

Investigating Instrumental Repertoire following the Technique of Parataxis: A Case Study

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Background in Ethnomusicology. The organological transformation of the *lira* fiddle of the Aegean has been associated with the rapid urbanization of the first half of the 20th century (Liavas, 1986). New instruments, (i.e. the violin), have ‘inherited’ the potentials, the repertoire, as well as the aesthetics of their predecessors (Sarris, 2007). A study of the instrumental repertoire combining an insider’s and an outsider’s perspective may reveal an enlightening view of potentials, techniques and influences (Sarris, Kolydas, & Tzevelekos, 2010).

Background in Music Performance. The *Ghléndi* (fest) in the village of Olymbos, Karpathos, has been highlighted by ethnographic research as the symbolical place for communication and interaction between the community’s members (Kavouras, 1990; 1992). In a context of rapid social transformations, the challenge for the musicians is to balance between the music of the ‘old world’ and the new music streams of the Aegean, which are often heavily criticized by some Olymbits.

Aims. In this study, we try to shed light on the *Páno Chorós* dance phenomenon in the context of the social transformation of Olymbos in recent decades. Using *Parataxis* (Sarris, Kolydas, & Tzevelekos, 2010) we examine a given recording both from the perspectives of organology and music performance.

Main contribution. Based on *Parataxis* framework we try to perform a multilateral analysis of our recording. From the perspective of organology, using music network analysis, we can see the interconnection of musical instruments. From a native’s perspective a whole world of evaluations and interpretations emerges based upon the history of Olymbos, the social transformations, the experiences of the musicians, hence indicating music as a tool for the negotiation of the identity for the modern Olymbits.

Implications. This case study can hopefully act as a pattern for the multilateral analysis of instrumental music following the technique of *parataxis*. Data from structural analysis combined with organological data and performative practices may result in a ‘holographic depiction’ of the music under analysis.

Keywords: bagpipe, fiddle, instrumental improvisation, parataxis, Aegean, Karpathos

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Introduction

What can musical instruments tell us about a musical culture? Is it possible for instruments to be the ‘material projection’ of a society’s music? Is it possible for instruments to be interconnected with the historical and social transformations of a wide geographical area, such as the Aegean archipelago?

Scholars who study the music traditions of the Aegean come across such questions relatively often. The Aegean had always been a crossroad of peoples and civilizations; its music traditions can be compared to a mosaic, where each tessera has its own history. Epic poetry ballads, which are sometimes bearers of ancient narrative motifs, coexist with verse singing of Venetian origin. Songs that delve back in time, such as the *chelidonismata* carols sung by the children on the 1st of March, interweave with the urban melodies of Smyrna, which was one of the greatest cosmopolitan cities of the Eastern Mediterranean. Peasant instruments such as reedpipes, hornpipes and bagpipes play side by side with the *lira* fiddle, which was introduced in the medieval era. Short, motivic music segments, which are forged onto the ‘old’ instruments, interweave with virtuosic melodies introduced by urban instruments, such as the violin and the clarinet. At the same time the ancestral *tsaboúna* bagpipe, where displaced, has maintained a form of existence through its ‘descendants’, the *lira* and the violin.

This ‘tangle of sounds’, a witness of the history of the Archipelago, still continues unfolding to our days. Music network analysis can be a useful tool for anyone wanting to understand the music of an area such as the Aegean. The term comes from the ‘common net’, where the strings meet to the nodes. The term *network* is used metaphorically for every complex of intersecting lines or things, such as in the case of transport or communication networks. *Network analysis* was used by social sciences for the research of complex societies¹. According to Kavouras (1997, p. 45-46), a network is “a set of interweaving structural units, homogenous or heterogenous, which fit into integrated sets. These structural units are called the *branches* of the network; the points where the branches meet are the *nodes* of the network. Being a ‘meeting point’ for two or more branches, a node is of great analytical importance. It reflects the local relation of the branches, in relation with their supra-local interconnection, in the context of a wider network”.

In this article, we examine the case of the *Páno Chorós* dance in the village of Olymbos², Karpathos, using the analysis of a particular recording as a case study. We use music network analysis in order to investigate the recording under the prism of the musical instruments used in Olymbos. As a tool for our analysis, we use the *Parataxis* framework. *Parataxis* comes from the Greek verb *paratáссо*, which means ‘the act of placing side by side’ (*pará*, beside + *tássein*, to arrange). It is a literary technique used in writing or speaking that favors short, simple sentences, often without the use of conjunctions. We have introduced this term for an analogous technique used in instrumental music of the Balkans and the Aegean, where short music segments are played one after the other according to a traditionally established

series, as well as according to the musician's fancy (Sarris, Kolydas, & Tzevelekos, 2010). Studying instrumental music following the technique of *parataxis* is quite a challenge because the improvisations of the musicians vary from one performance to another, according to the needs of the dancers. These performances are almost totally uncharted today; one has to make out the technical parameters of these improvisations, through systematic musicological analysis but also one has to find out how musicians, as well as dancers and the audience in general, conceive of the music. Is there a special 'meaning' behind each musical segment and how can one 'decode' it from a music performance that may last a whole night? Having this challenge in mind, we introduced the *Parataxis* framework (ibid.). The *Parataxis* framework is based on tagging and annotation of recordings performed by ethnomusicologists who use tools of systematic musicological analysis, as well as by musicians, dancers and native informants in general. Ethnomusicologists are encouraged to use a special proposed codification, which helps the data processing afterwards. In contrast, musicians and informants are encouraged to annotate whatever has to do with performative practices, information and stories about the music under analysis, etc. Data from systematic analysis, as well as from the analysis from a native's point of view, along with the recordings, are entered on an online database (www.parataxis.eu). This database can act as a thesaurus of analyzed recordings, which can be valuable for ethnomusicologists, musicians, and students of music. Ethnomusicologists can use the *Parataxis* framework in their fieldwork, as well as a tool for the multilateral evaluation of music performances.

Our scope in this paper is to achieve a 'multi-angle' description of the recording under analysis, both from the perspective of an organologist, as well as from a native's point of view. Our goal is to shed light on the role local musical instruments have in this genre of repertoire, in the context of the cultural transformations that took place during the 20th century.

