

Modality vs. Chordal Harmony: Hybrid Aspects of Rebetiko During the Interwar Period

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Abstract: This paper addresses the contribution of modality, chordal harmony and the relationship between them to the formulation of 'Rebetiko' –a musical genre of Greek Urban Popular Music– during the interwar period. The aim of the research is to show the hybrid character of Rebetiko through the analysis of the confrontation between the makam modality and an idiosyncratic form of chordal harmony, transcending the typical East-West dipole.

After having listened to a large corpus of gramophone recordings of that period, I chose some of the most representative musical pieces –in terms of harmonization and modality– in order, firstly, to document them in transcriptions and, secondly, to analyze and interpret them within their socio-cultural context.

The establishment of the equal tempered three-course bouzouki and the censorship by Metaxas' regime are peculiar forms of modernization and westernization respectively, which contributed to the hybrid aspects of this genre. The interplay between the Greek and the other ethnic communities within the eastern Mediterranean context, the deterritorialization of the musical culture from the broader area of Anatolia to the Greek state due to the Greek refugee movement (1922-23) are some of the basic factors which facilitate the understanding of the cultural osmosis responsible for this musical syncretism.

Keywords: Rebetiko, hybridity, makam, modality, chordal Harmony, interwar period.

Greek Urban Popular Music and Rebetiko

*Greek Urban Popular*¹ *Music*² embraces a plethora of instrumental tunes and songs of mixed origin and rich in style and morphology; these flourished in the large urban centres of the greater Greek area and within Ottoman Empire (Athens, Piraeus, Istanbul, Smyrna, Salonika, etc.) from the beginning of the 19th century onwards.

In this paper I will focus on a certain genre of music, which the current native discourse, both scholarly and layman, describes in the quite broad and obscure term “*Rebetiko*”, due to its unclear birth, demise and even content.³ The Greek interwar period 1922-1940⁴ displays significant historical and ethnomusicological value due to the following: the refugee movement in 1922 representing the deterritorialization of the musical culture from Istanbul, Asia Minor and the broader area towards the Greek mainland, the establishment of the three-course bouzouki in discography (from 1932), the censorship by Metaxas’ regime (1936-1941) with the assertive emergence of the West-East bipolar narrative, the beginning of the Second World War in Greece (1940) and its aftermath (cessation of recording activities, the death of important personalities of the genre) etc.

Today’s recreation and performance of Rebetiko music and its undoubted appropriation by several past and present genres show that it still interests the Greek audience.⁵ However, it is surprising to discover the relative paucity of musicology research on theoretical issues regarding this kind of music. Smith, Pennanen and Ordoulidis point out the disdainful attitude of the majority of Greek musicologists towards Greek Popular Music and Rebetiko in particular.⁶ In my opinion, this situation has not changed radically despite the years that have elapsed since then,

¹ It is noteworthy that the concept of *popular music* has undergone a lot of interpretations the last decades and has been largely related to modernity. See Richard Middleton, *Studying Popular Music* (Milton Keynes, Philadelphia: Open University Press, 1990).

² *Greek urban popular music* is conceived as an umbrella term.

³ Spiros Th. Delegos, “Rebetiko Makam. A Sign of Cultural Crossroads in the Eastern Mediterranean during the Interwar Period,” in *Music and Sound at the Mediterranean Crossroads*, 12th Symposium of the ICTM Study Group Mediterranean Music Studies Essaouira, Morocco, (8-23 June 2018), 1.

⁴ Gregoris Dafnis, *I Ellas metaxy dyo polemon 1923-1940* (Athens: Kaktos, 1997).

⁵ *Laiko*, the successor of *Rebetiko* after the 1950s, as well as diverse art popular musical genres (e.g. compositions by Hatzidakis, Theodorakis, etc.) are based on Rebetiko. Furthermore, nowadays, Rebetiko sounds resonate even in fusion music, theatrical plays and performances, etc.

⁶ Ole I. Smith, “Research on Rebetika: Some Methodological Problems and Issues,” *Journal of Modern Hellenism*, no. 6 (1989): 179; Risto Peka Pennanen, “The Nationalization of Ottoman Popular Music in Greece,” *Ethnomusicology*, Vol 48, No 1(Winter 2004): 18; Nikos Ordoulidis, “Popular Musicology in Greece: The Case of Rembétiko and Laikó Musical Styles,” Lecture, February 5, 2013, The Athens Centre, 5-6. Accessed August 23, 2017. <http://www.ordoulidis.gr/en/eidhseis/40-dialeksi-sto-athens-centre--popular-musicology-in-greece.htm>.

and a research gap can be identified in several areas. The lack of specialised modal and harmony phenomena analysis of the interwar period and their ethnomusicological impact is very characteristic, in spite of Pennanen's very important research data in this field⁷ and the existence of one department in Greek higher education concerning Greek folklore and traditional music.⁸

The current endeavour falls into the realm of the literate approach showing respect to the vitalising orality of the specific musical genre, with the orality remaining existent even until now; for this reason, the latter seems to be residual in a society with a high degree of literacy, such as the Greek one.⁹ It has to be mentioned that orality does not come second to literacy, as Ong suggests: "Oral organization is not literate organization put together in makeshift fashion."¹⁰

Modality and its role in Rebetiko

This study deals with the 'eastern'¹¹ modality and focuses on the melodic development and the plethora of its features. This modality form refers to the musical phenomena of monophonic character based on the norms of the eastern Mediterranean modal musical systems and, in particular, on the fluid theory of Ottoman-Turkish makams,¹² in the way the latter is reflected in Greek Urban Popular

⁷ See the following articles by Risto Peka Pennanen: "The Development of Chordal Harmony in Greek Rebetika and Laika Music, 1930s to 1960s," *British Journal of Ethnomusicology*, Vol 6, (1997): 65-116; Greek Music Policy under the Dictatorship of General Ioannis Metaxas (1936-1941)," *Grapta Poikila I. Papers and Monographs of the Finnish Institute at Athens*, Vol VIII, (2003): 103-30; "The Nationalization of Ottoman"; "Lost in Scales: Balkan Folk Music Research and the Ottoman Legacy," *Muzikologija*, Issue 8, (2008):127-47, <https://doi.org/10.2298/MUZ0808127P>, a.o.

⁸ Even recently, up to 2018, the specific department of Traditional Music in Epirus only offered bachelor studies and, as a consequence, undergraduate dissertations. It is worth mentioning that two relevant Master programmes have been launched in recent years in Thessaloniki and Athens respectively, but mainly in the form of music academies.

⁹ Orality –a very significant cultural process in Greek society– and, therefore, the use of memory in Greek musical traditions are directly related to the role of singing, improvisation, and the different rendering of a melody in almost every musical performance, as well as with the transmission of knowledge from teacher to pupil, from generation to generation. Nowadays, the teaching of Rebetiko and traditional music in general is based on orality to an extent. In addition, oral subcultures exist, too, such as that of 'Greek' hip hop and so on.

¹⁰ Walter J. Ong, *Orality and Literacy. The Technologizing of the Word* (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd, 1982. Taylor & Francis e-Library), 231,239.

¹¹ Ideologically charged term related to the East-West dipole narrative, which apart from its vaguely defined geographic boundaries acquires conceptual ones, too.

