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“Transporting the notes:” urbanization and westernization in the music of the northeastern Aegean islands in the nineteenth and the twentieth century

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ABSTRACT

The music of the North Aegean Sea Islands between Europe and Asia has undoubtedly been influenced by neighbouring cultures. The syncretic melding of disparate strands has also formed an indigenous, cosmopolitan cultural identity in the North Aegean Sea islands, comprising Lesbos, Limnos, Ai Stratis, Chios, Oinousses, Psara, Samos, Ikaria and Fourni. Identity emerges from mythical and historical events, including indigenous Greek, Oriental and Western ethnic materials of continental and island origins. Adopting an interdisciplinary methodology crossing historical ethnomusicology and musicology, cultural anthropology and the sociology of music, this paper presents results of ethnographic research into music and dance. It explores identity formation from the late nineteenth century to the present. It focuses on changes in musical practices, performance, education, repertoire and lifestyle. Centralizing policies emanating from Athens combined with social and technological changes mark transitions from local to European, from eastern to western style, providing a context for urbanization and westernization.

KEYWORDS

Cultural identity; cultural hegemony; urbanization; westernization; Philharmonic Bands; Intellectual Spring of Lesbos; ziyies; kompanies; urban pop orchestra

The formation of the music and dance identity – historical and musical context

The North Aegean Islands comprise nine maritime islands including Lesbos, Limnos, Ai Stratis, Chios, Oinousses, Psara, Samos, Ikaria, Fourni and Thymena, which form a discrete regional unit of administration (although Samos, Ikaria and Fourni are geographically located in the East Aegean) with special cultural heritage in the Aegean archipelago (Figure 1).

I carried out fieldwork research and a study of the music- and dancing tradition in the bigger islands; Lesbos, Limnos, Chios, Samos and Ikaria, in collaboration with the Centre for Aegean Folklore and Musicological Studies, for over 9 years (2009–2018), documenting processes of cultural maintenance and change as they unfolded in the context of performance and repertoire. In order to explain the present-day context, I will first provide a brief historical sketch of music-making there.



Figure 1. Map of the North Aegean Administration¹.

Already by the eighteenth century, famous European travellers, including Joseph Pitton de Tournefort, Jakob Ludwig Salomon Bartholdy, Hubert Pernot, Charles Thompson, James Dallaway, Pierre-Auguste de Guys, Emily Beaufort, Bourgault-Ducoudray, Johann Hermann von Riedesel, Henry Holland,² and others, observed the important role that music and dance played in the local societies of each separate island, as an integral part of the everyday life of the inhabitants, marvelling at their ability to set up an impromptu festivity featuring music, dance and singing irrespective of the time and place: in churches, cafés, squares and houses.³ Their descriptions reveal the richness and diversity of each island musical tradition. Aegean musical culture illustrated great variety in the form, style and genre of music and dances, both on the broader level of the archipelago, and on each separate island.⁴ This variation may be attributed to the following reasons:

Pirate raids in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries led to the desertion of the islands and the subsequent re-settlement by non-indigenous populations (from Crete, Asia Minor, Peloponnese, and other nearby locations).

Furthermore, the Liberation of the North and central Aegean Sea islands from the Turkish Occupation in 1912 and the subsequent integration into Greece or the Revolution of the residents of Samos against the Greek Government in 1914.

Even after the integration of the islands into the Greek State (1912) – the coast of Asia Minor continued functioned as a sort of hinterland as it had always done, especially for the bigger islands Lesbos, Limnos, Samos, Chios, the metropolitan centres being Smyrna, Ayvalik and Constantinople.⁵

Later again, historical events such as the Asia Minor Catastrophe (the catastrophic expulsion of Christian Greeks from Turkey) in 1922 caused massive population movements towards the islands.

Such upheavals and movements have resulted in considerable variation in the repertoires performed on each island as a result of specific traditions brought by each wave of immigrants.

Additionally, commercial and maritime exchanges (extending from Constantinople to Alexandria and to the Holy Land) added further to already multiple cultural influences

from the East (Smyrna, Ayvalik and the coasts of Asia Minor, Constantinople)⁶ and the West (Eastern Europe). The proximity to the Venetian-occupied Dodecanese also offered an indirect cultural influence from the Italian peninsula.⁷

Technological advances from the early twentieth century provided another catalyst adding to an already dynamic cultural context for the performance of local music and dance. The invention of the gramophone and the consequent development of music recording & publishing were among the most striking of these. From the Interwar period (1914–39) and thereafter, both international popular music (including European music, songs from Smyrna and the *Politiko* song from Constantinople), and national and local Greek repertoire were relatively easily distributed.⁸ Combined with the subsequent advent of radio these innovations contributed significantly to the diffusion and dissemination of new repertoire, thus forming new aesthetic perceptions for musical performance.

By the thirties the radio was encroaching ever more steadily upon private and public life, comprising a source of information, news, entertainment as well as facilitating the introduction and promotion of new aesthetic trends and norms.⁹ The radio contributed to the 'new sociality'¹⁰ in the domestic sphere it became medium of information and communication with the outside world, while in the public places, such as those of the traditional *kafenía* [cafés] (Figure 2) (which consisted a meeting place for social exchange),¹¹ the radio became the means through which new songs and tunes from urban centres, from popular music, from operas & operettas passed into the local repertoire.

Finally and equally importantly, emigration played an important role in the formation of the cultural identity of the Northeastern Aegean islands. This outflow, mainly to North America, had begun by the mid-nineteenth century, initially for reasons of livelihood, further intensified in the aftermath of the Greco-Turkish War of 1897. It gained additional momentum from World War I and the Greco-Turkish War of 1919–1922, and continued until the 1970s.¹²

Described by Bourgault-Ducoudray in 1878 as 'a musical city,' as already mentioned, the importance of the urban centre of Smyrna cannot be underestimated.¹³ Between East and West, between urban and folk, between traditional and cosmopolitan, the Smyrnaean



Figure 2. Musicians at *kafenio* in Lesbos island in the 1930s¹⁴ Used by permission of Sotiris Chtouris and the University of the Aegean.

song [*smyrneiko*] bore the mark of as many intermeshing origins as there were ethnic groups living in the multicultural and multi-ethnic metropolis (Greeks, Turks, Jews, Armenians, Franks). As Tournefort testified, Smyrnaeans danced in a whole multi-ethnic range of idioms: *a la greca, a la franca, a la turca*.¹⁵ The Smyrnaean song influenced the Greek coasts and ranked as the precursor of the *rebetiko* song that subsequently emerged from the port of Piraeus.¹⁶ The Aegean musical style is thus made up of elements from the nine North and central Aegean Sea islands, Asia Minor, Smyrna, in such a way that on the one hand, it reflects its origin, while on the other, it consists of a distinctive locally adapted entity within a Greek music and dance tradition.¹⁷

Broadly speaking, compared to the rest of the Aegean archipelago, the character of the repertoire of the North Aegean Sea islands displays more urban influence. Despite this, it has developed specific local features as far as musical structure, poetic improvisation and rhyme, arrangement and instrumentation, dance genders, types and motifs are concerned.¹⁸ A categorization of tunes and songs of the nine islands, according to the performance occasion and context provides a list of five subdivisions as follows:

- (a) Songs & dances of the **cycle of life**, usually vocal (*patinades*,¹⁹ lullabies, wedding songs, etc.)
- (b) Songs & dances of the annual **cycle of time** (carols, carnival, folk religious songs, such as ‘the lament of the Virgin Mary’ etc.)
- (c) Songs & dances of **feasts** (*syrtos, balos, zeibekikos, karsilamas* etc.)
- (d) Songs & dances of **impromptu gatherings** (*kantadas*, migration songs, *amanés*, teasing songs, etc.)
- (e) Songs & dances for entertainment **purposes** with European origin **in the urban environment** (marches, quadrilles, foxtrot, tango, waltzes)

Following this brief historic overview revealing various influences on the island repertoire and explaining the presence of specific musical items, I now begin to document the gradual change wrought by the various historical and socio-economic forces, that contributed to the categories of music listed above.

Urbanization and westernization in the North & East Aegean sea islands – changes in music education, music life and entertainment

The term *westernization* is frequently used to denote the process by which cultures in various parts of the globe absorb Euro-American (the West) elements into indigenous cultures as a result of or in the wake of conquest and colonization by European or American powers. This is also frequently seen as a form of domination and subjugation by indigenous people (Gramsci’s theory).²⁰ As far as Greece is concerned, however, the term *westernization* is used in a different sense related to its historical context. Soon after the constitution of the Greek nation-state in 1830, Greece turned its orientation towards the West, meaning that it was eager to adopt Western culture in areas such as technology, politics, economics, lifestyle, clothing, habits, entertainment, mentalities and cultural practices,²¹ in the hope of attaining a Western life (or at least some aspects of it) and thus renounce its Ottoman past. The whole process encompassed deliberate

attempts by Greeks to shed and discard despised Ottoman cultural influences in the years following Greek independence from the Turks.

In this case, the content of *westernization*²² in the nineteenth century was rather identified with a deliberate *Europeanization*, while in the twentieth century, it could be also debated that *westernization* is generally equivalent to *modernization*²³ and the threshold of *globalization* achieved in the twenty-first century,²⁴ through the diffusion of different cultures in interrelation and interaction.²⁵

On the other hand, despite the Greeks' willing and intentional adoption of a policy of westernization, it can be argued, following Gramsci, that the process may still be viewed as the replacing of one cultural hegemony (Ottoman) with a second (European).