The recording used in this research took place in August 29, 1982, during the annual fest dedicated to St. John in the *Vroukoúnda* peninsula, a remote area in northwest Karpathos. The ensemble consisted of the *lira* fiddle and the *laóúto* lute. The *lira* player was the late Giannis Pavlidis, a renowned performer of Olymbos. The recording was made by Kostis Dais, a collector and researcher of the music of Olymbos. It has been issued in a double CD dedicated to live recordings from the *panigíri* (fest) of St. John in Vroukounda (Dais, 2005).

The organologist's perspective

The musical instruments

In order to investigate a piece of music such as the one under analysis it is essential to know the capabilities of the musical instruments being involved. In our case, we have four musical instruments: the Dodecanesian *lira* and the *laóúto* lute, which are heard in the recording, as well as the *tsaboúna* bagpipe and the violin, which although they are not heard, their influence is obvious. Following the music network analysis, we

can consider them as the branches of a network, which runs through the Aegean.

The tsaboúna.

The *tsaboúna* is a droneless bagpipe (see Fig. 1). Bearing various names and slight organological differentiations, it is quite widespread over a vast area including North Africa, Middle East, and the Black Sea (Baines, 1995, p. 24-53). In the Aegean it is found in three different variations, bearing 5:5, 5:1, and 5:3 holes (Sarris, 2007). The chanter consists of two parallel cane pipes with single reed, which are fixed in a wooden or cane yoke. The chanter ends in a bell made of horn, or carved from the same piece of wood as the yoke. In Karpathos, the 5:1 type is used, meaning that the first pipe has a range of six notes (see Fig. 2), while the second has only two, acting as an interchangeable drone.



Figure 1. A 5:1 *tsaboúna* from Karpathos. Folk Musical Instrument Museum collection.

The lira.

The *lira* is a fiddle with three strings that is played vertically on the knee of the player (Fig. 3). It was introduced in the Aegean during the medieval era. In its oldest form, still in use in the Dodecanese, South Euboea, in South Italy, as well as in various areas of the Balkans, it is tuned in a4-d4-g4. It is played with a short bow with pellet bells. The melodies are played mainly on the first string, while the third string gives the subtonic. The second string acts mainly as a drone³ (Figure 4). If we consider the capabilities of the instrument, we realize that the *lira* was at first fit in the music environment of the *tsaboúna*. Liavas (1986) has examined extensively the organological transformation of the *lira* after the violin in Crete and in the Dodecanese, which took place during the first half of the 20th century. The valuable collection of *liras* of the Folk Musical Instrument Museum in Athens gives evidence

of this organological transformation. The changes seems to have started from the instrument's constructing aesthetics, which imitated some elements of the violin, and continued to matters of music possibilities, such as the tuning (a4-d4-g3), the playing technique and the holding position. Although the instrument was influenced by the violin, many playing techniques and repertoire genres point to the ancestral *tsaboúna* or the old type of *lira* either directly or indirectly (Sarris, 2007). In Karpathos, the *lira* was in some cases influenced by the aesthetics of the modern type of Cretan *lira*, although it has retained the old tuning as well as the old playing technique.

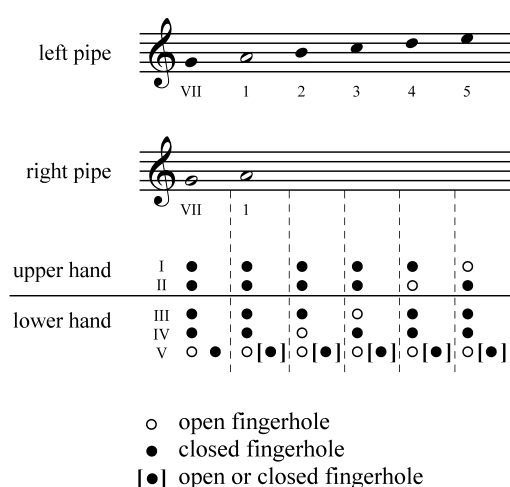


Figure 2. The range of the 5:1 *tsaboúna*.

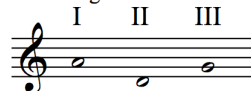
The repertoire of instruments such as the *tsaboúna* and the old type of *lira*, is characterized by the technique of *parataxis*, which is dominant in the dancing repertoire of the Aegean. A musical piece is constructed by a sequence of music segments⁴, the structural units of the repertoire. As we have noted elsewhere (Sarris, Kolydas, & Tzevelekos, 2010):

“They are complete, but not autonomous; they make sense as the units of a sequence, which in turn creates a form. A form can be composed of segments, repeated and played one after the other according to a traditionally established series as well as according to the musician’s fancy. A sequence is neither strictly determined nor absolutely free. Each time the music is played, it is recreated in a new form”. (p. 73)



Figure 3. Michalis Zografidis from Olymbos plays the *lira*. Photo by Alexandros Labridis.

The tuning of the *lira*



The range of the *lira*



Figure 4. The tuning (above) and the range of the *lira* (below).

The violin.

The violin is an emblematic musical instrument for the western symphonic orchestra. At the same time, it is widely used in the popular music of many cultures due to its possibilities and flexibility, as well as due to the dominance of the Western world over the last centuries. Unfortunately, we cannot be sure about when it was introduced in the Aegean. Anoyanakis cites references for the use of the violin dating back to the 18th century (1979, p. 280).

The violin has displaced instruments such as the *tsaboúna*, the *lira* and the *surávli* flute. On the one hand, it ‘inherited’ their repertoire as well as some of their playing techniques (Sarris, 2007). On the other hand, it introduced fiddle-oriented music in the local repertoires, which was usually not playable by the ‘older’ instruments’ capabilities. This repertoire is usually characterized by music elements of western origin (major and minor melodies, four-meter phrases, cadences, virtuosity), which

are contrary to the logic, the possibilities, and the aesthetics of the older instruments. Our data regarding the western-like repertoire of the violin points to the music of Smyrne and Constantinople directly (Liavas, 2009, p. 49-54/ 206-221). This musical character is obvious to anyone who listens to the 78 rpm discography of Smyrne repertoire. Some of these characteristic elements are still in use in the modern repertoire of the islands of the Aegean (e.g., in the case of the *Ballos* dance).

