

The *Paréa*:
Participatory Musical Performances in the
Island of Crete

by Ioannis Papadatos

Thesis submitted to the School of Music and Fine Art, Faculty
of Humanities, University of Kent for the degree of Doctor of
Philosophy

Total word count: 92,556

2019

Abstract

This study is concerned with participatory musical performances of Cretan traditional music in the island of Crete, a practice that is commonly referred to as *paréa* ('company'). A *paréa* is a convivial occasion and usually describes a gathering in which the participants sit around a table, drinking, eating, playing music and socially engaging with each other within a collective atmosphere. *Paréa* performances are carried out by Cretan music enthusiasts and musicians in the island of Crete today, and represent a significant part of the expression of the everyday local musicality since, regardless of how natural a practice it may be in the everyday lives of its participants, the *paréa* is also highly esteemed as a performance space for Cretan music, whose enthusiasts often associate it with the oldest and most cherished expressions of this musical tradition. This work is based on long-term participant-observer fieldwork in the island of Crete. It comprises an ethnographical endeavour that focuses on the practices of local music enthusiasts and musicians of Cretan music, and proposes a new perspective for approaching this musical tradition through the study of *paréa* performances. This thesis attempts to define, describe and analyse the *paréa* as a space for participatory musical performance, as well as to unravel the intrinsic meanings that it conveys for its participants. The *paréa* is a space for communicating with other people through music, for learning to play by obtaining experiences within the social environment of Cretan music, and a space for perpetuating this musical tradition through everyday musical performances. Hence, this study of *paréa* performances comprises an approach to the musicality and musical perception of Cretan music enthusiasts and musicians, and ultimately paints a picture of Cretan music as an amalgam of practices, sounds, values and beliefs which construct what Cretan music represents beyond its repertory and instrumentation.

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements	4
CD track list.....	5
Chapter 1. Introduction: Cretan music, participation and research.....	6
1.1 Cretan music: towards defining a musical tradition	16
1.2 In the field: performing ethnography in Crete.....	27
1.3 Resources and approach	38
1.4 A final word on introduction	51
Chapter 2. Towards the definition of the word <i>paréa</i> as a performance space.....	54
2.1 The <i>paréa</i> in the past and the present.....	54
2.2 The word <i>paréa</i> in modern Crete	58
2.3 The archetypes: searching for the ideal <i>paréa</i>	65
2.4 Interpreting and negotiating the meaning of the word <i>paréa</i>	69
2.5 Summary	73
Chapter 3. The past in discourse: the importance of the past in performing, listening to and thinking about Cretan music	74
3.1 The past as a central theme in Cretan music	75
3.2 Cherishing the past: its role in contemporary creative activity	81
3.3 The <i>paréa</i>	89
3.4 'Decline', 'enculturation' and 'monumentalisation' in practice	94
3.5 Summary	101

Chapter 4. The performance: a linear overview of the development of a <i>paréa</i>	
performance	103
4.1 Case study: a <i>rakokázano</i>	108
4.1.1 Invitations.....	113
4.1.2 The table.....	119
4.1.3 Interlude: drink and drinking culture	127
4.1.4 Movement.....	130
4.1.5 Closure and <i>kantáda</i>	138
Chapter 5. The <i>paréa</i> experienced: approaching the foundations of the local	
musicality through the lens of participatory performances.....	146
5.1 The <i>paréa</i> as an ‘invented tradition’ and ritual practice	147
5.2 Musicianship and musicians	157
5.2.1 Music and musicians in <i>parées</i>	161
5.2.2 Music and locality: <i>meraklides</i>	166
5.3 Learning in the <i>paréa</i>	173
5.4 Summary	178
Chapter 6. Music: structuring socialisation through musical performance.....	180
6.1 The repertory	186
6.1.1 Families of repertory and participation	186
6.1.2 <i>Syrtá</i>	190
6.2 Structure and apparatus.....	199
6.2.1 Tonal centre, register and tuning.....	199
6.2.2 <i>Métro</i> : music and dance	205
6.2.3 Beginnings, endings and transitions	210
6.2.4 Improvisation.....	222
6.2.5 Singing.....	226
6.2.6 Performance roles and hierarchy.....	233

6.2.7 Performance structure	240
6.3 Summary	250
Chapter 7. Conclusion	252
Appendix. Presentation of statistical findings from a sample of <i>paréa</i> performance recordings	259
References. Bibliography, discography, and other sources	265
Printed works.....	265
Online sources.....	278
Websites and online audio-visual material	279
Personal Interviews.....	280
Discography	280
Index.....	283

Acknowledgements

There are several people in Crete whom I would like to thank for their hospitality, their friendship, their help, as well as for their contribution—in one way or another—towards the completion of this project. Among them are Ross Daly, Giorgos Gaganis, Giorgos Gavalas, Giorgos Giortamakis, Dimitris Giortamakis, Giannis Gounakis, Giorgos Koutroumpakis, Mihalis Mamalakis, Giorgos Manousakis, Stavros Maragoudakis, Manolis Margaritis, Mihalis Margaritis, Karolos Maridakis, Giannis Markogiannakis, Giannis Mihalas, Stelios Milonakis, Iakovos Mpantinakis, Spiros Mpantinakis, Haris Panagiotakis, Alexandros Papadakis, Antonis Papadomanolakis, Nikos Petrakis, Dimitris Pigounakis, Antonis Saloustros, Dimitris Sideris, Giorgos Sifakis, Zaharis Spiridakis, Kiriakos Stavrianoudakis, Manolis Tsoupakis, Kostas Tsourdalakis, Tzannis Tzanidakis, Kostas Verdinakis, Giorgos Xylouris, Leonidas Zografakis, and Stelios Iliakis, my laouto teacher, who greatly helped me on my first steps in the field.

I would also like to thank my dear friend Andreas Roussakis for first introducing me to the musical world of Crete, long before I decided to conduct research into Cretan music. Also, my cousin Thodoris Moustakas who introduced me to the town of Rethemnos when I arrived in Crete at the beginning of 2011.

I would like to thank my supervisor Prof. Kevin Dawe for his support and for the opportunities he provided me with throughout the course of this study. I am also grateful to my parents for their continuous support throughout the course of this undertaking. I also wish to thank the Vergottis Foundation for covering my tuition fees for the academic year 2014–15.

Furthermore, I would like to thank my mother Fotini Stamatopoulou who as a philologist has greatly assisted me in enhancing the quality of my thesis, Therese Kossarelou for reading through my texts and encouraging me throughout the course of this endeavour, as well as Matt Bibby who has with so much attention proofread my thesis.

Finally, I would like to thank my dear friend, lyra player and singer Giorgos Antonogiannakis who more than anyone else has greatly assisted me in finding my way in the musical world of the island of Crete.

CD track list

The compact disc that accompanies this thesis contains a personal recording of a *seirá* of *syrtá* performed at a *paréa* performance as discussed in chapter 6. The occasion for this *paréa* performance was a birthday celebration at a restaurant in 2012. Although the performance is continuous, I have divided it into separate tracks in order to illustrate how a *seirá* of *syrtá* is structured.

CD contents

1. *Ela san éheis órexi* ('Come if you like', known as: *Na mpóries me ta máthia mou* – 'If you could see through my eyes')
2. *Ivres ti mávri mou kardiá* ('You've picked my poor heart')
3. *Psáxe ton ólo ton ntouniá* ('Search in the whole world')
4. *Giánta 'nai tósa da pollá* ('Why are they so many?')
5. *Ki an mou 'heis káψει tin kardiá* ('Even if you've burnt my heart')
6. *Tis níhtes tha 'ho sintrofiá* ('I'll have the nights as company')
7. *San tzi Madáras to vounó* ('Like the mountain of Madara')
8. *Se ósa ki an epérasa* ('No matter how much I've been through')
9. *Tétia fotiá pou m' ánapses* ('This fire you lit to burn me')
10. *Den tha sou po hrónia pollá* ('I won't say happy birthday to you', known as: *Tréhoun ta máthia dákría* – 'My eyes are full of tears')
11. *'Ola gia séna ta 'pexa* ('I risked everything for you')
12. *San tzi Madáras to vounó* ('Like the mountain of Madara')
13. *'Ospou na zeí o ánthropos* ('For as long as man lives')
14. *Sklirá i tíhi me htipá* ('Fate strikes me hard')
15. *Ma egó 'ho éna parápono* ('I only have one complaint')
16. *Gia meraklides hánomai* ('I long for meraklides') – *prótos syrtós*
17. *Me meraklides san glendó* ('When I roister with meraklides') – *prótos syrtós*

Chapter 1

Introduction: Cretan music, participation and research

Crete is a Greek island located in the Eastern Mediterranean region that bears a distinct, rich and commercially sustained musical tradition which is referred to as Cretan music and which has been the subject of several ethnomusicological studies, especially during the last two decades (see Dawe 2007b, Hnaraki 2007, Sykäri 2011, Pavlopoulou 2012, Hagleitner & Holzapfel 2017).¹ Crete, it appears, has become inviting to musical research, a development that coincides with the growth of Cretan music in reaching audiences from around Greece and abroad.² The part that I attempt to contribute in the field of Cretan music scholarship through this thesis is the study of the traditional participatory musical formations that are referred to as '*parées*' (s. *paréa*), a word most commonly translated as 'company'. The *paréa* is one of the three major performance spaces for Cretan

¹ To this concise list one may add the recent publication of the fieldnotes from the 1950s expedition in Crete by Samuel Baud-Bovy, Aglaia Agioutanti and Despina Mazaraki (Baud-Bovy 2006).

² Notably, through the works of Psarogiorgis (Giorgos Xylouris) and his recent collaboration in the Xylouris White ensemble, and Psarantonis (Antonis Xylouris) through his own particular performance style of Cretan music as well as through his collaboration with the experimental musician Giannis Angelakas, the former leading member and singer of the Greek punk rock band Tripes. Also, the laouto player and singer Giannis Haroulis and other artists such as Michalis Tzouganakis, Nikos Petrakis and Ross Daly (see Discography).

music (namely, the *gléndi*, the *paréa* and the *sinavlía*),³ and according to many people who participate in *paréa* performances, it is the ‘most authentic’ form in

³ The word *gléndi* (p. *gléndia*, literally ‘revelry’) usually corresponds to the calendric village celebrations, yet it may also refer to any intense convivial happenings, especially those accompanied by musical performance. I consider that there is no need—at least within the scope of this thesis—to distinguish the performance space of *gléndi* as it occurs in village celebrations from the big venue performances in various establishments—the *kritiká kéntra* (‘Cretan centres’) usually located in towns and cities throughout Crete (see Dawe 2007b:42–43)—which are also referred to as *gléndia*. The performances in these centres have been the result of transferring the village *gléndi* to the urban centres in Crete, a practice that started more than half a century ago.

The word *sinavlía* literally translates as ‘concert’ and is usually employed to identify the large concerts in stadiums, theatres and concert halls, yet is also common for virtually every musical performance where—unlike the *gléndi*—the audience is called to sit quietly and listen. I am not going to discuss the concept of *sinavlía* extensively in the course of this thesis, yet I consider that it is important to clarify the connotations of this word in Greek in order to point out its differences from the performance contexts of the *gléndi* and the *paréa*. An interesting insight on the matter is offered by Ross Daly—a well-known English-born Irish musician who has been living in Athens and then in Crete since the 1970s (see Dawe 2007a)—in a personal interview session in 2009:

Think of this... in many cases I have puzzled over this... while playing in a *sinavlía* or a venue, there’s sometimes a lot of noise while we’re playing. And [I think,] don’t these people know how to listen? How can you listen to music and talk at the same time? And then I think that... wait a minute, for these people, for Greece (...)—excluding (...) a very small group of people mainly from the Ionian Islands that, because of their bordering position with Italy, they have always had some relation with European classical music—[the concept of *sinavlía* was unknown] (...). More than ninety per cent of the Greeks learnt about the concept of *sinavlía* during the last fifty years. They probably had never been to a *sinavlía* before. And how did they learn about it? Unfortunately, that was during somewhat rough political circumstances and through composers such as (...) Xarchakos who, through the political circumstances of that era [1970s], taught the people that a *sinavlía* takes place in a stadium, standing with the fist up in the air and shouting political slogans (...). (My translation.)

I recalled Daly’s reference to the concept of *sinavlía* several years after our interview, upon noticing seemingly inexplicable behaviours of people talking loudly during the course of *sinavlía* performances—sometimes so loudly that their discussions could be heard throughout the premises of the venue. I noticed that the people making the noise were, more often than not, of senior age. Knowing some of these people, I could tell that they did not have hearing difficulties, nor were they just dotard old men and women. Rather, I believe that they were simply not

which this music may be encountered. The *paréa* is practised both in villages and towns in Crete, yet predominantly among Cretan music enthusiasts—and even more in places where high numbers of enthusiasts accumulate, such as in some villages that are well known for their *paréa* performances. As I argue in the course of this thesis, the *paréa* is a practice that describes a group of friends or acquaintances gathering together in a house or other premises, usually sitting around a table while eating, drinking, playing music and singing (see Figure 1.1). However, its importance to Cretan music and its enthusiasts raises the *paréa* to the level of an institution for the local musical tradition. A *paréa* performance is thus not a formal event, yet nor is it a random expression of musicality. Rather, it is part of a traditionally structured code of musical and social communication. Also, the *paréa* is not an altogether unique phenomenon: from the neighbouring Balkan area, similar practices have been described by Rice (1980a) and Sugarman (1989), while the participatory context of *paréa* performance has parallels to other musical traditions from virtually all over the world (see examples in Turino 2008).

With this thesis I not only aspire to study this performance space per se, but also to offer an approach to Cretan music through the study of *paréa* performances—which is, I consider, fertile ground for the development of discussions related to various aspects of the local musicality, ranging from the different meanings and the importance that this music has for its local enthusiasts, to more practical matters related to musical performance and the learning

accustomed to the concept of *sinavliá* and that they were behaving as they would in the context of a *gléndi* in which talking with other people is common.

And indeed, this is a very important difference between a *sinavliá* and a *gléndi*, although both are essentially staged performances. In the former the audience is expected to sit—usually in rows of chairs placed before the stage—and listen, while in the latter the attendants are free to move and interact with other people within the space of the *gléndi*, which consists of islands of tables usually occupied by families, groups of friends and acquaintances. The people who are attending a *gléndi* are not only an audience, but are also expected and encouraged to participate either in the convivial atmosphere of chatting and drinking around the tables, or on the dance floor which is usually located in front of the stage (see Dawe 2007b for the *gléndi*; also Cowan (1990:134–70) for the ‘formal evening dances’ (*horoesperidhes*) in the village of Sohós in Northern Greece).



Figure 1.1. A *paréa* performance at a rural household near Rethemnos (August 2012).

process. The *paréa* is the most direct, immediate and unmediated performance space of Cretan music where its participants—both musicians and enthusiasts—perpetuate this musical tradition as part of everyday social life. One may also suggest that the *paréa* represents the social basis of this music outside the realm of its official stagings, professionalism and music business: it invites a wide array of participants, from novice players to professionals, as well as—and perhaps most importantly, since a *paréa* is not only a meeting for musicians—Cretan music enthusiasts who may not know how to play a musical instrument, but may either sing or just closely listen and enjoy the performance. I believe that the practice of *paréa* performances in Crete partly answers the question raised by Dawe (2007b) on the subject of what ‘keeps the music from dying out, from becoming detached

from its cultural base and losing sight of local needs and aspirations (...)’ (p. 86)—regardless of how varied these ‘needs and aspirations’ may be within the different contexts where this music may be found today; from a *glénda* at a hinterland village on the island to the ‘entrepreneurial’ (see Dawe 2007b) practice of a musician who aspires to reach audiences beyond the borders of Crete and Greece.

It is important to note that these participatory performances are not considered ‘lesser versions of the “real music” made by the pros’ as Turino (2008:25, emphasis in original) mentions in his discussion on the status of participatory performances in ‘the West’.⁴ I must clarify that the *paréa* is commonly accepted as a true and important domain for expression of the local musicality—a point I will discuss further in subsequent chapters. Hence, my aspiration through this text is not only to work towards demonstrating that the non-staged participatory performances of Cretan music are not—nor are they considered—‘lesser versions’ of something else, but also to underline their principal importance for this musical tradition and its participants, among whom many believe that the participatory context of the *paréa* is indeed ‘the real music’, or—in their own words—‘the authentic Cretan music’ (*i authentikí kritikí mousikí*).

This research aims to explore a series of questions raised through the study of *paréa* performances: What is a *paréa*? Is it important and why is it important? And questions that concern the ethnomusicologist: What is the value of the *paréa* to the musical, social and cultural expression of its participants? Why do *parées* take place at all? And eventually, what is their meaning and importance as part of this musical tradition and in this cultural context? These questions arise from the study of the *paréa* per se, yet they are, in general, concerned with aspects related to Cretan music and culture which I have encountered through my long fieldwork in the island. In the course of this thesis, I will try to approach *paréa* performances from an array of varied perspectives that not only address its practice per se, but also illustrate a broader picture of the Cretan musicality through the study of the

⁴ More specifically, Turino (2008:25) refers to North Americans. Yet, within the same example he broadens his perspective to include ‘most cosmopolitans’ (also see Turino 2003). He also makes reference to ‘capitalist societies’, a term that I consider less accurate within the scope of his arguments.

performance space of the *paréa*. Thus, in the following chapters I am going to discuss the semantics and definition of the *paréa* in the past and the present, examine its intrinsic characteristics with regard to both its social and musical performance and, most importantly, endeavour to explain why it matters for those who practise it today.

Specifically, in the second chapter I aspire to delineate the meaning of the word *paréa* both in the context of the Cretan musical tradition and as part of the everyday language. I examine the word as a semantically challenging notion, both with regard to its dictionary definition as well as in relation to the meanings conveyed in the Cretan vernacular. Also, I discuss how the word is attributed with different meanings in relation to the identity of the interlocutors and the context of a discourse. The primary goal of this chapter is to identify the entity of the *paréa* as a distinct performance space within the contemporary performance practice of Cretan music.

The third chapter is concerned with the importance of the past to this musical tradition as well as to the musicians and enthusiasts who practise it today. My reference to 'the past' concerns the nostalgic view of old and erstwhile practices that may include musics and performance styles captured in early recordings, as well as other and often extra-musical characteristics such as behaviours, dressing codes, rituals etc. This nostalgic thinking about the relationship between the past and the present in Cretan music usually involves the juxtaposition of an 'ideal' and 'authentic' past to a 'corrupted' present. As I have already mentioned at the beginning of this introduction, *paréa* performances are often seen as the most 'authentic' living vestiges of an old-time performance practice. Hence, I argue that the *paréa* is central in the discussion about authenticity which reinforces its entity as a distinct and widely accepted performance domain for the Cretan musical tradition. As with the previous chapter, the third chapter is also part of my endeavour to understand and identify the entity of the *paréa*, this time from another perspective which I consider inseparable for the study of this musical tradition, and it involves arguments related to 'authenticity', 'tradition' and 'identity'.

Having established the meanings and the practices associated with the vernacular use of the word *paréa*, in the fourth chapter I seek to provide a

descriptive approach to *paréa* performances. The discussion in this chapter is facilitated by a linear narrative through which I describe a single *paréa* performance that circumscribes and supports the development of my arguments. The narration is often supplemented by examples of instances from other *paréa* performances through which I seek to enrich the understanding of the practices that correspond to this performance space. My description and analysis in this chapter involve the preliminary stages towards the initiation of a *paréa* performance and look into some of the most important attributes that relate to its development, focusing on spatial characteristics including the seating arrangements and the movement of the participants in the space during the performance.

The fifth chapter is about values, beliefs and practices that relate to participation and that not only shape the *paréa* performance per se, but also appear to transcend its domain and prevail in other performance spaces and expressions of Cretan music. Specifically, in this chapter I seek to unravel the ways of thinking of *paréa* participants by asking a series of questions: ‘Is the *paréa* a ritual practice?’, ‘Is it an invented tradition?’, and most importantly, ‘Who is considered to be a musician?’ and ‘Who are the individuals that stand out as the most important figures for this musical tradition?’. I focus on both the musicians and other participants—with special attention to the *meraklides* (s. *meraklís*), i.e. people who, regardless of whether they can perform or sing well, are eager to participate and share their enthusiasm with the rest of the participants of a *paréa* performance. In the course of this chapter I also examine an array of aspects that are inherently related to the *paréa* performance practice and the local participatory values, including the process of learning this music. Eventually, this chapter seeks to interpret the evidence in order to understand why people choose to participate in *parées* and socialise through music.

Finally, the sixth chapter is about the music itself and the way in which it is performed in *paréa* performances; a way of describing what happens during the course of a *paréa* by demonstrating the ways in which the attendants participate in the musical performance. Throughout the chapter, I undertake the task of explaining many aspects related to the performance of Cretan music with regard to participation—an exposition that involves a detailed discussion of various

characteristics, such as the performance structure, improvisation, singing and performance roles. Ultimately, I consider that the chapter constitutes a final and comprehensive argument about the inherent relationship between participation and Cretan music per se, which concludes this thesis by providing hard evidence for many of the discussions that develop throughout the course of the text.

Overall, in this thesis I endeavour to demonstrate that the *paréa* is a vitally important means for the expression of the local musicality; a performance space in which the prevalent unwritten rules and the importance with which it is attributed by many *paréa* participants indicate that it represents something far more significant than a random ‘jamming’ between friends; rather an institution that is assigned with multiple roles within the realm of this musical tradition. I also endeavour to emphasise that the people who practise the *paréa* tradition—regardless of whether they can play a musical instrument or not—not only subscribe to Cretan music as a listening choice, but also participate in it as part of their social life. They engage in a traditionally structured means of musical expression which is not only part of their ceremonial life—in other words, though participation in calendric *gléndia* and rites of passage—, but also part of their everyday life and communication through music in the context of *paréa* performances. Furthermore, I aspire to establish that Cretan music is a genre that has been developed on participatory grounds that facilitate participation for all participants—both experienced and inexperienced. Certainly, there are many—most of them being relatively recent—compositions that do not subscribe to the participatory context, featuring complex melodies and accompaniment that may demand prior rehearsals and are thus usually not preferred in *paréa* performances. Still, in my experience, the bulk of the local musical repertory is easily performed in a participatory context.

Ultimately, through this thesis I seek to underline that the participatory performances are a crucial parameter in explaining why Cretan music remains a highly popular genre for the local population, as well as why consequent generations of participants—who often grow up in the cosmopolitan environment of Cretan cities and towns and among the diverse musical sounds that reach the island from the Greek and international music markets—keep subscribing to this music and revisit *paréa* performances, keeping this musical tradition alive while

also enriching it with new compositions. Indeed, new compositions of Cretan music are gradually expanding the repertory that is performed in *paréa* performances provided that, as mentioned above, these new pieces may be easily performed within a participatory context. Still, older compositions are not at all incompatible with the needs of musical expression of even the youngest *paréa* participants. In my experience, many age-old pieces like *prótos syrtós* ('First syrtós') and *Dóse mou to dikaíoma* ('Give me the right') are constantly revisited in *parées* (see Appendix for details) and are usually enthusiastically received among the most active participants. Yet, why do people keep subscribing to the same old tunes from generation to generation without greatly changing their instrumentation and performance style? I, for one, believe that the reason behind this durable preference is the participatory context in which this music exists and perpetuates; that the repertory of Cretan music—old and new—is part of a recipe for achieving good social life through music.

I consider that the *paréa* represents a microcosm of the broader idea of what is referred to as Cretan music in the form that it is expressed through its various performance settings, from the calendric village festivities to World Music concerts. It is a layer of local musicality that may be opaque to an outsider, unless one attempts to blend into the local community among Cretan music enthusiasts and musicians and closely observe the quotidian musical interaction between the people who care about this music and participate in *paréa* performances. It is important to note that my use of the word 'quotidian' does not indicate a daily occurrence; I choose this word since I consider that *paréa* performances do represent a form of everyday musical expression (also see DeNora 2000) outside the realm of prearranged staged performances and celebrations. Many people often say that the best *parées* occur spontaneously. And indeed, a *paréa* may occur at any time, as a form of musical expression and communication, with virtually the same ease and in an analogous manner to an everyday talk between friends.

Finally, my discussion on *paréa* performances aspires to look below the surface of the 'visible' musical happenings and observe how this local expression of musicality imbibed in the *habitus* (see Bourdieu 1979 [1972]) of Cretan music

enthusiasts,⁵ not only shapes their understanding of what music is and stands for, but also affects their everyday lives. The *paréa* is an almost venerable practice for many musicians and enthusiasts and many people who regularly participate in *parées* recognise it as a way of life with which they cannot dispense. Indeed, the short narrative that follows not only underlines this argument but also suggests that the *paréa* is a way to understand music and live a life through music. Towards the end of my fieldwork an acquaintance—an excellent amateur laouto player and singer who had always stood out in *parées* for his passionate performances—called me on the phone to wish me *hrónia pollá* on my name-day (‘many years’, an equivalent to the ‘happy birthday’ wish). We had rarely ever talked at a personal level, yet I had met him several times at *parées* and other occasions. Now he had been living and working on a small Aegean island for nearly a year and we began to talk about his experience there. Although he liked his life on that island, he was frustrated about having very few opportunities to play music with others. He said that there were only a handful of musicians in the island, and these few were not nearly good enough to play with in a *paréa*. He was passionate, telling me that he was now realising that Crete has a unique musical tradition and that those who have not been raised in Crete cannot understand ‘what music really is’ (*ti siménei mousikí*)—and I was indeed delighted that, by implication, he was including me among those who did understand. He concluded that if the people of a place will not or cannot express their ‘sorrow and joy’ (*ti lípi kai ti hará tous*) through their own means, through their own local musical idiom, then they are ‘condemned’ (*katadikasménoi*) to passively accept whatever ‘crap’ (*skatá*) the television serves them with; and that, he stressed, is ‘degradation’ (*katándia*). I believe that the views of my interlocutor are representative of how people who grow up in this musical tradition value Cretan music and understand the concept and the importance of music at large.

⁵ *Habitus* is a complex term that has been shaped by Pierre Bourdieu and mostly represents an approach method rather than something that may be rigidly defined. As such, I cannot explain the word in brief, yet throughout this thesis I employ the term in order to refer to the actors of Cretan music as units that are structured by its long tradition, yet also represent its structuring force towards its redefinition. For more information about the use of the word by Pierre Bourdieu, see Maton (2014).

As I will further discuss below, the fieldwork for this study has been based in the town of Rethymnos and the surrounding region that constitutes the municipality of Rethymnon,⁶ yet it also covers a large geographical area in the southern region of Agios Vasilios within the prefecture of Rethymnon (see Appendix for a map and details). I have participated in and observed *parées* in various other places both inside and outside the prefecture, and I consider that although this research remains primarily focused in the aforementioned geographical areas, it still describes a practice that is common throughout the island, at least with reference to its social aspects which I examine in this thesis.

1.1 Cretan music: towards defining a musical tradition

This section constitutes a brief introduction to Cretan music and aspires to define it beyond the realm of approaching it as either a delimited folk tradition or a historical repertory for this island. I do not, however, aspire to propound a detailed and comprehensive overview of this musical genre and its history. Information on the Cretan musical tradition is readily available in numerous book publications, online sources as well as commercial compact disc compilations whose liner notes attempt to introduce the readers to the repertory, the dances, the musicians and the history of Cretan music. Rather, in this section I intend to set the basis for the discussions that develop throughout this thesis by examining and clarifying what the terms ‘Cretan music’ and ‘Cretan musical tradition’ represent for contemporary Cretan music enthusiasts and musicians.

With regard to instrumentation, Cretan music is widely known as the music of the *lyra* (upright fiddle) and the *laouto* (long-necked lute), an ensemble that represents the most popular form of the Cretan *zigiá* (literally ‘duet’) ensemble.⁷

⁶ Rethymnon is the official name for the town, the municipality and the prefecture (referred to as *dímos* and *nomós Rethymnis* respectively due to the declension of nouns in the Greek language). Following Herzfeld’s (1991) example, I have employed the local variation ‘Rethemnos’ to refer to the town, while retaining the official names for the other two administrative regions.

⁷ Both the *lyra* and the *laouto* are instruments that may vary in size and other characteristics with regard to their construction and performance in different regions and musical traditions throughout Greece. In this thesis, I am exclusively referring to the Cretan *lyra* and *laouto*.

However, Cretan music is also the music of the violin and the laouto, an ensemble that dominated the prefectures of Chania and Lasithi in the past and which is still popular among certain musicians and enthusiasts of Cretan music.⁸ Furthermore, the music of the *boulgarí* (long-necked plucked lute) has been a very popular choice among groups of enthusiasts in the urban spaces in Crete.⁹ Also, listening to ethnographical recordings from villages across the island conducted by a research expedition (Baud-Bovy 2006) in the 1950s,¹⁰ one may discern different

⁸ The decline of the violin in these regions has not taken place naturally according to Papadakis (Naftis) (1989), Magrini (1997) and League (2014). According to Papadakis, the violin performances of Cretan music were banned from the National Radio (EIR) in 1955 after the direction of the ethnographer Simon Karas who considered the violin to be a ‘non-authentic’ instrument for the performance of Cretan music. Papadakis (1920–2003), as one of the most celebrated Cretan violin players of his time, assumes an offensive stance against both Karas and the growing popularisation of the lyra throughout the island. His polemic focuses on proving that the lyra is ‘less authentic’ than the violin for the performance of Cretan music, claiming that the former is a Turkish musical instrument—an argumentation that is remarkably similar to that of the Greek intelligentsia in their efforts to abolish all Turkish influences from the Greek language and culture from as early as the nineteenth century (see Herzfeld 1986 [1982]). I am not in the position to confirm whether the details relating to the banning of the violin, as told by Papadakis, are accurate. And indeed, it would be too bold to accept this polemic against the lyra—evident from the title alone, *Cretan Lyra: A Myth*—as a reliable source in its entirety. A thorough study of sources is necessary to review whether Papadakis’ testimony and its details are accurate. Unfortunately, League’s (2014) and Magrini’s (1997) online articles offer us no other primary sources than Papadakis’ account. Among the contemporary violin players, some representative examples are Antonis Martsakis for the prefecture of Chania, and Vaggelis Vardakis for the prefecture of Lasithi (see Discography).

⁹ According to Theodoros Riginiotis, *boulgarí* music is not what the ‘good society’ of the urban spaces in Crete listened to at the time when these songs appeared in commercial recordings. Rather, it represents the music performed by the ‘simple folk’ as noted in the liner notes of a compact disc compilation dedicated to the work of the main commercial recording representative of the genre of *boulgarí* music, Stelios Foustalierakis (1911–1992) (see *To Stelaki apo tin Kriti* album in Discography).

¹⁰ The publication of the fieldnotes of the team of researchers Samuel Baud-Bovy, Aglaia Agioutanti and Despina Mazaraki who participated in this expedition, is accompanied by two compact discs featuring part of their field recordings, through which one may discern the differences between regional musical traditions. It is also interesting to quote part of a letter sent to Baud-Bovy by Mazaraki in 1953: ‘Your choice to begin [our fieldwork] in Crete has been a

forms of Cretan music existing outside the realm of the contemporaneous commercial recordings—that is the music of the so-called *protomástores*.¹¹ All of these different traditions, repertoires and instrumentations are historically and synchronically referred to as Cretan music; a generic term that is geographically true, yet it does not necessarily represent a unified musical tradition. And indeed, according to many musicians and enthusiasts of Cretan music, the ethnographical value of the commercial recordings of the *protomástores* is great since they demonstrate the diversity and richness of the various local musical traditions emanating from different geographical areas throughout the island, before giving place to a pan-Cretanisation¹² which has appeared as a direct result of the popularisation of some of these musical traditions within a growing local music industry.¹³ Nowadays, the repertory of Cretan music may be virtually the same

successful one. Yet Crete is vast, it has many peculiarities and needs a lot of work. Suffice to say that the four villages of the Riza, to say at the foot of the Madara (Lefka Ori), which are as close as half an hour walk from each other, while two of them are part of the same administrative community [*koinótita*], retain noticeable differences with regards to the tunes of the songs that have survived' (Baud-Bovy 2006:17).

¹¹ The term *protomástores* ('first masters') has been established with the re-release of the early commercial recordings of Cretan music (from the period of 1920–1955 as annotated on the release's cover) into 33 $\frac{1}{3}$ rpm records in the 1980s. During the 1990s, the compilation was merged into a ten compact disc box set that remains a popular reference among Cretan music enthusiasts and musicians (see Discography).

¹² Pan-Cretanisation is a process that has brought many of this island's traditions closer to each other while it has also worked towards the demise of many regional musical traditions. However, one should not consider that the process of pan-Cretanisation has been complete. There are many different musical traditions on the island, both in terms of repertory and performance practice. For instance, one may easily notice the distinguishable differences between the regions of Agios Vasilios and Milopotamos that lie within the prefecture of Rethymnon.

¹³ Kourousis & Kopanitsanos (2016) recently published a book accompanied by eight compact discs containing recordings from the period of 1907–1955 that were not included in the aforementioned *protomástores* album. The synopsis of this book, as it appears on its back cover, underlines the aforementioned opinion: '[This compilation] is a precise transcription of the divergent musical "identities" of Crete focusing on the era of the first commercial recordings' (Kourousis & Kopanitsanos 2016, my translation). This opinion is also shared among many Cretan music enthusiasts and musicians.

when performed by each of the aforementioned instruments or ensembles,¹⁴ however the *zigiá* of the lyra and the laouto have indubitably been established as the most representative sound and image for this musical tradition.¹⁵

The repertory of Cretan music is mostly categorised in dances, in other words in families of the local repertory, each of which corresponds to a local dance. Among the most popular families are the *syrtá* (s. *syrtó*), *kontiliés*, *malevizíótis* or *kastrínós* and *pendozális*. Among the popular families which are not associated to dance are the *amanédes* or *tambahaniótika*—the music of the *boulgarí* as mentioned above—which were shaped in the urban centres of Crete, and *rizítika*, an *a capella* type of song which became popular throughout Greece in the 1970s through the commercial album *Rizitika* by Giannis Markopoulos and Nikos Xylouris (see Discography). I must clarify that the repertory of Cretan music does not substantially change in relation to the instrumentation. In the contemporary performance practice of Cretan music, the local repertory may be performed by virtually every local instrument, although certain pieces of the local repertory are associated with some local instruments more than others. I will further discuss the repertory of Cretan music throughout this thesis and especially in the sixth chapter.

However, beyond defining what Cretan music is in terms of repertory and instrumentation, I consider that it is essential to examine what Cretan music stands for—in other words, what Cretan music enthusiasts and musicians recognise as Cretan music; a matter that is entangled within a process related to the contemporary evaluations of compositions, performers and performance practices in the island. For this endeavour, I will employ an existing theoretical

¹⁴ In contemporary performance practice, a Cretan music ensemble may also include more than one laouto players as well as a guitar, a bass, percussion and, in a few cases, a synthesizer.

¹⁵ In addition to the lyra, the laouto, the violin and the *boulgarí*, which have greatly influenced the process of shaping the contemporary form of the Cretan musical tradition, I must include the instruments of *askobandoúra* or *askomandoúra* (bagpipe), *bandoúra* or *mandoúra* (reed flute), *thiabóli* (flute with a whistle mouthpiece), *daouláki* (literally ‘small *daoúli*’, double-headed drum) and especially the mandolin which is common for the performance of Cretan music throughout the island, and particularly popular in some regions where it sometimes replaces the lyra within the ensemble of *zigiá*.

system which is often used in everyday talk among many Cretan music enthusiasts and musicians for categorising Cretan music in different and supposedly distinct inclinations or sub-genres. This matter has already been discussed briefly by Papadatos & Dawe (2018) through the scope of understanding how Cretan music exists as both a folk and a popular musical genre. Yet, for the purposes of this introduction, I will endeavour to employ the categorisations as a channel towards outlining the definitional boundaries of what is nowadays referred to as Cretan music.

The different musical styles that appear in the form of sub-genres in everyday talk between Cretan music enthusiasts and musicians are summarised in the categories of *paradosiakó*, *skyládiko* and *éntehno*. Briefly, *paradosiakó* ('traditional') corresponds to the 'proper' or 'authentic' performances and styles within Cretan music; in other words, to attitudes that are considered respectful towards the past of this music with regard both to its repertory and to its performance practice. On the other hand, *skyládiko*¹⁶ is a derogatory term employed to indicate 'bad' performances and practices within this musical tradition. The term may be employed as an evaluation of a musician, a performance practice, an instrumentation choice etc. Finally, *éntehno* (from *éntehni mousikí*, literally 'art-music') represents what local enthusiasts and musicians consider to be an 'artful' or 'gentrified' version of their music and usually includes artists who subscribe to the performance context of the *sinavliá*.¹⁷

¹⁶ The origin of the word *skyládiko* (which may be translated as 'dog-music') is unknown, yet it has for several decades been employed throughout Greece to refer to certain expressions of urban *laikó* music, usually those that are subjectively and perhaps hegemonically (see Cowan 1990:11–4) condemned as 'bad music' (see Frith 2004). The journalist Antonis Karkagiannis provides some interesting assumptions with regard to the origin of the term in a column in the *Kathimerini* newspaper (see Karkagiannis 2002a; 2002b). It should also be noted that the Cretan *skyládiko* is sometimes referred to as *skylokritikó* ('Cretan dog-music') or *laikó* (literally 'popular', yet employed in a derogatory sense towards indicating what *hoi polloi* choose to listen to).

¹⁷ The theorisation of the use of these terms stems from my experience in everyday discussions with Cretan music enthusiasts and musicians during my long fieldwork on the island. To these impressions, I consider it noteworthy to add a discussion that I had with a record shop employee in Rethemnos who offers a different view on the matter from the vantage point of music sales. Briefly, he claimed that Cretan music retains a rich repository of styles and manages to address a

An attempt towards analysing these categories has been made by Pavlopoulou (2006; also 2012:187–239) who tried to approach them as real divisions or sub-genres of Cretan music. However, as it is argued in the aforementioned article by Papadatos & Dawe (2018), these categories should not be approached as distinct sub-genres but as a manifestation of how local musicians and audiences understand the processes that take place in their music and as a means for expressing their opinions on performance practices, compositions and musicians. These categories paint a picture of the internal stylistic differences which are constantly influenced by a complex nexus of interactions that take place across the island. They do not constitute isolated spheres of musical practice and perception, but rather demonstrate the complex processes through which Cretan music exists and evolves as both a folk and a popular genre (see Papadatos & Dawe 2018) which interacts with other musical genres and styles from Greece or abroad.

In many cases, the subjects of this categorisation scheme—namely, the musicians, their works and performances—cannot be clearly classified, especially the work of many artists whose performance practice may stand at the threshold of the aforementioned categories depending on their audience and the performance setting. Also, as mentioned above, the opinions that shape these unofficial categorisations are not based on solely musical criteria. A musician may be evaluated more or less favourably—provided that the less favourable category is that of *skyládiko*—and categorised in the three categories in relation to his dress-code, the venues in which he chooses to perform, the people with whom he

quite varied audience. He said that among his clientele—which included tourists, locals, university students and visiting Cretan diaspora—one may find people who may have grown up within substantially different musical cultures, yet they may show interest in specific expressions of Cretan music. As he claimed, a foreign tourist may choose the album *Music of Crete* by Ross Daly (see Discography), a university student may prefer specific musicians from the category of the Cretan *éntehno*, while the Cretan diaspora will often favour recordings that he categorised in the realm of *skyládiko*. Still, he emphasised, there are many locals who subscribe to and support the ‘real’ Cretan music, in other words the category of *paradosiakó*. Also, see a very interesting discussion between Kevin Dawe and a record shop owner with regard to Ross Daly (Dawe 2007b:141–2).

collaborates etc.¹⁸ And indeed, the evaluations with regard to the categorisation of an artist or a practice may vary greatly depending on the disposition of each individual who expresses an evaluation (see Frith's 2004 discussion on the evaluation of 'bad music').

However, these local categories represent a good starting point towards understanding what Cretan music is, as they reflect a reality that lies outside the realm of any authoritative definition of this music based on instrumentation, geography and repertory (such as Papadatos 2014). I believe that the ways of thinking that produce these categories not only reveal what Cretan music represents for its enthusiasts and musicians, but also approach an answer to the question of why these people listen to or play this music. By observing how they employ these terms in their everyday talk, it becomes clear that the categories reflect a classification system based on subjective experiences which lead not only to fluidity in the semantic field—in this case how language is used to make music meaningful and define what music is—, but also to a consensus of values that reflect this musical culture.

Let me demonstrate how I have endeavoured to approach this matter through the use of two narratives. The first concerns an anecdote that my interlocutors claimed to be a true story and involves the meeting of two popular lyra players: a senior and acclaimed master of Cretan music and a young musician whom my interlocutors classified in the category of *skyládiko*. According to the narrative, while playing in a staged performance, the master was told that a young and promising lyra player—since the story is set at the time before the young musician became a popular musician—was in the audience and that he should be given the opportunity to perform on stage—a gesture that is customary on the behalf of a lyra player playing in staged performances, especially when renowned lyra players are sitting in the audience. Indeed, the master invited the young player on to the stage whilst he himself went and sat at one of the tables to watch him play. The young man opened his performance as expected and in accordance with the

¹⁸ I use the pronoun 'he' to refer to *paréa* participants and Cretan music enthusiasts and musicians. *Parées* are usually male-dominated, but it is not my intention to exclude women in any way.

established performance norms. But he soon started playing increasingly fast, often intertwining long virtuosic improvisations in between the musical pieces and the melodic phrases—a ‘non-traditional’ practice according to many Cretan music enthusiasts and musicians. Towards the end of his performance, he raised his lyra and placed it behind his head while playing. ‘Long story short’, as my interlocutors said, the young player concluded his performance, climbed off the stage amidst great applause and headed to the master’s table to ask him how he did. ‘Very, very good my lad, bravo!’ the latter exclaimed, ‘you’re playing very well, but... what are you playing?’—or, according to another version of the anecdote, ‘do you know what you’re playing?’. This reply—which may be interpreted as either an honest question or tacitly expressed scorn—implied that what the young player performed was something that the master could either not accept or understand as Cretan music. This anecdote perhaps indicates an underlying story that is older than what one may be inclined to think; in other words, older than what is presented as a contemporary clash between the ‘timeless’ Cretan traditional music and the modern and ‘alienated’ *skyládiko*, portrayed meeting of the two lyra players—an antithesis between tradition and a form of modernity that many Cretan music enthusiasts and musicians not only scorn, but also passionately oppose. Rather, I consider that the way this story is narrated aspires to be a demonstration of the contrast between two ideologies: that of a person—the master—who cares about the intrinsic and sentimental side of this music, and another—the young musician—who employs his musical skills in order to show off. In other words, I consider that this story is not just an amusing anecdote. Rather, it is a contemporary parable that concerns the contemporary ethics and values that reside in this musical culture.¹⁹

The second narrative concerns a discussion in which I was present and concerned whether a particular popular lyra player and singer—whose musical activities reach audiences throughout Greece and abroad—would be categorised

¹⁹ It should also be noted that this discussion is related to Herzfeld’s (1985) approach to *simasia* (‘meaning’) in his study of a mountainous village in Crete.

in the realm of either Apollonian or Dionysian music.²⁰ In this discussion, the one side held that since the artist's music and style were a departure from the local practices of a *glénda* performance, it should be classified as Apollonian. The other side claimed that even though the artist was showing preference towards the performance space of *sinavliá*, the 'aura' of his expression retained something of an 'ancient Dionysian spirit'; something too expressive and uplifting to be characterised as anything other than Dionysian. This discussion, disguised under a different terminology, is again related to the differences between the aforementioned categories; specifically, *paradosiakó* (Dionysian) and *éntehno* (Apollonian). Since neither of the two categories represents a negative evaluation per se, the terms are employed in this discussion as a means for communicating the interlocutors' impressions and opinions about the artist and his performance practice without necessarily involving any negative comments. It is true that such a discussion may be overly theoretical, yet these subtle arguments lend colour to my approach on the feelings of Cretan music enthusiasts and musicians towards certain artists and practices—and eventually paint a picture of this musical culture.

The aforementioned narratives are not related to the sound of the music per se, yet they reveal how people perceive the nature of Cretan music—in the specific examples as an evaluation between *paradosiakó* and *skyládiko* in the first, and *éntehno* and *paradosiakó* in the second. The narratives demonstrate that virtually every question that concerns the intrinsic identity of this music is related to the polysemic roles that are contained in the term 'Cretan music' and expressed in the system of values and beliefs of Cretan music enthusiasts and musicians—roles that this musical tradition is expected to honour in a rather complex modern world of musical and cultural interactions within the island of Crete. As I will further

²⁰ Apollonian and Dionysian are terms that made their debut in contemporary abstract thinking through Nietzsche's (1995 [1872]) *The Birth of Tragedy* (for the use of the terms in the field of ethnomusicology see Keil (2005 [1994]a)). However, the terms may be encountered in everyday talks among music enthusiasts in Greece in order to comment on and emphasise the characteristics and merits of a musical work, an artist or a musical genre. In general, the terms are employed to distinguish between musics that encourage silent contemplation (Apollonian) from those that are usually accompanied by activities such as talking, drinking and dancing (Dionysian).

discuss in the following chapters, Cretan music is a folk musical tradition, a banner of local identity, a music that is expected to remain close to its roots and keep on expressing the local population, yet it is also a popular music of which virtually every Cretan music enthusiast is proud when it manages to reach audiences beyond the borders of the island.

Eventually, what one may nowadays refer to as Cretan music has occurred through the transformation of a multifaceted and geographically varied mosaic of musical traditions into a relatively homogenised—through a process that has been described as pan-Cretanisation—yet stylistically diverse musical tradition. In other words, the erstwhile differences in performance practice, instrumentation and repertory between different regions in Crete have given place to a supposedly unified tradition which, however, demonstrates internal variations as shown through my discussion on the categories of *paradosiakó*, *skyládiko* and *éntehno*. The new internal diversity of Cretan music has been shaped—and is still being shaped—in accordance with the personal preferences of musicians and audiences who grow up in Crete surrounded by musics that reach the island from virtually all over the world and enrich its soundscapes (see Dawe 2007b:147–66). The internal stylistic differences within Cretan music are indeed a matter that vividly occupies discussions among Cretan music enthusiasts; a matter of personal choice related to the process that shapes the future of Cretan music, not only with regard to its sound, but also in relation to what it represents for its enthusiasts and musicians. Eventually, I believe that this is the process that allows this music to exist both as a folk and a popular musical tradition, and this antithesis constitutes the driving force that gradually changes Cretan music while staying close to its enthusiasts' aspirations (Dawe 2007b:86).

Thus, the contested matter with regard to the future of Cretan music appears as a tacit but noticeable clash between different perceptions towards this music—in its simplest form, a negotiation between tradition and modernity. During a personal interview with a young *laouto* player—whom many Cretan music enthusiasts and musicians would describe as 'progressive' and perhaps put much of his work in the *éntehno* category—we discussed whether a Cretan tune played by a non-Cretan ensemble—a Japanese ensemble in this example—would still be Cretan music. The *laouto* player suggested that indeed it would. His answer struck

me as inconsistent with the perception of Cretan music that I had hitherto conceived through my fieldwork, so I decided to repeat the question to other musicians, this time to people who had—unlike the case of the aforementioned laouto player—grown up listening to and playing Cretan music and whom one would most probably categorise among those who subscribe to the *paradosiakó* category of this music. Their answers were different from that of the aforementioned laouto player. For them Cretan music was something more than its repertory or instrumentation; it was rather a living tradition that has reference to its instrumentation and its repertory as much as to the values and the processes that eventually produce new compositions today. In other words, a musical genre that exists in relation to both its place and its history—a *modus operandi* rather than an *opus operatum*. According to my latter interlocutors, it is not just the repertory or the instrumentation that qualifies a music as Cretan, rather it is everything that goes on in its performance and that reflects the internal world of the locals in the making of this music. Through their arguments, I was given to understand that a non-Cretan ensemble would indeed be performing a Cretan tune, yet not Cretan music; because Cretan music is not just what has been recorded, but a process that corresponds to the musical culture and the way of life on this island—in other words it is not just music, but also, and most importantly, *musicking*.²¹ I cannot indicate that either of the two aforementioned perceptions of Cretan music is right or wrong. Yet I believe that the importance of these two opposite opinions should not be undervalued since they represent substantially different perceptions on the same musical tradition. Although these perceptions co-exist under the veil of a definitionally unified musical genre, they eventually produce different musics and consequently propose different bearings for the future of this musical tradition.

²¹ For an explanation of the term, I consider that it is appropriate to quote Small's (1998) own definition: 'So far as I know the word *musicking* does not appear in any English dictionary, but it is too useful a conceptual tool to lie unused. It is the present participle, or gerund, of the verb *to music*. (...) I have proposed this definition: *To music is to take part, in any capacity, in a musical performance, whether by performing, by listening, by rehearsing or practicing, by providing material for performance (what is called composing), or by dancing.*' (emphasis in original) (p. 9).

Despite these differences, Cretan music exists as a unified musical tradition regardless of the parameters that gradually influence the performance practices and the values of its enthusiasts and musicians. I consider that the negotiations that take place within this musical tradition should not be approached as a process that divides it into distinct sub-genres, but as its thrust towards redefining itself with the passing of time. The anxiety of its enthusiasts about what this music should stand for is a matter that vividly occupies everyday discussions and illustrates the painstaking interest they take in safeguarding it, without necessarily aspiring to thwart its continuous redefinition in the contemporary world. As I have briefly discussed in this introduction on Cretan music, the matter of what Cretan music represents for its enthusiasts and musicians is an overly convoluted matter which I will revisit throughout this thesis—especially in the third chapter—and through the perspective of understanding participatory musical performances in Crete.

1.2 In the field: performing ethnography in Crete

I consider that the primary factor that greatly determines the integrity of research is the disposition of the researcher who represents an integral and indubitably imperfect variable for the observation, the interpretation and the analysis of a case study. The researcher accumulates experiences which are based on his or her practices in the field; experiences based on his or her choices during fieldwork. Cretan music and *paréa* performances are practices that correspond to a very large number of local music enthusiasts living on the fifth largest island in the Mediterranean Sea. This study is focused on specific geographical areas within its borders, yet my point of view on this music has also been shaped by the experiences I have attained near the specific people with whom I have had the opportunity—and perhaps subconsciously chosen—to meet during my fieldwork. Ultimately, it was my friendship and acquaintance with these people that introduced me to this musical tradition and shaped my understanding of what Cretan music is; of what Crete means to me—an impression that has been greatly dependent on the choices I have made during my fieldwork. For this reason, I believe that submitting a personal note is far more than a mere literary caprice.

Rather, it tells the story of who the author is and how one has attempted to approach the knowledge that one claims to have obtained in the course of a primary research project. This brief personal note on my deeds related to this fieldwork and research is also an evaluation of my personal choices and apparatus; an evaluation that may reveal any fallacies related to my approach on the subject. Thus, the following text aspires to demonstrate the identity of the researcher in relation to the subject of this study—from a personal note to a presentation of practical matters related to the background of this study, such as establishing rapport in the field, the acculturation process and other methodological matters—and that is, per se, a potentially useful means for evaluating the integrity of this research.

When I arrived on the island at the beginning of 2011, I already liked spending my free time listening to Cretan music. The genre—or at least some facets of the genre—was already popular through the commercial recordings of Nikos Xylouris²² dating back in the 1970s, as well as through contemporary performers such as Psarantonis (Antonis Xylouris), Michalis Tzouganakis, Giannis Haroulis and Giorgos Zervakis, the latter being in the apogee of his career and regularly playing at Athenian night clubs and radio stations. A Cretan friend of mine had already suggested some lesser known—yet ‘more traditional’ as he said—commercial recordings by artists such as Kostas Mountakis whose music, however, was too unfamiliar for me to appreciate at the time.

During my research on my Masters dissertation on Cretan music in 2008–2009 and with the guidance of Giorgos Xylouris (son of Nikos Xylouris) who was working in his family’s record shop in the centre of Athens, I was introduced to commercial recordings of several contemporary, but less well known outside of

²² Nikos Xylouris (1936–1980) is among the most popular musicians of Cretan music throughout Greece, particularly through his collaborations with the composers Giannis Markopoulos and Stavros Xarhakos. As noted above, he greatly contributed to the popularisation of Cretan music and especially the family of *rizítika* through the album *Rizitika* (1972). Notably, the *rizítiko*, *Póte tha káneí xarsteriá* (‘When will the skies clear again’) became one of the unofficial anthems of the 1973 student uprisings in Athens against the military junta, and may be heard being sung by the students in the sound recordings from the polytechnic school of Athens (see *Edo Politehnio: A sound archive* in Discography).

Crete, artists such as Dimitris Sgouros and Paris Perisinakis. At the same record shop, I came across and purchased several collections of recordings by older Cretan music artists including the aforementioned *Protomástores* compilation. At that time, I was growing confident that I was becoming familiar with most of what there was to be known about the repertory of this music. My impression was that Cretan music was a delimited musical tradition of relatively specific repertory that had already been recorded and was now employed in the compositions of several artists who were using several of its characteristics and forms for their own compositions. In other words, my impression was that the Cretan musical tradition was a specific corpus of compositions in which nothing was added, and its continuation in the contemporary world was mostly achieved through its reproduction in calendric *gléndia* and historically informed performances. This would be a familiar scenario according to the fleeting impressions that I had formulated through my acquaintance with other regional musical traditions around Greece, which were rarely heard beyond the context of calendric village festivities. Also, I considered that as a result of the mass media and especially television, people throughout Greece would be more or less following the same trends in music, or at least that musical preferences would no longer be dependent on—or even influenced by—the region and its local traditional music. My hypothesis on the influence of mass media was not necessarily inaccurate, but as I later realised there are several popular regional television channels broadcasting within the limits of the island of Crete and—unlike those of many other regions throughout Greece—are well received as good alternatives to the bigger private or state-owned national channels based in and broadcasting from Athens. These local channels often include programmes on Cretan music featuring both young and senior musicians, contributing to a constant kindling of the local population’s interest in this musical genre.²³

²³ I will not extensively discuss the matter of mass media and music in this thesis, yet it is certainly an interesting topic, especially as it has been demonstrated by Sykäri (2011) in relation to *paréa* performances, where she notes that a decline in the frequency of *paréa* performances—as reported by some Cretan music enthusiast during her fieldwork—could be related to the ‘virtual *parées*’ hosted in certain local television programmes (p. 105)—notably, the various television programmes hosted by Giorgos Vitoros since the early 1990s. As I have discussed elsewhere

So, at the beginning of my fieldwork in Crete and at my first lesson on the laouto—the instrument through which I endeavoured to learn more about this musical tradition—, when my teacher asked me whether I was familiar with Cretan music, I said that I was. As I later realised, however, I knew virtually nothing. Cretan music was not nearly as limited as I thought it was, while I had neglected a whole musical world that was vividly occupying the interest of local Cretan music enthusiasts and continuously producing new compositions. Thus, before anything else, I had to comprehend this music through listening and learning how to play.

For the first months after my arrival in Rethemnos, I spent my time staying with a cousin of mine who had already been studying there for several years and was occasionally working as a sound engineer in live performances of Cretan music. I originally was planning to rent an apartment as soon as I arrived on the island, but I prolonged my visit since I neither had any specific plans nor any other acquaintances in the area. Also, my cousin and I were having a great time together; playing music, practising our culinary skills at home, and having drinks in the old town of Rethemnos at night. I did not attend many Cretan music performances, yet during this period I gradually became acquainted with the day and night life of the town. I was feeling lost with regards to the steps I should take in order to start my fieldwork, so I spent my time attending my laouto lessons, looking for books on Cretan music and culture in the local library and meticulously reading Michael Herzfeld's *A Place in History* (1991), an anthropological study of the town of Rethemnos in the 1980s. I did not know where to start, nor did I know what I was looking for. I had to meet musicians, yet in what context? I could more or less easily arrange some interviews, but on what subject? My research did not have any bearing at the time and hence I had no questions to ask yet. At that initial stage, my laouto teacher would often point out that some parts of learning the laouto are taught through playing with others; however, playing with other people was still a luxury to which I did not yet have access, being still an outsider on this island.

(Papadatos 2017), I do not consider that there is substantial evidence to suggest that *paréa* performances have generally declined in either frequency or intensity.

Being an introvert, I was never very good at being sociable among strangers—especially when this required the skills of small talk—and so the potential of finding my way in meeting people who were close to this music was desired yet intimidating at first. However, regardless of the awkwardness that I felt towards pursuing this task, I was aware that sooner or later I would have to do something in order to find a way to start my fieldwork. I considered that the large *kéntra* (Cretan music night clubs, see Dawe (2007b:42–3)) would offer little chance for meeting people, so I started considering other ways to begin my research. At that point I discovered a little coffee-house on the outskirts of the old town of Rethemnos that regularly hosted ‘Cretan music nights’. On the first music night I attended in that place, I asked for permission to record the musicians who not only granted it, but also invited me to sit at their table for the rest of the performance. The owner of the establishment, who was an aficionado of matters relating to the Cretan culture, was interested to know what I was working on and kindly asked me whether he could have some of the recordings I was making for his archives. Once I explained the reason why I was in Crete, he offered to help in any way he could—and indeed he did on many occasions during my fieldwork. His establishment became the place in which I would meet people and enter a world that abounded with amateur and professional musicians, comprising a network of acquaintances that shared a common passion for this music in the relatively small community of Rethemnos. So, after the first four months, my life in the island rapidly shifted to being a rather busy one—along with a constant feeling of not having enough time—through playing and listening to music with friends and acquaintances as well as going out on trips around the island.

Towards the end of the first year of my fieldwork in the island, I had already participated in many *paréa* performances and I started considering the potential of this performance space as a research subject. I also realised, however, that in order to understand Cretan music and *paréa* performances, I would first have to gain more experiences in this musical culture through learning how to play and appreciate this music. Hence, I became increasingly preoccupied with playing the *laouto* at home and in *parées*. Eventually, towards the end of the second year, I purchased a new and much better *laouto* that allowed me to further develop my skills on the instrument. Although I had already stopped my weekly *laouto* lessons



Figure 1.2. The ethnographer during a *paréa* performance (sitting at the top of the table and facing towards the camera; photograph courtesy of Giorgos Gavalas) (April 2013).

by the end of the first year, my skills and interest in the instrument were growing through my regular attendance in *parées*. I had gradually started to feel for Cretan music by listening to parts of its repertory that I was hitherto not acquainted with and I began looking forward to participating in *paréa* performances. In other words, I was gradually learning how to appreciate this music as a local music enthusiast would.

It was not difficult to establish rapport with the people among whom I was conducting my research. Many of my acquaintances in Rethemnos were of approximately my age, something that certainly encouraged the establishment of bonds of friendship. Being in their twenties, many of them were working their way towards making a living out of music and in the course of the five years I spent on the island, I shared their concerns and observed their practices in that direction. I was not looking to meet, interview or follow any of the big names of Cretan music. Rather, I was seeking to become acquainted with the local social network of musicians within the musical world of Rethemnos in which many of them knew each other, especially through their participation in *paréa* performances. Although entering this network seemed difficult at first, it quickly worked out well thanks

to the help of the people I met—and became good friends with along the way—during the preliminary stages of my research.

My decision to start learning how to play the laouto was the most important first step of my fieldwork since my apprenticeship on the laouto not only provided me with a better understanding of this music, but also helped me to build social relations in the field. I completely agree with Baily (2001) in his statement that:

Learning to perform has a number of social advantages for the researcher. It can provide one with an understandable role and status in the community, and it can be very useful in early orientation. It explains why you are there and what you are doing. (p. 95)

Indeed, without my role as a laouto apprentice, the first months on the island and my endeavour to find a place to begin my fieldwork would have been very difficult. Learning the laouto not only provided me with a better understanding of Cretan music, but also allowed me to spend more time with individuals that I would meet during the course of my fieldwork, since it granted me access to the knowledge of details related to this music; details which its enthusiasts and musicians were eager to talk about in everyday discussions. Eventually, my apprenticeship on the laouto provided me with an actual role in—and a good reason for being invited to—*parées*.²⁴ However, my preoccupation with learning the repertory of Cretan music on the laouto has on many occasions made me wonder if I was really conducting research into this music, or was getting carried away by my enthusiasm for learning the instrument and becoming an insider to this musical tradition. These phases of ambivalence were often accompanied by disappointments and achievements in both areas: my apprenticeship in this music and my research.

In retrospect, my efforts to acquire a good understanding of how to play the laouto and its music—either towards becoming a laouto player or as part of my work within participant-observation based fieldwork—were accompanied by a subconscious effort towards adopting the local ways of life—towards becoming

²⁴ Also, see the concept of ‘thick participation’ in Spittler 2001 and Ackermann 2016. Thick participation is a form of fieldwork in which the researcher usually undertakes some kind of apprenticeship or everyday occupation—a job.

Cretan. I gradually and subconsciously started to adopt local expressions and vocabulary in my everyday talk, up to the point that while being back home in Athens and Kefalonia (my home island) I have on several occasions been asked whether I am from Crete! Also, I gradually became more and more interested in matters that concerned the local population; matters that had little or no relation to music, such as the efforts of a group of Rethemnians towards the reopening of the Rethemnos–Piraeus itinerary—a matter on which my knowledge often impressed some of my interlocutors when realising that I was neither Rethemnian nor Cretan. In other words, I gradually started to feel for Rethemnos, its social ways and its music as if they were part of my own particular culture.

My approach resulted in a personal crisis towards the end of the third year of my fieldwork; a crisis that involved both my identity in the field and the bearing of my activities in Crete. It coincided with the end of a period of intense participant-observation fieldwork, the organisation of my fieldnotes, the beginning of the period of conducting interview sessions, and contemplation on the prospect—and the seemingly enormous difficulty—of compiling my experiences and research into a PhD thesis. However, regardless of the difficulties I have encountered along the way, I do not think that the uncertainties and ambivalences of my status as a researcher have thwarted my work in any way. Rather, they have perhaps helped me attain a better understanding of the local ways and music towards the composition of this thesis.

The principal means for conducting this research have been participant-observation (by performing in *paréa* performances), observation (such as attending *gléndia*, rites of passage and other performances in which my participation was minimal), participation in everyday discussions about music, study of written sources, and personal interviews. Cretan music enthusiasts and musicians are virtually always eager to discuss matters related to their local musical tradition and, as I will further discuss in the third chapter, some of them write books in which they extensively argue about what they consider right or wrong in its contemporary performance practice. The eagerness of the local enthusiasts towards communicating their views on this musical tradition creates a fertile ground for any research on Cretan music and facilitates a researcher's

endeavour towards discerning the underlying principles, values, and overall thinking process behind this musical tradition.

Towards the end of my fieldwork in Crete and by the time I started interviewing musicians, I was already acquainted with the different opinions prevailing in various matters related to this music while—as an apprentice and enthusiast of Cretan music—I had also formed my own opinions; my own likes and dislikes, both in terms of its sound as well as with regard to its performance practice. Thus, I never considered my interviewees as informants, nor did I seek information *per se* through interview sessions. Rather, I was looking for opinions and thus I considered interview sessions as a means through which my interlocutors could develop their own theories about Cretan music in the context of a semi-formal discourse—that is common in interview sessions, especially when the two parties are friends or acquaintances—that departs from the informality and perhaps the frivolity of a casual everyday discussion. Although I was already aware that Cretan music enthusiasts and musicians are usually very eager to discuss matters concerning Cretan music, I realised that in the context of an interview session they would often seek—and be given the chance—to develop their arguments and opinions even more clearly and fully without any interruptions by other interlocutors. Especially when interviewing people who had been close to my fieldwork since its very beginning, these sessions provided me with yet another facet of these individuals' approach to this music, outside the realm of their performance practice and everyday talk.

With regard to my participant-observation research in the field of *paréa* performances, my work has not been as attentive to the methodical transcription and recording of musical performances as much as to playing music and integrating with the local musical world of *paréa* performances. Although I did indeed sporadically take notes on various aspects of virtually every performance—such as the participants' positions around the table, which I discuss in the fifth chapter—I constantly felt that through openly taking notes during the course of a *paréa* performance, I was degrading my position as a participant. In most *paréa* performances, the only means of recording was my field sound recorder; a compact Edirol R09HR that once set up properly, would yield excellent results without requiring further adjustments during the performance—no

matter how difficult the recording conditions were or how long the performance lasted. Also, when needed, the participants were always eager to help me place the recorder at a convenient spot near the musicians. However, I also tried to keep the recording process as discreet as possible by refraining from monitoring my equipment, something that could perhaps become an unnecessary intrusion to the flow of a *paréa* performance through constantly reminding the participants that they are being recorded. Also, in some cases later during my fieldwork, I tried to use video cameras which, however—depending on the camera—, would either yield very poor-quality recordings or the battery of the camera would deplete very quickly. Thus, I have only used video recordings as a means of keeping memos of extraordinary instances rather than for systematically recording entire *paréa* performances. Towards the end of my fieldwork, I tried to enhance the process of recording *paréa* performances by taking pictures with an ‘interval shooting’ or ‘time lapse’ function on my digital camera, set to take one picture per minute until the camera’s battery ran out; usually after more than two hours.²⁵ I consider that this has been the best way—although troublesome compared to only using my sound recorder—for recording a *paréa* performance since I would later combine the pictures and the audio recordings into a single video file that I could easily access and refer to for further analysis. As with my sound recording equipment, the fact that I was video recording or taking pictures was not a secret, yet I considered that a constant reminder of the existence of the equipment could perhaps be uncomfortable for the participants. As I later realised, audio and fieldnote recordings—along with sporadic snapshots—were in most cases adequate for recalling and analysing a *paréa* performance. Yet there were many *parées* in which I did not carry any means for recording them. During some periods of my fieldwork, the *paréa* performances were occurring very often and I felt that

²⁵ Until the end of the third year of my fieldwork, I was using an old Yashica Electro 35GX, wide-aperture lens (f/1.7), rangefinder camera and a Nikon FM3A SLR camera with high-speed film as well as a Canon Ixus 850IS CCD sensor digital pocket camera which would sometimes yield decent results in low light conditions—which was the case for most *paréa* performances. In 2014, I started using a Panasonic DMC-GF6 four thirds digital camera with a newer technology CMOS sensor, which would yield excellent results in low light conditions and allowed me to become more flexible and creative in the recording of *paréa* performances.

recording each and every one of them would be unnecessary and could perhaps become annoying for the company of friends with whom I used to participate in *parées*.