¹² This theory based on oral musical traditions with the corresponding immanent openness and diversity was formed at the beginning of Turkish modern times (cf. Marios D. Mavroidis, *Oi mousikoi tropoi stin Anatoliki Mesogeio*, (Athens: Fagottobooks, 1999), 49, 53-5; Christos Tsiamoulis, *Arithmitiko*

Music and more specifically in Rebetiko. It should be clear that in the naturally limited musical forms of popular music, the makams are expressed in a more concentrated and condensed way, serving a different functionality in comparison to the classical musical traditions. The way makams are perceived and adapted to the lifeworlds of the people of Rebetiko culture is connected with the fact that the Greek community exists and interacts with other ones, Muslim, Armenian, etc. within the Ottoman Empire.¹³

As shown in several recent sources regarding the modal aspect of melody, the system of the Greek Orthodox church music has partially contributed to the terminology used in Greek makam analysis (see below).¹⁴ However, the particular closed functionality of this system and the use of makam names, and not those of 'Byzantine' modes (*echoi*), by the Greek musicians in the past, as well as the present, lead to leaving behind the so-called Byzantine musical tradition in favour of the Ottoman one.¹⁵ On the other hand, it would be impossible to deny that religion played an important role in everyday life of the 'typical Greek', influencing his music,¹⁶ even more in the case of some vocalists in Smyrna who at the same time were cantors in the Greek-Orthodox church, e.g. K. Nouros (1892-1972), V. Sofroniou (1889-1963).

The concept of mode (*tropos*) is not equal to that of scale (*klimaka*), like in 'theory of classical functional tonality', but the latter constitutes one of the several features of the former.¹⁷ In our case the mode is expressed as a makam. Some of the additional makam features are the following:

Tropiko Systima tis Ellinikis Mousikis, (Athens: Panas music Papagrigoriou-Nakas, 2010), 31; Karl L. Signell, *Makam. Modal practice in Turkish Art Music*, (New York: Da Capo Press, 1986), 37. A key figure of the above formulation is considered to be Râuf Yektâ Bey (1871-1935), whereas his successors, Mehmed Suphi Ezgi (1869-1962) and Hüseyin Saadetin Arel (1880-1955), Karadeniz (1904-1981) a.o., occasionally differentiate themselves in some areas.

¹³ Pennanen, "The Nationalization of Ottoman."

¹⁴ See Evgenios Voulgaris and Vasilis Vantarakis. *To astiko laiko tragoudi stin Ellada tou Mesopoleμου. Smirneika kai Piraiotika 1922-1940* (Athens: Fagottobooks-TEI of Epirus, 2006); Tsiamoulis, *Arithmitiko Tropiko Systima*, a.o.

¹⁵ The Ottoman music should not be regarded as equal to the Turkish one, as several ethnic traditions, such as Greek, Muslim, Jewish, etc. coexist within the Ottoman Empire.

¹⁶ For example, the ecclesiastical *ison* has its equivalent in a multitude of musical practices in Greek popular music, such as the droning of the three-course bouzouki or the guitar, etc. Nevertheless, the latter practices derive from earlier popular musical forms, too (saz, oud, kemence techniques, etc).

¹⁷ Mavroidis, *Oi mousikoi tropoi*, 20; Spiros Th. Delegos, "Theoritikes prosegiseis sto horo tis Ellinikis Astikis Laikis Mousikis. Anagki gia diamorfosi theoritikou modelou kai ekpaideftiki axiopoïisi aftou," in *Wherever you listen music... Contemporary musical-pedagogical approaches*. Conference proceedings of the 1st Pan-Hellenic Artistic Education Conference, Patras, Greece (2015), 92-3.

- The dominant notes (*despozontes fthogoi*)¹⁸ determined by the smaller structures of pentachords, tetrachords and trichords where melody is developed.
- The theoretical base note (tonic degree) in proportion to the other ones of different makams (e.g. G base note in makam Rast means A base note in makam Hicaz and so forth).
- The 'melodic behaviour', the so-called *seyir*, defined by the beginning (entry), the dominant note, the other tonal centres and the ending (finalis) during the melodic progression.
- The characteristic melodic phraseology (that is, idiomatic formulas).
- The 'melodic attractions' (*elxis*),¹⁹ that is, the phenomenon of the alternative use of high and low versions of some degrees.²⁰

Categorization of the repertoire

The repertoire of the examined musical genre is categorized regarding style as follows:²¹

1) Anatolian music style²² repertoire²³ gradually emerges from the deterritorialization of the musical culture from Anatolia to the Greek state due to the Greek refugee

¹⁸ It is a term in Greek Orthodox ecclesiastical music, which has been established in makam analysis in the contemporary Greek context.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Signell, *Makam. Modal practice*, 31-3, 48-9, 60-1; Pennanen, "The Development of Chordal Harmony," 81; Mavroidis, *Oi mousikoi tropoi*, 60; Delegos, "Theoritikes prosegeiseis," 92-3.

²¹ Cf. Pennanen, "The Development of Chordal Harmony," 66-7; Delegos, "I ek ton synthikon sklirinsi ton malakon diastimaton kai to isa sygkerasmeno makam: Dyo allilendetes morfes eksychronismou ston horo tis ellinikis astikis laikis mousikis tou Mesopolemou" (Master thesis, National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, 2018), 14-23. <https://pergamos.lib.uoa.gr/uoai/object/2819617>.

²² The so-called 'Smyrnaic' style repertoire: it constitutes a misleading and ideologically charged term, since only a part of this repertoire originates from Izmir (Smyrna). Moreover, to exclude Istanbul from the terminology is incorrect, as this city is regarded as a very powerful and longtime center of those musical traditions [Risto Peka Pennanen, "Westernisation and Modernisation in Greek Popular Music," (PhD. diss., University of Tampere, 1999) 26]. According to Morris, another term is 'Greek café music' because of its style deriving from the performance milieu: *café-aman* [Roderick Conway Morris, "Greek Café Music with a list of recordings," *Recorded Sound*, no. 80 (July 1981)]. This is a relatively deficient term, as the specific style does not only come from *café-aman*; e.g. *estudiantina*, a type of urban popular orchestra, contributes, too.

²³ It is worth mentioning that an important part of this repertoire was recorded in the U.S.A. by Greek immigrants, often formulating a distinctive style owing to the specific socio-cultural context and their diverse musical roots. For example, Marika Papagika's (1890-1943) ensemble had a violoncellist, and the guitarist Yorgos Katsaros-Theologitis' (1888?-1997) technique showed influences from 'Blues' music, as well.

movement (1922-23). This style comes to an end around Metaxas' regime (1936-41) because of the censorship that was imposed upon the Greek society in 1937 and which associated these arrangements with the Turkish-Oriental culture.²⁴ Most of the musical instruments of this category –some of them capable of producing microintervals– are the violin, kemence or lyra from Istanbul, the canun, santur, oud, cumbus, harmonica (a kind of accordion), accordion, banjo, mandolin and guitar. All of them were mostly used by the refugees from Asia Minor in dance rhythms, such as zeibekiko (9/8, 9/4), karsilamas (9/8) tsifteteli (4/4), hasapiko (2/4 or 4/4) and in the distinctive form of –free metric or not– vocal improvisation called *amanes* in Greek (Ottoman-Turkish *gazel*) and in its instrumental counterpart *taximi* or *taksim*. Representative composers of this style are Panagiotis Toundas (1886-1942), Ioannis Dragatsis (1886-1958), Dimitris Semsis (1883-1950), et al.

