Gender in Traditional Music Revivals on the Island of Rhodes, Greece

by

Allison Sokil

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

Department of Music
University of Alberta

Abstract

Traditional music revivals on the island of Rhodes, Greece, are accepted as a socially condoned space for women to expand on and contest traditional gender models locally. In examining the distinct ways in which two, professional, female singers, Xristína Kóza and Matína Mástora, engage with preservation, education, and performance roles, I argue that women have gained an increasing centrality in the transmission of traditional music locally, nationally, and internationally. By exploring the relationship between gender and traditional music in the context of Rhodes' tumultuous history, the current economic and sociopolitical crisis, and in relation to the long-term impacts of modernity, I aim to illuminate how women have become leading figures in revival movements and how this has encouraged the recontextualization and decontextualization of traditional music practices to ensure the longevity of these vibrant traditions (Hill and Bithell 2014). In an effort to address the current gap in ethnomusicological literature that has yet to explore the rich musical traditions from the island of Rhodes and the complex relationship between gender and expressions of these distinct music traditions locally, this thesis attempts to illuminate the intersections of power, prestige, and gender through the tripartite framework of women's roles in Rhodian, traditional music revivals.

Preface

This thesis is an original work by Allison Sokil. The research project, of which this thesis is a part, received research ethics approval from the University of Alberta Research Ethics Board, "Gender in Traditional Music Revivals on the Island of Rhodes, Greece," Pro00045663, April 8, 2014.

Dedication

This work is dedicated to the memory of my grandfather, William Sokil, who instilled in me a lifelong enthusiasm for learning and a drive to succeed in all of my pursuits and endeavours.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my supervisor, Dr. Michael Frishkopf, for his continuous support and encouragement throughout my program. I am constantly inspired by the integrity of his work, his dedication to the field, and his compassion and investment in communities and classrooms. I would also like to thank the members of my defense committee, Natalia Pylypiuk, Christopher Reyns, and Patricia Tao, for providing me with numerous insightful perspectives and reflections.

I am grateful to the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, the Canadian Federation of University Women Edmonton, and the Department of Music for their generous financial and academic support of this project.

To the Rhodian musicians and community members that inspired and supported my work, I am truly grateful. Thank you to Matína Mástora for your patience and openness in the many memorable conversations that encouraged and shaped this project in the early stages; to Xristína Kóza, Panagiótis Sarikás, and Giánnis Kladákis for allowing me to showcase the music traditions that you keep alive and vibrant for future generations; and to the people of Arhággelos and Kalithiés for your endless enthusiasm, warmth, and hospitality. To everyone we interviewed, I am forever grateful for your willingness to allow me to learn about your rich musical heritage.

To my family and friends in Greece, thank you for your continuous physical, emotional, and mental nourishment and inspiration. To my parents and brother, Greg, Angie, and Stephen, and my partner, Ari Mastoras, your unwavering support and unconditional love throughout the process made this all possible – thank you.

Table of Contents

Table of Figures

A Note on Transliteration

There remains no universal system of transliteration for modern Greek, however, in the interest of uniformity, I have adopted the system implemented by Eleni Kallimopoúlou in her monograph *Paradosiaká: Music, Meaning and Identity in Modern Greece (2009)*. Therefore, the Greek alphabet (left) is paired with its correlative English, phonetic equivalent (right) in accordance with the International Phonetic Association Alphabet published in 2005. Stress is indicated through the use of an accent placed above the designated vowels of a particular word.

Αα	a
Ββ	v
Γγ	g
Δδ	d
Εε	e
Ζζ	z
Ηη	i
Θθ	th
Ιι	i
Κκ	k
Λλ	l
Μμ	m
Νν	n
Ξξ	x
Οο	o
Ππ	p
Ρρ	r
Σς/σ	s
Ττ	t
Υυ	y
Φφ	f
Χχ	h
Ψψ	ps
Ωω	o
αι	ai
αυ	au/af
ει	ei
ευ	eu/ef

οι	oi
ου	ou
αϊ	aï
εϊ	eï
οϊ	oï
μπ/-μπ	b/mp
γκ	gk
γγ	gg
γχ	gh
ντ/-ντ	nt

All translations are by Ari Mástoras and the author.

Glossary of Terms

Greek Musical Categories and Genres

dimotikó (sing.) dimotiká (pl.): A term used to refer to the folk songs or oral songs of Greece. Often used synonymously with *paradosiaká.*

éntechno (sing.) éntechna (pl.): A term used to describe contemporary Greek art music. Composers of *éntechna* commonly incorporate European classical music techniques, Greek folk influences, and passages from the texts of renowned, Greek poets within their compositions. The work of Theodorákis and Hatzidákis are emblematic of the early development of this genre.

laikó (sing.) laiká (pl.): A term used to describe the popular music of Greece, which translates as "the music of the people." Historically, this genre included a selection of popular folk, *rempétika,* film, and dance songs. Singers such as Grigóris Bithikótsis and Marinélla, and songwriters such as Vassilís Tsitsánis and Manólis Hiótis were instrumental in the early development of this genre. Today, *laiká* predominantly represents music heard on popular radio stations and in *tavérnes*.

nisiótiko (sing.) nisiótika (pl.): A term used to signify the music of the Greek islands, demarcating a characteristic – though not universal – modality, rhythmic quality, and instrumentation of the Aegean islands. The islands of *nisiótika* include the Kykládes, Sporádes, Dodecanese, and the Saronic Gulf.

paradosiakó (sing.) paradosiaká (pl.): (1) A general term used to reference Greek traditional music; or (2) a musical style developed by urban, Athenian youth following the dictatorship in 1974, which draws musical influences from the Asia Minor region, Eastern instrumentation, and Greek folk and traditional repertoires.

rempétiko (sing.) rempétika (pl.): A term used to refer to the urban music that developed in Athens and Piraeus from the 1920s onwards. Today, *rempétika* can be divided into two categories: (1) the Smýrna school; (2) the Piraeus or classical school. The Smýrna style developed from the music of Ottoman cafés and the makam tradition, which was played by minority populations from the Asia Minor who were forced to flee to Greek urban centres following the Greco-Turkish War (1919-1922). The Piraeus style developed in the underworld of Greek urban centres in prisons and hashish dens, prominently featuring sorrowful compositions and *bouzoúki* accompaniment.

skyládiko (sing.) skyládika (pl.): A term used to describe a popular genre that literally translates as "doggy music." Often performed in *bouzoúki* nightclubs, it is characterized by a melodramatic vocal quality that is criticized heavily by music traditionalists.

Greek Instruments

bouzoúki (sing.): A long-necked, fretted lute brought to Greece by the Asia Minor refugees of the early 20th century. It is played with a plectrum and has either three or four pairs of strings. The timbre is sharp, metallic, and precise with a pointed attack and a short delay.

daoúli (sing.): A double-headed folk drum that can vary greatly in size depending on the context and the height of the percussionist. The drum is played with one thin and one thick mallet to create a complex rhythm of accents and has a strap that is worn across the body to suspend the drum and allow both heads to resonate fully.

kanonáki (sing.): A plucked, string instrument that is a trapezoidal in shape and extremely precise in the microtonal articulations of Byzantine scales. The *kanonáki* is played by placing the instrument on a short table or on the player's lap and is plucked by "nails" placed on the index fingers of both hands.

laoúto (sing.): A long-neck, fretted lute similar in sound to the oud. The *laoúto* is plucked with a long plectrum and features eleven movable frets, eight strings, and a bright timbre. It is commonly used as an accompanying instrument for a *lýra* in a folk ensemble from the Dodecanese region.

lýra (sing.): Modeled off of a Byzantine instrument, the *lýra* is a small, fretless rebec that can feature between three to four strings. A bowed instrument that allows for the manipulation of pitch by pressing the fingernail against the strings in a vertical orientation, the contemporary *lýra* is tuned in fifths. Many different types of *lýres* can be found throughout Greece. Today, the three-stringed *lýra* is the traditional instrument of the island of Rhodes and is commonly featured as a solo instrument in local ensembles playing a variety of music genres and *skopoí.*

mandolíno (sing.): A mandolin with eight to twelve strings tuned in fifths. This instrument is believed to have been introduced to the island during the Italian occupation in the early part of the 20th century. The *mandolíno* was primarily featured in ensembles from the village of Arhággelos. Today, the last recognized traditional mandolin player still performing in the village is Panagíotis Sarikás.

santoúri (sing.): A trapezoidal, hammered dulcimer, the *santoúri* is considered a traditional instrument with ancient origins. It has a range of approximately three octaves and is struck with mallets. The timbre can be adjusted depending on the material of the mallets and their selected covering. It is commonly used as a solo and improvisatory instrument in the Dodecanese, but can also be used as accompaniment for a small ensemble. Today, there are only a limited number of professional *santoúri* players in the country.

tampourá (sing.): A small, ancient, long-necked, string instrument from the lute family with movable frets tuned to the modes of the traditional scales. The *tampourá* originated in the Byzantine Empire and is believed to be the instrument from which the modern *bouzoúki* and *baglamás* were modeled.

tsamboúna (sing.): A folk bagpipe with a double chanter made from sun- and sea-bleached goatskin. In the Dodecanese, an ensemble with a *tsamboúna* will commonly feature a combination of a *lýra, laoúto*, and a small chorus.

violí (sing.): A violin. Today, the *violí* is frequently being used as a replacement for the *lýra* in traditional ensembles. This growing popularity is largely attributed to an increase in European classical training, particularly in Rhodes.

Genres of Traditional Songs

moirológi (sing.) moirológia (pl.): Funeral laments that are performed by women that express deep grief and sorrow in response to the loss of a loved one and, metaphorically, the loss felt throughout one's own life. *Moirológia* are argued to act as a forum for female expression, a unification agent for social bonding, and a form of latent female power within the community. Today, the performance of *moirológia* remains a women-centric genre.

mantináda (sing.) mantinádes (pl.): Rhyming couplets that are performed at a variety of ritual and social events in the village that allude to a specific time, person or group of people, place, or event within the community. *Mantinádes* were a male genre used to gain status and prestige in villages. However, today women are equally, if not more frequently, sought out by researchers as main sources of the local *mantinádes* of a region.

akritikó (sing.) akritiká (pl.): Poetic songs that depict heroic tales of the Akrítes of the Byzantine Empire – an army employed by the Byzantine Empire to protect its borders from rivaling empires. Men in public, all-male gatherings primarily performed this genre.

istorikó (sing.) istoriká (pl.): Historical narratives that depict critical moments in Greece's modern history. The content of the songs included in this repertoire can vary widely, as they make reference to various wars, civil conflicts, warriors, localities, and victories that have greatly affected the population of a particular region or village. Historically, men dominated this genre; however, today both genders can be found performing these songs as they are often used to express nostalgia and nationalistic sentiments.

thriskeftikó (sing.) thriskeftiká (pl.): Songs that are used to supplement various religious rituals and events throughout the calendar year. For example, this genre includes the songs sung on feast days, children's songs, and carols performed during various holy days. Mixed gender groups or isolated gender groups, depending on the occasion and function, can sing these songs. Today, these religious songs are viewed as central to the preservation of traditional music in Rhodes.

parálogo (sing.) paralogés (pl.): Historical, dramatic ballads that depict fantastic, supernatural events and ancient myths. These songs can present themes of tragedy, horror, and adultery in the form of sacred or secular parables. These songs were

performed in mixed gender or isolated gender groups depending on the lesson one wished to get across and the audience to which one catered. Today, these songs are performed infrequently.

nanoúrisma (sing.) nanourísmata (pl.): Children's lullabies that were primarily sung by a child's mother or grandmother, but could be sung by any female relative. Today, this tradition is gradually declining in contemporary households.

erotikó (sing.) erotiká (pl.): Historical and contemporary love songs that were performed by men or women depending on the context. These songs may depict love generally, particular stories, or personal experiences dealing with the theme of love. This may include an exploration of motifs surrounding loss, lust, and romance.

tragoúdia tou gámou (pl.): Weddings songs that are sung in mixed gender or isolated gender groups depending on the context and function. These songs accompany all of the rituals of an island wedding, including the preparation, which often begins days in advance. On the day of the wedding, special songs are sung throughout the day for the bride and groom, most commonly, as they get dressed, as they leave the house, and as they enter the churchyard. After the church ceremony, there are also a series of songs that are sung throughout the procession, meal, and celebration that follow. With modernization, many of the songs that were historically sung during a wedding have been left out or forgotten completely. However, there are still traditionalists that strive to maintain the historically detailed wedding repertoires.

xenitiás (sing.): Songs of exile that follow the diachronic movements of mass emigration of Greek populations from ancient to modern times. Brought on by shifting political, social, and economic systems, these songs commonly deal with themes of nostalgia, loss, and patriotism. *Xenitiás* can be sung by both genders in separate or mixed gender groups.

eortastikó (sing.) eortastiká (pl.): Festive songs that are sung at a variety of community festivals and social events, including both secular and sacred occasions. These songs can be performed by both genders in separate or mixed gender groups depending on the event and context.

satirikó (sing.) satiriká (pl.): Songs of satire that outline and satirize certain people, events, or situations. These songs commonly deal with themes of sex and sexuality, local taboos, and double entendre and are often performed during the liminal time of Carnival, which takes place leading up to the Orthodox Lent. Men and women sing these songs as part of the local festivities.

Greek Musical Terminology

skopós (sing.) skopoí (pl.): A term of structural identification used in a similar manner as the word "tune" in English. A *skopós* is a flexible, musical structure that can imply a rough rhythmic, modal, or melodic identity for a piece. An excellent example of the

potential variability that can be found in *skopós* is the *potamós skopós* from the village of Arhággelos.

mousikí (sing.) mousiká (pl.): Music

tsakísmata (pl.): Strategic, improvisatory vocal exclamations and embellishments used to maintain the poetic meter and flow in a traditional song; commonly voiced using interjections of "amán" or "ah" in musical performances.

melísmata (pl.): An improvisatory, melodic embellishment that showcases a musician's skill and knowledge of the Greek modal systems.

drómos (sing.) drómoi (pl.): A term that literally translates as "road"; the equivalent of a scale or mode in European classical music theory.

mório: The smallest microtonal interval in Byzantine music and theory.

tríhordi: A term used to reference a three-stringed instrument.

