Vocal Music in Crete





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INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE FOR TRADITIONAL MUSIC



THE WORLD'S MUSICAL TRADITIONS 11

Vocal Music in Crete

Omorfonios psikhomakhi (A Young Man Lay Dying)	
Khelidhonaki mou ghorgho (Little Swallow)	
Dourou dourou	

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Vocal Music in Crete

EDITED BY TULLIA MAGRINI

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Vocal Music in Crete

by Tullia Magrini

The island of Crete is well known for the vitality of its music: the performance of folk dancesparticularly the syrtos, the most popular Cretan dance—is widespread, local concerts of traditional music are well attended, and Cretan recordings of folk music are numerous and include the documentation of traditional ceremonies. Because of the influence of nationalism, the lyra—a small, pear-shaped, three-string fiddle that Greek scholars consider a purely Hellenic instrument-has become the emblem of Cretan music from the 1950s up to today (see Herzfeld 1982, Magrini 1997). Despite its very important role in the history of local music, the violin, once very popular in Western Crete, had been ostracized until recently as a symbol of the past domination of Venice over the island and therefore of cultural contamination (Leydi 1983: 49-56, Papadakis 1989, Magrini 1997). However, both the lyra and violin are still widespread in Crete, as is the laouto (fretted lute)—the classical instrument for accompaniment but nowadays used also as a solo instrument. Professionalism or semi-professionalism among the players of these instruments is common, whereas shepherds' instruments like the bagpipe and flute, whose repertoires consist mainly of old

dances (such as *maleviziotis, siganos, sousta, pidikhtos*, and *pendozali*), are not popular in contemporary musical practice (see Magrini 1981).

The main genres of Cretan vocal music, the rizitika, mandinadhes, and tabakhaniotika songs, were characterized in the past by their deep connection to local lifestyles and ceremonies, a connection which is fading because of the social changes in Cretan society in recent decades (see Magrini 2000). However, vocal music—and in particular the rizitika—is well known and appreciated by Creteans, who consider these songs as representative of local identity, values, and history.

Siphis Kandilierakis credit: Stelios Lainakis



Rizitika songs

The *rizitika* represent the most important genre of vocal music in Western Crete. The area where the *rizitika* have been traditionally sung is located in the northern part of the Lefka Ori (White Mountains) within the department of Hania, traditionally a land of shepherds. Singing the *rizitika* was until recently the most important ritual performed during weddings, christenings, and *paneyiria* (feasts honoring saints), as well as other less formal occasions for hospitality, like simple banquets.

The rizitika songs for wedding rituals are divided into two repertoires. The first is named generically tou ghamou traghoudhi (wedding song) and includes the repertoire sung when the bridegroom's friends go to the bride's house to collect her (songs of the road, tis stratas, all performed to the same melody) and the songs reserved for the many ritual actions during the wedding (e.g., the transfer of the dowry to the bridegroom's house, the ceremonial welcome of the bride by the bridegroom's family, the songs in praise of the bride, etc.). The song "Kori ke nios epezane" (A Young Girl and a Lad, track 4) included on this CD is an example of the strata repertoire.

The second repertoire consists of the songs for the table (tis tavlas): it is reserved for the wedding

banquet but may also be performed on any convivial occasion. The *tavla* repertoire includes hundreds of songs on different topics (see Apostolakis 1993), some of them related to specific occasions, like the song in honor of the saint performed during a *paneyiri*. But the *rizitika tis tavlas* deal also with a wide range of topics and include for instance gnomic and satiric songs as well as love songs, songs of exile, and pastoral songs.

The types of rizitika most frequently sung and represented on this CD belong to other categories. "Khelidhonaki mou ghorgho" (Little Swallow, track 2) speaks of friendship and love ("Little swallow, I will send you to a land far away, where I have an old friend and a new love that I have not seen for so long"); "Omorfonios psikhomakhi" (A Young Man Lay Dving, track 1) and "Levendi pou katevikes" (Brave Man from Above, track 3) belong to the rizitika tou Kharou (of Charon) and tou kato kosmou (of the underworld): these songs express a deep interest in the next world and the contemplation of death, a recurrent theme in the rizitika connected to the poetics of manhood in Western Crete (see Magrini 2000). In particular, the images of "Omorfonios psikhomakhi" refer to impending death—a painful death following a dreadful struggle: "A handsome young man lay dying under a wild olive tree. Wild beasts surrounded him to eat his body, and he chased them away with his hands and said: 'My beasts, what have I done to you?'"

Another important group of rizitika songs is devoted to events in the history of Crete, particularly the long fight by Cretans against the Turks, who ruled the island from 1669 until 1898. The song "Pote tha fiaksi o keros" (When Will the Weather Clear Up?, track 5) evokes the preparation for the revolt: "When will the weather clear up, so that the winds might stop, for the ships to sail on the sea to bring gunpowder and lead also to us, for the partisans to take up arms, for the raïa [the Greeks under Ottoman rule] to rebel, for them to fight Turkey?" According to the performers other rizitika songs refer to the Turks without naming them directly, and the metaphoric character of rizitika song texts enabled partisans to convey messages over great distances in order to organize Greek resistance during the period of Turkish domination.

"O Yoryis me ton arkhonda" (George with the Archon, track 6), sung here in a very short version, relates the murder of the Archon and belongs to the heroic song genre. Like the akriti-ka—songs about the deeds of the akrites, the defenders of the eastern and southern borders of the Byzantine empire (see Kostantinos 1995)—

the heroic songs refer to a past more remote than the historical ones. That is, they share with the *akritika* an epic style and the exaltation of courage and audacity, the fundamental qualities of manhood in the traditional life of Cretan shepherds facing constant risk (see Herzfeld 1985, Magrini 2000).

The rizitika tis tavlas are unaccompanied, while lyra or violin may accompany the rizitika tis stratas. Singing is normally by a male chorus, though in exceptional cases, such as for recording, the rizitika can be performed by a soloist (tracks 5 and 6). In current practice, the songs are performed antiphonally. Generally, a soloist leads the performance and introduces each stanza, which in turn is repeated by a choir (tracks 1– 4). In other cases, the soloist is replaced by a full choir which alternates with a second choir in singing the stanzas.