The degree of diffusion and adoption of this replacement may vary and depend on the receptiveness of the indigenous people.²⁶ This replacement of *cultural hegemony* can be noticed in two levels:

- (a) In country/nation level: as *cultural domination* of the Western/European countries over the Greek nation (and indirectly the Ottoman one) and
- (b) In social class level: as *social-cultural domination* of the upper urban social class (ruling class, dominant social group) over the lower strata of the society, since every change/novelty (either coming from the class itself or from the West/Europe) is firstly approved and then passes from the dominant social group into the subaltern classes, which imitate the lifestyle of the former.

Therefore, when we consider that part of the westernization process involves the extension of urban values and practices into the rural environment, it is notable that in the case of the North Aegean Sea islands, urban development proceeded to some extent from western 'acculturation'. Apart from the capital towns of the bigger islands of Lesbos, Chios, Limnos and Samos, there were also other large residential centres (four in Lesbos for instance: Aghiassos, Plomari, Messotopos, Aghia Paraskevi). Urban values informed the tangible culture through architectural styles, seen, for example, in the neo-classic style deployed in residences. Crucially for this paper, urbanism also emerged in expressions of intangible culture: music, dance, theatre, already from the end of the nineteenth century. As previously noted, this early urbanization – already seen in the last decades of the nineteenth century – was due to the fact that the multi-cultural urban centres on the Anatolian coast had always functioned as dynamic sources, setting economic, trade and cultural trends in the islands.

Among the major musical of this process of westernization was the constitution of Philharmonic Bands & Companies that undoubtedly contributed to the Europeanization of both the newly-established Greek state and the islands of the North Aegean Sea still under Ottoman rule. The latter were thus even more eager to defy their Turkish rulers, by following the European way of life. These ensembles, considered as bearers of the European Enlightenment and musical culture, first appeared about 1840 in the Ionian Islands of Western Greece due both to successive Venetian and English domination, and to their proximity to Italy. They spread through the Ionian (Heptanese) School of Music, the Philharmonic Orchestras, the Academies and the theatres.²⁷ It is noteworthy also that local tradition in the Ionian islands was based on *kantades/glees*, *arrechies*, *serenates*, etc., the titles clearly revealing urban-folk music genres of Italian origin.²⁸

In 1864, after the union of the Ionian islands with Greece, this movement also emerged in Athens, enhancing and diversifying musical life through the establishment of music societies, conservatories and orchestras. These societies additionally provided a solid musical education by accredited music teachers, together with concerts of relevant repertoire,²⁹ while the Eptanesian *kantada* transmitted in the taverns and the backstreets of the traditional *Plaka* neighbourhood, changed and adapted to take on a distinctively Athenian form.

From the other side of Greece, however, westernization came paradoxically from the East. The cosmopolitan cities of Smyrna, Ayvalik and Constantinople, with which the island populations of the North Aegean Sea were in daily communication, had already adopted European standards of living in education and entertainment, well before the late nineteenth century, with a direct impact upon the Greek islands.³⁰ Also from the close of the century, Philharmonic Bands/Companies were established here along the lines of those in Ionia. The first and most well known were the Philharmonic Band of Samos (founded in 1890 in Vathi) and the Karlovassi Philharmonic Society 'Kleanthis Samios' (founded in 1895). The Philharmonic Companies continue to have a strong educational and social role in the musical life of the islands to the present.³¹ The free teaching of instruments including strings, brass, woodwind and percussion at a minimal cost still promotes the music education to younger generations, expands the horizons of the students possibly even to the professional level, while it familiarizes audiences with the sound and use of brass wind instruments.³² On the other hand, the participation of philharmonics in public events already from the last decade of the nineteenth century (such as parades, feasts, dance balls, litanies)³³ contributed to the familiarization of the wider popular classes with European art music, and to the spread of a new repertoire: parts from operas, operettas, symphonic music, polkas, mazourkas, waltzes, etc.³⁴

Modernization and Europeanization also advanced through the establishment of cultural and sports associations, and clubs in the larger residential and economic centres of the islands from the end of the nineteenth century onwards. Indeed, some of these still play an important role in island cultural life today,³⁵ modelled on similar groups in Smyrna and Constantinople (Figure 3).³⁶

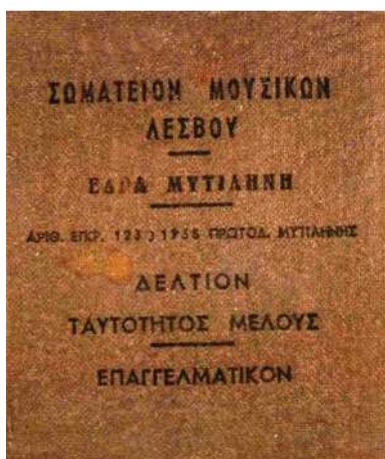


Figure 3. Member's identity of Music Association in Lesbos.³⁷ Used by permission of Nikos Dionysopoulos.

Most of them (Crafts associations, Music associations, Football clubs, Reading Clubs, Charity associations etc.) owned libraries, reading rooms and sometimes even small museums. They organized lectures, exhibitions, tea-parties, soirées, dance balls, concerts, theatrical performances in their clubhouses³⁸ and special events with popular sports (football) or even rare and faddish sports, such as ping pong and water polo matches.³⁹

Significantly, club members and especially the children of the urban population would learn both European and Greek dances (e.g. tango, waltz, foxtrot, *kalamatianos*, *syrtos*), which they performed at the dance parties, organized on a weekly basis by these dance schools.⁴⁰

The spread of this new type of social organization could be closely linked to a general 'trend' in Greece to follow new ways of sociality and to find associated new leisure activities.⁴¹ However, it may also be attributed to local socio-economic conditions in the micro-societies of the islands.⁴² While not excluding participation by the labour class, all kinds of cultural and sports clubs displayed the growth and the wealth of the middle and upper class, and remained indicators of sociality, urban economic prosperity and the optimistic conditions at the dawn of the twentieth century. This was due to the flourishing tobacco trade,⁴³ general export trading, the expansion of olive cultivation, and steam-powered industry.⁴⁴

At the same time public spectacles, including theatre and cinema, provided other social leisure time activities and contributed to the transmission of new ideas, new fashion trends, urban lifestyles, new songs coming from Europe, the United States and of course from the culturally hegemonic capital city of Athens. Through the familiarization of the audience with foreign, national and local theatrical productions, performed by local amateurs or by hosted foreign (Italian, French) or Athenian theatre troupes, indigenous people became familiar with a wide range of performative genres and repertoires; dramas, operettas, comedies, revues, etc.⁴⁵

The popularity of film, theatrical plays and the ballet performances was remarkable and showed how ready the local community was to consume and absorb new, westernized lifeways. In Lesbos, for example, among the dances that were imported from the West and then incorporated in the folk repertoire, was the 'Hor-Hor Aghas', a folk sedentary/sitting musical piece, which derived from the Armenian operetta *Leblebiji Hor-Hor Agha* (1875) by Tigran Tchoukhajian. Due to the popularity of the operetta, which was performed by a foreign invited troupe in the late nineteenth century, and the subsequent adoption of the homonymous song by working-class people of Mytilini, the song became independent of the original work, developing several versions as an integral part of the local folk repertoire.⁴⁶

A similar case was the instrumental tune 'roussiko' [meaning 'russian'] in Lesbos, accompanying a two-meter-dance, in a fast-paced rhythm, danced as the local 'mazomenos' [meaning 'cuddly'], a dance form similar to *chassaposervikos*,⁴⁷ a genre well known in the Balkans.⁴⁸ As its name implied, this specific dance derived from performances of Russian ballet companies that had toured Lesbos in the early twentieth century. It became massively popular, gradually being assimilated into the local dance tradition as a result.⁴⁹

Other foreign social dances that gained popularity in the North Aegean Sea islands were: *waltz*, *tango*, *foxtrot*, emanating from the large urban centres on the Anatolian mainland which were adopted by the highest strata of society at dancing parties and the

social gatherings⁵⁰ organized especially during pre-Lenten Carnivals, but also in other private and social events.⁵¹ Giorgos Ganosis' (the great santouri and drum player from Lesbos) confession was: 'Every feast or fest should begin with the "European repertory" at first place; tango, waltz, fox ... and then with the folk one ... They danced them ... They asked for them!'⁵²

The song titled 'nosokoma' [meaning 'nurse'], in 7/4 meter, well known all over Greece, was probably an urban folk song disseminated and adopted into the local folk repertoire through phonograph recordings and radio airplay. Sometimes both tune and text came together, sometimes only the verses.

The '*pechnidotragouda*', children's songs performed in Limnos, derived from Anatolia, e.g. 'tsibi tsibi ton aito' (in a childish slang in Greek, meaning 'pinch the eagle'), or the song 'antrivitsa' and had been adopted – like 'nosokoma' – from electronic media.

However, phonograph and radio broadcasting widely disseminated music and song in all directions. The North Aegean Sea islands did not only receive new material from a wide variety of sources, at times, they made their own contribution to it. The most well-known local dance of Chios is *Chiotikos* [Χιώτικος] also known as 'ena karavi apo ti Chio' [meaning 'a boat from Chios'], became so popular that now belongs to the pan-Hellenic children's repertoire.