Other Greek Terms

hoúnta: The right-wing military dictatorship that took control of Greece following their coup d'état on April 21, 1967. The *hoúnta* remained in power until July 24, 1974, when the Turkish military invaded Cyprus.

panigíri (sing.) panigíria (pl.): A term used to describe a village festival held in honour of the name day of an Orthodox saint after which a church or monastery is named. During this festival, the church or monastery of the celebrated saint is decorated with lights and candles and community members pay their respects by lighting candles, making donations to the church, and praying to icons within the sacred space. Outside of the church, the local cultural associations often set up large barbeques and cook *souvláki* (skewered, cubes of pork cooked over charcoal) and serve beer and soft drinks for a small fee. Local musicians are hired (ensembles may vary, but generally tend to include a violin, *lýra,* and singer) and a stage is set up for them to play a heavily amplified version of *nisiótika* (island) music to encourage dancing and festivities. This is a venue where *skyládika* music is commonly preferred and performed over the more traditional sounding and styled ensembles. A space is made in front of the musicians for people to dance and tables are set up along its periphery for people to eat, socialize and to watch the evening's festivities. In some villages, the *panigíri* can last until sunrise.

paréa (sing.): A term used to refer to a person's close company or circle of friends. The *paréa* can change over time and depending on the context. In musical circles, the *paréa* tends to include other like-minded musicians that perform similar or identical styles and have complementary ideals surrounding music performance and production.

dikí mas: A term used to set social boundaries between insiders and outsiders of a community; literally means "one of ours." This phrase can be used to differentiate between Greeks and non-Greeks, Greeks inside and outside of Greece, Greeks from the mainland and the islands, Greeks from the city and the village, or Greeks from different villages or families. This designation is relative, constantly shifting depending on the context.

Paliá Póli: A term used to refer to the old town in the centre of Rhodes City. *Paliá póli* is a medieval town that was built by the Order of St. John of Jerusalem between 1309 and 1523. Today, it is recognized as a UNESCO World Heritage Site and a major tourist destination featuring several museums, art galleries, international embassies, and a wide range of residential and commercial properties. The multiple restaurants, *tavérnes*, coffee shops, nightclubs, and performance spaces are key locations to observe and enjoy a wide range of local music.

kafenío (sing.) kafenía (pl.): A term referring to a local café often frequented by elder men in the village. Traditionally, the *kafenío* was a male-dominated social space where men gathered with their *paréa* to pass the time, share stories, recite poems, and make music. It has remained a central space for the transmission of oral histories of the people and events of the village. Today, the gendered characteristics of the *kafenío* are gradually starting to change. It is more common to see young women (and men) at the local *kafeteria* than at the *kafenío.* Elder women visit the *kafeteria* far less frequently than younger women in the village, and they rarely, if ever, visit the local *kafenío.*

kilímnia: A term used to refer to the local carpet factories that were established on the island of Rhodes during the 1960s and 1970s. Owned by men, these factories were one of the first, socially acceptable places of employment for rural women outside of the home. Employing only women, the *kilímnia* became a prominent place for women's musical expression outside of the home. Women who worked in these factories often sang work songs and popular music repertoires to pass the time and to maintain the pace and rhythm of their work.

kséni (f.) ksénos (m.) kséno (n): A term used to designate an "outsider" or foreigner, used to contrast the term *dikí mas.*

soústa (sing.): A popular folk dance from the islands, classified under the category of *nisiótika.* It can be performed in mixed or isolated gender groups depending on the context. On September 29, 2013, the municipality of Arhággelos was awarded the Guiness Book of World Records award for the largest *soústa* dance featuring 352 local participants.

Akrítes: The Akrítes were an army employed by the Byzantine Empire to protect against the encroachment of rival empires.

parádosi: Tradition

tavérna (sing.) tavérnes (pl.): A term used to describe a tavern. The *tavérna* often employs local musicians to perform popular folk music for community members and, during the high season, tourists.

dópio (sing. adjective): A local, slang term used to denote "local."

glénti (sing.) gléntia (pl.): A term used to refer to a party, which often features performances by local musicians and community members. The *glénti* has remained an important place for musical performances and transmission in the village. Traditionally, musicians and participants at the *glénti* were predominantly male given the public nature of these events. Gradually, this has started to change as female vocalists can commonly be observed. However, instrumentalists at local *gléntia* remain primarily men on the island.

nikokyrió (sing.): Household

rebétissa: A term used to refer to a female singer of *rempétika.*

kalitéhnis: Artist

Chapter 1: Introduction

In this thesis, I aim to study the critical role of women in contemporary revivals of traditional Rhodian music.[1] While there are multiple scholars who have investigated traditional music in Greece and in the Greek diaspora (Alexiou 1974; Beaton 1980b; Danforth and Tsiaras 1982; Herzfeld 1982; Beaton 1986; Brandl 1989; Kallimopoúlou 2009b), there are comparatively few projects exploring the relationship between gender and Greek music (Holst-Warhaft 1983; Holst-Warhaft 2003; Holst-Warhaft 2005; Holst-Warhaft 2011a; Demetriou 2013). Of the research published on gender and Greek music, a small fraction of these contemporary publications explicitly investigate connections between gender and traditional music in Greece (Caraveli-Chaves 1980; Herzfeld 1985; Caraveli 1986; Auerbach 1987; Holst-Warhaft 1992; Dawe 1996). Therefore, this research will contribute to the growing literature on gender and traditional music in Greece generally, and will be the first project to concentrate on Rhodian music as a focus in English-language scholarship.

Despite the embedded social restrictions that control women's behaviours in a manner typified in the monitoring of women's honour and shame in numerous

[1] I use the word "revival" in its plural form to refer to the local, loosely conceptualized nature of revival movements and the multiple ways in which local singers and musicians can engage with traditional music revivals through differing levels of involvement, not as a way to detract from the collective nature of this shift towards preserving and performing local repertoires and styles from the past.

Mediterranean societies, women involved in revival movements on the island of Rhodes embody a vital position of power and prestige within the local community that challenges these very notions of social restriction and restraint, particularly in the act of making music. Encouraged by earlier generations with an interest in the formal study of music, and due to the massive impacts of modernity on the economy and the historic spaces for tradition in the community, I argue that women have gained a centrality in traditional music transmission through the preservation, education, and performance of local music repertoires. This significance in revival movements expands on and pushes the normative boundaries of prescribed behaviours for women, while primarily confirming and reinforcing preexisting behaviours for men with consistent valuations of male status and prestige within the community. Through a comparative examination of female and male roles in traditional music revivals, and a comparison of past and present musical roles for local, female singers, I will illustrate the ways in which traditional revival movements hybridize innovative and traditional identities for contemporary female singers in Rhodes. Embodied in the process of music preservation, education, and performance, these roles enable and encourage women to develop highly individualistic, pluralistic musical identities that provide opportunities for further flexibility and autonomy in women's conceptions and perceptions of selfhood within the community.

A Brief Introduction to Greek Music Revivals

In the period of transition that followed the fall of the military dictatorship (*hoúnta*) in 1974, there was a large-scale reorganization of the soft infrastructure

systems in the country under the second premiership of Konstantínos G. Karamanlís.[2] As the government transitioned from a dictatorship to a democracy, educational institutions began to engage in a process of restructuring that led to the establishment of music programs in conservatories and primary and secondary schools (Kallimopoúlou 2009a). These new music conservatories and programs focused on formalizing and promoting multiple genres of music specialization, including studies of European classical, Byzantine, Greek traditional, folk, and popular music. Most significantly, this period marked the initial transformation of traditional music as a functional component of everyday life observed by the masses, which was studied by scholars such as Mélpo Merliér (1890–1979), Símonas Karás (1905–1999), and Dómna Samíou (1928–2012), to an institutionalized object and reinterpreted art form observed and perfected by the specialist through the formal study of Greek traditional music.

Prior to its institutionalization, traditional music was primarily learned and observed during major life cycle events, regardless of an individual's geocultural position in Greece. While this continued to be the dominant mode of transmission in rural island communities throughout the early days of the reinstated democracy, in urban centres this was steadily beginning to shift with the restructuring of Greek educational systems (Kallimopoúlou 2009a). As traditional music was introduced as an area of specialization in high schools and at universities, and through a concerted effort to promote this music through a series of concerts, competitions,

[2] Konstantínos G. Karamanlís (March 8, 1907 – April 23, 1998) was an influential politician in Greece throughout the 20th century named Prime Minister for four terms and President for two terms. He is recognized for his commitment to Greece's integration and membership in the European Economic Community (EEC) and for his strict prosecution of members of the *hoúnta* during the trials that followed the dictatorship's collapse in 1974.

festivals, and events organized and funded by local cultural arts organizations and private institutions, the process of formalization and legitimization for traditional music was expedited considerably. With the affirmation of traditional music as a culturally valuable discipline, expectedly, there was an increase in the number of graduates from these specialized music programs seeking performance opportunities and employment.

Perhaps surprisingly, however, was the simultaneous increase in a subcultural, recreational interest in reviving local music traditions that was due in part to a growing disillusionment with the contemporary political and economic environment. Because of this increase in activity, a distinct assembly of performers and enthusiasts emerged, equally interested and invested in fostering a musical community dedicated to the revitalization and reinterpretation of Greece's abundant and diverse traditional repertoires. Therefore, as this largely urban, elite community began to grow and solidify, the impetus to study and perform traditional music was hastened institutionally and recreationally by mounting feelings of national and economic instability and malaise through the progressive encroachment of modernizing and westernizing forces as Greece entered into the twenty first century.[3]

Populations outside of Greece's urban centres felt this conflict between traditional ways and modern life very heavily during this period. The subsequent

[3] While it is argued that ancient Greece is the seat of contemporary, Western civilization, the reality of modern Greece as a nation presents a number of social, geographical, cultural, and political challenges that contest this ideal. With borders that extend from the Balkans to the Mediterranean and to the Eastern and European continents, the diversity in linguistic, cultural, and geographical features are vast and, at times, oppositional in nature. This contestation becomes even more pronounced when looking at the island of Rhodes, which has been dramatically impacted by the convergence of diverse historical, geopolitical and sociocultural forces that have shaped all aspects of island life and its people.

culture clash, felt primarily by older generations, greatly impacted the resulting local communities of traditional musicians and artisans in a number of ways. In Rhodes, traditional music revivals largely developed out of nostalgia for the way things were before tourism. As Rhodian musical life adapted to accommodate the tastes of foreign tourists and an equally pervasive local interest in Greek and global popular music, a small community of musicians countered this change by learning and performing songs from the elders in their localities to preserve their unique cultural and musical heritage in the midst of a massive, musical transformation. As one mandolin player explained the importance of music revivals and traditional music in his life, he recalled:

> [Traditional music] is a way of life and a part of your soul. It's your colour, your place. The lyrics of these old songs used to have meaning. These songs were a way to communicate with each other. It's not about the years or the instruments, it's the colours and emotions that make up the repertoire of your home…The music you grow up with determines the music and lyrics you have inside of you. (Sarikás 2014).

As a social movement, revivals are heavily shaped by their locality. Because of this regional diversity, music revivals assume shifting levels of significance and engagement as interest in preserving and performing musical traditions develops in Greece.

Within contemporary revival movements, gender is illuminated in distinct and sometimes contradictory ways, particularly for women. For example, it is deemed acceptable for a Rhodian woman to sing as a soloist on stage today despite the traditional constraints that once limited women from performing in public places in rural communities. However, in discussion with the female participants of this study, a major factor that contributed to the development and sustenance of

their music careers is the continual sense of support and encouragement from their fathers. Therefore, while building and maintaining successful, professional careers in a field that was previously unavailable to women, these singers still operate within the bounds of a patriarchal structure that necessitates approval from the public head of the family: the father. This system of deference is replicated and reinforced within the home, the community, and the church, perpetuating the social structuring of society on multiple levels of daily experience and interaction. Therefore, whereas men's musical roles have remained comparatively stable, only shifting slightly to acknowledge and include women's musical activities and contributions as integral parts of revival movements, women are constantly renegotiating the terms of their personal and musical identity in the midst of modernity in ways that allow them to maintain social status while also pushing against the traditionally conservative boundaries of female behaviour. For women, the contradiction of modernity and tradition becomes inherently embedded in the construction and projection of the self. It is this dynamic process that I aim to explore further throughout the development of this thesis.

Personal Connections and Introductions

The complexity and importance of women's roles in traditional music revivals became apparent to me early on in my first encounters with Greek traditional music in 2007. My partner, Ari Mástoras, is a musician, producer, and songwriter born on the island of Rhodes. We have enjoyed yearly visits to see his family on the island, and over this time I have gathered a wealth of preliminary observations, experiences, and impressions of Rhodian life generally and musical life in particular that became

invaluable in my later research. Over the course of my first few weeks in Rhodes in 2007, I began my accelerated Greek musical education: taking in all of the new sights and sounds from the radio and radio stars, performances in the Old Town,[4] coffee shops, summer festivals, saint day celebrations (*panigíria*), weddings, nightclubs, beach bars, restaurants, and, of course, various concerts and cultural events. It was through my impressions of these early experiences that I began to notice distinctions between male and female musical domains and practices that were unfamiliar to me as a Canadian woman.[5] At times, these distinctions had to be made explicit to me because I had unknowingly crossed a gender boundary that I was previously unfamiliar with. For example, where to stand and when, and with what, to respond in church was a valuable lesson for me to learn quickly. Thankfully, Ari's mother took me under her wing, and ensured that I was never too lost or too off in my few attempts at navigating the complex Orthodox Sunday service. There were also more nuanced observations that I gradually compiled over the years to draw generalizations, both accurately and inaccurately, about the relationships between gender and musical expression in Rhodes.[6]

[4] Old Town (*Paliá Póli*) is a medieval town that was built by the Order of St. John of Jerusalem between 1309 and 1523. Today, it is located in the centre of Rhodes City and is a recognized UNESCO World Heritage Site featuring a variety of residential and commercial properties, museums, art galleries, and international embassies.

[5] For example, I noticed the complete absence of female instrumentalists in performing ensembles of a variety of music genres in Rhodes. While a female singer may play a small percussion instrument while singing, it is extremely rare to see a female instrumentalist in an ensemble, aside from performances by students and staff at the music school for music school events. While the absence of female instrumentalists as a generality in Western music remains prevalent today, the *absolute* absence of women playing instruments in Rhodes left a lasting impression on my early understandings of the intersections of gender and music in evaluating the contemporary, Rhodian music scene.

[6] For example, in discussions with Ari's grandmother I learned that the *kafenío* (coffeehouse) was, and is, a male musical space, while the *kilímnia* (carpet factories), established in the 1960s and 1970s, were considered a female one.

