CARDIFF UNIVERSITY
School of Music

The Crying Clarinet: Emotion and Music in Parakalamos

A thesis submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy
in Ethnomusicology

By

Nicola Maher

DECLARATION

This work has not been submitted in substance for any other degree or award at this or any other university or place of learning, nor is being submitted concurrently in candidature for any degree or other award.

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In memory of my brother Sam (1984-1988)

And for Vangelis (1938-2019)

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Conventions

A Note on the Presentation of the Text

I use italics to represent all ethnographic descriptions. I also use italics for all foreign language terms (except for proper nouns or those in Greek script). Quotations from literary sources are represented exactly as they appear in the original text. However, any material that appears in square brackets within a quote is my addition – unless I state otherwise in a footnote. Translations of literary sources from languages other than English are my own. I indicate when I have translated a text in footnotes. All photographs included were taken by me and so no credit has been given. All maps are sourced from google maps, an attribution is provided in a footnote below each map. All song lyrics that appear in Appendix B have been transcribed by me.

Modern Greek, Transliteration Conventions and Pronunciation

Greek terms in the text are represented in both a transliterated form in italics and in Greek script. Stress marks indicate which syllable is emphasised in pronunciation. These terms appear in the glossary. The definitions given in the glossary correspond to the way the term is used in the context of this study and do not cover all possible meanings. In the absence of infinitive forms of verbs in modern Greek, verbs are shown in their present tense first person singular form, as is shown in dictionary entries. For quoted phrases or conversations exchanged with interview partners, I have given an English translation in the text. The original Greek appears in footnotes in Greek script only. The names of places and people do not correspond to my transliteration conventions (see below). These are represented either in a standard anglicised form, or in the way that the individual chooses to represent their own name in Latin script. Where transliterated Greek terms are represented in italics, transliterated names of people and places (proper nouns) are not. Other non-Latin language scripts are not represented in the text. Terms in these languages (Arabic and Bulgarian) are written in a

transliterated form only and appear in italics. Plural forms of Greek words are stated in Greek. Plural forms of any other language are indicated by the addition of –s to the end of the singular form of the word. When a translation has been made into English, the translation appears within inverted commas. The original term/s appear immediately afterwards, italicised, in brackets, and the language is indicated by a two letter abbreviation which appears in front of the foreign word/s. The abbreviations used are as follows: al. = Albanian, eng. = English, ge. = German, gr. = Greek, ro. = Romanian, tu. = Turkish.

The following table shows my transliteration of Greek script. It also indicates how each Greek letter or letter combination is pronounced in British English. There are certain sounds that do not have an English equivalent. The Greek letter gamma (γ^1 in the table) is pronounced as a soft guttural g. The Greek letter rho (ρ) is pronounced as a trilled r, similar to the Spanish r. The Greek letter hi (χ) is pronounced like the ch at the end of the German 'Bach'. My transliterations do not conform to the orthography as given by the Journal of Modern Greek Studies in the 'Guidelines for Authors' (2019: 21). Rather, it is my intention to represent Greek terms as close to the way that they sound, as far as this is possible using Latin script. The order of the letters in the table (going down vertically) follow the order of the letters in the Greek alphabet. I have included sounds made by a combination of two consonants (for example γκ) within this series, although they are not separate characters in the Greek alphabet. Sounds made from a combination of two vowels appear below this list under the subheading 'vowel combinations'.

Greek Symbol (Upper Case)	Greek Symbol (Lower Case)	Transliteration in Latin Script	British English Pronunciation
A	α	*a*	a as in 'at'
B	β	*v*	v as in 'vein'
Γ^1	γ^1	*gh*	guttural g
Γ^2	γ^2	*y*	y as in 'yacht'

-	γγ	*ng*	ng as in 'anger'
Γκ	γκ	*g* at the beginning of a word *g* or *ng* in the middle of a word	g as in 'go' g as in 'go' or ng as in 'anger'
Δ	δ	*dh*	th as in 'then'
Ε	ε	*e*	e as in 'egg'
Ζ	ζ	*z*	z as in 'zone'
Η	η	*i*	i as in 'in'
Θ	θ	*th*	th as in 'thirst'
Ι	ι	*i*	i as in 'in'
Κ	κ	*k*	k as in 'king'
Λ	λ	*l*	l as in 'law'
Μ	μ	*m*	m as in 'man'
Μπ	μπ	*b*	b as in 'bad'
Ν	ν	*n*	n as in 'near'
Ντ	ντ	*d* at the beginning of a word *nd* in the middle of a word	d as in 'day' nd as in 'land'
Ξ	ξ	*ks*	ks as in 'thanks' or x as in 'axe'
Ο	ο	*o*	o as in 'odd'
Π	π	*p*	p as in 'pen'
Ρ	ρ	*r*	trilled r
Σ	σ or ς	*s*	s as in 'sun'
Τ	τ	*t*	t as in 'tin'
Τσ	τσ	*ts*	ts as in 'tsunami'
Τζ	τζ	*j*	j as in 'jazz'
Υ	υ	*y*	i as in 'in'
Φ	φ	*f*	f as in 'fish'
Χ	χ	*ch*	ch as in German 'Bach'
Ψ	ψ	*ps*	ps as in 'lips'
Ω	ω	*o*	o as in 'own'
Vowel Combinations			
Αι	αι	*ai*	e as in 'egg'
Αυ	αυ	*af or av*	af as in 'affect' or av as in 'avid'
Ει	ει	*ei*	ee as in 'need'
Ευ	ευ	*ef or ev*	ef as in 'left' or ev as in 'ever'
Οι	οι	*oi*	ee as in 'need'

| Oυ | ου | *ou* | ou as in 'r<u>ou</u>te' |

Music Terminology and Notation

All musical transcriptions use Western staff notation. As I anticipate that most of my readership will be familiar with Western staff notation, this is for reasons of practicality and comprehensibility (cf. Agawu 1995: xx). Western notation is not used in the musical culture that this study discusses. Nor does it precisely represent these musical sounds. My transcriptions should be read as an aid to musical understanding and not as exact representations of the sounds they describe. Staff notation is used in a number of academic contexts to illustrate Greek music (cf. Droulia and Liavas 1999; Dawe 2007). This practice is employed largely to record the building blocks of the music and to document specific repertoires (see Droulia and Liavas 1999: 16). The notations I provide are included in order to highlight some of the most fundamental aspects of musical structure in Parakalamos. Yet, my transcriptions do not document a complete repertoire.

Ornamentation and pitch bends have been notated using standard Western symbols yet they do not always correspond exactly to the sounds they represent. This is to aid the reader, as an overly detailed or descriptive notation system may cause problems in comprehension (see Ellingson 1992). I use two symbols to represent a downward pitch bend. A straight diagonal line (glissando) and a wavy diagonal line (glissando with vibrato). The second of these symbols refers to a 'sobbing' effect used by clarinetists in Pogoni articulated through a downward pitch bend played together with very wide and slow vibrato. I use brackets around certain notes in figures 5.3 and 5.4 to indicate that they are rarely played. The / symbol between f and f # in figure 5.4 indicates that either note is played (not both). The transcriptions of the *klaríno* are notated in the key of the instrument (B♭), not at concert pitch.

Many of my transcriptions are of a musical form that is in free rhythm. As such, most of my notations do not include a time signature. In these notations, the placement of note heads loosely represents the placement of notes in time.

In the written text, notes below middle c are represented with upper case letters. Notes between middle c and the octave above are represented with lower case letters. Notes above this are represented using lower case letters with the addition of the number 1 in superscript. For example, the c above middle c is represented as c^1. When discussing a mode, an upper case letter is used: for example, the C major mode.

Acknowledgements

My principal debt is to my supervisor Professor John Morgan O'Connell. Without his guidance, enthusiasm, and unfailing encouragement this project would not have been possible. I am also very grateful to Dr Amanda Villepastour and Professor Kevin Dawe for providing me with some important suggested revisions that have greatly enhanced my thesis; my thanks go to them as well. I would also like to express sincere gratitude to Professor O'Connell and Professor Martin Kayman for their help in securing a fully funded scholarship provided by Cardiff University's college of Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences.

This research would not have been possible without the opportunity to explore and nurture my love of the folk music of Greece with Greek musicians in London. In particular, I would like to express sincere thanks to Pavlos Melas. It was Pavlos who initially suggested that I visit Parakalamos, and it was this first visit that provoked my special interest in the music of Pogoni. I would also like to thank his parents Margarita and Yiannis Melas for their interest in my work and for their help in securing me a place to stay in Parakalamos in 2011 and 2012.

There are so many people in Greece who deserve my thanks. Alekso Skaroni deserves my warmest gratitude for taking me into her home on my first visit to the village. I will always fondly think of her as my γιαγιά; my adoptive Greek grandma. Thanks also to her granddaughter Aleka for her initial introductions to the residents of the village. During my fieldwork period in 2016 I had the good fortune to stay in my own prefabricated house in the garden of the Chaldoupis family. I would like to note my heartfelt gratitude to Yiannis Chaldoupis, his wife Nellie, and their children Vasilis and Aliki. I would also like to thank Yiannis especially for the interest he showed in my research and for his constant offers of help and clarification throughout my fieldwork.

Abstract

Social narratives in Pogoni, Greece are dominated by a sense of pain that is associated with local history. This emotional trope relates directly to cultural expression, especially in terms of music. Traditional music in the village of Parakalamos is recognised locally as music that is full of pain and sorrow and is epitomised by the sound of a 'crying clarinet'. An instrumental form of lament is central to this tradition. Yet, the pain that this music expresses is experienced as bittersweet. Rather than articulating the raw grief associated with lament in the event of a death, this form of lament is associated with a reflective bittersweet nostalgia. The same musical phrases that characterise lament accompany the dance music of the area. In this context, the sound of the crying clarinet provokes emphatic displays of joy. In the music and dance of Parakalamos, there is no conflict between pain and joy; instead they are recognised as complementary emotions.

This thesis considers how emotion is conveyed through music in Parakalamos. It also looks at the relationship between musical 'style' and social space. The 'Parakalamos style' (*Parakalamiótika* gr. Παρακαλαμιώτικα) is created and remade in every moment of performance. In Parakalamos, style is a fluid social process. The notion of musical spontaneity or 'inspiration' is linked to emotional expression, and in this way improvisation is highly valued. Despite this, phrases that represent 'crying motifs' are frequently repeated in performance. These crying motifs embody meaning as they are connected to experiences and memories of place.

Drawing upon theoretical literature that concerns emotion and place, this study argues that musical meaning is contingent upon social interaction. In Parakalamos, the sound of the clarinet is associated with emotional experience and in this way it signifies place. In short, the 'crying clarinet' is created through the intersection between music, emotion, and place.

Introduction

This is a study about emotion. More specifically, it is about emotional states that arise in response to music from a particular area (Pogoni). I consider the way in which these emotional states and the music which creates them constitute, and are constituted by, 'place'. In Pogoni (gr. Πωγώνι), music *is* place (Theodosiou 2011: 23; see Chapter 6), in the sense that life is in some ways dependent on music – in Pogoni, and especially in the village of Parakalamos (gr. Παρακάλαμος)[1] and the surrounding area, music plays an important role in social experience.

The music from Parakalamos and from Pogoni in general, is recognised locally as music that is full of pain and sorrow. During my fieldwork, this music was described as a 'lamenting' music, and as 'the most pained music in the world' (see Chapter 3). The narratives of 'crying' that surround the practice of this music emphasise this lamenting aesthetic (see Chapters 4 and 5). Yet, the bittersweet pain that is articulated by the music also contains aspects of joy and ecstasy. The music provokes emotional states that combine feelings of pain, nostalgia, and joy resulting in a heightened and transported experience (see Chapter 7). The title of my thesis 'the crying clarinet' refers to the crying themes that pervade the music of Pogoni. Yet this notion of musical crying is not all about pain and sorrow.

As a clarinetist myself I have always been drawn to music that features the voice of the clarinet. This has led to explorations of traditional jazz, Jewish *klezmer*, Turkish Romani music, and various Balkan folk traditions. During undergraduate study, I gradually turned away from western classical music because I felt it lacked something that these other traditions embodied. Of course, this was a subjective perception, perhaps guided by a 'misplaced romanticism' (Stokes 1992: 2). Yet, as a teenager plagued by mental health

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[1] All Greek villages are nouns in gendered form and follow the rules of Greek grammar. In my study however, unless quoted within a passage of Greek, I will always state village names in their nominative case form.

issues, I had become disillusioned with the disimpassioned mentality that I felt was advocated by the national (UK) culture of my upbringing. In line with this, I felt expressively constrained by the western classical tradition, and like Martin Stokes (ibid), I was seeking 'heart, soul, and emotion' in the exotic 'other'.[2]

When a friend suggested that I look into the music of Epiros (see Chapter 1), I was transfixed by the almost impossible slides and trills executed by the clarinet that gave the music such expressive depth. I could hear the clarinet 'crying' even before I knew that it was described this way locally. It was this personal interest in emotion and expression that led towards the completion of this thesis. However, this is not a study about me and the way in which I perceive this music. It is an attempt to understand 'local' conceptions of meaning and emotion in music and how these are situated in a sense of 'place'.

Locating the Field

My fieldwork took place in the Greek-Albanian borderlands of the region of Greek Epiros (gr. Ήπειρος); one of the nine geographic regions of Greece. It is found in the north-western corner of the country and borders with Albania to the north. I was based in the village of Parakalamos which rests in the municipality of Pogoni,[3] situated just under 30km south-east of Kakavia (gr. Κακαβιά; al. Kakavijë), one of the Greek-Albanian border crossing points. It is known as a 'music village' (*mousikó chorió*, gr. μουσικό χωριό), as a significant proportion of the population are Romani Gypsies – known locally as *Ghýftoi* (gr. Γύφτοι) – who are

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[2] The notion of the exotic is often associated with the (mis)representation of people, places and cultural practices as distant and different. But of course, the 'exotic' and the 'other' cease to be exotic and other once they are familiar. Although my initial contact with this musical culture may have been driven by a desire to find something that was lacking in my own culture – a desire to connect with 'the other' – my subsequent experiences with this culture have rendered it familiar (and so not 'exotic'). However, it has taught me about the different ways in which people connect with (or avoid) pain. Perhaps in Epiros, there is a greater willingness to accept and experience pain than there was in the environment in which I was brought up in.

[3] Parakalamos is a village with a permanent population of about seven to eight hundred inhabitants.

mostly musicians by trade. Although there are other Roma in the area (such as in the town of Delvinaki),[4] the Roma of Parakalamos are the only Romani group in Pogoni that have held on to their language, known as Ghýftika (gr. Γύφτικα) in Greek, and as Romacilikanes in their own tongue.

The location of Pogoni, stretching across a (relatively newly-defined) national border, coupled with the colourful history of the region of Epiros, means that this area is a multilingual site containing diverse ethnic identities. However, it retains a fair degree of cultural homogeneity. On the Greek side, the municipality of Pogoni is found in the regional unit of Ioannina (gr. Ιωάννινα); the largest administrative area in Greek Epiros. On the Albanian side, Pogoni (al. Pogon) is a former municipality in the district of Gjirokastër. Since 2015, the area has been governed by the municipality of Dropull. Figure 0.1 below shows the location of Parakalamos within the outline of Greek Pogoni and figure 0.2 shows how Pogoni is situated within Greece.

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[4] Petros-Loukas Chalkias, one of the most famous *klaríno* players in Greece, is originally from the town of Delvinaki. Even though Delvinaki and Parakalamos are situated only 20km apart, the Romani communities in these villages are markedly different. The Delvinaki Roma are solely Greek speakers – they do not speak any dialect of the Romani language. However, both groups are referred to as *Ghýftoi* in Greek. Interestingly, many people in Greece do not associate Petros-Loukas with his Romani heritage, or are even completely unaware of it. In any case, the Parakalamos Roma are considered as 'more Gypsy' than the Delvinaki musicians.

Figure 0.1: Map of Pogoni with Parakalamos marked (Map data © Google, accessed 19/06/2019)

Figure 0.2: Map of Greece (figure 0.1 outlined in red) (Map data © Google, accessed 19/06/2019)

Parakalamos is situated on a plain surrounded by mountains on all sides. A large percentage of the non-Romani population own fields on the plain and are involved in agriculture. However, the village was not always located so close to these fields. At the beginning of the twentieth century, Parakalamos was still positioned near the bottom of the Kasidiaris (gr. Κασιδιάρης) mountain. This site, then known by the Slavic name of Pogdoriani (gr. Πογδόριανη), has a long inhabited history (see Gogos 1995), and has long been connected to the current site of Parakalamos (previously known as Kalyvia, gr.

Καλύβια)[5] through the agricultural activity of the inhabitants. The village gradually moved down the mountain so that the inhabitants of Pogdoriani could avoid the five-kilometre trek from the village to their fields. Andreas Gogos (1995: 29-30) suggests that there were three events that encouraged the move: 1) the destruction of the village of Pogdoriani in 1718,[6] 2) the burning of the village in 1912 by the Turks, 3) the Second World War and the Greek Civil War which followed. The site of Pogdoriani is now known as Ano Parakalamos (gr. Άνω Παρακάλαμος) and the site of Kalyvia is now known as Parakalamos.[7]

Parakalamos is now home to a mixture of Greek, Vlach, Romani and Albanian inhabitants. The Romani community arrived in Parakalamos after the Balkan Wars (1912-1913) when they left the Albanian-border hugging villages of Pogoniani (gr. Πωγωνιανή) and Chrisodouli (gr. Χρυσόδουλη). This particular Romani group (who were known locally as the 'Turkish Gypsies' or *Tourkóghyftoi*, gr. Τουρκόγυφτοι) were Muslim and had Turkish names. They settled in areas where there was an Ottoman Turkish presence as they identified more closely with the Muslims Turks rather than with the Orthodox Christian Greeks. During the fight for the independence of Epiros from the Ottoman regime, the Turks left Pogoniani and Chrisodouli, and so did the *Tourkóghyftoi*. The *Tourkóghyftoi* moved towards the agriculturally rich area of the Ano Kalamas basin and settled in the villages of Sitaria (gr. Σιταριά) and Pogdoriani/Parakalamos. Between 1915 and 1925 they all moved to Parakalamos (Gogos 1995b: 40-41).

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[5] 'Kalyvia' means 'huts' in Greek and referred to the straw huts that were located in the current site of Parakalamos. These huts were used by the inhabitants of Pogdoriani when they were tending to their fields or grazing their animals (Gogos 1995: 28; Theodosiou 2011: 59).

[6] Gogos (1995: 663-664) notes that little is known about the reason for the destruction of the village in 1718.

[7] Many 'Slavic' village names were changed to 'Greek' names in 1927 as part of the national project (see Theodosiou 2011: 59, fn. 99). This was also the case with Parakalamos and Ano Parakalamos.

The men were primarily musicians and the women were mostly fortune tellers (Gogos 1995b: 40). Between March and October each year, the *Tourkóghyftoi* travelled around Epiros on foot, and in the winter they rented small houses from the inhabitants of Parakalamos (ibid: 42-45). After the Second World War in 1945, the *Tourkóghyftoi* were baptised, all in the same day, by the village priest Christos Skaronis. They were given new 'Christian' names and surnames, for example, the Turkish surnames 'Halil' and 'Ibrahim' became 'Chaliyiannis' or 'Chalilopoulos' and 'Brachopoulos'. Between 1945 and 1962 the *Tourkóghyftoi* stopped their nomadic way of life, built their own houses in the village, and the children started going to school. In 1962 they became official citizens of Parakalamos (ibid: 55-56).

As noted above, the Roma of Parakalamos speak a dialect of Romani known in their own tongue as Romacilikanes. The community is bilingual, both Greek and Romacilikanes are considered as native languages. On the other hand, the non-Romani population of Parakalamos speak only Greek, they do not learn Romacilikanes. However, a small number of non-Romani inhabitants can speak it as they had Romani friends in childhood, or because they have an interest in the language. In Romacilikanes the Roma are referred to as the *Romacel*,[8] and the non-Roma are referred to as the *balamí*.[9] It is the fact that the Parakalamos Roma still speak a Romani dialect that distinguishes them from other Roma in the area. By way of contextualisation, I offer here a brief description of other Romani groups in Epiros (and in Greece as a whole).

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[8] My spelling of Romacilikanes and Romacel adheres to the spelling used by Yaron Matras (2004) in his article on the Romani dialect of Parakalamos. This spelling also appears in the Romani Morpho-Syntax Database (Manchester University). These words are pronounced as Romatsilikanes and Romatsel and both words are stressed on the final syllable.

[9] *Balamós* (pl. *balamí*), is a word that denotes a non-Romani person (like the better known word *gadjo*) in the Romani dialects of Greece. It is often represented in Greek script as μπαλαμός (pl. μπαλαμοί).

During the Byzantine and Ottoman periods many of the Roma in Epiros scattered into different villages. They altered their way of life in order to integrate into the local community. They forgot their language and Romani customs and were baptised as Christians. However, they still lived in their own 'Gypsy' part of the villages and married between themselves. Today, these Roma are known as *Christianóghyftoi* (gr. Χριστιανόγυφτοι) or *Romióghyftoi* (gr. Ρωμιόγυφτοι) – 'Christian Gypsies' (Gogos 1995b: 40). Although the Romani musicians in Parakalamos are now Christian and settled, they are not *Christianóghyftoi* as they do not share the same historical circumstances (they did not scatter into different communities; they stayed together in a much larger group) and were baptised relatively recently. As noted, they also still speak their own language. Yet, since the Parakalamos Roma no longer have Turkish names and are officially 'Christian' they are now rarely referred to as *Tourkóghyftoi*. Instead they are simply known by the Greek community (and by themselves when speaking in Greek) as *Ghýftoi*. With this is mind, I will refer to the Romani musicians from Parakalamos as the *Ghýftoi* throughout the rest of this thesis.[10]

Whereas in Greece as a whole, the terms *Ghýftoi* and *Tsingánoi* (gr. Τσιγγάνοι) are often used interchangeably, in Epiros these terms are used to denote two different groups. *Tsingánoi* refers to those Roma who are still nomadic, whereas *Ghýftoi* refers to settled Roma who are now perceived to have local origins (Theodosiou 2011: 72-73). Both terms have derogatory connotations in the wider Greek context, yet, in Parakalamos, the *Ghýftoi* are

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[10] As noted, I will use the word *Ghýftoi* to refer to the Romani musicians with whom I worked as this was the term we used during my fieldwork. For an etymological discussion of the term *Ghýftoi*, see Brandl (1996). *Ghýftoi* is a plural noun in Greek (sing. *Ghýftos*, gr. Γύφτος), but I will also use it as an adjective in this study (i.e. *Ghýftoi* community). This is to avoid employing potentially confusing adjectives such as *ghýftiko* (gr. γύφτικο) or grammatical inflections such as *ghyftón* (gr. γυφτών), 'of the Gypsies'. Roma/Romani are not terms that are frequently used in Greece. They have only recently been introduced into Greek discourse (see Theodosiou 2013: 137, fn. 11). However, I do occasionally use these terms as a way of identifying the Parakalamos *Ghýftoi* as part of the wider group of Roma, or when referring to other Romani communities. The term 'Gypsy' appears in inverted commas to acknowledge the derogatory nature of this term, except when I refer to literature where Gypsy is the preferred term of identification (i.e. Soulis 1961; Van de Port 1999; Barany 2002; Bonini-Baraldi 2009; Szeman 2009; Theodosiou 2011; 2013).

accepted as part of the community and the term is (generally) not used in an inflammatory way within the village.

Lineage and Musical Identity

The *Ghýftoi* of Parakalamos typically marry within their community. However, there are a few exceptions, and marriages between *Ghýftoi* and non-*Ghýftoi* are becoming more and more common. The lineage of the *Ghýftoi* musicians in Parakalamos can be traced back to the nineteenth century, before they first settled in Parakalamos. Gogos (1995b: 45-46) suggests that there are two central 'tribes' (*fára*, gr. φάρα) of musicians. Those who are descended from Feizo Halil, and those who are descended from Siakio Ibrahim. In the CD liner notes of 'Πογδόριανη' (Pogdoriani),[11] it is noted that five of Feizo's grandchildren were born between 1889 and 1909. There are no recorded dates for Feizo himself or for his children. Siakio and his lineage is not mentioned at all.

During my fieldwork period I spoke to many people in and around Parakalamos. However, my key respondents were the *klaríno* (gr. κλαρίνο, eng. clarinet) players from Parakalamos who taught me about their music and their style of playing *klaríno*. Here I provide a short introduction to each of these respondents. More detail can be found in Appendix A.[12]

Thomas Chaliyiannis was the first musician that I met in Parakalamos and was my first teacher in the village. He is the son of Chalilis (now deceased), one of the great players of Parakalamos music. Despite this, Thomas rarely plays in the Parakalamos area as he is in demand elsewhere and he feels he has lost his 'Parakalamos accent'. Vangelis Chaliyiannis is Chalilis's first cousin. He is currently known as the greatest living *klaríno* player in Parakalamos.

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[11] *Πογδόριανη* (no date) [CD-ROM] Βασίλης Ράπτης, Δήμος Άνω Κάλαμα.

[12] I include information from several other respondents throughout the thesis. I introduce these people within the text as they are mentioned.

Although he can no longer play publicly due to ailing health, he is still considered to be a master of *Parakalamiótika* (gr. Παρακαλαμιώτικα, eng. Parakalamos music). Nasos Chaliyiannis is Vangelis's nephew. Nasos started playing *klaríno* in his twenties after playing the *défi* (gr. ντέφι, eng. Greek frame drum) as a child. Nasos plays at local *panighýria* (gr. πανηγύρια, eng. saint's day festivals) with his two sons and the rest of his *kompanía* (gr. κομπανία, eng. ensemble). Christos Chaliyiannis is another of Vangelis's nephews and was Vangelis's principal student when he was younger. Christos says that he strives to play in the style of Vangelis. Together with Thomas and Yiannis, he was one of my main *klaríno* teachers during my fieldwork period. The whole of the Chaliyiannis family is descended from Feizo Halil (see above).

Yiannis Chaldoupis was my host in the village during my fieldwork period. He comes from a musical family and his grandfather 'Toupis' was a well-known *défi* player. Yiannis plays *Parakalamiótika* mixed with influences from jazz, rock, and 'World Music' genres. He also has a workshop in his garden where he repairs and modifies instruments and sells *klarína*. Christos Zekios is a cousin of Yiannis (Christos's grandmother and Yiannis's father were first cousins). Christos learnt *klaríno* with Thomas's father Chalilis. He used to play with Yiannis in his band, but he now plays in Christos Chaliyiannis's *kompanía*. Thodoris Oikonomou is Yiannis's second cousin (Thodoris's grandmother was the sister of Toupis, Yiannis's grandfather). Thodoris also learnt *klaríno* with Chalilis. He plays alongside his father Nikola (violin) in Nasos Chaliyiannis's *kompanía*. Michalis Brachopoulos is another cousin of Yiannis (Michalis's father Kostas is Yiannis's first cousin). Michalis was also one of Chalilis's students. Now he rarely plays in the Parakalamos area though, as he is often booked to play in other areas of Epiros (such as Zagori and Tzoumerka). Michalis's grandfather was *défi* player Mouchos, a grandchild of Siakio Ibrahim (see above).

The music played publicly in and around Parakalamos by the *Ghýftoi* is 'local' music. It is not a foreign 'Gypsy' music that was brought into the area when the *Ghýftoi* settled there.[13] However, the performance of instrumental music in this area *is* now a *Ghýftoi* tradition; currently there are no non-*Ghýftoi* musicians who play *Parakalamiótika* professionally (see Theodosiou 2011: 53-54). Although there are amateur musicians in the village, and the tradition of polyphonic multipart singing is performed by non-*Ghýftoi* (see Chapter 3), the instrumental music that is played at village festivals and life cycle events is performed exclusively by the *Ghýftoi*. This has important implications for the identity of the *Ghýftoi* in Parakalamos. As Theodosiou (2011: 77) notes:

> And here with music one can get to the heart of the relationship between gypsies and *balame*: the essential difference is that gypsies play music and *balame* dance to it; gypsies play music at *paniyiria* because gypsies are musicians and *balame* are not. But whilst *balame* are not defined by the fact that some *balame* play music, one of the things that defines the *Parakalamos gypsies* is that they are predominantly musicians.

However, there *is* a distinction between the local folk music that the *Ghýftoi* play at *panighýria* (known as *dhimotiká*, gr. δημοτικά), and 'Gypsy music' (known as *ghýftika*, gr. γύφτικα) per se. *Ghýftika* is a repertoire of music that draws heavily on Arabesk and other Turkish genres of music and it is played by Romani musicians across mainland Greece. Typically, the *klaríno* takes the leading role and a *taksími* (gr. ταξίμι) is followed by a series of *tsiftetélli* (gr. τσιφτετέλι) songs. In Parakalamos, the performance of *ghýftika* is reserved for *Ghýftoi* celebrations like Baptisms and weddings where there are few non-*Ghýftoi* in

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[13] The idea that Romani musicians do not have a music of their own and that they simply appropriate or 'steal' the folk music of the place in which they settle has often been discussed (cf. Brandl 1996: 7; van de Port 1999: 297, 299; Szeman 2009: 109-110, 112). However, as Szeman (2009: 110) notes, the borrowing or 'stealing' works in both directions, as in today's globalised music market Romani songs and Balkan folk music are sampled or reproduced by DJs and musicians who sometimes have no first-hand knowledge of the traditions they appropriate. There is no quintessential 'Gypsy music' (see Schneider 2000: 139; Silverman 2012: 22), yet this does not mean that the music that the Roma play does not belong to them. As Nikolas stated in Theodosiou's (2013: 137) ethnography: 'All the music we play is ours, isn't it?'

attendance. The musicians who play at these events in Parakalamos usually come from Nea Zoi (gr. Νέα Ζωή, eng. new life), the Romani neighbourhood in Ioannina.[14]

An in-depth study about Parakalamos and its musicians was recently completed by Aspasia (Sissie) Theodosiou (2011). I must mention her excellent study from the outset and suggest the ways in which my own study overlaps with, builds upon, and differs from her work. According to Theodosiou, the musical performances of the Parakalamos *Ghýftoi* are 'ambiguous', but not because they embody a specifically Gypsy culture or identity. Rather, the same ambiguities that surround the construction of 'place' on the Greek-Albanian border permeate these performances and impact on the construction of 'Gypsyness' in Parakalamos.

From a national perspective, the fact that the Parakalamos musicians play 'local' music (and not 'Gypsy' music) initially allowed them to be included in the nation-state project as 'dishevelled' local musicians (Theodosiou 2011: 8). Yet, as music was packaged into forms that could be exhibited as 'cultural heritage', the tradition of polyphonic singing (a musical tradition performed by non-*Ghýftoi*) became the 'official' music of Pogoni. Unlike polyphonic singing, which is music 'for listening', Parakalamos music is a social process that is predicated on 'performance and encounter' (ibid: 220). It therefore could not be packaged in the same way. This music is *located* music; it cannot be adapted for the national stage or recording industry. In this way, Parakalamos music cannot render its practitioners visible or distinct within the national context. Furthermore, Theodosiou (2013: 146) argues that in Pogoni, as musicianship is seen as a naturalised part of themselves,[15] *Ghýftoi* musicians have lost the ability to claim musical capital as a distinguishing feature. The Parakalamos *Ghýftoi*

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[14] Nea Zoi is a community of *Ghýftoi* made up of families and individuals who have moved from Parakalamos to Ioannina. This community, like the *Ghýftoi* in Parakalamos, speaks the Romani dialect of Romacilikanes.

[15] The Roma are well known for their musical abilities. The association of the Roma with their roles as musicians has become so embedded in the European and Balkan imagination that it has been naturalised. In many Balkan cultures, the idea of 'musician' and 'Gypsy' have almost become synonymous (see Silverman 2012: 21).

are marginalised because they play music that is embedded in a marginal place (and not because they play an 'exotic' or 'foreign' 'Gypsy' music).

Where Theodosiou considers music as an embodied practice which expresses a 'located' identity, in this study, I consider how musical sound is involved in emotional conceptions of social space. As a clarinetist, I am uniquely positioned to explore the playing styles and the musical forms and structures which constitute 'Parakalamos music' (*Parakalamiótika*, gr. Παρακαλαμιώτικα). In particular, I look at the notion of the 'crying clarinet' and at an instrumental form of lament (*moirolói*, gr. μοιρολόι), both of which are central elements in the folk music of Pogoni.[16] In this way, I position emotion at the heart of my ethnography. I argue that emotional expressivity in Parakalamos is fundamental to the value of music. Emotion is located within musical sound itself, as well as in the embodied expression of this sound, and in embodied reactions to this sound.

Like Theodosiou, I discuss *Parakalamiótika* as a 'located' social process. I do not, however, focus on 'Gypsy' identity, nor do I consider the ways in which this music relates (or does not relate) to a wider national discourse. As Theodosiou discusses, Parakalamos music is invisible and even irrelevant in terms of the national imaginary. On the other hand, *Parakalamiótika* is central to local experience and meaning, and it is this that I concern myself with. As Theodosiou notes herself: '…the embodied making of place through music is part of the Pogoni peoples' experience, and to that extent is only *partially* connected to wider discourses about such matters' (Theodosiou 2011: 50). On a national level, Parakalamos musicians struggle to occupy a position of visibility (Theodosiou 2011; 2013). Yet, on a local level, these musicians are highly visible. Vangelis Chaliyiannis, for example, has defined himself through his music. His individual style, and his iconic melody Alvanía are instantly recognisable in the area.

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[16] I problematise the notion of 'folk music' below.

The Music and its Context

The music examined in this study (*Parakalamiótika*) is considered, by the inhabitants of Parakalamos and the surrounding area, as part of the wider system of Greek 'folk music' (*dhimotikí mousikí*, gr. δημοτική μουσική). *Dhimotikí mousikí*, or *dhimotiká* (gr. δημοτικά) as it is also known, is an umbrella term that refers to various regional styles within Greece. These styles differ from one another in a variety of ways. As Eleni Kallimopoulou (2009: 1) notes, differences concern 'aspects such as scale types, rhythms, vocal style, melodic vocabulary and ornamentation, instrumentation, and performance style'. Regional styles are grouped together under broad headings such as *Ipeirótika* (gr. Ηπειρώτικα, eng. Epiros music), *Makedhonítika* (gr. Μακεδονίτικα, eng. Macedonian music), *Thrakiótika* (gr. Θρακιώτικα, eng. Thracian music), and *nisiótika* (gr. νησιώτικα, eng. island music). *Parakalamiótika* fits under the broader heading of *Ipeirótika*.

I use the term 'folk music' in this study as a translation of *dhimotikí mousikí*. Yet, as Mark Slobin (2011: 1) notes, the meaning of 'folk music' has varied widely over space and time and a single definition is difficult to pin down. In many languages, the term is associated with a Euro-American colonial mentality that seeks to collect and archive examples of rural (or 'simpler') cultural practices (see ibid: 1-2). In Greece, the discipline of *laografía* (gr. λαογραφία, eng. folklore) was established in the late nineteenth century as a result of the political developments that led to the creation of the modern Greek nation-state in 1832. The ideological need for a coherent national consciousness that demonstrated historical continuity prompted the collection of texts and artifacts that would support this notion (Herzfeld 1986: 13). This was an attempt, in part, to exhibit a Greek culture that conformed to European intellectual ideals about classical Greece (ibid: 5-7). The documentation and publication of *dhimotiká traghoúdhia* (gr. δημοτικά τραγούδια, 'folk songs') constituted an important part

of the folkore project. In this context, the term *dhimotikí mousikí* was impossible to separate from the nationalistic interests which fueled the study of *laografía*.

The history of the term is not always associated with its modern usage. The way in which the term *dhimotikí mousikí* is often used today expresses the idea of a music that is not written down and has no known 'composer', that has been learnt through oral tradition, and that is performed in contexts which celebrate life cycle events. In this vein, Slobin (2011: 2) suggests that the notion of 'folk music' evokes the sense of a lived community that depends upon 'homemade resonance' (in the form of local cultural practice) which constructs individual and collective experience. In this respect, 'Folk music is not a set of songs and tunes; it is more of a working practice' (ibid: 3). It is this meaning that I wish to convey by the use of this term. *Parakalamiótika* is a style of music that is played in a small area (although it reaches further today because of technology and diaspora)[17] which changes and adapts through time in order to suit the musical needs of those who play and listen to it.

A distinctive musical identity is typical for individual villages, or clusters of villages, across the region of Epiros. In Parakalamos and the surrounding area, local musical style is created by all members of the community, and music-making and its associated practices are a more or less everyday affair. The village is home to a large number of *Ghýftoi* musicians who perform the music (see Chapters 1 and 3). Yet, the music tradition as a whole is created and maintained by listeners, dancers, and musicians alike.

The music of Epiros draws from a rich tradition and reflects the diversity of cultural, ethnic and regional identity in the area. Amongst municipalities and even between villages,

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[17] The many YouTube clips of Parakalamos musicians means that their music can now be accessed worldwide. There are also members of the Parakalamos community who now live in Germany, Australia, and the USA. In fact, a branch of the Chaliyiannis family live in the USA and play their version of Parakalamos music there.

there is variation in musical style and repertoire, and each area has its own specialist

musicians. As Giorgos Kokkonis (2008: 42) notes:

> Beyond the three large urban centres (Arta, Ioannina, Preveza), Metsovo, Zagori, Konitsa, Pogoni, the Grammenochoria, the Kourentochoria, the area of Zitsa, Paramythia and Magariti have their own folk musicians, their own ensembles. The financially robust Vlach villages (*Vlachochoria*) of Tzoumerka and of Metsovo are also musically autonomous.[18]

Although nowadays there is a developed instrumental music tradition in all the areas

of Epiros, in the past, folk music was essentially a vocal tradition. In ritual folk song in

Epiros, as is the case in many traditions across the world, musical instruments were not

integral to the functioning of the ritual process. As modern life evolved, however, and ritual

practice was taken out of its original context (see Stokes 1994: 2), the idioms and styles that

had been developed vocally, were transferred to musical instruments (Kokkonis 2008: 35).

The varied nature of the vocal styles from different areas of Epiros was reflected in the

resulting instrumental styles of each Epirote region, resulting in different musical dialects

(ibid: 42).

The idea that these musical dialects have remained distinct despite the closer

connections between villages and with the wider world due to advancing technology is

related to narratives that concern 'authenticity'. An 'authentic' or 'pure' music is often tied to

a specific identity and is frequently associated with place. As Connell and Gibson (2003: 19)

note, 'authenticity… is in part constructed by attempts to embed music in place'. The idea

that 'authentic' culture comes from a particular locality that has not been corrupted by

outside influences constitutes a powerful image in social imagination. The narrative that

implies that 'authentic' music is ancient music – music that has not given in to the cultural

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[18] My English translation from the Greek original.

blurring created by modern global capitalist society – is one often used in relation to 'traditional' folk music (ibid: 19, 25, 27-28).[19]

This narrative of cultural preservation has currency both within Pogoni (and Epiros as a whole) and to those observing from the outside. The music of Epiros and associated cultural practices are sometimes described as practices that have survived from ancient times, both by local Epirote people, and by outsider scholars and writers (see Baud-Bovy 1978; Katsanevaki 2005, 2012; King 2018: 27, 225-226). Although there may be some truth in this appraisal, it is simplistic to say that Epirote folk music is a survival from the past.

The music considered in this study is constantly reinventing itself, always adapting to its environment, shaped by the people who create it and absorb it. In truth, there is no authentic essence that is being slowly worn away by the tides of modernity. Traditional communities were never completely isolated, there has always been a degree of cultural exchange, even in the most remote areas. The only difference is that in post-industrial times, socio-cultural flux has incorporated larger and larger areas, so that now the whole globe is involved in cultural transaction. Deciding what is internal and what is external to a culture is not, and never was, straightforward, or even valid. There is 'no particular moment at which any culture somehow becomes inauthentic' (Connell and Gibson 2003: 27).

Yet, the idea that the modernising forces of commercialisation and Westernisation are encroaching on a purer and simpler way of life is an important notion for the people of Pogoni. My host Yiannis would often complain to me about how technology is ruining the

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[19] The concepts of 'authenticity' and 'tradition' are cultural constructs that are in opposition with the notion of 'modernity'. As James Rhys Edwards (2016: 157) notes 'we construct "modernity" against images of the past'. Simone Krüger (2009: 71) suggests that Western notions of authenticity arose due to the 'European Romantic search for the native and real' in the face of the new industrialism that was dominating European culture in the nineteenth century. However, as James Wilce (2009: 12) notes, the meaning of modernity depends on local realities; it is not a singular universal construct. Yet, he does identify the notion of loss as a central component of these meanings: 'The representation of loss (of tradition, lament, or even culture) *constitutes* (post)modernity just as lament ritually held together or reconstituted "premodern" worlds…' (ibid: 11).

local culture and even ruining the people themselves. It is the yearning for something that is considered to be lost, or is in the process of becoming lost, that is at the heart of the cultural tropes of nostalgia and bittersweet pain that permeate the area.

Like most musical genres, the folk music of Epiros has a standard instrumental ensemble that appears across the region. The 'traditional' ensemble consists of clarinet or *klaríno* (gr. κλαρίνο) as the lead instrument, violin, a lute or *laoúto* (gr. λαούτο), and a frame drum called the *défi* (gr. ντέφι). To this, an accordion is also sometimes added, or is used in place of the violin or *laoúto*. Altogether, the ensemble is referred to as the *kompanía* (gr. κομπανία).[20]

The *kompanía* was traditionally made up of members of the same extended family. This practice was maintained up until around the 1970s, and in fact, some ensembles still follow this practice. This meant that each *kompanía* had its own 'family' style. The leader of the ensemble was always the *klaríno* player and the father or the eldest son would adopt this role. He would be responsible for booking work and organising the band (see Kokkonis 2008: 69).

Of course, in today's world, the advance of 'modernity' leaves no corner of the globe untouched. Electric instruments such as electric guitar, keyboard, synthesizer, and bass guitar along with the drum kit often find their way into these ensembles, replacing the instruments of the older rhythm section (violin, *défi, laoúto* and/or accordion)[21] or playing alongside them in various combinations. The *kompanía* plays music at many life-cycle events such as weddings, baptisms and name-day parties. However, the most common context for traditional

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[20] The *kompanía* is a typical ensemble that is used to play regional folk music throughout Greece. It is also the standard ensemble in south Albania but here it is known by the term *saze* (see Brandl 1996: 19).
[21] In Epiros, the violin often has an accompanying role, playing (or 'droning') short ostinato patterns. It is also used as a melodic instrument, however, often in passages where the clarinet is not playing.

folk music in Pogoni, and Epiros as a whole, is the saint's day festival or *panighýri* (gr.

παvηγύρι).

Plate 0.1: The *kompanía*. From left to right: accordion, *klaríno*, violin*, laoúto,* and *défi*
(Church of Saint Constantine, 22/05/2016)

The *panighýri* is the most popular church celebration in Greece.[22] Celebrating the

death day (or birth into heaven) of the saints of the Orthodox Church, *panighýria* (gr.

παvηγύρια) are festivals which consist of a full day (or sometimes, two or three days) of

merrymaking. The morning of a saint's day begins with a church service in which the priest

and the *psáltes* (gr. ψάλτες, eng. cantors) chant the liturgy, which can last for many hours.[23]

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[22] An overwhelming majority of Greek citizens identify themselves as followers of the Greek
Orthodox faith and many of the cultural practices that are observed in Greece are tied to the Church.
[23] Despite the religious premise of the *panighýri*, many of the locals do not take the church service
very seriously. Most of the congregation observe basic rites such as lighting a candle for Christ and
kissing the icon of the saint who is to be venerated on that day. However, only a few people remain in
the church for the duration of the liturgy. Most go back outside to socialise with family and friends
and to drink a clear brandy known as *tsípouro* (gr. τσίπουρο). The Greek Orthodox tradition is very
much entwined with community life and its influence extends beyond the church building; attending
the full duration of church services is not required to demonstrate a Greek Orthodox identity. In fact,

At the end of the service, members of the crowd start to move towards the tables set out in the vicinity of the church. Just before, or sometimes just after the main meal is brought out, a *moirolói* (gr. μοιρολόι, eng. lament), is accompanied by the *kompanía*. Before eating, everyone stands and the priest says a prayer. As people finish eating, and once the procession of the icon of the saint that is being venerated has taken place, the musicians move towards the dance area, or simply stand up if the eating and dancing occur in the same place, and prepare for the dance. This usually continues until mid-afternoon, at which point the musicians pack up and head home. There is a break until around nine o'clock in the evening and then everyone assembles again.

The evening festivities are centred on music and dance; there is no church ritual. Food and drink are usually sold at stalls (organised by the village committee rather than the church),[24] with *souvláki* (gr. σουβλάκι, eng. barbequed meat kebab) or *loukániko* (gr. λουκάνικο, eng. sausage) and cans of beer and bottles of *retsína* (gr. ρετσίνα, eng. wine made with pine resin) or *tsípouro* (gr. τσίπουρο, eng. a local clear brandy) on offer. Where the musicians normally play unamplified during the day, in the evening, a sound system is set up in the village square or in the village hall (depending on the weather). The musicians begin by singing or playing a *moirolói* and then the dancing begins again.

Every church in Greece is named after a specific saint and so each church has its own feast day that corresponds to its name. For example, every church named after Saint Paraskevi (gr. Άγια Παρασκευή) holds a *panighýri* on the 26th July – her official feast day.[25]

Orthodox tradition is manifest in many aspects of everyday life and cultural practice and social habits have come to shape religious practice too (Hart 1992: 20).

[24] The village committee (*o sýllogos tou xorioú*, gr. ο σύλλογος του χωριού) is a cultural organisation that organises events such as *panighýria*. Where the church is in charge of the religious aspects of the day (the church service, prayers, etc), the village committee organises the more practical elements of the event, including the payment of the musicians. The village committee is apolitical; there is a separate elected board of people, known as the village council (*to dhimotikó symvoúlio*, gr. το δημοτικό συμβούλιο), that deal with political affairs. This is typical for villages across Greece.

[25] The church in Parakalamos is named after Saint Paraskevi.

There are certain feast days that are celebrated at every church however, such as the feast for the *Panaghía* (gr. Παναγία, eng. Virgin Mary) on the 15th August. The premise and the basic ritual order of the *panighýri* is the same throughout Greece, but there are regional differences, especially concerning the folk music and dance.

The Crying Clarinet

The instrument that is now most closely associated with the music of Epiros is the *klaríno* (gr. κλαρίνο) or clarinet. In Greek there are two words that describe the instrument known in English as the clarinet. The word *klaríno* refers to the clarinet as played in folk ensembles throughout Greece, whereas the word *klarinéto* (gr. κλαρινέτο) refers to the clarinet as played in the Western European style orchestra. Despite the fact that there is no difference in the actual instrument itself (although folk ensembles tend to favour the 'simple system' or Albert system of key-work while European orchestras prefer the more complex Öhler or Böhm key systems), the two words are used to designate two very different styles of playing the instrument.

Like other musicians who play *dhimotikí mousikí* in Greece, the Parakalamos musicians use a mouthpiece with a wider tip opening, combined with a softer reed and a looser embouchure. This produces a thicker, fuller and louder sound as the reed is able to vibrate more intensely. It also makes intonation and tone quality more difficult to control and can result in a *pséftiko* (gr. ψεύτικο, eng. false) tone (see below).

In Parakalamos, the musicians use many methods in order to make the sound 'pop out' of the instrument.[26] These include filing the top of the reed with sand paper to make the reed more malleable, and filing the inside of the mouthpiece to create a wider tip opening or a

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[26] The term *skáei* (gr. σκάει) is used to refer to this quality of sound. When the sound 'pops out' well they say *to klaríno skáei kalá* (gr. το κλαρίνο σκάει καλά).

larger tone chamber. Some musicians also place melted wax inside the mouthpiece to change the shape of the tone chamber. The tip opening is also widened by bending the reed away from the mouthpiece – this is often done by moving the edge of a mouthpiece cap between the mouthpiece and the reed. Finally, many *klaríno* players pour the local brandy (*tsípouro*) over their instruments. Yiannis Chaldoupis tells me that the alcohol warms the wood of the instrument making the sound brighter.

According to the oral genealogies of Epirote musicians, the *klaríno* first appeared in Epiros in the first half of the nineteenth Century (see Mazaraki 1985).[27] One line of thought suggests that the clarinet may have found its way into Greece (and the Balkans) with Ottoman military bands (Kokkonis 2008: 39-40). After the Turkish army was reorganised in 1826 along the lines of the European model, woodwind and brass instruments were incorporated into their military bands (Liavas 1999: 253). As Epiros was still under Ottoman rule until the Balkan Wars of 1912-1913, this is a possible explanation for the appearance of the clarinet in Epiros in the early nineteenth century. Although advances were made in Europe concerning the key-work of the clarinet during the nineteenth century, folk musicians in Greece still favoured the older model. The playing techniques of the *floghéra* (gr. φλογέρα, eng. end-blown flute), and other precursory wind instruments, were adopted by the musicians who played the new instrument and soon the *klaríno* displaced the violin as the leader of the Epirote ensemble:

> In practice in any case, concerning the local repertoire, the *klarino* steals the role of the violin, which led the professional folk orchestra up to then. The new instrument with its many technical possibilities gave virtuosic character to Epirote music, enriching it with new ornaments and mainly with new timbres.[28]

(Kokkonis 2008: 40)

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[27] According to Lampros Liavas (1999: 254), the first written record of the *klaríno* in Epiros comes from an account written by Bavarian officer Christopher Nezer (who was serving under King Otto – the first King of Greece – and his Bavarian court).
[28] My English translation from the Greek original.

Today, the B♭ or *si bemól* (gr. σι μπεμόλ) *klaríno* is the most widely used instrument in Epiros, although the C or *doh* (gr. ντο) *klaríno* was popular before the 1960s (ibid).[29] However, the B♭ is not the exclusive model. The A or *la* (gr. λα) *klaríno* is still used although not as extensively as the B♭, and more rarely, a C *klaríno* may still be played. The instruments played by Greek players are all manufactured abroad and many are French or German models of over one hundred years old.

Having arrived in Epiros and western Greek Macedonia around 1835, the *klaríno* gradually spread south throughout the rest of mainland Greece, eventually becoming recognised as a 'national' instrument. Traditional music in Greece was transformed, the new *klaríno* players embellishing and 're-working' the folk melodies with greater ornamentation due to the variety of possible fingering techniques on the instrument (Anoyanakis 1979: 201).

Today, the *klaríno* is the dominant instrument in the folk music of many areas of rural mainland Greece, including Epiros, Thessaly, west Macedonia, and the Peloponnese.[30] Due to this, it has become somewhat of a national symbol, rivaling the *bouzoúki* (gr. μπουζούκι) as the most 'typical' Greek instrument.

A humorous sketch in the Greek TV series 'Kato Partali' highlights how deeply entwined the *klaríno* and modern Greek culture have become.[31] When Athenian Manolis meets Thanasis, a farmer from the village of Kato Partali, for the first time, Thanasis describes the rural ethos by way of introduction. As soon as Thanasis starts to speak about his village, a folk ensemble begins to play out of frame. Manolis appears confused and looks to

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[29] In Greek, musical pitches are named using the tonic sol-fa system.
[30] The violin dominates in folk traditions on the Greek islands.
[31] 'Kato Partali' is the name of a fictional village located somewhere deep in rural Greece. The plot of the series revolves around a group of young Athenians who go to stay in the village after some unfavourable events derail their affluent lives in Athens. The group discover that the village is not all that it seems when they become embroiled in some strange incidences and they begin to uncover the secrets of the village's inhabitants.

Thanasis in bewilderment. He asks 'Sorry, is someone playing the *klaríno*?'.[32] Thanasis then begins a dramatic monologue: 'If you can hear the *klaríno*, it is because I have it in my guts. When I speak about my village, oh, my heartache becomes a melody'. Still baffled, Manolis asks, 'you have a *klaríno* inside you?'. Turning his head sharply to look at Manolis, Thanasis states, 'and a *floghéra*, and a *zourná*'.[33] At this point Manolis suggests that perhaps he could get them removed through keyhole surgery.[34]

Jokes aside, the idea that the *klaríno* is actually inside the body of a Greek farmer illustrates the extent to which this instrument is said to express the essence of rural Greek culture. The sound of the *klaríno* embodies what it is to be 'Greek'.

Narratives about playing the *klaríno* in Pogoni, and especially in Parakalamos, are often about the expression of emotion and feeling. Unlike in the neighbouring Zagori region or, in fact, in the Western classical tradition, where prestige is bestowed upon players with 'good technique' or virtuosic dexterity, in the Parakalamos area it is not always necessary to be able to move your fingers quickly to be thought of as a good musician. It is the tone of the instrument, the way in which a melody is ornamented, and the rapport between the musicians and the dancers that are usually more highly valued.

Thodoris Oikonomou, a *klaríno* player from Parakalamos explained to me that the only 'skill' (*technikí*, gr. τεχνική) that is important to master on the *klaríno* is the expression of 'feeling' (*aísthima*, gr. αίσθημα). He stated that it is hard work – you cannot play this instrument if you are not really 'feeling' it and continued by saying that you have to draw on memories of pain to play and 'cry'. Lastly, he noted that playing the *klaríno* is all about the

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[32] The instrument that can be heard in the music clip is actually a violin.

[33] The *floghéra* (gr. φλογέρα) is a Greek end-blown flute, typically associated with shepherds. The *zourná* (gr. ζουρνά) or *zournás* (gr. ζουρνάς) is a shawm-like instrument played with a double reed. It is used in folk music across the Balkans and the Middle East.

[34] This sketch appears in episode three of series one. The English translation is my own.

breath, the feeling comes from deep inside the body, unlike the violin (although he acknowledged that the violin has its challenges too).

The idea that the clarinet can 'cry' is well-established in Parakalamos. The techniques that are used to produce this effect are clearly distinguished in the language used by musicians. The *klaríno* 'cries' (*klaíei*, gr. κλαίει); a musical phrase that actually imitates crying is referred to as *klápsimo* (gr. κλάψιμο, eng. weeping, crying), or *klámata* (gr. κλάματα, eng. tears); and the word *klapsiáriko* (gr. κλαψιάρικο, eng. whining) is used to refer to this type of playing style as a whole.

The *klapsiáriko* style is articulated through various instrumental techniques. As previously mentioned, through discussion with musicians from Parakalamos, I have observed that the language that musicians use to assess musicianship is very much concerned with musical feeling and the emotional response that a musician can elicit from his listeners.[35] The technical skill involved in producing these responses includes emotional awareness and socio-cultural understanding as well as the ability to produce a centred tone, which is focused and in tune. An unfocused or *pséftiko* (gr. ψεύτικο, eng. false) tone is unable to carry and express the emotional depth that the musician wishes to communicate. Similarly, if a musician plays *fáltso* (gr. φάλτσο, eng. out of tune), expressive credibility is lost. In addition, techniques such as *mória* (gr. μόρια) must be employed.

Mória (literally meaning 'particles' or 'molecules') is a term used to refer to playing 'in-between' the notes. It denotes the use of microtonal inflections and is fundamental to emotional expression in the music of Epiros (and, in fact, in Greek folk music in general). A song played without *mória* is considered as flat, inexpressive, and unmusical. Similar in essence is the use of the term *chrómata* (gr. χρώματα, eng. colours). When musicians speak

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[35] Professional instrumentalists in Parakalamos are exclusively male, hence my use of the pronoun 'his'. Although a couple of the young girls in the *Ghýftoi* community are currently learning instruments (*klaríno* and violin), there are no professional female musicians living in the village.

of *chrómata*, they refer to the use of *mória* as well as other inflections, such as ornaments and variations of the tune, that give colour and expression to the song. The use of *mória* and *chrómata*, combined with particular phrases that are associated with crying, is what gives the music of Pogoni its sorrowful, lamenting aesthetic. Specific ornaments such as *ghlistrímata* (gr. γλιστρήματα) which are (sometimes very long and wide) glissandi,[36] and *tríllia* (gr. τρίλλια, eng. trills) also contribute to the *klapsiáriko* style.

Crying in Music: The Balkan Perspective

In Parakalamos then, 'crying' is an integral part of the folk music tradition, and is associated most closely with the *klaríno*. Musical crying is articulated most clearly through the instrumental *moirolói* (gr. μοιρολόι, eng. lament), yet it is also present in the songs and dance music of the Pogoni tradition. The term *moirolói* refers to several forms of lament, including a female vocal form performed in mourning and funerary ritual, as well as an instrumental form which is performed (usually by men) at the beginning and end of saint's day festivals (see Chapter 4). In the instrumental *moirolói*, various melodic phrases that represent 'icons' of crying (see Chapter 5), as well as ornaments that produce the sound of crying (see above), can be heard. Across the border in Albania, this type of lament is known by the term *kaba*. These icons and ornaments of crying pervade the entire folk music repertoire in the Pogoni area – they are not only present in the *moirolói*. In this way, crying is connected to emotional themes of joy and ecstasy as well as to those of pain and sorrow.

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[36] In a paper presented at MOISA's third annual meeting in Ravenna in 2009, Athena Katsanevaki notes that this sliding technique executed by the *klaríno* is related to the wider genre of vocal music in Western Greece. She also notes that the downward slide is used prominently in the North Albanian *Giama*, a form of male lament (Katsanevaki 2012).

Elsewhere in the world, musical crying is often associated with lament. Yet, as in Pogoni, it is not only in lament that imitations of crying occur. Representations of weeping are common in folk music traditions (cf. Wachsmann and Kay 1971: 402-403; Qureshi 2000: 813; Willoughby 2000: 20; Stobart 2006: 26). Notably, in Portuguese Fado music, singers 'perform' tears in order to communicate authenticity of feeling. The music itself also utilises stylised 'icons of crying' (Gray 2007: 117). Richard Elliot (2010: 64, fn. 144) suggests that the *guitarra* is like a metaphor for the tear. He states that the body of the instrument is tear shaped, and the notes plucked can be envisaged 'as the sound of tears falling between the words of the fado, the guitarist doing the "crying" so that the singer can concentrate on the emotion of the lyrical message'.

As noted, in and around the area of Parakalamos musical crying is associated with feelings of both joy and sorrow. Bittersweet emotions are connected to a wider narrative concerning music-making in Greece. It is not only in Epiros that this sentiment prevails. For example, Daniel Koglin (2016: 81) notes that he spoke to many people during his fieldwork on *rebétiko* (gr. ρεμπέτικο) in Athens who described the feelings that arose while listening to *rebétika* songs by using the term *charmolýpi* (gr. χαρμολύπη). This is a word which combines the notions of 'joy' (*chárma*, gr. χάρμα) and 'sorrow' (*lýpi*, gr. λύπη) to express a bittersweet sentiment.[37] A professional violinist that Koglin spoke to suggested a similar sentiment when he expressed his feelings about *rebétiko* by saying 'You feel a sweet melancholy' (ibid). Dafni Tragaki (2007: 40) suggests that *rebétiko* performances 'are not necessarily merry-making events; they are also sites for releasing *meraki* – a deeply felt longing stimulated by the musical experience'. As described by Tragaki, *meráki* (gr. μεράκι) refers to a sense of deep longing which is also connected to a 'burning' of the soul, or the notion of passion and desire (ibid: 305).

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[37] The related word *chará* (gr. χαρά) is more often used to denote 'joy' in modern Greek.

There are several words in Greek that can be used to express bittersweet longing and/or nostalgia in relation to music. *Meráki*, as just noted, refers to a deep longing or a 'burning of the soul' (ibid), and can also be described as 'an all-consuming passion' (Tsounis 1995: 96).[38] A person who responds to music with intense passion and knowledge is known as a *meraklís* (gr. μερακλής). Related to this feeling state is *kéfi* (gr. κέφι). *Kéfi* usually denotes a state of high spirits or heightened form of experience, yet, in Epiros and on the island of Karpathos, *kéfi* contains notions of intense desire and longing and often results in weeping and crying (see Chapter 7). *Kaïmós* (gr. καημός) is another word that describes a 'burning' pain (Seremetakis 1990: 498).[39] *Kaïmós* denotes a feeling of nostalgia and longing.[40] It is both an intense enthusiasm (in terms of longing) as well as an intense grief; it expresses two seemingly opposed emotions (Herzfeld 1981: 49; see Chapter 7). Finally, although it does not refer to a feeling state as such, *dértia* (gr. ντέρτια) is a term that refers to longing or heartache and is often used in the lyrics of both *rebétika* and folk songs.[41] It is also used in everyday language in Greece to denote worries or hardships.

The theme of bittersweet melancholy and longing is common in music across much of the Middle East and the Balkans. In Turkey, as Denise Gill (2017: 3) notes, pain and melancholy are present in the discourses and practices of Turkish classical musicians. Yet these aesthetic themes are not necessarily negative. Gill acknowledges that ecstasy, joy, and

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[38] The word *meráki* derives from the Turkish word '*merak*' meaning 'worry' or 'passion'.

[39] Stokes (1992: 134-138) notes that the metaphor of 'burning' also runs through music-making discourses in Turkey.

[40] Kyra Giorgi (2014: 2) discusses the similar Portuguese concept of *saudade*. She describes it as a term that denotes 'a nostalgic, bittersweet longing'. She compares the notion of *saudade* to the Czech term *lítost* and the Turkish term *hüzün* and notes that each of these concepts relate to experiences of 'outsiderness' and 'peripherality' (ibid: 15-16). Considering the peripheral and marginal position of Pogoni (see Chapter 3), *kaïmós* as an emotional concept constitutes an apt cultural theme for the area. Although, it must be noted that *kaïmós* is a concept that is important in cultural life throughout Greece, it is not specific to Epiros.

[41] *Dértia* is the plural form of the noun '*dérti*'. It derives from the Turkish word '*dert*' meaning 'pain' or 'trouble'.

elation accompany experiences of suffering, and that, for Turkish classical musicians, 'expressions of pain, sadness, and loss are experienced… as deeply gratifying' (ibid: 5). In fact, the saying 'May God increase your pain' (tu. *Allah derdini attırsın*), which is common amongst Turkish classical musicians, explicitly suggests that pain is actually desirable (ibid: 1-3).

Gill (2018: 182-183) also considers the practice of *muhabbet* by a community of male musicians on a particular street in the Üsküdar region of Istanbul.[42] Gill suggests that through poetic (and literal) weeping, and the expression of melancholy through verbal articulations and musical inflections, these men assert an alternative form of masculinity to that endorsed by the Turkish state. These men believe that 'true manliness' involves 'the ability to be sensitive and vulnerable before other men' and refer to the Mevlevi notion that the human heart requires 'frequent cleansing with tears'.[43]

Instruments that 'cry' are also common in Turkey. Gill (2018: 182) writes that in the context of *muhabbet*, musicians value imitations of crying. When an instrumentalist delivers a musical line 'as if s/he were crying' (tu. *ağlamak gibi*), his/her playing is evaluated as beautiful and sincere. Martin Stokes (1992: 136-137) discusses a poem by the fifteenth-century poet Ahmadi in which the *tambura* is described as the best instrument because of its 'weeping lamentation', and the *ud* is noted for its lamentation which 'burns the soul'. Similarly, Eliot Bates (2012: 376) discusses the crying *saz*.[44] In *türkü* and *şarkı* lyrics,[45] Bates

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[42] *Muhabbet* refers to a system of social practices in which musicians and poets gather together 'to make music, converse and share stories' (Gill 2018: 171).

[43] Jane Sugarman has also considered the practice of *muhabbet*. In an important article, Sugarman (1988) discusses the practice of *muhhabet* among Prespa Albanian men.

[44] The *saz*, or *bağlama,* is a long-necked stringed musical instrument. It is the most commonly used string instrument in Turkish folk music. The lute-like body has a deep bowl shape and it has seven strings that can be tuned in various ways.

[45] A *türkü* is a Turkish folksong, usually of unknown authorship, that is often played by an *aşık* (a Turkish minstrel who sings and plays the *saz*). A *şarkı* on the other hand, is an urban art music song of known authorship (Bates 2012: 376).

notes that *saz*-s 'cry' (tu. *ağlamak*) and 'laugh' (tu. *gülmek*), but 'they seem to cry quite a bit more often than they laugh' and that the instrument can even 'feel troubled' (tu. *dertli*). The feelings of melancholy and loss experienced in *muhabbet* and other musical practices in Turkey, are appreciated as bittersweet; there is pleasure in wallowing in this type of pain (Gill 2018: 189, 191).

