restaurant
Date: 12 August 1993

ΖΟΥΡΛΟΜΠΑΙΝΕΜΕΝΗΣ ΓΕΝΝΑ

Verse 1
Ζουρλομπαινεμένης γέννα έλα στην αγκάλη μου
Ζουρλομπαινεμένης γέννα έλα στην αγκάλη μου
Κι ότι σου 'χω καμωμένα κάνε τα χαλάλι μου
Κι ότι σου 'χω καμωμένα κάνε τα χαλάλι μου.

Verse 2
Ζουρλομπαι- λω τα[82] να σβήσεις που 'χω 'γω για σέναε
Έλα το σεβντά να σβήσεις που 'χω 'γω για σένανε
Και για τα παλιά μας ντέρτια μην ακούς κανένανε
Και για τα παλιά μας ντέρτια μην ακούς κανένανε.

Verse 3
Ζουρλομπαινεμένης γέννα ζούρλανες και 'μένανε
Ζουρλομπαινεμένης γέννα ζούρλανες και 'μένανε
Τη μανούλα μου λυπήσου όπου μ' έχει ένανε
Τη μανούλα μου λυπήσου όπου μ' έχει ένανε.

THE MAD-BORN WOMAN

Verse 1
Mad-born woman come to my arms
mad-born woman come to my arms
whatever I've done to you, blame it on me
whatever I've done to you, blame it on me.

Verse 2
[Come and] cool the passion I have for you
come and cool the passion I have for you
and about our old heartaches, don't listen to anyone
and about our old heartaches, don't listen to anyone.

Verse 3
Mad-born woman, you've driven me mad
mad-born woman, you've driven me mad
pity my mother who has only me
pity my mother who has only me.

[82] A mistake; the vocalist goes to sing another verse. Should be "'Ελα το σεβντά να σβήσεις ...".

Glossary

adelfotita	"brotherhood". A regional fraternity organisation.
aivaliotiko	A piece of music or song from the town of Aivali in western Asia Minor.
aïnte	"go on"
aman	"woe is me"; "oh dear me" (Stavropoulos 1988: 36)
amanes	A vocal genre in which the singer modally improvises melodies in unmetred time to text, expressing deeply felt emotions such as anguish, love, pain and sorrow.
anhemitonic	Lacking semitones, e.g. the whole tone scale or pentatonic scale (Randel 1986: 41).
arapines	"Arab women". Also "black women from Africa".
argiles	Hookah-pipe; hubble-bubble; bong. Also known as *nargiles*.
baglamas	A small long-necked lute with three courses of paired strings.
bota	Bass sound produced in the centre of the *toumberleki* drum.
bouzouki	A long-necked lute of the *bouzouki* family with three or four courses of paired strings, a pear-shaped sound box and strummed with a plectrum.
cafenia	"coffee houses"
choriatiko	"of the village"; "village-like"; "backward".
choroesperida	"evening-dance". Formal social-civic evening dance.
choreftika	"dancing items"; "danceable"
defi	Single skin frame drum; tambourine with one end covered by a skin.
derti	"erotic heartache"; "longing", "pain"; "sorrow"; "sadness" (Zachos 1981: 374; Stavropoulos 1988: 593).
dervisis	Derived from the Turkish word "dervis" meaning a "poor man"; "pauper"; "beggar"; "dervish" and also "humble"; "simple"; "contented" (Hony and Fahir Iz 1984: 130). Also, a disciple of the Sufi religious order.
diaskedasi	"entertainment"; "recreation"
diaskedazo	"I have a good time".
dimotika	Also known as "demotic". Songs (music and dances) associated with the rural and agrarian regions of Greece which include mainland Greece, Asia Minor, the Pontus and the Greek islands. Also known as "folk songs".
doumani	"thick smoke" (Stavropoulos 1988: 594); from the Turkish word *duman* meaning "smoke" (Zachos 1981: 375).
dromos (pl. *dromoi*)	"mode". Literally means "road". Greek diatonic and chromatic modes, some of which have Turkish and Arabic-Persian names.
ekfrasi	"expression"
elafra	"light-popular songs". Refers to a modern western-European style of Greek music.
ellinikotita	"hellenicity"; "Greekness"
emborika	"commercial songs". A commercialised Greek pop music.
ethnikophrones	"nationalists"
ethnismos	"nationism"
entechna	"art-popular songs". Greek music composed from around the 1950s onwards which fuses western classical and Greek traditional musical structures and is set to poetry.
epangelmatias	"professional"
erotas	"eros"
ethnos	"a people"; "shared culture"; "nation"; "nationhood"
gialeleli	No translation available.
giorti	Birthday or Saint's day celebration.
giortazo	"I celebrate"
glendi	"festivity"; "celebration"; "merriment"; "entertainment"
glentao	"I have a good time"