Before the 1920s, when the national states were established in the Balkans and the Near East, the islands of the Aegean were interconnected with the cosmopolitan cities of the Asia Minor. Men usually worked there as seasonal workers, while women were occupied as nannies and housemaids in the *bourgeois* houses. Apart from people, songs and musical instruments travelled in the networks of the Aegean as well. Pupils from the Aegean sometimes studied music among musicians in Smyrne, orchestras consisting of Smyrniot instrument players toured in the islands, etc. This special relationship continued with the settlement of the refugees from the Asia Minor in Greece after the exchange of populations⁵, despite cutting off contact with the cities of the Asia Minor. Discography, which was mainly managed by musicians from Smyrne, contributed to the continuation of this repertoire in the Aegean islands until World War II.

The music of Smyrne and Constantinople is not self-sufficient, though. If one could have a macroscopic view over the 'music map' of the Balkans and the Asia Minor, he/she would realize that common music elements, such as musical instruments and repertoire, are widespread in quite remote areas. This music, which follows a western musical idiom, was mainly administrated by professional (sometimes trained) musicians, who used western instruments such as the clarinet, the violin, the cimbalom, the cello, and the guitar. The case of Dimitris Semsis (Torp, 1993) is typical of such a musician. He travelled and played in the Balkans, Asia Minor, and Middle East, and had a key-position in discography in Athens, from the mid 1920s to late 1940s. This new 'stream' of music has been superimposed over the older 'stream' of modal or anhemitonic repertoires, which were characterized by vocal antiphonical singing and vocal polyphonies (Balkans), as well as by 'peasant' instruments, such as the *gaida* bagpipe, the *lira* fiddle, the *kaval* flute, the *floyéra* flute, etc. The dance repertoire of such instruments was characterized by the technique of *parataxis*. Concerning our topic, which has to do with the music networks of the Aegean, the *kompanía* ensemble (consisting of the violin, the clarinet in some cases, the *santoúri* dulcimer, and the *laóúto* lute) administrated this music 'stream' in Asia Minor, as well as in the Aegean archipelago (Liavas, *ibid.*). Hence, we could say that those instruments acted as bearers of westernization. In many cases, especially in rural areas, this repertoire has been transmuted through its grafting with the pre-existing music streams, especially when 'adopted' by the older instruments, such as the *lira* or the *tsabouína*. Much more should be said about this multilateral and extremely complicated phenomenon, which needs to be further investigated through an organological and ethnomusicological perspective. If we use music network analysis, we can consider the new musical instruments, as well as their repertoires, as the branches of a wider network, which was running through the areas of the former Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian Empires. Doing so, we should not be puzzled by realizing that a *hora* from Romania may be also known as a *chassápiko* in

Constantinople, or even when we find out that a Klezmer melody is also sung in Greek in the repertoire of Smyrne. The echoes of this ‘music universe’ can still be found in the Aegean in our days.

The laóúto lute.

The *laóúto* (Fig. 5) is a rather flexible instrument that offers the musician the opportunity to handle a variety of music styles. On the one hand, it can play solo, the same way as its ‘ancestor’, the *tabourás* long necked lute. On the other hand, it can accompany harmonically as well as rhythmically by duplicating the main melody of solo instruments such as the violin, the clarinet, the *lira*, etc. The harmonic accompaniment has two ‘schools’. In the first school, the accompaniment with unverified (*koúfies* = empty) chords, without a third. This technique is connected with modal music, where the solo instrument unfolds the melody, while the *laóúto* drones the tonic. In the second, there is the ‘school’ of using western chords. In the case of Aegean islands’ music, this tendency is rather new, associated with the urbanization and the wide influence of western music thinking. In our recording, we see the interchanging of just two unverified chords: G and A. This fact has to do with the playing technique of the *tsaboúna*, whose aesthetics is still dominant in Olymbos. The *laóúto* was introduced in Olymbos in the late 1920s. It joined the ensemble of the *lirotsábouna* (*lira* + *tsaboúna*). The *laóúto*’s role, in fact, recalls the second pipe of the *tsaboúna*, which acts as an interchangeable drone, giving tonic and subtonic. Hence, we see that, in the case of Olymbos, the *laóúto*, although being an urban instrument, has been integrated into the aesthetics of the ancestral *tsaboúna*.



Figure 5. A *laúto* lute. Folk Musical Instrument Museum collection.

Using musical instruments as the branches of the music networks of the Aegean can be very enlightening. Given that music is something incorporeal, a musical instrument can be considered as the material projection of sound. Contrary to vocal music, which is more open to external influences, a musical instrument (especially in the case of the

‘simple’, ‘rural’ instruments) is usually made in order to play particular music in a particular way. In other words: Provided one understands the playing technique and the capabilities of an instrument, he/she has a stable starting point in order to investigate the music of the society this particular instrument comes from.

In this study, we consider the recording under analysis as a ‘node’ of the Aegean music networks. It is an instant ‘music photograph’ of a particular performance, which took place in the context of a three-day fest in Karpathos in 1982. In this particular moment, the branches of the music networks of the Aegean interwove in this particular way. We are aware of the fact that the recording under consideration is anything but a single drop in the Ocean of the whole *Páno Chorós* phenomenon, let alone the music of the Aegean. This fact brings to mind one aphorism of the great French mathematician and philosopher Blaise Pascal about the mathematical concept of possibility: “It cannot be relied on, yet woe betide you if you ignore it”.

Considering the recording from an organologist’s perspective

The first step was to ‘cut’ the recording into segments, following the ‘Expert segmentation methodology’ of the *Parataxis* framework. The musical piece was segmented manually into 225 segments: the smallest was 0.86 s, while the longest was 16.11 s. The mean length was 3.27 sec. There are, generally speaking, two options for the transition from one segment to another. In the first case, the segment is repeated and may, or may not, be melodically varied. In the second case, it is followed by a new segment. A scholar’s segmentation has to indicate the landmark where this transition takes place. The second step was the tagging of the segments, using the special encoded data to the appropriate tiers, after the ‘Expert’s tagging metadata and encoding’ of the *Parataxis* framework. The third step was to identify whether a segment is playable by the *tsaboúna*, or whether it is rather associated with the *lira* or the violin. This is challenging because we have to make this assessment on a recording of both the *lira* and the *laóúto* playing. The range used is one determinant parameter. At the same time, we rely upon our research and performative experience regarding the music of the *tsaboúna*, as well as the music of Olymbos. Hence, if a segment uses the six-note range of the *tsaboúna*, and at the same time it turns around short motifs which perne round the tonic of the instrument, A, it is more likely to belong to the ‘hard-core’ of the *tsaboúna*’s repertoire.