This style is Ottoman-influenced and could be considered, to a certain extent, to be a branch of Ottoman urban popular music.²⁵ The latter derives, to a considerable degree, from heterogeneous musical cultures²⁶ which largely intersected in Istanbul and Smyrna, revealing that music's cosmopolitan and multi-cultural character. Furthermore, it should be noticed that 'Ottoman' is not equal to 'Turkish'; the latter is a part of the former, just like the other co-existing ethnic communities within the Ottoman Empire: Greek, Jewish, Armenian, etc. In this regard, an elementary factor contributing to this style is those musicians' appearance in the cosmopolitan and multi-stylistic musical venue *café-aman*²⁷ and the urban popular orchestra *estudiantina*,²⁸ particularly so before 1922.

²⁴ Pennanen, "Greek Music Policy," 110-11; Kostas Vlisidis, ed., *Spania keimena gia to Rebetiko (1929-1959)* (Athens: Ekdoseis tou Eikostou Protou, 2006), 84.

This style was substantially banned by Metaxas' regime in terms of recordings. Nevertheless, it remained alive in some performance venues, but clearly declined.

²⁵ Pennanen, "The Nationalization of Ottoman," 4.

²⁶ An indicative case is from the Balkans: the virtuoso violinist Yiannis Alexiou or Yiovanikas [1850-1925] was born in Romania and is regarded as the composer of the legendary 'Smirneiko minore'.

²⁷ The *café-aman* was an urban musical venue (in Athens, Izmir, Istanbul, Salonika, Piraeus, etc.) from the late 19th century to approximately the 2nd World War, where mainly 'oriental' style music was played, as opposed to 'occidental' style *café chantant*. The repertoire comes from the eastern Mediterranean and it clearly differs from the 'West-European' musical idiom. Furthermore, many Greek mainland rural tunes were played in *café-aman* resulting in the repertoire being wider than the 'oriental' style urban music. This shows, to an extent, the vagueness and the ongoing ideological type diversity of the meanings of the terms 'West' and 'East'. The *café-aman* musicians originated from the Balkans (Greece, Romania etc.), Anatolia, Egypt, etc. with major heterogeneous musical experiences because of their travels in numerous countries [Cf. Theodoros Hatzipantazis, *Tis Asiatidos Mousis Erastai... H akmi tou athinaikou café-aman sta xronia tis vasileias tou Georgiou A'. Symvoli sti meleti tis proistorias tou Rebetikou* (Athens: Stigmi, 1986), 67-9, 88-9]. The dualism of *café-aman* and *café chantant* in the Greek context was a symbol of the difference between oriental and occidental styles respectively.

2) The second stylistic category of repertoire is more local and syncretic,²⁹ based mainly on an equal tempered musical instrument: the three-course bouzouki; the fretted instruments, baglamas³⁰ and guitar, exist too. In 1932 Markos Vamvakaris³¹ records in Greece (Athens) with the three-course bouzouki, establishing the new style into which most of the Anatolian music style composers are also integrated after 1937 due to Metaxas' censorship (Toundas, Dragatsis, etc.). The latter affects further the three-course bouzouki style, as well. For all the aforementioned reasons, the Metaxas' regime constitutes a milestone in the history of Rebetiko style. The rhythms are mostly zeibekiko (9/8, 9/4) and hasapiko (2/4 or 4/4), and the intonation is exclusively related to twelve-tone equal temperament.³² Nevertheless, in certain cases, the singing follows non-equal tempered intervals.³³ Representative composers are Markos Vamvakaris (1905-1972), Ioannis Papaioannou (1914-1972), Vasilis Tsitsanis (1915-1984), a.o.

'The contextual hardening of soft intervals'

It should be made clear that the gradual transition to equal temperament –mostly by the establishment of the three-course bouzouki– essentially leaves the modality intact and, at least during the primary phase, does not eliminate the considerable role of makams in the examined genre; their role is merely redefined, and the makams are implemented to an extent in the new intervallic context. By borrowing terms from Greek Orthodox Church music –the so-called Byzantine music– this phenomenon could be described as *the contextual hardening of soft intervals*.³⁴ That means the adjustment of the non-equal tempered intervals ('soft') to the equal ones ('hard')

²⁸ *Estudiantina* is a type of urban popular orchestra characterized as a kind of *mandolinata*, in other words, an ensemble with mandolins and guitars. In the eastern Mediterranean context it mainly flourished in Istanbul, Izmir and Athens from the late 19th century to the 1930s. Many famous Greek Rebetiko composers grew up in these orchestras (Peristeris, Toundas, Papazoglou, Dragatsis, etc.).

²⁹ Pennanen, "Westernisation and Modernisation," 7.

³⁰ The Greek *baglamas* is a musical instrument similar to the three-course bouzouki in a smaller size and tuned an octave higher.

³¹ M. Karapiperis (1884-1952?) and I. Halikias (1898-1957) were famous and among the few bouzouki players recording in the U.S.A. before Vamvakaris [Stavros Kourousis, *Apo ton Taboura sto Bouzouki. I Istorika kai i Exeliki tou Bouzoukiou & oi Protes tou Ihografiseis (1926-1932)*, (Athens: Orpheumphonograph, 2013), 88-90]. However, the latter establishes this style by widely recording in Greece from 1932.

³² According to twelve-tone equal temperament, an octave is divided into twelve equal parts: twelve semitones.

³³ Singers with a makam mentality, such as Roza Eskenazi (1897-1980), Kostas Roukounas (1903-1984), etc. maintain the non-equal tempered intervals in singing, while equal tempered musical instruments (three-course bouzouki or solo guitar) co-exist with it.

³⁴ Delegos, "Theoritikes prosegiseis," 93-4. See analytically: Delegos, "I ek ton synthikon sklirinsi".

because of the new intervallic context imposed by the fretted three-course bouzouki, as well as the socio-cultural context. This process is a form of modernization pushing the genre in a direction that unwittingly prepares the ground for the Westernization³⁵ by Metaxas' regime. In this regard, the modernized makam could be called *equal tempered makam*.³⁶

Beyond the existence or not of microintervals, the so-called *seyir* –that is the 'melodic behaviour'– is the most characteristic modal feature which enables the identification of a makam,³⁷ even within the equal tempered context of this specific genre.³⁸ The diverse established versions of a makam *seyir*³⁹ appear to be adapted, completed and enriched by Rebetiko musicians in the new intervallic context. By extension, makam adapts itself to the new circumstances and, as such, is preserved,⁴⁰ often called *dromos*⁴¹ ('road' in English); this term must by no means be understood exclusively as a scale, at least during the interwar period, but more broadly as a mode. In the Greek context there is a plethora of manuals regarding *dromos* exclusively as a scale; these are mostly non academic or by amateur scholars from, in essence, an ideologically charged occidental perspective.⁴²

The concept of *the contextual hardening of soft intervals* accounts for the new intonation shedding light on the context where the harmonization takes place. As shown below, the latter, which is closely related to the melodic development, mainly adheres to

³⁵ The concepts of the terms 'modernization' and 'westernization' are used according to Bruno Nettl, *The Western impact on world music: change, adaption and survival* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1985), 20.

³⁶ See analytically: Delegos, "I ek ton synthikon sklirinsi".

³⁷ It is known that *seyir* constitutes a basic descriptive tool of makam in Ottoman-Turkish theory [cf. Signell, *Makam. Modal practice*, 48; Marios Scoulios, "Ta anatolika makam kai o 'orthos' tropos tou Rast," *Polyphonia*, issue 25 (Fall 2014): 118; Delegos, "I ek ton synthikon sklirinsi," 59-61, 63].

³⁸ Mavroidis, *Oi mousikoi tropoi*, 45, 270; Delegos, "Theoritikes prosegeiseis," 93-4.