Associated with the local history of Samos from the period 1914–1927, there are also the '*Yiay(i)adika*' songs, historical songs sometimes expressing strong praise for the homeland/Greece.⁵³ Their name derived from '*Yiayades*', bands of rebellious residents of Samos (starting with the brothers Yiayas), which correspond to the rebel folk songs of the continental part of Greece known as *kleftika*⁵⁴ (in 6/4 meter).

These historical rebellious songs of Samos became known in the rest of Greece through discography, radio and the tours of the Samian musicians (mainly Kostas Roukounas, Manolis Karapiperis, Charilaos Pyrris, and Yannis Ioannidis).⁵⁵

Other kinds of songs common throughout the northeastern Aegean, dating from the time of the union of the islands with Greece in 1912, are indigenous patriotic songs, e.g. 'Memories of Samos' and 'Stroste vagia ke louloudia' [meaning 'Lay palms and flowers'].

Because of the fact that for the northeastern Aegean islands Smyrna, Ayvalik and Constantinople had always acted as metropolitan centres, their repertoire also included urban-folk dances, such as *syrtos* (4/4) (with typical example the 'sylvrianos syrτος') and *chassaposervikos* dance from Constantinople, *karsilamas* (9/8) and *zeibekikos* (9/4) (with typical examples the '*zeibekiko* from Ayvalik', the '*Davariko zeibekiko*'⁵⁶) from Asia Minor coast, as well as the "Contrabands" song' (about sea smugglers' stories during the end of the nineteenth and the early twentieth century).⁵⁷

What is more, the *politiko* (from Constantinople) and *smyrneiko* (from Smyrna), already mentioned, have come to be regarded as early *rebetika*. Many of them became known throughout Greece from Kostas Roukounas' interpretations, known as *Samiotaki* ['the guy from Samos'].⁵⁸

At this point, it is noteworthy to mention that the repatriated emigrant artists (such as Manolis Karapiperis, Kostas Roukounas, Charilaos Perris, Yannis Ioannidis),⁵⁹ beside the musical idioms and the techniques they learned during their stay at the overseas land, they also brought the new repertoire they played mainly in America.

Other examples of urban-style repertoire that appealed to indigenous islanders of all classes include songs from musical theatre performances (revues, operettas) by Greek and foreign troupes, mainly from Smyrna or who came via Smyrna. Some ‘light’ songs were also incorporated into the local repertoire through phonograph recordings (e.g. ‘Ramona’, ‘a Mexican girl’). The printing of scores also frequently provided an avenue for the popularization of certain songs and offered islanders the chance for practice of playing well-known tunes from popular operettas or from records on the piano.⁶⁰

A final outstanding example of the cultural efflorescence in the context of the westernization, the urbanization and the influence of metropolitan European and Anatolian centres was the multi-dimensional cultural movement in Lesbos island known as ‘Intellectual Spring of Lesbos’,⁶¹ between 1912 and 1935, when artists such as Venezis, Myrivilis, Panselinos, Vernardakis in literature, Myroghiannis Papazoglou, Xirelis in music and theatre, etc.,⁶² created significant works that rivalled the European imports.

Another significant musical genre mostly cultivated in Samos is Byzantine Chant (the ‘art’ music of the Greek music heritage), already dating back to the sixteenth century. The existence of four music schools and the Clerical School of Malagari (as the equivalent Art Music Schools in Europe) led to a blooming of this form during the nineteenth century, with the presence of significant singers, teachers and composers well known all over Greece, winning awards in Greece, Asia Minor, Europe and America.⁶³

From rural to urban folk: changes in musical instruments, orchestras and repertoire

As in other parts of Greece, in the islands of the Northeastern Aegean, too, musical instruments were and still are called ‘toys’⁶⁴ and the musicians ‘toy-players’, thus indicating the playful, exuberant mood they help create. Conversely, it may be also implied that playing music as an amateur is like playing with a toy since the verb *to play* also indicates musical performance. (Although this connotes a sense of enjoyment to musical activity, it may also devalue its importance as trivial and unimportant.)

The instruments used to perform the musical and dance repertoire in the Aegean islands reflected the pluralism of available local musical genres, encompassing rural and urban folk music, hegemonic European art music, and contemporary pop music. Instruments are generally the same as those of the rest of Greece. More specifically:

As we go back in time, we find the *zyia* signifying the pairing of two musical instruments. A widespread pairing consisted of a wind instrument with percussion, for example, a *tsabouna* (the insular bagpipe) or *touloumi* (a rural slang word for windbag/bagpipe) paired with a *daouli* (big drum) or a *toubi* (small drum) (Figure 4).

To judge by older stories told by natives of Lesbos and Samos instead of *tsabouna*, we came across *gaida* (the type of bagpipe found in mainland locations in Eurasia) (Figure 5), an indication of the geographical unity of the islands with the Asian continent⁶⁵ and as for percussion from pre-World War II photographic evidence, some rare, or improvised percussion instruments, such as pans or litter tins were used in Lesbos, reflecting practices found on the Anatolian coast (Figure 6).⁶⁶

The *tsabouna* in the island of Ikaria is called *tsabounofylaka* [meaning bagpipe]. Due to the fact that it was a resonant instrument with the ability both to play a tune and



Figure 4. tsabuna (island bagpipe) with toubi (small drum)⁶⁷.



Figure 5. gaida.⁶⁸



Figure 6. Carnival time in Lesbos with cans (used for olive oil) and *touberlekia* (interwar period).⁶⁹ Used by permission of Nikos Dionysopoulos.

accompany it rhythmically at the same time, it was not uncommon to play solo. Over the years, the bagpipe was used by the elder generations of farmers, while the younger generations expressed themselves with the *klarino* [clarinet in Greek] (Figure 7).⁷⁰



Figure 7. The *ziyia klarino* with *daouli* played by Stratis Sousamlis (klarino, nickname *Selemis*) and Anestis/Aristidis Moutzourellis (nickname *Iagos*, daouli).⁷¹ Used by permission of Sotiris Chtouris and the University of the Aegean.

Paradoxically, though an instrument of Western origin, the *klarino*/clarinet reached the islands via Turkey, further evidence of the pervasive influence of major urban centres of the Anatolian coast on the islands. (See below)

Another old combination of *ziyia* was the pairing of *lyra* (Figure 8) and *tsabouna*, the well-known *lyrotsabouno*, which, like the *tsabouna* with the *toubi*, was more commonly found among farmers and was associated with the entertainments practised by shepherds.⁷² The *souravli* or *pidavli*, a type of reed pipe played in Ikaria, or *flute* was also a very common wind instrument in rural areas, alternating with the *tsabouna*.⁷³



Figure 8.: lyra.⁷⁴

Since the early twentieth century, the island type of *lyra* has been steadily displaced by the violin to the extent that it is almost no longer found in musical groups, unlike in other Aegean Sea locations: the Cyclades, the Dodecanese and Crete.⁷⁵ The wholesale adoption of the violin, preferred in urban areas, perfectly epitomizes the twin processes of westernization and Europeanization, described above, given its superior social value. It is combined with the *santouri* or *tsimbalo* (kind of zither) (Figure 9) and the *laouto* [lute] (Figure 10), and it is probably the most typical combination of strings in this area till now.⁷⁶

The *ziyia* of *santouri* and *violin* is known as *sandouroviola*, a combination also found on the Anatolian coast.⁷⁷ (Figure 11). The *santouri*, played 'à la franca', is a polyphonic instrument used both for accompaniment and for melody and harmony, often playing the same melody played with the violin.⁷⁸ The *lute* is used both for accompaniment and percussion.

The broader music group is the *kompania* (meaning a company playing music together, a band). The traditional *kompania* in islands during the eighteenth and nineteenth century consisted of *santouri*, *violin*, *klarino*, *laouto* and *touberleki* (Figures 12 and 13).

The guitar (also a rhythmic and harmonic instrument) was introduced into the *kompania* during the first decades of the twentieth century. Rarely, the mandolin also



Figure 9. *santouri*.⁷⁹



Figure 10. *laouto*.⁸⁰



Figure 11. ziyia consisted of santouri and violin
In Plomari, Lesbos island in the '50s. Posidon Karavas (violin) and Panayiotis Tyropolis (santouri).
Karavas' archive. Used by permission of Sotiris Chtouris and the University of the Aegean.⁸¹



Figure 12. toublerleki.⁸²

serves as a rhythmical accompaniment in the *kompania* (Figure 14). This instrument is most frequently found in *mandolinates* (orchestras consisted of instruments of the mandolin family in various sizes, with a Venetian origin, mainly found in the Ionian Islands) (Figure 15). The mandolin is also popular in Education Academies as it is the basic instrument for the elementary music education.⁸³

It is worth noting that the *kompania* relies on stable artistic relationships between their members, reflected in their nickname, *parées* (companies of friends) or *takim* (Turkish *takim*, friend). In many cases, these consisted of members of the same family (either of the same generation or of successive generations), a prerogative practice common till today.⁸⁴ Some examples of well-known *kompanias* in Samos are: Mavrogenis' *kompania*, Vergonides', Tsepelis', Varmasides', Vogiatzides' and others.⁸⁵ In Lesbos, we have Kaltakides' *kompania*, Sousamlides', Pantelellia's, Lagos', Ganoselia's, Kyriakoglou's and



Figure 13. violin, santouri, klarino, guitar
1955: Komninos Papoutselis (violin), Mihalis Moutzourellis (klarino), Yiannis Sousamlis (santouri), Stratis Sousamlis (klarino) and Stratis Prinitis (guitar). Used by permission of Sotiris Chtouris and the University of the Aegean.⁸⁶



Figure 14. mandolin.⁸⁷

others,⁸⁸ while in Ikaria well-known *kompanias*, starting from the mid-twentieth century, are Mamatades' *kompania*, Gagnisides', Fouskides' and others.