In Albania, techniques that are referred to as 'with crying' (al. *me të qarë*) decorate the melody, yet they also are understood to express 'a sense of deeply felt longing' (Sugarman 1997: 106). In his book on music and migration culture in south Albania, Eckehard Pistrick (2017) discusses the concepts of *mall* (eng. longing/nostalgia) and *dhimbje* (eng. pain), Albanian terms that refer to notions of nostalgia and homesickness. He suggests that these concepts encapsulate the 'mood' of Albanian migration songs (ibid: 78). *Mall* is a bittersweet sentiment that often relates to the feeling of attachment to something or someone that is no longer there, and can refer to the longing emigrants feel for their place of origin (ibid: 71). Although linked to the concept of *mall*,[46] *dhimbje* refers to the pain felt at the permanent loss of a person and is most closely associated with death. Whereas *mall* can be exhibited in public, *dhimbje* is a private emotion that should not be displayed (ibid: 73).

In Albania, many song forms reference suffering and several musical forms contain representations of crying. Pistrick (2017: 88, 90-91) discusses the polyphonic migration song genre (al. *këngë kurbeti*), the 'sad song' (al. *këngë e trishueshme*), and a male lament form known as the *boroitje*. He suggests that a clear distinction between genres is not easy to maintain. When asked about migration songs and sad songs, a singer named Kolo was unsure of how to talk about the two genres in terms of emotional difference. Pistrick notes that Kolo followed the same melodic pattern when singing a particular migration song and a particular

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[46] In the context of migration, *mall* and *dhimbje* are often used almost interchangeably (see Pistrick 2017: 75).

sad song and points out that it also resembled the melody of a lament (al. *vajtim*) that was

sung on a different occasion by the same man. Kolo described this melody as 'with crying'

(al. *me të qarë*), and Pistrick notes that the lyrics of the 'sad song' refer to *dert* (eng. profound

suffering, painful trouble),[47] *hallet* (eng. worries) and *zemërim* (eng. being worried).

Pistrick (2017: 215) also discusses the *boroitje*, a form of male lament from Labëria.

This lament form is often performed forty days after an individual's death. Petrit Metushi is a

master of 'trembling jaw', a technique used in *boroitje* and he was one of the first to

introduce lament-like migration songs to the public stage. Pistrick notes of Metushi: 'with his

song he provides an archetypal example how individual solo crying and song can melt into

one' (ibid). Pistrick describes the performance of a *boroitje* by Nazif Celaj and notes that the

syllables 'ho' and 'bo' are interspersed with the text. These syllables are described as *rënkim*

(eng. wail) or *ofsham* (eng. groan) and represent a 'stylised sighing to get rid of sorrows'.

Pistrick notes that in north Albania, the syllables 'ho' and 'bo' appear in a female lament

form (al. *gjama*) and are 'an imitation of the last breath of the dead' (ibid: 178).[48]

Similarly, in her study of the singing practices of Prespa Albanians, Jane Sugarman

(1997: 104) describes the techniques used by singers of *këngë të lartëra*. These songs are

historic narratives that document the fight for Albanian independence against the Ottomans at

the turn of the twentieth century, the Greeks in the Balkan Wars (1912-1913), and the Nazis

in the Second World War (1939-1945). Sugarman also describes crying techniques (al. *me të*

qarë) that are said to be in imitation of female funeral lamentation. She notes that *këngë të*

lartëra are sung by two soloists and that '…the second soloist often yodels as his melody line

descends to the drone note, while the first soloist lapses into falsetto… toward the end of

some verses' (ibid: 106).

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[47] This Albanian word also derives from the Turkish, as noted in fn. 23 above.
[48] These techniques and their meanings are directly relevant to lament and lament-like music in Pogoni (see Chapter 4).

In the Balkans, musical styles that reference the theme of joy within sorrow (or vice versa) are also referenced by a genre of shepherd's songs. Shepherd's songs, both instrumental and vocal, are found in many areas of the Balkans, the Bulgarian *ovcharski svirni*[49] and the Greek *skáros* (gr. σκάρος) among them.[50]

In Romania and Hungary, a type of instrumental music associated with shepherding combines the sentiments of sorrow and joy. A part of the widely varied repertoire of Romanian shepherd music, the Romanian version – a 'Romanian speciality' according to Bartók – is often performed without poetic text (although it also exists in poem form). Even without poetic text, the subject matter is easy to follow through the repeated juxtapositions between a sad unmetred song (usually a *doina*)[51] and a lively dance melody. This genre musically depicts a shepherd who has lost his sheep and is weeping as he searches for them. He repeatedly believes that he has found them and starts dancing with joy, only to discover that what he is actually seeing is a white rock. His weeping starts again. In the end, the shepherd does find his sheep and a lively dance tune called *de bucurie că le-a găsit* (eng. for

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[49] As noted in the front matter, throughout this study I represent all languages in Latin script (in a transliterated form if the original language uses an alternative script). The only exception is Greek.

[50] The Bulgarian term *svirni* refers to a genre of instrumental non-metrical tunes. Timothy Rice (1994: 109) notes that '*svirni* resemble fragments of slow songs, but are collections of slow-song motives and phrases that musicians improvise on, playing minor variations or combining them in different orders, during long periods of playing'. *Ovcharski svirni* are *svirni* that are played by shepherds while tending their sheep. Rice notes that these *svirni* are more improvisatory than other forms of *svirni* as the shepherds are not so constrained by tradition 'since no one was listening but the sheep' (ibid). The *skáros* is an instrumental improvisation in free rhythm performed in north-west Greece that imitates the sounds of nature and the pastoral life. Kostas Lolis (2003: 35-36) notes that the *skáros* musically represents the baaing of sheep and the chirping of the nightingale. Like the *svirni* and the *doina* (and the *moirolói* for that matter), the *skáros* is based on repeated musical phrases and formulas that are manipulated and combined by the performer.

[51] The Romanian *doina* is a musical improvisation in free rhythm based on a number of typical melodic phrases and traditional formulas. The performer is guided by a structural framework, yet the way in which phrases and formulas are combined is the performer's decision. Modally, the *doina* uses a natural minor scale in which the fourth degree is often sharpened, i.e. the fourth degree of the mode fluctuates between the natural or perfect fourth and a sharpened or augmented fourth, depending on the contour of the melody. Where poetic text is used, the topics usually concern grief, sorrow, bitterness or estrangement. The same *doina* melodies can be used for tales of outlawry or for wedding songs, as well as for other forms of folk song (see Alexandru 1980: 50-54).

joy at finding them) finishes the piece (Alexandru 1980: 47).

Known as *a juhait kereső pásztor* in Hungarian, which literally means 'the shepherd seeking his sheep', this musical genre depicts a very similar story. Lujza Tari (1992: 85) suggests that the melody, although often played by the violin, is full of imitations of the Balkan shepherd's flute and that, at the same time, it is also an instrumental representation of the Hungarian vocal lament.

The Jewish *doina* also mirrors this narrative pattern. Moshe Beregovski (2000: 558-559) notes that the same story is associated with the Jewish *doina* that is played at weddings. The musical structure is also the same as that of the Romanian shepherd genre noted above, with a slow form in free rhythm being followed by a lively duple meter dance tune. Beregovski suggests that the character of such pieces can be described as 'laughter through tears'. In the lively section, the sorrow evoked by the opening slow tempo melody is partially resolved, yet, the 'aftertaste' of sorrow is still detectable. The Jewish connection is interesting to note because of the prevalence of the use of the clarinet in Jewish wedding music or '*klezmer*'. Through the use of ornamental techniques such as the *krekht* (eng. sob or groan) and the *tshok* (eng. click), representations of 'crying' and 'laughing' can be produced on the instrument. Mark Slobin (1984: 35-36) notes that the *doina* provides a clear sense of symbolic identity for *klezmer* music. It is this piece that epitomizes the whole *klezmer* genre.

Chapter Overview

As in the genre of *klezmer*, the clarinet plays a central part in this study of music and emotion in Northern Greece. In particular, I explore the metaphoric language used to express cultural sentiment in the Greek Epirote village of Parakalamos. At the intersection between style and place, I argue that the 'crying clarinet' articulates local understandings of history and community. In Chapter 1, I examine the notion of place with respect to field research and

ethnographic inquiry. I focus on emotion in the context of an ethnomusicological study both in theory and in practice. Here, I reflect upon my own positionality with respect to music and place. In Chapter 2, I consider the theoretical literature on music and emotion in philosophy, anthropology, musicology and ethnomusicology. I focus in on the debates surrounding the nature (that is, biological) and nurture (that is, cultural) positions that exist in these disciplines. In particular, I show how emotion and place intertwine musically in my understanding of the 'crying clarinet'.

In Chapter 3, I look at music and identity in a marginal place. Since Parakalamos is located in a borderland (with Albania) characterised by distinctive ethnicities and different languages, I assert that music articulates diverse conceptions of place and identity through stylistic variation. Further, I contend that music in Parakalamos is considered to be an expression of pain. Indeed, the music of Epiros is described as 'lamenting' (*moirolatriká*, gr. μοιρολατρικά) and in Parakalamos the lament (*moirolói*) is at the heart of musical practice. In Chapter 4, I distinguish between the vocal lament (performed by women) and the instrumental lament (performed by men). I discuss the contexts in which they are performed and I show that 'crying' is a musical feature of both of these genres.

In Chapter 5, I look in more detail at the instrumental lament. By way of improvisation, *klaríno* players spontaneously and individually express feelings of pain. In this sense, instrumental laments cannot be learnt. However, I argue that *klaríno* players are constrained by the stylistic imperatives of place where similar motifs and concepts reveal the indelible imprint of a particular place and style, namely Parakalamos. In Chapter 6, I look at the articulation of emotion with respect to particular events, namely saint's day festivals (*panighýria*). In addition to the instrumental lament, I note that the *klaríno* 'cries' when accompanying dance. I interrogate the rationale for this embodied expression of sorrow, the themes of abandonment and neglect being commonly stated in local discourse. Yet, I also

contend that music and dance serve to negate this nostalgic evocation of sorrow by means of noise and movement which counteract the silence and stillness of usually abandoned spaces.

In Chapter 7, I consider how music and dance embrace simultaneously pain and joy at *panighýria*. I look at the trancelike state of *kéfi* as it is created in the context of social interaction. Although *kéfi* is primarily associated with men, women at *panighýria* embody the gestures that are associated with *kéfi*, in this way challenging patriarchal conceptions of accepted practice. *Kéfi* is enhanced when a close connection between the lead dancer and the musicians is formed. In this context, *kéfi* expresses both elation and a bittersweet conception of pain; *kéfi* is connected to *kaïmós*, a feeling state that is intimately associated with the *moirolói*. Here, the distinction between the vocal and the instrumental lament is relevant. Whereas the vocal lament expresses raw grief (*pónos*), the instrumental lament articulates a nostalgic state of longing and heartache (*kaïmós*). Significantly, such narratives of yearning are to be found in a wider Greek discourse about music (see above). In short, in Pogoni, the states of *kaïmós* and *kéfi* are interrelated.

Chapter 1 – Experiencing Emotion

Sitting in the surprisingly powerful blaze of the March sun after days of freezing rain, the vibrant colours and lively sounds of the village of Parakalamos assault my senses. As I gaze across the hilly plain at the ramshackle houses, terracotta roofs and aluminium sheds shining in the sun, I listen to the dogs barking to each other, the cry of the cockerel, the gentle baa-ing of sheep, the buzzing of bees, and the birds twittering in conversation. A melody drifts up on the breeze and the mournful cry of a clarinet fills my ears. As the lament intensifies, the mountains, rising up around the village on all sides, capture my attention. To the north-east, the Astraka mountain of Central Zagori sits proudly, snow glinting white in the sun; whilst to the south-west, the length of the Kasidiaris, already green with flora, stretches south towards Zitsa. Yiannis, my host, hops around his garden gathering spring onions, peppers, fresh greens and lettuce for today's meal as the tone of the clarinet fades away.

Extract from my fieldwork diary, March 2016

The above vignette conjures up a distinct picture. When reading it, a sense of this village as a concrete place is evoked. The village is evidently located in a mountainous and rural region and there is a suggestion of what it might feel like to be there through the references to the weather, and the animal sounds and music that can be heard. Of course, the above example is a literary representation of a place and could easily be a fabrication, but to what extent are 'real places' any different? What is really meant by 'place' or 'location'?

I stayed in Parakalamos with the explicit intention of carrying out 'fieldwork' from March to September 2016. During this time period, I stayed in a prefabricated house (*lyómeno*, gr. λυόμενο) in the garden of the house belonging to Yiannis Chaldoupis and his family.

Plate 1.1: The *lyómeno*; my house during my fieldwork period (Parakalamos, 18/03/2016)

However, my fieldwork has really been an ongoing process since the summer of 2011 when I first visited the village at the suggestion of a Greek friend of mine in London. I had been playing Greek music on the London music circuit for a short period with this same friend. As I started to express more and more interest and enthusiasm for Greek music, he suggested that I might like to go to Greece and learn more about the music there. He informed me that his father has some contacts in the Epirote village of Parakalamos in which a community of *Ghýftoi* musicians live and work, and asked me if I would like to visit the place. Of course, I keenly agreed. When I arrived for the first time in Parakalamos, I spoke a grand total of about twenty Greek words, and had absolutely no preconceptions of what rural Greek life consisted of, having only ever visited Athens and a few of the more touristy Greek islands previously. I quickly succumbed to a large dose of culture shock, finding communication with most of the people in the village nigh on impossible.

On this first visit, I stayed with Alekso Skaroni, a wonderful elderly lady whom I now consider as my adoptive Greek grandma. Her granddaughter is a good friend of one of the *klaríno* player's daughters and it was in this way that I initially gained access to the musical life of the village. Between 2011 and 2014 I spent between two and six weeks in the village each summer taking *klaríno* lessons from several of the musicians. My discomfort at the fact that they would not accept money for their efforts to school me was in no way offset by the eventual friendships that I developed with these musicians.[1] I also spent this time frequenting the local *panighýria* (saint's day festivals) and took photos and videos of what I witnessed in order to aid me in my quest to learn the secrets of Greek *klaríno* playing. These have since been utilised as ethnographic 'data' as part of the current study. By the end of my stay in the summer of 2013, I had decided that the music I was hearing, learning, and experiencing warranted attention from more than a purely 'musical' angle. As I had already completed a music Masters degree at SOAS (with a focus on performance), my progression to a PhD in ethnomusicology was a logical one.

It was out of my interest in the music, and my desire to learn how to play it, that the initial impetus for this study emerged. I had therefore spent quite a lot of time in 'the field' before I even knew it as 'the field'. This fact has led me to reflect on the concept of fieldwork and the field. Fieldwork is considered to be an important part of any anthropological or ethnomusicological study. Yet, as with any methodological concept, there are certain potentially problematic issues that need consideration.

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[1] They still refuse to accept any form of monetary payment from me, it is even difficult to treat them to a drink at the local bar, as they are inclined to pay for me as I am the 'guest'.

Understanding Fieldwork

The recognition of power imbalances and attempts to deconstruct the colonial gaze have long been a part of anthropological theory (cf. Said 1978; Abu-Lughod 1991; Agawu 2003; Koskoff 2014: 21-24, 65-66). Fieldwork and the ethnographic process have often been critiqued as reproducing repressive power structures (Cooley and Barz 2008: 4; Spencer 2010: 4-5; Post 2018). Yet, it has also been acknowledged that fieldwork continues to be an extremely valuable process that facilitates cultural understanding (Cooley and Barz 2008: 4-5). In recognising and writing about the inequalities that arise from the ethnographic encounter and scrutinising the way in which culture and people are 'objectified' in the (re)presentation of the ethnographer's findings, the need for a reconsideration of the methodologies used in fieldwork and in the 'writing up' process has been identified.

Jeff Titon (2008: 30) notes that contemporary fieldwork and ethnography within ethnomusicology places emphasis on equality in human relationships between the researcher and the 'researched'. Instead of 'collecting' music and treating culture and people like objects, ethnomusicologists are now seeking to engage with the communities in which they work. Scholars in both anthropology and ethnomusicology are moving away from 'objective' and rationalistic approaches towards more experiential models (cf. Abu-Lughod 1991; Spencer 2010: 4-5). The present study endeavours to follow this approach through documenting my own involvement with music and music-making in the field, as well as through acknowledging the effect that my own presence as a 'researcher' in the field, and as an author of this ethnography, has on the information that I present here. As far as possible, I also intend to discuss the narratives that surround music-making in Parakalamos in the words of local musicians and listeners.

The goal of anthropological fieldwork is usually considered to be the writing of an ethnography. In this sense, fieldwork can also be defined as an 'ethnographic process'. The

ethnographic research cycle is a fluid concept.[2] There is no structured method that must be

followed from beginning to end. Rather than an 'activity' to be completed, the ethnographic

process is a lived experience. Catherine Appert (2017: 449) writes about 'ethnographic

immersion' and notes that her attempts to conduct research on the hip-hop scene in Dakar,

Senegal were initially too narrow in approach. As a female researcher active in the male

dominated world of hip-hop, Appert found that her access to 'the field' was limited to

'isolated moments' which were 'impoverished by lack of cultural knowledge'. It was not

until she started spending time in domestic spaces, amongst women as well as men, that she

came to a deeper understanding of hip-hop culture in Senegal. In short, spending time purely

amongst the musicians and the music, was not enough to fully understand the musical culture

as a whole. Describing her experiences in domestic spaces, she writes:

> …this was where I learned how to *be* in Senegal even as I was made acutely aware that I was
> all too often not *being* correctly in terms of established gendered norms. It was where I finally
> had to confront my own unwillingness to adopt particular ways of being in the world that felt
> at odds with my personal values and sense of self.

(ibid: 450)

With this in mind, it is interesting to consider the ways in which information is

obtained in the field. Interviews and questionnaires may be an effective way of data gathering

for some social science projects. However, these methods mean that the researcher has

already limited the range of knowledge that could possibly be acquired in ways that could be

biased. The ethnographic interview on the other hand, consists of a more balanced exchange

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[2] Fieldwork and the writing of an ethnography are both part of what can be described as the
ethnographic process, or, as James Spradley (1980: 29) labels it, the 'ethnographic research cycle'.
Spradley notes that this process involves a cyclical gathering of data and information, rather than
following a linear model. Asking ethnographic questions, 'collecting' ethnographic data, making an
ethnographic record, and analysing ethnographic data are linked in a never ending cycle in which
more and more information is accumulated, which ultimately results in thicker and thicker
descriptions (Geertz 1973). Selecting a project and writing an ethnography happen during this process
rather than being activities that take place 'before' and 'after' (Spradley 1980: 26-29).

between researcher and respondent. As Spradley (1979: 58) notes, the ethnographic interview has many things in common with a friendly conversation. In this case the researcher may suggest topics of conversation, but the direction of conversation is not prescribed.

In Titon's (2008: 26-27) experience, even a suggestive question can obscure information that may have come to light in a less formal situation. On one occasion, Titon played a piece of music to one of the blues musicians that he was working with. Before he could start asking questions, the musician began to speak, reminiscing about his friend who was playing on the recording. When the story was over, Titon attempted to keep him talking by asking questions. But as Titon was now leading the conversation, the musician's answers were limited in scope and Titon failed to elicit more stories from him.

I too found that prescribed questions often got in the way of my research, as in formulating the questions, I was bound by my own preconceptions and spheres of knowledge. I discovered that by just mentioning the *moirolói* (lament) or by commenting on a song or a style of playing that I had heard in the village, I would provoke the people around me to start discussing related issues in their own terms and amongst themselves. This gave me a much better insight into their thoughts and feelings on the topics than I would have gleaned through direct questioning. By allowing 'local' knowledge to emerge organically, I gained access to a greater sphere of cultural information. Simply 'being' with people was when my best 'research' took place.

Place, Identity and Fieldwork

As mentioned above, anthropological fieldwork is not (no longer) about a distanced observation of a particular location and the culture and people that belong 'there'. With this in mind, the concept of 'place' is important when considering the practice of 'fieldwork'. Social practices and collective memories imbue place with a sense of meaning and

community; place is produced by people. It includes far more than just physical geography (Solomon 2000: 258).[3]

Place is inevitably always understood in relation to somewhere else. It is the concept of 'being somewhere', a construction based on, often culturally or nationally idealised, notions of what a particular space that is inhabited means. Today, place is often understood politically. With the formation of nation-states in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the importance of place took on new proportions and understanding of the world became based on the ownership of geographical territory. With this, emotional connections to physical land arose and the sense of national identity was born. Vassilis Nitsiakos (2010: 28-29) writes:

> The naturalisation of the relation with what emerges as national homeland in the territorial sense of the word ('home land') reaches such proportions, that even the natural elements of a place acquire national qualities. The investment of the ideological construct we call 'national soil' with strong emotional content has led national ideology to a kind of true fetishism, which constitutes, nevertheless, the basis of patriotism.

As such, a sense of place is often grounded in the idea of national land: a space that is confined within the borders of a nation-state. Individual (or 'regional') spaces are situated within the national, and the national within the international: the 'local' within the 'global'. In previous scholarship, the notion of the 'local' has often been assumed as something natural, and as a base from which to explore the unnatural 'global'. But the idea of locality is just as much a construct as that which lies beyond it (Gupta and Ferguson 1997: 6).

The 'field' is an imagined space usually located in a physical (and often geographically and nationally defined) place. Yet, these spaces are not fixed (see Okley 2012: 27). The field may get bigger or smaller as research progresses, it may be located in multiple places, and increasingly nowadays, it may not have a physical reality at all and be located in a

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[3] Scholars within the discipline of anthropology interpret 'place' as a social construct that is understood in cultural and political terms (see Gupta and Ferguson 1997: 6; Nitsiakos 2010: 28-29).

virtual space such as the internet. Michelle Kisliuk (2008: 184) asks: 'What *is* "the field" – is it spatially or temporally defined, or defined by a state of mind or attitude, an openness and readiness to see, to experience, to interpret?'.

As in the anthropological literature which defines place as socially constructed, Kisliuk suggests that the field is dependent upon social space rather than geographical space and that it is determined by the way in which the ethnographer locates him or herself within it:

> The location of the field, then, does not depend on geography, but on the self-constructed identity of the ethnographer in a given social landscape. Similarly, the emergent identity of a fieldworker depends not on a particular location or apparent resemblance to other investigators and interlopers, but on the quality and depth of research relationships and ultimately on the way we each intend to represent our experiences.
>
> (ibid: 192-193)

Dimitrina Spencer (2010: 9) argues a similar point. She understands 'fieldwork' as 'an embodied relational process' and notes that our lived relationships both at 'home' and at the 'fieldwork site', as well as the anthropologist's relationship with their own 'always emerging inner self', constitutes the field.

The ethnographer's identity then, as perceived by him or herself, and by the people with whom they interact in the field, impacts on the fieldwork process and on the ethnography that results. A reflexive approach to the ethnographic process, where the ethnographer considers the effect of their presence in the field is now common practice within anthropology and ethnomusicology (cf. Gourlay 1982; Barz and Cooley 2008; Nettl 2016b). Kisliuk (2008: 186-187) notes that the way in which her identity was perceived by the people she was working with in the field sometimes hindered her research. During her fieldwork with the BaAka people in the Central African Republic, she was repeatedly type cast as a 'nurse', as the BaAka's previous interactions with white people often involved

medicine. In the middle of a rare dance ritual, she was approached by a young woman who wanted a cut tending to. Kisliuk felt frustrated and worried that these kinds of interactions would continue to interrupt and distract her from her research.

Liza Sapir Flood (2017: 492) discusses the difficulties that arose when the country music community she worked with in eastern Tennessee identified her primarily as a fiddler rather than as a music researcher. The people she encountered were more interested in her as a musician than in the research that she wished to carry out. The role of fiddler was a role which the community was familiar with and which fit within the existing social milieu. Flood found that the position which she was expected to fulfil was frequently at odds with the activities that Flood felt she should be carrying out as an ethnomusicologist.

I had similar anxieties when I started my own fieldwork in 2016. My identity in the village was very much defined by my clarinet playing, as that was my primary reason for being there prior to my 'fieldwork period'. Initially, I was constantly being asked to play, as it was a novelty for the musicians and villagers to see a woman, and at that an *English* woman playing *klaríno*.[4] I was worried that I was not going to be taken seriously as a researcher as my identity was already defined as a clarinet player. Like Flood, however, I eventually found that my involvement in music-making gave me an interesting position from which to observe and participate in the life of the community. It certainly affected my interactions and the 'data' that I gleaned, but due to the access to rehearsal and performance sites that my 'musician' status granted me, I believe that my positioning offered me some unique insights that may have otherwise been missed.

This type of 'experiential' research constitutes a way of participating in community life (in roles that are sometimes prescribed by the community itself), whilst also taking note

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[4] I discuss the implications of gender below.

of the processes involved in our own and others participation. 'Participant observation' is a term that has come to describe a great deal of what anthropologists (and ethnomusicologists) do in the field. Spradley (1980) has devoted a whole book to the term. He suggests that participant observation 'has many things in common with what everyone does in newly encountered social situations' (ibid: 53). In order to learn the appropriate way to behave, we watch other people and imitate their actions and speech patterns. Given time, we then become 'normal' participants within this context and no longer have to think about our actions or the way that we speak. Participant observers follow the same process, however, they never become 'normal' participants. Although from the outside, participant observers often appear like an ordinary participant, there are unseen differences in the purpose behind the participant observer's participation (ibid: 53-54).

Spradley notes that there are several ways in which a participant observer differs from other participants in the field. As well as engaging in the 'activities appropriate to the situation' (as all participants do), the participant observer is also there to simultaneously observe these activities and the people that take part in them. Where other participants are focused on the activity at hand and often (necessarily) block out other information that could be perceived, the participant observer 'seeks to become explicitly aware of things usually blocked out' (Spradley 1980: 55). In this way, the participant observer attempts to be both an insider and an outsider in the activity taking place. Finally, unlike other participants, participant observers usually keep a record of their observations and their feelings that occurred whilst participating (ibid: 54-58).

I spent a lot of time as a 'participant observer' during my fieldwork. As a *klaríno* student, I was a 'participant' in the lessons I attended as I endeavoured to master the local playing style. Yet I was also an 'observer', noting the teaching techniques that were used by my teachers, as well as paying close attention to the language with which my teachers

described the music that we were playing.[5] I was also an observer of my own learning

process in ways that other students would not be.

I also spent a lot of time dancing at *panighýria* as a participant-observer. I was an

active participant in the dance, yet I was also noting the names and the steps of each dance,

and observing the gestures made and the language used by different members of the dance

circle. Furthermore, the *písta* (gr. πίστα, eng. dance floor) often occupies a central area in the

physical space of the *panighýri* rendering it the perfect location from which to survey

everything that is going on. Right in the centre of the action, the musicians are always close

by, and it is the very spot where the emotional dynamics and interactions that reveal the

meanings behind these events unfold. It is an experiential site (in which one participates) as

well as a vantage point (from which one observes).

As well as a *klaríno* 'student' and a member of the dance circle, I also found myself

in the position of 'performer' on a few occasions. During the conference for the tenth

anniversary of the Konitsa summer school in 2015,[6] I was asked if I would like to play

alongside a band who were coming from Körçe, Albania especially for a concert in

celebration of the conference. I was introduced to the band by Kostas Trikaliotis, a music

enthusiast from Larissa. Kostas knows many musicians who play traditional music in the

north of Greece, and he organises regular *ghléndia* (gr. γλέντια, eng. parties)[7] for groups of

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[5] Studying a musical community in terms of ethnosemantics is an important way in which ethnomusicologists gain knowledge about the community and its music. Using an 'emic' approach and learning the local language terms that are used to refer to music offers insight into the way in which a musical system is conceptualised. Steven Feld (1990: 164) notes his belief that being able to converse in Kaluli was 'essential to studying Kaluli linguistic denomination of musical concepts and associated theoretical postulates of the musical system'.

[6] The Konitsa summer school is a three-week academic workshop that addresses anthropological issues relating to south-eastern Europe. It is held every summer in the village of Konitsa, Epiros and is directed by Professor Vassilis Nitsiakos of the University of Ioannina. During the summer school, participants attend courses that cover theoretical, epistemological and methodological issues in anthropology and design a short fieldwork project to be carried out in the border area that intersects Greece, Albania, and the Republic of North Macedonia. I attended the summer school in 2015.

[7] See Chapter 7 for a discussion about *ghléndia*.

like-minded friends.[8] I sat down with the band who were drinking coffee in the *plateía* (gr. πλατεία, eng. village square). Before long we all took our instruments out and started jamming (see Video 1.1, Appendix C). My participation attracted a lot of curious attention from the villagers. In between tunes several people approached me to ask where I was from and how I had come to play *klaríno* (I was very visible, as generally women do not play the *klaríno* in Greece).

At the end of the jam, Kostas asked the musicians if I could join them for a short guest set in the concert that evening. I was feeling a little uncomfortable – I did not want to intrude on their gig – but the musicians agreed to it, and many people from the conference had somehow heard that I would be playing by this time, so I felt as if I could not back out. The concert was a huge success, and towards the end, Kostas invited me onto the stage (Kostas was compering the event). I played a few tunes that I had jammed with the band previously that day and then handed the reins back to Telando (the *klaríno* player). The crowd went wild – I was an unusual sight and a bit of a novelty act for the largely Greek audience. As much as I rather enjoyed this reaction to my playing, it also left me feeling a little uncomfortable yet again.

A couple of weeks later, in Vitsa, I found myself in a similar position. My friends from the village, some of whom are involved with the village council, were keen for me to play at the village *panighýri*.[9] I kept trying to dodge their requests but eventually I had to give in. I went to talk to Thomas Chaliyiannis, one of the *klaríno* players at the *panighýri*

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[8] He organises many of these events through the Facebook group '*elatoparéa*' (gr. ελατοπαρέα). This social media group acts as a forum for the sharing of videos, recordings, photos and other texts that involve Greek traditional music. It also provides a platform through which live music events can be organised and promoted. There are around one thousand members to date, including many musicians that play traditional music, as well as many music enthusiasts.

[9] Vitsa (gr. Βίτσα) is a village in the Zagori region which is well-known for the *panighýri* which takes place in the village on the 14th, 15th and 16th August in celebration of the *Koímisis tis Theotókou* (gr. Κοίμησις της Θεοτόκου, eng. Dormition of the Mother of God), also known as *Dhekapentáfghoustos* (gr. Δεκαπενταύγουστος, eng. the-fifteenth-of-August).

(and my first *klaríno* teacher from Parakalamos).[10] I told him that I was being badgered to play but that I did not feel that I was competent enough and I did not want to annoy the musicians. Thomas just looked at me and simply told me that I am one of them (a musician), and that I should not worry. When the musicians were ready, Takis, the compere, ushered me over and introduced me as an English girl who had come all the way to Epiros to learn *klaríno* and that I would honour them by starting the music off that evening. I asked Thomas if I should play a *moirolói* as it was the first piece of the evening.[11] He told me to play whatever I wanted to play – the musicians would follow me. I played for around ten minutes and then went to sit down to much applause.

Of course, these short performances with local musicians are, in some ways, another opportunity for participant-observation. But, as my participation in these performances is often framed as a 'special' event, I become hyper-visible. I actually become 'observed' and 'objectified' in ways that local musicians are not. In this way, my own performances on stage do not give me accurate insight into the reality of a local musician's performance experience. Whereas the long hours of playing, the vast amounts of memorised repertoire, and the exceptional skill that local musicians demonstrate at every *panighýri* are normalised and taken for granted by *panighýri* participants, my very short and less-accomplished performances are seen as a spectacle, I imagine, due to my identity as a female foreigner. What these performances do provide, however, is the opportunity to observe my own impact, as an 'outsider' musician, on the field.

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[10] The other *klaríno* player at this event is Grigoris Kapsalis, a famous player from Asprangeli (gr. Ασπράγγελοι), a nearby village in the Zagori region.

[11] *Panighýria* in Zagori do not always open with a *moirolói*. The tradition of starting with a *moirolói* is usual in Pogoni, Konitsa, and the northern part of Thesprotia (Filiates). In other words, in the areas of Epiros that directly border with Albania.

Ali Jihad Racy (2004: 8) discusses his experience as a 'native' performer as well as an academic scholar. Racy felt that he was simultaneously occupying an 'insider' and 'outsider' position. He writes that a musician-researcher who is already 'rooted' in the musical culture of study has easy access to the field as well as to data. Furthermore, as an 'insider' musician, the researcher gains respect and credibility. However, Racy notes that the duality of positions that he as a musician/researcher occupied meant that he was placed in an 'unnatural position' in relation to other insiders as he was constantly shifting between participatory and observational roles. Subsequently, the people he worked with were also in shifting positions in relation to him, as fellow musicians but also as 'subjects of questioning'. Finally, he recognises that as the 'native performer' is expected to fully understand and 'intuit' the music, the questioning from the 'researcher' can seem contrived to the other performers.

Although I was not a 'native' performer, I too had to shift between my positions as a 'musician' on the one hand, and a 'researcher' on the other. As I was recognised as a musician, some of the questions that I asked in my role as researcher were sometimes viewed as pointless, as it was assumed that I already knew the answer. However, my reason for asking these questions was often to determine whether my own musical understanding corresponded with the musical understanding of local musicians. Furthermore, I was interested in the local language used to express these concepts.

Drawing on Americo Paredes's (1979) work on the ethnographic encounter, Olga Najera-Ramirez (1999: 184) notes that each character within an ethnography shifts between different social positions and personas (see also Koskoff 2014: 136). This is also true for the ethnographer. Najera-Ramirez writes (1999: 186):

> In everyday interactions in the field, as various situations emerge, certain aspects of one's identity become more salient, others more silenced or rendered insignificant. With boundaries continually shifting along various axes (class, gender, age, occupation, religious affiliation, and so on), the 'insider/outsider' distinction changes according to the specific context of interaction.

From this perspective the fixed binaries of 'insider' and 'outsider', and of the 'ethnographer' and his/her 'subjects' starts to break down.[12] Although, away from the field, when producing a written ethnography, the author is always placed as an outsider (Wong 2008: 82), as the author's 'job' is to translate the thoughts and behaviours of a particular collection of individuals ('the natives') for another collection of individuals (usually an academic audience). The process of writing up an ethnography has been interpreted as a 'potentially colonising endeavour' in which the ethnographer 'produces… knowledge about an Other' (Appert 2017: 460). Although even this is now changing, with more 'experiential' writing methods and other types of media being utilised (cf. Kisliuk 2008: 199).

With this in mind, it is clear why the focus of ethnography is moving away from a homogenous culture-based model to one that considers each actor as an individual with thoughts, emotions, preferences and goals of their own. Rather than 'objects' that fulfill particular roles within a community, each actor is recognised as a complex human being (Najera-Ramirez 1999: 185; Abu-Lughod 2000: 262-263; Rice 2003: 152; Wong 2008: 83).

Identity markers such as gender and ethnicity also have an impact on ethnographic fieldwork. Carol Babiracki (2008: 169) notes that, in the past, institutional paradigms surrounding fieldwork often positioned the ethnographer as 'ungendered' or gender 'neutral'. However, in actual fact, these paradigms were dominated by a male perspective. This became clear with the rise of a 'feminist anthropology' during the 1970s when it was identified that male and female ethnographers often (unconsciously) reproduced Western patriarchal structures in their cultures of study (Koskoff 2014: 21). Furthermore, the work of female anthropologists was considered as unimportant before the 1970s and male theoretical approaches were privileged (Bell 1993: 2-3; Koskoff 2014: 22). Early feminist

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[12] Timothy Rice (1994: 64, 72, 87-88) attempts to mediate between the 'insider' (emic) and 'outsider' (etic) positions through his study of the Bulgarian gaida.

anthropologists critiqued the notion of a gender-neutral ethnography by deconstructing the 'objective' standpoint. These female anthropologists, as women, understood the reality of gender domination. Thus, they were sentive to the domination of others, making an objective or neutral perspective impossible and undesirable (Bell 1993: 2-3, 6-7). As Diane Bell (1993: 7) writes: 'Ethnographic accounts of "other" as detached and disembodied thus constitute a violation of women's distinctively embedded "self"'.

Ironically, where power imbalances between ethnographer and 'native' in a post-colonial context have been scrutinised by male (and female) anthropologists (cf. Clifford and Marcus 1986), gendered power structures, both in the field and in the university have not been afforded the same importance. Furthermore, the often vulnerable position of the ethnographer in the field has frequently been overlooked. The emphasis on the importance of deconstructing the ethnographer's power and privilege has led to a lack of concern about the ethnographer's safety. Female ethnographers are especially vulnerable in field contexts where sexual cues and attitudes towards gender are different to those of her home society (Clark and Grant 2015: 8).

The fact is, that the gender of the ethnographer matters. It influences how the ethnographer is perceived and treated within the field. These experiences (combined with previous gendered experiences) influence the ethnographer's view which is put forward in his or her work. Although in many cases the ethnographer (especially if female) is granted access to situations that members of the community of the same gender would not be (see Magowan 2007: 21), this does not mean that s/he is perceived as 'ungendered'. Nor does this mean that female ethnographers are a type of honorary male. As Appert (2017: 451) writes, 'being not quite female is not at all the same as being male'.

However, some female ethnographers have found it necessary to act like a man when researching a male tradition. Kay Shelemay was encouraged (by men) to dress like a man

during her research in an Ethiopian Jewish community. She was also treated as a 'marginal male' when she was invited to exclusively male drinking parties (Kimberlin 1991: 20-21). On the other hand, some researchers have been warned off the study of a male musical tradition. Also in Ethiopia, Cynthia Tse Kimberlin was encouraged by local women to set aside her study of the *masinqo* (a single stringed bowed lute) as it was considered to be a male instrument. It was suggested she should learn an instrument that was more appropriate to her gender (ibid: 24).

In my case, even though I was studying a male instrument, I was not encouraged to be more like the male musicians. In fact, some of the musicians saw me as a female role model and wished that their own daughters would show an interest in learning the *klaríno*. In addition, some musicians saw my gender as a financial opportunity. They believed that if I performed alongside them, observers would be more likely to part with their money, as a female *klaríno* player is a novelty. The fact that I was a foreigner was also mentioned as an advantage, although it was less important to the musicians as it is not as visible as my gender difference.

Other identity markers, such as race and class, may offer privileges that negate the limitations imposed by gender (see Townsend-Bell 2009: 311-312, see also Kimberlin 1991). As acknowledged by Erica Townsend-Bell (2009: 311), the identity of the researcher impacts on the way in which they view the field. She writes, 'Identity forms your assumptions, affects the kinds of questions you ask, and the evidence you seek'. The way a researcher interprets the field is intertwined with their own sense of identity (see above). On the other hand, the way in which the ethnographer is perceived by the people they work with can be critical in determining the success of the research. The identity, reputation or likability of the ethnographer affects the types of responses received, or even whether a response is received

at all (ibid: 313). For example, in societies in which one gender is privileged above the other, the gender of the ethnographer could actually become a serious handicap.

The degree to which the ethnographer's identity resembles the identity of the people with whom they work raises other considerations. Townsend-Bell assumed that because she was a black woman, she would have a greater affinity with the Afro-Uruguayan women with whom she worked than she would have had if she was white or male. In fact, she discovered that her visibility as American and middle class, demonstrated her difference and illustrated the power differences that existed between her and members of the field (ibid: 311-312).

For female ethnographers working in male-dominated spaces, an unbalanced view of the society in which fieldwork is taking place can emerge. On certain traditional folk music scenes in which the instrumentalists are primarily men, female ethnomusicologists may find themselves cut off from the female realm, as their research interests lead them to engage principally with the male musicians (Appert 2017: 447; Flood 2017: 496). However, Appert (2017: 447) notes that spending time with community members who are not directly involved in music-making can enrich ethnographic experience. It also provides the ethnographer with a more balanced view of the society in general, and of the attitudes towards music that are held by people who are not its performers or creators. In my case, although my time was primarily spent with male musicians, I regularly visited my 'adoptive' grandma (see above) and spent many mornings sitting with the musicians' wives and children over a hot drink or something to eat. I also lived in the community so my view of community life was perhaps more balanced than it would have been if I was staying elsewhere.

Emotion and Fieldwork

This thesis has emerged out of my own emotional connection to the music (and later, the community) that I am writing about. The music of Pogoni 'speaks to me' in a way that has

compelled me to find out why this particular music provokes this reaction in me. I would not have undertaken this project if it were not for this connection. It is also a study *about* emotion, and the ways in which conceptions of place are understood through music and emotion. Considering this, an examination of the relationship between emotions and the fieldwork process is paramount. Does my emotional connection to the music help me to understand what this music means to the people who create it and who listen to it? Or do my own feelings obscure local understandings and experiences of musical emotionality?

Dispassionate observation in an attempt to be scientifically 'objective' is no longer championed as the proper methodological approach to anthropological fieldwork. The 1970s involved a 'shift' in anthropological methodology away from objectifying observation methods – where emotionally engaged participation is contrasted with 'coolly dispassionate' observation – towards an intersubjective participation within an ethnographic encounter – where observation and emotional participation are not sharply opposed (Spencer 2010: 3). Emotions are now recognised to be an important and beneficial tool for the ethnographer, in terms of understanding their relationships with themselves, and with others, in the field. Discussing participant observation, Spencer (2010: 2) writes:

> …participant observation is an *embodied relational process* mediated by emotions, some of which could be described as a *relational observation or relational reflection*. Emotions could be ways of knowing and they form the living flesh of relating in the field – through acting upon or living our emotions, we affect our relationships, the ways we know and what we know.

Furthermore, emotions are now understood to permeate 'all human and social experience' (ibid: 11), meaning that a truly objective position of observation is impossible.

Questions about how emotions should be approached during fieldwork have led to new ways of thinking about the role of emotion in 'ethnography'. If the ethnographer's emotions matter, then how do they affect the resulting ethnography?

John Leavitt (1996: 530) suggests that emotions are 'meaning/feeling experiences that are organised and mediated through systems of signs'. With this in mind, he argues that it is possible not only to translate the meanings of observed emotions from one cultural system to another, but that, through the process of translation, it is also possible to access 'something of the feeling-tones'. He proposes that ethnographers must therefore 'work on their own feelings' in order to 'model the emotional experiences of people of another society'. Finally, through the language of ethnography, the ethnographer 'must recast this experience' so that their readers can also access these feeling-tones (ibid). Sociological research, which develops the work of Arlie Hochschild (1983),[13] has described this process as 'emotional labour'. Essentially, this term refers to the 'work' that is done (in the context of sociological research) in order to empathise with others and to feel others' feelings as one's own (Spencer 2010: 12).

Although this approach moves beyond simply positing empathy as methodology,[14] it is problematic. Even if we can accept that the neurological and biological elements of emotion are universal, the ability to 'model' the emotional experiences of others relies on a complete understanding of their past history and of their current motives. For an ethnographer who has spent a short time in the field, amongst people that s/he has had little prior contact with, this presents a formidable task. Furthermore, emotions are not usually

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[13] The term 'emotional labour' originated in the work of Arlie Hochschild. In *The Managed Heart* (1983), Hochschild discusses the emotional 'management' required of people who work in the service economy. She notes that employees are encouraged to suppress their emotions with the aim of presenting an image which produces the 'proper state of mind in others' (ibid: 7). Informed by Marx and Goffman, Hochschild considers this as a product of (as well as producing) the capitalist system (see Spencer 2010: 11-12).

[14] Victor Turner (1967) was well-known for his views that emotions are comprehensible across cultures as he believed that they are biological processes that are universal. In this way, empathy was considered by Turner to be a valid method of investigation (see Chapter 2).

experienced as something that can be controlled or 'modelled'; are our emotions really something that can be consciously shaped?[15]

On the other hand, Andrew Beatty (2010: 430) is more sceptical of whether the ethnographer's emotions connect him or her to his or her fieldwork hosts (and other members of the fieldwork community). Although he acknowledges that emotions, fieldwork and writing cannot be easily separated (ibid: 431), Beatty argues that the ethnographer's feelings and emotions are largely irrelevant to the 'story' told by ethnography (ibid: 440). He suggests that the ethnographer's emotions are the result of the 'trials of fieldwork', and are not indicative of the emotions of the host community. Therefore, unless the goal of the ethnography is to examine the fieldwork process itself, then the author's emotions should not be foregrounded.

Considering the fact that, as ethnographers (and as human beings), we can never experience first-hand the emotions of anyone other than ourselves, Beatty makes a valid point. Inferring our own emotions onto the members of our host communities is not a solution. Yet, insofar as emotions will always colour our observations, as ethnographers and as subjective human beings, they will always play a part in how we represent the 'story' that we tell through our ethnographies. The way that we perceive our host community and their story, is intimately bound up with the fieldwork process and our emotions are deeply embedded within that experience itself. Ethnographers may choose to include or omit a description of a personal emotional experience from their writing. They can also decide whether or not a personal emotional experience offers insights about the emotional experience of members of the host community. However, the ethnographer has less control over the degree to which their emotional states affect their perceptions and understandings

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[15] A more in-depth discussion of the concept of 'emotion' is presented in Chapter 2.

that emerge from the act of interpreting ethnographic information (within the field as well as outside of it). An ethnography is essentially a subjective *interpretation*, usually by an individual author, of a (multi-faceted) experience.

As ethnographers, we must recognise that we can never fully 'get inside' the emotions of another, yet, our own emotional reactions do matter. We may not be able to successfully 'model' another's feeling world through our own (in the sense that we feel exactly what they feel), but, as emotions are relational in nature (Spencer 2010), our own emotional experiences in relation to another can offer useful insights. Fundamentally, it is crucial to acknowledge that our own emotional reactions (that are dependent on our socio-cultural background and our personal past experiences), are a type of 'cultural baggage' that affect our perceptions and understandings of others emotions and others lives in general. Furthermore, the extent to which we manage our emotions as part of 'performing' our roles as anthropologists has further implications. Following Hochschild's idea, does modern anthropology have an emotional regime of its own? Now that the role of anthropologist as objective observer has largely been discredited, what does this regime look like? What do we 'do' with our emotions before, during, and after fieldwork? How does this impact on our relationships with people in the field? (Spencer 2010: 15).

Since the methodological shift in the 1970s (see above), anthropologists have explored different ways of representing themselves and their emotions in more reflective or 'reflexive' ethnographies. Reflexive ethnography has been criticised for producing a 'confessional' mode, in which ethnographers engage in a self-indulgent, personal account of their fieldwork experiences.[16] This kind of writing risks rerouting the reader's attention away from the subjects of the ethnographic story and towards the author and his or her experience

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[16] For example, Charles Keil's *Tiv Song* (1979) is well-known for its confessional writing style which is concerned as much with Keil's own experiences of fieldwork as with the Nigerian Tiv community and their music.

(Titon 2008: 34). Kisliuk (2008: 199) identifies the need to distinguish between self-indulgence and experientially relevant information. She suggests that the way to do this as ethnographers is to consider 'whether an experience changed us in a way that significantly affected how we viewed, reacted to, or interpreted the ethnographic material'. For Kisliuk, an emotional experience that changed the ethnographer's perspective is one that should be written into the ethnography.

Music-Making and Fieldwork

As noted above, 'objectifying' methods of observation which discount emotional experience are now considered as outdated in anthropological scholarship. A similar shift away from objectivity and towards inter-subjectivity has occurred in the field of ethnomusicology. In the early period of the discipline of ethnomusicology (or comparative musicology as it was then known) transcription and archival recordings were the main focus of musical study. Music was objectified (Titon 2008: 25). Today, however, experiencing, participating in and understanding music is the primary aim, rather than purely observing and collecting (ibid). Ethnomusicologists are involved in a special type of participant observation as many now participate in the music tradition that they study by learning, performing and teaching the music. In fact, many scholars 'become' ethnomusicologists because of their interest in learning to play the music of a different culture (see Wong 2008; Witzleben 2010: 151).

Mantle Hood (1918-2005), the founder of the ethnomusicology program at UCLA, felt that technical competency in an instrumental or vocal style provides a solid grounding for theoretical studies (Shelemay 2008: 142-143; Wong 2008: 80; Witzleben 2010: 136). He was concerned that training in Western classical music (as the musical background of a large

number of ethnomusicologists) limited scholars' ability to comprehend other music traditions and he emphasised the importance of 'bi-musicality' (Shelemay 2008: 142-143).[17]

Subsequently, many scholars have used their musical abilities as a form of methodology in itself. Titon (2008: 36) suggests that musical knowledge constitutes a 'musical being-in-the-world', which lays the ground for a 'truly participatory participation-observation' (Cooley and Barz 2008: 4). Some ethnomusicologists have claimed that subjectivity disintegrates through musical experience which enables a reconsideration of theoretical and methodological stance (Wong 2008: 84). As Kisliuk (2008: 183) writes: 'when we begin to participate in music and dance our very being merges with the "field" through our bodies and voices, and another Self-Other boundary is dissolved'.

Despite the sense that participation in music-making practices can 'dissolve' the boundary between self and other, the scholarly study of music places the scholar in a position of power. In academia, music is not only represented in terms outside of its own system of meaning (i.e. usually with words) but the scholar becomes the selector of 'appropriate' or 'typical' musical examples, and s/he defines the 'important' aspects of the music on his or her own terms. The scholar's view of the musical tradition of study is often limited by the musical recordings that are available, by (sometimes limited) access to live performances, and/or by the repertoire and stylistic techniques that they are able to learn from local teachers. My understanding of the musical tradition of Parakalamos is limited to the repertoire that my teachers saw fit to teach me, to the audio and video recordings that are available on locally produced CDs and in YouTube clips, and, of course, to the specific live performances that I have attended over the last few years. The musical features that I have selected as locally

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[17] Stephen Slawek (1994: 15-16) has criticised Hood's approach by suggesting that his emphasis on performance practice became 'a means of intuitively constructing a music theory for traditions in which an articulated theoretical tradition did not exist'.

relevant and important may not have been selected by someone else if they were to conduct a similar study.

Bruno Nettl (2016) describes the process he undertook in order to study the selection of *gusheh*-s by musicians in the performance of *avaz* in Iranian traditional music.[18] He recorded as many performances of the *dastgah Chahargah* and also collected as many recordings by other people of the same *dastgah* as he could. Yet, he discovered difficulties with his method that he had not previously considered. He notes that the performances that were most characteristic of *avaz* (according to the musicians he spoke to), occurred at events where recording was forbidden. He also learnt that the musical practices that he heard on recordings were very different to those heard at live events – improvisatory practices varied greatly depending on 'social circumstances and contexts of the particular performances'. Finally, Nettl recognises that his own analytical interpretation of the music differed widely from the way in which the music was conceived by the culture bearers (ibid: 179).

Deborah Wong (2008: 81) recognises that the representation of music through another medium (i.e. writing) involves a translation process that cannot fully communicate all aspects of musical experience. She calls for a new form of ethnography, a 'performative ethnography', in which the vibrancy of musical performance, in all its aspects, is conveyed (ibid: 78). Amongst other things, Wong defines performative ethnography as a medium which acknowledges that music-making and other types of performance are entwined with, and are constitutive of, cultural and political ideologies and economies. It interrogates how performance is practised, considers the way in which this practice affects the surrounding environment or 'place', and suggests how performance-practice and its effects are inter-

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[18] In Persian music, the term *avaz* refers to a non-metric 'improvised' section of music based upon a particular *dastgah* (a modal configuration of notes comparable to a *makam* or a *raga*). A *gusheh* refers to a melodic motif. The Persian musical system in its entirety is referred to as the *radif* which consists of a system of twelve *dastgah*-s and a great many *gusheh*-s.

dependent, each constituting the other. Finally, performative ethnography deconstructs its own mechanisms, it 'is reflexive and aware of its own medium' (ibid: 78-79).

Wong asserts that performative ethnography 'shows' through specific examples, rather than 'tells' through generalised theory. Kisliuk (2008: 193-194) supports this approach, claiming that a common 'error' in ethnographic writing is the inclination to standardise.[19] She argues that the goal of ethnography is to present particular moments of experience and to interpret those moments on their own terms. She writes:

> The focus on experience helps us to situate readers within the fluctuations and particularities of performative circumstances. This leads us to the task of writing about performance in a way that evokes this immediacy and particularity; that means finding ways to capture what we've learned via our senses, our bodies. We must make our writing specific enough to convey in detail the social and technical aesthetics of a group or style, and perhaps most important, to evoke the (interpreted) meaning of a performed moment.

There are many advantages to placing music-making, musical performance, and musical experience at the core of ethnomusicological method. However, this approach is not without its faults. As mentioned above, Flood (2017: 486-487) discusses how her fiddle playing put her at the centre of musical activity which sometimes meant that she was not able to carry out her 'ethnomusicological activities'. She notes how her musical competency led her fieldwork community to believe that she was culturally literate in other ways. They assumed that she understood all the social 'rules' which governed the social occasions in which music-making occurred. She argues that a distinction should be acknowledged between research that occurs when the ethnomusicologist learns their musical skills in the field, and research that occurs when the ethnomusicologist arrives in the field with prior knowledge and ability in the musical tradition of study (ibid: 487, cf. Rice 1994). Although

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[19] In this thesis, I write in styles that are both particular and general. Although I often describe particular moments and interpret them on their own terms, I also attempt to describe patterns and terminologies that recur in the musical practices of Parakalamos. I do this, not to suggest a standardised 'theory' of music-making, but to acknowledge the existence of certain conventions that surround music-making practices in the area (cf. du Boulay 2009: 15-16).

pre-learnt musical skills sometimes enable access to musical scenes that may have otherwise been difficult to obtain, it can also suggest a parity of experience and identity that does not exist. This musical knowledge does not include a comprehensive understanding of the social aspects of local music making.

Flood (2017: 487-488) points to the fact that many ethnomusicologists, who often come from middle-class backgrounds, work with musicians who come from a different class and/or ethnic background to them, and prior musical knowledge does nothing to bridge these divides. Although, it does force the ethnographer to confront these divides as these differences become immediately apparent and it could be argued that they are highlighted by the 'sameness' of musical ability (ibid: 496).

This study seeks to place music-making and its context at the heart of the investigation. Through my own experiences of learning to play this music, through observing others play, through discussing others' experiences of playing and listening, and through making music with others, my fieldwork methodology situates music at its core (cf. Rice 1994). In short, my study focuses on musical *practice* in Parakalamos. I look at the *experiences* that surround music-making and the way that these experiences are interpreted through language and cultural narrative.

As such, this is not a thesis about musical 'theory'. However, a brief consideration of how Parakalamos music is 'theorised' locally is pertinent, as the concept of music theory informs musical practice (and, in turn, musical practice can inform theory), even if this 'theory' is not explicitly articulated. In Parakalamos, there is a sense that the musical tradition is not quite one thing or the other (it is 'marginal').[20] It does not conform to

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[20] Marginality is a theme that repeatedly surfaces in local narratives and in scholarship which considers the area around the Greek-Albanian border (see Chapter 3).

European music theory, nor does it conform to Byzantine or Turkish models. This idea was highlighted in a few of my encounters with the musicians of Parakalamos.

Theory and Practice

The idea that I have had a better music education than the Parakalamos musicians was frequently alluded to in discussions. In their eyes, I support the air flow through the instrument 'properly' and I would often hear their comments, 'You blow well, you blow correctly'.[21] In addition to this they saw me as proficient in musical theory and assumed that I know 'all' the Turkish *makam*-s as I used names such as *Hicaz*, *Uşşak,* and *Saba* to describe the modes that were used in some of my lessons with the clarinet players in the village. The reason that I used these Turkish names was because I personally had no other way of referencing the sounds that I was hearing.[22] Although the musicians are familiar with these names, I soon learnt that their modal interpretation of these terms is based on an aural understanding of Turkish *makam* theory. They have learnt the modes and the names to describe them by listening to other musicians' playing styles (usually their father's or grandfather's), rather than through scholarly study. The result of this is that they do not play *makam*-s or, as the Parakalamos musicians call them, *dhrómoi* (gr. δρόμοι), in the same way that a musician trained in Turkish art music would play them.[23]

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[21] gr. 'φυσάς καλά, φυσάς σωστά'.

[22] I studied Middle Eastern Music for my Masters degree at SOAS (University of London). In my final performance based project, I focused on tracing (and deconstructing) the 'Ottoman legacy' (Todorova 1997) by studying the performance practice of clarinetists in Turkish and Balkan (largely Romani) traditions. Although I have an elementary grasp of the Turkish *makam* system, I am certainly no expert on Turkish *makam* theory.

[23] This is not exclusive to Parakalamos. The names used to describe the modes of Turkish art music are used across the Balkans and their meaning varies slightly from place to place. A striking example is the use of the term *Nihavend* (gr. νιχαβεντ) to describe a mode used in *rebétika* songs which consists of a minor scale with a major seventh, as is the case in Turkish *makam* theory, but which also often features an augmented fourth. In fact, even within Turkey *makam*-s are not played in a uniform way. Turkish Romani musicians are very creative in their use of *makam*-s (some are not familiar with the terminology, Romani musicians in Turkey also learn aurally), and even within the classical art tradition, musicians do not always agree on the 'correct' intonation (Signell 1977: 22, 37-39).

In a discussion one day with Michalis Brachopoulos, he suggested that the musicians in Parakalamos play the *dhrómoi* with 'mistakes' (*láthi*, gr. λάθη). We began to talk about what constitutes a 'mistake' and I challenged Michalis's view, by asking him what kind of mistakes Parakalamos musicians make. Eventually we came to the conclusion that there are no innate 'mistakes' in music but that there are guiding 'frameworks' (culturally constructed ones) that make a musical tradition what it is (see Chapter 5). A 'mistake' could be defined as a deviation from a particular framework when playing within that particular tradition.[24] In this instance, the feeling that Parakalamos musicians make mistakes comes from comparing the way in which modes are played in this village with a theoretical body of knowledge from a different culture (in this case, Turkish art music culture).[25] As these musicians are not well versed in the theoretical system that governs Turkish art music, they feel that they are playing in pale imitation of another tradition, rather than seeing their way of playing as a unique style (with its own unique 'theory') in itself.

Michalis highlighted the ambiguous position of his own music culture. Coming from a rural village, Parakalamos musicians do not have access to 'standardised' ways of learning music, as musicians in the city do. He also alluded to the fact that Greece occupies a midpoint between Europe and European culture, and Turkey and Middle Eastern culture. He said that Parakalamos musicians do not play European music, nor Middle Eastern music, but that they have their own music. Michalis emphasised the fact that music is learnt 'with the ears' in Parakalamos and that theory is not something that is explicitly thought about or talked about. Yet, he said that the younger generation are now going to school and learning about

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[24] Similarly, deviation from existing frameworks is sometimes also viewed as desirable as it constitutes a stroke of 'inspiration' in creative (often 'improvised') practice (see Chapter 5).

[25] Although, as I will discuss below, even within a contained musical culture, a theoretical body of knowledge is not necessarily put into practice in a homogenous way.

(Western) music theory – it made me wonder if this will change the music tradition in Parakalamos.

Modes that resemble certain Turkish *makam*-s are used extensively in Epiros, especially in the musical tradition of the region of Zagori as well as of urban centres (such as Ioannina and Preveza). The Parakalamos musicians also use them in their own 'Gypsy' music style. Yet, these modes are rarely used in the songs and *moirológhia* (gr. μοιρολόγια, eng. laments) that are considered to belong to the Pogoni musical tradition. Melodies based on pentatonic modes are the norm. I have included this discussion as a clear way to highlight the fact that there is no explicitly acknowledged 'theory' of Parakalamos music that guides the musicians; in fact, the musicians are forced to refer to other musical traditions when they try to verbalise the musical structures that inform what they play. However, this does not mean that there is not an implicit structure or 'theory' which is drawn upon.[26]

If the current music culture in Parakalamos has no explicitly acknowledged theoretical framework, how then can this music culture be defined? As Racy (2009: 315) notes, music-making is not always a conscious articulation of a set of musical 'rules' or 'theories'. Discussing the Arab improvisational genre of the *taqāsīm*, Racy writes: 'Although conceptually linked to a tersely theorised modal system, the Arab taqsim… embraces a culturally internalised system of rules and applications that are not always articulated by the musicians or the theorists'.

Furthermore, the descriptions of musical practice that form the basis of much musical theory are inadequate to acknowledge the full range of musical practices that occur within a

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[26] It was once commonly assumed that a lack of musical notation, or another explicit means of describing music within a musical culture, indicated a lack of formulated musical theory. In the early days of the discipline of ethnomusicology, 'music theory was accepted as a special accompaniment of the West that allowed "us" to analyze "them"' (Feld 1990: 163).

music tradition. Stephen Slawek (2009: 213) discusses this point in his article that compares Indian Hindustani music and jazz guitar music: '…the apparent unity of theoretical terminology that exists in Hindustani music actually masks the set of varying practices that take place under the rubric of those terms…'. Similarly, Racy (2009: 313) notes that a theoretical explanation of a *maqām* can never truly encapsulate its nature as actualised through performance. He states, 'the realization of the full modal essence is deferred to the realm of performance practice'. While a standardised musical theory provides a 'common musical terminology' for practitioners, if it is taken too literally it can actually jeopardise musical expression and meaning. Racy discusses the process of creation used by Arab musicians using Derek Bailey's (1992: xi) conception of a 'practice of practice' (as opposed to a practice of theory). The composer or improviser draws on a 'subliminal stockpile of commonly shared stylistic expectancies' that constitutes a kind of 'internal modal grammar' that has been obtained through long term exposure and practice (Racy 2016: 237).

To conclude, drawing on the methodological issues and frameworks outlined in this chapter, the aim of this study is to elucidate the way in which music is thought about by musicians and listeners in Parakalamos. It also seeks to suggest the musical characteristics that make this music (especially the *moirolói*) meaningful to the people who participate in its performance and appreciation.

Essentially, music is meaningful to people in Pogoni because it expresses an emotional sentiment that is culturally relevant. This cultural sentiment is very much embedded in 'place'. In the context of music-making in Pogoni, emotion and place are intertwined. With this in mind, the next chapter considers the relationship between music and emotion. It looks at how music and emotion are situated within and are constitutive of 'place'

by surveying the literature that examines philosophical, anthropological, musicological and ethnomusicological thought through history.

Chapter 2 – Thinking About Emotion

When men hear imitations, even apart from the rhythms and tunes themselves, their feelings move in sympathy.

Aristotle.[1]

This thesis is about music and emotion in Parakalamos. To this end, in this Chapter I examine theories of emotion in philosophy, anthropology, musicology and ethnomusicology (amongst others) that are relevant to my understanding of the 'crying clarinet'. My intention is not to provide a new model of the relationship between music and emotion in this study. As Pierre Bourdieu has suggested, human activity cannot be reduced to a series of formalised rules or patterns (Bourdieu 1977; Herzfeld 1987: 7-8). My objective is to posit that emotional experience and musical practice are socially constituted with reference to 'place'. In this way, experiences of emotion, music, and place, are interrelated. Below I provide an overview of extant scholarship on the relationship between music and emotion from a diachronic perspective. I then consider how 'place' and environment are integral to the way in which music and emotion are experienced.

Emotion in Philosophy

In the Western intellectual tradition, the dichotomy between the 'rational' mind and the 'emotional' body has featured in philosophical discourse. For Plato (c. 429-347 BC) bodily emotions must be 'tamed' by mental reason. From a moral perspective, a 'good' man was 'master of himself', the philosopher implying that the mind should be in control of the body (see Taylor 1988: 303). Over the centuries, the distinction between an unruly body and a controlled mind was proffered in sacred belief (in the guise of the superiority of the soul) and in secular thought (in terms of the dominance of reason), the rationalist philosophers like René Descartes (1596-1650) and Emmanuel Kant (1724-1804) amongst others holding such

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[1] Cited from Aristotle's *Politics* (VIII.5, 1340a10-15, trans Jowett).

views (see Svašek 2005: 2-3). For Descartes, in particular, rational thought was the basis upon which scientific inquiry should proceed. Based on the Cartesian model, the mind-body split (or the Cartesian dualism) has persisted in Western philosophy to this day (Becker 2004: 90).[2]

This mind-body division is often understood in gendered terms; men are thought of as more rational than women, and women are considered to be more emotional than men. The 'female' is defined in opposition to the concept of 'male'; man being considered to be the 'idealised model' amongst humans (in thought and in body) for the ancients and the moderns alike.[3] From this perspective, men are represented as logical and rational whereas women are considered to be emotional and passionate, the former being viewed as cerebral and the latter being viewed as corporeal. These views have developed (often unconsciously) over the centuries (see Lloyd 1983). Even today, such gendered stereotypes can be noted in popular culture where gendered prejudice is presented as self-evident of the natural order, as unassailable 'facts' rather than as questionable 'beliefs' (see Shields 2002: 10-11).