Figure 1. Old Town in Rhodes, Greece. Norbert Nagel and Mörfelden-Walldorf, 2006. Creative Commons license.

From these early conceptualizations, I became more attuned to the normalized restrictions placed on women's musicality and behaviour, and, contrastingly, the centrality that female singers such as Matína seemed to possess in the transmission of traditional music in classroom and concert settings. While I initially examined this contrast through the universalizing, dichotomous lens of liberation versus restriction, I soon realized that the ideals I was attaching to my understandings of women's positions in the community failed to account for the reality and diversity of their experiences. Throughout my pre-fieldwork exploration, I also began to recognize the diversity and complexity of being a woman in music cross-culturally, which often amounted to far more shared similarities than the mounting differences I had initially perceived. It was with this insight that my early questions interrogating Rhodian music and gender began to shift and reform until they progressively took shape upon entering, and even more so upon leaving the field, in 2014.

In my desire to understand the gender models inherent in traditional music revivals in Rhodes and the perception of prescribed roles within it, my early pre-fieldwork experience became instrumental in shaping this project and in deepening the understanding that evolved in exploring the interrelationships of power, gender and traditional music within the community.

Gender Studies and Greece

The academic shift towards literature that incorporates and investigates gender as a way to cultivate a deeper understanding of sociocultural similarity and difference in a variety of contexts has grown rapidly since the 1950s. Early works, mostly anthropological and theoretical in nature, highlighted and critiqued the naturalized, cultural differences between men and women, uncovering the underlying motivation that continues to sustain and reinforce the hierarchical structure and nature of gender relations: power (de Beauvoir 1953; Ortner 1972; Rosaldo and Lamphere 1974; Foucault 1980; Leacock 1981; and Ortner and Whitehead 1981).

Cautioning against the naturalizing tendency to conflate sex and gender in academia and everyday life, scholars emphatically argued for the necessary bifurcation of the two terms, which became reflective of the remarkable variability in gender constructs cross-culturally as a response to previous ideals arguing in support of the "natural" link between biological determinism and sex roles (de Beauvoir 1953; Ortner 1972; Rosaldo and Lamphere 1974; Foucault 1980; Leacock 1981; and Ortner and Whitehead 1981). In defining sex and gender as isolated structures, it is widely accepted that, "sex refers to biological phenomena," while, "*sex role* or *gender* denotes their cultural, psychological, and social correlates: the rules, expectations, and behavior appropriate to being male or

female within a particular society" (Hanna 1988, 7). The implications of this split manifested in unique ways in anthropological scholarship exploring gender models in Greece, particularly in the way that scholars gravitated towards the utilization of conservative ideals that adhered closely to views held by determinism theorists.

Anthropological studies specialized in the investigation of gender in Greece developed alongside gender studies in the humanities and social sciences generally, commencing with the publication of the first ethnographic work on a Greek, rural community in Western scholarship written by Ernestine Friedl (1962), *Vasiliká: A Village in Modern Greece*. With the subsequent publication of the monograph *Honour, Family, and Patronage: A Study of Institutions and Moral Values in a Greek Mountain Community* by Campbell (1964), anthropology exploring gender in Greece became inextricably linked to analytical frameworks emphasizing familism and traditional kinship dynamics (Dubisch 1972; Alexiou 1974; Du Boulay 1974; Campbell 1976; Danforth 1982; Caraveli-Chaves 1980; Beaton 1980; and Herzfeld 1982; Loizos and Papataxiarchis 1991).

Concomitantly, this emphasis on familism was supported and propagated by a stream of influential anthropological research investigating the prevalence of honour and shame in Mediterranean communities in the late 1950s. Introduced by social anthropologists of the Oxford school, and credited to John G. Peristiany and Julian Pitt-Rivers, honour and shame became a method of homogenizing the Mediterranean as a static, homologous "culture area" (Peristiany 1992, 6). Early anthropology exploring societies of the Mediterranean was dominated by what is now referred to as an "honour and shame syndrome" (Brandes 1987, 122). This syndrome validated and reinforced "a

sex-linked, binary opposition in which honour is associated with men and shame with women," which further embedded these universalizing dichotomous binaries as, "inextricably linked [and] tied to one another in cognitive as well as affective terms" (Brandes 1987, 122). In a critique of the pervasiveness and lasting impact of this model, Magrini proposes that:

> ethnicity, religion, class differences, contrasts between lifestyles in the cities and in the country, opposition between systems based on monogamy and polygyny, preference for endogamy or exogamy, the contracted or sacramental nature of marriage, and related issues are all factors that, among others, should be taken into consideration in accounting for the deeply differentiated male-female relationships in Mediterranean societies today as well as in the past (2003, 12–13).

Within the confines of this inescapable theory, "women were represented as silent, passive, and marginal figures who were secluded in their houses, modestly covered head to toe in order to exorcise the potential sensuality of their bodies, and removed from any outside activity or role" (Magrini 2003, 13). This image of the monolithic, Mediterranean woman led to what was to become a widespread, academically condoned caricaturization of 50 percent of the population in this expansive, geopolitical region (Gilmore 1982, 195). Presently, the residual effects of this problematic scholarship are still in the process of being critiqued and deconstructed, as the implications of these conceptualizations have greatly affected research carried out in Greece in historical and contemporary contexts. While the relationship between genders were couched in terms that overemphasized idyllic, "local" perceptions of a complementarity that universally placed women in private spheres in everyday life, a discussion and critique of the intricate and often oppressive nature of the reality of power relations in Greece, including instances of

exception, were tactfully repurposed or avoided for a significant part of the 20th century.[7]

Currently, contemporary scholarship is beginning to contest and expand on these narrow, limiting models, gradually transforming traditional ways of conceptualizing kinship to accommodate far more diverse and representative relations and connections in a wide variety of dimensions and contexts in Greece (Loizos and Papataxiarchis 1991).

Ethnomusicology and Gender

As the humanities and social sciences began to pursue studies exploring the depths and implications of gender, departments specialized in the fine arts soon followed. While literary studies and art history invested in this new field of research early on, music scholarship cautiously followed with endorsed, formal contributions by musicology and ethnomusicology scholars (Koskoff 1987; Herndon and Ziegler 1990; and McClary 1991). Interestingly, however, early ethnomusicological scholarship, with its origins seated firmly in the disciplines of anthropology and musicology, had begun interrogating, or at the very least noting, the relationship between gender, sex, and music as early as the 1940s (Sachs 1940; Mackay 1955; Nash 1961; and Merriam 1964). Following these initial sketches outlining a tentative relationship between gender and music, it was not until the 1980s that scholarly investigations became more refined in focus and more inclusive in articulation. In particular, Ellen Koskoff's *Women and Music in Cross-Cultural Perspective* (1987) and the inaugural Intercultural Music Series collection edited by Marcia Herndon and Susanne Ziegler, *Music, Gender, and Culture* (1990), were two of the pioneering, ethnomusicological works that showcase the subtlety and variety of

[7] I have placed "local" in quotation marks because of the difficulty I faced in discerning whether discussions of complementarity were, indeed, produced locally or a residual result of this early anthropological framing.

gendered expressivity and performance in cross-cultural contexts. These works also contributed significantly to initial discourses investigating the interplay of music, gender and power as affected by class, race, and ethnicity. In the following decades, music and gender scholarship expanded dramatically with the publication of a wide range of collections that continually pushed the boundaries and conceptualizations of gender, presenting local and global communities and musical practices previously unexplored with an ever-expanding and encompassing understanding and critique of the performativity of gender in musical contexts (Magrini 2003; Bernstein 2004; and Hellier 2013).

Ethnomusicology of Greece

The study of music in Greece generally and gender and music in Greece in particular has continued to be an area explored by a small group of dedicated scholars through a variety of in-depth studies investigating select Greek communities and music. Today, as in the past, many localities and musical practices in Greece remain unexplored and undocumented in Western scholarship. In discussing the literature of the field, I have found it helpful to separate music scholarship published in Greek and Greek music scholarship published in English. While this may seem like an unnatural division of the literature, it is beneficial to illustrate the complexity of translating research, while also noting the areas that remain unexplored in Western scholarship.

The foundational, Greek-language research on folk music traditions in modern Greece can be found in the work of Fauriel (1772–1844), Baud-Bovy (1906–1986), and Karás (1905–1999). Fauriel's translated monograph *Elliniká*

Dimotiká Tragoúdia [Greek Folk Songs] is recognized as the first comprehensive collection and publication of Greek folk music in academia.[8] When the two volumes were first published, they received a remarkably warm reception from European audiences, which coincided with the concurrent popularity of heavily romanticized folk art and a general academic interest in Hellenism that was characteristic of the time.

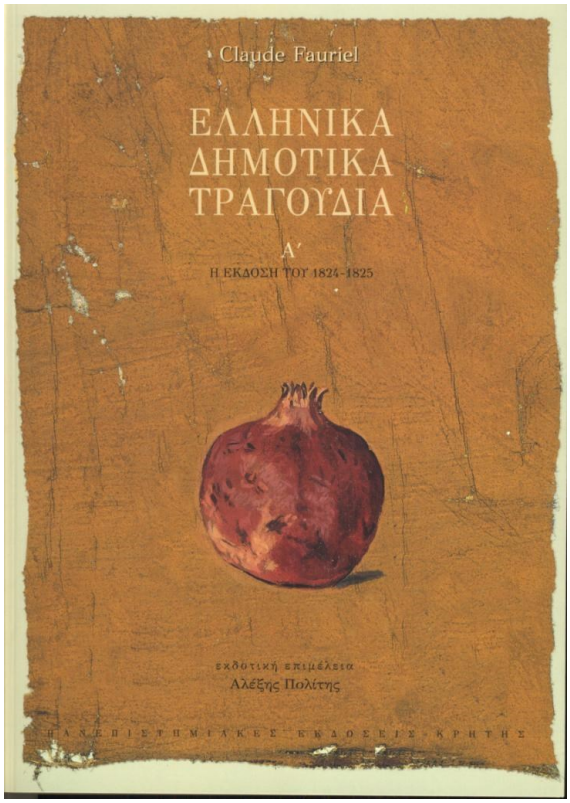


Figure 2. Fauriel's *Elliniká Dimotiká Tragoúdia* (1999). © Crete University Press, 2015.

Baud-Bovy's work *Tragoúdia ton Dodekaníson* [Songs of the Dodecanese] is a foundational text exploring folk music and poetry in the Dodecanese that was first published in French and later translated to Greek. Over three intensive periods of fieldwork in the early 1930s, Baud-Bovy canvassed the Dodecanese islands, with

[8] Fauriel's monograph was first published in French in 1824. It was not translated to Greek and published until 1999. A second edition was then published in Greek in 2010.

the exception of Kássos and Tílos, notating the songs and singers, transcribing the lyrics and tunes (*skopoí*), and describing the local instruments and unique metrical patterns of the region. As Rhodes is the largest of the Dodecanese islands, there is an impressive representation of local Rhodian folk repertoires in this two-volume collection.[9]

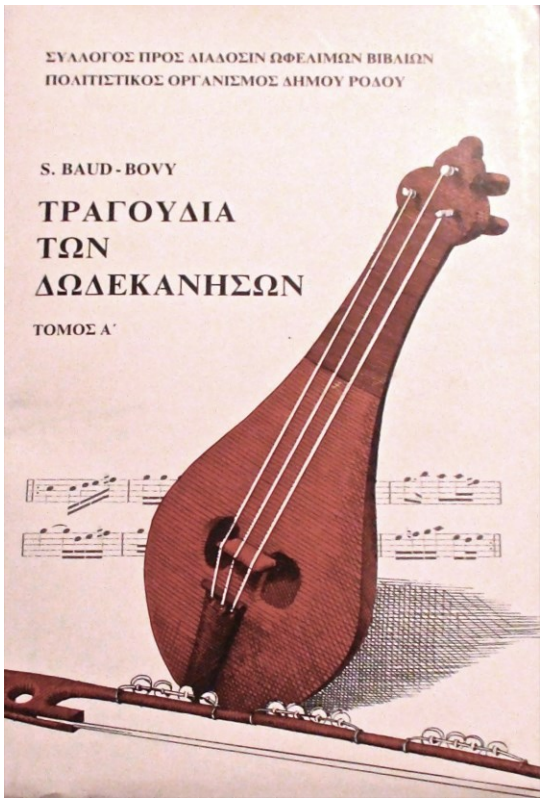
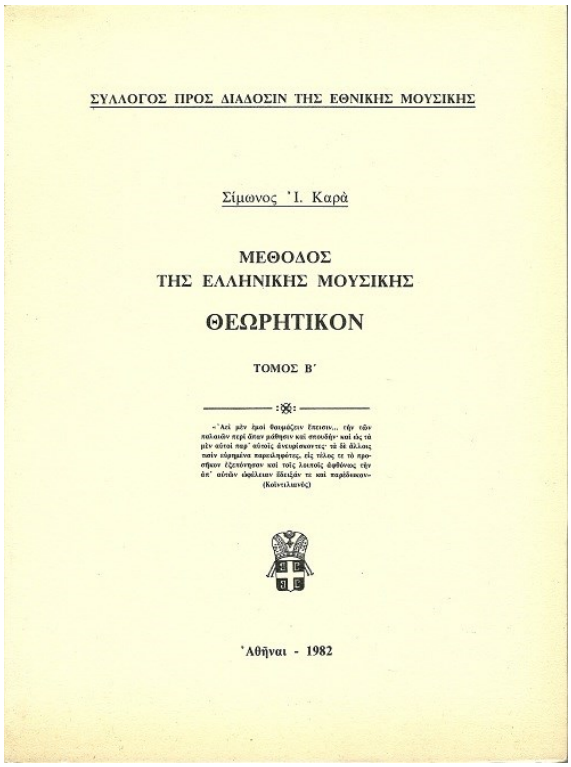


Figure 3. Baud-Bovy's *Tragoúdia ton Dodekaníson* [Songs of the Dodecanese] (1935). © Sýllogos pros diádosin ofelímon vivlíon politistikós organismós dímou Ródou, 2015.