The performance practice of the *rizitika* merits detailed analysis. The choral style tends towards homophony, although when a great number of performers sing at wedding banquets, a discernable heterophony results (track 7). This is due to the fact that the relatives and guests are spread out at long tables, so musical coordination is difficult, whereas in smaller groups coordination is more easily achieved.

The vocal style unique to the *rizitika* is different from that for other vocal genres. The voice is loud, marked by intensity, and singing requires sustained breathing—a style quite demanding and requiring skilled performers, especially as soloists.

In Crete a distinction is made between the two most important ways of performing the rizitika—the "goat" style and the "sheep" style. The "goat" style refers to a singing style widespread in the mountains, characterized by a "head voice," the frequent use of the singer's high register, and particular emphasis on melodic decoration, performed with great dexterity. (Tracks 1 and 2 contain the best examples of this style.) By contrast, the "sheep style," which is widespread in the plains, is closer in some respects to the style of the Byzantine chant. It employs a "chest voice," and is less ornamental (e.g., track 5). Both styles are characterized by their great resonance, which the performers trace to the "historical" use of rizitika songs by partisans during their resistance to Ottoman domination.

The *rizitika* are sung to well-known texts that have a precise poetic form, consisting of a sequence of an unfixed number of political verses serving as stanzas. A political verse consists of 15 syllables divided into two hemistichs (8+7), which may be further divided (4+4+7). For exam-

ple, the poetic material of the song "Pote tha fiaksi o keros" (When Will the Weather Clear Up?, track 5) is as follows:

Pote tha fiaksi o keros na papsoun i anemi ya na boroune sti thalassa karavia na armenisoun na feroun ki sto topo mas barouthia ke molivia na armatothoun i khainides na sikothoun i rayadhes

na polemisoune tin Tourkia

As sung, this poetic material is first of all organized into stanzas. Each stanza consists of an entire line and the first hemistich of the following one. The following stanza starts again with the first hemistich of the second line (that is, the last hemistich of the previous stanza), completes the line, and then quotes the first hemistich of the following one. Therefore, every stanza consists of three hemistichs (one line and a half).

- 1. pote tha fiaksi o keros/na papsoun i anemi ya na boroune sti thalassa
- ya na boroune sti thalassa/karavia na armenisoun na feroun ki sto topo mas
- na feroun ki sto topo mas/barouthia ke molivia na armatothoun i khainides
- 4. na armatothoun i khainides/na sikothoun i rayadhes na polemisoune tin Tourkia

The short text composed of four-and-one-half lines is thus worked out into four stanzas. When the lines are actually sung, the performers split them into fragments, breaking up words as well, and proceed to repeat incomplete parts of lines in a kind of stammering that clearly impedes comprehension. This technique is called *apoghaermata* or *andighaermata* by the performers and is illustrated below:

1.
pote tha (pa) fiaksi o
pote tha fia
aksi o keros

na papsoun i ane na papsoun i anemi

oune sti tha ya na borou ou sti thalassa

va na borou

2. ya na boroune sti tha ya na borou ou sti thalassa

> karavia na armeni karavia na armenisoun

ki sto to na feroun ki ki sto topo mas

na feroun ki

3. na feroun ki sto to na feroun ki i sto topo mas

barouthia ke moli

n' armatothou oun i khai n' armatothou i khainides 4. n' armatothoun i khai n' armatothou i khainides

> na sikothoun i raya na sikothoun i rayadhes

na polemi isoune tin na polemi isoune tin Tourkia

Each song has its own unique arrangement of the text (its *apoghaermata*), which is strictly wedded to the melody, and the way in which lines are



Eleftherios Ghieroulakis, rizítika singer credit: Roberto Leydi

worked out varies from song to song. While the tendency to split text lines is constant, the form assumed by the different texts when they are sung is variable. A comparison of the *rizitika* songs on this CD clearly illustrates this point: these songs show that lines are worked out in different ways (tracks 1–7; for further examples see Magrini 1981). Considerable text fragmentation is found in some, while others present a more straightforward delivery of the lines.

The only example included here of the *riziti-ka tis stratas* (track 4) presents a different arrangement of the text—typical of this repertoire. The lines are as follows:

Kori ke nios epezane s'orio perivolaki ki apo to pekse yelase ki ap' to poli kanakio apokimithi o nios ghtika stsi liyeris ts' ankales siga siga ton(e) ksipna ke tapina tou lei ksipna to paghonaki mou ksipna ghtikia m' aghapi

These lines are worked out in the performance differently from what happens in the *rizitika* tis tavlas—in this case the stanza is based on only one line. The soloist sings the first hemistich (which is repeated by the choir), then completes the stanza by singing the entire line (again, repeated by the choir). Here too fragmentation and repetition of parts of the line are observable, as it may be seen below in the transcription of the performance of the first stanza:

soloist
e kori
kori ke nios
e kori ke nio
os epezane

choir
(repeats)
soloist
kori ke nios
kori ke nios epezane
e s' orio peri
perivolaki

(repeats)

Samuel Baud-Bovy, whose classic work on the *rizitika* is referred to by all successive studies of the genre, explains the different arrangement of the *strata* songs by considering them unrelated to the bulk of the repertoire; he traces them not to the Rizes territory, but rather to Central Crete. He considers the stanza composed of three hemistichs typical of the *rizitika tis taylas*:

The strophe of the *tavla* songs in political verses of 15 syllables encompasses generally an entire verse and the first octosyllabic hemistich of the following verse, which is thus sung twice. We have recently studied this form with reference to the *kleftic* song. The fact that it is also predominant in the 17th century songs of the manuscript of the Iberi-



Music Example 1. Akrítico song recorded in Peloponnese

ans and in the songs of Western Crete demonstrates that it is connected with the persistence in continental Greece and the Rizes of an ancient schema, eliminated by the distich-to which it is inappropriate-in the regions where it has become widespread. We have defined it "three-hemistich strophe"... On the origin of the three-hemistich strophe we have formulated the hypothesis that it may be due to the aversion of Greek singers to end songs on unaccented syllables. Like M. L. Politis, we believe that the political verse, with its second catalectic hemistich, has an erudite origin; folk singers, who had previously been used to the regular rhythm of the chain of iambic octosyllables, probably adopted it with some difficulty (Baud-Bovy 1972: 291-92. Translation by P. Sarasini).