³⁹ In practice, *seyir* should be regarded as polymorphous [cf. Signell, *Makam. Modal practice*, 61; Marko Jouste, "The remains of Makam-based Music of the Ottoman Era in Anatolian Greek Music," *The Structure and Idea of Maqam. Historical approaches*, eds Jurgen Elsner and Risto Pekka Pennanen, (Tampere: Publications of the Department of Folk Tradition, University of Tampere, 1995), 90; Delegos, "I ek ton synthikon sklirinsi," 63].

⁴⁰ Similarly, this phenomenon is evident in Turkey by historical recordings, in which the piano is used for the rendering of makam compositions, e.g. 'Hicazkar piano taksim' by Yorgos Bacanos (1900-1977).

⁴¹ Markos F. Dragoumis, "To Islamiko stoiheio sti mousiki mas paradosi," *Amitos. Sti mnimi Foti Apostolopoulou*, 310-316 (Athens: Centre of Asia Minor Studies, 1984) 316; Pennanen, "The Development of Chordal Harmony," 65; Kounadis, "Sxetika me ta makam, tis sxeseis ton diastimaton kai ta simeia alloioseos stin tourkiki mousiki," *Eis anamnisin stigmon elkistikon*, vol. 1, (Athens: Katarti, 2000) 433-4; Nikos Ordoulidis, "The Greek Popular Modes," *British Postgraduate Musicology*, vol. 11. (2011): 2.

⁴² Delegos, "I ek ton synthikon sklirinsi," 102-4.

makam rules idiosyncratically in a hybrid model⁴³ by reason of the current modernization; the 'modernized makam' is the makam in its equal tempered form: *equal tempered makam*.

Chordal Harmony and its role in Rebetiko

The chordal harmony, which typically originated from the 'theory of tonality', expresses the rules and the practices that determine the harmonization of a melody through chords. The impact of chordal harmony on modal musical traditions leads to musical syncretism, such as in the case of Rebetiko.⁴⁴

In general, harmonization is related to how the chords are chosen and connected to one another. In Rebetiko, a 'bottom-up' harmonic process occurs which differs from the theoretical harmonizations based exclusively on scale concept and scale degrees. Thus, this type of harmonization is called 'traditional' by the Finnish ethnomusicologist Risto Pekka Pennanen.⁴⁵ The modal character of the melodic development is the vehicle for understanding how harmonization occurs and evolves as a procedure in Rebetiko during the interwar period.⁴⁶ From organological perspective, the instruments mostly expressing this form of chordal harmony are the guitar and less so the *baglamas*,⁴⁷ both capable of producing chords and triads.

Modality vs. Chordal harmony: Phases of the confrontation

In principle and on a first level, modality, in terms of makams, and chordal harmony confront each other because of their different origins. The latter gradually enters the modal melodic phenomenon in an inversely proportional relationship: as the chordal harmony grows, the 'power' of the 'primary' modality weakens, but without ever fully disappearing. This process takes place within the different phases⁴⁸ of their confrontation leading in a dialectical way to synthesis representing the hybrid

⁴³ Cf. Peter Manuel, *Popular musics of the non-western world: An Introductory Survey*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 20-1.

⁴⁴ Ibid. See also Pennanen, "Westernisation and Modernisation," 72-3; Ordoulidis, "The Greek Popular Modes," 11; Delegos, "Theoritikes prosegiseis," 92.

⁴⁵ Pennanen, "Westernisation and Modernisation," 74. See Tsiamoulis, too (*Arithmitiko Tropiko Systema*, 135).

⁴⁶ Cf. Pennanen, "The Development of Chordal Harmony," 73; Delegos, "Theoritikes prosegiseis," 95.

⁴⁷ *Baglamas* is used in the 2nd repertoire category producing melody, droning or triads.

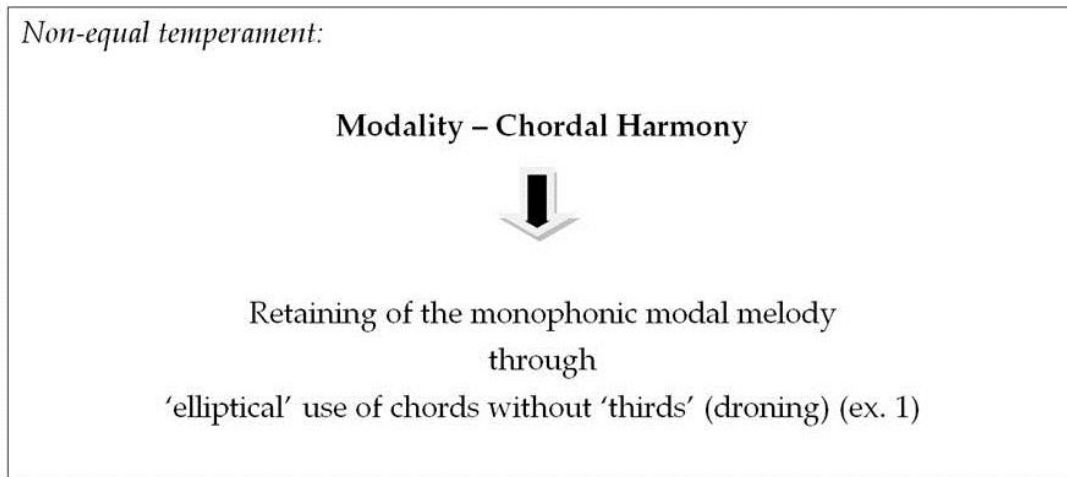
⁴⁸ These phases are intertwined in terms of time; the criterion of this categorization is the relevant musical phenomena.

aspects of Rebetiko. Since the principle carrier of chordal harmony in this genre is the guitar, understanding its role in relation to melodic context will provide a valuable insight into the hybridity in question.

- **Phase I**

Figure 1

Phase I



In the repertoire of the non-equal temperament, to which the largest part of the 1st category belongs, the melody accompaniment is entrusted to the oud or the guitar. The latter –a mainly polyphonic instrument and responsible for the harmonization– accompanies the melody in a plain way with an unadorned bass rhythm, using only the 1st and 5th degrees without the 3rd one (droning⁴⁹). Furthermore, it often plays the melody in parallel octaves. Basically, this phenomenon is an 'elliptical' form of chordal harmony, as a result of its confrontation with modality. Given the fact that the chords are not fully expressed and the melodies remain monophonic, it could be said figuratively that, in this phase there is a lack of willingness on their behalf to communicate totally. The non-equal tempered ('soft') intervals of melody are not compatible with the 3rd degrees of chords; thus, the latter are absent. One could claim that this incompatibility is there by definition,⁵⁰ but, on the other hand, in some cases of modal musical cultures it is surpassed by means of several performance practices.⁵¹ The above 'elliptical' role of the guitar contributes mostly to the rhythmic and the low-mid range frequency aspects of the phenomenon.⁵²

⁴⁹ About droning, see: Pennanen, "The Development of Chordal Harmony," 82.

⁵⁰ According to the theory of Harmony, chords need equal tempered intervals to be expressed.

⁵¹ Pennanen, "The Development of Chordal Harmony," 73.

⁵² Delegos, "Theoritikes prosegiseis," 95.