Philosophy sometimes intersected with theology. For example, Benedict de Spinoza (1632-1677) viewed the spiritual and the material world as of the same substance. Obviating the mind-body dualism as advocated by Descartes, Spinoza argued that God and nature, mind and body were one. He recognised that psychological states and bodily states were

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[2] Descartes conceived of the material world in mechanical terms. For Descartes, emotions are the result of an interaction between the spiritual mind and the mechanical body. The 'feeling' part of emotion happens in the 'soul', whereas the physical reaction, such as the heart beating faster, or the legs moving in order to flee, happens in the body. The two events are completely separate. In his *Passions de l'âme*, Descartes asserts that emotions, or 'passions', are good in themselves, but they should not become excessive and must be subject to 'proper control' (Garber 2017: 15).

[3] Indeed, monotheistic theological belief defines women as inadequate and unworthy. In the Book of Genesis, a woman (Eve) is fashioned out of a man (Adam). Eve leads to the downfall of Adam through temptation. For followers of the Abrahamic religions, this biblical narrative of the creation myth presents women as indebted to yet in opposition to men, women forever marked with the stain of temptation and downfall. Later, women would be side-lined in the moral order as detailed in the New Testament. In the epistles of St. Paul, women were discouraged from speaking and teaching in ritual contexts. St. Paul's misogynist legacy has continued in the Christian tradition.

fundamentally intertwined. That is, he asserted that the mind and the body were not in a causal relationship but in a symbiotic interrelationship (Leavitt 1996: 526). In his magnum opus entitled 'Ethica', Spinoza, like Descartes, was interested in the moral aspect of emotions. Spinoza asserted that 'passions' such as joy and desire are passive affects and that these should be transformed into active affects which correspond to 'adequate' ideas. The pursuit of adequate ideas is guided by reason and so is a moral quest. He considered the intellectual love of God to be the greatest affect and the highest good (Garber 2017: 18).

In the philosophical tradition of British empiricism, theology would come again under scrutiny. Empiricist philosophers developed a philosophy of consciousness, where the mind was a 'single field of thought and feeling' in which units of sensation (or impressions) arose. John Locke (1632-1704) considered emotions to be 'internal sensations', and David Hume (1711-1776) asserted that they are simply 'impressions of pleasure and pain'. In short, emotions could be 'abstracted from their causes and effects ... [as] emotions are discrete, episodic and purely affective states of consciousness' (Deigh 2010:18).

Locke's preoccupation with consciousness opened up a new path of scholarly investigation which involved the intersection between philosophy and psychology. William James (1842-1910) developed a theory (now known as the 'James-Lange theory') which inverted the relationship between emotion and consciousness as detailed by British empiricists. For James, emotions were primarily bodily experiences rather than mental constructs. Here the role of perception was germane, accordingly perception influenced behaviour and behaviour produces emotion.[4] In his seminal work entitled 'The Principles of Psychology', James (1950: 449) stated: 'My theory… is that the bodily changes follow directly the perception of the exciting fact, and that our feeling of the same changes as they

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[4] I discuss the relationship between perception and emotion in more detail below.

occur is the emotion'. Although criticised by contemporary scholars, James significantly recognised that emotions are embodied.

The empiricists had highlighted the relationship between emotions and consciousness. Now psychologists sought to observe the connection between emotions and the unconscious. The neurologist Sigmund Freud (1856-1939) argued that emotions could be both conscious and unconscious (Sachs 1973: 236-237). He believed that emotions were unconscious mental states that were rendered conscious through the expression of embodied feelings. In this way, the mental state that causes an emotion might remain as a repressed state in the unconscious, unexpressed through embodied feeling (see Deigh 2010: 24-26). As is well-known, women featured significantly in Freud's embodied appraisal of unconscious emotions. His theories propagated the notion that women are less rational, and more emotional, than men. For example, unconscious emotions could 'explode' among his female patients in the guise of hysterical outbursts and psychosexual impulses. Here the psychologist James Hillman (1960: 55) provides an apt explanation of Freud's theory of the embodied unconscious with reference to a 'bomb'. The bomb (or emotion) exists in the unconscious:

> but the affect is only a potential which is not discharged until the bomb is released, i.e. repression is lifted by one means or another. The bomb and the explosion, the idea and the emotion, are intimately connected; but the emotion is ultimately rooted in the body's physiology as 'the quantitative factor in the instinctual impulse'.

Like Freud, the psychiatrist Carl Gustav Jung (1875-1961) understood emotion in terms of unconscious processes. Jung believed that emotions were produced by instinctual drives that operated according to a set of universal archetypes (Hillman 1960: 61). These archetypes took the form of complexes that arose from an inability to meet a demand for adaptation. For Jung, emotion was a form of energy that was released by way of the conflict and/or resolution involved in these complexes (ibid: 60). In this sense, Jung thought of emotions as biological processes. Yet he also acknowledged that emotions had psychic

characteristics. Furthermore, he recognised that the biological and the psychological could not be neatly divided with regards to emotion; for Jung 'the biological traits are not merely physical, nor are the psychic characteristics merely mental' (Cope 2006: 137). Also, as cited in Read et al. (2014: 138) Jung understood that emotions were empathetic or 'contagious':

> Emotions are contagious, because they are deeply rooted in the sympathetic system… Any process of an emotional kind immediately arouses similar processes in others. When you are in a crowd which is moved by an emotion, you cannot fail to be roused by that same emotion.

Developing this argument, Jung saw emotions as processes that transcend the individual. For Jung, the concept of archetypes existed in a collective unconscious. For example, the archetypes of 'animus' and 'anima' described the unconscious traits of the opposite gender in a woman and a man respectively.[5] Emotion, then, was produced by 'the unconscious aspect of an entire situation' and did not belong entirely to an individual subjectivity (Hillman 1960: 63). Both Freud and Jung believed that dreams were an important element of psychological experience. Freud saw dreams as manifestations of repressed desires; unconscious cravings that were revealed in the form of symbols. Both men wrote about the emotional content and the emotional consequences of dreams. However, Jung argued that dreams could be interpreted by way of symbols, believing, in contrast to Freud, that such symbols are representational rather than literal. In short, they both noted that emotions experienced in dreams affected daily life. It was the emotional content rather than the ideational content of dreams that influenced waking experiences (Jung 1974: 26; Freud 2010: 466-467).

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[5] Significantly, the animus was aligned with rationality and reason, the anima with emotion and feeling.

Emotion in Anthropology

Where philosophy has informed psychology, psychology has in turn informed anthropology. The Cartesian distinction between the mind and the body influenced early studies of emotion in a cross-cultural perspective. Where women were represented as emotional in the Western tradition, 'savages' were now considered to be emotional in a non-Western perspective. Of course, the colonial male was uniquely viewed as civilised and rational. Langness (1987: 8-9, 14) reflects upon this phenomenon from the perspective of cultural evolution, a variant of biological evolution where anthropologists including Lewis Henry Morgan (1818-1881) and Edward Taylor (1832-1917) believed that humanity progressed along the same evolutionary trajectory from 'savagery' to 'civilisation'. In this context, variations in cultural character could be explained with scientific rigour, at a time when the evolutionary theory of Charles Darwin (1809-1882) was receiving critical attention.

It is noteworthy that anthropologists invoked psychology to critique this notion of cultural evolution during the twentieth century. Many referred to the work of Freud who 'looked for universal mechanisms in the human psyche' (Svašek 2005: 5). Extended to humanity as a whole, there was no difference between the psychological development of humans in Europe and Africa, for example. As part of the same intellectual development, anthropologists focused upon the effects of emotional experience on human behaviour as a principal topic for study (ibid: 5-7, 14-17). In this study, two paths of inquiry were followed, one that was biological, the other (socio-)cultural. On the one hand, Darwin and James (see above) believed that emotions had a purely biological function. That is, all humans experienced emotions in the same way. On the other hand, Bronisław Malinowski (1884-1942) argued that culture exerted the principal influence upon emotional experience. In this way, there began a longstanding anthropological debate between universalism and

constructionism, between 'natural' humanity and 'artificial' civilisation (Lutz and White 1986: 409).

The universalist perspective was supported by psychology. Most notable was the anthropologist Victor Turner (1920-1983) who invoked neuroscientific theories of primary emotions,[6] and argued that emotions were accessible across cultures since they are founded upon biological instinct rather than cultural constraints (Turner 1967: 39, 54; Leavitt 1996: 519). In this respect, he advocated the use of empathy as anthropological method. However, critics have objected to Turner's use of empathy as a 'scientific' approach. Even for universalists, emotional experience is considered to be individual. From this perspective, empathy cannot be proven since the idea that one is sharing the feelings of another can only be presumed (Lutz and White 1986: 415; Leavitt 1996: 519).

The constructionist position questioned the universal application of psychology. For example, Malinowski examined the relevance of the Oedipus complex in a non-Western context.[7] With reference to the Trobriand Islands, he argued that Freud's concept of psychosexual development was not applicable. He contended that parental roles and sexual relations in this ethnographic context were different from a Western prototype since the matrilineal lineages and the dynamics of family bonding precluded the development of child-parent desire and/or child-parent aggression. In this way, he asserted that Freud's theory of the Oedipus complex was not universal. Further, he maintained that emotions were dependent

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[6] Many neuroscientists are of the opinion that there are certain 'primary' emotions that are biologically hardwired as they are crucial to survival. These include emotions such as fear, anger, surprise and disgust (Becker 2004: 49). Psychologist Paul Ekman's cross-cultural research on the relationship between emotions and facial expressions posits that there are six 'basic' universal emotions (happiness, surprise, fear, anger, disgust, and sadness) (see Lutz and White 1986: 410). These neuroscientists and psychologists also acknowledge the existence of 'secondary' emotions, including embarrassment, shame, guilt, pride and jealousy. They believe that these emotions are culturally conditioned (see Becker 2004: 49).

[7] The Oedipus complex, named after an unfortunate character from Greek tragedy, is a Freudian concept that refers to an unconscious desire to kill the parent of the same sex, and marry the parent of the opposite sex.

upon different forms of social organisation and cultural tradition.[8] Fundamentally,

Malinowski saw emotions as social entities learnt through social interaction.

Cultural anthropologists today widely recognise the social construction of thought and

feeling. As Becker (2010; 134; see also 2004: 87-88) contends 'the nature of subjectivity, of

the sense of self, varies cross-culturally'. Perhaps Michelle Rosaldo (1984) was the most

significant advocate of this position. Viewing emotion as a culturally-informed interpretation

of a social reality, she argues that culture has an effect, not only on what we think, but also on

what we feel (ibid: 140-141).[9] With reference to the Ilongot society (Philippines), she reflects

upon her inability to read conflict and conflict resolution during ethnographic research.

Accordingly, she contends that the expression of anger is not universal but is culturally

constituted in mind and body. For Rosaldo (ibid.: 141; see also Svašek 2005: 9) emotions are

essentially 'cognitions', mental constructs dependent upon social contexts. In a similar

fashion, Lutz (1988: 5, see also Svašek 2005: 9) argues that 'emotion is not precultural but

pre-eminently cultural'.

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[8] After Malinowski, universalist and constructionist views of the self continued in two independent
lines that sometimes opposed each other but also frequently intersected. Malinowski's psychological
functionalism (see Langness 1987: 79-84), and Edward Sapir's (1884-1939) culture-and-personality
studies, although often favouring socio-cultural aspects as determinants over biological or genetic
ones, also emphasised the importance of the individual-in-culture and considered biological
influences as well as cultural ones (ibid: 105-106).

[9] Michelle Rosaldo (1984: 145-146) has contested the divide between a 'natural' inner emotional state
and a 'cultural' outward expression, suggesting that it is one that characterises a contemporary
Western idea of the self, and that it does not describe the experience and expression of self in many
other societies. She suggests that in egalitarian societies, such as amongst the Ilongot tribe in the
Philippines, there is no gap between the inner and outer self. Rosaldo notes that the Ilongot do not
refer to ('natural') personality traits or of individual worth and generally refer to personal actions in
terms of public or political motivations. She argues that an 'inner' self only emerges when social
constraints create a disjuncture between what is felt by an individual and what is permitted to be
expressed. In hierarchical societies, where unequal power and privilege dominates the social system,
desiring 'inner' selves are created, especially amongst the underprivileged, which conflict with
'acceptable' forms of presenting or expressing the self (i.e. forms of expression that maintain the
status quo and do not unbalance the social system). In this way, the self, and how it thinks and feels, is
a social construction.

As in all disciplines there is academic debate. For example, Andrew Beatty (2005: 20) suggests that emotions have been relativised and exoticised in constructionist literature. In a cross-cultural perspective, he maintains that emotions have been represented as 'more social, less personal than "our" [emotions]'. Furthermore, he argues that constructionist descriptions analyse emotional meaning rather than emotional feeling and experience. Kay Milton (2005) is also critical. Where constructionist scholars have emphasised the cognitive element of emotion, Milton argues for the embodied experience of emotion. With reference to Rosaldo, she is especially critical of the implicit perpetuation of the mind-body split in the relevant literature. Concerning the universalist-constructionist debate, Milton (ibid: 27) offers a possible solution: 'Feelings are universal and biological while [their] meanings are constructed and culture specific'. Here Milton reiterated a position held by previous scholars who distinguished between emotion as the experience of feeling and affect as the expression of feeling (Svašek 2005: 8).[10]

Predictably, a universalist approach to emotion has re-emerged in anthropology. Drawing on his own emotional ethnographic experiences,[11] Renato Rosaldo (1993) argued that the experience of a traumatic event could be communicated across cultures where similar circumstances had occurred. Here, Rosaldo wanted to foreground the equality of inter-subjective experience between the ethnographer and ethnographic subject, thereby side-lining the asymmetric relationship in anthropological research (see Beatty 2005: 20). However, Renato Rosaldo has been criticised for resurrecting the notion of empathy as a primary method of research. The critical question here is as follows: Can we really know how another person feels? Fiona Magowan (2007: 190-191) suggests no. With reference to the music making among the Yolngu people (Australia), she explains how Australian politicians, when

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[10] Milton (2002, 2005) has also discussed emotion from an 'ecological' perspective. She suggests that this view of emotion transcends the constructionist/universalist divide (see below).

[11] Renato's wife Michelle tragically lost her life on a fieldwork trip that they spent together.

invited to do so, were not able 'feel the land' of this indigenous group. In other words, the emotional attachment to place experienced by the Yolgnu could not be conveyed through song to outsiders.

Emotion in Music

Between philosophy and anthropology music occupies an ambivalent position. In musicology, scholars have looked historically to philosophy (broadly speaking) when interrogating the role of emotion in expressive culture. In ethnomusicology, scholars have invoked anthropology when speaking about emotion, often in a cross-cultural perspective. In both instances, the Cartesian dualism has informed relevant scholarship (see Becker 2004:4-5). Interestingly, psychology has played a part in both disciplines. In musicology, Theodore Adorno (1903-1969) refers to music in terms of a formative consciousness, a universal behaviour whose expression is socially constituted. In ethnomusicology, Becker (2010: 127-128) invokes Pierre Bourdieu to argue that music as practice is habitual behaviour but music as listening is collective action. That is, the debate about music and emotion in musicology and ethnomusicology embraces both sides of the universalist and constructionist positions in anthropology.

Here, it is instructive to interrupt my diachronic overview of theorising emotion with a concise overview of historical scholarship in musicology. For the Ancient Greeks, music could imitate reality (mimesis, gr. μίμησις).[12] In this way music could express emotion. For Plato a genuine work of art had ethical value which was achieved through a well-ordered arrangement of form (Hall 1990:6-7). From this perspective the imitation (mimesis) of formal order in music produces a 'moral' work. Linked to mimesis is the notion of catharsis (gr.

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[12] The meaning of mimesis, as presented in the writings of the ancient Greek philosophers, has been interpreted differently by various scholars. There has been much debate as to whether the ancient philosophers considered mimesis in art in a positive or negative light (see Hall 1990: 5-6).

κάθαρσις). First used by Aristotle to describe 'purgation' and 'purification', catharsis referred to the arousal and expulsion of emotion, often in the context of music and drama (Cook and Dibben 2010: 46-47). In this sense, music and drama could produce a cathartic response through the build-up and release of emotion. Aristotle distinguished between aesthetic emotions (which resulted from mimesis in art) and real emotions. In contrast to real life, aesthetic emotions experienced in response to tragedy in a dramatic work could actually be pleasurable (Schaper 1968: 139).

During the Baroque era, mimesis informed the conceptualisation of emotion in art. In particular, the doctrine of affects (ge. *Affektenlehre*) was especially influential in expressive culture where passion could be represented by both visual and audible signs (Paddison 2010: 127). Music theatre could heighten the expression of emotion in staged performances (such as opera) by unifying music and drama to maximum effect (Cook and Dibben 2010: 47). While theories of expression replaced the doctrine of affects during the eighteenth century, emotion was still considered to be understood in terms of mimesis (Paddison 2010: 127-128). At the time, only vocal music was considered to be meaningful. Although programmatic music provided an exception, instrumental music was generally considered to be meaningless (Cook and Dibben 2010: 47).

In contrast, during the nineteenth century, instrumental music was viewed as absolute and was valued as an end in itself. It could not represent or imitate emotion, yet, for contemporary commentators, instrumental music had its own meaning in terms of form and structure. Two theorists were representative. First there was Edward Hanslick (1825-1904) who described music in terms of 'tonally moving forms' (Hanslick 1986: 29). Second there was Heinrich Schenker (1868-1935), who developed an analytical system that was exclusively musical (see Hall 1995: 85-86; Cook and Dibben 2010: 48). This new concern for musical form represented a turn from the representational to the abstract, from the particular

to the universal. It also involved a new sense of the transcendental where 'personal emotions are subsumed within a generalized aesthetic yearning for the universal and the spiritual' (Cook and Dibben 2010: 48). With base emotions transcended and thereby side-lined, the aesthetic aligned with the spiritual to conceive of music as ineffable and beyond conceptualisation (Paddison 2010: 130).

For these formalists, emotion was not completely discounted. Emotion could be embodied in musical motion (Hall 1995: 88), and music could operate as a mode of self-expression (this could involve emotion). In this case, the musical subject (the composer) was considered as an expressive persona, and this persona was embodied in the music the composer created. As stated above, Adorno transcended the divide between the universal (in terms of consciousness) and the particular (in terms of expression).[13] However, it was Leonard Meyer (1918-2007) who developed a theory of emotion in purely musical terms.[14] For Meyer, emotion is aroused when musical resolution (or a 'tendency to respond') is inhibited (Meyer 1956: 14). In contrast to daily life, inhibition and resolution are made explicit and apparent in music. Yet, as Meyer emphasises, music does not only contain meaning within its own structure. A polarity between the (formalist) view that music only has internal meaning and, on the other hand, the view that music also has extra-musical meaning was illustrated in the study of the semiotics of music.

Semiotician Roman Jakobson (1896-1982) noted that music is primarily self-referential in that musical units refer in the first instance to other musical units, thereby forming a musical code (a genre or style) that can be learnt and performed (see Nattiez 1990: 111). Like

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[13] Adorno acknowledged that music is compelling in its capacity to stimulate emotion, yet he did not consider music to be expressive of the persona of the individual artist. Rather, he saw the artist's subjectivity as socially constituted, and in this way, music is expressive of historically situated social forces (see Witkin 1998: 129-130).
[14] Deryck Cooke (1959) also developed a purely musical theory of emotion. Considering Western tonal music, Cooke suggests that emotion is aroused through the use of specific musical idioms that form a code of musical emotion.

the formalists, for Jakobson, music can arouse (aesthetic) emotion, but it cannot imitate it or represent it. On the other hand, semiotician Jean-Jacques Nattiez (1990) notes the importance of both 'intrinsic' (self-referential) musical meaning and 'extrinsic' (extra-musical) meaning and asserts that there is a connection between them (Nattiez 1990: 117). For Nattiez, extra-musical meaning can arouse emotion,[15] yet it can also represent (or refer to) emotion. He has documented three levels of extra-musical referents. First, is the individual referent associated with memory. In this case, meaning is attached to music through the association of a particular musical sound with a particular memory (the music represents the memory). Second, is the concrete referent referring to an object. Here, meaning is created through associating a musical sound with an object. Third, is the abstract referent related to impression. In this instance, musical sound represents a mood or idea (ibid: 103). In short, it is clear that music is both self-referential, and able to refer to extra-musical concepts through association.

The idea that music can refer, not only to memories, objects, and impressions, but to entire socio-cultural structures was proffered by the emergence of a 'new musicology'. For Susan McClary (1991), music conveyed social ideologies and individual emotions (see Cook and Dibben 2010: 52). In particular, music operates in constructing and affirming ideologically-constructed discourses (hence the title of her book *Feminine Endings*), where patriarchal prejudices are replicated in musical structures and effeminised expressions are revealed in affective impressions. Further, McClary contends that rational approaches to musical research reveal a masculinist stratagem where male scholars hope to avoid the stain of effeminisation through 'rational' scientific inquiry. In this way, the 'new musicology' recognises the role that music can play in the construction and expression of social

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[15] Extra-musical ('extrinsic') meaning can arouse emotion through the association of a musical sound with an extra-musical referent of emotional importance. 'Intrinsic' meaning on the other hand arouses emotion purely through musical movement.

experience. In this matter, the 'new musicology' has much in common with ethnomusicology.

In the anthropological study of emotion and meaning in music, the social meaning of music takes precedence over the meanings inferred from musical structure. However, the study of emotion and sound has not featured prominently in anthropological sources, 'despite its acknowledged presence in the cultural production of meaning and social action' (Qureshi 2000: 806). Perhaps Steven Feld is the principal scholar in this area. Working closely with the linguistic anthropologists Edward and Bambi Schieffelin among the Kaluli people (Papua New Guinea), Feld (1990) developed a theory of emotion where music operates as a mediating category between the departed and the living. Critical here is the role of the muni bird, a bird of paradise whose song represents ancestral voices in the forest. The sound of the muni bird informs the musical structure of Kaluli song (a descending pentatonic melody) and the musical texture of Kaluli music-making (an antiphonal form of heterophony).

Feld documented the metaphors about musical practice where concepts like *dulugu ganalan* (eng. lift up and over sounding) are employed to explain the intersection between the physical, the social and the spiritual worlds. Noteworthy here is the symbiotic relationship between the cultural and the biological worlds. In contrast to the nature and the nurture distinctions evident in psychology and anthropology, Feld proposes a new form of environmental determinism where cultural concepts meld smoothly with biological concepts, the Kaluli being at one with their world. The Cartesian dualism of mind-body and the gendered differences of the rational male and the emotional female do not feature in his work. Rather sentiment is understood by him with respect to place, forest clearings in the Bosavi rain forest reminding the Kaluli living of the Kaluli dead. In recent years, Feld has explored the importance of environmental sounds for understanding cultural patterns. Indeed, Feld is a leading exponent of acoustic ecology.

There are two aspects of Feld's work that are relevant to this discussion. First, the emotive power of 'wept song' is a central theme. For Feld, both men and women participate musically in the communal expression of grief.[16] In this study, women take the principal role in vocal articulations of lament (see Chapter 4). Men do not express grief publicly, yet musical reflections *about* pain and loss are performed by male musicians. These musical reflections take the form of an instrumental lament in which the clarinet cries. Second, the emotive power of place is another central theme. As Martin Stokes (2010) shows, place can evoke memories which are often expressed as a nostalgic longing for cultural intimacy. The association of an emotional theme with a particular geographical space demonstrates how cultural expression and 'place' are intertwined.[17] As Alan Lomax (1968: 8) notes, cultural symbols and behaviours are often 'brought into congruency with some main theme, so that a style comes to epitomise some singular and notable aspect of a culture'. For example, artistic practices such as music and poetry often reference a nostalgic bittersweet sorrow or longing in much of the Middle East and the Balkans (see Introduction).

Emotion and Environment

Having contextualised the history of thought about music and emotion, in this section I outline the themes that permeate my thesis and I survey the relevant supporting scholarship. My thesis views emotion as a phenomenon that occurs as part of an individual's perceptual process as a whole. It does not support the Cartesian notion of a rational mind and an emotional body. Nor do my conclusions align my study with either a universalist or a constructionist view of emotion. Rather, I follow an 'ecological' interpretation of emotion in

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[16] Of course, grief is not the only expression of emotion in ethnomusicological discourse be it in terms of enchantment (Racy 2004), melancholy (Gill 2017), anger (Walser 1993) or fear (Breyley 2010), amongst others.

[17] For example, Stokes (2010: 110) notes how Turkey has been imagined as a 'suffering woman' (this also applies to other nations of the Middle East).

which the environment plays an important role. In this way, emotion, place (physical and social environment), and music (acoustic environment) are bound together in an inter-dependent relationship. I start by examining the relationship between emotion and the environment and between music and the environment. I then consider embodied theories of emotion and music. Finally, I consider the relationship between memory, emotion and music and look at the concept of nostalgia.

An ecological understanding of emotion depends upon a holistic view of experience and perception. Fritjof Capra (1996: 31-32) notes the view of gestalt psychologists that humans (and other living organisms) experience reality in terms of 'integrated perceptual patterns' rather than as 'isolated elements'.[18] Perception, then, is key to an 'ecological' understanding of the world.[19] Kay Milton (2002, 2005) discusses the importance of emotion in the perceptual process. She argues that perception is that which 'connects an organism to its environment in such a way that it is able to receive information, to learn from it' (Milton 2005: 32), and suggests that learning is dependent upon emotion. According to Ulrich Neisser (1976), as knowledge is received from an environment, anticipation (based on prior knowledge) guides the perceiver's exploration of that environment. In turn, the information

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[18] The idea that experience is dependent upon a holistic view of the environment is explored in systems thinking. Systems thinking is a theory which focuses on the interactions and relationships between objects, rather than on the objects themselves. According to this theory, an organism, or a whole environment, cannot be understood from its parts alone. The properties of an organism, or an environment, are properties of the whole. These properties arise from the interactions and relationships between the parts. As Capra (1996: 29) writes: 'These properties are destroyed when the system is dissected, either physically or theoretically, into isolated elements'. As noted in Chapter 7, music can be understood from this perspective. Rather than being reducible to individual notes, rhythms, textures and forms, the 'musical object' is not a fixed structure made up from the sum of its parts. Instead, it is 'an emergent phenomenon that develops through shared active involvement in the musical event' (Schiavio and De Jaegher 2017: 34).

[19] An ecological approach to perception was first explored by James J. Gibson (1986) in his book about visual perception.

accumulated through exploration informs future anticipations and so on (Milton 2002: 64).

Emotions are an important part of this perceptual process (ibid: 64-66).[20]

In this way, emotion is directly involved in the experience of the environment,[21] and

the environment directly impacts on emotional experience. Sound production is also an

important part of this process. Embodied cognition theory (see below) suggests that humans

come to know the world through bodily interaction with the environment. In this view, both

perception and action are involved in receiving information about the environment.

Producing sound and making gestures, as well as sensory perception, are ways in which an

individual can learn from and influence their environment. As Clayton and Leante (2013:

198) write: 'One of the purposes of actions that produce sound or visible movement is to act

on the environment in order to generate further information about it'. This process is also

involved in how humans relate to other humans: 'Other individuals are also part of the

environment, and this same process allows us to explore and develop interpersonal

relationships' (ibid).

As shown, and as Martin Stokes (1997: 673) asserts, sounds and places are connected

social experiences. In this way, the emotive power of place is intimately related to the

emotive power of music. Music and place combine to produce a distinct emotional

experience: 'every occasion of listening has a biography, a specific history, and these

biographies and histories are situated in specific locales that produce particular social and

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[20] A discussion of the literature that considers *how* emotions are involved in the perceptual process is proffered by Milton (2002: 66-68).
[21] The way in which I use the term 'environment' refers both to the 'natural' (or physical) environment as well as to the social or cultural environment. The two are intimately related. In fact, rather than considering 'nature' as being separate from 'culture', it may be more accurate to posit that 'culture' evolves out of 'natural opportunities' (Gibson 1966: 26), or perhaps even to go as far as to suggest that there is, in fact, no useful reason for distinguishing between the two categories at all. As Eric Clarke (2005: 39) notes 'once a convention or tradition is established and is embodied in widespread and relatively permanent objects and practices, it becomes as much a part of the environment as any other feature'.

emotional experiences of music' (Shannon 2006: 162). In fact, emotion, place, and music are involved in a relationship that can be likened to an ecosystem,[22] as they depend on each other (see below). The idea that music simply 'reflects' a deeper social structure or cultural pattern has long been discredited in anthropological and ethnomusicological thought. Instead, it is viewed as playing a part in the constitution of those social structures. Embodied performances of music are shaped by emotional engagements with the performers' social and physical environment, and in turn, the environment is shaped by these performances and emotional engagements (Magowan and Wrazen 2013: 1, see also Connell and Gibson 2003: 90-91). Music, then, performs an integral role in the experience of 'place'.[23]

In current scholarship, the relationship between music and place is perhaps best explored through the discipline of 'ecomusicology'. This discipline is not easily defined as it incorporates a broad range of studies. Attempting a concise definition, Aaron S. Allen and Kevin Dawe (2016: 2) propose that 'ecomusicology is the critical study of music/sound and environment'. They also note that the two connections that underlie most ecomusicological studies are 'the prevalence of engagements with place and the critique of the nature-culture binary' (ibid: 5). Transcending the divide between nature and culture, ecological perspectives

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[22] In the present context, the meaning of the terms 'ecological' and 'ecosystem' go beyond their applications in ecology (as a branch of biology). Here, I use the term 'ecological relationship' or 'ecosystem' to refer to an interdependent relationship rather than a biological community of organisms.

[23] Concepts of local and global or of regional and national are terms that are often employed when talking about music. In this way, music can easily be viewed as a signifier of place, and has therefore often been used by different ethnic and national groups or by state institutions to emphasise difference and justify identity. Consideration of music and place has been explored extensively in popular music studies (Lipsitz 1994; Cohen 1995; Leyshon et al. 1998; Connell and Gibson 2003; Whiteley et al. 2004), music geography (see Gill 1993; Smith 1994; Kong 1995; Nash and Carney 1996; Carney 1998; Leyshon et al. 1998; Hudson 2006), as well as in ethnomusicology. As there is not the scope to survey all of this work in the current study, the following discussion will focus mainly on the ethnomusicological literature.

about music and place highlight the way in which music shapes, and is shaped by, the

environment in which it is performed.[24]

Within the framework of an ecological understanding of the world, music cannot be

separated from its acoustic environment. As Eric Clarke (2005: 4) notes:

> Musical sounds inhabit the same world as other sounds, and while the majority of writing on
> music, and music perception, has tended to cordon off music from the rest of the acoustical
> environment, it is self evident that we listen to the sounds of music with the same perceptual
> systems that we use for all sound.

This means that music (like all sound) influences the way in which we experience (or

perceive) our environment. Mark Pedelty (2012: 12) asserts that 'music is more than

organized sound' in that it is integrally linked to the environment in which it is practiced and

experienced. He states, 'drawing connections between music and environment is not an

unnatural act […] the origins and consequences of music come from, and extend far beyond,

a musical piece or performance' (ibid). At the same time, changes in the environment at large

influence the acoustic environment, including music.[25]

As noted in Chapter 5, the physical size and shape of a performance space affects the

way music sounds. It can also constrain the type of music that can be played – a large

ensemble cannot perform in a tiny space (cf. Blum 2009: 248; Berliner 2009: 449). In

addition, the social environment has significant influence over the musicians and the music

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[24] The theme of environmentalism is also prominent in ecomusicology. Although environmentalism – defined as a socio-political movement which aims to 'reduce our negative impact on other creatures, landscapes, and the Earth's biogeochemical processes' (Boyle and Waterman 2016: 26) – has increasing relevance in all academic disciplines, including musicology, it does not help to clarify my argument in the current study. I will focus instead on the way in which music functions as part of a local 'ecosystem', including both 'natural' and 'cultural' aspects of the environment.

[25] For example, birdsong is affected by environmental factors. Birds that live in rainforests sing simple low frequency phrases that can be heard through dense vegetation. And birds that live in noisy urban areas sing louder and at a higher pitch than birds in rural areas. Furthermore, singing rates and repertoires are affected by the size of the audience and by the past experiences of the bird (Boyle and Waterman 2016: 27-28). These examples are comparable to the way in which music is performed. Like birdsong, the music that musicians play is directly affected by the size and features of the performance space, by audience responsiveness and by previous performance experiences (ibid: 29).

that they play. The way people respond to music directly affects the music produced (cf.

Bailey 1992: 44-46; Blum 1998: 32; Berliner 2009: 458; Racy 2016: 234). W. Luke Windsor

(2016: 167) considers music from an ecological perspective by looking at the 'behaviour

setting' of music. He notes that a 'behaviour setting' does not only involve the physical

environment, as it encompasses 'sociocultural practices, topographical features and

climatological properties' (ibid). Windsor uses the example of a wedding to illustrate how a

behaviour setting (environment) might influence the music produced:

> Here the performers work in a mutual relationship by attempting to optimize the fit between their own musical choice and those of their employers and the guests. This might extend from repertoire to tempo: Some of the information they use is available immediately (requests, failure to dance, some more distantly influential […] The band might not be able to see the guests, due to poor lighting, and might find themselves unable to use all of their equipment due to cramped conditions. The crucial point here is that such environmental constraints are the factors that distinguish one performance from another… and that provide the context for creativity.
>
> (ibid: 167-168)

As discussed in Chapter 5, like the performers in Windsor's wedding, musicians in

Parakalamos make constant adjustments to their performance behaviour depending upon the

responses of the people listening and dancing. The musicians also stressed the importance of

creating the appropriate environment, both for themselves to optimise their creativity, and for

their audiences.

Embodied Emotion and Music

Like ecological theories of perception, embodied approaches to cognition challenge the

divide between nature and culture, and body and mind. Theories of embodied cognition

situate mental processes not in the head, but as an integrated part of the body (Schiavio and

De Jaegher 2017: 31). Researchers have suggested various interpretations of how cognition

may be embodied. For example, the sensorimotor approach emphasises the importance of

embodied abilities (rather than rational thought) that allow an agent to interact with the world

(ibid). On the other hand, the enactive interpretation of embodied cognition posits that our experience of 'the mind' (or cognition) materialises out of our embodied interactions with, and adaptations to, the environment (Clayton and Leante 2013: 189-190; Schiavio and De Jaegher 2017: 31). In Parakalamos, embodied performances of music and dance emerge out of the participants' relationships with their social and physical environments. At the same time, these environments ('place') are created through these embodied actions and interactions (see Introduction, Chapters 3, 5, 6 and 7). As Fiona Magowan (2007: 14) writes, 'it is through an environment of cultural practices that the body is endowed with specific expression'.

The body has been recognised as a crucial component in emotional expression since the work of Charles Darwin and William James (see above). David McNeill (1992) asserts that bodily gestures accompany speech as they convey information that cannot be communicated through verbal utterance alone. Physical movement accompanies music in a similar way. Performers and listeners use movement patterns to illustrate an image or action which is associated with the meaning of musical sound, or which mirrors the emotional meaning attached to that sound (Clayton and Leante 2013: 196; De Poli et al. 2017: 80). Movement is also an integral part of the production of musical sound, and is used to communicate cues and other forms of interpersonal communication that are essential to ensemble performance (Clayton and Leante 2013: 196). The movements and gestures associated with dance, and the bodily expressions and signals communicated by the musicians in Parakalamos, articulate individual and collective feelings. They also function to drive the event towards the creation of the emotional state of *kéfi* (see below and Chapter 7).

The sounds and movements that produce music, and that are expressed in response to music, are embodied in individual human bodies in a deep phenomenological sense. For

example, rather than simply viewing musical instruments as tools that can be used to produce music, performers actually incorporate the instruments into their embodied experiences:

> Indeed, during the rehearsal or during a concert, the keys, the registers and the pedals [of an organ] are not simply located in an objective space. Rather, they become a horizon of musically directed motor possibilities and are therefore intermixed with the musician's physiology and the musical environment in constitution.

(Schiavio and De Jaegher 2017: 34)

This explains in a deep sense how the *klaríno* is considered to cry in the Parakalamos area. As musicians experience their instruments as extensions of themselves, they can be used to communicate emotion, much like a facial expression or bodily posture. Listeners may then perceive the musician and the *klaríno* as crying in a much more immediate and real sense than a purely metaphorical one.

The movements, emotions and sounds expressed by other people may also be incorporated into an individual's body. The perception of another's movement, emotion or audible expression triggers mirror neurons in the brain of the perceiver resulting in the simulation of that movement, emotion or expression (Clayton and Leante 2013: 192). Arnie Cox (2006: 46) suggests that an important part of how we understand music 'involves imagining making the heard sounds for ourselves, and this imagined participation involves covertly and overtly imitating the sounds heard and imitating the physical actions that produce these sounds'.

As well as the imitation of sound and movement, the mutual adaptation of two or more performers towards the synchronisation of sound and movement is also significant in musical performances. In this way, the bodies of participants in a musical event become 'entrained'. Entrainment can be defined as a process where two independent rhythmical systems mutually adjust towards synchronisation. Tommi Himberg (2017: 141-142) notes that as entrainment involves a process of mutual adaptation between two agents it is

dependent upon relational interaction and suggests that entrainment is a way in which humans connect with each other.

In the Parakalamos area, through processes of imitation and entrainment, musicians and dancers express themselves as a community body. An important aspect of this communal expression is the articulation of the feeling state known as *kéfi*. *Kéfi* is a trancelike state of joy which can affect dancers, stationary listeners, and musicians alike, but it is most often associated with dancing (see Chapter 7). Judith Becker (2004: 43) describes trance as 'a bodily event characterized by strong emotion' coupled with 'intense focus' and 'the loss of the strong sense of self'. Similarly, Ruth Herbert (2016: 5) defines trance as 'a process characterized by a decreased orientation to consensual reality, a decreased critical faculty, a selective internal or external focus, together with a changed sensory awareness and - potentially - a changed sense of self'.

These descriptions of trance can be applied aptly to experiences of *kéfi*. In Pogoni, a deep state of *kéfi* is usually a social dynamic in which the everyday consensual 'rules' of society are suspended. On an individual level, the principal marker of *kéfi* is an intense concentration and focus which is always highly emotional. When experiencing *kéfi*, participants are often inebriated, both through consuming alcohol, and through placing their ear against the bell of the *klaríno*. It is believed that the vibrations emitted directly in the ear deepen the dancers' appreciation for the music (see Chapter 7). These processes of inebriation result in a changed sensory awareness.

Particularly relevant to this study, Becker (2004) asserts that emotion is an integral part of the relationship between music and trancing. In both religious and secular contexts, the people who are able to reach a state of trance also exhibit a 'deep emotionality'. Becker writes that these people 'welcome emotion, they offer themselves to emotion as they enact

emotion' (ibid: 1). Similarly, Gilbert Rouget (1985) notes that 'musical emotions' have a strong potential to induce trance. He argues that emotion is a universal 'property' of music, but that it is cultural context and social environment that dictate whether music will result in trancing (ibid: 316). Trance then, is a learnt behaviour and these behaviours differ from one context to another. As shown in Chapter 7, the trance state of *kéfi* is dependent upon the relationship between the musicians and the lead dancer, and upon the atmosphere created by every participant (i.e. by the creation of the appropriate social environment).

Music, Memory and Nostalgia

As well as involving the sensations and experiences of social and physical space, the relationship between music and place is also dependent upon memories and upon perceptions of time. As emotion is an important aspect of memory, this is another way in which music, emotion and place are connected.

Memories associated with emotional experiences become more deeply embedded in our memory than other memories. As music is often highly emotive, the presence of music at certain events can create particularly powerful memories. The recreation of a similar context in which the memory was formed facilitates its retrieval. Therefore, listening to music that is associated with an emotional experience can activate emotionally potent memories. In this way, memory is involved in the development of musical preferences and can control the degree of significance of particular music in our lives (Garrido and Davidson 2019: 3).

There are many opportunities for the creation of emotional memories in the Parakalamos area because of the frequency of social events in which music plays a central role. In addition, because these events involve the whole community, the memories that are created are often shared; they are social memories. These social memories are rooted in the body, as these musical performances involve embodied processes (see above). This means

that musical performances provide access to local memory and history (see Chapter 6). Unlike texts, monuments, or 'official' archives, embodied interactions reveal personal and collective histories and feelings that may differ from those presented by regional or national authorities (see Shannon 2015: 11).

Memories of a shared past can form 'emotional communities' (Garrido and Davidson 2019: 15), within which people feel similar emotions about their past. In the face of change, this can provoke a nostalgic longing for the past and for things that have been lost or altered. Nostalgic imagination can play an important role in collective memory and, in this case, is tied to collective experiences of place (Edwards 2016: 157). In his discussion of English folk song, David Ingram (2016: 226) notes that 'radical nostalgia' (which involves a critique of 'industrial and techno-scientific modernity') is linked to the concept of 'topophilia' ('an emotional attachment to a particular regional landscape'). These concepts combine to produce a resistance to change that creates warm feelings about the past. Thus, emotions are involved in both the physical and temporal aspects of place. In the Parakalamos area, physical spaces hold collective memories about the past. Music and dance serve as mediums through which connections to past and place can be performed (see Chapter 6).

Music is a powerful trigger of nostalgia as it has the potential to transport the listener to another time or another place. Garrido and Davidson (2019: 32) suggest that nostalgic remembering in response to music is dependent upon two factors. Firstly, in order to experience nostalgia, a person must have the capacity to imagine being in another time and place, and they must have the desire to do so. Secondly, music that holds personal connections to the past, or that evokes a situation that is biographically similar to that of the listener, is more likely to induce nostalgia. Listening to nostalgic music serves certain psychological and social functions. It can aid people in processing and reinterpreting past events. It can reconnect people with their past and it can form or consolidate social identity

by forging 'social connections in the present between people with a shared past' (Garrido and Davidson 2019: 33). By making music that evokes memories about the past, the inhabitants of the Parakalamos area strengthen their sense of community identity. It also allows for personal and collective expressions of the nostalgia associated with the cultural themes of abandonment and neglect (see Chapter 6).

Rather than a simple longing for a past that existed before abandonment and neglect, this form of nostalgia involves an emotional complexity involving both pain and joy. Svetlana Boym (2001, 2007) asserts that nostalgia is not simply a form of wistful remembrance and longing; rather, its meaning has evolved throughout history.[26] She defines two types of nostalgia; restorative and reflective. Restorative nostalgia refers to the attempt to reconstruct a lost or imagined home. It often takes the form of a politicised conception of tradition, heritage, authenticity or truth and is involved in processes of identity formation (i.e. in the establishment of a national consciousness) (Boym 2001: 41, 45). On the other hand, reflective nostalgia does not endeavour to re-establish the past. Reflective nostalgia refers instead to a philosophical reflection on temporal and geographical distance. It is an emotional state of yearning for alternative, yet impossible, historical trajectories (Boym 2001: 49-50; 2007: 7, 9). It is this form of reflective nostalgia that is involved in the experience of bittersweet sentiments when listening to the *moirolói* and when dancing to *ghyrísmata* (gr. γυρίσματα, eng. turn(ing), revolving)[27] in the Parakalamos area (see Chapter 7).

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[26] For an excellent discussion about the history and meanings of nostalgia, see Pistrick (2017: 77-83).
[27] *Ghyrísmata* is a term that refers to improvised musical phrases that link songs together. These phrases draw on the motifs that are used in the *moirolói*.

Emotion in Parakalamos

The issues explored in this chapter provide a useful framework for understanding emotion in Parakalamos. In Parakalamos, the tone of the *klaríno* is able to represent place because its sound embodies meaning. Martin Stokes (1994: 3) notes:

> The musical event... evokes and organises collective memories and present experiences of place with an intensity, power and simplicity unmatched by any other social activity. The 'places' constructed through music involve notions of difference and social boundary. They also organise hierarchies of a moral and political order.

Music creates these 'notions of difference' through the association of musical sound with a particular meaning. As Pedelty (2012: 84) notes, the specific sounds, stories and characters that permeate music reflect lived experiences of place and cultivate a sense of belonging. Through the performance of music, 'musicians transform geographic regions into living myths' (ibid: 83).

In the Parakalamos area, the sound of the *klaríno* is prevalent in everyday life. This sound is part of experience and memory and thus it is involved in the emotional production of place. Narratives about place in Pogoni are often connected to pain (see Introduction and Chapter 3). Within the musical and cultural landscape of Parakalamos, the *klaríno* creates the impression that it is crying. In this way, emotional narratives about place are contained in sound. Music and place are in dialectical relationship, where emotion operates as a mediating category. In this way, music is emotionally embedded in place and place is emotionally embodied in music.

The use of particular musical instruments or of distinct ways of playing those instruments often becomes symbolic of a place. Jennifer Post (2007: 47), in her study of Kazakh identity in western Mongolia, states that the *dombra* (a long necked lute) is 'widely considered a symbol of Kazakh identity', and that across the Kazakh diaspora in China and Mongolia, ties to Kazakhstan are maintained through the use of this instrument. Although

protective of the local musical styles that have developed in different Kazakh settlements, an imagined Kazakh nation which spans the diaspora is created through the use of the *dombra* and the evocation of place and ancestry.

As the *dombra* constitutes a symbol for Kazakh identity, in Pogoni it is the *klaríno* that represents place. The tone produced on the *klaríno*, and the specific ornaments that are used to decorate *klaríno* melodies, 'stamp' *klaríno* players as belonging to the Pogoni area. Furthermore, stylistic differences between villages are also recognisable and even individual players can be identified from the sounds that they produce (see Chapters 4 and 5).

Emotional themes that relate to place are also manifest in song texts. Notably, textual themes that centre on love, loss, and emigration are imbued with emotional imagery that is often associated with place (see Pistrick 2017). In Parakalamos, themes of death and emigration pervade the song repertoire and connect the song tradition to a wider cultural sentiment of nostalgic longing. The term *kaïmós* (gr. καημός, eng. longing, yearning) perhaps best encapsulates this emotional theme (see Chapter 7). In the folk music of Parakalamos, this is articulated through references to 'crying' and lament (see Chapters 3 and 4), both in musical sound and in song text topics. Even the dance music is described as a 'rhythmic lament' (see Chapters 3 and 5). Yet, joy is contained within this notion of sorrow. An emotional ambiguity between notions of pleasure and pain characterises the music and the dance of the area.

The use of place names and the referral to geographical features such as mountains, streams, trees and plants in order to provoke memories of a place is well documented in the ethnomusicological literature (Magowan 1994: 139-141; Järviluoma 2000: 112-13; Solomon 2000: 260; Post 2007: 58; Wrazen 2007: 190, 199; Devlin Trew 2009: 36). Place names and references to the physical landscape are prevalent in song texts in the Parakalamos area. The sounds of the landscape, such as animal bells and bird song, are also referenced in musical

sound. Physical features are often used literally to depict a particular place but they may also act as metaphorical symbols for other aspects of social space. For example, Magowan (1994: 140) writes about the representation of human relationships through geographical imagery in songs of the Aboriginal people of Arnhem Land, Australia:

> Songs manifest the power of the Ancestral world in the present establishing links between spiritual and physical realities. Meanings of song texts are analogues connecting people with places. Features of land and water in song texts represent human body parts, human relationships, life cycles and clan interrelations.

This type of metaphorical imagery is also used in vocal lament in the Parakalamos area (see Chapter 4). In this way, descriptions of physical space may refer to emotional aspects of social experience.

Where instruments and song texts in music are ways of representing or referring to emotion and place, individual music practices and preferences can also be used as a way of locating oneself. Personal collections of recorded music or the choice made to see a particular type of live music performance creates distinctive musical 'scapes' (see Appadurai 1996). As Mark Slobin has suggested, 'we are all individual music cultures' (Rice 2003: 156). Our own musical tastes play a part in constructing the many identities we all individually possess (Stokes 1994: 3-4). Furthermore, personal musical preferences and influences affect the way that musicians play. A musician's style of playing is shaped by lifelong musical exposure. As Christos notes in Chapter 5, all the Parakalamos musicians play slightly differently, as they have different musical preferences.

In the same way that 'place' is articulated through cultural expression then, 'place' is also embodied within individual human bodies themselves. The body is an 'inner place' where each human being always is, and it is from this place that we understand external places; the body is 'a context for understanding and perceiving the external situatedness of being' (Magowan and Wrazen 2013: 5). Furthermore, it is from within the body that culture

and emotion is expressed; 'just as people are emplaced, culture is enacted through the actions of the body in place' (Devlin Trew 2009: 31). Musicians' bodies, then, function as 'emotional conduits for performers' social relationships and their attachments to place' (Magowan and Wrazen 2013: 6).

Members of a community that are regularly exposed to the same ritual forms will approach these forms with predetermined expectations that have been developed throughout their lifetimes. Every actor within a ritual 'occupies a position in a cultural field not of his or her own making' (Becker 2004: 70). The gestures, sounds and emotions expressed through ritual are culturally and historically shaped. Due to this role in the shaping of cultural expression, ritual plays an important part in the creation of individual and social memories (see Whitehouse 2005). Similarly, ritual forms such as music may trigger emotional memory (Becker 2004: 26).

In Parakalamos, musical sound, dance gestures, and emotional responses are moulded through historical convention and become cultural tropes through repetition. At *panighýria*, the social meaning of sound and gesture is organised through ritual structure. In this way, certain ritual practices are attached to emotional conceptions of place. In Parakalamos, ritual structure revolves around the arousal of *kaïmós* and *kéfi*. Particular musical sounds and embodied gestures trigger these states. Together, these sounds, gestures and emotions constitute a cultural style that is intimately associated with place.

The structuring of emotion through ritual (or the structuring of ritual through emotion) and the relationship between this structure and the society in which it exists is widely acknowledged in anthropological literature. As James Wilce (2009: 44) writes: 'Altering either emotion, semiotic forms (genres), or the structures of social life means altering the others, too'. In a similar vein, Jonathan Holt Shannon (2006: 16-17) argues that 'aesthetic concepts' and the related 'discourses of society' do not exist apart from their

performative contexts. Furthermore, these concepts and discourses 'participate in the constitution of the contexts and performance situations in which they emerge and do not merely reflect them'. Following these thoughts, this thesis considers how emotion, music, and place are interrelated in Parakalamos.

To conclude, the Cartesian dualism has broadly influenced scholarly thinking about emotion. For the most part, this dualism is considered in gendered terms. Men are rational (of the mind), and women are emotional (of the body). The study of emotion in anthropology developed into two lines of thought; the biological view that emotions are universal, and the socio-cultural view that emotions are culturally constructed and specific. These two perspectives have influenced scholarship about music. For example, Adorno considers music as a universal behaviour that is socio-culturally constituted. More recently, emotion has been considered from an ecological perspective. This way of thinking transcends the divide between body and mind, and between nature and culture. Here, emotion and understanding emerge out of the relationship between an organism and its environment. Music can also be understood from an ecological perspective. In this case, music is understood as a form which interacts with its environment. Music is influenced by changes in the environment, and the environment responds to the presence of music.

In Parakalamos, song texts, and musical sounds that imitate crying are associated with emotional narratives of bittersweet pain and nostalgia. These narratives are connected to local understandings of social history as well as current experiences of place. In this way, musical sound is imbued with local meaning and is 'located' in a specific place (Parakalamos). With these concepts in mind, the next chapter considers how place, music, and emotion take shape in my fieldwork area. It explores the location of my study by referring to issues that are affected by its geopolitics (its physical position on a nation-state border); the identity of its

people ('ethnicity' is often related to 'place'); and the music of the area (musical practice is indicative of place and identity). It also addresses the emotional themes that are associated with this particular place and how these themes relate to music.

Chapter 3 – Placing Emotion

... there was a quiet yet constant, even hegemonic, insistence on ambiguity in the Epirus region as a whole, but it seemed to affect Pogoni more than Zagori; a continual, though rarely entirely explicit, assertion that things cannot, and perhaps even must not, be pinned down, be fixed, be clarified [...] I was being told that I should expect to be confused, because this is the Balkans; at least, I should not expect to get to the bottom of things, never mind to the heart of things: that is not what the Balkans are about.

Sarah Green.[1]

Cultural practices such as music are integral components of social experience, and in this way are fundamental to notions of 'place' or locality (see Chapter 2). Cultural production and the performance of cultural tradition are ways of producing and maintaining a sense of place or locality (see Appadurai 1996: 178-199). Thus, the notion of 'locality' is not necessarily confined to a particular geographical space (ibid: 178-179), rather, it is a particular way of being and behaving. It involves the embodiment of a cultural (or 'local') style. In this way, place or locality is linked to identity. Identity is about emotion; it is about 'feeling' as if you belong to a particular place, community, gender category, or ethnic group and not to another. In Parakalamos, and Pogoni in general, place and identity are often conceived as 'marginal' or 'ambiguous'. Considering this, in the discussion below I consider how notions of place and identity relate to cultural style, and in particular, music.

Borders and Boundaries

The people of Greek Epiros are fiercely proud to be 'Epirotes' (gr. Ηπειρώτες). Like Greeks from many other regions of Greece, they appreciate and celebrate their cultural heritage. Even for those people who are no longer living in Epiros, or even if they have never lived there in their lives in the case of those with parents who emigrated from Epiros, either to Athens or abroad, a strong sense of 'roots' and 'belonging' is maintained. For them, Epiros as

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[1] Cited from *Notes from the Balkans* (Green 2005: 10, 12).

a place – in both the physical geographical sense, and as an 'imagined community' (Anderson 1983) – is imbued with emotional significance.

Recent anthropological scholarship about Epiros has largely concentrated on the study of identity, with a particular emphasis on the social construction and experience of place. The presence of the Greek-Albanian border which dissects the region is a feature of these studies and functions as a focal point for discussion about notions of marginality, the negotiation of physical and imaginary boundaries, and the way in which a state border impacts on the cultural life of the area.

Marginality and ambiguity are themes that permeate much of the scholarship about the Greek-Albanian border, and border studies in general.[2] Issues relating to migration have resulted in a 'transborder' zone in which the law can be interpreted flexibly, and in which the identity of (often illegal) migrants is ambiguous. In his book about the Greek-Albanian borderland, Vassilis Nitsiakos (2010: 47, 60) discusses the way in which the boundary of the border is transcended by relationships between the people on the two sides. He notes that unspoken 'agreements' between Greek villagers and the police allow the villagers to employ Albanian immigrants who do not possess the required documents. These practices are ironically often supported by public officials and even by border guards. Also indicative of resistance to the border as a boundary is the prevalence of smuggling. Nitsiakos writes that animal and weapon smuggling from Albania to Greece continually evades law enforcers'

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[2] Border studies is a scholarly discipline which was developed in the 1990s in reaction to the postmodern belief that borders and barriers have been transcended in a globalised world where the power of the nation-state is waning. The discipline engages scholars associated with the political and social sciences, anthropology, and geography and asserts that the nation-state is still a primary structuring force in the current world order (Donnan and Wilson 2012: 6). Scholars working in this field focus largely on the way in which borders between nation-states function. Far from being fixed and tangible, borders are fluid and elusive. National, ethnic and cultural identity does not simply change because there is a state border checkpoint in-between one village and the next and there is rarely a physical barrier along the entire length of a state border clearly delineating where one nation-state ends and another begins. Borders are 'performed'. They exist because of compliance to a set of procedures that confirm their existence (see Parker and Vaughn-Williams 2014: 3).

attention. In one particularly notable instance, milk was channelled from an Albanian shepherding community into Greece via a plastic pipe to be sold on the Greek market (ibid: 48). As Nitsiakos observes: 'The borderline, the border as physical presence, is a fact, but it is there to be violated in practice. This violation expresses an attitude of the border populations, to perpetually resist the boundary in their everyday life' (ibid: 59).

The Greek-Albanian border zone is characterised by ethnic and cultural diversity which creates uncertainty when discussing 'national' identity. Epiros has long been a contested area and after the Balkan Wars at the beginning of the twentieth century (1912-1913), the region was split between two nation-states (Greece and Albania). As a result of wide ethnic diversity, multi-lingual groups, transhumant movement, and a certain degree of religious homogeneity (Greek Orthodox), the drawing of a national border through Epiros with the aim of dividing the region into two nationally homogenous groups proved an impossible task.[3] The outcome was an (ethnically and culturally) arbitrary (or ambiguous) line, which had little to do with the 'national feelings' of the people who lived there (Nitsiakos 2010: 55-56).[4]

From the creation of the border, up until 1944/1945 when the border was sealed, national consciousness was weak in the border areas and kin and commercial networks continued relatively unchanged (Green 2012: 574). However, processes of national homogenisation were apparent and people moved (or were moved) across the border due to linguistic and religious affiliations. After the Muslim-Christian population exchanges between Greece and Turkey in 1923, some of the remaining Muslim families still living in what was now Greece,

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[3] The struggle of 'new' Balkan nations for independence from the Ottoman Empire in the Balkan Wars resulted in similar issues in the regions of Greek Macedonia and Greek Thrace. Attempts to consolidate the politically imagined borderline across northern Greece resulted in debates over the ownership of 'Macedonia', the League of Nations' 'Mixed Commission' emigration scheme between Bulgaria and Greece, and the infamous population exchanges between Greece and Turkey in the 1920s (see Hart 1999: 206; Keil and Keil 2002: 114).

[4] Despite attempts to 'nationalise' the area, linguistic and racial diversity could not be completely homogenised.

chose to identify themselves with Albania and crossed the border to set up home there (Nitsiakos 2010: 57). At the end of the Second World War, with the communist revolution and Enver Hoxha in power however,[5] the border was sealed and no-one was permitted in or out of Albania. Friends and sometimes even families living in neighbouring villages were separated. Craftspeople and shepherds were obliged to abandon their traditional routes and state control tightened, encouraging national homogeneity (Nitsiakos and Mantzos 2008: 262).

With Hoxha's death in 1985 and the decline and eventual collapse of communist rule in Albania, the border was reopened in 1991. The disappearance of what had been a completely impenetrable barrier for almost fifty years came as a shock for the residents on the Greek side of the borderland. They were amazed that the border had been re-opened at all, and were surprised that many things on the Albanian side had changed. As Sarah Green (2012: 576) writes 'it was like an earthquake had happened that had rearranged the landscape'.

As contact was re-established, it was clear that the closing of the border had disrupted what was once a shared sense of identity by the borderland residents. This identity had not simply been split in two, into 'Albanian' and 'Greek', however. Families were reunited but confusion over who was Albanian and who was Greek presented a new problem to the cultural and national identity of families and friends. The influx of Albanian immigrants into Greece magnified this issue, as many migrants were claiming Greek descent or Christian identity, whether it was true or not, in order to ensure their passage into Greece (see de Rapper 2004: 164).[6] Since the border reopened, the flow of former Albanian residents into

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[5] Enver Hoxha was the head of state in Albania from 1944 until his death in 1985.

[6] In the years following the establishment of the border, the Orthodox Christian population of Northern Epiros (now in Albanian territory), was still considered to be 'Greek' by Greece (even if it consisted of primarily Albanian speakers). These 'Greek' people in Albanian Epiros are known as 'Northern Epirotes' in Greece (and by those very people themselves, if they wish to identify

Greece has remained constant (although with fluctuations in intensity due to political and economic conditions in Albania, see Carletto et al. 2006).[7] Greek and Albanian identity has become ever-more complex and the already negative view that Greeks hold of Albanians has been accentuated.[8] As Albanians have attempted to break down the boundaries in order to be accepted into Greece, Greeks have constructed new ones:

> As much as different categories of Albanians tried to relax the symbolic boundaries and discover or imagine symbolic ties with the Greeks, so as to facilitate their reception and integration in Greek society, so the Greeks raised mental walls of exclusion regarding the Albanians' symbolic integration, because, otherwise, one way or another, they did become part of Greek society, even if through their marginalisation.

(Nitsiakos 2010: 63-64)

Today, the presence of the Greek-Albanian border is a (symbolic, if no longer quite so physically impermeable) reality that cannot be ignored by anyone who lives in, visits, or passes through this area. References to it are a daily occurrence. During my fieldwork on the Greek side, the people I talked to would often inform me that they would be crossing the border (or going 'inside' – *mésa*, gr. μέσα – still the preferred term of reference for Albania by the people living here) to buy cigarettes or petrol, or to have a day by the sea and a cheap fish lunch, as prices are considerably lower in Albania. The stories of the people that

themselves with Greece). During the Hoxha regime in Albania though, efforts to stamp out any traces of 'Greekness' were made by altering names that were considered to be 'Greek', by forcing people to speak Albanian, and by banning religion. As such, a 'Northern Epirote' identity is difficult to define (Green 2005: 58-59).

[7] Migration out of Albania since the early 1990s has been of such a magnitude that Albania has lost 14.5 per cent of its entire population to Greece and has become 'the most deserted country in southeast Europe' (Pistrick 2017: 30-31).

[8] In popular Greek imagination, the 'Albanian' is a sinister figure. Often thought of as 'bad people' (Green 2005: 43), Albanians are conceptualised as and associated with criminals, Muslims, and Turks (see Hart 1999: 197; Green 2005: 44). Especially since the reopening of the border after the collapse of the communist regime in Albania, Albanian immigrants have suffered a huge amount of prejudice: 'Albanian immigrants abroad have often been criminalised and stigmatised by the media, blamed for crime and other social ills, far beyond other immigrant nationalities' (Carletto et al. 2006: 772). But this prejudice has a historical root that goes back more than one hundred and fifty years further than the reopening of the border in 1991. At least as far back as the 14th Century, there has been an 'Albanian' presence (or at least the presence of communities which speak an Albanian based language) in Greece (Hart 1999: 203).

surround the border are often conflicting ones. Some, with friends or family on the other side, saw it as a minor, but somewhat inconvenient, obstruction to everyday life. Others, however, saw it as a structure in place to keep people out. I came across the occasional assertion, usually within the older generation, that Albanians that crossed into Greece were up to no good.[9]

Balkan Marginality

The more densely mountainous landscape of northern Greece (particularly in the regions of Epiros and Greek Macedonia), coupled with the presumed greater amount of ethnic diversity compared to the south – epitomised by the term 'Macedonian salad' (see Green 2005: 99; Cowan and Brown 2000: 8) – has led to the perception within Greece that the north is more 'Balkan' than the south (Green 2005: 100). Add to this the political history of the northern regions – Epiros and Greek Macedonia were finally incorporated into the Greek state in 1913, almost a hundred years after the birth of the Greek state (Green 2005: 99; Cowan and Brown 2000: 1) – and it is easy to see how this perception has come about.

The notion that northern Greece is more 'Balkan' (and so less definitively 'Greek') applies to the regions of Thessaly, Macedonia, and Thrace as well as Epiros.[10] Yet Epiros as a

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[9] See Green (2005: 41-46, 220-228) for more on the conflicting views about Albanians and Albanian identity in Greek Epiros.

[10] Left behind after the cultural melting pot that constituted the Byzantine and Ottoman periods, the ethnic mixture of people (in terms of language, religion, and cultural practice) in the northern borderlands of Greece presented a problem to the newly formed Greek state. After centuries of Ottoman occupation, the new Greece looked to reconnect with its ancient 'classical past' in order to pander to European ideals which celebrated ancient Greece as the bedrock of Western civilisation. The political elite identified a need to demonstrate that the area now defined as 'Greece' was comprised of a coherent and homogenous 'Greek' culture that has been consistent throughout history. The construction of a 'Greek' national identity constituted a balancing act between the creation of a cohesive national history and folklore tradition that was propagated by schools, universities and other state organised institutions and the acceptance of a diversity of peoples of different racial and linguistic backgrounds (Cowan and Brown 2000: 11-12; Keil and Keil 2002: 113-114). In an attempt to claim that the 'pagan' past and the Christian present did not present a contradiction, the 'Helleno-Christian Synthesis' was adopted as the 'official ideology' of the Greek nation-state (Grigoriadis 2013: 30, see also Herzfeld 1986: 141; Makrides 2009: 178-179).

whole, and my fieldwork area in particular, has been described as an especially 'ambiguous' region. In her important work about 'marginality' and contested boundaries, Green (2005) argues that Pogoni is an area with a particularly vague identity.