Baud-Bovy addresses the questions connected with the metric aspects of *rizitika* songs. But it is also possible to hypothesize that the choice of the stanza based on three hemistichs is not due simply to metric questions, but to the practice of splitting the verses in singing. Actually, it manifests the identical need to divide the line into incomplete parts and therefore to hinder the fluent communication of the text.

This attitude towards delivery of the song text is typical not only of the *rizitika tis tavlas*, but of other Greek traditional repertoires as well. For instance, see musical example no. 1, an *akritico* song recorded in Peloponnese (Spiridakis and Peristeris 1968: 5–6), where the first stanza of the song is elaborated ("mera merose tora i avyi kharazi/tora ta poulia").

Byzantine chant also sometimes exhibits such phenomena:

Although religious chant is distinguished from secular singing by certain stereotypical melodic formulas, their profound relationship is revealed in the treatment of the words of the text... Some phases of the liturgy...only comprise of a relatively short text as they unfold over a relatively long period of time. Since the Orthodox Church forbids the use of instruments, it is up to the cantors to guarantee the continuity of the sound background. For this purpose, they fragment the text by retrieving particular syllables, rearticulate vowels with the introduction of an n, an aspirated h, a gamma, a yod, a digamma, or a nasalized guttural (ng), and insert meaningless syllables, words which are alien to the text, or long onomatopoeic refrains. This practice-whose principle is not appropriate for Byzantine

chant—developed exceptionally there from the 13th century.... The different ways in which text is used in church chant—in syllabic chant, melismatic chant, and in chant introducing the repetitions of syllables, rearticulated vowels, and intercalated words—are found also in folk songs (Baud-Bovy 1983: 22–23. Translation by P. Sarasini).

One might hypothesize a possible influence of Byzantine chant on Greek traditional music in this way of working out text lines. But it is worth noting that performance practices based on splitting and repeating fragments of poetic lines are not specific to Greek culture. Examples of similar performance practices have been recently noted in southern Italy, related to lyrical singing in contemporary folk music (Magrini 1986a, 1989, De Gaudio 1993), and even medieval art music (Pirrotta 1968, 1972, Magrini 1986b). Also the repertory of the ghinnāwas of the Awlad 'Ali Bedouins of Egypt studied by Lila Abu-Lughod (1986) shows a similar performance complexity: the Awlad 'Ali not only fragment the verse (consisting of 15 syllables) and repeat the fragments a number of times, but reverse the order of words as well. These different traditions share complex techniques of verbal elaboration aimed at attaining a somewhat cryptic character of poetic communication which may not be for the same reasons. The performative complexity of the rizitika reflects the need for extreme precision in memorization and rendition of its verbal and musical arrangement. "Such complexity emphasizes the ritual character of performing the rizitika, implying that their particular communicative code is shared by the singers. They, in turn, find in this musical genre a performance outlet for their own collective identity which cannot easily be accessed by others, as it requires an in-depth knowledge of the oral tradition of the group. Thus, the practice of the rizitika evokes the concept of musica reservata, conceived of in terms of its accessibility only for a limited group of persons, familiar with its rules is consigned to the oral tradition" (Magrini 2000: 446).

Like verbal elaboration, whose variety has been pointed out above, the musical structure is also variable in the songs and is not based on one model, though a preference for the ternary principle is recognizable. Other musical characteristics include the preference for melodic motion by steps and less frequently by thirds and wider leaps. Also note a pronounced sense of rhythmic freedom and a syllabic text setting with frequent decoration. But it is difficult to make any generalizations about the music because each song repre-



Music Example 2. Transcription M. Vlazakis



Music Example 3. Transcription S. Baud-Bovy



Music Example 4. Transcription T. Magrini

sents a particular entity which is characterized above all by a specific relationship between its melodic structure and the form of its verbal text (see Magrini 1981). Of course, the *rizitika* are a product of oral tradition, and some musical elements have been shared with different songs through time—for example, different texts sung to the same melody. However, most songs are conceived by the performers as independent musical "objects," each of them wedded to a specific verbal text, *apoghaermata*, and melody.

Different renditions of the same song may present such differences as regards melody, decoration, and rhythm that they should be considered variants. Compare the transcriptions of different performances of the song "O Yorvis me ton arkhonda" by Michail Vlazakis (example 2, Vlazakis 1961:18) and Samuel Baud-Bovy (example 3, Baud-Bovy 1972: 92) with example 4 (track 6). It must be stressed that these transcriptions have been made based on different principles. The first one seems to be an "emic" transcription, reduced to the basic melody of the song, ignoring decoration and rhythmic freedom. By contrast, Baud-Bovy's transcription is an "etic" transcription showing every detail of pitch, duration, and ornamentation and suggests that this song is cast in the ternary form, ABA. Example 4 uses a different

approach to the song. It recognizes the nonmetric nature of the rizitika song by adopting a timespace continuum for the notation, wherefore every line of music is placed against a certain number of seconds. Moreover, the melody is divided into fragments to facilitate comparison. Seven melodic elements have been identified that are characterized by the same structure, each arranged in two essential sections: a first section. in which the melody moves by steps, usually employs decoration, and which changes (also in its outline) in the different elements; and a second section, generally syllabic, based on the melodic cadence G#-C#. The cadence may be enriched or ornamented by a circular design on G# (G#-F#-G#) and the repetition of sounds. In addition, it may be followed by a descent to B (elements a and e), obtaining a suspensive character or, in one case, by movement by adjacent degrees to the fourth degree under the final tone (element d): in these cases an intention to deny the affirmative and conclusive character of the cadence may be recognized. In summary, the seven melodic elements have the same binary structure and are based on the cadence leap of a fifth in the second section. This fundamental section is preceded by melodic movement which is more diversified (constituting the first section), and may be followed, with intermediate elements, by a concluding suspensive movement. The ternary form of the song suggested by Baud-Bovy's transcription is still clear, but it appears now as a secondary outcome of its arrangement of seven elements endowed by the same structure, which are assembled in three groups: A(a, b, c) - B(d) - A(e, f, g).

