

# ERYTHEIA

REVISTA DE ESTUDIOS BIZANTINOS Y NEOGRIEGOS

34 - 2013



SEPARATA

## ÍNDICE

F. J. ANDRÉS SANTOS, ¿Cuándo se extinguió el consulado? Reflexiones en torno a la Novela 94 de León el Sabio . . . . .	9
J. DAYANTIS, Théophylacte Simocattès et les crues du Nil . . . . .	39
M. BELTRÁN, Infinitud de Dios en Juan de Damasco y en ciertos de sus predecesores . . . . .	57
A. ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΟΥΣ, «Ἐνωτια Βυζαντινῶν ἀνδρῶν: ἐρμηνεύοντας ἀγνωστές ιστορικές πτυχές και συμβολισμούς μιας εικονογραφική λεπτομέρεια . . . .	69
M. GONZÁLEZ RINCÓN, The falcon, the kite, the wolf and the fox. The anti-clerical critique in <i>Apokopos</i> 217-8 and medieval animal literature . . .	87
P. BÁDENAS DE LA PEÑA y S. SZNOL, Las traducciones en ladino y en judeo-griego del “Canto del Mar Rojo” ( <i>Éx.</i> 15) en el Pentateuco de Constantinopla (1547) . . . . .	121
J. M. FLORISTÁN, Simón Láscharis, arzobispo de Durazzo: sus servicios a la corona de España . . . . .	161
E. LATORRE BROTO, El negocio de la guerra: un presupuesto de equipamiento militar de la armenian Lesoinne para el ejército griego (1824) .	207
M. G. SERGIS, Sound of the cities: Soundscapes of music echoed in Michael Mitsakis’ literary works about Athens (1880-1896) . . . . .	235
M. G. VARVOUNIS, The Armenians of Samos: The path through history and culture of an Armenian community on a Greek island . . . . .	261
P. ÁLVAREZ DE FRUTOS, El eco en la prensa y documentación diplomática españolas de los procesos a los responsables de la derrota griega en Asia Menor . . . . .	269
J. MERINO, Destino trágico y descomposición social: la narrativa breve de Sotiris Dimitríu . . . . .	305

## SOUNDS OF THE CITIES: SOUNDSCAPES OF MUSIC ECHOED IN MICHAEL MITSAKIS' LITERARY WORKS ABOUT ATHENS (1880-1896)

**ABSTRACT:** The present study deals with some soundscapes of Athens, namely, music and songs, as depicted in the Athenian literary texts of Michael Mitsakis during the period 1880-1896. More specifically, these soundscapes are examined as an expression of (a) the mixture of the «old» with the «new» in many cultural domains, (b) the social class differentiations, (c) the linguistic alternates, (d) the unformed character of the city, etc. Furthermore, we investigate the representations of the musicians during that period, the ideological struggle that was enhanced by the musical sounds among the intellectuals of Athens, etc.

**KEY-WORDS:** Athens, 19<sup>th</sup> century, Michael Mitsakis, sounds of the cities, soundscapes, flâneur, music, musicians, *café-aman*, affiliating identification, “folk”, “popular”.

**RESUMEN:** Este artículo analiza algunos “paisajes sonoros” de Atenas –a saber, música y canciones– tal como aparecen reflejados en los textos literarios de M. Mitsakis del periodo 1880-1896. En concreto, se estudian esos “paisajes sonoros” como expresión: a) de la mezcla de elementos antiguos y modernos en muchos campos de la cultura; b) de las diferencias entre clases sociales; c) de las variantes lingüísticas; d) del carácter indefinido de la ciudad, etc. Se investigan, además, las ejecuciones de los músicos en ese periodo, la controversia ideológica entre los intelectuales de Atenas realizada por los sonidos de la música, etc.

**PALABRAS CLAVE:** Atenas, s. XIX, M. Mitsakis, sonidos de las ciudades, “paisajes sonoros”, paseantes, música, músicos, *café-aman*, identidad asociativa, “folk”, “popular”.

## 1.- INTRODUCTION

In this paper, *sub specie laographica*<sup>1</sup> I analyze the presence of *musical soundscapes* in the works of Michael Mitsakis (1860-1916)<sup>2</sup>. These have Athens as their scenery and were written between 1880 and 1896, in which year Mitsakis ceased to produce work and entered upon twenty years of silence, before his death.

The notion of *soundscape* was introduced as early as the Seventies by Richard Murray Schafer<sup>3</sup>, who was attempting to classify urban and rural elements of sound and to chart the evolution of sound over time. The creative use of literary texts was one of the ways that he suggested as a means of studying earlier cultures. He himself had noted and indexed thousands of pages drawn from European writers, who, being aural eye-witnesses, as it were, to the period in which they lived, offered information on innumerable moments of European social history. John M. Picker<sup>4</sup>, Richard Cullen Rath<sup>5</sup>, Bruce Smith<sup>6</sup>, to give just three examples, realized in exemplary fashion their teacher's theory and developed it further. In the same vein, the work of John Picker reproduced everyday life and the aural culture of Victorian England, employing texts from, among others, Dickens, George Eliot, Tennyson, Stoker, Conrad, Bell, and Helmholtz. Richard Cullen Rath used texts from American writers to do the same. Bruce Smith made a remarkable journey through the soundscapes of Shakespeare's contemporaries. He employed a wide range of evidence to reconstitute the soundscapes of such places as the countryside, the city and the courtroom and so create a historical phenomenology of sound.

My dealings with the work of Michael Mitsakis (hereafter M.M.) brought me face to face with a magnificent *oeuvre*, both pioneering for its time<sup>7</sup> and,

<sup>1</sup> I use the Greek term *laographia* given to our discipline of *folklore* by its founder in Greece, N. G. Politis (1852-1921).

<sup>2</sup> On Mitsakis' personality, his political preferences and views, and his general ideological outlook, I have written fairly extensively in the *Introduction* to the first volume that I had the privilege of editing. See Μανόλης Γ. ΣΕΡΓΗΣ (ΕΚΔ.), *Μιχαήλ Μητσάκης, Αφηγήματα και ταξιδιωτικές εντυπώσεις*, τ. Α', Αθήνα 2006. See also Μανόλης Γ. ΣΕΡΓΗΣ (ΕΚΔ.), *Μιχαήλ Μητσάκης, Κριτικά κείμενα, επιστολές, ποίηση*, τ. Β', Αθήνα 2007. All references to M.M.'s work are made to these two volumes Α' and Β'.

<sup>3</sup> M. R. SCHAFER, *The soundscape: Our sonic environment and the tuning of the world*, Rochester, Vermont 1994.

<sup>4</sup> J. M. PICKER, *Victorian soundscapes*, Oxford 2003.

<sup>5</sup> Richard Cullen RATH, *How early America sounded*, Ithaca and London 2003.

<sup>6</sup> Bruce R. SMITH, *The acoustic world of early modern England: Attending to the O-Factor*, Chicago and London 1999.

<sup>7</sup> Lizzy TSIRIMOKOU, «Το φάσμα της αυτοχειρίας», *Αντί* 632 (11.4.1997) 52-53.

more importantly for the subject of this article, which concentrates mainly on music and song, filled with different acoustic worlds.

## 2.- MICHAEL MITSAKIS, “RECORDER OF CITY LIFE AND MORES”

M.M. is a complex figure in Greek letters. He was writer, poet and journalist, while also being both man of *deep knowledge-flâneur*, W. Benjamin’s wandering narrator<sup>8</sup>. He was fond of wandering around a noisy and constantly changing Athens and of closely examining what was taking place around him, in order to offer them to his readers as precisely as possible, thus giving his readers a profounder insight into the otherwise somewhat imperceptible changes that their modern city was undergoing. He was interested in showing in a convincing fashion how the Athenian way of life was being shaped by a new organization of space and by the way of dealing with new time, so as to emphasize the problems of adaptation created by these two factors, summed up in the phrase “space-time”.

M.M. writes “urban literature”, or “literature of the city”<sup>9</sup>. When he first appeared in Greek literature, in 1880, Greek writers were already poised between rural and urban ethnography and so their attention was already turning towards urban anthropology. Various topics in the Greek literature of the day were drawn from city life, namely from an urban context that referred only to city space. As a writer and a journalist, M.M. was interested in the present and the future of Hellenism.