Example 1: A representative example is the song entitled ‘Hariklaki’, composed by P. Toundas⁵³ (1886-1942) and sung by Roza Eskenazi (1897-1980). The recording is of 1933 (Parlophone / B-21674 / 101321).⁵⁴

Figure 2

Panagiotis Toundas, ‘Hariklaki’ (makam Rast). Introduction.⁵⁵

The image shows a musical score for the introduction of 'Hariklaki'. It is titled 'Hariklaki' [Χαρικλάκι] Introduction, composed by P. Toundas and performed by Roza Eskenazi in 1933. The transcription is by Spiros Delegos. The score is divided into two sections: 'Non equal temperament' and 'Equal temperament'. Each section contains a 'MELODY' line and a 'GUITAR' line. The melody is written in G major (one sharp) and 4/4 time. The guitar part is written in G major and 4/4 time. The 'Non equal temperament' section shows a melody with a modulation to the NIKRIZ pentachord (G, A, B, C, D) for two measures (5 and 6), followed by a cadence on the primary makam (G). The 'Equal temperament' section shows a melody with a similar modulation to the NIKRIZ pentachord for two measures (5 and 6), followed by a cadence on the primary makam (G). The guitar part in both sections is a stable rhythmic pattern of eighth notes, alternating between G and C (the 1st and 5th degrees of the makam).

Having listened to ‘Hariklaki’, one understands that during the entire course of the composition, the guitar plays a stable rhythmic pattern in tsifteteli using the notes G and C, the 1st and the 5th degrees respectively (droning). The melody is based on makam Rast; for two measures (5, 6) a typical modulation occurs to Nikriz pentachord on the tonic, and then returns with cadence on the primary makam (7th measure).

The specific song belongs to the 1st category of the repertoire, whose style derives from the phenomenon of horizontal mobility and the deterritorialization of the Anatolian musical culture towards the Greek mainland after 1922. Its style is

⁵³ ‘Hariklaki’ and the Turkish ‘Darildin mi gülüm bana’ share the same melody raising the question about the exact composer of this song (cf. Jousté, “The remains of Makam-based music,” 93).

⁵⁴ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0DumFxFMeI0>

⁵⁵ The score of the melody is written in G tonality (rast degree) according to the Ottoman-Turkish theory (key signature of makam Rast), whereas that of the guitar is in the key of G major according to the ‘European’ musical notation.

influenced by the Ottoman urban popular music related to the co-existence and the interplay between the different ethnic communities, as well as the transfers from one musical tradition to another (Greek, Muslim, Jewish, French, English, etc.). For this reason, it is common to come across the same melody with both Greek and Turkish lyrics, just like in the previous example.

Panagiotis Toundas from Smyrna (1886-1942) is one of the most significant Greek composers during the interwar period with a multitude of recordings. He had a profound knowledge of makam tradition,⁵⁶ was considerably skilled in the mandolin and served as a recording director in Athens (Odeon, Columbia) from 1924 until the beginning of the 2nd World War. The extended style variety in his compositions,⁵⁷ which transcends the vague Rebetiko style boundaries during the interwar period, reveals the aesthetic openness deriving from his origins and his rich experiences. It is no coincidence that before 1922 he sojourned for a few years in Egypt and Ethiopia. The multiplicity of his cultural identity –Greek, Ottoman, and African– is apparent.

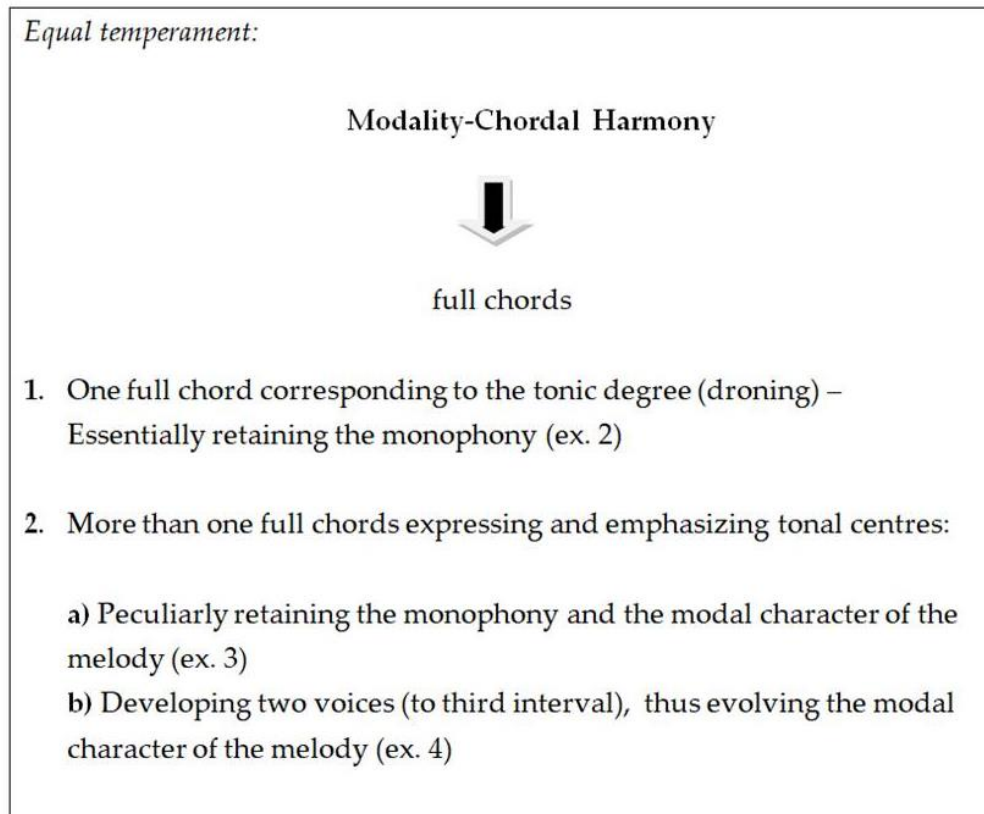
⁵⁶ It is said that his teacher in Egypt was the Rum composer of Ottoman classical music Kemenceci Vasilaki Efendi (1845-1907).

⁵⁷ In addition to tunes in zeimbekiko, hasapiko, karsilamas or tsifteteli, Toundas composed in tango, popular foxtrot and other genres.

- **Phase II**

Figure 3

Phase II



Throughout the establishment phase of the equal tempered three-course bouzouki (2nd category), the chordal harmony has evidently risen thanks to the fullness of the chords; that is, the 3rd degree exists, too. However, during its confrontation with modality, in some cases the plain and unadorned way of harmonization does not essentially alter the monophonic character of the melody. Basically, the chords simply emphasize the tonal centres activated in the course of the melodic development, without generally obeying the rules of theoretical harmonizations.⁵⁸ Nonetheless, some basic rules are applied, e.g. perfect cadence V→I. What leads to chords is mainly the base notes of the several pentachords, tetrachords, trichords or their extensions –expressed in the context of melodic behaviour– in combination with the ones which the composer wishes to ‘promote’ to a new tonal centre emphasizing it over the makam base note⁵⁹ (ex. 3, 4). Still, in many cases, just one full chord

⁵⁸ Pennanen, “Westernisation and Modernisation,” 77.

⁵⁹ Delegos, “Theoritikes prosegiseis,” 95.

expressing the basic tonal centre is sufficient (ex. 2) or even an extra chord used to contribute to the end cadences.⁶⁰

Furthermore, during Metaxas' censorship (1936-1941) the appearance of melodies in two-voice polyphony (to thirds) was clearly encouraged (see ex. 4), as the regime's beliefs favoured 'European music' to a significant extent in order for the Greek nationalization to flourish. Certainly, the two-voices overthrow the monophony, but do not eliminate the modal character of the melody. In essence, the melody is merely enriched with an additional voice without altering the real meaning of the initial musical mode. The fact that the voice expressing the character of an equal tempered makam is typically distinguished and recognized by the musicians and the experienced audience in this two-voice phenomenon indicates its main role and the continuity of its 'modal meaning'.