Whereas Fauriel and Baud-Bovy were scholars from abroad, Karás was a Greek musicologist, composer, and theorist specialized in the study of Byzantine music and notation. His intensive monograph, *Méthodos tis Ellinikís Mousikís: Theoretikón* [Method of Greek Music: Theory] is also a composition of two

[9] Of all of the Greek publications on folk and traditional music, this collection proved to be the most valuable throughout this project as it is the only publication that examines music in Rhodes. The surprising depth with which Baud-Bovy approaches his subject and his descriptions of the field largely informed the development of a historical overview of women's folk songs and genres in this study.

volumes, however, it presents an expansive treatise on Byzantine music and notation that is still in use today in the study of more abstract, theoretical aspects of the subject (Karás 1981). Though his written work is considered highly innovative, controversial, and, at times, divisive, his published recordings from the Dodecanese are invaluable in a study of gendered repertoires in folk music from this region.[10]


ΣΥΛΛΟΓΟΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΔΙΑΔΟΣΙΝ ΤΗΣ ΕΘΝΙΚΗΣ ΜΟΥΣΙΚΗΣ

Σίμωνος Ἰ. Καρὰ

ΜΕΘΟΔΟΣ
ΤΗΣ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗΣ ΜΟΥΣΙΚΗΣ

ΘΕΩΡΗΤΙΚΟΝ

ΤΟΜΟΣ Β΄

Ἀθῆναι - 1982

Figure 4. Karás' *Méthodos tis Ellinikís Mousikís: Theoretikón* [Method of Greek Music: Theory] (1981). © Syllogos pros diadosin tis ethnikes mousikís, 2015.

More recent works produced in Greece, such as Spyridákis, Mégas, and Petrópoulos' *Elliniká Dimotiká Tragoúdia* (1962) [Greek Folk Music] and Spyridákis and Peristéris' *Elliniká Dimotiká Tragoúdia* (1999) [Greek Folk Music], comprehensively examine and document the modality, musical and rhythmic meters, and text of the folk songs of Greece. These works provide an exhaustive

[10] In particular, I would recommend the following albums, *Songs of Kasos and Karpathos* and *Songs of Rhodes, Chalki, and Symi.*

overview of Greek folk genres, providing a comprehensive introduction to the main musical subgenres and their defining characteristics for scholars and enthusiasts locally and globally.

While these works do not explore gender explicitly, understandings of the early relationships between gender and music can be elicited from what is documented, and, importantly, what remains absent. For example, genres can be implied and organized from the multiple song types that were collected by each one of these researchers. These genres can suggest the gendering of musical repertoires, as well as noting important singers of the time, particularly in instances where ethnographic recordings were made and later released. Though our knowledge of gender is interpreted indirectly in examining past documentation efforts, there is much to be intuited from early publications about the gendering of music spaces and sounds locally.

English-language ethnomusicological research invested in exploring gender and identity constructs in Greek musical life has also grown substantially since the 1980s. In research that explores forms of expressivity and protest found in women's laments in rural communities in Greece (Caraveli 1986), case studies exploring the negotiation of domestic and public identities for Greek women who sing (Demetriou 2013), women's status and power in *rempétika* music (Holst-Warhaft 2003), and rearticulations of tradition in *paradosiakí mousikí* (Kallimopoúlou 2009b), contemporary scholars are illustrating the diversely complex and contested roles women embody through the performance of a variety of music genres in Greece.

While this literary overview may initially appear to encompass a variety of music genres and contexts, the reality of contemporary research is unfortunately uneven, concerning itself completely with the study of certain select genres while neglecting others.[11] It is interesting to note that folk and traditional genres fall into a category representative of both qualities. While the laments of rural women have been argued to illustrate a profound sense of expressivity and reflection, gender complementarity and equality, and a form of socially condoned, and not socially condoned, protest (Alexiou 1974; Caraveli 1986; Auerbach 1987; and Holst-Warhaft 1992), other subgenres of folk music remain curiously absent given the diversity of their associated sounds and contexts. Upon reflection, I suggest that this disparity is a result of an accessibility barrier limiting researchers in the field, as well as the reality of limited access to Greek textual and aural sources in Western libraries.

Problematically, limitations in the field can largely be credited to a matter of gender itself. Internationally, women studying women's musical practices dominated the early development of gender and music scholarship. In part, this was because of a need to respond to and rectify a historically oppressive silencing and absence of women in academic literature through giving local women an opportunity to vocalize and express their music as equally significant and important. This women-centric scholarship also developed because of the realities of gender in the field that would only permit female researchers, as outsiders and women, access to a public, music genre dominated by women. I believe that both of

[11] For example, one can explore the numerous studies of women's laments in comparison to the sole study of gender and island music (*nisiótika*) presented by Gail Holst-Warhaft in 2005 and 2011.

these factors contributed to the extensive documentation of and discourse over Greek laments (*moirológia*) while other genres remain unexplored. While it must be noted that there are a limited number of contemporary scholars from varied backgrounds in music and the social sciences who are gradually filling the existing lacuna in academic literature, there is still much work to be done to broaden field (Herzfeld 1985; Loizos and Papataxiarchis 1991; Dubisch 1993; Dawe 1996; and Holst-Warhaft 2005). It is my hope that the future will mark a more noticeable shift in focus from the limited and limiting realm of music and women's mourning to a more diverse treatment of music genres, illuminating new connections between music and gender in Greece and beyond.

Equally important to the matter of disproportionality, is the visible deficiency of Greek sources in Western libraries. While the argument that "you can't be what you can't see" (Newsom 2012) may seem too colloquial for academic discourse, there is undoubtedly merit in recognizing the limitations of carrying out research primarily conceived from existing literature available in Canada specifically. The effect of this is lessened, of course, by the experience of fieldwork and the novel sources that can be obtained solely from travelling abroad. However, the path of *less* resistance is not necessarily an unattractive one when considered in the context of a fledgling graduate student's intensive program or an academic's vigorously taxing research and publishing schedule. As emphasized previously, it is necessary to move beyond these self-imposed, conservative research structures and debates to reinvigorate and, in many ways "catch up" with, our European colleagues specialized in similar areas of research.

Rhodes, Greece

Figure 5. Map of Greece. Courtesy of the University of Texas Libraries, The University of Texas at Austin, 2015.

Rhodes is the largest of the inhabited Dodecanese islands, located 11 miles from the coast of Turkey and approximately 250 miles southeast of Athens. It is a part of the South Aegean municipality of Greece with a population of approximately 115 000 during the low tourist season. From May through to September (high season), this statistic nearly doubles with the weekly and biweekly arrival of tourists via the Diagóras International Airport, several regional and

national ferries, and an array of international cruise ships. There are 44 villages and towns on the island of Rhodes, including the main town and port, Rhodes City. Historically, the economy was based on small-scale fishing, agricultural, and textile industries. Today, it is primarily dependent on tourism, allowing for greater economic stability in this particular region throughout the recent, national depression. This relative stability is, of course, strictly drawn in comparison to other parts of Greece more heavily focused on small-scale industries and agriculture, as Rhodes has unquestionably felt the repercussions of the economic and political turmoil that has been rising in the country since 2007.

Figure 6. Map of Rhodes, Greece with the villages in which we worked highlighted (Top to Bottom: Rhodes City, Kalithiés and Faliráki, and Arhággelos and Stegná). Courtesy of the University of Texas Libraries, The University of Texas at Austin, 2015.

Because of its highly coveted location as a major port bridging the Eastern and Western worlds and the seas of the Aegean and the Mediterranean, Rhodes continues to be recognized as a main trade route, attractive tourist destination, and, perhaps surprisingly, a main point of entry for immigrants and refugees looking to start a new life in Europe. In fact, Rhodes has maintained a historically rich and diverse multicultural and

multi-faith population in Rhodes City that is rather atypical of rural communities in Greece. This convergence of cultural and religious influences has significantly impacted musical practices and performances on the island. Traces of this cosmopolitan character can be found in the diverse instrumentation, dialectal music terminology, topical lyrical content, and rhythmic and modal variations of Rhodes' diverse music scene.

Methodology and Fieldwork

While it may be argued that my fieldwork began during my first visit to the island in 2007, it was in 2014 that I officially began my research in Rhodes. My methodology included a combination of semi-structured and non-structured individual and group interviews, extended periods of participant-observation, videography, photography, audio recording, and extensive archival research, which took place over the course of two months, June and July, in 2014. Upon our return, Skype meetings, emails, and phone calls gradually filled in the gaps that needed further attention and follow-ups or were missed completely during our short time in the field. Though my sample size represents thirty participants, it is necessary to stress that in reality it took a village for this project to take shape and develop fully and completely, and each person's contribution was equally and essentially vital in the process.

With this flexible, methodological approach, my research began with the one singer I knew most intimately, Matína Mástora. Singer, musician, and educator, her talent and enthusiasm for studying, teaching, and performing traditional music is remarkable, and her contribution to my thesis was immense. In the earliest stages of my fieldwork, she listened patiently to my questions on the multiple intersections of music and gender locally. Despite the fact that these relationships are largely intuited and embedded in the

community, rarely addressed and exposed explicitly for analysis, through conversations with Matína I was able to develop a deeper understanding of what it means to be a woman dedicated to the preservation and promotion of local music professionally and personally. Matína's endless knowledge and accolades as an accomplished traditional and contemporary singer and teacher at the music school (*Mousikó Sholeió*)[12] made her the ideal participant and gateway to traditional music in the community.[13]

With both of us living in the village of Kalithiés, Matína and I naturally had opportunities to discuss my research every day. While the majority of my time was spent in the village of Kalithiés and its connecting tourist resort, Faliráki, I also frequently visited Rhodes City and the villages of Arhággelos and Stegná as well. Ari and I spent our mornings organizing data, typing field notes, and helping customers at the family's silver factory and instrument workshop just outside of the village. Matína, living in an apartment above the factory, would frequently stop by to visit with her father and uncle and catch up with Ari and I on what we had collected and any new developments made. Our interviews, and most local festivals and events, took place primarily in the late afternoon or evening. On evenings when our schedule was open, there were always opportunities to catch up with family and friends at their homes, local restaurants, or at the small hotel Ari's father and uncle own in the resort town, Faliráki. Numerous trips

[12] In the Greek secondary school system, parents or guardians have the option to apply for their children to attend the music school (*Mousikó Sholeió*) in their region at the end of their final year of primary school. Students may apply only once. There are forty-four music schools across Greece, and their programs accommodate students from junior high through to high school. Developed in the late 1980s, these programs require students to study Byzantine and European classical theory training, and three musical instruments: an instrument of choice, the piano, and the traditional instrument of the region. The traditional instrument of the music school in Rhodes is the *lýra* or *tampourá* (small, fretted Byzantine lute). Rhodes City houses the music school in the Dodecanese region. Today, teachers and students consider it a major hub for traditional music in the local and regional community (Music School of Rhodes website 2015; Mástora 2014d).

[13] Audio Supplement Track 4: Here is an ethnographic recording of Matína singing a *skopós* from the village of Arhággelos called *Potamós.* This recording was made at the Mástoras Silver Factory, which is located underneath Matína's apartment, during one of our final interviews.

were made to Rhodes City in the morning, before businesses close for the afternoon, to collect books, visit local libraries, purchase recordings, and to wander the little streets of the Old Town for inspiration.

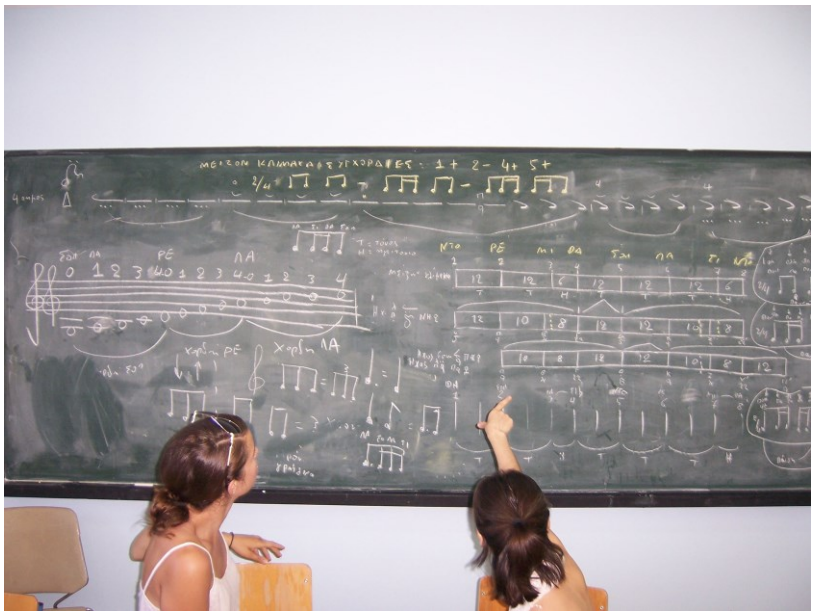


Figure 7. Matína and I in a classroom at the musical school in Rhodes. She is giving me a brief tutorial on the notational styles she typically uses in her classes. © Ari Mástoras, June 24, 2014.

While I had anticipated that I would be working closely with Matína throughout my fieldwork, I grew concerned that her work was a lone anomaly to the rule. I had only observed Matína performing traditional music locally prior to officially entering the field, and I was concerned that her prominent role in revivals was not representative of local women's experiences with traditional music. As I continued to seek out other women involved in revival movements, however, I was soon referred to a local singer from the village of Arhággelos, Xristína Kóza. Xristína is unlike Matína in many ways, specifically with regards to age, vocal sound, performance style, and musical training. However, there are many similarities between them that illuminate a converging set of beliefs and values surrounding the preservation and transmission of traditional music

locally, and the role gender plays in this process. This point of connection necessitated further interrogation and inquiry to understand fully how gender and traditional music are defined locally, and the multiple ways in which they interact in complementary facets of revival movements.

Upon further evaluation, a commonality between both women emerged as they faced many similar situations and challenges in choosing careers as professional, local singers. In exploring the depth of their work, I soon found that there *are* characteristic musical roles for women as preservers, educators, and performers of traditional music. It is from this point of connectivity, rather than difference, that this investigation began to take shape through this tripartite, analytical structure.

Positionality

In establishing the parameters of my study, it is important to make explicit my position within the community. Like many students of ethnomusicology, I was, and continue to be, situated on an ever-shifting continuum of relative insider and outsider status. My varied placement was often determined contextually, changing in the course of conversations, situations, locations, and depending upon our *paréa* (close company). Within Ari's immediate family, I am considered *dikí mas* ("one of ours"). However, this, too, is conditionally dependent. An example of the complexity of this designation can be found in my initial attempts to understand the spectrum of multi-faceted identities women express and the varied potential social expectations that these elicit in public and private settings. My naiveté was endearingly attributed to my "outsiderness" as a researcher and a relatively "new" member of the community and family, despite my supposedly pre-established insider status. In actual fact, if one is to position me genealogically, I am quite

literally an outsider as I was born in Canada and my ancestry is Ukrainian. Nonetheless, despite this explicit outsiderness, within our *paréa* (circle of friends) I maintain friendships that relegate me to a conditional level of insider status that researchers in ethnomusicology often aspire to develop in explorations of an unfamiliar field.