The view that in the modern city “seeing” enjoys the ultimate priority over all the other senses, that is, the notion of “visualism”<sup>10</sup>, cannot be applied to Mitsakis’s work. The then western intuitional model was admittedly based on vision, although other non-European civilizations laid emphasis on other senses<sup>11</sup>. The importance of “hearing” has been stressed by scholars of traditional civilizations, which rest on “hearing” and “orality”<sup>12</sup>. In his narra-

<sup>8</sup> See W. BENJAMIN, *Σαρλ Μπωντλαίρ, ένας λυρικός του καπιταλισμού*, μτφρ. G. Gouzoulis, Αθήνα 1994.

<sup>9</sup> Lizy TSIRIMOKOU, *Εσωτερική ταχύτητα. Δοκίμια για την λογοτεχνία*, Αθήνα 2000, p. 76 ff.

<sup>10</sup> Lizy TSIRIMOKOU, *ibid.*, p. 87.

<sup>11</sup> Anthony Seeger, for instance, who studied the Suya Indians of the Amazon, outlined this cultural difference by rightly linking the assigning to the ears of “symbolic meaning” (which were often objects of embellishment and ritual decoration) with the symbolic ranking of senses which governed the culture of this particular society. See A. SEEGER, “The meaning of body ornaments: A Suya example”, *Ethnology* 14: 3 (1975) 211-224.

<sup>12</sup> W. J. ONG, *Προφορικότητα και εγγραματοσύνη: Η εκτεχνολόγηση του λόγου*, Ηράκλειο 1997.

tive, M.M. employs “hearing”<sup>13</sup> as the main instrument for examining his world around him. Thus he produces, with the same frequency and quality, both literature of the eye and of the ear:

«I'm a simple man, nonetheless, whom fate itself has thrown into the streets of Athens and destined him to wander around them, and who has eyes to see things, alas, all too few, and ears to listen, and who finally puts his scattered thoughts and impressions down on random pieces of paper» (B', 147)

It is remarkable that M.M. employs acoustic images, which suggests the very first thoughts regarding an “anthropology of senses”, long before this topic became an object of study by anthropologists, who dealt with the intuitional models current in various civilizations<sup>14</sup>.

Here I present some acoustic images from M.M.'s texts. Athens was the political and intellectual centre of the kingdom of Greece during the last 20 years of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. It was a place of confluence for the “contradictory cultural trends of a transitional era”<sup>15</sup>. It is where “the relationships and connections among all the cities of Greece” gathered together<sup>16</sup>. And this city became unavoidably a narrative place and the main topic of a large number of narratives, many of which are defined by the adjective “Athenian”, as opposed to rural ethnography. For example, M.M. gave the title *Athenian Pages* to some of his texts, whilst Alexandros Papadiamantis entitled some of his own work *Athenian Narratives*. Athens became “the novel of Greece”, the city text *par excellence*. Its population grew enormously. In the 1830s, Athens had only a few thousand inhabitants, a figure that by about 1896 had grown to 120.000<sup>17</sup>. For example, the tranquility of its mornings is now disturbed, as «...a mixed noise is now heard, a clamor created by the voices of many, a shout and various types of din». Gradually, as the day wears on, the crowd wanders around the city:

«... shouting in a deafening concert, in which every tone of the music scale is represented, every noisy multitude of vendors, traders, salesmen,

<sup>13</sup> See P. PANOPOULOS, «Η πατρίδα ως ήχος και ο ήχος ως πατρίδα: πολιτισμικά και προσωπικά ηχοτοπία στα διηγήματα του Χρ. Χριστοβασύλη», *Δοκιμές* 13-14 (Ανοιξη 2005), p. 278.

<sup>14</sup> See P. KRUTH-H. STOBART, *Sound*, Cambridge 2000.

<sup>15</sup> Georgia GOTSI, *Η ζωή εν τη πρωτευούση. Θέματα αστικής πεζογραφίας από το τέλος του 19<sup>ου</sup> αιώνα*, Αθήνα 2004, p. 13.

<sup>16</sup> Lily TSIRIMOKOU, *Εσωτερική ταχύτητα...*, *ibid*, p. 80.

<sup>17</sup> See Georgia GOTSI, *ibid*, p. 245, footnote 5. All large cities are noisy. See also David GARRIOCH, «Sounds of the city: The soundscape of early modern European towns», *Urban History* 30: 1 (2003), p. 5.

who constitute the life of the remote neighborhoods. The milkman has already passed (...), crying his goods with his terrible, dull voice. The milkman's... main rival, a small herd of bleating goats with their little bells jingling, has also passed –their guide is milking them at each and every door of those who want fresh milk. The baker's dull voice is now heard, and so is the honeyed prattling of the old woman who sells herbs and seaweeds. Fishmongers, peddlers, greengrocers, fruit sellers, and food sellers are now passing through, following everybody else...» (A', 206)

Many soundscapes are added to the everyday noise of the city –the proclamations of the town criers, sellers<sup>18</sup>, fortune tellers, roll sellers, conversations in the streets, the shouts and the brawls of neighbors, disputes of the *koutsavakides* (or bullies)<sup>19</sup>, which sometimes ended bloodily, the noise of children playing with their toys or torturing cats, the noise of tavernas, of squares and cellars, the noise from the handicrafts plied by the city's small businessmen, the sounds of madmen, the noise of tram and train, of church bells<sup>20</sup>, of the crowds demonstrating during the great national uprisings of the 1880s and, last but not least, the noise of the music and songs that I analyze here.

M.M., in self-imposed exile in Athens, loathes this discord of sounds. He feels like a chapel on the top of an Athenian hill:

«... like one who hates the noise of the world and who has austere-ly rejected life. He has fled, on purpose, one might say, up there, rooted himself to the ground and now looks securely from his heights down on the city of a thousand sounds, the plain (...) whose noise, coming in waves, scarcely reaches his feet» (A', 298)

### 3.- M. MITSAKIS, “THE SOCIOLOGIST”

M.M. attempts to determine and identify the city's social classes, much as if he were a sociologist. He thus distinguishes three social classes, upper, mid-

<sup>18</sup> David GARRIOCH, *ibid.*, p. 8.

<sup>19</sup> The folk version of a modern bully, notable for his twisted moustache and particular way of dressing and talking. They were usually persons of the underworld, who carried knives and who willingly provoked fights in the streets, in order to show off. Their name (*koutsavakides*) derives probably from a person named Koutsavakis, whose conduct and notable way of dressing and talking was imitated by similar such persons. See, for example, M.M.'s short story «Καυγάς» [The Fight], (A', 303-308).

<sup>20</sup> See Alain CORBIN, *Village bells. Sound and meaning in the 19<sup>th</sup> century French countryside*, N. York 1998, and David GARRIOCH, *ibid.*, pp. 9-12, 19, 20, a.o.

dle and lower. He attempts to locate both their differences and the things they have in common. In his view, such differences are created by differences in economic status. He speaks of “plutocracy”, not of “aristocracy”. He maintained that a purely bourgeois class was never created in 19<sup>th</sup> century Greece. The economically strongest class offers an example of shallow Europeanization, false imitation, and tasteless copying of foreign manners and customs. In the period after Greece gained its freedom in 1830, this upper class was socially, rather than culturally, distinguished from others. Its behaviour is superficial, affected, lacking in hereditary nobility and in true bourgeois culture.

The second class, the middle class, is «the most amorphous of all the classes, devoid of a character of its own». It includes the most massive and various subclasses, since the lower class struggles by means of social mobility to gain admission to the second class. Submission on the part of the second and third classes to the cultural choices of the first class is, in the view of M.M., a fact acknowledged by everybody. Thus we have here Bourdieu's “cultural good will”, as a typical attitude of the bourgeois or the lower subclasses which imitate the manners of the first class.

The third class, *λαός* (the «people») as M.M. calls them, are those who labour. M.M. has a great liking for them, because they are spontaneous in the expression of their Greekness, and they stand in direct opposition to the mimicry of the two upper classes (B', 393-398).

In general, M.M. describes Athenian society in transition. He speaks of a chasm opening up «between the two eras. One might say that, over a period of three decades, three different nations, rather than generations, have inhabited this place». Athenian society is «both loose and irregular, not civilised or barbaric. Incomplete and mutilated, it is located in the space between its dark creation yesterday and tomorrow's flash in the light» (B', 109).