The above process of changing and evolution leads to a secondary modality, in other words to a new form of modality which predominantly arises from the influence of Metaxas' westernization. It's no coincidence that during the late interwar period the two-voice polyphony appears only in those equal tempered makams which are able to correspond to the two 'European modes', *major* and *minor*. This explains why it is impossible to find two-voice polyphony, for instance in equal tempered makams Saba or Karcigar, even in the post-war repertoire.⁶¹ Meanwhile, this phenomenon prepares the ground for the assertive presence of chordal harmony after World War II. Representative examples⁶² are the following:

Example 2: The song 'Kaftone Stavro kaftone' was composed by M. Vamvakaris. The recording is of 1935 (Parlophone / B-21844 / GO-2385):⁶³

⁶⁰ [Và I], [Vài], [viiàI], etc.; it depends on the melodic context.

⁶¹ In the post-war era (1944-) further cases dealing with two voices concern basically the Hicaz makam 'family' and its descendents in those melodic parts showing 'major' and 'minor' character phrases.

⁶² All the following transcriptions are in D tonality, characteristically familiar to the three-course bouzouki performers, as its tuning is D A D (from low to high).

⁶³ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cIVAv2nf7i0>

Figure 4

Markos Vamvakaris, 'Kaftone Stavro kaftone'. Introduction.

apatalikos [απατάλικος]
Re Rast

Kaftone Stavro kaftone
Κάφτονε Σταύρο κάφτονε

composed by Markos Vamvakaris
Μάρκων Βαμβακάρη
1935

$\text{♩} = 114$ **intro** **D**

melody

guitar

2 **D** **D**

trancription by Sp. delegos

In the 1st measure, the melody apparently follows equal tempered makam Rast through Rast tetrachord on low A and Rast pentachord on D, the makam base note. Afterwards, a typical melodic modulation to Sazkar pentachord on the tonic degree (D) occurs as a cadence (measure 2). Concluding, the melody is based on a particular version of makam Rast in its equal tempered form.⁶⁴

The Catholic Markos Vamvakaris (1905-1972) from the Aegean island of Syros, an emblematic figure in Rebetiko and a pioneer of the three-course bouzouki, often used both terms: 'makami' instead of 'makam' (in fact, a Greek pronunciation of the word 'makam') and 'dromos', not in the meaning of scale, but of mode.⁶⁵ In retrospect,

⁶⁴ It would be an exaggeration to refer to makam Sazkar due to the limited boundaries of popular compositions in terms of melodic development and range, while a more appropriate interpretation is to classify this melody in makam Rast or Rast-Sazkar in their equal tempered form. The latter means a particular version of makam Rast in which Sazkar pentachord on the tonic degree is valuable to the melodic progression.

⁶⁵ Markos Vamvakaris, *Markos Vamvakaris. Aftoviographia*, ed. Agela Kail (Athens: Papazisis, 1978) 271; Dragoumis, "To Islamiko stoiheio," 316; Delegos, "Theoritikes prosegiseis," 94.

from a diachronic perspective, he represents a momentous bridge between the Anatolian makam tradition and the equal tempered three-course bouzouki world within the musical context of the Greek state.⁶⁶ He idiosyncratically implements the makam modality in the field of the equal tempered three-course bouzouki with a view to serving his inspirations, as the Anatolian style repertoire had been one of the predominant popular musical idioms until then.

From a synchronic to Vamvakaris perspective, though, he contributed to a sort of fracture between tradition and modernity through the dissemination of this ‘new’ musical instrument. As an unwitting expression of innovation,⁶⁷ makam tradition and twelve-tone equal temperament were intertwined, facilitating the role of the guitar in terms of chordal harmony, too. This phenomenon marks two interrelated forms of modernization called, as stated above, ‘the contextual hardening of soft intervals’ and ‘the equal tempered makam’.⁶⁸

In this regard, the one full chord by the guitar in the specific example additionally contributes to the above forms of modernization, representing an initial slight break with the previous ‘elliptical’ chord tradition.

Example 3: ‘Pente mages’ composed by Ioannis Eitziridis (1893-1942), recording of 1936, sung by Ad. Kalivopoulos (1905?-1960) (Columbia / DG-6192 / CG-1362).⁶⁹

Figure 5

Ioannis Eitziridis, ‘Pente mages’. Vocal section (canto).

Hasapikos [χασάπικος]
Re Nihavent [Νιχαβέντ]

Pente mages

Πέντε μάγκες

composed by I. Eitziridis
Ι. Ειτζιρίδης
Antonios Kalivopoulos
Αντόνιος Καλιβόπουλος
1936

Canto **D_m**

♩ = 65

Πέ ντε... μά γκες στον... Πε... ραί... α... πέ ρνα γαν α π'το... τε

5 κε... έ νας είπ' άπ' την πα ρέ... α... πα να πιού με να... ργι λε... μη καν

⁶⁶ Similar syncretic expressions had clearly appeared earlier as well, namely in Smyrna and Istanbul.

⁶⁷ Vamvakaris unwittingly prepares the ground for all these changes; it is no coincidence that he recorded with the three-course bouzouki for the first time in 1932 as an amateur and not as a professional musician.

⁶⁸ Delegos, “Ek ton synthikon sklirinsi”.

⁶⁹ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5pIeV8sJ-N8>

The image shows a musical score for the song 'Mpike o himonas'. It consists of two staves of music in a single system. The first staff starts at measure 10 and features chords G^m, C, and F. The second staff starts at measure 14 and features chords G^m, A, and D^m. The lyrics are in Greek and are written below the notes. The transcription is credited to Sp. Delegos.

10 G^m C F
 μέ σα — να φου μα ρουν φώ να ξαν το τε — κε — τζή — φτιά σε

14 G^m A D^m
 `να `ργι λέ α φρά α το — με Πε ρσί ας του — μπε κί

transcription by Sp. Delegos

The melody is based on makam Nihavent. Except the view that the chords correspond to the tonal centres, as described above, it is noteworthy that the implementation of some simple rules of theory of harmony does not alter the modal character of the melody; for example, the selection of C chord in measure 11: while the melody insists on C note (strong beats of the meter), the C chord serves as the dominant of F chord (C→F, F chord is a result of the melodic development in Cargah pentachord on F). It should be clarified that, in general, the selection of chords in the recordings was usually not a decision of the composer, but of the musical/recording director or a collective product of the several participant musicians; this reveals that the core of a composition, at least of that period, is melody and its progression, regardless the presence of diverse full chords.

Ioannis Eitziridis or Yiovan Tsaous from Kastamonu of Pontus (the southern coast of the Black Sea) is considered to be an expert on makam compositions and especially on makam improvisations in Rebetiko music. He played a bouzouki-like instrument –capable of rendering even microintervals– called ‘tambouras’, which resembles the Turkish ‘saz’. His nickname underlines his dual cultural identity.

Consequently, the existence of this guitar performance with its plethora of full chords –mainly based on the tonal centres– and makam Nihavent melodic development obviously indicate the musical hybridity in question.