It should be noted that the existence of motivic logic (Fig. 6) is of great importance as an analytical tool. Motivity is the opposite of melodic unfolding (Fig. 7), where the music material is ‘liquidized’, and one cannot make out melodic or rhythmic motifs. The latter technique is widely used in the singing repertoire of the Aegean. However, if we examine motivity under the prism of the playing technique of the instruments under investigation, it is obvious that there is a strong connection of motivic logic and automated finger movements. This brings on short rhythmic patterns and minimalistic melodies, rather than song-like melodic unfolding. Taking into consideration the limited possibilities of the *tsaboúna*, we realize that music segments of motivic logic are what the instrument can mainly play. It is a constantly regenerated family of instrumental segments, composed within the limits of the *tsaboúna*’s capabilities (Sarris, 2007, p. 171).



Figure 6. Segment #2 (Haris Sarris annotation). A motivic music segment. According to our musicians it is typical of the Olymbitic *tsaboúna*'s repertoire.

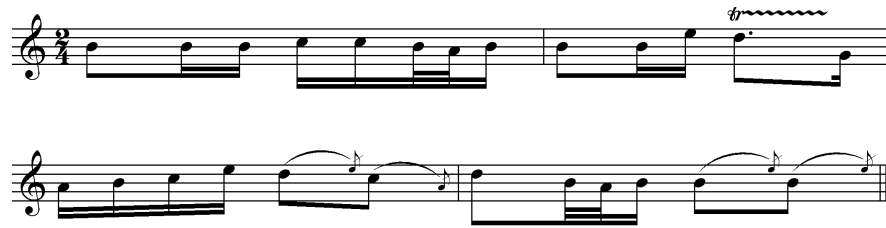


Figure 7. Segment #44 (Haris Sarris annotation). A music segment characterized by melodic unfolding. According to our musicians, this segment offers the opportunity for someone to sing. There is also a special name for it, *tsakistés dhoksariés* [from the verb *tsakizo* = to crack]. The melody recalls a special tune widespread in Karpathos, Kassos and Eastern Crete, used for the singing of improvised verses.

The Dodecanesian *lira* has a chromatic range of a ninth (d4-e5) (Fig. 4). Being in the same cultural environment as the *tsaboúna*, it has incorporated the repertoire and the techniques of the *lira*, overcoming common challenges with corresponding means (ibid.). In the case of the *Páno Chorós* played by the *lirotsábouna* ensemble, the *tsaboúna* has the leading role, while the *lira* follows. It is quite difficult for the *lira* player to overcome the music framework of the *tsaboúna*, although the *lira* is a quite sonorous instrument. In this context, a common practice for the *lira* is to lead for a while and introduce music segments of the *Soústa*: a leaping dance diffused all over the Dodecanese, which is based upon the possibilities of the violin (Fig. 8). In such a case the *tsaboúna* just drones, or even stops for a while. Contrary to the *tsaboúna*'s motivic logic, the melodic unfolding predominates here. A wider range is used, and the melodies are usually influenced by western music.

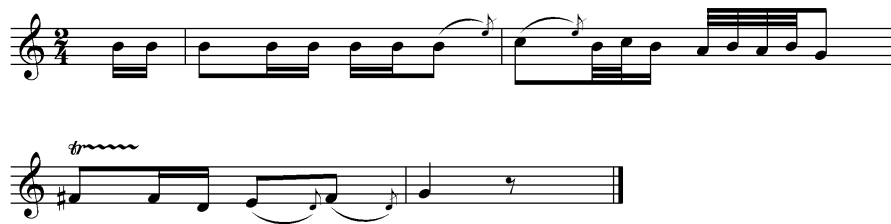


Figure 8. Segment #140 (Haris Sarris annotation). A music segment typical of the *Soústa* leaping dance.

The musicological analysis shows that music segments directly related to the *tsaboúna* use the six notes of the instrument's range exclusively. Diatonic modes predominate. The music segments are short, usually consisting of two meters, and

they have a motivic character. They are also repeated several times. A is the most frequently note used as the tonic of music segments, and at the same time, it is the tonic of the instrument as well. The demarcation between segments related to the *lira*, and those related to the *violin* is not very clear though. The *lira* can play almost all the Aegean repertoire of the *violin* that fit in its range, and has incorporated it in its repertoire. Sometimes, a violin's segment can even be 'compressed', in order to fit to the *lira*'s capabilities. Hence, we can associate to the violin the music segments that seem to be out of the *lira*'s range, as well as those that are fixed excerpts from well-known violin music, especially of Cretan origin. Table 1. offers statistical data regarding the music segments related to the *tsaboúna*, the *lira*, and the violin.

Table 1. Music segment-instrument statistics.

	Total time (in s.)	Total time (in min.)	Percentage
<i>Tsaboúna</i> related segments	256.54	5:17"	0.3444
<i>Lira</i> related segments	397.52	7:14"	0.5337
Violin related segments	82.05	1:42"	0.1102
Total	744.87	13:27"	0.9882 *

(1.0 if we include fade in and fade out)

In Figure 9, we sketch the representation of musical instruments in our recording. The *tsaboúna*'s segments are depicted as the 'hard-core' of the recording. The *lira* incorporates them and uses segments of the violin's repertoire, often compressed in order to fit to its capabilities.

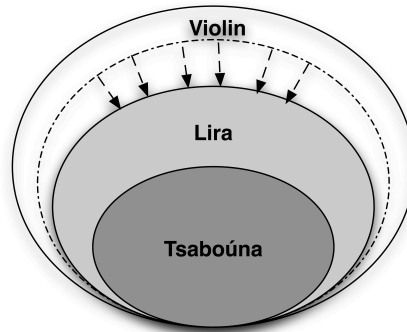


Figure 9. A graphical representation of the melodic musical instruments involved either directly or indirectly in the recording used in this paper.