#### 4.- RELATIONS BETWEEN FOLKLORE AND LITERATURE: IS THE LITERARY CITY AN IMAGINARY LOCATION?

Here we once more consider relations between folklore and literature. That is, we consider the question, of “whether this particular city [i.e. Athens] is expressed and reflected in literature in its full dimensions” or whether “the city in literature is merely a product of the imagination”. “Ideological filters” (as Philippe Hamon terms them<sup>21</sup>) intervene between the writer and the lite-

---

<sup>21</sup> Philippe HAMON, *Texte et ideologie*, Paris: Quadrige, 1997.



rary rendering of any subject. For reasons of space, I do not repeat here what I have shown elsewhere<sup>22</sup>. In the Athenian narratives of M.M., the problem of the relationship between reality and its representation, the imaginary conception of urban civilisation, is minimalised.

##### 5.- MUSIC AND SOUND: BASIC THEORETICAL PRINCIPLES

Since the 1970s, sound as a social and cultural phenomenon has been an important subject for anthropological research, as we have already said, although the greater part of research on the matter occurred in the 1990s<sup>23</sup>, when investigation began from an ethnographic point of view of the manifold dimensions of the sounds of the environment, noises and the sounds of ritual. The basic principle that informs the present paper is P. Murray Schafer's position, that «musical soundscapes mirror a society» and allow one access to the social conditions obtaining at a particular moment in history<sup>24</sup>. The acoustic environment of a society can be regarded as an index of the social conditions that created and reproduced it. It can also reveal a considerable number of elements that make up the trends and contribute to evolution of the society under investigation<sup>25</sup>. Such sounds reflect many matters, such as economic and social relations, social organization, human communication, existing technology, the way in which people live together and the surrounding environment in regard to the transformation of which it is part. Thus our aim here is to show aspects of Athens's urban culture as it was developing at the time through an examination of musical soundscapes.

Music is a sound organized in a human fashion<sup>26</sup>. It is a cultural and a political phenomenon, but is also an abstract, yet comprehensive, means of expression<sup>27</sup>. There is thus a particular relationship between forms of human social and intellectual organization and forms in which sound is organized.

---

<sup>22</sup> I am in the process of preparing a study of all the other soundscapes found in M.M.' works.

<sup>23</sup> For example, see A. SEEGER, *Why Suyu sing: A musical anthropology of an Amazonian people*, Cambridge 1987; S. FELD, *Sound and sentiment: Birds, weeping, poetics and song in Kaluli expression*, Philadelphia 1982.

<sup>24</sup> R. M. SCHAFER, «Soundscapes and ear witnesses», in: Mark SMITH (ED.), *Hearing History: A reader*, London 2004, p. 6.

<sup>25</sup> R. M. SCHAFER, «The soundscapes...», p. 7.

<sup>26</sup> John BLACKING, *Η έκφραση της ανθρώπινης μουσικότητας*, μτφρ. Μ. Grigoriou, Αθήνα 1981, p. 36.

<sup>27</sup> P. BORSAY, «Sounding the town», *Urban History* 29: 1 (2002), p. 98.

Stokes stresses that music is socially meaningful mainly because it provides the means by which people recognize identities and places, and the boundaries which separate them<sup>28</sup>. This basic theoretical point of view is partially verified in our case, because the forms of sound organization are a result of a world divided by only minimal cultural differentiations, a result of the pseudo-urbanization<sup>29</sup> occurring at the time, thanks to the massive influx of provincials into the urban space of Athens. Thus we must note here the existence of the diffusion of supposedly low and inferior sounds, as well as more socially accepted sound over almost the whole spectrum of the social hierarchy, irrespective of social class. In some cases one can speak of a perception common to all social classes. The city had its own particular “acoustic enclaves”<sup>30</sup>, which were not hermetically sealed. In the so-called “poly-musical Athens” of the time, music and song passed to and fro between regions of high and low culture. This is verified by many of M.M.'s texts. Furthermore, sound flows and can be diffused, so broadening the horizons of the individual. Thus our soundscapes here do not define geographical limits absolutely.

The musical soundscapes of Athens are one more way of representing the forms of Athenian cultural life during the period and are above all yet another means of reproducing the mixture of old and new in many areas of life. I hope to prove that they express various class differentiations, Athens' Babel of linguistic dissimilarities and the as yet unformed character of the city. Thus I analyze the sounds of music and songs in terms of their links with social relations and with the old and new facts of city life as expressions of old and new forms of life in an urban context that was still evolving. I trace the ideological fight, ignited by the sound of music, between intellectuals oriented towards Europe and those oriented towards the East. I will show the ideological clash between the western-bred bourgeois culture and the Middle-eastern / orientalisising music tradition of the lower classes and the possible relationship between these two. I will examine first the notion of a Middle-eastern / orientalisising tradition of music and song or the notion of “the popular” (as I call it here), as defined by both the proponents themselves and M.M., who represents a particular social class and aesthetic. I therefore touch on the issue of the relation of sound to the expression of

---

<sup>28</sup> Martin STOKES (ED.), *Ethnicity, identity and music: The musical construction of place*, Oxford-New York 1994, p. 5.

<sup>29</sup> V. FILIAS, *Κοινωνία και εξουσία στην Ελλάδα, 1: Η νόθα αστικοποίηση 1820-1861*, Αθήνα 1974.

<sup>30</sup> Sophie ARKETTE, «Sounds like city», *Theory, Culture and Society* 21: 1 (2004), p. 164.

feelings, which are, of course, social and cultural creations. I will view them as creators of collective identities and dissimilarities, for music and song is a significant component of the urban experience and they play an important part in the creation or reinforcement of multiple identities, for they are directly related to the cultural identity of the classes in a society. Musical soundscapes are a cultural practice, by means of which the various classes of Athens managed their cultural identity under the conditions prevailing at the time. Whatever we listen to and the manner in which we treat it are historically and culturally determined<sup>31</sup>.

#### 6.- MUSICAL SOUNDSCAPES IN MITSAKIS' ATHENIAN NARRATIVES

Music and song pervaded the social and private life of Athens at the time. In the view of M.M., the Athenian upper classes used music as a means of entertainment and diversion in various ways. At receptions, lyrics were recited, there was dancing and music was performed on mandolins, lutes, guitars, violins and piano. During the carnival period (*apokries*, in Greek), «there are many and lively dances des bals travestis, costumès, parès et masquès» (B', 394). Such was the soundscape to be heard in the brightly-lit salons of Athens. Touring foreign female performers sang and danced. In *cafés chantants*, such artistes gave performances ranging from arias from melodramas to hits from contemporary light music. The upper classes, along with the middle classes, also attended lectures, concerts and balls held in clubs. They also attended such functions as operettas, melodramas<sup>32</sup> and French and Italian comedies<sup>33</sup> at the theatre. As early as 1840, Athens was overwhelmed by a frenzied appetite for melodrama<sup>34</sup>. Musical theatre was established as a progressive art form, since as sources of entertainment at the time there were only highly formalized ancient Greek tragedies re-written in *katharevousa*<sup>35</sup> and the some-

<sup>31</sup> In David GARRIOCH, *ibid.*, p. 6.

<sup>32</sup> Italian melodrama was dominant in Athens from 1840 until 1873, when it gave way to French light operetta. See Lampros LIAVAS, *To ελληνικό τραγούδι από το 1821 έως τη δεκαετία του 1950*, Αθήνα 2009. See also N. ΒΑΚΟΥΝΑΚΗΣ, *Το φάντασμα της «Νόρμα». Η υποδοχή του μελοδράματος στον ελληνικό χώρο τον 19<sup>ο</sup> αιώνα*, Αθήνα 1991. Greek melodrama appears after 1888.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. what occurred in Europe a century previously, in W. WEBER, *Music and the middle class. The social structure of concert life in London, Paris and Vienna between 1830 and 1848*, London 1975, pp. 4-5.

<sup>34</sup> K. BAROUTAS, *Η μουσική ζωή στην Αθήνα τον 19ο αιώνα*, Αθήνα 1992, p. 15.

<sup>35</sup> An hybrid form of Greek, imposed by the State immediately after the birth of the modern Greek state in 1830, with the aim of promoting national homogeneity by eliminating

what philistine pseudo-classical culture of the linguistic purists. Thus musical theatre was an alternative to popular traditions that had been eliminated<sup>36</sup>.

There were also *matinées*, *après midi* and *five o' clock*, in the houses of the wealthy. «...Parts of the newest Verdi or Wagner melodrama, of La Scala Othello or of the Brussels Valkyrie are played on the piano...», M.M. sarcastically reports (B', 394). The aim of these *hauts bourgeois* was the social profit that they derived from participating in such events, perhaps hoping to acquire some "cultural capital" (as P. Bourdieu called it<sup>37</sup>). All of these activities that I have outlined made up what I term "institutional music" or the soundscapes of the governing class.