Example 4: ‘Mpike o himonas’ composed by Toundas, lyrics by k. Kofiniotis (1915-1987), sung by Str. Pagioumtzis (1904-1971) and recorded in 1940 (Columbia of Greece / DG-6590 / CG-2120):⁷⁰

⁷⁰ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZvkuzLII2Rg>

Figure 6

Panagiotis Toundas, 'Μpike o himonas'. Introduction in equal tempered makam Huzzam.⁷¹

Hasapikos [χασάπικος]
Re [Huzzam]

Μpike o himonas
Μπήκε ο χειμώνας
[Winter has come]

*composed by P. Toundas [Π. Τούντας]
lyrics by K. Kofiniotis [Κ. Κοφινιώτης]
Stratos Pagioumtzis [Στράτος Παγιουμτζής]
1940*

♩=82 **intro**

bouzouki 1
melody
bouzouki 2
guitar

D G_m

5

D A D

transcription by Sp. Delegos

In the introduction (Fig. 6), the two-voice polyphony (to thirds) from the two bouzoukis does not eliminate the Huzzam character of the first voice, since the meaning of the melody is mainly given by the first one (bouzouki 1). The second voice merely comes to function as an aesthetic complement enriching the first one in the form of an ornament, without intending to contribute to the harmonic phenomenon.

An evidence for the above is the fact that the harmonization does not derive from the two-voice polyphony, but idiosyncratically from the tonal centres activated according to the melodic behavior of the main voice: e.g. in the 5th measure, D chord is heard instead of G_m, meaning that the composer chose to promote D note as the tonal centre for chord, instead of G. An extra argument in favour of the prevailing

⁷¹ The key signature adheres to makam Huzzam, and for this reason flat and sharp coexist.

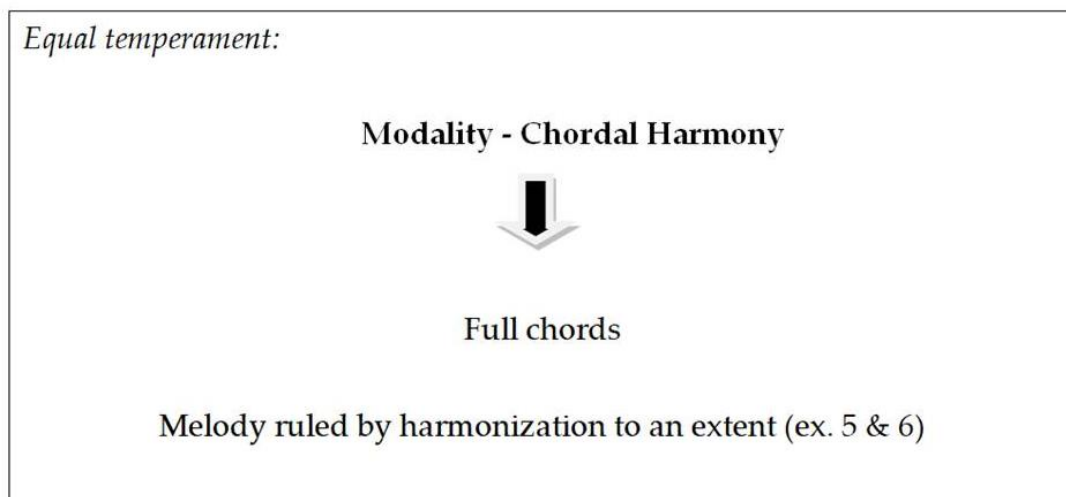
role of the 1st voice is that, if one was asked to perform the introduction using just one non-polyphonic instrument, he would surely choose the first voice (bouzouki 1) as the main one, without sensing anything missing during the melodic development. What all the above actually deal with is the difference between harmonic verticality and horizontal thinking, with the latter being followed by Toundas in combination with a peculiar use of two-voice polyphony. It is no coincidence that he was well versed in both Anatolian and occidental-influenced popular musical traditions. Due to the westernization imposed by Metaxas' censorship, Toundas and the other composers were forced to use the three-course bouzouki as the main solo instrument in recordings instead of the Anatolian origin oud, lyre, etc., resulting in the dominance of equal temperament. The symbol of Metaxas' westernization and nationalization in the urban popular music is the equal tempered three-course bouzouki.⁷²

Concluding, as a result of this particular confrontation, the secondary modality is one of the significant hybrid aspects of Rebetiko.

- **Phase III**

Figure 7

Phase III



In the course of time, the primary modality is reduced and just before the beginning of the 2nd World War in Greece and the cessation of the recording activities, it seems to be too weak, but its character is retained to a degree and changes in a peculiar way through evolution processes. This weakness derives from its more powerful confrontation with chordal harmony. The latter strengthens from the phenomena of two-voice polyphony closer related to theoretical harmonization (verticality) and from the relevant type modulations. Melody commences being ruled by

⁷² See several chronicles in Vlisidis, *Spania keimena*.

harmonization up to a certain point, while monophony decreases more and more because of the increasing appearance of two voices in an ‘equal relationship’. Modality has obtained a more concealed form in comparison to phase II. This form comes to light when one examines the scales and the melodic development which both still partially present a makam-based character. At the same time, this phenomenon prepares the ground for the gradual strengthening of chordal harmony during the post-war period. Two of the most significant personalities of this tendency at the end of the interwar period were Vasilis Tsitsanis (1915-1984) and Ioannis Papaioannou (1913-1972).

Moreover, there are some Rebetiko compositions during this phase which, in terms of style, were called *Rebetiko kantades* –serenade-like Rebetiko songs– by oral tradition. In general and to an extent, these were in imitation of the Italian-style *kantades* and of the late 19th to early 20th century Greek occidental-influenced popular songs that were sung by at least two vocalists and accompanied by mandolins and guitars.⁷³ Representative examples are the following:

Example 5: ‘Me enan pikro anastenagmo’, composed by V. Tsitsanis and sung by himself and St. Perpiniadis. The recording is of 1940 (His Masters Voice of Greece / AO-2695 / OGA-1129 /).⁷⁴

Figure 8

Vasilis Tsitsanis, ‘Me enan pikro anastenagmo’. Excerpt from the vocal section (canto).

Hasapikos [Χασάπικος]
Re+
Me enan pikro anastenagmo
Μ' έναν πικρό αναστεναγμό
composed by V. Tsitsanis
Βασίλης Τσιτσάνης
St. Perpiniadis-V. Tsitsanis
Στ. Περπινιάδης-Β. Τσιτσάνης
1940

canto

♩=42

voice 1

voice 2

D (D dim) D G B7 Em

transcription by Sp. Delegos

⁷³ Cf. Pennanen, “The Development of Chordal Harmony,” 97; Lambros Liavas, *To elliniko tragoudi apo to 1821 eos ti dekaetia tou 1950*. (Athens: Commercial Bank of Greece, 2009), 68-71.

⁷⁴ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-BORj5dotPk>.

Figure 9

Vasilis Tsitsanis, 'Me enan pikro anastenagmo'.
Melodic formula played by the bouzouki in the introduction.

Hasapikos [Χασάπικος]
Re+

Me enan pikro anastenagmo
Μ' έναν πικρό αναστεναγμό

intro

♩=42

bouzouki

transcription by Sp. Delegos

Tsitsanis himself described many of his compositions as kantades.⁷⁵ The specific example is in the style of Rebetiko kantada based on the key of D major resembling makam Rast in terms of scale. The melody is influenced by melodic patterns of equal tempered makam Rast of that period. E.g. the initial melodic phrase by the bouzouki in the introduction section (Fig. 9) is a typical of Segah within the context of makam Rast; the presence of E sharp note indicates the Segah character. In addition, this vein is significantly enriched by the two-voice polyphony (to third interval) in 'equal relationship' between the two bouzoukis in the instrumental sections and between the two vocalists.

Figure 10

Vasilis Tsitsanis, 'Me enan pikro anastenagmo'.
Modulations from D major key to E minor key and vice versa.