Both Green (2005: 13) and Aspasia Theodosiou (2011: 50) highlight the lack of distinct identity in Pogoni. Both the people and the place are seen in the national imaginary as unimportant and are impossible to define because they are neither one thing nor the other. The 'marginality' of Pogoni in particular is brought into sharp relief when the area is compared to its neighbouring regions. For example, Green (2005: 79) notes that Zagori has much higher visibility than Pogoni. The culture and history of the Sarakatsani people from Zagori is well-known (see Campbell 1964), whereas there is no comparable ethnic group from Pogoni. Similarly, Zagori has a well-developed tourist industry and is regularly photographed for guide books and postcards. Pogoni, on the other hand, is almost never photographed and Green was even prohibited from taking photographs for her ethnography in the parts of Pogoni around the immediate border area (Green 2005: 79).

Pogoni's status as 'marginal within the marginal' (Green 2005: 6), is reflected in my fieldwork village of Parakalamos. In fact, Parakalamos is unconventional even by Pogoni's standards, and Theodosiou (2011: 70) notes that Parakalamos does not quite belong in the area of Pogoni, nor anywhere else. The fact that Parakalamos is 'almost entirely a cultivating village with hardly any pastoralism at all', equates the village with 'peasanthood'. As pastoralism is considered higher in status to cultivation, and as animal husbandry is often considered symbolic of Epiros as a whole (Campbell 1964), Parakalamos is already devalued and 'othered'. Add to this the fact that these 'peasants' are living side by side with *Ghýftoi* musicians and that they are the only *Ghýftoi* group in the area to have kept their Romani language, and Parakalamos begins to appear as a distinct exception (Theodosiou 2011: 70-71).

Romani identity is often described as 'marginal' or 'ambiguous'. The Roma have a long history in Pogoni,[11] yet their identity is a constantly changing and contested entity.[12] Theodosiou (2011: 105), who originally hails from Delvinaki in Pogoni, states: 'In "a doubly occupied place" such as Parakalamos, gypsyness stands as a complex site of encounter… different contexts (scenes) call up different kinds of identification without resorting to a sense of *fixed* identity'. 'Gypsyness' then is a concept that is constantly being reinvented and pitched against the concept of *balamí* (non-Gypsies).[13] The *Ghýftoi* are 'the Gypsies' so that the *balamí* can be 'the non-Gypsies' (ibid: 107, 155). In Pogoni, this creates an opposition between the two groups that is, on the one hand, very clearly delineated; lower status 'illiterate' *Ghýftoi* against the higher status 'educated' *balamí*, but on the other hand is an ambiguous site of contested power relations; the *balamí* rely on the *Ghýftoi* for their musical skill in the *panighýria* (saint's day festivals), yet the *Ghýftoi* rely on the *balamí* for their income and/or 'gifts of chance' (Cowan 1990: 126).

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[11] Many sources, drawing on linguistic evidence, suggest that the Gypsies 'originated in the Punjab region of north-west India' and that 'they left perhaps as early as in the sixth century A.D., probably due to repeated incursions by Islamic warriors' (Barany 2002: 9). The group of Gypsies now known as the Roma are thought to have reached Europe in the thirteenth century (ibid), although records from Constantinople (today's Istanbul) mentions them in the eleventh century (Soulis 1961: 145; Barany 2002: 9; Keil and Keil 2002: 105).

[12] Romani identity is difficult to pin down in other parts of Europe as well, and the Roma often occupy a marginal position within society. Despite popular misconception, the Roma are not 'an intrinsically nomadic people' (Barany 2002: 10) and some Romani communities have existed in the same location for centuries. Owing to the fact that they are now widely dispersed and have incorporated linguistic and cultural practices from the many countries in which they have settled into their own traditions, it is difficult to distinguish a fixed Romani identity. The Romani language, 'one of the eleven daughters of Sanskrit' (Keil and Keil 2002: 105), has many dialects and has no standard written form. Moreover, many Roma no longer speak any version of the Romani language and communicate solely in the language of their host country (Barany 2002: 78).

[13] As noted in the Introduction, *balamós* (pl. *balamí*), is a word that denotes a non-Gypsy person (like the better known word *gadjo*) in the Romani dialects of Greece. It is often represented in Greek script as μπαλαμός (pl. μπαλαμοί).

Polyphony and Politics

In Pogoni, instrumental music, as performed by *Ghýftoi* musicians at *panighýria*, is the standard entertainment for the locals. However, multipart singing is considered to be an important part of cultural heritage.[14] This study focuses on the instrumental tradition, yet, as the vocal music and the instrumental music of the area are musically related (see below), it is worth considering the literature which discusses multi-part singing. Furthermore, several scholars have considered polyphonic multipart singing as a musical tradition that has become closely identified with Epiros as a place. The publications of these scholars explore the issues that relate to the politics of a musical tradition that occurs on both sides of the Greek-Albanian border.

Eno Koço (2015: 40) notes that this type of multipart singing, which he refers to as 'Iso-based Multipart Unaccompanied Singing' (IMUS),[15] is an oral tradition found in the Southwest Balkans and is performed largely by Albanian speakers, but also by a smaller number of Vlach and Greek speakers. He also suggests that it 'has a self-contained regional style and has preserved its archaic forms of practice up to the present day'.[16]

Vasilis Nitsiakos and Konstantinos Mantzos (2003: 194) consider how this type of singing has been used for political ends. As Epiros is a cross-border region, maintaining cultural homogeneity on each side of the border has been an important objective of both the Greek and the Albanian nation-state since the formation of the border in 1912. The tradition of polyphonic singing has been used to symbolise national identity and has been idealised as

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[14] Interestingly, the *Ghýftoi* rarely participate in the polyphonic song tradition of the area. This type of Pogoni music is performed by non-*Ghýftoi*.

[15] 'Iso' refers to the drone note that accompanies this form of singing. It has been adopted from the Greek term *iso* (gr. ίσο) which denotes the vocal drone in Byzantine chant.

[16] It has been suggested (by both Greek and foreign scholars) that the anhemitonic pentatonic nature of the polyphonic songs of Epiros is evidence of an ancient Greek 'survival' (Nitsiakos and Mantzos 2003: 200). Furthermore, Samuel Baud-Bovy (1978) believed that the Doric or Dorian mode of the ancient Greeks can still be found in the music of Epiros, western Macedonia and western Thessaly (Katsanevaki 2005: 208).

'living proof of the cultural particularity of the nation' (ibid: 196). The fact that similar singing traditions can be found across the border has not deterred the political intelligentsia on both sides from framing multipart singing in this way. Since the 1950s in Greece,[17] folklorists have even gone to the extent of suggesting that there is no Albanian polyphonic song tradition, or if there is, it bears no relation to the Greek one (ibid: 201-202). On the other hand, Albanian folklorist Beniamin Kruta avoids discussing 'Greek' traditions and insists that regional variation in Albanian polyphony constitutes only a superficial difference. He argues that an ancient musical 'substratum' connects all Albanian regions (ibid: 205-206).

Within Greece, polyphonic singing is associated with the three areas within Epiros which border on Albania (Filiates, Pogoni, and Konitsa), As Greek folklorist Spyridon Peristeris pointed out in the 1960s, the multipart singing found in Epiros is exceptional compared to the largely monophonic singing traditions of other regions in Greece (Nitsiakos and Mantzos 2003: 200). Of the three border areas, multipart singing is most strongly identified with Pogoni (ibid: 196). Pogoni is well known for its polyphonic or multipart song tradition, and in fact, it is this singing style that has come to define Epirote music in other parts of Greece (Green 2005: 8; Theodosiou 2011: 42). There is a certain irony to this, as today, multipart singing is no longer widely performed in Greek Pogoni. Performances of this repertoire are usually special events funded by the municipality, whereas in the past, polyphonic singing would often take place spontaneously at *kafeneía* (gr. καφενεία, eng. café-bars) (Tsachouridis 2008: 85).

Multipart singing is more common in 'Northern Epiros' (Albania), although here too, more casual 'local' performances are harder to come by, rather it is often performed at state-

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[17] There is no reference to polyphonic folk songs in Greek folklore studies before the 1950s. This may be due to the fact that folklorists were mostly interested in song texts, and in this regard polyphonic songs do not differ greatly from other Greek folk songs. The first reference to this genre of songs was a 1958 publication based on field recordings obtained by folklorist Spyridon Peristeris and Professor Dimitris Economides (Nitsiakos and Mantzos 2003: 199).

sponsored events.[18] Eckehard Pistrick's (2017) book studies multipart migration songs in south Albania. He explores the role of emotionality in the multipart singing of the area and argues that pain and longing (for absent loved ones) provide a focus for musical creativity through migration songs. Pistrick (2017: 10) claims that through the medium of music – which he describes as 'a deeply social act' – migrants recreate 'feelings of home and homeliness' and reconstruct an idea of home based on both 'real and imaginary aspects' (ibid: 11).[19]

Pistrick also discusses the fact that 'Albanian Folk Iso-Polyphony' was declared as an 'intangible cultural heritage' by UNESCO in 2005 (ibid: 27). The terminology used by UNESCO, labelling this form of polyphony as 'Albanian', meant that the genre was viewed differently in Albania to how it was viewed in Greece. As Pistrick (ibid) writes: 'while multipart singing in south Albania was promoted as a masterpiece of humanity, multipart singing on the other side of the Greek border in the Delvinaki and Pogoniani regions was not'. In Ktismata, however, activists used funding from the European Union to build a cultural centre which was designed to provide a space for the rehearsals of multipart groups on the Greek side of the border (ibid).

Although there are many similarities that connect iso-based multipart singing traditions in the Southwest Balkans, there are also many regional differences. In his PhD thesis, Konstantinos Tsachouridis (2008: 82) notes that three-voice polyphony is found in all

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[18] Such as at the Gjirokastër National Folklore Festival which takes place in Gjirokastër once every five years.

[19] For people who have left their 'homeland' in search of better economic prospects, music can serve as a powerful way of remembering and reconstructing the place they have left. The performance of folklore is often at the center of social life for diasporic communities. For example, Louise Wrazen (2007) notes that for the Górale people of southern Poland who settled in Toronto, Canada, folklore performance became the first and only point of contact with their 'homeland' for second and third generation migrants. Folklore ensembles made up of the children of the community, focus on localised repertoire from Podhale (Poland's southern-most region), unlike other Polish ensembles in Toronto that draw on wider repertoire. Despite their urban upbringing in Canada, these youths reconstruct their Górale background and identity by performing Podhale repertoire and singing about a place that they have never even visited.

the regions that surround the Greek-Albanian border. These regions share a repertoire of songs, yet performance practice and style differs between the regions 'in terms of pronunciation and small variations of melody'. In this way, singing styles that are associated with individual villages have developed, such as the *Dropolítiko* (gr. Δροπολίτικο) style (from Dropoli, Albania), the *Ktismatiótiko* (gr. Κτισματιώτικο) style (from Ktismata, Greek Pogoni), and the *Parakalamiótiko* (gr. Παρακαλαμιώτικο) style (from Parakalamos) (ibid). These regional labels (such as *Parakalamiótiko*) are also applied to the instrumental musics of the area.

Kostas Lolis (2003: 37, 39) asserts that the vocal and instrumental musics of the Greek-Albanian border area are intimately related.[20] He notes that the same modal structures and pentatonic melodies are used in both the vocal and instrumental traditions and suggests that the instruments of the *kompanía* (gr. κομπανία, eng. ensemble) take on the roles of the members of a vocal polyphonic ensemble. Discussing the instrumental forms of the *moirolói* (lament) – or *kaba* in Albanian – and the *skáros* (gr. σκάρος, eng. free-rhythm improvisation associated with shepherding), Lolis argues that the melodic and rhythmic features of these forms mirror melodic and rhythmic features found in the multipart singing of the area. Also expressing this notion, Rudolf Brandl (1996: 19) has noted that the second voice of the *kompanía* (i.e. the violin) uses a style that represents 'the yodel-like second part…of the Epirotic vocal diaphony'. Lolis (2003: 52-54) points out that differences in regional singing style, such as higher pitch singing in Tosk areas, and lower pitched singing in the areas around Gjirokastër, is reflected in the pitch at which the *moirolói* and the *skáros* are played

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[20] Kostas Lolis directs a polyphonic choir that sings traditional multipart songs from the region of Pogoni. I attended some of the rehearsals for this choir during my fieldwork period.

locally (see also Smith 2006: 49). Finally, Lolis identifies the interval of a minor seventh as an important melodic device in both the vocal and instrumental traditions (see Chapter 4).

Music and Place in Pogoni

Within the wider region of Epiros, instrumental music from Pogoni is considered as somewhat banal and is often pitted against the more 'interesting' instrumental music from adjacent areas, such as Zagori. The instrumental music of neighbouring Zagori is seen as more complex and technically demanding due to its use of longer rhythmic cycles and melodies full of fast flourishes.[21] Put simply, *panighýria* in Pogoni are not considered as worthy of outside attention, they are just 'local' parties, whereas those in Zagori are something altogether more 'special', more 'traditional', and deserve a wide audience (Theodosiou 2011: 28).

Again, irony comes to the fore, as some of the most widely recognised and respected musicians (particularly clarinetists), such as Petros-Loukas Chalkias and the late Kitsos Charisiades are from Pogoni (although, these musicians play the Zagori repertoire just as well as they play their own Pogoni repertoire, and this may account for their success).

Amongst the local residents of Pogoni, there are some who have a very different view. During my fieldwork in and around Parakalamos, I often came across the opinion that Zagori music is all 'flash' with no substance. That playing fast does not make it better music and that Pogoni music has more heart and feeling. These people (a mechanic, a couple of farmers, and many musicians being amongst those who expressed this view) felt that 'their' music was under-appreciated and that the interest in the Zagori region's music is unfounded.

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[21] Zagori is often described as having a more significant cultural heritage than Pogoni (see Green 2005: 6, 8, 79-80).

As I continued to conduct fieldwork, it became clear that there are, what I like to think of as musical 'hubs' or 'schools' throughout Pogoni (see Kokkonis 2008: 42). Villages that are home to musicians (such as Delvinaki and Parakalamos) form the centre of these hubs and the different musical styles of Pogoni are built out of an interaction between these musicians and the locals in the surrounding villages. Musical 'centres' within Pogoni have been mentioned by Giorgos Kokkonis (2008), as part of a holistic study of the music of Epiros, and some interesting information about the lives and genealogies of the musicians in this area, obtained by asking living musicians about the history of their family, has been proffered by Despoina Mazaraki (1984) in her seminal work *Το Λαϊκό κλαρίνο στην Ελλάδα*.[22] Kokkonis (2008: 46) notes that there were (and still are) two main musical centres in Pogoni: the town of Delvinaki and the village of Parakalamos.

Delvinaki, found next to the Greek-Albanian border, has been the principal economic and trading centre of Pogoni since Ottoman times. It was part of a large 'musical area' before the Second World War but this area was split after the war. Delvinaki continued to thrive as a musical centre, however, and produced important generations of musicians such as the Chalkiades (gr. Χαλκιάδες), of which the internationally recognised clarinetist Petros-Loukas Chalkias is a part. The musical families of the Dalaioi (gr. Νταλαίοι), the Charisiadhidhes (gr. Χαρισιάδηδες), the Batzides (gr. Μπατζήδες), and the Rountaioi (gr. Ρουνταίοι) are also placed within the Delvinaki 'school', although many of these came from different villages.[23]

There is no mention of Parakalamos by Mazaraki, but Kokkonis (2008: 46) notes that unlike Delvinaki, neither the geographical, nor economic position of Parakalamos would

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[22] Mazaraki's work was first published in 1959, I am using information from the second edition in my study.

[23] The Batzides were from the village of Tsarapliana (Τσαραπλιανά), near Vassiliko (Βασσίλικο), the Dalaioi from the Albanian village of Skore (gr. Σχωριάδες) and the Rountaioi from Doliana (Δολιανά), a village across the plain from Parakalamos (see Mazaraki 1984; Lolis 2003; Kokkonis 2008).

designate it as an obvious musical centre. Yet, after the war, a large percentage of the village was made up of *Ghýftoi* and music was their profession. Kokkonis writes that the 'rough sound' and the 'primitiveness of performance' (ibid: 48) of these musicians creates an 'expressionistic local idiom' (ibid: 46) within the musical culture of Pogoni that was formed due to the marginalisation of their ethnic group and the resulting introversion of these musicians. Although perhaps 'primitive' and 'rough' are not the best descriptive choices, it is evident from Kokkonis's writing and my own fieldwork that the Parakalamos musicians have developed their own individual style. He continues, writing that *Parakalamiótika* is played only within its own area, and that outside of this area, the playing style of these musicians adapts to the local styles, although always passing through the 'Parakalamos filter'. The Chaliyiannides (gr. Χαλιγιάννηδες), the Brachopoulaioi (gr. Μπραχοπουλαίοι), the Chalilopoulaioi (gr. Χαλιλοπουλαίοι), and the Zervaioi (gr. Ζερβαίοι) are some of the biggest musical families from Parakalamos (ibid).

Plate 3.1: The main *Ghýftoi* street in Parakalamos (Parakalamos, 07/08/2013)

Although Delvinaki and Parakalamos are singled out as the main musical centres by Kokkonis, the local people that I spoke to had other ideas. During my fieldwork, different local conceptions of musical centres arose. Sotiris, a *klaríno* player from the village of Oraiokastro (gr. Ωραιόκαστρο) suggested that there are four musical styles in Pogoni. In his view, the village of Parakalamos; a group of villages called the Grammenochoria near Zitsa; the village of Vasiliko; and the village of Ktismata are the main musical 'schools'. Considering the fact that the 'great' *klaríno* player Kitsos Charisiadis exerted huge influence over the areas around Zitsa;[24] the Batzides were an important family from Vasiliko; that

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[24] Mazaraki and Kokkonis offer some interesting information about Kitsos Charisiadis. Originally from the village of Zaravina (Ζαραβίνα) in Pogoni, a village currently known as Limni (Λίμνη),

Ktismata is a well-known centre for families of polyphonic singers; and that Parakalamos has a relatively large concentration of *Ghýftoi* musicians, his view makes sense. Yet, it was contested by Yiannis, my host, as he believes that Parakalamos; Doliana; and Delvinaki are the 'legitimate' centres for music. He highlighted the fact that these villages are all home to a community of *Ghýftoi* musicians and that each have produced an important musical family (the Chaliyiannides, amongst others, in Parakalamos; the Rountaioi in Doliana; and the Chalkiades in Delvinaki). Yiannis's view also rings true. Conceptions of the importance of particular places are not always unified and depend upon individual identities and preferences. The fact that Kokkonis associates the Rountaioi and the Batzides with Delvinaki, and that Delvinaki and Parakalamos are the musical 'schools' of Pogoni is not necessarily a view held by residents and musicians of the Pogoni area.

Style in Parakalamos

I would like to share a little of what I learnt about the 'Parakalamos style' (*Parakalamiótika*) by describing some of my encounters in the spring of 2016. Over the course of these encounters, it became evident that there is a recognised difference between the way music is played in the area surrounding Parakalamos, and the rest of Pogoni. Even within the Parakalamos area, there were articulated differences, most notably in the case of Mavronoros (gr. Μαυρονόρος). In subsequent encounters, the differences proved to penetrate to the individual level, with particular dancers and musicians being noted for their idiosyncratic style.

Kitsos Charisiadis was one of the most famous Epirote clarinet players. His nephew, Yiannis, claimed that he was born around 1885. Kitsos started on *floghéra* but later took up the clarinet. He moved to Zitsa to study under Thanasis Yiannopoulos and remained in that region thereafter (Mazaraki 1984: 26). Kokkonis writes that it is due to Kitsos Charisiadis that the musical style in the area around the villages of Zitsa (Ζίτσα), Kourenta (Κούρεντα) and Grammeno (Γραμμένο) strongly reflects the Pogoni style and that many families of musicians in these areas absorbed his artistry (Kokkonis 2008: 48).

Sitting in Antonis's kafeneío in the village of Sitaria, I'm sipping a beer and listening to the old masters of Parakalamos on the antique tape reel player that Antonis keeps. The great late clarinetist 'Veizis' plays a mournful moirolói, which is followed by another; this time played by his (still living) cousin Vangelis Chaliyiannis. Yiannis Chaldoupis, my host during my fieldwork and a musician from Parakalamos, points out the 'heavy' playing of Veizis in comparison to Vangelis's sweeter style.

      Before long, we are joined by a local villager. Knocking back a tsípouro (the local brandy), he enters our discussion and reminisces about the days when Vangelis ('Vango') was well enough to play. He proclaims that Vango was the best, that everyone here loves him, and that Sitaria is his village. He says that in Sitaria, the people want Parakalamos music from Parakalamos, unlike the Tsamidhes in Mavronoros – the Parakalamos musicians play in different styles, they know what each village wants. While I puzzle over the possible differences between 'Parakalamos music from Parakalamos', other types of 'Parakalamos music' and what kind of music the Tsamidhes in Mavronoros might want, Yiannis and his friend discuss the best places in the area for hunting pigs.

      The evening progresses and now we're all drinking tsípouro. Veizis is playing us some 'Bajítiko'. I think I mishear and ask again for confirmation. 'Bajítiko' is the answer. I ask for an explanation and Yiannis points towards the tape player. 'Listen' he says…

<div align="right">Extract from my fieldwork diary, 12th April 2016</div>

The first time I encountered the notion of the 'Mavronoros style' was in Antonis's *kafeneío* (gr. καφενείο, eng. café-bar) in the village of Sitaria. Antonis is a local villager who owns a tiny *kafeneío* in which he keeps old tape reels of local music recorded in the area from the last one hundred or so years.[25] On this occasion we were listening to the late *klaríno* player 'Veizis' (one of the masters of an older generation) and the still living old master Vangelis Chaliyiannis,[26] who is known locally as 'Vango'. When the villager joined our conversation, I was surprised when the Tsamidhes were mentioned. The Tsamidhes (gr. Τσάμηδες) are a supposedly Albanian ethnic group from Tsamouria (gr. Τσαμουριά), an area now located in Thesprotia in Greek Epiros (see Green 2005: 15, 74-78). I was aware that there was an ethnic group known as the Tsamidhes as I had read about them in Green's (2005) book. But, I was not expecting to come across them during the course of my research. The villager's assertion that the Tsamidhes from Mavronoros prefer a different style of playing to the inhabitants of other local villages became a theme during my fieldwork period (see below).

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[25] Unfortunately, Antonis passed away from cancer later that year (2016). His *kafeneío* is now closed.
[26] See Chapter 5 for more information about Vangelis.

The other interesting concept that was mentioned during the evening was '*bajítiko*' (gr. μπατζίτικο or μπατζήτικο).[27] During my fieldwork it was difficult to gather any information about the term. Musicians in Parakalamos were all familiar with the word and the musical sound that it referred to – today, for Yiannis and other musicians in Parakalamos, *bajítiko* or *bajítika*, refers to the playing style of an older generation of musicians in Parakalamos and Pogoni (such as Veizis, as in the above vignette) – yet, nobody could tell me where the term came from. It was later, when reading about the Batzides family of musicians, that the origin of the term became clear. Mazaraki offers some particularly valuable information regarding the Batzides (or the Batzaioi as she names them).[28] In her important book, Mazaraki includes a testimony from Foros Batzis. He states that 'all of Pogoni was ours' and that 'Albania was also open to us', and recounted a particular instance when members of the family from his grandfather's generation played an eight-day wedding for the Turks in Albania. Foros claimed that none of the other musicians in the area knew how to satisfy the Turks – only the Batzides knew which dances to play (Mazaraki 1984: 26).

The Batzides, then, were an influential family of musicians throughout Pogoni and beyond. So much so, that dance pieces from the Pogoni area were referred to by using their family name:

> The Batzaioi in Tsarapliana are the most representative Pogonian branch of musicians. The name was tied so strongly to the music of the area that the Pogonian dance pieces were called *bajitika*.[29]

> (ibid: 25)

It seems then, that the term refers to the playing style of the Batzis family, although the origin of the term *bajítiko* appears to have been forgotten in Parakalamos.

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[27] The combination of the Greek letters τ and ζ are often pronounced as a j.

[28] The way in which surnames are pluralised in Greek varies. The endings –idhes and –aioi are often interchangeable in Epiros.

[29] My English translation from the Greek original.

One April evening, in Sakis's bar in the village of Koukli, I meet Dimitris, a (non-Ghýftoi) bouzoúki player who grew up playing in the bouzoúkia of Athens. His family roots though are from Koukli and for the last twenty years he has been living here. Dodging requests from friends in the bar who are urging me to play my clarinet, I ask Dimitris about the music of Parakalamos and if he plays any music from Epiros. After telling me that he does play a bit of laoúto, but that his real talents still lie with rebétika, he declared that there is no such thing as 'Parakalamos music'. He explained that the music played in 'our' part of Pogoni is from the whole area; it is from everyone, for everyone. He continued, saying that although the musicians that play here are almost always from Parakalamos, it is not only the musicians who define the music. The musical style, how the musicians play and how listeners react is created by the entire community all together. I ask him about Mavronoros. 'Bravo' he says, noting that the people in Mavronoros are not from here, they are Tsamidhes and came after 'our' music was defined. 'These people' he stated, 'logically, have other ways of hearing'.[30]

Extract from my fieldwork diary, 23rd April 2016

The idea that 'Parakalamos music' is made through social processes, and is not simply music that is played by musicians from Parakalamos, was most clearly articulated by Dimitris. For Dimitris, this music is not solely created by musicians, rather, it is a community project. The musicians are influenced by demands from the listeners and dancers and, in turn, the behaviour of the listeners and dancers is shaped by their relationship with the musicians and the musical sounds that they are hearing. In this way, musical style is formed by every member of the community and it is always in flux. As Johanne Devlin Trew writes (2009: 177):

…style in music is not a static, fixed element; rather, it is a dynamic process of negotiation within and without each community. Examining this process of negotiation can reveal key issues of great importance to the community.

For Dimitris, the community that constitutes 'our part of Pogoni' does not include the inhabitants of Mavronoros. These people do not contribute to the Parakalamos style as they are not from 'here'. In this case, it is the fact that the Tsamidhes are identified as outsiders, as belonging to another place, that means that they are not 'qualified' to participate in the creation of the community style. What would be their stylistic contribution to 'Parakalamos

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[30] gr. 'αυτοί οι άνθρωποι, λογικά, έχουν άλλα ακούσματα'

music' remains marginalised and is labelled as 'other', as the 'Mavronoros style'.

Interestingly, the *Ghýftoi* are not marginalised in this way in the area. Their status as

'musicians' means that they have a very active role in how the Parakalamos style is shaped.

Although, the *Ghýftoi* do have their own brand of music, known as *ghýftika* – or *fantasía*, as

Theodosiou (2013) refers to it – which they perform largely in all-*Ghýftoi* contexts (such as a

Ghýftoi baptism or wedding).

Figure 3.1: Map of the Parakalamos area (Map data © Google, accessed 05/08/2019)

I eventually came to understand the area referred to as 'our part of Pogoni', as a

collection of around eleven villages.[31] Although the Parakalamos musicians play in many

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[31] These eleven villages are as follows: Kryoneri (Κρυονέρι), Sitaria (Σιταριά), Mavronoros
(Μαυρονόρος), Parakalamos (Παρακάλαμος), Repetisti (Ρεπετίστη) or Repetista (Ρεπετίστα), Areti
(Αρετή), Koukli (Κουκλιοί), Vrontismeni (Βροντισμένη), Riachovo (Ριάχοβο), Mazaraki (Μαζαράκι),
and Katarraktis (Καταρράκτης).

areas of Epiros, and some play throughout Greece and even on international stages, it is the inhabitants of these villages that continually help to define the 'Parakalamos style'.

It is a couple of days before Easter and I meet Alex at a kafeneío just outside of Vrontismeni. Alex is a défi player from Vrontismeni who is currently studying for a music performance degree at the University of Macedonia in Thessaloniki. Alex is developing his own technique and style on the défi and hopes to elevate the instrument beyond its purely accompanying role.

We talk about the musicians of Parakalamos and the music of 'this area'. Alex says that the music and musicians here are not like they are in other places in Pogoni. He stated that the musicians in 'this area' are always searching for different ways of playing, for new sounds, other ways of creating. They don't like doing things 'correctly'. Elsewhere in Pogoni, they wear costumes and dance all together with the same steps in a tidy circle. Here, it is not like that, 'we have our own style' he said. I ask him if there are other musicians in Vrontismeni. He tells me that currently there are only three musicians from the village, himself, Dimitris Yfantis (a relatively famous singer), and one other, all of which are balamí (non-Ghýftoi). He remembers his childhood, when his father would invite Vangelis Chaliyiannis to play in his house, as panighýria were rare in the village. We talk about Vangelis's unmatchable musical imagination and his tireless improvisations. We conclude that he breaks all the (musical) rules and goes way off the rails, but somehow he always finds his way back, and it is this that makes him great.

Extract from my fieldwork diary, 29th April 2016

Another feature of 'Parakalamos music' that was noted on numerous occasions is a constant propensity for 'difference' and for 'breaking the rules'. Against the music from other places in Pogoni, the music from the Parakalamos area is defined locally as unique and 'deviant' (see above). This opinion was voiced by musicians and villagers throughout the 'Parakalamos area'.

Rather than being noted for performing in a way that is representative of a particular (local) style, I noticed that musicians and dancers in the Parakalamos area are seen as individuals. This was especially evident concerning the playing style of Vangelis Chaliyiannis, a musician who is thought of by many as the 'greatest ever' *klaríno* player from Parakalamos. He is considered to be 'original' and 'individual' and his talent for 'doing his own thing' and for moving away from established musical structures is what makes him popular. In other words, his ability to 'improvise' is highly regarded (see Chapter 5).

Easter Sunday dawns and I wake to thumping music coming from the heavy-duty speakers that Yiannis has positioned outside his house. I drag myself out of bed and on entering the garden, wine is thrust into my hand. Cries of 'Chrónia Pollá!' (gr. Χρόνια Πολλά! eng. Many Happy Returns!) ring

out as we listen and dance to the blaring voices of various Balkan Gypsy singers coming from the speakers.

Evening comes and we move on to Mavronoros; the, by now, infamous 'village of Tsamidhes' to my mind. I'm expecting something rather different from the usual, but as we step into the village hall, Nasos Chaliyiannis is belting out an instrumental poghonísio (a dance from Pogoni) on his klarino that is disconcertingly similar to those that I have heard him play before. Yiannis assures me that the 'Mavronoros style' has not been requested yet…

A group of young people dominate the dance floor, it's still early and the old veterans haven't drunk enough wine or tsípouro yet to dance. The youths dance well though and I'm told that they are part of the Mavronoros diaspora. They grew up in Athens and know all the dance steps from dance school. They execute the steps perfectly, but they don't have the characteristic style and the gestures that would 'stamp' them as being from this area I'm told by several Parakalamos musicians, my company around the table. Suddenly Yiannis grabs my arm and points to my camera. The poghonísio rhythm continues but now Nasos's klaríno is chirping out short patterns in a rhythmic and staccato way, quite a contrast to the slow, lyrical 'crying' of the klaríno that I'm used to hearing from these musicians. The president of the Mavronoros village council is leading the dance and now he's bouncing around the dance circle, his steps light with elation. I understand that this is the Mavronoros style.

Extract from my fieldwork diary, 1st May 2016

When I finally attended a *panighýri* in Mavronoros, I was initially disappointed, as I could hear no difference in the musicians' playing style. Nasos Chaliyiannis the *klaríno* player was playing in much the same way that he always does in other villages. I was therefore relieved when Yiannis told me that we were not, in fact, yet listening to the Mavronoros style. I was also surprised. From previous encounters, I had the impression that the people of Mavronoros, 'the Tsamidhes', listened only to this other way of playing and that they were not interested in the more 'conventional' Parakalamos style. However, it was evident at this *panighýri* that both styles were appreciated by the villagers.

It is interesting that it was only when the older generation started to dance that the 'Mavronoros style' was played. It is almost as if this style of playing and dancing embodied an essence of the village that is slowly being lost. Mavronoros is now a sparsely populated village, with a large proportion of its former inhabitants now living in Greek cities or abroad. It is only in the holiday seasons like Easter and the summer period that the village is once again full of life. The result of this is that some of the younger members of the community have actually never lived in Mavronoros outside of the holiday periods.

This was the case with the young dancers mentioned in the above vignette. Consequently, not only did these young dancers fail to embody the characteristics of a Mavronoros villager when they danced, but neither did they exhibit the traits of a dancer from the wider Parakalamos area. Having grown up in Athens, their behaviour during the *panighýri* was largely informed by the dances they had learnt at a cultural association for traditional dance (*politistikós sýlloghos paradosiakón chorón*, gr. πολιτιστικός σύλλογος παραδοσιακών χορών) in Athens. Although they were dancing with the correct steps, they did not embody the community when they danced, as they had been taught in an institutional setting, miles away from the place where these dances are still a part of community life.

This is an example of what Felix Hoerburger (1968) has termed 'second existence folk dance'. Hoerburger defines 'second existence folk dance' using three criteria. Firstly, where first existence dance belongs to the whole community and is a part of that community, second existence dance is performed only by a small group of interested people (ibid: 31). Secondly, in first existence dance there is no 'fixed choreography'. Every time a dance is 'performed' it involves 'a kind of improvisation within a specified framework, not a definitive form'. However, in second existence dance, 'there are fixed figures and movements' (ibid). Finally, these 'fixed figures' are consciously taught by 'specialist' teachers in second existence dance, whereas in first existence dance the dances are learnt as part of growing up, in a 'natural, functional way' (ibid).

In the case of Mavronoros, the 'second existence' form of the dance is performed inside the community where the 'first existence' form of the dance is still functional, as well as outside of it. This means that the difference between the two forms of dancing is starkly evident. Generally, in the Parakalamos area, music and dance is learnt in a 'natural, functional way' through cultural osmosis (see Chapter 5). In the above vignette, the lighter 'bouncy' style of the president of the Mavronoros village council was recognised as a

dancing trait that 'stamps' him as from Mavronoros – even though the basic steps were still those used in every *poghonísio* (gr. πωγωνίσιο) dance.[32] This trait is not something that dancers in Mavronoros are taught, rather it is something that comes naturally through years of absorbing the style from older generations. In contrast, the younger generation knew the correct steps but did not exhibit this local style. They had been actively taught the steps outside of the social milieu of Mavronoros and so had not been exposed to this local trait.

There are some elements of dancing *in* Mavronoros, that are not accessible to those that have grown up outside of Mavronoros. Although this younger generation still identify themselves with the village, they are in some ways seen as outsiders by those inhabitants that live permanently in the village. As Nancy Chalfa Ruyter (1995: 275) notes:

> A dance in its original milieu has a spectrum of meanings for the participants that the outsider can never totally experience or fathom. These meanings derive from the individual's relation to numerous factors, such as the community as a whole, its values and ideals, its sense of tradition, its social practices, and its environment.

Style then, is determined through relationships between people within a community and it is situated within place. It is created through social processes; it is not a static form.

Pain in Pogoni

As style is created through social relationships, it often involves an emotional component. The music of Epiros as a whole is associated with pain, and a 'lamenting aesthetic' is central to the music tradition in its entirety in this region. During my fieldwork, Dimitris, a *bouzoúki* player from Koukli (mentioned above), described the local music as *moirolatriká* (gr. μοιρολατρικά, eng. lamenting). He said that in the same way that Crete has 'war songs' (*polemiká traghoúdia*, gr. πολεμικά τραγούδια) and the islands have joyful music, Epiros has

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[32] The *poghonísio* is the most common dance performed in Pogoni.

laments. In a short trip to Parga (a seaside town close to Igoumenitsa), I was told by Thanasis, the owner of the hotel I was staying in, that 'the music of Epiros is for heartache',[33] and Yiannis, the owner of a taverna and a local dance teacher, said that although instrumental *moirológhia* are not played in this area in the *panighýria*, as they are in Pogoni, pain is still evident in the lyrics of the local songs.

It is not particularly surprising that the music of Epiros embodies notions of pain and sorrow when the history of the region is considered. As Margaret Alexiou (1974: 96) notes in her seminal work:

> Almost every year, there was something to lament: sometimes an intensive campaign, fought and lost, as in Souli from 1792 to 1803, and sometimes a particularly traitorous agreement, such as the sale of Parga by the British to the Turks in 1817-19… Similarly, the treaty of Berlin signed in 1881 by 'eight royal powers' was regarded by the people of Epiros as a betrayal, because it separated Epiros north of Arta from the rest of Greece and kept it in subjugation to the Turks…

The idea that Epiros has suffered a difficult history, and that it continues to be marginalised, was expressed by many of the people that I talked to in Pogoni. Takis, the owner of the *kafeneío* in the main square of Kryoneri and a well-respected dancer in the area, told me that as Epiros was a fighting frontier for many Greek wars, there is a particular reason to lament. *Ipeirótika* (gr. Ηπειρώτικα, eng. Epiros music) is about real life and real pain; it means something. It's not like island music that is bland and 'happy'. When listening to a *moirolói*, each listener feels their own individual pains, and not just that of the story told by the lyrics. Yiannis Chaldoupis, my host, commented on the poverty of Epiros, as well as the hardship of war and suggested, sadly, that Epiros 'is the place for the rubbish in Europe'.[34] He continued that superficial music with a fast beat would be inappropriate here, and that instead the music 'penetrates the body, it goes very deep'.[35]

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[33] gr. 'τα Ηπειρώτικα είναι για τον πόνο της καρδιάς'.
[34] gr. 'είναι το μέρος για τα σκουπίδια στην Ευρώπη'.
[35] gr. 'πάει μεσ' το σώμα, πάει πολύ βαθιά'.

Although pain and sorrow are emotional themes that manifest in the culture of Epiros as a whole, it is in Pogoni that the expression of these themes is most explicit. Death as a theme and the figure of Death or *Cháros* (gr. Χάρος) as a personified symbol appear frequently in the song lyrics of *poghonísio* dances, such as 'One night Death went out',[36] and 'Both the wealthy and the poor die'.[37] The pain of separation due to emigrating family members is also often represented in song texts, for example, in the songs 'Separation',[38] and 'Don't send me off to foreign lands, mother'.[39] In all of these songs, the importance of family, health, and enjoyment of life is emphasised and the importance of material goods, such as money, is renounced. The idea that Epiros has suffered a difficult history, and that it continues to be marginalised, is reflected in songs from Pogoni. The songs, 'Girl from Deropoli',[40] and 'Delvino and Tsamouria',[41] are amongst those that reference war or occupation. Finally, the pain of forbidden, betrayed, or unrequited love can be recognised in 'I have many complaints',[42] and in the well-known song 'My Chalasia'.[43]

Apart from the song lyrics, there is a preconceived notion of how this music should be listened to and how this music should be played. One April afternoon at a name day celebration for those named after Saint George (gr. Άγιος Γεώργιος) in the village of

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[36] gr. Ένα βράδυ βγήκε ο Χάρος. I have included all the song texts that are mentioned in this paragraph in Appendix B.

[37] gr. Πλούσιοι και φτωχοί πεθαίνουν. This song actually lyrically resembles a lament in the first verse.

[38] gr. Τα ξεχωρίσματα.

[39] gr. Μην με διώχνεις μάνα για την ξενιτιά.

[40] gr. Δεροπολίτισσα.

[41] gr. Δέλβινο και Τσαμουργιά. 'Delvino' is a municipality now in Albanian Epiros, and 'Chamouria' refers to an area now in Greek Epiros which is associated with an Albanian population.

[42] gr. Έχω πολλά παράπονα.

[43] gr. Χαλασιά μου. The title 'Χαλασιά μου' is difficult to translate. Several of my respondents claimed that 'Χαλαζία' used to be a popular female name in Epiros and that the title simply refers to a woman with this name. 'Χαλαζίας' is the Greek word for the mineral 'quartz' providing the meaning of the name. Another interpretation is that it means something close to 'My catastrophe' or 'My ruin' (again referring to a woman). In this case, 'Χαλασιά' is derived from the verb 'χαλάω' meaning 'to destroy' or 'to ruin'. A short article on the website 'ipeirotika.gr' also mentions both of these interpretations (available here: http://ipeirotika.gr/to-lixnari/item/2719-ti-simainei-xalasia-mou).

Katarraktis, I met Kostas, a maths teacher, writer, and a music enthusiast. As the band kicked off with the well-known lament 'Marióla' (gr. Μαριόλα), he told me: 'In Pogoni, we listen to cry. This music is not for joy'.[44] Throughout the afternoon, he emphasised the fact that Pogoni music is about pain (*pónos*, gr. πόνος) and went as far as suggesting that it is the most 'pained music' (*poneméni mousikí*, gr. πονεμένη μουσική) in the world.

Similarly, the musicians that I spoke to in Parakalamos often viewed themselves in their role as music makers, as vehicles for the expression of pain. Christos Chaliyiannis, a *klaríno* player, holds the view that his job as a musician in Pogoni is to become other people's pain and to express and release that pain through lamentation on his clarinet. When asked about the *moirolói*, he said: 'It doesn't mean anything to us [*Ghýftoi* musicians in Parakalamos] but it means a lot to the people we play for'.[45]

The types of pain expressed by this music are numerous. Amongst the most common replies to my questions on this topic were that the *moirolói* expresses the pain associated with death, emigration, or with marriage (when a daughter leaves the house of her family of birth) or in other words, the pain of separation. The functions of music and lament in these contexts are that of remembrance, catharsis, and communication (with others around the lamenter, or with those from which the lamenter is separated). In a bar in the village of Katarraktis, I spoke to Yiannis, a shop owner who grew up in Athens, who now lives in Koukli and works in Parakalamos, about the *moirolói* and its importance in the area. After a wonderfully detailed description of the importance of calendars and their uses in village organisations, I gently told him that I had said *moirológhia* (gr. μοιρολόγια) and not *imerológhia* (gr. ημερολόγια, eng. calendars). After our group (*paréa*, gr. παρέα) that we were sitting with had recovered from a heavy bout of laughter, Yiannis said that the *moirolói* expresses many types

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[44] gr. 'Στο Πωγώνι, ακούμε να κλαίμε. Αυτή η μουσική δεν είναι για χαρά'.
[45] gr. 'Δεν σημαίνει τίποτα για μας. Σημαίνει πάρα πολύ για τον κόσμο όμως'.

of pain, including grief, loss and hate. He suggested that the *moirolói* 'makes the pain sweeter',[46] and that it creates a 'space between' where the sense of reality is lost, opening the way for some kind of communication with those from whom we are separated.

This 'sweeter' pain can also contain joy as loved ones are remembered. As Panayiotis, the *tavérna* (gr. ταβέρνα, eng. tavern, traditional restaurant) owner in Parakalamos stated, the *moirolói* is played in order 'to rejoice as well as commiserate' (see Chapter 4).[47] On another occasion, Takis Loukas, a *klaríno* player from Delvinaki, commented that the *moirolói* is played to remember dead loved ones and that 'it gives you joy as well as sorrow'.[48]

Finally, the music of Pogoni is not only about invoking pain, but also about expressing and alleviating pain. Many villagers from Parakalamos expressed the view that the purpose of the *moirolói* is 'to get the pain out'.[49] Similarly, people across Pogoni suggested that the *moirolói* is played at the beginning of *panighýria* in order to express and assuage the sorrows in life so that the party can start and the *panighýri* can be enjoyed. The concept of 'sweet' pain and the idea that the music of Pogoni serves to alleviate pain or to 'get it out', illustrates that some forms of pain can be pleasurable. It also shows that there is a marginal or ambiguous quality to the emotional tone of the music. Joy can be experienced through pain and vice versa (see Chapter 7).

To conclude, local musical 'style' is not a fixed or static concept, rather it is a fluid process that is made and remade through the relationships between musicians, dancers and listeners within a particular area or place. In Pogoni, local style is associated with a lamenting aesthetic. Yet, there is an emotional ambiguity in local reactions to the music of Pogoni.

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[46] gr. 'κάνει πιο γλυκό τον πόνο'.
[47] gr. 'να χαίρεσαι και να λυπάσαι'.
[48] gr. 'σου δίνει χαρά και λύπη'.
[49] gr. 'να βγάλεις τον πόνο έξω'.

Rather than simply evoking pain and sorrow, the 'lamenting' tone of the music encourages a state of bittersweet nostalgia; elements of both joy and pain are aroused by the music (see Chapter 7).

The form through which this bittersweet sentiment is most clearly conveyed is the *moirolói*. Lament is an important part of folk tradition in Pogoni, and, in fact, there is an entire 'musical' genre of lament that constitutes part of the musical folk tradition. In the next chapter I discuss the different forms of *moirolói* that are performed in Pogoni. Whereas ritual mourning lament is exclusively associated with pain and sorrow, the 'song lament' (see Chapter 4), and the instrumental lament express a more nuanced conception of pain.

Chapter 4 – Symbolising Emotion

Εδώ λέμε, όταν κάποιος παίζει καλό κλαρίνο, θα σηκώνουν τα πεθαμένα…
Here we say, when someone plays good klaríno, the dead will awaken…

These were the words of Yiorgos, my (non-*Ghýftoi*) next door neighbour during my fieldwork period in 2016. In a conversation about Vangelis Chaliyiannis and his ability to 'play for people's pain' (see Chapter 5), Yiorgos suggested that when the *klaríno* is played well, it has the ability to awaken people from the dead. This highlighted for me how deep the association between the *klaríno* and the *moirolói* has become in the area.

Lament is such an important feature of the music in Pogoni, and in other areas on the Greek-Albanian border, that an entire musical genre is referred to using the word 'lament' (*moirolói*, gr. μοιρολόι). This genre exists as a separate tradition to the lament (*moirolói*) which is performed vocally by women in the event of a death.[1] However, in local imagination, the musical genre of lament is intimately connected to lament as performed in mourning ritual. Although differences in musical structure and in performance context are acknowledged, similarities concerning certain motifs and expressive techniques are emphasised. This chapter explores these similarities and differences.

Dealing with Death

Throughout Greece the *moirolói* is a poetic verse that is said (*léo*, gr. λέω, eng. to say) or lamented (*moiirologhízo*, gr. μοιρολογίζω, eng. to lament) by women as part of mourning ritual in the home and at the grave of the deceased.[2] As noted by Michael Herzfeld (1981: 49), these laments cannot be sung (*traghoudó*, gr. τραγουδώ, eng. to sing), even though many

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[1] For detailed studies of death ritual in Greece and the place of lament within it, see Danforth (1982); Seremetakis (1991); Panourgia (1995); O'Rourke (2007).
[2] In the absence of infinitive forms in modern Greek, the verbs in brackets are shown in their present tense first person singular form, as is shown in dictionary entries.

moiróghia follow specific melodic patterns (Caraveli-Chaves 1980: 129; Caraveli 1986: 175). Although the subject of *moirológhia* often concerns death and the deceased, the topic of death alone is not adequate in order to prescribe the label of *moirolói*. There are many narrative texts about death that are labelled as 'songs' (*traghoúdhia* gr. τραγούδια).[3] It is thus the performative context that informs the choice of term (Herzfeld 1981: 51). The modern lament is directly related to older forms; it has been an evolving tradition since ancient times.

Today, evidence of the lament's origins survives in the form of pagan gods and pagan beliefs about death, which are manifest in many lament texts (see Alexiou 1974).[4] The accepted etymology of the word *moirolói* is generally interpreted to mean 'words of fate' (Herzfeld 1993: 242), from *moíra* (gr. μοίρα, eng. fate) and a classical suffix form of *lóghos* (gr. λόγος, eng. word) (Alexiou 1974: 117).[5] The idea of one's inevitable fate is also contained in the language of lament. Despite being an important part of ritual practice in rural Greece, laments were never part of the 'official' Orthodox funeral, and are considered to be part of a 'folk' religious tradition.[6]

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[3] See below for a discussion of the opposition between '*moirolói*' and '*traghoúdhi*'.

[4] The question of whether there are 'pagan survivals' in the practice of modern Greek religion has provoked much controversy. Scholarly work about the historical interactions between Hellenism (or 'paganism') and Christianity have repeatedly been subjected to 'ideological jousting' (Makrides 2009: 116). For example, many scholars who were keen to link modern Greece to its ancient Greek pedigree have sought to prove Hellenistic survivals on the basis of very little evidence (Gregory 1986: 229, 232-233). Yet, the legacy of Hellenism, whether as a 'true' survival or as an ideological construction, is certainly important in modern Greek culture and is a consistent topic of discussion in scholarship about modern Greek religion.

[5] This is a somewhat simplified description. See Alexiou's (1974: 110-118) work for a full treatment of the etymology, including other interpretations that survive in popular imagination.

[6] In scholarship, there is recognition of a divide between 'institutionalised' or 'official' religion and 'folk' or 'popular' religion. The central factors that define a religious belief system as 'official' or 'folk' vary greatly between social systems. However, in every case, the two are involved in a dialectical relationship, the one defining the other (usually the official defines the folk as power is often swayed in favour of institutionalised religion) (see Bock 1966: 204-205). In the event of a death in Greece, *moirológhia* are performed as part of mourning ritual (*kláma*, gr. κλάμα) which is separate from the Orthodox funeral (*kidheía*, gr. κηδεία). Nadia Seremetakis discusses the tensions between the *kláma* and the *kidheía*. The *kláma* is a ritual associated with the household, with folk religion and with rural and 'backward' values, and is gendered as exclusively female. On the other hand, the *kidheía* is associated with more 'modern' values, with the church; an official centralised institution, and is a ritual controlled by men (see Seremetakis 1991).

Like other rituals that belong to folk religion, laments are almost exclusively performed by women (Caraveli 1986: 171),[7] and have been since antiquity.[8] Plutarch described lamenting and mourning as 'something feminine, weak and ignoble' and he states that 'women are more inclined to it than men, barbarians more than Hellenes, commoners more than aristocrats' (Bachofen cited in Holst-Warhaft 1992: 20). This chauvinistic view of women and lament was almost certainly fuelled by fear of the power that women wield through their control of the community in lament ritual (Holst-Warhaft 1992: 26-27). In lament practice today, conventional gender roles are seemingly reversed, as women are publicly 'vocal and emotionally demonstrative' and men are 'silent, inhibited and spatially segregated' (Seremetakis 1990: 490).

My attempts during my fieldwork period to observe the performance of vocally performed 'ritual' *moirológhia* in Parakalamos and the wider Pogoni area were largely unsuccessful. This was mainly due to the fact that this form of lament practice is in decline.[9] The women who still perform this genre are elderly. Many of them were not prepared to lament in front of me because they were in poor health and felt that they could no longer 'sing', or because they believed that performing a death lament outside of the proper context

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[7] Although there are exceptions, this is the case in many lament traditions around the world (cf. Tiwary 1978: 25; Racy 1986: 30-31; Feld 1990: 33; Tolbert 1990: 81; Briggs 1993: 946; Magowan 2007: 50-51; Goluboff 2008: 81, 87).

[8] Evidence of this has been found on ancient pottery fragments as well as in ancient Greek literature. Paintings on Athenian funerary plaques and vases depict the gestures which accompanied the verbal lamentation. Men are often illustrated to the right of the scene, women to the left; both genders often shown with their arms raised above their heads. The kinswomen surround the corpse, the chief mourner (usually the mother or wife) at the head. Scenes of women beating their breasts and heads, pulling violently at their hair and tearing their clothing are also represented in paintings as well as in Homeric literature and tragedy, and lamenting mothers is a common theme in much Greek poetry (see Alexiou 1974: 6; Holst-Warhaft 1992: 113; Håland 2014; 216-217).

[9] This decline in lament practice is common throughout the world (cf. Tolbert 1990: 80; Dwyer 2008; Goluboff 2008: 89; Wilce 2009: 2). Wilce (2009: 3) notes that traditions of 'loud crying' are becoming more and more associated with shame, and that 'quiet crying' is now the norm in modern urban society. Yet, an objection to 'loud' crying in institutionalised religion is not a new phenomenon. Cross-culturally, since as far back as antiquity, the strong expression and verbalisation of grief have been opposed by 'official' religious institutions (cf. Alexiou 1974: 14-22, 28; Seremetakis 1991: 171; Lysaught 1997: 66; Halevi 2004: 13, 28-29; Wickett 2012: 115).

would bring death upon their family.[10] In addition to this, the ritual context in which these laments are traditionally performed is a sensitive one. There was only one death in the village during my fieldwork period, I did not know the family, and it would not have been appropriate for me to attend the wake and funeral.

It is not the purpose of this study to examine the *moirológhia* that are performed vocally in the event of a death in Epiros. However, there are certain techniques and melodic motifs used by the *klaríno* that are related to the vocal lament. With this in mind, a survey of the existing literature that covers ritual lament in Greece and beyond is justified, as the cultural meanings associated with the 'musical' lament in Pogoni share many similarities with those associated with this genre.

Weeping with Words

Offering a cohesive definition of lament presents a challenge. James Wilce (2009: 25) suggests that 'lament is a discursive and musical genre linked with crying and with funerary observances, but also used in other contexts'. While Arienne Dwyer (2008: 132, 133) asserts that 'laments are a stylized expression of grief' and notes that 'stylized crying' is usually involved. Other anthropologists describe lament as 'wept thoughts' (Kaeppler 1993: 497), 'wept statements' (Tiwary 1978: 25), or as a 'wept song' (Feld 1990: 33, 128), and Elizabeth Tolbert (1990: 81) explains Karelian lament as 'crying with words'. As suggested by these definitions, the concept of crying is often connected to lament, whether it concerns shedding literal tears or 'performing' audible and visual representations of the behaviour associated with crying.

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[10] Helene Delaporte (2008: 56) notes a similar concern during her own fieldwork in Epiros. She writes that she often received antagonism from the female lamenters that she set out to interview and record. The community in which she worked made it clear that asking too much about this subject would be to attract death. A parallel can also be found in Goluboff's (2008: 88) fieldwork with a community of mountain Jews in north-eastern Azerbaijan. The women with whom she worked refused to listen back to recorded laments as they would be hearing them outside of ritual context.

Interjections of sobbing, crying, and wailing (whether spontaneous and emotional or affected and stylised) are common in laments throughout Greece. The use of these 'techniques' in order to take a breath before the next verse of narrative, and their sonic resemblance to the laboured breathing of the dying connects them to the symbolic meanings that link heavy breathing and breathlessness to death (Seremetakis 1990: 499-500). Ali Jihad Racy (1986: 36) notes that these emotional punctuations are also common in a form of Lebanese Druze lament performed by women and that singing is often interspersed with crying, sobbing or sighing. Other lament forms also make use of stylised weeping techniques. Steven Feld (1990: 88) discusses the terminology used to refer to different 'patterned varieties of weeping sounds' in Kaluli culture, and Greg Urban (1988: 385) notes that Amerindian wailing in Brazil shares some 'sound shape features with crying'. Urban has identified four distinct 'icons of crying': the 'cry break', the 'voiced inhalation', the 'creaky voice', and the 'falsetto vowel' (ibid: 389). These 'icons of crying' have been applied effectively to other lament traditions by other scholars (cf. Tolbert 1990: 86; Briggs 1993: 950; Magowan 2007: 85). These types of technique that represent laboured breathing and/or crying are also prevalent in the instrumental *moirolói*, as we shall see below.

Although these 'crying' devices are common within many areas of Greece, like the lyric structure, the melodic form of the lament varies between regions (Caraveli-Chaves 1980: 129). The style of poetic language coupled with melodic conventions carry emotional associations, and so laments from one region may leave a woman from another region indifferent to the lament's emotional power (Caraveli 1986: 175-176). In all regions, however, the emotional content of lament serves to shape social relations and to strengthen community bonds.

In many cultures, the structure of death ritual practice and the musical form of lamenting combine to provide a socially accepted platform for the expression of grief and pain. These practices create a cathartic space where sorrow can be 'cried' and 'wept' out through lament. Tova Gamliel (2010: 77) discusses the 'wailing' of Israeli Yemenite Jews and suggests that hearing lament enables those community members who are usually emotionally restrained to purge their grief through outbursts of crying. In this sense, the wailers provide a community service. Similarly, Sascha Goluboff (2008: 84) notes that for a Jewish community in the mountains of Azerbaijan, the tradition of lamenting soothes the relatives and allows their 'souls to feel lighter'.

In this way, the experience of pain and loss is validated through communal recognition of death, and through the ritual process, a sense of social stability is restored, enabling members of the community to return to 'normal' life. As Nadia Seremetakis (1990: 483) notes, commenting on lamenting in Inner Mani, Greece:

> Antiphonic protocols and aesthetics in Maniat mourning performances are centered on the expression of a particular content: the personal signification and social (interpersonal) validation of *ponos* (pain). The Maniat concept of 'pain' integrates both physical and emotional conditions, individual and collective references, mourning and jural discourses.

In Greece, laments are typically performed by close kin of the deceased with occasional answering phrases repeated by the rest of the female community present. There is a principal mourner (*koryfaía*, gr. κορυφαία), yet the narrative, in which the mourner speaks with the dead or describes the circumstances of death, can be passed around to other mourners. The antiphonal structure of lament, involving repeated 'answer' phrases to the principal mourner's narrative (Alexiou 1974: 131-150; Seremetakis 1990: 490), is reflected in physical gestures, gender dichotomies and political structures related to lament practice (see Seremetakis 1990). This ritual framework functions as a socially accepted channel for

the communal expression of pain and loss.[11] By expressing their 'female' pains and their grievances that they have against their society and the world in general through lament, women form a collective within which they can protest against the status quo (Caraveli 1986: 181). The amount of agency gained by women through lament depends on 'the individual performer as an active manipulator of conventions and as an agent of change' (ibid: 185).[12]

As well as sharing pain between them, Greek lamenters must 'project' their pain through the lament out towards all the participants at the funerary rite. Amongst lament singers (*moirologhístres*, gr. μοιρολογίστρες), pain is seen as a necessary component of their experience while lamenting. When the principal lament singer or *koryfaía* is perceived to be 'in pain', the *moirolói* is understood as 'authentic', and the stronger the pain perceived, the more ritual value the lament contains (Caraveli 1986: 172). In this way, pain is connected with truth. The expression of pain by a lamenter can be construed as a truth-claim that is confirmed only if this expression is perceived as authentic. An individual's pain then, must be socially recognised in order to be seen as 'real'. Within the lament, this social recognition is articulated through antiphonal response to the lead lamenter's narrative:

> The truth-claims that arise from the ritual depend on the emotional force of 'pain' and the jural force of antiphonal confirmation. By stating that they cannot properly sing laments without the 'help' of others, Maniat women point out that pain has to be socially constructed in antiphonal relations in order to be rendered valid.

(Seremetakis 1990: 508)

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[11] The communal nature of 'crying' in lament practice has been noted in lament traditions cross-culturally. Goluboff (2008: 85) uses the phrase 'communitas of suffering' to describe lament practice in Azerbaijan, and writes that the head lamenter leads all the women in 'wailing sounds' at the end of each lament. Charles Briggs (1993: 930) notes that Warao women in Venezuela 'cry together' resulting in a polyphonic texture. He suggests that this polyphony, 'creates a dialogic tension between the voices of individual wailers and the emergence of a collective voice, thereby generating aesthetic, affective, and social power'.

[12] Dwyer (2008: 132) and Goluboff (2008: 82) also note that, cross-culturally, lament can provide women with a way of articulating social protest.

Concerns relating to the authenticity of lament are common cross-culturally. Briggs (1993: 947) notes that one of his respondents remarked of Warao wailers 'what they're crying is entirely true; they couldn't cry lies'. Urban (1988: 397) suggests that a 'true' or 'authentic' lament is expressed through the fact that emotion is *shown* through 'crying' and not merely described. It is this that makes lament convincing. However, this does not necessarily mean that the emotion just pours out naturally. Wilce (2009: 46) mentions the late Finnish cry-woman Martta Kuikka and her description of the 'hard emotion-work' that she and other lamenters undergo in order to perform a true lament. Even if singing at the funeral of a complete stranger, Kuikka stated that she would find 'emotional resonances' within herself.

Despite these claims to truth, the performance of a lament is not necessarily always indicative of deeply felt grief. In his article on the laments that took place at a funeral in the village of Glendi on Crete, Herzfeld (1993: 246) discusses the juxtaposition of seemingly emotionally charged lamenting with 'normal' speaking voices:

> This sudden switching between raucous lament and relatively calm recollection, so much at odds with the pure sense of archaic tragedy sought by the earlier folklorists, is especially common at the funerals of old people and suggests that the villagers recognize a need for conventional outpourings of grief even when inner feelings may not fully correspond to those outpourings.

This is reflected in other lament traditions. Kapil Muni Tiwary (1978: 25) notes that in northern India, women who perform lament 'may do so out of sadness, but she does not have to have sorrow in her heart'. Furthermore, Tiwary emphasises that lament or 'weeping' is not just a matter of shedding tears – 'it is a very well-organised set of wept statements' (ibid). Gamliel (2010: 80) states that women who lament in Israeli Yemenite Jewish society

are not truly expressing emotional pain when they 'wail'.[13] The purpose of the wailer's

performance is to make her audience cry. It is a staged performance and it 'leaves no room

for her own weeping' as 'her attention is consumed by the audience's emotional needs'.

Gamliel also notes that during her research, the wailers that she 'observed' expected her to

respond to their laments with her own real tears (ibid: 75).

These examples bring into sharp relief how emotional expression can be socially

anticipated and constructed. In this case, even when an individual is not experiencing grief or

pain, they are obliged to 'express' it, in order to satisfy a social need. In the lament then, pain

and grief are transformed beyond emotions that are experienced by an individual, into a

socially recognised system of expression and behaviour. The ritual experience of grief is

more than an individual emotional response to an upsetting event.[14] As Anna Caraveli (1986:

172-173) notes: 'More than just grief produced by a specific occasion, the "pain" of folk

aesthetics refers to an intense and extraordinary emotional state, manifesting itself in specific,

structured behaviour and achieved by the lamenters either voluntarily or involuntarily'.

Emotional response, then, is organised by the structure of the ritual performance.[15]

Seremetakis (1990: 490) asserts that lament practice operates by fusing aspects of ritual

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[13] The idea that performers are not always 'feeling' what they play was also expressed by some of the musicians in Parakalamos. *Klaríno* players Thomas and Christos noted that performing *moirológhia* is a job for them, they are not always emotionally invested in their music-making. However, other musicians stated the importance of 'feeling' what they play in order to execute a 'successful' performance (see Chapter 5).

[14] Fiona Magowan (2007: 71) argues that most of the emotions that are displayed in ritual are 'performative' emotions and that they are distinguishable from 'personal' emotions. She notes that performative emotions are 'publicly recognised expressions of sentiment' rather than personal feelings, and that they are 'regulated by the context and proceedings' of ritual. She discusses funeral ritual among the Yolngu people of Arnhem Land in Australia noting that women's crying songs publicly validate grief and that the communal practice of mourning identifies personal and collective attitudes towards pain and loss. Essentially, ritual structures the expression of emotion through forms of ancestral song and dance and 'provides a framework for creating community' (ibid: 102).

[15] The way in which emotional response is structured by music-making practices in saint's day festivals will be considered in Chapter 7.

performance with particular feelings.[16] As such, performers may struggle to achieve the same emotional results if lamenting outside of the ritual context:

> Lament singers feel they cannot attain the proper emotional intensity and reality outside of the antiphonic structure and thus outside of the ceremony itself. In the latter case, women may recite the narrative of a lament, but are unable to sing it 'with proper pain'. Moreover, they often feel that lamenting outside the ceremony can be polluting.
>
> (ibid)

This ritual structure facilitates the maintenance of social order. Through the 'magical' qualities of lament, a space is created for the acknowledgement of death and for the expression of pain, but the ritual process offers a sense of closure that ensures that social reality is re-stabilised and reasserted (see Danforth 1982: 31). In this way, the language of lament is used as a 'weapon against death'. The life of the deceased is remembered and celebrated through lament poetry in the presence of kin and community as witnesses (Caraveli-Chaves 1980: 151-152), and a sense of normality is upheld through the enactment of mourning ritual.