The middle class, made up of lower-level public servants, professionals, pensioners, students and rentiers, shared many of these habits. They sought entertainment in ale-houses, located in particular areas of Athens, in billiard halls with music, in squares and in open spaces, to enjoy the band of the royal guards. It is to be observed that the spaces where the upper class gathered for entertainment were gradually taken over by the extremely imitative middle class, Bourdieu's principle of "cultural good will" being applicable here, too<sup>38</sup>.

The lower class continued to celebrate in music their private and public moments. The people "have their own feasts, gatherings, and festivals", create their own soundscapes, which are shared by a number of the middle classes. On the Monday before Easter, the lower classes went to the Columns of Zeus. During Easter itself, they went to the Thisseion, at Pentecost to Kaissariani<sup>39</sup> and during the carnival period they took to the streets to watch the carnival parade<sup>40</sup>. They also went to Omonoia Square to watch horse races and melodrama singers or to watch jugglers and spectacles involving bears, just like the bear that the kilted rustic bore around the streets of Athens, as he sang an «irregular and coarse and jarring song, with a foreign-

---

foreign and dialectical linguistic elements. I am interested, from a folklore perspective, in the fact that this scholarly language was usually considered to be the national language around the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Of the enormous bibliography on the subject, see, for example, Alexis ΡΟΙΛΙΤΣ, *Ρομαντικά χρόνια. Ιδεολογίες και νοοτροπίες στην Ελλάδα του 1830-1880*, Αθήνα 1998<sup>2</sup>, p. 74 ff.; Elli ΣΚΟΡΕΤΕΑ, *Το «πρότυπο» Βασίλειο και η Μεγάλη Ιδέα. Όψεις του εθνικού προβλήματος στην Ελλάδα, 1830-1880*, Αθήνα 1988, pp. 99-118.

<sup>36</sup> Th. CHATZIPANTAZIS-Lila MARAKA (EDS.), *Η αθηναϊκή επιθεώρηση*, τ. Α1, Αθήνα 1977, p. 36.

<sup>37</sup> P. BOURDIEU, *Η διάκριση. Κοινωνική κριτική της καλαισθητικής κρίσης*, μτφρ. Kiki Kapsambeli, Αθήνα 2003.

<sup>38</sup> P. BOURDIEU, *ibid.*, p. 364 ff.

<sup>39</sup> Thisseion and Kaissariani were still suburbs of Athens at the time.

<sup>40</sup> See Laura MASON, *Singing the French Revolution. Populare culture and politics*, Ithaca, N.Y. 1996, pp. 15-29.

sounding tune, unknown words and incomprehensible meaning» (A', 371). The *koutsavakides*, members of the lumpen element of the lower classes, entertain themselves and sing like this:

«...they all passed at the same time, bunched together, as if they were half-drunk, with their hats awry and their hems low. They made a great show of staggering, singing hoarsely through sore throats a popular song, that had just come into being beside the streams of Psyrri: Stab me with the dagger / and drink the blood that flows» (A', 310)

This was a popular song, like those that M.M. quotes in his texts.

The workers of the lower class laboured day and night, song providing them with company, as it did the coachman in Omonoia Square at night, who «...mumbles quietly, with pauses (...) a vulgar Athenian song, which echoes weirdly at night: "What shall I do with the little one / that is young and cries, oh!"» (A', 378), and "bouzouki and tavern songs" sounds were often mixed with gunshots (A', 240). The children of the lower classes, such as those of the Parnassos Club School for Needy Children or of other foundations<sup>41</sup>, took part in concerts or sang unremarkable nationalist songs which spoke of the great cause, the liberation of the enslaved / captive Greeks:

*Oh, lovers of the dawn  
Behold! The hour  
Calls us to the shore!  
Get on your boat vividly  
With joy!  
Beward the waves  
And, oh friends, keep silence!  
Disembark without commotion,  
For our cause will soon be fulfilled* (B', 405-406)

The majority of the lower classes, especially the males –and this is the gender dimension to soundscapes– after 1873<sup>42</sup> amused themselves at the

<sup>41</sup> In particular, on the educational policy of the Parnassos School for Poor Children, see Eleni KALLIGA, *Η πρόνοια για το παιδί στην Ελλάδα του 19<sup>ου</sup> αιώνα*, Αθήνα 1990, pp. 183-201; Maria KORASSIDOU, *Οι άθλιοι των Αθηνών και οι θεραπευτές τους. Φτώχεια και φιλανθρωπία στην ελληνική πρωτεύουσα τον 19<sup>ο</sup> αιώνα*, Αθήνα 1995, pp. 153-170; Maria DIMAKI-ZORA, *Σ. Ν. Βασιλιάδης. Η ζωή και το έργο του*, Αθήνα 2002, pp. 80-110; Vasso THEODOROU, «Φιλανθρωπία και πόλη: Ορφανοί και άστεγοι παιδιά στον Πειραιά γύρω στο 1875», *Μνήμων* 14 (1992) 71-90.

<sup>42</sup> It was then that the first *café-chantant* opened. Later we meet such cafes as «singing cafe of orientale music». Their name possibly derives from the consonance of café-chantant and the refrain «aman» of the *amanedes*. See Lambros LIAVAS, *Το ελληνικό τραγούδι...*, p. 49.

“*café-aman*” where eastern or Asia Minor songs and creations from other Mediterranean musical cultures were sung. The so-called “Asia Minor song” came during this time to Greece from Minor Asia, which, of course, had been Greek for centuries, and flourished in working class neighborhoods and in the six or seven *café-amans*, which were located both in the centre and in more remote areas of Athens:

«... in these *café-amans* near Eleutherias Square<sup>43</sup>, near train stations, near the Thisseion, or in those located in the fairly distant centres of the working population, where strange singing coffee-houses are set up, in which itinerant musical groups of Eastern performers and singers settle down, and a violinist from Smyrni fascinates people with his agile bow, and a Jewish or Armenian girl with her beautiful voice sings passionate *amane* tunes. There the people return to their traditions for a while, their natural callings, and their real sentiments. There is shown what the men's character really is...» (B', 398)

This detailed description of such a coffee-house with song, as it were, is typical. Here, “real people” from the middle and the working classes, «sailors, workers, store clerks, coachmen», gather and «a mixed noise of voices, shouting, blasphemies, quarrels, fills the room» (B', 398). The little Jewish girl who sways and sings her song «full of buzz and sad sounds and lullaby-like melody», usually to the accompaniment of violins and dulcimers, casts a spell on the many patrons of the establishment. They stand up at once and «furious shouts request that the song be repeated». Thus the same visual and musical scene «...takes place over and over again for a long time, even long after midnight...» (B', 400). The repertoire in the Athenian *café-amans* included Turkish songs, Arabic songs, these being sung in Greek, Arabic or Turkish, old folk songs and popular eastern, Romanian, Bulgarian and Egyptian songs<sup>44</sup>. Furthermore, the musicians were Minor Asia Greeks, Armenians or Roma, that is, peoples who had always cultivated music and been part of the multiethnic tradition of the Mediterranean and the east. It was such individuals who introduced the *rembetiko*<sup>45</sup> to urban Greece at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>43</sup> The square in question is today's Omonoia Square.

<sup>44</sup> Th. CHATZIPANTAZIS, *Της ασιάτιδος μουσικής ερασταί. Η ακμή του αθηναϊκού καφέ αμάν στα χρόνια της βασιλείας του Γεωργίου Α'.* Συμβολή στη μελέτη της προϊστορίας του ρεμπέτικου, Αθήνα 1986, p. 67. See also Lambros LIAVAS, *Το ελληνικό τραγούδι...*, pp. 51-52.

<sup>45</sup> In Greece the literature on the subject is enormous. See the English work, G. HOLST, *Road to rembetika: Music of Greek subculture. Songs of love, sorrow and hashish*, Athens 1975.

It follows, then, from all of this that places cannot be absolutely defined in terms of their music<sup>46</sup> and that the musical profile of a city is never clearly and sharply divided. Another source informs us that even the choristers of Athenian churches were drawn to the *café-amans*, in order to learn of the rises and falls in pitch that characterized the *amanedes* and other types of song<sup>47</sup>. Furthermore, during this period many music halls and theatres were established in Athens. In 1889 the Orpheus Music Society was founded, whilst in 1888 the first theatrical company devoted to the performance of melodramas was established. 1889 saw the foundation of the Athens Philharmonic Club. In 1893 the Orpheion Music Society was founded, as was the Philomuson Society. Competitions for music bands of lovers of various kinds of music and choirs were held<sup>48</sup>; concerts were given in the building of the *Etaireia Filon tou Laou* or at the Zappeion. On Saturdays the band of the Army would perform at the Columns of Zeus. In 1875 Athens had five military bands (all of them being abolished in 1893<sup>49</sup>), whilst the *Parnassus* cultural society organized music *soirées*<sup>50</sup>. On March 25, the Greek national day, performances of music and poetry were given. In the Municipal Theatre performances of both Greek and foreign plays and melodramas were given.