The insider's perspective

Following the methodology of the *Parataxis* framework, we asked from four native musicians to tag and annotate the recording. All of them were very skilled and highly respected as musicians and each of them represented a different aspect of the society

of Olymbos. In order to evaluate their annotations, we have to outline the historical and cultural context of their village as a first step.

The cultural context

Pavlos Kavouras (1992) investigated the music and dance traditions of Olymbos in the context of the changing of social structure during the 20th century. Based upon his ethnographic research which took place in the late 80s (Kavouras, 1990), he enlarges upon the role of music and dancing in the culture of this isolated village of northern Karpathos. He indicates three landmarks in the recent history of the village: The first landmark was 1912, when the transition from the Ottoman period to the Italian occupation took place. The second was 1947, when the incorporation of the Dodecanese to Greece took place. The third landmark were the 60s and 70s, what Karpathians call 'modern times', when infrastructure works (motorways, airport, etc.) were built in Karpathos, hence surpassing the isolation which characterized those societies in the past. Kavouras describes the 'old world' (until 1947), when Olymbos was an isolated, closed and insular agricultural society bearing exchange economy and strictly determined social structures. The village was characterized by its rigid social hierarchy. The upper class consisted of landowners, which bequeathed their domain to their first-born children: men to their first-born sons and women to their first-born daughters. There was a middle class, where craftsmen, teachers, as well as priests belonged. Their property was much less compared to the *kanakáridhes* (first-born) but it was bequeathed the same way. Finally, there was the low class of peasants who owned no property.

The *meraklíki* was an attribute that lended glamour to everyone, regardless of his social status. It is quite difficult to provide a definition for the *meraklíki*. We could say that it means the capability of someone to take part in a fest successfully, to keep its unwritten laws, to communicate with his/her fellows through improvised verses and conduce to the community's ecstasis through the fest. For the landowners, it was a way for affirming their social superiority. For the rest, it was a means for 're-negotiating' their social status. According to Kavouras (ibid.), This way of life seemed to change in the 1920s. The first stream of emigrants returned from America to Karpathos, which was then under Italian occupation. The power of their dollars seemed to overshadow the dominance of the *kanakárides* for a while. Unfortunately, during the fascist regime the value of cultivable earth was more valuable than money. The Dodecanese islands were isolated from the outer world and the natives depended on their crops for their survive. 'Modern times' are characterized by the migration that almost dispeopled Olymbos from 1970 onwards. Migration was reinforced by the bequeathing customs, which override second-born children. When the condition changed the Exodus of the Olymbits was a matter-of-course. They immigrated to the Rhodes island, which is the capital of the Dodecanese, as well as to Piraeus, Athens, America, and Australia. Usually they intended to live near one another, so as to create the sense of Olymbitic community within the Diaspora. Inevitably, they connected (and still connect) with people of different background. Besides, the Olymbitic way of life remains to the focal point. Olymbos is a kind of Mecca for them, and they do their best to bequeath the same principles to their children. They establish associations, and

they organize Olymbitic dancing and music lessons. The morals and the customs of Olymbos, stories from old *ghléndia* (fests), etc. are a common topic in everyday conversations. During summer holidays the emigrants, as well as those who stayed back in Olymbos, come together and many *ghléndia* take place. But, what is a *ghléndi* and what is its meaning? At a first level of analysis, one can observe the singing, the music, the dancing, and the act of having fun with friends. In a second level of analysis, it emerges that the *ghléndi* is a complicated cultural phenomenon. A series of unwritten rules dictate who can sing and when, who is going to dance with whom, etc. (Kavouras, 1992, p. 177-178). It is a projection of the social structure to the music and dance activities.

The sense of community continues to be strong. It should be noted that each of the participants in a *ghléndi* is a 'representative' of his family; not only of the living ones, but of his ancestors and his descendants as well. All of his actions have an effect on them, honoring or stigmatizing them all. The good *ghlentistís* (man of the *ghléndi*), who is given the honorary title *meraklís*, is not the one that thrusts himself forward, taking advantage of his skill in improvising verses or his skillfulness in dancing. A *meraklís* (the bearer of *meraklíki*), above all, uses his skills for the good of the community's *ghléndi*. He improvises good *mantinádhes* (verses), he helps the others to sing their own ones, he sings when nobody else does, in order to keep the *ghléndi* going. He is the one who remembers old and difficult tunes and he is also a good dancer: not an 'acrobat', but a modest fellow. He is also a 'good receiver'. He has the ability to get in high spirits by the other *meraklídes*. If needed, he acts as a judge, or a conciliator, in the name of the community. Above all, a *meraklís* is 'a good guy'. The concept of *meraklís* is closer to the concept of the 'backbone' of the *ghléndi*, than to the 'star' of the *ghléndi*. The *protomeraklís* (the uppermost *meraklís*) is the administrator of the *ghléndi*⁶.

The *ghléndi* etiquette dates back a long time, and was tailor-made for the closed society of Olymbos. Besides, one has to take into consideration the social changes that took place in Olymbos over the last few decades. During the summer, when the community reunion takes place, people of different background join together. Some of the emigrants have conformed to urban life and their way of life is far beyond the Olymbos' morals. Moreover, some of them have English as their prime language. It is notable that while they are in Olymbos, they consciously try to act like Olymbits. Their behavior is prescribed, above all, by the *ghléndi* and its symbols (music, singing and dancing etiquette, the women's dress code, etc.). 'Correct' behavior is praised through *mantinádhes*, while 'incorrect' behavior is criticized. A common saying is that younger Olymbits have the 'duty' to preserve and protect the morals and customs of their ancestors.

Sometimes the observation of the unwritten rules of the *ghléndi* gives rise to confrontation between individuals, or even families. The participants may be of different backgrounds: people that grew up in the 'old world' who remained in Olymbos, among with second and third generation emigrants. They can also believe in keeping the traditions faithfully, or they may call the 'old world fans' in question, in the context of a rapidly changing world. Foreign observers (tourists or even researchers) have a special role in the abovementioned tangle. Although Olymbos and

its music has become very popular recently, foreigners usually do not know the *ghléndi* etiquette very well. Their participation is not always welcome and their behavior is sometimes criticized. Provided that one could have a ‘macroscopic view’ of the *ghléndi* in Olymbos, he/she would realize that, on one hand, most people of Olymbos take pains in order to ‘keep the tradition’, using – even mythologizing – their cultural symbols. On the other hand, Olymbits realize that the changes in social structure are inescapable. Hence, a *ghléndi* is a place where all this apprehensiveness, agony, and contrariness can be expressed through music and singing.