However, I consider that fieldnotes have been the single most important means of recording during my fieldwork. As emphasised by Dewalt & Dewalt (2011 [2002]) 'observations are not data unless they are recorded in some fashion for further analysis' (p. 158). In the beginning of my fieldwork, I often misjudged how quickly I would forget the details of specific experiences, especially during its most intense periods. My sound recordings worked as a reassurance that I could later be reminded of many aspects that I had experienced during a *paréa* performance, yet these recordings could hardly transcribe the impressions and the remarks I considered noteworthy while I was participating in a performance. Eventually, after several omissions and mistakes which I made while trying to find a way to balance my dual identity as a participant and a researcher, I strictly adhered to the practice of writing my fieldnotes right after I returned home from any experience that involved Cretan music. This would in most cases be either late at night or early in the morning, usually sitting at my balcony table and endlessly scribbling my memories before going to sleep. Eventually, this practice worked very well for the remaining duration of my fieldwork.

Finally, towards the end of my fieldwork and as the time to start writing up my thesis was drawing closer, I felt increasingly uneasy at the prospect of granting myself the right to write about this music and about the people who practise it. Did I have an adequate understanding and knowledge to submit an account that would accurately portray the cosmos of the people with whom I had worked, and with some of whom I had become dear friends along the way? I cannot say when and how this feeling of uneasiness faded along the way, however I now feel that the thoughts developed in this thesis are close to the inner feelings and views of the people with whom I worked towards the completion of this thesis. From the very beginning of this fieldwork, my intention to conduct an in-depth research and apprenticeship in this music directed me towards a time-consuming learning process which, I believe, has yielded fruitful results both for my personal growth as a musician and individual, and for my task towards completing this thesis. So, regardless any unwitting mistakes I may have made along the way, my research

has from the very beginning been attentive to understanding this musical tradition and culture.

1.3 Resources and approach

This research lies within the field of ethnomusicology and focuses on the study of Cretan music. It follows the contemporary doctrine of ethnomusicology according to which I attempt a cross-disciplinary approach of my case study. The references cited in this thesis as well as the general bibliography on which I have relied during the course of my fieldwork include a wide array of subjects related to music, ethnography, ethnomusicology, sociology, anthropology, philosophy and history. Some of these sources have assisted me towards developing a varied apparatus for approaching this music—notably, Bourdieu 1979 [1972] and Turino 2008, both of whom I refer to extensively throughout this thesis—, while others have provided me with more specific methods towards approaching matters related to my research (such as Baily's (2001) approach to improvisation). Other sources that are neither cited nor necessarily directly employed in this thesis have, however, contributed to my understanding of ethnomusicology; from Blacking (1995 [1973]; 1995 [1984]) and Merriam (1980 [1964]) who advocate an anthropological approach to the study of music and set the grounds for the field of ethnomusicology in its contemporary form, to Seeger (2004 [1987]) and his approach to questions related to musical anthropology and the anthropology of music, Nettl's insightful survey on the history and contemporary status of ethnomusicology (Nettl 2005; 2010), and the recent short but excellent introduction to ethnomusicology by Rice (2014). The array of synchronically and historically varied approaches to ethnomusicology illustrates the great diversity in this field with regard to different angles and approach methods that a researcher may employ within this cross-disciplinary environment during his or her fieldwork and research on a case study; from Feld's (1990 [1982]) study on the Kaluli people of Papua New Guinea—a deeply human approach which largely originates in the fields of social and cultural anthropology, as well as ethnomusicology—, to other studies that either focus on history or on mechanistic aspects related to the field of ethnomusicology. Specifically, Feld's (1990 [1982])

study does not attempt to impose a single analytical model to his case study, but goes deep into the cultural realm and symbology of the local community and presents the researcher's varied analytical apparatus without losing sight of the local cosmology and self-interpretation of the community.

My contribution in this field is predominantly an ethnographical study of Cretan music. I do like to think that my approach is not thoroughly mechanistic, but that it is also deeply human—an approach that has been greatly influenced by the works of Bourdieu (see Bourdieu 1979 [1972]), Dawe (2007b) and Herzfeld (1985). Bourdieu's *Outline of a theory of practice* (Bourdieu 1979 [1972]), which is cited in several places in the course of this thesis, is one of the author's most seminal works in the field of social anthropology and may be regarded as a synthesis of two great philosophical trends of the twentieth century: that of phenomenology and that of structuralism. Specifically, however, it constitutes an approach that attempts to bring structuralism 'back on its feet', as Bourdieu (1979 [1972]:4) puts it, through a departure from a thoroughly structuralist approach—that is the focus on the study of social structures—and through revisiting the importance of individual practices, which are performed by individuals structured by their encompassing social structure; individuals who, however, have the power to change it over time. Bourdieu's approach is very much grounded on ethnographic research since, I consider, it is best explained through his treatment of ethnographical findings (which mostly originate from Algeria; also see Bourdieu (1963) in which he focuses on the perception of time in Algeria). I need to note that my arguments in the fifth chapter about the relation of place and music—which, I consider, constitute one of the central points of my endeavour to present the importance of *paréa* performances for Cretan music enthusiasts—are very much influenced by Bourdieu's notion of *habitus* as a 'structured and structuring structure' (see Maton 2014:50).

With regard to the subject of *paréa* performances, the study of music by focusing on musical participation is certainly not novel in the field of ethnomusicology, considering that most ethnomusicological studies to date have been based on non-Western musical traditions where participation is usually central in musical performances. Even so, I am confident that this study not only offers a novel approach to Cretan music, but also contributes to the field of

ethnomusicology through the study of this specific case of a culture of musical participation—a study of this particular musical world and musical perception. What I consider special in the case of Cretan music as a participatory musical tradition is that it co-exists as a participatory and staged musical genre; a folk musical tradition, and a popular and contemporary musical genre whose commercial records include both traditional performances and studio art compositions; a musical tradition whose practices may seemingly readily transcend the domain of a village-based participatory performance and reach audiences throughout Greece and abroad through live and recorded performances. If, as it has often been argued, the contemporary means of disseminating and listening to music through commercial records, mass media and the internet have eventually discouraged people from actively participating in musical performances (see Baud-Bovy 2006:104, Attali 1985 [1977]:111, Frith 1988:11–12, Paddison 1997:98), Cretan music is special for its ability to adapt to these means and become popular with a varied array of audiences outside of the island, while retaining its momentum as a locally based participatory musical genre. Although this argument is not directly related to the scope of this thesis, the multivocal nature of Cretan music has contributed to making my research a quite challenging undertaking. This is because throughout this thesis, I aspire to understand why, among all the other ways that the locals potentially have available to express their musicality—such as listening to musical genres from outside the island, which may include commercial recordings available from local retailers, the mass media and the internet, as well as non-Cretan musical ensembles that regularly perform in venues throughout Crete—, many of them choose to adhere to participatory performances and enjoy virtually the same music through which their forefathers used to express themselves.

Throughout the course of my fieldwork in the island of Crete, I have been very interested in approaching the *paréa* as a multi-dimensional experience and thus I have endeavoured to employ several and often diverse theoretical approaches. For instance, I had long been pondering whether a *paréa* performance could potentially be approached as a multi-sensual experience by exploring literature such as Howes' (2005), *The Empire of the Senses*, whose reference to higher and lower senses in the introduction of the book captivated me in that direction for

approaching the *paréa* as a space that involves a wide range of sights, sounds, smells and tastes; in other words, as an experience that involves all of the human senses. Also, I was interested in writings related to identity, music and place (Stokes 1994, Cohen 1995, Dawe 2004a), matters which, as I discuss in the third chapter, play an important role in contemporary musical performance and the ways in which the local musicians and enthusiasts think of this music. I have on many occasions attempted to find new ways and ideas for approaching the performance space of the *paréa* while trying to implement these ideas in fieldwork practice. Subjects such as music and emotion (Budd 1985), the music-culture model by Slobin & Titon (1992) which I refer to in the fifth chapter, the anthropology of space (Hall 1963; 1966) which I discuss in the fourth chapter, body synchrony (Hall 1977 [1976]:71–84), music and gesture (Windsor 2011)—especially in relation to the concept of *meraklís* which I examine in the fifth chapter—as well as music and participation (Turino 2008, Keil 1987, Schütz 1951, Higgins 2012) which I discuss below, are all fields I examined during the course of my fieldwork and research, regardless of whether I directly employed all of this literature in my final approach to *paréa* performances. Realising that Cretan music co-exists as a popular and a folk musical tradition, I was also fascinated in exploring the potential of relevant literature on popular, folk and World Music (Shannon 2007, Schade-Poulsen 1997, Frith 1988, Middleton 1990, Nooshin 2004, Meintjes 1990, Turino 2003, Stokes 2004; 2007, Dawe 1999; 2007a), especially with regard to matters related to the reception of the music of Ross Daly and other artists—such as Stelios Petrakis and his collaboration with Efren Lopez, as well as through his work in the ensemble *The Cretan Music Quartet*—whose work often addresses audiences that may adhere to the musical movement of World Music, but which are also related to the musical movement of ‘*paradosiaká*’ (Kallimopoulou 2009) which I discuss in the fifth chapter, as well as to matters associated with the long-standing contested ideologies on the identity and function of local musical traditions and their employment—or ‘gentrification’—in *éntehno* compositions by renowned Greek artists (see Tragaki (2005; 2007:93–123) for the musical genre of *rebetiko*).

Furthermore, my work has been influenced by a wide array of research and approaches to fieldwork in which I should include Freilich (1970) who offers both

a brief history on fieldwork in anthropology as well as insights into the directions and problems that one may face in the field, and Barz & Cooley (2008) whose collective volume offers insights into the practice of fieldwork discouraging positivist approaches and the notion of scientific accuracy, which I briefly discuss in the fourth chapter. Also, Keil (1979) who although his work is based on brief fieldwork in Nigeria, does manage to offer an in-depth approach to the local perceptions regarding music while attempting to tackle greater questions about the music and the society in which it dwells, and Finnegan (2007 [1989]) whose work is focused on an English town which she knows intimately and attempts to paint a picture in terms of its musicianship, not only through studying the multiple musical styles that are played in live performances, but also by examining and appreciating their intrinsic aesthetics as expressed by both amateur and professional musicians. However, among the works that I need to acknowledge especially for their influence on the present study is Thomas Turino's (2008) book *Music as Social Life* in which the author has composed a comprehensive roadmap to the study of participation in musical cultures. Regardless of the diversity of the matters that I examine in the course of this thesis, my discussion on musical participation is a constantly recurrent theme in which Turino's work and his approach on participatory musics as a distinct field of musical performance have greatly assisted my way towards shaping my methodology and approach to *paréa* performances.

Music and participation is a wide field with regard to the different angles by which it may be approached, from Higgins (2012) who focuses on the organisation of community music loci with emphasis on communal music education, to Keil (1987) who not only approaches participation in relation to what he refers to as 'participatory discrepancies' through which he attempts to understand the particular 'groove' of participatory performances,²⁶ but also aspires to tackle greater questions about music and society—particularly evident through his quote: 'positivism and Marxism (...) tend to reify our problems still further, as they name and describe them, whereas the language of participation offers hope' (Keil

²⁶ This is a matter that is, I consider, relevant to the Dionysian versus Apollonian approach by the same author (Keil 1995 [1994]a) which I mention further on in this thesis.

1987:276). Indubitably, as I have mentioned above, many writings on ethnomusicology concern participatory musical genres, yet the matter of participation has also been approached through more philosophical angles, notably through the early study by Alfred Schütz (1951) who focuses on Western classical music and employs a phenomenological apparatus while stressing on the importance of music as a process of communication. However, I consider that a work that attempts to systematise the study and approach to participatory musics is the aforementioned work by Thomas Turino (2008) which, not only attempts to introduce a system for the categorisation of musical performance in relation to the ways that it is performed and its context, but also focuses on participatory musics through multiple examples, especially those that concern the author's personal experiences in Zimbabwe and the United States.

Specifically, Turino suggests the division of music making into fields—inspired by the term *field* by Pierre Bourdieu—of musical performance. These fields represent a way for understanding the different meanings and roles that music may have for different people and in different contexts. The fields proposed by Turino are the participatory—which involves active musical participation between its attendants—the presentational—in which musicians perform before a musically passive audience—the high fidelity—that is chiefly commercial recordings that seek to reconstruct live performances—and the studio art—that is music recordings that do not seek to represent a recreation of a live performance. The central aspiration of the book is not to directly tackle the philosophical questions of why people listen to music or why they participate in musical performances. Yet the author adopts an interesting approach for understanding music in society: he first approaches the different contexts in which humans may listen to and participate in music and then proceeds to a categorisation of social practices that relate to music. His categorisation involves the terms 'social formation' and 'cultural cohort': by the former he refers to the broader and supposedly generally accepted value and belief system of a society, while by the latter he attempts to identify the social groups whose activities are not recognised as central for the expression of the wider group of a society (such as the contra dance performances in the United States to which I briefly refer later in this thesis). Through his approach, I consider that Turino sets a solid ground for

developing the central theme of the book which is music and participation. I found his approach being thorough and inspirational for the composition of this thesis, especially for discerning the different musical characteristics that facilitate participation of which I discuss in chapter six.

Finally, there are several writings for the wider area of Greece, the eastern Mediterranean and the Balkans that have influenced my approach to Cretan music and *paréa* performances through providing research and approach examples from neighbouring areas, inspiring me as well as providing ideas on how to proceed in my own research. Among these, I would like to note Argyrou (1996) for Cyprus, Caraveli (1982; 1985) for the Greek island of Karpathos, Rice (1980a; 1980b; 1982; 2001a) for the Yugoslavian Macedonia and Bulgaria, Sugarman (1989; 1997; 1999) for Albania, Cowan (1990) for the village of Sohos in Greek Macedonia, and Tragaki (2007) for the Greek urban musical tradition of *rebetiko*. Also, I would like to note the collective works of Loizos & Papataxiarchis (1991) and Magrini (2003) for matters related to gender in Greece and the Mediterranean region, although I will not provide any discussion on gender in this thesis since it is a field that has already been addressed by many authors with regard to the aforementioned areas and has been extensively discussed for Crete—especially with regard to the concept of manhood—by Herzfeld (1985), Dawe (1996; 2004a), and Magrini (2000).²⁷

My journey towards the visualisation and completion of this thesis has been long, and throughout its course I have tried to explore many of the matters which I considered interesting for a multidimensional approach to Cretan music. Many of the sources and approach methods I have referred to throughout the course of my fieldwork were eventually not employed in the final shape of my research, yet they have indubitably influenced my vantage point as well as my discussions and analysis on the subject. Indeed, throughout the course of my research on Cretan

²⁷ It is also important to note that as discussed in Dawe (2007b), the domain of Cretan musical performance is usually male-dominated and although women may attend and participate in *paréa* performances, virtually all instrumentalists are men. I consider that it is also important to note that the aforementioned category of the Cretan *éntehno* is, according to my impressions, more inviting for women performers, either in staged or in participatory performances.

music, I have on numerous occasions tried to find and implement new methods for approaching *paréa* performances. These include the matter of approaching the *paréa* as a ritual, which I discuss in the fifth chapter, as well as an effort towards understanding Cretan music in accordance with the aforementioned popular categories—and this has eventually contributed to my understanding of Cretan music in the form that is illustrated in a previous section of this introduction. In some cases, my plans were too ambitious, as in my endeavour towards devising a system for visually categorising the occasions and areas in which *paréa* performances take place, as well as a system for graphically representing the association between tangible parameters such as tempo, loudness (measured in LUFS) and key or mode with relative or even abstract characteristics such as intensity, popularity and the emotional effect of specific tonalities as part of my analysis on the local repertory in the sixth chapter. Admittedly, most of these endeavours and approaches to this music and performance practice came to naught. Still, I believe that they have been an indispensable part of the process of examining and understanding this musical tradition in the course of my long fieldwork and research in Crete.

As I further discuss in the third chapter, the majority of writings on Cretan music are ethnographies that attempt to offer surveys of its history, trace vestiges of earlier times in its contemporary performance practice and eventually construct a synchronically fixed image of what Cretan music is. In other words, it seems natural—according to the dominant local perception—that every study on Cretan music should be a study of the past of this musical tradition. This approach is common among many local enthusiasts of Cretan music, who care about this musical tradition and are interested in promoting it or conducting ethnographical research projects and studies on matters related to the local culture and music. Many people in Crete with whom I have discussed the subject of my study were surprised—not to say disappointed—when they realised that my study into Cretan music was not related to any of their favourite subjects about the past of this music. Why would one wish to study the present? All research should study the history of this music, while all fieldwork should focus on the remnants of older times.

This attitude is perhaps related to the long-standing role of *laografia* ('ethnography') in Greece towards the facilitation of political and ideological ends related to the construction of the modern Greek state, a matter that I will further discuss in the fifth chapter (also see Herzfeld 1986 [1982]). However, it should also be noted that an ethnographer may simply be more interested and challenged to record what he or she may consider is about to be lost rather than researching the contemporary image of a tradition. And indeed, the majority of the local research interest—expressed in small-scale research projects, writings and other endeavours that aspire to promote the local musical tradition—is focused on the study of old commercial or ethnographical recordings, as well as on conducting interviews and field recordings with the oldest of the senior citizens; the elders of this musical tradition. I must note that this approach is remarkably similar to that of the aforementioned 1950s research expedition (Baud-Bovy 2006) in which the researchers, according to Baud-Bovy, were 'looking for senior and, if possible, illiterate singers' (p. 96, my translation) during their fieldwork as a way to discern and record the old, and possibly what they may have considered to be the 'authentic', form of this musical tradition, freed of any contemporaneous and possibly exogenic influences that literate and younger performers may have been carrying at the time.

Although my research is not related to historical musicology, from the very beginning of my fieldwork I considered that knowledge of the history of this musical tradition is *sine qua non* for understanding its present. If, according to Bourdieu (1979 [1972]:78), *habitus* is 'history turned into nature', then in order to understand the people—this creation of nature that is the carrier of each person's *habitus* as a 'structured and structuring structure'—who practise this musical tradition, one also needs to look at how previous generations of musicians and enthusiasts have shaped not only the sound of this music, but also the musical perception of the generations of enthusiasts and musicians who live on the island of Crete today. And I consider that the process for comprehending this musical tradition is not only related to living alongside and playing with the people who practise it today. Rather, it is a multidimensional task that also demands a thorough study of its history as well as of the dominant opinions that may be found in different age groups of Cretan music enthusiasts.

There are many writings on Cretan music and culture; from itineraries in the island of Crete in the nineteenth century (Pashley 1837, T. A. B. Spratt 1865) to historical writings about both its ancient and modern history, including specific historical studies and surveys on the history of this island (Smith 1965, Detorakis 1994, Koufopoulou 2003) as well as old and contemporary studies related to music and its history (Vlastos 2013 [1893], Hatzidakis 1958, Amargianakis 1967, Anoyanakis 1991, Riginiotis 2004, Panagiotakis 1990; 1998). Also, there are several studies on the local lingual idiom and poetry including Beaton (1980), Kapsomenos (1987) and especially Romas (1973), who offers a very interesting discussion on the language that is employed in the seventeenth century chivalric romance *Erotokritos*, whose lyrics are still popular in contemporary Cretan music performances. In this list of bibliographical sources, one may include the Nikos Kazantzakis novel *Freedom and Death* (1953) in which the author portrays the imaginary character of a lyra player and provides vivid descriptions of his performances.

Among the most valuable resources for retrieving information about the past of this music are the fieldnotes of the 1950s research expedition by Samuel Baud-Bovy, Despina Mazaraki and Aglaia Agioutanti (Baud-Bovy 2006). These fieldnotes are rich in information about the musical cultures of many isolated villages of the island, for a period of Cretan music that is nowadays mostly known through the works of the *protomástores*. The fieldwork was carried out at a crux in the musical history of this island. The researchers focus on their quest for recording musical and ethnographical material, yet, through their fieldnotes, they paint the picture—with some concern—of an imminent transformation of the cultural image of this island through developments such as the construction of a local road network, the arrival of radio terminals in the villages' coffee-houses—if not in every household just yet—and the gradual dissemination of recordings by the *protomástores* as well as other, non-Cretan, musics in every corner of this island. Eventually, the team of researchers witness the onset of a pan-Cretanisation in music which, from a contemporary vantage point, has shaped the sound of what is nowadays referred to as 'Cretan music'. The time of this fieldwork coincides with an important period for the development of this music, between the devastating Second World War and occupation by the German army and the

gradual emergence of what I will refer to in the third chapter as the ‘golden age’ of Cretan music. I will be constantly revisiting this raw—since it is a collection of fieldnotes rather than a specific study—and invaluable ethnographical resource throughout this thesis.

Ultimately, the process of learning about the past of Cretan music is not only related to a quest for understanding the infrastructure of its contemporary performance practice. I consider—and further discuss in the third chapter—that the past is also an image that is imprinted in the contemporary musical thinking as a point of reference that greatly influences the very meaning of Cretan music in the present. Thus, apart from reading about the history of this music and culture, throughout the course of my fieldwork I have attempted to understand how contemporary Cretan music enthusiasts and musicians think about the past of their music. In this endeavour, my approach has been greatly influenced by Lowenthal’s (1985) *The Past is a Foreign Country*—which was indeed the most influential reading for the composition of the third chapter—, Anderson’s (1991 [1983]) *Imagined Communities* and Hobsbawm & Ranger’s (1983) *The Invention of Tradition*. On this list, I should also include some works by Michael Herzfeld (specifically, Herzfeld 1986 [1982]; 1987; 2005) which have helped me to realise how matters related to the dominant ideologies with regard to the construction of the Greek nation-state and local ethnography have greatly influenced the way of thinking about traditional musics in Greece.

The debut of contemporary ethnography—an ethnography that does not merely record the *opus operatum*, but also examines and analyses the *modus operandi*—in the island of Crete was brought about through the lens of social anthropology by Michael Herzfeld, whose fieldwork was based in the prefecture of Rethymnon in the 1970s and 1980s, and specifically in the mountainous village of ‘Glendi’²⁸ (Herzfeld 1985) and the town of Rethemnos (Herzfeld 1991). Through his studies, Herzfeld focuses on numerous matters that concern the everyday life

²⁸ As has recently been officially revealed, this is the village of Zoniana in the municipality of Milopotamos in Rethymnon prefecture (see Herzfeld’s interview on the television channel Kriti TV, broadcast on 1 March 2013 which is available at <http://www.cretetv.gr/απο-τα-ζωνιανα-στην-παγκοσμιοποιηση>, accessed 5 April 2018).

of the people among whom he conducts his research, including animal theft, bureaucracy, charity, dowries, and the preservation and gentrification efforts of the old town of Rethemnos as a historical monument (also see Herzfeld 2009). Through his writings, Herzfeld explores the local 'cosmology'—in other words, the locals' very interpretation of their world—and the concept of *simasia* ('meaning') through which he endeavours to interpret the local ideology with reference to identity as it is expressed in the locals' perception of their cosmos and which comprises an alternate ideology to that provided by the official state. In his study of the town of Rethemnos, Herzfeld (1991) also proposes the concepts of 'social time' and 'monumental time'—which I found particularly useful for my approach to Cretan music—in order to refer to the imposition of the official state bureaucratic views over the town as a historical monument; a perception that clashes with that of the locals' everyday lives—their social time—and their interaction with their physical surroundings.

However, I should also note that Herzfeld's contribution to Greek studies is not limited to his works in Crete. He is the author of many books (Herzfeld 1986 [1982]; 1987; 2005) and articles (such as Herzfeld 1981a; 1981b; 1982a; 1982b; 1983a; 1983b; 1990a; 1990b; 1993; 2003) related both to the areas of his fieldwork in Greece, as well as matters that concern the wider field of Greek studies. Herzfeld is particularly concerned with the efforts of the Greek intelligentsia during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries to construct modern Greece as a nationally, lingually and ideologically homogeneous nation with a long history that has direct links to antiquity. His approach is based on his fieldwork as well as on a historical survey on works of the Greek intelligentsia, emphasising nineteenth century nationalism, statism and survivalism (see particularly Herzfeld 1986 [1982]), matters which I will briefly discuss in subsequent chapters. Although Herzfeld's works may at points appear too preoccupied with a stereotypical facet of Greece, his contribution to Greek studies is indubitably great and I consider that his works based in Crete have paved the way for subsequent ethnomusicological research on the island.

With regard to Cretan music, the work of Kevin Dawe has been one of the first—and, I consider, the most thorough—ethnographical endeavours from the perspective of ethnomusicology. His book *Music and Musicians in Crete* (Dawe

2007b) as well as a number of articles on Cretan music (Dawe 1996; 1998; 1999; 2004a; 2004b; 2005a; 2005b) are based on his long fieldwork in the 1990s, conducted as part of his doctoral thesis. The central theme of these writings is ‘*lyra music*’, a term that quite aptly negotiates the aforementioned ambiguities with regard to the identity of the term ‘Cretan music’. Also, it is one of the few works on this musical tradition that does not focus on its repertory and history, but rather on the people who practise it today. Dawe employs some of the themes discussed by Herzfeld, including his analysis on manhood, however he also undertakes the difficult task of conducting research on virtually uncharted ground and on paving the way for future research through the introduction of a varied array of subjects that range from local performance practice, music as a profession and local teaching culture, to matters related to the local music industry, globalisation, cosmopolitanism and musical change. In other words, Dawe not only offers a thorough study of professional musicians and their activities, but also a comprehensive introduction to this music that serves as a reference point for all contemporary ethnomusicological research in the island—including my research, in which I will be heavily drawing from his work throughout the course of this thesis.

As I noted at the beginning of this introduction, Crete has been inviting for musical research. In the years following the publication of Dawe’s book on Cretan music, I have encountered several ethnomusicological studies on the subject, including Hnaraki (2007; 2017), Pavlopoulou (2012) and Alsina Iglesias (2017). I consider that the latest landmark in the field of Cretan studies is the book *Words as Events* by Venla Sykäri (2011), which focuses on the local idiom of poetry, the rhyming and usually self-contained couplets referred to as *mantinádes* (s. *mantináda*). In her book, Sykäri recognises the close relation between *mantináda* and music, and makes several references to musical performance including the domain of *paréa* performance which she acknowledges—along with the performance space of *gléndi*—as ‘the main performance arenas for *mantinádes*’ (p. 138).

My work has been influenced by both contemporary writings in the field of ethnomusicology and recent developments in the study of Cretan music. I aspire with this thesis to contribute to the field of Cretan music studies from the

perspective of music and participation, a subject that is not only flourishing in contemporary thought on ethnomusicology, but, I believe, is also of principal importance for this musical tradition. This is because I am confident that musical participation is not just a detail in the broader field of aspects that one may study and discuss within Cretan music studies, but a central characteristic of this music that will potentially enrich our understanding of this musical tradition and the people who practise it.

1.4 A final word on introduction

I must once again stress that this thesis does not aim to approach the *paréa* per se, but rather to offer a perspective on Cretan music through the practice of ‘doing *paréa*’ (*káno paréa*). This research did not make me an adept in the Cretan *paréa* in the way that many of its musicians and enthusiasts may perceive this knowledge, that is the minute knowledge of regional musical characteristics that could be summarised in a discourse about ‘here they sing or play this way, while there they sing or play that way’. According to this view, since the *paréa* is often considered to represent the basis of this music, a person with sound knowledge on the *paréa* would be able to chart the different performance styles and identify the influences between regions and villages. I do not have this knowledge for several reasons: firstly, as mentioned above, my research was based in Rethemnos. Financial difficulties have halted my initial plans for travelling around Crete and perhaps spending time in various places during my fieldwork. However, this initial plan was perhaps not a very well-considered one. It would be aspiring towards the collection of ethnographical data from different areas for the construction of a kind of ‘average image’ of this island’s musical tradition—a quantitative approach which I consider quite superficial from the perspective that I have now attained.

Secondly, such a task would entangle my efforts in a problem that I consider both misleading and erroneous. The cultural boundaries between regions are not—or at least not any longer—strictly geographical, and the fact that people in different regions do indeed retain local musical idioms does not indicate a form of isolation that could be mapped, but rather the preference of some culturally

dominant groups; a preference that could easily change considering that locals throughout Crete nowadays have access to musics from every corner of the island, Greece and the world. Also, one should consider that when local enthusiasts indicate a performance style for a specific region, they do not always refer to it in the present tense. Rather, in most cases a statement about the popular repertory of a specific region or village is an amalgam of ‘what they’re playing is...’ and ‘what they should’ve been playing is...’. Thus, any effort towards meeting the demands of such knowledge about *paréa* performances would entangle research in a historical musicological endeavour where a researcher would be struggling to identify the current musical characteristics of a region in relation to some kind of ‘historically correct’ or ‘authentic’ musical characteristics of the region—and eventually insert the findings into some kind of formula that would at best yield ambiguous results; an obviously futile endeavour which I have refrained from, as I believe all serious research should.

The third reason why I have not attempted such an approach to *paréa* performance is related to the bearing of this research. I consider that even if research on the *paréa* could indicate the ‘original’ performance styles and repertoires of different regions in Crete, that would practically mean very little for an approach to the Cretan musical tradition which continuously evolves and has always been continuously evolving through both internal and external influences. Finally, I consider that the differences in *paréa* performances in terms of repertory, instrumentation and performance style between different regions are not as important as understanding the social dynamics which, I believe, are common in virtually all *paréa* performances in the island.

Thus, I consider that the question of charting a map of different cases of *paréa* performances in Crete while taking note of their regionally-based differences is a fictitious problem. My study of the *paréa* has helped me discern aspects of the Cretan musical culture that I would otherwise have missed. Cretan music is not just its organised *gléndia* and *sinavliés* (plural form of *sinavlíá*) as well as what one listens to through recorded performances; in other words, Cretan music is not only what organisers organise and mediators mediate. Actually, I consider that much of what happens in this musical culture is outside the aforementioned forms of musical performance and listening. And this point is not only related to *paréa*

performances: one of the most skilful and creative *mantinadológos* ('*mantináda* composer') that I have met and befriended during my fieldwork in Crete is a person who has neither published—nor plans to publish—any books with his *mantinádes*, nor does he even claim to be a *mantinadológos*. He communicates his *mantinádes* with friends or through his Facebook account and personal internet blogs without any pomp and celebration, but rather in the form of everyday—yet poetic—communication.

Also, many musicians that I have met during my stay in Rethemnos have not hit the big time even though some of them are still aspiring to be able to make a living through music. Most of them will perhaps never become professional musicians, either because they cannot deal with the demands of professionalism or because they do not want to. Even so, they will keep on performing in *parées* and small venues in Rethemnos and, perhaps, one day some of them will be remembered and recalled among the good old musicians of Rethemnos. This is the world that my study on the *paréa* aspires to illustrate; a musical world that exists outside the music business and professionalism, *gléndia* and *sinavlía* performances; a domain of everyday musical communication.

Chapter 2

Towards the definition of the word *paréa* as a performance space

Through this chapter I endeavour to examine the meaning of the word *paréa* with regard to its employment in denoting both a performance space and a practice for Cretan music. As I have already noted in the previous chapter, the word *paréa* represents ‘company’ in modern Greek and is commonly used throughout Greece in talk that may be completely irrelevant to music and musical performance. Thus, in order to specify the use of the word *paréa* which I am discussing in this thesis, through this chapter I will take a first step towards approaching *paréa* performances by illustrating the meaning of the word in the context of participatory musical performances in Crete; a discussion through which I not only seek to specify the subject of my study, but also to illustrate some of the chief characteristics of the practice of ‘doing *paréa*’, especially in relation to the other principal performance spaces for Cretan music—namely, the *gléndi* and the *sinavlía*. In other words, I will explore the attributes that make the word *paréa* a relatively specific term towards describing participatory performances in the island and endeavour to establish the semantic boundaries of the word in Crete.

2.1 The *paréa* in the past and the present

As mentioned above, I consider that in order to understand the meaning of the word *paréa* as a performance space and practice, it is necessary to examine its semantic boundaries in the past and the present; in other words, to understand what people indicate and used to indicate by using such a generic term as the word *paréa*. Researching the past of *paréa* performance practice has not been an easy

endeavour: there is very little ethnographical material, and through personal communications and interviews I gradually realised that many of the older enthusiasts and musicians of the Cretan musical tradition were seemingly uninterested in talking about the *paréa* per se. Regardless of my questions, most of them would talk about their lifetime, about stories related to old popular musicians they had met, or about their personal interest in the history of the Cretan musical tradition. Some of them would tell stories about travelling around the world while playing for the Cretan diaspora, as well as about other good or bad personal moments in their lives. However, my discussions with some of these senior interlocutors were indeed fruitful since their talk would reveal important aspects of their youth with regard to music and other practices associated with it. For instance, the main theme during my discussion with an old and now retired laouto player was one of travelling by automobile in the prefecture of Rethemnos and throughout the island in order to meet and play with other people. His narrations made me realise that what I had experienced in Crete during my fieldwork—travelling around the prefecture with my friends from Rethemnos in order to meet and play with other people in *parées*—was in fact an ‘invention’ of his time.¹ His discussion of the *parées* in which he had participated in the island had a disproportionate reference to what and whose car or motorbike he was driving or riding—a narration that was often embellished with details and

¹ The formal infrastructure road network in Crete was still undeveloped until the 1950s and some of the hinterland villages were virtually isolated from the urban centres. The impact of the developing road network on the previously marginal village communities was first recorded in the fieldnotes of the 1950s research expedition which I have discussed in the previous chapter (Baud-Bovy 2006). Considering that many of my senior interlocutors were in their youth during the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s, travelling with privately owned automobiles was a novelty for them at the time. In relation to this matter, it is also worth quoting a *mantináda* recorded by the violin player Giannis Dermitzogiannis in 1965 in his *syrtó San mpóume st’ autokínito* (‘When we get in the car’, see the *Protomástores* album in Discography):

Σαν μπούμε στ’ αυτοκίνητο τα πάθη μας
ξεχνούμε· καημοί και πίκρες φεύγουνε κι
οι πόνοι μας περνούνε

*When we get in the car we forget our
worries; despairs and sorrows fade away
and our pains are healed*

anecdotes such as that of failing lights during night rides or running out of fuel; minor adventures remembered with nostalgia. In other words, although my interlocutor was not focusing on the *paréa* per se, his talk about his adventures while travelling around the island was in fact part of his personal experience of *paréa* performances; part of his experiences among friends and with his *laouto*.

Indeed, some of my discussions and interviews with senior enthusiasts of Cretan music were rich with stories and life experiences reflecting their views on this music and their musical perception. Their narrations sometimes included comments summarising a value and belief system, such as ‘the *paréa* needs a bottle of *tsikoudiá*,² or ‘[the *paréa* needs] good spirits, friendliness, that’s all it needs; no room for crying’ and ‘Cretan music has one purpose, to make you realise that what I’m playing now is for you to open your heart and accept it; if you write it down in notation it’s [nothing]’. However, even in these cases where my interlocutors would discuss matters related to my questions, these chats were only a small part of long narratives about musicians, performances, anecdotes related to music, or even a detailed description of the old ‘lux’ gas lamps that were common in many coffee-houses ‘back then’.

Most of the senior interlocutors with whom I discussed or conducted interviews seemed to disregard my questions related to the practice of ‘doing *paréa*’ and as I later realised, this was not because they did not want to talk about the subject. Their narrations not only provided me with some very interesting insights into the history of this music, but also made me realise that for them the meaning of the word *paréa* was perhaps not the same as the one I had picked up during my fieldwork, as well as through my discussions and playing in *parées* with younger enthusiasts and musicians of this musical tradition. My questions, it appears, were not only relatively irrelevant to the experience of these people and the way they understood the word *paréa* as a practice, but also, as I have briefly discussed in the previous chapter, not what they would be expecting a researcher to ask—such as about the life and times of great old musicians and erstwhile local customs.

² *Tsikoudiá* or *rakí* is a locally distilled spirit that is popular throughout the island and commonly referred to as Crete’s ‘national drink’.

The first important aspect that I realised with regard to the understanding of my senior interlocutors on Cretan music was that they would often use the words *paréa* and *gléndi* interchangeably. Apparently, for many of them, both practices were facets of the same discourse. As noted in the previous chapter, the word *gléndi* nowadays usually corresponds to musical performances of calendric village celebrations as well as to performances in other venues such as the *kritiká kéntra* ('Cretan centres'). However, before the introduction of amplified and staged performances, the difference between a *gléndi* and a *paréa* could indeed have been ambiguous. The *palio gléndi* ('old *gléndi*')—as some of my friends described it—, in other words, the musical performances which were part of village calendric festivities, marriages and baptisms before sound amplification became available, was a practice that is in many respects similar to the contemporary *paréa*. An example of this 'old *gléndi*' is described by Herzfeld (1985) in his book *The Poetics of Manhood* in which he includes a sketch showing the positions of its participants (p. 123): The musicians stand in the middle of an open space, the dance takes place near them or encircles them, while some of the most active attendants—mostly men—sit nearby and participate in the event through singing and drinking. If the 'old *gléndi*' was not a staged and amplified performance, was it different from what is described today as a *paréa* performance? It appears that their differences were perhaps related to the context of the performance (such as that of a village calendric festivity) rather than to the ways that people performed and participated in a musical performance.

The second aspect I gradually realised through these talks was the close association of this music and its performance practice with everything that surrounded it in the memories of my interlocutors: from the musical performance, the people and the bonds of friendship as well as their travels around Crete, to the number of animals slaughtered—and the way they were cooked—for an erstwhile *gléndi*, the dried vegetables hanging on the ceiling of an erstwhile coffee-house establishment and the, 'back then', newly introduced lux gas lamps that gradually replaced oil lamps and candle lights—in other words, all of the memories that interlock with the musical experience of these people. These accounts paint a picture of an era that is nowadays cherished by both old and young enthusiasts of this musical tradition, and is recalled as a 'pure time' when people had not yet been

absorbed by the corruption of the modern world; by money and the commercialisation of music. However, I consider that this is also a facet of the island which—at least partly—survives today, and which I had already experienced by the end of the first year of my fieldwork through participating in *parées*, travelling around the prefecture and engaging in the extra-musical experiences that accompany every participatory musical performance.

The *paréa* today is a performance space for Cretan music that is distinct from those of the *gléndi* and the *sinavlía*, chiefly because of the absence of a stage and public address equipment. However, my discussions with senior enthusiasts of this music made me realise that the categorisation of Cretan music in performance spaces was not an important part of their thinking about the music; a way of thinking that was developed during their youth when amplification had not yet been introduced. Thus, it appears that the contemporary division of Cretan music into different performance spaces could not be encompassed in the narrations of the senior enthusiasts of this musical tradition since the terms *paréa* and *gléndi* were not necessarily different with regard to ways people engaged in a musical performance in the past, whether the context of a performance was a gathering between friends or a specific celebration. Ultimately, today the word *paréa* describes a company that plays music in a non-staged performance. Since it is virtually the only performance space that has similarities to the ‘old *gléndi*’, many local enthusiasts consider that the *paréa* is a surviving facet of the old performance practice of Cretan music; the performance practice to which the older enthusiasts of this music were referring in their narratives, without explicitly specifying whether it was a *paréa* or a *gléndi*.

2.2 The word *paréa* in modern Crete

Etymologically, the word *paréa* originates from the Judaeo-Spanish word *parea* that derives from the Spanish *parejo* and the French *pareil*, which translate as ‘similar’. Both originate from the Latin *par* which can be roughly translated as

'equal' or 'match'.³ In modern Greek, the word is commonly used as a synonym for *sintrufiá*, literally fellowship or companionship. The word can also act as a synecdoche—similarly to English—to refer to a friend or a group of friends, such as in 'I'm coming along with my company' (*érhome me tin paréa mou*). It may also be used to indicate the company of an item such as a cigarette, a book etc. The word may also refer to a group of friends or to a group of people sitting around a table. As an adverbial phrase, the word roughly translates as 'together' or 'along with', such as in 'we watched a film together' (*ídame tin tenía paréa*) and 'I'm leaving along with my company' (*févgo me tin paréa mou*). Yet none of the above meanings corresponds to the local use of the word in Crete. In order to understand the local meaning of the word *paréa*, it is necessary to examine it in the context of the local society and in relation to local customs, the environment and the culture. The local meaning is related to the practice of 'doing *paréa*' or else in the form of the verb *pareízo* ('to do *paréa*') which is not encountered in common Greek but often used in Crete with reference to *paréa* performances.

The local and the common meanings of the word are not greatly different. Both may designate a practice, yet in Crete the word also corresponds to a more or less specific practice that is related to the local culture and whose attributes have been traditionally established. It is important to note that both the common and the local meaning of the word may be encountered in everyday discussions in Crete. However, the local use of the word is not entirely different from its common Greek counterpart. This means that a non-Cretan Greek speaker who encounters the local use of the word *paréa* for the first time, may not realise that the word is employed in a different way to the one he or she is familiar with. In other words, a person who is not acquainted with the local semantic dimension of this word may interpret its different use in Crete as a peculiarity of the local dialect, a different way of saying 'let's get together'. However, in fact this is not a peculiarity, but rather a reference to traditionally established practices; to performances that have a beginning and an end.

³ For etymology and definition, I have used the Modern Greek Language Lexicon, Second Edition by G. Babiniotis along with the Oxford English-Greek Learner's Dictionary, Second Edition and the Oxford Greek-English Learner's Dictionary.

I first realised the meaning of the word *paréa* as a musical performance early in my fieldwork while drinking coffee with a couple of friends and musicians in the old town of Rethemnos. I was talking about my previous visits in Crete and my acquaintance with some musicians from the village of Melambes when one of my friends exclaimed his deep enthusiasm for that village—a village of *meraklídes*, he claimed—for the great *parées* performed by large groups of villagers. It was from that point that I started to understand the special meaning of the word *paréa* in Crete. This did not happen in the form of an apocalypse, yet from my fieldnotes of that period I can discern how I gradually started using the word in my descriptions of participatory musical performances while I was learning more about its use in Crete.

The meanings that the locals—both old and young—ascibe this word may vary. A *paréa* may be described as a gathering between friends, a musical performance, or, as I discuss below, a paradigm of performance practice. In a few instances, *paréa* has been described to me as a way of life and as a performance of Cretanness through displays of hospitality and other signs that are stereotypically associated with the local identity, such as the *lyra*, the *laouto*, the *mantinádes*, as well as food and drink. However, the *paréa* is indeed also thought of as an everyday practice that has nothing formal about it; something that friends do: ‘we’re just doing *paréa*’, my *laouto* teacher insisted when he tried to convince me of the appropriateness of not getting paid for our lessons some months after we had started.

Are there any attributes that cut through all these local but semantically different uses of the word? Are there any specific qualities that may represent all *paréa* instances which may be identified as the fundamental attributes of the local meaning of the word? If one should consider the *paréa* as a musical activity, then the common attribute would be that of a participatory musical performance. However, a *paréa* does not always involve a musical performance. A local mini-market proprietor claimed to be ‘doing *paréa*’ at the very moment I was buying a newspaper from his establishment on a Sunday morning. A few of his friends were standing around the newspaper stands and himself behind the till while everyone was drinking locally-sold draft wine from locally-sold plastic cups. He told me that since he could not afford to have his shop closed on Sundays, he would regularly

invite his friends round to have some wine and spend time together. The attendants were chatting joyfully, although without shouting and intense talking which could potentially annoy incoming customers. Even so, nothing about the situation reminded me of what I had already experienced as a *paréa*.

In another case, a meeting that was referred to as *paréa* did not involve a musical performance, yet it was closer to the meaning that I had hitherto understood through my participation in *paréa* performances. While I was trying to find my way to the closest trail to the Vrisinas mountain that overlooks the town of Rethemnos from the south, I asked for directions from two middle-aged men driving their pick-up truck out of a dirt road on the outskirts of Oros village. They described the closest way and insisted I join them in the village later on. It was Sunday and national election day, and they said they would be gathering outside the election centre in the afternoon to do *paréa*. On my way back, I indeed found a large group of people gathered outside the election centre where they had placed a long row of tables set with food and drink. Some of them were sitting while other were roasting meat on the barbeque stands near the tables. The sight was very familiar to me except for the absence of a musical performance, which was common in the *parées* that I used to participate in. On the same night, this time in another village near Rethemnos, I came across a similar gathering outside another election centre. However, this time some of the attendants were playing music while most of the people sitting around the table were participating in the musical performance. So, indeed, both instances looked identical with regard to many of their characteristics, except for the musical performance.

The aforementioned examples raise a series of questions: Are all of the aforementioned 'non-musical' instances correctly referred to as *parées*? Indeed, with regard to the first of the aforementioned *parées* taking place in the local mini-market, the proprietor looked unsure as to whether he had used the word appropriately when I asked him if he was actually doing *paréa*. However, the word is indeed commonly employed in everyday talks to describe gatherings that may be similar to the ones with which this thesis is concerned, yet without hosting a musical performance. As I was given to understand during my stay on the island, a *paréa* is not just any participatory musical performance, nor is it simply a gathering between friends. Rather a *paréa* has a more or less specific 'spirit' which

I will attempt to describe throughout this thesis; a ‘spirit’ that usually involves the ways in which participants carouse around a table set with food and drink while talking, drinking and—in most *parées* that I have attended—playing music.

The aforementioned instances of ‘non-musical’ *parées* are among the very few that I can recall from the years of my fieldwork, of which the last occurred while I was contemplating the use of the word outside a musical context. However, ‘non-musical’ *parées* are not an exception to the rule. The word *paréa* is indeed used among many people who may have no interest in musical performances or whose company does not incorporate any musicians. The reason that I have not experienced many ‘non-musical’ *parées* was my preoccupation with music and my friendship with local Cretan music enthusiasts and musicians. So the word is indeed often used to describe occasions that may have nothing to do with musical performance. However, are they all that different from their ‘musical’ counterparts? Is this yet another local use of the word? What is the importance of this use of the word to describe ‘non-musical’ practices in my endeavour to specify the use of the word *paréa* with reference to a musical performance? And ultimately, should one suggest a more specific terminology in order to distinguish ‘musical’ from ‘non-musical’ *parées*?

In Crete, the phrase ‘*kano paréa*’, or else *pareízo*, describes practices that usually relate to food, drink and socialisation between friends. They may include the festivities outside the election centres I describe above, gatherings in taverns or coffee-houses, domestic Easter Sunday celebrations or *trapézia* (s. *trapézi*, literally ‘table’), i.e. dinner parties hosted in households. Also, the word *paréa* refers to most forms of *vegéres* (s. *vegéra*), a word that has fallen into decline and is sometimes used by music enthusiasts of senior age to indicate gatherings that may or may not involve a musical performance.⁴

The reference *káno paréa* (‘do *paréa*’) is common for describing all of the aforementioned cases, whether they include music or not. In contrast to a staged musical event—in which music is an inseparable part—the *paréa* is a practice and a social space in which a musical performance may or may not take place. This

⁴ It is worth noting that some Cretan cultural associations in Athens still use the word *vegéra* to describe their regular festivities.

characteristic is similar to that of calendric village celebrations throughout Greece which are commonly referred to as *panigíria* (s. *panigíri*) and which may or may not include staged musical performances. The word *panigíri* is also sometimes used in Crete, yet it has been virtually replaced by the word *glénda* since these celebrations are virtually always accompanied by a musical performance. Similarly, any reference to the word *paréa* as a practice has for the majority of my fieldwork appeared to me to be synonymous with 'let's go and play music'. However, this is not always the case: just as *panigíria* are fundamentally about village celebrations, originally associated with important religious celebrations, so the *paréa* is primarily a space for socialisation and *kéfi* ('high spirits').

In everyday talk, the local meaning of the word *paréa* may or may not refer to a musical performance depending on one's interlocutor as well as on the context of the conversation. Insofar as most individuals from my circle of acquaintances in Crete were Cretan music enthusiasts and musicians, their reference to this word would virtually always be related to music. However, any of them could ascribe different meanings to the word depending on their interlocutors: if it was someone who was not interested in musical performance, then the word could be used with reference to practices related to the conviviality of a meeting between friends while eating and drinking. And this illustrates that a *paréa* is neither 'musical' nor 'non-musical'. Rather, it is a space for social interaction through collective practices; a fertile ground for participatory musical performances.

Indeed, *paréa* is a space where its participants may choose to play music, rather than a performance space per se. For this reason, in everyday talk it is often referred to as the least 'official' space for performing music: a lyra player commented on his ensemble's performance skills by saying 'we're not even good enough for playing in a *paréa*' (*den ímaste kaloí ouíte gia paréa*) in order to emphasise that his band was far from being adequately rehearsed for performing in marriage celebrations and staged music nights. The *paréa* is not a space dedicated to participatory music as the contra dance performances described by Turino (2008) in his study on participatory musical performances.⁵ Nor is it a

⁵ The 'old-time' contra dance participatory performances are among Turino's key examples of participatory music in the United States. They do not represent a mainstream practice, but rather

‘community music’ meeting like the ones described by Higgins (2012) in which participants get together and form up in music ensembles. Rather, it is a pre-existing and traditionally established social arena where social performances take place and in which music is often either welcome or even, for some people, an inseparable part of the collective practices that take place throughout the course of a *paréa* performance.

How does this discussion explain my teacher’s position who claimed that we were doing a *paréa* while drinking coffee or tea during our *laouto* lessons in my house in Rethemnos? Drinking coffee or tea while having a music lesson is not something that a local would usually refer to as a *paréa*. It appears that in this case my teacher used the word as a metonym for a musical performance; as a way to refer to a relaxed environment and occasion in which friends may play music. Through his apt use of the word, my teacher not only wished to indicate that he did not consider our meeting to be an official music lesson, but also that our relationship should not be viewed as one between teacher and student, but between friends.

I consider that the meanings which Cretans attribute to the word *paréa* should not be separated between its local and common use, nor should *paréa* performances be distinguished between ‘musical’ and ‘non-musical’. The word not only allows for its use to render a wide variety of meanings, but also facilitates a sometimes almost poetic improvisation within its semantic boundaries,

are attended by participants who like this ‘old-time’ music and dance and constitute what he defines as a ‘cultural cohort’ which, in Turino’s own words, is ‘a social group that forms around the activity itself’ (Turino 2008:187). Furthermore, as the author claims, although the attendants of this cultural cohort support this alternative social life expressed through their practice, they still retain the beliefs inculcated to them by the society they live in—or in Turino’s words the ‘internalized values from the broader formation’ which they belong to (p. 187). This point is especially interesting with respect to how musicians regard these performances as a result of the low ‘artistic validity’ that is attributed to participatory performances in the United States: ‘(...) thus old-time musicians may feel a tension or at times harbour doubts about the artistic validity of what they are doing unless they can tour or record’ (Turino 2008:187). In contrary to these performances, I consider that the *paréa* is central in the social life of Cretan music enthusiasts and musicians, and does not represent an alternative or an opposing ideology to the established social life in Crete—which Turino referred to as the ‘broader formation’.

generating new meanings that may be developed on the threshold of the most prominent of its existing interpretations. Instances such as the local mini-market proprietor and my laouto teacher illustrate that locals may employ the word in contexts that do not necessarily meet the criteria of any definition. In the insert of a Sunday newspaper, I came across an interview with Karen Emmerich, translator and professor at Princeton University. When she was asked whether she had encountered any untranslatable Greek words, she replied that every word can be translated, but that there are words which encompass a way of thinking that may be difficult to grasp, 'such as the word *paréa* which was important to me when I first apprehended its meaning' (Emmerich 2015, my translation). Indeed the word *paréa*, and especially with regard to its use in Crete, encompasses a way of thinking that is not easily explained in words and whose apprehension with regard to its use in everyday talk cannot be achieved as simply as by drawing up a list of its possible and varying meanings.

The semantic boundaries of the use of the word *paréa* in the island may be shrinking or expanding through its employment from generation to generation, as well as between different groups of people and regions of the island. However, for Cretan music enthusiasts and musicians, the word *paréa* is employed to designate a relatively specific performance space and practice that is valuable both to their everyday lives and to the local musical tradition. In this chapter as well as throughout this thesis, I will gradually approach a relative definition through narrations, descriptions and testimonies, as well as through my analysis of several aspects with regard to social space and performance practice.

2.3 The archetypes: searching for the ideal *paréa*

Is there a form of *paréa* performance that local musicians and enthusiasts of Cretan music bring to mind when they think of this term with reference to a participatory musical performance? I have already discussed the multiple meanings of the word when used in different contexts, yet is there a specific type, or specific types, of *paréa* that represents—even subjectively—a model of this practice? If it would be possible to reify the word into a tangible object, then what would be its archetypal form in a Platonic theory of ideas? Is this not what one

eventually seeks from a definition? Towards the end of the first year of my fieldwork and upon announcing that I would be dealing with the subject of *paréa* performance for my thesis to some of my friends and acquaintances in Crete, they immediately asked ‘which one?’: would it be the *anogianí* (from the village Anogia), the *melambianí* (from the village of Melambes), or the *rethemnianí* (from Rethemnos) *paréa*? Their reaction to my announcement was expressed effortlessly and caught me rather unprepared since at the time I had not yet considered my subject in relation to different geographical regions. My interlocutors’ comments not only revealed an underlying tendency towards the classification of *paréa* performances into regions, a matter which I have already touched upon in the previous chapter, but also—and more importantly—their way of thinking with regard to which *paréa* could potentially constitute a serious enough subject for an ethnographical research. As I gradually understood, the *parées* they referred to were not only types of *paréa* performance which are regularly hosted in the aforementioned regions, but also what they implicitly considered as paradigms of the *paréa* practice; the *paréa* as an *idea*, as an *archetype*, above and beyond specific instances of everyday *paréa* performances in which we had participated together during the first year of my fieldwork in the island. Rather, my interlocutors considered that their own *paréa* performances could be better represented by something they looked upon as more important and serious; something that stood as an exemplar of the kind.

Indeed, all of the aforementioned regional *paréa* performances are well known throughout the island. The term *anogianí paréa* has been used as the title of a series of commercial albums featuring the popular lyra player Nikiforos Aerakis playing live in *paréa* performances that bear the representative performance style and repertory of the mountainous village of Anogia, which is located in the region of Milopotamos in the north east of the prefecture of Rethymnon. As mentioned by Dawe (2007b:37), the second record in this series (*Anogiani paréa 2*) climbed to the top ten of the music charts in Greece when it was released in 1990—a fact that perhaps indicates that a large part of the audience of Cretan music appreciated the participatory atmosphere that is rendered through these albums, even in the form of a commercial recording.

The *melambianí paréa* is also popular among many Cretan music enthusiasts. This *paréa* is featured in the album *Parees tis Kritis: Melambes* ('*Parées in Crete: Melambes*') that includes live field as well as studio recordings of *paréa* performances. The performance style of the *melambianí paréa* represents the region of Agios Vasilios in the south of the prefecture of Rethymnon, however many Cretan music enthusiasts consider that the village Melambes is its most prominent representative through *paréa* performances that take place in the village. Although the *melambianí paréa* has not—at least commercially—achieved the popularity of *anogianí paréa*, it is popular among Cretan music enthusiasts and musicians and is often looked upon as a model of *paréa* performance practice. It is worth mentioning that the lyra player Alexandros Papadakis has conveyed some of the most recognisable characteristics of the *melambianí paréa*—such as the performance style, the customary repertory and the distinct singing style of the region—in his live performances and studio albums. His ensemble consists of one *lyra* and three *laouto* players, and all of the instrumentalists sing along in most parts of every performance—similarly to a *paréa* performance. His first album *Kanari mou* ('My canary'), which was released in 2007, clearly indicates the lyra player's devotion to the local musical tradition of the region through its subtitle, *Ihohrómata tis eparhías Ag. Vasilíou Rethímnou* ('Timbres from Agios Vasilios of Rethymnon'). Also, in 2015, Alexandros released his third studio album (see Discography) which includes a second compact disc which contains recordings of live performances of his ensemble in the virtual context of a *paréa* that bears many distinct characteristics of the performance style from the region of Agios Vasilios.

A reference to any of the aforementioned *parées* is relatively ambiguous with regard to the exact characteristics through which they are categorised as exemplars of the *paréa* performance practice. However, indeed these *parées* bear discrete characteristics in relation to the choice of repertory and performance style which are unanimously considered to represent the musical traditions of these regions. Melambes, as well as many of the other villages in the region of Agios Vasilios, have developed a disciplined and distinguishable singing style on the repertory of *syrtá* that allows the participants to sing in maximum unison and synchrony. The people from the village of Anogia, as well as from many other villages in the Milopotamos region, are very well known for their distinct style in

singing *mantinádes* within the repertory of *kontiliés*. A reference to the *rethemnianí paréa* is relatively more ambiguous with regard to its musical characteristics since what has ultimately been established as *rethemnianó* ('Rethemnian') is closely associated with the region of Agios Vasilios—and consequently with Melambes. Beyond the prefecture of Rethymnon, some villages in the prefecture of Chania are represented by *parées* that focus on *rizítika* which is one of the families of the local repertory I referred to in the previous chapter. I have also heard people talk about *paréa* performances from other regions such as Apokoronas in the prefecture of Chania, Amari in the prefecture of Rethymnon and Asterousia in the prefecture of Heraklion; however, I have no knowledge of their prominent characteristics.

However, when my friends and acquaintances referred to the aforementioned *parées*, they were not exclusively stressing their particular characteristics and musical quality. Their admiration was not concentrated on specific instances of *paréa* performances, but on the people of these regions and the ways in which they engage in an age-old participatory musical tradition of which they are considered to be its carriers in the contemporary world. Thus, my interlocutors' reference to these *parées* was something much more than a matter of local musical identity, repertory and performance style; rather, a reference that indicates an archetype, or an exemplar of the *paréa* performance practice—and this indeed explains why they did not even consider that I could be researching the *paréa* performances in which we had already participated together.

Thus, an archetypal *paréa* seems to be something even more important than a musical performance per se. Through their remarks, my interlocutors implicitly expressed their admiration for the musicality of the inhabitants of the aforementioned regions; a musicality that is expressed collectively and constitutes an ideal that constructs the notion of Cretanness, of what it means to be Cretan. It is related to the concept of *meraklís* which I briefly mentioned in the previous chapter and which I will further discuss in the fifth chapter; in other words, related to the ways that many of the inhabitants of the aforementioned places choose to collectively engage in the performance of Cretan music—a practice that not only brings music into their everyday social lives but also represents something that local music enthusiasts regard as a noble activity.

2.4 Interpreting and negotiating the meaning of the word *paréa*

Before concluding this text in relation to the meaning of the word *paréa*, I believe that it is worth including a few examples of how locals may employ this word. These examples supplement my arguments developed in the previous sections and illustrate how the word *paréa* may be employed in modern Crete as a negotiation between its varying meanings.

During my fieldwork, some of the older musicians and *meraklίδes* of the town of Rethemnos had established an unofficial institution which they referred to as the *rethemnianí paréa*, which described their evening *paréa* performances taking place once a week. Its members consisted mostly of senior Cretan music enthusiasts and musicians meeting in a private space that was usually reserved by one of the members. For the majority of my stay in Crete, this was an unoccupied apartment furnished with long rows of tables and chairs specifically for hosting their *paréa* performances (see Figure 2.1). Since the performance space was not an establishment—such as a coffee-house or a tavern—or a household, the participants would bring home-cooked food and *mezédes* (s. *mezés*, ‘side dish’), to contribute to the refreshments shared during the course of the evening. The



Figure 2.1. A performance of the *rethemnianí paréa* (March 2012).

rethemnianí paréa resembled an open club through which the regulars would participate in *paréa* performances in which the place, the time and the people were more or less the same. As a scheduled event, the *rethemnianí paréa* did not look like any of the *paréa* performances that I used to participate in with friends and acquaintances, most of which would occur spontaneously. However, this *paréa* was regularly attended by many senior and highly respected professional and amateur local musicians, singers and Cretan music enthusiasts and was thus widely regarded as a place where one could listen to ‘authentic’ Cretan music. Among the people I encountered playing in the *rethemnianí paréa* were the laouto player Giannis Markogiannakis (1926–2017) and the laouto player and singer Manolis Kaklis (1945–2017) (see Figure 2.2).

A similar form of institutionalisation—if I may employ this word to describe this particular type of scheduled *paréa* performance—was taking place in the association of Melambians in Rethemnos, organised by people from Melambes



Figure 2.2. Manolis Kaklis (left) and Giannis Markogiannakis (right) performing at a *rethemnianí paréa* performance (March 2012).

living in the town of Rethemnos or in the village of Melambes—approximately an hour’s drive from Rethemnos. This meeting was also usually held on a weekly basis and—similarly to the *rethemnianí paréa*—it was referred to as ‘*melambianí paréa*’. Since both occasions were organised by people either living in Rethemnos or visiting it on a regular basis, many of the participants would attend both meetings. Both of the aforementioned *parées* were implicitly referred to as events. It was common to hear a Cretan music enthusiast saying ‘I went to the *rethemnianí paréa* last week’ or ‘Have you been to the *rethemnianí paréa*?’. Thus, in contrary to my discussion in the previous section, in the aforementioned cases the references *rethemnianí* and *melambianí* do not indicate a concept or an archetype, but rather they describe specific institutions and events.

The second example I would like to include in this section is related to a virtually antithetical use of the word *paréa* which I will attempt to illustrate through a story about the practices of a *rakádiko* (p. *rakádika*, a common reference to small taverns in Crete) proprietor in the old town of Rethemnos. During the first couple of years of my fieldwork in Crete, the proprietor of the *rakádiko* used the term *mousikí vradiá* (‘music night’) to refer to the musical performances he would regularly host in his establishment. Then a new policy was introduced which required proprietors to pay insurance fees for the musicians performing on their premises. Although the measure was considered fair by a large number of musicians, it was quite unrealistic when required by a proprietor who hardly earned enough to be able to pay his musicians, and especially for this specific proprietor who would rarely host popular musicians in his establishment. While other larger establishments in Rethemnos would often invite popular musicians who would attract large audiences that would easily cover the musicians’ payment and their insurance fees, this establishment was working with a local network of musicians. Most of them were amateur musicians and students who were taking their first steps in public performance. The proprietor used to say that he was trying to help all the young musicians to be heard, although such musicians could in many cases hardly attract any customers to his establishment except for their friends and family. Having been finding it hard to make ends meet for as long as I had known him, the proprietor decided he could not pay for insurance since it would, in most cases, double what he was already paying for the musicians.

However, his establishment was busy only on music nights so cancelling them was not an option. The solution he found was aptly to make use of the local beliefs with regard to the differences between an official and an unofficial musical performance. He decided to remove the public address equipment (which he installed again later when law enforcement on this matter became lax) which he used during the winter months, and stopped issuing wall posters for forthcoming music nights. He kept using his Facebook account to publish and promote forthcoming music nights with a large number of people, however he never referred to the music nights as ‘music nights’ again. Instead, he made a strategic semantic transmutation of the musical performances taking place in his establishment by referring to them as *parées*. His online invitations were simply titled ‘Cretan *paréa*’ or ‘*paréa* with’ followed by the name of the leading musician—who would be the lyra player or the ‘catchiest’ name in the ensemble. This strategy allowed him to avoid the insurance fees, and although it cost him with regard to amplification and advertising, these inconveniences were apparently not that important for a small establishment like his.

It is easy to discern the antithesis in the use of the word *paréa* between the aforementioned cases: its use to describe institutions and events such as the *rethemnianí* and the *melambianí paréa*, and as a reference to unofficial musical performances. In the first case, one may observe a departure from the meaning of the word *paréa* as discussed in the course of this chapter and its employment in order to refer to an official event—an institutionalisation. In the second case, the word *paréa* is employed as part of the proprietor’s efforts to indicate that the performances taking place in his establishment were not official and scheduled music nights, but *paréa* performances carried out by his customers. In the aforementioned examples, the people who employ the word *paréa* in different contexts unwittingly choose specific colourations from the fine mosaic that constitutes its meaning in Crete in order to facilitate their arguments; and indeed, as in the above cases, the meanings emphasised through the use of the word may be different or even contradictory.

2.5 Summary

The use of the word *paréa* in Crete may convey a wide spectrum of meanings that are not only expressed through the established common Greek and local use, but also through its creative employment in everyday talk in order to convey specific and subtle accentuations to a reference or an argument. However, in this thesis I am examining the *paréa* as a practice, and through this extensive discussion on the use of the word *paréa* in Crete I have so far aspired to illustrate that its use with reference to musical performance is more than simply a meeting where friends play music. The *paréa* is an experience that is closely associated with the local social life and musicality and contains practices that are traditionally established and related to Cretan culture. Thus, although I cannot provide a single definition for the word *paréa*, I have attempted to illustrate a context for its varying meanings, both in the word's everyday use and with reference to music and musical performance. As mentioned above, in the following chapters I will endeavour to further explain its meanings in Crete through my approach to participatory musical performances.