Both the various individual soundscapes in themselves and the coming together of all of them in Athens during this period were created by (i) what has been termed “the institutional music” of the upper class, and (ii) what in Greece is known as “Athenian song”. This was the musical model accepted by the urban classes, which also found wide acceptance among members of other classes. It has its own particular, erotic colour, despite its obvious roots in *bel canto* of the Italian melodrama<sup>51</sup> and the *kantada* of the Ionian Islands, in the west of Greece. After the incorporation of the Ionian Islands, in 1864, into the rest of Greece, many well-known Ionian Island composers came to Athens, where they founded choirs<sup>52</sup>. Serenaders wandered in the moonlit night through the streets of Athens, noisy with passion, some of them bringing to mind for M.M. «the bleating of buffaloes who are being slaughtered or who are making love». The Athenians loved these «erotic se-

<sup>46</sup> S. ARKETTE, «Sounds like city...», p. 160.

<sup>47</sup> Th. CHATZIPANTAZIS, *Της ασιάτιδος μούσης ερασταί...*, p. 27.

<sup>48</sup> K. BAROUTAS, *ibid.*, p. 53.

<sup>49</sup> K. BAROUTAS, *ibid.*, pp. 28, 56.

<sup>50</sup> K. BAROUTAS, *ibid.*, p. 35.

<sup>51</sup> Athina SEREMETI, «Το μελόδραμα εν Ελλάδι», *Parnassos* 13 (1890) 85-100.

<sup>52</sup> See, for example, K. MYLONAS, *Ιστορία του ελληνικού τραγουδιού*, τ. Α' (1824-1960), Αθήνα 1984, pp. 28-36. See Lambros LIAVAS, *ibid.*, p. 43 onwards.

renades», as M.M. mockingly refers to them, although the police occasionally pursued the serenaders. One should take the opportunity here to stress that sound is a central point for urban power structures, which lay down who can make what noise and when<sup>53</sup>. Noise, sound and hearing are all linked to ritual structures and the management of social order. Consider, for example, the Greek verb *ακούω* ('listen') and its relation to *υπακούω* ('obey'). "Polite behaviour" evolved at this time, acquiring additional criteria. To make a noise, whether in the salon or in the street, showed more clearly than anything else did that one was of the lower orders or a provincial<sup>54</sup>. Musical sound undoubtedly contributed to this development.

The soundscapes of Athens were also enriched by the creation of (iii) songs from the musical stage that floated free of the stage and became the possession of all social classes. In the Armenian operetta *Leplebizis Hor-Hor Aga* (see below), for example, the Armenian theatre company also performed extracts from French operetta, one of which was the piece entitled *The Daughter of Madam Angot*. In the story *The Theatre* (A', 399-404) some «vulgar guttersnipe» sings

«... a modern song, speedy, fast, mocking, frivolous, light and lively, cheerful, brisk, bold and forward, teasing and exciting. And there is the song from Paris, by Offenbach, from the vaudeville, of a fisherman's wife, crude, simple, a bit crazy and naughty, full of laughs, sluttish and rude: "Pas bégueule, / forte en gueule, / Telle était Madame Angot. / Pas bégueule, Forte en gueule, Telle était Madame Angot!"» (A', 402-403)

Even today, songs from Greek stage revues or from television serials or the punch-lines of well-known satirists<sup>55</sup> that have become the possession of the whole population continue this cultural practice<sup>56</sup>.

Another source of creation of Athenian soundscapes was (iv) the song sung live<sup>57</sup> and the music of foreign instrumentalists who performed in restaurants, squares and cafes and who were among the daily sights and sounds

<sup>53</sup> See David GARRIOCH, *ibid.*, p. 15 ff.; M. M. SMITH, *Listening to nineteenth-century America*, Chapel Hill 2001, p. 14.

<sup>54</sup> See Norbert ELIAS, *Η διαδικασία του πολιτισμού. Μια ιστορία της κοινωνικής συμπεριφοράς στη Δύση*, μτφρ. Th. Loupassakis, Αθήνα 1997<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>55</sup> See, for example, E. AVDIKOS, «Grecian riddles-jokes: Formalistic and functional features of a new minor form», *Folklore* 10 (1999) 109-125.

<sup>56</sup> M. G. SERGIS, *Ακλήρηματα. Οι αλληλοσατιρισμοί ως όψεις της ετερότητας στην αρχαία και τη νεότερη Ελλάδα*, Αθήνα 2005, p. 57 ff.

<sup>57</sup> See David GARRIOCH, *ibid.*, p. 9.



of the Athens of the 1880s. In M.M.' tale *At the Hotel*, we see four of the tens of wandering Italian musicians «... of those who wander through the streets and squares, always playing the same tunes on their demented, out-of-tune instruments. They play *La Traviata* and the dance from the *Bal Masqué* to the habitués of the restaurant, who are indifferent to their presence and their music<sup>58</sup>. As artists they are completely cut off from urban life and society. Even they themselves seem to have accepted this, for they display a type of contempt for themselves, except for the robust father, and they play lethargically, inelegantly and burden the already lowering atmosphere of the tavern with “musical noise”. In general, at the start of the 19<sup>th</sup> c., doubt and reflection on the position of the artist is to be discerned<sup>59</sup>, particularly in regard to wandering musicians, who were regarded as marginal or exotic beings: the sounds they produce impinged on one, with whatever meaning they may have, but they are also irritating and tiring, when they have no meaning. Such soundscapes echo, once again, reflection and thought on the role and value of the musical artist at the time.

The soundscapes of the city were also created by the (v) classic folk song, brought into the city from the countryside by the masses who had moved there and still sung, naturally, in their private gatherings. In public, this type of song was performed, as national music, on Sundays, by similar groups, at the Columns of Olympian Zeus, in contrast to the military bands that played songs from the European repertory. Thus folk music became folklore.

There was also (vi) the classic folk song performed and sung by certain poor individuals, mendicants from the provinces in urban Athens, such as the old flute player in M.M.' narrative *The Flute* (A', 317-318). The old man who played on his flute, among other pieces, a lament of a mother for the loss of her son, a fighter in the national struggle for liberation, or various glorious songs from the struggle itself was above all an image of a world that was disappearing.

M.M. frequently describes the loss of the heroic spirit of 1821, the subsidence after the end of the revolution, the conflict between the glorious recent past and the present<sup>60</sup>:

---

<sup>58</sup> See M. PICKER, «The soundproof study: Victorian professionals, work space, and urban noise», *Victorian Studies* 43: 3 (2000), p. 427 and passim; J. M. PICKER, *Victorian soundscapes...*, p. 58 ff.

<sup>59</sup> Georgia GOTSI, *ibid*, p. 331 ff.

<sup>60</sup> See P. VOUTYRIS, *Ως εις καθρέπτην. Προτάσεις και υποθέσεις για την ελληνική πεζογραφία*, Αθήνα 1995; Athina GEORGANTA, *Αιών βυρρονομανίας*, Αθήνα 1992, pp. 17-46.

«And the popular song starts and goes on, fearful and slow, scarcely to be heard at all, rumbling, interrupted all the time by notes of music or the crash of wheels or the cry of peacocks»<sup>61</sup>.

Standing opposite the old man is a motley group of people, who “watch” –I stress the word– him stupidly and ask him silly questions. The old man thus becomes a sight, an object of curiosity, with whom the others do not connect in musical terms at all and remain spectators, rather than listeners. This is thus M.M.'s means of showing how distant they are from Greek musical tradition and the cultural ethos he expresses. Thus we have the opposition between countryside and urbanized city. One of the bystanders feigns a Roumeliote accent, whilst another stresses the value of Greek music, saying «this beast has been used since birth, so it seems, to French or Italian music». A young lady riding in a coach addresses herself to her friends in French. Another type of sound, that of speech, carries multiple social meanings, the first of which is the rejection of perhaps the most important element that defines the identity of an individual, that is, his or her very language. The slang of the lower class heroes, coachmen, tramps and street urchins, that we come across in the narratives of M.M., in general, the linguistic disorder, as sounds, reflect the differences between social classes or between the speakers of such language and form the cultural dissimilarities of the newly-founded city. We have *katharevousa*, demotic Greek, local dialects, French and Turkish. Particular linguistic sounds create various oral communities, which are linked with religious, cultural and national groups. I have examined elsewhere the different linguistic code and even the different accent that create dissimilarities and conflict<sup>62</sup>.