Since the late nineteenth century, the industrialization of the means of production, the rapid growth of cities and related ongoing urban transformation have influenced styles of entertainment and choices of repertoire and instruments. During this period also, traditional *kompania* transformed into a new type of orchestra following the example of the *kompanias* of Smyrna, the so-called *estudiantina*.⁸⁹ This innovative type of orchestra is basically a traditional *kompania* expanded to encompass



Figure 15. *Mandolinata* from Karlovasi, Samos Island, 1910. Used by permission of Nikos Dionysopoulos.⁹⁰

European musical instruments; the *klarino*, the *kanonaki* (a type of *psaltery*, known already in Ancient Greece, especially used on the Anatolian coast. In Arabic and Turkish music is also known as *qanoun*) or the *santouri*, the *violin*, the *laouto* and the *guitar* coexist with the *trombone*, the *euphonium*, the *cornet* (brass wind instruments, also known as *fysera*, meaning ‘wind instruments’⁹¹), the *saxophone*, the *cello* (probably confused with the *contrabass*, which led to it being mistakenly called as *bassaviola*) (Figure 16).⁹²

The *banjo*, adopted by Greek immigrants in America, and the *piano* could also feature. The variety and the combinations among all these differences in style and origin instruments allowed these orchestras to participate in traditional festivals in rural environments as well as



Figure 16.: Expanded *kompania*. Sratis Sousamlis (*klarino*), Panos Pratsos (*violin*), Yiannis Sousamlis (*santouri*), Kostas Zafiriou (*guitar*), Europidis Zafiriou (*saxophone*) and Dimitris Agritis (*daouli*).⁹³ Used by permission of Sotiris Chtouris and the University of the Aegean.

in various urban entertainments in cities, performing a wider repertoire (*sirmayia*, word with Turkish origin), compared with the traditional one of a folk *kompania*: from local folk dances (*syrtos*, *pidichtos*, *patinades*, etc.) and traditional Asian songs (*amanés*, *karsilamas*, *zeibekikos*, *chassappikos*) to Ottoman urban music, to music of other ethnic groups (Russian, Franks a.o.) and to European dance urban music (waltz, tango, foxtrot).⁹⁴

It must be stated, however, that the presence of the *klarino* and *brass* instruments in insular/islander Greek folk music was and still is rather uncommon. These instrumental additions were linked to mainland musical practices and to westernization and europeanization. However, the proximity especially of Lesbos, Limnos, Chios and Samos to Anatolia played a decisive role in the kinds of influences and ‘imports’ that were incorporated into the local tradition.⁹⁵ In any case, it is a proof for the amalgamation and fusion of continental with island elements, as well as of the fusion of the folk and the urban genres of music.

Additionally, in private parties that take place even nowadays in cafés and houses, other string instruments such as *tabouras*, *saz(i)*, *tzivouri*, all belonging to the lute family, also featured independently of the *kompania*. These occurred separately or in free combinations (Figure 17).

Again these instruments are common on the Anatolian coast. Because of the fact that the repertoire of Minor Asia, Smyrna and Constantinople (such as *amanés*, *chassapikos*, *karsilamas*, *zeibekikos*)⁹⁶ was played with these instruments, and also because of their common technique and timbre – similar to *bouzouki*- it can be easily presumed that these instruments were considered as precursors of *bouzouki* (despite the fact that *tabouras* had movable frets, while the *bouzouki* stable ones) (Figure 18).

The *bouzouki* replaced the folk instruments (see below) from the 1950s. It was introduced into the folk *kompania* and changed radically the musical landscape and the repertoire of the Northeastern Aegean, typically in Lesbos and Samos.⁹⁷

Additionally, this change was rather difficult for the musicians as far as tempo and transcription were concerned. Giorgos Ganosis (santouri and drum player) said: ‘When *bouzouki* appeared, (about the mid-fifties), the repertory was difficult. Tempo and virtuosity ... We encountered difficulties in transporting the notes from the one instrument to the other. We were stressed ...’⁹⁸

These combinations were used for instrumental and vocal tunes, performed by small numbers of participants, such as a company of friends, and/or in solo performance. In



Figure 17. *Saz* or *tabouras*⁹⁹.



Figure 18. Bouzouki.¹⁰⁰

the North Aegean archipelago, such instruments had a rather rhythmical or percussive role with a basic harmonic accompaniment, while in Cretan urban music by the first decades of the twentieth century, these instruments usually had a solo role in *rebetiko* song (performed with *guitar* or *saz* or *bouzouki*), the so-called *tabachaniotika* (played with *boulgari*, similar to the *saz*).¹⁰¹ They were also in the Cretan folk dance repertoire (*syrtos*, *sousta*, *pidichtos*. etc, played with *lute*).¹⁰²

Another popular instrument in urban Lesbos, found in streets & squares, in dance clubs and cafés, at the beginning of the twentieth century, was the *laterna* in Greek or *barrel organ/barrel piano/roller piano* (Figure 19). Arriving via Smyrna and Constantinople, too, this instrument is still found in every community of Greek immigrants: America, Europe and Africa. The *laterna*, though very popular among all the social classes, was especially



Figure 19. *laterna*/barrel organ.¹⁰³

valued among working-class people for economic reasons. When a whole band/*kompania* was not affordable, the *laterna* was the alternative choice for feasts and public balls.¹⁰⁴ One reason for its popularity was the range of the repertoire. The instrument could play both rural and urban folk music, including local and imported social *Figure 17: laterna*¹⁰⁵ dances. In this way, the *laterna* influenced the repertoire of the North Aegean Sea islands. By transmitting music from Smyrna, Constantinople, Europe and America, it effectively functioned as the precursor of the radio.¹⁰⁶

Since the mid-twentieth century, a series of traditional musical instruments have been replaced by instruments that serve new acoustic, psychological and aesthetic needs of both artists and audiences during performance and practice. Besides urbanization, the ease of music production and publication, and tours of indigenous musicians along the Turkish coast or in other urbanized areas, the main reasons for these changes were the incorporation of non-native repertoire, and the demand for greater virtuosity even on the amateur level. Thus, the folk island-*kompania* was limited to rural areas, while in the larger residential centres of the islands, it began either to dwindle or to adopt instruments of urban origin not previously used. Characteristic examples of the use of *harmonica* or *fysouna* (an ancestor of the *accordion*, which gradually displaced the *santouri*) were used in recordings till the 30s. Shortly afterwards, however, and though still found until relatively recently in Samos,¹⁰⁷ it was succeeded by the *accordion*, and the *bouzouki*.¹⁰⁸ The consequence of this change was the transformation of the folk island-*kompania* into a popular (urban) *kompania* – consisting of bouzouki, guitar, accordion and sometimes trombone (the latter as a substitute of the brass instruments, *fysera*) – from which first the *santouri* and then the violin were removed.

Along with the instruments, there were changes in the repertoire, too. The island-folk repertoire (*syrtos*, *pidichtos*, *sousta*, *balos*) was combined with songs, tunes and dances deriving from the urban-folk musical tradition of Anatolia (*karsilamas* and *zeibekikos* dance) and Constantinople (*hassaposervikos*), creating the recognizable special style of these islands, with typical example the ‘Mytilenian style’. E.g. the *hassapikos* dance, spreading from Asia Minor into the Balkans, found throughout Chios, Limnos and Lesbos. It is danced in open circle with a shoulder grip, sometimes including, depending on the speed of the rhythm, flamboyant or understated jumps. Although of urban folk origin, it is played with the traditional *ziyia*, consisting of a bagpipe and a *toubi*, also indicative of the creative assimilation of foreign traditions and their adaptation to the local folklore material.