Chapter 3

The past in discourse: the importance of the past in performing, listening to and thinking about Cretan music

In the early stages of my fieldwork I realised that the Cretan musical tradition was still a very productive genre, with many individuals from the youngest generations subscribing to it as listeners or by learning to perform and participating in *parées*, *gléndia* and other live performances. Yet I soon also realised that although the genre was showing signs that it could embrace most aspects of the modern world and stay in touch with the needs of contemporary society, its past remained a constant reference with regard to what ‘proper’ Cretan music should be. The ‘past’, as I have already briefly discussed in the introduction to this thesis, is represented by a mental picture that incorporates vestiges of this music available through commercial and ethnographical recordings which date back to the first decades of the twentieth century as well as reports, narrations and testimonies that are related to both the musical and the extra-musical erstwhile characteristics of this musical tradition that range from old performance practices to aspects related to everyday life, social relations and ethos.

The past of this music is a topic that is to be found in virtually every expression, discussion and evaluation of Cretan music. It represents a pervasive theme that cuts through all performance spaces and practices, including *paréa* performances. And indeed, the past is to be found in discussions about good musicianship, good ‘audienceship’ as well as proper performance spaces and practices; eventually leading to reflections on how *oi palioí mas*—‘our elders’, meaning ‘our forefathers’—would do it. Thus, the past of this music represents its ‘respectable’

image: it is the primary topic of discussion that virtually all Cretan music enthusiasts were eager to talk about when they found out that I was conducting research into their music, presupposing that all serious research would be looking at this tradition's past. And although it is indeed natural that every musical tradition—popular or folk—recognises its roots in the past, I consider that in Crete the past reigns supreme over evaluations and decisions that concern the present and the future of this music.

In this chapter I am going to offer a discussion on the prevailing sentimental attachment of local Cretan music enthusiasts to the past of this genre. I am going to approach the matter through the examination of writings on this musical tradition as well as through my experiences with musicians and enthusiasts of the genre during my stay in Crete. I will employ this discussion in order to approach the processes that engender evolution in Cretan music: the musicians and their approach to old recordings as well as the introduction of new compositions that seek to be established in the traditional corpus of the genre. Further on, I am going to examine the mechanisms through which musical Cretanness is engendered as well as the ways in which Cretan music enthusiasts try to preserve and promote the image of this musical tradition. I will revisit Herzfeld's term 'monumentalisation' which I briefly referred to in the first chapter, and I will discuss the work of many individuals and local cultural (*politistikós*) or 'enculturation' (*ekpolitistikós*—a word that is sometimes used synonymously with *politistikós*) associations towards 'preserving' and 'rescuing' the local traditions.

With regard to the *paréa*, in this chapter I will examine how it is entangled in a discourse about 'authenticity' and how it is supposed—according to several accounts—to represent the 'most authentic' performance space for Cretan music; an opinion which not only further emphasises its definition as a distinct performance space, but also—at least to a certain extent—affects the *paréa* enthusiasts' approach towards their performances.

3.1 The past as a central theme in Cretan music

Perhaps the discourse about the past is best demonstrated in the local—and in most cases contemporary—literature related to music, *mantináda* and dance.

Through my visits to the public library of Rethemnos, I have encountered many book titles—most of them written by Cretans—whose authors endeavoured to speak their own versions of ‘the truth’ about Cretan music, Cretan culture and the local history.¹ These authors were people from a wide background of professions: from professors and teachers to retired army and police officers; a diversity which illustrates the heightened interest that many people in Crete have for their homeland. Most of this literature presupposes that ‘authentic’ Cretan music, dance and customs are gradually decaying due to ‘novelties’ (*neoterismoús*), ‘forgeries’ (*plastografíes*), ‘insults’ (*prosvolés*), ‘disfigurations’ (*paramorfóseis*) and ‘deformations’ (*alióseis*)—just to mention some of the vocabulary used to denote all the ‘evil’ that many of these authors consider is being inflicted on this island’s culture. With regard to music, the apex—its apogee, which is also the point of departure for its decline—is implicitly considered to be represented by the age of the first commercial recordings; the age when the greatness of this supposedly ‘undistorted’ and ‘purely Cretan’ musical lineage was for the first time recorded by contemporary means—the very means now supposed to have greatly contributed to its ‘alienation’ from its cultural base by facilitating the introduction of foreign musical genres and practices.

Since Cretan music is a traditional music genre, change is rarely welcome—especially when related to foreign influences. Rather, it appears that change is often perceived as contributing to the genre’s ‘distortion’; an ‘improper’ evolution from the exalted first recordings—an evolution which, for some, is an explicit act of ‘sacrilege’ (*ierosilía*). Change also brings forth the ‘foreign’ notion of ‘professionalism’ (*epagelmatismós*) at the expense of the ‘amateur’ (*erasitéhnes*) yet skilled local musicians—the local amateur musicians whom the early ethnographers would ‘discover’ and record in marginalised villages in hinterland Crete (as in the 1950s expedition, see Baud-Bovy 2006). It introduces technological novelties that ‘transform’ the performance spaces and the sense of

¹ See Aligizakis 2008, Amargiannakis 1967, Antonogiannakis 2010, Dalianoudi (2004a; 2004b), Giakoumakis 2007, Glentousi-Palioudaki 2013, Hatzidakis 1958, Kafkalas 1998, Kallergis 2000, Nikolakakis 2007, Oikonomakis (2003; 2004a; 2004b; 2005), Panagiotakis 1990, Papadakis (Naftis) 1989, Papadakis 2002, Riginiotis 2004.

intimacy of a Cretan musical performance, such as the emphasised stage–audience distinction being reinforced—if not introduced—through the employment of public address equipment.² Change also ‘levels’ the highly-esteemed Cretan culture and music with the ‘cheap’ commercial cultural imports through the incorporation of ‘foreign’ musical elements and practices. And perhaps even more importantly, it alters what is perceived as a timeless essence of the local identity;

² The signs that signal a shift to modernity are usually related to the modern means of performing and listening to music brought about by ‘technology’ (*tehnología*). The ‘technology’—including the capability to record and disseminate music as well as the use of *mihanímata* (‘equipment’ or ‘machinery’, as the public address equipment is usually referred to in the Cretan vernacular)—lies at the centre of the discourse about ‘change’, and many believe that it is the ‘culprit’ for all the unwelcome transformations taking place in this musical tradition. These opinions are very similar to the claims of Jacques Attali (1985 [1977]) about recorded music: ‘A certain usage of the transistor radio silences those who know how to sing’ (p. 111). Also, they are related to what Samuel Baud-Bovy (2006) remarked about the alienating effects of the radio in his notes on a *paréa* performance in a Cretan hinterland village in the 1950s: ‘How poor and how inhuman is the radio, allowing no room for creative activity—for human communication’ (p. 104, my translation). Even those who accept that change is natural in the passing of time may often agree that the changes brought about by ‘technology’ are far too great for the local customs to sustain.

It is also worth including a brief note on what I have referred to as the ‘technology’ here: the possession of *mihanímata* today is usually perceived as a sign of musical professionalism, and sometimes the primary criterion when a professional musician buys a new instrument may be that of ‘sounding good on the *mihanímata*’ (*akoúgetai kalá sta mihanímata*), as it occurred to me early in my fieldwork. Apparently, as I soon realised, many bandleaders cannot afford to pay for sound engineers or simply prefer to show their skills in sound engineering by setting up their own sound during a sound-check and then continuing to adjust the knobs of their console during the performance—in most cases nestled between the lyra player and the lead laouto player who are hierarchically considered to be the most important and usually the better paid musicians in most Cretan music ensembles. Through further discussions with sound engineers and musicians who claimed that they despised this approach to public address equipment, I was told that the musicians who adhere to this practice eventually prefer instruments with a ‘duller’ harmonic spectrum, specifically so that they can easily reach an acceptable sound through their self-tuned PA equipment—a practice that represents yet another sign of decay for many of my interlocutors: a technological ‘pollution’ of the tradition.

a musical essence that invokes some everlasting ‘Greek Spirit’ with which the contemporary novelties are often perceived to be inconsistent.

Thus it is usually effortlessly presumed that what is conceived as ‘authentic Cretan music’ is in most cases best represented by the *protomástores*, the musicians who first recorded a picture of the evolving—yet supposedly ‘undistorted’ from exogenous influences—Cretan musical tradition that is implicitly supposed to go back in time all the way to—and as a pure descendant of—Ancient Greek and Minoan music. And indeed, another aspect that most of the aforementioned literature has in common—regardless of whether an author claims to be providing a historical study or not—is a constant reference to the Minoans and the Ancient Greeks, as if this musical tradition—as recorded by the *protomástores* in the first half of the twentieth century—has more affinity with Minoan and Ancient Greek music than with its modern and ‘distorted novelties’. This discussion becomes even more convoluted when one encounters utterances or writings that implicitly suggest the existence of some ‘spiritual affinity’ between the music of the Minoans and Ross Daly’s compositions. That is the point where a discussion most certainly enters the realms of fantasy, yet this is also part of a sentimental approach to this musical tradition that should neither be taken too seriously nor be ignored. It exemplifies that the concept of ‘authentic’ Cretan music is not subject to a set of rules but based on subjective and individual opinions held by the enthusiasts of the genre.

Ultimately, what many of these writings appear to take for granted is that ‘authentic’ Cretan music is defined as a static entity that belongs to the past. Many elements of this musical tradition that were contemporaneous with the first commercial recordings are now often considered paradigms that should remain unchanged in the passing of time. For instance, it is often mentioned that the Cretan *zigiá* (‘duet’, usually referring to the ensemble of the lyra and laouto or the violin and laouto depending on the region) is the ‘authentic’ ensemble for the performance of Cretan music, an argument based merely on the fact that many musicians used to perform in such ensembles in the first half of the twentieth century (with the most notable example being that of Andreas Rodinos on the lyra

and Giannis Bernidakis—also known as Baxevanis—on the *laouto*),³ thus implicitly presupposing a ‘non-traditional’ status for most of the ensembles I have encountered in Crete, which may vary from a *lyra* and two *laouta* (plural form of *laouto*) to more ‘modern’ ensembles that often include guitars and percussion.

I do not want to argue against the myths that surround this genre—regardless of their affinity with either ‘romantic nationalism’, identity,⁴ or sentiment. This would merely be a constant reference to truisms such as ‘tradition is not static’, ‘there’s no tangible evidence suggesting continuity between Minoan and contemporary Cretan music’, or ‘the first commercial recordings of Cretan music are neither the beginning of this music nor its absolute form’. Does one really need proof for these statements? In reality, and as with most aspects of life and culture, myths represent an important view of practices; and for many enthusiasts of Cretan music the belief that this music is very old—or even ancient—is indubitably an integral part of their emotional attachment to it and perhaps the source of their eagerness in preserving what they consider to be its absolute form. People do not believe in myths merely because of ignorance, but also because they are often intrigued to do so—and this is a point where this chapter breaks with being a historical account of Cretan music. Rather, through this chapter I aspire to paint a greater picture of the musical world, the beliefs that contour the *paréa* and, to an extent, attribute it with an extra-musical importance in the sentiment of the

³ Despina Mazaraki who was among the members of the 1950s research expedition in Crete (Baud-Bovy 2006) notes about the *zigiá*: ‘With regard to music, the repercussions [of the formal infrastructure road network construction] are becoming more and more noticeable through the dissemination of modern musical instruments and the dominance of the ‘*zigiá*’ of the violin–*laouto* or the contemporary Cretan *lyra*–*laouto*, which replace the old *lyra* that was accompanied by *daouláki* [a small *daoúli* type of drum] or by the *gerakokoúdouna* of the bow [‘falcon bells’, a *lyra* bow attached with a series of small bells on the stick]’ (Baud-Bovy 2006:26–7, my translation). Apparently, according to Mazaraki, during the 1950s the now unquestionably ‘authentic’ *zigiá* of *lyra*–*laouto* and violin–*laouto* was a quite modern performance practice, although it had already appeared in commercial recordings several decades ago.

⁴ See Martin Stokes 1994 on identity, especially his discussion on ‘performance and place’ where he suggests that ‘(...) music is socially meaningful not entirely but largely because it provides means by which people recognise identities and places, and the boundaries which separate them’ (p. 5).

local Cretan music enthusiasts. The aforementioned opinions are not only to be found in writings but are also widely shared among many supporters of the Cretan culture. With regard to music, it appears axiomatic that since Cretan music is, by definition, a folk musical tradition, change is inevitably 'distorting' this single most powerful sign of local identity; and change is even more 'dangerous' in the contemporary world, now that local values appear to be at risk due to fast-paced 'globalisation'.

Thus the question that naturally lingers and ensues from my discussion above is how then Cretan music manages to evolve in the passing of time, engendering new compositions and performance styles and staying in touch with the contemporary generations of Cretans. Do the aforementioned opinions belong to marginalised groups of traditionalists? It appears that in reality even a person who may be subjectively considered a 'traditionalist' may like some of the newer compositions and performance practices, while even the 'most modernist' enthusiasts and musicians of Cretan music usually recognise the importance of this musical tradition's continuity with the past. Still, every single Cretan music enthusiast may adhere to different signs that denote Cretanness in this musical tradition—and these signs are numerous, if not countless and possibly contradictory, be it the prideful postures of the lyra player, the loud masculine voices, the shape and sound of the lyra itself, the performance context, etc. These elements may relate to this tradition's past or be part of a constructed conception of the past; elements that often aggregate to considerations on how the forefathers of this tradition 'would do it', yet usually combined with a natural need for innovation, personal expression and creativity. In this way, Cretan music appears to be an amalgam through which individual musicians may preserve what they consider to be the most important signs of Cretanness and omit those they don't for the sake of personal creativity.

Thus, the nexus of interactions between the old and the new in Cretan music is a far more complex matter than being a 'repertoire' of rules. People do realise that music changes, yet the aforementioned discussion about the past is virtually always present in evaluations about musics and practices. Those Cretans who adhere to the music of their homeland are open to accept any novelties which they like, yet they often criticise those they don't by arguing about their lack of

‘authenticity’ and affinity with old practices and recordings of this musical tradition. It is not possible to accurately delineate the mechanism of this clash between the old and the new or indeed the ‘proper’ and the ‘improper’, yet it appears that the pervasive theme in most discussions and evaluations of musicians and practices is a matter related to how well they submit to the subjectively perceived signs of Cretanness. Change is indeed accepted as a necessity yet, again, it should be performed in ways that do not ‘insult’ the subjective notion of Cretanness.

3.2 Cherishing the past: its role in contemporary creative activity

The erstwhile *gléndi*, the *paréa* as performed in specific contexts (which I am going to discuss further below), the old recordings as well as memories of erstwhile performance practices and customs constitute the main theme of a nostalgia for an idealised social and musical past where people and practices were supposedly pure; a past that is considered to be in absolute harmony with the prevalent local ideas about musicianship, social demeanour and values which the contemporary age puts at risk. The voices that call attention to the perils of what is perceived as a decline in modern Cretan culture not only belong to the senior members of the Cretan society, but also to many young musicians and enthusiasts of the genre who stand in awe before the nostalgic picture of an idealised old Cretan musical culture.

More and more young musicians take up the repertory of the old and sometimes forgotten musicians of Cretan music—tunes and performers that had virtually fallen into oblivion for decades, such as Charilaos Piperakis (1895–1978) and his so-called *rebetika* (plural form of *rebetiko*) recordings.⁵ Some musicians adhere to the music and style of such early recordings and try to reproduce them

⁵ See *Rebetika me kritiki lyra* (‘Rebetika on the Cretan Lyra’) compact disc in *Ta rebetika tis Amerikis* (‘Rebetika from America’) album (see Discography). Also, a very interesting survey on Harilaos Piperakis’ life and work is the BA dissertation by Stauros Maragoudakis (2011). It should be noted that the so-called *rebetika* recordings—a characterisation that may have ensued from the aforementioned or previous album titles, yet it is common among some musicians in Rethemnos—are only a small part of Piperakis’ contribution to Cretan music.

in detail. As an example, one may listen to the recently released album by the Lainakis family focusing on the genre of Cretan urban music (*tambahaniótika* or *amanédes* as I encountered them in Rethemnos) and promote the nearly ‘extinct’ *boulgarí* (long-necked plucked lute) that appeared in the early recordings of Cretan music.⁶ Yet sometimes this practice goes even further—as it has often appeared to me through my experience—to building a new tradition all over again by setting the starting point on the *protomástores* and virtually disregarding many elements that appeared in this music during the second half of the twentieth century—such as the characteristic ‘firm’ *voúrtsa* accompaniment of the laouto. This is a romantic endeavour which, I believe, is mostly evident in bands such as Palaiina Seferia and Eran who mostly represent what is perceived as a ‘gentrified’ (*éntehni*) version of Cretan music.

Part of this greater attention to the past is the work of the lyra player and school teacher Dimitris Sgouros on a significant commercial album release related to the interpretation and recording of a selection of tunes transcribed in Byzantine notation from 1860 to 1910. The transcriptions were part of the work of the ethnographer Pavlos Vlastos (1836–1926), a work that is now deemed the first

⁶ As noted in the introduction to this thesis, the main representative of the *boulgarí* music was Stelios Foustalierakis (1911–1992). The name of this distinct genre of urban Cretan music is a contested subject. The genre is usually referred to as *amanédes* or *amane dákia* in Rethemnos, yet widely known as *tambahaniótika* (as suggested in the *protomástores* CD-Box linen notes, the name derives from the word *tambahanás*, meaning ‘sanatorium’ (p. 214)). During my fieldwork, it has often been suggested by Cretan music enthusiast and musicians that the name ‘*tambahaniótika*’ is not contemporary to the first recordings but appeared later when the genre had already declined. When the Lainakis family (Stelios, Leonidas and Hara) released the album *Tabahaniotika: Astika tragoudia tis ditikis Kritis* (*Tambahaniotika: Urban Songs of Western Crete*) they chose to divide the word into *tamba* and *haniotika* on their album cover by giving different colours to the two parts of it. Yet ‘*haniotika*’ means ‘from Chania’ and given that the Lainakis family is from the prefecture of Chania, many of my acquaintances in Rethemnos considered that this tacit alternation of the word was unmistakably an effort to undermine the contribution of the Rethemnian musicians to the genre (Stelios Foustalierakis was from Rethemnos). I, for one, do not consider that the genre had or needed a distinct calling name when it was first recorded, and thus I find that *amanédes* or *amane dákia* are more general and thus perhaps more historically accurate (*amanés*—which derives from the common singing exclamation ‘*amán*’—is a general characterisation for slow and grieving songs, especially those sung *a capella*).

serious musical and ethnographical endeavour in Crete. The meticulous, time-consuming project of interpreting the transcriptions was eventually recorded and released in a three compact discs (including a documentary DVD) box set in 2011.⁷ It comprised perhaps the most important commercial album release related to this tradition's past since the re-release of the *protomástores* recordings on 33 $\frac{1}{3}$ rpm records in the 1980s (and subsequently on a compact disc album compilation). It is worth mentioning, however, that it did not receive the attention that would be expected—as the *protomástores* albums did—from an audience so notorious for cherishing the past of this musical tradition, employing it as a reference for how contemporary performances should be. Apparently, most Cretan music audiences could not identify with these recordings and adopt them in their musical practice: The tunes—or, at least, their interpretation by Sgouros—would not easily interlock with the modern needs related to dance and performance practice. Thus, with the exception of a few pieces—including the *Oi ántres oi fanísimoí* ('The distinguished men') which comprises an overpowering elegy for dead revolutionary fighters—very little was eventually embraced by Cretan music enthusiasts and musicians.

Thus I consider that the increased interest towards this musical tradition's past as well as the ways in which the erstwhile practices and musics are implemented into today's performance and creative activity, implicitly indicate that what one may at first glance perceive of Cretan music as being a linear tradition evolving over time, is in reality experienced as a far more complex nexus of interactions. People are at liberty to choose any points in the past of Cretan music they want to follow; or even consider them as its absolute, 'authentic' form—a process facilitated by the one hundred years of Cretan music commercial recording history. For some this 'authenticity' is represented by the *protomástores*; for others it is represented by the musicians that have shaped the contemporary sound of Cretan music in the second half of the twentieth century, notably Kostas Mountakis and Thanasis Skordalos. Yet others may just as well consider that the

⁷ See *Skopoi kai tragoudia tis Kritis* ('Songs and melodies from Crete') for further details in linen notes and the included DVD documentary (see Discography).

latest compositions and novelties of Cretan music fit well into their personal idea about Cretanness.

So it appears that the existence of this musical tradition's commercial recorded history not only triggers its enthusiasts' nostalgic feelings, but also has a great impact on their creativity. By listening to contemporary live performances of Cretan music, one may witness virtually all of the stages of this musical genre's evolution being performed by enthusiasts of different eras of Cretan music. It is important to note that these performances do not lie within the scope of historically informed concerts such as the cultural associations' 'enculturation' endeavours, which I discuss further below. Rather, they are contemporary performances that are influenced by old—and sometimes forgotten—performance styles, timbres and tunes of this musical tradition.

Ever since the first commercial recordings, the musicians of this genre have been conscious of its past and many of them endeavour to keep the link between the contemporary and the old alive. The evolution of the Cretan musical tradition is no longer strictly linear as long as musicians choose or are prompted to listen carefully to the older masters and learn the repertory through these old recordings. This characteristic not only reveals the importance of this tradition's past for contemporary music-making within the genre, but also 'distorts' its linear evolution by introducing a complex—and certainly unprecedented before the first commercial recordings—interaction between the old and the new.

Ultimately, regardless of what one may consider as the 'absolute' form of Cretan music, it is acceptable that music changes. However, every change should be approached as a process inheriting strategy and tempo.⁸ The dialectic that

⁸ I have borrowed the terms *strategy* and *tempo* from Bourdieu's (1979 [1972]) discussion on a case of gift exchange pattern described and analysed by Marcel Mauss, whose approach was later criticised by Claude Lévi-Strauss (pp. 4–9). The relevance of Bourdieu's discussion to my arguments is minimal, yet my approach to *time* (inheriting *tempo*), *strategy* and *rule* as discussed by Bourdieu is relevant. Bourdieu discerns that Mauss' phenomenological approach to gift exchange conceives it as an irreversible act, while through the perspective of a structuralist approach by Levi Strauss (the 'objective' approach of an outside observer), it is understood as a reversible pattern of exchange—a social yet mechanical *rule*. Bourdieu argues that one may only approach the pattern and the conveyed meanings of gift exchange by taking into account the time

engenders evolution does not abide by a set of pre-defined rules, but is related to processes that directly depend on the evolution of the signs that indicate what is 'right' or 'wrong' in this music. If a novelty fails to correspond to the available repository of signs corresponding to Cretanness,⁹ then it may be considered irrelevant to the tradition or even be condemned as 'bad music'.¹⁰ Thus, radical novelties are often being discarded unless they clearly distinguish the domain of their musical activities from that of Cretan music.¹¹ In any case, time plays an important role and innovations should be carefully implemented so as to minimise the reactions against them.

elapses between the gifts which allows actors to deploy more or less successful strategies—in other words to make good use of one's favourable position as a gift-giver within the time that elapses before the counter-gift is given—which demonstrate their social skills; 'to abolish the interval is also to abolish strategy' as Bourdieu claims (p. 6). I believe that this approach also unfolds in Herzfeld's analysis on animal theft in the mountainous Cretan Village of Glendi (Herzfeld 1985); see especially Herzfeld's narration and analysis of a single incident in which the protagonist negotiates—and partly breaks with—the unwritten rules of animal theft in order to convey a strong message to his victim by carefully employing strategy and time (pp. 176–80, 198–9).

⁹ There is no single such 'repository', however there are some generally agreed signs that correspond to musical Cretanness—most obviously the inclusion of at least one traditional Cretan musical instrument in an ensemble. Still, the feelings triggered through listening or performing a piece of music are different for every individual. For a general discussion on semiotics—and specifically Peircean semiotics—and music, see Turino (1999).

¹⁰ Here, I employ the characterisation of 'bad music' within the context of the 'hegemonic' evaluation of Cretan music, which is usually expressed by the most conservative-traditionalist part of the audience. I use this characterisation in accordance with Simon Firth's (2004) article in which he endeavours to understand and identify the ways in which people employ the term. One cannot define the term 'bad music' since it mostly represents personal evaluations, yet these evaluations per se are useful for understanding the importance of music for human beings. Overall, I agree with Frith (2004) that 'there's no such *thing* as bad music' (p. 14, emphasis in original).

¹¹ A notable example is *Daulute* (formerly, *Trio Daulute*), 'a world music trio that presents a unique and dynamic interpretation of Cretan traditional music' as strategically described on the band's webpage (<http://www.daulute.com>, accessed 18 November 2015). *Daulute* consists of three musicians who regularly play in 'traditional' Cretan music ensembles, and it should be noted that two of them are among the main contributors to the aforementioned work by Dimitris Sgouros. Their work in *Daulute* represents their most creative and experimental approach to Cretan music.

What has often attracted my attention throughout the course of my fieldwork and in relevance to the above discussion is *Límnes ta máthia sou* ('Your eyes are lakes'), a popular *syrtó* composed and recorded by Nikos and Michalis Aefantinos and released on their album *Kritikos kiklos* ('Cretan cycle') in 1985 (see Discography). As many from my circle of acquaintances suggested, by the time it was released the composition was received with great enthusiasm yet also with much criticism, mainly on behalf of the most traditionalist audiences of the genre. Thirty years later, the piece is now often performed even among the most 'traditional' ensembles and is usually welcomed even by the 'most traditionalist' audiences. Yet while I was attending a music night in a *rakádiko* in Rethemnos, a senior member of the audience discarded it and characterised it as 'shit' (*skatá*) when someone asked for it to be played by the band. Not only that, but he also insisted on making bitter comments about the piece and *its like* while pleading with the band—which had so far been performing Cretan music in the style of the 1920s and 1930s recordings—to play pieces by Thanasis Skordalos,¹² one of the big stars of that old man's youth, yet more modern in comparison to what the band was playing.

In order to comprehend the meaning of this narrative I need to further elaborate on the different eras that are implicitly mentioned in it. According to my understanding of how people think about Cretan music today, a segmentation of its recent history would be depicted in three major ages—as many as those emerging through the aforementioned short narrative from the *rakádiko*. Such a fragmentation does not necessarily correspond to an objective reading of the

¹² Thanasis (or Athanasios) Skordalos (1920–1998) is often also considered a *protomástoras*, yet his recording career started after the Second World War and influenced music making on the island for several decades until his death in the late 1990s. There are many musicians today—amateur and professional, young and old—who are characterised as *skordalikoí* ('Skordalos-devotees') because of their disproportionate preference for the repertory recorded by Skordalos (see Figure 3.1). Thus I consider that even today—some twenty years after his death—Skordalos remains one of the most popular and evocative figures for the younger generations of musicians of this musical tradition. It is worth noting that from an analysed sample of my personal recordings of *paréa* performances (which I discuss further in the sixth chapter), Skordalos pieces aggregate to roughly forty per cent of the recorded repertory.

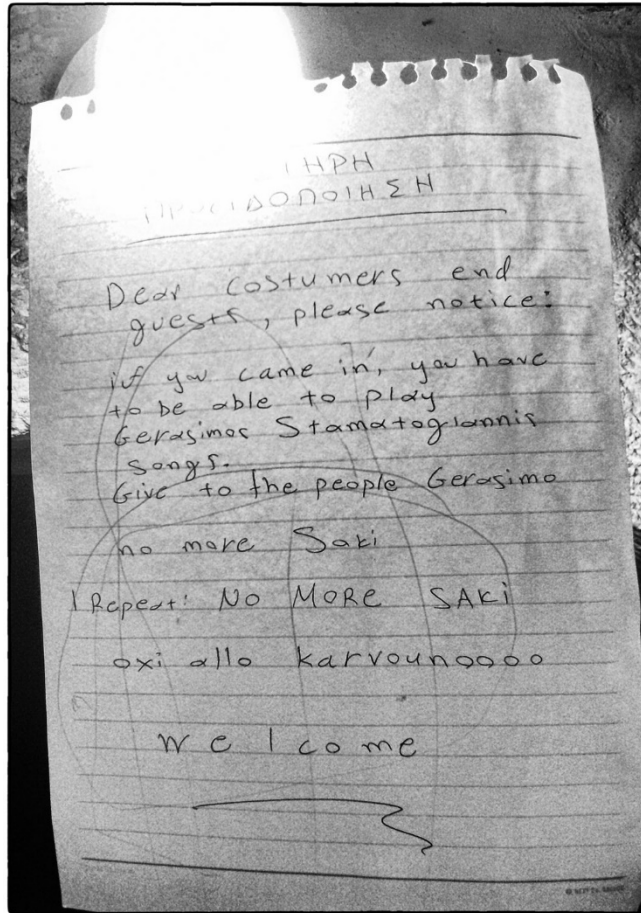


Figure 3.1. A note intended for fun and posted at the entrance of a village tavern where a *paréa* was taking place. Its author warns the musicians (in English so as to sound more ‘formal’) that they should not play pieces by Thanasis Skordalos (Saki). The note is addressed to *skordalikoí* musicians, implicitly imploring them to refrain from only playing pieces by Skordalos (November 2013).

history of Cretan music, but rather to the way in which the past of the genre is usually viewed from a contemporary perspective. The first age is the era that I would characterise as the ‘age of myth’; the age of the *protomástores*, a virtually indisputably exalted age of Cretan music where all musicians and practices associated with music are believed to be properly expressing the correct notion of musical Cretanness. Although the *protomástores* were not the first musicians of Cretan music—a truism that I have often heard pointed out in discussions, sometimes in the form of a revelation—their recordings are often perceived as the only available vestige that represents the timeless past of this musical tradition, prior to its supposed gradual ‘corruption’ in the subsequent decades.

The second period is represented by the work of many popular and seminal musicians who began their careers after the Second World War; an era that is

tacitly acknowledged to commence with the release of the popular *syrtó Móno ekeínos pou agapá* ('Only the one who loves') in 1946 (or *Spilianós syrtós* as it appeared in this first release) recorded by Thanasis Skordalos and Giannis Markogiannakis. This era gave birth to great and many recording musicians, notably Kostas Mountakis, Gerasimos Stamatogiannakis and Nikos Manias. I would characterise this era as the 'golden age' of Cretan music where notable figures have shaped the sound of Cretan music on a pan-Cretan level. It is worth mentioning that this is also the period where Cretan music is recorded as a popular genre targeting non-Cretan audiences through the voices of musicians such as Nikos Xylouris and Charalampos Garganourakis (see Kallimopoulou 2009:17–23).

The two aforementioned periods are often considered to be in juxtaposition with a modern and for many a 'decayed' present which is supposed to no longer produce either as many great musics as before or such great musicians as Skordalos and Mountakis. This 'modern age' begins roughly in the late 1980s and the early 1990s, when the end of what I have referred to as the 'golden age' was sealed with the deaths of Kostas Mountakis (1991) and Thanasis Skordalos (1998). All of the aforementioned 'evils' start to reign supreme over the tradition during this 'modern age', which is always shadowed in comparison to a glorious past. And, even though there are many Cretan music enthusiasts who believe that the present musical activity of this musical tradition produces excellent musicians and musics, the juxtaposition between the present and the past recurrently brings forth a sentimental discourse about a generally accepted decline.

Although cherishing the past with regard to musicianship appears to be a very important aspect of this island's tradition and to each individual musician's activities, this is not always the norm. I recall a friend pointing out—with contempt—during a musical performance that the lead laouto player of the ensemble did not have any knowledge of, nor was he interested in, old pieces by the *protomástores* or even the performances by the still very popular Thanasis Skordalos and Kostas Mountakis. The laouto player—my friend claimed—learnt to play the laouto by listening to contemporary performances of Cretan music. And although my friend would evidently not approve of this method of learning the repertory, he did admit that the laouto player was indeed a very good musician. In another case, a lyra player was invited to appear on a well-known local television

programme and was asked to play the *syrtá Rodinoú*—a group of *syrtá* recorded by the legendary lyra player Andreas Rodinos (1912–1934), nowadays considered an essential piece of music for any lyra player to know. The lyra player admitted that he did not know how to play them and readily proceeded to play some other pieces, including his own compositions. Such examples may be few and often cause contempt, even among the less traditionalist Cretan music enthusiasts and musicians, but they do nevertheless reveal some of the tendencies that go against the established norms with regard to the perception of this tradition’s past.

3.3 The *paréa*

‘This is the authentic Cretan music’ (*aftí íne i authentikí kritikí mousikí*), people were often eager to tell me during *paréa* performances upon realising that I was an outsider, especially during the first couple of years of my fieldwork. At first glance, indeed many *parées* looked like sights drawn from the past: the evidently traditional musical repertory, the instrumentalists sitting around the table and playing without amplification, the seemingly ritual-like manner in which singers and instrumentalists would take turns in a performance, and even—especially when the *paréa* was taking place in a household—the preparation of food in large cauldrons (*tsikália*), placed on portable gas stoves or fire. For example, I recall during a *prógamos*—in this case, what was roughly described to me as a ‘bachelor party’—taking place in a countryside household, a group of men peeling and cutting potatoes before frying them in a small smoke-darkened cauldron filled with olive oil placed on several bricks over a fire. Near them, another group of people was roasting meat on a barbeque grill while the rest of the attendants were sitting at a table nearby, shouting and playing music. The setting and the activities involved in this *paréa* performance composed a contemporary yet also nostalgic image of a time gone by.

As early as in the first year of my fieldwork, I came across a short video on the internet from a *paréa* taking place in a *rakokázano* (*rakí* distillation).¹³ The video

¹³ This excellent video footage was captured by the Rethemnian photographer Giorgos Gavalas who was a guest at the *rakokázano* and ‘was *playing* with his camera’ as he mentions on the tag of

featured a *paréa* performance led by the lyra player Alexandros Papadakis and accompanied by several plucked instruments. It was night and the *paréa* was taking place at an open space in the countryside. The lyra player was standing and playing in the middle of a dancing circle while the dancers moved around him and sometimes sang along. At some points the lyra player would dance along while continuing to sing and play his lyra. The steam pouring out of the *rakokázano* equipment was visible in the background, setting a warm, nostalgic scene for the performance. And indeed, both the foreground and the background layers of this video painted quite a vivid, picturesque and cherished image of what is deemed a ‘genuine’ past for this musical tradition. The quality of the video certainly reinforces this imagery. As I found out later—since I eventually had the chance to meet many of the participants from that *rakokázano*—, the video was ‘discovered’ by some national television producers who invited Papadakis to perform on a television programme (*Menoume Ellada*. NET. 10 October 2011). Eventually this led to the production of a national television documentary about Cretan music, featuring Papadakis as the main performer and narrator (*Ellinon Dromena: ‘Egennithi Lyraris’*. ET3. 24 March 2012).

As it ensues from the examples of the *prógamos* and the *rakokázano*, *paréa* performances are often associated with an imagery that inclines an observer to consider them as authentic vestiges of a former time. Elements such as roasting and frying using fire grills and stoves, the virtual absence of technology—except for the cameras and mobile phones through which participants usually record such instances (see Figure 3.2)—,¹⁴ the traditional means of distilling the ‘national’ drink of Crete and the agrarian setting of the happenings, and finally the association of both *parées* with age-old social practices are among the most prominent elements that construct this imagery (see Figure 3.3). However, is it the aforementioned elements that comprise these nostalgic scenes—signs that

the video on YouTube. It is available online at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5S_1_PkDxw8, accessed 27 November 2015.

¹⁴ Participants are often eager to record *parées* and more often than not publish them on social media. A good example is a YouTube channel dedicated to *paréa* performances run by Giorgos Gaganis, which includes a great collection of video footage from the prefecture of Rethymnon: <https://www.youtube.com/user/gaganisg>, accessed 6 April 2017.



Figure 3.2. Recording a *paréa* performance on a mobile phone (October 2015).

outsiders to this musical tradition, such as the aforementioned national television producers, may easily identify and appreciate—, which make a *paréa authentikí* ('authentic')?

This is not an easy question to answer since the very core of the answer lies with how a *paréa* participant perceives 'authenticity'. I consider that what some participants referred to as 'authenticity' for some *paréa* performances may contain different readings: an important point that gradually became clear to me through my attendance and participation in *parées* as well as through my continuous discussions and rapport with local musicians is that 'authenticity' is not only related to the imagery discussed above, but also to the way that practices are carried out in a participatory context; ways of eating, drinking and having a good time—all elements that remain virtually unchanged with the passing of time. With regard to music, I consider that a participatory performance may implicitly be viewed as the quintessence of an 'authentic' Cretan music performance: that the 'authenticity' conveyed through a *paréa* is not just a thing—a scenery that may be reproduced in a 'historically informed' performance—but a process: the ways that people perform this music; ways that are considered to be virtually unchanged with the passing of time.



Figure 3.3. Traditional imagery: preparing food in large pots, a Cretan traditional sofa, and hand-made musical instruments in a countryside household (April 2012).

More specifically, ‘authenticity’ is not perceived as just a ‘thing’—a recording, such as the popular *syrta* recordings by the legendary *protomástoras* (singular form of *protomástores*) and lyra player Andreas Rodinos—but a process, a way of conducting music within a social context: an activity (see relevant discussions in Turino 2008 and Small 1998). A performance of the aforementioned *syrta Rodinoú* performed in a contemporary *paréa* context may potentially be considered ‘authentic’ as the first recording since the context of the performance remains virtually unchanged. Thus, the context of the *paréa* performance is often perceived as the ideal context for ‘authentic’ musical performances, since it not only retains its association with age-old social practices (such as rites of passage and various other celebrations), but also virtually excludes many exogenous and extrinsic elements, most evidently the use of ‘technology’ (*mihanímata*) in music.

In other words, an ‘authentic’ performance is one that is performed live, with respect to the precursors of this musical tradition and within the context to which this music is believed to inherently belong. Even some of the oldest sound recorded ‘vestiges’ of this tradition—pieces such as the aforementioned *syrta*

Rodinoú, prótos syrtós and many others—are not considered sounds of an erstwhile era. Rather, they are continuously reproduced in their ‘authentic’ form through the *paréa* practice; performances that are not part of a historically informed project, but rather virtually spontaneous participatory performances by Cretan music enthusiasts.

The contemplations that unfold through this discussion could be drawn into a division between what is exogenously ascribed as ‘authentic’ and what the *paréa* practitioners consider ‘authentic’ in their performances. In other words, a juxtaposition between the ‘authenticity’ ascribed through the seemingly ‘picturesque’ and ‘nostalgic’ settings in which the performances often take place and the quite more minute characteristics that only the insiders of this musical tradition can identify, including the performance style, the old repertory, the proximity between the musicians and *meraklides*, the collective participation and perhaps the tribute that a performance pays to older and established norms (the aforementioned ‘how our forefathers would do it’)—or put another way, all of the qualities that an outsider of this music would not easily apprehend.

However, I consider that it would be erroneous to incorporate such a division between outsider and insider evaluations of ‘authenticity’. The *paréa* enthusiasts do not represent a marginalised group of people but have a good understanding of how outsiders view their music. They grow up in spaces that are subjected to very similar conditions to those of other Greeks on the mainland with regard to language, education, mass media and—taking this argument a little further—‘cultural globalisation’ (at least in the sense of the common ‘consumption’ of principally exogenous cultural products). Thus, it is probable that local musicians and enthusiasts may even shape their *parées* into an idealised image constituted by a greater and ‘hegemonic’¹⁵ romantic view over local, ‘pre-industrial’ and traditional musics.¹⁶

¹⁵ I use the term ‘hegemonic’ in accordance with Jane Cowan’s contemplations on Antonio Gramsci’s conception of the word (see Cowan 1990:11–4). With this word, I indicate the ideas that seem to be prevalent within a society, however not necessarily universally accepted by its members—or even by the majority of its members.

¹⁶ Also see Shannon’s (2007) article about how Sufi music performances in Syria were shaped at home by taking ‘feedback’ from the World Music activities of the genre.

So, do the aforementioned signs that relate to ‘authenticity’ have any impact on the local *paréa* enthusiasts’ judgement over the ‘archetypal’ *parées* I discussed in the previous chapter? I consider that they certainly do. However, I believe that the criteria for identifying the ‘archetypes’ cannot merely be reduced to a discussion about ‘authenticity’; in other words to a process of identifying the signs that correspond to nostalgic sights and practices. Rather, in accordance with my discussion in the previous chapter, the identification of archetypal *parées* is usually related to the processual—rather than the objectual—merits of a performance. These involve elements ranging from aesthetics to quite practical aspects related to putting on a good musical and social performance. Thus, it would be wrong to presume that this discussion on *paréa* performances is merely a discussion about nostalgic performances. And no matter how pedestrian this caveat may be, a researcher in Crete should constantly be reminding himself that local Cretan music enthusiasts and musicians do not just praise some kind of nostalgia god, setting up traditionally bound scenes in order to transfer themselves to the past or satisfy any potential visitors; regardless of whether this might possibly be the only worth of their performances for an outsider. However, they do acknowledge or even take credit and pride from the fact that by conducting what seems to them a naturalised practice, they are simultaneously performing acts that attain much admiration for their ‘authenticity’. And this, mostly outsider, view of the practices that contour this music, most certainly has an impact on the locals’ evaluation of their participatory musical tradition that eventually contributes towards considering the *paréa* as a naturalised, yet also a special and distinct, domain of musical performance.

3.4 ‘Decline’, ‘enculturation’ and ‘monumentalisation’ in practice

Rethemnos—the point of departure of this research—has a great share in the heritage of the Cretan musical tradition. Many *protomástores* were either from the town of Rethemnos or from the prefecture of Rethymnon: Stelios Foustalierakis (1911–1992) used to have a watchmaker’s shop in the old-town; Giannis Markogiannakis (1926–2017), who passed away while I was completing the

writing-up of this thesis, used to live a little further up from the town centre towards Tria Monastiria, while the *protomástoras* Antonis Papadakis (known as Kareklas, 1893–1980) was a highly active lyra player in the town’s musical life and in his later years he would perform in the coffee-shops of the now touristic Venetian harbour of Rethemnos. The instrument maker and legendary founder of the contemporary lyra, Manolis Stagakis (1913–2006) had his workshop in Rethemnos, and his namesake grandson successfully continues the family craft in his new premises near Rethemnos public hospital. During my Masters fieldwork in Crete in 2009 and in an interview with Ross Daly, he informed me that many of the first recording Rethemnian musicians were supported by a local entrepreneur named Eleftherios Gaganis who had a record shop in Rethemnos. According to Daly, that man had assisted a number of local musicians by covering their—significant for the time—expenses for travelling to Athens and recording.¹⁷ From a different perspective, popular belief holds that Rethemnos has traditionally been a *póli ton grammáton* (‘town of letters’—of higher education and spirit); a belief which, within the context of the local popular wisdom, explains the large number of musicians originating from the prefecture of Rethymnon and its locus, the town of Rethemnos.

Today, Rethemnos is one of the principal centres of Cretan music. I consider that in no other town, even in the much larger Cretan capital, the city of Heraklion, would any observer see such a density of posters announcing Cretan music nights. The town not only has a substantial infrastructure of *kéntra* as well as smaller live music venues such as *rakádika* and *kafenía* (‘coffee-houses’), but also exhibits a highly active musicality which often densely saturates the local soundscapes with Cretan tunes coming out of small establishments and houses. Some locals assert that this was not the case somewhere in the 1980s and 1990s: a Rethemnian man—and amateur lyra player—whom I met and spoke to during a music night in the early stages of my fieldwork, claimed that Rethemnos was more of a ‘rock

¹⁷ As I later discovered, the story of Eleftherios Gaganis with regard to his support for local musicians is widely known among many Cretan music enthusiasts in Rethemnos. I have not further researched this entrepreneur’s deeds related to the local musicianship, yet his contribution could perhaps be an interesting subject of study from the perspective of historical musicology.

town’—as he described it—during the early 1990s, with numerous bars and clubs abounding in the old town, most of which have now been replaced by traditional *rakádika* and *kafenía*. According to other—and I consider somewhat exaggerated—accounts, a Cretan music enthusiast in the late 1980s would have to travel as far as Athens to listen to Cretan music that was still greatly appreciated among the Cretan diaspora. Although I am not in a position to provide tangible evidence with regard to my interlocutors’ claims, it appears that Rethemnian society’s interest towards the local musical idiom has not been persistent in the relatively recent past, but has rather been renewed during recent decades.

Local enthusiasts of Cretan music and culture not only write books about the perils of modernity, but many of them also try to express their views through more practical ends that may have a more drastic effect in halting what they consider to be a decline of the local culture; specifically, by dispensing prescriptions for the ‘dissemination’ (*diádosi*) and ‘preservation’ (*diásosi*) of the local tradition through widely addressing endeavours. These endeavours often include the organisation of concerts that aspire to inculcate the listeners with what the organisers may consider the most significant elements of the Cretan musical heritage. Ultimately, they aspire to exhibit the most representative characteristics of a ‘timeless’ local culture in the hope that what the organisers consider to be ‘authentic’ Cretan music will remain in the consciousness of every Cretan and eventually contribute to the ‘preservation’ of the local musical and cultural identity. However, sometimes such efforts appear exaggerated or even foolish to many Rethemnians, especially to many of those enthusiasts of Cretan music who show great interest in the local musical tradition and its history.

The ‘correct’ reading of musical Cretanness represents a quite subjective evaluation that is based on varied readings of the signs that derive from old recordings and extra-musical information related to old performance practices. The organisers of such events often orchestrate performances in ways that exclude the most evident signs of modernity—such as modern and exogenous instruments including keyboards and drum kits, but with the exception of public address equipment that is necessary for such widely addressing events. However, Cretan music enthusiasts who attend such events may question these endeavours’ right to represent this genre’s heritage based on criteria that are common to the

evaluation of virtually every Cretan musical performance: does the laouto-player perform the original chord progression of a piece, or does he introduce new passing chords that change its overall feeling and groove? Also, does he perform an old-style *voúrtsa* accompaniment, or is he altering the dynamics of the rhythm, or even adopting the novelty of a *tsiftetéli*-like rhythmic pattern?¹⁸ Moreover, does the laouto player carry an old-style instrument or rather a modern one which, to some, sounds like a guitar?¹⁹ Does the lyra player carry a lyra whose shape meets the visual criteria for the ‘traditional’ Cretan lyra (as established by the aforementioned instrument maker, Manolis Stagakis)? Does the singer employ the ‘appropriate’ ornamentation, or does his singing resemble other musical genres

¹⁸ What I refer to as *tsiftetéli*-like *voúrtsa* is a novelty that is sometimes introduced in *syrtá* transforming the *syrtó* metre from a $2/4$ to an $8/8$ rhythmic pattern that resembles the urban Greek *tsiftetéli* dance rhythm.

¹⁹ The controversy between the advocates of the ‘modern’ and the old-style, ‘traditional’ laouto is quite an interesting and recurrent subject of debate among musicians and enthusiasts of the genre. What is referred to as the ‘modern laouto’ (*mondérno laóúto*) is a modified version of the older instrument, yet based on a typically smaller body—although size may vary greatly in ‘traditional’ laouta also. In the ‘traditional laouto’ (*paradosiakó laóúto*) the strings are tied on the bridge in a similar fashion to the classical guitar, the main difference being that the strings in the former are suspended from the bridge rather than lying on the bridge’s saddle nut. The bridge on the modern laouto is practically the same ball-string bridge that is common in acoustic guitars, making it easier to both set and adjust the intonation of each string. Another principal difference between the two instruments is that the modern laouto’s soundboard is usually covered in a relatively thick body finish—again similar to that of most acoustic guitars—while its traditional counterpart’s soundboard is usually covered by multiple layers of shellac resin, resulting in a much thinner finish (a process similar to what is referred to as ‘French polishing’, yet quite a lot more subtle). The differences in the timbre that each instrument produces are usually great and—depending on the instrument—easily distinguishable for a Cretan music enthusiast. Laouto players who perform on a modern instrument often admit that the traditional laouto can usually lend a better and more distinctive sound, yet they avoid it due to its relatively poor intonation and flexibility. The modern laouto should not be considered the heir of the older instrument, since for many it does not adequately achieve the desired timbre. Hence, it is highly unlikely that the traditional laouto is going to be replaced by any other instrument in the foreseeable future. It should be noted that many popular and contemporary laouto players perform on the traditional laouto, such as Giorgos Xylouris and Giorgos Manolakis.

and performance styles?²⁰ And ultimately, does the character of the performance pay any tribute to the original composers and performers, or else, does it meet the ‘appropriate’ ethos that is believed to correspond to the old recordings and performance practice of this music?

There are indeed many criteria that may correspond to ‘appropriate’ musical Cretanness and which are employed to evaluate the ‘authenticity’ of a musical performance—be it an ‘enculturation’ concert, a *glénda* or a *paréa*. A Cretan music enthusiast may adhere to a number of such criteria that eventually shape his opinion on what a ‘traditional’ performance should sound and look like. Certainly, not all enthusiasts share the same opinion and thus naturally some elements that may be subjectively considered as ‘inauthentic’ may escape the organisers’ attention. Yet, as long as a contemporary performance cannot be an immaculate representation of an erstwhile performance, some members of the audience will always be able to spot some elements of which they may not approve—and to roughly translate and paraphrase what the lyra player Alexandros Papadakis told me in a personal interview, ‘there are as many opinions about what this music should be, as there are Cretans who live on this planet’ (Papadakis 2012, my translation).

Herzfeld’s theme of the ‘monumentalisation’ of time is relevant in this discussion (Herzfeld 1991).²¹ The aim of the aforementioned ‘enculturation’

²⁰ As the well-known lyra player Manolis Margaritis (1936–2010) remarked during a personal interview in 2009: ‘(...) Cretan music has a revolutionary feeling [*antártiko*], the lively [*zontaní*] voice; not crying; Cretan music does not cry (...). The youngsters tend to like crying.’ (My translation). Here, Manolis refers to the impact of the urban Greek genre *laikó* on the contemporary Cretan musical performance.

²¹ In his discussion, Herzfeld (1991) juxtaposes the everyday ‘social time’ of the inhabitants of the old town of Rethemnos with the state-imposed ‘monumental time’ (hence the ‘monumentalisation’ of social time) through the preservation and gentrification of the buildings and infrastructure of the old town of Rethemnos. Herzfeld (1991) points out that in addition to the locals’ mistrust towards the state and its efforts which interfere in their everyday lives, the preservation of the old architecture brings anxiety to the people who inhabit the old town while their social spaces become monuments for visiting tourists and their houses no longer meet their social needs for work, housing and privacy. There is no state-imposed view of the local musical idiom, yet the ‘enculturation’ endeavours I discuss here also aspire to circumscribe and

enterprises is to preserve or even revive practices that are supposed to belong to an endangered—or even a lost—world, yet presumed to be inseparably connected to the local identity in the consciousness of many Rethemnians. What often passes unnoticed, however, is that many of the elements (such as specific dances, traditional costumes and re-enactments of traditional activities) included in these performances may have once and for all lost their connection with the locals' everyday life and, perhaps most importantly, have departed from the symbolic repository employed in everyday social life (see Bourdieu 1979 [1972]:114–5 for a relevant discussion). Hence, such endeavours inherently represent the gradual engendering of a ritualistic thinking—a ritual of identity—over practices which in the past ensued from either religious or social activities and expressions that are now naturally detached from contemporary society, yet presented as important or even venerable for whoever calls himself a Cretan. This is a process that deems Cretanness to be a set of signs that belong to the past and *potentially* thwarts the natural development of new signs that represent contemporary Cretanness.

Even more importantly, the attribution of such a great significance to old practices not only influences peoples' approach to local traditions that have virtually declined, but also to the living ones, such as that of *paréa* performances which are often viewed—as I have already discussed—as the 'authentic' expression of this island's musical tradition. In this way, although the *paréa* performances represent a living tradition, they are partly transformed to venerable signs of musical Cretanness. The 'enculturation' endeavours usually combine declined and living traditions in a scheme that abolishes their practical merits and retains their presentational²² visual and aural characteristics—in a fashion similar to the way early ethnographies would focus on the *opus operatum* rather than on the *modus operandi*. In other words, all the traditions that are

monumentalise the island's musical tradition—rather than to disseminate and preserve its creative dynamics.

²² I use the word 'presentational' as in 'related to a presentation' and in accordance with Turino's (2008) use of the word in his discussion on what he refers to as 'fields' of musical performance.

presumed to relate to the local identity become venerable as presentational spectacles through their staging in 'enculturation' endeavours.

Since such erstwhile but still important facets of the tradition retain their place in the definition of the local identity, their management falls in the hands of unofficial administrators (such as cultural associations and organisers of 'enculturation' events) who—within a greater and seemingly generally accepted 'preservation' scheme—unwittingly abolish the element of *time* (in the Bourdeusian sense I have discussed in more depth above) and, to an extent, *space*. Within the scope of this argument lie also the theoretical engendering and crystallisation of single and unified traditions referred to as 'Cretan music', 'Cretan dance', 'Cretan costume' and 'Cretan cuisine', which are supposed to unify disperse traditions of a relatively vast island with a long history. By following this logic, part of the local culture becomes a use of symbols for the symbols' sake. In other words, some elements of the local tradition are preserved just because they are considered important for preserving the local identity.

Ultimately, who holds the ties of this discourse about the past? In Herzfeld's (1991) analysis of the preservation project in Rethemnos old town, the archaeological office imposed an arbitrary image—as I believe it ensues from Herzfeld's narrations on the subject—of a preservation that would comply with the contemporary aesthetics of what a monument should be like. Although discomfort was the main theme of the relations between the house owners and the office, that was mostly due to petty injustice and lack of planning which caused frustration to many citizens. Eventually, most house owners agreed that *anapaléosi* (literally 'refurbishment', or 'reantiquating' according to Herzfeld (1991:14)) would beautify their town and help to make it an attraction for incoming tourists. Virtually, a similar process takes place with regard to traditional dresses, music, customs and other elements associated with culture, this time conducted by the very individuals who support and derive pride from them. Here, however, there is no archaeological office to hold the ties and present people with an 'objective truth'. This is rather a matter of quite subjective evaluations that are informed, as I have discussed in more detail above, by the experiences and opinions held by virtually every enthusiast of this music.

One of the questions I had decided to ask my relatively young interviewees was whether this, otherwise old, musical genre was adequate for them in terms of expressing their personal feelings through music. I always had in mind what Ross Daly had told me about the people whom he defined as traditionalists during our interview in 2009; that whoever is devoting his life and effort to performing a traditional music solely as a matter of preservation, is nothing but dumb. I am not certain whether I agree with that opinion, however what I am in a position to assert is that, at least most musicians I have encountered performing in accordance with the style of the older generations are not doing so for the sake of preservation. How is it then that one does not witness any great generation gap in the lineage of this music? How is it that young people like performing compositions written over a century ago? How do they identify themselves with the sentiment expressed in lyrics that are so old and may sometimes sound anachronistic? How do they not feel any desire to break with the sounds their forefathers before them played, sang and listened to? I consider that they actually do break with the past, yet in ways that are far more tacit and slow-paced than those that are usually encountered in contemporary international popular music: from the aforementioned group of young musicians performing in accordance with the style of the first commercial recordings, to other musicians who do not seem to care that much about the past, they are all taking the tradition a step forward—either by using elements from its rich musical history, or simply by moving on and introducing new sounds—keeping it fresh, both for themselves as well as for their audience.

3.5 Summary

Cherishing the past in the form of employing it as a reference for the evaluation of contemporary performances seems to represent an integral part of this musical tradition. Overall, I for one consider that this is an important characteristic of this tradition, and one which introduces a process that constantly re-filters the social and musical features of each era through which the local musicians enrich the Cretan musical soundscapes with up-to-date and reworked sounds that correspond to the needs of contemporary Cretan society; in other words, by

perceiving Cretan music as a single and timeless musical world, musicians rework the given material and enrich the genre with new sounds. This is not part of a revival scheme, but of the natural evolution of this musical genre: there has not been a single decade since the beginning of Cretan music's commercial recording history without the musicians of this genre contributing an important work that remains popular to this day as part of the Cretan musical tradition. The attention that Cretan music attracts today is a result of the unique dedication that the enthusiasts show for their musical tradition. During my fieldwork, I often heard outsiders admiring the dynamics of Cretan music, yet at the same time blaming many Cretan musicians for their 'stubbornness' and 'fixation' on preserving their local tradition. I believe that this 'stubbornness'—the love that many locals have for their cultural heritage, for this tradition's past—is one of the most important driving forces for the continuation of this genre through the contemporary world. Because embracing this musical genre is not only about enjoying its aural qualities, but also about appreciating the myths that hold it together and the society that gives birth to it and continues to practise it in time.

Chapter 4

The performance: a linear overview of the development of a *paréa* performance

The primary goal of this chapter is to provide an extensive description of *paréa* performances. In its course, I will offer a discussion and a presentation of several examples of *paréa* performances through which I will clarify what they are and construct a solid basis for further analysis. Through these examples, I not only aspire to establish a broader picture of the nature of ‘doing *paréa*’, but also to bring these performances to life through detailed narrations from personal *paréa* experiences. Although this chapter includes many aspects related to the preliminary stages of a *paréa* performance—such as invitations and seating arrangements—, it mainly focuses on the spatial and linear development of a *paréa* throughout its course. I do not aspire to illustrate the musical performance per se, but the generation of the social dynamics which engender the collective bonds that are eventually expressed through a musical performance. It is an endeavour towards illustrating how a *paréa* performance is carried out. In other words, how people get together, how they sit and move during a *paréa* as well as how they act within its limits.

I have thus far established that in its vernacular use, the word *paréa* refers to clusters of practices that may substantially vary. Hence, an exposition of the practice of doing *paréa* is challenging since it is potentially—or even perhaps inherently—biased towards the author’s personal experiences and perhaps even preferences developed while in the field. Also, a description of a practice unwittingly represents a transcription of a norm; an outline of what this practice is and is not. In other words, my personal experience in the island, through the

places I visited and the people I met, has greatly shaped my understanding of the *paréa* performance and subsequently my choices as regards its description. What if my description misses some facets of this multivocal practice and arbitrarily paints a distorted image of these performances?

This latter question conveys a three-faced problem that I am going to discuss in the following pages. Firstly, provided that I aspire to describe *parées* that are ‘musical’—on which, indeed, I have based virtually my whole fieldwork—, my approach is then unfair towards other ‘non-musical’ *parées* that may, as I have come to realise, comprise the bulk of experience for some people in Crete. An approach that focuses solely on the musical side of this social and collective performance seems incomplete, even from the perspective of a study that wittingly aspires to focus on the participatory musical performances in the island. Indeed, this study does not inherently promise to study the *paréa* through its wider meaning, however, how could I deliver a full description having overlooked such a great part of the experience of ‘doing *paréa*’?

For the preparation of this chapter, I have thoroughly considered the strategy for identifying, unravelling and presenting the practices associated with the *paréa* performance. Following my discussion from the second chapter, a division between ‘musical’ and ‘non-musical’ *parées* would be a theoretical construction that is not recognised by the local *paréa* participants and which I consider has no particular analytical value. However, inasmuch as this chapter aspires to describe and offer a presentation of cases of actual *paréa* performances, how can I provide an overview of the *paréa* experience without proceeding to a ‘musical’ and ‘non-musical’ categorisation?

The answer to this problem was eventually provided through carefully studying and contemplating my own fieldnotes from various *paréa* performances. In most cases, my interest—as expressed through my field notes—was focused on the building-up of a *paréa*, in other words, on the social dynamics engendering through the interaction of participants which would eventually form the grounds for a musical performance. The formation of a participatory performance requires something more than just music, and the means that promote musical expression in the context of a *paréa* are revealed through the study of the preliminary stages that pave the grounds for a musical performance: the ‘high spirits’ or *kéfi*, the

individuals' positions, and last but not least the food and drink constitute a common basis for most *parées*—the bulk of the *paréa* experience. The practices that develop within the context of a gathering and emphasise its collective goals constitute a common base for all 'musical' and 'non-musical' *parées*. Hence, this basis of social and collective activities represents the foundation for musical performances and should be comprehended before proceeding to any further analysis.

The second facet of the problem lies with my choice of a particular case of a *paréa* performance. Which *paréa* instance could embrace all the findings of my long-term fieldwork in the island? If that would not be just one instance, then perhaps would two or more instances suffice to encompass my discussion of *paréa* performances? I cannot be scientifically precise with regard to the description of *paréa* performances, at least at a level that would encompass all different occurrences in which one may take place. Also, since a *paréa* is an evolving practice, a scientific taxonomy would be superficial since it would aspire to fix a practice that is fluid and constantly follows developments in the society in which it dwells—a *modus operandi* rather than an *opus operatum*. Thus, I constantly and consciously try to avoid lending superficial tinges of 'scientific accuracy' to my discussions. Not only do I try to avoid it, but I personally disagree with opinions that generally treat this rich and evolving local musical tradition as a dead man on the verge of some 'urgent anthropological'¹ treatment without recognising its lively present and its potential for evolution. Thus, I try not to overgeneralise the importance of my findings and certainly not to inscribe a 'repertoire of rules' about *paréa* performances.

The *paréa* is a practice that has a beginning and an end and, naturally, its presentation should follow a linear development, including its warm-up, climax

¹ An urgent anthropological approach may be the result of exigencies, such as in cases where any sort of catastrophe threatens the continuity of a tradition, or even a civilisation. However, it often occurs, in the form of a hyperbole, that change per se—an inherent factor in the evolution of every social and cultural expression—is often perceived as a destructive force that calls for an urgent anthropological approach. As I discussed in the third chapter, much of the local discourse on Cretan music shares such an urgent anthropological approach on the genre. For an introductory discussion on 'urgent anthropology' see Nettl (2005:167).

and closing. Indeed, I embrace such a linear development for my description which is based on a particular case of a *paréa* performance. Simultaneously, I also try to fill any gaps in my description through examples from different *paréa* occasions that I consider appropriate for painting a greater picture of these performances. Although my experience of the *paréa* is not that of a seasoned local *paréa* enthusiast in terms of practical knowledge, I consider that both my remarks as an observer as well as my reflections as an apprentice participant and laouto player should be adequate for the presentation of this practice.

The third and last facet of the problem is crucial: in what way and for whom is the *paréa* important? What is the specific kind of performance that this chapter, and ultimately the whole thesis, aspires to approach? Regardless of how many meanings the word *paréa* may encompass, my examples here should be specific with regard to what I eventually aspire to describe. With regard to music, the word *paréa* indeed corresponds to participatory performances. However, do all musicians and music enthusiasts feel the same about the *paréa* with regard to music? Also, is it all participatory musical performances that locals refer to as *parées*? The answer cannot be definite since it lies with how each person chooses to use this word. However, through my long and immersive fieldwork in the island I have gradually come to sense a relatively common agreement with regard to the most prominent characteristics of a *paréa* performance.

The *paréa* that I aspire to study in this thesis bears no dedicated name to denote a characteristic kind of musical performance since, as I have established in the previous chapters, the word *paréa* may have many and varying meanings, even in its vernacular use. Yet the practice of doing *paréa*, as I have experienced it in Crete, is far more specific than the word that is employed to denote it. Thus, this chapter aspires to define it further than the vernacular language does through the exposition of a series of examples of *paréa* performances. The *paréa* that I have experienced among musicians and music enthusiasts during the years of my fieldwork has been presented to me as a 'place' for learning the music, for leisure, for musical performances, for arranging business (such as performances in *gléndia* and marriage celebrations), and also the 'place' where a musician accumulates momentum towards a professional career and learns how to behave in front of an audience. These are, I believe, some of the most important

characteristics of the *paréa* that raise it from being a ‘random’ participatory performance to the level of a ‘serious’ and fundamental institution for the genre of Cretan music as we know it. Thus, while for an outsider the *paréa* may be just a participatory performance—a random musical jamming between friends—, for many Cretan music enthusiasts and musicians, it is part of their continuous education about the music and the society with which they share their skills and creativity. It represents a traditionally structured ‘know-how’ with regard to musical and social engagement.

Although there is some agreement in the use of the word between many individuals who have been raised as musicians through these musical gatherings, others, mostly raised outside Crete or outside this musical context, in most cases do not have the same or any understanding of the vernacular and musical connotations of the word *paréa*. In one case during a personal interview, a professional Cretan instrumentalist who has become a well-respected musician of the genre but was born and raised in Athens, seemed unaware of the use of the word *paréa* in the context of a musical performance. Although he had been living in Rethemnos for quite a few years he could not, to my surprise, theorise upon the meaning of the word any further than citing it as ‘a group of friends’—what I have referred to as the common Greek definition of the word in the second chapter—while he could not think of it as having any specific meaning related to music. In the context of another personal interview with a renowned musician of Cretan music, again born and raised in Athens but of Cretan descent, he showed that he fully understood the vernacular meaning of the word but confessed that he could not easily assimilate in the performance context of a *paréa*. He had learned Cretan music through conservatoire lessons in Athens while his performance experience was mostly attained through *sinavlíá* performances. In our conversation he showed some good understanding and appreciation of the dynamics of the *paréa* and its value for the local musicians to whom he referred as—explicitly without contempt—*laikoí mousikoí* (‘folk musicians’). In both cases, my interlocutors’ approach to Cretan music was through what is commonly but vaguely referred to as the ‘gentrified’ or ‘art-music’ (*éntehno*)—as opposed to the ‘traditional’ (*paradosiakó*)—branch of this musical genre.