In conclusion, these transcriptions show different approaches and emphasize different aspects of the three performances of "O Yorvis me ton arkhonda." However, the melodies transcribed are clearly related and therefore mutual variants. The differences among them reflect the creativity of the individual performers. But it is worth noting that this creative contribution is not overtly acknowledged: in singing, the interpreter's main goal is to faithfully reproduce what he has learned by heart. The song is thus considered something prius factum, something that is received from the tradition and must be carefully rendered by a correct performance. In all, even if a creative contribution to the tradition is perceived in every performance by the ethnomusicologist, it is important to stress that the interpreters regard the performance basically as a contribution to the preservation of their tradition (Magrini 1992, 1993).



Grigoris Mathioudakis (violin player) credit: Stelios Lainakis

Mandinadhes

The *mandinadhes* are a genre of extemporary lyrical singing based on rhymed distichs of political verses. The name comes from the Italian *mattinate*, a type of lyrical singing typical of the region of Venice that reigned over Crete for more than four centuries. The *mandinadhes* are often performed together with the *rizitika tis tavlas* during weddings, christenings, *paneyiria*, and other convivial occasions: singers commonly alternate

rizitika song and short sequences of mandinadhes (tracks 1, 3, 5, and 7) in performances which last for hours. But a sequence of mandinadhes may also be performed as an autonomous piece (tracks 8 and 9), by one or more singers taking turns, in a great variety of occasions (see Herzfeld 1985, Dawe 1996, Magrini 2000). In both cases the mandinadhes may be sung unaccompanied. However, they are frequently performed to the music of syrtos and, less frequently, to the music of the kondilies—an instrumental accompaniment for extemporary verses typical of the eastern part of Crete (track 8)—played by either the lyra, violin, and laouto.

The connection between *mandinadhes* and *syrtos* is found in a legendary tale about the origin of the dance as told by Kostas Papadakis, a well-known fiddler active in the research of the history of local music. (A recording made by Papadakis is included on this CD, track 10.) In 1750, the marriage of a young man called Manousos Paterakis was celebrated at Lousakies. Among the guests were many captains from Gramvousa, a center of the resistance against the Turks. Kioros, a famous fiddler from Galouva, also came and played violin. At that time at Kisamos there were only two kinds of instrumental accompaniment for the *mandinadhes* sung after a *rizitiko* song; they were

known as first and second *khaniotikos*. Papadakis considers this music very ancient and writes that it was used from time immemorial exclusively to sing *mandinadhes*; it could not be used for dance, since its rhythm was "not good for dancing." Kioros played this music after a *rizitiko* song, but on that occasion he played it in a different, more lively fashion, and inspired Captain Balabos to tell the others: "This music is good. We must dance." In this way, the first *syrtos* was born (Papadakis 1989:63–71), and since then, it has become the most popular dance in Western Crete, where it is currently used to accompany to the singing of *mandinadhes*.

The mandinadhes may deal with any topic (see Ragovin 1974, Apostolakis 1993). When sung after a rizitiko song, they generally comment on the topic of the song itself. For instance, the mandinadha sung after the song "Pote tha fiaksi o keros" (track 5), devoted to Cretan resistance against the Turks (see above), laments the blood shed for Crete: "Oh, unlucky Cretan people, what you have endured!/With your blood you soaked the soil of your motherland." In other cases, the mandinadhes performed after a rizitiko song draw on the verses just sung to develop some of their images, to elaborate a gloss, or to devise a reply, as the mandinadhes following the song "Omorfo-

nios psikhomakhi" (track 1) exemplify: the first performer develops the theme of the wild beasts, proposed by the rizitiko song (see above), and a friend's help ("A thousand beasts are at your door and, even if they are untied, when you send for me, I come and fear no one"). These suggest in turn the themes of friends' meeting ("When friends meet, the sea rises, mountains break, and the earth turns upside down") and love encounters ("One wants me to love you, even if I do not meet you, as if I could stay in the garden without picking flowers"). The improvisation of mandinadhes clearly stresses the creative role of the performer in elaborating the poetic discourse, and is complementary to the performance of the rizitika, strictly determined by an established tradition, in particular with regard to their texts.

In the elaboration of verses of mandinadhes, the typical procedures of apoghaermata (the splitting of words and the repetition of text fragments) are almost completely absent. The performance of the distichs is generally based on the division of the single lines into hemistichs and the frequent use of auxiliary terms like aman, ela, aindes, and opa. However, the scheme adopted can be more complicated and enriched by some fragmentation and repetitions (track 9). Moreover, repetitions regularly take place when the mandinadhes are

performed by a soloist alternating with a choir ("Levendi pou katevides," track 3).

From the musical point of view, the mandinadhes show a freedom that cannot be found in the rizitika songs. To sing a mandinadha means to create, with a certain degree of liberty, a melody that may be suggested by the instrumental accompaniment. The instrumental line is not reproduced exactly by the voice. Rather, melodic elaboration is inspired by the dance music but worked out in such a way that the voice and the instrument realize two distinct lines. These melodic lines are compatible but maintain some independence from each other (in terms of rhythm, for example, or in the emphasis of only the principal notes of the melody). In addition, the vocal style adopted in singing mandinadhes is generally quite different from that used in singing the rizitika. The voice is natural, the text setting is for the most part syllabic, and there is little melodic decoration, as can be seen in the following example (mandinadha following the rizitika song "Pote tha fiaksi o keros." track 5, performed by voice and laouto).



Music Example 5. Transcription T. Magrini (continued next page)



Music Example 5. Transcription T. Magrini (continued next page)



Music Example 5. Transcription T. Magrini

The tabakhaniotika is an urban genre, traditionally performed in cafés and characterized by the mixture of Greek and Turkish elements. As such, it represents an outcome of the Greek-Turkish cultural syncretism in Crete during the period of Ottoman domination. In some respects the tabakhaniotika is similar to the rembetika, the national Greek-Turkish musical genre which dates to the end of the nineteenth century, and the music of the café-aman (a type of musical café found throughout the Eastern Mediterranean; see Holst 1975).