As regards “popular” songs (vii), I take the term from the antithesis made by folklore between *folk* and *popular*<sup>63</sup>. These are urban products that rest, however, on folk songs, in a familiar musical tradition, on rhythms that are recalled in original or altered form, sometimes including eastern rhythms, so as to express the new aesthetic now cultivated. The collective nature of the mechanisms that produce these songs does not change, since they draw on tradition for the morphological womb that creates them and their lyrics are adapted to the patterns of the time, a fact that leads to dullness in terms of

<sup>61</sup> M. G. SERGIS (ED.), *Michael Mitsakis...*, A<sup>7</sup>, p. 320.

<sup>62</sup> M. G. SERGIS, *Ακληρήματα...*, *ibid.*

<sup>63</sup> See Peter BURKE, *Popular culture in early modern Europe*, Aldershot 1994; B. REAY, *Popular cultures in England, 1550-1750*, London-N. York 1998; J. STOREY, *An introduction to cultural theory and popular culture*, London-N. York 1997.

lyrics. Thus they enter oral tradition, and perhaps written tradition, too, although the newspapers of the time do not preserve many such texts. They thus become established, as they please both the lower and middle class, as is evident from M.M.'s writings. They are perhaps to be viewed as mirrors of the musical culture or the musical subculture of the working class, in that they develop alongside accepted musical and aesthetic forms, albeit as products of another culture<sup>64</sup>. The working class creates new types of songs of its own, which, to some degree, influence those above.

As for “song from Asia Minor” (or “eastern song”) (viii), this we have already dealt with above.

#### 7.- “MUSIC IS WHAT ANY SOCIAL GROUP CONSIDER IT TO BE”

What then does this warm embrace of sounds from east on the part of the working class, a large part of the middle class and by upper class intellectuals mean? In my view, this musical ethos forms a means by which the population expresses itself, a system of communication, that is, which renders the features of purely lower class way of life, standing in opposition to the “cultural hegemony” –to recall Gramsci<sup>65</sup>– imposed by the upper classes and, to a degree, the bourgeoisie, too. It is not, however, to be seen as a reaction to the high status patterns of music of the upper-class. Rather, we are looking at a marginalised voice, as part of the social structure of the time, that expresses an attempt at cultural independence and self-expression, within an extremely constricting environment. Factors that made up this environment included the inability on the part of the masses of the working classes to incorporate themselves in society and, at the same time, the unlikelihood of any chance of improvement to their circumstances in the near future, the gradual disappearance of the old socio-economic base and change to a new one that as yet offered no solutions, the financial crisis, a problematic parliamentary system, nationwide excitement over the Great Idea and extreme symptoms of social disorders in Athens. All this tended to reinforce the way the masses of the working classes turned to and fixed upon traditional forms of expression. Above all, it is evident, to me, at least, who am Greek, that this

<sup>64</sup> See Dick HEBDIGE, *Υποκοιλτούρα ή το νόημα του στυλ*, μτφρ. Efi Kallifatidi, Αθήνα 1988.

<sup>65</sup> T. BENNET, «Popular culture and the turn to Gramsci», in: John STOREY (ED.), *Cultural theory and popular culture: A reader*, Hemel Hempstead 1994; Evageli NTATSI, *Πολιτισμική ηγεμονία και λαϊκός πολιτισμός*, Αθήνα 1999, pp. 19-29.

was the manner in which they relaxed and attempted to seek relief from the harsh demands of daily life, by means of their own form of entertainment. This form of entertainment released pent-up impulses, certainly did not idealise things and was sensual and “eastern”. Song, as part of this entertainment, was a symbolic practice that organized and created communities. It is also political, in that it leads individuals to a collective re-living of their experiences, and whether by means of performance<sup>66</sup> in a broad social space, or whether in a purely private space the individual consciousness is united with the collective<sup>67</sup>. Song is a means of social communion.

Thus we have a form of “affiliating identification”. The sounds of music and song contribute to the creation of manifold identities, that is, identity of gender, of group, local identity, class identity, religious identity and so on<sup>68</sup>. They help the middling and socially weaker individual above all to gain a greater awareness of the feelings that he has already felt. They help him reveal his “eastern” nature, as M.M. has already told us. Music is something more than intentionality, although the opposite is no less true, since no music is devoid of expression, as Adorno pointed out<sup>69</sup>. In particular, “eastern” / oriental music is linked to familiar lyrics. Thus this musical ethos was a form of social and political protest<sup>70</sup>, an expression of an oppressed life and its feeling, and was a reflection of the consequences of the division of labour on this particular society and at this particular time. These people formed the muted groups, whose expressions of identity are either silenced or not acknowledged by the dominant group<sup>71</sup>.

One should not forget, of course, that any interpretation of the meaning of these soundscapes for those involved was a matter for them themselves. Music is left as a vague category, says Stokes, so music is what any social group consider it to be<sup>72</sup>.

---

<sup>66</sup> Anna CARAVELLI, «The symbolic village: community born in performance», *Journal of American Folklore* 98 (1985) 259-286.

<sup>67</sup> John BLACKING, *Η έκφραση της ανθρώπινης μουσικότητας...*, p. 59; Martin STOKES (ED.), *Ethnicity, identity and music...*, p. 22.

<sup>68</sup> David GARRIOCH, *ibid.*, p. 15 ff.

<sup>69</sup> Theodor ADORNO, *Η κοινωνιολογία της μουσικής*, μτφρ. Th. Loupassakis *et al.*, Αθήνα 1997.

<sup>70</sup> D. COPLAN, «Eloquent knowledge: Lesotho migrants' songs and the anthropology of experience», *American Anthropologist* 14 (1987) 413-433.

<sup>71</sup> Martin STOKES (ED.), *Ethnicity, identity and music...*, p. 20.

<sup>72</sup> Martin STOKES (ED.), *ibid.*, p. 5.

## 8.- PERCEPTIONS OF SOUNDSCAPES ON THE PART OF MITSAKIS AND OF SCHOLARS

The history of the music of this period is indeed a history of urban issues related to it<sup>73</sup>. Moreover, sound pictures are always loaded with multiple meanings. The view that everything in daily life depends on «the forms of social relations between individual and world that bourgeoisie maintains and causes us also to hold» is not absolutely inflexible<sup>74</sup>. Urban intellectuals are not ideal intermediaries in any attempt by the historian or folklorist to chart developments in folk culture matters, particularly when these are part of a culture of revolt, which the bourgeoisie consider should be rejected *a priori*. The class dimensions of hearing and perception, the subjectivity with which a musical work is received, personal and social taste are well-known matters and do not require further research here.

Some of the bourgeoisie regarded categories (vii) and (viii) above as the survival of the Ottoman legacy, dangerous remnants of an “easternising” tradition, at least in the view of a Europe that oversaw the progress of the Europeanisation of Greece. Since the mid 19<sup>th</sup> c., music, too, had taken its place in the struggle to achieve a national homogeneity. Music was to stress Greek characteristics and represent the nation. These efforts succeeded in various areas, such as language, with the instituting of *katharevousa*, but musical homogeneity was never achieved. The complex soundscapes of Athens, composed of sounds that stood in opposition to each other, in that they were either nationally acceptable or not, make clear the failure of such attempts and the lack of success on the part of the state. Another section of the bourgeoisie judged the soundscapes in terms of purely aesthetic criteria. Yet another group regarded them in moral terms, regarding them as embodying the corruption of ancestral, native virtue, and so rejected them, irrespective of whether scholars had shown that they contained ancient Greek or Byzantine musical features, particularly in the case of the *amanedes*. The point was that “eastern” / oriental songs contained supposedly subversive material, at least in regard to prevailing interpretation of song and so were placed in the category of the culture of revolt.

As I have already noted, M.M. did not agree with the more general musical ethos of the new age, although he could not deny its obvious power. At one point, he invites us to visit a *café aman*, to hear “easternising” / oriental songs and to see the meaning of “genuine” popular expression (B´,

<sup>73</sup> Th. CHATZIPANTAZIS, *Της ασιάτιδος μούσης ερασταί...*, pp. 23-24.

<sup>74</sup> Dick HEBDIGE, *Υποκουλτούρα...*, p. 21.