This inside and outside designation, however, is not only applicable to those who are culturally and geographically positioned outside of Greece. Ari, despite growing up and living in the village for 20 years, faces layered, often shifting positions of insider and outsider status as well. While he was born and raised in the village of Kalithiés, there are certain occasions where he, too, is placed in a relative position of outsiderness because of his decision to live and work in Canada. This is particularly evident in familial political, economic, and social discussions and debates. Nevertheless, his insider credentials unarguably allowed us privileged access to elder members of the community and their locally-held musical knowledge. Not only did his status as Matína's brother allow us numerous connections to members of the music community, but also his connection to his great uncle Sávvas proved to be invaluable in working in the localities of Kalithiés and Arhággelos. Ari shares the same, extremely unique name as his great uncle, as well as a love of playing the *violí* (violin). Because of this beneficial association, we were received with great warmth and welcome, particularly in the village of Arhággelos.

Figure 8. A photo of Sávvas "Flearí" Mástoras on a promotional poster in a local *souvláki* shop in the village of Kalithiés. © Ari Mástoras, July 2, 2014.

While it is argued that the dichotomous terminology of insider and outsider used to express field relations "may not be particularly helpful…to describe the kind of dialogic relationships in language, music, and dance that develop between people who perform and appreciate [these] traditions" (Rice 2008, 53), this structured differentiation between insiders and outsiders remains deeply ingrained in Greek society itself, particularly in rural communities. In *Gender and Power in Rural Greece,* Dubisch confronts this shifting, internal dichotomy directly, stating:

> In Greece, the separation between private and public is paralleled socially by the concepts of "insider" and "outsider." Those who are "inside" are *dhikí mas*, "our own," while all the outsiders are kseni. Dhiki mas may include one's own immediate family, all one's relatives, all fellow villagers, or even all Greeks. The two terms are relative and expand and contract depending upon context (1986, 35).

While the practicality of such differentiations in ethnomusicological discourse are debated and critiqued, the negotiation and acceptance of these distinctions was imperative to the progress and conceptualization of my research. Whereas foreign researchers often employ this system to articulate the particularities of their research and the many

challenges and conflictions faced throughout the duration of ethnographic fieldwork, today this dichotomous structure is very much alive and functioning within the community itself. I believe that through the process of discerning and distinguishing relative insiderness and outsiderness in their micro and macro communities, individuals are able to articulate their own positionality and, ultimately, identity in a rapidly changing period of growth and political and economic instability locally and abroad.

Challenges

Throughout the duration of this study two main challenges presented themselves: (1) a language barrier; and (2) a gender barrier. The first challenge that must be made explicit is my early struggle with the Greek language. This may seem odd as I do have an extensive background in the field, but given the nature of a tourist resort town, it is important to note that nearly everyone speaks English. This is by no means an excuse, but it certainly affected my desire to obtain fluency early on. Today, however, my confidence and fluency with the language has grown and continues to develop gradually over time. The subtleties of the village dialects on the island vary substantially, often making the discernment of topical words and accents, even between the villages of Kalithiés and Arhággelos, a challenge for beginners. Therefore, Ari often acted as a translator during and following many interviews and discussions, particularly in the early stages of fieldwork. Upon reflection, I believe that there are undoubtedly subtleties that were missed in my translations and interpretations. The difficulty I faced in attempting to understand the conceptualization of *dimotiká* (folk) and *paradosiaká* (traditional) as two distinct yet overlapping musical categories is an excellent example of a subtlety in meaning that is not easily translated.

However, this language barrier also pushed the participants of this study to communicate subtle differentiations in explicitly simple terms. While this was often challenging for the musicians with whom we worked, it did illuminate minute meanings and understandings of terms that do not have an English-language equivalent. For example, my pursuit of fully understanding the specifics of the term *skopós* was relentless. Each one of our participants was asked to define and describe *skopós*, and in doing do, each definition created a more comprehensive understanding of a term that is absent from Western music terminology. This process was invaluable to my understanding of local music terminology, and the subsequent translations of these terms for a broader, academic audience.

The second challenge that presented itself is what I would refer to as a "gender barrier." A gender barrier tactfully illuminates the ways in which gender is structured in a particular community. At times, this gender barrier can actually facilitate profound conversations and understandings between researchers and participants that would normally be unavailable because of the particular social structuring of a community. Alternatively, it can limit and shutdown conversations completely because of social transgressions, and, in extreme cases, even invoke a verbally and physically violent response from participants and societies. Fortunately, my interactions with gender barriers were not violently expressed. However, there were distinct ways that my gender, Ari's gender, and conversations about gender affected the data collected throughout this project.

As a woman, I was "naturally" privy to certain conversations and asides with female participants that, at times, Ari was deliberately, but subtly, excluded from. For

example, we found that one particular interview conducted by Ari with one of our female participants yielded very little information about women's involvement in music revivals and the transmission process of traditional music today. Nearly every question he asked was diffused or redirected, answered with an "I don't *really* know," at which point she would sing for us a beautiful *skopós* from the Dodecanese. However, at one *panigíri* when Ari was filming the characteristic *soústa* (mixed-gender, circle dance from the islands) that was taking place in front of the church, this woman quietly came up beside me and began telling me about her teachers, about her voice, and why she loves the sound of singers from the 1920s and 1930s. While this incident can be attributed to a simple matter of immediacy and familiarity, I argue that this process of inclusion and exclusion of information based on gender was evident here and in other interview situations, particularly in Ari's interaction with male participants and my interaction with female participants.

Figure 9. A photo from the aforementioned *panigíri* for the Archangel Gabriel Patitirióti in the village of Arhággelos. The dancers performed around the large tree in the centre of the courtyard and the musicians played directly behind them. © Ari Mástoras, July 12, 2014.

Whereas I was gently nudged towards private women's conversations and spaces in group settings, Ari was rigorously embraced and pulled into male interactions. In conversation with male participants, our mannerisms and conduct adjusted appropriately to meet our audience. With women we, unconsciously, spoke in softer tones and presented open-ended questions about personal experiences and reflections, while with men, Ari unconsciously became a little louder and far more direct in approach, while I generally listened and took extensive notes on the conversation and context. When he asked male participants about the roles of women in traditional music and traditional music revivals, he was often presented with extremely forward and sometimes unanticipated answers. For example, we were told that women were "slaves" in the past, but that today, without them, traditional music would be lost completely (Sarikás 2014). While I was granted more personal anecdotes and stories[14], Ari was answered with direct, definitive statements about musical practices and the community.

While our gender and our participants' gender affected the data collection for this project in numerous ways, the idea of studying gender in the first place presented several complications and moments of confusion throughout the duration of this project. For example, Ari and I went to Rhodes City to begin our research at the Municipal Library of Rhodes (*Dimotikí Vivliothíki Ródou*) in the Municipal Cultural Centre in Rodiakí Épavli. In search of locally published sources on gender and music, Ari inquired as to whether there were any books available in their collection. The librarian, looking a little puzzled as we had told him earlier that we were researching traditional music, suggested that we examine the women's literature section, which included romantic novels, fertility and childrearing books, and housekeeping and crafting guides. It became quickly apparent

[14] With the exception of women who knew Ari personally, of course.

that academia's purposeful distinction between gender and sex was not expressed in equivalent terms within the community. Therefore, we resorted to an amendment of terms, from "gender" to women and men's "roles," which appeared to limit subsequent occurrences of misunderstanding.

This likely impacted the research considerably, as "roles" can be understood as having an innate, fixed quality, closely linked to and conflated with understandings of sex, while "gender," in academic interpretations, suggests a fluidity of expressions locally and cross-culturally due to the learned, constructed nature of gender roles. I commonly felt this tension between my understanding of gender and local descriptions of women's roles in discussions. For example in a conversation examining women's roles in music education with Matína, she explains that, "women took on the role of teaching the young and old at every occasion…because [teaching] is something that needs patience and memory and those are characteristics of women [rather than men]" (Mastorá 2014d). While I may view this exchange as emblematic of a patriarchal system that values cultivating these particular qualities in women to maintain male dominance in the community, what is suggested is that these qualities are instinctive and, indeed, positive elements of womanhood that make women more powerful within the community. In this exchange, the interpretations of power dynamics are dramatically different and I felt this incompatibility throughout the course of my fieldwork and in my analysis. At times, admittedly, it was a struggle to ensure that I maintained distance and perspective, particularly as I argued for the powerful centrality of women in revival movements locally.

Despite these inherent limitations and challenges, with the proposed methodology and design I was able to interpret distinct relationships between gender and music in traditional revival movements. Through my postionality, variable ethnomusicological methods, and recognition of the study's limitations early on, the roles of women as preservers, educators, and performers and the historically stable roles of men as performers in contemporary traditional revival movements became increasingly visible and comprehensible in the complex web of individual and group identities and shifting social structures visible in Rhodian, traditional music revivals.

Overview

In Chapter 2, I provide a brief overview of musical classificatory systems in Greece, focusing on *nisiótika, paradosiaká* and *dimotiká* as the main musical sources for traditional music revivals. I provide an in-depth introduction to the movement and posit the inherent problematics of defining tradition in the context of revival movements.

In Chapter 3, I introduce the main participants of the study, presenting their biographical information and noting their involvement in the local music scene. I also explore the ways in which they learned traditional music and their ongoing revivalist projects locally, nationally, and internationally.

In Chapter 4, I begin my analysis by examining why women are central to revival moments and the ways in which Xristína and Matína engage in revivalist roles as preservers, educators, and performers, drawing multidimensional comparisons between women singers from the past and in the present.

In Chapter 5, I present a summary of my conclusions and reflections on this study, articulating potential areas of future research illuminated throughout the course of this research project.

Chapter 2: Greek Music, Revivals, and Tradition

In attempting to delineate gender in traditional revival movements, it is necessary to provide a basic overview of Greek music categories before delving into the intricacies of *nisiótika, dimotiká,* and *paradosiaká*, which constitute the traditional repertoires utilized in Rhodian revivals. Following this introduction, I will address the contestation of traditional music on a local and global scale, and the complexities of understanding and depicting traditions through Hill and Bithell's music revival framework.

At the macro level, the contemporary Greek music scene encompasses four main, often overlapping, music categories: *éntechna* (Greek art music)*, laiká* (popular music)*, dimotiká* (folk music)*,* and *paradosiaká* (traditional music) (Kallimopoúlou 2009a). In examining the Rhodian music scene in particular, I will also discuss *nisiótika* (island music) because the population within this community strongly identifies with and places value in this music as a symbol of shared identity and a documentation of the oral history of the island and its people.

Most relevant to a discussion of traditional music in revivals are the three categories of *nisiótika, dimotiká, and paradosiaká,* as these are central sources that have heavily shaped the aural and textual qualities of traditional revival movements. Byzantine music, which is predominantly heard in the Orthodox Church and studied in specialized vocational schools, has also maintained an indirect presence on traditional music

historically.[15] In this thesis, however, I will be dealing primarily with the contemporary, non-ecclesiastical categories and genres of Greek music in order to contextualize and focus on the contemporary music scene and the positioning of traditional music revivals within it.

Nisiótika is a term used to signify the music of the Greek islands, demarcating a characteristic, though not universal, modality, rhythmic quality, and instrumentation. The islands to which *nisiótika* refers include the Kykládes, Sporádes, Dodecanese, and the Saronic Gulf. Interestingly, the islands of Cyprus, Lésvos, Crete, and the Ionian region are excluded from this distinctive genre (Holst-Warhaft 2005). While *nisiótika* is not specifically representative of the music of a particular island, it is instead used as a term to signify musical cohesion and experiential solidarity of the people in this region. The term is largely used to contrastingly distinguish between the music of the mainland and music of the islands. Whereas the music of Crete and Cyprus is clearly identifiable as either Cretan or Cypriot, the lyrics of *nisiótika* are considered to be the defining feature of *nisiótiki mousikí* (Holst-Warhaft 2005). There are a number of determinants that have shaped the sounds and stories of *nisiótika*; but none so profound as its "geographical location," and its, "history of occupation by foreign forces as well as constant raids by marauding pirates of various nationalities: Saracen, Tunisian, Italian and even Peloponnesian Greeks from Mani" (Holst-Warhaft 2005). In an examination of the typical instrumentation featured in a performance of *nisiótika,* it is common to find a small ensemble made up of any combination of the *lýra* (small rebec)*, violí* (violin),

[15] At a macro level, Byzantine music can be essentially referred to as the music and corresponding theoretical system of the Byzantine Empire. Once the Empire collapsed, however, Byzantine music was preserved and "performed" primarily in the Orthodox Church. Today, Byzantine music remains chiefly ecclesiastical in nature, performed by male cantors and priests. Additionally, there are a small number of schools and individuals dedicated to the restoration and preservation of Byzantine music nationally. For example, one can find Byzantine music in the music schools of Greece, the National Music Conservatories, and in schools established by Símonas Karás.

laoúto (lute), *tsamboúna* (bagpipe), and hand percussion; or, alternatively, a duo of a solo and accompanying instrument from the aforementioned ensemble. In the Dodecanese, this ensemble is often comprised of a *violí* as the solo with a *laoúto* as its accompaniment. The textual component of *nisiótika* is largely based on poetic compositions made up of rhyming couplets that allude to a specific time, person or group of people, place, or event in the community (Sarikás 2014). The local term used to reference these specialized poetic compositions is *mantinádes* and those who recite these distichs are known and remembered as excellent textual improvisers and singers who once competed against one another for local acclaim and notoriety.

Dimotiká is a term used to broadly denote any oral songs and folk songs of Greece, and, therefore, often overlaps with *nisiótika* when discussing Rhodian music specifically (Beaton 1986, 110). These songs are composed from the Greek modal system and are monophonic, commonly featuring a solo instrument or vocal line with a steady, rhythmic accompaniment or drone (Leontis 2009). The modes and melodies found in Greek folk music are based on octachordal, pentachordal, and tetrachordal diatonic or chromatic structures (Spyridákis and Peristéris 1999, 422). This theoretical approach is commonly found in *paradosiaká* and *nisiótika* as well. The rhythmic characteristics of folk songs tend to exhibit three primary metrical qualities according to Spyridákis and Peristéris, which are: "1) free-meter, 2) rhythmic or with definite meter and 3) no-meter but with fixed units of stress" (Spyridákis and Peristéris 1999, 422). Folk music instrumentation is regionally dependent, with the greatest variations found in comparative examinations of ensembles on the islands and in Northern Greece. In the Dodecanese, the regional, folk instrument was historically the *lýra* and the *tampourá,* but the *violí* has

become nearly as prominent in recent years, while the popularity of the *tampourá* has declined dramatically.