gnisia laïka tragoudia "genuine Greek popular songs"

gousto "style"; "good taste"

hemitonic Characterized by or including semitones (Randel 1986: 376).

house music A style of western popular dance music of the 80s onwards played by disc jockeys in discos, clubs and dance halls, and featuring synthesised rhythm section tracks and lyrical vocal parts.

kaïmos "sorrow"; "anguish"; "longing"; "yearning"; "pain"; "melancholy"

kalitechnis "artist"; "a well-skilled person"

kanonaki A trapezoid plucked zither.

kantades A vocal music genre which originated in the Ionian Islands. It consists of Italianate serenades accompanied by the violin, mandolin and guitar.

kapsourika "burning love songs"; "heartache songs"

klapsourika "heavy crying songs"; "weeping songs"

kefi "high spirits"; "cheerfulness"; "gaiety"; "merriment"; "joviality; "good humour"; "liveliness" (Stavropoulos 1988: 446); "good-mood"

kleftika Demotic folksongs depicting the activities of guerilla-bandits or klefts.

komboloia "worry-beads"

koumbaros (pl. *koumbaroi*). "bestman"; "matron of honour"; "godparent of one's child"

koutsavakis "tough guy","hood". A person who acts in a tough aggressive manner apparently mimicking the *dais*, a civil guard responsible for protecting professional guilds during the Ottoman Empire (Zachos 1981: 269-270; 370).

kritika "Cretan songs and music"

lagouto A long-necked eight-stringed lute with a pear-shaped sound-box.

laïka "Greek popular songs". Refers to a broad category of Greek urban popular music, especially to a specific style of *rebetika*. Features the *bouzouki* instrument.

laïki mousiki "Greek popular music"

laïkotita "popularity"; "populism"; "folksiness"; "commonness"; "vulgarity" (Stavropoulos 1988: 491)

laïko tragoudi "Greek popular song"

laos "people", "crowd", "mass", "populace", "lower classes", "common people", "grassroots" (Stavropoulos 1988: 493)

leventis "dashing"; "brave"; "handsome young man"; "a manly lad"

leventia "manliness"; "fearlessness"

loulas "hubble-bubble". A larger hookah-pipe with several hoses.

lyra An underhand bowed three-stringed fiddle.

makam (pl. *makamlar*). Turkish mode.

mangas "swashbuckler"; "street-urchin"; "smart guy"; "hip man"; "cool dude". Petropoulos (1983: 12) states that a *mangas* was an armed man who accompanied a feudal lord with his dogs during hunting expeditions. A group of rebel Albanians were also known as *manges* (pl.). Zachos (1981: 300) notes that armed men who fought during the Greek War of Independence and even during Byzantine times were known as *manges*.

mangia "craftiness"; "smartness"; "coolness"

mangika "smart"; "cool". Also refers to "street argot".

mas provlimatizei "it problematises us"; "it involves us"; "it concerns us"; "it challenges us"; "it makes us think"

mastoris "master artisan"

meraki "passion"; "yearning"; "curiosity"; "skill".
Stavropoulos (1988: 538) translates "*meraki*" as "longing/yearning"; "good taste/artistry"; and "high spirits" (*sta merakia* plural). *Meraki* comes from the