Lamenting Music

As pointed out by Caraveli (also referenced as Caraveli-Chaves), performed laments in mourning ritual context are becoming increasingly rare as Greek society becomes more urbanised and less inclined towards 'traditional' practice (Caraveli-Chaves 1980: 129; Caraveli 1986: 170, 178). Yet, despite the contention that *moirológhia* cannot be 'sung' (Herzfeld 1981: 49), an unmetred 'song lament' (which is also referred to by the term

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[16] Seremetakis (1990: 489) draws on Lakoff's theory, which suggests that, 'emotions are tied to specific "conceptual contents"' and that it is 'the ideational organisation of emotions that guarantees shared inference' to support her claim.

moirolói) is often performed at weddings and saint's day festivals (*panighýria*, gr. πανηγύρια) in villages along the Greek-Albanian border.[17]

Although these two types of lament share the same name (*moirolói*), the context in which they are usually performed is very different.[18] The song lament form of *moirolói* is performed as the first piece that the musicians play before the dancing starts at every *panighýri* in Pogoni. It is usually performed after the church service just before the main meal is brought out (or sometimes once the meal is on the table, before people start eating).[19] In this context, the *moirolói* usually consists of a 'set' text which is sung to a 'set' melody (although heavily embellished), accompanied by the *kompanía.*[20] The 'set' text is interspersed with semi-improvised phrases normally on the *klaríno*. However, in some cases, the *moirolói* is purely instrumental and consists solely of semi-improvised phrases played by the *klaríno* and sometimes the violin.

Thus, the *moirolói*, as performed in Pogoni, can be divided into three groups. The first consists of mourning laments. This type of lament is performed throughout the whole of Greece although with varying regional styles. The second group consists of 'song laments'. These laments are specific to the villages that are in close proximity to the Greek-Albanian border and are performed at *panighýria*, weddings and other festive occasions. They can be

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[17] I have named this form of *moirolói* as a 'song lament' as it is performed by musicians in the same contexts in which folk song and dance are performed. Yet, it is referred to as a 'lament' (*moirolói*) in Greek and not as a 'song' (*traghoúdhi*).

[18] However, the instrumental *moirolói* is occasionally played at funerals (see Chapter 7).

[19] Sometimes a *moirolói* is not played at all at feasts that take place during the day. When this occurs, it is usually because the meal is eaten in a different area to where the dancing will take place. In this case, the musicians enter the feasting area to play for the procession but will then set up in the dancing area ready to play for the dancing. A *moirolói* at this stage of the festival would delay the dancing. As enthusiasm for the dance is often aroused during the procession, a *moirolói* at this point may interrupt an evolving sense of *kéfi* (see Chapter 6). This could mean that participants lose their inclination to dance at all, therefore meaning that the musicians would lose out on 'thrown' money from the dancers.

[20] The text and melody of song laments are not written down, so there is no 'standard' version to which every musician refers. Rather, the text and melody have been passed down through oral tradition. In this sense, they are not completely 'set' or 'fixed' – a large degree of variation does occur between performances.

sung by a polyphonic multipart ensemble (Lolis 2003: 52), or by a singer (or singers) accompanied by instruments which take on the roles of a polyphonic choir (ibid: 49).[21]

The third group is a purely instrumental form of *moirolói* and is also unique to the villages that surround the Greek-Albanian border. The instrumental form is largely improvised on the *klaríno*, although there are characteristic phrases which repeat.[22] Kostas Lolis (2003) has devoted an entire book to this form of the *moirolói*.[23] He defines it thus: 'The *moirolói* is a popular [folk] form full of [musical] notes of pain and lament, sometimes of protest and drama' (ibid: 31).[24] These laments are performed in the same contexts as the song lament. In Albanian, this form of *moirolói* is referred to as the *kaba*, a Turkish word meaning 'low-pitched' or 'deep' (Sugarman 1997: 153; Smith 2006: 48).[25] It also carries the connotations of 'heaviness' in an emotional sense. The *kaba* is locally understood as an imitation of women's funeral lamenting, and is also referred to as *me të qarë*, or *vajtim e qarë*, meaning 'with crying' or 'lament with crying' (Sugarman 1997: 153; Lolis 2003: 31). The latter two groups are very closely related and similar motifs played by the lead instrument (usually *klaríno*) occur in both forms.

The musical features of the song lament and instrumental *moirolói* differ considerably from those exhibited in mourning lament. Whereas mourning lament is performed only by women and is unaccompanied by musical instruments, the song lament is sung by either a

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[21] This form of *moirolói* is comparable to the genre of 'table songs' (*epitrapézia traghoúdhia*, gr. επιτραπέζια τραγούδια) that are performed throughout Greece. These songs are not laments, yet they are improvisations in free rhythm that often take the form of historical ballads or address themes of death (see Alexiou 1974: 125-126).

[22] Chapter 5 will consider the improvisatory nature of this instrumental form in more detail.

[23] Although he also compares it with the *skáros*, another improvised instrumental form that is associated with images of a pastoral lifestyle.

[24] My translation from the original Greek.

[25] Carol Silverman (2012: 28) discusses the Bulgarian Romani musical form known as *kaba zurna*. The genre is defined by a 9/8 rhythmic meter and usually features the clarinet. She notes that the *kaba zurna* is a low-pitched *zurna* played in western Turkey and Bulgaria and she suggests this musical form was originally a *zurna* style that has since been adopted by the clarinet. The often low-pitched nature of the Albanian *kaba* leads me to question whether this Albanian term has similar origins.

man or a woman and is accompanied by male instrumentalists. Although the themes of the lyrics and the tone of the narrative are similar, mourning laments are made up of semi-improvised phrases, whereas song laments are based on relatively set-texts. Melodically, mourning laments stay within a very limited range, use a small number of notes, and are repetitive (Delaporte 2008: 57). Song laments, on the other hand, use a much larger range, involve greater melodic development and include variations and much ornamentation (see below). There is a very small amount of harmonic support provided by the women who join in with the principal lamenter in mourning lament. In the song lament though, a drone, usually played on the *laoúto*, accompanies the singer and *klaríno* player, and the violin provides further harmonic textures. In fact, Lolis (2003: 49) suggests that the *kompanía* functions as a 'polyphonic' ensemble, imitating the roles of a polyphonic multipart vocal ensemble.

The poetic structure also differs. Like much Greek folk poetry, many mourning *moirológhia* are improvised compositions of poetic fifteen-syllable lines (Morgan 1973: 268; Alexiou 1974: 63; Caraveli-Chaves 1980: 131; Herzfeld 1993: 245; du Boulay 2009: 238-239).[26] The line is broken in two, with eight syllables comprising the first part, and seven syllables comprising the second, usually after a short pause or 'comma'. The line is accented on the even syllables, with a particular stress on the penultimate (Morgan 1973: 268). This form is common throughout Greece.[27] The mourning laments in Epiros use this fifteen

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[26] Although improvised, laments do make use of poetic formulae and repeated phrases. In fact, on occasions entire laments, as with folk songs, are remembered and transmitted orally within a small area (see Caraveli-Chaves 1980: 131). Regional differences mean that in some regions of Greece, performers of lament have more improvisatory freedom than others. The island traditions are more improvisatory than Epirote tradition, for example (Caraveli 1986: 185-186).

[27] However, there is another eight-syllable form commonly used in Inner Mani (the south-western side of the Mani peninsula in the Peloponnese). This is strongly distinguished from the 'imported' fifteen-syllable genre, which is also found in the region, yet performed by men: 'The fifteen-syllable epic-heroic ballads and laments, which have nationalistic evocations, are associated with the performances of men, while the eight-syllable laments are almost exclusively identified with the discourses of women' (Seremetakis 1990: 482).

syllable structure. The one and only mourning lament that I managed to record from 96-year-old Olga (in 2016) follows this syllabic pattern. As she started to lament, she said 'I'm crying for my child now'.

Here I illustrate the syllabic structure with a transliteration of the Greek lyrics. Words of more than one syllable have been hyphenated to demonstrate where the syllables fall. There are four fifteen syllable couplets in this lament. As can be seen, the last fifteen syllable couplet (numbered as 4) is split into one line of nine syllables and one of six – the only exception to the eight and then seven syllable pattern. Here, this exception accommodates the meaning of the words.

1. *Yia dhes kair-ós pou dhiá-le-kse*
   O Chár-os pos se pí-re

2. *Yia á-noi-kse ta mát-ia sou*
   Kai ti var-iá koi-má-sai

3. *Kse-staú-ro-se ta chér-ia sou*
   Dhe spré-poun stau-ro-mé-na

4. *Kai fó-na-kse ta pai-dhák-ia sou*
   Ghly-ká fí-li-se ta

Below I include the lyrics in Greek script and an approximate English translation of each line. It is very difficult to give an entirely accurate translation in this way as poetic meaning is carried across lines. The poetic meaning also contains nuances that are lost between languages.

1. Για δες καιρός που διάλεξε
   ο Χάρος πως σε πήρε
                                Oh what a moment that he (Charos) chose
                                To take you

2. Για άνοιξε τα μάτια σου
   και τι βαριά κοιμάσαι
         Open your eyes
         How deeply you sleep

3. Ξεσταύρωσε τα χέρια σου
   Δε σπρέπουν σταυρομένα
         Uncross your hands
         They do not suit you crossed

4. Και φώναξε τα παιδάκια σου
   Γλυκά φίλησε τα
         And call your children
         Kiss them sweetly

The melody to which Olga sang these words was small in range and was repetitive. Although there were very slight melodic variations between each fifteen syllable line, the broader melodic structure was the same for each line of the text:[28]
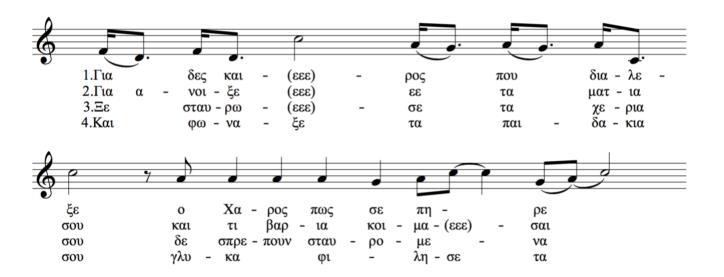

Figure 4.1: Mourning lament as recited by Olga from Parakalamos

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[28] The actual pitch at which Olga performed this lament was very slightly (less than a semi-tone) higher than I have transcribed it in figure 4.1. Figure 4.1 represents her voice at the closest tempered pitch. As noted, Olga also sang with slight melodic variations between each fifteen syllable line. I have transcribed only the first line but have placed the words from subsequent lines underneath this same melody. This is to demonstrate that, although sung with small variations, the broader melodic structure is the same for each line of the text.

On the other hand, song laments do not follow the same fifteen syllable pattern. By far the most popular *moirolói* to be performed at *panighýria* in the Parakalamos area (and, in fact, in the other areas of Epiros where *moirológhia* are played) is titled 'Marióla' (gr. Μαριόλα). This *moirolói* consists of a dialogue between a grieving husband and his recently deceased wife whose name is Marióla. The text takes the form of an appeal from the husband to the deceased, asking her to rise from the dead. This text varies slightly depending on the performer, but the narrative follows the same story.[29] I include a text below that was recounted to me by Evanthia, an amateur (and well accomplished) singer from the village of Kryoneri.[30] As can be observed in this transliteration, song laments such as Marióla do not consist of the same regular fifteen syllable structure that is common in mourning laments:

Sí-ko Mar-ió-la a-pó ti gi
Kai a-pó to maú-ro chó-ma
Sí-ko yia na agh-nan-té-pseis an-tí-pe-ra
Pos tró-ne kai pos pí-noun
Psy-chí mou kai kar-dhoú-la mou
Sí-ko na dheis kai ton a-sí-ki sou
Pos klaiei yia te-sé-na
Och Mar-ió-la mou

Me ti po-dhár-ia na si-ko-thó
Kai chér-ia na kou-bí-so

Ká-ne ta ných-ia sou tsap-iá
Tis a-pa-lá-mes ftyár-ia
Rí-kse to chó-ma a-pó mia mer-iá
Tin plá-ka a-pó tin ál-li
Psy-chí mou kai kar-dhoú-la mou
Kai a-pó tin dhé-ksa mer-iá
Á-se é-na pa-ra-thý-ri
Na baín-ei o íl-ios tou Ma-ioú
Tou Af-ghoús-tou to fen-gár-i

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[29] For example, an alternative to the second line 'και από το μαύρο χώμα' as shown here, is 'και από τον κάτω κόσμο' meaning 'and from the underworld' (instead of 'and from the black soil').
[30] The translation provided is my own.

Below I include the lyrics in Greek script and an approximate English translation:

Σήκω Μαριόλα από τη γη	Arise Mariola from the earth
Και από το μαύρο χώμα	And from the black soil
Σήκω για να αγναντέψεις αντίπερα	Arise to look upon the other side
Πώς τρώνε και πώς πίνουν	How they eat and how they drink
Ψυχή μου και καρδούλα μου	My soul and my heart
Σήκω να δεις και τον ασίκη σου	Arise to see your lover
Πώς κλαίει για τεσένα	How he cries for you
Ωχ Μαριόλα μου	Och, my Mariola
Με τι ποδάρια να σηκωθώ	With what legs am I to get-up?
Και χέρια να κουμπίσω	and what hands to raise myself?
Κάνε τα νύχια σου τσαπιά	Make your nails into spades
Τις απαλάμες φτυάρια	And your palms into shovels
Ρίξε το χώμα από μια μεριά	Throw the soil to one side
Την πλάκα από την άλλη	The tombstone to the other
Ψυχή μου και καρδούλα μου	My soul and my heart
Και από την δέξα μεριά	And on the right side
Άσε ένα παραθύρι	Leave a window
Να μπαίνει ο ήλιος του Μαϊού	So the sun can enter in May
Του Αυγούστου το φεγγάρι	And the moon in August

As noted above, the melodic line in song laments is more heavily embellished than the melody in mourning laments. It is also frequently performed with instrumental accompaniment. Figure 4.2 shows the *klaríno* line and vocal line as performed by Christos Chaliyiannis (*klaríno*) and Yiorgos Chaliyiannis (voice) at a *panighýri* near Sitaria.

Between each vocal phrase, the *klaríno* improvises responses, typically following a descending melodic contour. These responses are ornamented with mordents (indicated in Figure 4.2 as ∿) and downward pitch bends (indicated as \). Throughout this performance, the accordion, violin, and *laoúto* sustain a drone on the finalis of c. When Yiorgos is singing, these instrumentalists also sing the finalis note on the syllable 'ee'. The finalis is approached by sliding up from a minor third below on the syllable 'ay'. The *défi* interjects occasionally

with gentle taps, or with a pitched 'groan' which is produced by running a licked finger

across the skin of the drum (see Video 4.1, Appendix C).

Figure 4.2: Marióla as performed by Christos and Yiorgos

Despite the differences, there are also similarities between the mourning lament and the song lament. The melody instrument (usually *klaríno* or violin) that performs the instrumental laments and provides 'fills' during breaks in the vocal line in the song lament, utilises the oscillating interval of a minor seventh as a melodic device. Figure 4.3 (see below) shows an excerpt from an instrumental *moirolói* played by Nasos Chaliyiannis at the opening of a *panighýri* in the village of Repetisti (see also Video 4.2, Appendix C). Here, Nasos uses the oscillating minor seventh as a way of structuring his *moirolói*.[31] This type of device is also frequently used vocally in Epirote mourning lament. The interval of a minor seventh also commonly appears in polyphonic songs and in the dance music of the area (Lolis 2003: 42; Smith 2006: 48; Pistrick 2017: 141). This melodic motif is said to represent the laboured breathing of the dying. Interestingly, Gail Holst-Warhaft (1992: 70) has reflected on the imitation of the breath by wind instruments such as the ancient *avlós* (gr. αυλός) in funerary contexts.[32] She writes: 'It may be the perceived connection of breath leaving the body with death that has led to the widespread use of wind instruments, particularly the flute, in the context of funerals'. Perhaps this is why it is the *klaríno* that has a primary role in instrumental *moirológhia* in Epiros today.

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[31] Figure 4.3 also shows the alternation between a 'minor' and 'major' mode. This is common to *moirológhia*, especially in Parakalamos. These modes do not exactly correspond to Western notions of minor and major – for example 'major' modes do not always include the major third (although the harmonic accompaniment usually does provide it). See Chapter 5 for a modal analysis.

[32] The voice was often actually accompanied by the *avlós* (a double reed-blown pipe) in ancient Greek lamentation (Alexiou 1974: 6). Alexiou notes that it was believed that Mariandynos; a hero worshipped by the black sea people, developed this coupling of voice and *avlós* in lamentation and that he was the teacher of Hyagnis, father of Marsyas (ibid: 60). Consistent with this interpretation (although Mariandynos is not mentioned), the origin-myth of the *avlós* describes the instrument as an import from Phrygia in Asia-Minor. It also claims that the obscure figure of Hyagnis invented it, and that Hyagnis was the father of Marsyas, a satyr who was well known for his music (West 1992: 330-331; Landels 1999: 153).
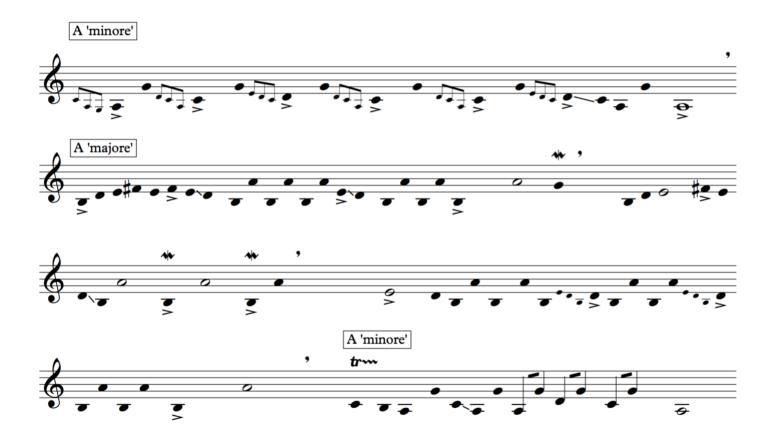
Figure 4.3: Extract from Nasos's *moirolói*, structured around the oscillating 7th

Metaphorical Themes

As well as the musical feature of an oscillating minor seventh, there are also metaphorical

themes that repeatedly appear in the lyrics of laments, song laments, and folk song. In

Greece, laments, emigration songs, wedding songs and historical ballads are rich in metaphor

and analogy concerning death and follow similar melodic patterns in free rhythm.[33] The

symbolic universe in which the texts of these songs operate draws on a number of

metaphorical themes that links all of them together. This language of Greek folk tradition

serves as a code where ideas or facts can be expressed 'indirectly but concretely, through

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[33] In fact, throughout the whole of Greece, there are observable similarities between mourning *moirológhia* and certain types of 'songs' (*traghoúdhia*, gr. τραγούδια) concerning textual and melodic patterns. For example, Athena Katsanevaki (2017) discusses how lament techniques have been incorporated into musical genres and, therefore, socially recontextualised.

symbols' (Alexiou 1974: 185). This symbolic code allows an allusion to death without explicit reference to it within laments. At the same time, the same symbolic codes can be used to refer to other concepts, and meaning can be inferred across related (although sometimes seemingly unrelated) topics (see Herzfeld 1993: 243). For example, in Greek folk tradition, marriage and emigration are seen as types of metaphorical death (Alexiou 1974: 118; Herzfeld 1993: 243; Pistrick 2009) and symbols that are associated with death are often found in wedding songs and songs of emigration.[34]

Images of blackness, of the earth as a consumer of the dead, and of death as a personified figure are common in folk poetry. Black (*mávros*, gr. μαύρος) is the colour of mourning and in the Greek language, to say that someone is 'black' implies that they are deeply unhappy.[35] In folk tradition, black is also associated with the earth and soil, and with *Cháros* (gr. Χάρος) – the personification of Death or the Grim Reaper (du Boulay 2009: 282). In fact, these images are all connected, as the black clothes of mourning reflect the blackness of the earth in the grave and the blackness of death and grief (ibid). The imagery in Greek folk song uses black and its associations in this way. Professor of modern Greek studies Roderick Beaton (1980) notes the similarity of the juxtaposition of some of these themes in the following two lines. The first line occasionally appears in narrative songs, while the second line is used in certain laments in order to describe *Cháros*:

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[34] In 1859, the Greek folklorist Spyridon Zampelios published a thesis in which he contended, 'that the songs of the modern Greeks retained the spirit and essence of Attic Tragedy' (Herzfeld 1981: 44). He recognised the recurring analogy between marriage and death that occurs within Greek folk song as well as in lament and he discussed the terminology that delineates these genres, focusing in specifically on laments to strengthen his argument. These assertions were supported by his etymological derivation of 'to sing' (*traghoudó*, gr. τραγουδώ) from 'tragedy' (*traghodhía*, gr. τραγωδία). Herzfeld (1981) also notes that there are significant similarities in ritual context, as well as in the melodic and poetic details, between laments and some types of folk song in Greece. Despite this, in popular Greek imagination, *moirológhia* are positioned in stark opposition to *traghoúdhia*, the lament encapsulating the notion of an all-consuming grief and being associated with female burdens, and the song being equated with joy and male privilege (Herzfeld 1981; 1986: 45; Auerbach 1987).
[35] In this way, black mourning dress reflects the inner state of someone who is in deep grief over the loss of a loved one (du Boulay 2009: 282).

‘Μαύρος είσαι, μαύρα φορείς, μαύρο καβαλλικεύγεις’.
‘You are black (unhappy), you wear black, you ride a (black) horse’.[36]

‘Μαύρος είναι, μαύρα φορεί, μαύρ’ είν’ και τ’ άλογό του’.
‘He is black, he wears black, his horse is black too’.

(ibid: 60)

In lament, blackness is most often associated with the earth or soil. 'The black earth' (*i mávri ghi*, gr. η μαύρη γη), or, as in Marióla (see above) 'the black soil' (*to mávro chóma*, gr. το μαύρο χώμα), appears frequently in the folk poetry of Greek lament. In modern folk tradition, the black earth is represented by a female earth-goddess known as *Mavrighí* (gr. Μαυρηγή) and she is often depicted as an abominable 'mother' who embraces and devours the dead (Psychoghiou 2008: 38; du Boulay 2009: 73). The earth mother, who gives birth to life and nourishes life, also takes life away (du Boulay 2009: 72). Yet, out of death, springs new life. *Mavrighí* 'feeds' on the bodies of the dead in order to maintain the living (Psychoghiou 2008: 49).[37]

Other images connected to the natural world and to death and rebirth are also common. Aspects of the natural world are seen as mediators between this world and the next. Frequently, human beings are compared with trees; men as cypress trees and women as citrus (lemon and orange) trees are widespread (Danforth 1982: 96) but other types of trees (apple, plane, oak) are also referred to. Allusions to various types of flowers or other plants are also common (Alexiou 1974: 195-196, 198; Danforth 1982: 96). The human tree-plant is often depicted as withered, uprooted or rotting (Alexiou 1974: 196; Danforth 1982: 96; Roilos 1993: 64). Early death is represented as 'a flower withered before its time, or cut off in full

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[36] *Mávros* can also be used as a noun to refer to a black horse.
[37] Eleni Psychoghiou (2008: 49) notes that by feeding on the dead, *Mavrighí* is able to produce crops and grain to sustain the living. As part of mourning ritual, female mourners perform certain rituals that relate to grain and bread – like the preparation and handing out of *kóllyva* (gr. κόλλυβα), a ritual food made with sweetened wheat and nuts, for example. In this way, Psychoghiou suggests that the female mourners become representations of *Mavrighí*.

bloom' (Alexiou 1974: 195), and the world is seen as a garden with people as flowers, fruits and trees and Death (*Cháros*) as the reaper who gathers the harvest (ibid: 201).

In laments for someone who has died at a young age, death is often portrayed like a wedding; the deceased marrying *Mavrighí* or *Cháros* (Herzfeld 1993: 243; Psychoghiou 2008: 48). This image is most vividly consolidated on the occasion of the death of an unmarried person. In this case, the deceased is dressed in full wedding attire and laments that have dual function in weddings and funerals – as many death laments can also be sung at weddings in much the same format (see Danforth 1982: 74) – are performed. In effect, the funeral becomes the wedding of the deceased (ibid: 79-80). On the other hand, at weddings, bridal songs sung for the bride as she leaves her father's house depict the wedding as the bride's metaphorical death:

> Closest to the laments for the dead in structure and form are those sung for the bride as she leaves her father's house. The similarities are due not to lack of originality, but to the sustained parallel in the ritual of the two ceremonies of wedding and funeral.

> (Alexiou 1974: 120)

It is the female kin of the bride who sing these wedding laments, just as it is the female kin of the deceased that laments for his/her death. In emigration songs too, it is often the mother or wife who laments for her son or husband who has left to find work abroad (Holst-Warhaft 1992: 41). In Epiros, Marióla is often performed at weddings.

Finally, the figure of *Cháros* and the land of the underworld known as *Ádhis* (gr. Άδης, eng. Hades) or *o káto kósmos* (gr. ο κάτω κόσμος, eng. the underworld) appear frequently in laments and folk songs alike across Greece. The concepts of *Cháros* and *Ádhis*

both originate in ancient Greek mythology,[38] yet in modern culture they are associated with Christian overtones. *Cháros* is identified with the Archangel Michael, or the Angel of Death – both *Cháros* and the Archangel Michael are depicted with drawn swords in iconography (Herzfeld 1986: 95-96; du Boulay 2009: 228). *Cháros* then, works in the service of God. On the other hand, *Ádhis* has been conflated with Christian hell. Some Christian liturgical texts refer to *Ádhis* rather than *kólasi* (gr. κόλαση, eng. hell) (du Boulay 2009: 270). Although there is no mention of *Cháros* in the song lament Marióla, he is mentioned in Olga's mourning lament (see above). Several folk songs from the area of Pogoni, such as 'One night Death went out' (see Chapter 3), also mention him. *Ádhis* is also not mentioned in Marióla, however, the line 'from the black soil' is sometimes substituted with 'from the underworld' (see fn. 26 above).

In modern mourning laments, the soul's journey to the Underworld often takes the form of a sea voyage on a ship helmed by *Cháros* himself (Alexiou 1974: 191-192),[39] or of a road or system of roads which are represented as the 'social space of the dead' (Seremetakis 1991: 197; see also Holst-Warhaft 1992: 55). With this in mind, it is not surprising that songs of emigration frequently use symbolic associations with death (Alexiou 1974: 119; Danforth 1982: 90-95; Caraveli 1986: 181; Pistrick 2009).

In Epiros, migration has been a significant part of life for generations and thus, within folk repertoire, songs of migration form an important group (see Chapter 3).[40] Many of these

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[38] In modern Greece, the term Hades refers only to the kingdom of the dead (the Underworld). The god Hades who was ruler of the Underworld in ancient Greek mythology is not part of modern Greek tradition. The figure of *Cháros* is now the ruler of the Underworld, whereas in ancient mythology *Cháron* (gr. Χάρων) was simply the ferryman that brought the dead before Hades (Mavrogordatos 1961: 541).

[39] Water is another element of the natural world that takes on mediatory properties in lament. Rivers symbolise the separation of the living and the dead and the crossing of a river may represent the journey to the underworld (Danforth 1982: 77-78).

[40] See Pistrick (2009: 70) for a discussion of the translation of pain into musical form in songs of migration in Epiros.

songs have assumed the formula of death laments; musical and textual formulae from death

laments are deliberately used in songs of migration (Pistrick 2009: 68).[41] As in death lament,

songs of migration often involve a dialogue in which the singer speaks to the absent relative:

> They usually take the form of an address by the bereaved family to the absent person, or to *Xenitiá* (distant parts), who is personified. Occasionally there is a dialogue between them in which the washing of the travel-stained handkerchief is made into a striking poetic symbol of the bond with home. Their mood is one of harsh complaint, their melody and style strident and undecorated… One reason for the peculiar intensity of these laments is the fear of death in foreign lands, which is also known to have existed in antiquity.

<div align="right">(Alexiou 1974: 119)</div>

Eckehard Pistrick (2009: 69) points out that, in current day Epiros at least, performers

recognise different emotional content in death laments and migration songs and that they

'clearly distinguish that migration songs are not "wept" but "sung"'. This distinction in the

use of terminology highlights the fact that migration songs are separated categorically from

death laments, even if musically and textually they are almost identical. It emphasises the

importance of context and social anticipation for the recognition of emotional content – and

expected emotional response – of performative categories such as songs and laments.

In this way, there are observable similarities between *moirológhia* and certain types

of *traghoúdhia* concerning textual and melodic patterns. Folk tradition employs a system of

symbols which allows meaning to be shared across related poetic and musical forms.

However, this does not elucidate to what extent meaning is transferred and inferred across

ritual contexts: 'There are hints in the literature of musical as well as of verbal similarities,

but there is virtually nothing to indicate how far rural Greeks themselves consciously

perceive any kind of connection between stylistic resemblance and ritual meaning' (Herzfeld

1981: 52). The meanings associated with the Epirote song lament are therefore interesting to

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[41] On the other hand, Loring Danforth (1982: 90-95) discusses images of *ksenitiá* (gr. ξενιτιά, eng. foreign lands) in laments. He refers to a category of death lament, which uses the imagery of migration to refer to death (rather than symbols of death which refer to migration). A distinction is required between this category of lament and songs of emigration.

consider as here is a *moirolói* that is performed outside of its 'usual' context in mourning ritual.

Like mourning lament and folk song, Epirote song laments such as Marióla make use of the symbolic universe of folk poetry. These song laments often contain lyrics that refer to the themes of death and blackness. If song laments like Marióla make use of the same symbolic universe as mourning laments in terms of poetic content, are the meanings that are ascribed to this form of *moirolói* similar to those communicated by mourning lament?

Reflecting Upon Death

One spring like evening, while the *vatráchia* (gr. βατράχια, eng. frogs) were croaking out their endless, rhythmic song, I joined Yiannis Chaldoupis at 'Aleksakia' (a *tavérna*) in the square of Parakalamos. Cigarette hanging between his lips, Yiannis called out to Panayiotis, the taverna owner, 'come sit and drink something with us'. While Panayiotis cleared the surrounding tables, I asked Yiannis why the *moirolói* is so important in Pogoni. He said that since Epiros has suffered so much hardship due to its geographical isolation, the wars and occupation it has endured, and the desperate poverty of the people, there is reason to lament. He added that upbeat 'plinky plonky' music, as you might hear in England, would be completely inappropriate.

A few minutes later, Panayiotis came and joined us. I asked him what he thinks the *moirolói* means to people here. He suggested that it is played in order to rejoice as well as to commiserate (see Chapter 3). He then turned to Yiannis and asked him what he had said. On hearing the answer, Panayiotis protested that the *moirolói* also contains joy, it is not only about sadness.[42] There is something bittersweet about it. When I asked why *moirológhia*

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[42] Delaporte's (2008: 59) respondents confirm this view. Similarly, Lolis (2003: 31) notes that the *moirolói* does not only express pain, but that it also expresses the joys of life and suggests that this is why it is played at the beginning of weddings.

such as Mariόla are performed with instruments at *panighýria*, Panayiotis immediately exclaimed that it is to remember the dead, to involve those members of the community who cannot be in physical attendance and to invite them to participate in the festival. By this time, Vassilis, Yiannis's twenty-year-old son had joined our company. He had another interpretation and suggested that the *moirolόi* is performed at the beginning of *panighýria* in order to expel any worries so fun can be had in the dancing and drinking that follows.[43]

Like Panayiotis, the most common explanation given by my respondents for this tradition was that of remembrance for the dead.[44] Through remembrance, the living relatives and friends of the dead feel that they are sharing their experience with their departed loved ones, and that in some way the dead are able to participate in the *panighýri* with them. The performance of the *moirolόi* creates a liminal space (as it does within mourning ritual) that enables the living to communicate with the dead and to invite them to join the festivities. The *moirolόi* is then played again at the end of the festival to send the deceased back to the land of the dead in preparation for the reinstatement of normal life. In this way, the *moirolόi* brings the dead back to life through the imagination of the community. It also provides an opportunity for self-reflection in which the difficulties and hardships of life can be pondered before the celebrations begin. In the context of the *panighýri* then, Mariόla becomes a symbol for the absent loved ones of every participant. Opening the celebration, the *moirolόi* provides a space in which members of the community who are not in attendance, as they have passed away, or because they have emigrated, or any other reason, can be remembered before the festivities begin.

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[43] Briggs (1993: 945) mentions a similar reason for lament among the Warao people of Venezuela. Briggs notes that the male governor of the community in which he was working suggested that the women lament because 'when they cry, their thoughts are emptied out'. The female community members who heard this agreed that this was an accurate interpretation.

[44] Interestingly, Delaporte (2008: 58) notes that an Epirote clarinetist that she spoke with was reluctant to admit that song laments, like Mariόla, are played for the dead. He was more interested in talking about emigrants who were absent because they lived abroad.

Despite these rather somber reasons given to justify the performance of the *moirolói*, the behaviour of community members whilst listening to the *moirolói* seems to tell a different story. In actual fact, at all the *panighýria* that I have attended, people are talking and eating, and children are running around and playing throughout the duration of the *moirolói*. Yet, this does not mean that the *moirolói* is being ignored. As Helene Delaporte observes, discussing this same behavior in the Konitsa region of Epiros, 'these behaviors do not mean that the villagers are not paying attention to the music, but rather that it [the music] is not dissociated from the rest of the festival' (Delaporte 2008: 58).[45] This is not a musical tradition that is removed from social context, it is very much a part of it.

In *moirológhia* such as Marióla then, death is reflected upon. Death is not directly faced, as it is in funerary laments. The *moirológhia* performed at *panighýria* provoke an atmosphere of nostalgia and contemplation rather than one of raw grief. Men then, perform *moirológhia* that reflect upon death, whereas women perform *moirológhia* that directly confront death and the intolerable feelings of grief and loss (see Chapter 7).

Despite the fact that death is faced in different ways in the mourning lament and in the song lament, both forms of *moirolói* reference 'crying' sounds. In Parakalamos and the surrounding area, the narrative that surrounds the *moirolói*, whether vocal or instrumental, is deeply connected to the theme of 'crying'. In fact, Thomas Chaliyiannis and Christos Chaliyiannis, two of my *klaríno* teachers from the village, suggested that I might learn *moirológhia* with my voice before learning to play them on the *klaríno* as I must learn to 'cry' first. This way, stated Christos, 'it will come from inside you'.[46] Furthermore, in Parakalamos, singing, playing (an instrument) and crying are often referred to as one and the

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[45] My translation from the original French.
[46] gr. θα γίνει από μέσα σου.

same thing. The verb 'to cry' (*klaío*, gr. κλαίω) can be used to describe the actual physical act of crying, as well as the action of performing a *moirolói*.[47]

This narrative about crying was highlighted in a visit to Pogoniani – a major village close to Delvinaki. Stopping for a hot drink, I spoke to the owner in one of the several *kafeneía* (café-bars) in the village. Once I had mentioned my research, she said that the *moirológhia* from Pogoniani bear 'no relation' (*kamía schési*, gr. καμία σχέση) to those of Parakalamos. She added that she has never heard a woman 'cry' at a funeral in Pogoniani like they do in Parakalamos. Later, an older woman said that the vocal tradition of *moirológhia* in Pogoniani involves restraint – they do not cry loudly as they do in Parakalamos. In Pogoniani, they 'cry mutely' (*klaíne moungá*, gr. κλαίνε μουγκά) she said.

Now commenting on the instrumental tradition, the *kafeneío* owner said that apart from the voice, the *klaríno* is the only instrument that can play *moirológhia*, although, she did note that *moirológhia* are played by the violin as well as by the *klaríno* in Parakalamos. Thinking of this, she noted that, in her opinion, the violin 'is more expressive'[48] in the *moirolói* and that the late master Kerimis was the best, there is no-one else that comes close to him.[49] This woman seemed to believe that the *moirolói* in Parakalamos, whether as part of the vocal mourning tradition or as part of the instrumental tradition, is more expressive and emotive than in her own village.

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[47] A connection between crying and singing is also mentioned by Timothy Rice (1994: 119) in his book on Bulgarian folk music. He notes that women use songs to 'console themselves during times of stress' and that singing is a more publicly accepted reaction to difficulties than crying; in this context, as it is in Parakalamos, the function of singing and of crying are the same.

[48] gr. 'είναι πιο εκφραστικό'.

[49] Kerimis (gr. Κερίμης) or Yiannis Chaliyiannis was a master musician in Parakalamos who was born in 1890. Kerimis was his Turkish name but he was christened as Yiannis (all of the Parakalmos *Ghýftoi* of the older generation had two names – a Turkish name and a Christian name). He had six sons (and one daughter) and all of his sons became musicians. His son Vangelis who plays *klaríno* will be discussed in Chapter 5.

In Parakalamos, some of the musicians articulated this view about their own way of playing and linked 'spontaneity' with 'expressivity' (see Chapter 5). In our discussions about the *moirolói*, they would often tell me that sometimes their improvisations lack clear structure and that on occasions they play one thing and then follow it with something completely unrelated and surprising. But this adds to the creativity that characterises their style they feel, not like the mechanical playing of Petros-Loukas.[50] For the Parakalamos musicians, expressivity and creativity are important aspects of their performances. Many of them take pride in asserting that their *klapsiáriko* (gr. κλαψιάρικο, eng. whining) style is more emotionally evocative than other styles played in Pogoni and Konitsa.[51]

To conclude, mourning laments and song laments contain similarities as well as differences. Notably, in song laments death is reflected upon, and not directly faced as it is in mourning lament. Yet, the theme of crying is common to both. The notion of crying is more strongly articulated in the Parakalamos area than in other areas. This encourages the perception that *moirológhia* in the Parakalamos area are more expressive.

As noted, in song laments such as Marióla the *klaríno* has an important role. In between the singing, the *klaríno* echoes the vocal phrases which typically follow a descending melodic contour (see Figure 4.2). These descending phrases contain ornamental techniques, such as *mória* (see Introduction), that create the impression of 'sobbing' and 'sighing'. These techniques are also used in the instrumental lament. In the next chapter, I look at the way in which the *moirolói* is conceptualised by *klaríno* players in Parakalamos. This is a genre that is supposedly created through 'inspiration from inside you', and it is this

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[50] Petros-Loukas Chalkias is one of the most famous *klaríno* players in Greece. He is originally from the town of Delvinaki (see Introduction and Chapter 3).
[51] Theodosiou (2013: 140) discusses a similar narrative that surrounds the *fantasía* repertoire. Her respondent Elias commented that he plays 'in a selfish way' as he expresses his personal feelings when he plays *fantasía* style.

'spontaneous' nature that means that the *moirolói* is perceived as a vehicle for intense emotional expression. As a genre that is considered to be improvised, local narratives suggest that the *moirolói* cannot be taught or learnt. With this in mind, I consider how the *moirolói* is transmitted from teacher to student, reflect on the emotional states that are required to produce a 'successful' improvisation, and explore particular modes and motifs that are associated with this instrumental genre.

Chapter 5 – Improvising Emotion

Creating music spontaneously is usually appreciated as an art but [is] also linked to a realm of meaning that extends beyond the immediate musical content. Although this seems to apply to music in general, improvisation in particular tends to generate its own discourse, as well as to evoke a particular emotional presence.

Ali Jihad Racy.[1]

In common perception, improvised music is often considered to be something that mystically materialises 'in the course of performance' (Nettl 1998). It is usually thought of as music that has not been previously prepared or written down (Blum 1998: 27, 29; Nettl 1998: 5-6; Racy 2000: 304; Berliner 2009: 1-2).[2] In fact, the most credible root of the English word 'improvisation' is the Latin *improvisus*, which means 'unforeseen' (Campbell 2009: 122).[3]

'Learning' Spontaneous Expression

In my discussions with musicians from Parakalamos, the 'spontaneous' nature of the *moiroloí* was often emphasised. Rather than imitating other players or reproducing their own previous performances, musicians in Parakalamos strive to express something personal from within, as this is associated with a more affective, emotional performance. The musicians did not explicitly describe the *moiroloí* using the term 'improvisation' (*aftoschedhiasmós*, gr. αυτοσχεδιασμός) until I asked them if 'improvisation' was an accurate description of the process used to create a *moiroloí*. The term *fantasía* (gr. φαντασία) which means 'imagination' was more commonly used. Yet, the way in which they spoke about the *moiroloí* throughout my fieldwork suggested that the narratives connected to improvisation in other music cultures are also relevant in Parakalamos.

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[1] Cited from 'Musical Improvisation: Play, Efficacy and Significance' (Racy 2016: 230).

[2] When asked to describe the difference between improvisation and composition in fifteen seconds, jazz saxophonist Steve Lacy said: 'In fifteen seconds the difference between composition and improvisation is that in composition you have all the time you want to decide what to say in fifteen seconds, while in improvisation you have fifteen seconds' (quoted in Bailey 1992: 141).

[3] The word used to denote 'improvisation' in Arabic has similar meanings. The term *irtijāl* 'carries overtones of the impromptu or the unprepared' (Racy 2016: 231).

Klaríno player Christos Chaliyiannis was insistent that the *moirolói* 'is not something specific'[4] like a song and that it is an expression of an 'inspiration from inside you'.[5] Similarly Yiannis Chaldoupis, another *klaríno* player (and my host in the village), known for his penchant for combining 'traditional' Parakalamos music with jazz and rock,[6] drew attention to the performance context and said that when he plays a *moirolói* he may have musical ideas in mind, but these ideas change according to the audience's response to his music and the atmosphere at the time.

My initial understanding of the *moirolói* was of a mostly unstructured form produced through the generation of 'spontaneous' and 'original' phrases. However, as I became more familiar with the *moirolói* as a musical genre and as I began to recognise the stylistic habits of individual musicians, I realised that certain musical motifs were being played again and again, and that the structure of the *moirolói* was more consistent than my original impression.

In the discussion that follows, I consider the way in which improvised forms, such as the *moirolói*, adhere to idiomatic frameworks that are culturally relevant, and suggest ways in which these forms may be 'learnt'. However, although these frameworks provide the basis for musical practice that is comprehensible within the community, it is actually the association of improvisation with 'spontaneous' emotional expression that establishes the *moirolói* as a locally valued genre.

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[4] gr. 'δεν είναι κάτι συγκεκριμένο'.
[5] gr. 'έμπνευση από μέσα σου'.
[6] Yiannis has played extensively with the popular Epirote folk-rock band 'V.I.C' (Villagers of Ioannina City) and has his own band 'Moukliomos' (a word meaning 'free' in the Romani dialect that he speaks) – the band describe their music as 'Gypsy-folk-rock-jazz'.

The perception of improvised music as 'spontaneous expression' has been deconstructed by ethnomusicologists.[7] Paul Berliner (2009: 1-2) notes, commenting on the observations of jazz musician Wynton Marsalis, that the improvisations of individual musicians can be identified due to a continuity in 'style', suggesting that previous preparation does have a role to play in improvised music. Additionally, as Bruno Nettl (1998: 5-6) recognises, 'improvisation' means different things in different musical cultures. Any 'improvised' articulation is informed by social, cultural and educational frameworks, and is limited by the capabilities of the medium of expression (such a musical instrument) (Nooshin 2003: 253; Campbell 2009: 121-122). As a human activity, improvisation is guided by previous experiences and actions, and the notion that improvised expression is truly original or spontaneous is questionable.

I decided that the best way to discover more about the 'spontaneous' nature of the *moirolói* was to learn to play it myself, and I set about asking the *klaríno* players in the village if they would teach me. This proved to be a more difficult task than I had anticipated and flagged up many questions about how musicians learn to play the *moirolói* in Parakalamos.

At Michalis Brachopoulos's house I was considering the ways that music is taught in Parakalamos whilst listening to Michalis's son play a Vivaldi concerto on the violin (with no music in front of him). *Klaríno* player Michalis said that his own generation and the

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[7] 'Improvisation' as a specific musical practice has been studied extensively by ethnomusicologists over the last fifty years; the term 'improvisation' appeared rarely in ethnomusicological writings before the 1970s. Drawing on earlier works that looked at improvised music and poetry, such as Albert Lord's (1960) *The Singer of Tales*, these scholars have addressed the diverse issues surrounding 'improvisation' as a musical process, including its definition, its relationship to 'composition', the western-centric perception of improvised music as 'other' and 'primitive', and the idea that improvisation can be a source of agency through 'free' expression. For an in-depth consideration of the history of 'Improvisation studies' in ethnomusicology, see Bruno Nettl's (2016) article 'Landmarks in the Study of Improvisation: Perspectives from Ethnomusicology'.

generations before never learnt to play classical music, that it is a new trend in the area. He added that the only 'classical' piece he ever learnt was a scalic exercise that, traditionally, is the very first thing that a Parakalamos musician learns to play (they claim that this 'tradition' started with the great *klaríno* player Chalilis).[8] I asked if they learnt this exercise before learning *poghonísia*, *moirológhia* and traditional songs. 'It is the very first thing', he said. He added, 'we do not "learn" *poghonísia*, it is not something that can be learnt; what you put inside is your choice'. His father continued, 'it is *fantasía* (imagination), the *poghonísio*. It comes from inside. You listen to others play, but you choose how to play your own *poghonísio*'. I asked if the *moirolói* is approached in the same way. 'It is the same thing, exactly the same', was the response.[9]

The claim that the *moirolói* and the *poghonísio* 'cannot be learnt' reflects a common perception, from musicians and scholars, that improvisation cannot be learnt or taught. Edith Gerson-Kiwi (1970: 66) describes the art of *taqāsīm* improvisation as creating 'variations developed upon a non-existent theme' and Ali Jihad Racy (2016: 237) notes the difficulty in playing (or learning to play) a variation when no concrete 'original' exists. Racy describes *ʿūd* teacher George Michel's frustration when attempting to 'teach' the art of *taqāsīm* to student Scott Marcus. Michel did not believe that *taqāsīm* could be taught and the extent of his instruction was an exclamation of 'play from your heart'.

Similarly, Natalie Kononenko (2009: 56) was repeatedly told during fieldwork that Ukrainian laments cannot be learnt as they are 'completely spur-of-the-moment

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[8] The late Chalilis or Christos Chaliyiannis was a very well respected musician in Parakalamos who died a few years ago. Chalilis (or Halil) was his Turkish name – all the musicians of his generation had Turkish names which they adapted and 'Christianised'.

[9] This passage represents a paraphrase of the discussion I had with Michalis and his father and is not a direct quote of the exact words they used at the time.

performances' and reflect 'people's feelings at the time of someone's death'.[10] If improvisation truly cannot be learnt, how does anybody play a supposedly 'improvised' musical form?

John Blacking (1973) was of the opinion that improvisation cannot be taught and that 'musicians who improvise are not fully in control of that which comes out as music' (Campbell 2009: 122). Yet, he recognised that music making is a product of socialisation, and that improvised music occurs out of the performers internalised sound-world. Similarly, Edward T. Hall (1992) thought of improvisation as an 'acquired' behaviour. He considered it to be a skill that was internalised while living in a culture and that it is not something that can be consciously learnt (see Campbell 2009: 122-123).

The notion of culturally acquired knowledge – rather than knowledge that has been learnt consciously in an institutional setting – is also examined by Berliner, Racy and Magowan. Berliner (2009: 22) notes that many jazz musicians consider the way in which they learnt music to be one of 'osmosis'. He writes: 'They cultivated skills during activities as much social as musical, absorbing models from varied performances… that attuned them to the fundamental values of African American music'. Racy (2016: 238-239) describes his own 'acquisition' process: 'In certain respects, improvising is a culture. Like many from my own generation, I developed my improvisatory skills through what I figuratively call "gradual osmotic saturations," an almost lifelong process…'. Similarly, Fiona Magowan (2007) uses the term 'enskilment' to describe the process of musical learning in Aboriginal

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[10] In actual fact, Kononenko's (2009) research found that numerous stock phrases were continually repeated in lament performance suggesting that lament performers had assimilated these phrases in some way or another. The insistence from her respondents that lament cannot be learnt seemingly had more to do with the social context of performance – people stated that the lament is an expression of a person's feeling at the time of the death of a loved one. The emphasis on emotional feeling at a specific point in time explains the description of lament as 'spontaneous'.

Australia.[11] She notes that musical ability is obtained through cultural practice within social contexts and that it is intimately connected to the experience of place: 'musical knowledge comes through sensing *and* feeling the environment as gendered bodily praxis by reproducing its sounds and movements' (ibid: 44-45).

This idea of cultural 'osmosis' or 'enskilment' emerged in a discussion I had with Christos Chaliyiannis. After a lesson with Christos one summer evening, we went to sit outside in his garden, and before long we were joined by *klaríno* player Thomas Chaliyiannis.[12] After complaining to Thomas about the dearth of money in the music business at the moment, Christos turned back to me. He said that all the musicians in Parakalamos grew up listening to *moiralóghia* and *poghonísia* but they all heard them in different ways, and that is why they all play them slightly differently. He told me that each musician listens to other music as well and that they all have different musical preferences. These preferences influence the way in which a musician plays as they put those influences inside their *moiralóghia* and *poghonísia* too. It is what musicians hear and how they hear it that determines how they play, Christos said.

Christos continued by saying that contemporary musicians in Parakalamos do not play how Kadris, Demos, Chalilis, Veizis, and Vangelis played.[13] He suggested that the 'authentic' *Parakalamiótika* has been lost. I asked him what the 'authentic' *Parakalamiótika* was like. Thomas joined the discussion and asserted that an 'authentic' (*ghnísio*, gr. γνήσιο)

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[11] 'Enskilment' is a term used in anthropology (see Pálsson 1994; Ingold 2000) to describe the process of learning through 'natural' internalisation within an environment, rather than the mechanical rehearsal of stock knowledge.

[12] Thomas is Chalilis's son. Thomas was the first *klaríno* player that I met in Parakalamos, and I have been visiting him for lessons every year since I started going to Parakalamos in 2011. Thomas and Christos are second cousins.

[13] Kadris, Demos, Chalilis, Veizis and Vangelis were the great *klaríno* players of the previous two generations in Parakalamos. Vangelis is the only one who is still alive.

Parakalamiótika does not exist and never did as it has always been changing. Each new generation and each individual adds something new. That is what *Parakalamiótika* is. Not something 'fixed' that has been played in the same way for generations – although Thomas conceded that the older generation did have something that has now been lost.[14]

In Parakalamos then, cultural 'osmosis' is a primary way through which traditional folk music, and especially the *moirolói* and *poghonísio*, is learnt. However, many young musicians in the village also study with an older musician who acts as their teacher.[15] Of course, due to greater exposure to the teacher's playing style, students 'absorb' many aspects of this style in much the same way that they have internalised other aspects of the musical tradition through a broader 'osmosis' process. Yet, are there other ways in which the teacher-student relationship facilitates the acquisition of musical knowledge in relation to the *moirolói*? Is there a more explicit 'learning' process? An encounter I had with Vangelis sheds light on one way in which the *moirolói* is actively 'taught'.[16]

A Lesson with Vangelis

Walking through the *Ghýftoi* neighbourhood one sunny April morning, having planned to go on a mountain walk, I heard a rough voice call out: 'Vicki!' I turned to see Vangelis Chaliyiannis grinning at me from his chair just outside his front door. As Vangelis is almost completely deaf, 'Vicki' has been the name by which he has known me since I met him. I

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[14] This passage represents a paraphrase of the discussion I had with Christos and Thomas. It is not a direct quote of the exact words that they used at the time.

[15] Traditional songs and instrumental pieces that are considered to have a 'fixed' melody are taught in a phrase by phrase structure within teacher-student relationships (even though none of these melodies are truly 'fixed' as each musician plays them with their own inflections and variations). My discussion in this chapter is limited to those forms that are considered to be 'improvised', namely the *moirolói* and *poghonísio*.

[16] Eighty-year-old Vangelis Chaliyiannis is a living legend in the ten or so villages that surround Parakalamos, as well as further afield in the rest of Pogoni and Epiros. I discuss this musician in more depth later in the chapter.

had been to see him several times in my summer trips to Parakalamos for lessons for the previous three years, and although he is still very keen to play, his ailing health has meant that he finds it very difficult. This year, his health had taken a turn for the worst and I was told that he had been spending much of his time in bed, sleeping.

I opened his front gate and went to sit with him. I asked him how he was, but instead of an answer I got a telling off. 'Why haven't you come to see me?' he demanded. I tried to explain that I did not want to disturb him, as I understand that he had not been feeling his best, but he was having none of it (his hearing impairment also makes conversations rather one sided). 'Where is your clarinet? Go and get it and let's practice!' Feeling a little bewildered, I tried to ask if he was sure he wanted to play, but my question fell on deaf ears (literally) and he continued to scold me for not coming to him for a lesson sooner. I fetched my clarinet and sheepishly sat down beside him again.

I started talking about my research and said that I would be fascinated to know what he had to say on the topic of the *moirolói* (locally, Vangelis is renowned for his expressive renditions of *moirológhia*). He smiled and nodded, but I could tell that he had not heard a word I said. By chance, he started to play a *moirolói*. He blasted out a low F (concert E♭) and indicated for me to do the same. Our clarinets were horribly out of tune (which Vangelis could not hear) so I pulled out my barrel and the mid-joint as far as possible before continuing to play. He proceeded to teach me his legendary *moirolói* in F (Yiannis later told me that he is the only clarinetist to ever have played a *moirolói* from F). I was surprised at how consistently he played each phrase in order for me to learn. After discussions with many other musicians and music enthusiasts who told me that Vangelis never plays the same thing twice, I was expecting a looser, more 'improvisatory' approach.

After teaching me five phrases (see figure 5.1), however, he stopped and told me

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'that's it'.[17] I had learnt thirty seconds of music and knew that a *moirolói* always lasted for at

least three minutes, usually a lot longer. What do you mean? I asked, convinced that there

was more to learn. He assured me that he had given me everything I needed to be able to play

a *moirolói* from F. At first this seemed rather cryptic to me but as I learnt more about the

moirolói and more about Vangelis's playing, I realised that he had given me some building

blocks from which I was to construct my own *moirolói* from F. He had shown me some key
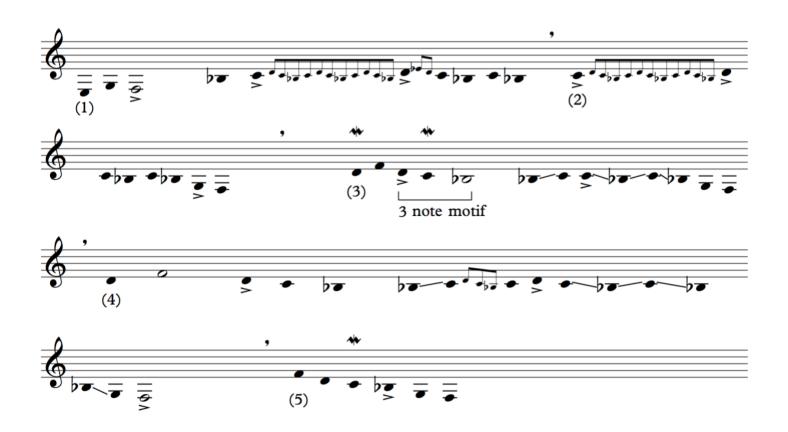
phrases around which I was to 'improvise'.[18]

Figure 5.1: Five 'building blocks' from Vangelis's *moirolói* from F

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[17] gr. 'αυτό είναι'.

[18] As Berliner (2009) suggests, the processes involved in the performance of improvised music and more fixed or pre-composed music are intertwined. Berliner notes that (jazz) musicians continuously oscillate between using pre-composed ideas that exist as part of a 'storehouse' of musical articulations in the musician's mind and ideas that are generated whilst performing. He describes a 'perpetual cycle between improvised and precomposed components of the artists' knowledge' (ibid: 222), and he suggests that the characteristics of improvisation and composition 'overlap hopelessly at the margins' (ibid: 4).

Nettl (2016: 180) notes that a similar approach to 'teaching' improvisation was employed by his teacher, the master Persian musician Nour-Ali Boroumand. When asked how he taught improvisation, Boroumand 'replied to the effect that he simply taught the radif, and the radif would teach a student how to improvise, and would contain all the musical techniques and ideas needed for improvisation'.[19] Nettl compares this method with teaching approaches from the Carnatic music tradition. He states that complex exercises are often taught which provide 'the basic vocabulary for improvised performance' and that the teacher also demonstrates short improvised passages which are to be memorised by the student (ibid). Although this is a method that I myself have used, taking passages of *moirológhia* that I recorded during my fieldwork and memorising each phrase, this was never a technique suggested to me by the *klaríno* players with whom I took lessons.

Vangelis did not explain to me how I was to use and develop the phrases or 'building blocks' that he taught me in our lessons. To him, it was self-evident. As such, it was only later when I heard locally made recordings of his F *moirolói* that I understood the significance of these phrases. Recording 5.1 (see Appendix C) is of a live performance of Vangelis when he was in his prime in the village of Areti. The phrases from figure 5.1 are recognisable, yet they do not occur in the same order, they are stretched out and repeated, and certain smaller motifs from within these phrases are repeated again and again. For example, the descending three note motif 'd, c, B♭', as marked in figure 5.1, is particularly prominent in the recording (and is often specifically requested by the listeners by using their voices). Yet, there is actually very little other musical material introduced in the recording that is not shown in figure 5.1. He had, in fact, taught me all the musical material I needed to

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[19] The *radif* is a structural form in Persian classical music that is based on a particular *dastgah* (a musical system akin to a 'mode'). Babiracki and Nettl (1987: 46) define the *radif* as 'a single unitary composition with a complex set of variants'.

know in order to perform an F *moirolói*. However, the creativity and 'inspiration' with which Vangelis manipulates these phrases in performance was not something that he felt he could show or teach me.

Improvisatory music is processed in a multitude of ways. Jazz musician Walter Bishop Jr. comments: 'It all goes from imitation to assimilation to innovation' (Berliner 2009: 120). Fundamentally, cultural beliefs about the role of music and the musician influence the way in which improvisation is taught and learnt (if it is believed it can be 'taught' and 'learnt' at all). In musical cultures in which a musician is seen as a 'preserver' of tradition, improvisatory practices may be more prescriptive. Whereas, in those cultures that view musicians as a wellspring of inspiration and innovation, improvisatory practices may be more free and open to individual interpretation (see Campbell 2009: 139). However, as Kevin Dawe notes, even within the same musical tradition approaches to teaching improvisation are not always uniform. Writing about his experiences of learning to play the *lýra* (gr. λύρα, eng. bowed string instrument) on the island of Crete, Dawe (2007: 81) states that there was 'no routinized way' of teaching the central skills needed to be able to play the improvised music heard at Cretan weddings and nightclubs. This was also true of my experiences in Parakalamos.

Inspiring Emotion

The notion that improvised music is 'spontaneous' is often linked to the idea that improvisation is a means for personal emotional expression; the musician looks to his or her internal world and externalises his/her inner state through musical improvisation. Christos's comment that the *moirolói* is created by 'inspiration from inside you' (see above), shows how this idea is manifest in narratives about music in Parakalamos.

This 'communication' between inner and outer worlds is often associated with divine influence.[20] Gabriel Solis (2009: 15) acknowledges this, commenting on Racy's study of the *taqāsīm* genre of Arab music:

> Racy shows that… improvisation becomes the most intense and highly valued musical experience in the Arabic tradition because it most clearly involves musicians in a 'dynamic of introspection and externalization', a process often connected with transcendence and the divine. In this regard, the taqasim genre, especially in its textless vocal form, becomes imbued with the broadest expressive significance.

The 'inspiration' or 'divine influence' that accompanies some forms of improvisation allows the performers and listeners to access an elevated state of consciousness. In Parakalamos, and Greece in general, the term *kéfi* (gr. κέφι) is used to describe a state of high spirits or heightened experience in relation to music and dance (see Chapter 7).[21] During my fieldwork, I frequently heard musicians use the term to describe their own concentrated and sometimes euphoric states when reflecting on a performance.[22] Furthermore, the idea that there is a certain type of atmosphere that is conducive to playing a 'good' *moirolói* is linked to the notion of *kéfi*.

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[20] The idea of a 'collective mind' or an 'intersubjective consciousness' is also manifest in narratives about improvisation (see Pierrepont 2016: 206-207; Sarath 2016: 133-134). Ed Sarath (2016: 145) notes that 'improvising musicians…commonly report an intimate melding between ensemble members and listeners in peak performance'. Similarly, Alexandre Pierrepont (2016: 208) writes: 'Everything that exists in the material or immaterial spheres vibrates at a certain frequency. In playing, in improvising, musicians have the possibility and the power to place themselves on the frequency (wavelength) of all that is…'.

[21] Comparable states exist in other music cultures. *Duende* is a term used in flamenco culture to refer to 'the magical state that haunts the artists and enables them to deliver highly affective performances' (Racy 2016: 233). In Persian classical music, the concept of *ḥāl*, which denotes a deep introspective state that is bestowed upon the performer as a 'gift' from God, has made improvisation centrally important to the Persian music tradition (Blum 1998: 32-33). The Sufi state of *wajd* that occurs during the ritual of *samāʿ* is 'an ecstatic state of transformation marked by intense longing to reunite with the Beloved, or the Divine' (Racy 2016: 234). Similarly, in Arab musical culture, the musician's experience of the ecstatic state of *salṭanah* can help him or her to instil *ṭarab*, a similarly ecstatic state, in their listeners (see Racy 2016: 234-235).

[22] 'I had *kéfi*' (gr. 'είχα κέφι'), 'I made *kéfi*' (gr. 'έκανα κεφι'), and 'I was in my *kéfi*' (gr. 'ήμουν στο κέφι μου') were frequent ways of expressing their high spirits.

In Parakalamos, techniques used to stimulate creativity in the *moirolói* revolved around the preparation of the 'appropriate' state of mind. Reminiscing about personal memories and life circumstances, especially those that involve pain and loss; the recollection of local stories and narratives involving misfortune (often recounted through the lyrics of those *moirológhia* that are sung); and the consumption of alcohol were often cited as methods of preparation.

Klaríno player Thodoris Oikonomou told me that the *moirolói* requires certain conditions: 'If you ask me to play a *moirolói* now, I wouldn't be able to. I have to have *kéfi* to play. I have to drink a bit, be in the right frame of mind, to play well. It is not easy, the *moirolói*. Vangelis played so well because he had a lot of worries – his daughter had problems with her health. He didn't play *moirológhia* for others, he played them for himself. Today, people don't understand how to play *moirológhia*, they play like robots – always the same thing. But there are choices, you decide what to put inside and when, very few players understand that now. You have to have feeling to play *moirológhia*'. He related the 'skill' (*techniki*, gr. τεχνική) of playing with feeling directly to the *klaríno*. He noted that the only thing you really have to master on the *klaríno* is the 'feeling' (*aísthima*, gr. αίσθημα). And the *ghyrísmata* (gr. γυρίσματα, eng. turn(ing), revolving).[23] 'Anyone can play fast. It is a lot of work, the *klaríno*. You cannot play it if you are not really feeling it. You have to draw on memories of pain to play and cry. It is all about the breath, it all comes from deep inside you, not like the violin' (but he acknowledged that the violin has its challenges too).[24] The connection between the *klaríno* and emotional expression is common in Greece, and Thodoris concluded with the bold statement that 'the *klaríno* started in Parakalamos',[25]

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[23] *Ghyrísmata* is a term that refers to improvised musical phrases that link songs together. These phrases draw on the motifs that are used in the *moirolói* (see Chapter 6).
[24] This passage represents a paraphrase of Thodoris's statement and is not a direct quote of the exact words that he used at the time.
[25] gr. 'το κλαρίνο ξεκίνησε στον Παρακάλαμο'.

implying that the highly emotive way of playing *klaríno* in Parakalamos is the 'authentic' way to play this instrument.

The 'atmosphere' or 'ambience' during a performance is considered to be very important by the musicians and alcohol often plays a role in the creation of this 'atmosphere'. Some musicians actively seek to alter their mental state through alcohol consumption before playing in order to 'abandon… the kinds of control needed for some other manner of performance' (Blum 2009: 250). As Thodoris noted, he prefers to drink a little bit of alcohol before playing a *moirolói* as it helps him achieve the appropriate state of mind. Vangelis Chaliyiannis, the most renowned (still living) player of the Parakalamos tradition, was well known for his appetite for alcohol in his professional days. Yiannis told me, 'Vangelis really put up a fuss'.[26] He said that Vangelis used to come back from a gig late at night and stop in the middle of the street. He would take his *klaríno* back out of its case and wake everyone up with his drunken playing. Thodoris's brother Koultoumbas, a *défi* player, said that Vangelis would be rich now if it was not for his love of *tsípouro* (the local brandy) – 'he drank all of his money'.[27] But then again, Koultoumbas reasoned, he did not play so well unless he was drinking.