It is also to be noticed that (*a*)*manés*, the type of urban song with Turkish origin (in Turkish it means ‘mercy’) and Byzantine influence, and *şarki*, a vocal genre in Ottoman art music, became very popular in Lesbos. It provided a means for the singer, usually a man, to show virtuosity by the deployment of a mellifluous voice. Mr. Solon Lekkas, widely known *amanés* singer in Lesbos, commented: ‘*Amanés* is a beautiful kind of song ... with ottoman origins and high pitch of the voice ... for devotees and music lovers ...’¹⁰⁹

The two versions of (*a*)*manés*, either as ‘pure’ slow and sad, prayer-like ‘sitting’ song, full of sighings (e.g. ‘minore manés’) or as a dancing version (e.g. ‘balos with manés’) provide a good example of the continuing intermeshing between rural and urban, Greek and the Asia Minor elements, in the same tune. Similarly, in Samos ‘new’ music genres and styles, deriving from the opposite coast, entered because of continuous commercial contact, reinforced also by the arrival of refugees in the aftermath of Smyrna Massacre.¹¹⁰

Another change in the repertoire and the performance, as a consequence of urbanization and the cultural hegemony of Athens, has emerged in Ikaria over the last 50 years (since the 1970s). The *ikariotikos syrtos* was a slow, instrumental dance (without verses) with many local variations. It had simple steps and it was danced in a circle with a cross-hand grip. It was played with the *lyra* and the *tsabounofylaka* (type of bagpipe used until the middle of the twentieth century),¹¹¹ but due to the commercial recording and the increase of tourism these older versions of the *ikariotikos* dance tend to wane. The song 'I agapi mou stin Ikaria' ['My Love in Ikaria'] (music and lyrics by Giorgos Konitopoulos, sung by Yiannis Parios, a popular Greek singer) is the newest version of the *ikariotikos* and is performed with violin in a folk *kompania* and, in cases of large-scale celebrations, with a contemporary folk electric orchestra¹¹² (see below).

From about the 1950s professionalism in music and music publishing (also containing elements of westernization) led to a new development in Lesbos; as the orchestras devoted their attention to enhancing their repertoire and improving their instrumental skills, a gap appeared in the song repertoire. Consequently, to fill the void, a new style of professional female singers, the so-called *diseuses* or *garçonnières*,¹¹³ appeared on the strictly male-dominated stage, accompanied by the new type of orchestra previously described.

They usually came from culturally hegemonic Athens and they introduced a completely new music ethos, aesthetic and performance, following the model of the Athenian evening music halls.¹¹⁴ They brought their repertoire written in scores, so only those musicians who knew how to read music could work with them. Apart from bringing new repertoire and contributing to the standardization of the songs, this novelty had some other consequences: the interest of the audience shifted toward the female vocalists, while the male musicians lost their leading role and sat around and behind the singers on the stage, which from then on occupied the space between the musicians and the audience (Figure 20).¹¹⁵

Technological advances in audio and other systems led to a move away from smaller venues where traditional feasts were held, gradually giving way to much larger settings designed to house mass entertainments. A related development was the appearance of electric instruments in local orchestras. The **electric harmonium** and/or the



Figure 20. Women singers on stage bring new ethos in musical practice and performance. Night club «Klimataria» in Mytilini, Lesbos, 1967.¹¹⁶ Used by permission of Nikos Dionysopoulos.



Figure 21. New and electric/plugged instruments on the stage. 1971: Menelaos Kyriakoglou (violin), Mihalis Kyriakoglou (armonio/keyboards), Stratis Yiannis (guitar), Stratis Kyriakoglou (bouzouki) and a woman singer. Mihalis Kyriakoglou's photo archive.¹¹⁷ Used by permission of Sotiris Chtouris and the University of the Aegean.

synthesizer and/or the **keyboards** (which replaced the accordion, which had aforesaid replaced the *santouri*), the **drums** (which replaced the *defi* and the *touberleki*), the **electric guitar** and the **electric bass** (which replaced the acoustic guitar), and of course the plugged-in bouzouki (as our national instrument) co-exist with the violin (also in its electric version/plugged) and sometimes with the *klarino*. This type of orchestra, with the participation of well-known local or national famous guests, singers and/or musicians, has been transformed into an **urban pop orchestra**, and it is used in large-sized concerts and festivals, which outreach the local interest (Figure 21).

Today's more homogenized repertoire includes local traditional repertoire and also encompasses a broader pan-hellenic and cosmopolitan character, based on popular song. Because of its media popularity, the broader repertoire is much in demand at festivals and other festivities and has the added advantage of facilitating non-island guest artists. However, such new practices also lead to the standardization of repertoire, limit improvisation and interaction among musicians during performances, something usually found in oral traditions.¹¹⁸ Additionally, they contribute to the limited use of local musicians, and generally to the reduction of the diversity of the folk music.

Epilogue

The transition from the rural into the urban and from 'traditional' into 'modern' style is a common phenomenon in many countries and is reflected in their cultural identity after the emergence of nation-states.

Traditions of music, song and dance, basic components of cultural identity in the Northeastern Aegean, as represented in the larger islands (Lesbos, Chios, Samos, Limnos), are a canvas where both local and cosmopolitan orientations merge. It is the result of a long process of fertile interchange, adaptation and assimilation of many different musical and dancing genres from local Greek and Asia Minor styles, the Ottoman and the European music traditions. It is also the result of cultural experiences

and practices exchanged and put into action by rural and urban populations. The enrichment through processes of elaboration, adaptation and assimilation, and ultimately the expansion of the repertoire and the practices, has eventually made them, and the artists who perform them, universally accepted by the whole country. Technological advances, the burgeoning of mass-mediated cultures and aesthetic requirements dictated by influential culturally hegemonic trends radiating outward from Athens contribute to the processes of change, consolidation and refiguration. Ideologies of westernization permeate identity formation in the Northeastern Aegean, in turn helping to drive cultural globalization, so that these different arts, ideas, cultures, lifestyles are easily disseminated in the 'global village'¹¹⁹ leading to further transformative interactions and interrelations.

Given that the conditions for maintenance of a romantically constructed folk culture have largely disappeared, nowadays folk culture functions more as revival and/or re-presentation. As a result, the meaning of the *local*, the *national* and the *ethnic* in the frame of a closed traditional community has been replaced by a *world-ethnic* and *global* perception of the local ethnographic material (in the frame of a free market). Folk culture now is another choice, deliberately maintained and competing with other commercially more viable styles and repertoires. What is more, it is no more unusual to listen at folk feasts to electric instruments playing the *syrtos* dance, the *karsilamas* and the *zeimbekikos* dance – or to the folk-like songs by Pantelis Thalassinos from Chios island. Such intermixing and melding through performance may successfully bridge past with the present, East and West, folk and popular art and the local.

Notes

1. <https://www.google.com/search?rls=en&q=%CE%BD%CE%B7%CF%83%CE%B9%CE%AC+%CE%B2%CE%BF%CF%81%CE%B5%CE%AF%CE%BF%CF%85+%CE%B1%CE%B9%CE%B3%CE%B1%CE%AF%CE%BF%CF%85&tbm=isch&source=univ&client=safari&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwjg8dv42IrrjAhXmilsKHSARCC0QsAR6BAGAEAE&biw=1199&bih=839#imgsrc=MEyZPiauFoGYXM.>
2. Pitton de Joseph Tournefort, *Relation d' un voyage du Levant*, 2 vol. (Amsterdam, 1718); J. L.S. Bartholdy, *Voyage en Grèce fait dans les années 1803 et 1804 par J.L.S. Bartholdy*, traduit de l' Allemand par A. du C., vol. 2 (Paris: Dentu, 1807), p. 74; James Dallaway, *Constantinople ANCIENT and MODERN, with excursions to the shores and the islands of the Archipelago and to the Troad*, by J. Dallaway, M.B. F.S.A. late Chaplain and Physician of the British Embassy to the Porte (London: Bensely, 1797), p. 140; Louis-Albert Bourgault-Ducoudray, *Souvenirs d' une mission musicale en Grèce et en Orient* (Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1878); Pernot, Hubert- Le Flem, Paul (1903), p. 93-98. See also Μάρκος Δραγούμης, επιμ., *Δημοτικές μελωδίες από τη Χίο* (Αθήνα: Φίλοι Μουσικού Λαογραφικού Μουσείου Μέλπως Μερλιέ, 2006); Κυριάκος Σιμόπουλος, *Ξένοι Ταξιδιώτες στην Ελλάδα -333 μ.Χ.-1821*, τ. Γ1, (Αθήνα: Στάχυ, (1999β [1970-1975]), p. 46-47, 162, 625; *Ibid.*, τ. Γ2 (Αθήνα: Στάχυ, (1999γ [1970-1975]), p. 201-202, 277-285; Αναστάσιος Χαψούλας, «Ο μουσικός πολιτισμός των νησιών του Αιγαίου κατά την περίοδο του 18ου και 19ου αιώνα». Πρακτικά Μουσικολογικού Συνεδρίου *Η μουσική, τα τραγούδια και οι χοροί της Ικαρίας*, Σεπτέμβριος 2002 (Αθήνα: Κ. Παπαγρηγορίου - Χ. Νάκας, 2003), σελ. 83-99.
3. Bartholdy, 1807: *ibid.* A. Χαψούλας, 2003: *ibid.*
4. For more details about the dancing tradition in the North-Eastern Aegean Sea islands see Ειρήνη Λουτζάκη, *Μουσικές & Χοροί του Ανατολικού Αιγαίου* (Σάμος: Πνευματικό Ίδρυμα Σάμου «Νικόλαος Δημητρίου», 1994).