Although being born in Crete or not is far from being a solid criterion, it is more probable that a person raised on the island—and especially in places where Cretan music is most celebrated, such as in Rethemnos—will be aware of the local meaning of the word, whether associated with music or other forms of socialisation. This brings us to the reversal of the above cases: a musician who is not the least concerned with Cretan music but has grown up, say, in Rethemnos, will most probably be aware of the vernacular connotations that derive from the word *paréa*. However, would he employ it to describe participatory performances with reference to his own musical activities? Will he even use the word *paréa* as a generic term for a participatory musical performance? Through my experience, and although my discussion does not necessarily exclude other musical genres from the vernacular use of the word, I consider that its local meaning with regard to music is usually employed with reference to Cretan music—and perhaps what could vaguely be referred to as its most ‘traditional’ ramifications—than to any other musical genre.

The *paréa* which I am studying in this thesis is primarily a social participatory performance that works as a basis for many activities related to *musicising* (borrowing from Small 1998), from a performance that could resemble a rehearsal between musicians to a wider form of social interaction through music. It is indeed not a coincidence that in the vernacular language there is no separation between the different meanings of the word, even with regard to music: it appears that regardless of its great importance to the local musical expression, the *paréa* retains its unofficial participatory character while it denies any further or even ‘official’ institutionalisation as a musical performance ‘space’. And perhaps here lies the resolution of this third facet of the problem: it may be reached by simply saying that I am not transcribing an institution, but its contemporary meaning for the people who care about it and attribute it with a special worth for their musical activities as well as for the genre of Cretan music at large.

4.1 Case study: a *rakokázano*

As I was approaching the conclusion of my fieldwork, I considered that I should conduct some more minute audio-visual recordings of *parées* and so I was looking

to find some of what I considered to be good examples of such performances. As autumn was approaching, it was a good opportunity for attending *rakokázana* (s. *rakokázano*)—*rakí* distillation occasions that often make a very good opportunity for *paréa* performances. The grapes were already collected and were awaiting distillation in order to produce what is considered Crete's 'national' drink: *rakí* or *tsikoudiá*. Some producers initially use the grapes to produce wine before distilling them into *rakí*. Others prefer using the unprocessed produce for the distillation, claiming that it lends better quality to the final product. Regardless of the method, a *rakokázano* is more often than not an excuse for a celebration.

A *rakokázano*—or shorter *kazáni* (literally, boiler)—is literally the equipment necessary for the distillation of *rakí*, including the large boiler tank, the pipes through which the distilled product is cooled, and the fire chamber. The equipment is bulky and is usually fixed inside a specially designed space or accommodation that protects both the equipment and its operators from the elements (see Figure 4.1). Since the distillation of *rakí* takes place in autumn, the accommodation also serves as a storage space for the equipment for the rest of the year. It may be a small house in a field, a room as a section of a rural house or even a spacious barn. The space where the equipment resides is also itself referred to as a *rakokázano* or *kazáni*. The word may also express an activity as in 'we are going to do the *rakokázano* next week' describing both the distillation and the practices that surround it. Since a *rakokázano*, as with other activities related to agriculture, is often an excuse for conviviality, the organisers usually lay tables somewhere near the *kazáni* and treat their guests with food and drink.

To my experience, and due to my circle of friends and acquaintances, most *rakokázana* I have attended were also attended by musicians and people who would enjoy a musical performance. Although a musical performance does not always take place on such occasions, it is certainly often a desired addition depending on the participants and on whether the individuals or groups of individuals—or in some cases, whole villages as perceived in the form of a collective culture—attending the *rakokázano* are keen on participating in musical performances or just prefer talking and jesting around a table laid with food and drink. What is usually required for participation in either case is good spirits.



Figure 4.1. A *rakokázano* (November 2013).

It was late October when a friend invited me to a *rakokázano* organised by one of his cousins. It was about to take place in his matrilineal village where, as well as those invited, many of the villagers were also expected to attend. I did feel a little awkward about this prospect since it seemed that I would find myself among strangers, while my friend would possibly be too busy greeting and talking to acquaintances and relatives from his village, which he only rarely visited. Nevertheless, since it was my first invitation to a *rakokázano* for that year and the chances of being invited to another were growing slimmer towards the end of the distillation period, I accepted his invitation.

What I considered to be a peculiar aspect of this *rakokázano* was that it was to take place on a Sunday morning. Apparently, this was not such an odd time seeing as agricultural activities are often held in the morning. Even so, all such occasions I had participated in previously were held in the late evening. And so, running late for our attendance at the distillation, we set off an hour or so after noon for the

short trip to the village in my friend's car. Arriving there, I realised that the *rakokázano* was set in a storage space situated in the middle of the village, adjoining a building that looked like one of the village's largest and most popular coffee-houses. It was more like a side passage between the building and the neighbouring house, and although there was apparently sufficient space to fit the equipment and accommodate the distillation process, it seemed to me that it would be off-putting for the guests to be standing outdoors at that time of the year. On the street, right outside the entrance to the premises, the hosts had placed a rusty old barbeque stand where the meat was being roasted. Inside the area of the *rakokázano*, which was barely indoors, there were a couple of large pots filled with *piláfi*—a local speciality of rice boiled in meat stock that had apparently been prepared over a small fire in the premises.

We had his lyra and my laouto in my friend's car boot, however he suggested that we should not get them out before we had assessed what kind of people were going to be there. He was not sure whether there would be any individuals with whom he would enjoy playing music, and thus he preferred not to be too overt about us bringing over our instruments. Furthermore, he was uncertain as to the overriding atmosphere of the occasion, so in case we were not in the same mood we could take an early leave by making up some excuse—something that could prove rather more complicated had we taken our instruments out of hiding.

As we approached the premises I was pleased to see some familiar faces. I was already acquainted with our host who had, on multiple occasions, offered us his hospitality as a proprietor of a coffee-house in his village of dwelling at the southern edge of the prefecture. At that point I also realised that his father, an amiable old man—who was also present and hosting the *rakokázano* with his son—was celebrating his name day, a coincidence that was turning the gathering into something more than a *rakokázano*. In addition to our hosts, I was happy to see some more acquaintances. Although I had seldom been at my friend's matrilineal village and so was only familiar with my friend's grandparents, our hosts had invited some of their friends from the village where they lived with whom I had spent some days and nights of playing music and singing. To me, and to my friend also, it appeared that such a company would be a good starting point for the effervescence of a *kalí paréa* ('good *paréa*').

Nevertheless, and regardless of the better prospects I encountered, I indeed had very little to talk about with my acquaintances while most people around looked too busy with various preparations. By the time we arrived the distillation process had finished, and while some were occupied with roasting meat on the barbeque stand, the rest of the attendants were greeting and chatting to passers-by strolling up the road or towards us. This situation changed when we entered the adjacent coffee-house, where we found most of the guests now sitting around tables fixed together in two lines covering half the space of the premises. I was greatly relieved at the discovery of this space. Autumn is usually mild in Crete, however the weather was barely suitable for sitting outdoors for any prolonged period of time, let alone enjoying some food and drink or playing music.

The tables were lined with a usual tavern-style paper cloth and most of the cups and cutlery were plastic—something quite usual in crowded celebrations, from *rakokázana* to village *gléndia*. Apparently, the proprietor had not often the chance of hosting such a crowded clientele as to invest in such quantities of equipment for his establishment. Around the tables the guests were sitting in small clusters; some families with children, small groups of friends, and my friend's family who occupied half of the longest row of tables. Most of the attendants had already eaten, and it seemed that for many the occasion was moving towards its end. Indeed, shortly after we entered the *kafenío* ('coffee-house'), a few of the attendants had already left, leaving some empty seats behind for us to sit in. A couple of families who were still present were also expected to leave shortly after their children started complaining of being bored.

Although the occasion was evidently something between a name day party and a *rakokázano*, it was the former part that ultimately seemed to prevail since we were now sitting in the *kafenío*, away from the aura and odours of the *kazáni*. Our older host was slowly strolling up and down the rows of tables with his glass of wine, lifting it and cordially looking everyone in the eyes, expecting their wishes and thanking them for being there. For short intervals, he would occasionally stand and chat with some of his closest friends and relatives before resuming his walks around the tables. As people kept coming in he would repeat the circles for as long as needed. His son was also constantly preoccupied with the event, although not paying as much attention to formalities as his father. Rather, he was

making sure that everyone's carafes were full of wine and *rakí* while hurrying in and out of the premises bringing anything needed for the food arrangements. During a brief pause, he came to me and asked whether I had tried their freshly distilled *rakí*, only after my negative reply to rush me outside and back to the *kazáni* and pour me a glass out of the large glass containers. Later on, and especially after I had started playing my *laouto* with a couple of friends, he would often fill up my glass and jestingly protest that I was not drinking fast enough.

4.1.1 Invitations

A *paréa* may commence either through a spontaneous meeting between friends or in the form of a *kálesma*, i.e. an invitation as in the case of the *rakokázano*. Also, it may be an explicit invitation to a musical performance, or just a gathering, such as an invitation for coffee that may escalate into a musical performance, an occasion where one invites friends to his house or is hosting a celebration—such as a birthday celebration—, or even just a random meeting at an establishment.

I consider that it is significant to briefly examine some of the invitation patterns that I have encountered during my fieldwork. As I already mentioned in the introduction to this thesis, people often say that a 'good *paréa*' (*kalí paréa*, also see Dawe 2007b:105) occurs spontaneously. Here, however, I am not interested in demonstrating 'good *parées*', but rather occasions that are interesting with regard to the invitations that took place. Thus, my approach includes three cases of both spontaneous and organised *parées* from the simplest to the most complicated invitation patterns.

In the first example, three friends (left column of Figure 4.2), two musicians and their host met at the latter's house. One of the musicians had brought a lamb for slaughtering for an upcoming celebration. Since the musician neither had the experience nor the nerve for slaughtering the animal, he had asked his friend to do it. After their job was done, they decided that the intestines of the animal would better be consumed on the same evening, so each of the three participants called some of their friends whom they considered fitting for the company. Although the excuse at hand was that of cooking and eating the intestines, the two musicians instantly started looking for people suitable for playing some music together. The criteria for these invitations were either based on terms of friendship or on

whether the potential invitees would promote the individually perceived goals of the gathering—which indeed varied even in such a small gathering. The host invited one of his close friends who lived some one hundred metres from his house. He was not particularly interested in whether his new guest would contribute to the performance that had already started insofar as he—although enjoying both the company of his friends and their performance—was not especially eager to actively participate in the musical performance. The other two friends, who were aspiring to get a good musical performance started, worked in a

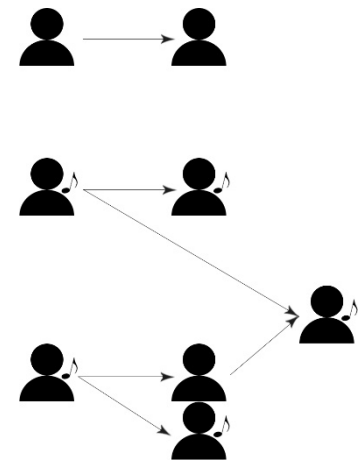


Figure 4.2. The host and the two musicians are depicted in the left column. The musicians are marked with a quaver.

different way with regard to their invitations. Although they would not arrange something big without the consent of their host—who would then have the burden of providing the essential perishables for the occasion—and provided that the goal was still to enjoy the relishes at hand without proceeding to any further preparations, a ‘good few’ (*lígoi kaloí*) would be enough for the occasion. A meticulous reading of the invitations reveals that each of the two musicians in the left column of Figure 4.2 not only arranged their invitations according to whether their invitees could play a musical instrument or just enjoy participating in a musical performance, but also according to their musical taste. Although both were good musicians and eager to play together, the former had what could be referred to as a more ‘gentrified’ (*éntehno*) taste for Cretan music that would often include elements of the old urban Greek genre of *rebetiko*, while the latter would best be described as ‘more traditional’ (*perisótero paradosiakós*, to use a phrase that is sometimes employed to characterise musicians). Thus, the former (the second figure in the left column of Figure 4.2) invited a musician who would usually enjoy and participate in both a *rebetiko* and a Cretan music performance, while the latter invited me (depicted as a musician in the sketch) and another friend who, although not a musician, was usually a very active participant favouring the ‘more traditional’ facet of the genre. At a later time, both that latter invitee and the first musician jointly invited yet another musician to the company.

This specific occasion did not work as the musicians intended—or at least, one of the musicians. About an hour after most of the participants had arrived—during which the initial participants had already been playing music—more and more of the individuals were consumed by discussions mostly concerned with organology and the local musical history—including matters that I have extensively discussed in the third chapter. Only one from the initial group of friends kept on playing, refusing to opt in on what to him seemed a pointless talk that only discouraged the participants from a musical performance. And indeed, both he and the host—who would often enjoy a good performance, yet was least interested in such minute details about music—grew rather bored over the next hour, which led to the inglorious and premature closure of the gathering.

There are indeed many cases where the musical performance does not build up to the expectations of—or least some of—the participants and dissolves due to dullness. Obviously, such a situation is quite the opposite of what is referred to as a *kali paréa*. This may happen because most of the participants may not enjoy music as much as talking or, perhaps in most cases, due to personal reasons that may prevent individuals from ‘reaching high spirits’ (*na vgoún stin órexi*). It is important to note that in this case, the participants instead of simply jesting and drinking in a manner that would unite the company—since, as I have already discussed, music is not necessarily the only bonding element in a *paréa*—, entered into some more serious discussions that thwarted the flow of the meeting as a collective experience.

For the next example, I will look into a more crowded, yet more ‘successful’, case of a *paréa* performance. Similarly to the previous example, the gathering also started with the encouragement and invitations of three individuals, however, as shown in Figure 4.3, it resulted in a much denser network of invitations. There was no specific reason for celebration behind this gathering and the whole arrangement took place at the premises of a friendly tavern located in a tourist resort near Rethemnos. Here the arrangements with regard to invitations were conducted by three friends and musicians who were eager to play music. Their ‘guests’ or, more appropriately since their role was not that of a host, the people they invited to take part, were in most cases either musicians or individuals that would enjoy and contribute to the musical performance. As in most *parées* I have

witnessed and participated in, it is not the skills or the good voice of a participant that make someone eligible to be invited to such performances. Regardless of whether a person plays or sings well—or even at all—, what will eventually be appreciated in one’s performance are one’s social skills, encouragement towards participation and contribution to the flow of a musical and social performance.

There is no need to further analyse the invitation patterns shown in Figure 4.3. The invitations were mostly directed towards musicians who eventually accounted for more than half of the people who attended that *paréa*. This was certainly an occasion that was intended to work towards a musical performance, even though not all the participants were invited according to a strict strategy of who would participate in the performance. Indeed, some of the participants were neither musicians nor necessarily the best company for playing music.

This was a ‘*kalí paréa*’ which also happened to be my first experience of such a performance in the island. It was not a very long performance (approximately four hours after the music started), yet due to the high number of lyra players, I could for the first time observe the exemplary structure in which the musicians alternated in the leading role of the lyra player (a matter I am going to further discuss in the sixth chapter). The *paréa* concluded relatively early since it took place on a Thursday night and many of the participants had to go to work in the following day. This first experience with the *paréa* performance was for me both a revelation and a source of great confusion. I could not understand either the nature of the performance or the social relations between the participants. Their performance sounded like a professional concert performance, not only with regard to each person’s individual skills—which were excellent—but also in relation to the virtually immaculate structure and coordination of the

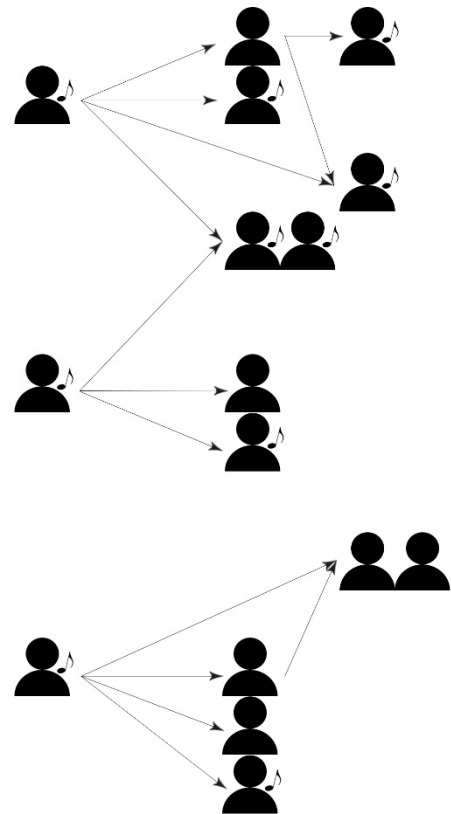


Figure 4.3. The three hosts are depicted in the left column. The musicians are marked with a quaver.

performance. I was certain that what I was experiencing could not only be a random gathering between friends that played some music together, but some kind of a band’s unofficial reunion. Only later did I realise that both their musical and social communication—and to an extent, their social relations too—were structured on the basis of a musical communication scheme expressed through the *paréa* practice.

The third sketch (Figure 4.4) depicts an invitation pattern from a name day celebration hosted at a household. This case is interesting since although the gathering was hosted by one person, it was organised and catered by three individuals who decided to celebrate their name day together. The pattern of invitations is shown in Figure 4.4 where the first figure in the second column represents the house host and the other two depict his co-celebrants. As shown in

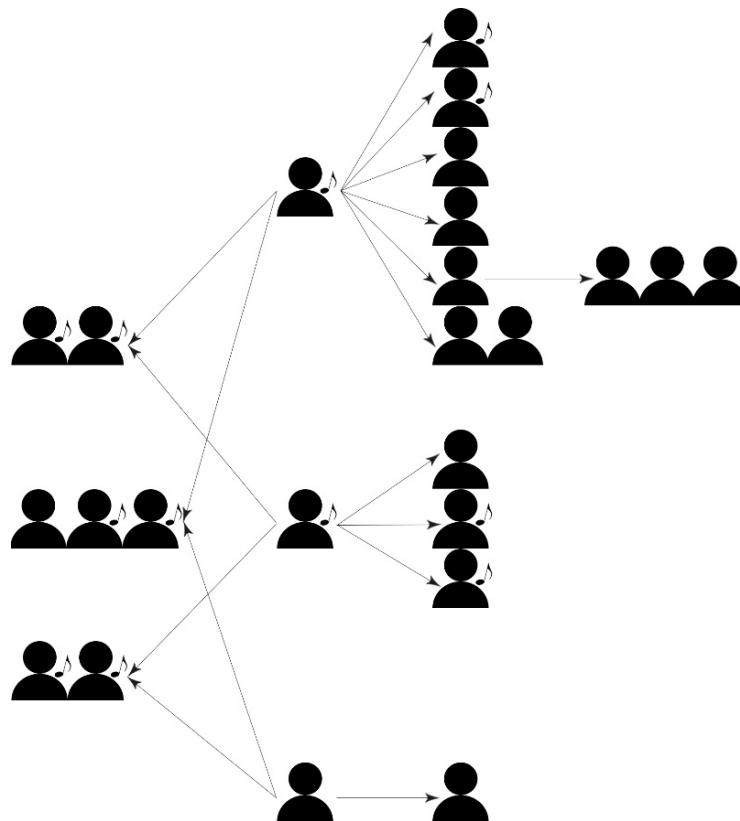


Figure 4.4. The name day celebration. The hosts are depicted as the three figures in the second column. The first column represents those guests that the hosts invited in common while the third column depicts each host’s personal invitations. One of the invitees in the third column took the liberty to proceed and invite yet three more individuals who are depicted in the fourth column. As in the previous sketches, the musicians are marked with a quaver.

the sketch, the host evidently felt more comfortable about inviting more guests. Yet the three celebrants were friends and shared a common circle of acquaintances and hence, although their invitations were for the most part commonly arranged, each of the celebrants was free to invite his own friends. However, as it appears in Figure 4.4, with the exception of the house host the other two celebrants were somewhat reluctant—or perhaps indifferent—towards inviting people with whom the former was not acquainted. Thus, the latter two only invited six of their personal acquaintances either in common or individually.

This example is slightly different from the previous ones since the goals sought to be achieved through this gathering were not confined within the scope of a musical performance. All three of the hosts were very keen *paréa* participants, however—with that being true especially for the house host—a name day celebration is often attended by one's circle of friends and perhaps also family rather than solely by the people he chooses for the purpose of playing music. Still, this was a very 'good *paréa*' which, unlike the previous examples, lasted until the early morning hours.

The invitation patterns not only reveal the structuring mechanism of a gathering—and potentially that of a *paréa* musical performance—but also unravel the implicit strategies employed either collectively or individually towards structuring the desired form of the gathering. Each case of a *paréa* performance has its own idiosyncrasies with regard to the invitation patterns since the participants are often eager to invite new people that make each *paréa* unique. I have often heard people complain that populous *parées* may turn out to be less enjoyable for the musicians and that *lígoi dialehtoi* ('few carefully chosen ones') are more than enough to accomplish a 'good *paréa*'. However, even the musicians who passionately hold such an opinion are often to be found participating in larger *parées* which they may later praise with nostalgia. I consider that the process through which people make decisions with regard to invitations—which seemed so strange to me at first—is an integral and crucial part of the formation of a *paréa* performance. However, the study on invitations also reveals that the interpersonal relations between the *paréa* participants are structured through the very performances in which they participate.

4.1.2 The table

As Cowan (1990) aptly notes, '[t]he *paréa* is situationally defined as all of those who share [the] table' (p. 155), where the '*paréa*' here is what could roughly be translated as a group—a company. The quotation is drawn from her description of an evening dance festivity in the village of Sohos in northern Greece in which the space was occupied by islands of tables corresponding to *paréa* formations. This is a different case from most *parées* I have witnessed in Crete: In Sohos the collective ground between all participants was the stage and the dance floor, where groups from the tables would move towards a collective performance. Since neither a stage nor a dance floor is common in the *paréa* performances I am studying in this thesis, the centre of the event is the table. Forming a single table is thus imperative for the generation of unity between the participants.

As Cowan (1990) continues with her description she notes that '[t]he major "objective"—if it may be so called—of the table as a social unit is "being together" (...). The practices of the table—ways of eating, drinking, talking, dancing—emphasize, as they help to create, this collectivity' (p. 155). I would further note that although the collectivity around a table is greatly dependent on the participants, the seating arrangements may either reinforce or discourage the collective character of the gathering. What seems to be imperative in all cases for keeping up with the 'objective' is to keep the *paréa* gathered together around a single table. It is interesting and sometimes even amusing to observe how participants make use of the available space and tables in order to emphasise this

spatial unity around a single table or row of adjoined tables. In some cases, the participants contrive smart and imaginative ways of keeping the attendants of a *paréa* together. A good example of such an original and strategic thinking is a *paréa* from a household birthday party in a village close to Rethemnos (Figure 4.5). The house was not a small one, yet not big enough for hosting large crowds. Initially, the hosts

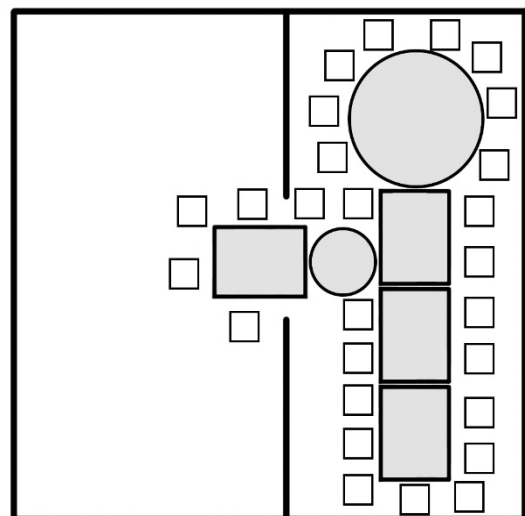


Figure 4.5. The birthday party at the village house.

had adjoined two small tables in a row to the living room's original large, circular wooden dining table. However, as often happens with such occurrences, the gathering ended up being far more crowded than initially expected. Soon the hosts had to add yet another table to the row, making use of all of the available space in the room.

Some of the seats, depicted as chairs in the middle and right of the sketch, were actually a bulky old-style wooden sofa moved against the wall in order to facilitate seating, an arrangement that made moving around the row of tables impossible. The arrangements would get even more dense as people kept on coming in later that night, compelling the hosts to make further seating arrangements. Since the room was full and dividing the seating areas into two spaces was unthinkable, they added another two tables, this time vertically to the original row of tables as shown in Figure 4.5. This new row literally blocked the hallway and fixed nearly all the participants in their seats. Even so, this was indeed a good, functioning solution for everyone except the musicians, who would often have to stay where they had initially sat and sometimes stay a considerable distance away from each other while playing.

Other cases may not be that 'smart' and appear quite 'natural'; however, virtually all populous *paréa* performances require some kind of strategic positioning. Figures 4.6, 4.7 and 4.8, all being rough depictions of seating arrangements from *paréa* performances, exhibit the same goal of bringing together the participants around a single table. Figure 4.6 depicts a *paréa* that took place in a village's association building and is the only one of the three where further

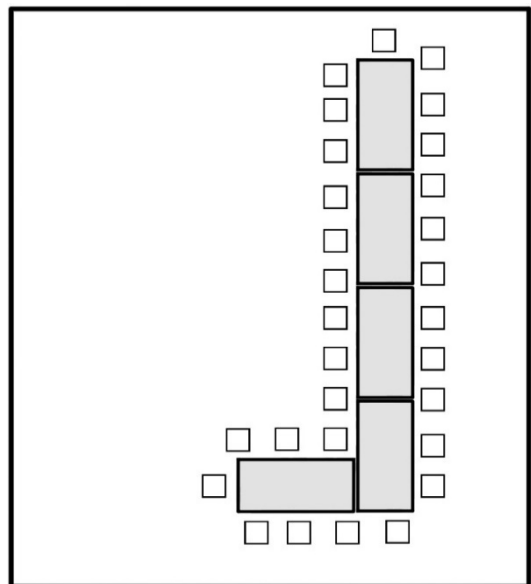


Figure 4.6. The village association building.

adjustment was needed to the original seating arrangements, similarly to the aforementioned narrative: as guests kept arriving during the night an extra table was needed, and since there was no more space available in the room to fit one in the same row, the participants placed it perpendicular to an end table.

Figures 4.7 and 4.8 represent *parées* that took place in establishments, the former in a coffee-house and the latter in a tourist resort restaurant near Rethemnos. Although it appears that there is nothing further to add with regard to the alignment of the tables into rows in these cases, they are important as they exemplify the spatial limits of a *paréa* in relation to the tables' positions.

In the case of the coffee-house (Figure 4.7), a group of friends from Rethemnos was invited for a *paréa* in a village at the southern edge of the prefecture of Rethymnon—our hosts' establishment from the *rakokázano* narrative. The hosts were a group of villagers, including the establishment's proprietors, who were, in my experience, constantly eager to participate in musical performances. While the proprietors arranged a row of tables that could fit every one of us, some regulars and passers-by—as well as some foreign tourists—came and sat at the remaining tables inside or outside the establishment. Several men who seemed to have no acquaintance

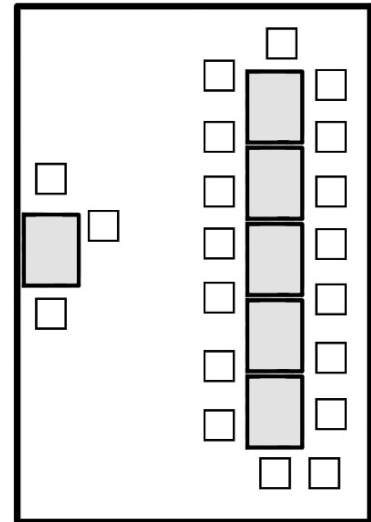


Figure 4.7. The *paréa* at the seaside village coffee-house. The exterior premises are not depicted in the sketch.

with any of the participants of our company sat at the one remaining table inside the premises. They did not look very eager to talk to us or even to each other and perhaps they were actually enjoying our musical performance. In general, the presence of other people or groups during a *paréa* is not always desired: on one similar occasion in a *rakádiko* the *paréa* participants were quite annoyed because a nearby company was making too much noise shouting at the top of their voices while our group was trying to play some music.

In most cases, including the aforementioned, the *paréa* is spatially defined and separated from the rest of the surrounding space and people, through the conceptual radius of the table row. I have never encountered *parées* taking place in more than one physical space; where by 'physical space' I mean a row of aligned tables or other seating arrangement. If there is any sort of communication to be established between the *paréa* participants and other attendants of an establishment, in most cases the latter will either join the *paréa* by physically moving to the table where it takes place (where, if welcome, the newcomers are

usually accepted in accordance with the saying *óloi oi kaloí horáne*, literally ‘all good [people] fit in’), or they remain in their position as ‘commenting spectators’ of the event. The latter case may be encountered on occasions where people may enjoy and utterly encourage the musical performance of a nearby *paréa*, yet they do not attempt to actively take part in it.

The next example in the tourist resort restaurant exemplifies a different kind of use of a separate table during a *paréa* performance (Figure 4.8). This *paréa* took place on the outdoor terrace of the establishment as part of a birthday party organised by a Cretan music enthusiast. He had not only invited his friends, most of them being musicians and Cretan music enthusiasts, but also some well-known musicians from the prefecture of Rethymnon. The occasion was indeed grandiose and carried on until the early morning hours. Although it was almost mid-August, the rest of the establishment was virtually empty for the majority of the *paréa* performance. The resort was quite popular, yet the establishment was mostly frequented by visitors who preferred quieter holidays; mostly British and German families and old couples who would often go back to their hotel rooms relatively early at night. It was not a coincidence that the celebrant organised his birthday party in this establishment: as well as being a good restaurant run by a hospitable proprietor, the latter would often warmly welcome or even invite people from my circle of acquaintances—including the celebrant—to his establishment, especially during the summer months, since our performances were a good attraction for tourists, even though that was not their explicit intention. In his turn, the proprietor would make sure that our table always had food and drinks for as many hours as we would stay there, at a—sometimes ridiculously—low price. That should not mean that we would have to play in order to get served, nor that the ‘transaction’ was explicitly pre-arranged. Rather, the proprietor enjoyed the music and offered the same level of hospitality even in many cases when there would be no other customers in the premises—and would perhaps have preferred to close his establishment and rest—, or in cases when we would not be in the mood for playing.

Returning to the birthday party, in my sketch in Figure 4.8 it is shown that apart from the long row of tables, there are another three tables, two of them vacant and one occupied by people from the *paréa*. In the beginning and during the late

evening that latter table was occupied mostly by the children of the families invited to the birthday party. Some hours later at night the children and their families had left, yet the table would remain occupied for most of the rest of the night. After the children left, some participants, including musicians, would briefly withdraw to that table to have a conversation or to relax from the intense performance while the music kept on going on the other side of the yard. The table was virtually outside the *paréa* activities, yet it remained a functional part of the greater picture of the performance: As Turino

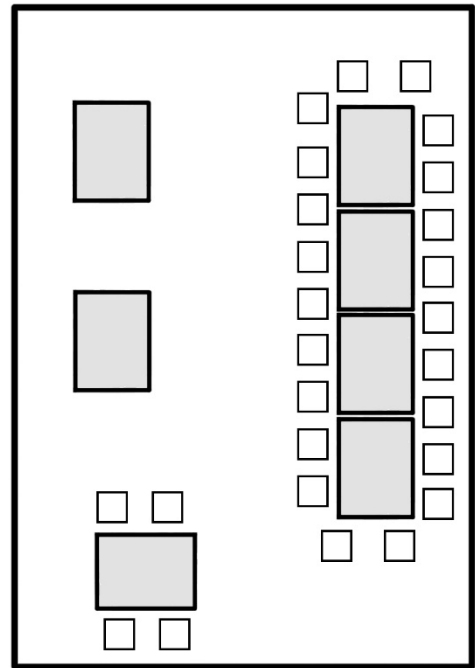


Figure 4.8. The birthday party at the restaurant.

(2008:185–6) notes through his approach to participatory ceremonies in Zimbabwe and the contra dance performances in the United States which I referred to in the second chapter, the participants in both cases structure the given spaces in order to accommodate both those partaking in the core of the performance as well as those who wish to stand back from it for shorter or longer periods of time. I fully agree with his claim that '[t]his structuring of social spaces allows for the fullest attendance at the event as a whole' (Turino 2008:186). Since not all participants can be in the same mood at any given moment or have equal levels of stamina or appetite for participation, the formation of spaces outside the core of the performance is imperative to 'protect' them from the constant, implicit or explicit, demands for participation. In the case of the ceremonies in Zimbabwe, the spaces are divided between 'inside the house' for those who participate and 'outside the house' for those who wish to withdraw from the intensity of the ceremony. In the United States, the participants may withdraw from the intensity of the performance and socialise in the hallway and the outdoors space by the entrance of the building where the performances are held.

Smaller *parées*, usually between friends, do not necessarily demand a space for withdrawal. However, in larger formations it appears that such a space is not only necessary, but also spontaneously created. Even in the case of a grandiose *paréa*



Figure 4.9. Adjoining tables to accommodate a *paréa* performance at a coffee-house (February 2012).

that took place in a coffee-house in the village of Melambes and where everyone seemed very disciplined about the performance and eager to participate, there was an unoccupied table in the most isolated corner of the premises where people would briefly sit and engage in conversations before resuming to the spatial core of the *paréa*.

I am going to revisit the *paréa* from the birthday party in subsequent pages with regard to the participants' positions. My squiggly sketches and notes from that *paréa* are scarce since, even for the few times I opened my notebook, I was instantly criticised for taking notes instead of taking part in the *paréa*. Still, this was in many respects one of the most interesting and entertaining *parées* in which I have ever participated.

Returning to the main narrative of the *rakokázano* occasion, Figure 4.10 depicts the basic layout of the space and seating arrangements. In order to facilitate this

specific gathering, the hosts and the owners of the coffee-house had changed the regular seating layout, which would be chairs and tables spread evenly around the available space of the premises. As shown in Figure 4.10, there were two separate rows of tables and a single table at the top of the sketch. In accordance with what I have discussed in the previous examples, indeed, that single table served as the space for those who briefly wished to withdraw from the *paréa*. What may however appear to be an odd arrangement is the setting of two separate rows

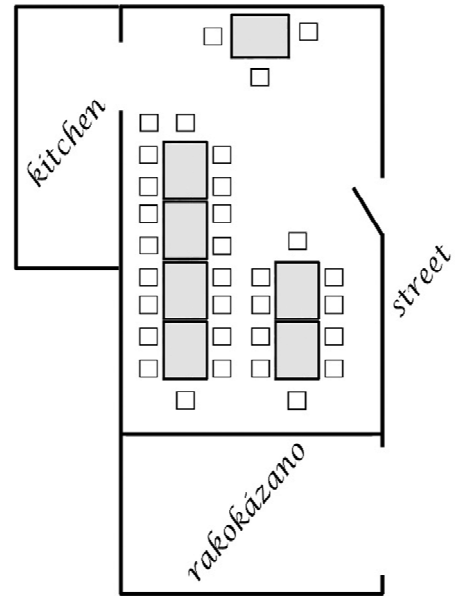


Figure 4.10. The *rakokázano*.

of tables for the guests. There is no need to examine the reasons for that; perhaps the arrangements were made haphazardly, or some attendants were already sitting before the organisers had the chance to make any table arrangements. The importance of those arrangements lies in the impact they had on the development of the *paréa*.

I consider that the placement of the tables in this *rakokázano* further articulates the use of the word *paréa* per se: both rows of tables were laid for treating the guests of the *rakokázano*, however only the longest row eventually accommodated the *paréa* performance. As for the shorter row, as well as being away from whatever was taking place in the central and longest row of tables, it was occupied by a couple of families with children who would hardly participate in terms of drinking and ultimately towards any potential creation of high spirits (*kéfi*). Indeed, most of those sitting at the shorter row would very soon leave while some individuals would eventually squeeze their seats in at the longest table, so leaving the former unoccupied for the remainder of the evening.

Thus the centre of the *paréa* performance was developed in the longest row of tables, and more specifically towards the end closer to the single table. It is important to note here that doing *paréa* is something more than just 'being together' with other people in a festivity: it requires some level of participation that escalates into some collective activity. It appears that the people who just attended the *rakokázano*, had some food, drinks and a chat in that shorter row of

tables and then left did not actually do *paréa*; they just attended the *rakokázano*. They may have had ‘a good time in the *rakokázano*’ but they did not ‘do *paréa* in the *rakokázano*’; one might similarly say that they had a good time in a *trapézi* (literally, ‘table’, here employed as the practice of giving or participating in a dinner), but not necessarily that they also did a *paréa*. Although it is quite abstract and subjective, the practice of doing *paréa* usually bears a discrete meaning distinguishing it from its encompassing activities, such as a *rakokázano*, a *trapézi*, a gathering in a coffee-house and so on.

Nevertheless, the table is not an inseparable element of a *paréa* performance. Its qualities are not preternatural, yet the objectives that it facilitates attribute it with a significant importance for a *paréa* performance. The table is virtually the central space for all activities concerning socialisation, food and drink. In all of the cases that I have experienced, the practices related to offering and, in the cases of restaurants and taverns, ordering of food are collective in the sense that the participants do not choose what they are going to eat, but rather what they are going to share. In most *parées*, the table is the space where food and drink are provided for the participants, ideally at all times, regardless of how many hours may have elapsed since the beginning of the performance. The table serves as a



Figure 4.11. An unusually set table at a *paréa* performance (September 2014).

reassurance that the participants may have everything they need to go on with their activities without worrying about food or drink, and thus be free of any physical discomfort that may be caused by the lack of them. It is also an expression of hospitality, a quality that is often normatively praised as one of the greatest traits of the Cretan culture. In all cases, however, the importance of the table as a spatial and seating arrangement may unravel its full potential as a prolific space only when the participants are eager to share a common goal towards a collective performance.

4.1.3 Interlude: drink and drinking culture

Indeed, 'a *paréa* needs a bottle of *tsikoudiá*' as I mentioned quoting an interlocutor in the second chapter. A good company may be the quintessence of a *kalí paréa* ('good *paréa*'), yet alcohol is more often than not one of the primary means of social bonding. Wine, *rakí* (or *tsikoudiá*) and beer are the most popular choices among *paréa* participants. Although cold beer is usually favoured during the warm summer months, wine and *rakí*, both products of local viticulture,² are preferred throughout the year.

In most *parées* that I have participated in in the prefecture of Rethymnon, locals seem to prefer the locally produced red draft wine. I agree with Steve Charters' (2006:51) view that the most prominent division in wine categorisation should not be that between red and white, but rather between what he terms 'bulk' and 'premium' wine. In *parées*, local, bulk varieties are generally and regardless of their quality preferred over bottled wine, either from Crete, Greece or abroad. The bulk wine that is commonly served in most *parées* is also sometimes referred to as *krasí tis paréas* ('*paréa* wine') with reference to wines that are less flavoured and thus may be consumed—usually along with food—in larger quantities and for longer periods without causing discomfort. In most cases, these wines are produced by locals who usually lack professional means for wine production and hence they often bear a tinge of oxidation which, in my opinion, greatly contributes

² Herzfeld's (1991) study on Rethemnian society and spaces during the 1980s reveals some interesting aspects of local viticulture. Also see Gefou-Madianou (1992) and Iossifides (1992) with regard to wine and its production in Greece.

to the distinctive taste of the drink. The term *krasí tis paréas* is also used by the *Enosis Pezón*, an agricultural union based in the prefecture of Heraklion, to describe its table wine products usually available in 'bag-in-box' casks.³

With regard to its consumption, alcohol often plays a primary role in socialisation, especially in *parées* that do not accommodate any musical performance. The most common kind of socialisation through alcohol consumption is the practice of 'drinking *koúpes*' (*píno koúpes*). 'Drinking *koúpes*' or simply '*koúpes*' was a practice unknown to me when I arrived in Crete and I still find it challenging with regard to its interpretation in different contexts. *Koúpes* is the plural form of *koúpa* which translates to 'mug', commonly the kind for drinking hot beverages. However, in the context of alcohol consumption in Crete, the word corresponds to the practice of drinking wine or other alcoholic beverages in a 'bottoms-up' style. Since this practice is usually held with larger than usual containers, such as water glasses, the term *koúpes* corresponds to the size of the container rather than to the actual use of mugs. Depending on the eagerness of the participants, a *koúpa* may be served in any size from a small wine glass to a 1.5-litre plastic water bottle container cut in half.

One may be able to find many references to *koúpes* on social media, in articles and online blogs. Some suggest that *koúpes* is a relatively recently introduced tradition and that it is the root of many evils, including automobile accidents, serious quarrels involving firearms and so on. However, whether it is an age-old tradition or not, the practice of drinking *koúpes* is now well established in Rethymnon and is part of the local culture. It is not practised in all *parées*, but drinking *koúpes* is still a common sight on many occasions where people engage in social activities which involve drinking, from *parées* and *gléndia* to night clubs.

In my experience, the basic patterns of drinking *koúpes* are three: the first and most common is the one-to-one 'contest'. The first person fills his glass and lifts it—usually to the height of his head—while calling one of the participants either by nodding or, most commonly, by saying something like '*páei?*' ('is it on?'). If the

³ 'The Party's Wine' according to the English translation that appears on the product's box or 'Wine of the Company' as it appears on their website's products list (see <http://www.pezaunion.gr>, accessed 5 May 2016).

latter accepts, the first person drinks the glassful and then fills it again before handing it to the second participant. It is often considered important that the quantity of alcohol offered to the second participant is a little less, so that the first cannot be 'accused' of giving the others more than he himself can take—or even of trying to get his co-drinkers drunk.

In this first pattern, the 'contest' ends with the second participant having drunk his glassful. But a common variation—which I term the second pattern here—occurs when the second participant—either because it is expected within the context of a company, or by taking the initiative to do so—repeats the challenge by finding yet another participant willing to keep the 'contest' going. This usually forms a chain where a series of people drink from the same glass until all those willing to drink have participated at least once. Finally, the third pattern involves a person drinking a glassful and then moving around a table—or a circle of dancers in some cases—treating each participant from his glass. This last of the aforementioned patterns is perhaps the most iconic as a token of social unity since virtually every participant drinks from the same glass—something that may be achieved through the second pattern but usually only in small groups. I have often seen this latter pattern taking place among small and large groups of people such as in the case of the *paréa* from the association building (Figure 4.6).

While I do not mean to contradict claims about the negative effects of alcohol consumption in large quantities, in my experience I have observed that *koúpes* are not just a way of getting drunk, especially when accompanied by food. Rather, the practice often sparks the appetite for socialisation and gradually generates euphoria and endurance to keep on playing and singing. This type of 'alcohol enforcement' expressed through *koúpes* has in most cases worked quite positively on me, especially on nights when I initially had no appetite for alcohol—or for a *paréa* either—and when I would otherwise not have been able to integrate well with the carousing atmosphere. Certainly each person's experience may be different and related to his drinking habits and knowledge of his limits. Besides, I consider that maintaining one's demeanour and dignity—while perhaps accompanied by excusable behavioural exaggerations—on such occasions is something that is expected in the local drinking culture.

Other than ‘getting drunk together’, *koúpes* is a practice that exhibits certain signs that appear to work towards building collective bonds during a *paréa* performance. There is indeed a competitive side to the practice of drinking *koúpes*; the ‘I’ll send him to bed’ (*tha ton xaplóso*) attitude which is often adopted in many people’s drinking style when drinking *koúpes*. However, without saying that this is not the case in some social circles, I have only rarely observed such behaviours in *parées* in which I have participated, where the practice of drinking *koúpes* in all but very few cases was expressed benevolently and with an emphasis on the collective nature of the gathering, rather than as a form of competition.

4.1.4 Movement

Returning to the *rakokázano*, my friend and I eventually sat at the longest row of tables, joining my friend’s family on the one side and some of our acquaintances and friends on the other. The main shared dishes consisted of large pots of *piláfi* and platters of roasted meat, which were served along with seasonal salad and some other starters. As I had already observed on many other occasions, roasted and boiled meat along with *piláfi* are the customary local dishes for many celebrations. Such dishes may not be preferred in small gatherings, but the hosts may more often than not choose to prepare them at relatively larger events where more guests are expected. Roasted or boiled meat and *piláfi* (or in the case of marriage celebrations, *gamopílafo*, literally ‘wedding *piláfi*’) are also traditionally offered in virtually every celebration following a marriage or christening. As well as being a traditional custom, it is also a relatively easy solution for preparing large quantities of food for such celebrations, which in most cases may host as many as five hundred guests or more.

While eating, I was glad to see some of our friends from Rethemnos arrive. Some people were chatting in small groups around the table, while others were often trying to reinforce the collective character of the gathering by jesting and implicitly inviting the guests into less private and perhaps ‘lighter’ talks. As I briefly discussed above, a serious discussion may thwart the generation of the required collective atmosphere between the attendants of a gathering and hence result in its premature closure. And indeed, in this case it seemed that some of the guests were already occupied with discussions about politics, a subject which, no

matter how interesting, often engages the participants in lengthy and usually quite intense discussions that tend to do nothing to encourage the attendants to take part in a collective activity. In this case, however, the guests did not have the chance to get over-involved in such discussions. This was partly achieved by our older host's circles around the tables, who would distract the interlocutors from their conversations, and also through my friend's initiative and eagerness for starting a musical performance that eventually attracted many of the participants' attention.

Through my discussion of seating arrangements and the accompanying sketches, I have thus far analysed the space where *parées* take place as if the participants are attached to the initial seating arrangements for the duration of the performance. The strategic arrangement of the space and seating area certainly provides the arena where the gatherings are held, without however restraining the participants from using the space creatively and moving around within its limits. The movement of individuals in space is a subject which I have been interested in since the beginning of my fieldwork. I have taken sketches of many occasions of how participants move within the space of a *paréa*, pointing out the changes which I considered crucial, along with a precise annotation of the time they took place so as to later compare my sketches with my sound recordings. As mentioned in the introduction to this thesis, later in my fieldwork I would set up my camera to shoot at one-minute intervals—in this way I could record up to three hours of the performance before the battery ran out—and then use video editing software to compose the results into a video accompanied by my sound recording of the occurrence; a practice which provided me with a very clear overview of how each participant moved and behaved during the performance.

Through the study of the participants' movement, my attention was drawn to 'proxemics', a term developed by the anthropologist Edward Hall.⁴ His writings

⁴ See Hall (1963; 1966) for an introduction to proxemics. The term involves matters related to the use of space by human beings—although his study is greatly informed by the spatial behaviour of different animal species. I consider that Hall's studies should not be detached from their era and most importantly from Hall's perspective with regard to architectural planning of public, social, work and private spaces for human beings. His writings are contemporaneous with the gradual

provided my approach with very interesting insights into the study of space, although in many respects I encountered many difficulties in applying many of his contemplations to *paréa* performance. For instance, in many cases Hall studies spatial and seating arrangements that are usually organised by a third party (architectural planning institutions etc.), whereas in my case seating arrangements are malleable and are made by the people involved in the gathering. However, as ensues from his discussions, spatial and seating arrangements may invite or avert socialisation;⁵ arrangements which he refers to with the terms ‘sociopetal’ and ‘sociofugal’ respectively, and which concern even the most regularly ignored aspects of human socialisation: in his own words, ‘[m]any have had the experience of getting a room nicely arranged, only to find that conversation was impossible if the chairs were left nicely arranged’ (Hall 1966:104).

In most cases of *paréa* performances, the initial arrangements are usually easily adapted to the needs of the participants. Individuals are not attached to their seats, and most of them are eager to move in space in order to socialise with other individuals or groups of people. When the distance is greater than two seats apart, and especially at longer tables, an individual often has to change his position in space in order to speak with other participants. Although some talking and jesting can take place at greater distances, it is usually harder for the participants to socialise or play music without changing their position in the given space. Since participants naturally tend to form smaller companies that resemble small islands of seats around the table, the reasons that trigger any positional changes are either based on personal or collective goals: the former may represent some personal affinity to a friend or group of people who may be sitting in a different position at the table, while the latter may be shaped by certain more collective endeavours such as participating in a musical performance.

decline of architectural modernism during the 1960s, whose collapse is considered to have been sealed with the demolition of the Pruitt-Igoe building complex in 1972.

⁵ See for instance Hall’s analysis of a hospital’s public seating arrangements, where he suggests that certain seating layouts invite or avert socialisation (Hall 1966:101–5).

For instance, in the case of the aforementioned *paréa* from the village association building (Figure 4.6), the participants were focused on drinking together and hence most of the movement in space was associated with the practice of drinking *kouípes*, inviting each other to drink even from as far away as from one far end of the table row to the other. Although that occasion was not what I have previously referred to as a ‘good *paréa*’, at least in terms of a musical performance—since very few people were eager to participate—it appeared to me that most of the attendants very much enjoyed their participation in these drinking patterns. This form of drinking socialisation continued throughout the course of the *paréa*, and unlike the case of the separate row of tables in the *rakokázano*, the participants here did indeed do *paréa*, yet this time the principal means of *paréa* collectivity was drinking.

The participants’ position, either accomplished through the arrangement of the space where the performance takes place or through their movement in the given space, can either enhance or undermine the potential collectivity that may be accomplished during the course of a *paréa* performance. In many cases, during the climaxes of a musical performance, I have seen participants move towards the musicians and hang onto each other in rows while singing along to the verses of a piece at the top of their voices.⁶ The most interesting case of movement within the space of a *paréa* performance that I encountered during my fieldwork was in the aforementioned example from the birthday party at a restaurant (Figure 4.8). The example perhaps overstates the movement of the participants in space since I have seldom experienced any other instances presenting such rapid changes in the participants’ positions as in this one. Yet the example is accurate and describes a true experience, while it also serves well in providing a view of how participants move within and make use of the given space during a *paréa* performance.

⁶ It is worth noting that this practice can also be encountered during staged performances where some attendants may stand in front of the stage and the musicians while singing, clapping, requesting specific tunes and, more often than not, treating the players to glasses of wine. This practice brings many of the *paréa* qualities into play for as long as the participants seek to stay close and interact with the musicians, while obscuring the stage from the rest of the audience.

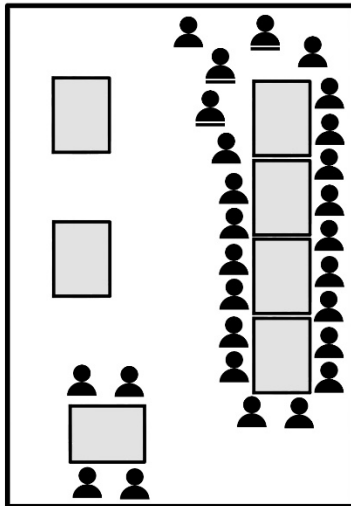


Figure 4.12. The performing musicians are depicted as the three underlined figures at the top of the sketch.

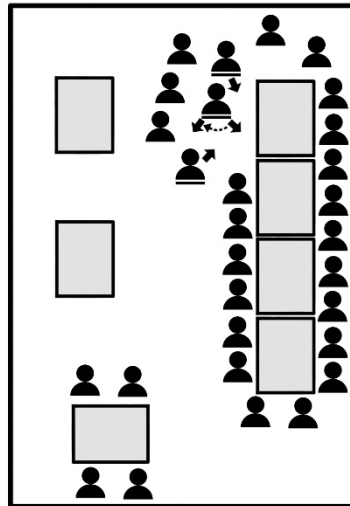


Figure 4.13. The arrows indicate in which direction the musicians were headed. The clockwise turn performed by the lyra player is shown by the curved arrow.

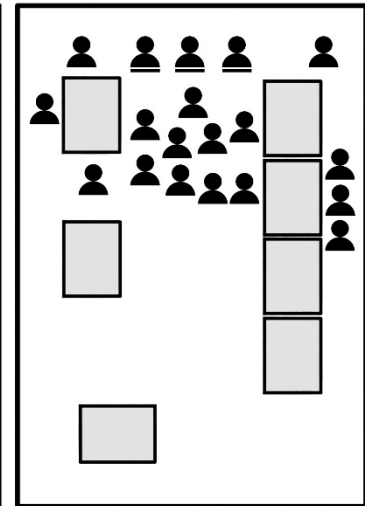


Figure 4.14. The last phase of the performance where its centre is clearly displaced towards the space between the tables.

As I have already mentioned, the host of the birthday party had invited many local musicians. Yet many of the attendants were not very eager to participate in the musical performance. Once the music started, the centre of the performance was situated at the top of the table near where the host was sitting. As shown in Figure 4.12, the first musicians to commence the performance moved back their seats from the table and started playing facing towards the table and the guests. Some of the most eager participants, including several musicians, came and sat near and behind them, encouraging and singing along with them.

Some one hour after the music had started (Figure 4.13), and while a second lyra player was now playing, I noticed an important turn in the participants' position that was a result of a gesture made by the lyra player. From the very beginning, more and more of those who were interested in the performance started gathering around the instrumentalists. Yet it gradually became clear that apart from those who had already moved nearer to the players, virtually everyone else was not paying much attention to the performance—including some of those who had already been occupying the chairs closer to the instrumentalists before the music started. The lyra and the laouto players had so far—naturally—been facing towards the table, yet it gradually became clear that those who were interested in the music were not sitting at the table, but rather standing or sitting

near and behind the musicians. The gesture was a simple one and, I believe, the single move that overturned the seating arrangements and changed the flow of the gathering from that point on: the lyra player abruptly—and perhaps ostentatiously—stopped his performance, and while the laouta kept on playing he made a ninety degree clockwise turn, now facing towards the participants who had gathered around him (Figure 4.13). Following this gesture, the *paréa* started forming up near the table rather than at the table. Figure 4.14 roughly shows what the distribution of participants looked like some four hours after the beginning of the performance. Most of the guests who were not interested in the music had left, yet the remaining participants did not return to the table. Rather, they gradually moved towards the instrumentalists and sat in a manner quite reminiscent of a staged performance.

In the case of the main narrative, the *rakokázano*, the movement was far less dramatic and it only involved the choice of the side of table where the core of the musical performance would take place; this was eventually the side where the musicians were already sitting. During the almost four hours of musical performance, more and more people gradually moved their seats towards that end of the table or just sat somewhere near or behind the instrumentalists (Figure 4.15). Such movement usually occurs on occasions where the rows of tables are longer and participation is difficult to achieve. Naturally, in small *parées* (usually three to six people) no movement is required in order to facilitate participation.

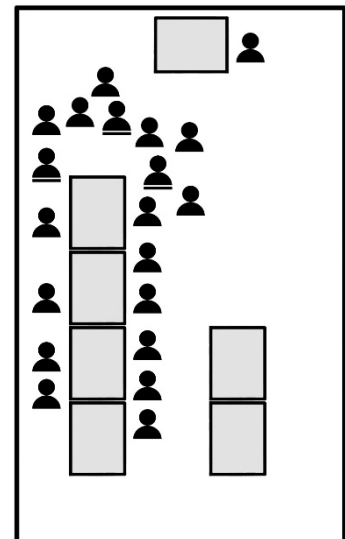


Figure 4.15. The *rakokázano paréa* some four hours after the beginning of the performance.

This discussion does not indicate that the participants in large *parées* cannot participate unless they adjust their position. In the aforementioned case of a *paréa* from the village of Melambes, virtually all of the participants remained in their seats paying attention to the performance and participating by singing in the *tutti*⁷

⁷ Expect for being a common term for ‘all together’, *tutti* is an Italian word that is also sometimes employed in the Greek language with reference to musical performance (see Baud-Bovy 2006).

and, if confident enough, in the solo parts (see chapter six for further details). This level of discipline is usually uncommon in most *parées*, and perhaps it is one of the traits that exalt the *melambianí paréa* to its level as an archetypal *paréa*, as discussed in the second chapter.

The virtual radius of a table may sometimes prove a quite imprecise means for denoting the boundaries of a *paréa* performance. Yet in most cases the table remains at the centre of the performance, whether located to one side or the other. Having established the importance of the table and examined how participants use the space that surrounds it, I consider that it is necessary to take a step further in the overall examination of the participants' behaviour during a *paréa* performance. I have thus far examined the positions of the participants as if they consist of groups of individuals who perpetually adhere to collective practices while others remain silent, absorbed in discussions or indifferent to the collective practices that take place during a *paréa* performance. However, as I have discussed above, many eager participants need to step back from the performance while even the most introvert or indifferent attendants of the *paréa* may, even momentarily, find themselves actively participating—most commonly through singing—in the musical performance.

I consider that the participants' actions in the context of a *paréa* performance may be delineated with the assumption of three virtual circles, which categorise participants according to their level of participation.⁸ In the first circle, I include all of the individuals who actively contribute to the musical performance—which is usually the primary means bringing the participants together into a collective practice. This comprises the instrumentalists, the singers—both regardless of their skills—as well as those who actively engage with the performance by supporting it with gestures such as treating the musicians with wine or food while they play, requesting specific songs, or simply showing deep interest in the musical performance by standing near the performers and listening closely to what they play. In the second circle I put participants who do not actively

⁸ This model is influenced by Turino's (2008) approach to the separation of physical spaces in participatory musical performances as discussed above, and is informed by Hall (1963; 1966) and Slobin & Titon (1992).

contribute, yet do not distant themselves from the collective performance. They may pay attention to the core of the performance, yet they do not actively take part in it. Sometimes they may briefly chat with the people sitting next to them or comment on aspects of the performance. They may sing in the *tutti* parts, especially if they like a specific tune or *mantináda*, yet they do not feel any 'obligation' to contribute in building or sustaining the collective unity emanating from the performance. Finally, the third circle includes all the participants who are virtually 'outside' of the performance. They do not care for the music or any parallel communal social activities taking place in the *paréa* (such as collective drinking patterns). They usually engage in discussions or even talk on their phones. The individuals in this circle are also usually spatially remote from the centre of the *paréa* performance.

As I have already mentioned, the significance of this virtual categorisation is found in the movement of the participants between the circles. Apart from the cases of some populous *paréa* occasions where people with absolutely no interest in music may be present, in most *paréa* performances the participants constantly move between the aforementioned circles. Tacitly performed changes may involve individuals who stop their discussions in order to pay attention and actively participate in the music, thus shifting their position from the second to the first circle. However, a change may involve, say, a lyra player who after playing for some half an hour then feels that he needs to briefly 'escape' from the demanding atmosphere of the performance and sit in silence or have a chat with a friend, thus moving from the first to the third circle.

There is no particular theoretical value in mapping the movements of each participant between the circles, perhaps in a similar fashion as for the participants' positions and movement in space in the aforementioned birthday party (Figures 4.12, 4.13 and 4.14). However, using the three circles provides a wider perspective on how the participants act during a *paréa* performance. The eagerness of some individuals to stay in the first circle for longer periods of time identifies those participants who are commonly referred to as *meraklίδes*, a term which I have already briefly explained in the introduction and which I will further discuss in the next chapter. Also, the 'movement' towards and adherence of the participants of a *paréa* to the first circle is virtually an unmistakable criterion for evaluating

whether a *paréa* performance is ‘good’ (a *kalí paréa*, as I referred to above). Wider participation is one of the most prominent features of a ‘good’ *paréa* performance, as I will also discuss further in the next chapter. Regardless of how well the musicians may perform during a *paréa* performance, neither they nor the rest of the participants will consider it a ‘good’ one as long as the vast majority of the attendants remain indifferent towards the performance.

4.1.5 Closure and *kantáda*

When does a *paréa* end? The particular one in the main narrative, the *rakokázano*, gradually ‘disintegrated’ some hours after dusk. As usually happens on such occasions, the individuals performing and participating in the musical performance were the last to leave the coffee-house. As fewer and fewer attendants participated in the performance, it silently came to an end as the remaining guests left the coffee-house while jesting, chatting with new acquaintances, and making promises to meet at another *paréa* while expressing how much they cherished the time they had spent together.

This kind of linear ending is not common in all *parées*. A group may for any reason stop ‘doing’ *paréa* in one place and move together to another. That was the case of a *paréa* performance where the same company changed the space of the performance a number of times throughout its course. In total, the performance lasted from nine o’ clock in the evening until one o’ clock in the afternoon of the next day—some sixteen hours, aggregating to the longest *paréa* I have ever participated in. The individuals with whom I participated in that *paréa* recall it as a single *paréa*, yet they also referred to its stages—in other words, the performances carried out in different places—as distinct *paréa* performances. I employ this ambiguity in my description below since I do not consider that it is difficult to understand these subtle differences in the use of the word.

The *paréa* started in a coffee-house in a seaside village in southern Crete to which several friends from Rethemnos—including myself—were invited to do a *paréa* with some local Cretan music enthusiasts. Most of the attendants were very keen to participate in a musical performance which had already started by the time we entered the premises of the coffee-house. Although the *paréa* was going well and spirits were high, a little after midnight—some three hours after we

arrived—some of our acquaintances from the village asked us whether we would be willing to leave the coffee-house and pay a surprise visit and *kantáda* to a friend who had his birthday on the day that had just passed. By performing a *kantáda*, the participants referred to the act of visiting their friend’s house and waking him up to the sound of music while performing on his doorstep. Customarily, the host would then be ‘obliged’ to accept his visitors and treat them with whatever food and drinks he had available.

We indeed assembled a convoy of five cars following our local acquaintances and arrived at a country house on the outskirts of the village. There we all walked towards the house door playing and singing some of the most distinct songs from the local repertory that usually accompanies *kantáda* performances.⁹ Some of the well-known verses were imploring the house host to wake up and open the door:

<p>Εύπνα και στοίχημα βάλω κι αν δεν ξυπνήσεις χάνω κι αν μου το κάνεις τούτο να καλιά χω να πεθάνω.</p>	<p>Wake up, ‘cause I’ve placed a bet, and if you won’t I lose; and if you’d do that to me, I’d rather die.¹⁰</p>
--	---

and,

<p>Τ’ αηδόνια της ανατολής και τα πουλιά τση δύσης ήρθανε και σου κελαηδούν και πρέπει να ξυπνήσεις.</p>	<p>The nightingales of the east and the birds of the west; have come singing for you and you have to wake up.</p>
--	---

The man and his wife indeed woke up and opened the door. He showed us in to a small building just opposite his house door where the whole space was occupied by a long table and chairs. I had already encountered such a space before in a village near the town of Rethemnos, where the house host had reserved a small building just opposite his house door for carrying out *parées*—a single-room building which many *paréa* enthusiasts referred to as *o naós tis paréas*; ‘the *paréa*

⁹ Some very good examples of such pieces are *Xípna kai stíhima ‘vala* (Wake up, ‘cause I’ve placed a bet’) and *Mian óra móno héromai* (‘I’m only happy when’) from the album *Parées tis Kritis: Melambes* (‘Parées in Crete: Melambes’, see Discography).

¹⁰ In all *mantináda* examples cited in this thesis, I have chosen to insert a semicolon as a separator between their two verses.

temple'. We entered the room singing and, after pausing briefly to greet our host, we took up our performance right where we had left off in the coffee-house. Our host first brought some glasses and carafes of *rakí* and wine. He lit a fire and with the help of his wife he started bringing in trays of boiled and roasted meat—apparently what was left from his birthday celebration—along with bowls of freshly prepared salad.

The man did not look very happy at first for having to wake up and, still half-asleep, endure a horde of high-spirited revellers. Even so, the established norms of hospitality restrained him from doing anything other than taking us in. A little later he started showing signs that he was indeed enjoying the company by actively participating in singing along with the rest of us. This second *paréa* was as intense as the first one and carried on until early in the morning. A little before dawn, our host had some fresh fish delivered which he cooked for us in the fireplace. After we had eaten for a second time, and with the sun rising, we decided to get back to the village to have some coffee and continue with our performance.

As we entered the village we realised that no establishment was open that early in the morning, so we headed to one of the participants' houses where we were treated with some *rakí* and peanuts. We did not play any music there and the atmosphere was getting dull by the end of the hour we stayed there, drinking and chatting, until someone eventually suggested going back to the coffee-house where we had all commenced our tour on the previous night. Indeed the establishment had opened by that time and, after we had some strong coffee, some of us picked up our instruments and started playing while trying to keep the spirits up. Those who had finished drinking their coffee ordered *rakí* while the proprietors cooked fresh fish for us which had just arrived from the village's harbour. Not everyone participated in that third *paréa*, but the spirits of those who did were high enough to keep it going for the next few hours.

Some people recall that many *parées* and *gléndia* in the past would last for several days and nights. Ross Daly, who arrived in Crete in the early 1970s, propounds that these multi-day celebrations gradually faded out of local custom at some point in the beginning of the 1980s (Daly 2009). An old laouto player I had the chance to interview in a village near Rethemnos shared some of his anecdotes about a series of such celebrations where, upon leaving his house to play at some

celebration, he would return no earlier than a fortnight later after he had also played in three unscheduled and consecutive multi-day *gléndia*, making his family back home—whom he could not contact due to the lack of telephones—worried sick. As he claimed, he literally had to escape from the hospitality of his latter hosts who expected him to stay for several more days. Also, according to a narrative that I have been told by the *protomástoras* and laouto player Giannis Markogiannakis (Figure 4.16), it appears that Andreas Rodinos, the legendary young Rethemnian lyra player who died of pleurisy in 1934, saw his health irremediably deteriorate during one such multi-day celebration in southern Crete (Markogiannakis 2009).