As well as 'really feeling' what is played,[28] some of the musicians in Parakalamos stated the importance of communicating with their audiences. This means that adjustments may be made depending on who is listening and how a particular audience responds to the music as it is happening. In this sense, the musicians are constantly improvising as they

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[26] gr. 'έκανε πολύ φασαρία'.
[27] gr. 'τα έπινε τα λεφτά του'.
[28] Not all the Parakalamos musicians always 'feel' what they play (see Chapter 4). However, most agree that the most 'successful' performances occur when they are emotionally invested in their playing.

regulate their performance behaviour depending on the feedback they receive from the audience (see Chapter 7).

In Parakalamos, one of the principal responsibilities of the musicians is to play in a manner that satisfies the dancers, or the listeners in the case of the *moirolói* (as the *moirolói* is not danced). As in Arab musical tradition (see Racy 2016: 234), gestures and exclamations, this time from the dancers, influence the state of mind and the choices made by the musicians. When the *moirolói* is played at *panighýria*, however, the audience is often talking and eating (see Chapter 4). Occasional shouts of encouragement may be the only audience interaction at this time. Yet, the audience is fundamentally important and the musicians have the responsibility to create the expected atmosphere.

The importance of the 'audience', however defined, is acknowledged by musicians across the world (especially by professional musicians who rely on the audience for their financial success). As jazz musician Curtis Fuller puts it, the audience is 'what it's all about. No audience, no conversation. If I wasn't concerned with the audience, I might as well stay in a room alone and practice' (Berliner 2009: 458). The presence of the audience introduces a further element of unpredictability to the performance. Musicians do not know ahead of time how the listeners will react to their music, although responses are usually culturally appropriate and the social expectations of musicians and audience are normally complied with. As Stephen Blum (1998: 32) notes, 'performers and listeners learn not only when to act and what to do but also when not to act and what not to do'. Derek Bailey (1992: 44-46) notes that the presence of an audience can be a help or a hindrance to the quality of music produced. Some musicians believe that music has no meaning without an audience and that their presence encourages them to perform more creatively. On the other hand, some feel that when they are alone they play their best music as there is no pressure on them to play well.

In addition to the audience, the performance environment can also affect musicians' behaviours and the music that they play. If playing indoors, the size of the room and the furnishings within it will affect the acoustics of the room, and if playing outdoors, the topography of the performance location and the weather will affect the sound quality as well as the comfort of musicians and audience. The physical and mental state of the musicians will also impact on the way that they play and furthermore, relationships between venue owners and musicians may affect many other practicalities (see Berliner 2009: 449; Blum 2009: 248).

The connection between music, universal forces and nature is recognised cross-culturally. Musicians are aware of this connection and often make a feature of natural resonances (such as in throat or overtone singing) or even of weather conditions. Jazz musician Henry Threadgill recounts an experience he had at one of his concerts:

> Before the concert in the amphitheatre [outdoors], during the sound check, I understood that the wind was at home here, that we would have to play with it, make it a partner, the sixth member of the group – and not an adversary of the music. … This night, the wind sat in with us on the stage and when it made itself known, we made a place for it in the orchestra.[29]
>
> (quoted in Pierrepont 2016: 209)

In Epiros, music and nature are seen as part of one continuum. Birdsong, animal noises, and animal bells are often referenced musically, and local topography and weather are often described in song lyrics. As Parakalamos is a rural village, many of the musicians have an interest in nature and regularly go fishing in the lakes and rivers, mushroom picking in the forests, and make wine, *tsípouro* and cheese from local crops and livestock. Yiannis Chaldoupis has a particular fondness for his natural environment and was keen to incorporate this into our lessons.

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[29] Square bracketed material appears in the original text.

On one occasion he told me to close my eyes and listen while he set the mood. Expecting to hear his *klaríno*, I was surprised when he started talking. After describing a rugged mountain and placing me upon it, he then said: 'Suddenly, clouds are coming and you lose yourself, you don't know where you are. The only thing you can hear is the wind. Now you feel that you have something and you are somewhere and you hear something opposite you, namely, the *moirolói*, but it is from far away'.[30] He continued in this vein for several minutes before asking me to open my eyes and to repeat the phrase that he played on his *klaríno*. He improvised a series of *moirolói* style phrases for me to copy, and although we did repeat some of them, they did not form part of a set 'piece' that I was to learn. Rather, he was introducing me to the 'flavour' of the *moirolói* and showing me some stylistically appropriate phrases that I could draw from in my own 'improvisations'. His aim was to demonstrate the way that he feels and the things that he imagines when he prepares to play a *moirolói*. Evidently, nature is one of his primary inspirations.

Improvisation as Idiomatic of Local Tradition

Although many of the musicians in Parakalamos feel that the *moirolói* is a form of personal expression, some notion of structure is also recognised. In a lesson with Christos, he stated that 'the beginning must be correct'.[31] Once it has been started correctly 'you add your own things'[32] and he described the *moirolói* as 'variations from here and there'.[33] In Christos's mind, 'the beginning' (*to ksekínima*, gr. το ξεκίνημα) was something concrete that he could teach me and he showed me several phrases that I could then repeat. He told me that this is

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[30] gr. 'Ξαφνικά έρχονται τα σύννεφα και χάνεσαι, δεν ξέρεις πού είσαι. Το μόνο που ακούς είναι ο αέρας. Τώρα αισθάνεσαι που έχεις κάτι και είσαι κάπου. Και ακούς απέναντι κάτι, δηλαδή, το μοιρολόι, αλλά είναι από μακριά'.

[31] gr. 'πρέπει να είναι σωστό το ξεκίνημα'.

[32] gr. 'βάζεις δικά σου πράγματα'.

[33] gr. 'παραλλαγές από 'δω, παραλλαγές από 'κει'.

how musicians from Parakalamos start the *moirolói* but restated that beyond this point, everyone plays it differently.[34] He acknowledged that learning to play a *moirolói* is a difficult task for someone like me who has not grown up in the village. In fact, he said 'here in this village… the *moirolói* that we play, no-one else can "say" it, it's a little difficult. I told you, you have to have it inside you'.[35]

The idea that the *moirolói* is a 'local' genre (even to the extent that it is exclusive to the village) and that only local musicians can play it suggests that this form communicates something about local culture; about 'place'. Racy (2009: 317) notes that those improvisatory genres which make use of a culturally specific musical framework are often considered to be 'prime representations of the culture's native idiom' or are regarded as 'the true voice of the indigenous musical system'. Indeed, Yiannis's description of the *poghonísio* as a 'rhythmic *moirolói*' suggests that this may be so in the case of the *moirolói*; the musical practice of *ghyrísmata* uses many of the characteristic phrases that are often repeated in the *moirolói* (see Chapter 6).

When I visited Thomas Chaliyiannis, he told me to go and see Christos Chaliyiannis if I want to learn *moirológhia* as he felt that he himself is not the 'right' person to teach me. He told me that he does not work 'here' (in the Parakalamos area), in fact, he works everywhere except for here. This highlighted the fact that the instrumental *moirolói* is a musical tradition rooted in Pogoni. Thomas is a little different from the other *Ghýftoi* musicians in Parakalamos in that, rather than playing in local festivals, he usually plays with

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[34] In his book, Kostas Lolis (2003: 35) claims that the first theme in a *moirolói* acts like a refrain, and that the whole structure of a *moirolói* consists of a sort of loose rondo form. This corresponds to Christos's insistence that 'the beginning' must be correct. The first (or the first few) phrase(s) give the *moirolói* its identity and provide the main 'theme' (or the A section of a rondo). After this, variations are played (these variations would correspond to the B and C sections of a rondo form), with intermittent references to the first 'theme'. The *moirolói* always ends as it began, again following the pattern of a rondo (ABACA, for example).

[35] gr. 'εδώ στο χωριό… το μοιρολόι, αυτό που παίζουμε εμείς, δεν μπορεί να το πει κανένας άλλος, είναι λίγο δύσκολο. Σου είπα, πρέπει να το έχεις από μέσα σου'.

regional dance troupes (which some folk musicians describe as the 'ballet' or *baléto*, gr. μπαλέτο) throughout Greece. He is also a clarinet teacher at the Technological Educational Insititute of Epirus in Arta, whereas none of the other musicians that live in Parakalamos hold a teaching post at an educational institution. As Thomas regularly plays folk repertoire from many different regions of Greece, he feels that he has lost his 'local' musical accent.

Despite claims that the *moirolói* cannot be learnt, there was an occasion when a *moirolói* was taught to me phrase by phrase, like a set melody. Yiannis taught me a whole three-minute section from a *moirolói* known as Tasos Chalkias's *moirolói* from G. The phrases he taught me were more or less identical each time he played them to me. Figure 5.2 shows the first few phrases as they were taught to me by Yiannis. This particular *moirolói* is known by every *klaríno* player in Pogoni, yet I have never heard it played in its entirety as an opening *moirolói* at a *panighýri*, although phrases from it are frequently alluded to within an 'improvised' *moirolói*.

Figure 5.2: Tasos Chalkias's *moirolói* from G as played by Yiannis

As shown in the transcription, the whole of the lower register of the *klaríno* is used in this *moirolói* (from E to g, or D to f in concert pitch). Major tonality is clear from the use of B♮, yet it is used only as a passing note. The notes that are emphasised most clearly form a kind of pentatonic scale (G, A, c, d, e). A pentatonic melodic structure which omits the third degree, or uses the third degree only as a passing note, is common to certain *moirológhia* in Pogoni (see below). Although Yiannis played these phrases consistently each time he played them, they do differ slightly from those played by Tasos Chalkias on his well-known recording.

Tasos Chalkias (1914-1992) was a very famous clarinetist who was born in the village of Granitsopoula (gr. Γρανιτσοπούλα) in the municipality of Zitsa,[36] an area that lies next to Pogoni on its southern border. He made many recordings, one of which was of the *moirolói* in G mentioned above (see Recording 5.2, Appendix C). The fact that this *moirolói* has been 'captured' on record means that it is easily reproduced. As Laudan Nooshin (2003: 255) notes:

> … with the advent of sound recording, improvisations can now be preserved in sound, transcribed, studied and reinterpreted in the same way as a written composition. During gives the example of the renowned Turkish musician Cemil Bey, whose improvised *taqsim* recordings dating from around 1905 have become regarded as exemplary models of the music, functioning in much the same way as notated compositions…

It may be that this *moirolói* has become 'canonical' because it was recorded. The fact that this recording has become a point of reference for so many musicians in the area is testament to the 'greatness' of Tasos Chalkias's playing. As Solis (2009b: 99) notes, '… "greatness" emerges in the ways that a community embraces and takes possession of the work of great musicians'. As noted though, the phrases that Yiannis taught me are quite different from the

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[36] Tasos Chalkias's family is from the village of Foteino, also in Zitsa. Both Granitsopoula and Foteino are situated immediately behind the Kasidiaris mountain, about 35km by road from Parakalamos.

phrases that were recorded by Tasos. In some way, Yiannis has 'invented' his own version of Tasos's *moirolói*. Although Yiannis plays the phrases in a similar way each time, and although these phrases are reminiscent of Tasos's playing, they are not a true representation of the original recording.

Besides learning the characteristic phrases and the improvisatory framework in which these phrases sit, I was also encouraged to play with '*mória*' (gr. μόρια). If the *moirolói* is idiomatic of the musical framework that characterises music from Pogoni, then *mória* are the epitome of ornamental expression. As noted in the introduction, *mória* are expressive ornaments that consist of pitch bends and microtonal inflections. In the numerous clarinet lessons that I have had in the village of Parakalamos, I have seldom been berated for playing a 'wrong' note, but in the beginning, my inability to play with *mória* was much talked about. In my initial attempts to imitate the wonderfully rich tone produced by Greek *klaríno* players, and to free my playing from my history as a classically trained clarinetist, I was also criticised for playing with an unfocused or *pséftiko* (false) tone as I struggled to find my 'new' tonal centre (see Introduction). This highlighted for me the importance of emotionality and of the expression of feeling in the music of Epiros and indicated to me the ways that these feelings and emotions are expressed through certain musical techniques (which are very different from those used in Western classical clarinet playing to portray emotionality).

My quest to learn how to play with *mória* and with appropriate *chrómata* (colours) (see Introduction) was a long and difficult one. One day, in a lesson with Thomas, the topic of *mória* was broached. Thomas's view is that *mória* come from inside you, you have to 'have it' and if you do not 'have it' it is better not to force it. The idea of 'inspiration' is relevant to *mória* too. He refrained from telling me whether I 'have it' or not, but he did say that not all the *klaríno* players in Parakalamos can play *mória* effectively. A specific and

intuitive understanding of the expressive system of *mória* is needed in order to play them – it is not something that any musician can pick up immediately.

Thomas also said that the 'oldest' Greek *klaríno* style was played without *mória*. *Mória* are 'not ours',[37] he said. When I asked where *mória* come from, Thomas said 'India, Turkey, Iraq'. This caught my attention as Yiannis had also previously likened *mória*, as played in Epiros, with Indian ornamentation. Thomas said that his favourite Greek music is from the 1960s. It has *mória*, but they are a little different to the *mória* that are played in Greek music today. In Thomas's opinion, the current way of playing *mória* is not as musical, and that it was Vasilis Saleas who made all the *klaríno* players in Greece lose their way in terms of *mória*.[38]

When I first started learning to play this style of music in 2011, I had no trouble picking up the 'basic' (unornamented) song melodies, to the delight of my teachers. However, I had no idea how to produce the wonderfully expressive ornaments that I could hear in my teachers' playing and that I was desperate to imitate. Much like Timothy Rice's (1994) experience of learning to play the *gaida*, I was frustrated by the lack of interest my teachers had in teaching me how to play these little decorations that, to my mind, held the very essence of the music that I wanted to learn. As Rice (1994: 71-72) writes of his own experience:

> If acquiring ornamental style seemed less problematic for village gaidari than understanding and remembering melodies, the opposite was true for me. With my Western musical training, I could easily explain, understand, and remember the typical four-measure tunes of the instrumental tradition, but the gaida's burbling ornamentation remained beyond my horizon of understanding. This was particularly frustrating, since ornamental style seemed to me, and probably to Bulgarians as well, crucial to defining the music as Bulgarian or Thracian.

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[37] gr. 'όχι δικά μας'

[38] This is interesting because Vasilis Saleas is thought of as a 'god' of Romani music culture by many Romani communities in Greece, including musicians from Parakalamos and from Nea Zoi (gr. Νέα Ζωή), the Romani suburb of Ioannina (these *Ghýftoi* originate from Parakalamos but now live in the city).

Like Rice, I found that my teachers were not concerned with teaching me how to play *mória* and other ornamentations. Even though the lack of *mória* in my style of playing was much talked about and was pointed out to me, very little guidance on how to actually play with *mória* was offered. In the end, I deduced that 'playing with *mória*' is closer to a kind of playing ethos, or mentality, than a form of technique that is teachable. In order to reproduce *mória*, a musician has to be able to hear and 'feel' *mória*; *mória* have their own expressive sense that can only be understood by direct experience of them. They cannot be explained in any other terms.

After years of listening to the music and watching *klaríno* players' fingers when they play, I started to pick up the expressive language of *mória*. I was then able to instinctively intuit how to inflect a melody as I was playing. *Mória* are not unteachable because the hand movements that produce them cannot be shown, quite the opposite; by watching other *klaríno* players' fingers, I soon learnt how to produce these inflections. However, in my teachers' minds, *mória* cannot be isolated from their musical context. An inflection played on its own simply does not make sense, and so a lesson dedicated to *mória* would be completely meaningless. As Rice discovered when studying the Bulgarian *gaida*, ornaments are an integral part of the music, they cannot be 'added on' at a later date (see Rice 1994: 66-67). In this sense, like the *moirolói*, *mória* must be 'absorbed' through cultural osmosis, rather than be taught in an institutional fashion.

Structuring Freedom

Contrary to the discussion so far, sometimes the techniques of improvisation are seen as banal and formulaic. For example, the musicians in Kononenko's study of Slavic folk lament viewed improvisation as a practice that 'implies the use of stock materials and relatively patterned modes of expression' which is the antithesis of their musical art where 'they simply

allow their grief to pour out naturally and without artifice' (Solis 2009: 11).[39] As such, this type of folk lament is not considered as improvisation by those who practice it.

The tension between freedom of expression and adherence to a stylistic formula or structure has been well documented in the literature on improvisation (cf. Racy 2000; Nooshin 2003: 263-264; Gray 2010: 235). Monson (2009: 24), in an article on jazz, notes that a performer's ability to improvise is subject to socio-cultural constraints. Yet, she suggests that although one's social category may be unavoidable, creative practices enacted by an individual might enable that individual to transcend expected limitations and boundaries.

In Parakalamos, a negotiation between 'structure' and 'freedom' is acknowledged, yet emphasis is placed on the more 'instinctive' side of music. For example, Yiannis said that in other places in Pogoni, *moirológhia* are more 'set'; you go here, here, then there, whereas in the Parakalamos *moirolói* there is more freedom and imagination (*fantasía*). He mentioned Petros-Loukas Chalkias as an example of a musician that plays 'set' *moirológhia*, meaning that he often plays the same thing time after time. Christos Chaliyiannis echoed this sentiment and said that listening to Petros-Loukas is like listening to a CD over and over again. A Parakalamos musician, on the other hand, will always play something different. Takis-Loukas, a musician from Delvinaki and a relative of Petros-Loukas, had an interesting way of expressing this notion. He was of the opinion that there are 'pure' (*katharó*, gr. καθαρό) and 'bastardised' (*bastardeméno*, gr. μπασταρδεμένο) or mixed-up *moirológhia*. *Moirológhia* played by Tasos Chalkias, for example, are 'pure'. Parakalamos *moirológhia* are 'bastardised'. I interpreted this as a way of expressing the idea that *moirológhia* that are

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[39] Anna Caraveli (1986: 185-186) notes that in Greece, performers of mourning lament have different degrees of improvisatory freedom depending on the region. She notes that the *mantinádhes* (gr. μαντινάδες) style of laments on the islands is a lot more improvisatory than the more 'fixed' style of Epirote mourning laments.

reproduced in the same way over time are 'pure', and that *moirológhia* that are variable and that take influences from several sources are 'bastardised'. He could also have meant, of course, that he has a lower opinion of the *moirológhia* that are typically played by Parakalamos musicians. He finished by saying that *moirológhia* are pieces to be listened to (they are *kathistiká*, gr. καθιστικά), and that they are not dance pieces (or *choreftiká*, gr. χορευτικά).

Whether an improviser is regurgitating pre-learnt patterns, following a set of formulae, exploring a modal system, or simply playing notes at random within the limitations of their instrument, there always exists a point of departure. No improvisation starts from nothing, and no improvisation is completely without limits, yet the starting points and the parameters for an improvisation vary widely (Nettl 1998: 13-15).

Musicians in Finland recognise that certain limits and structural frameworks are actually integral to the creative process, yet they also feel that socio-cultural conventions can be creatively stifling. At the Sibelius academy in Helsinki, musicians have experimented with setting their own improvisatory limits, effectively creating their own musical systems, in order to provoke creativity (see Hill 2012: 98-99). These exercises are an attempt to break down personal and cultural habits and inclinations in order to foster new forms of creativity. Juniper Hill (2012) draws on Margaret Boden's (1992) book *The Creative Mind: Myths and Mechanisms* to explain this method of 'transformative creativity':

> A given style of thinking… can render certain thoughts impossible… The deepest cases of creativity involve someone's thinking something which, with respect to the conceptual spaces in their minds, they *couldn't* have thought before. The supposedly impossible idea can come about only if the creator changes the pre-existing style in some way. It must be tweaked, or even radically transformed, so that thoughts are now possible which previously (within the untransformed space) were literally inconceivable.

> (Boden 1992: 6, quoted in Hill 2012: 100)

Above all, improvisation is a *process*. Whether the phrases produced by a musician are based entirely upon unconscious 'rules' defined by a particular cultural style, or whether the musician is truly creating something 'original', it is the way in which the music is produced that defines improvisation. A machine could generate an 'improvisation' by using the 'rules' of a particular music culture within a specific stylistic idiom, but could it really be said to be 'improvising'? Ultimately, improvisation suggests a certain *conscious* choice to move beyond repetition and rigid structure. Perhaps the definition of improvisation is the 'spontaneous' creation process itself (see Tarasti 2002: 183-184).

Individual Style

As I continued to talk with the musicians and inhabitants of Parakalamos and the surrounding villages, one thing became inescapably clear. In almost every conversation, the name Vangelis Chaliyiannis was mentioned and he was usually described as the 'master' musician from Parakalamos. He is known locally as *kotsýfis* (gr. κοτσύφης) or 'blackbird' because of his inventive clarinet playing which consistently defies preconceived structural frameworks. Vangelis's playing has now become the standard to which many clarinet players in Parakalamos aspire.

Plate 5.1: Vangelis and me (Parakalamos, 03/09/2014)

The local recognition of a particular musician as a master of his or her tradition occurs in many musical cultures, and these distinguished musicians are often associated with their own distinctive style of playing. For example, Theodosiou (2013: 150) notes that Vassilis Saleas has become so famous throughout Greece for this very reason. During her fieldwork in the *Ghýftoi* neighbourhood in Ioannina, she was told 'If Saleas is so well-known, it is because he managed to create his own personal style'. This individual style is constituted through different musical aspects that are valued within that musical culture. Berliner (2009: 125) notes that 'various elements contribute to an artist's sound profile, timbre being the most obvious'. He also remarks that 'pitch inflections like scoops and more extensive, embellishing microtonal shapes can be equally distinct' (ibid: 127), and that the way in which a particular musician forms a melodic phrase can be a marker of his or her style (ibid: 128-130). As Red Rooney states in Berliner's study, referring to jazz musicians: 'We all have our little bag of tricks, our special riffs that are identified with us' (ibid: 229).

Vangelis's 'style' of playing has been so successful in the Parakalamos area that he is thought of almost as a kind of demi-god. The locals often describe him as a one off and an original. One day whilst we were listening to Yiannis's collection of recordings of musicians from Parakalamos, Yiannis exclaimed, 'Vangelis is Vangelis, he doesn't imitate other musicians'.[40] Similarly, at a *panighýri* in Ano Parakalamos, where Vangelis put in a rare appearance (not to play, but simply to observe), former naval officer Dimitris, originally from the village of Areti, said 'Vangelis created music, the others just play it'.[41] It is Vangelis's originality and creativity that affords him his status as a 'master'. The idea that Vangelis plays in imaginative ways and that he is almost always improvising (in the sense that he is always playing something new, and rarely repeats himself) was a theme that continually materialised in conversations.

Significantly for this study, the ability to continually create 'new' musical phrases was often perceived by the residents of Parakalamos as a more expressive and emotional way of playing. Christos Chaliyiannis said that Vangelis is a master of this fluid style of playing and that he himself tries to continue in his tradition and follow in Vangelis's footsteps. He continued by stating that abroad in Epirote communities in Australia, Germany, or America, Vangelis's way of playing, and especially his well-known composition 'Alvanía' (gr. Αλβανία, eng. Albania), is celebrated and is appreciated as 'Parakalamos music'.[42] Yiannis, listening to our conversation, added that, for Parakalamos musicians, Vangelis's style of

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[40] gr. 'ο Βαγγέλης είναι Βαγγέλης. Δεν μιμείται τους άλλους'.

[41] gr. 'ο Βαγγέλης δημιούργησε τη μουσική, οι άλλοι την παίζουν'.

[42] In the USA, Germany and Australia, there are diasporic communities from Epiros, and more specifically, from the Parakalamos area. These communities hold cultural events where the music of their 'homeland' is performed and relived. Some musicians from Parakalamos have been invited to play at these cultural events. Furthermore, some emigrants from the Chaliyiannis family live and perform as musicians in a community in the USA. Performances of pieces specific to Parakalamos such as Vangelis Chaliyiannis's Alvanía connect these people to a very particular local identity.

playing 'is the bread from which we eat'.[43] In this sense, Vangelis's style has become a new set of 'rules' that the current musicians in Parakalamos adhere to.

This association of improvisation with emotion in Parakalamos is what gives the *moirolói* its value. In his article about improvisation in Arab music, Racy (2000: 309-310) writes about culturally specific 'emotional language' in music. He notes that Arab musicians that 'feel' the ecstatic content of the *maqām*-s or modal system are regarded as possessing 'genuineness' and are considered to be worthy performers of the music tradition. Whereas musical ecstasy or *ṭarab* is the musical emotion most admired in Arab music, in Parakalamos, the ability to communicate emotional pain through music is most valued. In fact, the state of *kéfi* is reached through the contemplation of a bittersweet type of pain (see Chapter 7). Yiorgos, a resident of Parakalamos who lives just behind the little house I was staying in, told me that if someone was sad, in love or had some other kind of pain, they would ask Vangelis to play. Yiorgos said that Vangelis knew how to play for people's pain but he did not realise that he had this understanding, he just played. In Yiorgos's mind, Vangelis's music was an expression of his intuitive empathy for other peoples' pain. But why is it the 'improvised' components of these musical traditions specifically that are perceived as more emotionally expressive?

The *moirolói* does follow certain patterns and structures. Yet it is the ability of the musician to negotiate these structures and move beyond them that is assessed by the community. Those musicians that succeed in pushing through the structural boundaries so that they appear to be playing completely 'spontaneously' are the most highly regarded.[44]

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[43] gr. 'είναι το ψωμί από που τρώμε'.

[44] Although, over time, these musicians often begin to repeat their own 'original' motifs and phrases and eventually create their own individual style (which has its own conventions and 'rules'). Paul Berliner (2009: 227) discusses how new motifs are added to the 'storehouse' in jazz tradition. When jazz musicians spontaneously create a new motif or phrase that they find particularly satisfying (in a practice session or on stage), they may then consciously repeat this motif/phrase in order to absorb it, adding it to their 'storehouse' so it can be used again in future performances. Once in the

The idea that improvised music is not prepared in advance, that it is 'spontaneous' expression gives the impression that the improviser is communicating something about their internal emotional state, that they are simply expressing *themselves*.

Vangelis's skill at 'breaking the rules' in order to play his 'own thing' is appreciated in Parakalamos and it is this that has made him so popular. In the *kafeneío* (café-bar) in Sitaria (see Chapter 3), I discussed Vangelis's playing with Yiannis and Antonis. Antonis, the owner of the *kafeneío* has kept old tape reels of Vangelis's performances. 'Vangelis really likes to play *ghyrísmata*'[45] Antonis stated, as he placed another reel of Vangelis's playing into the tape player. Having heard the word *ghyrísmata* (gr. γυρίσματα) mentioned several times previously, I decided it was time to find out exactly what it meant. Yiannis demonstrated by 'singing' some *ghyrísmata* (he sang several what I had previously thought of as characteristic Parakalamos *poghonísio* extracts). Yiannis told me that the term *ghyrísmata* basically refers to a series of improvisations that holds different songs together in one big loop so musicians do not stop playing between songs (see Chapter 6).

I had imagined that the word referred to a kind of ornament, so this was rather enlightening. We then started to discuss Vangelis's incredible imagination. Always trying (and succeeding) to find other routes through and between songs, Vangelis consistently manages to find his way back to the main road. He never gets lost although he takes long detours. Vangelis's musical practice, then, moves far away from the previously established

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'storehouse', a motif becomes much like a 'pre-composed' fragment of music. However, when these motifs are used in performance, combining in fresh ways with other motifs to construct new phrases, they function as elements of the improvisatory process. As an improviser becomes more and more adept at creating and combining motifs, this process again turns back towards a more 'fixed' structure: '…invention can turn back toward precomposition when the exploration of relationships among vocabulary patterns produces increasingly fixed vocabulary chains, capable of being retrieved as elaborate construction materials for that or other solos' (ibid: 222). As improvisers become more familiar with the different settings in which certain vocabulary patterns and chains work, their playing develops 'increasingly consistent forms of usage with specialized syntactic functions' (ibid: 227). In this way, unique styles belonging to individual musicians are created.

[45] gr. 'του αρέσει πολύ τα γυρίσματα ο Βαγγέλης'.

norm, but he is always able to ground his imaginative improvisations by reference to more familiar musical phrases.

Modes and Motifs

Although a disjuncture between theory and practice exists in every music tradition (see Chapter 1), it is more evident in those traditions in which improvisation plays a central role. As Derek Bailey (1992: x) puts it: 'improvisation has no existence outside of its practice'. As improvisation relies on personal human decisions made close to, or within, the moment of performance, a 'standardised' theory could never account for every possible choice or outcome. Nevertheless, improvisers do have a sense of what 'works' and in most music traditions that involve improvisation, there are acknowledged boundaries. Improvisation does not mean a lack of structure. As previously mentioned, Racy notes that improvisers in the Arab tradition draw on an 'internal modal grammar' in order to improvise.

Although not always necessarily modal, I believe that an 'internal grammar' is what guides improvisers in many music traditions. This internal grammar varies between each individual musician and may be consciously or unconsciously employed. As internal grammar is acquired through years of musical exposure and cultural osmosis, no two musicians will have exactly the same conception of this grammar (as different people are receptive to different aspects of experience). Yet, those that have been brought up within the same musical culture, understandably, will have a more similar vision than those that have been brought up in completely different musical cultures.

The idea that each musician, even within the same musical culture, has a slightly different internal musical grammar is evident in Parakalamos. Musicians can instantly be identified by other musicians when playing a *moirolói* for example. If there is no 'standard'

theory, and each musician has his own personal style, how is it that some improvisers, like Vangelis, are renowned for 'breaking the rules'?

Although there is no written theory around which 'Parakalamos music' is structured, it is apparent, by examining performance practice, that there are common ways of playing in terms of modal usage and motivic design. As discussed, emotional 'authenticity' communicated through 'spontaneous' musical expression is highly admired in Parakalamos. Yet this 'spontaneous' expression is dependent upon a thorough knowledge of the musical vocabulary that makes up this particular musical tradition (see also Hill 2012: 91).

In Parakalamos, the musical fabric from which song melodies and *moirológhia* are made consists largely of pentatonic motifs. However, the modality as a whole is constituted by more than just pentatonic modes (as will be demonstrated below). On the *klaríno*, *moirológhia* are usually defined by their finalis and are referred to, for example, as '*moirolói* from A'.[46] In Epiros, *klaríno* players frequently play *moirológhia* from a finalis of F (concert E♭), G (concert F), A (concert G), c (concert B♭), or d (concert c).[47] Each of these have their own associated *ksekínima* (see above) and characteristic motifs.

In Parakalamos and Pogoni in general, particular modalities structured around a particular finalis are associated with particular musicians. For example, Vangelis is renowned for his *moirolói* from F, whereas the *moirolói* from c is often attributed to the late Chalilis. In fact, when I asked Vangelis if he could define the *moirolói* for me, he simply told me that the *moirológhia* from F and A were 'his' and that the *moirolói* from G was 'made' by Tasos Chalkias. There is not the scope here to look at the modal and motivic structures of all of

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[46] gr. 'μοιρολόι από λα'.

[47] Most *klarino* players in Parakalamos play B♭ instruments, although A clarinets are also common. C clarinets are played very rarely, yet they used to be more widely used in the area. As stated in the conventions, I use capital letters to refer to notes below middle c and small letters to refer to notes between middle c and the octave above.

these *moirológhia*. Therefore, I will limit my analysis to the *moirolói* from c, which is usually associated with Chalilis. Figures 5.3 and 5.4 show the basic modal structure that was frequently used by Chalilis in local recordings of his playing.[48] This structure is also currently used by musicians in Parakalamos that 'reference' Chalilis's playing. Modulation between major and minor tonality is common.

Figure 5.3 shows the major mode. As indicated by the bracketed notes, the major third is occasionally used in ascending phrases, but never in descending phrases, and the (minor) seventh degree is only occasionally used. The most frequently used notes (those not in brackets) form a kind of pentatonic mode. This mode does not correspond to the western major pentatonic scale. Due to the presence of the minor seventh, the complete mode (including bracketed notes) also does not correspond to the western major scale. However, although the melody does not always emphasise the major third, the accompanying instruments such as the *laoúto* and the accordion frequently provide the major third in their harmonic accompaniments. In Parakalamos, *majóre* (gr. ματζόρε) is the word used for modes which do not contain a minor third (even if the major third is very rarely used in the melody, if at all).

Figure 5.4 shows the minor mode – in Parakalamos *minóre* (gr. μινόρε) is the word used to refer to modes which employ the minor third. Again, this does not correspond to the western minor scale. The range of the minor mode as used by Chalilis typically stays within the pentachord between c^1 and g^1 and employs the higher register of the *klaríno*. f ♯^{1} is

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[48] As Chalilis, or Christos Chaliyiannis died several years ago I did not have the opportunity to record his playing myself. My knowledge of Chalilis's playing therefore comes from recordings that were made by music enthusiasts from Parakalamos. There are no officially published recordings of his playing to my knowledge, although there are some locally made recordings that are in local circulation (see Appendix C, Recording 5.3 for an example), and others that are accessible on YouTube.

occasionally used instead of f $\natural^1$ (indicated by / in the notation) creating a mode similar to Nikriz in Turkish *makam* theory.

Figure 5.3: C *majóre* mode

Figure 5.4: C *minóre* mode

As shown, alternation between the *majóre* tonality (even though the major third is rarely actually played) and the *minóre* tonality is common to Chalilis's style. In both the major and minor groups, there are five tones that make up the core of the mode, yet the gaps between these tones are frequently filled in.

In Parakalamos, in the *moirológhia* as well as in the rhythmic, semi-improvised instrumental sections known as *ghyrísmata* (see Chapter 6), changing between a major and a minor tonality is a typical trait. This was pointed out to me by the musicians of Parakalamos when I went for *klaríno* lessons as well as in informal conversations about the music. It was outlined as an important part of Pogoni style. Towards the end of my fieldwork, in an interview with Sotiris, a musician from the village of Oraiokastro, Sotiris said the following words:

Minor after major is sorrowful… After. On its own, it isn't at all… After the major [tonality], the minor [tonality] sounds more sorrowful. The *klaríno* cries. But after… For that reason, the change between minor and major is law in Pogoni.[49]

According to Sotiris, the minor mode only sounds sorrowful in direct relation to the major mode, it is not 'sad-sounding' in and of itself. He also notes that it is after this change (from major to minor) that the *klaríno* is said to cry. In agreement with his observations, the most characteristic crying motif used by *klaríno* players in Parakalamos is in the minor mode:[50]

Figure 5.5: Crying motif in the C *moirolói*

This motif epitomises the *klapsiáriko* sound and it frequently appears in the *moirológhia* and *ghyrísmata* played by the musicians from Parakalamos. Figure 5.6 shows an extract from the same performance of the *moirolói* 'Marióla' that I discussed in Chapter 4 (see Video 4.1). This *klaríno* improvisation occurred after Yiorgos had finished singing the lyrics to Marióla. As shown in the notation, Christos 'modulates' into the 'minor' mode.

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[49] gr. 'Το μινόρε μετά το ματζόρε είναι λυπητερό... Μετά. Μόνο του, δεν είναι καθόλου… Μετά το ματζόρε, το μινόρε ακούγεται πιο λυπτερό. Κλαίει το κλαρίνο. Αλλά μετά… Γι'αυτό η αλλαγή μινόρε ματζόρε, είναι νόμος στο Πωγώνι'.

[50] I have divided the motif in figure 5.5 into three parts in order to make figure 5.6 easier to read. 'Part 1' in figure 5.5 corresponds to 'Part 1' in figure 5.6 and so on.

C 'majore'

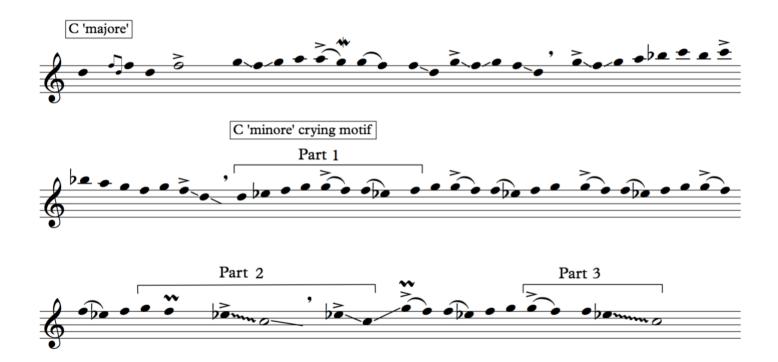C 'minore' crying motif

Part 1

Part 2

Part 3

Figure 5.6: Crying motif as used in Marióla

As shown, Christos stretches out the crying motif. The last six notes of 'Part 1' of the motif are repeated four times before moving onto 'Part 2'. These six notes are then repeated again before moving on to 'Part 3'. As also noted in the discussion about figure 5.1, stretching motifs into longer phrases by the repetition of a small group of notes is a common improvisatory technique used in *moiróloghia* in Parakalamos.

Through my transcriptions of numerous *moiróloghia* played by different musicians from Parakalamos, it is clear that these musicians draw on many common motifs in order to construct the *moirolói* in performance. A kind of 'storehouse' of motifs that exists in the collective consciousness of all the musicians from Parakalamos defines the parameters of the *Parakalamiótiko moirolói*. This storehouse is constantly evolving and being added to as the current generation add new motifs and new ways of playing to the musical knowledge accumulated by their fathers, grandfathers and great grandfathers. Due to the 'local' nature of

the folk music tradition in Epiros, this storehouse is unique to the village. In other villages where instrumental *moirológhia* are played (such as Delvinaki and Vourbiani for example), a different set of motifs occupy the local storehouse, although some motifs do overlap from village to village.[51]

The idea of a 'storehouse' of motifs has been discussed by many scholars working on the study of folklore traditions. Albert Lord's (1960) book, which developed Milman Parry's theory of the use of poetic formulae and themes in the oral tradition of Yugoslav epic poetry, concluded that the bards who perform this poetry do not learn the epics as 'set' or unchanging pieces. Rather, they draw on a vast repertory of stock phrases that convey similar essential ideas and that fit within the same metrical structure (see Lord 1960: 30).

The many forms of 'improvised' instrumental music of the Middle East make use of complex webs (or 'storehouses') of motifs and phrases. Nooshin (2003: 269) notes that Iranian traditional music or *musiqi-e assil* is often described as a 'patchwork' or 'mosaic' of juxtaposed phrases. In her research she notes the learning process of the musicians. 'Memorisation' of phrases takes place over many years as the musicians internalise their musical experiences (the 'cultural osmosis' process discussed above). Through this process, musicians gain both a repertory of phrases or 'points of departure' (Nettl 1998), with which to start, as well as techniques that enable these initial ideas to be developed and extended.

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[51] The style of *moirolói* that is played in the Konitsa region has more in common with the style of lament played across the border in the Körçe region of Albania. It is very different to the style played in Parakalamos. There are very few motifs in common. The oscillation of the interval of a minor seventh is common to both areas, however, and the opening phrase of the *moirolói* is often similar. The *klaríno* style played by the Chalkias brothers (Kostas and Yiorgos) who are from the village of Vourbiani (in the Konitsa region) is generally a lot 'busier' than the Parakalamos style. Motifs are played at a faster rate and there are fewer pauses between phrases. The Delvinaki style, on the other hand, is more similar to the Parakalamos style. There are a greater number of shared motifs. These villages are much closer together and are both found within the region of Pogoni, so it is not surprising that these styles are more similar. Of course, some musicians are adept in multiple styles and will mix motifs – for this reason, there are no clearly defined borders to a particular village style.

Nettl (1998) notes that in the Arab tradition, several layers of 'building blocks' inform the improvising musician's choices. He identifies the modal system itself as one of these building blocks, explaining that the performer is free to draw from the tones of the principal *maqām* as s/he wishes, although typical sequences of order and scalar movement are usually observed. Other building blocks, Nettl writes, are the 'motifs of three to five tones associated with each *maqam*' that appear 'at least occasionally' in a *taqāsīm*. Finally, a *taqāsīm* consists of various sections. One, for example, which establishes the principal *maqām*, another which explores modulations to other *maqām*-s and others which provide relief from building tension (see Nettl 1998: 15). I believe that a similar process is involved in the construction of a *moirolói* in Parakalamos.

To conclude, the idea that the *moirolói* is created 'spontaneously' is common amongst musicians in Parakalamos and it is this notion that associates the *moirolói* with a high level of emotional expression. Yet there are distinguishable frameworks that are followed in the creation of a *moirolói*. In fact, it is these same frameworks that characterise the folk music tradition of Pogoni as a whole. Absorbed through 'cultural osmosis' rather than consciously 'learnt', these frameworks are accessed through emotional states that heighten conscious experience. The creation of the 'proper' atmosphere so that musicians may reach these emotional states is imperative in order to play a *moirolói* well. Musicians are considered as 'great' when they are able to access these states (or 'inspiration') readily.

In the next two chapters, I consider the main contexts in which the *moirolói* and the folk music of Pogoni as a whole are performed; the saint's day festival or *panighýri* and a less formal event known as the *ghléndi* (gr. γλέντι, eng. party). In Chapter 6, I consider how narratives related to local history, the location of *panighýria*, and community practices such as eating and dancing, tie in with (or negate) the lamenting aesthetic of the music. Chapter 7

will then deal with the emotional states that are evoked by music and dance at different points in these events.

Chapter 6 – Structuring Emotion

It is the Friday after Easter Sunday and it is a grey morning in Parakalamos. The clouds hang low over the Kasidiaris. Despite gloomy weather and low spirits, I join the convoy of vehicles in the climb up the mountain on the winding road from Parakalamos to Paliogribiani.

Up on the mountain, the sky is blue, the clouds sitting below us. Passing a small church by a large stone barn, the venue for the meal to come, I start the climb towards the peak of the mountain. After a twenty-minute walk up a steep slope and some careful negotiation around a rocky path through the middle of a small forest, I emerge at a larger church that is built right against the cliff-face. Its rather inconvenient position stands as testimony to the Ottoman occupation of centuries past; locals say that many churches were built in hidden locations as safe havens from the ruling Turks. I join Yiannis and his friends, chatting and joking in front of the church. The church building is packed. The melodious tones of the priest chanting the liturgy float out through the open door and window but there is no room to stand inside. We light some white candles for Christ and place them in the sandbox which stands outside the door of the church before heading back down the mountain.

Arriving back at the smaller church, rolling clouds surround the lower part of the mountain, but the church and its grounds are clear, a strained sunlight glinting off the church bells. I join the people that are assembling around the small altar that is built into the outside wall of the church. I feel a drop of water on my arm. Rain, I think to myself, but when I look up it is to see the priest armed with a small bunch of basil sprigs sprinkling holy water on the congregation. A cantor is chanting and a ragged line of congregation members is slowly progressing towards the altar, ready to kiss the icon of the Panaghía in veneration. When the priest has finished his blessings, a tray of tsípouro is passed around and cries of 'Chrónia Pollá!' (gr. Χρόνια Πολλά! eng. Many Happy Returns!) resound as family and friends greet each other.

Some members of the congregation, mainly women, continue on into the interior of the church. Once inside, they light a candle for Christ and place it in the sandbox at the entrance of the church, as others had done at the larger church. Turning to face the altar, they cross themselves in front of the icons of the saints on either side of the aisle towards the back of the nave. The icons are kissed before returning outside…

Extract from my fieldwork diary, 25th April 2014

Plate 6.1: The 'main' church at Paliogribiani (Paliogribiani, 06/05/2016)

Plate 6.2: The 'hidden' church at Paliogribiani (Paliogribiani, 06/05/2016)

The above vignette describes my experience at the *panighýri* that took place in Paliogribiani (gr. Παλιογκρίμπιανη, 'old Gribiani') over the Easter period in April 2014. This was my first experience of this particular *panighýri* (I also attended in 2016) and I was struck by its location. Nestled around one of the highest points of the Kasidiaris mountain, Paliogribiani was an inhabited village until one hundred years or so ago.[1] Before this time, according to the locals, the Ottomans had control of the plain below. Paliogribiani (or Gribiani, as it was called then) was located high up in the mountains and the inaccessibility of this settlement succeeded in hiding it from the Turks. When the Ottomans left the area in the early twentieth century, the village was moved down to a more accessible altitude. The new village kept the

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[1] No-one could tell me exactly when the village moved.

name Gribiani and the name of the old site took its current prefix. The inhabited village has since changed its name and is now called by the Greek name of Areti (gr. Αρετή).[2]

The only things that can now be found on the old site of Paliogribiani are two churches and a stone barn, and these buildings provide the focal points for the *panighýri*. The *panighýri* that takes place at this site occurs on the Friday after Easter Sunday and celebrates a particular icon of the Virgin Mary, known as the *Panaghía Spiliótissa* (gr. Παναγία Σπηλιώτισσα, eng. the Virgin Mary of the cave). This icon was 'discovered' near the site of 'the chapel of the Life-Giving Spring'[3] – the 'hidden' church mentioned in the above vignette – after a local person saw it in a dream. The icon is stored in the central church in Areti during the rest of the year. On the morning of the *panighýri*, a local woman transports the icon up to the chapel of the Life-Giving Spring. After the service it is then moved again down to the church of Saint Nicholas – the second church mentioned in the vignette. Finally, it is carried around the feast tables during the procession (see below).

Memory, History, and Place

The icon of the *Panaghía Spiliótissa* is common to churches that are built into the side of rocks or caves in Greece. There are often miracle stories attached to the icon, and although these stories are fairly similar, each one refers to local landmarks and local history. This is typical of the miracle stories that are attached to other icons in Orthodox tradition as well.[4] In this way, the saints and their icons provide a bridge between local and 'universal' (or national

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[2] The name 'Gribiani' is an old Slavic word which means 'mushroom'. To this day, the area in which the old and new village is found is well known for its abundance of mushrooms in the mushroom seasons (April/May and September/October). The current name 'Areti' (gr. Αρετή) is a Greek word meaning 'virtue'.

[3] gr. 'το εκκλησάκι της Ζωοδόχου Πηγής'.

[4] In certain locations in Greece, particular saints are venerated above others. This is due to stories that claim that a particular saint has performed a particular miracle in that location. These stories are a source of pride for the neighbouring residents and the local icon of the saint in question is considered to have supernatural powers (Danforth 1989: 71; Herzfeld 1990: 113).

in the Greek Orthodox case) interpretations of religion (Herzfeld 1990: 113; Hart 1992: 199; Skedros 2008: 178).[5] Visions and miracle stories that are rooted in specific places give local meaning to the saints and their icons. They are not just figures that appear in Orthodox theology. As James C. Skedros (2008: 176) notes, the lives of the saints, and Orthodox Christian tradition as a whole, only contains meaning within a lived community:

> A life of a saint is not created in a vacuum. Therefore, a life ought to be read or interpreted within the community for which it was produced. On one level this suggests that all hagiography is local, that is, historically and culturally specific. Most often, the initial impetus and impact of the production of a life of a saint is local. That is, hagiographic texts place their main protagonist in a particular geographic location – thus giving the veneration of the saint a focal point. The life of the saint contributes to the creation of communal identity – an identity that will be necessary for the 'proper' reading of the text – by associating the saintly hero with a particular locale.

In this way, the Orthodox saints play an active part in the creation of community and in the social experience of place. They are like 'invisible friends', as Peter Brown (1981: 50) describes them.[6] In the same way that the icons are associated with local 'miracle' stories, the dedication of individual churches to particular saints demonstrates the relationship between the saints and a sense of 'place'. As Juliet du Boulay (2009: 315) notes, '…it is a living relationship between that sacred person and that particular patch of earth…'.[7]

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[5] Unlike the Catholic Church, the Orthodox Church has never given a formal doctrinal interpretation of sainthood (Skedros 2008: 170). The Orthodox Church does not consider the proven historical veracity of each saint's life as fundamentally important. More significant are the practices that surround the veneration of the saints, the social uses of the icons, and the way in which each saint, and the story of his or her life, is integrated into the Orthodox community (ibid: 165-166, 177).

[6] This is reflected in iconography. The saint is never depicted in profile; he or she always faces the onlooker: 'What is stressed in icons is the link of divine power with this world, the relationship of the saint depicted in the icon with the devotee who approaches' (Kenna 1985: 356).

[7] Saints can become part of a specific location in other ways as well. For example, on the island of Evia, Saint David has become so much a part of cultural life that he has become 'welded into the landscape' (du Boulay 2009: 313). One story claims that when Saint David died, his blanket was spread out over a rock on Evia, and this blanket 'has now fused with the rock and may still be seen' (ibid). Although his birthplace is usually noted as being Roumeli on mainland Greece, he is thought of as a local saint on Evia as it was here that he became an ascetic (ibid).

Furthermore, the saints are present in everyday life, they do not exist only within abstract theology. Icons of particular saints are displayed in the home, in cars, and in places of work. The names of the saints are prevalent in daily routine, through linguistic references to the names of churches, roadside shrines, and villages. They are also used in ordinary conversation within wishes and curses (see Hart 1992: 193). In Greece, most people are named after a saint and 'name-days' (which are more important than birthdays in Greece) are celebrated on the feast day of the saint from which one's name is taken. In this way, each individual is incorporated into the 'communion of saints' (du Boulay 2009: 304).

The physical location of *panighýria* has important implications for the experience of community as specific sites contain shared memories that constitute a sense of 'place'. These shared memories are the result of a collective history that is central to community identity. As Johanne Devlin Trew (2009: 31) notes, '…individual or collective history is inextricably linked with experience of place. Identity then, is contingent upon history and place'. Therefore, the way in which a community remembers their past is integral to present experiences of place. Maurice Halbwachs (1877-1945) developed the term 'collective memory' to describe the way in which a community remembers the past, often in order to suit a present concern (French 2012: 339). Pierre Nora (1989; 1996) developed this idea with his conception of social memory and social history. Nora distinguishes between 'memory', which he views as a 'lived' or 'embodied' memory that is remembered naturally and integrated into the community or society, and 'history', which Nora sees as a conscious organisation of memory or the recycling of heritage in an attempt to not forget the past. Nora

(1996: 2, 12) claims that the first type of memory is no longer a part of the modern world and that our society is based on a preoccupation with organising and remembering the past.[8]

Similar to Nora's conception of 'memory' and 'history' is Jan Assman's (1995) notion of 'communicative memory' and 'cultural memory'.[9] But rather than suggesting that 'communicative' memory is no longer a feature of modern life, as Nora suggests for his notion of 'memory', Assman (1995: 127) notes that communicative memory is configured through many different forms in everyday life. In discussing Halbwachs notion of collective memory, he observes that every individual belongs to multiple groups and 'therefore entertains numerous collective self-images and memories'. The relevance here is that aspects of both 'communicative' and 'cultural' memory are at play in most cultural festivals. In other words, festivals such as *panighýria* are not just a product of cultural or historical memory, they are not only *lieux de mémoire* (Nora 1989), but also form part of lived experience and express and embody communicative memories too. They are also *milieux de mémoire*. Furthermore, ritual actions are not solely self-contained, they are not frozen in time in the same way as texts and monuments. They affect the everyday lives of those who perform them (see Connerton 1989: 45). In *panighýria*, then, 'memory' and 'history', as defined by Nora, are both processes that are at work. Songs and dance melodies operate as concrete 'sites of memory' (as they are repeated), yet, within the context of the *panighýri*, music as an

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[8] Bauman and Brigg's (2003) work, which emphasises the construction of language as an important container for collective memory, shows that Nora's notion of the loss of collective memory can be interpreted as an ideological construction of tradition which foregrounds a nostalgic view of the past (see French 2012: 340-341).

[9] Assman (1995: 26-127) argues that 'communicative memory' is the type of collective memory that is communicated from one person to the next; in essence it constitutes oral history. 'Communicative' memory is living memory and therefore has a limited temporal horizon (of no more than one hundred years, Assman notes). Therefore, the details of communicative memory change and shift. On the other hand, 'cultural' memory refers to the remembrance of events that occurred at a fixed point in time. This type of memory can stretch far back into history and is remembered through texts, monuments, or ritual. It is often communicated through institutional practices. This form of memory changes very little and forms the basis for the 'concretion of identity' of a community through time (ibid: 128-129).

embodied *practice* incorporates memory as a part of everyday experience (see Bithell 2006: 7-9; O'Connell 2017: xxv, xxvi). As Martin Stokes (1997: 687) points out, paradoxically, music is built upon repetition, yet at the same time, that which is repeated is never the same twice.

As noted in Chapter 2, the relationship between music and place is dependent upon memory and upon perceptions of time. *Panighýria*, like other cultural festivals, draw on a notion of the past that is remembered through both communicative and cultural forms of collective memory, in order to affirm community identity. Kalliopi Panopoulou (2008: 437) writes that in Greek Macedonia, in the Vlach village of Chionohori the collective memory of the songs performed at *panighýria* serves to characterise local identity and to consolidate notions of community:

> … songs and dances define the community both to insiders and to outsiders, affirming, at a symbolic level, the community's particular individuality. The feast as a whole functions as a symbol of the community, constituting its collective expression of identity, and contributing to its cohesion, stability and reproduction.

In a similar vein, Giorgos Vozikas (2009) looks at the *panighýri* of Saint Marina in the municipality of Ilioupoli in Athens. This community was created by the occurrence of internal migration in Greece from rural to urban centres (a phenomenon known as *astyfilía*, gr. αστυφιλία). All emigrants from rural areas of Greece, the inhabitants of this community express their 'rural background' through cultural practice centred around the church of Saint Marina, culminating in the *panighýri* of Saint Marina. A platform for the collective memory of rural pasts, the *panighýri* acts as a symbol of community in the face of growing urbanisation and modernisation in Greece. Finally, Anna Caraveli (1985) and Pavlos Kavouras (1992; 1994) discuss the *ghléndi* (gr. γλέντι, eng. party) in the village of Olymbos on the island of Karpathos as a way of maintaining community values and memory. Kavouras (1992: 185) notes that in August, Olymbos 'is swamped by returning emigrants

from all over the world'. The participants, who now usually live far apart, recreate an Olymbian community through performing the dances that they all hold in their collective memory.

Performing Landscape

As in Chionohori, Saint Marina, and Olymbos, *panighýria* in the villages of Pogoni provide a space where the collective past of the community can be performed. The collective memory of the people of Pogoni, and of Epiros in general, is dominated by the themes of neglect and abandonment (Green 2005: 8). As Sarah Green (2005: 7) writes:

> …one of the strongest views expressed by the majority of people around this place was that it had been undergoing a process of abandonment and neglect for some decades: grazing lands that used to be intensively used for sheep and goat pastoralism were now overgrown; scattered fields on the hills and small valleys that used to be cultivated were now abandoned; schools once full of children were now closed down; village squares once bustling with activity were now quiet. In village after village, with few exceptions, people would sigh and say, 'Only pensioners live here now'.

Green recounts the story of one of her respondents, a man named Theo from the village of Zavracho in Western Pogoni. Theo describes how most of the villagers from this area had left home in the 1950s after the civil war.[10] Many people moved abroad to the USA, Germany, Australia, and Canada, but some also moved to urban areas within Greece. Theo himself chose to stay local and became a baker in Ioannina. The reasons Theo gave for this mass abandonment was that after two major wars (the Second World War and the civil war), many people had been killed, the land had been devastated and farming communities had been ruined. People had to leave to avoid starvation. On top of this, the closure of the border with

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[10] The Greek Civil War (gr. ο Εμφύλιος Πόλεμος) took place in the 1940s. Between 1946 and 1949 the civil war involved a struggle between the Hellenic Army (supported by the Greek government, and backed by the UK and the USA) and the Democratic Army of Greece (DSE), the military branch of the Communist Party of Greece (KKE). Yet, the conflict arose from the political destabilisation caused by Axis occupation in the Second World War (see Iatrides and Rizopoulos 2000 for an overview).

Albania meant that families and friends were separated and the area became a military zone (Zavracho is located less than ten kilometres from the Albanian border) (Green 2005: 52). The area was saturated with painful memories and the inhabitants wanted a new start away from the pain.[11]

During my fieldwork, similar stories were recounted to me by the inhabitants of Parakalamos and the surrounding villages. The population of 'permanent' residents in most of these villages is below two hundred people, the numbers swelling in the spring around Easter time and in the summer months as emigrants return 'home' to celebrate the holiday seasons. As Eckehard Pistrick (2017: 33) observes in his discussion of the southern Albanian context, these emigrants return in order to 'celebrate their village and their idealised image of it in the light of a mythicised past'. Parakalamos is an exception with a steady population of around seven or eight hundred (which increases to around one thousand at Easter and in the summer). Although many of the villages in the area have decreased populations, they are still inhabited 'working' villages. However, there are other villages, such as Paliogribiani for example, which have been completely abandoned. Yet, the wreckage of these villages often forms the sites for certain *panighýria*.

The location of some *panighýria* at the site of abandoned villages in the Pogoni area is testament to the importance of memory and its associations with topography and 'place' in the area. These villages are abandoned, not because the inhabitants have emigrated, but because whole village settlements were moved, often due to the destruction caused by war. For example, Green (2005: 57) notes that Ktismata, a village in western Pogoni, was moved

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[11] The themes of neglect and abandonment are also prevalent across the border in the south of Albania, as noted by Nitsiakos (2010) and Pistrick (2017: 30-31).

down the hill after the Italians invaded and burnt most of the houses in the old settlement (which then went by the name of 'Arnista') during the Second World War. Some of the old building materials that survived the fire were used to build the new settlement, hence the name of the current village 'Ktismata' (gr. Κτίσματα, eng. buildings).

Similarly, Parakalamos was 'moved' down the hill at the beginning of the twentieth century (see Introduction). The current site of the village used to consist of a group of straw huts that were used by the villagers 'when they were cultivating the plain or grazing their animals' (Theodosiou 2011: 59). The old site, now known as Ano Parakalamos (gr. Ἄνω Παρακάλαμος, eng. upper Parakalamos)[12] has been partially rebuilt and is now home to a community of Vlachs (ibid). The inhabitants of the 'new' site of Parakalamos join the community of Ano Parakalamos every year for the *panighýri* that celebrates Saint John the Theologian in May (see below).

In holding *panighýria* at these sites, these spaces are commemorated and the collective past is remembered. At the same time, *panighýria* in these contexts are symbols of defiance. By dancing, singing, laughing, and living in these places once more, the pain of the past is released, and ancestors that once lived there can be honoured and included in the celebration. In this way, the embodiment of collective memory in festival practices is linked to a spatial dimension and to the social construction of 'place'. The location of *panighýria* in physical spaces of socio-historical importance is a significant way in which collective and cultural memory can be expressed.[13] In the contexts described above, it is the physical spaces

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[12] Previously, Parakalamos was known by the 'Slavic' name of Pogdoriani (gr. Πογδόριανη). As with Gribiani and many other villages in the area, the 'Slavic' name was changed to a 'Greek' one in 1927 as part of the national project (see Theodosiou 2011: 59, fn. 99).

[13] Paul Connerton (1989: 45) argues that festivals are essentially the commemoration of cultural myths or historical events. The ritualisation of these cultural-historical myths or events often depends on a selected or even invented past. In the festival arena, narratives about the past are created and recreated in successive present moments (i.e. each time a festival takes place) in order to validate the current socio-cultural 'reality' (see Gudeman 1976: 727; Selberg 2006: 298). Spaces that are

themselves (as well as the stories told about these spaces) that hold the collective memories and these memories are celebrated and commemorated through festival practices (see French 2012: 341). In fact, local geography and the landscape as a whole (and not just human settlements or monuments) can become repositories for collective memories. As Brigittine French (2012: 342) notes, 'the landscape comes to index the past for those who inhabit it in the present'.

The connection between landscape and music-making in Pogoni, and in Epiros more generally, is evident in song lyrics and in the performance contexts (*panighýria* frequently take place in fields or forest clearings, as well as in villages – inhabited or not). Furthermore, in the sense that the landscape contains and evokes collective memories associated with history and community, it is also indexed in the sonic space of the music itself. Stories of abandonment and neglect are evoked by the landscape and these stories are then mourned through the icons of crying and longing in the music. Yet the theme of abandonment (or absence) is also negated through music-making and festival practice. Pistrick (2017: 37-38) discusses the way in which absence is dealt with through music-making in south Albania. In a context of extreme depopulation due to emigration, migration songs and saint's day feasts 'serve the mourning of the absent' but they also act as a 'symbolic replacement of the absent'. In the silence that accompanies absence, he notes that:

> Singing and dancing, as activities that require bodily involvement, are effective cultural coping strategies that partially negate these menacing silences […] They make themselves heard, giving a sonic shape to their doubts, worries and sufferings, expressing their individual views through their own means of expression – by singing.

In the same way that music and other festival practices are shaped by (and express) memories of place, place itself is shaped by the music and the festival practices. Place and

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associated with historical significance may take on other-worldly properties and become 'sacred', as in the case of the island of Selja in Norway (see Selberg 2006), or, as in this case, spaces that have been abandoned and are usually ignored and unused may become places of great importance.

festival practice are involved in a dialectical relationship where memories of one become part of and inform memories of the other.

In her discussion about music-making on the Greek-Albanian border, Aspasia Theodosiou (2011: 8) observes that in Pogoni, music cannot actually be separated from place: 'place is not simply the material substance where music happens'. She notes that musicians in Pogoni conceive of their role as a 'difficult job' as not only must they play music, but they must also understand both the people and the place that they play for. Takis, one of her repondents, highlights the difference between music-making in Pogoni and music-making in the neighbouring region of Zagori. He notes that in Zagori, everything is contrived – the musicians know exactly which pieces they will play beforehand and there is very little deviation in how people dance to the music. In Pogoni, on the other hand, music and dance practices are a lot more fluid and they change depending on the village and on the mood of the individuals who are participating at each particular instance. Takis states: 'Here, music is place and in that sense is more authentic than anything else' (ibid: 23).

Furthermore, the line-up of bands in Pogoni often change according to location. Musicians are thought of as representative of the village that they are from and if a Parakalamos band is booked to play outside of the Parakalamos area, then they may invite a musician from the area in which the *panighýri* is taking place to join them. This is not only for appearances; it has practical uses as well. The local musician will know the community. He will know who the dance enthusiasts or *meraklídhes* (gr. μερακλήδες) are and how they like to dance (see Theodosiou 2011: 33; see also Chapter 7). Villages in the area all have local preferences in relation to ritual etiquette and musical style, and different musicians are better equipped to cope with different situations:

> The significance of the 'place' where a performance is to be held is far from irrelevant; for it has to do with the way people from a place wish to be represented and their musicians to be representative, the sociality of a place, the social relations constituting this place; yet, it is

also about the actual physical place as such, its physical location, the way it connects with and compares to other places and those two elements cannot be separated.

(Theodosiou 2011: 32)

Music in Pogoni then, is constituted through place. It is not simply an abstract art form which is performed. It involves every member of the community, it involves the landscape, and it involves the relationship between people, and between people and the landscape. It is embedded in place, just as place is embodied in music (see Chapter 2). This was reflected in Dimitris's statement to me (see Chapter 3), when he said that there is no 'Parakalamos music'. What he meant by this was that the music of the area is created anew in every individual instance that it is performed. People change and the landscape changes, and so there is no fixed notion of what the local music should be. It is created by interactions between people, and it embodies and expresses social memories.

Feasting and Commensality

As the church bells start to quieten and the last tray laden with glasses of tsípouro is emptied, I am ushered, along with the rest of the congregation, into the rather crude building that passes for the church hall in Ano Parakalamos. Carafes of local wine, loaves of bread, plates of salad and blocks of feta cheese are brought out and placed on the long tables. Once everyone on my table has been poured a glass of wine, we lift our glasses and make a toast 'Stin yeiá mas!' (gr. Στην γειά μας! eng. Cheers!) and we begin to pick at the bread and salad and sip at the wine. Before long, steaming plates of yiachní, a lamb and onion ragout, are placed in front of us and the priest makes his address to everyone present. Once the priest has welcomed us and said a short prayer, we wish each other 'Kalí óreksi!' (gr. Καλή όρεξη! eng. Bon appetit!) and we all tuck in. When everyone has eaten their fill, those with larger appetites reach over and tidy up the plates of those with smaller appetites. Eventually the plates are cleared away and yet more food is brought out, this time mounds of bulgur wheat topped with a lamb stew. The wine on each table is replenished and the eating and drinking continues...