5. For a detailed presentation of the cultural identity of the islands see Σωτήρης Χτούρης, επιμ., *Μουσικά σταυροδρόμια στο Αιγαίο I – Λέσβος 19^{ος}-20ός αιώνας* (Αθήνα: Εξάντας, 2000).
6. Βασιλική Τυροβολά, «Γενικά στοιχεία του ελληνικού αστικο-λαϊκού χορού», στο Ν. Γύφτουλας, Μ. Ζωγράφου κ.ά. *Τέχνες II: Επισκόπηση ελληνικής μουσικής και χορού – Ελληνική χορευτική πράξη: παραδοσιακός και σύγχρονος χορός*, τ. Ε' (Πάτρα: Ε.Α.Π., 2003), σελ. 112–113.
7. Νίκος Διονυσόπουλος, «Η Λέσβος και η μουσική της», «Ακούγοντας τα τραγούδια – Μουσικοί και τραγουδιστές», ένθετο στο CD *Λέσβος Αιολίς – Τραγούδια και χοροί της Λέσβου* (Ηράκλειο: Πανεπιστημιακές Εκδόσεις Κρήτης, 1998), σελ. 28.
8. Νίκος Διονυσόπουλος, «Η Σάμος στις 78 στροφές», στο Διονυσόπουλος, Νίκος (επιμ.), *Η Σάμος στις 78 στροφές- Ιστορικές ηχογραφήσεις 1918–1958* (Ηράκλειο: Πανεπιστημιακές Εκδόσεις Κρήτης, 2009), σελ. 15–16, 18.
9. Μανόλης Σέργης, «Ψυχαγωγία και διασκέδαση στην αστική κοινότητα της Σάμου κατά τη δεκαετία 1930–39: Η μαρτυρία του τοπικού τύπου». Πρακτικά συνεδρίου «Η Σάμος κατά τον 20ό αιώνα. Σαμιακές μελέτες», τ. Στ (Αθήνα: ΠΙΣΝΔ, 2003), σελ. 233–234.
10. Μ. Σέργης, *ibid.* Χριστίνα Κουλούρη, *Αθλητισμός και όψεις της αστικής κοινωνικότητας. Γυμναστικά κι αθλητικά σωματεία 1870–1922*, (Αθήνα: Ιστορικό Αρχείο Ελληνικής Νεολαίας. Κέντρο Νεο-ελληνικών Ερευνών Ε.Ι.Ε. 1997), σελ. 30–31.
11. Ευθύμιος Παπαταξιάρχης, «Ο κόσμος του καφενειού: ταυτότητα και ανταλλαγή στον ανδρικό συμποσιασμό» στο Παπαταξιάρχης, Ευ. – Παραδέλλης, Θ. (επιμ.), *Ταυτότητες και φύλλο στη σύγχρονη Ελλάδα – Ανθρωπολογικές προσεγγίσεις* (Αθήνα: Καστανιώτης-Παν/μιο Αιγαίου, 1992), σελ. 209–250.
12. Σωτήρης Χτούρης, επιμ., *Μουσικά σταυροδρόμια στο Αιγαίο I – Λέσβος 19^{ος}-20ός αιώνας* (Αθήνα: Εξάντας, 2000), σελ. 9–26.
13. Bourgault-Ducoudray, p. 17.
14. <https://www.google.com/search?rls=en&q=%CE%BD%CE%B7%CF%83%CE%B9%CE%AC+%CE%B2%CE%BF%CF%81%CE%B5%CE%AF%CE%BF%CF%85+%CE%B1%CE%B9%CE%B3%CE%B1%CE%AF%CE%BF%CF%85&tbm=isch&source=univ&client=safari&sa=X&ved=2ahUKewjg8dv42IrjAhXmiIsKHSARCC0QsAR6BAGAEAE&biw=1199&bih=839#imgrc=MEyZPiauFoGYXM:>
15. Tournefort, p. 198.
16. Τάσος Σχορέλης, Μίμης Οικονομίδης, Ένας Ρεμπέτης- Κώστας Ρούκουνας «Σαμιωτάκι», (Αθήνα: Ρεμπέτικο Αρχείο, 1974).
17. Π. Κιτρομυλίδης, Π. Μιχαηλάρης, *ibid.* Μ. Δραγούμης, p. 202–203.
18. Ν. Διονυσόπουλος, «Η Λέσβος και η μουσική της», p. 22, 47.
19. Walking tunes and songs performed while accompanying -on foot- the bride to the church.
20. Λουτσιάνο Γκρούππι, *Η έννοια της ηγεμονίας στον Γκράμσι*, Καστορινός, Π.Δ. (μτφρ), (Αθήνα: Θεμέλιο, 1977), σελ. 108–109; Jackson Lears, 'The concept of cultural hegemony: problems and possibilities,' *The American Historical Review*, 90 (3) June (1985), 567–593.
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22. For the content of westernization see Theodore Von Laue, *The world revolution of westernization – The 21th century in global perspective*, (Oxford University Press, 1987) and Kenneth McLeish, 'Westernization,' in *Bloomsbury Guide to Human Thought – Ideas that shaped the world* (London: Bloomsbury, 1993).
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24. Paul James, Manfred Steger, eds., *Globalization and Culture: Ideologies of Globalism: Volume 4* (United States: Sage Publications, 2010), p. ix-xxxi.
25. Biswajit Ghosh, 'Cultural changes in the era of globalization,' *Journal of Developing Societies*, 27 (2) (2011), 153–175. Dore's article provides a useful analysis of such cases. See Ronald Dore, 'Unity and Diversity in Contemporary World Culture,' in *Expansion of*

- International Society*, eds. by H. Bull, H. & A. Watson (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984), p. 56–68. See also Jonathan Xavier Inda, & Renato Rosaldo, (2002), *The Anthropology of Globalization* (Wiley-Blackwell, 2002).
26. K. McLeish, *ibid.*
 27. Καίτη Ρωμανού, «Έντεχνη ελληνική μουσική» στο Ν. Γράψας, Ν. Γρηγορίου κ.ά., *Τέχνες II: Επισκόπηση ελληνικής μουσικής και χορού – Ελληνική χορευτική πράξη: παραδοσιακός και σύγχρονος χορός*, τ. Γ', (Πάτρα: Ε.Α.Π., 2003), σελ. 385–393. See also Ρενάτα Δαλιανούδη, «Λαϊκή και παραδοσιακή μουσική ως άυλη πολιτισμική κληρονομιά. Το παράδειγμα των Επτανήσων». (Paper presented at the conference «Πολιτισμική Κληρονομιά: Παρελθόν, Παρόν, Μέλλον», Α.Τ.Ε.Ι. Ιονίων Νήσων, ΛΕ' Εφορία Προϊστορικών και Κλασικών Αρχαιοτήτων, Γενικά Αρχεία του Κράτους-Αρχεία Ν. Κεφαλληνίας, 18–19/4/2013. No proceedings published), (2013), σελ. 6. Also Ρ. Δαλιανούδη, «Η διαχείριση του άυλου πολιτισμού μέσω ενός πλαισίου ψηφιακής αξιοποίησης. Μελέτη περίπτωσης το Ιόνιο Μουσικό Αρχείο». Πρακτικά από το Γ' Συνέδριο Πανεπιστημιακών Λαογράφων των Ελληνικών Α.Ε.Ι., «Η Διαχείριση της παράδοσης. Ο λαϊκός πολιτισμός ανάμεσα στον φολκλορισμό, στην πολιτιστική βιομηχανία και τις τεχνολογίες αιχμής», Κομοτηνή 4–6 Οκτωβρίου 2013 (2016), σελ. 496.
 28. Νίκος Λούντζης, «Επτανησιακή καντάδα», στο Ν. Γράψας, Ν. Γρηγορίου κ.ά. *Τέχνες II: Επισκόπηση ελληνικής μουσικής και χορού – Ελληνική χορευτική πράξη: παραδοσιακός και σύγχρονος χορός*, τ. Γ' (Πάτρα: Ε.Α.Π., 2003), σελ. 335–337 and «Η έντεχνη μουσική στην καθημερινή ζωή των επτανησιακών πόλεων κατά τον 19ο αιώνα», στο Ν. Γράψας, Ν. Γρηγορίου κ.ά. *Τέχνες II: Επισκόπηση ελληνικής μουσικής και χορού – Ελληνική χορευτική πράξη: παραδοσιακός και σύγχρονος χορός*, τ. Γ' (Πάτρα: Ε.Α.Π.), σελ. 340–342.
 29. Κ. Ρωμανού, 2003Γ: 393–396.
 30. Κ. Ρωμανού 2003Γ: 384–385. Μ. Σέρρης, 2003: 239.
 31. Βούλα Γαλανού-Νίκος Διονυσόπουλος, «Όψεις της μουσικής ζωής στη Σάμο. Μέσα 19^{ου} – μέσα 20ού αιώνα», στο Ν. Διονυσόπουλος, επιμ., *Η Σάμος στις 78 στροφές- Ιστορικές ηχογραφήσεις 1918–1958*, (Ηράκλειο: Πανεπιστημιακές Εκδόσεις Κρήτης, 2009), σελ. 48–49.
 32. Μ. Σέρρης, p. 215, 228.
 33. Μ. Σέρρης, *ibid*, p. 224, 228, 237.
 34. Μ. Σέρρης, p. 228. Β. Γαλανού- Ν. Διονυσόπουλος, *ibid*, p. 49. See also Πανεπιστήμιο Αιγαίου http://www1.aegean.gr/culturelab/music-pract_gr.htm [24/1/2018].
 35. For example the Aghiassos Reading Club 'The Development'. Γιάννης Χατζηβασιλείου, «Μουσικοχορευτική παράδοση της Λέσβου», *Αγιάσος*, τ. 4, τχ. 77 (Αθήνα: Φιλοπρόοδος Σύλλογος Αγιασωτών 1993), σελ. 3–9. Πάνος Πράτσος, «Το Λαογραφικό Μουσείο του Αναγνωστηρίου», *Αγιάσος*, τεύχος 48 (1988), σελ. 3–4.
 36. Στρατής Παπαευστρατίου, «Η πολιτιστική κίνηση στα χωριά μας στα χρόνια του Μεσοπολέμου», *Τα Καλλονιάτικα*, τχ. 28 (Αθήνα: Σύλλογος Καλλονιατών Λέσβου, 1984), σελ. 6–7.
 37. http://music-archive.aegean.gr/musicians_thumbs.php?unq=YTAwMzI=&lng=Z3JlZW=&ct=Zm91cnRo&sp=0.
 38. Μ. Σέρρης, p. 215, 223.
 39. Μ. Σέρρης, p. 219–220–221.
 40. Σ. Παπαευστρατίου, *ibid*. See also Σ. Χτούρης, Παπαγεωργίου et. al., «Επαγγελματικά μουσικά δίκτυα», στο Σ. Χτούρης, επιμ., *Μουσικά σταυροδρόμια στο Αιγαίο I – Λέσβος 19^{ος}-20^{ος} αιώνας*, (Αθήνα: Εξάντας, 2000), σελ. 82, 325–329.
 41. For the meaning and content of the leisure time see John Wilson, *Sociology of leisure*, Annual Reviews (1980). See also Alexandra Koronaiou, *Sociology of free time* (Athens: Nissos, 1996). For the athletics as social organization see Γ. Ζαϊμάκης – Ε. Φουρναράκη (επιμ.), *Κοινωνία και αθλητισμός στην Ελλάδα. Κοινωνιολογικές και ιστορικές αναζητήσεις [Society and athletics in Greece. Sociological and historical quests]*(Αθήνα: Αλεξάνδρεια 2015).
 42. Μ. Σέρρης, p. 213.
 43. Μ. Σέρρης, p. 213.