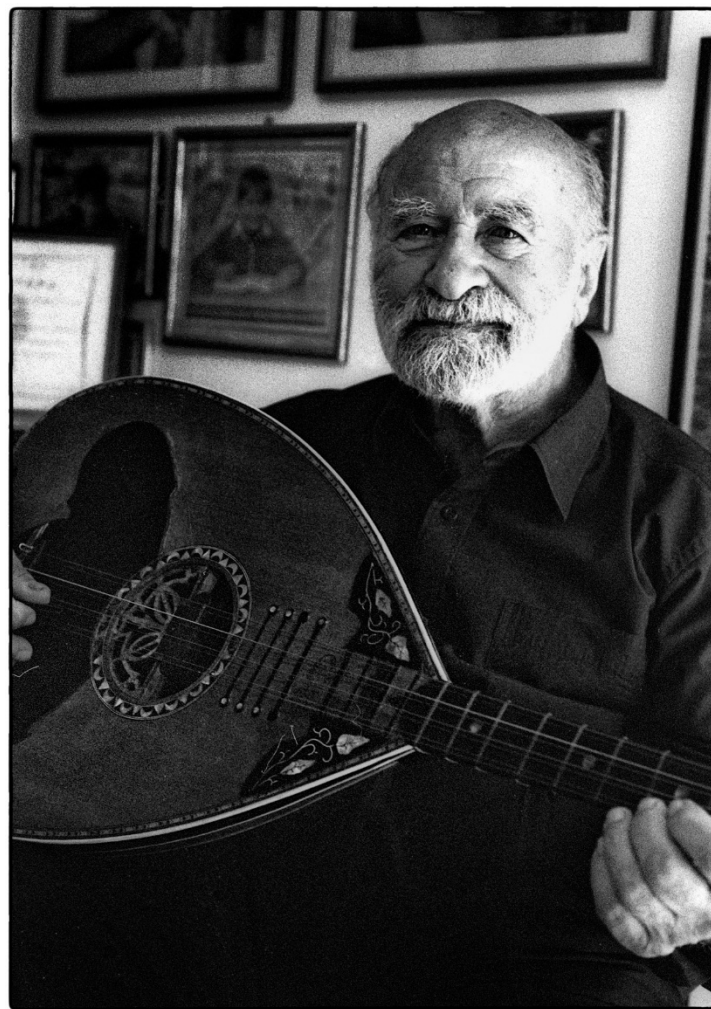


Figure 4.16. Giannis Markogiannakis in 2013

Despite the fact that such multi-day *gléndia* are nowadays scarce or even extinct from contemporary customs, there are indeed instances where a *paréa* may take longer than a ‘normal night out’. The points that mark the beginning and end of such a *paréa* are unclear and sometimes subjective: as I briefly questioned above,

did we participate in one *paréa* or three? I consider that the answer depends on how a person may refer to the event. While recalling the aforementioned *paréa* with my friends with whom I participated, we would talk about *the paréa* as a whole, yet we would also distinguish its stages as different *parées*—and a *kantáda*. This example reflects the potential of the word to denote both the practice of a performance by a group of people—which was virtually a continuous musical performance—as well as the structure of the performance which is bound by the given space in which it takes place.

I consider that it is important to take a closer look at the *kantáda*, which holds a distinct place on the map of the local and contemporary musical performance practice for Cretan music—yet I believe that it should be considered and approached as a ramification of the *paréa* performance; a form of ‘mobile *paréa*’. The *kantáda* is a form of participatory performance where the performance space is much less rigidly defined, and consequently the locals clearly distinguish it from the domain of the *paréa* performance. My study in this chapter is focused on the linear and spatial development of the *paréa* performance, and the case of the *kantáda*—however similar it may be to the *paréa* as a participatory performance—varies widely from my central discussion on time and space. A brief overview of the *kantáda* will conclude the descriptive endeavour of this chapter and round up my arguments and exposition of the participatory performances in Crete.

Most commonly, the *kantáda* is a performance that takes place while the participants stand or walk along the streets of a village or town, or when briefly visiting a house. The form of *kantáda* I described above only involved a surprise visit to a house late at night—a persuasive request on behalf of the visitors to be accepted and treated. In other cases, however, a *kantáda* procession may involve visiting a series of houses, or even focus all of its activities in the public space.

A quite interesting *kantáda* occasion in which I have participated was in a village in the south of the prefecture of Rethymnon. The *kantáda* was a pre-arranged event, taking place every year on the evening of Easter Sunday after the traditional afternoon Easter table. We were a group of friends visiting the village specifically to attend the *kantáda* which would begin from one of the village’s coffee-houses. When we arrived the participants, who had already been doing

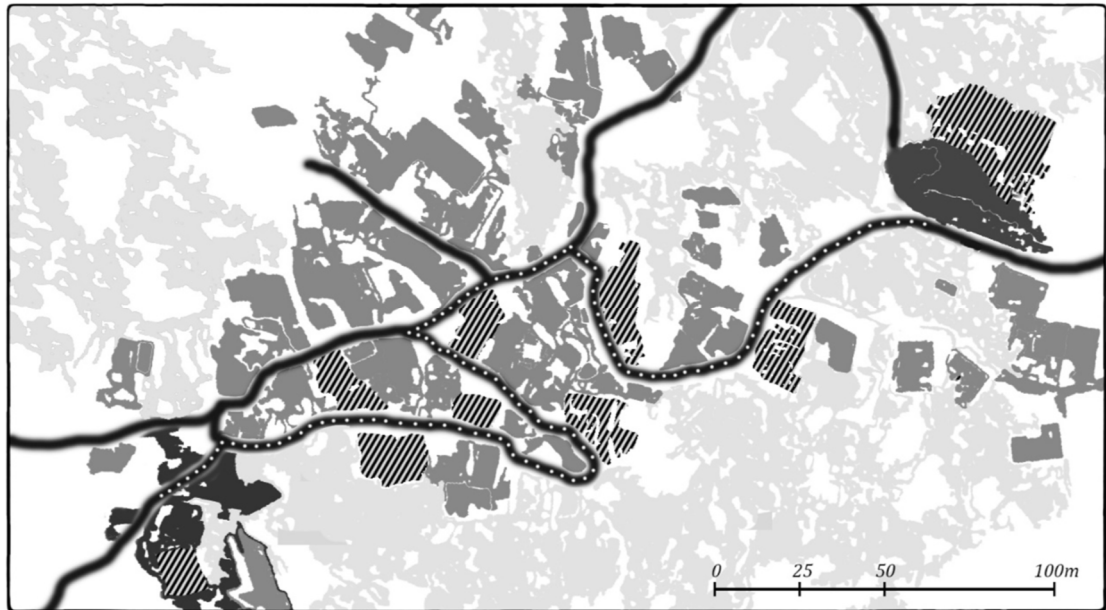


Figure 4.17. The route of the *kantáda* procession is marked with white dots along the road from the coffee-house to the association's building (buildings with stripes on the far left and far right respectively). The buildings marked with stripes along the route of the *kantáda* are the houses visited during the procession. This short route of a few hundred metres took more than two hours to complete.

paréa in the coffee-house, were setting off for the *kantáda*. The lyra player stood at the front of the march along with the laouto players, while everyone else followed the musicians, marching down the road, playing music and singing until they reached the first house they intended to visit. The participants entered the house playing and singing while the hosts, who had been expecting them, brought trays of *mezés* and *rakí* which they carried around between the participants while trying to make sure that all of their visitors had their share. The participants stayed there for a while, performing, singing and socialising. In each house, they would only stop their performance briefly before getting back on the road and starting again while approaching the next house. At this slow pace, we eventually visited seven houses in a march that took more than two hours to complete. During the *kantáda*, the musicians would regularly swap their roles on the lyra and the laouto, allowing most of the musicians a chance to perform. As time went by, more and more people joined with the *kantáda*, singing along and socialising: the hosts of the houses we had already visited would often join the *kantáda* and so, by the time we visited the last house, the group was much larger than when we started. The *kantáda* eventually completed its march (Figure 4.17) when the group reached the cultural association building at the other side of the village, where

long rows of tables were laid with food and drink. At that point, the *kantáda* transmuted into a *paréa* that kept on going until the early morning hours.

In most cases, *kantáda* performances are usually organised by a cultural association or other institution. For instance, a few years ago the organisers of the multi-day music seminars in the village of Meronas in the Amari region of Rethymnon prefecture, arranged a *kantáda* in a neighbouring village conducted by the teachers and students partaking in the seminars. This was perhaps the most crowded *kantáda* I have ever participated in, since apart from the people from the seminars and the locals, it was also flooded by legions of young people, mostly university students from Rethemnos and Heraklion. In Rethemnos, the *kantádes* (plural form of *kantáda*) are usually organised as part of calendric festivities or within the context of greater events such as the renowned Rethemnian carnival.¹¹

Unlike the *kantáda* from the seaside village, the last two examples of *kantáda* performances were pre-arranged. Pre-arranged *kantádes* may take place as part of a custom or of folkloric, cultural preservation and dissemination endeavours which I discussed in the third chapter, or even—in a few cases—as part of a tourist happening. It is said that the ‘best’ *kantádes*—similarly to what is said about ‘good’ *paréa* performances—are those that occur spontaneously, such as a group of friends who participate in a *paréa* and then stroll around the lanes of the old town of Rethemnos playing and singing in the middle of the night. This is, I believe, the form of *kantáda* that is more closely associated with *paréa* performances, since it retains the element of spontaneity which is so common in most *paréa* performances.

My description of the *kantáda* concludes my presentation on *paréa* performances. I consider that my approach on the preliminary stages of the *paréa* performance, as well as its examination in terms of its spatial and linear attributes, form the skeleton of understanding the nature of *paréa* performances in Crete. Hence, this chapter has served as an overview of the fabric of *paréa* performances by focusing on and presenting their most ‘tangible’ characteristics; in other words, those that may be perceived by a careful reading of the performances, yet without

¹¹ I provide a description of a *kantáda* that was organised as part of the carnival festivities early in the sixth chapter.

deeply looking into the feelings and values of those partaking in them. Having established the grounds for understanding *paréa* performances, in the next chapter I aspire to focus on the intrinsic features that characterise them, as well as voicing the beliefs, concerns and contemplations of those who feel for the *paréa*.

Chapter 5

The *paréa* experienced: approaching the foundations of the local musicality through the lens of participatory performances

In this chapter, I will explore some of the key and intrinsic characteristics of the *paréa* associated with its importance to local musicality as well as with regard to the relations that are developed among the *paréa* participants. The chapter unfolds on three central and mostly interdependent axes: firstly, I will provide an examination of the *paréa* performances towards identifying their intrinsic nature as an institution for the performance of Cretan music and the expression of the local musicality and culture. Hence, I will explore the direction that my approach should follow towards the study of *paréa* performances and examine the applicability of two seemingly relevant yet not necessarily interrelated models for its theoretical approach. Specifically, through this discussion I employ and examine the applicability of Hobsbawm and Ranger's term 'invented tradition' (Hobsbawm & Ranger 1983) to *paréa* performances as age-old and highly-esteemed practices—a discussion that borrows many themes from my analysis in the third chapter. Also, and as part of understanding *paréa* performances as well as the actions and feelings of those who take part in them, I examine whether they may be approached as a form of ritual and hence whether an analytical model related to ritual practices would be relevant and potentially yield any significant results for comprehending *paréa* performances. The second axis concerns a close examination of the roles and the relations of the actors in *paréa* performances: an examination of the musicians—professional and amateur—, the *meraklides* and other participants through a discussion that reveals a broader picture of the local musicianship focusing on the values related to musical participation. Finally, I

aspire to demonstrate the importance of the *paréa* as a space for learning music as well as for accumulating experiences, not only during a musician's formative years, but also during one's entire lifetime. My approach considers the position of the *paréa* as the locus where musicians learn this music and its repertory, and engage in an evolving musical world experiencing music through their everyday life. The aforementioned three axes may appear quite unrelated, however they are treated as different points of view towards understanding how *paréa* participants feel, think of and, overall, understand the *paréa* and Cretan music generally.

Overall, this chapter is about the values and the beliefs that nest within the *paréa* performances. Here I attempt to reveal both the *paréa*'s pivotal role in everyday musical life in the island and its importance to Cretan music. Most importantly however, it focuses on the people, their way of thinking and their relations within a *paréa* performance, as well as their understanding of music and musicality; it focuses on the protagonists whose participatory performances structure the *paréa* as an important institution for this genre—the infrastructure, I consider, for the genre at large.

5.1 The *paréa* as an 'invented tradition' and ritual practice

From a certain theoretical standpoint, the *paréa* may be considered an 'invented tradition',¹ at least with regard to its taxonomy as a performance space for Cretan

¹ According to Hobsbawm's (1983) exposition, "Invented tradition" is taken to mean a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past. In fact, where possible, they normally attempt to establish continuity with a suitable historic past. (...) In short, they are responses to novel situations which take the form of reference to old situations, or which establish their own past by quasi-obligatory repetition' (pp. 1–2). Briefly, Hobsbawm's argument is concerned with practices that have either been thoroughly 'invented' as traditions, chiefly for ideological reasons, or actual customs which are institutionalised and pieced together as coherent ideological statements that reflect and inculcate certain ideas within the community or the society where they are practised. In other words, his study includes traditions that are indeed 'inventions' and fabrications or represent customary practices that are less venerable than they are believed to be as established traditions

music. This does not suggest that the *paréa* performance per se is an invented tradition, rather, what could possibly be considered as ‘invented’ is its status as a distinct yet ‘unofficial’ performance domain—in other words, the recognition of its highly esteemed value to the local musicality and the genre at large. As I briefly discussed in the course of the second chapter, the distance that has gradually been drawn between the *paréa* and the *gléndi*, as a result of the introduction of relatively modern staging practices and technology, has reinforced—or, should I say engendered—the former’s definitional entity as a distinct performance space. I have also provided evidence to show that many senior interlocutors who participated in the musical life of the island before the 1960s, quite often ‘confuse’ the, now distinct, performance domains of the *gléndi* and the *paréa* in their narrations of musical performances from the past. The establishment of the *gléndi* as a staged and amplified performance and the introduction of the *sinavliá* as a performance space that leaves very little room for participation, but where a musician has the chance to present his skills through a neatly pre-arranged and rehearsed performance, rendered the *paréa* the only inherently participatory performance space for Cretan music—where all Cretan music enthusiasts may participate, including both professional and amateur musicians—and thus reinforced its role as a distinguishable and valuable means for the musical expression of the local population—at least for those who enjoy playing and participating in Cretan music performances. Before the introduction of ‘presentational’—a word which, as in the previous chapters, I employ as ‘related to presentation’ in accordance with Turino (2008)—performances in Cretan music, a *paréa* could have indeed been identified as a distinguishable performance practice (as it was indeed described by Baud-Bovy (2006:104) in the 1950s), yet without necessarily emphasising the same values that it embodies today as a distinct and ‘venerable’ performance space.

I must stress that I do not suggest that the *paréa* has literally been invented as a custom to the image of older practices related to musical performance (see my discussion in the third chapter). However, I consider that many elements that

of a community or a nation. For further use of the term ‘invented tradition’ with reference to music, see Boyes (2010 [1993]).

comprise its contemporary structure of meanings and beliefs—on which the present chapter focuses—have been developed through a process that may resemble ‘inventing’ a tradition, or rather ‘inventing’ a ritualistic thinking over a pre-existing tradition—which I have referred to as a ‘ritual of identity’ in the third chapter. The value of the *paréa* to local society as an extra-musical banner of Cretanness appears to be an ‘invention’ that has a significant impact on the importance of the practices associated with the *paréa* performance. The practice of doing *paréa* is indeed age-old, yet its meanings and its role as an ‘authentic’ performance space for Cretan music and for the local identity is relatively recent.

The crystallisation of the *paréa* as a distinct performance space is arguably part of a wider process associated with the identification of Cretan music as a distinct traditional musical genre with a more or less specific corpus of repertory and a highly esteemed placement for the expression of the local identity. The laouto player Dimitris Sideris asserted in one of our personal communications that the female singer and *protomástoras* Laurentia Bernidaki² told him during an interview—a phrase that often comes to mind when thinking about Cretan music as a genre—, that people ‘back then’ did not use to refer to their music as ‘Cretan music’; for them it was just music. Through that claim, it may be suggested that musicians ‘back then’—in other words, in the age of the *protomástores*—did not think of their music as abiding by the rules, aesthetics and ethos (see chapter three) of a specific—and venerable—genre, and hence were quite open to the adoption of extrinsic elements in their compositions and performance practice; a performance practice and compositions that now serve as paradigms for what is referred to as Cretan music.³ Their audiences were also perhaps less critical, at

² Laurentia Bernidaki (1915–2012), sister of the legendary laouto player and singer Giannis Bernidakis (Baxevanis). She was the first female singer to be recorded in a Cretan music commercial record in 1940.

³ This view is emphasised by the fieldnotes of the 1950s research expedition led by Samuel Baud-Bovy, Despina Mazaraki and Aglaia Agioutanti (Baud-Bovy 2006). In their fieldnotes, the researchers implicitly suggest that many local village traditions were considered as ‘outdated’ by the majority of Cretan music enthusiasts and musicians, and constituted a declining musical world in comparison with the modern musics recorded and composed by the *protomástores* and performed with modern instruments, such as the contemporary lyra (which Baud-Bovy (2006)

least in relation to whether a composition was to be regarded as Cretan music or whether it would 'distort' the genre.

Whether Dimitris' reference is accurate and whether the thoughts that followed roughly correspond to an erstwhile image of Cretan music or not, it is very difficult to reconstruct a wider image that would correspond to a supposedly generally accepted consensus of opinions held by musicians, enthusiasts and listeners of Cretan music over half a century ago. However, I must point out that it appears that the construction of Cretan music as a relatively distinct genre has been strengthened through the repercussions of a series of beliefs that appeared as part

also referred to as 'contemporary' in his fieldnotes (p. 116)) and the relatively recently, at the time, introduced laouto which both Despina Mazaraki (p. 17) and Aglaia Agioutanti (p. 44) considered to be aesthetically inappropriate for the performance of Cretan music. Agioutanti notes that, 'Our impression from our tour is that the old instruments are scarce. Especially in Western Crete, people are ashamed to play [*éhoun san ntropí na pézoun*], for example, the old type of lyra' (Baud-Bovy 2006:71, my translation). Furthermore, in her letter to Baud-Bovy from 1953, Mazaraki claims that, 'The old dance tunes are also threatened with extinction while new ones are established by Koutsourelis—a boasting laouto player—and others of his kind. They take short songs from Sterea Ellada [part of the Greek mainland], they Cretanise them, they christen them with some village's name and they release them' (Baud-Bovy 2006:17, my translation; also see Cowan 2000:1009). Giorgos Koutsourelis (1914–1994) was one of the most popular laouto players—and among the most seminal *protomástores*—from the prefecture of Chania (and the composer of some parts of the popular Zorba's dance, initially entitled *Armenohorianos syrtos* which is included in the *protomástores* album). I do not suggest that Mazaraki's harsh opinion—especially against Koutsourelis—as expressed in her letter should be taken as an indisputable thesis for further argumentation. However, I consider that the views expressed by the researchers during the 1950s expedition reveal a fraction of the processes taking place towards the shaping of both the instrumentation and the repertory of what is nowadays referred to as Cretan music. There is no report to suggest the existence of any loci of interest for the preservation of those village-based traditions which the 1950s team studied and recorded. On the contrary, it is implicitly suggested that these traditions were virtually unanimously displaced for the sake of the new recordings, instrumentation and compositions. I consider that the researchers' sentimental approach towards those declining traditions is most eloquently expressed by Agioutanti in her notes from her encounter with an old lyra player from Eastern Crete: 'I saw the lyra player from a close distance. His lyra was very small, hoarse, his bow was age-old with *gerakokóudouna* [falcon bells] attached to it shuffling nervously over the instrument. I felt very sad for the lyra player. How long will he endure this competition? The whole of the youth is against him' (p. 48, my translation).

of the nation-building process as early as in the nineteenth century.⁴ These beliefs have indubitably been gradually reinforced in the twentieth century through modern endeavours aspiring to ‘rescue’ the local traditions from the impending danger of either local or ‘global’⁵ popular musics flooding local societies throughout Greece in the form of recorded sounds which were—and still are—often perceived as a direct threat to the continuation of Cretan music as a relatively independent musical genre. Notably, the thinking of Cretan music as the

⁴ Namely, romantic nationalism and statism as well as survivalism. These matters have been extensively discussed by Herzfeld (1986 [1982]; 1987; 2005). I consider that the central argument related to the area of Greece—which is directly related to survivalism or ‘the doctrine of survivals’—is best summarised by Herzfeld (1986 [1982]): ‘If it could be shown that the peasants, the largest demographic element, retained clear traces of their ancient heritage, the fundamental requirement of philhellenic ideology would be satisfied, and European support for the emergent nation-state could be based on a secure foundation of historical justification’ (p. 7). The ‘doctrine of survivals’ has played a significant role in the argument of an ‘undisputable’ continuity between ancient and modern Greece and it usually still represents a generally accepted thesis among many Greeks. For further discussion and overview of the nineteenth century survivalism, see Hodgen (1936). Also see Dawkins (1930) for Crete. It is important to note that although it appears to be a repercussion of survivalism, the contemporary expression of the belief of a continuity between ancient and modern Cretan music, as expressed in contemporary literature, is directed towards ‘rescuing’ the local musical idiom as discussed in the third chapter. This intention is axiomatically different—yet not absolutely detached—from the doctrine of survivals whose administrators have often worked creatively on their findings, ‘gentrifying’ them, more often than not for ideological motives. Indeed, Labros Liavas who is the editor of the book on 1950s expedition’s fieldnotes (Baud-Bovy 2006), notes the existence of survivalism in Crete in the 1950s whose administrators endeavour to ‘gentrify’ rather than ‘preserve’ or ‘rescue’ the status quo of the local musical traditions: ‘We also consider of some interest those reports captured in the diaries with regard to “intelligentsia and tradition administrators” based in the urban centres of Crete who aspired to present a gentrified image of the island’s tradition through arbitrary linkages with the antiquity and under the fear of “ridiculing Crete by presenting Europeans with the creations of the uneducated and unmusical lyra player”’ (Baud-Bovy 2006:27, my translation). This ‘gentrified image’ which the ‘unmusical lyra player’ would ridicule is implicitly suggested to be the one constructed in accordance with and as a pure descendant of the exalted Minoan culture.

⁵ In her fieldnotes from her encounter with a lyra player, Agioutanti notes: ‘From the nearby *kéntro* [singular form of *kéntra*] the ensemble is playing. Melodies from operettas, both foreign and Greek, and *rebetika*’ (Baud-Bovy 2006:44, my translation).

continuation—and perhaps inheriting ‘survivals’—of Minoan music is an implicit argument of continuity with the antiquity that abounds in the contemporary local literature related to Cretan music as discussed in the third chapter.

However, suggesting that Cretan music has been reinforced and shaped by beliefs that emerged during the nineteenth century alone is quite a far-fetched argument. I consider that many factors that have shaped the genre of Cretan music may be found in the movement that Kallimopoulou (2009) describes as ‘*paradosiaká*’ which, as noted in the introduction of her book, represents ‘an urban musical style which emerged in post-dictatorship Greece out of a renewed interest among Athenian youth in exploring and drawing upon various musical traditions of Greece and Asia Minor’ (p. 1). I consider that the movement of ‘*paradosiaká*’—a principal centre of which has been the Labyrinth workshops ran by Ross Daly and his associates during the last decades in the village of Houdetsi in Heraklion prefecture—is not irrelevant with the *rebetiko* revivals described by Tragaki (2007:109–45) and certainly related to the renewed interest towards Cretan music in the past several decades. Also, I consider that ‘global’ World Music trends⁶ focusing their attention on regional and traditional genres have played a significant role in the promotion of Cretan music to the level that it upholds today, as a valuable means for the expression of the local musicality. For Cretan music, the grounds for its popularisation had already been paved through the works of seminal Cretan music artists, notably Nikos Xylouris whose recordings with composers who had been popular with Athenian audiences have worked towards the popularisation of Cretan music throughout Greece and towards younger generations of Cretans.

The *paréa* has come to represent the ‘most authentic’ expression of a genre that has gradually become a banner of the local identity. As such, it represents a very strong expression of Cretanness. As my good friend and lyra player Giorgos Antonogiannakis claimed in the course of a personal interview (Antonogiannakis 2014), when an outsider visits the island—most commonly a relative from the Cretan diaspora—the locals will make sure that their guest attends *parées* in order

⁶ See for instance, Turino (2003), Feld (2000) and Stokes (2007) on World Music, ‘musical globalisation’ and global capitalism.

to experience the local hospitality: the cuisine, the music, the ways of life and the overall experience of being in Crete and living the life of a Cretan—in other words, the *viómata* ('life experiences') which I discuss further below. From such a standpoint, the *paréa* represents the everyday experience of Cretan culture per se. Unlike the *gléndi* or other Cretan music performances, the *paréa* stresses the spontaneous and everyday expression of Cretan music enthusiasts and musicians.

Still, the *paréa* remains an unofficial performance space for Cretan music; a way through which much of the local musicality is expressed. It is not only about being Cretan or about the values that the *paréa* contains as an expression of Cretanness, but also about living a life through music—a way of life through attendance at *paréa* performances, including ways of socialising and playing with others as well as making new acquaintances. As Giorgos noted, 'For me the *paréa* is a way of life; I cannot do without it. I have felt it, I like it, I want it, I want my children to experience it' (Antonogiannakis 2014). And indeed, I cannot suggest that every *paréa* enthusiast exalts the *paréa* as a venerable sign of Cretanness, nor do all *parées* have the same capacity as expressions of Cretanness. A *paréa* taking place in a *rakokázano* is laden with traditional imagery, much of which is not to be encountered in a *paréa* taking place in an apartment in Rethemnos. However, I consider that neither of the two is axiomatically more or less important for the everyday musical expression of the *paréa* enthusiasts.

It has been suggested that the *paréa* may be approached as a ritual (Chris Williams according to Sykäri (2011:30))⁷. And indeed, even before I came across this claim, I had long been contemplating whether a ritual-related theoretical apparatus would have any value in my analysis and approach to *paréa* performances. I have already discussed that the identification of many seemingly erstwhile practices—including *paréa* performances—as exalted and venerable remnants of the local musical identity is a process that entangles these practices within the realm of a 'ritual of identity'—yet this claim is employed as a figure of

⁷ Chris Williams is the author of the article *The Cretan Muslims and the Music of Crete* (Williams 2003). Also, he appears in Hnaraki (2007) through quotations from their personal communication and is warmly acknowledged in Kallimopoulou (2009) and Sykäri (2011).

speech and does not suggest that either the *paréa* or other practices associated with Cretan music may be treated through a ritual analysis. The *paréa* is evidently not a ritual, as I further explain below, yet does it contain any form of ritualistic thinking, or would one be able to claim that it embodies remnants of ritualistic practices of an indefinite past? The belief that the *paréa* could be approached from a perspective of a ritual analysis is natural: Observing the quite picturesque occasions of people roistering near a *rakokázano* while immersed in the communal activities of playing, singing and sometimes dancing inclines the observer to think so (see Figure 5.1). Furthermore, the *paréa* is not just a random practice for achieving this immersion—which indeed may resemble a ritual, at least to an outsider—, but an established part of the expression of the local musicality; in other words, an institutionalised means for achieving this immersion by participating in the local musical culture within a system that follows commonly accepted unwritten rules established through a long tradition that has been practised and shaped by many generations of participants. However, could the definition of the *paréa* as an age-old practice that seemingly retains many attributes of a ‘purer’ past—or even adheres to a ‘purer’ past according to those who believe that it retains a ‘pre-industrial’ character—combined with the deep engagement of its participants during a performance indicate that it may be approached as a ritual?

I believe that there is evidence to discourage and make us sceptical towards such a perspective: The *paréa* is certainly not a *communitas* of a ‘rite of passage’, nor do the participants enter into a *liminal* phase during its performance.⁸

⁸ Rites of passage are ‘rites which accompany every change of place, state, social position and age’ (Van Gennep in Turner (1997 [1969]:94)) and are identified in three phases: separation, margin (or *limen*) and aggregation. The *liminal* phase is the ‘betwixt and between’, the threshold between two states. Victor Turner notes that during the ‘liminal period, the characteristics of the ritual subject (the “passenger”) are ambiguous; he passes through a cultural realm that has few or none of the attributes of the past or coming state’ (ibid.). For the participants of a rite of passage, Turner (1997 [1969]) employs the word *communitas* ‘as an unstructured or rudimentarily structured and relatively undifferentiated *comitatus*, community, or even communion of equal individuals who submit together to the general authority of the ritual elders’ (p. 96).



Figure 5.1. A *paréa* performance at a *rakokázano* (October 2013).

Furthermore, there is no evidence to suggest that it is a descendant of an erstwhile ritual practice. *Paréa* performances are not explicitly associated with calendric festivities although they may occur as part of them (such as the Easter Sunday *kantáda* I described in the previous chapter). Also, there is no need to emphasise that the *paréa* performances are not directly related to—although they may occur

One could suggest that the *paréa* resembles a rite of passage if seen as an overall process of learning this musical tradition. During a *paréa*, a musician faces the challenge of performing in front of people and with other people for long hours. Many, including myself, have felt their musical skills being substantially enhanced during a single *paréa* performance. However, considering the *paréa* as a *rite de passage* that gradually transforms a novice musician to an expert would be an overly romantic approach with little or no analytical value. I should note that I have never heard any Cretan music enthusiast or musician referring to the *paréa* as a ‘rite’ (*teletí*)—either explicitly or implicitly—during my fieldwork in Crete.

as part of—religious celebrations. Although the lyrical part of Cretan music, the *mantináda*, covers a very wide array of subjects, religiously related texts are virtually absent in the performance of Cretan music.⁹ Also, the *paréa* does not resemble a form of *play*,¹⁰ a domain closer to the Turnerian concept of *liminoid*.¹¹ It is true that there are more or less clear ‘unwritten rules’ with regard to participation, yet those should not be considered elements of a ritual practice, but rather part of an established ‘know-how’ that facilitates wider and uninterrupted participation.

However, no matter how sound the above arguments may be, I for one do sympathise with Williams’ claim, and although I believe that a ritual-related theoretical apparatus would not contribute to the present undertaking, I cannot—at least sentimentally—confidently think of the *paréa* as a non-ritual practice since it often involves a level of ritualistic thinking—or rather a ritualistic flavour—for both insiders and outsiders. In a few words and based on my contemplations in the third chapter, for outsiders this ritualistic flavour is established by the picturesque settings where some of the performances take place, while for insiders it is the adherence to signs that represent the local identity. Having become a Cretan music enthusiast during the course of my fieldwork, I like to think of the *paréa* as a ritual in terms of participation: the unity that is achieved among the core members of the *paréa* when everyone seems to be deeply involved in the

⁹ Religiously related themes may appear in *mantinádes*, yet associated with love affairs such as:

Κι αλλού ποθές δε σμίγαμε παρά στο μοναστήρι και προσκυνούσαμε μαζί σ’ ένα προσκυνητήρι. *We wouldn’t meet in any other place than the monastery; and we would worship together before the same icon case.*

and,

Μην ξαναπάς στην εκκλησιά ‘κόνισμα μη φιλήσεις’ για θα κολάσεις τσ’ άγιους όπου θα προσκυνήσεις. *Don’t ever go to church again, don’t stand before the saints; because you’re going to bring temptation to the ones you’re worshipping.*

¹⁰ See for instance Victor Turner’s (1987 [1983]) analysis of the Brazilian carnival.

¹¹ See Lewis’ (2008:48–51) contemplations with regard to the use of the term *liminoid* as ‘ritual-like’. Also, see Lewis & Dowsey-Magog (1993) with regard to endeavours to generate rituals in the context of secular events.

musical performance, along with the fundamental social structure that allows for this form of musical and social improvisation; the personal aspects of this interaction when each member feels what Turino (2008) describes as ‘heightened concentration’ and the ‘expanding ceiling of challenges’ providing a feeling of ‘flow’ (p. 4–5).¹² And indeed, I consider that the term ‘heightened concentration’ adequately explains the ritualistic flavour that one may experience during a *paréa* performance.¹³

5.2 Musicianship and musicians

The musicians are undoubtedly the backbone of virtually every musical performance. Even though other factors, such as decent food and drink, good spirits and atmosphere are often necessary for a *paréa* to succeed, the presence of musicians is usually the sine qua non of carrying out the performance. However, who considers oneself a musician and who do other people consider a musician? What is the musician’s role in a musical performance and how do the people surrounding him think of this role? And ultimately, how do they engage and interact with him during the course of a performance? What is the aspect of local musicianship with which the musician is laden, and how do Cretan music enthusiasts consider this weighted role in their musical expression?

¹² ‘Flow’ is a term coined by Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi and represents an interesting standpoint on observing the means by which participants gradually learn the music while playing in the context of *paréa* performances. One of the most notable examples of flow, I believe, is that of Csikszentmihalyi (1990) where he describes him playing with his dog and where the animal tries to maintain the flow of the game—and to keep it ongoing rather than aiming for its quicker resolution—by not making it too easy or too hard for his master (p. 53). Overall, I agree with Turino’s interpretation and implementation of this concept in the field of participatory music performances as a state of ‘heightened concentration’ (Turino 2008:4). Also, the concept of flow and music has been a fertile subject, especially as a method in music education (for example, see O’Neill (1999), and Bloom & Skutnick-Henley (2005)).

¹³ Also, I believe that the concept of *tarab* as discussed by Racy (2003) represents a quite relevant approach—although culture-specific for the Arab World—as a ‘merger between music and emotional transformation’ (p. 5) to both the concepts of ‘heightened concentration’ and ‘flow’.

In *The Anthropology of Music*, Alan Merriam claimed of musicians that ‘the “true” specialist is a social specialist; he must be acknowledged as a musician by the members of the society of which he is a part’ (Merriam 1980 [1964]:125). In Crete, the most apparent factor—the one that Merriam lists as the most obvious—is payment: it is not explicitly presupposed that a musician has to make a living solely through music, yet payment is proof both to society and to himself that his skills count. A personal claim of being a musician without making a living out of it can potentially be considered a form of bragging about one’s musical skills. Among amateur musicians, I have often noticed that theoretical knowledge may partly substitute professional status when calling oneself a musician. For instance, being capable of reading western notation and having some theoretical knowledge of western harmony or of Turkish *makam*¹⁴ (or, on the technical side and in some cases, a good practical knowledge of PA equipment, as well as studio recording and mixing experience) may justify a skilled player introducing himself as a musician. Also, for some of the people I met during the course of my fieldwork, my preoccupation with ethnomusicology—along with the vagueness that this term conveys for most people—instantly transformed me into a musician, regardless of my mediocre performance skills.

The question of who is entitled to call himself a musician is important. It incorporates the local concept of professionalism and the musician’s relation to the society in which he lives.¹⁵ From a wider perspective, this discussion involves the different performance domains of Cretan music (*paréa*, *glénda* and *sinavliá*)

¹⁴ There are many Cretan music artists who show great interest in Turkish music. This has perhaps been a result of Ross Daly’s initiative towards inviting Turkish musicians for seminars and masterclasses at the Labyrinth workshops in the village of Houdetsi (see <http://www.labyrinthmusic.gr> for more information) and, I consider, is directly related to the movement of ‘*paradosiaká*’ as described by Kallimopoulou (2009). I have personally participated in several weekly seminars on the Turkish *makam* and improvisation following the invitation of a friend and lyra player and among Cretan music musicians—among others—in Rethemnos with Christos Barbas (see <http://www.christosbarbas.com> for more information).

¹⁵ Kevin Dawe (2007b) has offered an extensive discussion on the identity of musicians as entrepreneurs and in relation to their social position, earnings, family, reciprocal values etc. I do not feel that I should repeat parts of his extensive discussion here, but rather focus on the musicians’ identity and role in the course of a *paréa* performance.

and the level of musical skills that each demands.¹⁶ Also, since all musical activity within the genre of Cretan music is virtually founded on a previously predominantly participatory and village-based musical culture, it is interesting to observe the balance that is currently kept between the old and the modern norms of professionalism and musical performance values.

Regardless of whether knowledge may grant that someone be introduced as a musician, through my long fieldwork I have come to consider that the primary solid criterion for gaining this ‘right’ is payment—whether or not a person’s paid musical activities are the primary and regular source of income. Although being a professional musician not only involves staged performances but may also include music lessons, musical professionalism in the context of Cretan music is primarily expressed through one’s staged performance activities, since I have never come across a Cretan music musician who focuses solely on teaching.

But how is professionalism perceived in Cretan music? An attentive observer may notice that ‘modern’ and ‘old’—if I may momentarily employ this overgeneralising binary—modes of payment partly coexist in the ways that Cretan music professional musicians are paid for their performances.¹⁷ Professionalism as expressed through the modern mode of payment by arranging a fixed price for a musician’s services, contrasts with the local and traditionally established norms of payment according to which a musician is rewarded during the process of a performance through money-giving or else *harísmata*,¹⁸ a gesture that retains a strong reciprocal value. In other words, according to modern norms of

¹⁶ The phrase *den ímaste kaloí oúte gia paréa* (‘we’re not even good enough for playing in a *paréa*’) as uttered by a musician and quoted in the second chapter is an example of this ‘stratification’ of the performance spaces. Certainly, a professional and skilled musician is usually expected to perform in *parées* (as I discuss further below), however the atmosphere is far less demanding than that of a *glénda* or a *sinavlíá*.

¹⁷ This comparison between ‘modern’ and ‘old’ modes of payment is relevant to Stokes’ (2002) comparative study on the different approaches towards payment by two Turkish musicians.

¹⁸ Money-giving or *harísmata* (From *harízo*, ‘give away’, also commonly referred to as *baxísi*), involves the depositing of cash, usually in front of the feet of the lyra player. (See Dawe (2007b:55–6) for Crete and Cowan (1990:103–6) for a *patináda* procession in Greek Macedonia—especially in the latter case the musicians do not receive money as a form of payment but as a reward for what they are playing. In Crete both formal payment and *harísmata* co-exist).

professionalism a musician is expected to be offering a ‘complete package’ of services by arranging a fixed price, while traditional norms dictate the following of a money-giving pattern that is entangled in the processual character of an event where payment is presented through rewards or reciprocities from the participants or audiences to the musicians. It could be argued that the former mode of payment increases the distance between the musicians and their audience by tacitly introducing a ‘seller’ and ‘buyer’ aspect to their relations, but on the positive side it also attributes more value—and respect—to the musicians’ role in a given performance. One is reminded of the musician’s status as portrayed by Kazantzakis in his novel *Kapetan Michalis (Freedom and Death)* resembling that of a beggar—or at least, a lesser man.¹⁹

These two modes of payment do not exist as a binary but rather as an amalgam of practices in which the analogies depend on the identity of the performers and the context of a performance. Since *harísmata* are usually expected even in performances where the musicians’ payment has been pre-arranged, the bandleader may decide—by reaching an agreement with the organisers before the performance—whether that money should be ‘extras’ to be divided among the band members, or should be subtracted from the pre-arranged payment. It should also be mentioned that the duration of a performance is also sometimes pre-agreed, although this is usually not the case in most ‘traditional’ settings such as in village *gléndia*, baptisms and weddings. Once, a band that stopped a *gléndi* too early caused the fury of an attendant, who threatened the band by pointing at them with his loaded sidearm to get back on stage. Although the man’s action was later strongly condemned by everyone who had heard or witnessed the incident, some people indicated that part of the blame lay with the musicians’ decision to leave the stage too early—before three o’ clock at night, which in my experience is indeed too early for a *gléndi* to end—, an action which could be interpreted as overtly haughty behaviour.

¹⁹ This is also a reminder of Keil’s (2005 [1994]b) manifesto-like aphorism according to which musicians should be rewarded in ‘barterlike reciprocities’ (p. 228). In the world that Kazantzakis portrays many musicians were indeed rewarded in such a manner, yet it was not necessarily a better world for musicians.

Musicians often come up with ways of escaping the impersonality conveyed by professionalism. For instance, with regard to the musicians' payment in Crete, Dawe (2007b) reports an interesting anecdote of a gesture made by the bandleader and lyra player Dimitris Pasparakis on an occasion where he was performing at a wedding celebration. According to the established norms, guests hand the newly-weds sums of money in small envelopes. Dimitris—despite being hired²⁰ rather than invited—transmuted his role in the wedding by submitting his share as a guest and giving the couple an envelope signed 'from the Pasparakis family' (p. 56).²¹ This gesture is related to the concept of *eghoismos* ('self-regard'), an expression of manhood articulated in acts carried out 'with flair' (Herzfeld 1985:16).²²

5.2.1 *Music and musicians in parées*

One may be reluctant to call oneself a musician if not skilled enough to be paid for one's performance, however people often employ the word to describe

²⁰ I need to emphasise that 'hire' (*proslamváno*) is a strong word that is not employed with reference to the musicians' paid work in Crete. Rather, the word *kaló* ('call') is used instead. The verb *kaló*, however is often used interchangeably with the verb *proskaló* ('invite') which is specifically employed for the guests of such an event. I employ the word 'hire' since it emphasises the differences between the two modes of payment which I discuss, while it also sets a clear boundary—which indeed exists—between the wedding guests and the musicians who get paid to perform at the wedding.

²¹ Pasparakis was also a family friend, and hence the gesture tacitly negotiated his dual role at the wedding—that of an invited friend and that of a hired musician. Such cases are common, especially among Cretan music enthusiasts—and musicians—who may invite their friends to play at their wedding celebrations.

²² See Herzfeld (1985) for the village of Glendi in central Crete, especially pp. 8–19. See also Campbell (1964) for the Sarakatsani and Horden & Purcell (2000) for the greater area of the Mediterranean. I consider that Pasparakis' choice to 'return' part of his payment to the newly-weds is a gesture that also exhibits an indifference towards money which is often regarded as a virtue and serves the accumulation of symbolic capital, and more precisely, cultural—and secondarily social—capital (see Bourdieu (1979 [1972]) and Moore (2014 [2008]) for an unpacking of the Bourdeusian concept of capital; also, see Dawe (2007b:11–3)). With regard to the expression of indifference towards money in the town of Rethemnos, see what Herzfeld (1991) refers to as 'ostentatious nonostentatiousness' in his discussion with regard to charity (p. 60).

instrumentalists based on subjective criteria. Although a musician is not simply anyone who plays a musical instrument, an instrumentalist does not need to be a professional in order to be characterised as a musician. An 'egalitarian' view expressed by a friend and laouto player and singer holds that;

[e]veryone is a musician: Both those who play and those who sit and listen to it. Because for me, a musician is also the one who listens to music; we all are as soon as we sympathise with it, either through playing or listening to it.

This view is similar to the general view of musical participation as expressed by Thomas Turino (2008):

There are many forms of musical participation. Sitting in silent contemplation of sounds emanating from a concert stage is certainly a type of musical participation, as is walking in the woods or down a city street to the soundtrack of music coming through the headphones of an iPod (p. 28).

Turino adopts a more 'restricted' sense of participation for the discussion that follows in his book, that is participation through *actively* taking part in the making of the music by performing an instrument, singing or dancing, yet the aforementioned quotation delineates a wider view of musical participation which may be considered as valid. However, my interlocutor who claimed such an egalitarian approach to who is a musician perhaps did not have in mind a person listening to music through his headphones while walking on a street, but a structure identical to what the *paréa* performance tradition offers. Even so, this egalitarian view of music according to which participation through listening is considered as important as playing remains true—at least subconsciously—for many people in Crete. This view also has parallels to Small's (1998) *musicking* according to which the process of music making (also read performing) involves a number of people, from the musicians to the audience and from the public address engineers to the ticket sellers; literally the people who partake in the experience in any way.

Indeed, during a *paréa* performance, a musician's position is usually no higher than that of a peer participant, although an instrumentalist's role is certainly different from that of his fellow participants and often carries more responsibilities for the flow of a performance. For instance, the lyra player is

usually laden with a decision-making process which is based on his personal preferences as well as on his abilities to discern what his fellow participants want to listen to. However, regardless of the importance and the responsibilities of his role in the course of a *paréa*, a musician—amateur or professional—remains an equal member of a collective performance. Turino (2008:33) notes that during participatory performances, instrumentalists often take up the role of workmen in order to ease the way for others to participate. They are not the primary figures, nor do they necessarily lead the performance, rather they pave the way for a good musical outcome and wider participation. This is true for many *paréa* performances I have seen in Crete, especially for those characterised and bound by traditional norms of practice; in other words, those conducted by participants who often practice *parées* and have developed a more or less specific ‘know-how’. I have often heard musicians complain that people just want to ‘use’ (*ekmetalévonte*) them as instrumentalists rather than, at least, treating them as peer participants. In one case early on in my fieldwork, a musician constantly declined doing *paréa* with a specific company of people since he held that they did not appreciate him as a person but only as a performer. In other words, a musician may feel fed-up having to endure the appetite of some participants who he feels do not appreciate his efforts in contributing to the *paréa* and deny him his own right to have a good time. Instead, they exploit his good will in order to have him play whatever they wish; a situation which some musicians refer to as ‘playing just for the others’ (*pézo móno gia tous állois*). This is perhaps part of the musician’s apprenticeship, a process in which he learns what kind of people he is better with.

In *paréa* performances, one may encounter both amateur and professional musicians seamlessly playing together accompanied by the voices of the rest of the participants. Professionals are not necessarily better skilled than amateur musicians, nor are they naturally more esteemed within the context of a *paréa* performance. Renowned professional musicians are usually welcomed with anticipation, yet their established musical and social skills are tested in front of what is virtually a panel consisting of participants and *meraklides*. For instance, a well-known Cretan lyra player and singer was once described to me as disrespectful towards a company of friends and Cretan music enthusiasts for not accepting the latter’s request to sit and play along with them. In other cases,

people are often critical towards professionals during *paréa* performances, implicitly inquiring whether their interest in the *paréa* is genuine or if they are just looking for ways to establish business relations, since, as I discuss below, a *paréa* is a place where a musician builds his reputation and becomes known to a wider audience and also a place where musicians—even established and renowned ones—get hired to perform in wedding or baptism celebrations and village *gléndia*. A musician's demeanour is also under test, primarily as to discerning whether he is contributing to the *paréa* by inviting participation or just trying to show off his skills.

There are indeed musicians who may participate in *parées* as part of their job. This is quite a pragmatic way to approach *paréa* performances as a professional, yet it is also a perspective that deprives the *paréa* of its core values (such as authenticity, reciprocity and participatory values), not only in the eyes of an outsider, but also those of an insider. Indeed, a musician may get his first job for a marriage or other celebration through his attendance at *paréa* performances. The *paréa* is a place where a musician may unravel his musical and social skills and become known in the society where he lives and from which he potentially expects to earn his living. However, although to an outsider this may appear quite natural behaviour, a musician should not show that he is using the *paréa*—and hence the people that he plays along with—as a means for getting hired for a staged performance. Such an attitude towards the *paréa* may not only be considered inappropriate towards one's peer participants, but also it potentially spoils the collective character of the performance and may turn it into a form of contest. I have been told—and observed in some cases—that the most 'cunning' (*poniroí*) lyra players do not subscribe to the participatory ethic which says that a musician has to support—or sometimes 'endure'—a *paréa* performance for endless hours. Rather, they make their appearance at the right moment—usually when spirits are already high—and play some well-known and uplifting pieces of music for a few minutes before leaving again, having conveyed the best possible impression of their musical skills—and hence improving their chances of getting hired for a paid performance. As I have mentioned above, participants keep a sharp eye out for these behaviours which, although not always distinguishable, usually bring contempt for the musician when noticed.

This discussion is also relevant to what Turino (2008) refers to as ‘participatory musical values’ (pp. 33–6) which, in short, refer to the ethics established among the practitioners of participatory genres according to which musical participation is valued more highly than what the participants may consider to be a good musical outcome. Quoting an example from his own experience in Peru, Turino (2008) stresses that participation is very much respected even in cases where it can seriously deteriorate the sound of an ensemble:

At one fiesta I participated in, two men showed up to perform with our ensemble with flutes tuned at a different pitch level from the instruments we were using. (...) The result was that the overall sound was extremely out of tune. (...) I was surprised by the fact that none of the other players gave any indication that anything was wrong (...). Once we were alone [with a friend and participant], he began to complain bitterly about how terrible the sound was. (...) But even he, an older and well-respected musician in the community, felt that he couldn’t say anything to these men during the fiesta (p. 34).

The importance of participation as expressed in the aforementioned quotation was also underlined during a personal interview by the statement of a senior interlocutor and respected laouto player who was paying his respects to some of our mutual friends and musicians:

They’re playing for the *paréa*; because they love something [i.e. they’re empathetic through musical expression]; because they are *filótimo* [here, good-hearted and generous in feelings, meaning that they are not just playing for themselves] (Gounakis 2014, my translation).

In other words, one who plays in the context of a *paréa* should not be doing it for himself, and hence he must not only be conscious that his own well-being depends on the others’ well-being, but also work in ways that will enhance the social bonding through music. In accordance with Turino’s contemplations on participatory music, a musician performing in a participatory context is not supposed to play for himself, but to submit his skills and ego for the sake of the common good. A novice musician—as may have been the case with the two musicians in Turino’s example—who may lack in both musical and social skills

may not be able to interact in ways that will assist others, however a good *paréa* musician is indeed expected to do his best in contributing to a participatory performance and help the less experienced participants to integrate into the performance. Good musicians not only achieve ‘heightened concentration’ during such performances in a way that they truly enjoy—‘they love something’—and empathise with the music they play, but they should also manage to communicate their sentiment and passion to those around them and, as the above comment suggests, they should do so by committing to ensuring the others have a good time as much as they do so for themselves. This point may sound contradictory to the attitude of musicians who avoid playing ‘just for the others’—in other words, in *parées* where they feel that their skills are being exploited while they are not respected as individuals—yet it indicates where a fine balance may stand between one’s ego and submission to the common good.

5.2.2 Music and locality: meraklίδes

It may sound overly romantic, yet—if I may intervene a parallel—through my long fieldwork I have come to believe—as I believe many Cretan music enthusiasts believe too—that like the non-vintage draft wine that is often referred to as *krasí tis paréas* (‘*paréa* wine’) and which is usually essential and preferred over many superior wines—and arguably not only because of its price—, similarly, the *meraklίδes* and the local musicians—professional or amateur—who put their soul into carrying out *paréa* performances represent the quintessence of this musical tradition. They do not necessarily represent excellence in terms of musical skills, yet from a certain perspective they may be seen as the produce of the very land that engenders and nourishes this musical genre. During the course of an interview and to the question of what he would like to achieve as a musician, the lyra player Alexandros Papadakis replied:

(...) I like the local; I have talked about it a thousand times; I’m not talking about the ‘traditional’... You look at a mountain, a fountain with running

water; what comes to your mind? See, that's what I like (Papadakis 2012, my translation).²³

This statement stresses the locality of music, drawing parallels between the stationary features of a physical space—a region, a town or a village—with local musical performances. According to this conception, the genre does not rely on its most skilled and professional representatives who may reach a pan-Cretan, national or international audience, but on the small and seemingly unimportant loci that exist regionally, perpetuate and sometimes shape the distinctive musical characteristics of an area.²⁴ Following this train of thought, the 'essence' of this tradition lies in the fact that it is not divided into musicians and

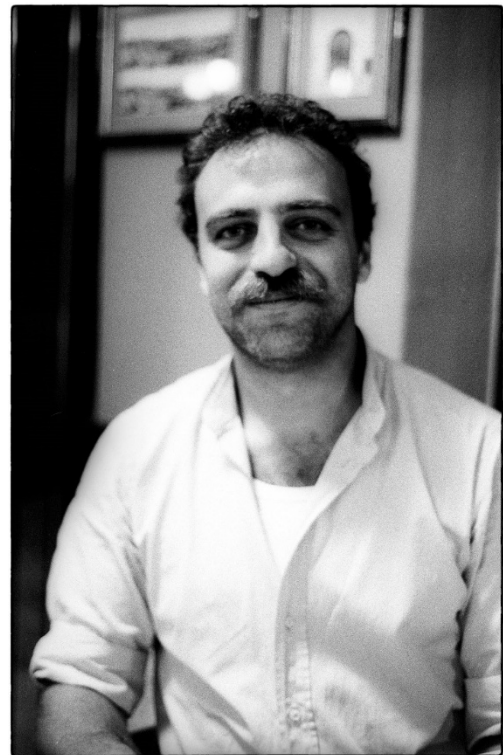


Figure 5.2. Alexandros Papadakis in 2012.

audiences, but is expressed locally as social life; as naturally as a mountain shadows the lyra player's village in the evenings and a fountain springs with water from that very mountain. Those Cretans who are proud of and participate in their musical tradition are usually not as interested in its popularity or in its potential for innovation as in its capacity to communicate feelings at an immediate and

²³ It is worth taking note of a similar view expressed by Ross Daly in the *Protagonistes* documentary titled *Afieroma stin kritiki mantinada* ('On the Cretan mantinada') broadcasted in Mega Channel on February 2012 (n.d.): 'Music is the natural produce emanating from this place in a very similar way to that in which the flora, the plants, the flowers and the birds grow. It is not something coming out of from a single person's mind; it comes from the whole' (my translation).

²⁴ As I have already discussed in the introduction to this thesis, for some of my interlocutors a study of the *paréa* was considered synonymous with a study of regional musical styles—a discussion that is relevant to the 'which *paréa*?' question, as asked by my friends in the second chapter. Also, with regard to music and place associations, see Dawe (2007b:116–18).

unmediated level; that of a *paréa* performance—‘the most authentic’ of its performances according to many *paréa* enthusiasts.

So, Cretan music is not solely and primarily represented by the highly esteemed artists who may achieve a respectable career as musicians through live performances, recordings and compositions. Rather, Cretan music resides in places all over Crete and among the people who perpetuate the musical tradition; specifically Cretan music enthusiasts, singers and musicians who participate in *parées*. Professional musicians are certainly part of this process, yet their contribution is not necessarily more important than that of their fellow participants. Regardless of a musician’s contribution, Cretan music enthusiasts often stress the importance of where a musician has learnt how to play, thus emphasising the influence of local musical traditions over an individual’s achievements. For instance, during my fieldwork in Crete I often heard people pointing out that Skordalos learnt how to play in Melambes and other villages in the Agios Vasilios region (including Spili, his birthplace). This opinion is also expressed in a series of *mantinádes* entitled *To léne kritikó krasí ki as éhei gínei xídi...* (‘They call it Cretan wine, although it may have turned into vinegar...’) written by Giorgos Gaganis:²⁵

Μουντάκη λύρα άκουσε, μ’ αυτό θα ’χει *You may listen to Mountakis’ lyra but*
ουσία’ παρέες αλφιανές αν βρεις και όχι *what really matters; is to look for*
τα μουσειά. *parées in Alfa instead of museums.*²⁶

Πήγε ο Μούντης στος ουρανούς, λύρα *Mountakis went to the skies to teach his*
να δείξει σ’ άλλους βρες τσι καλούς του *lyra to others; you better find his best*
μαθητές να έχεις για δασκάλους. *students to have as your teachers.*

and,

²⁵ This collection is published online at: <https://kritiagapimeni.wordpress.com>, accessed 22 August 2017.

²⁶ Alfa is a village in the Milopotamos region (Rethymnon prefecture) and the birthplace of the lyra player Kostas Mountakis. Thanasis Skordalos (1920–1998) and Kostas Mountakis (1926–1991) are among the most respected and seminal lyra players in the history of Cretan music.

players above. There are indeed many *mantinádes* that exalt *meraklίδes* that underline the significance of this social title, such as the following:

Με μερακλήδες σαν γλεντώ, ο τόπος *When roistering with meraklίδes the*
δεν με βάνει' για δεν μπορεί ο καθαίς *world isn't enough for me; 'cause it's not*
τον μερακλή να κάνει. *everyone who can be a meraklís.*

Μια μερακλίνα κοπελιά κάνει για άλλες *A meraklína young woman is worth ten;*
δέκα' κι είναι μεγάλο χάρισμα να το 'χει *and it's a great gift for a woman to have.*
μια γυναίκα.

and,

Όποιος δεν είναι μερακλής του πρέπει *Whoever's not a meraklís is only good*
να πεθάνει' γιατί στον τόπο όπου ζει *for dying; as wherever he lives he's only*
μόνο τον χώρο πιάνει. *taking up space.*

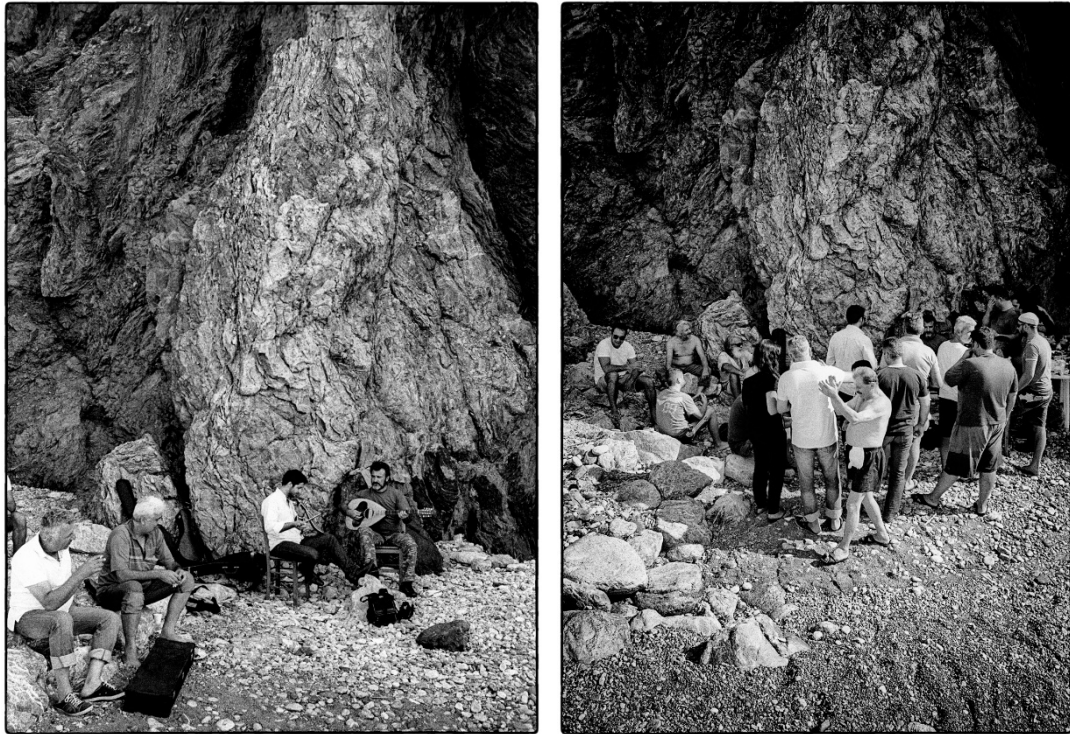
It is important to note that a *meraklís* may even be a person who just enjoys the music without actively participating in its performance. A middle-aged restaurant proprietor in Rethemnos, whom I met during the later stages of my fieldwork, held that he loved Cretan music but could neither play a musical instrument nor sing well. He cherished the time he had spent working in Cretan *kéntra* in Athens in his youth, where he had the chance to listen to and meet some of the most renowned musicians of Cretan music, including Thanasis Skordalos. After a brief discussion, he summarised his thoughts by saying: 'I bought a laouto, I bought a lyra, but I am incompetent [*stournári*]; I didn't make it [i.e. learn how to play]. But Skordalos told me once that a *meraklís* is not only the one who plays and sings, but also the one who listens.' A *meraklís* is usually considered to be a benevolent and extrovert person who is hospitable and caring for the people around him, while his deeds in the context of a *paréa* invite participation. Many musicians and enthusiasts whom I have met commonly agree that this was the case with Manolis Margaritis, a *meraklís* and lyra player from the village of Melambes whom I had the chance to

meet and interview while conducting fieldwork as part of my master's dissertation.²⁷

Arguably, the context of a *paréa* performance is where many musicians—professional and amateur—participate, spend their leisure time creatively, engage and meet with other people and, in some cases, encounter other musical styles and get to arrange paid performances while—as I discuss below—they learn how to perform with and for others. Hence, the *paréa* is not an autonomous performance domain, but rather the values and processes that dwell within its context are often present in staged Cretan music performances such as village *gléndia*. Indeed, the *gléndi* retains many elements from the familiar—for Cretan music enthusiasts—participatory context of the *paréa*; elements that are not limited to the dance floor where dancers and musicians interact. For instance, as noted in the previous chapter, during *gléndia* one may observe people climbing on stage or standing in front of the musicians (see Figures 5.3 and 5.4)—usually obscuring the view for the rest of the audience—clapping their hands, shouting *mantinádes*, encouraging the musicians to play specific pieces while treating them with glassfuls of wine and, sometimes, singing on the microphone.

In the course of the last several pages I have worked towards comprehending the *paréa* as an institution through the study of the roles of all musicians, participants and *meraklides*, not only within the realm of *paréa* performances, but

²⁷ At the time of our interview (2009) I was completely unaware of the importance of musical life outside the realm of staged and recorded performances. While I was looking to meet and interview musicians back then, I considered that I should meet professional musicians—perhaps to add more gravitas to my work, or perhaps because I felt that professional musicians could give me ‘more valid’ answers to my questions. It was suggested that I interview Manolis without understanding why people insisted that I meet a non-professional musician (or semi-professional, since Manolis had played in staged performances in the past). I agreed to meet him since I thought that as an old musician he would have some interesting stories to tell. Now I understand that amateur musicians are just as important—if not more important—to the musical expression of this island and to this musical genre. Manolis died at the age of seventy-four in 2010. I compiled and offered fractions of the recorded interview with Manolis to the website of the village of Melambes following the administrators’ request for any material related to local musical life. The extract from the interview can be found in <http://www.melabes.gr/component/content/article/38-slideshow/611-2016-05-15-10-22-27>, accessed 21 September 2017.



Figures 5.3 and 5.4. The pictures were taken in sequence and they show how participants may stand and obscure the view in front of—or towards in staged performances—the musicians. This performance is from a *paréa* in the Paximadia islands to the south of Crete, which I discuss in the Appendix.

also with regard to the importance of these roles to both the local musicianship and social life. Staged and recorded performances indubitably play a very important role in the local musical expression, however the *paréa* is still widely recognised as the locus and the quintessence of musical life in the island. From such a standpoint, it becomes easier to understand both why many amateur musicians develop great musical skills—as I discussed in my narration of my first encounter with a *paréa* performance in the previous chapter—as well as why musical performance and musical socialisation are so profoundly expressed through the locals' everyday social life, to the extent that participatory musical performances may per se constitute the primary structuring means for some individuals' social relations, as discussed with regard to the invitation patterns in the previous chapter.

The intrinsic code of practice within the context of a *paréa* performance is not random, but is structured through the social relations of its participants which emanate from the continuous practice of participatory performances and the understanding of a pre-existing 'know-how' as established by previous generations of musicians and *paréa* participants. Also, this code includes the

established beliefs and ethics with regard to the musicians' role in the context of a *paréa* performance, as well as their relations with the rest of participants. The term *meraklís* is part of this system, a reward that does not necessarily recognise one's skills, but rather one's contribution to participation.

The study of the individuals who participate in *parées* in relation to their role in the performance is important. It reveals that this music is ultimately not solely the work of musicians, but the collective work of the people who live and express themselves through this musical genre and whose musicality is shaped by the musical history of their regions; regions in which the continuous practice of the local musical traditions may engender individuals who excel in musical skills and who may enrich the genre with new approaches and compositions; individuals, however, who are not detached from the musical world through which they were shaped as musicians.

5.3 Learning in the *paréa*

In a discussion I had with a Cretan laouto player who lives in Crete but was born and raised in Athens, he was of the opinion that Cretan music is no longer a traditional (*paradosiakó*) musical genre since it is no longer based on oral transmission.²⁸ The vinyl records, CDs, music lessons, YouTube videos on Cretan music, music conservatories etc. have gradually changed the processes through which a musician learns how to play an instrument and its repertory. But has the introduction of these elements prevented contemporary Cretan music from being a traditional genre? I consider that even if one was to accept this 'non-traditional' status for musical traditions that are no longer orally transmitted, still Cretan music retains a side of its practice where its transmission is achieved orally. The centre of that process is the *paréa*, the 'place' where the musicians not only enjoy

²⁸ My interlocutor employs the word *paradosiakó* with reference to folk music and the continuous endeavours for its definition in the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, which often proposed factors such as anonymous composition and oral transmission as the defining elements of the term. One of the seminal early writings on the subject is Cecil J. Sharp's (2015 [1907]) *English Folk Song: Some Conclusions*.

a musical performance, but also learn the repertory and the norms surrounding the local performance practice while they develop their musical skills.

Kevin Dawe (2007b:81–105) provides an extensive survey on the matter of learning Cretan music and lists a number of different ways that locals employ for learning a musical instrument, including music lessons, listening to commercial records, as well as observing or playing along with master musicians. He pays close attention to the classes conducted by his teacher Dimitris Pasparakis, who is also one of the primary figures in his study. Dawe participates in the learning process by taking lyra lessons in classrooms along with other students under the guidance of Pasparakis, whom he then follows in *gléndia*. Dawe's perspective reveals a wide spectrum for learning this music which extends from music classes to a process of mimesis—mostly with regard to social skills—in *gléndia*.

My experience of learning Cretan music has been considerably different. My lessons on the laouto were private except for a couple of multi-day laouto seminars I participated in under the guidance of the laouto players Giorgos Xylouris and Dimitris Sideris in 2013.²⁹ Some months after I had started my laouto lessons, some of my friends would ask why I was spending money on lessons instead of just learning the instrument by playing with them in *parées*. During the first months of my laouto lessons and while I still had no other contacts with musicians, my teacher would also often point out the importance of finding someone to play with in *parées* in order to learn how to play the instrument. Although at the beginning of my fieldwork the idea of playing with other people seemed so distant, by the end of the first year my house had become a regular meeting place for several musicians with whom I had become friends. At that point, a friend would often leave one of his *lyres* (plural form of lyra) at my house, giving me the chance to learn some basic tunes on the instrument. My landlord's liking for Cretan music was a very happy coincidence that encouraged us to play all day long. Thus my apprenticeship in Cretan music and the laouto were strongly

²⁹ Both seminars take place every year during the summer, the former in Houdetsi as part of the Labyrinth workshops (<http://www.labyrinthmusic.gr>) and the latter in Meronas (<http://www.meronasmusic.com>).

based on participatory performances, either between close friends in apartments in Rethemnos or by performing in larger *parées* elsewhere.