The Páno Chorós

The *Páno Chorós* is considered to be the culmination of the *ghléndi* and is the third phase of the Olymbos’ dancing. The first phase is the *Sighanós* (slow dance), where the dialogue with sung verses takes place. The second is the *Ghonatistós* (kneeling dance), which acts as a link to the third phase, the *Páno Chorós* (upper dance).

Issues, such as who is to dance, when, and by the side of whom, are clearly defined by the Olymbos’ unwritten laws, which are still in use today. Dancers dance from the first phase of the *Sighanós*. Usually men are the first to start. Gradually women come by the side of each dancer; one or more females, who are relatives of the male dancers, accompany each male: sisters, daughters, etc. If the dancer is single, single women whose families are interested in him are encouraged to dance by his side. In the past during the ‘official’ fests, such as in St. John’s *panigíri* in *Vroukoúnda*, the females who mainly danced were the ones whose turn was to get married; the first-born daughters first, and as soon as they get married, their younger sisters. Elderly women (mothers, aunts, and grandmothers) were the ones that indicated with a rapid glance where the potential bride was supposed to dance.

The first of the dancing line is called the *cávos*. Each dancer waits for his turn; he performs a series of dancing improvisations, holding his female dancers one by one. While dancing, he tips the musicians for each one of his female dancers. For the time he is dancing at the *cávos*, a man thrusts himself forward the community with his dancing skills, as well as with his total behavior. It is a very special instance for the dancers since there are, in a way of speaking, under the eye of the community. Hence, it is the right time to reinforce their status, or even to ‘send messages’, using the symbols connected with dancing, to whoever may concern. When his dance cycle finishes, the male dancer informs the group of dancers at the end of the cycle to come and dance at the *cávos*.

What happens to the musical instruments in the case of the *Páno Chorós* is the ‘music equivalent’ of the transition from the ‘old world’ to the ‘modern times’. Within the *Lirotsábouna* ensemble the *tsaboúna* leads, while the *lira* follows, playing a fiddle version of the bagpipe’s melodies. The *tsaboúna*’s sound is loud, which is desirable in open-air fests. At the same time, it has limited possibilities, which led to the instrument’s fading in the Aegean. Here a question comes up: Given that open-air fests take place all over the Aegean, how can one explain the almost marginalization of the *tsaboúna* everywhere except Karpathos? The instrument not only remained there, but also managed to have its ‘rival’, the *lira*, under control. A possible

explanation might be that the *tsaboúna* is the ‘instrumental equivalent’ of the ‘centripetal force’ characterizing the Olymbos’ society. It has a firm sound, which overshadows everything else, and it is stuck in its limited capabilities. If this comparison is valid, then we should not be surprised by the fact that during the ‘modern times’ the *lira* became gradually more autonomous. Contrary to the *tsaboúna*, the *lira* has a rather ‘centrifugal’ character. Due to its capabilities, it can incorporate music from various areas, such as the Aegean islands and Crete.

The ‘modern period’ of Olymbos is the first time in its history when immigration has escalated to such an extent. Olymbits interwove in their places of Diaspora with immigrants from other islands, as well as from Crete. Being the biggest island of Greece, Crete had an urban life during the Ottoman period, and it was interconnected with the commercial and music networks of the Eastern Mediterranean. In 1913, the island was incorporated into Greece. In the late 1920s, the Cretan *lira* went through extended organological transformations influenced by the violin, in the context of the island’s urbanization. The new instrument became a powerful cultural symbol of the island (Liavas, 1986). The repertoire of the newly transformed instrument was influenced by the violin as well. It became widespread in Crete, as well as in the Diaspora through the gramophone from 1930s on, and influenced every related tradition. The new instrument and its music displaced local instruments and repertoires and caused the creation of a homogenized, pan-Cretan repertoire. The flourishing of radio in the post-War years, as well as the wider diffusion of discography, brought out a new generation of *lira* players, who became the ‘protagonists’ of music life in a rapidly urbanizing context. In fact, the Cretan musicians of the 1950s and 60s were the second generation of Cretans who grew up under the influence of discography. Cretan music was also widely diffused during the 1970s and 1980s through the *kéntra*, the Cretan version of nightclubs. Such clubs were very popular in the Diaspora cities, as well as through a network of dancing parties organized by emigrants’ associations in the Diaspora. It was just a matter of time for the ‘Cretan stream’ to reach Olymbos, especially in the context of the ‘opening to the outer world’ of the 1960s and 1970s. Cretan music elements grafted the music of Olymbos, where the Cretan communities were multitudinous, as well as through radio and discography. In terms of the *Páno Chorós*, it was enriched with music elements from dances such as the Cretan *Malevizíótis* and the Dodecanesian *Sousta*. What this repertoire has in common is that it exceeds the possibilities of the *tsaboúna*, and it is a bearer of a western music thought. Sometimes it is echoing the urban repertoire of Asia Minor, based upon the violin. These musical elements were introduced in Olymbos by the younger generations of the ‘modern times’, causing controversy between them, and the ‘old-timers’. The ‘old-timers’ accused the younger generation of ‘adulterating’ the music of Olymbos with Cretan or other ‘foreign’ elements, while the former accused the latter that they play the *lira* as if it was a *tsaboúna*.

Based on the abovementioned data, one can draw a parallel between Olymbos of the 1970s, and Crete of the 1920s, in terms of musical instruments and repertoire. If this parallelism is valid, then we can comprehend the impact of the urbanized Cretan music of the 1970s on the music of Olymbos. The Cretan music was administrated by musicians whose music experiences are strongly related to discography for two

(sometimes for three) generations at the time. In the case of Olymbos we have a ‘pre-discographic’ tradition. Such a tradition has a lot of common elements with the old Cretan music in terms of musical instruments, playing techniques and the musicological characteristics of the repertoire. It is reasonable to assume that the case of Crete ‘opened the way’ to a corresponding transformation of the Olymbos’ music. Hence, we could venture that Olymbos went through equivalent social and musical transformations, having a ‘phase difference’ of fifty years from Crete. Olymbos’ music of ‘modern times’ was coming from a village that was ‘opening’ to the world. At the same time, the village tried to ‘circumvallate’, in order to protect its identity. Regardless of the carefulness some of the ‘old-timers’ may had, the impact of Cretan music was and still is notable.