44. Ν. Διονυσόπουλος, *Λέσβος Αιολίς*, p. 24. Ζωή Μάργαρη, «Ο χορός στη Λέσβο», CD *Λέσβος Αιολίς – Τραγούδια και χοροί της Λέσβου*, (Ηράκλειο: Π.Ε.Κ, 1998), σελ. 65.
45. Μ. Σέργης, p. 228–229, 232–233.
46. Θεόδωρος Χατζηπανταζής, *Το Κωμειδύλλιο* (Αθήνα: Νέα ελληνική βιβλιοθήκη, 1981), σελ. 58–62. Θεόδωρος Χατζηπανταζής, *Της Ασιάτιδος μούσης ερασταί* (Αθήνα: Στιμγή, 1986), σελ. 49–55.
47. Ν. Διονυσόπουλος, 1998: 125.
48. Β. Τυροβολά 2003E: 136. 1995: 70. 2003E: 137/[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Horo_\(dance\)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Horo_(dance)) [18/9/2018].
49. Ν. Διονυσόπουλος, *Λέσβος Αιολίς*, *ibid.*
50. Ζ. Μάργαρη, p. 76. Σ. Χτούρης, et.al., p. 82.
51. Σ. Παπαευστρατίου, p. 6–7. Ν. Διονυσόπουλος, *Λέσβος Αιολίς*, p. 32. Μάργαρη, p. 77–78. Μ. Σέργης, p. 225.
52. Personal interview in Mytilene, Lesbos. September 1999.
53. Μ. Βαρβούνης, «Τα δημοτικά τραγούδια της Σάμου για το κίνημα των Γιαγιάδων», *Σαμιακά Λαογραφικά και εκκλησιαστικά σύμμικτα*, (2001–2005), τ. Α, Β, Γ, (Σάμος: Ν. Αυτοδιοίκηση, 1992), σελ. 104–114. Νίκος Βαφέας, «Από τη ‘ληστεία’ στο κοινωνικό κίνημα: Η περίπτωση των ‘Γιαγαδικών’ στη Σάμο», στο συλλογικό *Όψεις του λαϊκού πολιτισμού*, Συνέδριο στη μνήμη του Στάθη Δαμιανάκου (2005), (Αθήνα: Πλέθρον, 2007), σελ. 127.
54. The *kleftika* are mostly sedentary narrative songs about the struggle of the enslaved Greek people against the Turks. For more details see Claude Fauriel, *Chants populaires de la Grèce moderne: Chants historiques* (Chez Firmin Didot, 1824). Also Αλέξης Πολίτης, *Το Δημοτικό τραγούδι*, (Ηράκλειο: Πανεπιστημιακές Εκδόσεις Κρήτης, 2010).
55. Τ. Σχορέλης- Μ. Οικονομίδης, p. 28–29. Ντ. Κόγιας, «Κώστας Ρούκουνας ή Σαμιωτάκι. Το ξεχασμένο αηδόνι της Σάμου», *ΑΠΟΠΛΟΥΣ*, τχ. 29–30 (Σάμος 2003), σελ. 91–117.
56. Στάθης Δαμιανάκος, «Για μια κοινωνιολογική ανάγνωση του λαϊκού χορού: Το παράδειγμα του Ζεϊμπέκικου και του Χασάπικου», *Πρεβεζάνικα Χρονικά*, τ. 24, Ιούλιος-Δεκέμβριος (1990), σελ. 3–9.
57. Ν. Διονυσόπουλος, *Η Σάμος στις 78 στροφές*, p. 26–27. Β. Γαλανού- Ν. Διονυσόπουλος, *Η Σάμος στις 78 στροφές*, p. 65.
58. Ντ. Κόγιας, p. 91–117. About Roukounas’ biography see Τ. Σχορέλης – Μ. Οικονομίδης, 1974.
59. Σχορέλης-Οικονομίδης, 1974.
60. Ν. Διονυσόπουλος, *ibid.*, p. 28–29. Γαλανού-Διονυσόπουλος, *ibid.*, p. 46–47, 66–67.
61. For a detailed presentation of the ‘Intellectual Spring of Lesbos’ see Αριστέιδης Καλάργαλης, «Η Λεσβιακή άνοιξη: η ανασύσταση ενός πολιτισμικού φαινομένου μέσα από την αποτύπωσή του στον τύπο (1910–1932)» (PhD Dissertation, University of the Aegean, 2014). See also Γιάννης Χατζηβασιλείου, «Λεσβιακή Άνοιξη. Ματιές στη ζωή και το έργο του Εφταλιώτη και του Μυριβήλη», *Αγιάσος*, τ. 4, τχ. 78, (Αθήνα: Φιλοπρόοδος Σύλλογος Αγιασωτών, 1993), σελ. 3–7.
62. In music, there is a relative bloom in the field of the art music, particularly at the level of performers (e.g. Kleantlis Myrogiannis, a famous violinist of the region), but far less at the creative level.
63. Β. Γαλανού- Ν. Διονυσόπουλος, *Η Σάμος στις 78 στροφές*, p. 47–48.
64. Β. Γαλανού- Ν. Διονυσόπουλος, *ibid.*
65. Ν. Διονυσόπουλος, *ibid.*, p. 39, 117. Μ. Δραγούμης, «Η εθνογραφία του ελληνικού δημοτικού τραγουδιού», p. 202.
66. Ν. Διονυσόπουλος, *Λέσβος Αιολίς*, p. 40–42.
67. <https://panathinaeos.files.wordpress.com/2012/05/img05136.jpg?resize=418%2C278>.
68. <http://music-archive.aegean.gr/instruments.php?lng = Z3JlZWs = &cat = zqDOvc61z4XPg8+ Ezqw =>
69. Ν. Διονυσόπουλος, *Λέσβος Αιολίς*, p. 43.