Eventually, I set down my fork. My stomach defeated, I turn from my half-eaten plate of food. The image of Saint John the Theologian looms before me, scribe in hand. The icon is pushed towards me, lingering for a few seconds in front of my face, the expectation that I should kiss it forcing me to oblige. As quickly as it had appeared, it vanished, the icon bearer pulling it away from my face and moving on around the table. The man with the collection basket waves at me and skips to the music, performing for my camera as I throw a bank note into the basket. Nasos and his band follow, blasting out a slow yet rhythmical tune. Ten and twenty euro notes are cast into the air around the basket by the people on my table as they jump up and kiss the face of Saint John. The procession carries on up the length of the room before weaving around towards the table opposite...

Extract from my fieldwork diary, 8th May 2016

Plate 6.3: The procession at Repetisti (Repetisti, 23/04/2014)[14]

The feast described in the vignette occurred in the village of Ano Parakalamos on the 8th of May 2016 for the feast of Saint John the Theologian (gr. Άγιος Ιωάννης ο Θεολόγος). After a visit to the church, the community members entered the concrete barn which acts as a community or church hall at these events. Once everyone was seated with a glass in hand toasts were made by saying *stin yeiá mas* (gr. στην γειά μας, eng. to our health or 'Cheers'). Eventually the food was served and we wished each other a 'good appetite' (*kalí óreksi*, gr. καλή όρεξη). The food served in this instance is typical of *panighýria* in the area.

[14] This photograph shows Nasos and his *kompanía* during the procession in Repetisti on Easter Monday, 2014. It does not show the procession at Ano Parakalamos.

The act of sitting and sharing food is characteristic of *panighýria* in Greece.[15] Greek culture is centred around the notion of hospitality or *filoksenía* (gr. φιλοξενία), and this concept often revolves around food and drink. Family, guests, and strangers alike are always offered something to eat or drink when they find themselves in a Greek home. The midday meal at the *panighýri* is the ultimate expression of *filoksenía* with the whole community, including any guests, sitting down together to share copious amounts of food and drink. The consumption of local produce by all members of the community within the same communal space demonstrates a community bond that spans individual difference. There is no evident distinction between age, gender, ethnicity, or class. Everyone sits together and partakes in the feast.[16] Furthermore, there is no obligatory payment to be given. Community members offer what they can, either in the way of help with cooking and distributing the food, or through a small donation to the church.

This communal eating is not only about hospitality however. It is also about creating and strengthening social relationships and community identity through celebrating natural cycles of growth, death, and rebirth. The origins of the *panighýri* are connected to the natural

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[15] Commensality, a term that designates the practice of eating and drinking together, often at the same table (Kerner and Chou 2015: 1), has been widely explored in anthropology. Early anthropological work on commensality in the context of ritual feasts was carried out by William Robertson Smith (1889) in relation to sacrifice and the 'totemisation' of animals; Marcel Mauss (1954) in terms of sharing, gift-giving and reciprocity; Claude Levi-Strauss (1963), like Robertson Smith, also writing on totemism; and Mary Douglas (1966), her seminal work *Purity and Danger* looking at how conceptions of 'purity' are constructed, food being a major consideration, in different socio-religious contexts. In many societies across the world, commensality has relevance in everyday life, through the sharing of family meals in the home, as well as at special occasions such as religious feasts. The practice of commensality touches on all areas of life, including the economic, political, religious, aesthetic and moral aspects of society (Kerner and Chou 2015: 2-3).

[16] Eating is a wholly equal affair at *panighýria*, yet, the preparation and cooking of the food is a gendered activity. In Greece, the kitchen, like the home in general, is the domain of women (Hart 1992: 235), and a woman's role in society is explicitly linked to food as the family cook (as it is in Italy, see Counihan 2004: 79-82). On the other hand, when food (especially meat) is cooked in public at a *tavérna* or at a *panighýri*, it is often prepared by and associated with men (Hart 1992: 235). However, this is not always the case in Pogoni today. In Riachovo, for example, the *tavérna* has been managed by a woman since her husband died a few years ago. Her role involves the cooking of the food, including meat.

agricultural cycle (see Cartledge 1985: 98),[17] and today, local seasonal produce is served for the feast. This continued observance of the agricultural calendar strengthens popular perceptions that rural saint's day festivals are linked to 'folk' or 'pagan' behaviour.[18] In the northern part of Greek Epiros, spring *panighýria* usually tie in with the harvest of mushrooms, and summer *panighýria* tie in with the harvest of sweetcorn. In fact, local communities have capitalised on this link and have even created the 'Epirote Festival of Mushrooms' (gr. Ηπειρωτική Γιορτή Μανιταριού) that takes place in Ano Pedina, a village in Zagori, at the beginning of June each year, at the very end of the mushroom harvest. Similarly, a 'Festival of Sweetcorn' (gr. Γιορτή Καλαμποκιού) takes place every August in Koukli, a village in Pogoni. These two festivals are commercial in nature and have nothing to do with the Church, yet the format follows a similar structure to the evening part of most *panighýria*.

Food and eating also plays a large role in Orthodox cultural life and is linked to an Orthodox Christian identity in Greece.[19] The central shifts of the seasons are marked by the feast of Saint James on the 26th October and the feast of Saint George on the 23rd April (Ginio 2003: 123).[20] In this way, cycles of fasting and feasting define the Orthodox Christian calendar and partaking in these practices is a way of identifying with the Orthodox

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[17] A connection between saint's day festivals and the agricultural year is present across Europe. In Civitella Roveto, a small village in Italy, the annual festival of Saint John is dependent on the gathering of wheat, maize and grape and on the cooperation of the society of shepherds with the society of farmers. Furthermore, the ritual time-table connected to this festival seems to follow the course of the earth around the sun, with important symbolic actions taking place at the vernal and autumnal equinox, as well as at the summer solstice (see Fabbrini 2009). Similarly, in pre-Tudor England, Saint George's Day celebrations were frequently linked with the May Day festival, an occasion that was explicitly associated with nature, fertility, and rejuvenation (McClendon 1999: 9).
[18] Far from eradicating all traces of 'pagan' or pre-Christian practice from its festival tradition, the early Christian Church adopted many agricultural symbols and converted them into Christian rituals.
[19] The Last Supper of Christ is, of course, at the centre of Christian tradition and is represented through the Eucharist ritual; bread becoming the body of Christ and wine becoming his blood (Albala 2011: 12; Eden 2011: 1).
[20] The equinoxes, however, are marked by the conception of Christ (25th March) and the conception of John the Baptist (23rd September).

community. Fasting is an important element of Orthodox practice, even if today, fasts are not strictly adhered to and the duration of fasting periods has reduced since earlier times (Matalas et al. 2011: 200).[21] There are three main fasting periods in Greek Orthodox tradition; the forty days of Lent, the fifteen day fast preceding the 'Dormition of the Mother of God' (15th August),[22] and the forty day pre-Christmas 'Nativity fast',[23] the Lenten fast being the most important (Hart 1992: 96; Matalas et al. 2011: 191).

In Parakalamos, fasting is a part of the preparation for the most important festivals like Easter and the Dormition of the Mother of God. However, observation of the fasting 'rules' is often not taken particularly seriously. Families may cut down on the amount of meat and dairy they eat at home during the fasting periods, but it is rarely cut out completely.[24]

After the meal in Ano Parakalamos, as at *panighýria* in most villages in the area, the icon of the venerated saint (in this case, Saint John the Theologian) was taken around the tables, accompanied by a man with a donation basket as well as the musicians. As the icon

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[21] Recent surveys also indicate that urban Greeks are less likely to adhere to fasting practices than rural Greeks (Matalas et al. 2011: 201-202).

[22] gr. 'Κοίμησις της Θεοτόκου'.

[23] The 'Nativity fast' is the most important aspect of Advent for Eastern Orthodox Christians. Although Advent is celebrated in Eastern Orthodox Christianity, it does differ in some respects to the celebration of Advent in Western Christianity (Ryan 1986: 10).

[24] Whereas in early Christianity, fasting meant total abstention from food and was solely a way of purifying the soul and showing devotion to God (Hart 1992: 96; Albala 2011: 12), it later became a way of controlling the quantity and quality of food taken into the body (Hart 1992: 97). For example, amongst monastics and ascetics, it was believed that an over-nourished body, especially through the consumption of meat, 'would produce more blood that would subsequently be converted into sperm, signalling the libido and encouraging sin' (Albala 2011: 14). During the Middle Ages, the fasting ideal spread to the lay community. However, as people needed to work and keep their communities functioning, fasting was limited to Fridays, Saturdays, and (in certain places) Wednesdays, as well as the periods before important saint's days. Fasting practice was also codified by church officials; meat and any animal products (such as butter, eggs, and cheese) were prohibited during fasting periods (ibid: 16). Feasting on Sundays was a way of commemorating the Resurrection (ibid: 11), a tradition continued in many Christian societies and which is also reflected in the feasts that occur on saint's days (as the death of each saint represents the sacrifice of Christ).

passed each table, most community members kissed the icon and made a monetary donation towards the cost of the food by placing a bank note into the collection basket.

The veneration of icons constitutes a major part of Greek Orthodox practice. Icons usually consist of a two-dimensional painted representation of Christ, the Virgin Mary, or one of the many Orthodox saints.[25] There is no way of representing God (Stewart 1991: 78). As noted above, on entering a church, worshippers cross themselves in front of the church's icons and the faces of the saints are kissed. At *panighýria* in Epiros, the icon of the relevant saint is also carried around the feast tables so that each individual has an opportunity to kiss the icon and ask for the saint's protection. Unlike in the church, however, this 'procession' is accompanied by instrumental music.

The music used to accompany the icon around the tables consists of a continuous stream of folk songs or instrumental folk music. It is not 'special' religious music, it is simply the music of the local area. In the above example, Nasos Chaliyiannis played *ghyrísmata* (see below) throughout the procession in Ano Parakalamos. This is fairly typical, but is not always the case. Sometimes a singer or singers will sing traditional songs during the procession accompanied by a small band. However, on this occasion only Nasos with his *klaríno* and his two sons on accordion and *défi* accompanied the icon around the tables. Once all of the tables had been visited, the community member who had been carrying the donation basket took a twenty euro note out of the basket and stuck it in Nasos's hand. At this point, the musicians took their cue to finish playing and to go and set up the microphones so they were ready for the dance to begin (see Video 6.1, Appendix C).

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[25] Although the Old Testament states that representational images of divine figures are forbidden, Orthodox theology views the coming of Christ as an event that negates this assertion (see Kenna 1985: 348). Nevertheless, in defence against iconoclastic arguments, Orthodox doctrine emphasises that icons are to be venerated, not adored, and that they do not, in fact, receive this veneration for themselves as they simply channel human worship towards God (Kenna 1985: 349; Herzfeld 1990: 111).

Interestingly, at both the *panighýri* in Paliogribiani, and the *panighýri* in Ano

Parakalamos, the *moirolói* is not usually featured. This is due to practical considerations. As

with many *panighýria* that are held during the day,[26] the music starts in order to accompany

the procession of the icon of the saint around the feast tables. The procession often

organically moulds into the dance and a *moirolói* after the procession would interrupt this

flow. As the dance is the context in which the musicians receive monetary gifts (see Chapter

7), they are reluctant to risk playing a *moirolói* as it may stop the dance from taking off.

The Circle as Community

By the church of Saint Constantine, the musicians start to play again as the plates of food are cleared. On their feet now, they advance towards the tables around the edge of the paved area. The priest is singing with the musicians at the top of his voice. With a broad smile, he takes his hip flask out from his robes and pours tsípouro into the musicians' glasses. Then he stands up and gestures towards his friend at the next table. He is inviting him to dance. Persuaded, the man gets up and takes the priests left hand. The priest starts a slow poghonísio dance: one step to the right, one step back, cross over with the left, step back with the right, and cross over with the left again, as he pulls his friend around the musicians to form a circle as others join the back of the dance. As he reaches the other side of the circle, the priest stops, bends his knees, bows his head and places his right hand on the back of his head. Still bobbing occasionally to the beat, he stays stationary, listening, the trance setting in. And then he's off again, arms swaying with the music. As the circle of dancers grows bigger and surrounds the musicians, the priest pushes the man to his left across to his right side, positioning him as the new leader of the dance. A new song is requested, the dancers join in with the singing, and the circle continues to swirl around the musicians…

Extract from my fieldwork diary, 22nd May 2016

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[26] *Panighýria* at the site of abandoned villages are invariably held during the day while it is still light. In many cases, the *panighýri* moves to the corresponding inhabited village for the evening festivities.

Plate 6.4. The priest dancing outside the church of Saint Constantine (Church of Saint Constantine, 22/05/2016)

After the icon has been around all the tables and donations have been collected, the dancing begins. Frequently, the musicians move to a space that acts as a stage where an amplification system has been set up. At other times, however, the musicians continue to play unamplified and may spend the entire afternoon in the middle of the dance circle. The above vignette describes the beginning of the dance at the *panighýri* at the church of Saint Constantine. This church is 'hidden' in a forest clearing below the villages of Mavronoros and Sitaria. In this case, the musicians played unamplified throughout the day as the church grounds are small and so there is no need for a sound system.

As in many other Balkan contexts (cf. Janković 1969: 124-125; Dunin 1991: 206; Ilieva 2001: 124), a large proportion of the dances of Greece are open circle dances,[27] and are structured around the expression of community values and 'togetherness' (cf. Kavouras 1992: 176; 1994: 151; Panopoulou 2008: 437, 450; Vozikas 2009: 65, 72-73). At *panighýria* in Pogoni, the first dance is traditionally led by the priest,[28] as in the above example, although nowadays it depends on the priest's sensibility.[29] If the priest does not claim it, anyone is permitted to start the dance.[30] There are several types of dance that dominate *panighýria* in Pogoni; the most common and well-known being the *poghonísio* (gr. πωγωνίσιο, a dance in four), the *sta tría* (gr. στα τρία, a dance in three, the name literally means 'in three'), and the *zagorísio* (gr. ζαγορίσιο, a dance in five from the Zagori region). The cyclic nature of movement in these dances and the sense of embodied closeness created by the fact that everyone is linked through touch to the people on either side as well as facing everyone else, invokes a heightened sense of community and an almost trancelike state. When the musicians are playing well, the dancers are dancing well, and the connection between musician and dancer is finely tuned, an infectious feeling of joy, known as *kéfi* (gr. κέφι) may erupt, intoxicating the dancers into ever progressing states of trancelike joy (see Chapter 7), and sometimes it can seem as if the spirit or essence of dance itself is personified in the dancers.[31]

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[27] An 'open' circle consists of a circle of people linked together by handhold. It is described as 'open' because the first dancer and the last dancer do not join hands. This means that an unlimited number of people can participate and that dancers can join or withdraw from the ring at any time during the duration of the dance. In a village festival this means that villagers can enter and leave the dance as desired without disrupting the dance as a whole.

[28] In Pogoni, the first dance is often accompanied by a song called 'Crazy Priest' (gr. Ντελή Παπά). See Appendix B for the lyrics.

[29] In other areas of Epiros, the priest no longer participates in the dancing as it is seen as 'contrary to the sacred rules of the Hellenic Orthodox Church' (Demas et al. 1997: 283-284).

[30] Previously there would have been a specified order in which people were permitted to dance based on social status and gender, but today these limitations are largely non-existent.

[31] Sachs (1963: 144-145, 148-149) also suggests that the circle dance is associated with spiritual meaning. He notes that it can represent a reflection of cosmic forces, as in the dances of Sufi

The *panighýri* then, and the dance in particular, plays an important role in the formation and maintenance of community in Pogoni. This is also true for other places in Greece. As Kavouras (1992: 176; 1994: 151) notes in his articles about the village of Olymbos on the island of Karpathos, the dance forms a space where men and women, usually segregated, can come together into a community body. The physical and symbolic space occupied by the dance, known as the *parousía* (gr. παρουσία), literally meaning 'presence' or 'appearance', is a space where the community 'appears' or 'reveals itself'.

Jane Cowan (1990: 132-133) points out that, although often presented through an unrealistic romanticised ideology that implies national cohesion and equality, the idea of dance as an embodiment of community spirit is an experiential reality in Greece. Cowan demonstrates that conceptions of community and collectivity are not always based on equality and she suggests that in the dance, social inequality and social affiliation 'are tangibly bound together on the topography of the body'. Rather than negating social unity, inequalities that arise from categories such as gender and ethnicity actually form part of the whole community collective. The dance does not erase difference and inequality but it fuses these disparities into a collective whole (see also Creed 2004: 56-58).[32] In the Greek (and Balkan) context, multi-ethnic and often multi-lingual groups are brought together in the dance (here, difference is contained and unified within the dance), as all members of a particular village participate together (Demas and Kyriakides 1996: 2; Ilieva 2001: 124). Crucially, this is articulated through the shape of the dance; in the inclusive form of the circle.

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dervishes and the double circle dances of New Ireland, Papua New Guinea. Also of note is the suggestion that the creation of the universe was brought about by a circle dance of the gods in the Sanskrit Vedas.

[32] Gerald W. Creed (2004: 56-58) notes that 'community' has a plurality of possible forms; the meaning of 'community' in any given example is socio-culturally constructed.

Du Boulay (2009: 402) suggests that the circular motion of the dance reflects a deeper theme in Orthodox cultural life. The liturgical year creates a cycle in which days of self-denial and fasting give way to days of celebration and feasting and back again. Through the concept of cyclical time,[33] the fall of man to earth and the kingdom of God are both ever present realities that exist in 'circles of eternity' (ibid: 398). The earth nourishes man, yet it 'devours him when he dies'. This action frees man from sinful flesh and his bones once more 'come up into the air' through exhumation, symbolising death and rebirth through the concept of sinning and forgiveness (ibid: 402-403). In all of these cyclical concepts the sacred world is present within the fallen world.

The 'village cosmos' is organised through several oppositions, all of which orient towards the spiritual world. Down towards up, chaos towards order, and left towards right describe movement towards the spiritual realm (ibid: 393). Circular movement towards the right is an orientation that has deep symbolic meaning in both the social and cosmic realms of the Orthodox universe. The sun is 'right-handed' and so to face sunrise in the east (as every Orthodox church generally does) is to face the 'auspicious quarter' (ibid: 404). The central dome of a Byzantine church is circular in shape and many rituals that take place within and around this space involve circular motion to the right (anti-clockwise). The priest swings the incense burner in circular anti-clockwise motions as he censes the church, religious processions progress in an anti-clockwise circle around the church and the village, and in baptism, marriage, and funerary rites, anti-clockwise circular motion around the font,

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[33] In Orthodox theology, both linear and cyclical time exists.

altar table, or bier forms part of the ritual sacraments (see Stewart 1991: 177-178; 1994: 93; du Boulay 2009: 406-409).[34]

Furthermore, the dance expresses the journey out of the fallen world towards the spiritual realm through continued movement towards the right. The circle formed by the dancers is never closed and so it can spiral on endlessly towards the spiritual realm. It never turns back 'towards the devil' (du Boulay 2009: 404-405). In this way, the dance reflects both the natural and liturgical worlds through continuous circular motion (ibid: 405).

This centrality of the circular motion of the dance in cultural life is reflected in the Greek language. *Chorós* (gr. χορός), the word for 'dance', has roots in the ancient Greek word *choreía* (gr. χορεία), which, in Plato's *Timaeus*, refers to the circular cosmic dances of the gods, or in other words, the planetary orbits (Lonsdale 1993: 2).[35] This cosmic dance of heavenly bodies in *Timaeus* is imitated by the movement of people in music and dance in Plato's *Laws*. As Steven Lonsdale (1993: 45) notes: '…as a recent interpretation of a crucial passage in the *Timaeus* has shown, a rich analogy exists between the demiurge who sets in order the heavenly bodies and the legislator in the *Laws* who regulates the body politic through music and dance'. In Greek thought, the divine origins of *choreía* present an 'ordering force' for society through dance and the arts (ibid: 48). The word *chorós* is related to the word for 'space', *chóros* (gr. χώρος), and to its cognates 'village', *chorió* (gr. χωριό),

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[34] There is also a theme of circles that protect against demonic forces in folk religion (see Stewart 1994: 92). Some of these 'pagan' beliefs and the associated rituals are completely incompatible with Orthodox Christianity, but others are compatible (ibid: 93). However, there is evidence that the similarities that do exist are not drawn from the same ideological root – i.e. the symbol of a circle is not a 'pagan' survival within Orthodox symbolism (ibid: 98,99).

[35] The various names used to denote the circle dance in the Balkans derive from the Greek. In Bulgaria, the open circle dance formation is known as the *horo*, whereas in countries that belonged to the former Republic of Yugoslavia, it is known as the *oro*. *Kolo*, meaning 'circle' or 'wheel' in many Slavic languages, is also a term used to describe circle dancing in these countries (Janković 1969: 124-125; Dunin 1991: 206; Ilieva 2001: 124).

and 'country', *chóra* (gr. χώρα). There is the suggestion in these words that the circular movement of the dance circumscribes, defines, and 'creates' space (see Hart 1992: 122-123).

Besides the dance, the circle as a symbol of community appears in various guises in relation to *panighýria* – the festival calendar of the Church coincides with the circular progress of the sun and to the agricultural life cycle (see Hart 1992: 229-231) and the positioning of people tends to be arranged in a circle, in small groups centred around a table (see Cowan 1990: 154-155).[36] The word *panighýri* comes from the ancient word *paníghyris* (gr. πᾶνήγῠρις. eng. festal gathering) which is made up from the ancient words *pan* (gr. πᾶν), meaning 'all' and *ághyris* (gr. ἄγυρις) meaning 'gathering'.[37] The idea of a gathering in itself contains the concept of something round, yet the word *ághyris* has striking similarities with the modern word *ghýros* (gr. γύρος, from the ancient γῦρός) meaning 'round'.[38] In fact, a friend from Parakalamos assumed that the meaning of the word *panighýri* comes from the words *pan* and *ghýro* (gr. γύρω, eng. around) and he described how the participants at a *panighýri* all move around in a circle in the dance.[39] In addition, the related noun *panighyrismós* (gr. πανηγυρισμός, eng. celebration) and the verb *panighyrízo* (gr. πανηγυρίζω, eng. to celebrate) contain the words *ghyrismós* (gr. γυρισμός, eng. return) and *ghyrízo* (gr. γυρίζω, eng. to turn, revolve).

The circular nature of space and movement in the *panighýri* is also reflected in the music. The word *ghýrisma* (gr. γύρισμα, eng. turn(ing)/revolving) and its plural form *ghyrísmata* (gr. γυρίσματα) is used to describe the improvisations that link the songs and

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[36] Although, in Epiros, the tables are often arranged in long lines with community members sitting on benches on either side.

[37] *Ághyris* is a form of the word *aghorá* (gr. ἀγορά), the ancient word for 'assembly'. This word referred to a central public meeting place within a city-state. In modern Greek *aghorá* (gr. αγορά) refers to a market, however, the original meaning is still in use. In Parakalamos, my friends would often ask me 'shall we go to the *aghorá*?' (gr. πάμε στην αγορά;) with the meaning, 'shall we go to the *plateía*' (or the centre of the village).

[38] See Liddell and Scott (1882) for full definitions of these ancient terms.

[39] *Pan* (gr. παν) also means 'all' in modern Greek.

instrumental pieces together so the musicians do not have to stop playing in between each tune (see Chapter 5). Meaning 'turn(ing)' or 'revolving', the idea of the circle is contained in the word *ghýrisma* itself, as well as in the way that musical *ghyrísmata* maintain a continuous flow of music that loops around in parallel with the dance. Although sometimes the singer will launch straight into a song after the *moirolói*, it is common for the *klaríno* player to begin the rhythmic dance music with *ghyrísmata*.[40] This allows all the musicians to catch the rhythm and for the singer to prepare before starting a sequence of songs. *Ghyrísmata* are usually played over a *poghonísio* rhythm and phrases that are used in instrumental *moiróghia* are commonly repeated. This may be one of the reasons why Yiannis once said to me that 'the *poghonísio* is a *moirolói* with rhythm' (see Chapter 5).[41] As Lolis (2003: 51) notes, describing the music from the area around the Greek-Albanian border, the dance music is played using the same modal, harmonic, and polyphonic 'rules' as the *moirolói*. Figure 6.1 shows an extract of the musical *ghyrísmata* which opened the dance at the *panighýri* in Ano Parakalamos (see also Video 6.2 in Appendix C). *Klaríno* player Nasos alternates between the 'minor' and 'major' modes and makes ample use of the crying motif (see Chapter 5). The same musical structures that are used to construct the *moirolói* are employed in the performance of *ghyrísmata*.

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[40] Lolis (2003: 33) and Pistrick (2017: 141) also note that the *moirolói* is usually followed by a dance tune or *ghýrisma* in the music from Albanian Epiros.

[41] gr. 'το πωγωνίσιο είναι μοιρολόι με ρυθμό'.

Figure 6.1: Musical example of *ghyrísmata*

Through *ghyrísmata*, there is a seamless transition between the *moirolói* and the dance, and between songs and other dance tunes. As a bridge between the *moirolói* and the dance, *ghyrísmata* also represent a transition between the reflective and nostalgic sentiments associated with the *moirolói* and the joyful and ecstatic states induced by the dance. It is at this point that any remaining worries are 'thrown out' and the festivity really begins.[42] The dance changes the atmosphere from reflection to celebration.

In this way, the notion of cyclical motion is also contained in the emotional structure of the *panighýri*. Pistrick (2017) notes that at feasts in South Albania, the concepts of *qeif* (the Albanian word for *kéfi*) and *dhimbje* or *mall* (Albanian words denoting a state of pain or nostalgia) are not thought of as conflicting, but are actually perceived as complementary. One cannot experience joy without also experiencing negative emotional states. He points out that the *kaba* (the Albanian version of the instrumental *moirolói*) embodies a 'double emotional world' which moves from a lamenting sentiment to one of rhythmic joy in the dance. In Albania, this is interpreted as representing two sides of the same coin, reflecting the nature of life (Pistrick 2017: 141). This is also the case in Pogoni. The states of reflection and celebration are not seen as opposing sentiments, but are actually conceived as necessary to

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[42] To 'throw out' (*vgházo*, gr. βγάζω) your worries is a common expression. As noted in Chapter 4, Yiannis's son Vassilis suggested that *moirológhia* are played at *panighýria* 'in order to throw out your worries from inside' (gr. 'για να βγάλεις τις στεναχώριες από μέσα').

one another; one cannot exist without the other. In this way, both the *moirolói* and the dance are more complete when one follows the other, as together they articulate a richer breadth of emotion (see Lolis 2003: 51). In fact, joy can be found in the reflective state (*kaïmós*, gr. καημός, eng. longing, yearning) induced by the *moirolói*, just as pain and sorrow can also be experienced within *kéfi* and in the dance (see Chapter 7). It is interesting that musical *ghyrísmata* function as the glue between this emotional duality. The term *ghyrísmata* itself suggests change and movement (turning, revolving) and the Greek phrase *échei o kairós ghyrísmata* (gr. έχει ο καιρός γυρίσματα) can be translated as 'life has its ups and downs'. An expression that describes the movement and wholeness of life, just like the *ghyrísmata* between the *moirolói* and the dance.

To conclude, the festival practices of *panighýria* are defined by social experiences of place. Stories associated with the Orthodox saints and collective memories of music and dance are intimately connected to the landscape. At the same time, experiences of abandonment and neglect (connected to the socio-political marginality of the area) form collective memories. These are articulated sonically in the lamenting aesthetic of the music. Yet, music and dance also negate these themes as sound and movement counter the silence and stillness of neglect and abandonment. Music and dance affirm the presence of the community. At *panighýria*, circular motion is a metaphor for community identity. The celebration of the agricultural cycle, the dance circle, and musical *ghyrísmata* reflect the cyclical notion of life and serve to strengthen community bonds. The emotional states that accompany festival practices also mirror the wholeness of life.

The way in which these emotional states are embodied in the Parakalamos area is explored in more depth in the next chapter. A consideration of *kaïmós* and *kéfi* shows that,

rather than representing opposing states of pain and joy, they are actually intimately related emotional states.

Chapter 7 – Embodying Emotion

It is well past midnight in Koukli and the party mood is intensifying. The musicians have abandoned the stage and are playing without amplification in amongst the dancers in the middle of the dance circle. Cigarette smoke hangs thick in the air adding to the intoxicating atmosphere induced by alcohol and music. The lead dancer is pulling the dance circle around slowly, his eyes fixed on Christos Chaliyiannis, the klaríno player. Cries of 'Áide!' (gr. Άιντε! eng. Come on!) as well as less intelligible shouts are issued by the men around the circle. The lead dancer closes his eyes, a drunken smile on his face and drops to his knees, overcome with emotion. Christos leans in with his klaríno as the dancer places his hand on his head. Christos finishes the instrumental and now everyone in the room is singing in ecstasy. Several cans of beer are proffered from the bar and handed around the dance circle, each person taking a sip before passing it on. The lead dancer reaches into his wallet and pulls out a note, placing it in the singer's pocket. Loud whistles now join the shouts and the singing as the dance circle spirals in; the musicians advancing ever closer towards the man at the front. Then the lead dancer is on the floor again. Christos inclines his klaríno towards the man's head, 'sobbing' out his tune directly into the dancer's ear. More beers are thrust into the dancers' hands. Arms wrapped around each other in camaraderie, the 'rules' of the dance forgotten, the dancers continue to weave slowly around the room…

Extract from my fieldwork diary, 3rd May 2016

Plate 7.1: Christos and his *kompanía* in Koukli (Koukli, 03/05/2016)

This passage describes the scene in the village hall of Koukli at the *panighýri* to celebrate

Easter Monday (May 2nd) in 2016. By this point in the evening (it was actually the following

morning) everyone in the room was in fully flung *kéfi* and the atmosphere was electric (see Video 7.1, Appendix C).

The 'success' of a *panighýri* in Pogoni is measured by the level of *kéfi* (gr. κέφι) it generates. The term *kéfi* comes from the Arabic word *keyif* or *keyf*, meaning 'pleasure and delight', 'humour', or 'a state of slight intoxication' (Papataxiarchis 1991: 170).[1] It is used across Greece and is often defined as a state of 'high spirits', although the meanings and feelings associated with the term are much broader. It is often associated with alcohol, music, and dancing, although none of these are essential in the creation of *kéfi*; there are no set factors that determine *kéfi* (cf. Cowan 1990: 107; Keil and Keil 2002: 95). Furthermore, the contexts in which *kéfi* occurs are varied, although it most commonly involves a group of male friends (see below).[2] Evthymios Papataxiarchis (1991: 170) notes that *kéfi* is a mode of emotionality that is antithetical to the 'obligations' of everyday life. He writes:

> The spirited body of the man who dances solo, a body animated by an all-embracing desire and elevated beyond earthly, material concerns into communitas proper, captures the aesthetics of kefi.

Although *kéfi* can refer to a private state of elation, it is more commonly used to refer to a social dynamic, when the community is acting together in a state of *communitas* (Turner 1969).[3] Anna Caraveli (1985) discusses the processes involved in the achievement of *kéfi* at

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[1] The same term *keyif* is also used in Turkey and has similar meanings. '*Kef*' is also a term that is used by Armenians to refer to a state of merriment. This has led to the formation of a genre of music known as 'keftime' which was established by Armenian musicians living in the United States (Alajaji 2015: 79). The Sufi term '*kaif*' also embodies similar notions. Meaning 'delight' or 'pleasure', *kaif* is a 'preparatory state of spiritual arousal' (Becker 2004: 81).

[2] This form of gendered emotionality is also found in Albania and is described by the Albanian term *qeif* (Pistrick 2017: 34). *Qeif* describes a state that is very close to the Greek notion of *kéfi*, whereas the original Arabic term has slightly different connotations.

[3] *Communitas* is a Latin term that was applied to describe a social dynamic by anthropologist Victor Turner (1920-1983). Turner's *communitas* refers to a model of human interaction that is unstructured and consists of equal individuals. Every structured society has the potential to reach *communitas*; this dynamic emerges when a liminal state (between structure and anti-structure) is created through the negation of normal social order. Ritual forms such as music and dance are powerful tools that can aid in the negation of this normal social order (Turner 1969: 95-97).

ghléndia (gr. γλέντια, eng. parties) in the village of Olymbos on the island of Karpathos. She observes that *kéfi* develops throughout the duration of a *ghléndi*, it is not a static state, usually progressing from a stage of 'superficial gaiety' to 'a state of complete engrossment'. As *kéfi* deepens, the 'individual statements' made by each participant become more synchronised until a unified community 'is formed in performance' (ibid: 278), or until the community 'reveals itself' (Kavouras 1994: 151).[4]

This sense of community, although unified, is not completely homogenous; individual expression is encouraged. Demeter Tsounis (1995) and Jane Cowan (1990) note that an assertion of the self is integral to the performance of *kéfi*. Tsounis (1995: 96) notes that the expression of *kéfi* can be an intensely cathartic experience for an individual. Yet this individual relies on the support of the community for the courage to perform his or her *kéfi*. Cowan (1990: 109, 111) recognises that these assertions of individuality can lead to conflict. Writing about wedding celebrations in the town of Sohos in Greek Macedonia she notes that quarrels can break out if an individual feels his *kéfi* is being stifled by an overenthusiastic peer. The phrase 'he's making his *kéfi*' (*kánei to kéfi tou*, gr. κάνει το κέφι του) can refer to someone who is performing particularly exuberantly in the dance or in other forms of social interaction, yet it can also have negative connotations. In this context, 'he's making his *kéfi*' can mean 'he does what he wants… he doesn't care about anybody but himself'. Here, the pursuit of *kéfi* can actually destroy sociability and a community ethos.

Kéfi then, is an embodied form of expression that is articulated through individual bodies in interaction with others. It is dependent upon the social context and the appropriate

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[4] Becker (2004: 85) notes that the way in which a participant responds in ritual involves 'a scripted sequence of actions, emotions, and interpretations'. So ritual literally provides a 'script' that dictates a predictable frame within which musical and behavioural events take place (ibid). Categories such as music, dance, and the organisation of space and staging, act as 'signposts' for the 'emotional contour' of a ritual (Wolf 2001: 380; see also Feld 1990: 178). As Stanley Tambiah (1985: 134) writes, 'Ritual is not a "free expression of emotions" but a disciplined rehearsal of "right attitudes"'.

environment. Drawing on theories of embodied cognition (see Chapter 2), Martin Clayton and Laura Leante (2013: 192-193) suggest that the capability to understand another's emotional state or intention arises through the perception of an individual's embodied action, which is then mirrored in our own potential for that same action. Social meaning is thus dependent upon an embodied awareness of ourselves and others. In understanding another's emotional state, we may also become affected by it as our body mirrors the other. *Kéfi* intensifies as more and more people enter into the state and their bodies become entrained (see Becker 2004; Himberg 2017).[5]

At *panighýria* and *ghléndia*, music plays an important role in inducing *kéfi*. Music-making and dancing necessarily involve embodied interaction and coordination – like *kéfi*, music-making is an embodied relational process. Andrea Schiavio and Hanne De Jaegher (2017: 33) argue that the relational nature of music means that sense-making of musical meaning is collective and participatory. In this way, 'music' as a phenomenological object (or event), emerges through the collective action of musicians, dancers, and listeners – i.e. the musical community as a whole:

> the dynamical nature of sense-making may reveal the 'musical object' not as a fixed and wholly pre-given structure, but rather as an emergent phenomenon that develops through shared active involvement in the musical event; the musical object is, by this light, an ongoing open structure that shapes and is shaped by the sense-makers in a circular fashion.

(ibid: 34)

In the Parakalamos area, *kéfi* is deeply involved in this sense-making. A musical event is judged to be successful when high levels of *kéfi* are achieved. At the same time, *kéfi* intensifies when the musical environment is ripe. In other words, 'good' music and *kéfi* emerge together as part of the same relational process – music and *kéfi* shape each other.

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[5] As noted in Chapter 2, entrainment is a process in which two or more agents 'mutually adapt' to each other (Himberg 2017: 142).

At *panighýria* in the Parakalamos area, according to my observations, there are certain markers that signify a high level of *kéfi*. First of all, the proper atmosphere needs to have been created. This usually involves copious amounts of alcohol as well as the cultivation of appropriate dynamics between members of the dance circle. Whistles and shouts of encouragement such as *Áide!* (gr. Άιντε!, eng. Come on!), *Éla!* (gr. Έλα! Come on!), *Ach!* (gr. Αχ!) and *Oh!* facilitate this. In addition, a close relationship between musicians and dancers is essential, and the musicians must be able to 'read' the social dynamics as they unfold. *Kéfi* is something that is continually created, cultivated, and enacted by the participants at the *panighýri*, it is not a state that is arrived at, it is a constantly evolving process. Caraveli (1985: 263-264) notes that *kéfi* is a ritual unto itself with specific 'rules' that must be followed. However, as mentioned above, these 'rules' determine a pattern of social engagement and do not prescribe particular actions that must be carried out. The way in which *kéfi* is achieved varies from context to context, between different locations, and in different communities. Essentially, it is about a state of relation and connection; it is not purely about music and dance.[6] As Vinciane Despret (2004: 110) writes:

> *Kefi* is finding a beat, a common construction, establishment of a common rhythm, a tuning, a process, a making oneself available and cultivating emotion. *Kefi* is not a reaction, one must 'make oneself *kefi*'.

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[6] Filippo Bonini Baraldi (2009: 257) suggests that as emotional expression is 'highly conventionalized' as well as '(pre)organized in time and space' within the context of ritual, it is difficult to identify whether emotional behaviour is provoked by music (or any other ritual form). Mechanisms which operate independently of musical structures such as episodic memory, evaluative conditioning and visual imagery could be the reason why certain emotions are triggered in certain contexts. This may explain why very different emotional responses can occur to the same musical structures depending on the context in which they are heard. Confirming Bonini Baraldi's position, Jonathan Holt Shannon (2006: 169) notes that the experience of *ṭarab* in the Arab world is not necessarily dependent on musical perception. He discusses the fact that many of his respondents were not 'cultivated' music listeners and that many of them had little knowledge of the musical structures that they were hearing.

During my fieldwork, there were a few instances when the level of *kéfi* seemed to intensify. These observations came in the rare moments of un-amplified music, when the musicians stepped away from the microphones. To me, they were like frozen moments of sudden clarity, when 'true' feelings and emotions could emerge. These moments usually arose in two contexts. One, when the musicians stopped playing for a phrase or two to allow the 'audience' to 'perform' – this happened during songs where most of the dancers knew the words and were already singing along with the musicians – and two, when the musicians came off the microphones to play into the lead dancers ear and follow the dance circle. It was almost as if by turning away from 'modern' amplification and by 'de-professionalising' the role of musician they were stripping away layers of cultural commodification to reveal a more 'authentic' state of being, represented by a more 'traditional' way of presenting the music. This practice is reflective of the way that many locals feel about technology and modernisation; there is a sense that 'modernity' is ruining 'local' culture in Epiros (see Introduction).

These moments were not created simply through the momentary absence of amplification however. The very reason the musicians stopped playing or stepped away from the microphones in the first place was because they could sense that a magical moment had been developing. The contrast created when the musicians stepped away from the microphones simply highlighted what had already been generated through a combination of skilful communication between musicians and dancers; the following of a 'ritual' pattern, which creates cycles of anticipation and the satisfaction of that anticipation; and of course, excellent musicianship.

Communicating *Kéfi*

In Pogoni, not only must a musician have the technical ability needed to skilfully navigate his instrument, but he must also be able to communicate with his audience.[7] This involves establishing good relationships with the lead dancers on and off the dance floor, as well as understanding village politics and who is who in every community that they play for. With this in mind, 'excellent musicianship' may actually be defined by how well a musician understands the 'ritual code'. His knowledge of the community and their preferences means that the musician is able to select the correct pieces to play at the right times, and he knows when to play fast or slow etc. As Kevin Dawe (1996: 106) notes, writing about the way in which *kéfi* is orchestrated by the *lýra* player at dance events in Crete:

> The musical strategies of musicians, their manipulation of musical themes, tempos and improvisations – as elsewhere – occur in a way which takes into account and manages the moods and sounds of the total environment… in their attempts to orchestrate a successful performance – one that is convivial for participants and profitable for musicians.

I often think that musicians in Epiros have to be like anthropologists (or psychologists – a term that Yiannis frequently uses to describe his work as a musician);[8] it is essential that they are able to interpret social dynamics in order to be successful. When the musicians sense that *kéfi* is brewing, those with portable instruments will leave the stage and position themselves in the middle of the dance circle. This immediately strengthens the feeling of *communitas* by dissolving the divide between musician and 'audience'. From here, their attention will be focused on the lead dancer.

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[7] I use the pronoun 'he' here as almost all instrumentalists in Pogoni are men.

[8] Mattijs van de Port (1999: 291) recounts a conversation he had with Janoš, a Gypsy violinist from Novi Sad in Serbia about the way in which Gypsy musicians adjust their repertoire and style depending on their customers. Like Yiannis, Janoš sees himself as a psychologist. He states: 'Didn't I tell you that we Gypsies are great judges of character, great psychologists!'. Bonini Baraldi (2009: 258-259) notes a similar situation in Romania, where Gypsy musicians are highly sensitive to the preferences of individual clients and know which tunes will make a certain person dance, sing, or cry.

The relationship between the musicians and the lead dancer is of utmost importance in Pogoni; the dance, and the whole celebration in general, depends on the ability of the musicians to satisfy the lead dancer and send him or her into a trancelike state of *kéfi*.[9] The *klaríno* player plays directly into the dancer's ear so he or she can 'hear properly'; the vibrations emanating from the instrument are thought to deepen the dancer's appreciation and enthusiasm for the music.[10] Furthermore, the musicians will follow the lead dancer around the circle and indulge any requests he or she makes for particular songs or dances. These requests are often articulated through bodily gestures, rather than through verbal discussion.

Kéfi at its most intense can send community members (usually dancers) into a state of trance. As noted in Chapter 2, the definitions of trance proffered by Judith Becker (2004: 43) and Ruth Herbert (2016: 5) are relevant here. *Kéfi* is a deeply emotional 'bodily event' (Becker 2004: 43), it is characterised by an 'intense focus' (ibid) and it can result in a 'changed sensory awareness' (Herbert 2016: 5). Facial expressions, verbal exclamations and physical gestures communicate a deep emotionality and a selective focus, usually directed towards the musicians and the music. An individual in a heightened state of *kéfi* can also appear as if they are elsewhere – inebriation from alcohol consumption, and a reaction to the musical vibrations emitted from the *klaríno* contribute to this change in awareness (see Videos 7.1 and 7.2 in Appendix C for examples of these behaviours).

Gilbert Rouget (1985) notes that there are many forms of trance and that some of these are more obviously associated with music than others. He suggests that music is often

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[9] Similarly, Ali Jihad Racy (2016: 234-235) discusses the importance of rapport among musicians and between the musicians and audience to the achievement of the state of *salṭanah* in music-making in the Arab world.

[10] The importance of the effect of sonic vibrations on our (human) experience of music has been considered within ethnomusicology. Ana Hofman (2015: 45) discusses the affective potential of sound in terms of 'sonic materialism' which posits that sound is an 'affective vibrational force'. She notes that recent scholarship has proposed that 'sound is vibrational affect that exists above and beyond the ear, resonating in our bodies'. The way in which the body responds to music as vibrational affect is seen as a significant part of the experience of music.

'the principal means of manipulating the trance state' (ibid: xviii), yet it does this by providing the social context for trance rather than by actually triggering it. The form that this context takes and the role of music within it differs from one society to another (ibid). In many societies, trance takes place within religious contexts, but trancing in secular contexts is also referred to by Rouget.

Rouget's discussion of trance in the Arab world is interesting to consider in the context of the current study. Rouget notes that the distinction between religious and profane trance in the Arab world can be difficult to distinguish – the context (religious or secular) in which trance occurs is sometimes the only indicator. He states that the trance state produced in profane contexts is known as *ṭarab*. Although the context in which *ṭarab* is induced is secular, Rouget acknowledges that the behaviour associated with this state closely resembles the behaviour associated with the trance state produced within religious contexts (*wajd*). This behaviour includes fainting or loss of consciousness, crying and shouting, tearing one's garments, clapping, and dancing (Rouget 1985: 281). Rouget refers to this form of trance as 'emotional' trance. Interestingly in Iraq, secular trance (or 'entrainment trance' as Rouget translates it) is called *tarab kaīf* (ibid) – as noted above *kaīf* (or *keyf*) is the Arabic word from which the Greek *kéfi* is derived.[11] Involving less frenzied behaviour than possession or

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[11] Ali Jihad Racy's definition of *ṭarab* suggests that this state may include feelings of pain or yearning (as well as emotional excitement, elation and delight), which is particularly relevant when considering the notion of *kéfi* in Parakalamos (see Racy 2004: 6).

shamanistic trance (see Rouget 1985),[12] ṭarab and other forms of 'emotional' or 'profane'

trance, such as kéfi, can be compared to Becker's (2004) concept of 'deep listening' or

Herbert's (2016: 87) 'absorption'.[13]

Slowly, I realised that many of the gestures made by the lead dancer communicate

specific instructions to the musicians, and that they are not simply 'dance moves' as such.[14]

On Easter Sunday (1st May 2016) in Mavronoros I noticed that the lead dancer repeatedly,

and rather emphatically, pointed to the corner of the room, almost as if he was directing

traffic in that direction. Puzzled, I looked at Yiannis quizzically. He told me that the dancer

was requesting Vangelis's classic tune Alvanía (gr. Αλβανία, eng. Albania) from the

musicians.[15] When a dancer from this area wants Alvanía to be played, s/he points his or her

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[12] Rouget divides religious trance into several categories. For example, he argues that 'possession' trance is the most common form and that this itself can be split into subgroups. 'Possession' trance occurs when a form of divine presence either takes over the subject (full possession), coexists with the subject within the subject's body (inspiration), or communes with or encounters the subject in spiritual fashion outside of the body (communion or communial trance) (Rouget 1985: 26). Also within the bracket of religious trance is shamanistic trance. Rouget notes that shamanistic trance can be distinguished from possession trance by the fact that the shaman transforms him or herself by embodying a spirit, rather than that spirit taking possession of the shaman's body (ibid 21-22). Certain aspects of religious trance, like 'inspiration' (see Rouget 1985: 26) share features that are similar to kéfi, yet the presence of a deity is not widely discussed in relation to kéfi. Although kéfi often occurs during saint's day festivals, it is usually induced within the secular context of folk music and dance.

[13] Becker (2004: 2) defines 'deep listening' as a term that describes the experience of people 'who are profoundly moved, perhaps even to tears, by simply listening to a piece of music'. She suggests that these people experience 'feelings of transcendence or a sense of communion with a power beyond oneself' and she mentions ṭarab specifically as an example (ibid). Herbert (2016: 87) defines 'absorption' as a strongly emotional experience of music 'where music is the main focus of attention'. Quoting Jamieson, she notes that 'absorption can be defined as "an effortless, non-political quality of deep involvement with the objects of consciousness" (Jamieson 2005, 120), as opposed to intentional engagement that is goal-directed, rational and effortful' (Herbert 2016: 5).

[14] Gina Fatone et al. (2011) discuss 'cueing gestures' in the context of the performance of Indian Raga. They note that these gestures are often, in reality, redundant as they simply 'confirm something that all performers already know is about to happen' (ibid: 206). Although the musicians in Parakalamos are aware of the repertoire of 'cueing gestures' that the dancers may use at any time, these gestures are not redundant as they give the musicians a specific instruction that had not been previously rehearsed. In this way, the dancers are active participants in the creation of the music, as they have a certain amount of control over what the musicians will play. Here, gesture is instrumental to the way in which music is structured (rather than the other way around).

[15] Alvanía is an instrumental melody that was composed by Vangelis Chaliyiannis of Parakalamos (now eighty years old). Vangelis was regarded as the best musician in the area when he was in his prime (some 30 or 40 years ago) (see Chapter 5).

hand in the direction of Albania. As the border is so close, most people know in which direction to point.

Later that month, I accompanied members of Moukliomos to the *kafeneío* in Kalpaki.[16] They had been invited to play for a name day celebration. Late in the evening, it was requested that I play for the dancing (I had just been watching up until this point). Knowing that refusal was not an option, I took out my *klaríno* and started to play Alvanía (one of the only 'local' tunes that I could really play well at this time). After a few minutes the young lad who was dancing first started rotating his open palm back and forth. At first I thought it was just a part of his expression of *kéfi* and I continued to play Alvanía. But the dancer was still moving his hand back and forth, and now his eyes were fixed on me. I realised he was giving me an instruction but I had no idea what it meant. I looked over at Christos Zekios, imploring him to help me. Christos picked up his *klaríno* and started to play. Relieved, I put my own instrument down and turned to ask Yiannis about what had just happened. Yiannis explained that this gesture is the signal for *ghyrísmata*. The dancer had wanted me to start 'improvising' (see Chapter 6). Listening to Christos, I could hear that he was now playing some of the characteristic *klapsiáriko* (gr. κλαψιάρικο, eng. whining) phrases that are typical of *ghyrísmata* and the *moirolói*.

In reciprocation for the fulfilment of the lead dancer's desires, s/he will shower the musicians with money, colloquially known as *chartoúra* (gr. χαρτούρα, eng. papers). The performance of this act is often highly dramatised and can consist of slamming 10 or 20 (or sometimes even 50) euro notes down on the table in front of the musicians, tucking the notes

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[16] Moukliomos are a band from Parakalamos who play, in their own words, 'Gypsy-folk-rock-jazz'. The name 'Moukliomos' means 'free' in the Romani dialect of Parakalamos. They play 'traditional' music at events like the one mentioned here, but they also have a more 'commercial' repertoire which draws on pan-Balkan 'Gypsy' music which they arrange with a jazz or rock accompaniment.

under *klaríno* keys,[17] or sticking the notes to the musicians' foreheads. Willingness to part

with money in this way expresses masculinity through the display of material means (money)

and the articulation of the dancer's *kéfi*.[18] In this way, the first dancer controls the activities

of the musicians as he dictates what the musicians should play and is in direct control of how

much money the musicians will receive for their efforts.

However, in recent years, the throwing of *chartoúra* has become less frequent. The

severity of the financial crisis in Greece has meant that people have started to tone down their

extravagance at *panighýria*. Fifteen years ago, it was quite common for 'music enthusiasts'

or *meraklídhes* (gr. μερακλήδες) to part with hundreds of euros in one evening of dancing.

Even a few years ago, the situation was not quite so bad. Nikos Oikonomou, a violinist and

défi player, recounted an occasion a few years back when he and the other members of

Moukliomos received a phone call at 3am. A wedding celebration was in full swing and all

the guests were in the mood for live music. The musicians got out of bed and drove to the

wedding party. They arrived at around 4am and played until 5am. The guests went wild, or as

Nikos expressed it, '*éghine chamós*' (gr. έγινε χαμός).[19] In the space of that one hour, the

band took two thousand euros from the wedding guests, as everyone was throwing money.

Nikos told me this story on the journey back from a name day celebration in Katarachtis in

May 2016. The band had agreed to play for the fee of three hundred euros. They played for

three hours and no-one threw any money at all.

Nowadays, even the most devoted merry-maker is more cautious. Furthermore, the

emigration of a large proportion of the population from rural Epiros to urban centres has

[17] This practice also occurs in Greek Macedonia where celebrants will stick bank notes on the *zourná* (shawm) bell or beneath the ropes of the *daoúli* (drum).
[18] This is common in *panighýria* and other celebrations throughout Greece (see Cowan 1990: 105; Keil and Keil 2002: 41-43 for examples of this behaviour in Greek Macedonia).
[19] *Éghine chamós* is a Greek expression that means something like 'all hell broke loose'. It is often used by the Parakalamos musicians to describe a *panighýri* or *ghléndi* in which high levels of *kéfi* were reached.

changed the dynamics of the village *panighýria*. In the summer, urban residents return to

their village of origin and participate in the *panighýria*, unaware however, of village

conventions. In cities such as Athens, cultural associations (*politistikoí sýlloghoi*, gr.

πολιτιστικοί σύλλογοι) organise dance evenings in which musicians are hired to play

regional music from all over Greece. Members of the association each pay a flat entrance fee

(usually around fifteen euros) which entitles them to dance 'free' all evening.[20] In the

villages, younger participants who have grown up in an urban environment and are familiar

with the dance evenings organised by their local cultural association, often do not realise that

for the privilege to dance at the front of the circle, an offering must be made to the musicians.

This in turn, is slowly changing the village conventions themselves. Where, in the

past, the musicians relied solely on *chartoúra* from dancers for payment, now musicians will

often refuse to play unless a fixed fee has been agreed in advance by the village president, or

by the organisation that is responsible for planning the *panighýri*. The musicians know that

there is no longer any guarantee that dancers will 'throw' money.

Gendered Conceptions of Emotion

Although today the creation of *kéfi* is a process in which both men and women are involved,

it is still a state that is mostly associated with men. For men, *kéfi* is the central notion around

which *panighýria* revolve. For them, *kéfi* is a form of male bonding 'where male communion

reaches its highest form' (Papataxiarchis n. d.: 8, quoted in Cowan 1990: 107). It is a realm

that women are traditionally excluded from and is a state that encompasses a wide range of

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[20] Urban dance events were discussed by Maria Koutsoba in her seminar entitled 'Local dance traditions and glocalised crisis: A landscape of traditional dance in Greece under austerity' which took place in March 2017 at the Royal Anthropological Institute in London.

high-spirited feeling.[21] As for the men from Sohos in Greek Macedonia, in Epiros '*kéfi* is a mode of both action and feeling in which male individuals explore tensions and boundaries of their social world *as men*' (Cowan 1990: 107). In this sense, *kéfi* as expressed in the *panighýri* can be conceived as a male parade of masculinity (cf. Auerbach 1987: 28).

Kéfi as an expression of masculinity is a notion that is well documented in the anthropological literature (cf. Cowan 1990; Papataxiarchis 1991; Panopoulos 1996). Panagiotis Panopoulos (1996) discusses male improvised singing in the village of Philoti on the island of Naxos. He notes that the most important context in which improvised singing occurs is in the male *paréa* (gr. παρέα, eng. company) or friendship group. Within the *paréa*, the notion of *taíriasma* (gr. ταίριασμα, eng. well-matching) is a metaphor that describes the dynamics involved in the achievement of *kéfi*. The idea of *taíriasma* applies to the matching of songs (in terms of the ability to improvise well-rhyming words, and the ability to sing the right song at the right moment) as well as to the matching of selves (through effective communication) and circumstances (spontaneous and impulsive collective action, rather than careful planning). As the Greek conception of male friendship is in opposition to the understanding of kinship and the obligations attached to it, activities within the *paréa* provide an alternative to the 'restrictions and limitations of everyday life'. Through the 'well-matching' of singing and drinking, men from Philoti create an 'anti-structural world' of male solidarity (Panopoulos 1996: 62).

Antonio Sorge (2008) observes that the articulation of *kéfi* is related to the expression of male solidarity in other Mediterranean cultures. He draws a parallel between male 'commensal solidarity' amongst shepherds in the highlands of Sardinia, the 'in-group' practices performed by men on Lesvos and Crete, and the pattern of exchange between men

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[21] However, today, the gendered dimensions of *panighýria* change from *panighýri* to *panighýri* in Pogoni. For example, women are actively involved in the creation of *kéfi* in Paliogribiani and Areti (see Chapter 6).

in rural Andalusia. Sorge (2008: 817) highlights the fact that in these contexts the 'mundane rules of social interaction are replaced by a set of fluid expectations' and notes that these expectations are often determined by 'the interpersonal dynamics of those present' as well as upon the sharing of goods such as alcohol and tabacco.

Jane Sugarman (1997: 58) notes similar practices among Prespa Albanian men. The term *muabet* refers to a state of 'openness and affection' that can be achieved through the practice of conversation, storytelling, singing, or dancing. She notes the importance of alcohol in stimulating the uninhibited and elated feelings that accompany the practice of *muabet* (ibid: 278). At particularly successful gatherings, *muabet* can evolve into a heightened state of *qeif* (ibid: 148). These ideas of male commensal solidarity are particularly relevant to the performance of *kéfi* in *panighýria*.

In the context of *panighýria*, the performance of male commensal solidarity manifests itself in several forms, including the enforced drinking of alcohol, the domination of the musicians, as well as an easy attitude toward money, as mentioned above. In a dance circle, typically a male peer will approach the lead dancer (if male) at certain points in the dance with a bottle of alcohol and pour it down his throat in the spirit of solidarity before allowing the dance to progress.[22] The lead dancer is at once dominated by his peers, as he is forced to drink, yet he also benefits from the camaraderie that accepting the drink generates.

There are also typical postures and gestures that are adopted in the dance that signify 'masculine' comradeship. The appearance of self-absorption while leading the dance is often a marker of high-levels of *kéfi* in an individual. On occasions the lead dancer will stop moving around in a circle, and lean back or twist around, relying on the men behind him (to his left) to hold him up as he 'performs' his *kéfi*. As in Sohos, sometimes this evolves into a

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[22] See Cowan's (1990: 100) discussion for an example of this practice in wedding processions in Greek Macedonia.

kind of 'horizontal dance' as the lead dancer lies on the floor, pushing his pelvis up with his legs and pulling on the next man's arm (see Cowan 1990: 109-110).[23]

It is apparent then, that men dominate, as they are the principal expressers of *kéfi*. But men too are 'on show' and can put themselves in the firing line for social ridicule if they make a mistake or do not dance well. Cowan (1990: 198) talks of men in Sohos who avoid joining the dance if they do not know it well as they fear their reputation is at risk. She states: 'Certainly, in a society where personal reputation depends on how one is "seen," both males and females may fear (while, often, also desiring) exposure'. Furthermore, through the expression of 'masculine' traits, women nowadays are asserting their own agency, and even inverting men's power.

Challenging Stereotypes

Standing in a loose triangle formation, Michalis Brachopoulos and his klaríno at the front, his father to his left, accordion strapped over his arms, and the défi player on Michalis' right, the musicians are playing in a slow poghonísio rhythm and little by little a circle begins to form around them. Five women and a little girl of about 2 or 3 years old start the dancing, weaving an open circle around the musicians. Before long a man clutching his little boy joins the end of the dance. The lead dancer, a middle-aged woman in tracksuit bottoms, trainers, and a long sleeved pink t-shirt is overcome with kéfi. Her shouts of 'Paidhí mou!' (gr. Παιδί μου! eng. my guy!) 'Ela Michali!' (gr. Έλα Μιχάλη! eng. Come on Michali!) and exclamations of 'Ach!' and 'Oh!' fill the air. After completing half a circle with the basic poghonísio steps she leans in to the middle of the circle, swings around pulling on the next dancer's hand and ends up with her head touching the ground, her feet and right arm supporting her weight, her left arm still pulling on the next dancer, and her back in a slightly arched position. The others dancers are still, occasionally bobbing to the rhythm. Slowly she pulls up into a crouching position. She reaches for the scarf around the second dancer's neck and pulls. The two dancers form a link between themselves, the second dancer wrapping the end of the scarf around her right hand, the lead dancer grasping the other end also with her right hand. The lead dancer is now facing out of the circle, the rest of the line facing inwards. She continues for a little way leading the circle with the poghonísio steps, flicking her hair over her shoulder and moving her head, hands and arms back and forth in apparent ecstasy.

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[23] Bodily gestures in response to music are believed to be an expression of some aspect of the musical sound that they accompany (Clayton and Leante 2013: 192). Studies on gesture and dance have shown that specific gestures are often attached to certain musical emotions. Significantly, a backward head bend, a stretched trunk and raised or outstretched arms have been linked with 'happiness' (Van Dyck et al. 2017: 123).

Michalis's klaríno is following her progression around the circle. Michalis signals by playing a repeated tone a fourth above the original tonal centre, this tells the band that it is time to modulate up to this new centre. The lead dancer shows her approval for this modulation by bringing the thumb and fingers of her left hand together and extending her arm downwards from the elbow, her exclamations become more emphatic and she turns in to face the centre of the circle once more. She drops to her knees and beckons Michalis over. He slowly advances towards her and she inclines her right ear towards the bell of the klaríno. Michalis changes tónos again and begins to play Alvanía into her ear. She swings her head back and then forwards and she starts moving sideways on her knees. The man at the back of the line is on his mobile, he extends his phone towards the musicians, connecting a wider community to this time and place.

Extract from my fieldwork diary, 25th April 2014

Plate 7.2: Michalis playing into the dancer's ear in Paliogribiani (Paliogribiani, 25/04/2014)

The above vignette describes the beginning of 'the dance' at a *panighýri* in Paliogribiani where musicians from Parakalamos were playing.[24] This was a particularly interesting moment due to the dominance of women in the dance (see Video 7.3, Appendix C). The

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[24] Paliogribiani (gr. Παλιογκρίμπιανη) or 'old Gribiani' is the old site of the village now known by the Greek name Areti (gr. Αρετή). It is above the current site of the village, right on top of the Kasidiaris mountain (see Chapter 6).

expression of *kéfi* by these women in this way is at odds with the 'traditional' Greek view of femininity.[25] In Greek ethnography, the archetypal female is depicted as domestically defined; she is in charge of the smooth running of the house and is blamed when family relationships break down, no matter what the cause (Dubisch 1986: 9; Cowan 1990: 51). The ideal female character is represented by the Virgin Mary or *Panaghía* (gr. Παναγία), and is associated with a submissive and silent nature. On the other hand, the socially undesirable side to the female character is symbolised by the 'wanton Eve' (Herzfeld 1991: 79). The association of women with Eve is entwined with the concept of shame or *dropí* (gr. ντροπή) and female sexuality. Female modesty then, is highly valued, as this is the only way that the devilish 'nature' of women can be contained.

In the past, women would rarely take the role of 'lead dancer' for fear of presenting their sexuality to the outside world, as female sexuality is traditionally associated with dirtiness and wickedness. In the dance, as Cowan (1990: 190) states: 'ambivalent attitudes about female sexuality as both pleasurable and threatening are juxtaposed'.[26] However, in the contemporary example above, not only was the dance circle led by women, but the lead dancer was actually appropriating gestures that belong to a very 'male' way of behaving. Exuberant gestures such as pulling on the arm of the second dancer, dropping to the knees, and waving both arms in the air are typical actions associated with the *palikári* (gr. παλικάρι, eng. brave-hearted man), or *levéndis* (gr. λεβέντης, eng. fine fellow) in a dance context.[27] In

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[25] As in much Mediterranean and Balkan scholarship, in twentieth century Greek anthropology, gendered stereotypes are sustained and discussed through gendered oppositions such as 'honour' and 'shame' (Campbell 1964, 1965; Peristiany 1965); and 'public' and 'private' (or domestic) (see for example Dubisch 1986, 1991; Friedl 1986; Herzfeld 1986: 215). The woman's responsibility is the emotional mediation of family relationships whereas, in contrast, the man is in charge of the material well-being of the family. The man is the public representative of the family and it is the economic element of family affairs that he must take care of (Cowan 1990: 52).

[26] There are several sources on the judgment of female moral character in Greek dance contexts (cf. Cowan 1990: 188-206; Kavouras 1992: 178-179; Panopoulou 2008: 450).

[27] In his seminal work, John Campbell (1964: 280) asserts that the 'ideal of manhood' amongst the Sarakatsani of Zagori, Epiros is expressed by the qualities of the *palikári*. A young unmarried man

> In this most recent period, women manifest initiative in the dance, confirming their entrance into the public domain and simultaneously reinforcing women's position in the social hierarchy. Such performances demonstrate that previous gender differentiations, in public and in private, have been lessened.
>
> (Panopoulou 2008: 454)

One possible reason for these changing gender norms is that Greek society in general is becoming more urbanised. Young people are moving away from their villages into the cities and so Greek values as a whole are slowly changing. At festival times (such as Easter and in the summer months), emigrants return to their villages to participate in *panighýria*, bringing their new city values with them. Achilleas Hadjikyriacou (2013: 29) notes that the post-war[29] migration of Greeks from rural to urban areas affected cultural life in both the village and the city. As thousands of rural Greeks moved to the cities, their lifestyle changed profoundly as they adjusted to their new urban homes. They also 'altered the cultural character of the cities' as they brought their rural values with them. As the migrants often returned 'home' to their village of origin, they also contributed to 'cultural transfers from the urban centres to the rural periphery'. By the late 1960s, cultural life in the village was changing too.