Most of the musicians I met during my fieldwork learnt to play either by themselves or with the assistance of occasional lessons with a teacher—in most cases when they were very young and with the encouragement of their parents. There are relatively few musicians I have met who recognise that the development of their skills has been a direct result of music lessons, however many are eager to acknowledge those who have helped them develop their musical skills, either through lessons or otherwise. Some musicians would cite certain people with whom they met, talked and played together to be their teachers. For instance, during a personal interview with the lyra player Alexandros Papadakis, he told me that he considered Manolis Margaritis to be his teacher, yet not in a conventional sense:

[Y]ou know a teacher is not necessarily a person with whom you have lessons, say, every Wednesday from six to seven. A teacher is generally a person who enters your life and may be giving you a lesson through a simple telephone call; just by you saying hello and then him saying a couple of words from which you then feel you have learnt something (Papadakis 2012, my translation).

However, where does the *paréa* stand in the process of learning Cretan music? Every time I consider the *paréa* as a place for learning, I recall a particular *paréa* when a friend had brought over his children to participate in the performance. One of them was learning to play Cretan music on the mandolin and he had just returned with his father from a music lesson. With our encouragement, the boy sat on a chair near us and tried to follow our performance. Sometimes he was playing along the melodies that he was already acquainted with from his music lessons, while for the rest of the time he was trying to follow us by learning the melodies on the spot. Either way, the boy was playing with us non-stop for about two hours. The participants were not paying much attention to him—yet without being indifferent about helping him and encouraging him—nor did they adjust the performance to facilitate his playing skills. Rather, the boy was free to experience a real performance without any pressure and by musically interacting with the

others within a dense textural performance that provided him both room to contribute as well as the security that his mistakes would most probably go unnoticed (see Turino (2008:45)).

Many musicians who are either professionals or have played professionally recognise the importance of the *paréa* to the development of their social and musical skills for playing in staged performances, where the expectations are higher than in the context of a *paréa* performance. This is summarised in what an acquaintance and laouto player once told me: ‘If you don’t mature in the *paréa*, you don’t play on stage’ (*an den psitheís stin paréa, den pézeis pálko*); a statement I have heard rephrased on numerous occasions. The *paréa* is the ‘step’ that a musician has to take towards moving from being an amateur to a musician who is capable of playing professionally and dealing with the long hours of a staged musical performance, as well as with the social dynamics and tension of a *gléndi*. It is commonly accepted that a musician who cannot adapt within the context of a *paréa* performance may be able to offer a good performance in the context of a *sinavlíá*, but will have difficulties in adapting to the socially demanding atmosphere of a *gléndi*. This is held true for the musicians who are expected to lead a musical performance, most commonly the lyra and the laouto players, but not necessarily for many accompanying instrumentalists such as guitarists, bass players and percussionists, who regardless of their musical skills in many cases may not have any experience of Cretan music or of *paréa* performances.

Through this discussion, I do not claim that a *paréa* substitutes music lessons or any personal effort on an instrument by inculcating its practitioners with immaculate musical and social skills. On the contrary, those who aspire to learn how to play a musical instrument have to spend countless hours of personal effort and study on lessons and sound recordings, especially during their first steps in learning how to play an instrument. Yet the *paréa* reveals another side of learning this music by providing knowledge that is often referred to as *viómata* (‘life experiences’), as I have briefly mentioned above. As I have often been told, this is what outsiders—including Cretan diaspora—who try to learn this music are lacking, and this is what they are looking for when visiting Crete and attending *parées*. *Viómata* are about playing with others and for others in settings where one’s performance is appreciated and critiqued for both its skills and its social

merits. Furthermore, *viómata* are about playing the music in the right place; among Cretan music enthusiasts, within the context of a *paréa* performance and—as discussed in more detail above—in the places that have shaped the local society, its culture and its music; the places that have shaped and now perpetuate the local traditions.

Indeed, the *paréa* is much more than just a space for learning how to play a musical instrument and preparing oneself for *gléndia* performances. The learning process within the context of *paréa* is believed to be a lifelong practice that aggregates to social interaction and the exchange of ideas and experiences in the context of a musical performance. This approach to the importance of the *paréa* is even more interesting when uttered by a senior, accomplished musician who still recognises and appreciates what he can take and give in the course of a *paréa* performance:

In the *paréa* and by playing music and singing, you meet people you could never imagine you would, that you wouldn't expect to meet in your life; people who will help you. (...) [In the course of a *paréa*, a person] may see something he has never seen before in his life just by standing near you; or listen to something he hasn't heard in his life, neither from his parents nor from his friends. And he tells you, 'You're changing my life with what you're telling me!'. (...) It [the *paréa*] changes your life in just one hour (Gounakis 2014, my translation).

I consider that *viómata* and lifelong learning represent the essence of *paréa* performances' contribution to the development of a musician—young or old, amateur or professional—within the genre of Cretan music. The *paréa* helps a musician to learn the repertory, play among others and learn the skills needed to achieve flow in his performance. However, even more importantly, the *paréa* is where local musicianship 'resides' within everyday social life—'a way of life', as my friend Giorgos claimed above.

Indeed, many people wittingly acknowledge the contribution of the *paréa* to their development as musicians. Even so, it is difficult to identify the exact processes through which the *paréa* contributes to each individual's personal experience and development, since this is a matter that varies for each person.

Still, I consider that it is *viómata* and lifelong experiences that are among its greatest contributions to an individual's musicality; in other words, experiencing the music within the society, in the place where it is engendered through a process of meeting people with different—musical or other—opinions, as well as encountering different approaches to music and, sometimes, other musical genres.

I consider that herein lies the pivotal point which the laouto player I quoted at the beginning of this section missed. Regardless of whether the criteria he proposed for defining a music as *paradosiakí* ('traditional', as in *kritikí paradosiakí mousikí* – 'Cretan traditional music') are correct, oral transmission, as it is expressed through the continuous participation in *paréa* performances, still plays a very important role in the development of both the musical and the social skills of a musician. This is not solely a matter of learning how to play an instrument, but also a process of accumulating and assimilating *viómata* through musical and social performances. In the context of a musical tradition, oral transmission is indubitably more than just learning the repertory and the technical skills for performing on an instrument, and hence the process of oral transmission is not thwarted or even cancelled out by the availability of music lessons and recorded material (also see Rice 2001b). I consider that this is the point that my laouto teacher understood when he insisted that I should find people to play with during the first months of my fieldwork. And indeed, there is a wide variety of ways that a musician may choose to employ as part of his endeavour to learn Cretan music. However, regardless of whether these may have greatly enhanced accessibility to the learning process, they have not replaced the role of the *paréa* as part of this process.

5.4 Summary

This chapter has been concerned with the examination of the intrinsic identity of the *paréa* achieved through the study of the musicians, the enthusiasts, the *meraklίδes* and other participants, as well as with the matter of how they interact with each other and develop their musicality within the context of a *paréa* performance. My discussion has ultimately been concerned with how the *paréa* functions as a place for socialisation, for personal expression, as well as for

learning and disseminating the music within a specific system of values and beliefs—and, as I examine in the next chapter, within a system of unwritten rules with regard to participation—; a system of values and beliefs that nests within the performance space of the *paréa* and, I believe, reflects the values of a great part of Cretan society.

My endeavour towards understanding the behaviours and roles of the individuals during the course of a *paréa* performance has comprised the pivotal point of this chapter, presented through an amalgam of my own experience gained through my long apprenticeship in this music along with a careful consideration of opinions and values expressed by Cretan music enthusiasts and musicians whom I met during the course of my fieldwork. Throughout its course, I have revisited and pieced together—as well as further emphasised—several subjects encountered in the course of the previous chapters, and have attempted to paint a broad picture of the thinking, the beliefs and the functions that are expressed through *paréa* performances. Ultimately, this chapter has presented the intrinsic beliefs and practices which emphasise the function of the *paréa* as an institution for the genre of Cretan music and for the musical life of locals. In the next chapter, I am going to take my analysis a step further and examine how a musical performance unfolds, as well as how the repertory per se has been structured and functions in ways that accommodate participation.

Chapter 6

Music: structuring socialisation through musical performance

The central task of this chapter is to establish a link between the theoretical—as well as the descriptive—approach to the *paréa* as developed in the previous chapters and the central activity of a *paréa* performance: the musical performance. Thus, this chapter unravels as a list—developed in a series of sections and subsections—of what I consider to be the most prominent features that connect the repertory of this music with the participatory aspects of its performance. Simultaneously, it also aspires to act as a presentation of the apparatus employed to facilitate participatory musical communication: the more or less obvious unwritten rules that linger in most performances of Cretan music and allow virtually seamless participation. In other words, in this chapter I provide evidence to show the ways in which the musical and the social coalesce in the context of *paréa* performances. Although the scope of this chapter is cohesive towards demonstrating the link between Cretan music and participation, a large number of matters need to be addressed in order to substantiate my argument. As a result, the following text is longer than the previous chapters, yet it not only remains focused on its perspective, but also serves as a means for substantiating a series of arguments developed in the previous chapters by providing hard evidence that ensues from the close examination of the performance practice of Cretan music.

During the course of this chapter, I not only focus on the points I consider relevant to participation, but I also aspire to provide an exposition of the music, its structure, and the development of a musical performance; in other words, to offer a demonstration of what happens during a *paréa* performance while the

participants play and sing. This endeavour is interweaved with the aforementioned central argument of highlighting the close relations between music and participation, and it delineates the development of a *paréa* through a study of the particular characteristics of a musical performance which, I consider, give shape to the overall performance.

I will further emphasise my arguments with a narrative which not only clarifies my objective, but has also been an experience that served as an inspiration for the writing of this chapter: during the later part of my fieldwork, a friend from Athens visited me in Rethemnos. He was going to stay for almost a week and we decided to attend some of the carnival festivities which customarily take place in February or March every year, depending when the Lent period begins. Flipping through the scheduled events in the carnival's free brochure, we came across a *kantáda* described as a 'revival of the traditional Cretan *kantáda*' which would culminate in a *gléndi* at the *Agnóstou Stratióti* square in the old town. The *kantáda* was to commence in the old town in the evening and follow a scenic route through its lanes. We decided to attend since it would be an excellent chance for my friend to take part in a *kantáda* and witness some Cretan music performed live.



Figures 6.1 and 6.2. Carnival in Rethemnos (February 2011).

While approaching the *Megáli Pórta*, the former southern main gate of the fortified town of old Rethemnos where the *kantáda* was scheduled to commence, we came across a large group of people playing, singing and drinking, warming themselves up for the *kantáda*. A few minutes later the musicians started moving down the road towards the heart of the old town. People were standing on their balconies or in front of their shops watching the *kantáda* that would march slowly, stopping at several points along the way in order to prolong the performance. The procession was crowded, so most of the attendants at the back of the *kantáda* could hardly hear the music. However, even there the atmosphere was most pleasant. Along the way, many restaurant proprietors had placed stands in front of their shops treating the passers-by with *rakí* and finger delicacies from the finest dishes of their menus, while warmly welcoming both locals and visitors attending the *kantáda*. Some of the attendants were helping them to pass food and drink through the dense crowd of people.

We followed the *kantáda* as it wound its way through the narrow streets of the old town, all the way to the *Agnóstou Stratióti* square right on the eastern edge of the old town. There was no stage at the square, nor had there been any other preparations to accommodate the *gléndi* promised on the carnival's brochure. The musicians and the most eager participants of the *kantáda* stood in a small circle facing each other and continued with their performance as if playing in a *paréa*; apparently without any intention to turn their gathering into a spectacle for the incoming carnival-period—principally domestic—tourists. Those who stayed after the conclusion of the *kantáda* either encircled the musicians or scattered in the spacious square, buying food and drinks from the nearby shops. A few minutes later, a dance troupe that had been discreetly attending the *kantáda* started dancing around the musicians while inviting the attendants—who were mostly scattered between the musicians and the dance circle—to join them. The musicians played *syrta* for most of the time; a genre of the local traditional repertory that is very much cherished in Rethemnos. My friend and I had



Figure 6.3. A *kantáda* in Rethemnos (August 2012).

approached the musicians and I was occasionally participating by singing in the *tutti* parts, while trying to explain the basics surrounding the structure of the performance to my friend: the nature of the repertory, the alternation between the solo and *tutti* parts on the vocal line, and the transitions from one *syrtó* to another. What he could only hear without my running commentary on the performance was a thick musical layer generated by the lyra and the laouta in which some participants would sing melodies that he was not acquainted with; in other words, a mess of tunes blended together randomly and without any evident underlying structure.

This was exactly my position during the first steps of my fieldwork, when I would join *parées* or attend music nights in *rakádika* and coffee-houses in Rethemnos. I would listen to the musicians playing endless *seirés* of *syrtá*¹ that

¹ The *seirá* ('series', p. *seirés*) is one of the fundamental structural elements for the performance of *syrtá*. As mentioned in the introduction to this thesis, the *syrtá* are independent compositional entities usually accompanied by a specific *mantináda*. However, the *syrtá* are rarely played outside

would usually last more than fifteen minutes, without being able to understand what they were playing. That was certainly the most difficult part of my fieldwork during the first months after I had started attending music nights and making friends with local musicians, since I had to endure very long performances without being able to understand either their flow or their intrinsic meanings and sentiment—in other words, to understand this particular language of musical expression. I felt that it was very hard for me to study a music that I could not appreciate or express myself through, and consequently, after some of these nights I even questioned whether I liked this music or whether undertaking fieldwork on this musical tradition was the right choice. But I carried on through this initial frustration, and after several months I was gradually able to recognise the associated *mantináda* by listening to the melody of a *syrtó* and vice versa. Eventually, by the end of the first year of my fieldwork, I could listen to and understand what was being played in a *seirá* of *syrtá*, identify the individual *syrtá* it contained and, sometimes, sing along with the *mantinádes*; but most importantly, I was now able to comprehend and cordially enjoy the musical performance—if not to actively participate in it yet.

Reaching out for practical knowledge by learning to understand and perform this music has indubitably been a painstaking and lengthy endeavour. However, I consider that the process of attaining a sufficient level of practical knowledge represents the only method for understanding the function of this music as a means for personal expression and sociability. As shown in the aforementioned narrative, an outsider, as in the case of my friend, may be able to enjoy the convivial occasion of a *kantáda* where people joyfully engage in drinking, eating and socialising. However, without some basic understanding of the music—which represents the principal code of communication in participatory music performances—one is unable to comprehend—let alone actively participate in—the core of a musical performance which forms the basis of all the surrounding

of a *seirá* which may involve several *syrtá*. As ensues from my analysis of a sample of personal fieldwork recordings of *parées* (see Appendix), the average length of a *syrtó* is approximately two minutes and a *seirá* contains an average of eight *syrtá*.

activities. However pleasant the music per se may sound, it will inevitably become tiresome to the unacquainted ears of a person who can neither understand, participate nor express himself through it.

During the course of this chapter, I aspire to offer a presentation of Cretan music with reference to the elements that are directly related to participation by essentially following a parallel approach to the one I employed while trying to explain the performance to my friend, or else in a manner that I would employ in order to introduce this music to my younger self when I was starting my fieldwork in the island. However, I must once again clarify that I do not aspire to offer a general presentation of Cretan music. Rather, this presentational part of the chapter aims to communicate an elementary apprehension of this music which is necessary in order to both highlight and emphasise the importance of music in a participatory musical performance.

Undoubtedly, a great part of the participatory mechanisms is founded on the musical performance per se; from the very structure of the music to the traditionally established norms regarding how to conduct a performance. It is not about playing just any music among friends, but rather about learning to communicate through a musical code which, as I have argued in the previous chapters, is structured according to the local participatory values; the 'local needs and aspirations' (Dawe 2007b:86) as mentioned in the introduction. This musical code not only functions as a structuring means for the contemporary performances of this music, but it also evolves by engendering new means to facilitate participation as time passes and new generations of participants come along. The corpus of the music as well as the performance rules that accompany it are, if I may introduce a metaphor, an evolving 'living organism'—of which I am attempting to record a snapshot—which resides in the *habitus* of its practitioners as a 'know-how' which changes without breaking with the established participatory values, but rather by keeping the performance of Cretan music a contemporary—in juxtaposition to a folk 'historically informed'—practice.

In this endeavour I have relied heavily on Thomas Turino's (2008) approach to participatory musical performances. Throughout the course of this chapter, I will examine aspects of Cretan musical performance by employing several analytical methods, as well as themes described by Turino including 'feathered beginnings

and endings’ and ‘performance roles’. As mentioned in the introduction, aside from other sources that have been valuable to approaching Cretan music as a participatory genre and in addition to the specific apparatus provided by Turino, it is his overall approach to this matter—including his perception that musical performances may be divided into ‘fields’ corresponding to their function—that has thoroughly influenced my analytical approach to this music.

6.1 The repertory

6.1.1 Families of repertory and participation

In the introduction to this thesis I provided a brief discussion on the repertory of Cretan music, mentioning that it is primarily categorised in dances, in other words in families of the local repertory identified according to the dance to which they correspond. These families are not only distinguished by the different dances that they accommodate, but also represent different performance styles as well as different approaches to participation. For instance, the families of *kastrinós* (or *maleviziótis*), *pentozális* and *soústa* are associated with their corresponding dances—referred to by the same names—and are usually, but not necessarily, performed in the presence of dancers, commonly at *gléndia* and other celebrations. The participatory character of these families of the local repertory is focused on the dance floor, on the fast dance steps, on the variations and flairs performed by the dancers, as well as on the communication between the lead instrumentalist—usually the lyra player—and the dancers.

Similarly, the families of *syrtá* (s. *syrtó*) and *kontiliés* also correspond to dances, namely *syrtós*² and *siganós pentozális* (meaning ‘slow’ *pentozális*, usually preceding the aforementioned *pentozális* in a single musical performance). These two families, however, offer more opportunities for participation: the *kontiliés* are popular among those who enjoy a fast alternation of *mantinádes* or even like

² The words *syrtó* and *syrtós* may be used interchangeably to refer to musical pieces in the family of *syrtá*. In this thesis, I employ the word *syrtó* and *syrtós* to refer to the musical pieces and the dance respectively. An exception is my reference to *prótos syrtós* and other compositions whose title contains the word ‘*syrtós*’.

engaging in lyrical improvisations. In essence, a performance of *kontiliés* is a procession of short and highly repetitive melodic phrases that generate an underlying structure for the singing of *mantinádes*. The rich phraseological repository for the performance of *kontiliés* is usually categorised in groups, often related to regions. Such examples are the groupings referred to as *anogianés kontiliés* and *amariótikes kontiliés*—meaning from the village of Anogia and the region of Amari respectively.

On the other hand, the *syrtá* are independent compositions which are more often than not associated with a specific *mantináda*. The *syrtá* allow the participants to engage in a performance on multiple levels where all musicians—both leading and accompanying, beginners and experienced—and singers may easily interact in participation. Unlike the *kontiliés*, the *syrtá* allow for a less repetitive performance for all participants—especially for the accompanying instrumentalists who are usually expected to provide a monotonous rhythmical accompaniment in the performance of *kontiliés*. Thus, the *syrtá* comprise a quite ‘balanced’ repertory with regard to the individual performance roles where all lead and accompanying instrumentalists as well as the singers are—potentially—equally challenged and immersed in the course of a performance. Although, as I discuss below, the *syrtá* are rarely performed individually—since the average length of a *syrtó* is approximately two minutes—, Cretan music enthusiasts often think of them as self-contained songs due to their nature as independent compositional works. As part of a performance, the individual pieces of a procession of *syrtá* may be chosen creatively by the lead instrumentalist in order to communicate the desired feeling and creatively manipulate the feelings of his fellow participants, taking advantage of a number of aspects such as the popularity of a specific *syrtó*, its register and tonality, as well as the modulations that occur in a *seirá* of *syrtá*.

The list of families extends to pieces of repertory that are not accompanied by dance. Among these are the *amanédes* or *tambahaniótika*, which I have discussed earlier in this thesis, and *rizítika*, an *a capella* type of song which is commonly held to originate from the prefecture of Chania—and specifically in the ‘villages of the *Ríza*’ (*ta horiá tis Rízas*), in other words a group of villages located at the northern ‘foot’ (*ríza*) of the *Lefka Ori* mountain range—but popular throughout Crete.

Furthermore, there are some locally based dances that are accompanied by specific pieces of music that leave little room for variations or further compositions. These dances—and their corresponding tunes—are not very popular, even in the places that claim their fatherhood, and are sometimes subject to ethnographical endeavours involving their presentation by local dance associations. A notable compact disc release that includes many of these locally based dances (also accompanied by video presentations) is the *Otan akouo Kriti* ('When I listen to Crete', see Discography).

It is certainly difficult to provide an absolute consensus with regard to the popularity of each of the aforementioned families. Evidence suggests that the *syrtá* represent the family with by far the most compositions. The repository of *kastrinós*, *pentozális* and *soústa* is relatively limited—this being true especially for *kastrinós* which is popularly claimed to have a specific number of melodic phrases. On the other hand, the *kontiliés* are an expanding repository of melodies, without however reaching the high number of compositions of the family of *syrtá*. As mentioned above, *kontiliés* are principally focused on the lyrical rather than the musical part of the performance and hence creativity is mostly concentrated on the choice, the composition or even the improvisation of *mantinádes*.

With regard to the *paréa* performance, the picture is far more specific. From my analysed sample of personal *paréa* recordings (see Appendix), the *syrtá* take up a total of eighty-nine per cent of the recorded repertory. The *kontiliés* come second with nearly four per cent followed by *amanédes* with two per cent. Various other songs also make up nearly four per cent of the recorded repertory. These include 'oldie' *éntehno* songs first recorded by Nikos Xylouris in the 1970s as well as contemporary compositions—including those referred to as *laoutístika*, meaning compositions that feature the laouto as the primary instrument—which often adhere to many of the *syrtá* characteristics, such as the easily identifiable ABAB form of *syrtó* which I discuss below. Notably, the aforementioned *éntehno* songs are virtually the only part of the repertory which, although having a close relation to Cretan music—mostly due to the distinguishably Cretan voice of Nikos Xylouris—, does not necessarily accommodate the local lyrical genre of *mantináda*.

At this point, it is important to note that my understanding of and my approach to this music have been formulated in the specific areas where I have conducted my fieldwork and attended *parées*, namely in the region surrounding the town of Rethemnos and in the Agios Vasilios municipality in southern Crete; both within the limits of the prefecture of Rethymnon (see Appendix for a map). This fact however does not necessarily render my discussion irrelevant for other regions in which people may prefer to play other pieces of the local repertory. This is because through my long fieldwork in the island I have not only experienced *parées* beyond the aforementioned regions, but have also encountered and discussed with people who participate in *parées* in other regions across the island of Crete. Through these experiences, I have come to realise that regardless of the differences in repertory and style between different regions, the local expression of musicality through participatory performances as well as the very semantics surrounding the word *paréa* and its corresponding practices are mostly consistent throughout the island. In terms of statistics—such as the ones I have extracted through the study of several of my *paréa* recordings in the Appendix—the results may differ, especially with regard to the choice of repertory. However, many of the aspects that I discuss in this chapter with reference to the family of *syrta* are common to the performance of Cretan music at large.

Indeed, directed by the experience attained during my fieldwork, this chapter focuses on the family of *syrta*. However, I consider that this is not a limitation simply posed by the choices I have made with regard to the regions in which I have conducted my fieldwork. Rather, focusing on the family of *syrta* also represents a course for approaching participation: as I mentioned above, different families of repertory represent and correspond to different ways of participating, and hence demand different approaches on the subject. For instance, participation through dancing, as facilitated in the families of *kastrinós*, *pentozális* and *soústa*, indubitably demands a different approach than the one followed in this chapter; a perspective that is mostly detached from the realm of *paréa* performances, where, in my experience, dance—and especially the aforementioned dances—is more often than not uncommon. A study of participation in the aforementioned families would demand an approach involving people who engage in dances in *gléndia*, cultural association premises or other occasions. Overall, I do not consider that

the participatory means expressed through these dances could be encompassed in any study focusing on *paréa* performances, regardless of the region studied.

On the other hand, *kontiliés* are indeed a very popular genre, especially in *parées* performed in certain regions such as the municipality of Milopotamos. Yet participation within a *kontiliés* performance is focused on the lyrical communication between the participants, so a study of *kontiliés* would demand a lyrically directed approach; a subject that has already been studied by Venla Sykäri (2011) in her brilliant and immersive book, *Words as Events*, in which she approaches the performance of *kontiliés* in *parées* as an ‘improvised and communicative genre’ of oral poetry (p. 34)—including transcriptions of such lyrical performances (pp. 106–15). Sykäri’s research on the subject is thorough and includes numerous examples from *paréa* performances. It is worth mentioning that her book was the first academic work to explicitly recognise and define the existence of the *paréa* as a distinguishable and noteworthy performance space for Cretan music.

Overall, my suggestion is that many of the characteristics discussed in this thesis in relation to *paréa* performances are common throughout the island. However, I cannot claim that my fieldwork has been focused in any other than the aforementioned regions within the prefecture of Rethymnon and it thus only relates to my experience in these regions. Even so, I am fairly confident that even though a study of a different region—such as in a few places where *rizítika* are held to be the most popular choice of repertory—could potentially yield different results with regard to the particular details of a *paréa* performance, the central arguments developed in the course of this thesis related to its definition, description and its intrinsic characteristics, as well as with regard to how this musical tradition is structured in ways that facilitate participation—a matter discussed extensively in this chapter—, would remain virtually unchanged.

6.1.2 Syrtá

A *syrtó* is a pair of melodic phrases of which the length usually varies from a couple to up to eight bars when transcribed in a $2/4$ metre. Its tempo usually ranges from 130 to 150 beats (crotchets) per minute and the melodies employed are repeated in order to accommodate the solo as well as the *tutti* parts for the performance of

a *mantináda*. I do not aspire to offer a lengthy and thorough analysis of the family of *syrtá*, but rather to illustrate some of their basic characteristics before proceeding to a deeper analysis related to their performance in the following sections.³ As part of this brief introduction on the family of *syrtá*, I aspire to provide a presentation of their basic structure and of their placement within a *paréa* performance.

In the transcriptions below, I have chosen to demonstrate an example of what I consider to be a simple variation of the fundamental melody of a popular *syrtó* referred to as *prótos syrtós* ('first *syrtós*'). As I discuss further below, there is no commonly accepted standard melody for transcribing a *syrtó*—in other words a single and simple melody that may be taken as a point of reference, which a performer learns and is free to further improvise on. For the following transcription I have separated *prótos syrtós* into its two fundamental structuring constituents—its first and its second 'part' (*méros*)—which is a division that is

³ With regard to the transcriptions that I introduce in this chapter, I must note that Cretan music is rarely written down in any form of transcription or for any practical reason, since oral transmission is central for the communication between musicians. An exception is the use of the so-called *sístima Mountaki* ('Mountakis' system'), a rudimentary transcription method introduced by the lyra player Kostas Mountakis which remains in use by some Cretan music teachers on the island (see Dawe 2007b:93–94). Yet the *sístima Mountaki* was originally implemented and is still used among teachers to help their students memorise melodies, rather than for accurately transcribing them—an aid that is perhaps quickly becoming redundant with the advent of mobile phones that can adequately record a performance for such purposes. Overall, a performer is expected to engage creatively with any melody of Cretan music, so an accurate transcription is usually unnecessary either for learning or for performing Cretan music. There are several books where one may find transcriptions in Western notation, including both analytical studies (see for example Hatzidakis (1958)) and books for learning Cretan music (such as Petrakis & Andreoulakis (2007)). Byzantine notation is rarely employed either for analytical or for educational purposes. One of the few exceptions where one may encounter Byzantine notation—in this case, for presentational purposes—is the work of the lyra player Dimitris Sgouros who has used Byzantine notation in the linen notes of his album *Ta sa ek ton son*, in which he encloses minute details of the recorded pieces. As discussed in the third chapter, Dimitris was the leader of the project for the interpretation and recording of several transcriptions made in Byzantine notation by the ethnographer Pavlos Vlastos during the nineteenth and the early-twentieth century (*Skopoi kai tragoudia tis Kritis* – 'Songs and melodies from Crete').

common in all *syrtá*.⁴ *Prótos syrtós* (commonly referred to simply as ‘*prótos*’) is a piece of the local repertory that is most certainly to be encountered in virtually every performance of Cretan music.⁵ Its structural characteristics are common in virtually all *syrtá* and hence I am going to employ *prótos* as a central example for my analysis in this chapter.



Figure 6.4. *Prótos syrtós*, first part.



Figure 6.5. *Prótos syrtós*, second part.

The relatively simple variations that are illustrated in Figures 6.4 and 6.5 are approximately those that my laouto teacher taught me in one of our first lessons. The first part of the *syrtó* consists of six bars, while the second takes up what is

⁴ Rarely, in some *syrtá*, such as in the *syrtó Apokóronas*, the melody of both parts is the same. However, the separation of the *syrtó* into two parts lingers, chiefly because of the differences in the singing of each part.

⁵ Considering the large number of popular *syrtá*, the lasting preference for this particular *syrtó* in virtually every single performance of Cretan music at first seemed to be an inexplicable peculiarity to me. I could not understand why *prótos syrtós* was such a popular composition of the local repertory until I turned my sights to dancing. Apparently, *prótos syrtós* is one of the very few *syrtá* that allow the transference of the leading role of the performance from the lyra player to the dancers, thus facilitating dance improvisation—accompanied by a very intense and often fast improvisation by the lyra player based on a short and repetitive melodic skeleton. The dance improvisation takes place in the first part of the second ‘movement’—as I would describe it—of the *prótos syrtós*. This is a different *syrtó* from the *prótos syrtós* that I am examining in this chapter, yet it is not explicitly distinguished from it since it is considered to be a variation of the former—and in many cases, it is indeed performed in the form of a climax following the former. My laouto teacher described it as the second ‘part’ (*méros*) of *prótos syrtós*, yet not in the same sense as when referring to the parts of a *syrtó*; rather as the second ‘movement’ of *prótos syrtós*. That ‘movement’ of the *prótos syrtós* may be found in Dawe’s (2007b) transcription from bars 194 to 228 (pp. 96–100).

often maintained as a maximum space of eight bars—a limitation that is common for both parts of any *syrtó* as I discuss further below. The length of each part of a *syrtó* may vary between different *syrtá*, usually from two to eight bars. Both parts of a *syrtó* are repeated for as many times as necessary for the singers to complete each verse of a *mantináda*. For instance, in the case of the *prótos syrtós*, the first part is commonly repeated four or five times in order to accommodate the soloing and the repetitions of the singers. As demonstrated in the Appendix to this thesis, the average duration of each *syrtó* in my analysed sample of personal *paréa* recordings is approximately two minutes, performed in *seirés* of an average length of eighteen minutes—the duration of which, however, may vary greatly from a few minutes to more than an hour.

The following example (Figure 6.6) demonstrates a performance of the *prótos syrtós* transcribed from a personal recording of a *paréa* performance in the village of Melambes. The transcription does not aspire to offer any information other than a presentation of the basic melodies performed by the soloing instrumentalist—the lyra player—and the singers in a way that exemplifies the employment of the aforementioned parts of the *syrtó* in an actual performance. For this reason, I have kept the transcription as basic as possible, omitting any minute details related to the performance such as ornamentations and other symbols related to expression. The laouto lines have also been omitted since I consider that they would only add unnecessary complexity to the purpose of my example. As a step to further simplify this example, I have considered the *syrtó* as an independent performance with a clear beginning and ending, whereas in my recording it was actually part of a *seirá*.

I chose this example because I aspire not only to demonstrate how a *syrtó* performance unfolds, but also to offer a presentation of the variations introduced by the lyra player and the lead singer as the performance progresses—which I will further discuss in a following section of this chapter. The top line represents the lyra performance while the lower is the vocal line including both the solo and the *tutti* parts, in other words the chorus response that repeats the lyrics which the soloist has just sung. The parts of the *syrtó* and their repetitions are shown in boxed text above the staff. With regard to the peculiarities of the following example, I have to note that the lyra player here introduces the *prótos syrtós*

starting on the second part, a practice that is relatively common in the performance of this particular *syrtó*, yet uncommon for most *syrtá*. One may also notice that at the beginning of the *syrtó*, the lead singer starts singing with an opening interjection (*Ohi moró mou*, 'oh my baby') during the second part of the *syrtó*, thus signalling to the lyra player to switch to the first part. Similar practices may be encountered in any *syrtó* and are usually performed by the most confident and skilled singers.

The musical score is written in 2/4 time with a key signature of one sharp (F#). It consists of five systems, each with a vocal line and a lyra line. The tempo is marked as 153 BPM. The score includes various performance markings such as *Solo*, *Tutti*, and section labels B1, B2, A1, A2, A3, and A4. The lyrics are in Greek and are placed below the vocal line.

System 1: Tempo $\text{♩} = 153$. Section label B1. The vocal line begins with a rest, followed by a melodic phrase. The lyra line is silent.

System 2: Measure 10. Section label A1. The vocal line continues with the lyrics: Ω χί μω ρό μου Μι. The lyra line plays a solo accompaniment.

System 3: Measure 18. Section label A2. The vocal line continues with the lyrics: σεύ - γει-εις χα(ι) δε-μέ - νο μου μι - σεύ-γεις μι-. The lyra line plays a tutti accompaniment.

System 4: Measure 26. Section label A3. The vocal line continues with the lyrics: σεύ-γεις χα-ϊ - δε-μέ - νο μου. The lyra line plays a tutti accompaniment.

System 5: Measure 34. Section label A4. The vocal line continues with the lyrics: Ω. The lyra line plays a solo accompaniment.

Figure 6.6. *Prótos syrtós* performance.

43 B2

χι μω-ρό μου Μι-σεύ-γεις χαϊ-δε

51 B3

με-νο μου Κι'ε-μέ-να πού μ'α-φεί νεις

59 B4

Tutti

άι-ντες κι'ε-μέ-να πού μ'α-φή νεις Μι-σεύ-γεις χαϊ δε

67 B5

με-νο μου Κι'ε-μέ-να πού μ'α φεί νεις

75 A1

84 A2

Solo

α- μά ν'α -μάν

Figure 6.6. *Prótos syrtós* performance.

93 A3 A4

πα - ρέ ————— με — για κου - ό νε ρό το νε - ρό —————

Tutti

101 A5

———— πα - ρέ με για κου ό νε - ρό κού νε - ρό ————— πα - ρε με για

109 A6 B1

κου - ό νε - ρό

118 B2

Solo

Ω ————— χι ————— μω ρό — μου πα

126 B3

ρε με για κου — ο — νε - ρό στο δρό - μο να με — πί — νεις

134 B4

Tutti

ά - ντες > στο δρό - μο να ————— με πι — νεις πα

Figure 6.6. *Prótos syrtós* performance.

142

ρε με για κρυ - ο νε - ρο στο δρό-μο να με πί- νεις

149 B5

Figure 6.6. *Prótos syrtós* performance.

<p><i>Μισεύγεις χαϊδεμένο μου κι εμένα πού μ' αφήνεις; πάρε με για κρύο νερό στο δρόμο να με πίνεις.</i></p>	<p><i>Misévgeis haideméno mou ki eména rou m'afíneis; páre me gia krío neró sto drómo na me píneis.</i></p>
--	---

*You're leaving my pampered and how
could you leave me; take me as cold
water for the road to drink.*

A *syrtó* is usually completed after a *mantináda* has been sung; that is, more often than not, a full ABAB circle.⁶ The first part of the *syrtó* accommodates the first half of the first verse of the *mantináda* while during the second part the performer repeats the first half before singing the rest of the first verse; in other words, he—or she—sings the whole of the first verse. The second and last verse of the *mantináda* is sung on the repetition of both parts shaping the ABAB form which is

⁶ As I have already mentioned, each part of a *syrtó* is repeated as many times as necessary. Thus, a detailed and correct representation of the form of a *syrtó* would be $x_1A-y_1B-x_2A-y_2B$ where x and y represent the multipliers of each part. I have chosen not to use this rather awkward way to express the form of a *syrtó*, but in every instance I refer to the ABAB form I do presuppose the presence of multipliers for each part.

common to all *syrtá*. Every soloing phrase is usually—depending on the eagerness of the participants—followed by a chorus response that repeats the lyrics sung by the lead singer. Commonly, singing does not start until the instrumentalists have already introduced both parts. However, since a performance of *syrtá* is usually not part of a rehearsed performance, the participants—including the instrumentalists—who may wish to sing solo may start at either an earlier or later point. If none of them is interested in singing a particular *syrtó*, then the lead instrumentalists may proceed to another after a few repetitions—that is in most cases after the second repetition of both parts. In some cases, a second *mantináda* may be introduced in the concluding repetitions of the second part following a BAB form with regard to singing, since in such cases the second *mantináda* begins at and shares the concluding second part of the previous *mantináda*.

As I have already mentioned above, the *syrtá* are usually associated with a specific *mantináda* whose opening lyrics are more often than not used as the title of the *syrtó*. Some of the oldest *syrtá* which are usually not attributed to a specific composer—such as *prótos syrtós*—, retain a large repository of *mantinádes* that are commonly employed in their performance. However, it is not uncommon for the performers to introduce their own choices from their repertory of *mantinádes* to any *syrtó* they like, either from a memorised repository of *mantinádes* that they cherish the most or—in the case of those who are most comfortable with the local lyrical idiom—*mantinádes* which they have composed or are improvising on the spot (see Sykäre (2011:152–7)). In the course of a performance, the participants—including the musicians—may alternate their roles as lead singers. This is usually accomplished without previous agreement, yet if two singers happen to start singing the soloing part of the *mantináda* together, one of them politely steps back.

The composition and the performance of a *syrtó* is based on the paradigm of the ensemble of the Cretan *zigiá*, which is that of the lyra—or less commonly the violin—and the laouto. What I wish to underline by characterising the local ensemble as a ‘paradigm’ is that the sound of any *syrtó* performed today has been greatly affected by the unwritten performance rules, balance and communication pattern that exist between the two instruments of the *zigiá*. Most of the relatively recent compositions—in other words those appearing after the establishment of the Cretan *zigiá* nearly a century ago, which perhaps represent the bulk of the

syrtá repertory—have most certainly been composed with the *zigiá* paradigm in mind. However—and considering that the *zigiá* is not age-old as discussed in a previous chapter—, even older compositions, such as *prótos syrtós*, have been adapted to and affected by the *zigiá*, thus shaping their sound to one with which a contemporary Cretan music enthusiast is familiar. In this way, the *zigiá* represents a way of thinking with regard to composing and performing in this musical genre.

Thus, a *syrtó* is composed and performed in accordance with the established unwritten rules related to the performance of Cretan music, according to which the lyra undertakes the leading role of performing the melody while the laouto maintains a rigid four quavers per bar, virtually uninterrupted, rhythmic accompaniment, either playing chords or performing the melody of a *syrtó* while maintaining a thick drone line achieved by regularly plucking on the upper bass strings of the instrument. Although there is usually only one lyra performing at any time, more than one, usually plucked accompanying instruments—most commonly laouta and mandolins—are welcome to participate in the performance. In some cases, especially when many laouta play together, this practice may generate a very loud and sometimes ‘messy’ performance, yet this predicament is often overlooked to the benefit of achieving wider participation. I will further elaborate on the matter of performance roles within the ensemble of the *zigiá*, as well as in the context of a *paréa* performance, in the following sections.

6.2 Structure and apparatus

6.2.1 Tonal centre, register and tuning

The tonal centre of a *syrtó*—as it similarly occurs in most pieces of the local repertory—is fixed; in other words, a *syrtó* that is written and performed from a specific tonal centre is virtually never transposed in a performance of Cretan music, either to accommodate a singer’s register or for other aesthetical reasons. A *syrtó* is composed and performed from a specific tonal centre and not only remains associated with it but, as I further discuss below, is also defined by the placement of its tonal centre and tonality in the perception of the performers and listeners of Cretan music. The importance of maintaining the tonal centre is related to a number of factors ranging from register and timbre to facilitating

wider participation in a *paréa* performance. Indeed, maintaining the tonal centre of a *syrtó* naturally appears as a fundamental parameter for building wider and easier participation. However, as I discuss below, I consider that it also relates to several other parameters that characterise the performance of Cretan music. It appears that this practice is also part of an intrinsic code of communication and it greatly contributes to the development of musical perception.⁷ Eventually, the central argument which I aspire to tackle through my approach is that maintaining the tonal centre of a *syrtó* is not just a random choice, and that the absence of transpositions in Cretan music is not a result of habit, ignorance or simplism. Rather, it not only greatly influences the overall sound of Cretan music, but also comprises an integral feature for the flow of a *paréa* performance.

Besides the confusion that the transposition of a *syrtó* could potentially generate between the performers during a *paréa*, a *syrtó* is composed with consideration for the instruments' capabilities. The prominent instruments for the performance of Cretan music today—namely the lyra and the laouto—have certain limitations in both register and playing techniques. The lyra with its three strings may be awkward to play in some tonalities, but even more significantly the laouto with its 'horizontal'⁸ performance and drone plucking techniques may greatly contribute to the transformation—or even the diminishment—of the overall sound of a tune if attempted in a different register. I have in many cases

⁷ An exception is *prótos syrtós* which may also be performed in A (see Kapsokavadis (2012) for a discussion on this matter). Many musicians and Cretan music enthusiasts would however argue that although the *syrtó* is virtually the same, many of its characteristics related to its role in the flow of the performance which I discuss in this section do indeed change. It is noteworthy that I have noticed that many laouto players follow a simpler harmonic accompaniment for the *prótos* in A. For example, in its first part it usually breaks down to G–A compared to G–D–E for the *prótos* in E. As I discuss further on in this chapter, the harmonic accompaniment varies between different laouto players.

⁸ By 'horizontal' performance, I refer to the technique of playing a melody on one string unlike on other stringed instruments, most commonly the guitar, which facilitate the performance from a specific left-hand position where the performer may play a melody by vertically alternating between strings without having to carry out rapid horizontal movements on the fingerboard. The laouto is mostly awkward in facilitating vertical performance techniques—especially between the lower A and E strings.

heard people describing the laouto performance as that of an ‘orchestra’ (*orhístra*), meaning that the fast alternations between the soloing line and drone plucking may, in the hands of a good player, create a textural density resembling that of many instruments performing together.⁹ Hence, the ability to pluck either G, D or A—the upper three double-course strings of the instrument that are often used as drone strings—while performing the melody on the lower strings is usually imperative for achieving the fullest capabilities of the instrument in a given performance.¹⁰

Even if a transposition of a *syrtó* would be in a comfortable register for both instrumentalists and singers and would allow the fullest performance capabilities for the laouto, still such a change could have adverse effects that could substantially alter the character of a *syrtó*. Changing the tonal centre would potentially require the instrumentalists to play a melody on a different string, something that could contribute to a subtle yet distinct change in the timbre of the performance of a *syrtó*. Furthermore, and on a different analytical layer, the tonal centre of a *syrtó* corresponds to its placement in the dynamic range of a *syrtá* performance with reference to its tonal centre and tonality. Considering the register and the performance limitations of the two principal musical instruments of the *zigiá*, the key or mode in which a *syrtó* is composed and performed represents an indication of the potential intensity of the piece. For example, a *syrtó* whose tonal centre is A or G is more often than not more spirited than a *syrtó* whose tonal centre is either E or D—where all four of the aforementioned tonal centres are the most common for the performance of *syrtá*—in which singers and

⁹ As a side note, a lyra player once told me that a good laouto player playing along with a mediocre lyra player may be able to carry out an acceptable performance; the opposite is not possible. Diminishing the ability of the laouto to generate what some of my interlocutors described as the sound of an orchestra by introducing a tonality that does not allow the player to seamlessly alternate between soloing and drone plucking may similarly degrade the overall sound of a performance.

¹⁰ The melodic lines on the laouto are usually performed on the lower A and E strings and thus the A string is not always available for sustaining drones. For melodies performed on the A string (usually in keys or modes that have D or G as their tonal centre), D and G strings are usually adequate as drones.

instrumentalists usually perform at a lower and hence less intense register. Consequently, the former are often used for the climaxes of a *seirá*—or in fact at the moments where the *paréa* is most high-spirited, where such ‘moments’ may circumscribe the performance of a whole *seirá*. Indubitably, the intensity of a *syrtó* is not only characterised by its corresponding tonal centre, but also by other factors such as its popularity, the skills of the instrumentalists and the eagerness of the participants; still the tonal centre—and consequently the register in which a composition develops—remains a pivotal factor for the function of a *syrtó* in the flow of a musical performance.

So the tonal centre greatly contributes to ascribing a specific character to a *syrtó*; a character which regardless of the musical and lyrical merits of a piece, signifies its placement in the course of a performance. Through a wider lens and if it may be assumed that a *seirá* is an autonomous performance entity, the individual *syrtá* may be seen as musical movements that may or may not introduce transpositions—and in most cases modulations too.¹¹ The lead performer—i.e. usually the lyra player—may decide on the flow of the individual *syrtá* based on a number of factors including tonal centre and register, tonality and popularity.¹² From this point of view, a transposition of a *syrtó* would be in antithesis to or could even break with this fundamental structure regarding the flow of a *seirá* of *syrtá*.

¹¹ The most common scales for the performance of Cretan music are major, minor, Hijaz and Uşşak, where the latter two represent full seven-note scales. I cannot be certain as to whether the aforementioned names by which locals refer to these tonalities are old or have been introduced by newer generations of musicians who have studied Middle Eastern musical genres and theory or have been interested in the genres of *smirnέiko* (literally, from Ismir, Smírni; see Pennanen (2004) for more information) and *rebetiko* which make extensive use of modal scales. For the matter of the introduction and use of modal scales in the aforementioned genres, see Pennanen (1997).

¹² The factor of popularity is a matter I do not discuss in this thesis since there is no absolute measurement for such a subjective parameter. However, I considered that it may be useful—that is for future reference—to take a ‘snapshot’ of a popularity scale including pieces of the repertory of *syrtá* that have been the most popular in *paréa* performances. This ‘snapshot’ is based on the aforementioned analysed sample of personal *paréa* recordings and is included in the appendix to this thesis. I have to emphasise that the sample is quite a subjective measurement based on the time and the regions in which I have conducted my fieldwork and, most importantly, the people I had the chance to meet and participate with in *parées*.

In other words, a *syrtó* is not associated with a specific tonal centre merely because of habit, but rather because its sentiment is intrinsically associated with specific ‘moments’ during the course of a *seirá*: moments when the spirits are high or moments where participation is being built, or moments when one needs a calm, relaxed performance. This is not only a matter of expression but also of choosing the right repertory; a strategy that is usually intertwined with the choice of tonal centre. One phrase I have often heard during the course of a *seirá* of *syrtá* is *anévasé mas* (‘take us higher’). It is usually addressed to the lyra player, and although it is not an explicit request to shift the tonal centre of the performance, it is most certainly implicitly associated with it.

What is however quite a usual practice is to tune the instruments a semitone or a whole tone higher than standard tuning—which is A–D–G for the lyra and E–A–D–G for the laouto. Although this practice is, in my experience, relatively rare in *parées*—most commonly with the exception of those performed among a few friends who are willing to experiment with their performance—, many of those who occasionally tune their instruments higher agree that this practice both lends an interesting—if not conclusively better—timbre to their instruments and allows good singers to develop—or test—their skills at a higher register. In the past, as may be discerned in many recordings by the *protomástores*, the tuning of an instrument was often shifted—usually up to several tones higher than the standard contemporary tuning—in order to accommodate, or highlight, the lead singer’s register capabilities. Also, some of these recordings reveal that tuning was in many cases carried out by ear rather than by the use of a reference pitch—such as the frequency of a tuning fork. Nowadays, musicians usually tune their instruments to the standard tuning and use more or less standard string gauge sets designed for that tuning.¹³ Clip-on tuners are readily available and cheap and

¹³ Lyra players commonly use strings made by the Italian string manufacturer Dogal (and in a few cases the German violin strings Pirastro). Dogal sells lyra strings either separately or in sets of three, explicitly designated for the ‘*Lira di Creta*’. Laouto players usually purchase their strings separately and experiment on the string gauges in relation to the peculiarities of their instrument. Among the commonest string labels are the Extra Laouto and Mastro, both made by manufacturers based in Greece. As an exception, virtually all laouto players prefer the G electric guitar string (0.30 mm) made by Dogal to use as the lower (higher-pitched) D string. However, laouto players often

so the process of tuning quickly and relatively accurately is easy, even in the noisiest environments, although during my fieldwork in Crete more and more musicians were using mobile phone tuning applications—at least during *paréa* performances.

Undoubtedly, the practice of tuning the instruments one or two semitones higher is not a transposition. However, even the older practice of tuning the instruments several tones higher is different from introducing a transposition. It is important to consider that many of the older generations of musicians may not have had the same perception with regard to tuning and pitch, rather thinking in terms of the *théseis* ('positions') of their fingers on the fingerboard of their instruments. Let me elaborate further on this point: in one case, a senior amateur lyra player could not identify the tuning of the individual strings of his lyra, nor was he using a tuner. Rather, he tuned the middle string at a pitch he considered neither too high nor too low, and would then use that string as a reference for tuning the other two. In his perception, the performance of a tune did not involve *nótes* ('notes') but positions on which he would have to place his fingers in order to play it. On one occasion, when I tried to indicate a string on his lyra by referring to it by its corresponding pitch, he simply retorted *den xéro nótes* ('I don't know notes'), by which he meant that he could neither read notation nor would—or perhaps could—he employ the concept of 'notes' in his approach to the lyra performance—in other words, the conception of standardising and naming the sound that his bow and fingers would produce.

Maintaining the tonal centre of a *syrtó* not only offers a commonly accepted code of communication between performers which greatly facilitates participation, but also sustains the harmonic and melodic identity of a given piece

experiment with different string brands. Sporadically, music shops in Rethemnos—which are often owned by Cretan music artists—introduce new brands of strings. For instance, Elixir acoustic guitar strings were claimed to have a very good sound and feel by a particular laouto player, although they would render an acoustic guitar tone to my ears. On a personal note, after much experimentation on my laouto I now use—upon the suggestion of the owner of one of the local music shops—the Austrian brand Thomastik-Infeld acoustic guitar strings, specifically, for A (0.15 mm and 0.30 mm), D (0.41 mm) and G (0.16 mm and 0.32 mm) strings (except for the aforementioned lower D) and Extra Laouto for the E strings (a pair of 0.17 mm).

of music, thus making it easier for the lead instrumentalist to choose the desired repertory in relation to the feelings that it provokes and to the spirits of his fellow participants at a given moment. As a result, many musicians develop a keen perception of the key or mode that is being played during a performance and many can very easily identify whether the instruments in a Cretan music ensemble are tuned higher than the standard tuning. This is not related to the rare human ability that is commonly referred to as ‘perfect’ or ‘absolute’ pitch, but rather to the ability to discern minute differences in the overall character of a tune in relation to the timbre of the instruments and the voices.

6.2.2 *Métro: music and dance*

The fundamental shape of a *syrtó*—that is two parts that comprise an ABAB form and of which the length is virtually always less than eight bars—constitutes a basis on which the overall code of musical participation is built; a code which allows for a virtually seamless communication between instrumentalists and singers. This basis is founded on dance, something that is not surprising considering that this family of the local repertory—similarly to most of its other families—has taken its name from its corresponding dance.¹⁴ This section is concerned with the relationship between music and dance which, I consider, reveals much about the very structure of the repertory of *syrtá*. Specifically, in the following text I aspire to discuss a peculiarity—an unwritten rule—with regard to the performance of *syrtá*; a peculiarity that is referred to as *métro* and which represents one of the most characteristic features of the repertory of *syrtá*, as well as an important part of the premise on which participation is built—regardless of how often the performers choose to adhere to it during a Cretan music performance.

As a peculiarity of the *syrtós* dance, its steps may easily fall out of synchronisation with the music. Although this is rarely considered to be a serious complication for the flow of a performance, many musicians and dancers believe that maintaining synchronisation is important. The *syrtós* dance has twelve

¹⁴ *Syrtós* is a very common name for traditional dances throughout Greece, and it roughly translates as ‘shuffling’ as opposed to the ‘leaping’ (*pidihtós*) dances such as *maleviziótis* and *soústa*. An interesting approach to the leaping dances in Crete is that of André Holzapfel (2017).

steps—that is without the improvisations that are usually made by experienced dancers who may add to or omit some of the basic steps. The dance steps correspond to the aforementioned maximum length of eight bars. In other words, a dance circle is completed with the conclusion of an eight-bar part of a *syrtó*. In the following example I present an illustration of the second part of the *prótos syrtós* including the corresponding dance steps annotated at the top of the melodic line:



Figure 6.7. The second part of *prótos syrtós* and the corresponding dance steps.

In this example,¹⁵ both the melody and the dance steps are synchronised and will remain so regardless of the number of repetitions performed, inasmuch as the length of the melodic circle corresponds to that of the dance circle. The emphases of the dance steps are on the first, fourth, seventh and tenth step, corresponding to several of the accented beats of the melody—specifically, that is at the beginning of every second bar.¹⁶ The transcription exemplifies the rudimentary structure

¹⁵ In all of the examples in this section I presuppose that the dance commences on the concluding note of a musical phrase (part). Practically, the dancers may also choose to place their first step at the beginning of the second bar of the melodic line (the third bar in Figure 6.7). This variation does not affect the arguments that are developed in this section and hence I have chosen to omit it in the interest of keeping my examples as coherent and consistent as possible. Based on the example of the second part of *prótos syrtós* from Figure 6.7, the variation would be the following:



I have chosen to employ the variation commencing on the concluding note for my examples since it retains a closer relation between the melodic and the dance circle and hence, I believe that it is more straightforward and simple for the purposes of a presentation. I must note that if the dance is performed in an orderly manner—that is, without dancers losing their steps or, most commonly, dancing out of phase—the two variations are not used interchangeably during the course of a single performance.

¹⁶ For this reason, some musicians maintain that the best choice for transcribing a *syrtó* is in $4/4$ rather than $2/4$ metre. However, due to the inconsistencies that may occur during the course of a *seirá*—which I discuss in this section—, I have preferred the simpler and more accurate $2/4$ metre.

that links music with dance; a basis that is supposed to be maintained regardless of any improvisations that the instrumentalists—especially the lead instrumentalist—may introduce in a performance. Local musicians refer to the correspondence between dance and music as *métro*.¹⁷ *Métro*, however, is not always as straightforward as in the previous example, since although the maximum eight-bar rule is maintained in the vast majority of *syrta*, shorter melodies are also very common.¹⁸ Such is the case for the first part of the *prótos syrtós*:



Figure 6.8. The first part of *prótos syrtós* and the corresponding dance steps.

Since the duration of the melodic and the dance circles is not the same, in this example each repetition of the melody corresponds to different steps of the dance circle. Even so, *métro* may still be maintained if the leading musician manages to conclude the repetitions of the part that he performs on the first step of the dance. The concluding E note of the first part of the *prótos syrtós* falls on the tenth step on the first repetition (as shown in Figure 6.8), the seventh on the second, the

¹⁷ Confusingly, the word *métro* ('metre') in Greek also refers to 'bar' and 'time signature'.

¹⁸ An interesting example of tacitly breaking with *métro* is the *syrto Xenes kardies* ('Others' hearts') composed by the popular lyra player Leonidas Klados (1925–2010). The composition introduces a six-bar bridge between the first and the second part, something that is relatively uncommon in the repertory of *syrta*. The bridge adheres to the first part—which develops in four bars—appearing right after the third bar of its last repetition, aggregating to a melody of nine bars in total (three bars from the first part plus the six-bar bridge). This not only makes it difficult for the lyra player to re-establish *métro* (since the second part is eight bars long and thus impossible to adjust the phase of the dance circle during its course regardless of how many times it is repeated), but it also tacitly breaks with the maximum eight-bar 'rule'. If indeed maintaining the *métro* is to be desired in the performance of this *syrto*, then the lyra player would have to introduce pauses in order to allow the dancers to come back in phase with the melody. The role of the intervening melody as a bridge rather than as a constituent part of the *syrto* makes this novelty acceptable and may even pass unnoticed, unless the lyra player and dancers are consciously striving to maintain the *métro*. Overall, in this particular composition Klados is tacitly bending the unwritten 'rules' that govern the composition of a *syrto*, although without completely breaking them.

fourth on the third and the first on the fourth, at which point dance and melody are once again synchronised. This series of repetitions follows an inherent logic of adding up the parts that are shorter than eight bars until they reach a number equal to a multiple of a full dance circle. The first part of *prótos syrtós* involves a six-bar phrase and thus the shortest number of repetitions necessary to reach an eight-bar multiple is four. This is achieved when the dance completes three circles (8 bars \times 3 = 24) while the melody has been repeated four times (6 bars \times 4 = 24), and where the first step of the dance circle once again synchronises with the concluding note of the melodic phrase.¹⁹ At this point, the lyra player may move to the second part or—if appropriate—repeat the circle. The following transcription demonstrates how a *prótos syrtós* will unfold if *métro* is maintained:

The musical score is written in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a 2/4 time signature. It consists of five staves of music. Above the first staff, bar numbers 1 through 12 are written, with a double bar line and repeat sign after bar 1. Above the second staff, bar numbers 10 through 12 are written, with a double bar line and repeat sign after bar 10. Above the third staff, bar numbers 19 through 23 are written, with a double bar line and repeat sign after bar 19. Above the fourth staff, bar numbers 28 through 31 are written, with a double bar line and repeat sign after bar 28. Above the fifth staff, bar numbers 35 through 41 are written, with a double bar line and repeat sign after bar 35. Section markers A1, A2, A3, A4, B1, and B2 are placed above the staves at various points. The music features a mix of eighth and quarter notes, often beamed together, and rests.

Figure 6.9. A *prótos syrtós* performance where *métro* is maintained by sustaining the appropriate number of repetitions of its first part.

¹⁹ This information stems from my apprenticeship on Cretan music and I am grateful to the laouto players Dimitris Sideris and Giorgos Xylouris (see Figure 6.10) who have emphasised this aspect of the performance of *syrtá* during their laouto seminars in the villages of Meronas and Houdetsi respectively.

Although repeating the parts of a *syrto* in order to maintain the *métro* is valid in theory, in practice it is a matter of preference—even in performances that accommodate dancing—and often uncommon in many performances that I have witnessed in the prefecture of Rethymnon. In most *parées* in which I have participated—where dancing was relatively rare—, the lyra player would adjust the number of repetitions so as to provide enough space for his personal expression and, most importantly, in order to accommodate the singing and its repetitions. For instance, in the transcription of *prótos syrto*s in Figure 6.6, the second repetition of the first part (bars 81 to 124) was repeated five times in order to accommodate the soloing and response of the singers. If there was dancing taking place, then the lyra player would either have to break with the *métro* and continue his performance as in the example, or play the first part a further three



Figure 6.10. The laouto player Giorgos Xylouris dancing while explaining *métro* during a laouto seminar in Houdetsi (September 2013).

times in order to synchronise the melody with the dance steps before proceeding to the second part of the *syrtó*. In *gléndia*, where dancing is common, maintaining the *métro* in a *seirá* of *syrtá* may be welcome, yet it is not a requisite.²⁰ Many lyra players—on whom falls the responsibility for maintaining the *métro*—may not bother with this detail or may even enjoy the ‘anarchy’ of people dancing out of *métro*.

It would be wrong to assume that *métro* is not relevant to performances where no dance takes place. *Métro* is not just a detail which the musicians may or may not choose to take account of in their performance, nor is it only applicable when there are people dancing to the sound of the music. Rather, *métro* is inherent in the composition of *syrtá* and represents an important part of the intrinsic logic related to their structure—especially in relation to the length and accentuation of the melodic phrases. Also, regardless of how often musicians adhere to it, *métro* contributes to the overall sound of the genre of *syrtá* since it structures the base on which the *syrtá* are composed, generating a more or less predictable foundation—an established ‘rule’ that governs compositions within this family of the local repertory—that greatly facilitates musical participation.

6.2.3 *Beginnings, endings and transitions*

Turino (2008:37–41) suggests that unclear beginnings and endings are common in the performances of many participatory musical genres since they comprise the simplest way through which the participants of a musical performance may intimate their wishes and ideas to their fellow players; specifically, by introducing them and implicitly requesting others to follow them. Having everybody follow a musical idea usually takes time, especially in large groups. Consequently, what Turino describes as the ‘feathered’ effect is generated, whereby a musical idea—such as a melody or a rhythm—gradually spreads from one person to the whole group of performers. Similarly, the ending of a performance is also coordinated until it comes to a definite end. Essentially this ‘feathered’ beginning and ending

²⁰ Unlike Rethymnon, maintaining the *métro* is considered important for the *syrtós* local dancing style in Chania, and especially in the region of Kissamos which is held to be the legendary birthplace of this dance.

effect is also often true for transitions within the performance, involving a participant introducing an idea and then more and more people following it before yet a new idea is introduced. Such performances often involve quite a dense structure of instrumental and vocal lines coordinated in an ‘in-synchrony but out-of-phase’ (see Feld (1990 [1982]; 2005 [1994]) performance. Feathered beginnings and endings—as well as transitions between individual pieces—are uncommon in *paréa* performances, even in the most populous ones that I have encountered, and even among people who may have never played together before. Rather, *paréa* participants use a traditionally established repository of melodic signs—or else ‘formulas’ as Turino (2008:38) describes them—to communicate their intentions and accomplish sharp beginnings, endings and transitions.

The aforementioned three phases are most important in understanding the flow of a performance of a *seirá* of *syrtá*. They facilitate the development of the underlying rationale of virtually every *paréa* performance, since they comprise the essential passages that link individual *syrtá* into a comprehensive and continuous *seirá* performance and, ultimately, as I discuss further below, a series of clearly distinguished *seirés* that constitute a *paréa* performance. In the case of beginnings and endings, these phases clearly distinguish the parts in which participants may actively socialise from those in which they are often expected to be attentive to the music, or at least to be discreet in any activities that are not directly related to the performance. These signals are usually conveyed by the leading instrumentalist, i.e. usually the lyra player, although it is not rare that in times of indecision in the leading instrumentalist—and especially in *parées* between close friends—other instrumentalists may suggest specific tunes by introducing them on their instruments.

The following transcriptions are extracted from personal *paréa* recordings in which the lyra player assumed the leading role. For most of the examples below I have chosen to include many instances of the performance of *prótos syrtós*, since this particular *syrtó* is already familiar from previous examples cited in earlier sections of this chapter. In the first two of the following examples, the lyra player

begins by performing the first part of a *syrtó* while the laouto enters on the concluding note:²¹

Figure 6.11. *Ine stigmés pou hérome* ('There are times when I'm happy'). Four-bar first part opening phrase. As in previous examples, the boxed text indicates the part of the *syrtó* and the number of its repetition.

Figure 6.12. *Ela san éheis órexi* ('Come if you like', originally: *Na mpóries me ta máthia mou* – 'If you could see through my eyes'). Four-bar first part opening phrase. The opening may be heard on the accompanying compact disc.

²¹ In the majority of the examples in this section, the laouto players perform *voúrtsa* (literally 'brush', taking its name from the usually exaggerated motion of the laouto players' right hand 'brushing' all the strings in upwards and downwards motions), a distinct type of *páso* (literally 'pace', 'accompaniment') that is both harmonic and rhythmic since it usually involves the intentional striking of the plectrum on the pick-guard of the instrument, on each of the upwards and downwards movements, generating a continuous and characteristic percussive effect. Thus, I have chosen to emphasise this characteristic by annotating the laouto performance with arrows pointing to the direction of the strokes of the plectrum (down for down strokes and up for up strokes). Furthermore, the chords performed by the laouto players are preferential, varying from unison (for example D–D–D), fifth (D–D–A or A–D–A), to major or minor. For this reason, I do not indicate the identity of the chord—also because it is nearly impossible to accurately discern the identity of a chord in a multiple laouto performance that involves continuous strokes of the plectrum on the pick-guard. Rather, I am placing the chord letters in parentheses by which I indicate that it may be either a unison, a fifth, a major or minor.

In both of the previous examples, the lyra players perform the first part of each *syrtó*—of which the length is four bars in both cases—and the laouto players commence their accompaniment on the concluding note. In other cases, where the opening part may be longer, the accompanying instruments may occasionally start before the end of the introductory part. This is the case of *prótos syrtós* below in which the lyra player chose to commence with the second part:

The musical score is written for two staves: Lyra (top) and Laouto (bottom). The time signature is 2/4 and the tempo is marked as ♩ = 140. The key signature has one sharp (F#). The Lyra part begins with a B1 chord and a melodic line consisting of eighth and quarter notes. The Laouto part begins with a D chord and a rhythmic accompaniment of eighth notes. The score consists of eight bars.

Figure 6.13. *Prótos syrtós* opening with the second part.

Similarly, in the following example the length of the opening part is eight bars. However, in this particular case the entrance of the accompanying instruments does not occur simultaneously. The mandolin player performs the last three bars of the opening part along with the lyra player before the concluding note where both of the accompanying instruments start playing *voúrtsa*. This practice is common since the mandolin, when present, is expected to work closely with the lyra on the soloing. Being high-pitched and with relatively limited ability to accompany as intensely as the laouto—which, however, may also introduce soloing while keeping the *páso* (‘pace’) of the performance—the mandolin usually plays the melody in unison with the lyra.