398). He, too, then, is a participant in this dialogue of the time. Nikolaos Politis and his “circle” were positively disposed, if not actual admirers, of the popular music of the *café aman*<sup>75</sup>. However, M.M. is completely dismissive of popular song, whose features he sums up in negative terms, such as “indecent”, “obscene”, “revolting”, “disgusting”, “sickening” and “offspring of coarseness and sterility”, “musical noise”, “musical pollution” (A', 390, 392).

The narrative *The Flute* is the most self-referential of M.M.'s pieces. In this work, he makes very clear his preference for the songs of the old man and for his world. Indeed, he is the *alter ego* of the old man, in that, as he himself writes, the old man reminds him of Homer, folk poetry, kleptic songs and, generally, of part of his Greek identity. Thus the narrator angrily invades his own narrative, mocking the grotesque group of the people watching him. Some soldiers who, too, have been exiled to the city, seem to share the same feelings as M.M., as they throw the old man some change, doubtless through nostalgia for their own home, which they have heard and seen in front of them for a short while, thanks to the notes of the musical instrument that has reminded them of their homeland. They may be feeling gratitude to the old man who plays the instrument and who has sent them home in their imagination. Songs are imaginary journeys and pilgrimages to other places and other times<sup>76</sup>. Any mixed and confused soundscape, such as that of a taverna in the Dexameni area (see below) stands in polar opposition to M.M.'s own identity. His particular homeland, the Peloponnese, as sound, and its aesthetic have no common points with these new musical and sing-song sounds. Similar feelings were experienced by other Greek writers, who were migrants to urban centres and so compelled to live in aural environments defined by others<sup>77</sup>. They regarded sound in terms of their own homeland. They have, that is, a nostalgic, possibly idealised image of the land of their birth, because of the fact that its music has moved to the city. The soundscapes of the place of their birth function as a component of their self-definition in the melting pot of the city and reinforce their individual and cultural identity<sup>78</sup>. At the same time, such sound-

<sup>75</sup> Th. CHATZIPANTAZIS, *Της ασιάτιδος μούσης ερασταί...*, p. 42 ff.

<sup>76</sup> G. TSIMOURIS, «Τι σε μέλλει εσένανε από πού είμαι 'γω...», στον τόμο: *Μουσική, ήχος, τόπος. Τα κείμενα*, Αρτα 2006, p. 104.

<sup>77</sup> See Agela KASTRINAKI, *Η φωνή του γενέθλιου τόπου. Μελέτες για την πεζογραφία του 20ού αιώνα*, Αθήνα 1997.

<sup>78</sup> See M. PEÑA, *The Texas-Mexican conjunto: History of a working-class music*, Austin 1985.

scapes can be seen as an “aural protective area”<sup>79</sup>, as a “resonant means of cover”<sup>80</sup> that enables one to feel a certain amount of safety, bombarded, as one is, by strange new sounds. Today, mainly city inhabitants<sup>81</sup>, in order to barricade themselves behind their privacy, act in exactly the same way, as they listen, for example, to their walkmans, MP3 players or the music on their mobile phones.

Let us now finally look at a case where some of these various musical soundscapes of the city co-exist in a text by M.M., perhaps the best example for the study of a society in transition through a consideration of the co-existence of dissimilar sounds. In the narrative entitled *By the Dexameni*, raucous students in a tavern at the beginning sing traditional folk and kleptic songs and so stress their local identities by means of their musical choices. They sing as follows:

*Ab! I was passing by the klephts' shelters yesterday and the day before  
And I heard weeping, laments and dirges...*

and the well-known line by the poet Aristomenes Valaoritis

*I was a leader of the klephts for forty years...*

and the song about Ali Pasha

*Ab, Yiannena was burnt to ashes!  
But Ali Pasha –may be be safe and sound!– will build it up once more!*

somebody from Kalamata<sup>82</sup> sings the «famous folk song», as M.M. put it

*Ab, my girl from Kalamata, give poison to your old man!*

and

*Send me your kerchief! Your lips make me yearn!*<sup>83</sup>.

In addition to these, the students also sing the popular songs that I have referred to, that is, the new song hits of the period. As they sing, they doubt-

<sup>79</sup> *The acoustic space* of a sounding object is the volume of the place to which the sound can be heard. The maximum acoustic space that is inhibited by a human is the territory in which his voice can be heard. R. M. SCHAFER, *The soundscape...*, p. 214.

<sup>80</sup> D. SCHWARZ, *Listening subjects: Music, psychoanalysis, culture*, Durham 1997; M. BULL, «The seduction of sound in consumer culture: Investigating walkman desires», *Journal of Consumer Culture* 2: 1 (2002) 81-101.

<sup>81</sup> M. BULL, *ibid.*, p. 81 ff.

<sup>82</sup> Historical town in Peloponnesse.

<sup>83</sup> See respectively M. Γ. ΣΕΡΓΗΣ (ΕΚΔ.), *Μιχαήλ Μητσάκης*, τ. Α', 393, 395, 396, 391.

less feel a sense of belonging to the new cultural *statu quo*, and adapt themselves to new cultural conditions. It may be that entrenching themselves in their own traditional music marginalises them in the new, modern era. They may also see it as a means of transforming themselves from peripheralised proletarians to urbanites, of belonging to the middle class and of becoming members of social groups with specifically migrant interests, as Stokes maintains in the case of a similar sample<sup>84</sup>. The date is 1892-93. The narrative *By the Dexameni* was written in 1892-1893:

«All the popular repertoire consisted of the usual songs of the city, the product of recent inspiration, of a mundane epoch, low and pitiable, disgusting and sickening and expressive of nothing, the offspring of coarseness and sterility. The songs went on endlessly, as each one of the students sang his own song in succession» (A', 392)

M.M. mentions that the students sang, in addition to the songs *The Confessor*, *Paraskevoula*, *The Skylark* and *The Turkish Beats her Nanny*, the words of all of which one assumes were well-known to everybody, this «obscene song»:

*Don't come this way, my ben!  
Don't come this way, my little ben!  
Because then there'll be murder!...  
I will put them on and I will pass by, my little baby ben!  
I will put them on and I will pass by,  
I'll burn up your little heart!* (A', 389)

They also sing:

*If you come and find  
Bones lying on the ground  
The night birds will tell you  
How much I love you still!* (A', 390)

and another song much in vogue at the time

*For the daughter of a priest I was put behind bars... (A', 391)*

Along with what we might call these Athenian neo-folk songs, several students start singing the songs *Harvest again*, *oh happy lovers*, *the narcissi* (by the poet Achilleas Paraschos<sup>85</sup>), *The Beating of the Heart* and *Ah, how*

<sup>84</sup> Martin STOKES, *Ethnicity, identity and music*, p. 4.

<sup>85</sup> K. MYLONAS, *Ιστορία του ελληνικού τραγουδιού*, p. 25.



*can you change your heart?* (A', 392), all of which belong to the category of Athenian songs, that is, category (ii) (see above). The titles of the songs and the lines that M.M. quotes give us information on the possible repertory of working class places of entertainment of the period, of which sadly only very few lyrics or titles have been preserved<sup>86</sup>, to help us recreate a picture of the musical landscape. M.M. offers us help in the matter, thanks to his slipping in of these songs (and of those referred to earlier) in his literary texts. Thus we have two opposing Athenian musical codes, the native and the foreign / European.

The sound of the piano echoes in the night «crystal clear, long, heavy, and powerful», pouring forth on the air «some twirling melody from Bocca-cio», which is then followed by «some frenetic polka from Madame Agout», played even more heavily, or the Marseille, and so on (A', 393-394). The piano and its sound were the indication *par excellence* for many intellectuals of the 19<sup>th</sup> c. of Greek «pseudo-culture»<sup>87</sup> as it was for M.M. For women of the middle and upper class, piano music became a means of upward social mobility and a part of the identity of young women of the ruling class. M.M. notes observantly that «young women sing solos or duets, they sit before the piano or jest with the perfumed young men...» (B', 395). The piano assuredly became part of their self-identity. It distinguished them from their social inferiors and from their male companions<sup>88</sup> and reinforced differences of gender and class.