Considering the recording from an insider’s perspective

Giannis Pavlidis (1932- 2006).

The recording analyzed in this paper should be inspected within the abovementioned context. The *lira* player is the late Giannis Pavlidis (Fig. 10), who is considered to be one of the best *meraklides*. He was a rather charismatic musician who, in a way, represents the dynamics of ‘modern times’ in Olymbos. Coming from the ‘middle class’ of the Olymbos’ society, he caused a storm of protests when he, contrary to his village’s morals, married the woman he was in love with. He immigrated in the Middle East and then to America for a short period of time before he went to Rhodes, where he lived among other Olymbits. He was among those who introduced music material from the Dodecanese and Crete. He also made a four-string *lira*, which offered him more flexibility. Unfortunately, when he tried to play it in a fest, in the early 1990s, he was heavily criticized.



Figure 10. Giannis Pavlidis playing the *lira*. Photo by Giorgis Dais.

When the recording took place in 1982, Giannis Pavlidis was in his fifties and was highly respected as a *meraklis*. According to Giorgis Dais, who recorded the session,

this was a night of high spirits, since many friends who had lost touch for many years due to immigration met up again and had fun together. Also, the *panigíri* of St. John in *Vroukoúnda* is a highly emotional occasion, since it is the last *panigíri* before the end of the summer holiday (Kavouras, 1992). It is the last chance for friends to sing and dance together. What Pavlidis played in this particular recording reflects the music of his era as he mixed music segments from the *tsaboúna*'s repertoire with segments of the *Sousta*. Of course, one has to consider that this recording is only a 12-minute fragment of a three day and night fest, hence, we cannot draw conclusions about the character of Pavlidis' music.

Four contemporary views.

Contrary to the multifragmental view of our scholar's segmentation, which brings out each music segment as an autonomous structural unit, our musicians' tagging created much longer segments. While musicians can appreciate the short music segments tagged in the scholar's view, they rather conceive them as groups, where a segment is repeated for several times. Hence, they tag the recording in 39 parts, while our segmentation gave 225. Their average segment duration was 9.44 s while our average segment duration was 3.27 s. They use the term *dhoksariá* (bowing, plural: *dhoksariés*) both for a single segment (scholar's term) as well as for their segmentation. Moreover, contrary to a scholar's view, which focuses on technical elements, our musicians were trying to integrate the context of the performance while listening to the recording. They tried to decode the dynamics of the dancing with the music and the musician-singer interconnection. At the same time, they detected the talking and the noises, so as to shed light to what was happening in the fest beyond the recording. We should make clear that our informants are not necessarily representative of the musicians of Olymbos. They offer four contemporary views of a particular recording, which took place almost thirty years ago. During our sessions, we just asked them to tag and annotate the recording, trying not to manipulate their task.

Giorgos Giorgakis (b. 1971), a *tsaboúna* player who lives in the Piraeus Diaspora, focused his comments on the relationship between the music segments to the musical instruments' capabilities. He also sketched the segments' functionality in the context of a dance performance: some of them are played so that the dancers and the musician can have a little rest, some of them are suitable for the culmination of dancing, while others are suitable for singing. Regarding the latter, he pointed out that, although the *Páno Chorós* is merely an instrumental dance, if somebody wants to sing a *mantinádha* the musicians have to follow him instantly. They play the specific *tsakistés dhoksariés* (*dhoksariés* suitable for singing) for him. Hence, he emphasized that singing leads even in the context of a merely instrumental genre.

Michalis Michalis (b. 1957), a *lira* player who lives in Diafani, the port of Olymbos, focused on the origin of each segment almost exclusively (*dhoksariés* from Olymbos, from Crete, from Southern Karpathos, etc.). He also sketched the innovations of Pavlidis, as well as the functionality of the music segments in the course of the *Páno Chorós*. His analysis is characterized by the bipolar 'ours vs. others' music. The same logic is found in the analysis of Giannis Lendakis (b. 1965), a supra-local musician

who comes from the Rhodes' Diaspora and has collaborated with various Dodecanesian musicians. Based upon his experience, he brought out information about the areas where each music segment is used. For some of them, who believed to be 'pure' Olymbitic, he noted that "they are not met anywhere but in Olymbos".

Finally, the recording was analyzed by the *lira* player Michalis Kostakis (b. 1984), one of the co-authors of this paper, who combines experiential practical knowledge with the systematic study of music and musicology in the Department of Traditional Music of the Technological Educational Institute of Epirus. Apart from the segment-instrument correlation, as well as data about the origin of the segments, what is important in his annotation is the concept of the 'cycle of segments': that is fixed series of music segments defined by the tradition. Kostakis also pointed out the role of the musician as an administrator of the melodic material, who follows the needs of each performance. Such knowledge is achieved through much experience.

Reading between the annotations.

Michalis narrates an incident that happened to him during a *ghléndi* when, as a teenager, he had the opportunity to play *Páno Chorós* while the dancers were in high spirits. He began to play a popular recording of Pavlidis segment-by-segment. Unfortunately, his music did not satisfy the dancers. Pavlidis, who was also there, came to replace him. He told him to stay beside him and watch. What Michalis observed was that Pavlidis always kept his eyes stuck on the dancers and re-adjusted his melodic material according to what each dancer needed when he danced in the *kávós* (first). Michalis realized that the manipulation of the *Páno Chorós* comes with the musician's extensive experience playing for the same people in the context of a closed society such as Olymbos. Each performance should be different because the context is different as well.