According to local musicians, the *tabakhaniotika* probably arose in Western Crete in the towns of Hania and Rethymnon in the mid-nineteenth century; at this time Cretans had frequent contacts with the people and music of Smyrna in Asia Minor, where the music of the *café-aman* was blooming. The *tabakhaniotika* were then the typical musical repertory of the so-called *tourkokritiki*, Muslim Cretans. The genre developed mainly after the immigration of Smyrna's refugees in 1922, as did the more widespread *rembetika*, as a consequence of the Greek invasion of Turkey and the ensuing exchange of populations between the two countries (see Magrini 1997). The genre was practiced until the 1950s,

when it began to decline.

Like the rembetika, the tabakhaniotika songs were not rural music of the villages but urban music of the towns. Unlike the rizitika and mandinadhes, the tabakhaniotika were not connected with the shepherds' way of life and ceremonies, nor were they performed during large parties (e.g., for weddings or baptisms.) Rather, this genre served as the music for the meetings of the mikri parea, that is, a small group of friends and/or relatives who gathered in a house, a tavern. or café. The tabakhaniotika songs were not music for dance but simply kathistika traghoudhia, that is, music to be listened to. The songs consist of some mandinadhes which focus mainly on the themes of existential grief (track 11) and lost love. also common to the rembetika. Songs satirizing Turks (track 12), narrative songs, and other songs in dialogue form also belong to the tabakhaniotika repertory. The vocal style, characteristically a throaty and sometimes hoarse voice, evidences the distance of the tabakhaniotika from the traditional musical genres of the Cretan villages.

The features of the *tabakhaniotika* that distinguish them from the other music of Crete are found mainly in their Turkish elements. Even if the text normally is in Greek, it is usual for Turkish words to appear, especially in the refrains: sometimes

these words (e.g., *nenemou* or *filedem*) give the name to the song and thus are necessarily included in the performance (track 12), even though their meaning may be unknown to the singers.

The music of the *tabakhaniotika*, even more than the text, shows Turkish elements. These songs are often accompanied by different types of lute such as the *bouzouki* and *baglamas* (track 12)—the typical instruments of the *rembetika*—and the *boulgari* (the Turkish *saz*, track 11), an instrument from Asia Minor brought by refugees during the 1920s. These instruments are typical of the *mikri parea*, while the violin, *lyra*, and *laouto* are the instruments of parties (*tou ghlendhiou*).

In their more classical performances, the *tabakhaniotika* exhibit elements of the Turkish musical system. For example, performance is based on the system of *dromi*, derived from the Turkish system of *maqam*. In this context *dromo* means a mode, comprising a musical scale and a series of standard elements for musical improvisation. Among the pieces recorded here, track 11 shows the use of *dromo karadouzeni* and track 12, the *dromo rasti*. The *dromo* is worked out in the instrumental introduction (*taximi*) that sometimes introduces the song (tracks 11 and 12), which may also be followed by the music of a dance.

In conclusion, the tabakhaniotika represent

an urban repertoire in Crete which is the synthesis of Turkish and Greek musical cultures and which reflects the dynamic nature of oral tradition on this island. Even though the *tabakhaniotika* are generally considered a minor genre—for a long time it received no attention from Greek ethnomusicologists because of its Turkish elements—the repertoire has certainly been a part of urban musical life in Western Crete and cannot be ignored in any survey of Cretan vocal genres.

Note on transliteration

Modern Greek presents transliterational problems. These notes use a type of phonetic transliteration (thus maintaining the distinctions between d and dh, g and gh) which is not used however for proper names and whenever it contrasts with established or familiar spellings (e.g., names of musical instruments, modes, etc.).

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On the Road With Vocal Music from Crete

by Roberto Leydi

The first collection of rizitika lyrics, by A. Yannaris o Jeanneraki, appeared in 1876, and the first written music texts (three rizitika "of the table") were transcribed by Antonios Sigalas from Santorini, who, in 1875, presented his collection of "national Greek songs" to the cultural commission for the Third Olympic Games (the collection entitled Syllogi ethnikon asmatou was subsequently to be published in 1880). More recently (1961) some 124 texts and 50 melodies of rizitika songs were published in a collection by Michail Vlazakis (Vlazakis 1990). In his book, Samuel Baud-Bovy (1972) enlarged the research studies of rizitika with a great number of song texts. musical transcriptions, extensive, informative notes, and an authoritative bibliography.

Musical recordings have been less satisfactory. Excluding the various performances that were adulterated or extraneous to the *rizitika* style (for example, pieces for voice and *lyra* or with a *laouto* accompaniment), recorded material is very limited, notwithstanding a substantial Greek discographic archive. The Baud-Bovy volume (1972) includes a small 33 rpm/10 cm LP insert along with other excellent documents. Simon

Karas assembled a recording dedicated to Crete entitled Tragoudia Kritis, SDNM 114 of Syllogos pros diadosin tis ethnikis mousikis, which has a passage of a rizitika song tis tavlas, "Se psila vouno" (On a High Mountain) for solo voice with lyra and laouto and a passage of rizitika tis stratas ("Khenon ekadhalikepse," The Stranger Rides His Horse) for male voices accompanied by the laouto. The LP Greece of the series Musical Atlas/Unesco Collection, Odeon 17966, edited by Alain Daniélou, with material furnished by Simon Karas and Dora Stratou, contains a rizitika song, "Mountaineer's song" followed by mandinadhes; performed by a male voice with lyra and laouto accompaniment, which is absolutely outside the tradition. However, in a Folkways recording published in 1959 and edited by James A. Notopoulos, with recordings in various parts of Greece, there is an excellent and authentic example of a rizitiko song, "Ti ekhoun tis Kritis ta vouna" (What Makes the Crete Mountains Suffer). The track is on Modern Greek Heroic Oral Poetry (Folkways FE 4468), which also contains a fine performance of "Tou Daskaloyanni to tragoudi" (The Daskaloyanni Song) and an equally interesting performance of "Erotokritos." Other examples of vocal music from Crete have been published recently on two records (DC Gallo VDE

552/3), which contain recordings by Samuel Baud-Bovy. All considered, the recorded attention to the genre has been scanty.