M.M. renders in exquisite literary fashion the struggle between the two musical soundscapes. When, however, the piano starts to play the pseudo-eastern-European song, «the most popular song in Athens by Lепlepitzi in recent years», the students fall silent, to listen to it, as they recognize a familiar sound and, instead of fighting against this «arrogant» foreign instrument, «they began to accompany it, powerfully chanting the same song... there was thus a strange common harmony that dominated the peace of the night», like a hymn to contemporary Greek culture, as M.M. mockingly notes, and to modern Greece, which is «...half-European and half-Greek, half-Frank and half-easterner, a clown in a black, long carnival costume, a tin pot gilt in gold, a wearer of baggy breaches and top hat» (A', 396). Thus M.M. gives us, in literary fashion, this musical mixture that brought together the provincial students who love the rhythms of the east and the Europeanized, pseudo-bourgeois society of Athens.

<sup>86</sup> Th. CHATZIPANTAZIS, *Της ασιάτιδος μούσης ερασταί...*, p. 69 ff.

<sup>87</sup> See Alexis POLITIS, *Ρομαντικά χρόνια...*, p. 127 ff.

<sup>88</sup> See W. WEBER, *Music and the Middle Class...*, p. 6.

In the view of some scholars, the co-existence of a European and an eastern musical idiom reflects the start of reconciliation between the musical tradition of the Europeanized urban classes and that of the eastern Mediterranean. This seems to have started in 1883, when the Armenian lyric theatre company of Beglian appeared in an Athenian suburb. In addition to the popular French operettas that they performed, the company also presented some Armenian pieces, such as *Leplepitzis*<sup>89</sup>, and an extremely popular song from the Armenian operetta, *Leplepitzis Hor-Hor Aga*, by the Armenian composer, Dirhan Tsohatzian, which was performed in July of 1883 and was a great success. This resourceful composer had succeeded «in embellishing a standard European score with light, eastern strokes of the brush». The performance succeeded in producing the impression that it had fused eastern musical tradition with the European, and gave the promise of an «organic incorporation of the former with the latter»<sup>90</sup>. Its melodies entered aristocratic salons in the form of transcriptions for piano, with Greek lyrics, as the first examples of an “exotic musical orientalism”, whilst at the same time it influenced the creation of what was to be the short-lived musico-theatrical genre of the musical comedy<sup>91</sup>.

## 9.- EPILOGUE

In its topography and social life, M.M. is searching for the continuities and the non-continuities of Athens, the thresholds and transitional instances when the new element is in its hybrid condition. Greece is in general in transition in the 19<sup>th</sup> century when the present study is focused on M.M.' “literary” Athens, is an “open city” trespassed by ideas, musical genders and ways of entertainment devoid of any ideological barriers, as far as the public space and its use is concerned, I stress. Its spaces / places are transparent, easily penetrated by each other. I do not refer to the existent social separation, which has also to do with space, and is already apparent from 1830 with the city division in areas of the powerful / rich residents and those of the downgraded folk neighbourhoods. The old and the new coexist in the city where traditions of different origin are mingled, but also fight each other ending in a general mess (of space, social, musical, linguistic, ideological, cultural, ethical).

---

<sup>89</sup> Th. CHATZIPANTAZIS, *Της ασιάτιδος μούσης ερασταί...*, pp. 50-51, 54.

<sup>90</sup> Lambros LIAVAS, *ibid.*, p. 54.

<sup>91</sup> Lambros LIAVAS, *ibid.*

M.M., being a keen observant of all the above, is found himself at a threshold between the old and the new, the past and the present. As a “scientist-flâneur”, he outlines in his work mainly views of modern times, facing, therefore, a problem with his relationship / attitude towards the new; healthy Europeanization is to him the only perspective for a better future of the country without, however, selling out the diachronic ideas, values and customs of the Greek people. The musical mess of the “literary” Athens that I have discussed in this study (with the mixing up of folk, oriental and European rhythms) reflects according to the intellectual M.M. an Athenian society which is yet unformed and unsettled.

Manolis G. SERGIS

*Ag. Konstantinou, 9*  
*13231 PETROUPOLI (Athens, Greece)*  
msergis@otenet.gr





DISCUSIONES Y RESEÑAS

- E. LAMBERZ (ED.), *Concilium Uniuersale Nicaenum Secundum. Concilii Actiones IV-V* [ACO, series secunda, volumen tertium, pars altera] (por M. CABALLERO), 337.– A.-K. WASSILIOU-SEIBT, *Corpus der byzantinischen Siegel mit metrischen Legenden*, Teil 1: Einleitung, Siegellegenden von Alpha bis inklusive My (por J. M. FLORISTÁN), 340.– S. FENOGLIO, *Eustazio di Tessalonica*, Commentari all'Odissea: *glossario dei termini grammaticali* (por J. M. FLORISTÁN), 343.– M. ALTRIPP (HRSG.), *Byzanz in Europa. Europas östliche Erbe*. Akten des Kolloquiums "Byzanz in Europa" vom 11. bis 15. Dezember 2007 in Greifswald (por J. M. FLORISTÁN), 346.– Théodore Agallianos, *Dialogue avec un moine contre les latins (1442)*, éd. critique, trad. française et comm. par Marie-Hélène Blanchet (por J. M. FLORISTÁN), 352.– Nicetas David, *The Life of Patriarch Ignatius*, ed. y trad. inglesa de Andrew Smithies, notas de John M. Duffy (por Ó. PRIETO DOMÍNGUEZ), 355.– Alexander G. ALEXAKIS, *The Greek Life of St. Leo Bishop of Catania* (por J. SIMÓN PALMER), 359.– Grigorios PAPAGIANNIS, *Philoprodromica. Beiträge zur Textconstitution und Quellenforschung der historischen Gedichte des Theodoros Prodromos* (por J. SIMÓN PALMER), 362.– VV.AA., *H κατάλογο-αγαθωνική κυριαρχία στον ελληνικό χώρο* (por J. SIMÓN PALMER), 363.– *Elogio de la Acrópolis* (por J. SIMÓN PALMER), 365.– Antoni RUBIÓ I LLUCH, *Epistolari grec*, vol. 4: anys 1916-1936, correspondència recollida i anotada per Eusebi AYENSA I PRAT (por J. SIMÓN PALMER), 366.– Niels GAUL, *Thomas Magistros und die spätbyzantinische Sophistik. Studien zum Humanismus urbaner Eliten in der frühen Palaiologenzeit* (por A. DEL CAMPO ECHEVARRÍA), 367.– Alberto DEL CAMPO ECHEVARRÍA, *La teoría platónica de las Ideas en Bizancio (siglos IX-XI)* (por M. BELTRÁN), 373.– Andrea NICOLOTTI, *Dal Mandylion di Edessa alla Sindone di Torino. Metamorfosi di una leggenda* (por J. ÁNGEL Y ESPINÓS), 376.– J. CALATRAVA-G. ZUCCONI (EDS.), *Orientalismo. Arte y arquitectura entre Granada y Venecia*, trad. de J. Calatrava y J. A. González Alcantud (por M. CORTÉS ARRESE), 378.– A. LYMBEROPOULOU-R. DUITTS (EDS.), *Byzantine Art and Renaissance Europe* (por M. CORTÉS ARRESE), 380.– *Chypre entre Byzance et l'Occident ive-xviiè siècle*. Catálogo de la exposición, París, Museo del Louvre (28 de octubre de 2012 al 28 de enero de 2013) (por M. CORTÉS ARRESE), 382.– Κωνσταντίνος ΠΑΛΑΙΟΛΟΓΟΣ (ED.), *Mini 71 cuentos. Ανθολογία ισπανόφωνου μικροδιηγήματος* (por P. CABALLERO), 385.– Yorgos SEFERIS, *Mythistorima. Poesía completa*, trad., pról. y notas de Selma Ancira y Francisco Segovia (por C. POSE), 386.– Βασίλης ΜΙΧΑΗΛΙΔΗΣ, *Επιλεγμένα ποιήματα, επιλογή, έκδοση, εισαγωγή και σημειώσεις του Λευτέρη Παπαλεοντίου* (por E. LATORRE BROTO), 390.– Yannis RITSOS, *Epitafio. Dieciocho cantares de la patria amarga*, trad. pról. y notas de Juan José Tejero; versión en romances y cantares castellanos de Manuel García (por J. R. DEL CANTO NIETO), 393.– Patrick LEIGH FERMOR, *Roumeli. Viajes por el norte de Grecia*, trad. de Dolores Payás (por J. R. DEL CANTO NIETO), 397.– Nicos CASANDSAKIS, *El Capitán Mijalis. Libertad o muerte*, ed. y trad. de Carmen Vilela Gallego, pról. de Pátroclo Stavru, epíl. de Pedro Bádenas de la Peña (por V. FERNÁNDEZ GONZÁLEZ), 401.–