70. *Klarino* is the term used for *clarinet* in the Greek and Turkish folk music. For the introduction of *klarino* in the Greek territory and Greek folk music see Δ. Μαζαράκη, *Το λαϊκό κλαρίνο στην Ελλάδα* (Αθήνα: Κέδρος, 1985/[1959]).
71. <http://www1.aegean.gr/culturelab/Photos/foto116.htm>
72. Β. Γαλανού- Ν. Διονυσόπουλος, *Η Σάμος στις 78 στροφές*, p. 50–51.
73. Β. Γαλανού- Ν. Διονυσόπουλος, *ibid.*
74. <http://music-archive.aegean.gr/instruments.php?lng = Z3JlZWs = &cat = zojOs8+ Hzr/ Pgc60zrE =>.
75. Φοίβος Ανωγειανάκης, *Ελληνικά λαϊκά μουσικά όργανα* (Αθήνα: ΜΕΛΙΣΣΑ, 1991).
76. Μ. Δραγούμης, p. 202. Β. Γαλανού- Ν. Διονυσόπουλος, *Η Σάμος στις 78 στροφές*, p. 51.
77. Προκόπης Κουτσκούδης, «Η πρώτη λαϊκή ορχήστρα εγχόρδων της Αγιάσος», *Αγιάσος*, τ. 4, τχ. 68 (Αθήνα: Φιλοπρόοδος Σύλλογος Αγιασωτών, 1992), σελ. 3–7.
78. Δημήτρης Κοφτερός, *Δοκίμιο για το Ελληνικό Σαντούρι* (Αθήνα – Γιάννενα: Δωδώνη, 1991). Ε. Μουλά, p. 11.
79. <http://music-archive.aegean.gr/instruments.php?lng = Z3JlZWs = &cat = zojOs8+ Hzr/ Pgc60zrE =>.
80. <http://music-archive.aegean.gr/instruments.php?lng = Z3JlZWs = &cat = zojOs8+ Hzr/ Pgc60zrE =>.
81. <http://www1.aegean.gr/culturelab/Photos/foto141.htm><http://www1.aegean.gr/culturelab/Photos/foto141.htm>.
82. <http://music-archive.aegean.gr/instruments.php?lng = Z3JlZWs = &cat = zprPgc6/z4XPg8 + Ezqw =>.
83. Β. Γαλανού- Ν. Διονυσόπουλος, *Η Σάμος στις 78 στροφές*, p. 54.
84. Ν. Διονυσόπουλος, *Λέσβος Αιολίς*, p. 44. Β. Γαλανού-Ν. Διονυσόπουλος, *Η Σάμος στις 78 στροφές*, p. 60. Ε. Μουλά, p. 13–17.
85. Διονυσόπουλος, *Η Σάμος στις 78 στροφές*, p. 20.
86. <http://www1.aegean.gr/culturelab/Photos/foto113.HTM>.
87. <http://music-archive.aegean.gr/instruments.php?lng = Z3JlZWs = &cat = zojOs8+ Hzr/ Pgc60zrE =>.
88. Σ. Χτούρης, Δ. Παπαγεωργίου et al., p. 327–328, 329–333.
89. Β. Γαλανού- Ν. Διονυσόπουλος, *Η Σάμος στις 78 στροφές*, p. 50. See also University of the Aegean: http://www1.aegean.gr/culturelab/music-pract_gr.htm [accessed 24 January 2018].
90. Ν. Διονυσόπουλος, *Η Σάμος στις 78 στροφές*, p. 28.
91. Ν. Διονυσόπουλος, *Λέσβος Αιολίς*, p.36, 38.
92. University of the Aegean: http://www1.aegean.gr/culturelab/music-pract_gr.htm [accessed 24 January 2018].
93. <http://www1.aegean.gr/culturelab/Photos/foto122.HTM> [accessed 12 June, 2919].
94. Δ. Παπαγεωργίου, p. 103–104. Β. Γαλανού- Ν. Διονυσόπουλος, *Η Σάμος στις 78 στροφές*, p. 61, 66.
95. Δ. Παπαγεωργίου, *ibid.*
96. Β. Τυροβολά, «Γενικά στοιχεία του ελληνικού αστικο-λαϊκού χορού», στο Ν. Γύφτουλας, Μ. Ζωγράφου κ.ά. *Τέχνες II: Επισκόπηση ελληνικής μουσικής και χορού – Ελληνική χορευτική πράξη: παραδοσιακός και σύγχρονος χορός*, τ. Ε', (Πάτρα: Ε.Α.Π., 2003), p. 130–139.
97. Ν. Διονυσόπουλος, *Λέσβος Αιολίς*, p. 22.
98. Personal interview in Mytilene, Lesbos. September 1999.
99. <http://music-archive.aegean.gr/instruments.php?lng = Z3JlZWs = &cat = zojOs8+ Hzr/ Pgc60zrE => [accessed 12 June 2919].
100. <http://music-archive.aegean.gr/instruments.php?lng = Z3JlZWs = &cat = zojOs8+ Hzr/ Pgc60zrE => [accessed 12 June 2019].
101. From the word *Tabakhane*, the district where there were tanneries. The name is of Turkish origin (*Tabak* means *tanner*) and it is common for every district in Greece with tanneries. The *tabakhaniotiko* song is the urban music developed in *Tabakhana* in Chania, with

- elements from the local Cretan folk music, the Asia Minor music and the *rebetiko song*. It is played with *boulgari*, a kind of lute. See Γ. Αμαργιανάκης, 2000: 97.
102. Σταύρος Καρακάσης, *Ελληνικά μουσικά όργανα: αρχαία, βυζαντινά, σύγχρονα*, (Αθήνα: ΔΙΦΡΟΣ, 1970), σελ. 58, 155.
 103. https://www.google.com/search?q=%CE%BB%CE%B1%CF%84%CE%AD%CF%81%CE%BD%CE%B1&client=safari&tbm=isch&tbs=rimg:CTL18_1fVPUdGlgXyTGU46P4RaJHXe8Pt1OewEk6Bl8_1oaVFLgWC4FpcM0Bhphr18UllB02ptABLZZrfxEkyEf2ClSoSCRfJMZTjo_1hFEtqGu3FaJNORKhIJokdd7w-2U54RQ0qRaG6UOH4qEgnASToGXz-hpRHx39F25osW5ioSCUuBYLgWlWzEdoRiTrhkbHmKhIJQGGmGvXxSWURPI7GGYFeg_1cqEgkHTam0AetlmhGDGzPX7qetKyoSCd_1ESTIR_1YKVEdmvBXWbMnK0&tbo=u&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEWjXkd_mhIvJAhVBy6QKHSaECGIQ9C96BAGBEBg&biw=1199&bih=839&dpr=1#imgrc=X4efJmgy2RPQgM: [accessed June 12, 2019].
 104. Μενέλαος Καμάτσος, «Οι λατέρνες της Αγιάσου», *Αγιάσος*, τ. 3, τχ. 55 (Αθήνα: Φιλοπρόοδος Σύλλογος Αγιασωτών, 1989), σελ. 16–17.
 105. https://www.google.com/search?q=%CE%BB%CE%B1%CF%84%CE%AD%CF%81%CE%BD%CE%B1&client=safari&tbm=isch&tbs=rimg:CTL18_1fVPUdGlgXyTGU46P4RaJHXe8Pt1OewEk6Bl8_1oaVFLgWC4FpcM0Bhphr18UllB02ptABLZZrfxEkyEf2ClSoSCRfJMZTjo_1hFETqGu3FaJNORKhIJokdd7w-2U54RQ0qRaG6UOH4qEgnASToGXz-hpRHx39F25osW5ioSCUuBYLgWlWzEdoRiTrhkbHmKhIJQGGmGvXxSWURPI7GGYFeg_1cqEgkHTam0AetlmhGDGzPX7qetKyoSCd_1ESTIR_1YKVEdmvBXWbMnK0&tbo=u&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEWjXkd_mhIvJAhVBy6QKHSaECGIQ9C96BAGBEBg&biw=1199&bih=839&dpr=1#imgrc=X4efJmgy2RPQgM: [accessed 12 June 2019].
 106. Μ. Καμάτσος, *ibid.* Ν. Διονυσόπουλος, *Λέσβος Αιολίς*, p. 42.
 107. Ν. Διονυσόπουλος, *Η Σάμος στις 78 στροφές*, p. 23.
 108. Β. Γαλανού- Ν. Διονυσόπουλος, *Η Σάμος στις 78 στροφές*, p. 54.
 109. Personal interview in Mytilene, Lesbos. 3 February 2015.
 110. Β. Τυροβολά, «Η ελληνική χορευτική παράδοση της Μικράς Ασίας» στο Ν. Γύφτουλας, Μ. Ζωγράφου κ.ά. *Τέχνες II: Επισκόπηση ελληνικής μουσικής και χορού – Ελληνική χορευτική πράξη: παραδοσιακός και σύγχρονος χορός*, τ. Ε', (Πάτρα: Ε.Α.Π., 2003), p. 112–113.
 111. For a detailed presentation of the music-dance tradition in Icaria island see Θεμιστοκλής Σπέης, *επιμ., Η Μουσική, τα τραγούδια κι οι χοροί της Ικαρίας*, Φεστιβάλ Ικαρίας – Μουσικολογικό Συνέδριο 30/8–1/9/2002, (Αθήνα: Παπαρηγορίου-Νάκας, 2003).
 112. From the album *Taksidia sta akroghialia mas [Travels to our beaches]*, 1975, ASTER 1001.
 113. The word *disease* derives from the French verb *dire*, meaning *tell* or *narrate*. So *disease* is a professional female reciter who recites verses or other text to music. The word *garçionnière* derives also from French and means the woman who has many love affairs. Obviously, this is not the case, but the use of the word could be interpreted as a sexist comment on the new style of performance by professional women singers coming from the capital city.
 114. Ν. Διονυσόπουλος, *Λέσβος Αιολίς*, p. 46.
 115. Ν. Διονυσόπουλος, *Λέσβος Αιολίς*, p. 46.
 116. http://music-archive.aegean.gr/musicians_thumbs.php?unq=YTAwMDc=&lng=Z3JlZWw=&ct=Zm91cnRo&sp=0.
 117. <http://www1.aegean.gr/culturelab/Photos/foto6.HTM> [accessed 12 June 2019].
 118. Λ. Λιάβας, «Αυτοσχεδιασμός στην Λαϊκή μουσική, Ελευθερία & Υποταγή», *Δίφωνο*, τ. 28, (Αθήνα, 1996), σελ. 86.
 119. The term was coined by the Canadian media theorist Marshall McLuhan and popularized in his books in 1960s. See Marshall McLuhan, *The Gutenberg Galaxy: The making of typographic man* (Canada: University of Toronto Press, 1962) and *Understanding Media: The extensions of man* (Gingko Press, 1964).

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