Melodically, *dimotiká* utilizes various *skopoí* to compose an appropriate melody for a composition. While there is no equivalent translation for *skopós* in Western musical terms, a *skopós* can be defined as:

> a linear musical structure but not always in the sense of a single melodic line […] A *skopós* can be realized as a single line; it can be accompanied with one or more drones, or it can be accompanied heterophonically with different vocal instrumental lines. This is decided spontaneously by the musicians, improvising in a very limited way according to the normative traditional rules (Brandl 1986, 114).

Sarikás poetically suggests that a *skopós* "brings out beauty, complaints, and love," because, "the *skopós* is where the soul surrenders. Whatever you have in your soul, you will deposit it in the music" (2014). Performances of *dimotiká* are highly individualized and improvisatory events, utilizing a variety of musical techniques such as *tsakísmata* (strategic vocal exclamations), *melísmata* (vocal ornamentation), and lyrical and melodic repetition to distinguish between performers and performances (Leontis 2009). Notation in folk music has progressively become more standardized, although it remains a principally oral tradition. However, with the standardization of folk music through the establishment of institutional programs of study, oral music was first transcribed into Byzantine notation, and later printed in textbooks that adopted European styles of notation for greater dissemination.

Paradosiaká can be translated as "traditional music" of a locality. Historically, *paradosiakí mousikí* from the Dodecanese was the folk music that permeated, "every aspect of a person's life: work (farming, livestock-farming, or other rural occupations);

social events (birth, marriage, death, feasts; and spiritual life" (Akoyunoglou-Christou and Apostoliadi-Le Bouder 2013, 1). *Paradosiaká,* therefore, was traditionally used as a forum for self-expression in the community's day-to-day existence, but today represents a link to the past that often involves nostalgia and a longing for the way things used to be (Chianis 1988, 37). In this way, *paradosiaká* is used as both an art object and artifact, as it signifies a variety of individual identities and connections to the past and instills feelings of nostalgia in elder generations of the community.

Modally, the scales used in *paradosiaká* are referred to as *drómoi* (roads), which originate from the eight modes of Byzantine music. Within these scales, there are multiple variations more precise in voicing through a specific arrangement of ascending and descending sequences. *Paradosiaká* compositions are usually based off of tetrachordal structures placed within a mode. However, trichordal, pentachordal, and hexachordal structures are also employed infrequently. In a scale, one tone can be separated into twelve microtonal articulations that are measured mathematically. The smallest interval one can find in traditional music is between two microtones (Mástora 2014). With such subtle gradations in tonality, adjectives such as major and minor are considered to be inadequate and imprecise in describing the sounds of *paradosiaká*. These minute, microtonal qualities create a challenge for the accurate voicing of harmonies, because of colliding fractional differences between microtonal frequencies. Nonetheless, this is remedied by eliminating the third of the scale from the vertical, harmonic structure of the accompanying instruments to allow for more freedom and expressivity in the melody.

Rhythmically, *paradosiaká* is commonly expressed in meters of 2/4, 4/4, 5/8, 7/8, 9/8, and 10/8 (Mástora 2014). The internal division and accents of these time signatures are variable, and odd meters are commonly divided into distinct sets of twos and threes. For example, 7/8 is frequently distributed into a pattern of 3+2+2 for many dance styles from the island. In addition to rhythmic variations within a bar, time signatures can be altered within a composition. Because of the importance of the text in *paradosiaká,* as in *nisiótika* and *dimotiká,* this exception is often made when the lyrics do not fit into a uniform meter. Further, the tempo can shift dramatically depending on the context. Whether a song is performed at a wedding to encourage dancing at the end of the evening, or staged as part of a festival set to showcase individual artistry and skill, the tempo is manipulated accordingly to suit the particular function of a piece.

The instrumentation utilized in *paradosiakí mousikí* of the Dodecanese historically features the *lýra* and *tsamboúna* (a bagpipe made of sun- and sea-bleached goat skin). In Rhodes, the *lýra* is considered to be the traditional instrument of the island. Originating from the Byzantine *lýra* of ancient Greece, this instrument was first constructed as a small, non-fretted rebec with three strings (*tríhordi*). A bowed instrument that allows for the manipulation of pitch by pressing the fingernail against the strings in a vertical orientation, the contemporary *lýra* is tuned in fifths. In addition to the *lýra,* a *paradosiaká* ensemble may feature a combination of any of the following instruments: *laoúto, violí, mandolíno* (mandolin), *santoúri* (dulcimer), *daoúli* (double-headed drum), *tampourá* (small, long-necked lute), along with voice.

Figure 10. A photograph of a sampling of the instruments used in practical instruction at the music school in Rhodes. The six small, rebec-like instruments on the right are various styles of *lýres.* © Ari Mástoras, June 24, 2014.

The subgenres of *paradosiaká* include: *akritiká* (narrative, heroic tales of the *Akrítes*[16]*), istoriká* (historical narratives)*, thriskeftiká* (religious songs)*, paralogés* (narrative, dramatic songs)*, nanoúrisma* (lullabies)*, erotiká* (love songs)*, tragoúdia tou gámou* (wedding songs)*, xenitiás* (songs of exile)*, eortastiká* (festive songs)*, moirológia* (laments)*,* and *satiriká* (satirical songs)*.* There are also local and regional variants that alter slightly depending on the island and the village.

Contesting Concepts of Traditional Music

The traditional music of contemporary revival movements in Rhodes is largely constructed from qualities of each of these three macro genres. Throughout this research, these terms were used interchangeably, even within the course of one conversation. For example, several participants referred to the *skopoí* of the island synonymously as "folk," "traditional," "island folk," and "island traditional" music. In another example, Matína's

[16] The Akrítes were an army employed by the Byzantine Empire to protect against the encroachment of rival empires.

official course outline for her traditional music class at the music school uses both *dimotiká* and *paradosiaká* in the title interchangeably.

To add to the complexity of this discussion, traditional music also assumes drastically different meanings for different individuals in the Rhodian community. At one end of the spectrum, it was explained to us that any music tradition believed to originate in Greece is traditional music. This allows for the inclusion of a range of songs from various genres and time periods. For example, traditional music by this definition includes music from the early *rempétis* (male performers of *rempétika*) of the Athens underworld in the 1930s and 1940s *and* the contemporary works of modern composers such as Theodorákis from this century.[17] Contrastingly, traditional purists argue that traditional music exclusively consists of historic, folk repertoires from the early part of the 20th century. When discussing traditional music colloquially in a group setting, both of these understandings of traditional music were often presented with equal weight. However, when discussing traditional music with musicians who attended post-secondary institutions in Athens and Thessaloníki, the traditionalist view prevailed, while the alternate was discredited. It became evident that understandings of traditional music were dynamic, customized, and, at times, hierarchical. It appeared that while the terminology and definitions may differ slightly, the musical similarities and intersections are often presented synonymously in their individual fields. As I turned to the literature for clarification, I found it puzzling to note that the subject of music terminology was largely avoided to focus instead on more musical or anthropological inquiries.[18]

[17] In several interviews, when a person was asked to sing a traditional song, they, indeed, sang for us songs from *rempétika* and from Theodorákis.
[18] Kallimopoúlou (2009a; 2009b), however, investigates the polemics of Greek music classification systems directly in her work.

Kallimopoúlou, however, addresses the complexity and inadequacy of terminology in her definitions of *paradosiaká*: 1) a broad classificatory term of traditional music which encompasses *dimotiká* and can potentially include Byzantine and *rempétika* music as well; and 2) "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" (Kallimopoúlou 2009b, 1). In this definition, Kallimopoúlou accounts for gradations of meaning at micro and macro levels of interpretation, providing a richly varied understanding of tradition in a musical context.

However, even this inclusive definition of traditional music can appear inadequate in its inability to reconcile perspectives and emblematic musical traits. For example, Kallimopoúlou's contemporary definition of *paradosiaká* allows for the integration of folk and urban musical influences from both Greek and Turkish repertoires, as well as the widely accepted stylistic adoption of Eastern instruments (2009a). In her monograph, she argues that this musical movement is predominantly youth-oriented and elite-driven with an emphasis on the reclamation and representation of Greece's historic music lineage continuously throughout the Byzantine and Ottoman Empires. Within my own research, however, grounded in rural communities on an island – which greatly contrasts with her urban, mainland focus – the second definition that she proposed was challenged by several community members and local musicians. For many participants, this specific definition was contested largely based upon the premise that the root of the word *parádosi* translates literally as "tradition," implying the necessity of oral transmission and historicity in the process. Asserting that the local traditional songs have been an integral

part of all major life cycle events as passed down from generation to generation despite the inevitable variations that have occurred over time, many community members were adamant that the ancestral quality and inherent sociality of traditional music are two of the static and defining characteristics of the genre. Traditional music was argued to be music of the people holistically, not of an elite few. Allowing for the inclusion of Turkish and Eastern instruments in understandings of Greek traditional music was also problematic for several community members. Given the extended occupation of the Dodecanese by the Ottoman Empire, the implication that Turkish sounds or sources could be considered a part of Greece's traditional music was incomprehensible to many people from the island, particularly those from earlier generations.

This controversy illuminated a dense issue that needed further reflection: when and how does *dimotiká* become *paradosiaká* and who determines this? Largely a matter of perspective, the boundaries of traditional music are linked to collective authenticity ideals and multiple, and potentially conflicting, value systems. Whereas certain members of the community may attach value to a song's historical orality, another may draw distinctions based on current function of the same song. As one academic documents the institutionalized shift in terminology of "folk" to "traditional," another uses "traditional" to define a strictly urban musical style enhanced by the incorporation of Eastern instruments. Examined on a macro level, the polarizing discrepancies found in coexisting interpretations of traditional music are not false, but representative of the multifaceted perspectives and understandings inherent in a community. Musically, this allows for a breadth of reflections on and interpretations of perceived sounds without becoming

overwhelmed by matters of language that are often inadequate in the task of describing music to begin with.

Therefore, the general term "traditional music," recognized as being used within this particular context and maintaining its equally divisive and argumentative realities, will be used to signify the music of Rhodian revival movements in an attempt to disengage with the politics of terminology and the contestations of meaning that have become entrenched in local and global understandings and discussions of *dimotiká* and *paradosiaká* as a contemporary musical phenomenon.

Rhodian Revival Movements: A Model and Its Contextualization

Musical revivals can be defined as "an effort to perform and promote music that is valued as old or historical and is usually perceived to be threatened or moribund" (Hill and Bithell 2014, 4). In understanding the development of the traditional music revivals in Rhodes, it is necessary to consider Hill and Bithell's criteria for establishing revival movements, which states:

> First, revivals are almost always motivated by dissatisfaction with some aspect of the present and a desire to effect some sort of cultural change…Second, identifying musical elements and practices as old, historical, or traditional, and determining their value, often involves selecting from or reinterpreting history and establishing new or revised historical narratives (a process implicating scholars as well as performers and promoters). Third, transferring musical elements from the past to the present (or from one cultural group perceived as preserving lifeways that are in direct continuity with the past to a cultural group that perceives itself as being more modern) entails a decontextualization and recontextualization (Hill and Bithell 2014, 3–4).

In the first stage of establishing traditional music revivals in Rhodes, one can see intersections between the current urgency to maintain traditions and the tumultuous

modern history shaped by political, economic, and social instability and change that has been prevalent in Rhodes from the Ottoman Empire onwards.

Politically, modern Greece is marred with a turbulent history of war, occupation, and national crisis. For over 390 years, the Dodecanese islands remained under Ottoman rule as a separate province of the Empire. Following the delayed success of the Greek War of Independence that took place between 1821 and 1832, the Kingdom of Greece was established with the aid and support of the Great Powers (the United Kingdom, France, and Russia). It was not until 1912, however, that the Dodecanese islands were freed completely from Ottoman rule during the Italian-Turkish War. Nonetheless, this newfound freedom was conditional, ultimately leading to a prolonged period of foreign occupation and oppression, first by Italian troops, and then by German forces in WWII (Dicks 1974; Papahristodoúlou 1994; Clogg 2013).

Between 1912 and 1947, the Italian military claimed control of the Dodecanese, invoking varying degrees of freedom and restriction for its local populations. Initially, Italy claimed that its intentions were primarily to ensure that Greece maintained its autonomy from the Ottoman Empire. Following the signing of the second Treaty of Lausanne in 1924, however, Italy continually refused to relinquish the islands to the newly established Kingdom of Greece. Behind the façade of improving friendly relations, Mussolini and the Greek president, Venizélos, met in 1928 to discuss a plan to improve dealings between the two countries. By 1937, the new Italian governor stationed in Rhodes, Cesare Maria de Vecchi, had installed a fascist regime that marked a devastating turn of events for people living on the island. The publicly endorsed amicable relations between the two countries were soon forgotten with the onset of a prolonged period of

intense brutality that involved the forced disassembly of municipal governments and land inheritance laws, the oppression and silencing of the Orthodox Church, and the subjugation of the Greek language with mandatory, state-funded Italian schools. These repressive conditions greatly impacted the cultural expression of the people. As expressions of Greek language and dialects were restricted, so, too, were public performances of local music (Dicks 1974; Papahristodoúlou 1994; Clogg 2013).

The Greco-Italian War lasted from 1940 to 1941, adding to the growing international unrest during the beginning of World War II. Following the retreat of the Italian military from Greece's Balkan border, Germany came to Italy's aid and invaded Greece. The Greek army surrendered and international attention once again returned to Rhodes as a strategic base for both sides of WWII. As the Greco-Italian War concluded, German and Italian forces reoccupied Rhodes as a central base. Simultaneously, Britain became increasingly interested in securing Rhodes as a centre for its own military purposes. However, it failed to overthrow Italian and German forces due to limited support from the United States. The United States, skeptical of Churchill's motives, refrained from aiding the British in their objectives, and Germany maintained a firm presence on the island until 1946 when the Dodecanese islands were conditionally returned to Greece. The official ceremony took place in 1948 upon the arrival of Paul I, King of Héllenes. After centuries of foreign occupation, the Dodecanese islands were once again reunited with Greece (Dicks 1974; Papahristodoúlou 1994; Clogg 2013).