These internal changes continued throughout the second half of the twentieth century up to the present day, and rural Greece continues to become more and more depopulated. A woman who has grown up in a city such as Athens or Thessaloniki, or abroad in America or elsewhere, is not conditioned by the codes of behaviour that dictate a village woman's performance of her identity. She thus possesses a greater capacity for individual creativity

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ages was great. Otherwise they had to use a handkerchief, each holding an end'. Furthermore, men would execute the more difficult and energetic steps, while women would dance modestly with small movements (see Janković 1969: 127; Bogdani 1991: 327). These distinctions are changing however. Today, gender segregation in folk dance is becoming less common, women are able to lead the dance if they wish, and in some cases, women may even appropriate steps that used to be considered 'masculine' gestures as their own (Demas and Kyriakides 1996: 1; Creed 2004: 60; Panopoulou 2008: 454).

[29] Referring to the Second World War as well as the Greek Civil War.

and expression in the dance, as she is not restricted to the same degree by 'what the village will think of her'. Furthermore, social 'rules' in the village are not as strongly upheld as they once were and female creativity and agency is accepted to a much greater degree.

Ambiguous Emotions

Whereas the dance expresses social connection, individual as well as collective expression, and an exuberance for life, the *moirolói* which opens and closes the dancing embodies a sense of nostalgia; a bittersweet pain that is associated with remembrance and longing. Yet, as with the 'shepherd who lost his sheep' genre in Romania and Hungary (see Introduction), this pain can still be detected in the dance. *Kéfi* is not only about joy, it is about intensity of experience, about living life to the full – and this includes experiencing and living through pain. Playing musical phrases that are typical of the *moirolói* over the *poghonísio* dance rhythm in the musical interludes known as *ghyrísmata* (see Chapter 6), expresses this duality. The *klaríno* 'cries' for the dancers as well.

The *moirolói* as performed at *panighýria* expresses pain, yet it is not the same kind of pain that is expressed in mourning or funerary lament. As acknowledged in Chapter 4, most anthropological studies of lament in Greece focus on mourning lament in relation to the notion of *pónos* (gr. πόνος, eng. pain) (cf. Danforth 1982; Caraveli 1986; Seremetakis 1990, 1991). In Greece, the term *pónos* refers to the physical and emotional pain connected to loss and suffering and is usually associated with women. Jill Dubisch (1995: 214-215, 217) notes that the concept of *pónos* is a central theme in Orthodox theology and she suggests that the gendering of *pónos* as a female experience in modern Greek life can be related to the suffering endured by the Virgin Mary as the mother of Christ.[30]

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[30] This gendered notion of *pónos* explains why vocal lament in the event of a death in the community is an almost exclusively female practice. As women are considered to have a more acute sense of pain due to the experience of childbirth and other hardships (Caraveli 1986: 177; Seremetakis 1990: 502),

Considering the fact that lament is traditionally a female form of expression in Greece, it is interesting that *moirológhia* as performed at *panighýria* and *ghléndia* are usually played and/or sung by men. Although, it becomes less surprising when typical male and female contexts of music-making are considered. Susan Auerbach (1987: 26) notes that grief is a hallmark of female expression in rural Greece and that lament is the musical embodiment of this form of expression. On the other hand, the free expression of joy is considered to be a male privilege and playing or listening to musical instruments, singing, and dancing are the performative tropes that are associated with this joy. As an instrumental tradition that accompanies a saint's day festival, the performance of the *moirolói* in the *panighýri* in Pogoni falls within the male domain of musical performance.

Although the *moirolói* is certainly not an overt expression of joy, neither is it a direct expression of grief. Instrumental *moirológhia* and song laments such as Marióla do not carry the immediate rawness of grief that a vocal lament performed in the event of a death contains. There is usually no public reference to personal loss in the performance of *moirológhia* at *panighýria*. These *moirológhia* are not an occasion for mourning as such, rather, they provide an opportunity for nostalgic reflection about loved ones who are not present (whether dead or not) as well as about their own personal difficulties in life. As Caraveli (1986: 179) notes, it is only women that perform publicly at rituals in the event of a death, yet men may sing publicly *about* death.

As noted in Chapter 2, the nostalgic reflection involved when listening to the *moirolói* can be described by Boym's conception of 'reflective nostalgia'. This form of nostalgia

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it is believed that women have a better understanding of death and lamenting. Through their shared understandings of loss and hardship, these women create a community of pain (see Caraveli-Chaves 1980). This female communality, whether at a funeral or in another context, is an important element of lament practice as 'each women's recollection of her own grief serves to remind and intensify the grief of the others' (Caraveli 1986: 173).

constitutes an emotional state of yearning for an alternative, yet unrealisable, reality (Boym 2001: 49-50; 2007: 7, 9). The performance of the *moirolói* provides an appropriate context in which absent people and different life circumstances can be yearned for, yet there is no real prospect for change. Eckehard Pistrick (2017) notes that similar conditions are created in the performance of migration songs in Albanian Epiros (a repertoire that is related to the *moirolói,* see Chapter 4). He suggests that nostalgia is central to 'understanding the attachment to sounds, places and memories' (Pistrick 2017: 78) and that it is different to the 'static and paralyzing state of grief and pain' (ibid) as it has a 'distinct creative potential' (ibid: 83). This creative potential is magnified in reflective nostalgia as it involves individual (rather than homogenised) experiences and expressions. To clarify this point, Pistrick (2017: 80) emphasises an important distinction between Boym's restorative and reflective nostalgia:

> Although both forms of remembering may use the same symbols and metaphors, and they both aim at reconstructing the past, they each follow an entirely different logic of narrating identity. While 'restorative nostalgia' develops a homogenous collective history, 'reflective nostalgia' evokes 'histories', individually experienced and individually felt and interpreted – and sung.

The continual transformation of the meanings of the past by individuals in the present, rather than the political reconstruction of the past in the present through a collective mythistory, is key to understanding reflective nostalgia (ibid).

Within the *panighýri* then*,* the *moirolói* functions as an evocation of a sorrowful, reflective, or nostalgic mood and the idea of joy may even be contained within this mood for some listeners. However, it does still fulfill a cathartic function. Like the women of Kalohori who 'say' more and more laments as they get older in order to 'get out the ach' (Auerbach 1987: 33), *moirológhia* are played at *panighýria* in Pogoni so that the festival participants have an opportunity to process their internal feelings before the communal festivities begin. Unlike the women of Kalohori however, in this case, the performers of the lament act as a medium for others feelings rather than for their own (cf. Delaporte 2008: 59).

Rather than simply expressing the suffering associated with *pónos*, the *moirolói* in this context articulates a more nuanced conception of pain. Here a parallel can be drawn once again between the instrumental *moirolói* and the Epirote folk song tradition. In Greek folk song and poetry generally, the idea of a richly textured, bittersweet kind of pain is epitomised by the term *kaïmós* (gr. καημός, eng. longing, yearning).[31] In Epiros, the song repertoire is dominated by this concept and it is this type of pain that the instrumental *moirolói* embodies. Michael Herzfeld (1997: 223) notes that the meanings of words that describe emotion in Greek often include extremes of both joy and sorrow. Herzfeld observes that *kaïmós* is one of these terms that 'encapsulates contradictions of intense emotion' and he writes that '*kaïmós* is consuming sadness, but it is also concentrated desire'.[32] In this way, the *moirolói* as performed in Pogoni involves a dichotomy of feeling. It contains joy as well as sadness (see Chapter 3).[33]

If instrumental *moirológhia* and song laments such as Marióla are not performed in the context of mourning, why then are they sometimes performed in graveyards? There were a couple of instances where I found myself in conversation about this occurrence.[34]

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[31] An exact translation of the word into English is difficult. The word 'longing' is often used, yet, this does not convey the nuance of meaning that *kaïmós* denotes.

[32] Herzfeld (1997: 223) gives two other examples of words that can describe extremes of emotion. He notes that *ékstasi* (gr. έκσταση) 'can mean a gripping fury as much as an intense pleasure' and that *lachtára* (gr. λαχτάρα) 'denotes both the deep longing of the lovelorn and the terror of impending death'.

[33] Shannon (2006: 161) notes that *ṭarab*, the heightened emotional state often produced by music in the Arab world, also contains these extremes of emotion. He writes: 'In Arabic, ṭarab refers linguistically to a state of heightened emotionality, often translated as "rapture," "ecstasy," or "enchantment" but which can indicate sadness as well as joy'. Bonini Baraldi (2009: 258) discusses a similar phenomenon in relation to the repertoire of '*de jale*' songs in Romania. He notes that the term *de jale* refers to the sentiment of sadness or grief and that the song texts often refer to the hardships of Gypsy life. However, according to local sensibility, these songs should be interpreted 'with sweetness' (ro. *cu dulceaţa*) and that the sadness and sweetness combined is thought to convey bittersweet emotions.

[34] Writing in the 1980s, Caraveli (1986: 179) also notes that *panighýria* in Zagori sometimes begin in the graveyard with a performance of Marióla or another similar *moirolói* before the rest of the festivities in the village square.

In Aristi, while the band were setting up for a wedding party, Thanasis Zekios (the accordion player) showed me a video on his phone. The video showed Beni, Christos Zekios (Thanasis's brother), and Dimitrakis Chaliyiannis (Christos Chaliyiannis's brother) in the graveyard in Parakalamos singing and playing their hearts out over a gravestone. Thanasis explained to me that it was about 3am in the morning, that they were all very drunk and that the tombstone belonged to the grave of Dimitrakis's father who had died four years before. I asked if this happens often. Nikos Oikonomou (the percussionist) said that if they are drunk and have the appetite (*kéfi*) then they will go to the graveyard to play *moirológhia* and *poghonísia* to their dead relatives, but it is not a 'tradition'. It just happens spontaneously.[35]

This topic was broached again a few days later when I was invited to a friend's house in Doliana for dinner. Sakis, my host (a wine producer and agricultural scientist), and his friend Yiannis (a mechanic) told me that sometimes at the end of a *ghléndi*, if people are very drunk and are in touch with their pain, they go to the graveyard to relieve their pain with *moirológhia*. Although these accounts of spontaneous visits to the graveyard involved directing the *moirolói* towards a dead person (by playing over their gravestone), the performed *moirolói* was either purely instrumental, or if singing was involved, a 'standard' song lament like Marióla was performed. A personal verbal dialogue with the deceased, as is the norm in mourning laments, was not performed.

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[35] This reminded me of a tradition that is observed around Easter time in a village in the municipality of Filiates, an area that touches on Pogoni's south-western border. I was told about this custom by Panayiotis, a photographer that I met in Ioannina over the *apókries* (gr. απόκριες, eng. Carnival) period in 2016. He had been to this village to photograph the event in previous years. In the village of Giromeri (gr. Γηρομέρι or Γιρομέρι), every Easter Monday after the church service, the congregation goes to the graveyard along with a band of local musicians. They move from tombstone to tombstone and the relatives of the person buried in that spot ask the musicians to play the deceased's favourite song over the grave. This is a much more sombre occasion than the alcohol fuelled visit described by Thanasis and it is repeated every year on the same day. The congregation stands in quiet reflection around the grave, remembering the deceased. The music played in this region is much the same as the repertoire that is played in Pogoni.

Although the location is the same (the graveyard), there is still a separation in meaning and sentiment between vocal mourning lament and the instrumental *moirolói* or song lament. For instance, a drunken visit to the graveyard to perform or to listen to instrumental *moirológhia* would not occur if a *ghléndi* participant was in mourning as a performance of these *moirológhia* is considered to be music-making. In Epiros, if a person has recently lost a close family member they will refrain from dancing, singing or any other form of 'musical joy' (see Auerbach 1987: 27), until a year has passed. However, restrictions are less severe on men and young people than they are on older women. Auerbach (1987: 29) notes 'Male mourners in Kalohori are permitted to "throw out" their sorrow with the distractions of drinking, card-playing, socializing at the café, and even music'. Younger generations are also losing interest in the upkeep of such customs, and many do not consider abstinence from music and dance after the loss of a loved one as necessary. Sakis, for example, did not refrain from participating in the dance when his mother died as he believed his mother would not have wanted him to stop singing and dancing.

Interestingly nowadays, instrumental *moirológhia* are actually occasionally played at funerals. Yiannis told me that he has played a *moirolói* on the *klaríno* at several funerals. This is usually by request of the family, or even by the deceased before they die – it is not 'standard' practice.

Performing the *moirolói* in graveyards (outside of a funeral context), again as in *panighýria*, does not express the same type of pain (*pónos*) as the vocal mourning lament. It is actually an articulation of a bittersweet type of *kéfi*. As mentioned above, *kéfi* can also contain shades of sorrow and pain as well as joy.

From Graveyards to *Ghléndia*

Another musical context in Pogoni in which the experience of a bittersweet *kéfi* is linked to

the performance of the *moirolói* is the *ghléndi* (gr. γλέντι, eng. party). The term *ghléndi*

refers to a gathering of friends, or a *paréa*, who are usually celebrating something. Although

there does not actually have to be a specific premise in order for a *ghléndi* to take place. In

fact, in Pogoni, the 'best' *ghléndia* are often spontaneous; a night of drinks with friends at the

kafeneío can evolve into a *ghléndi* if the *paréa* has sufficient *kéfi* and if the musicians are

available when a member of the *paréa* gives them a call.

Across Greece the *ghléndi* is an event defined by the idea of 'fun' (*dhiaskédhasi*, gr.

διασκέδαση). It is usually held at a local *tavérna* (tavern) or *kafeneío*, but can also take place

at someone's house. It can be a planned event, this is the case when a *ghléndi* is organised to

celebrate a birthday, name day, engagement, or other such occasion. But it can also be

spontaneous, or be organised on the spur of the moment (cf. Panopoulos 1996: 62). Essential

ingredients for a *ghléndi* are a close group of friends (often exclusively male, but not

always), a high level of *kéfi*, copious amounts of food and alcohol, and music. *Ghléndia* are

much smaller affairs than *panighýria*; they involve a group of family and/or friends rather

than the whole village or community.[36] The atmosphere created at *ghléndia* is one of

intimacy; amongst friends, as well as between the *paréa* and the musicians.[37] In some

contexts, the 'musicians' are the members of the *paréa*, as in Philoti on Naxos (Panopoulos

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[36] Although, in Olymbos on the island of Karpathos the term can be used to refer to an event that involves the whole community (including saint's day celebrations) as well as to smaller gatherings (Caraveli 1985: 262).

[37] An interesting parallel to consider is that between the Greek *ghléndi* and the Syrian *sahra*. Shannon notes that the *sahra* is a gathering of friends that come together to celebrate a birthday, wedding, graduation or similar event. He states that intimacy is a key aspect of the *sahra* and interaction between musicians and 'audience' is common. This is the main distinction between a *sahra* and a *ḥafla* (a concert of bigger scale) (Shannon 2006: 140, 143).

1996), but in northern Greece a group of Romani musicians is usually called upon (unless the *ghléndi* centres around polyphonic singing as is sometimes the case in Epiros).

In Parakalamos though, sometimes the *ghléndi* is made up of only *Ghýftoi* musicians – this is an example of when musicians partake in the creation and enjoyment of *kéfi* and are not subordinated through their role as musicians; they are playing for themselves, rather than for others. Furthermore, some Parakalamos musicians occasionally go looking for an opportunity to actually be the instigators of a *ghléndi*. If a group of musicians with a suitable mix of instruments have *kéfi* to play together, they may 'tour' the local *kafeneía* in nearby villages looking for a suitable *paréa*. By playing two or three tunes at each *kafeneío*, the musicians can determine whether a *ghléndi* is likely to erupt. If they are unable to inspire *kéfi* and no money is proffered, they simply move on to the next village. When they manage to find a group of friends who have been drinking long enough and are in the mood for music, this can be a financially lucrative exercise.

In Pogoni, it is in the context of *ghléndia* that more interest is shown towards the *moirolói*. As noted in Chapter 4, although there is a developed and verbally articulated system of meaning associated with the *moirolói* in the context of the *panighýri*, the actual performance at the beginning of the evening does not usually inspire a deep engrossment from the listeners.[38] At *ghléndia*, however, *moirológhia* are often requested and the behaviour of the *ghléndi* participants is markedly different. In the more intimate setting of the *ghléndi*, members of the *paréa* will frequently join in with the musicians, pre-empting the melodic direction by singing along with vocables when instrumental *moirológhia* are played (listen again to Recording 5.1, Appendix C).[39] Often, *ghléndi* participants will embrace and

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[38] However, towards the end of a *panighýri*, *moirológhia* sometimes do become the focal point, if requested by the *panighýri* participants.
[39] This was particularly common in *ghléndia* when Vangelis Chaliyiannis was playing at the height of his powers.

kiss the musicians whilst they are playing. Shouts of encouragement, the expression of intense emotion, and the throwing of money is also common. Beer and *tsípouro* is always in plentiful supply and the *ghléndi* participants ensure that the musicians always have a full glass.[40]

The role of alcohol is particularly important at *ghléndia* in and around Parakalamos. As mentioned in Chapter 5, most of the musicians see a small amount of alcohol as an important ingredient in creating the appropriate state of mind in order to play well. However, the drinking habits of a *paréa* in a state of fully fledged *kéfi* are another matter entirely. Vast amounts of alcohol are usually consumed, each member of the *paréa* encouraging the other members to keep drinking. At *ghléndia* in Pogoni, alcohol consumption is considered to be a fundamental part of the process of creating *kéfi*. It is also thought of as integral to the appreciation of the music of Pogoni. Heavy drinking seems to promote a nostalgic connection to pain and so deepens the mood evoked by the music. The actual emotion felt when drinking and listening to *moirológhia* and other local music is closer to nostalgia than actual pain.[41] A couple of encounters during my fieldwork highlighted how alcohol enhances the appreciation of the 'lamenting' music of Pogoni.

In Pogoniani, on the way to the *kafeneío*, Yiannis and I met a workman (*mástoras*, gr. μάστορας) who was repairing a house. We introduced ourselves, and the man took an immediate interest in Yiannis when he said that he was from Parakalamos. After a brief discussion about whether the *Ghýftoi* in Parakalamos are Muslim Turks or Christian Greeks, I asked the man about the *moirolói*. He did not have a lot to say about it, but he was sure that

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[40] Van de Port (1999: 291-292) notes similar behaviours at Serbian celebrations.

[41] Pistrick (2017: 90) notes similar experiences in south Albania. While singing a 'sad song', one of Pistrick's acquaintances noted that it was only because he was in a state of drunkenness that he was able to sing about his sorrows. As Pistrick writes, the alcohol 'makes it possible for him to reach a nostalgic and melancholy state of mind'.

the best time to listen to *moirológhia* is when thoroughly inebriated. He said 'When I'm very

drunk, I want to hear a *moirolói*'.[42]

Similarly, at Nikos's bar in Katarachtis one evening, my *paréa* was discussing the

vast repertoire that musicians now have to be able to play and the increasing

'commercialisation' of *panighýria*. The consensus was that the 'true' music of Epiros

consists of the *moirolói* and the *poghonísio*, not the fast dance music like the *zagorísio* and

the *tsámikos*. Nikos stated that the *moirolói* really 'touches you'.[43] He continued, saying that

he just cannot listen to *kalamatianá*.[44] 'When I've drunk ten beers' he said, 'I want

Ipeirótika'.[45]

It seems that the level of spontaneity of an event and the level of inebriation of the

participants is directly proportional to the level of interest shown towards the *moirolói*. When

the *moirolói* is played in its place within the structured environment of the *panighýri*, it is

largely ignored. However, in a spontaneous *ghléndi* or an impulsive visit to the graveyard,

the *moirolói* often becomes the focus of attention. It is in these contexts that the *moirolói*

actually becomes a source of *kéfi*. Here, *kéfi* for the sorrowful and reflective mood that the

moirolói evokes creates an almost paradoxical state of bittersweet feeling. Yet, this

embodiment of joy and sorrow together represents a deeper cultural sentiment in Pogoni –

the people in Pogoni understand that finding joy in sorrow is a part of life. *Kéfi* is not always

an expression of joy and happiness, it refers more to a particular intensity of emotion.

Caraveli (1985: 263) notes that a similar conception of *kéfi* exists on the island of Karpathos:

> In the context of Olymbos folk aesthetics, *kefi* refers to a heightened form of experience – far
> more transported and serious than the carefree and festive mood that the term connotes in other
> parts of Greece. It is not only frequent to see *glendi* guests weep but weeping is expected of a true

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[42] gr. 'Όταν είμαι πολύ μεθυσμένος, θέλω ένα μοιρολόι'.

[43] gr. 'σ'αγγίζει'.

[44] *Kalamatianá* (gr. καλαματινά) are dances in 7/8 time from the Peloponnese (named after the town of Kalamata). These dances are popular throughout Greece.

[45] gr. 'Όταν έχω πιει δέκα μπύρες, θέλω τα Ηπειρώτικα'.

state of *kefi*: 'The successful *glendi* is judged by [the amount] of weeping' (*To kalo glendi metrietai apo to klama*).[46]

As on Karpathos, it is not unusual for *ghléndi* participants in Pogoni to weep in a combination of joy and pain when listening to music or dancing. The states of *kaïmós* and *kéfi* are not so different. Each contains an aspect of the other. In Pogoni, as is the case for *kaïmós*, *kéfi* denotes a concentrated attention that is linked to longing and desire rather than a frivolous 'joyfulness'.

To conclude, *panighýria* in Pogoni are measured by the level of *kéfi* that they generate. *Kéfi* is achieved through the creation of the 'proper' atmosphere and through close relationships between the musicians and dancers. It is a social dynamic, not a fixed state. Musicians must be able to read the dancers' mood and be aware of their preferences. In turn, the dancers communicate with the musicians through a repertoire of gendered gestures. These gestures convey specific requests as well as appreciation for the musicians' efforts. Although the most emphatic of these gestures are traditionally male, women are now appropriating them as an empowered form of expression of their own.

As previously stated, music and dance in Pogoni embody an emotional duality. A bittersweet notion of both pain and joy is present in every aspect of the *panighýri*. In this sense, it is not a duality at all. The emotional tone of music and dance events as a whole continually fluctuates between an intense reflective nostalgia, and an intense and exuberant joy. Whereas grief and pain is expressed by women in mourning lament, and joy is traditionally expressed by men in dance (see Auerbach 1987), the ambiguous bittersweet sentiment that permeates the traditional music in Pogoni is usually performed by male *Ghýftoi*.

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[46] Square bracketed material appears in the original text.

This ambiguity in sentiment becomes more apparent as levels of inebriation, intimacy and spontaneity rise. In contexts such as graveyards and *ghléndia*, the *moirolói* becomes central to the creation of *kéfi*. The sound of the 'crying *klaríno*' becomes the focal point of attention, and *kéfi* itself is transformed into a bittersweet state of nostalgia. The boundary between the states of *kaïmós* and *kéfi* becomes blurred.

Conclusions

This thesis concerns the relationship between music and emotion in the Greek village, Parakalamos. Focusing on the clarinet, it examines the way in which this instrument 'cries' in the context of village rituals. To my knowledge, it is the first ethnomusicological study to document the rich metaphoric language employed in musical practice. To this end, my glossary of terms provides a unique insight into the music of this village. Although an anthropological study of (musical) performance and its relationship to place has been conducted recently (Theodosiou 2011), my study interrogates how musical sound itself is involved in the emotional construction of space. My discussion is organised around ethnographic vignettes which focus on local understandings of music and on embodied styles of expression. These vignettes are combined with musical analysis and ethnographic interviews which illustrate the social significance of the 'crying clarinet'.

As a clarinetist myself, my engagement with the musical tradition as a performer has allowed me to make some detailed observations. Through lessons, and through discussions with *klaríno* players, I have been able to determine the techniques and concepts that are used to produce the 'crying' sound of the *klapsiáriko* style. A playing 'ethos' which incorporates the use of a system of microtonal inflections known as *mória*, as well as ornaments such as *ghlistrímata* (glissandi) and *tríllia* (trills), is central to the style. The use of repeated motifs which are associated with the sounds of crying, and the alternation between major and minor tonalities are also important (see Introduction and Chapter 5).

The notion of 'place' has been significant in this study. Building on the anthropological literature that considers the Greek-Albanian border (for example, Green 2005; Theodosiou 2011), this thesis has argued that musical style is intimately related to emotional experiences of place in Pogoni. In particular, I have focused on the music of Parakalamos. This 'music village' is home to a group of *Ghýftoi* musicians who play in a

distinct style (*Parakalamiótika*). Place is important when considering this style, because in Parakalamos, music is contingent upon social interaction. *Parakalamiótika* is not an abstract 'aesthetic' form of music that is performed only by musicians. It is created and 'remade' by the community as a whole in every individual performance (see Chapter 3). Thus, emotional relationships are at the heart of musical practice in Parakalamos. These emotional relationships are formed through music and are dependent upon socio-cultural notions of sentiment.

In this way, this study also contributes to the ethnomusicological literature which concerns music and emotion. My principal theoretical focus has been on the way in which the relationship between music and place is emotionally mediated. I posit that music, place and emotion are involved in an interdependent relationship and I follow an ecological interpretation of emotion and music in which the environment plays an important role (see Chapter 2). In Pogoni, emotional narratives that centre around different conceptions of pain permeate social experience. Local discourse suggests that music embodies these narratives (see Chapter 3), and a genre of instrumental lament (the *moirolói*) is central to the music tradition. Listening to *moirológhia* encourages a state of bittersweet pain (*kaïmós*) that provokes moods associated with nostalgia and reflection. Unlike the unaccompanied vocal lament (*moirolói*), the instrumental lament (*moirolói*) is performed at the beginning and end of *panighýria*. Although these saint's day festivals are celebratory in nature, opening and closing these festivals with the *moirolói* allows participants to remember absent loved ones (see Chapter 4). This thesis provides a fresh perspective on lament as it considers a form that is performed outside of funerary contexts by men.

The *moirolói* is connected to narratives about improvisation. The idea that the *moirolói* is created 'spontaneously' is commonly expressed in Parakalamos and it is this spontaneity that gives the *moirolói* its emotional value. In this way, performance practice in

Parakalamos reflects themes that pervade the ethnomusicological literature on improvisation. As in many ethnomusicological studies, the importance placed on the use of 'inspiration from inside' oneself emphasises the fact that personal or individual expression is admired. In Parakalamos, moving away from recognised musical structures and 'breaking the rules' is considered to be more emotive. Musicians assert that there are certain required conditions in order for this inspiration to emerge. The creation of the 'proper' atmosphere and state of mind is imperative in order to play a *moirolói* well (see Chapter 5).

Finally, this study considers the way in which emotional states in response to music are embodied. In Parakalamos, a highly emotional state known as *kéfi* is articulated through facial expressions, bodily gestures and verbal exclamations. It most often affects the dancers at a *panighýri* or *ghléndi* and can result in an intensely emotional trance-like state. This state fluctuates between (or simultaneously expresses) painful and joyful sentiments (see Chapter 7).

The simultaneous existence of pain and joy in music and dance in Parakalamos is exemplified through musical *ghyrísmata*. As improvisations that resemble a 'rhythmic *moirolói*' that can be danced to, musical *ghyrísmata* provide a 'bridge' between the bittersweet pain (*kaïmós*) associated with instrumental lament, and the 'joyful' mood (*kéfi*) associated with dance. In this way, the ritual structure of *panighýria* organises emotional experience around a progression from *kaïmós* to *kéfi*.

However, in more intimate contexts like *ghléndia*, it is evident that *kaïmós* and *kéfi* are not distinct emotional states; they merge into one another. In this sense, *moirológhia* can arouse *kéfi* and dancing can provoke weeping and the feeling of *kaïmós*. In Parakalamos, *kaïmós* and *kéfi* are both experienced as bittersweet and a sense of reflective nostalgia informs the expression of emotion through music and dance. *Kaïmós* and *kéfi* are not conflicting states of emotion, in fact, one complements the other (see Chapter 7). Through

considering the relationship between *kaïmós* and *kéfi*, this study contributes to the wider literature that considers bittersweet emotions in the context of music making in the Balkans (see Introduction).

The *klaríno* and its 'crying' sound plays an important role in the emotional construction of place in Parakalamos. Emotional narratives associated with the pain of a 'marginal' place are present in music within song texts and within musical sound itself. These emotional narratives have shaped musical sound and have imbued it with local meaning. At the same time, the *klaríno* is involved in constructing these narratives. Because the sound of the *klaríno* is a constant aspect of experience and memory in Parakalamos, it becomes an agent in the creation of local archetypes related to emotion.

As mentioned in the Introduction, the yearning for something that is considered to be lost is at the heart of the cultural tropes of pain and nostalgia in Pogoni. These narratives are particularly meaningful when placed in the context of a struggling Greek economy and a global environment of accelerating technological advancement.

As touched on in Chapter 7, nostalgia for 'the way things were' is embodied in musical practice by turning away from amplification, and through communal singing and dancing. This narrative of nostalgia for the past is also evident in the way people talk about music in Pogoni. The sense that things are now *pethaména* (gr. πεθαμένα, eng. dead) in places where music used to be performed was articulated frequently. Yiannis complained that people prefer modern technology to music and 'real life' experience nowadays. Similarly, in Koukli at Sakis's *kafeneío*, a group of men in their thirties contended that the (instrumental) *moirológhia* tradition is dying. They saw *Parakalamiótika* as something that belongs to an 'older' time and they suggested that the folk music of the area will not last beyond another fifty years or so.

The Parakalamos musicians are beginning to face challenges in terms of their profession. In a conversation with Nasos Chaliyiannis I was surprised when he told me that he would not be playing at the Kryoneri *panighýri* on the 26th July (2016). When I asked him why, he said simply 'they didn't book me'.[1] When I attended the Kryoneri *panighýri* it was to discover that an Albanian band had been booked instead (presumably for a cheaper fee).

In a similar fashion, Nikos Tasis and his *kompanía* were on the stage in place of the Parakalamos musicians in Vrontismeni (25th July). On this occasion though, Yiannis suggested that 'famous' musicians like Tasis are being booked in the hope that more people will attend the *panighýri*. The problem is that musicians like Tasis cannot play *Parakalamiótika*. As the villagers are accustomed to the local style, the hiring of a 'famous' musician like Tasis does not achieve the desired affect – people want the local musicians.

Young *Ghýftoi* in Parakalamos are now at a crossroads. The music profession as a 'Gypsy' profession in Parakalamos is not as strong as it once was. Many young *Ghýftoi* in Parakalamos do not play musical instruments anymore (whereas a large proportion of the male *Ghýftoi* community over 30 years old do). They are now going to school and university, whereas the older generations did not, and they are finding other professions. Perhaps the thoughts of the men in Sakis's *kafeneío* in Koukli are correct. In fifty years from now, perhaps the *Ghýftoi* will no longer play *Parakalamiótika* in the Parakalamos area.

A consideration of how I will use this research and in what ways I will continue to engage with the Parakalamos community is pertinent. During my fieldwork, there was an assumption that I would easily be able to organise concerts in London for the Parakalamos musicians. This is not an unusual occurrence during ethnomusicological fieldwork. As Anthony Seeger (2008: 274-275) observes, ethnomusicologists are frequently asked for help

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[1] gr. δεν με πήραν.

in making recordings or organising concert tours. Of course, I wanted to assist in any way that I could, but I was aware that my skills as a music promoter were underdeveloped. Furthermore, as an experienced musician, I knew about the many challenges that face folk musicians on the London music circuit.

In response to repeated requests, I organised a concert and seminar at SOAS (University of London) for Yiannis Chaldoupis in February 2016, with the understanding that he would play with London-based musicians. The concert generated a lot of interest, but, as I had suspected, it was not a particularly profitable endeavour. Ultimately, it did not benefit Yiannis in the way that was intended.

Furthermore, the promotion of this music within international contexts has implications that reach beyond economic considerations. As emphasised, the music of Parakalamos is a 'located' music. It is created through community, and it is only within this community or place that it has meaning. Considering this rhetorically, is *Parakalamiótika* still *Parakalamiótika* when performed on a stage away from its 'local' context? What are the implications of decontextualising music such as this?

The issue of archiving is also a relevant concern. During my time in Parakalamos, I video recorded a large number of performances. Archiving these videos in a university library may have educational value for interested scholars, yet the musicians themselves would have no access to them and no control over how they are used. With this in mind, an online platform could provide a space where these videos can be catalogued and shared with the musicians themselves. In this way, the musicians could use the videos in ways that are beneficial to them.

My ethnographic research has provided an illustration of the contemporary music tradition in Parakalamos. This research could be expanded through the study of historical

recordings. Antonis's tape reels of the old 'masters' of Parakalamos (mentioned in Chapter 3) would constitute a fruitful starting point. If I can obtain permission from Antonis's family, the remastering of these tape reels would constitute an important project in relation to the cultural heritage of Parakalamos. In terms of scholarly research, a musical analysis of these recordings would provide an insight into the processes of musical transmission. As particular motifs and the use of certain modal structures are often attributed to individual players, this analysis would reveal the way in which the old 'masters' are 'remembered' through the playing styles of contemporary musicians.

Appendix A: Biographical Information

This appendix presents basic information about my key respondents. This is not a list of all the *klaríno* players from Parakalamos. It is intended to provide the reader with some contextual information about the *klaríno* players that I mention in my thesis.

Chalilis (Christos Chaliyiannis)

Chalilis and me (Parakalamos, 10/08/2011)

Chalilis is locally considered as one of the masters of *klaríno* of his generation. His father was Metis who was the grandchild of Feizo Halil. Chalilis died several years ago and I only met him on one occasion (pictured), so I was not able to include any first-hand accounts from him. However, he was talked about frequently by my respondents and so his name appears in my thesis several times. Chalilis taught most of the current *klaríno* players in Parakalamos (see below).

Thomas Chaliyiannis

Thomas Chaliyiannis (Agia Marina, 11/08/2011)

Thomas is Chalilis's son. He is the only child of Chalilis to play an instrument as his three sisters were not encouraged to learn. He plays *klaríno* and was taught by his father. At the time of my fieldwork in 2016, Thomas held a teaching post at the Technological Educational Institute of Epirus in Arta. He plays in national festivals and rarely performs in the Parakalamos area. Although he is the son of one of the so-called 'masters' of *Parakalamiótika*, Thomas feels that he has lost his 'Parakalamos accent'. Thomas was the first musician that I met in Parakalamos.

Vangelis Chaliyiannis

Vangelis Chaliyiannis (Sitaria, 28/04/2016)

Vangelis is known in the Parakalamos area as a living legend. He was born in 1938 and his father was the esteemed violinist Kerimis. Kerimis was the brother of Metis, Chalilis's father – Vangelis and Chalilis were first cousins. Vangelis is loved locally for his expressive playing and his tireless improvisatory imagination. He can no longer play in public at festivals due to his ailing health.

Nasos Chaliyiannis

Nasos Chaliyiannis (Kryoneri, 26/07/2012)

Nasos is Vangelis's nephew. His father was Vangelis's older brother, the *klaríno* player Michalis Chaliyiannis. Nasos started his musical career playing the *défi*. He did not begin learning *klaríno* until he was in his twenties. Nasos plays at local *panighýria* with his two sons, Yiannis on *défi* and Nikos on accordion and keyboard. Takis Sinis is the singer and Michalis Chaliyiannis plays guitar. Recently, Thodoris Oikonomou has been playing in Nasos's *kompanía*, sharing the *klaríno* playing with Nasos. Thodoris's father Nikola has also been playing violin with them. Nasos has two brothers; Kostas who plays the *défi* and Dimitris who plays the *laoúto*, accordion and keyboard. Neither of them live in Parakalamos (they live in Ioannina). Nasos's sisters do not play instruments.

Christos Chaliyiannis

Christos Chaliyiannis (Paliogribiani, 03/05/2019)

Christos is Vangelis's nephew. His father was violinist Lefteris Chaliyiannis, another of

Vangelis's older brothers. Christos learnt *klaríno* with Vangelis from a young age. As his

student, Christos went with Vangelis to all of his *panighýria* and shared the *klaríno* playing

as part of Vangelis's *kompanía*. Now, Christos has his own *kompanía*. He plays with his

brothers Dimitrakis on *laoúto* and Paraskevas on *défi*, with his nephew Lefteris Chaliyiannis

on accordion, with his first cousin Yiorgos Chaliyiannis on voice and with Nikos Oikonomou

on violin. Recently, Christos Zekios has been sharing the *klaríno* playing in this *kompanía*.

Yiannis Chaldoupis

Yiannis Chaldoupis (Parakalamos, 08/08/2012)

Yiannis comes from a musical family. His grandfather 'Toupis' played the *défi*. Yiannis's

father Vasilis also played the *défi* but did not take the music profession seriously. His

brothers are all musical. Fanis played the *klaríno* (he is now dead), Andreas played the violin

and was a singer (also deceased), Stefos plays *klaríno* and guitar (he currently lives in

Ioannina), and Christos sings and plays the *défi* (he lives part time in Amsterdam and part

time in Parakalamos). His sister Foteino does not play an instrument (she lives in

Parakalamos). Yiannis learnt the *klaríno* from Chalilis. Yiannis's *kompanía* is a little

different to the other *kompaníes* in Parakalamos as they play *Parakalamiótika* mixed with

influences from jazz, rock, and 'World Music' genres. They also play 'Gypsy music' (such

as the classic Bregovic anthem Ederlezi). Yiannis's *kompanía* is called 'Moukliomos' which

means 'freedom' in Romacilikanes. Most of the other *kompaníes* in Parakalamos do not have

names. However, Yiannis's band does not only play at *panighýria*. They are trying to market themselves for a broader audience and they often play in Ioannina (rather than only in the villages). Yiannis also has a workshop in his garden where he repairs and modifies instruments and sells *klarína* (pictured). Yiannis was my host during my fieldwork period. I stayed in a prefabricated house in his garden.

Christos Zekios

Christos Zekios (Kalochori, 12/03/2016)

Christos Zekios's mother Toula is Yiannis's second cousin (Toula's grandmother was the sister of Toupis). Christos's father Lampros Zekios plays *klaríno* and *défi* but he has never played professionally. Christos's brother Thanasis plays accordion and sings. His sister Eleni does not play an instrument. Both Christos and Thanasis played in Yiannis's band Moukliomos until recently. However, Christos no longer plays with them and he now plays in Christos Chaliyiannis's *kompanía*. Christos learnt to play *klaríno* with Chalilis.

Thodoris Oikonomou

Thodoris Oikonomou (Mavronoros 17/08/2013)

Thodoris is Yiannis's second cousin. His grandmother was another sister of Toupis. His

father Nikola plays the violin. Thodoris's brother Vasilis (better known as Koultoumbas)

plays the *défi*. His two sisters do not play instruments. Thodoris learnt *klaríno* with Chalilis.

Thodoris plays in Nasos Chaliyiannis's *kompanía* alongside his father.

Michalis Brachopoulos

Michalis Brachopoulos (Parakalamos 05/08/2011)

Michalis's father Kostas plays accordion and is Yiannis's first cousin. His grandfather

Mouchos (father of Kostas) played *défi* and was the grandson of Siakio Ibrahim. Michalis

learnt *klaríno* from Chalilis.

Appendix B: Song Texts

Ένα βράδυ βγήκε ο Χάρος

Ένα βράδυ βγήκε ο χάρος
Πάει να βρει βιολιά
Για να βγει να τραγουδήσει
Στη φτωχολογιά

Φάτε, πιέτε και γλεντάτε
Όλοι βρε παιδιά
Όποιος πάει στον κάτω κόσμο
Δεν ξαναγύρνα

Ψεύτικη 'ναι η ζωή μας
Πως να σας στο πω
Ένα πρωί κι μεσημέρι
Κι ένα δειλινό

Φάτε, πιέτε και γλεντάτε
Όλοι βρε παιδιά
Όποιος πάει στον κάτω κόσμο
Δεν ξαναγύρνα

Τα λεφτά, τα χτήματα
Στον Άδη δεν περνάνε
Σ' άλλον θα τ' αφήσετε
Και θα σας βλαστημάνε

Φάτε, πιέτε και γλεντάτε
Όλοι βρε παιδιά
Όποιος πάει στον κάτω κόσμο
Δεν ξαναγύρνα

Πλούσιοι και φτωχοί πεθαίνουν

Αχ ποιος πλούσιος γιέ μου απέθανε
Αχ και πήρε βιό' μωρέ μαζί του
Αχ πήρε τρεις πήχες σάβανο
Αχ να ντύσει ο μαύρος το κορμί του
Αχ να ντύσει ο μαύρος το κορμί του

Πλούσιοι και φτωχοί πεθαίνουν
Και στο ίδιο χώμα μπαίνουν

Άιντε ο Χάρος γιέ μου τα κληρονομάει
Αχ τα πλούτη γιέ μου του ανθρώπου
Αχ και του αφήνει να χαρεί
Αχ μόνο δυο μέτρα γιε μου τόπο
Αχ μόνο δυο μέτρα γιε μου τόπο

Πλούσιοι και φτωχοί πεθαίνουν
Μόνο αναμνήσεις μένουν

Αχ δεν θα κερδίσεις τίποτες βρε άνθρωπε
Αχ όσα λεφτά γιέ μου κι αν κάνεις
Αχ γιατή φτωχέ μου άνθρωπε
Αχ μια μέρα γιέ μου θα πεθάνεις
Αχ μια μέρα γιέ μου θα πεθάνεις

Πλούσιοι και φτωχοί πεθαίνουν
Και στο ίδιο χώμα μπαίνουν

Τα ξεχωρίσματα

Εε τώρα στα ξεχωρίσματα
Έλα γιέ μου να φιληθούμε
Έλα γιέ μου να φιληθούμε
Ωρ' γιατί έχουμε ζωή και θανατό
Ποιος ξερ΄ γιε μου κι ανταμωθούμε
Ποιος ξερ΄ γιε μου κι ανταμωθούμε

Έλα πού σε περιμένω
Ταίρι μου ξενιτεμένο

Αχ αυτού μακριά που βρίσκεσαι
Αυτού γιέ μου στην Γερμανία
Στον Καναδά, στην Αυστραλία
Ωχ στείλε μου το κορμάκι σου
Σε μια γιέ μου φωτογραφία
Σε μια γιέ μου φωτογραφία

Με τ' εσένα θέλω να 'μαι
Ωρε και στα Ιωάννινα καλά περνάμε

Μην με διώχνεις μάνα για την ξενιτιά

Μην με διώχνεις μάνα μ' για την ξενιτιά
Δεν θα βρω κλαρίνα μάνα μ' και βιολιά
Αχ μάνα μ' και βιολιά

Μην ζηλεύεις μάνα τα πολλά λεφτά
Να έχουμε υγεία και καλή καρδιά
Αχ μάνα μου γλυκιά

Όσοι φύγαν μάνα μ' για την ξενιτιά
Δεν ξαναγυρίσαν μάνα μου γλυκιά
Αχ μάνα μου γλυκιά

Δεροπολίτισσα

Άιντε μωρ' Δεροπολίτισσα μωρ' καημένη
Άιντε μωρ' Δεροπολίτισσα ζη μωρ' ζηλεμένη

Άιντε εσύ θα πας στην εκκλησιά μωρ' καημένη
Άιντε εσύ θα πας στην εκκλησιά ζη μωρ' ζηλεμένη

Άιντε με λαμπάδες με κεριά μωρ' καημένη
Άιντε με λαμπάδες με κεριά ζη μωρ' ζηλεμένη

Άιντε για προσκύνα και για μας μωρ' καημένη
Άιντε για προσκύνα και για μας ζη μωρ' ζηλεμένη

Άιντε και για μας τους Χριστιανούς μωρ' καημένη
Άιντε και για μας τους Χριστιανούς ζη μωρ' ζηλεμένη

Άιντε μην μας σφάζει η Τουρκιά μωρ' καημένη
Άιντε μην μας σφάζει η Τουρκιά ζη μωρ' ζηλεμένη

Δέλβινο και Τσαμουριά

Ωρε Δέλβινο Δέλβινο
Άιντε Δέλβινο και Τσαμουριά

Άιντε Δέλβινο και Τσαμουριά
Δεν τα δίνουν τα παιδιά

Άιντε δεν τα δι μωρ' τα παιδιά
Μες' τη μαύρη ξενιτιά

Άιντε Δέλβινο μωρέ Δέλβινο
Δέλβινο κι Άγιοι Σαράντα

Άιντε Δέλβινο κι Άγιοι Σαράντα
Θα σας πάρουμε για πάντα

Ωρε Δέλβινο Δέλβινο
Δέλβινο και Τεπελένι

Άιντε Δέλβινο και Τεπελένι
Πάλι Ελληνικό θα γένει

Έχω πολλά παράπονα

Ωχ έχω πολλά παράπονα
Σ' αυτόν εδώ τον κόσμο
Κανείς δεν με κατάλαβε
Δεν μου 'νιωσε τον πόνο

Είχα μια αγάπη στην καρδιά
Μα μου την πήρε άλλος
Ήτανε φίλος καρδιακός
Και έγινε εχθρός μεγάλος

Ωχ για την σκληρή κατάντια μου
Όλοι μιλούν για μένα
Κι έχω φαρμάκια και καημούς
Ωχ τα πίνω μαζεμένα

Χαλασιά μου

Δε στο 'πα χαλασιά μου
Στο μύλο να μην πας, χαλασιά μου
Στο μύλο να μην πας
Να μην σε κόψει η ρόδα
Και γίνω εγώ φονιάς, χαλασιά μου
Και γίνω εγώ φονιάς

Χαλασιά μου, χαλασιά μου
Ζωντανή 'σαι χωρισιά μου

Ωχ μωρί κακή κοπέλα
Πού πας για λάχανα, χαλασιά μου
Πού πας για λάχανα
Περίμενε κι εμένα
Να σ' πω τα βάσανα, χαλασιά μου
Να σ' πω τα βάσανα

Δεν σ' έχω να δουλεύεις
Να βασανίζεσαι, χαλασιά μου
Να βασανίζεσαι
Σ' έχω να τρως, να πίνεις
Και να στολίζεσαι, χαλασιά μου
Και να στολίζεσαι

Έλα έλα πού σου λέω
Μην με τυραννάς και κλαίω
Έλα έλα πέρδικα μου
Στα χεράκια τα δικά μου

Το μαύρο το μαντήλι
Που δένεις στο λαιμό, χαλασιά μου
Που δένεις στο λαιμό
Να μην το ξαναδέσεις
Τρελαίνομαι και εγώ, χαλασιά μου
Τρελαίνομαι και εγώ

Το μαύρο το μαντήλι
Που δένεις στα μαλλιά, χαλασιά μου
Που δένεις στα μαλλιά
Να μην το ξαναδέσεις
Τρελαίνεις τα παιδιά, χαλασιά μου
Τρελαίνεις τα παιδιά

Χαλασιά μου, χαλασιά μου
Ζωντανή 'σαι χωρισιά μου

Ντελή παπά

Κούγω τον άνεμο κι αχάει
Μωρέ παπά αχ Ντελή παπά
Τον κούγω και μαλώνει
Ντελή παπά λεβέντη
Τον κούγω και μαλώνει
Ντελή παπά λεβέντη

Με τα βουνά εμάλωνε
Μωρέ παπά αχ ντελή παπά
Ωρέ και με τα δέντρα ηχούσε
Ντελή παπά λεβέντη
Και με τα δέντρα ηχούσε
Ντελή παπά λεβέντη

Εσείς βουνά των Γρεβενών
Μωρέ παπά αχ ντελή παπά
Κι αιδόνια του Μετσόβου
Ντελή παπά λεβέντη
Κι αιδόνια του Μετσόβου
Ντελή παπά λεβέντη

Εσείς καλά αχ τον ξέρετε,
Μωρέ παπά αχ ντελή παπά
Αυτόν τον παπά Γιώργη
Ντελή παπά λεβέντη
Αυτόν τον παπά Γιώργη
Ντελή παπά λεβέντη

Αχ που ήταν μικρός στα γράμματα
Μωρέ παπά αχ ντελή παπά
Μικρός στα πινακίδια
Ντελή παπά λεβέντη
Μικρός στα πινακίδια
Ντελή παπά λεβέντη

Και τώρα στα γεράματα
Μωρέ παπά αχ ντελή παπά
Αρματολός και κλέφτης
Ντελή παπά λεβέντη
Αρματολός και κλέφτης
Ντελή παπά λεβέντη

Όλα τα κάστρα πάτησε
Μωρέ παπά αχ ντελή παπά
Κι όλα τα μοναστήρια
Ντελή παπά λεβέντη
Κι όλα τα μοναστήρια
Ντελή παπά λεβέντη

Το μοναστήρι στους Αγιούς
Μωρέ παπά αχ ντελή παπά
Δεν πάει να το πατήσει
Ντελή παπά λεβέντη
Δεν πάει να το πατήσει
Ντελή παπά λεβέντη

Appendix C: Videos and Recordings

There are no officially published recordings of Parakalamos musicians (other than those recently put out by Christopher King). However, there are many locally made recordings, that are circulated within the local area. There are also plenty of video clips on YouTube which were recorded by locals or by interested visitors (like myself). All the videos featured here were recorded by me using the Sony Handycam HDR-PJ410, with the exception of Video 1.1 which was recorded by Kostas Trikaliotis, and Video 7.2 which was recorded by me on my mobile phone (Samsung Galaxy J6).

Video 1.1: Me jamming with Telando Feto and his *kompanía* (video recorded by Kostas Trikaliotis in Konitsa on the 25/07/2015, video uploaded to YouTube by toelato on 16/09/2016)

Video 4.1: Marióla performed by Christos Chaliyiannis and his *kompanía* (video recorded by me at the church of Saint Constantine on the 22/05/2016)
Video 4.2: Nasos Chaliyiannis's *moirolói* structured around the oscillating 7th (video recorded by me in Repetisti on the 23/04/2014)

Recording 5.1: Recording of Vangelis Chaliyiannis's *moirolói* in F (from Yiannis Chaldoupis's collection of local recordings. Recorded in Areti, person who recorded it and date unknown)
Recording 5.2: Tasos Chalkias's *moirolói* (Βορειοηπειρώτικο μοιρολόϊ from *Τραγούδια και Χοροί της Ηπείρου* (2009) [CD-ROM] Lyra)
Recording 5.3: Chalilis's *moirolói* from C (from Yiannis Chaldoupis's collection of local recordings, person who recorded it and date unknown)

Video 6.1: Nasos Chaliyiannis and his sons playing for the procession (video recorded by me in Ano Parakalamos on the 08/05/2016)
Video 6.2: *Ghyrísmata* as transcribed in figure 6.1 (video recorded by me in Ano Parakalamos on the 08/05/2016)

Video 7.1: *Kéfi* in Koukli (video recorded by me in Koukli on the 03/05/2016)
Video 7.2: Trance and *kéfi* (video recorded by me in Areti on the 04/05/2019)
Video 7.3: Women and *kéfi* (video recorded by me in Paliogribiani on the 25/04/2014)

Glossary

Ach! (gr. αχ!): A verbal exclamation which expresses intense emotion.

Ádhis (gr. Άδης): Hades, the Underworld.

Aftoschedhiasmós (gr. αυτοσχεδιασμός): Improvisation.

Ághia (gr. άγια): Saint (female).

Ághios (gr. άγιος): Saint (male).

Áide! (gr. άιντε!): A verbal expression of encouragement with the approximate meaning, 'come on!'

Aísthima (gr. αίσθημα): Feeling.

Alvanía (gr. Αλβανία): Albania. The name of the well-known tune composed by Vangelis Chaliyiannis.

Apókries (gr. απόκριες): Greek carnival.

Astyfilía (gr. αστυφιλία): Urbanism.

Avlós (gr. αυλός): Ancient Greek wind instrument.

Bajítiko (gr. μπατζίτικο/ μπατζήτικο), pl. *bajítika* (gr. μπατζίτικα/μπατζήτικα): A style of music that was originally associated with the Batzidhes family of musicians.

Balamós (μπαλαμός), pl. *balamoí* (μπαλαμοί): The Greek representation of the Romani (Greek dialect) word for 'non-Gypsy'.

Baléto (gr. μπαλέτο): 'Ballet'. Refers to music and dance performed by regional dance troupes.

Bastardeméno (gr. μπασταρδεμένο): Mixed up, 'bastardised'.

Bouzoúki (gr. μπουζούκι): A plucked lute associated with the *rebétiko* genre.

Bouzoúkia (gr. μπουζούκια): Nightclubs where Greek popular music is played live.

Chárma (gr. χάρμα): Ancient Greek term meaning joy.

Charmolýpi (gr. χαρμολύπη): Bittersweet sentiment that combines notions of joy and sorrow.

Chará (gr. χαρά): Joy.

Cháros (gr. Χάρος): The Grim Reaper or Death personified.

Cháron (gr. Χάρων): The ferryman of the dead in ancient Greek mythology.

Chartoúra (gr. χαρτούρα): 'Papers'. Refers to paper money.

Chóra (gr. χώρα): Country.

Choreftiká (gr. χορευτικά): Musical pieces for dancing.

Choreía (gr. χορεία): Ancient Greek term referring to the circular cosmic dances of the gods, planetary orbits.

Chorió (gr. χωριό): Village.

Chorós (gr. χορός): Dance.

Chóros (gr. χώρος): Space.

Christianóghyftoi (gr. Χριστιανόγυφτοι): Christian Gypsies.

Chrómata (gr. χρώματα): 'Colours'. Refers to musical colour.

Chrónia Pollá (gr. Χρόνια Πολλά): A celebratory wish, literally meaning 'many years'.

Daoúli (gr. νταούλι): Large double headed drum played with two beaters.

Défi (gr. ντέφι): A small tambourine-like drum.

Dértia (gr. ντέρτια): Heartache, longing.

Dhiaskédhasi (gr. διασκέδαση): Fun.

Dhimotiká (gr. δημοτικά): Folk music.

Dhimotikí mousikí (gr. δημοτική μουσική): Folk music.

Dhimotiká traghoúdhia (gr. δημοτικά τραγούδια): Folk songs.

(To) dhimotikó symvoúlio (gr. [το] δημοτικό συμβούλιο): Village council.

Dhrómoi (gr. δρόμοι): Roads or ways. Refers to musical modes.

Doh (gr. ντο): C (musical note).

Dropí (gr. ντροπή): Shame.

Dropolítiko (gr. Δροπολίτικο): Musical style from Dropoli.

Éghine chamós (gr. έγινε χαμός): A phrase used to describe 'wild' behaviour.

Ekfrastikó (gr. εκφραστικό): Expressive.

Ékstasi (gr. έκσταση): Ecstasy.

Éla! (gr. έλα!): Come on!

(O) Emfýlios Pólemos (gr. [o] Εμφύλιος Πόλεμος): (The) Greek Civil War.

Epitrapézia traghoúdhia (gr. επιτραπέζια τραγούδια): 'Table songs'.

Fáltso (gr. φάλτσο): Out of tune.

Fantasía (gr. φαντασία): Imagination. Also refers to a musical genre.

Fára (gr. φάρα): Tribe.

Filoksenía (gr. φιλοξενία): Hospitality.

Floghéra (gr. φλογέρα): An end-blown flute, typically played by shepherds.

Ghléndi (gr. γλέντι), pl. *Ghléndia* (gr. γλέντια): Party, celebration.

Ghlistrímata (gr. γλιστρήματα): Glissandi.

Ghnísio (gr. γνήσιο): Authentic.

Ghýftika (gr. γύφτικα): Gypsy. Refers to the Gypsy language or the genre 'Gypsy music'.

Ghýftos (gr. Γύφτος), pl. *Ghýftoi* (gr. Γύφτοι): Gypsy (person).

Ghyrísmata (gr. γυρίσματα): Turning, revolving. Refers to improvised musical phrases that link songs together.

Ghyrismós (gr. γυρισμός): Return.

Ghyrízo (gr. γυρίζω): To turn, revolve. Literally 'I turn, revolve'.

Ghýro (gr. γύρω): Around.

Ghýros (gr. γύρος): Round.

Ipeirótika (gr. Ηπειρώτικα): Musical style from Epiros.

Kafeneío (gr. καφενείο), pl. *kafeneía* (gr. καφενεία): Café-bar.

Kaïmós (gr. καημός): A bittersweet notion of pain which contains the concept of longing.

Kalamatianá (gr. καλαματιανά): A pan-Hellenic dance named after the town of Kalamata that is performed in septuple meter.

Kalí óreksi (gr. καλή όρεξη): Good appetite (bon appétit).

Katharó (gr. καθαρό): Clean, pure.

Kathistiká (gr. καθιστικά): Musical pieces for listening to while seated.

(O) káto kósmos (gr. [ο] κάτω κόσμος): (The) underworld.

Kéfi (gr. κέφι): An emotional state of heightened experience.

Kidheía (gr. κηδεία): Funeral.

Klaíei (gr. κλαίει): It/(he/she) cries.

Klaío (gr. κλαίω): To cry. Literally 'I cry'.

Kláma (gr. κλάμα): The act of crying, also wake or mourning ritual.

Klámata (gr. κλάμτα): Tears.

Klapsiáriko (gr. κλαψιάρικο): Whining. Refers to a musical style in which the instruments 'cry'.

Klápsimo (gr. κλάψιμο): Weeping or crying.

Klarinéto (gr. κλαρινέτο): Clarinet (played in western classical style).

Klaríno (gr. κλαρίνο): Clarinet (played in Greek folk style).

Klasikó (gr. κλασικό): Classical.

Kólasi (gr. κόλαση): Hell.

Kóllyva (gr. κόλλυβα): A ritual food given out at funerals.

Kompanía (gr. κομπανία), pl. *kompaníes* (gr. κομπανίες): Greek folk music ensemble.

Koryfaía (gr. κορυφαία): The principal mourner at the wake.

Kotsýfis (gr. κοτσύφης): Blackbird. Nickname of Vangelis Chaliyiannis.

(To) ksekínima (gr. [το] ξεκίνημα): (The) beginning.

Ksenitiá (gr. ξενιτιά): Foreign lands.

Ktismatiótiko (gr. Κτισματιώτικο): Musical style from Ktismata.

La (gr. λα): A (musical note).

Lachtára (gr. λαχτάρα): Longing.

Laografía (gr. λαογραφία): Folklore.

Laoúto (gr. λαoύτο): A Greek lute.

Láthi (gr. λάθη): Mistakes.

Léo (gr. λέω): To say. Literally 'I say'.

Levéndis (gr. λεβέντης): An idealised notion of masculinity, similar to the *palikári*.

Lóghos (gr. λόγος): Word.

Loukániko (gr. λουκάνικο): Pork sausage.

Lyómeno (gr. λυόμενο): Pre-fabricated house.

Lýpi (gr. λύπη): Sorrow.

Lýra (gr. λύρα): Bowed string instrument, commonly played in Crete.

Makedhonítika (gr. Μακεδονίτικα): Musical style from Greek Macedonia.

Majóre (gr. ματζόρε): Major (music).

Mantinádhes (gr. μαντινάδες): Rhyming couplets.

Marióla (gr. Μαριόλα): A well-known lament (*moirolói*) from Epiros.

Mástoras (gr. μάστορας): Workman.

Mavrighí (gr. Μαυρηγή): The 'black earth' goddess.

Mávros (gr. μαύρος): Black.

Meráki (gr. μεράκι): Deep longing.

Meraklís (gr. μερακλής), pl. *meraklídhes* (gr. μερακλήδες): A person who responds to music with intense passion.

Mésa (gr. μέσα): 'Inside' Albania.

Minóre (gr. μινόρε): Minor (music).

Moíra (gr. μοίρα): Fate.

Moirolatriká (gr. μοιρολατρικά): Lamenting.

Moirologhístres (gr. μοιρολογίστρες): Female performers of lament.

Moirologhízo (gr. μοιρολογίζω): To lament, literally 'I lament'.

Moirolói (gr. μοιρολόι), pl. *moirológhia* (gr. μοιρολόγια): Lament (vocal or instrumental).

Mória (gr. μόρια): A term used to refer to the use of microtonal inflections and pitch-bends in music.

Moungá (gr. μουγκά): Mutely.

Nisiótika (gr. νησιώτικα): Music of the Greek islands.

Palikári (gr. παλικάρι): An idealised notion of masculinity, similar to the *levéndis*.

Panaghía (gr. Παναγία): Virgin Mary.

Panaghía Spiliótissa (gr. Παναγία Σπηλιώτισσα): Virgin Mary 'of the cave'.

Panighýri (gr. πανηγύρι), pl. *panighýria* (gr. πανηγύρια): (Religious) feast day.

Panighyrismós (gr. πανηγυρισμός): Celebration.

Panighyrízo (gr. πανηγυρίζω): To celebrate. literally 'I celebrate'.

Parakalamiótiko (gr. Παρακαλαμιώτικο), pl. *Parakalamiótika* (gr. Παρακαλαμιώτικα): A term that refers to the Parakalamos style of music.

Paréa (gr. παρέα): Group or 'company'.

Parousía (gr. παρουσία): Presence, appearance. Refers to the physical and symbolic space where dance takes place (on the island of Karpathos).

Pethaména (gr. πεθαμένα): Dead.

Písta (gr. πίστα): Dance floor.

Plateía (gr. πλατεία): Village square.

Poghonísio (gr. πωγωνίσιο), pl. *poghonísia* (gr. πωγωνίσια): The most characteristic dance of Pogoni.

Polemiká traghoúdia (gr. πολεμικά τραγούδια): War songs.

Politistikoí sýlloghoi (gr. πολιτιστικοί σύλλογοι): Cultural associations.

Politistikós Sýlloghos Paradosiakón Xorón (gr. Πολιτιστικός Σύλλογος Παραδοσιακών Χορών): Cultural Association for Traditional Dance.

Poneméni mousikí (gr. πονεμένη μουσική): Pained music.

Pónos (gr. πόνος): Pain.

Psáltes (gr. ψάλτες): Cantors.

Pséftiko (gr. ψεύτικο): False or fake. Refers to an unfocused tone produced by a musical instrument.

Rebétika (gr. Ρεμπέτικα): Urban popular songs.

Rebétiko (gr. Ρεμπέτικο): A genre of music which consists of urban popular songs.

Retsína (gr. ρετσίνα): A wine infused with pine resin.

Si bemól (gr. σι μπεμόλ): B♭ (musical note).

Skáei (gr. σκάει): It pops out/bursts out.

Skáros (gr. σκάρος): A musical improvisation in free rhythm that imitates the sounds of nature.

Souvláki (gr. σουβλάκι): Meat kebab that is grilled or barbequed on a skewer.

Sta tría (gr. στα τρία): A dance from Epiros in triple meter.

Stin yeiá mas (gr. στην γειά μας): A toast meaning 'to our health'.

(O) sýllogos tou xorioú (gr. [ο] σύλλογος του χωριού): Village committee.

Taíriasma (gr. ταίριασμα): Well-matching.

Taksími (gr. ταξίμι): A musical improvisation occurring either before, or during, a structured musical form. It is comparable to the Turkish *taksim* or the Arabic *taqsīm*.

Tavérna (gr. ταβέρνα): Traditional Greek restaurant or 'tavern'.

Technikí (gr. τεχνική): Skill.

Thrakiótika (gr. Θρακιώτικα): Musical style from Greek Thrace.

Tourkóghyftoi (gr. Τουρκόγυφτοι): Turkish Gypsies. A term formerly used to describe the Parakalamos *Ghýftoi*.

Traghodhía (gr. τραγωδία): Tragedy.

Traghoúdhi (gr. τραγούδι), pl. *traghoúdhia* (gr. τραγούδια): Song.

Traghoudó (gr. τραγουδώ): To sing. Literally 'I sing'.

Tríllia (gr. τρίλλια): (Musical) trills.

Tsámikos (gr. τσάμικος): A popular Greek folk dance in triple meter.

Tsiftetélli (gr. τσιφτετέλι): A rhythmic dance in duple meter.

Tsingánoi (gr. Τσιγγάνοι): Gypsies.

Tsípouro (gr. τσίπουρο): A clear Greek brandy.

Vatráchia (gr. βατράχια): Frogs.

Vgházo (gr. βγάζω): To throw out. Literally, 'I throw out'.

Zagorísio (gr. ζαγορίσιο): A dance in a musical meter of five from the Zagori region.

(I) zourná (gr. [η] ζουρνά) or *(o) zournás* (gr. [o] ζουρνάς): Shawm-like instrument played with a double reed.

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