Hasapikos [Χασάπικος]
Re+

Me enan pikro anastenagmo
Μ' έναν πικρό αναστεναγμό

intro

composed by V. Tsitsanis
Βασίλη Τσιτσάνη
1940

♩=42

quitar

D major scale (RE+) → modulation → E minor scale (Mi-)

D D G B₇ E_m

modulation → D major scale (RE+)

5 A D A D

⁷⁵ Liavas, *To elliniko tragoudi*, 229-30.

Apart from the two-voice polyphony, it is obvious that in the context of D major key a modulation to E minor key occurs (B7→Em), and then the melody returns to D major (Fig. 10). This kind of modulations seems to be influenced by a genre coming from Greek Urban Popular and Art music called *Elafro tragoudi* (literally in English: ‘Light song’). Additionally, this type of chordal progression reveals, to a degree, Tsitsanis’ musical literacy. It is no coincidence that during his childhood he had attended violin lessons at a conservatory in Trikala –place of his birth and his up-bringing– and likely balalaika ones, too.⁷⁶ He was a pioneer with distinctive initiatives on harmony in Rebetiko context, and, for this reason, is considered to be more ‘Western-oriented’ in comparison to the previous composers.⁷⁷ However, several of his interwar compositions (from 1936) are based on makam tradition,⁷⁸ but, certainly, Tsitsanis’ musical attitude flourished in the westernized context of the Metaxas’ regime.

Example 6: ‘Faliriotissa’ by I. Papaioannou, recorded in 1937 and sung by Str. Pagioumtzis and P. Xrisinis (Columbia of Greece / DG-6312 / CG-1600).⁷⁹

Figure 11

I. Papaioannou, ‘Faliriotissa’.

Hasapikos
Re+

transcription by: Sp. Delegos

Faliriotissa

Φαληριώτισσα

composed by I. Papaioannou
[Γιάννη Παπαϊωάννου]
Str. Pagioumtzis-P. Xrisinis
[Στρ. Παγιουμτζής-Π. Χρυσίνης]
1937

intro

⁷⁶ Anestis Barbatsis, *To proimo ergo tou Vasili Tsitsani*, (Athens: Fagottobooks Nikos Thermos, 2016) 39-41.

⁷⁷ Liavas, *To elliniko tragoudi*, 229-31.

⁷⁸ Cf. Pennanen, “Westernisation and Modernisation,” 25; Nikos Ordoulidis, *I diskografiki kariera tou Vasili Tsitsani (1936-1983). Analsi tis mousikis tou kai ta provlmata tis erevnas stin Elliniki laiki mousiki*, (Thessaloniki: Ianos, 2014), 120. E.g. ‘Se enan teke skarosane,’ recorded in 1936 (Odeon of Greece / GA-1929 / GO-2430).

⁷⁹ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RhmdiokbkwU>

The image shows a musical score for a song in D major. It consists of three systems of music. The first system (measures 6-8) is instrumental, featuring a melody with triplets and chords D, A, and D. The second system (measures 9-12) is vocal, starting with a 'canto' section, and includes the lyrics: μέ νος θα 'ρθω πά λι στην πα λιά μας γει το νιά Να σου παί ξω μπου ζου κά κι μ'ό μορ φη δι πλο πε νιά Σου ρω. The third system (measures 13-15) continues the vocal line with the lyrics: παί ξω μπου ζου κά κι μ'ό μορ φη δι πλο πε νιά, μέ νος θα 'ρθω πά λι στην πα λιά μας γει το, and concludes with a double bar line and the instruction 'D.C. (x3) al Fine'.

In the instrumental section (intro), the bouzouki in Pireaus style rhythmic droning (meters 1-6) is clear,⁸⁰ and the melody mainly consists of patterns coming from the context of equal tempered makam Rast. On the other hand, the initial improvisation (taximi) with the distinctive mandolin-like tremolos, the two vocal voices (to third interval) in 'equal relationship' (meters 9-17) and the chordal progression V→I refer to the kantada style in the context of major key which resembles makam Rast in terms of scale.

It is no coincidence that Papaioanou, the composer himself, characterized this song as "European Rebetiko" ("ευρωπαϊκορεμπέτικο" in Greek) despite him being born in Ottoman Kios (1913), while a chronicler of that period describes that plenty of his songs "approach the kantada".⁸¹ In general, the phenomenon of Rebetiko kantada flourished from 1937 and on owing to the Metaxas' regime beliefs and practices.⁸²

Given the above, hybridity mostly lies in the mixture between the modal character of introduction melody in equal tempered makam Rast and the harmonic two voice-vocal section in kantada style.

⁸⁰ The bouzouki plays the melody on the highest string courses, while the unstopped ones give the drone accompaniment (Pennanen, "The Development of Chordal Harmony," 82).

⁸¹ Vlisidis, *Spania keimena*, 64, 68.

⁸² Cf. Pennanen, "The Development of Chordal Harmony," 97.

Conclusion

The term *hybridity* encompasses any kind of mixed cultural expressions and is generally regarded as a process rather than a situation.⁸³ In the particular analysis I focus on two fundamental theoretical musical concepts, modality and chordal harmony, in order to show through representative examples that specific musical practices (use of bouzouki, guitar, two-voice polyphony, droning, idiosyncratic forms of harmonization, etc.) derive from these two primarily separate worlds and their bridging. The two concepts confront each other through diverse phases resulting in an expression of transcending the East-West dipole in a dialectical synthesis.

The transfers, the symbiosis and the interplay between the Greek and the other ethnic communities, the multiplicity of identities and of belonging, the phenomenon of acculturation within the Eastern Mediterranean context, the impact of Ottoman makams through the mobility⁸⁴ and the deterritorialization of the musical culture from Asia Minor and the broader area, the establishment of the equal tempered three-course bouzouki and the guitar, the modernizations of ‘the contextual hardening of soft intervals’ and ‘equal tempered makam’, the influences from other Greek popular musical genres more based on chordal harmony (*kantada*, *elafro tragoudi*, etc.), the westernization and the nationalization imposed by Metaxas’ regime all constitute a multitude of musical-cultural expressions which nourished those musical practices associated with the analytical terms leading to the hybrid character of Rebetiko. In this regard, Rebetiko can importantly be described as an amalgam of elements of modality and chordal harmony,⁸⁵ and consequently as a new synthesis.

The Metaxas’ regime politics was the turning point regarding the formulation and evolution of Rebetiko and marked this particular phase of musical syncretism –the period of the three-course bouzouki– by mostly emphasizing on chordal harmony to the detriment of makam modality. Nevertheless, the dictatorship had no intention of creating a hybrid musical genre, but essentially a less Ottoman-based popular music in line with the standards of the national identity envisaged at that time.⁸⁶

Finally, hybridity represents the combination and the mixture of specific musical-cultural expressions, and the result is a new musical culture formed in a process with diverse phases, which, in retrospect, seems to be a ‘whole pure entity’. In any case, it should be clarified that, as very well outlined by Edward Said: “[...] all cultures are

⁸³ Peter Burk, *Politimikos ivridismos*, trans. Eirini Stamatopoulou (Athens: Metaihmio, 2010), 48-9.

⁸⁴ The cultural *mobility*, both *horizontal* and *vertical*, contributes to the phenomenon (refugee movement, osmosis of ‘art’ and ‘popular’ music).

⁸⁵ Cf. Delegos, “Theoritikes prosegiseis,” 92.

⁸⁶ See chronicles of that period: Vlisidis, *Spania keimena*, 77-93.

involved in one another; none is single and pure, all are hybrid, heterogeneous, extraordinarily differentiated, and unmonolithic”.⁸⁷

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