The material that Tullia Magrini and I collected for this CD documents the current practice of the *rizitika*, performed by groups (in the proper *rizitika* style) as well as by solo voices. (The solo singing should be considered stylistically marginal to the more traditional choral performance, though the practice is very widespread and the singers that we recorded possess a high level of technique.) Among the material contained on this CD are pieces recorded in an informal atmosphere as well as pieces recorded during celebratory occasions—in particular during a wedding—where the style of the performance reflects the enthralling atmosphere of this ritual feast.

Texts

Edited by Tullia Magrini and Grigorios Kapsomenos. Translated and annotated by Tullia Magrini.

1. Omorfonios psikhomakhi (A Young Man Lay Dying)

Rizitiko song and mandinadhes
Polyrinia, August 16, 1979 / Recorded by Tullia
Magrini; Vassilis Kartsonakis, solo voice;
Grigoris Mathioudakis, voice and violin; Manolis
Kartsonakis, voice and laouto

Μ' ομορφονιός ψυχομαχεί στη πικρολιάς τη ρίζα θεριά τον τριγυρίζανε να φάνε το κορμί του και με τα χέρια τά ΄διωχνε και με το στόμα εμίλιε θεριά μου ήντα σας έκανα

Mandinadhes

Χίλια θεριά στην πόρτα σου και να 'ναι και λυμένα σαν μου μηνύσεις έρχομαι και δεν δειλιώ κανένα

Οι φίλοι όταν θα σμίξουνε η θάλασσα φουντώνει και τα βουνά ραϊζουνε κι η γής αναδιαζώνει

 $(I \ \mu o) \ \theta \\ \hat{\epsilon} \lambda \\ \epsilon i \ va \ \sigma' \ \alpha \\ \gamma \\ \alpha \\ \tau b \\ \alpha \ kai \ va \ \mu \eta \ \sigma \\ \epsilon \ 'v \\ \tau \\ \alpha \\ \mu b \\ \eta \ \kappa \\ \kappa \\ \delta \\ \theta \\ \omega$

Rizitiko song: "A handsome young man lay dying under a wild olive tree. Wild beasts surrounded him to eat his body, and he chased them away with his hands and said with his mouth: 'My beasts, what have I done to you?'" Three mandinadhes follow: "A thousand beasts [are] at your

door and, even if they are untied, when you send for me, I come and fear no one." "When friends meet, the sea rises, mountains break and the earth turns upside down." "One wants me to love you even if I do not meet you, as if I could stay in the garden without picking flowers."

2. Khelidhonaki mou ghorgho (Little Swallow) Rizitiko song

Polyrinia, August 16, 1979 / Recorded by Tullia Magrini; Grigoris Mathioudakis, solo voice and violin; Vassilis Kartsonakis, voice; Manolis Kartsonakis, voice and *laouto*

Χελιδονάκι μου γοργό γοργό μου χελιδόνι μπέψω σε θέλω στά μακριά (να) κι εις τον αλάργιο κόσμο (μα) π' έχω μιά παλιά φιλιά (να) κι μιά καινούργι' αγέστη κι έχω ζαμάνια να τη δώ

Το λένε οι γιάντρες και γειά χαράντονε των φίλων μας και πάλι ξαναγειά των και γειά μας ολονών μας

Rizitiko song: "Little swallow, I will send you to a land far away, where I have an old friend and a new love that I have not seen for so long." The performance ends with a toast.

3. Levendi pou katevikes

(Brave Man from Above)

Rizitiko song and mandinadha

Meskla, April 12, 1982 / Recorded by Roberto Leydi; Nikiphoros Dimitroulakis, solo voice; Grigoris Nikiphorakis, Georgios Nikiphorakis, Iannis Manolarakis, Manolis Migiakis, Iannis Stamatakis, Iannis Kouphakis, choir

Λεβέντη που κατέβηκες απ' τον απάνω κόσμο για κάτασε να ξεκουραστείς να σε ρωτήξω θέλω να σε ρωτήξω θέλω για πες μ' αν(ε) βαστία ουρανός κι αν στέκει απάνω(ς) κόσμος κι αν(ε) βαφτίζουνε παιδιά κι αν χτίζουν μοναστήρια

Mandinadha

Χαίρομαι την παρέα μας και να 'ταν άλλη τόση να τρώμε και να πίνουμε ώστι να ξημερώσει

Rizitiko song: "Oh, brave man from above, sit down and rest. I want to ask you to tell me if heaven lasts, the world stands up, and if they are still baptizing children and building abbeys." A banqueting mandinadha follows: "I enjoy your company and wish you stay longer. Let's eat and drink until daybreak."

4. Kori ke nios epezane (A Girl and A Lad) Rizitiko song

Grigoris Nikiphorakis and Georgios Nikiphorakis, solo voices; Nikiphoros Dimitroulakis, Iannis Manolarakis, Manolis Migiakis, Iannis Stamatakis, Iannis Kouphakis, choir Κόρη και νιός επαίζανε σ' ώριο περιβολάκι κι από το παίξε γέλασε κι απ' το πολύ κανάκιο μ' αποκοιμήθει ο νιός γλυκά στσή λυγερής τσ' αγκάλες σιγά τιγά τον(ε) ξυπνά και ταπεινά του λέει ξύανα το παγωνάκι μου ξύπνα γλυκιά μ' αγάπη

Rizitiko song: "A girl and a lad played in a beautiful garden. Because of jokes, and laughter, and caresses, the lad fell asleep in the arms of the maid. She wakens him gently and tells him: 'Wake up my little peacock, wake up my sweet love.'"

5. Pote tha fiaksi o keros (When Will the

Weather Clear Up?)