The impact of this political instability is lasting, though muted by time and distance. With this understanding of its conflicted past, we enter into a discussion of the current economic turmoil that has been increasing rapidly in Greece. While the volatile

situation of today is not one characterized by World Wars or foreign occupations, the economic instability tied to Greece's impending bankruptcy, mass debt to the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and European Union (EU), and the voting in of a far-left prime minister, Aléxis Tsípras, has left the country in a growing state of uncertainty and disarray (Lefteris and Tagaris 2015). With tax reforms and austerity measures that are devastating people from the lowest income sectors of the population, while leaving the wealthy relatively untouched, the Greek people are facing a tangible threat of global occupation, not through the instillation of military forces, but through the signing away of a faltering economy and the privatization of limited resources to foreign powers with interests outside of the revitalization of Greece as a nation. As negotiations continue, the fate of Greece as an autonomous, European country lies in the hands of foreign investors and governments that have already invested 240 billion euros in bailouts since 2010 (Lefteris and Tagaris 2015).

In the contemporary, Rhodian music industry, the effects of this economic and social depression are substantial. Xristína explains that, "the last three years of the economic crisis have been very difficult [for us], especially [for those of us] in music (Kóza 2014). For example, budgets once available to hire musicians to play at hotels and local festivals are declining rapidly, leading to less work for professional musicians of both genders. In many cases, musicians who were fortunate enough to be hired to perform traditional music at various events for the municipalities of the island are still skeptically waiting to receive payment for work that was completed months prior. In order for musicians to perform at hotels, cafes, restaurants, and *tavérnes* in Rhodes, it is necessary to pay a fee of 500 euros to obtain a licensing permit to sing authored songs

and compositions in public establishments. Because employers cannot afford to pay for music licenses for an entire ensemble, the responsibility lies on the performers themselves who are already struggling from increasingly limited sources of steady income. Recently, musicians who would normally perform and make a well-supplemented income from weddings are also facing fewer jobs, as DJs are being hired as the more economical option for music entertainment. Overall, this recession has led to a decrease in the variety of public musical performances available, which has translated to a further deprioritization of traditional and folk musical styles, significantly impacting traditional revivalist musicians in the community.

Another contemporary consideration that has undoubtedly motivated traditional revivalists in Rhodes to reconnect with their musical traditions is the dynamic, societal shift from an agriculturally based society that valued the exchange of goods and services, to a capitalist, tourist-based industry in the late 1960s. This process that refocused the local economies of Rhodes profoundly and devastatingly impacted the quality of daily and musical life for the local population. The agricultural and textile industries that had once flourished in small villages throughout the island gradually began to decline. Eventually, these businesses closed completely as families opened small hotels, bars, supermarkets, nightclubs, and other tourist amenities. As the influx of foreign tourists grew monumentally over the following decades, entertainment became an immediate concern for local business owners. This point marked a massive transformation of musical life, engendering a new musical soundscape that incorporated global and Western music trends with local folk and island idioms (Sarikás 2014; Mástora 2014d; Kóza 2014; Kladákis 2014; Kazákos 2014; Mástoras 2014d).

Seemingly overnight, nightclubs were established to cater to young, European tourists wanting to listen to electronic dance music. In the late 1990s, Faliráki became one of the major European destinations for international DJs and party tourism. Business owners interested in additional economic gains began to dedicate entire streets and resorts to what I refer to as "nightclub amenities," which include a variety of cheap fast food shops, tattoo parlors, bars, nightclubs, and, most recently, strip clubs. As European electronic dance music blasted from bars and shop fronts, Greek popular musicians rushed to catch up with global music trends. At the same time, hotels and cafes began looking for a marketable, tourist-friendly Greek music to entertain families interested in an "authentic" Greek experience. This demand established an innovative hybridization of Greek and Western music, with the addition of amplification and electronic instruments to repertoires of Greek music from world-renowned Greek composers and foreign films such as music from the ever-popular *Zórba the Greek.*

Figure 11. A photograph of the resort town of Faliráki taken from the Profítis Ilías monastery. © Allison Sokil, June 20, 2014.

This overwhelming instability and change propelled Greek musicians towards the second stage of music revivals: "identifying musical elements and practices as old, historical, or traditional, and determining their value, […] selecting from or reinterpreting history and establishing new or revised historical narratives" (Hill and Bithell 2014, 3). It is here that we must engage with inevitability of "invented traditions" (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1992). Explored thoroughly by Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger in *The Invention of Tradition* (1992), the paradox of inventing tradition lies in the truth that what is deemed to be old, authentic, and traditional is, "often quite recent in origin and sometimes invented" (1). Invented traditions can be viewed as 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" (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1992, 1). Through an examination of the sociocultural and political history of Rhodes, one can reasonably understand the desire of revivalists to, "attempt to structure at least some parts of social life […] as unchanging and invariant," in the midst of mounting unpredictability and depression (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1992, 2). This desire for invariance, expressed through the attributed prominence and ritualization of traditions, is found particularly in communities where:

> a rapid transformation of society weakens or destroys the social patterns for which 'old' traditions had been designed, producing new ones to which they were not applicable, or when such old traditions and their institutional carriers and promulgators no longer prove sufficiently adaptable and flexible, or are otherwise eliminated (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1992, 4–5).

In examining the past and present political, economic, and social transformations that have taken place in Rhodes, the desire and resolve to create some form of

stability is not unexpectedly epitomized in the establishment of traditional music revivals.

The third defining characteristic of revival movements according to Hill and Bithell (2014) addresses the process of musical decontextualization and recontextualization. In the manipulation of "temporal, geographical, and/or social" factors, including, "appropriations across class, gender, age, religion, ethnicity, nationality, and political persuasion," revivalists must discern and establish authenticity ideals that are to be associated with movement (Bithell and Hill 2014, 4). In establishing the inherent values and terms of revival movements, revivalists permit themselves to become "vulnerable to having their right to be bearers and innovators of a tradition questioned" (Hill and Bithell 2014, 19). Therefore, the need to establish authenticity becomes a necessary and "crucial act if revival artists are to gain acceptance and respect for themselves and their music" within the community (Hill and Bithell 2014, 19).

Thus, revivalists become heavily invested and intricately involved in the maintenance of a complicit authenticity that equates to a "deliberate, conscious, organized [effort] by members of a society to create a more satisfying culture," through the collective participation and investment in the maintenance and performance of what constitutes, and, more importantly, what does not constitute, a distinctly local and authentic Rhodian traditional music (Wallace 1956, 279). Through revivalists' growing, deeply-rooted "dissatisfaction with aspects of the modern world" (Hill and Bithell 2014, 10), expressed through the antagonization of globalization, Westernization, and consumerism, the process of "reinterpreting,

modifying, and forging new histories" becomes increasingly important and valuable (Hill and Bithell 2014, 13). This process engenders revival agents with relative levels of influence and status within the traditional music revival community, which creates a place for those who are subjugated within the music scene at the macro level to feel empowered and integral within this distinct movement, creating an opportunity for traditional musicians to expand on and explore the bounds of gender in music performance.

Gender in Traditional Music Revivals

Gender roles assume both continuous and innovative forms in Rhodian traditional music revivals. In the past, female and male musical roles were embedded in everyday life through the bifurcation of repertoires and spheres of musical performance into male and female genres, and public and private domains. For example, the public performance of *mantinádes* was unfailingly a male domain.[19] Women were relegated to the sidelines, involved only from a distance with the genre. They could be found keenly observing performances at public social events, and then evaluating and discussing the worthiness of these performances in small, private, social gatherings of women in domestic spaces (Kladákis 2014). Less commonly, women would also have the opportunity to observe the recitation of *mantinádes* in the domestic sphere if they had a male relative who was a skilled singer that rehearsed in the home. I have found a local anomaly in the village of Kalithiés, as one of the most creative composers of *mantinádes* in the early part of the 20th century was remarkably a local woman.[20]

[19] See Herzfeld 1985 and Holst-Warhaft 2004 for the ways in which *mantinádes* were used to publicly reinforce masculinity ideals and status in several Greek island communities.
[20] In the 1930s and 1940s, Pagóna Hatzinikóla composed *mantinádes* for her brother (and Ari's great-uncle), Sávvas "Flearí" Mástoras. Remembered as a renowned singer at weddings, *panigíria*, and many other major social occasions,

Generally speaking, however, traditional music in Rhodian communities of the past was segregated based on private and public and male and female dichotomies. Men were traditionally recognized as the public figures of the family, performing in a wide variety of community contexts. Women's permissible musical spaces only allowed women to sing at funerals, when working alone in the fields, while tending to livestock, or when working just outside of the home (Mástora 2014d). Here they would sing laments, lullabies, children's songs, and work songs. On rare occasions, a woman could also sing at a wedding if she were a close relative of the young couple (Mástora 2014d). While men could move freely between public and private musical domains, women were considered to be primarily musically autonomous in the domestic realm. Infrequently, women would also learn and sing male repertoires in private, only if there was no one to overhear them or if their immediate family permitted them to do so.

In the present, however, this exclusion has softened and men and women now enjoy considerably more autonomy to move freely between these gendered dichotomies. This has resulted in new patterns and behaviour for both men and women in music. For example, men have embraced responsiveness in the process of traditional music making, whereas they were once strictly performers of and authorities on public performances of music. Men are now regularly found in supporting roles such as that of a student of or an accompanist to women. An illustration of this shift can be seen in educational institutions such as the music school in Rhodes. Here male students embarking on a specialization in traditional music are often required to study under the supervision of female teachers

---

he has been historically memorialized as a masterful singer throughout the island and the Dodecanese. Recently, however, local research has uncovered that it was in fact his sister who composed many of his most-loved lines that are still remembered today.

specialized in a particular field.[21] In traditional revival performances, it is now common to see men accompanying a revered, female, lead singer on stage. While it may be argued that each member of the group brings distinct elements that combine to create a successful performance, the visual contrast of a female singer standing in front of the instrumentalists, centered in the spotlight, as the male musicians form a semi circle around her to draw the audience's attention to her as the central point, is a powerful image. In many ways, this image remained unheard of until the latter part of the 20th century. Even in the unlikely occurrence that male musicians do not study with female teachers or work with female singers, there is still a newly adopted sense of collegiality that neutralizes the historically contrasting dynamics between men and women in traditional music. Whereas today seniority and skill are considered to be valuable differentiating factors that stratify contemporary revival performers, gender is becoming less of a determinant in an artist's position in the local, traditional music scene. This is not to argue that traditional music revivals in Greece are gender neutral; they are not. However, there is a recent flexibility and an acceptance of additional elements that are now taken into consideration when evaluating a performer, male or female, in the context of local music revivals.

In examining women's involvement in Rhodian revivals as preservers, educators, and performers, one can see historical continuity and expansion in the basic qualities of being a preserver and educator, and an expansion and innovation in their roles as performers. These preservationist and educational roles are emblematic of historic roles for women, placing them as primary, domestic educators and archivists of familial and community traditions. However, the inclusion of women in academic research and

[21] At the music school in Rhodes, an example of this relationship can be seen between Matína and her male students.

archival roles, and as lecturers and teachers of traditional music for public and private institutions has led to a substantial expansion on these once limited positions. In breaking with past female identities, contemporary performers have greatly expanded on normative roles for women in the community even by the standards of today. Through the simultaneous expression of these identities, women are encompassing far more fluid and flexible "socially based notions of 'selves'" (Tolbert 2003, 80) within traditional music contexts than ever before. Demonstrable examples of this shift in roles is illuminated in the artful staging of traditional music by women and the concerted effort to professionalize the field by both women and men in revival movements. Whereas women's musical involvement in public space was historically observational and rarely invested in projecting an individual, public identity, today female, Rhodian singers, through this tripartite structure, are gaining recognition on local, national, and international levels.

Chapter 3: The Women and Men of Local Movements

With an understanding of traditional music revivals, the characteristic sounds and structures of traditional music within them, and the complex history and sociocultural environment that has shaped and formed contemporary movements, it is now essential to introduce four of the main musicians representative of the reach and depth of traditional revival movements in Rhodes. Two women and two men, from different villages and of different ages, these four musicians are dissimilar in their professions, instruments, and performance styles. Indeed, at first glance it may be a challenge to view their work as a cohesive movement at all. What unites them, however, is their deep passion for and extensive knowledge of the traditional music of the island and their mission to ensure that the traditional songs remain active and alive for the future generations.

Xristína Kóza

Figure 12. © Xristína Kóza, used by permission.

Xristína Kóza was born on January 31, 1977, only three years after the fall of the military dictatorship in the village of Arhággelos (Kóza 2014). She is a professional singer who is well known for performing a variety of popular and traditional music genres at many events and for audiences locally and abroad. Reflecting on her early music experiences, Xristína recalls that, "my mom and dad loved music. They were always singing in the house. I used to listen to them whenever they sang" (Kóza 2014). Her aunts on her mother's side were all folk singers in Arhággelos, with extensive knowledge of the local *skopoí*, songs, and traditions from the village. Her great-grandfather was a skillful musician who played the *tsamboúna* at events and festivals in Rhodes and throughout the Dodecanese. She remembers that her grandmother would sing to her very softly in a closed, locked room in the house, so no one would overhear them singing. As a child, she was encouraged and supported to learn many songs from traditional and folk genres, fostering a strong musical interest from her family in Arhággelos, Rhodian, and Dodecanese music repertoires, which greatly impacted her work later in her career. Not all women were encouraged to be involved with music in this way, and she believes that this support was central to her developing a career as a professional singer later on. During this time, the majority of the traditional and folk repertoires that she learned were internalized through a process of oral transmission, or as she recalls, "our traditional songs, I learned from the elders" (Kóza 2014). Not only did this process take place through one-on-one mentoring opportunities with elder women in the village, but also through exposure at weddings, festivals, and other major community and lifecycle events.

Xristína's formal music training began when she joined the Arhággelos Cultural Association. It was through volunteering for this community organization that she met her first music teacher who taught her even more about the music and customs from Arhággelos and Rhodes. At this time, she also began to take informal lessons from his sisters, and they taught her about local women's lives and musical repertoires from the past. As a singer, she had always participated in local communal music making events, but she increasingly desired to learn how to play a traditional instrument as well. Because there were no local music teachers offering lessons on traditional instruments at the Arhággelos Cultural Association during this time, instead of learning how to play the *santoúri* as she wished, she settled for the digital piano through a music program instead. She continued her study and eventually received a certificate in piano, while also singing in the local choir and George Sakelarídis' choir in Rhodes City. Throughout her school years she continued to stay involved with music in the community through choirs and a variety of performance opportunities linked to the Arhággelos Cultural Association.