	Turkish word *merak* which translated means "curiosity; whim; [or having a] passion (for something); amateur; connoisseur; fan; [or] devotee" (Hony and Iz 1984: 335). See also Zachos (1983: 320). I include it to mean 'being in the know about something dear to you', ie. having insight, knowledge and skill as well as passion, compassion, devotion.
neo-kima	"new-wave songs". Compositions of a political song movement of the 1960s and 70s.
neo-laïka	"new-popular songs". Contemporary songs in a *laïko* style.
neo-rebetika	"neo-*rebetika* songs". Contemporary compositions in a *rebetiko* style.
nifikous chorous	"bridal dances"
nisiotika	"islands songs". Usually refers to Aegean island songs, dances and music.
osul	A Turkish rhythmic mode.
oud	*Outi*. A multi-stringed short-necked lute.
palia laïka	"old Greek popular songs". Refers to traditional Greek urban popular songs.
palikari	"a brave young man"
paraponiarika	"plaintive songs"; "complaining songs"
panigyri	"festival"; "panegyric"
paradosiaka	"traditional Greek songs"
parea	"company of friends"
parigoria	"consolation"
plakiotika	"songs of the Plaka". Romantic songs related to the *kantades* in choral style and accompanied by guitar which developed in the Plaka, a suburb situated at the base of the Acropolis in Athens.
pneuma	"spirit"; "life force"
politikos	"of the Polis". Refers to songs from the *Poli*, an abbreviated name for the city of Constantinople (*Constantinoupoli*), now Istanbul.
prima	The high pitched timbre of the *toumberleki* drum produced on the rim. Derived from *primos* = "treble pitch".
pröodeftika	"progressive songs". Political songs with lyrics which support leftist ideologies. Often refers to the *antartika* songs of the anti-German resistance movement during the Second World War (e.g. Tzavelas), *neo-kima* (e.g. Savopoulos), and *enthechna* (e.g. Theodorakis).
psychi	"psyche"; "soul"
rebetika	A genre of traditional Greek urban popular music.
rebetis	A musician or patron of *rebetika* music. Also used to refer to a "street-person"; a "wanderer".
refa	"bribe"
resta	"small change"
rizes	"roots"
santouri	A hammer dulcimer struck with mallets.
saz	A long-necked Turkish lute with varying numbers of strings.
sevdas	"unrequited love"; "love-sickness"
skiladika	"dog songs". A style of commercialised Greek popular music with songs dominated by the theme of unrequited love.
smyrneïka	"songs of Smyrna". An early style of the *rebetika* genre of Greek urban popular music named after the western Asia Minor town of Smyrna, now Izmir, Turkey.
taximi	An unmetred instrumental solo improvisation employing modes.
techni	"artistry"; "skill"
tekes	(pl. *tekedes*) "hashish den". A small coffee-house where hashish was purchased and consumed. *Rebetika* musicians often played music there.
thelisi	"will"; "desire"
toumberleki	A single-skinned brass goblet drum.
toumbeki	Probably a derivation of the word tobacco. Refers to tobacco used in a hookah pipe. May also refer to the leaf of the marijuana plant.

topos	"place"; "country"; "native land"
tsachpina	"teaser"; "flirtatious"; "sexy woman"
tsamikos	A regional dance in a three beat cycle (often articulated against a two-beat cross-rhythm) found in Epirus, Macedonia, Thessaly, and the Peloponnese.
tzivaeri	A mode. Also a popular *amanes*. Also, a term of endearment.
tzoura	"a little", "a drop", "a puff" (Zachos 1981: 480).
tzouras	A long-necked lute with three courses of paired strings, a pear-shaped or tear drop-shaped sound box smaller than the *bouzouki*.
western classical music	The classical or 'high art' music of Europe (and other countires) which developed among the aristocratic, bourgeois and ecclesiastical social sectors since the Middle Ages. The term often refers to the Classical period, 1750 to 1820.
western popular music	Styles of popular ballad and dance music which largely developed in the United States, Central America and England. The broad term includes rock, ballad, rock 'n' roll, rhythmn 'n' blues, blues, jazz, reggae, funk, soul, hip hop, acid jazz, grunge, etc.
xenitia	"foreign lands", "migration"
zilia	Brass finger cymbals.

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