Rizitiko song and mandinadha

Mournies, August 12, 1977 / Recorded by Roberto Leydi and Tullia Magrini; Sifis Kantilierakis, voice: Stelios Lainakis. *laouto*

Πότε θα (πα) φιάξει ο καιρός να πάψουν οι άνεμοι για να μπορούνε στη θάλασσα καράβια να αρμενίσουν να φέρουν κι στο τόπο μας μπαρούτια και μολύβια ν' αρματωθούν οι χαϊνιδες να σηκωθούν οι ραγιάδες να πολεμήσουνε την Τουρκιά

Mandinadha

Δίσμοιρε κρητικέ λαέ το τι 'χεις τραβημένα το χώμα της πατρίδας σου το 'χεις ζυμώσει μ'αίμα

Rizitiko song: "When will the weather clear up, so that the winds might stop, for the ships to sail on the sea to bring gunpowder and lead to us, for the partisans to take up arms, for the raïa [designation]

for the Greek under Ottoman rule] to rebel, for them to fight Turkey?" The following *mandinad-ha* laments the blood shed for Crete: "Oh unlucky Cretan people, what you have endured! With your blood you soaked the soil of your motherland."

6. O Yoryis me ton arkhonda

(George with the Archon)

Rizitiko song

Malaxa, August 23, 1979 / Recorded by Roberto Leydi and Tullia Magrini; Eleftherios Gieroulakis, voice

Ο Γιώργης με τον άρχοντα εβγήκαν στο κυνήγι και παίρν' ο Γιώργης τον τζιφτέ κι άρχοντας παίρνει σκύλες

τ' άρχοντα οι σκύλες ήρθανε

Rizitiko song: "George with the Archon went hunting: George takes the shotgun, the Archon takes the dogs. Archon's dogs came back" [because Archon is dead].

7. Wedding-banquet in Polyrinia

Mandinadhes and rizitiko song
Polyrinia, August 26, 1979 / Recorded by
Roberto Leydi and Tullia Magrini; Grigoris
Mathioudakis, solo voice and choirs of guests

Τα μάτια μου σιγά σιγά με προσοχή σηκώνω και βλέπω την παρέα μας και την(ε) καμαρώνω

Το γέλιο είναι μηχανή τον κορμό να κομματιάζει γι' αυτό πολλές φορές κανείς γελά κι αναστενάζει

Mandinadhes followed by a fragment of rizitiko song. This performance was recorded during a wedding banquet and has been included here to give an idea of the sonorous environment where singing takes place on such occasions. Participation in the performance is collective. Different songs may be performed simultaneously by different groups and performers, alternating rizitika and mandinadhes in singing. The performance is often accompanied by gun shots, meant to exorcize bad luck. Translation of the mandinadhes: "I raise my eyes slowly and carefully, see our gathering and look at it with joy." "Laughter shakes the body to pieces, therefore one often laughs and sighs."

8. Mandinadhes on kondilies

Kastelli, August 10, 1977 / Recorded by Roberto Levdi: Georgios Koutsourelis, voice and *laouto*

Η κοπελιά η όμορφη κι' απ' το Θεό 'χει χάρη όλοι την καμαρώνουνε μα φάτε μάτια ψάρι

Η χαμηλότερη κορφή ζηλεύει τση μεγάλης όπως ζηλεύει η άσχημη της όμορφης τα κάλη

Όντε σε βλέπω κοπελιά δεν ξέρω 'ντα παθαίνω και προσπαθώ να κρατηθώ μα δεν τα καταφέρνω

Άχ(ι) και γιάντα να σού πώ την(ε) δική μου γνώμη και δεν σε λάτρευα κρυφά να μ' αγαπάς ακόμη

Άχ(ι) και πως εγέρασα κι άσπρισαν τα μαλλιά μου μα ούτε την όρεξη έχασα ούτε την λεβεντιά μου

Άχ(ι) άσπρα μαλλιά στην κεφαλή ειν' αρχοντιά μεγάλη όταν η τέχνη κυβερνά είν' η ζωή χαλάλι

Αχ(ι) αν και τα χρόνια μου περνούν δεν τα υπολογίζω πάντα μ' αγέραστη καρδιά τους φίλους θα γλεντίζω

Θα σε γλεντώ ψεύτη ντουνιά ώστε να ξεψυχίσω γιατί το ξέρω σίγουρα πως δεν θα σε κερδίσω

Mandinadhes sung to the music of kondilies: "The beautiful young woman receives her charm from God; everybody looks at her with pleasure. but nobody can touch her." "The low peak is jealous of the high one, as the ugly woman is jealous of the beautiful one." "When I see you. my girl, I do not know what happens to me; I try to stop myself but do not succeed." "Ah, why did I tell you my opinion rather than adore you secretly, so that you still love me?" "Ah, how I grew old, and my hair turned white! But I did not lose my appetite and courage." "Ah, white hair means great nobility. When art governs, life is easy." "Ah, even if years go by, I don't mind; always with a young heart I will enjoy my friends." "I will enjoy you, untruthful world, until I shall pass away, because I know very well that I cannot rule over you."

9. Tzengas mandinadhes on Karagioules syrtos Polyrinia, August 25, 1979 / Recorded by Roberto Leydi and Tullia Magrini; Kostantinos Faraggitakis, voice and lyra

Γραμβούσα μαύρα να ντυθείς αν απεθάν' ο Τζέγκας μα 'κείνος που σε ψάρευε κι εκείνος που σε γλέντα

Σιγά σιγά πάτε τη γης γιατί πονεί το σώμα και δεν μπορεί να σου μιλεί το ραϊζμένο στόμα

Να ήξερα το τέλος μου το πως θα καταντήσω τα χείλη μου δεν άνοιγα ανθρώπου να μιλήσω

Μα 'γω 'μαι 'να καλό παιδί κι όπου κι αν πάω κάνω προπαντός να 'ναι κοπελιές να το(νε) ροζονάρο[υν]

Mandinadhes on the death of Zengas (d. 1966), a fisherman of Kastelli and the author of many well-known dance melodies. The mandinadhes are sung to the music of a dance, the syrtos of Karagioules, a fiddler active in the period 1880–1915. Translation: "Granvousa [peninsula near Kastelli], dress in black if Zengas dies, that man who fished in your waters and enjoyed you." "Trample on the earth gently, since the body feels pain, and the broken mouth cannot speak." "If I had known my ill fortune, I would not have opened my lips to talk to man." "I am a good boy and am glad everywhere, above all if there are girls who entertain me."