The musical score for Figure 6.14 consists of three staves: Lyra, Mandolin, and Laouto. The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 2/4. The tempo is marked as 129. The Lyra staff begins with a first ending (A1) and a 'repetition' bracket over the first six bars. The Mandolin and Laouto staves have a (D) chord marking at the end of the first system. The second system starts at measure 9 with a second ending (A2) and another 'repetition' bracket over the first six bars of that system.

Figure 6.14. *Enas psarás géro psarás* ('A fisherman, an old fisherman'), opening with the first part. Note that the first two bars in this *syrtó* are repeated as shown in the transcription, augmenting the phrase from six to eight bars. These extra two bars are customarily performed during the introduction and repetition of the first part of this particular *syrtó*, yet they are not played during the singing parts.

Although the laouto players rarely commence by playing solo, it is neither required nor necessarily expected of them to commence by playing *voúrtsa*—which, depending on the particular piece, may sometimes sound too harsh. Such is the case in the following example where the laouto player is keeping the *páso*—which in its basic form is four quavers per bar—while alternating it with the melody:

The musical score for Figure 6.15 consists of two staves: Lyra and Laouto. The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 2/4. The tempo is marked as 128. The Lyra staff begins with a first ending (A1) and a second ending (A2). The Laouto staff plays a steady accompaniment of four quavers per bar.

Figure 6.15. *Kósma de théne na thoroún* ('People don't want to see'), opening with the first part.

However, there is certainly more room for imaginative openings than simply playing either the first or second part of a *syrtó*. In some cases, a resourceful lyra player may improvise in the opening part of a *syrtó*—or, in fact, choose an opening from a rich repository of ideas that are either employed in live performances or have been recorded in the rich commercial recording history of Cretan music—while being cautious that his improvisation will not hinder his fellow performers from quickly grasping the identity of the *syrtó*. In the following example, the lyra player performs the last four bars of *prótos syrtós* which, in the case of this particular *syrtó*, are common for both of its parts. As shown in the transcription, the laouto player indeed quickly grasps the identity of the *syrtó* and introduces the subtonic chord before starting to play *voúrtsa* on the tonic.

The image shows a musical transcription for two instruments: Lyra and Laouto. The top system is in 2/4 time with a key signature of one sharp (F#). The tempo is marked as 135. A bracket labeled "opening phrase" spans the first four bars of the Lyra part. The Laouto part has rests in the first two bars, then chords (D) and (E) in the third and fourth bars, followed by a rhythmic pattern. The bottom system starts at bar 6, with a Lyra part featuring a trill (tr) and a Laouto part with a rhythmic pattern and chords (D) and (E).

Figure 6.16. *Prótos syrtós* opening phrase which incorporates the last four bars of either the first or the second part (designated 'opening phrase' in the transcription). It is worth mentioning that the transcription is extracted from a performance where the instrumentalists had agreed to tune their instruments higher than the standard tuning (approximately eighty cents).

Yet another case of creatively engaging with the introduction of *prótos syrtós* is the following transcription in which the lyra player performs an improvisation based on the last three bars of the opening part:

The image shows a musical score for two instruments: Lyra and Laouto. The score is in 2/4 time and has a tempo of 137. The key signature has one sharp (F#). The first system consists of six measures. The Lyra part starts with a 7-measure rest, then plays a melodic line with trills (tr) and accents (^^) over the remaining measures. The Laouto part is mostly silent, with a final measure marked (E) showing a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes. The second system starts at measure 7 with an 'Al' marking. The Lyra part continues with a melodic line and trills, while the Laouto part plays a consistent eighth-note accompaniment.

Figure 6.17. *Prótos syrtós* opening phrase.

The principle for ending a *seirá* of *syrtá* is simple: after the conclusion of the singing part of a *syrtó*, the accompanying instruments are expecting that the lyra player will either continue by introducing a new *syrtó* or perform a melodic signal declaring his intention to stop. To signal the conclusion of a *seirá*, the lyra player usually performs an accented subtonic note which generally brings a rapid halt to the flow of the performance. The subtonic is usually followed by either a pause or a *ritenuto* which leads to the tonic. The introduction of a pause in the flow of a melody after the end of the singing part of a *syrtó* accompanied by the subtonic is thus usually an unmistakable signal of the lyra player's intention to stop the performance. Upon hearing the signal, the accompanying instruments are expected to pause and wait for the lyra player to play the tonic, upon which they too perform the concluding chord. This principle is shown in the following example in which the lyra player adds a series of *glissandi* in his concluding performance of the subtonic and tonic:

Figure 6.18. *Ponó kai póno* ('I hurt, but pain...'), concluding phrase. For the examples of endings and transitions, I have chosen to indicate the number of repetitions in the transcription regardless of how many were actually played in the recording.

Similarly, in the next example, the lyra player performs the supertonic, the subtonic and eventually, after a short pause, the tonic:

Figure 6.19. *Prótos syrtós*, second 'movement', concluding phrase. The recording of this transcription is included in the accompanying compact disc (track 17).

There certainly cannot be endless opportunities for the lead instrumentalist to improvise imaginative endings, since their primary function is to communicate his intentions through a short melodic signal; a signal that has to be quickly understood by his fellow players. However, this does not imply that lyra players cannot be imaginative in the ways they choose to signal the end of a performance. This is the case in the following example where the lyra player performs a descent

from the median to the supertonic and then to the tonic. The employment of brief pauses between the three notes is certainly important for clarifying the lyra player's intention to stop.

Figure 6.20. *Prótos syrtós*, concluding phrase. One may notice that the submediant (sixth degree, that is F in the transcription) often carries a sharp accidental. This is common in the performance of *prótos syrtós* either from E or from A, yet it is primarily emphasised in the latter case since, primarily due to the register of the local instruments, the phraseology employed in its variations usually moves downwards and below the middle tonic.

It is worth noting that sometimes—and in most cases performed as a jest in *parées* between close friends—the accompanying players may not stop after the signal has been played, protesting that the *seirá* should keep on going. This is common in instances where the lyra player may be considered introvert and thus in need of encouragement to keep on playing.

Of beginnings, endings and transitions, it is perhaps the latter that offer the most opportunities for improvisation. A transition represents the way in which a lyra player chooses to move from one *syrtó* to the next during the course of a *seirá* of *syrtá*. Transitions may be carried out instantaneously or may involve short phrases that introduce the next *syrtó*—especially in cases that involve a change in tonality and tonal centre. The transitions' sole function with regard to communicating one's intentions is that of establishing the appropriate chord and thus smoothly moving on to the next piece.

Essentially, for a transition the lyra player concludes the performance of the first *syrtó* and then establishes the tonal centre of the next *syrtó*—if different—before starting to play it. As mentioned above, the accompanying instruments

perform *voúrtsa* towards the end of a *syrtó* while expecting the lyra player to either introduce a new *syrtó* or conclude the performance. If the lyra player does not signal them to stop, then they keep on playing *voúrtsa* while sustaining the concluding chord of the previous *syrtó*. During this threshold, the lyra player often thinks about what to play next and thus it is not unusual to have brief pauses or prolonged sustains of a single note. It is worth mentioning that on rare occasions—and in most cases in *parées* between close friends—when the lyra player wishes to play a specific piece but has momentarily forgotten its melody, he may verbally ask for a reminder from the accompanying instrumentalists.

In the example below, the lyra player is maintaining the same tonal centre while the prolonged B notes indicate that he is perhaps considering what to play next. All of the following transcriptions are extracted from a *seirá* of *syrtá* that is included in the accompanying compact disc. Also, I have chosen to indicate the parts before, during and after the transition by brackets above the staff. In all of the examples, ‘second part’ indicates the last complete repetition of the second part of the ending *syrtó*, while ‘first part’ represents the first repetition of the first part of the newly introduced *syrtó*.

Figure 6.21. *Tis níhtes tha 'ho sintrofiá* ('I'll have the nights as company') – *Sa tzi Madáras to vounó* ('Like the mountain of Madara').

In the case of the following example, the lyra player had either chosen the next *syrtó* before the start of the transition or had at least decided to shift the tonal centre from F to A and then chose the particular *syrtó* during the transition. Also, note that the last repetition of the second part of the ending *syrtó* was cut after its fourth bar (the twelfth bar in the transcription) shortly before the lyra player establishes A as the new tonal centre.

Figure 6.22. *‘Ospou na zei o ánthropos* (‘For as long as man lives’) – *Sklirá i tíhi me htípá* (‘Fate strikes me hard’). The concluding note in parenthesis was not performed.

As in the previous example, in the following transcription the lyra player employs a similar strategy whereby he shifts the tonal centre from D to A. He does so by establishing the tonal centre around A and introducing B flat in the intonation of the performance.

Figure 6.23. *Den tha sou po hrónia pollá* ('I won't say happy birthday to you', originally: *Tréhoun ta máthia dákria* – 'My eyes are full of tears') – *'Ola gia séna ta 'peksa* ('I risked everything for you').

Yet in some—relatively rare—cases, the lyra player may instantly change from one *syrtó* to the next without introducing a transition part. This is the case in the next example in which the lyra player practically employs the first bars of the new *syrtó* as a transition phase. The laouto players cannot react to the change instantaneously and thus they only switch to the appropriate chord at the third bar of the new *syrtó* (the eleventh bar in the transcription).

Figure 6.24. *'Ola gia séna ta 'peksa* ('I risked everything for you') – *San tzi Madáras to vounó* ('Like the mountain of Madara').

Essentially, during transitions, all of the accompanying instruments are expected to submit to the leadership of the lyra player in making decisions on the choice of the repertory. Upon completing the transition and establishing a new *syrtó*, all accompanying instrumentalists are free to play according to their own wishes, usually by alternating between soloing and playing *voúrtsa*. It is important to note that since many *syrtá* were originally commercially recorded in pairs, the transitions employed in these recordings are usually performed in participatory performances. In such instances, some of the accompanying instrumentalists may play the melodic line along with the lyra player.

Naturally, those performers who play together on a regular basis may develop their own ways for communicating with each other; ways that may be far more complex than the musical signals I have quoted in my examples. Still, it is important to emphasise that the mechanisms I have described in this section are part of a traditionally established repository for 'speaking' this musical language with other people—people who have grown-up in the same musical tradition, but whom one may have never met or played with before. The development of such mechanisms in the core of this musical tradition and as an intrinsic part of one's apprenticeship in Cretan music allows for seamless communication, not only between the members of a musical ensemble, but virtually between every person who shares the same enthusiasm and an adequate degree of practical knowledge of this musical tradition.

6.2.4 Improvisation

Improvisation is an intrinsic part of virtually every performance of Cretan music. As one may notice from all the previous transcriptions of recorded performances of *prótos syrtós* (specifically, Figures 6.6, 6.13, 6.16, 6.17 and 6.20), the repetitions of each part are rarely identical. Even in the transcription of the complete performance of *prótos syrtós* (Figure 6.6), where one of the primary reasons I chose to include it among the illustrations in this chapter was the relatively simple variations performed by the lyra player, one may observe the more or less obvious differences between the repetitions of each part. The rest of the aforementioned

examples, although short, reveal several imaginative approaches to the performance of *prótos syrtós*.

As mentioned above, there is no standard simple melody for the performance of a *syrtó*, but rather a repository of traditionally established variations and melodic phrases which a performer may choose from and blend together in his performance—a process that may engender yet new variations and phrases, as I discuss below. However, it is relatively easy to discern a rudimentary melodic pattern—a skeleton—that underlies virtually every performance of a *syrtó*, regardless of the variation introduced by the performers. The skeleton of *prótos syrtós* is shown in the following examples:²²

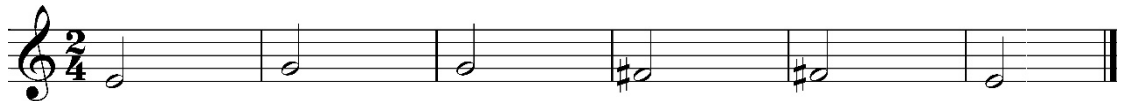


Figure 6.25. Skeleton of *prótos syrtós*, first part.

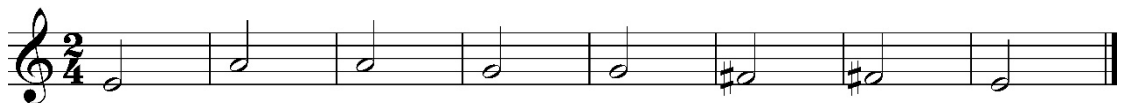


Figure 6.26. Skeleton of *prótos syrtós*, second part.

²² The reduction of the parts of a *syrtó* into its basic notes resembles a Schenkerian analysis, although the examples were neither deducted following Schenker's analytical methods nor do they serve the same analytical purposes. Furthermore, it is not within the scope of this chapter—that is the demonstration of the proximity between musical participation and music per se—to offer any thorough musical analysis of the family of *syrtá*. An interesting account of the possibilities of applying Schenkerian analysis in the field of ethnomusicology is that of Stock (1993).

I was introduced to this Schenkerian-like approach to *prótos syrtós*—and by extension to every *syrtó*—during a series of laouto seminars with Dimitris Sideris in the village of Meronas in 2013. Upon reflecting on Dimitris' view of the analysis of *prótos syrtós* and discussing it with other musicians in Crete, I realised that at least some of the local musicians considered it quite a natural way to look at a *syrtó*, regardless of whether they were actually thinking of this structure when performing it. Thus, a skeleton is neither an entirely analytical view of a *syrtó*, nor is it, as I discuss in this section, an actual variation on its performance.

A skeleton does not represent a melody that is actually performed—although parts of it may occur at instances where the lead instrumentalist may choose to offer a quite subtractive variation in his performance—nor is it a structure that a performer is necessarily consciously thinking of while performing a *syrtó*. Also a skeleton, as presented above, is not—to my knowledge—something that a local music teacher will instruct his students to play before moving to the ‘real’ *syrtó*. Yet this rudimentary structure not only reveals the basic form upon which improvisation is built, but also, as I discuss in more detail below, exemplifies the intrinsic logic with regard to how the performance of a *syrtó* functions as a domain that encourages both wider participation and virtually inexhaustible individual creativity.²³

An instrumentalist does not learn how to play a *syrtó* by learning its constituent notes like the ones in the examples above, but by imitating one or multiple of its variations—variations that he may have heard from other lyra players being performed live, or by listening closely to commercial recordings, or those that his teacher may have instructed him to play. This is not a process in which a performer has to memorise a specific repertory of variations. Rather, the performer gradually incorporates new phraseology in his own performances as part of his efforts to enhance and enrich his performances and, ultimately, to develop his personal performance style. Eventually, this results in the accumulation of experience; a knowledge of how to approach and offer variations to the parts of a *syrtó* in accordance with the mechanisms and the phraseology he has assimilated while imitating other players during the formative period of his apprenticeship in this musical tradition.

This practice is not explicitly recognised as ‘improvisation’ (*aftoshediasmós*), a term that is usually reserved for occasions where a performer is free to play outside the realm of pre-existing melodic structures such as that of a *syrtó*.

²³ It could be argued that a *syrtó* is thus what Nettl (1974) refers to as a ‘model’ upon which improvisation is built—with what I referred to as the ‘skeleton’ being the bare bones of this model. Furthermore, following Nettl’s use of the term ‘density’, the model of improvisation employed in the performance of *syrtá* could be classified among those models of medium to high density, which is perhaps the reason why it is not after all explicitly referred to as *aftoshediasmós* (‘improvisation’ as I discuss below).

Aftoshediasmós is a word employed to describe the introductory improvisations—referred to as *taxímia* (s. *taxími*)—that are usually performed by the lyra player before the beginning of a *seirá* of *syrtá* or, less commonly, the melodic phrases that occur during transitions between *syrtá*; phrases which are not part of a pre-existing melodic structure. In other pieces of the local repertory—most prominently in *amanédes*—*aftoshediasmós* may be introduced at various points of their performance.²⁴ Rather, the aforementioned creative engagement within the performance of a *syrtó* is referred to as *fantasía* (‘imagination’)²⁵ and many musicians and enthusiasts of this musical tradition consider it to be a very important aspect of a good performance.²⁶ The highly repetitive structure of a *syrtó* performance may become monotonous or even meaningless if the musicians—and especially the lead instrumentalist—play the same variations of the parts of a *syrtó* without building on them creatively. With the introduction of *fantasía*, the players are able to convey a sense of purpose through the flow of a performance.

Although *fantasía* is fundamentally based on mimesis—in other words, on the adaptation of phraseology of pre-existing melodic material—the process through which a musician employs the melodic material in his performance is largely improvisatory. Having memorised many variations through his continuous practice on the instrument, a performer is instinctively involving parts of his

²⁴ It should be noted that the composition of *mantinádes* during the course of a performance is also referred to as *aftoshediasmós* (see Sykäre 2011:152–7).

²⁵ *Fantasía* (‘imagination’) should not be confused with the term *fantasia* with reference to a musical composition, which is a word that is also employed in the Greek language, yet with a different meaning. Both words sound the same in Greek, yet the latter is a reborrowing from the German *phantasie*. Kevin Dawe pointed out this similarity to me during a personal communication and noted that during his fieldwork in Crete, he heard people using the word in a derogatory sense in order to refer to long improvisations performed by Cretan music artists, usually influenced by other—in most cases Middle Eastern—musical traditions.

²⁶ This is a reminder of the notion of improvisation (*khalāqiat*) in Persian music. In her article *The song of the nightingale*, Nooshin (1998) opens her discussion by paralleling a performance of Persian classical music with the song of the nightingale which never repeats itself, according to the Iranian popular belief.

phraseological repertory without however necessarily replicating any single variation from those he has learnt.

Fantasía is a form of improvisation that represents one of the keys for creative engagement within the otherwise highly repetitive structure of *syrtá*. Yet it is more than just a way to make a *syrtó* sound more interesting. For this matter, it is important to consider Turino's (2008) view, according to which the different performance roles that co-exist during the course of a participatory performance demand 'the right balance of challenge and acquired skills' (p. 31). For the less experienced instrumentalists, the repetitive structure of the performance of *syrtá* invites participation by allowing them to engage in the performance by repeating the same or slightly different variations of a *syrtó* or even by learning how to perform a piece on the spot—as discussed in the case of the young mandolin player in the previous chapter. On the other hand, for the more experienced instrumentalists, *fantasía* is the single most important characteristic that will allow them to take interest in and enjoy playing in *parées* which may include a majority of less experienced instrumentalists.

Improvisation—and specifically the concept of *fantasía*—is one of the key aspects that makes the co-existence of novice and experienced players possible and enjoyable in the context of a single performance, since it allows the existence of an 'expanding ceiling of challenges' (see Turino 2008:4–5) for all performers. It is one of the most important characteristics of the performance of Cretan music that make a performance interesting and challenging for virtually all participants. It is a seamless engagement of different skills within a single performance; a performance in which everyone may participate—from a novice to an experienced performer.

6.2.5 Singing

Naturally, singing is the means through which wider participation is achieved in virtually every *paréa*. The way the singing parts are structured and separated between solo and *tutti* allows for various levels of participation, facilitating both for the participants who are eager to actively participate and for those who are reluctant to stand out and sing solo, but who do enjoy taking part in a *paréa* by

listening and singing along the chorus response in the *tutti* parts. Thus, one might suggest that the singing structure constitutes a compromise towards wider participation. However, this is not trading what a local enthusiast would refer to as a good performance between skilled musicians and singers for the sake of wider participation. Virtually every participant's contribution is not only valued for one's potential in playing or singing, but also for one's contribution in the chorus response and, as emphasised in the previous chapters, for one's ability to encourage others to actively participate in the *paréa*; characteristics that in most cases lead to high spirits and, more often than not, to better musical performances.

As I have briefly described above, the flow of singing develops on the ABAB form of a *syrtó* in which each of its parts corresponds to a specific point in the singing of the *mantináda*: the first part of a *syrtó* accommodates the singing of the first half of the first verse, which is then repeated in the second part where the whole verse is sung. The same pattern is repeated for the second part of the couplet,²⁷ eventually resulting in an ABAB form with an indefinite number of repetitions for each part. Commonly—and perhaps in the form of an unwritten rule—the lead instrumentalist usually repeats the part once or twice after the singing concludes in order to allow enough space before the introduction of the next part—or the next *syrtó*. The soloing part of the *mantináda* is sung by a single participant and the division between soloing and *tutti* parts is usually clearly distinguished, even in *parées* among close friends in which one would perhaps expect any performance rules to be more lax. It is generally considered inappropriate for one to sing along while another participant is soloing and although this 'rule' is sometimes broken, still it represents an important characteristic for achieving an aesthetically pleasing performance with relatively clear performance roles and challenges for every participant. However, there are occasions where the boundaries between solo and *tutti* are broken, although this may occur for relatively short periods of time. Such occasions include the highest climaxes of a *paréa* performance where multiple participants are eager to sing

²⁷ As mentioned in a previous chapter, the two verses of a couplet are separated by a semicolon in all of my examples in this thesis.

together, or during the last phases of a *paréa* performance where participants may either feel too tired to follow any rules or have little interest in continuing the performance.

When the soloing singer completes the *mantináda*, another participant may assume his role. As noted above, this is done without any previous agreement and in cases where two singers start at the same time, one of them politely steps back. Although in most cases where such overlaps occur, one of the singers continues singing the *mantináda*, sometimes this is not done seamlessly: in one case, a younger and less experienced participant and a senior, seasoned and regionally renowned singer both started to sing a *mantináda* stopping after a few syllables upon realising the presence of the other singer. Both parties—the former out of respect for his senior and seasoned *paréa* participant, the latter due to his sense of obligation to give way to a younger participant—stepped back to allow the other to sing the *mantináda*. After both of them stopped, the older called the name of the younger, urging him to resume singing. After a few seconds and upon realising that the younger participant was now reluctant to start again, the older singer, along with other seasoned participants, started singing the soloing part of the *mantináda* together, perhaps as a way of showing the younger participant that they were primarily enjoying participating rather than caring too much about abiding with the unwritten solo and *tutti* rules.

The following transcription focuses on singing and is based on the complete transcription of *prótos syrtós* that I have cited above (Figure 6.6), performed by a regionally renowned singer during a *paréa* performance in the village of Melambes. The repetitions in this performance are clear, in other words they have been sung unanimously by a large number of participants following a disciplined solo and *tutti* division in which the latter was sung both loudly and in synchrony following the characteristic regional style of repetitions as I discuss below. The transliterated overview of the singing parts in the following transcription clearly illustrates the development of the *mantináda* as part of the performance of the *syrtó*. The interjections, such as *ohi moro mou* ('oh my baby'), *amán* and *áides*, have been included in the transcription and, as mentioned above, are part of a common practice usually occurring at the beginnings of the singing parts.

first part

*Ohi, moró mou... misévgéis
haideméno mou*

solo

tutti

*Misévgéis haideméno mou...
misévgéis, misévgéis haideméno
mou*

second part

*Ohi, moró mou... misévgéis
haideméno mou ki eména pou
m'afíneis*

solo

tutti

*Aides ki eména pou m'afíneis...
misévgéis haideméno mou ki
eména pou m'afíneis*

first part

*Aman aman... páre me gia krío
neró*

solo

tutti

*To neró... páre me gia krío neró...
páre me gia krío neró*

second part

*Ohi, moró mou... páre me gia
krío neró sto drómo na me
píneis*

solo

tutti

*Aides, sto drómo na me píneis...
páre me gia krío neró sto drómo
na me píneis*

Figure 6.27. An overview of the vocal performance pattern as carried out in the transcription in Figure 6.6.

The singing line in *syrtá* is quite demanding both melodically and rhythmically. Becoming a good singer—in other words, a recognised singer, at least at a regional level—not only requires skill, mostly what one may refer to as a ‘good voice’, but also imagination. The manners in which a singer may begin, end and embellish his performance represent a form of improvisation which is challenging and allows enough room to distinguish a good singer not only in terms of the timbre and correctness of his voice, but also in relation to his ability to offer an interesting and ingenious performance.²⁸

Furthermore, the choice of the *mantináda* is important although not entirely dependent on the singer’s personal preferences. As I have noted above, some *mantinádes* are customarily associated with specific *syrtá*. Regardless of how old this habit is, it has certainly been reinforced by the introduction of commercial recordings which crystallised the association of some *mantinádes* with specific *syrtá*—with that applying especially for the *syrtá* which were first introduced as new compositions in recordings since the era of the first commercial recordings, and which are more often than not associated with only one *mantináda*. This habit has generated a strong association between the musical and the lyrical part of a *syrtó*: during my fieldwork, on a few occasions I had the chance to witness debates over whether it is appropriate for a singer to perform any *mantináda* he likes or whether he should always sing the *mantináda* associated with a *syrtó*. Some believe that performing a different *mantináda* from the one recorded by the composer of a *syrtó* is aesthetically inappropriate. One particular interlocutor suggested that if a singer would like to sing a different *mantináda*, he would first have to sing the original by way of paying tribute to the composer. In practice however, and especially among people who have spent much of their lives performing in *parées*, there is sometimes a tendency to associate more than one *mantináda* to many *syrtá*, or—far less often, at least in my experience—even improvise new ones on the spot.

²⁸ For instance, I have often heard Cretan music enthusiasts point out that the celebrated lyra player Thanasis Skordalos did not have a great voice, yet his abilities to offer unique performances following a personal and imaginative vocal style are valued highly, and some local performers try to imitate his style in their performances.

As briefly mentioned previously in this chapter, a participant may introduce a second *mantináda* in the same *syrtó*. This is usually—if not always—performed by a different participant from the one who sung the first *mantináda*. My analysis of personal recordings of *paréa* performances (see Appendix) reveals that nearly eight and a half per cent of the recorded *syrtá* were performed with a second *mantináda*, while an extra two per cent were performed with more than two *mantinádes*—where eight is the highest recorded number of *mantinádes* in a single *syrtó*. There are four instances of *syrtá* in which a second *mantináda* is sung in the *seirá*, included in the compact disc accompanying this thesis.

A participant's intention to sing an extra *mantináda* is usually signalled by starting to sing a *mantináda* towards the end of the second part of a *syrtó*, right after the chorus response of the previous *mantináda* is completed and before the lead instrumentalist moves to another *syrtó*. As briefly noted above, the newly introduced *mantináda* will thus share the second part of the *syrtó* with the previous *mantináda* in which the whole first line of its couplet is sung. This means that if five *mantinádes* are sung in a single *syrtó*, the form of the overall performance of the *syrtó* would be ABAB–AB–AB–AB–AB, since the beginning of each couplet following the first *mantináda* would share the second part of the *syrtó* with the previous *mantináda*.

This is not the only way in which a second *mantináda* may be introduced. Sometimes the lyra player may repeat a *syrtó* in order to sing a *mantináda* that he personally wants. Also, it may be customary to sing a second *mantináda* in a specific *syrtó*. In other cases, the lead instrumentalist may be verbally requested to repeat a *syrtó* by a participant who does not wish to start his *mantináda* on the second part. In these instances, a second repetition would just repeat the *syrtó* from the top and the form would be shaped ABAB–ABAB. I must note that in the case of the *seirá* in the accompanying compact disc, it happens that most of the examples of the performance of a second *mantináda* follow an ABAB–ABAB form.²⁹

When some interlocutors in Crete asked me the question of 'which' *paréa* I would be studying, I had noted, as discussed in the second chapter, that the

²⁹ Specifically, tracks 10, 12 and 13. The repetition on track 1 follows the ABAB–AB form.

question was—among other things—related to the repertory that seems to be in favour in different regions around Crete. However, there is a more specific characteristic that resides within this question. As briefly noted in the second chapter—specifically through the example of the village of Melambes—, this characteristic is related to singing and specifically to the style according to which the participants repeat the verses introduced by the soloing singer. The way that the *tutti* parts are sung is not verbally pre-agreed among the participants of a *paréa*. Rather, it is traditionally established in regions, possibly following the examples of a series of good singers who have shaped the singing style of these regions over the years.³⁰ I am not going to discuss the peculiarities of each singing style since it is not in the interest of this chapter to illustrate this unquestionably important aspect of local practical knowledge. However, only by the fact that the style of singing of the chorus response is a key characteristic for distinguishing *parées* from different regions, one may easily understand the value of this performative aspect for the development of a good *paréa*.

A *kalí paréa* ('good *paréa*'), as discussed in the previous chapters, is a qualitative evaluation which is more often than not related to the levels of participation. In many *parées* where there is only a small number of active participants, the soloing singer may in many cases be the only one responding to the solo. This is not necessarily a sign of a 'bad' *paréa* performance—in other words, a not *kalí paréa*—, especially when the *paréa* is small in numbers and in which many of the participants are reluctant to sing but do enjoy and are attentive to the musical performance. Also, in many cases strong chorus responses emerge gradually—as the performance moves on and the participants warm up—and are dependent on various factors, many of which I have discussed in the course of this thesis, such as food and drink, the participants' seating and movement in space, as well as the presence of seasoned *paréa* participants and *meraklides*.

³⁰ For instance, in Melambes the local Cretan music enthusiasts praise the contribution of Hatzidovaggelis (Vaggelis Hatzidakis, 1909–1965), a local lyra player and singer who has become a figure of almost legendary proportions. For more information see <http://www.melabes.gr/component/content/article/55-protomastores/130-xatzidakis-baggelis>, accessed 7 February 2018.

However, a loud and constant *tutti* performance throughout or for the majority of a *paréa* performance usually not only unmistakably indicates a good *paréa*, but also bears witness to the presence of seasoned *paréa* participants. On a next level, when the chorus responses are loud, constant, clear, and rhythmically and melodically in unison, this often signifies a *paréa* performance that could be one of those that I referred to as archetypal *parées* in the second chapter, such as the *melambianí paréa*. Ultimately, a strong—and preferably well sung—*tutti* performance which involves virtually all participants, not only sounds better—or even ‘breath-taking’ in some cases—but also generates the pleasing feeling of being in synchrony with other people (see Turino (2008: 41–44)); a characteristic that is of primary importance in *paréa* performances.

6.2.6 Performance roles and hierarchy

I have already mentioned that the participants in a performance assume different roles, usually in relation to their skills and the capabilities of their instruments. As I also have already mentioned above, virtually every musical performance of Cretan music is based on the model of the *zigiá*, in which the lyra player assumes the leading role of the performance—even in the participatory context of a *paréa* performance—and the laouto player accompanies, following the choices of the lyra player. If there is more than one laouto player performing simultaneously, then they usually try to assume different roles in the performance, whereby one may play *voúrtsa* and the other—usually the most skilled player—may focus on the soloing accompaniment.³¹ In staged performances and when a musical ensemble may involve multiple laouta, the laouto players are usually distinguished between *próto* (‘first’) and *déftero* (‘second’) laouto—or *déftera* laouta, if more than two laouta are present—in order to clearly identify their roles.

³¹ In the accompanying compact disc, one may hear several points at which some of the less skilled laouto players speed up or slow down, causing rhythmical incongruities between the performers. In the specific recording, the most skilled laouto player was not only closer to the microphone but was also playing confidently and more loudly than any other laouto player and hence was implicitly accepted as the leading laouto player in the specific performance.

However, none of these roles are clearly distinguished in the context of a *paréa* performance.

Thus, the performance roles in the context of a *paréa* performance are not complicated, yet they are virtually in all cases part of a hierarchy according to which the lyra player assumes the leading role of the performance. Turino (2008) notes that '[a]s compared with the other musical fields, participatory music making/dancing is the most democratic, the least formally competitive, and the least hierarchical' (p. 35). Indeed, among all the performance spaces where Cretan music is customarily performed, the *paréa* is perhaps the domain in which hierarchy is least emphasised—and the absence of the 'first' and 'second' laouto roles certainly advocates this argument. Although the *paréa* is neither non-hierarchical nor, as I point out below, completely 'democratic', I consider that participatory musical performances are greatly favoured by the hierarchical relations between the performers.

I have only in rare cases seen what one might call 'mutinies' by accompanying instrumentalists in an attempt to overshadow the role of the lyra player. One which I clearly remember was that of a seasoned and professional laouto player who was ostentatiously instructing a young, novice lyra player during a *paréa* performance by criticising his choices or even, in one case, drastically changing the tempo when he felt that the lyra player was playing too fast. These gestures may be explained on the grounds that the lyra player was too enthusiastic but obviously not very skilled—or even disproportionately confident for his level of skill—and because the older laouto player was perhaps too concerned about retaining his image as a professional player and perhaps felt embarrassed to allow the novice to lead him to what he may have considered an unacceptable performance. However, even when justified on some grounds, these interventions are hardly ever acceptable among the participants of a *paréa* performance. Exaggerated displays of ego may in some cases serve to make for a better musical performance per se, but they usually inhibit the good spirits and collective atmosphere of a *paréa* performance. So, even when there are far more experienced performers playing the laouta, they are expected to support the lyra player's choices by encouraging him to take initiatives rather than degrading his role as

the leader—a role with which lyra players must become accustomed from their first steps in learning their instrument.

However, there are instances in which a lyra player may either be absent or, at least momentarily, not holding the leading role in the performance. Where no lyra player is present, the most experienced players are expected to lead the performance. Such circumstances may lead to confusion since multiple instrumentalists may be considered equally good, or at least not different enough in skill as to justify one person's leadership. However, although the hierarchical roles may sometimes appear bewildering, I have never noticed any serious communication difficulties during such performances. Also, even with the presence of a lyra player, other players may sometimes take initiatives with regard to the choice of the repertory within an established and customarily acceptable context. For instance—especially in *parées* between close friends—, an accompanying instrumentalist may in some cases propose the performance of a piece of his liking by playing it during a transition and while the lyra player may be considering what to play next.

A soloing singer may also assume the leading role, yet in a quite different way. As I have already noted above, a soloing singer—a role that may switch rapidly between participants during the course of a *paréa*—may not be leading a performance, yet his or her role is central and generally respected as shown through the usually clear distinction between the soloing and *tutti* parts. The singer may not per se lead the performance, yet he is allowed to take initiatives which, depending on his skill and intentions, may have an effect on the flow of the performance. For instance, as I have already mentioned above, at the beginning of *prótos syrtós* in Figure 6.6, the singer quite skilfully introduces the opening of the first part while the lyra player is still performing the second part of the *prótos syrtós*. This move clearly forces the lyra player to move to the first part instantly and regardless of his original intentions. Also, it is worth mentioning that in some very rare cases, an exceptionally skilled singer may start singing a different *syrtó* at the end of the previous one, leaving little choice for the lyra player who either has to switch to that *syrtó* or, perhaps embarrassingly, break the flow of the performance.

The participants in a *paréa* performance may also inform the lyra player of their wishes directly by verbally asking for specific pieces or for the repertory of specific artists. Although this is undoubtedly common practice—in fact, far more common than any of the aforementioned cases of ‘interventions’—, it may become annoying for the lyra player if it happens too often during a performance. As discussed in the previous chapter, I have heard many lyra players complain about certain *parées* in which they felt that they were becoming patronised by the wishes of their fellow participants. Although many lyra players seem to have very strong opinions against these often importunate requests, in reality all *paréa* musicians realise that moderation is the key between the two extremes: the lyra player who allows—wittingly or unwittingly—to be utterly patronised by the participants’ appetite, and the one who completely disregards their wishes. Building a character or even avoiding carrying out *parées* with certain individuals is often the solution to finding the fine balance which a lyra player needs to achieve in order to deal with the challenges of performing with and for other people—either in *parées* or in staged performances.

Even so, regardless of the peculiarities that relatively often occur during the course of a *paréa*, it is established that a lyra player coordinates and leads the choices that structure the flow of the performance. The leading role of the lyra player is inherent in the structure of this music and allows a virtually seamless communication between participants in a musical performance, without the need for any prior rehearsals or any other verbal prearrangements. The well-defined performance roles and the hierarchical relationships between the participants are, more often than not, transferable to staged performances and facilitate the performance of pieces that an ensemble may have never played together before. And it is indeed surprising to realise—considering the long recording history of Cretan music and the experience of local artists with studio recordings—that even in commercial recordings—let alone staged performances—, much of what is played is often not rehearsed but based on the traditionally established participatory structure of this music.³²

³² As an example of this discussion, one may carefully listen to Thanasis Skordalos’ popular album *Iparho* (‘I am here’, see Discography). The recording is clear and mainly involves only a lyra

However, knowing the people one performs with is usually considered more important than conducting a rehearsal. For instance, a lyra player may choose an accompanist for a staged performance based on whether their preferences and performance styles might match or have matched in previous performances—experience that is usually attained through one’s regular attendance at *paréa* performances. Also, the accompanying instrumentalists are often chosen with consideration to whether they can or are willing to sing in a staged performance and hence relieve some of the burden from the lyra player’s shoulders during the performance—if indeed the lyra player feels comfortable and is considered to have a good enough voice to sing in a staged performance. In many cases, a key factor in choosing one’s accompanists is also their potential to stand in for the lead instrumentalist’s weaknesses, especially in pieces of the repertory in which he may not feel too confident.

I only once had the chance to witness the process of choosing the accompanying players in a lyra player’s preparations for a *gléndi*. Since the lyra player was relatively inexperienced in *gléndia* performances, he carefully considered the repertory he would be playing in the performance and picked three laouto players, all of whom were friends or acquaintances with whom he had often played in *paréa* performances. He did not bother to clarify their roles between first and second laouto players. Rather, he picked each one in relation to how they could assist him during the performance. The first was an excellent singer and a very passionate and skilled performer who could easily transmit his enthusiasm to his fellow players and the audience. The second was also a fine player and singer

and a laouto player, making it easier to observe the collaboration between the two instruments. In the recording one may listen to how the laouto is always following the lyra player’s lead. In some parts of the performance their roles are more profound, especially towards the end of track 5 (*Pios ouranos pia thalasa* – ‘Which sky, which sea’) where the laouto player misses a change in the melody; a natural kind of ‘mistake’ which musicians performing in this participatory context cannot avoid, but do learn to handle with speed and dexterity. As well as just following their traditionally established roles, the musicians performing in this recording are experienced in performing together; an important aspect of every good performance as my laouto teacher stressed during our first lessons by referring to it as having *palmós* (‘groove’), which is relevant to what Dawe (2007b) described as ‘musical empathy’ (p. 92); also see Keil (2005 [1994]a).

who—unlike the lyra player—had a very good knowledge of non-Cretan repertory, such as *kalamatianá* and *nisiótika* (folk song genres from Peloponnese and the Aegean Islands respectively) which are usually expected to be performed in Cretan *gléndia*, especially for the incoming domestic tourists and the Cretan diaspora, among whom there may be many people who are not familiar with the local dances. Finally, the third laouto player was both experienced in *gléndia* and exceptionally good in the performance of *kissamítika*, a group of *syrtá* that originates from the Kissamos region in western Crete, which is held to be the birthplace of the family of *syrtá*.

Feeling that he should conduct a rehearsal prior to the *gléndi*, the lyra player found it difficult to arrange it at a convenient time for everybody. He therefore decided that he should at least arrange a rehearsal between him and the first of the aforementioned players, upon whom he considered he would be relying the most during the *gléndi*. Since that particular laouto player lived in Heraklion (some eighty kilometres from Rethemnos), the lyra player thought he should make the rehearsal worthwhile. So he arranged a ‘music night’ with a local coffee-shop proprietor in the old town of Rethemnos, where he and the laouto player would perform before an audience while secretly carrying out their ‘rehearsal’—which was mostly related to the brief discussion of the stylistic preferences and choices of repertory in the short breaks between their performances—and eventually get paid for their time and travel expenses.

I cannot however claim that rehearsals in Crete are always as unsystematic and casual as in the aforementioned example. On the contrary, there are many ensembles that devote many hours to rehearsing; especially the ensembles that introduce more or less complex rhythmical, harmonic and melodic arrangements or compositions—in other words, elements that may be traditionally foreign to Cretan music, at least in the form established through the several first decades of its commercial recording history. However, the model according to which a performance is led by the lyra player—or else the established participatory mechanism for conducting a performance—is nowadays not always followed in staged and recorded performances, while the works of many evocative artists—from the carefully considered compositions and arrangements of Ross Daly and Kelli Thoma (both of non-Cretan origin but with strong references to Cretan music

abounding in their works and performances) to the evidently well-rehearsed performances of ensembles such as the *Pantermakia* and the *Stratakia*—show that the practice of rehearsing has apparently been gaining ground in the context of Cretan music.

Finally, regardless of the importance of hierarchy to the performance of Cretan music, some consider that the durable status of the lyra player as the leader of virtually every performance is ‘undemocratic’ and that an accompanist has little opportunity to contribute to the choices with regard to the flow of a performance. This is not a form of what one might call ‘mutiny’ by the laouto players against the lyra’s traditionally established leading role. On the contrary, one of the first people I heard bitterly complaining about the diminishment of the lyra’s role as a leading instrument in some ensembles was himself a laouto player. In my experience, the complaints are most commonly voiced by performers who, regardless of how much they may cherish Cretan music, usually retain a different approach to its performance; in other words, people who would not describe themselves or be described by others as *paréa* musicians—according to my discussion in the previous chapter. Signs of breaking with the hierarchical performance roles may sometimes be observed in musicians whom Cretan music enthusiasts often categorise within the ‘gentrified’ or *éntehno* facet of this music. Their work is influenced by other musical styles and suggests a different approach to this music: it is the work of people whose musical experiences have their foundation in different musical genres and styles; or people whose learning process did not involve participating in *paréa* performances; or even musicians whose interest in Cretan music was kindled through different channels such as the movement of ‘*paradosiaká*’ (Kallimopoulou (2009)). Their approach is usually associated with well-planned and rehearsed performances which are almost exclusively directed to the performance space of *sinavlíá*. However, regardless of any changes, the hierarchical structure between the two dominant instruments of Cretan music remains a pivotal point of reference, not only as the most recognisable ensemble for the performance of Cretan music, but also as the paradigm as to how the performers communicate in order to structure a musical performance.

6.2.7 Performance structure

As I have already mentioned above, a *seirá* is not merely a medley of randomly selected *syrta*. The choice of the individual *syrta* performed in a *seirá* follows a rationale that facilitates the creation of a coherent performance. The process of choosing the individual *syrta* is usually carried out during the course of a performance and in accordance with both the lead instrumentalist's mood and the continuous feedback he gets from his fellow participants in the context of a *paréa* performance. As an entity within the performance of a *seirá*, a *syrta* is a building element and, as discussed in a previous section, the transition to a next *syrta* is the point at which the performer may introduce changes in the flow of a performance. At these points, the performer may change the sentiment of a *seirá* by moving from quiet to uplifting pieces, introduce climaxes, as well as changing tonalities. Through his decisions, the lead instrumentalist is challenged to make an appropriate use of his repository of choices in order to maintain—and ideally kindle—the interest of his fellow participants in the performance.

Customarily, some *syrta* are usually performed together in both live and recorded performances following a rationale that has either been traditionally established or has been adopted through influential recorded performances since the era of the first commercial recordings in Crete. Thus, a lyra player may choose from an inventory of possibilities that will assist his decision-making in shaping the flow of his performance. The player's decisions remain improvisatory and spontaneous, yet they are indubitably, even subconsciously, based on the established repertory of choices which every performer gradually learns by listening to commercial recordings, attending live performances and playing in *parées*.

Specifically, some *syrta* are customarily performed together since they originate from a specific region bearing a distinguishable performance style such as the *syrta* from the region of Kissamos, the so called *kissamítika*. During a performance of a *seirá* of *syrta*, the lead instrumentalist may also choose to group his repertory of *syrta* in accordance with their composer. Such *seirés* usually involve well-known composers such as Thanasis Skordalos, Kostas Mountakis and

Leonidas Klados.³³ As I have mentioned in a previous chapter, the composer who stands out in most of the *parées* I have participated in is Thanasis Skordalos, whose compositions aggregate to approximately forty per cent of all the *syrta* performed in my sample of recorded *parées*. Many believe that this choice is not only a matter of personal preference. During my fieldwork, many Cretan music enthusiasts suggested that his compositions are both exceedingly ingenious and relatively easy to perform by the participants in a *paréa* performance.³⁴

³³ I should note that the *seirá* in the accompanying compact disc consists almost exclusively of compositions first recorded by Thanasis Skordalos.

³⁴ The matter of intellectual property at the dawn of the commercial recording era in Crete is a relatively obscure subject that is worth approaching from the perspective of historical musicology. During the course of my fieldwork on the island, many Cretan music enthusiasts implied that it is not improbable that some or many of Skordalos'—and many other early recording artists'—compositions were actually traditional pieces whose original composers' names had perhaps already been long forgotten before their compositions were first recorded and disseminated in commercial records. In the previous chapter, I have already noted Agioutanti's opinion that some of the compositions by the *protomástoras* Giorgos Koutsourelis were in fact 'Cretanised' versions of songs from the Greek mainland. Specifically for Skordalos, I have often heard Cretan music enthusiasts suggesting that he learnt how to play in *parées* in the region of Agios Vasilios; by which statement they imply that he was the carrier of a long musical tradition rather than the sole creator of a vast discography of compositions which, even nowadays, remain one of the most influential and cherished group of compositions in the genre of Cretan music.

However, the implication that some of Skordalos'—and others'—works were not his or entirely his compositions is not necessarily meant as a reproach towards the artist's integrity, especially considering the locals' respect for the early recording artists' contribution to this traditional genre. As I have heard on many occasions, these early performers shaped the sound of Cretan music—and especially the family of *syrta* which represents the bulk of Cretan music compositions—in the form which most enthusiasts nowadays cherish, regardless of whether their works were indeed entirely their own compositions or not (also see Manuel (2010) on flamenco). As one Cretan music enthusiast and admirer of Skordalos has often emphasised in the context of related conversations, 'there's no Immaculate Conception in music' (*den ipárhei parthenogénesi sti mousikí*), meaning that every musical idea which may be described as a new composition is never entirely new. To what extent many of these old and nowadays cherished pieces of music are the creations of those who are attributed with their composition is a subject to be examined under the scope of historical musicology, and I cannot claim that I have conducted any research on this matter. Any research on the matter of intellectual property should consider the local—but not necessarily constant in the passing of time—mechanisms for evaluating musical works in order to attempt to define the

Yet another case of grouping individual *syrta* into *seirés* is established through commercial studio and live recordings. Throughout the history of local commercial recording, many *syrta* have been recorded in pairs while some of these compositions share the same second part.³⁵ When these *syrta* are played in *paréa* performances they are usually also performed in pairs following the initial grouping chosen by their composer. Some recorded live performances may also influence the way the performers structure their *seirés*. A few years ago, a friend and lyra player developed a strong liking towards a recording from a live performance carried out by some skilled and well-known musicians. For several months after first hearing the recording, he would often play it on his car stereo and perform it in *parées*, imitating the performance by recreating the exact flow of *syrta* while trying to incorporate many elements with regard to the dynamics, improvisations and flairs recorded in the live performance, including the choice of *mantinádes*. Eventually, he decided to record the performance with a couple of friends in a locally based recording studio. As a happy coincidence, on the same night the recording was finished he was invited to a *paréa*—which I was also attending—where the laouto player from the original live recording was participating and my friend had the chance to once again play the same *seirá* with him.

Aside from examining the internal coherence and rationale of a *seirá* of *syrta*, my purpose here is also to illustrate the placement of *seirés* as larger constituents that construct a *paréa* as a whole; where the flow of these larger constituents—in other words, the flow of a *paréa* performance per se—appears to follow a rationale that is similar in virtually every *paréa* performance. For this purpose, a tempo versus time chart is useful for overviewing the structure and development of a *paréa* performance over time—where zero tempo represents the breaks between *seirés*; the ‘talk time’ as I would describe it.³⁶ The duration of the *paréa* illustrated

threshold between a new composition and one that copies or plagiarises another artist’s work (also see Vaidhyanathan (2001:117–48) on ownership disputes in Western popular music).

³⁵ Such as tracks 1 and 2, and 3 and 4 in the accompanying compact disc where the latter two share the same second part.

³⁶ The tempo of the following charts as well as for the data presented in the Appendix has been calculated manually through tempo tapping.

in the following chart was nearly six hours and the *syrtá* was the only family of the local repertory performed throughout its course.

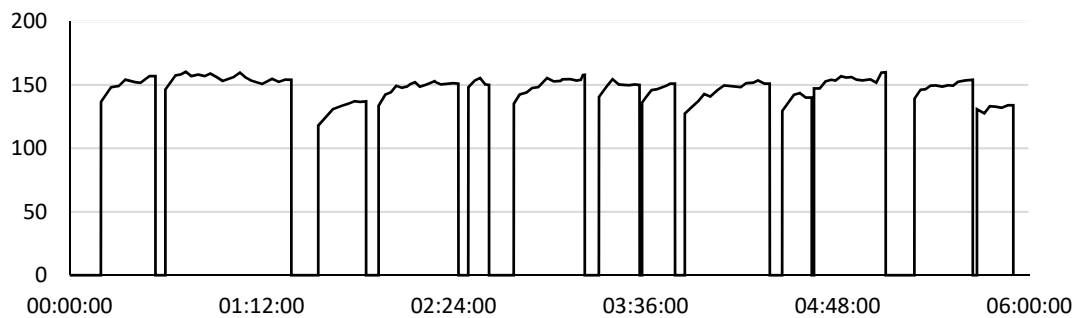


Figure 6.28. Time versus tempo (beats per minute) chart from a *paréa* recorded in a tavern as part of birthday festivities. The second *seirá*, starting at the thirty-sixth minute, is the one included in the accompanying compact disc. This was a populous *paréa* which included the participation of some well-known local musicians.

A similar structure is expected in *parées* where other families of the local repertory are also performed. The genre of *amanédes* or *tambahaniótika* is also often performed in groups of individual pieces—although they are not usually referred to as *seirés*—while *kontiliés*, which may have the same duration as a *seirá* of *syrtá*, do not constitute *seirés*, but are made up of groups—such as those discussed towards the beginning of this chapter—of highly repetitive short melodic phrases—where different groups of *kontiliés* may be combined in a single performance. I will refer to all of these performances as ‘building blocks’, a term that includes all *seirés* of *syrtá*, *kontiliés* as well as other groupings in the performance of families from the local repertory. In the following example, I illustrate a *paréa* performance that involves *syrtá*, *amanédes* and *kontiliés*:

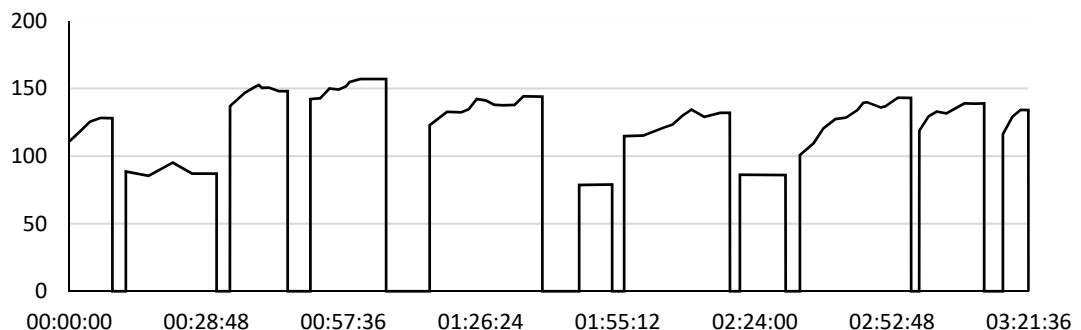


Figure 6.29. Time versus tempo (beats per minute) chart representing a *paréa* several friends recorded in a coffee-house in Rethemnos. As can be seen in the beginning of the chart, I started recording after the first *seirá* had already commenced.

The purpose of these two charts is mostly presentational. They illustrate the flow of a *paréa* performance in a manner that is both straightforward and comprehensive. In other words, although they do not serve any direct analytical purpose, they represent a way of looking at a *paréa* performance as a complete image. Upon compiling the first chart of a *paréa* performance—which was a painstaking process that demanded the calculation of tempo for every single *syrtó* and other pieces performed in each *paréa*—I felt that I understood more about the very *parées* that I myself had attended as a participant-observer.

The reason I include these charts is because they—however roughly—illustrate several points in the flow of a *paréa* which I found common to most of my recordings of *paréa* performances. In virtually all of the *paréa* performances in my analysed sample, the participants were concentrated on the music for a duration averaging eighty-two—ranging from seventy-eight to ninety—per cent, from the beginning of the musical performance until the time when the participants left the area where the gathering was taking place. The breaks between *seirés*—or the building blocks, in general—were minimal and mostly concentrated on collective talks as discussed in the fourth chapter. The average ‘talk time’ in my sample was three and half minutes ranging from a few seconds to thirteen minutes.

The charts also reveal the intensity of a *paréa*, which in most cases is analogous to the tempo, especially in a performance of *syrtá*. As may be seen from the charts, the building blocks tend to accelerate, however when performed at above 150 beats per minute, a performance of *syrtá* is quite fast—with the unusual maximum tempo of 168 beats per minute as recorded in one of the *parées* in my sample—and some less experienced players will have difficulty keeping up. The fast tempo, as one may observe in the form of small peaks on the line of the first chart, is usually difficult to maintain, especially when it exceeds 155 beats per minute. A fast tempo usually indicates that those attending the *paréa* included people who were both seasoned *paréa* participants and eager to participate. Considering that the average length of a *paréa* performance in my sample is nearly four hours, the length of the *paréa* performance in Figure 6.28 also indicates that the participants were enjoying their performance and perhaps that time was flying (see Csikszentmihalyi 1990).

The second chart does not indicate an intense performance, principally because the repertory included some pieces of slower tempo from the families of the local repertory. The building blocks that constitute this *paréa* are shorter and slower, with the exception of the fourth *seirá* whose tempo exceeded 150 beats per minute. It is worth mentioning that the ninth building block is a *seirá* of *syrtá* that begins with the unusually slow tempo of 101 beats per minute, which is the slowest tempo for a *syrtó* recorded in my sample of *paréa* performances.³⁷ The ‘atmosphere’ reflected through the chart certainly appears to be more relaxed than that of the first chart—which is indeed an accurate representation of that particular *paréa*. These observations do not indicate that the *paréa* in Figure 6.29 was a ‘bad’ *paréa*, however it was certainly not as intense as the first one and not what a seasoned *paréa* participant would wholeheartedly describe as a ‘good’ *paréa*.

Finally, and perhaps most importantly, the charts are representations of my argument that a *paréa* performance per se develops following a rationale that involves the placement of building blocks of musical performance in a linear and largely predictable fashion. These building blocks, regardless of whether they are *seirés* of *syrtá*, groups of *kontiliés* or pieces from other families of the local repertory, are in most cases employed following a rationale that falls within the established range of possibilities for what may take place in the context of a *paréa*. Certainly, the flow of a *paréa* performance is based on relatively unpredictable factors such as the number of participants and their dispositions, including their urge to participate, their experience—both in terms of skill and in the context of participating in *parées*—, and their personal preferences in terms of repertory. However, regardless of these variables, a *paréa* usually develops as a neat performance that follows a disciplined flow where playing, singing, talks and other

³⁷ I must clarify that there is no prescribed tempo for a *syrtó*, although some are customarily performed in a relatively slow, medium or fast tempo. For example, as I have discussed in a previous section of this chapter, some *syrtá* are expected to be performed in the climaxes of a *paréa* performance and hence they are usually played at quite a fast tempo. However, a performer may play a *syrtó* at any speed, in most cases within the range of 130 to 150 beats per minute. As mentioned in a narrative in the previous section of this chapter, some players may feel annoyed playing, say, a customarily slow *syrtó* at a fast tempo.

activities are placed within a repository of possibilities on which the participants may improvise.

I would like to further elaborate on this matter: internally, the building blocks are structured by following the established apparatus, such as the unwritten rules that dictate the ways the participants engage in singing. However, upon viewing the *paréa* as a whole, one realises that with the help of the apparatus related to beginnings and endings, a *paréa* is formed as a neatly structured flow of sharply defined performances. Between these points that mark the beginning and end of a building block, a disciplined performance is a continuous performance which will not stop at any point, nor will there be any other disruptions in its flow. In other words, however well the participants may know each other, the building blocks are expected to be performed without any interruptions, even within the jubilant and potentially relaxed environment of a *paréa* between several good friends.

What happens between the building blocks is also relatively predictable, since what I have referred to as ‘talk time’ is not merely a gap between performances where the participants may rest or share random talking—or even relax until they are in the mood for playing again. Rather, talk time too is an important aspect in the development of a *paréa* performance. During its course, the participants may discuss who will assume the role of the lyra player—if indeed there are many lyra players present. Since it often occurs that the participants may exchange instruments during the course of a *paréa* performance, it is during the talk time that the musicians may comment on the quality of the instruments or share their knowledge and exchange opinions on practical or theoretical aspects related to the performance. It is also during the talk time that an accompanying instrumentalist may decide to play or not to play in the next *seirá*.³⁸ As mentioned above, talking does not completely stop during a musical performance, however it is during the talk time that one may principally witness what I have referred to as collective talks.

³⁸ This does not constitute a rule since, especially in *parées* involving many accompanying instrumentalists, a player may start or stop playing during the course of a performance without breaking its flow. For instance, one may clearly hear the lead laouto player departing from the performance at the beginning of track 14 in the *seirá* of *syrtá* on the accompanying compact disc.

At this point, and in order to clarify my argument, it may be useful to draw a parallel with a familiar performance setting: a person attending a rock concert is subconsciously expecting that the musicians will adhere to a predictable flow that involves short breaks between songs and perhaps an intermission. This flow is not something that an ensemble consciously thinks of when rehearsing or making other decisions related to their performance. It seems natural that, for instance, the band members will not take a break for lunch while on stage and then continue again when and if they feel like it. Certainly, the context of such a performance—which usually involves an admission fee and people crowded in front of the stage—is different from that of a *paréa* performance. However, the point of this example is that just as a rock concert is an event that focuses on music, a *paréa* performance—or at least those *parées* that involve music, as discussed in the second chapter—is likewise concentrated on the musical performance, regardless of the more or less obvious differences in the two performance settings, such as the absence of clearly drawn boundaries between musicians and audience in the latter case. Although a *paréa* performance is not a staged performance, those who participate do feel the need to follow a linear performance structure that adheres to the construction of the performance as a sequence of neatly placed building blocks; in other words, to adhere to a flow generating what I have termed disciplined performances.

Indeed, upon reflecting on the first *paréa* which I attended at the beginning of my fieldwork in the island—which I briefly discussed in the fourth chapter—, one of the characteristics that, subconsciously, impressed me was the neat structure of the performance: the clearly marked beginnings and endings, the pattern in which the lyra and the laouto players alternated their roles from one *seirá* to the next, and the constant focus on musical performance which, as I have already noted, gave me the impression that I was attending an ensemble's rehearsal rather than a night out among friends.

However, a *paréa* is not always thoroughly disciplined. Sometimes, some building blocks are what I would call 'undisciplined'. A principal factor that contributes to the formation of an undisciplined building block is the unclear boundaries between soloing and *tutti* parts, a matter which I have already discussed above in relation to singing. Although this factor is not related to the

linear structure of a building block, it certainly accompanies most undisciplined building blocks which, as mentioned above, usually occur towards the end of a *paréa* performance where most participants are tired but some of them are still looking to prolong the performance. In relatively rare cases, undisciplined building blocks may be related to the introduction of other musics or instruments such as the bouzouki and the performance of *laikó* or *rebetiko* genres, which are also quite popular in Crete and for which there is no existing 'know-how' with regard to their structure as disciplined performances. The undisciplined building blocks are not discernible by looking at a chart like the ones I provide above. Yet in Figure 6.28, the last two *seirés* are indeed relatively undisciplined, mostly because many of the participants sing together in a low voice in the solo parts. At this point, the recording sounds like a lullaby, heralding the end of the *paréa*.

Overall, and regardless of the relatively scarce appearance of undisciplined building blocks, a *paréa* is in most cases a disciplined and coherent performance. Only once have I experienced a quite different and thoroughly undisciplined *paréa* which was however carried out within a quite different setting. I was invited to that *paréa* by an acquaintance studying at the University of Crete, while discussing the subject of my fieldwork one Friday morning when we were both studying at the public library in Rethemnos. The *paréa* took place on the same evening in a village near Rethemnos and it was different from most of the *parées* I had hitherto participated in. Except for the few locals—among whom were a lyra and several laouto players—, the host had invited a large group of female students from all over Greece studying at the university in Rethemnos. As a result, in the musical performance that started not long after my arrival, the lyra and some of the laouto players were doing their best to show off their skills to the female participants of our group by carrying out very expressive or in a few cases almost acrobatic gestures while playing on their instruments. Since none of the musicians was particularly skilled—and perhaps in combination with their urge to impress—, their performance for most of the time seemingly did not follow any coherence, often bundling together irrelevant pieces of the local repertory supplemented by traditional, and sometimes popular, songs from the rest of Greece—including a short Byzantine chant which was performed as a jest to the accompaniment of one of the laouta. The rhythm of the performance was often out of phase between the

players, and every time the lyra player noticed this, he would—using his ‘prerogative’ as the performance leader—randomly pick out a laouto player to blame for the mess by looking at him in the eyes in order, discreetly but ostentatiously, to ask him to correct his accompaniment—regardless of whether it was that specific laouto player who was causing the mess. Eventually, after a couple of hours the host, perhaps considering that he should find a better way to attract the attention of the female students, brought the performance to an end by starting a karaoke programme on his television. The undisciplined character of this *paréa* was justified on the grounds of the absence of any adequately experienced *paréa* musicians and, perhaps more importantly, by the fact that most of the participants were more interested in flirting than playing music. The context of the musical performance was thus individually exploited by most of the performers as a means to promote one’s position among the male participants of the group.

Eventually, the question that lingers in this discussion is why the participants of *paréa* performances usually feel the need to adhere to what I refer to as ‘disciplined’ performances. The most obvious reason is founded on the presence of a local ‘know-how’ with regard to how to conduct a participatory musical performance based on a common and traditionally established knowledge. In other words, it is simply how this music is performed. However, disciplined performances also indicate that people who participate in *parées* tend to consider them a serious matter; and this is a point that advocates my argument stated in the introduction to this thesis that *paréa* performances are indeed ‘the real music’ and not ‘lesser versions’ of staged performances and commercial recordings (Turino 2008:25). Following my discussion in the third chapter, perhaps one could also claim that disciplined performances are a manifestation of the respect with which Cretan music enthusiasts approach the *paréa* as both an everyday and a venerable practice that epitomises their heritage and identity; the ‘most authentic’, still a natural way for performing this music.

Finally, another way of looking at this matter is related to participation: the predictable structure of a disciplined *paréa* performance generates a feeling of security. The people who participate in a *paréa* subconsciously expect the performance to unfold within the boundaries of the ‘know-how’ which they have

absorbed through their previous experience of *paréa* performances. Whether a participant is a novice or experienced, the predictable structure of the performance allows him to unfold his skills within a familiar setting. This structure per se perhaps encourages the most introvert players to take initiatives, feeling the security of a familiar performance setting; even when a player is surrounded by participants with whom he has never played before.

6.3 Summary

It appears that a *paréa* performance has a more or less specific shape which is not as much dependent on random choices based on the disposition of the participants of a *paréa* performance, as on the traditionally established 'rules' on how to conduct a *paréa*. These involve the clarity with which a *seirá* begins and ends; the neatly structured building blocks; the rotation of instrumentalists during the course of a performance; the foundation that is constructed on the concept of *métro* upon which the family of *syrtá* is built; and overall, the perhaps subconscious respect towards the unwritten rules related to musical performance. All of these elements contribute to a well-structured form upon which virtually every *paréa* is constructed, which is only broken either in extraordinary circumstances—such as that of the student *paréa* narrative—or when the participants gradually grow too tired to continue playing.

Most importantly, this chapter functions as the substantiation of a series of arguments that have appeared in the course of this thesis, providing hard evidence with regard to the importance of participation in this musical tradition by underlining the existence of participatory mechanisms, not only within the context of *paréa* performances, but also outside the realm of the participatory context. In other words, this chapter has provided evidence that the structure and the mechanisms of musical performance in this musical tradition are participatory. Ultimately, will the participatory mechanisms continue to live in new compositions, or will more and more new compositions abandon the 'simplicity' and the predictable structures which I have discussed in this chapter for the sake of introducing novelties—novelties that may eventually degrade the participatory character of Cretan music? Considering the importance of the

domain of participatory performance in Crete, I personally believe that participation will continue to hold its position as one of the foremost means for many locals' everyday musical expression.

Finally, with reference to my initial—and mostly figurative—endeavour to explain this music to my visitor and friend—or else, to explain this music from the perspective of musical participation—I consider that this chapter has offered a discussion of most of the key characteristics related to the performance of this music within a participatory context. It is not and has not endeavoured to constitute either a comprehensive presentation or a kind of guide to Cretan music, but rather a study of the qualities that allow for the seamless performance of this music in a participatory context. Still, I consider that any presentation of Cretan music that fails to see the *modus operandi*—which I have extensively discussed in this chapter—for the sake of the *opus operatum* is bound to present a distorted image of this musical culture. And this, I hope, is a point that I have adequately clarified in this chapter and throughout my whole thesis.

Chapter 7

Conclusion

The subject of this thesis is explicitly referred to as a study on *paréa* performances in Crete; a subject that has to date been virtually unexplored in the Cretan music studies and hence constitutes the main contribution of this thesis. However, as I have noted on several occasions, this work has not only been a study of *paréa* performances per se, but also of Cretan music through the lens of *paréa* performances. I set out to understand what locals are referring to when employing the word *paréa* in their everyday talk, and then proceeded on to more specific—both theoretical and practical—matters with regard to *paréa* as a specific space for the performance of Cretan music. My study has involved descriptions of *paréa* performances and discussions about the roles of musicians and *meraklides*, and their thinking about music and musical performance.