Olymbos went through several social transformations through the 20th century, which affected music as well. Today, almost thirty years after Pavlidis' recording, and 20 years after Kavouras' ethnographic research, social transformations continue. Only a few people still live in Olymbos, while its emigrants get more urbanized day by day. At the same time, Olymbos has become a tourist destination, due to both its traditions, which is a legend for outsiders, and its natural beauty. A contemporary ethnographer has, among all, to study how the Olymbits of our days, both natives and from the Diaspora, combine the identity of a modern townsman with that of an Olymbit, which sometimes are rather antithetical. He/she has to shed light on how, why, and to what extent the cultural symbols of the village, such as the music or the women's costume still survive, even among third generation emigrants. The prospective ethnographer has also to focus on why the Olymbits of the Diaspora tune themselves to the role of the good Olymbit when in Olymbos during summer holidays. Finally, the ethnographer should also take into consideration a rather provocative phrase we spotted in a blog (Pepe, 2007), which may act as a starting point for answering the abovementioned questions: "Karpathos, in fact, does not exist. It is a dreamland inhabited by a bunch of ghosts. These ghosts pretend in a matter of suicidal obstinacy to be Karpathians of the 1800s, whereas in fact they are Americans of the 1950s".

Within the above context we can understand the persistence of our musicians to provide a definition for the origin of each particular musical segment. From their point of view, it is crucial to demarcate what is from Olymbos and what is not, even if it is just a humble music segment played during the *Páno Chorós*. One of the virtues of a good musician is to recognize what comes from Olymbos and what is extinsical influence, in order to pay respect to his motherland. This skill can potentially protect him from provoking the ire of his fellows, as it has happened in the past even to charismatic musicians such as Pavlidis. At the same time, the existence of an external influence is not always discussed openly. According to our experience it is possible for some of the Olymbits to feel awkward by the fact that a 'foreign' element managed to 'penetrate' the shell of Olymbitic culture. Some Olymbits commented whatever they heard in the recording as pure Olymbitic. When we asked them to comment why there is a stylistic difference between some of the music segments, they just said that it was an inspired innovation of Pavlidis. In the localistic context of Olymbos it is highly possible for some of the musicians not to admit openly, especially to a foreigner, that a music element is other than '100% original Olymbitic'. Our four musicians do not share this 'blinker' way of thinking. We are grateful for their collaboration, which took part in the context of our friendly relationship and mutual confidence.

Innovations in the *Páno Chorós* are continuing. The influence of Cretan music is intensive, especially from the 1990s on, due to the local television channels, radio and discography. Even drum'n'base has been used in some cases in the villages of Sourthern Karpathos, which are considered to be 'other world' for the Olymbits. We believe that it is a matter of time for these innovations to reach Olymbos, regardless of how the Olymbits may react.

Conclusions

If we consider this particular recording as a mere music product, then, using music network analysis, we can observe several things about the musical tradition. The first is that while the *lira* incorporates the ancestral stream of the *tsaboúna*, it also modifies and incorporates one part of the Aegean repertoire of the violin, as well as the stream of the modern Cretan *lira*'s repertoire. The second is that the function of the *tsaboúna*'s music has passed to the accompaniment *laúto*, which points to the bagpipe's interchangeable drone. Also, knowing the music capabilities of the abovementioned instruments, one can observe the abovementioned elements segment by segment under the perspective of modern organology, through our database (www.parataxis.eu, see Haris Sarris annotation). A sample of the transcribed examples, representing various types of music segments, is included in this article. If, however, we try to conceive this 'sonic fragment' of a fest through a native's perspective, then a whole world of evaluations and interpretations comes up. These evaluations are based upon the history of Olymbos, the social transformations, the experiences of the musicians, hence indicating music as a tool for the negotiation of the identity for the modern Olymbits. Finally, in this article we try to evaluate the recording under analysis from the perspective of ethnomusicology by viewing the

annotations, as well as the organological data, under the prism of the recent history and the social transformations of Olymbos.

Epilogue

Musical instruments are the material projection of the extremely complicated tangle of music, which continues to unfold today in the Aegean Archipelago. The amount of data gathered from the analysis of a single recording through the *Parataxis* framework (accessible in our database) can give us a clue of the information still treasured in the minds of the musicians. We believe that music research regarding the instrumental music of Olymbos, as well as of the Aegean in general, should focus on the systematic study of instrumental music. The *Parataxis* framework can offer a stable basis for such an attempt, which can hopefully open the way to a multilateral interpretation of music, hence delivering valuable clues for ethnomusicologists, anthropologists and ethnologists alike.

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¹ The concept of the network was first introduced in humanities in the mid 1950s by scholars who studied urban areas of composite character. The dynamic character of networks favors the analysis of cultural phenomena as open processes rather than closed structures. It is an alternative to static analytical bipolars such as tradition/modernity, old/new, etc. Sociologists and Anthropologist have established a methodology called 'network analysis', which can be used in the description and the processing of the research data. Using network analysis, social scientists try to find clues regarding the creation and structure of cultural networks, especially in the context of composite societies. For a comprehensive review regarding the theoretical background and the methodology of network analysis see Sanjek (1990).

² We prefer to write 'Olymbos', rather than 'Olympos'. This is how the renowned village of Karpathos is widely known through ethnographic bibliography (especially from Kavouras' work). The reader should not confuse the village of Olymbos with the mountain of Olympos.

³ The oldest *lira* specimens from Crete, which are treasured in the Folk Musical Instrument Museum in Athens, date back to the 18th century. They can only be fingered on the first string, while the second drones constantly. Hence, they have a range of six notes and act as a 'stringed version' of the *tsaboúna* (Sarris, 2007). The *liras* of the 19th century and early 20th century, as well as today's Dodecanesian *liras*, can be played both on the first and the second strings, hence doubling the range of the instrument.

⁴ We prefer to use the term 'music segment', instead of the commonly used term 'phrase', since it is more 'neutral' and can be valid for every self-efficient melodic unit, regardless of its internal structure. A 'music segment' can either be a song's melody or an instrumental phrase.

⁵ In 1923, as a consequence of the creating of nation states with homogenous populations, a compulsory exchange of populations between Greece and Turkey (Treaty of Lausanne, July 24, 1923) and between Greece and Bulgaria (Treaty of Neuilly, November 27, 1919) took place. Moslems from Greek Thrace were exempted from the exchange, along with the Greeks of Istanbul.

⁶ The authors of the paper would like to thank Periklis Schinas, a fellow researcher of the music of the Aegean, for his significant help in defining the words *meraklís* and *meraklíki*.

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