10. Dourou dourou

Hana, August 16, 1977 / Recorded by Roberto Leydi; Kostas Papadakis, violin; Stelios Lainakis, *laouto*

(Αχ) ανάθεμα μ' αν(ε) χτικιώ μ'ούτε κι ανατιμώνω (αχ) μόνο μια αγάπη που 'χασα και μώρα νύχτα λιώνω Το ντούρου ντούρου βγάλανε εις τη Καινούργια Χώρα για να το λένε οι κοπελιές χίλιες φορές την ώρα

Ντούρου ντούρου ντούρου ντούρου θα σε δέσω στ' αγουδούρους

Ντούρου ντούρου ντούρου στα Χανιά στα Νεροκούρου

Tabakhaniotiko song including two mandinadhes and a refrain: "Ah, a curse upon me if I suffer and get upset and languish day and night just for a lost love." "In Kenurghia Khora they composed the duru-duru, so that girls sing it a thousand times an hour."

11. Ta vasana mou kherome

(I Enjoy My Troubles) Rethymnon, August 23, 1979 / Recorded by Roberto Leydi and Tullia Magrini; Stelios Phoustalierakis, voice and *boulgari*

Τα βάσανά μου χαίρομαι τις πίκρες μου γλεντίζω κι αν περιμένω 'γω χαρές εγώ δεν 'τσι γνωρίζω

Tabakhaniotiko song: "I enjoy my troubles, welcome my bitterness. I do not expect joys, I do

not know them."

12. Nenemou and Filedem

Aptera Parigorias, August 22, 1979 / Recorded by Roberto Leydi and Tullia Magrini; Nikolaos Sarimanolis, solo voice and *bouzouki*; Kostas Papadakis, voice and *bouzouki*; Stelios Lainakis, voice and *baglamas*

Είχα και υστερήθηκα θυμούμαι και στενάζω άνοιξε γη μέσα να μπω κόσμο να μην κοιτάζω

Όποιος δεν είναι μερακλής πρέπει του ν' αποθάνει γιατί στο(ν) κόσμο για να ζει μ' όλο τον κόσμο κάνει

Φιλεντέμ φιλεντέμ φιλεντέμ φιλεντέμ φιλεντέμ αμάν αμάν γιαλελέλι γιαλελέλι γιαλελέλι έμψι έμψι γιαλελέλι που να τρέχω κλέψι κλέψι έμψι έμψι έμψι έμψι

Τουρκοπούλα στο τζαμί Αλάχ Αλάχ φωνάζει νενεμου (2 times)

κι όταν θα πει το μπιλαλάχ μεσ' την καρδιά με σφάζει (2 times)

Φιλεντέμ φιλεντέμ φιλεντέμ φιλεντέμ φιλεντέμ αμάν αμάν έμψι έμψι γιαχασάνι την παρέα μας καλά το κάνει

Tabakhaniotiko song, including three mandinadhes and a refrain: "I had and did without, remember and sigh. Open up, earth, so that I go in and do not look at the world." "Who cannot enjoy life must die, because, in order to live in the world, he must make the best of everything." "Turkish girl calls Allah, Allah in the mosque. When she says the *bilalach* she strikes me in my heart." The refrain includes words of Turkish origin.

Credits

Recordings by Roberto Leydi and Tullia Magrini, with the collaboration of Stelios Lainakis
Edited and annotated by Tullia Magrini with a note by Roberto Leydi
Song texts edited by Tullia Magrini and
Grigorios Kapsomenos
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Additional Smithsonian Folkways staff: Judy Barlas, manufacturing coordinator; Heather Berthold, financial officer; Carla Borden, editing; Lee Michael Demsey, fulfillment; Brenda Dunlap, marketing director; Scott Finholm, licensing/ royalties; Sharleen Kavetski, mail order manager; Helen Lindsay, customer service; Nakieda Moore, fulfillment; Jeff Place, archivist; Ronnie Simpkins, audio specialist; John Smith, marketing assistant; Stephanie Smith, archivist.

ABOUT SMITHSONIAN FOLKWAYS

Folkways Records was founded by Moses Asch in 1948 to document music, spoken word, instruction, and sounds from around the world. In the ensuing decades, New York City-based Folkways became one of the largest independent record labels in the world, reaching a total of nearly 2,200 albums that were always kept in print.

The Smithsonian Institution acquired Folkways from the Moses Asch estate in 1987 to ensure that the sounds and genius of the artists would be preserved for future generations. All Folkways recordings are available on high-quality audio cassettes or by special order on CD. Each recording is packed in a special box along with the original LP liner notes.

Smithsonian Folkways Recordings was formed to continue the Folkways tradition of releasing significant recordings with high-quality documentation. It produces new titles, reissues of historic recordings from Folkways and other record labels, and in collaboration with other companies also produces instructional videotapes and recordings to accompany published books and other educational projects.

The Smithsonian Folkways, Folkways, Cook, Paredon, Monitor, Fast Folk, and Dyer-

Bennet record labels are administered by the Smithsonian Institution's Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage. They are one of the means through which the Center supports the work of traditional artists and expresses its commitment to cultural diversity, education, and increased understanding.

You can find Smithsonian Folkways Recordings at your local record store. Smithsonian Folkways, Folkways, Cook, Paredon, Fast Folk, Monitor, and Dyer-Bennet recordings are all available through:

Smithsonian Folkways Mail Order 750 9th Street NW, Suite 4100 Washington, DC 20560-0953 phone 1 (800) 410-9815 (orders only) fax 1 (800) 853-9511 (orders only) (Discover, MasterCard, Visa, and American Express accepted)

For further information about all the labels distributed through the Center, please consult our Internet site (www.si.edulfolkways), which includes information about recent releases, our catalogue, and a database of the approximately 35,000 tracks from the more than 2,300 available recordings (click on database search). To request a printed catalogue write to the address above or e-mail folkways@aol.com



Konstantinos Papadakis (violin player) credit: Stelios Lainakis