In the beginning of this thesis I raised a series of questions related to *paréa* performances: What are they? Why are they important? What is their value for Cretan music enthusiasts and for the genre in general? These are questions that can have neither a concise nor a definite answer. Yet, they have been addressed through a multifaceted approach on *paréa* performances through which I have not only aspired to describe and analyse participatory musical performances in the context of this musical tradition, but also to illustrate their importance for the expression of everyday musicality. Specifically, throughout the course of this thesis, I have examined the relation of the *paréa* to expressions of locality, its status as a manifestation of authenticity, its central role for the continuation of the local musical tradition as an orally transmitted genre, the highly esteemed value

of participation which is emphasised through my discussion about *meraklides*, as well as other parameters that construct a *paréa* performance, from invitation patterns and the virtual circles corresponding to the levels of participation, to the importance of the table as the centre for a performance. Through this multifaceted approach on *paréa* performances, this endeavour reaches three central conclusions which ensue from my work on the research questions posed at the beginning: firstly, that the *paréa* is closely related to the expression of the local musicality, contributing to the popularity of Cretan music in the island and to the interest that this musical genre upholds today among the local population. Secondly, that most of the repertory and the contemporary performance practice of this musical genre show inherent participatory characteristics and are structured in ways that facilitate participation, and finally that participation represents a highly important parameter, contributing to the continuation of Cretan music as a musical genre that resides in various places around Crete and among people who care about this musical tradition.

Although this thesis has remained focused on describing and analysing *paréa* performances, my discussions have provided a series of insights related to Cretan music in general, including the process through which Cretan music evolves through time, matters of how the enthusiasts of this genre think of and evaluate its different expressions, both in terms of its historical periods and its contemporary aesthetic differences; the status of the musician in the context of a *paréa* performance and the importance of some individuals, referred to as *meraklides*, who collectively represent the driving force for the continuation of this musical tradition in local and seemingly unimportant loci. Also, throughout the course of this thesis, I have aspired to provide a rich ethnographical account which transcends the relatively narrow subject of studying the *paréa* performances. This has been possible through ethnographical notes that often appear in the form of footnotes related to various aspects related to the local musical culture, including the different performance spaces for Cretan music, the ongoing discussion about the construction of the *laouto*, as well as matters related to historical musicology.

Through each chapter of this thesis I have approached the *paréa* performance and its enthusiasts from different perspectives, aiming to achieve an identification,

description and analysis of this musical performance space. It is a comprehensive survey of participatory musical performances in Crete, through which I have shown that Cretan music is an inherently participatory musical genre, which is a characteristic principally illustrated in the context of a *paréa* performance. However, through my study on *paréa* performances, I have not only focused on participatory musical performances in Crete, but have also endeavoured to understand the importance of what is described as Cretan music, not merely as a musical genre per se, but as an amalgam of sounds, beliefs and values, as well as contemplations related to local identity and history. To this end, I have applied my experience as a participant-observer as attained through my long fieldwork in the island. However, I have also focused on voicing the opinions of the people with whom I have worked on this project; people who have not only assisted me greatly during my fieldwork, but have also become dear friends along the way.

These people inhabit the places that are characterised by the local musical traditions; people who are sentimentally attached to the places and the music of the places where they live, while carrying on their musical traditions as primary representatives and carriers through their everyday musical practice which is widely—among local Cretan music enthusiasts—considered to be the quintessence of Cretan music. A practice whose importance is—according to the local musical perception—far greater than the achievements of individual musicians, even those who belong to the pantheon of this musical tradition, such as the *protomástores*, Thanasis Skordalos and Kostas Mountakis. Because, according to this local musical perception, everyone who is part of this musical tradition—from its enthusiasts to its most exalted musicians—is an equal member, as long as he or she loves and participates in it. From this perspective, this study has inherently been a study of the people, their musicality and musical perception; about their need to express themselves through music. This study has been about the people who construct this musical and social world, a world where I have seen people collapse in tears of emotion and joy after the recitation of a *mantináda* full of meaning uttered by a person they respect—or love—, or cry at the sound of the music in a *paréa* performance.

This everyday world is not recorded, nor is it usually considered to be worth recording as either commercial or ethnographical material, simply because it represents a process of living an everyday life through musical expression. It is a world surrounded by myth, of praising erstwhile performances and practices by people who, regardless of the part they played in the musical life of this island, are widely considered to have contributed greatly to this musical tradition and are often remembered as the good old musicians or *meraklides* of a region. It is a world where music is experienced in everyday life, conveying strong meanings for its enthusiasts; it is not viewed as something detached from society, something produced by someone else: by administrators and by producers in studios that are detached from the everyday musical expression of local music enthusiasts. Nor is it made by musicians whom one can hardly ever meet and talk to, let alone play with in participatory performances. Rather, it is made up of individuals—enthusiasts as well as professional or amateur musicians and singers—who live among the people and in the places where this musical tradition is widely considered to inherently belong. Ultimately I, for one, consider that the practices of local Cretan music enthusiasts and musicians may be seen as a paradigm of how music may be approached as a process of everyday life without the need for mediators, from its production to its performance; a process that is not about listening to music, but about being part of music in its making.

Cretan music has no single ‘owner’—no administrator. Cretan music is owned by people who may hold substantially different perceptions of and aspirations for this musical genre, related both to their overall musical preferences—which may also include other musical genres—and to their perception of what Cretan music stands for as a folk musical tradition. Thus, it is cherished and performed by people who wish to continue the musical tradition of their personal homeland—their region or village. Yet it is also performed by people who, after searching through the long recording history of this musical genre, find moments which they may feel more appropriate to their musical expression. Also, Cretan music includes the works of individuals who may not have grown up as musicians through a process of learning and attaining *viómata* (‘experiences’) by participating in *paréa* performances, yet they choose to base their musical

expression on Cretan music. Thus, Cretan music may represent different values and beliefs for people who approach this musical tradition via different channels. In other words, not all musicians and enthusiasts of Cretan music experience this musical genre through *paréa* performances. However, I consider that it is through the musical perception of the *paréa* enthusiasts—which I have approached throughout this thesis—that one may see Cretan music as a process, as a way of life, not only for musicians—professional and amateur—, but for virtually all of its enthusiasts who have grown up in this musical tradition by participating in *paréa* performances.

Cretan music is a traditional music that is axiomatically regarded as something that should be preserved as a banner of local identity. However, Cretan music is changing. It is also a popular music that is performed in staged performances and listened to through commercial recordings that may reach audiences throughout Greece and abroad; audiences that may have no connection with the processes that relate to the local experience of Cretan music—principally through *paréa* performances—, yet they enjoy it as a genre for listening. These audiences set new standards for those professional musicians who wish to be heard outside the circle of local Cretan music enthusiasts and whose work in that direction influences the shaping of the future of this music.

Considering that much of what currently goes on in Cretan music is related to professional activities, staged performances, commercial records and the desire of many local musicians to reach audiences beyond the borders of the island, one cannot predict whether the local musical expression through participatory musical performances will continue to be as important an aspect of this musical tradition in the future as it is today. However, I for one consider that if something of this musical tradition is particularly worth preserving, it is the eagerness of its enthusiasts to participate in its making—a creativity that represents a *modus operandi* that is virtually antithetical to the efforts for preserving this musical tradition as an *opus operatum* through which preservation advocates may often aspire to monumentalise this musical tradition as a fixed image. Through their endeavours they may, perhaps unwittingly, be thwarting its creative momentum towards redefining itself in the passing of time. I consider that this point is

eloquently expressed by the respectable Rethemnian lyra player Kostas Verdinakis:

The guardians of the [Cretan musical] tradition, the so-called *paradosiolágnoi* [literally ‘tradition-desirous’, i.e. obsessed with preserving tradition], are those who inflict it with the worst damage. Music has no borders, no limits, no moulds, no restrictions, no prejudices, no taboos, it is not restrictive and it cannot be restricted. Music needs imagination, creativity, open-minded people, difference, personal style, sensitive musicians and people who can see ahead into the distance, pave new roads and establish new sounds and timbres (Facebook comment on 10 August 2016, my translation).

Indeed, change is, I consider, a prerequisite for keeping this musical tradition alive for younger generations of Cretan music enthusiasts. However, I for one believe that no matter how radical the changes in the Cretan musical tradition may be in the future—and regardless of whether it continues to be a commercially sustainable musical genre in Crete and beyond—the one characteristic that will determine whether it will keep on expressing the local population is the continuation of *paréa* performances among the people who care for them and participate in *parées* where musicians and their fellow participants sit around the same table, dissolving virtually all hierarchical relations and stage-audience distinctions and experiencing music as part of their everyday life. The basis of this practice does not lie in immaculately preserving the sounds of their forefathers which may indeed change in time, but in preserving the spirit of eagerness towards participating in this music: of holding this music close to the community as an everyday practice.

As a final word, I would like to say that I feel deep respect for the people who cherish this musical tradition’s past, yet live in the present and create a, possibly radically, different future for this music. I feel even more, though, for those who recognise, enjoy and promote the participatory qualities of this music: a music that does not belong to a group of forgotten recordings placed on a bookshelf; a music that has not turned into some kind of mere idea repository or a fertile ground for modern compositions by popular musicians. Rather, it is a music that is a lively process among the people who practise it and who, I believe, will keep on

practising it in the future. After all, the people who perform this music do not do so simply because it is old or nostalgic, but also because it lives in the present and expresses their feelings, or as expressed by a friend and laouto player, their 'sorrow and joy'.

Appendix

Presentation of statistical findings from a sample of *paréa* performance recordings

In this section, I illustrate the data and statistical figures extracted from my analysis of a sample of *paréa* performances. As I have mentioned in previous chapters, the *parées* in which I have participated—including this sample—should not be viewed as an absolute image of all *paréa* performances taking place in Crete. However, I do consider that the *parées* which I present here are representative of the participatory musical life of the regions in which I have conducted my fieldwork. My sample is nearly forty-seven hours long and involves recordings of twelve *paréa* performances (including a *kantáda*), of which the musical performance aggregates to thirty-eight hours. Also, the sample involves performances by nineteen lyra players and twenty-one laouto or other plucked instrument players, as well as an unidentified number of other participants.

My choice of the particular *paréa* performance recordings has been mostly subjective. My sample includes *parées* that I either enjoyed or found particularly interesting or that I considered—subjectively, yet informed by my long fieldwork in the island—to represent an average image of a *paréa* performance. My examples are drawn from a wide area including both the town of Rethemnos and villages in the wider areas of Rethymnon and Agios Vasilios prefectures. In my examples, I have included an excursion to Paximadia in Southern Crete; a couple of tiny, unpopulated islands a few kilometres out of the port of Agia Galini. This experience has been a reminder of Giorgos Oikonomakis' (2004a) note that 'during a trip, either by land or sea, the musical tradition is present' (p. 99, my translation). Indeed, drawing from personal experience, during a trip to the

summit of Psiloritis mountain (Timios Stavros, 2,456 m) some people in our group brought musical instruments in order to carry out a *paréa*. Also, it is common that Cretan music enthusiasts often carry out *parées* on scheduled ferry journeys from Crete to Athens. I have thus chosen to include the *paréa* in Paximadia as a representative example of this practice.

Specifically, the *paréa* recordings I employed for my sample include seven *parées* from the municipality of Rethymnon and another five from the municipality of Agios Vasilios. For Rethymnon, the recorded *parées* are from an association building, a *rakádiko*, two from taverns (including a birthday celebration) and another three that took place in households (including a name-day celebration and a *prógamos*, in this case, a bachelor party). The *paréa* recordings from villages in Agios Vasilios are from a *rakokázano*, a *kantáda*, the aforementioned day trip to the Paximadia islands, and two from coffee-houses. The choice of these *paréa* recordings has been made considering that the samples should not subscribe to one type or style of *paréa* performance, but include a level of variety with regard to place, occasion and people involved. The places in which the recordings of my samples took place are illustrated in the following map.

- Agia Galini
- Karines
- Atsipopoulo (two instances)
- Prines
- Rethemnos (two instances)
- Stavromenos (two instances)
- Vrises
- Paximadia Islands (Agia Galini)
- Melambes



Figure A1. Map of Rethymnon prefecture.

General information

Total time (hours)	46:39:14	100%
Musical performance (hours)	38:11:17	82%
Talk time ¹ (hours)	08:27:57	18%
Total number of pieces (including individual <i>syrtá</i> , <i>kontiliés</i> and other musical pieces)	969	100%
<i>Syrtá</i> attributed to Thanasis Skordalos	378	39.0%
<i>Syrtá</i> attributed to other artists	453	46.7%
Traditional	138	14.2%
Second <i>mantináda</i> in a <i>syrtó</i>	78	8.4%
Three or more <i>mantinádes</i> in a <i>syrtó</i>	20	2.1%

Repertory

Music family	Number	Duration (hours)	Percentage
<i>Syrtá</i>	909	33:55:45	88.8%
<i>Kontiliés</i>	11	01:29:08	3.9%
<i>Tragoúdia</i> ('songs')	25	01:24:26	3.7%
<i>Amanédes</i>	13	00:49:15	2.1%
Non-Cretan traditional	3	00:13:35	0.6%
<i>Rizítika</i>	2	00:07:46	0.3%
Other	2	00:05:09	0.2%
<i>Maleviziótis</i>	2	00:03:24	0.1%
<i>Pentozális</i>	2	00:02:49	0.1%

¹ As discussed in the sixth chapter, by 'talk time' I indicate the periods of time during a *paréa* performance between musical performances, during which participants talk and prepare for the next performance.

Further details

Average duration of a performance (building block) (mm:ss)	16:33
Average duration of <i>seirá</i> of <i>syrtá</i> (mm:ss)	17:40
Average duration of <i>syrtó</i> (mm:ss)	02:04
Minimum duration of <i>seirá</i> of <i>syrtá</i> (mm:ss)	04:46
Maximum duration of <i>seirá</i> of <i>syrtá</i> (mm:ss)	58:32
Minimum duration of talk time (mm:ss)	00:06
Maximum duration of talk time (mm:ss)	12:58
Average duration of talk time (mm:ss)	03:35
Number of performances (building blocks)	140
Number of individual <i>syrtá</i> compositions	399
Average tempo (bpm)	142
Average <i>syrtó</i> tempo (bpm)	144
Minimum <i>syrtó</i> tempo (bpm)	101
Maximum <i>syrtó</i> tempo (bpm)	168

Popularity

Through my analysis of *paréa* performances, it has been easy—and tempting—to compile a list of the most popular pieces of the local repertory based on my sample of recordings. I chose to include it in this Appendix since I consider that this is an interesting ethnographical detail about the time and places in which I conducted my fieldwork. The list on the following pages includes all of the pieces of the local repertory which were performed in at least half of the *paréa* performances of my sample. It has been sorted first in relation to the number of *paréa* performances in which a piece appears, then to the overall number of times performed, and finally to the overall duration of its performance.

Nº	Title	Attributed to:	Appears in x of 12 samples	Times performed	Duration (hours)	Percentage (in duration)
1	<i>Prótos syrtós</i>	Traditional	11/12	48	01:54:55	5.0%
2	<i>Dóse mou to dikaíoma</i>	Thanasis Skordalos	11/12	24	01:11:34	3.1%
3	<i>Gavalohorianós syrtós</i>	Mihalis Papadakis (Plakianos)	11/12	17	00:47:57	2.1%
4	<i>Rethemniané mou katifé</i>	Kostas Mountakis	11/12	11	00:21:30	0.9%
5	<i>Ine stigmés pou héromai</i>	Thanasis Skordalos	9/12	18	00:35:45	1.6%
6	<i>Ela san éheis órexi</i>	Thanasis Skordalos	9/12	15	00:26:43	1.1%
7	<i>An m' arnithéis kamiá forá</i>	Thanasis Skordalos	9/12	10	00:20:49	0.9%
8	<i>Hílies kardiés</i>	Thanasis Skordalos	8/12	12	00:24:06	1.1%
9	<i>Xirosterianós syrtós</i>	Harilaos Piperakis	8/12	10	00:29:55	1.3%
10	<i>I níhta íne mártiras</i>	Thanasis Skordalos	8/12	10	00:25:37	1.1%
11	<i>Na 'ha ti hári ton poulión</i>	Thanasis Skordalos	8/12	8	00:16:37	0.7%
12	<i>Varítero anastenagmó</i>	Kostas Mountakis	8/12	8	00:16:08	0.7%
13	<i>Ma 'go ekatadikástika</i>	Kostas Mountakis	8/12	8	00:15:51	0.7%
14	<i>Ekáika is ti fotiá</i>	Thanasis Skordalos	8/12	8	00:15:37	0.7%
15	<i>Rotó t' agrímia tou vounou</i>	Thanasis Skordalos	7/12	9	00:18:59	0.8%
16	<i>Na mpóries me ta mátia mou</i>	Thanasis Skordalos (traditional)	7/12	9	00:18:41	0.8%
17	<i>Xeniteméno mou poulí</i>	Harilaos Piperakis	7/12	8	00:19:19	0.8%

18	<i>Kourágio káno stin kardiá</i>	Traditional	7/12	7	00:21:01	0.9%
19	<i>Psákse mikrí mou gia na vreís</i>	Thanasis Skordalos	7/12	7	00:18:40	0.8%
20	<i>Tis máises erótisa</i>	Thanasis Skordalos	7/12	7	00:15:53	0.7%
21	<i>Gia séna kléo kai ponó</i>	Kostas Mountakis	7/12	7	00:13:27	0.6%
22	<i>Ivres ti mávri mou kardiá</i>	Thanasis Skordalos	6/12	8	00:14:30	0.6%
23	<i>Tétia fotiá pou m' ánapses</i>	Thanasis Skordalos	6/12	7	00:15:47	0.7%
24	<i>Vathiá pou o ílios den perná</i>	Thanasis Skordalos	6/12	7	00:12:58	0.6%
25	<i>Na mi thareís pos s' agapó</i>	Thanasis Skordalos	6/12	7	00:11:52	0.5%
26	<i>Móno ekínos p' agapá</i>	Thanasis Skordalos	6/12	6	00:19:40	0.9%
27	<i>Sto stádio pou m' éfere</i>	Kostas Mountakis	6/12	6	00:15:47	0.7%
28	<i>Tréfete o péfkos sta vouná</i>	Thanasis Skordalos	6/12	6	00:12:58	0.6%
29	<i>Eho mia thési stin kardiá</i>	Thanasis Skordalos	6/12	6	00:12:37	0.6%
30	<i>Poté mou na min pió krasí</i>	Manolis Lagoudakis	6/12	6	00:10:55	0.5%
31	<i>Ston pséfti kósmo oi omorfiés</i>	Gerasimos Stamatogiannakis	6/12	6	00:10:33	0.5%

12:26:41	32.6%
----------	-------

References

Bibliography, discography, and other sources

Printed works

- Ackermann, Andreas. 2016. Atmospheres, ecstasies, thick participation: Towards an aesthetic anthropology. *Sabangan Academic Journal*, 2, 22–35.
- Aligizakis, Agisilaos. 2008. *Η κρητική μουσικοχορευτική παράδοση στον 20^ο αιώνα* ('Cretan music and dance tradition in the 20th century'). Heraklion: n.p.
- Alsina Iglesias, Jordi. 2017. The guardians of Cretanness. In *Music on Crete: Traditions of a Mediterranean island*, ed. Michael Hagleitner and André Holzapfel, pp. 157–66. Wien: Institut für Musikwissenschaft, Universität Wien.
- Amargiannakis, Georgios Stil. 1967. *Συμβολή εις την μελέτην της δημώδους κρητικής μουσικής* ('A contribution to the study of Cretan folk music'). Heraklion: n.p.
- Anderson, Benedict. 1991 [1983]. *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*. Rev. edn. London; New York: Verso.
- Anoyanakis, Fivos. 1991. *Greek popular musical instruments*. Athens: Melissa.
- Antonogiannakis, Michalis E. 2010. *Ο Βρύσινας: Το βουνό του Ρεθέμνους. Τοπογραφική, γεωγραφική, ιστορική, κοινωνική και λαογραφική θεώρηση* ('Vrisinas: The mountain of Rethemnos: A study on location, geography, history, society and ethnography'). Athens: n.p.
- Argyrou, Vassos. 1996. *Tradition and modernity in the Mediterranean: The wedding as symbolic struggle*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Attali, Jacques. 1985 [1977]. *Noise: The political economy of music*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

- Baily, John. 2001. Learning to perform as a research technique in ethnomusicology. *British Journal of Ethnomusicology*, 10 (2), 85–98.
- Barz, Gregory, and Timothy J. Cooley. 2008 [1997]. *Shadows in the field: New perspectives for fieldwork in ethnomusicology*. 2nd edn. New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Baud-Bovy, Samuel. 2006. *Μουσική καταγραφή στην Κρήτη* [‘Musical chronicle in Crete’]. Athens: Kéntro Mikrasiatikón Spoudón.¹
- Beaton, Roderick. 1980. *Folk poetry in modern Greece*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Blacking, John 1995 [1984]. Music, culture, and experience. In *Music, culture, and experience: Selected papers of John Blacking*, ed. Reginald Byron, pp. 223–42. Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press.
- Blacking, John. 1995 [1973]. *How musical is man?* Seattle; London: University of Washington Press.
- Bloom, Arvid J. and Paula Skutnick-Henley. 2005. Facilitating flow experiences among musicians. *American Music Teacher*, 54 (5), 24–8.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. 1963. The attitude of the Algerian peasant towards time. In *Mediterranean countrymen: Essays in the social anthropology of the Mediterranean*, ed. Julian Pitt-Rivers, pp. 55–72. Westport: Greenwood Press.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. 1979 [1972]. *Outline of a theory of practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Boyes, Georgina. 2010 [1993]. *The imagined village: Culture, ideology and the English folk revival*. 2nd edn. Leeds: No Masters Co-Operative Limited.
- Budd, Malcolm. 1985. *Music and emotions: The philosophical theories*. London; New York: Routledge.
- Campbell, John K. 1964. *Honour, family, and patronage*. New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press.

¹ I have chosen to indicate Samuel Baud-Bovy (1906–1986) as the author of this book since it has become the standard bibliographical reference for the particular work (see Hnaraki 2007, Kallimopoulou 2009, and others, as well as the British Library catalogue). The book is a publication that includes the fieldwork notes of Samuel Baud-Bovy, Aglaia Agioutandi and Despina Mazaraki and has been edited by Lambros Liavas.

- Caraveli, Anna. 1982. The song beyond the song aesthetics and social interaction in Greek folksong. *The Journal of American Folklore*, 95 (376), 129–58.
- Caraveli, Anna. 1985. The symbolic village: Community born in performance. *The Journal of American Folklore*, 98 (389), 259–86.
- Charters, Steve. 2006. *Wine and society: The social and cultural context of a drink*. Oxford: Elsevier Butterworth-Heinemann.
- Cohen, Sara. 1995. Sounding out the city: Music and the sensuous production of place. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 20 (4), 434–46.
- Cowan, Jane K. 1990. *Dance and the body politic in northern Greece*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Cowan, Jane. 2000. *The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music, vol. 8: Europe, s.v. 'Greece'*.
- Csikszentmihalyi, Mihaly. 1990. *Flow: The psychology of optimal experience*. New York: Harper & Row.
- Dalianoudi, Renata. 2004a. *Το βιολί & η κιθάρα ως παραδοσιακή ζυγιά στην ανατολική Κρήτη: Κουρδίσματα - Ρεπερτόριο - Τεχνικές* ('The violin and the guitar as a traditional zigiá in eastern Crete: Tunings – Repertory – Techniques'). Heraklion: Pagkrítios Sílogos Kalitehnón Kritikís Mousikís.
- Dalianoudi, Renata. 2004b. *Το βιολί & το λαγούτο ως παραδοσιακή ζυγιά στη δυτική Κρήτη: Κουρδίσματα - Ρεπερτόριο - Τεχνικές* ('The violin and the lagóúto as a traditional zigiá in western Crete: Tunings – Repertory – Techniques'). Heraklion: Pagkrítios Sílogos Kalitehnón Kritikís Mousikís.
- Dawe, Kevin. 1996. The engendered lyra: Music, poetry and manhood in Crete. *British Journal of Ethnomusicology*, 5, 93–112.
- Dawe, Kevin. 1998. Bandleaders in Crete: Musicians and entrepreneurs in a Greek island economy. *British Journal of Ethnomusicology*, 7, 23–44.
- Dawe, Kevin. 1999. Minotaurs or Musonauts? 'World Music' and Cretan music. *Popular Music*, 18 (2), 209–25.
- Dawe, Kevin. 2004a. 'Power-Geometry' in motion: Space, place and gender in the lyra music of Crete. In *Music, space and place: popular music and cultural identity*, ed. Sheila Whiteley, pp. 55–65. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Dawe, Kevin. 2004b. Island musicians: Making a living from music in Crete. In *Island Musics*, ed. Kevin Dawe, pp. 65–75. New York: Berg.

- Dawe, Kevin. 2005a. Performance on a Mediterranean theme: musicians and masculinity in Crete. In *The Mediterranean in music: critical perspectives, common concerns, cultural differences*, ed. David Cooper and Kevin Dawe, pp. 117–30. Oxford: Scarecrow Press.
- Dawe, Kevin. 2005b. Symbolic and social transformation in the lute cultures of Crete: Music, technology and the body in a Mediterranean society. *Yearbook for Traditional Music*, 37, 58–68.
- Dawe, Kevin. 2007a. Regional voices in a national soundscape: Balkan music and dance in Greece. In *Balkan popular culture and the Ottoman Ecumene: Music, image, and regional political discourse*, ed. Donna A Buchanan, pp. 175–90. Lanham: Scarecrow Press.
- Dawe, Kevin. 2007b. *Music and musicians in Crete: Performance and ethnography in a Mediterranean island society*. Lanham; Plymouth: Scarecrow Press.
- Dawkins R. M. 1930. Presidential address: Folk-Memory in Crete. *Folklore* 41 (1), 11–42.
- DeNora, Tia. 2000. *Music in everyday life*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Detorakis, Theocharis E. 1994. *History of Crete*. Heraklion: n.p.
- DeWalt, Billie R. and Kathleen M. DeWalt. 2011 [2002]. *Participant observation: A guide for fieldworkers*. 2nd edn. Plymouth: AltaMira Press.
- Emmerich, Karen. 2015. Interview in ‘K’ newspaper insert, *Kathimerini*, 6 September.
- Feld, Steven. 1990 [1982]. *Sound and sentiment: Birds, weeping, poetics, and song in Kaluli expression*. 2nd edn. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Feld, Steven. 2000. A sweet lullaby for World Music. *Public Culture*, 12 (1), 145–71.
- Feld, Steven. 2005 [1994]. Aesthetics as iconicity of style (uptown title); or, (downtown title) “lift-up-over sounding”: Getting into the Kaluli groove. In *Music grooves: Essays and dialogues*, 2nd edn, ed. Charles Keil and Steven Feld, pp. 109–50. Tucson: Fenestra Books.
- Finnegan, Ruth. 2007 [1989]. *The hidden musicians: Music-Making in an English town*. Middletown: Wesleyan University Press.

- Freilich, Morris. 1970. Field work: An introduction. In *Marginal natives: Anthropologists at work*, ed. Morris Freilich, pp. 1–37. New York; London: Harper & Row.
- Frith, Simon. 1988. *Music for pleasure*. New York: Routledge.
- Frith, Simon. 2004. What is bad music? In *Bad music: The Music we love to hate*, ed. Christopher J. Washburne and Maiken Derno, pp. 11–26. New York; London: Routledge.
- Gefou-Madianou, Dimitra. 1992. Exclusion and unity, retsina and sweet wine: Commensality and gender in a Greek agrotown. In *Alcohol, gender and culture*, ed. Dimitra Gefou-Madianou, pp. 108–36. London; New York: Routledge.
- Giakoumakis, Stelios. 2007. *Η μουσική παράδοση της Κισσάμου* ('The musical tradition of Kissamos'). Kolimvari: n.p.
- Glentousi-Palioudaki, Maria. 2013. *Κωστής Γλεντούσης: Ο κλαρινίστας της Κρήτης* ('Kostis Glentousis: The clarinet player of Crete'). Chania: Erisma Publications.
- Hagleitner, Michael, and André Holzapfel (eds). 2017. *Music on Crete: Traditions of a Mediterranean island*. Wien: Institut für Musikwissenschaft, Universität Wien.
- Hall, Edward T. 1963. A system for the notation of proxemic behavior. *American Anthropologist*, 65 (5), 1003–26.
- Hall, Edward T. 1966. *The hidden dimension*. New York: Doubleday.
- Hall, Edward T. 1977 [1976]. *Beyond culture*. New York: Anchor Books.
- Hatzidakis, Georgios. 1958. *Κρητική μουσική: Ιστορία, μουσικά συστήματα, τραγούδια και χοροί* ('Cretan music: History, musical systems, songs and dances'). Athens: Koultoúra.
- Herzfeld, Michael. 1981a. Meaning and morality: A semiotic approach to evil eye accusations in a Greek village. *American Anthropologist*, 8 (3), 560–74.
- Herzfeld, Michael. 1981b. Performative categories and symbols of passage in rural Greece. *The Journal of American Folklore*, 94 (371), 44–57.
- Herzfeld, Michael. 1982a. The etymology of excuses: Aspects of rhetorical performance in Greece. *American Ethnologist*, 9 (4), 644–63.

- Herzfeld, Michael. 1982b. When exceptions define the rules: Greek baptismal names and the negotiation of identity. *Journal of Anthropological Research*, 38 (3), 288–302.
- Herzfeld, Michael. 1983a. Interpreting kinship terminology: The problem of patriliney in rural Greece. *Anthropological Quarterly*, 56 (4), 157–66.
- Herzfeld, Michael. 1983b. The significance of the insignificant: blasphemy as ideology. *Man (New Series)*, 19 (4), 653–64.
- Herzfeld, Michael. 1985. *The Poetics of manhood: Contest and identity in a Cretan mountain village*. New Jersey; Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Herzfeld, Michael. 1986 [1982]. *Ours once more: Folklore, ideology, and the making of modern Greece*. New York: Pella Publishing Company.
- Herzfeld, Michael. 1987. *Anthropology through the looking glass: Critical ethnography in the margins of Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Herzfeld, Michael. 1990a. Icons and identity: Religious orthodoxy and social practice in rural Crete. *Anthropological Quarterly*, 63 (3), 109–21.
- Herzfeld, Michael. 1990b. Pride and perjury: Time and the oath in the mountain villages of Crete. *Man (New Series)*, 25 (2), 305–22.
- Herzfeld, Michael. 1991. *A place in history: Social and monumental time in a Cretan town*. Princeton; New Jersey: Princeton.
- Herzfeld, Michael. 1993. In defiance of destiny: The management of time and gender at a Cretan funeral. *American Ethnologist*, 20 (2), 241–55.
- Herzfeld, Michael. 2003. Localism and the logic of nationalistic folklore: Cretan reflections. *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 45 (2), 281–310.
- Herzfeld, Michael. 2005. *Cultural intimacy: Social poetics in the nation-state*. London: Routledge.
- Herzfeld, Michael. 2009. *Evicted from eternity: The restructuring of modern Rome*. Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press.
- Higgins, Lee. 2012. *Community music: In theory and in practice*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press.
- Hnaraki, Maria. 2007. *Cretan music: Unravelling Ariadne's thread*. Athens: Kerkyra Publications.

- Hnaraki, Maria. 2017. Why Cretan music? In *Music on Crete: Traditions of a Mediterranean island*, ed. Michael Hagleitner and André Holzapfel, pp. 111–155. Wien: Institut für Musikwissenschaft, Universität Wien.
- Hobsbawm, Eric, and Terence Ranger (eds). 1983. *The invention of tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hobsbawm, Eric. 1983. Introduction: Inventing traditions. In *The invention of tradition*, ed. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, pp. 1–14. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hodgen, Margaret T. 1936. *The doctrine of survivals: A chapter in the history of scientific method in the study of man*. London: Allenson.
- Holzapfel, André. 2017. Rhythmic and melodic aspects of Cretan leaping dances. In *Music on Crete: Traditions of a Mediterranean island*, ed. Michael Hagleitner and André Holzapfel, pp. 281–302. Wien: Institut für Musikwissenschaft, Universität Wien.
- Horden, Peregrine, and Nicholas Purcell. 2000. *Corrupting sea: A study of Mediterranean history*. Malden; Oxford; Carlton: Blackwell Publishing.
- Howes, David (ed.). 2005. *Empire of the senses: The sensual culture reader*. Oxford; New York: Berg.
- Iossifides, Marina. 1992. Wine: Life's blood and spiritual essence in a Greek Orthodox Convent. In *Alcohol, gender and culture*, ed. Dimitra Gefou-Madianou, pp. 80–100. London; New York: Routledge.
- Kafkalas, Mihalis I. 1998. *Οδηγός κρητικής μαντινάδας: Από τη θεωρία στην πράξη* ('A guide on Cretan mantináda: From theory to practice'). Athens: Anastasakis Publications.
- Kallergis, Emmanouil S. 2000. *Το ιατρικό-ερωτικό σύνδρομο στην κρητική μαντινάδα* ('The medical and love syndrome in the Cretan mantináda'). Rethymno: n.p.
- Kallimopoulou, Eleni. 2009. *Paradosiaká: Music, meaning and identity in modern Greece*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Kapsomenos, Eratosthenis. 1987. *Το σύγχρονο κρητικό ιστορικό τραγούδι* ('The contemporary Cretan historical song'). Athens: I. Zaharopoulos.
- Keil, Charles. 1979. *Tiv song*. Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press.

- Keil, Charles. 1987. Participatory discrepancies and the power of music. *Cultural Anthropology*, 2 (3), 275–83.
- Keil, Charles. 2005 [1994]a. Motion and feeling through music. In *Music grooves: Essays and dialogues*, ed. Charles Keil and Steven Feld, pp. 53–76. Arizona: Fenestra Books.
- Keil, Charles. 2005 [1994]b. On civilization, cultural studies, and copyright. In *Music grooves: Essays and dialogues*, ed. Charles Keil and Steven Feld, pp. 227–37. Arizona: Fenestra Books.
- Koufopoulou, Sophia. 2003. Muslim Cretans in Turkey: The reformulation of ethnic identity in an Aegean community. In *Crossing the Aegean: An appraisal of the 1923 compulsory population exchange*, ed. Renee Hirschon, pp. 209–19. New York; Oxford: Berghahn Books.
- Kourousis, Stavros, and Konstantinos Kopanitsanos (eds). 2016. *Μίλιε μου για Κρήτη απ' τα παλιά: Ιστορικές ηχογραφήσεις 1907–1955* ('Talk to me about Crete from the old times: Historical recordings 1907–1955'). Athens: Orpheum Phonograph.
- Lewis, J. Lowell, and Paul Dowsey-Magog. 1993. The Maleny 'Fire Event': Rehearsals toward neo-liminality. *The Australian Journal of Anthropology*, 4 (3), 198–219.
- Lewis, J. Lowell. 2008. Toward a unified theory of cultural performance: A reconstructive introduction to Victor Turner. In *Victor Turner and contemporary cultural performance*, ed. John St. Graham, pp. 41–58. New York; Oxford: Berghahn Books.
- Loizos, Peter, and Evthymios Papataxiarchis (eds). 1991. *Contested identities: Gender and kinship in modern Greece*. Princeton; Oxford: Princeton University Press.
- Lowenthal, David. 1985. *The past is a foreign country*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Magrini, Tullia (ed.). 2003. *Music and gender: Perspectives from the Mediterranean*. Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press.
- Magrini, Tullia. 2000. Manhood and music in western Crete: Contemplating death. *Ethnomusicology*, 44 (3), 429–59.

- Manuel, Peter. 2010. Composition, authorship, and ownership in flamenco, past and present. *Ethnomusicology*, 54 (1), 106–35.
- Maragoudakis, Stavros. 2011. Δισκογραφία 78 στροφών: Η διαμόρφωση της μουσική του Χαρίλαου Πιπεράκη στο ιστορικό, κοινωνικό και μουσικό πλαίσιο της Αμερικής ('78 rpm records discography: Charilaos Piperakis' compositions in the making within the historical, social and musical context of the United States'). Bachelors dissertation. TEI of Epirus, Higher Education School of Music Technology, Department of Urban Folk and Traditional Music.
- Maton, Karl. 2014. Habitus. In *Pierre Bourdieu: Key concepts*, ed. Michael Grenfell, pp. 48–64. London; New York: Routledge.
- Meintjes, Louise. 1990. Paul Simon's Graceland, South Africa and the mediation of musical meaning. *Ethnomusicology* 34 (1), 37–73.
- Merriam, Alan P. 1980 [1964]. *The anthropology of music*. Evanston: Northwestern University Press.
- Middleton, Richard. 1990. *Studying popular music*. Milton Keynes: Open University Press.
- Moore, Rob. 2014 [2008]. Capital. In *Pierre Bourdieu: Key concepts*, ed. Michael Grenfell, pp. 98–113. London; New York: Routledge.
- Nettl, Bruno. 1974. Thoughts on improvisation: A comparative approach. *The Musical Quarterly*, 60 (1), 1–19.
- Nettl, Bruno. 2005. *The study of ethnomusicology: Thirty-One issues and concepts*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press.
- Nettl, Bruno. 2010. *Nettl's elephant: On the history of ethnomusicology*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Nietzsche, Friedrich Wilhelm. 1995 [1872]. *The birth of tragedy*. New York: Dover Publications.
- Nikolakakis, Dimitris. 2007. *Χανιώτικη μουσική παράδοση, όργανα και καλλιτέχνες* ('The musical tradition of Chania, instruments and artists'). Chania: n.p.
- Nooshin, Laudan. 1998. The song of the nightingale: Processes of improvisation in dastgāh Segāh (Iranian Classical Music). *British Journal of Ethnomusicology*, 7, 69–116.

- Nooshin, Laudan. 2004. Circumnavigation with a difference? Music, representation and the Disney experience: It's a small, small world. *Ethnomusicology Forum*, 13 (2), 236–51.
- O'Neil, Susan. 1999. Flow theory and the development of musical performance skills. *Bulletin of the Council for Research in Music Education*, 141, 129–34.
- Oikonomakis, Ilias G. 2003. *Ανιχνεύοντας τους δρόμους της μουσικής παράδοσης: Ανατολική Κρήτη* ('Scouting on the paths of the musical tradition: Eastern Crete'). Athens: n.p.
- Oikonomakis, Ilias G. 2004a. *Γνωριμία με τη μουσική παράδοση της ανατολικής Κρήτης* ('Introduction to the musical tradition of eastern Crete'). Athens: n.p.
- Oikonomakis, Ilias G. 2004b. *Στρατής Καλογερίδης: Το μουσικό έργο του, η συμβολή του στην παραδοσιακή μουσική της ανατολικής Κρήτης* ('Stratis Kalogeridis: His musical works and contribution to the traditional music of eastern Crete'). Athens: n.p.
- Oikonomakis, Ilias G. 2005. *Μουσική από την παράδοση της ανατολικής Κρήτης* ('Music from the tradition of eastern Crete'). Athens: n.p.
- Paddison, Max (1997). *Adorno's aesthetics of music*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Panagiotakis, Nikolaos. 1990. *Η παιδεία και η μουσική στην Κρήτη κατά την Βενετοκρατία* ('Education and music in Crete during the Venetian quest'). Crete: Síndesmos topikón Enóσεων dímon & koinotítou Krítis.
- Panagiotakis, Nikos (ed. Vols 1 & 2). 1998. *Κρήτη, ιστορία και πολιτισμός* ('Crete, history and culture'). Heraklion: Síndesmos Dímon & Kinotítou Krítis.
- Papadakis (Naftis), Konstantinos. 1989. «Κρητική λύρα»: Ένας μύθος ('"Cretan lyra": A myth'). Chania: n.p.
- Papadakis, Manolis. 2002. *Η ιστορία τη κρητικής μουσικής στον εικοστό αιώνα* ('The history of Cretan Music in the twentieth century'). Thessaloniki: Ziti Publications.
- Papadatos, Ioannis, and Kevin Dawe. 2018. Popular music in Crete: The case of the lyra-laouto ensemble. In *Made in Greece: Studies in Greek popular music*, ed. Dafni Tragaki, pp. 181–190. New York; Abingdon: Routledge.

- Papadatos, Ioannis. 2017. The Cretan paréa: Participatory musical performances in Crete. In *Music on Crete: Traditions of a Mediterranean island*, ed. Michael Hagleitner and André Holzzapfel, pp. 167–78. Wien: Institut für Musikwissenschaft, Universität Wien.
- Pashley, Robert. 1837. *Travels in Crete*. Vol. 1. Cambridge: John Murray.
- Pavlopoulou, Argyro. 2006. Παράδοση και “μετα-παραδοσιακές” τάσεις στην μουσική της Κρήτης (‘Tradition and “post-traditional” trends in the music of Crete’). *Τετράδια, Εκδόσεις του Τμήματος Λαϊκής & Παραδοσιακής Μουσικής ΤΕΙ Ηπείρου* (‘Notebooks, department of urban folk and traditional music press’), 1 (Μουσική Ήχος & Τόπος: Τα κείμενα (‘Music Sound & Place: The texts’)), 81-91.
- Pavlopoulou, Argyro. 2012. Musical tradition and change on the island of Crete. Doctoral Thesis. Goldsmiths, University of London.
- Pennanen, Risto Pekka. 1997. The development of chordal harmony in Greek rebetika and laika music, 1930s to 1960s. *British Journal of Ethnomusicology*, 6, 65–116.
- Pennanen, Risto Pekka. 2004. The nationalization of Ottoman popular music in Greece. *Ethnomusicology*, 45 (1), 1–25.
- Petrakis, Stelios, and Ilias Andreoulakis. 2007. *Σκοποί & μαντινάδες της Κρήτης* (‘Tunes & mantinádes of Crete’). Athens: Filippos Nakas.
- Racy, A. J. 2003. *Making music in the Arab world: The culture and artistry of tarab*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Rice, Timothy. 1980a. A Macedonian sobor: Anatomy of a celebration. *The Journal of American Folklore*, 93 (368), 113–28.
- Rice, Timothy. 1980b. Aspects of Bulgarian musical thought. *Yearbook of the International Folk Music Council*, 12, 43–66.
- Rice, Timothy. 1982. The surla and tapan tradition in Yugoslav Macedonia. *The Galpin Society Journal*, 35, 122–37.
- Rice, Timothy. 2001. Reflections on music and meaning: Metaphor, signification and control in the Bulgarian case. *British Journal of Ethnomusicology*, 10 (1), 19–38.
- Rice, Timothy. 2014a. *Ethnomusicology: A very short introduction*. New York: Oxford University Press.

- Riginiotis, Theodoros. 2004. Η ιστορική παρουσία της λύρας στην Κρήτη από το 10ο ή τον 12ο αιώνα μέχρι σήμερα ('The historical presence of the lyra in Crete from the 10th or the 12th century to the present'). *Kritologika Grammata*, 19, 203–30.
- Romas, Dionisios. 1973. *Creta Sacra: Η μεγάλη χαμένη ευκαιρία* ('Sacred Crete: The great lost opportunity'). In *Ο θρήνος της Κάντιας* ('The Lament of Heraklion'), by Dionisios Romas, pp. 439–76. Athens: Vivliopoleión tis Estías.
- Schade-Poulsen, Marc. 1997. Which world? On the diffusion of Algerian raï to the West. In *Siting culture: The shifting anthropological object*, ed. Karen Fog Olwig and Kirsten Hastrup, pp. 59–85. Oxon; New York: Routledge.
- Schütz, Alfred. 1951. Making music together: A study in social relationship. *Social Research*, 18 (1), 76–97.
- Seeger, Anthony. 2004 [1987]. *Why Suyá sing: A musical anthropology of an Amazonian people*. Urbana; Chicago: University of Illinois Press.
- Shannon, Jonathan H. 2007. Sultans of spin: Syrian sacred music on the world stage. In *Ethnomusicology: A Contemporary Reader*, ed. Jennifer C. Post, pp. 17–32. London: Routledge.
- Sharp, Cecil James. 2015 [1907]. *English folk song, some conclusions*. London: Forgotten Books.
- Slobin, Mark, and Jeff Todd Titon. 1992. The music-culture as a world of music. In *Worlds of music*, ed. Jeff Todd Titon, pp. 1–15. New York; Toronto; Sydney: Schirmer Books.
- Small, Christopher. 1998. *Musicking: The meanings of performing and listening*. Hanover; London: University Press of New England.
- Smith, Michael Llewellyn. 1965. *The great island: A study of Crete*. London: Longmans.
- Spittler, Gerd. 2001. Teilnehmende beobachtung als dichte teilnahme ('Participant-Observation as thick participation'). *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 126 (1), 1–25.
- Spratt, T. A. B. 1865. *Travels and researches in Crete*. London: John Van Voorst.
- Stock, Jonathan. 1993. The application of Schenkerian analysis to ethnomusicology: Problems and possibilities. *Music Analysis*, 12 (2), 215–40.

- Stokes, Martin. 1994. Introduction: Ethnicity, identity and music. In *Ethnicity, identity and music: The musical construction of place*, ed. Martin Stokes, pp. 1–27. Oxford; New York: Berg Publishers.
- Stokes, Martin. 2002. Marx, money, and musicians. In *Music and Marx: Ideas, practice, politics*, ed. Regula Burckhardt Qureshi, pp. 139–63. New York; London: Routledge.
- Stokes, Martin. 2004. Music and the Global Order. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 33, 47–72.
- Sugarman, Jane C. 1989. The Nightingale and the partridge: Singing and gender among Prespa Albanians. *Ethnomusicology*, 33 (2), 191–215.
- Sugarman, Jane C. 1997. *Engendering song: Singing and subjectivity at Prespa Albanian weddings*. Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press.
- Sugarman, Jane C. 1999. Imagining the homeland: Poetry, songs, and the discourses of Albanian Nationalism. *Ethnomusicology*, 43 (3), 419–58.
- Sykäri, Venla. 2011. *Words as events: Cretan mantinádes in performance and composition*. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society.
- Tragaki, Dafni. 2005. ‘Humanizing the masses’: Enlightened intellectuals and the music of the people. In *The Mediterranean in music: Critical perspectives, common concerns, cultural differences*, ed. David Cooper and Kevin Dawe, pp. 49–75. Oxford: Scarecrow Press.
- Tragaki, Dafni. 2007. *Rebetiko worlds: Ethnomusicology and ethnography in the city*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Turino, Thomas. 1999. Signs of imagination, identity, and experience: A Peircian semiotic theory for music. *Ethnomusicology*, 43 (2), 221–55.
- Turino, Thomas. 2003. Are we global yet? Globalist discourse, cultural formations and the study of Zimbabwean popular music. *British Journal of Ethnomusicology*, 12 (2), 51–9.
- Turino, Thomas. 2008. *Music as social life: The politics of participation*. London; Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Turner, Victor. 1987 [1983]. Carnival in Rio: Dionysian drama in an industrializing society. In *The anthropology of performance*, ed. Victor Turner, pp. 123–38. New York: PAJ Publications.

- Turner, Victor. 1997 [1969]. *The ritual process: Structure and anti-structure*. New Brunswick; London: AldineTransaction.
- Vaidhyanathan, Siva. 2001. *Copyrights and copywrongs: The rise of intellectual property and how it threatens creativity*. New York; London: New York University Press.
- Vlastos, Pavlos. 2013 [1893]. *Ο Γάμος εν Κρήτη* ('Marriage in Crete'). Athens: Pelekános.
- Williams, Chris. 2003. The Cretan Muslims and the music of Crete. In *Greece and the Balkans: Identities, perceptions and cultural encounters since the Enlightenment*, ed. Dimitris Tziouvas, pp. 208–19. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Windsor, Luke W. 2011. Gestures in music-making: Action, information and perception. In *New perspectives on music and gesture*, ed. Anthony Gritten and Elaine King, pp. 45–63. Farnham; Burlington: Ashgate.

Online sources

- Karsokavadis, Alexandros. 2012. Ο πρώτος συρτός: Παραλλαγές, «μετατοπίσεις» και «μετατροπές» (*Protos syrτος: Variations, "transpositions" and "modulations"*). *Academia.edu*. Available at: https://www.academia.edu/26053655/O_Πρώτος_συρτός_Παραλλαγές_μετατοπίσεις_και_μετατροπές_. Accessed 26 March 2018.
- Karkagiannis, Antonis. 2002a. Το παλιό σκυλάδικο ('The old skyladiko'). *Kathimerini*, 18 December. Available from: <http://www.kathimerini.gr>. Accessed 18 December 2015.
- Karkagiannis, Antonis. 2002b. Το έτυμον της λέξεως «σκυλάδικο» ('The etymology of the word "skyladiko"'). *Kathimerini*, 22 December. Available from: <http://www.kathimerini.gr>. Accessed 18 December 2015.
- League, Panayotis. 2014. Rewriting unwritten history: Folklore, nationalism, and the ban of the Cretan violin. *Center for Hellenic Studies, Harvard University* Available at: <http://chs.harvard.edu/wa/pageR?tn=ArticleWrapper&dc=12&mn=4885>. Accessed 11 August 2017.

- Magrini, Tullia. 1997. Repertories and identities of a musician from Crete. *Ethnomusicology Online* 3. Available at: <http://www.umbc.edu/eol/3/magrini/>. Accessed 15 February 2017.
- Papadatos, Ioannis. 2014. *Grove Music Online*, s.v. 'Crete'. Available from: <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/>. Accessed 2 April 2018.
- Rice, Timothy. 2001b. *Grove Music Online*, s.v. 'transmission'. Available from: <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/>. Accessed 1 September 2017.
- Stokes, Martin. 2007. On musical cosmopolitanism. *The Macalester International Roundtable 2007*. Paper 3. Available at: <http://digitalcommons.macalester.edu/intlrtable/3>. Accessed 30 March 2011.

Websites and online audio-visual material

- Christos Barbas*. Website. Available at: <http://www.christosbarbas.com>. Accessed 28 July 2017.
- Daulute*. Website. Available at: <http://www.daulute.com>. Accessed 18 November 2015.
- Gaganisg, n.d. YouTube online channel. Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/user/gaganisg>. Accessed 6 April 2017.
- Giorgis Gavalas, 2010. Alexandros Papadakis rakokazano Kalomenopoulou Antoni.m4v. Online video. Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5S_1_PkDxw8. Accessed 27 November 2015.
- Labyrinth musical workshop*. Website. Available at: <http://www.labyrinthmusic.gr>. Accessed 29 July 2017.
- Peza Union Crete*. Website. Available at: <http://www.pezaunion.gr>. Accessed 5 May 2016.
- Από τα Ζωνιανά στην παγκοσμιοποίηση ('From Zoniana to globalisation'). 2013. *Αντιθέσεις* ('Contrasts'). Television broadcast. KritiTV. 1 March. Available at: <http://www.cretetv.gr/απο-τα-ζωνιανα-στην-παγκοσμιοποιηση>. Accessed 5 April 2018.
- Αφιέρωμα στην Κρητική μαντινάδα* ('On the Cretan mantinada'). 2012. *Πρωταγωνιστές* ('Protagonists'). Television broadcast. Mega Channel. 26

February. Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7CEIR5s ek6Y>. Accessed 25 April 2018.

Βαγγέλης Χατζηδάκης ('Vaggelis Hatzidakis'). Webpage. Available at: <http://www.melabes.gr/component/content/article/55-protomastores/130-xatzidakis-baggelis>. Accessed 7 February 2018.

Εγεννήθη λυράρης ('A lyra player was born'). 2012. *Ελλήνων δρώμενα* ('Greek culture events'). Television broadcast. ET3. 24 March. Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7WvdE1cArB4>. Accessed 15 January 2016.

Κρήτη αγαπημένη ('Beloved Crete'). Online blog. Available at: <https://kritiagapimeni.wordpress.com>. Accessed 22 August 2017.

Μανόλης Μαργαρίτης – Έξι χρόνια μακριά μας ('Manolis Margaritis – Six years without him'). Webpage. Available at: <http://www.melabes.gr/component/content/article/38-slideshow/611-2016-05-15-10-22-27>. Accessed on 21 September 2017.

Μένουμε Ελλάδα ('We stay in Greece'). Television broadcast. NET. 10 October 2011. Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bebkMO0uob8>. Accessed 2 May 2018.

Personal Interviews

Antonogiannakis, Giorgos 2014. *Personal interview*. 8 September.

Daly, Ross. 2009. *Personal interview*. 12 April.

Gounakis, Giannis. 2014. *Personal interview*. 8 October.

Margaritis, Manolis. 2009. *Personal interview*. 10 April.

Markogiannakis, Giannis. 2009. *Personal interview*. 11 April.

Papadakis, Alexandros. 2012. *Personal interview*. 18 October.

Discography

Alefantinoi. *Kritikos kiklos* ('Cretan cycle'). 1985. Cretaphon CRET-1014, compact disc.

Alexandros Papadakis. 2007. *Kanari mou* ('My canary'). Aerakis S.A. 702, compact disc.

- Alexandros Papadakis. 2015. *Anidros Athos* ('Dry bloom'). Aerakis A.M.A 355, 2 compact discs.
- Antonis Martsakis. 2014. *Tsi horas kai tsi rizas* ('Of the town and the mountain'). Seistron AMA 351, compact disc.
- Daulute. 2015. *Strovilos*. Independent release, compact disc.
- Dimitris Sgouros. 2011. *Skopoi kai tragoudia tis Kritis. Apo to arheio tou Pavlou Vlastou 1860–1910* ('Songs and melodies from Crete. The archives of Pavlos Vlastos 1860–1910'). Aegis (no catalogue number), 3 compact discs and 1 DVD.
- Dimitris Sgouros. *Ta sa ek ton son*. 1999. Aerakis S.A. 612, compact disc.
- Giannis Haroulis. 2015. *Hilia kalos esmixame*. Minos-EMI 060254722285 5, 2 compact discs.
- Giannis Markopoulos, Nikos Xylouris. 1971. *Rizitika*. Columbia SCXG 69, 33 $\frac{1}{3}$ rpm.
- Giorgos Papadakis, Manolis Bofiliakis. 1974. *Edo politehnio! Ena ihitiko dokoumendo* ('The Polytechnic calling! A document in sound'). Lyra 3001, 33 $\frac{1}{3}$ rpm.
- Nikiforos Aerakis. 1990. *Anogiani Parea 2* ('Parea of Anogia 2'). Seistron S.A. 529, compact disc.
- Oi Protomástores* ('The first masters'). 1994. Aerakis S.A. – 540, 10 compact discs.
- Otan Akouo Kriti* ('When I listen to Crete'). 2006. Seistron AMA149, compact disc and 2 DVDs.
- Parees tis Kritis: Melambes. Afieroma ston Giorgo Troulino* ('Parees in Crete: Melambes. Tribute to Giorgos Troulinos'). 2008. Seistron A.M.A 198, 2 compact discs.
- Ross Daly. 2004. *Music of Crete*. FM Records FM1697, compact disc.
- Stelios Lainakis, Hara Lainaki, Leonidas Lainakis. 2012. *Tambahaniotika: Astika tragoudia tis ditikis Kritis* ('Tambahaniotika: Urban songs of western Crete'). Rotonda Music (no catalogue number), compact disc.
- Stelios Petrakis Quartet. 2015. *Augi ts' augis* ('Dawn of dawn'). Stelios Petrakis SP001, compact disc and DVD.
- Stelios Petrakis, Efrén López, Bijan Chemirani. 2011. *Mavra Froudia* ('Black eyebrows'). Musiépoca MEPCD003, compact disc.

- Ta rebetika tis Amerikis* ('Rebetika from America'). 2009. Music Box International 3361192005, 4 compact discs.
- Thanasis Skordalos. 1997. *Iparho* ('I am here'). Panivar PA 40282, compact disc.
- "To Stelaki apo tin Kriti": Foustalieris 1911–1992* ("Stelios from Crete": Foustalieris 1911–1992'). 2007. Aerakis S.A. 702, 2 compact discs and 1 DVD.
- Vaggelis Vardakis. 2001. *Anatolika tis Kritis* ('In the east of Crete'). Aerakis SA644, compact disc.
- Xylouris White. 2014. *Goats*. Other Music Recording Co. OM-015-1, compact disc.

Index

A

Agios Vasilios, 16, 18, 67–68, 168, 189, 241, 259, 260
Agioutanti, Aglaia, 6, 17, 47, 149–151, 241
amanédes, 19, 82, 187–188, 225, 243, 261
amateur musicians, 15, 31, 42, 70–71, 76, 86, 95, 146, 148, 158, 163, 166, 171–172, 176–177, 204, 255–256
Anogia, 66–67, 187
anogianí paréa, 66–67
Antonogiannakis, Giorgos, 152–153
archetypal *paréa*, 65–66, 68, 71, 94, 136, 233
authenticity, 7, 10–11, 17, 20, 46, 52, 70, 75–76, 78–79, 81, 83, 89–94, 96, 98–99, 149, 152, 164, 168, 249, 252

B

Baud-Bovy, Samuel, 6, 17–18, 40, 46–47, 55, 76–77, 79, 135, 148–151
Bernidakis, Giannis (Baxevanis), 79, 149

boulgarí, 17, 19, 82

Bourdieu, Pierre, 14–15, 38–39, 43, 46, 84–85, 99, 161, 169
building block, 243–248, 250, 262

C

capital (symbolic), 161, 169
carnival, 144, 156, 181–182
Chania, 17, 68, 82, 150, 187, 210
coffee-house, 31, 47, 56–57, 62, 69, 95, 111–112, 121, 124–126, 138–140, 142–143, 169, 183, 243, 260
Cowan, Jane, 8, 20, 44, 93, 119, 150, 159
Cretanness, 60, 68, 75, 80–81, 84–85, 87, 96, 98–99, 149, 152, 153
Csikszentmihalyi, Mihaly, 157, 244

D

Daly, Ross, 6–7, 21, 41, 78, 95, 101, 140, 152, 158, 167, 238
Dawe, Kevin, 6–10, 20–21, 25, 31, 39, 41, 44, 49–50, 66, 113, 158–159, 161, 167, 174, 185, 191–192, 225, 237

E

éntehno, 20–21, 24–25, 41, 44, 107,
114, 188, 239
Erotokritos, 47
ethnography, 27, 38, 46, 48

F

Foustalierakis, Stelios, 17, 82, 94

G

Glendi (village), 48, 85, 161
glénda (p. *gléndia*), 7–8, 10, 13, 24, 29,
34, 50, 52–54, 57–58, 63, 74, 81,
98, 106, 112, 128, 140–141, 148,
153, 158–160, 164, 171, 174, 176–
177, 181–182, 186, 189, 210, 237–
238

H

habitus, 14–15, 39, 46, 185
Hall, Edward, 41, 131–132, 136
hegemonic, 20, 85, 93
Heraklion, 68, 95, 128, 144, 152, 238
Herzfeld, Michael, 16–17, 23, 30, 39,
44, 46, 48–50, 57, 75, 85, 98, 100,
127, 151, 161
Hnaraki, Maria, 6, 50, 153
Houdetsi, 152, 158, 174, 208–209

I

improvisation, 13, 23, 38, 64, 157–
158, 187–188, 192, 206–207, 215,
218, 222, 224–226, 230, 242

K

kafenío, see coffee-house
Kaklis, Manolis, 70
kalí paréa ('good *paréa*'), 111, 113,
116, 118, 127, 133, 138, 232–233
Kallimopoulou, Eleni, 41, 88, 152–
153, 158, 239
káno paréa ('do *paréa*'), 51, 54, 56,
59–61, 103–104, 106, 125–126,
133, 142–143, 149, 163
kantáda, 138–139, 142–144, 155,
181–184, 259–260
kastrinós, 19, 186, 188–189
Kazantzakis, Nikos, 47, 160
kéfi (high spirits), 63, 104, 115, 125,
169
kritiká kéntra ('Cretan centres'), 7,
31, 57, 95, 151, 170
Kissamos, 210, 238, 240
Klados, Leonidas, 207, 241
kontiliés, 19, 68, 186–188, 190, 243,
245, 261
koúpes, 128–130, 133
Koutsourelis, Giorgos, 150, 241

L

laikó, 20, 98, 248
Lainakis family, 82
laografía, 46

M

Magrini, Tullia, 17, 44
maleviziótis, 19, 186, 205, 261

mantináda, 50, 53, 55, 60, 68, 75, 137, 139, 156, 168–171, 183–184, 186–188, 191, 193, 197–198, 225, 227–228, 230–231, 242, 254, 261

mantinadológos, 53

Margaritis, Manolis, 98, 170, 175

Markogiannakis, Giannis, 70, 88, 94, 141

Mazaraki, Despina, 6, 17, 47, 79, 149–150

Melambes, 60, 66–68, 70–71, 124, 135, 139, 168–171, 193, 228, 232, 260

melambianí paréa, 66–67, 71–72, 136, 233

meraklίδes (s. *meraklís*), 5, 12, 41, 60, 68–69, 93, 137, 146, 163, 166, 169–171, 173, 178, 232, 252–253, 255

Meronas, 144, 174, 208, 223

mezés, 69, 143

mihanímata, 77, 92

Milopotamos, 18, 48, 66–67, 168, 190

modus operandi, 26, 48, 99, 105, 251, 256

monumentalisation, 75, 94, 98

Mountakis, Kostas, 28, 83, 88, 168–169, 191, 240, 254, 263–264

mousikí vradιά ('music night'), 31, 63, 71–72, 86, 95, 183–184, 238

musicking, 26, 108, 162

N

nationalism, 49, 79, 151

O

opus operatum, see *modus operandi*

P

pan-Cretanisation, 18, 25, 47

panigíri, 63

Papadakis, Alexandros, 67, 90, 98, 166–167, 175

paradosiaká (musical movement), 41, 152, 158, 239

paradosiakó ('traditional'), 20–21, 24–26, 97, 107, 114, 173, 178

pareízo ('do *paréa*'), see *káno paréa*

pentozális, 186, 188–189, 261

Piperakis, Harilaos, 81, 263

presentational (musical field), 43, 99–100, 148

professional musicians, 31, 50, 53, 158–159, 163–164, 168, 171, 176 256

professionalism, 9, 53, 76–77, 158–161

prógamos, 89, 90, 260

protomástores, 18, 29, 47, 55, 78, 82–83, 86–88, 92, 94–95, 141, 149–150, 203, 232, 241, 254

prótos syrtós, 5, 14, 93, 186, 191–200, 206–209, 211, 213, 215–218, 222–223, 228, 235, 263

R

rakádiko, 71, 86, 95–96, 121, 183, 260
rakí, 56, 89, 109, 113, 127, 140, 143, 182
rakokázano, 89–90, 108–113, 121, 124–126, 130, 133, 135, 138, 153–155, 260
rebetiko, 41, 44, 81, 114, 152, 202, 248
rethemnianí paréa, 66, 68–72
Rethemnos, 9, 16, 20, 30–32, 34, 48–49, 51, 53, 55, 60–61, 64, 66, 69–71, 76, 81–82, 86, 94–95, 98, 100, 107–108, 115, 119, 121, 130, 138–140, 144, 153, 158, 161, 170, 175, 181–183, 189, 204, 238, 243, 248, 259–260
Rethymnon, 16, 18, 48, 66–68, 90, 94–95, 121–122, 127–128, 142, 144, 168, 189–190, 209–210, 259–260
ritual, 11–12, 45, 89, 99, 146–147, 149, 153–157
rizítika, 19, 28, 68, 187, 190, 261
Rodinos, Andreas, 78, 89, 92, 141

S

seirá of syrtá, 5, 183–184, 187, 193, 202–203, 206, 210–211, 216, 218–219, 225, 231, 240–248, 250, 262
Sgouros, Dimitris, 29, 82–83, 85, 191
Sideris, Dimitris, 149, 174, 208, 223

simasia, 23, 49
sinavlía, 7–8, 20, 24, 52–54, 58, 107, 148, 158–159, 176, 239
sístima Mountaki, 191
Skordalos, Thanasis, 83, 86–88, 168–170, 230, 236, 240–241, 254, 261, 263–264
skyládiko, 20–25
soústa, 186, 188–189, 205
Stagakis, Manolis, 95, 97
statism, 49, 151
survivalism, 49, 151
Sykäri, Venla, 6, 29, 50, 153, 190, 198, 225
syrtó (p. *syrtá*), 5, 19, 55, 67, 86, 88–89, 92–93, 97, 182–184, 186–194, 197–216, 218–228, 230–231, 235, 238, 240–245, 250, 261, 262
syrtá Rodinoú, 89, 92–93

T

talk time, 242, 244, 246, 261, 262
tambahaniótika, see *amanédes*
trapézi, 62, 126
tsikoudiá, see *rakí*
Turino, Thomas, 8, 10, 38, 41–43, 63–64, 85, 92, 99, 123, 136, 148, 152, 157, 162–163, 165, 176, 185–186, 210–211, 226, 233–234, 249

V

viómata, 153, 169, 176–178, 255
Vlastos, Pavlos, 47, 82, 191

voúrtsa, 82, 97, 212–215, 219, 222,
233

W

wine, 60–61, 109, 112–113, 127–128,
133, 136, 140, 166, 168, 171
World Music, 14, 41, 85, 93, 152

X

Xylouris, Antonis (Psarantonis), 6, 28
Xylouris, Giorgos (Psarogiorgis), 6,
28, 97, 174, 208–209
Xylouris, Nikos, 19, 28, 88, 152, 188

Z

zigiá, 16, 19, 78–79, 198–199, 201,
233