Her career began shortly after finishing high school and having her daughter. At this time, there were few opportunities for local women to sing publicly in the village (Kóza 2014). Aside from major cultural festivals organized by the Arhággelos Cultural Association, work for musicians in the village was limited for performers of both genders. Because there were so few performance opportunities, she decided to work on a self-produced recording project inspired by a fusion of the local repertoires from Arhággelos, old songs from the Asia Minor, and *nisiótika*. She explains that, "there were not too many chances to perform outside of the cultural festivals put on by the cultural association, so I came up with an idea to make a CD of the songs from Arhággelos"

(Kóza 2014). Entitled *Nisiótiko Glénti: Me ti Xristína Kóza* [Island Party: With Xristína Kóza], her first album featured Maroudis Antoniou on the *violí* and Mpinis Zampetoulas on the *laoúto.*

Figure 13. Xristína Kóza's album *Nisiótiko Glénti: Me ti Xristína Kóza* (1997) [Island Party: With Xristína Kóza]. © Xristína Kóza, used by permission.

Following the dissolution of her marriage, she began to more actively pursue her dream of being a professional singer. With support and blessings from her father, she began to perform more frequently, singing traditional and folk repertoires at cultural festivals, popular music for tourists at restaurants and hotels, and ritual songs at major life cycle events such as weddings and baptisms. While she had hoped to primarily perform traditional music, she soon realized that the reality of Rhodes's tourist-based economy necessitated that she perform multiple genres of music if she wanted to have a sustainable career and a steady income. Each of these styles of music required a variety of different ensembles depending on the context. Fluctuating between a cappella performances and a band with a guitar, drum kit, and digital keyboard, she learned to adapt her style to meet the needs of her audience. Through her flexible approach to making music professionally

she developed an extensive network of local instrumentalists and singers that she continues to work with for current projects and performances.

Recently, Xristína has toured and performed for appreciative audiences in Greece, Europe, Turkey, Australia, and Canada. In her international ventures, she has garnered considerable acclaim and a steadily growing international fanbase comprised of a widespread Greek diaspora and local supporters who enjoy listening to her unique blend of Greek genres and contemporary sounds. In yearly traditional music competitions held in Athens, she has received two awards for her renditions of the most famous local *skopós* from Arhággelos, *potamós* [river]. She is actively involved in yearly traditional music conferences and festivals as a lecturer and performer on the islands and the mainland, and continues to remain dynamically engaged in local events that support and promote traditional music. She is currently working on an ethnographic-style album in collaboration with the Hellenic Music Archives in Athens that will showcase the diverse traditional songs distinct to the village of Arhággelos.

Matína Mástora

Figure 14. © Matína Mástora, used by permission.

Matína Mástora was born April 10, 1984, in the village of Kalithiés (Mástora 2014). She is a professional musician, singer and high school teacher, specialized in Byzantine, traditional, and folk genres. With a bachelor's degree from the University of Macedonia in traditional music and a certificate in Byzantine music from the National Music Conservatory in Thessaloníki, Matína is trained in the elite musical traditions of Greece and Europe, as well as the local, folk traditions of the island.

Matína studied classical violin at the music conservatory in the Old Town in Rhodes City when she was in the fourth grade. She admits that her musical training was "one hundred percent classical" when she first began to study music (Mástora 2014d). Her teacher, Xéni Émner Papahalkítou, originally studied classical violin from an elder Italian musician in Rhodes City. Matína explained to us that, at that time, "[this teacher] was the only qualified, classical violin teacher on the island" (Mástora 2014d). Because her father had always wanted to take music lessons as a child but his family could not afford it, he ensured that all of his children would be able to study music formally at the music conservatory. While she did enjoy studying classical violin because it was "something different," early on she realized that her passion was for singing (Mástora 2014d). As she got older and attended the music school in Rhodes, she began to notice a shift in her musical preferences from the popular music on the radio to the folk, traditional, and Byzantine music she was learning about in the classroom. It was at the music school that she met Pandelís Anastasópoulos – a teacher of Byzantine music and a renowned *kanonáki* (qanun) player in Greece. As one of her early mentors, Anastasópoulos was, Matína explains, "one teacher who was very important to me and changed my life by opening my ears to traditional music (Mástora 2014d). He was the

first to introduce her to the modes and methods of notation for Byzantine music, which she explains, “still uses mathematics instead of music signs” (Mástora 2014a). As her interest in Byzantine music grew, she immersed herself in an intensive study with the addition of private lessons from Anastasópoulos on top of her regular school classes. Matína describes that learning Byzantine music was, “like a game, because it was something new and different that many people didn't know” (Mástora 2014d). Matína was Anastasópoulos’ first, serious female student interested in an intensive study of Byzantine music and notation. She believes that this is because “Byzantine music was always sung by men. All of the [Orthodox] cantors are men. There are only a very few monasteries run by women, where women are cantors” in large cities and towns (Mástora 2014d). Intrigued with deepening her understanding of the music and theory, she first studied the theoretical components of Byzantine music aurally. As she began to master the modes and articulations, and as her study advanced, she gradually began to learn the subtleties and intricacies of reading and writing Byzantine notation as well.

Her early career began soon after her private lessons with Anastasópoulos commenced. Recognizing her dedication, her teacher began to invite her to attend and sometimes perform when he would play *kanonáki* at local concerts and festivals, providing another opportunity for her to learn through a internship-like opportunity to gain insight into the professional music industry. As her sound matured, Anastasópoulos would hire her to sing as part of his ensemble, paying her exactly what a professional singer would receive for the same performance. In her second year of the program, she joined the traditional music ensemble and began to attend national traditional music competitions held in Athens. Here she was introduced to a number of influential,

professional artists and musicians, including the legendary Dómna Samíou[22]. Attending these festivals made her "even more passionate and inspired to make this type of music" (Mástora 2014d).

Motivated to deepen her knowledge of traditional, Byzantine, and European classical music at the University of Macedonia in Thessaloníki, she applied and was readily accepted in a route specializing in the study of European music theory and composition. However, because of a contractual issue with her incoming supervisor, her program was temporarily suspended. During this transitional period, the department specialization of traditional music was established, so in the interest of time, she decided to switch routes so she could begin her post-secondary studies (Mástora 2014d). Throughout her time at the university, she performed with student bands and small ensembles to supplement her income while studying. Singing a variety of genres including rock, pop, folk, and traditional music, she would often perform at nightclubs, cafes, bars, *tavérnes,* and at major concerts and cultural events hosted by the municipality of Thessaloníki. In addition to her program at the University of Macedonia, she became interested in further deepening her knowledge of Byzantine music at the National Music Conservatory in Thessaloníki. Therefore, as she worked towards the completion of her post-secondary degree at the university, she also received a Byzantine music certificate

[22] Dómna Samíou (October 12, 1928 – March 10, 2012) was a celebrated researcher, revivalist, recording artist, and student of the legendary theorist and folklorist Símonas Karás. Born in a low-income, refugee district in Athens, Samíou was exposed to many styles of music early on, including songs from the refugees of the Asia Minor, *dimotiká,* and other urban genres that developed in the late twenties and early thirties. Samíou began her studies of Byzantine music, folk music, and folklore research at the Association for the Dissemination of National Music at the age of thirteen. She went on to work for the National Radio Foundation (E.I.R.) (1954–1971), with Columbia records as an ethnographic recording artist and curator (1974), as the host for the national "Music Travelogue" TV series (1976–1977), as founder of the Dómna Samíou Greek Folk Music Association (1981), and as an instructor of traditional folk singing at the Museum of Popular Musical Instruments in Athens (1994). In celebration of her seventieth birthday in October 1998, a concert, *Dómna Samíou at the Mégaron Mousikís: The Known and the Unknown Dómna,* was held in her honour. For Matína, Samíou is an inspiration as one of the few examples of female, Greek revivalists who have excelled at maintaining diverse and successful, lifelong careers in traditional music research, education, and performance (Dómna Samíou website 2015).

from the conservatory on a scholarship (Mástora 2014d). The final requirement of her degree program was a research project focused on a select area of her choosing. Drawn to the music of the Dodecanese islands, she chose to research women's roles as vital preservers and protectors of songs and traditions in the region.

Once her program was completed, Matína stayed in Thessaloníki for a year working as a singer at a small *tavérna* five evenings a week from eleven in the evening to six in the morning. The nocturnal lifestyle began to take its toll and she consequently returned to Rhodes with the hope of securing a teaching position at the music school. Upon receiving a position as a teacher of traditional and Byzantine music, filling the opening her early teacher and mentor Anastasópoulos had vacated, she has continued to be employed there since 2008. In addition to teaching fulltime, she is also an active singer locally and nationally, performing at a variety of weddings, baptisms, restaurants, cultural festivals and events, and themed concerts throughout the year. Because of her expansive network of professional musicians, she works with an extremely skilled group of ensembles and bands ranging from four members to thirty.

Her recent projects include a much-celebrated CD release with the small ensemble, Nostos (2014) and a self-produced series of theory books designed to introduce Byzantine theory to a younger student demographic. The self-titled album, *Nostos*, which is available on iTunes, artfully presents a vibrantly unique blend of traditional and contemporary sounds that are equally appropriate for local, Greek audiences and the international world music market alike.

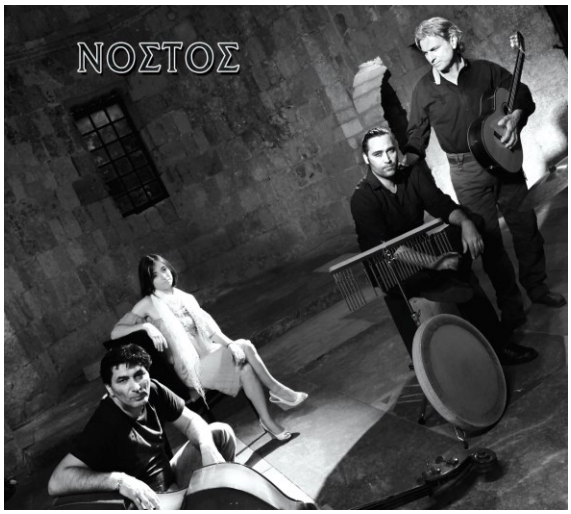


Figure 15. Nostos self-titled album *Nostos (2014)* featuring Giánnis Giakoumákis on the guitar, Vangélis Kontópoulos on the bass, Dimítris Panagoúlias on percussion, and Matína Mástora, voice. © Red Tree Records, 2015.

Panagiótis "Varvarás" Sarikás

Figure 16. © Panagiótis Sarikás, used by permission. Panagiótis "Varvarás" Sarikás making a traditional goat cheese in the village of Arhággelos.

Panagiótis "Varvarás" Sarikás was born June 18, 1971, in the village of Arhággelos (Varvarás 2014). As a recreational mandolin player and wholehearted revivalist, Panagiótis is recognized as a vital source of traditional knowledge about local music, folklore, customs, and traditions in the community. Under the guidance of his grandfather who was a renowned local mandolin player in the village, Panagiótis began

playing two or three *skopoí* on the mandolin when he was just seven years old. Reflecting on his early experiences with traditional music, he told us:

> Listen, my grandfather used to play the mandolin. In the old days, the entertainment was limited. During the dictatorship, for example. At around eight o'clock everyone had to go home, the *kafenío* closed down. So, most people would get together at the houses. They would drink a little *raki*, they would get into a good mood, and they would start singing, playing some mandolin, and a little *lýra,* whoever knew how to play would play. Since it happened that Franko, the mandolin player, was my grandfather, that meant that I once in awhile happened to be around those places" (Sarikás 2014).

At nine years old, he performed publicly at his first *glénti* (party) with his grandfather in a local *kafenío* (coffeehouse). He remembers this early performance clearly: he was on his way to buy lemonade when his grandfather called him over, announcing to his *paréa* (circle of friends) that Panagiótis would be a strong mandolin player when he got older. His grandfather's *paréa* drew him into the circle and he began to sing a local *skopós* for them and soon the other men joined him. He remembers sitting there as his grandfather told the group, "my grandson will become a strong mandolin player" (Sarikás 2014). At that point, no matter where he was or what he was doing, Panagiótis was always playing music. In his words, "the music was embedded in me" (Sarikás 2014).

Like Xristína Kóza, Panagiótis' musical training was primarily through the process of oral transmission. Growing up with his grandfather, the *kafenío* (coffee shop) became "his university" (Sarikás 2014). Each day, his grandfather and his grandfather's *paréa* would gather at the *kafenío* in the early morning and in the evening, and they would spend hours sharing stories, reciting *mantinádes,* and composing new *skopoí.* As a young boy, Panagiótis would keenly observe these occurrences, memorizing the melodies, lyrics, and rhythms of the daily performances. Through the assembly of these informal gatherings, the history of the village would be remembered, revised, and

reinterpreted, resulting in fantastic stories of heroics and sorrow. Listening to the songs performed at these meetings taught Panagiótis the more profound importance behind traditional and folk music. In addition to the *kafenío*, it was common to hear traditional music at lifecycle events and local festivals at this time. Panagiótis absorbed the many musical styles he was exposed to, memorizing the details of performances and songs so he could practice new techniques and expand his repertoire, presenting his new material to his grandfather's *paréa* once he felt that he had mastered it.

As a recreational musician, Panagiótis does not support himself solely with his musical performances. A local fisherman, shepherd, and physical labourer, he spends his days taking care of his animals and learning the old crafts and trades of the village, while his evenings are spent listening to or playing music with his *paréa* of local music enthusiasts and musicians at a local *tavérna* or *kafenío.* He is involved with the local cultural association of the village as a volunteer, and whenever they are in need of a mandolin player he is ready to assist in any way he can. Through the association he has also been involved in a number of promotional documentaries highlighting the beauty and history of the local music traditions of Arhággelos. As an engaging speaker, singer, and mandolin player, he is often a part of cultural community events and festivals, especially when it is important to showcase the spirit and resilience of the Arhággelos people.

As a source for music revivalists of the present, Panagiótis is considered one of "the last encyclopaedias of Arhággelos traditions in the village" (Kóza 2014). Currently, Panagiótis is working on a self-produced album that will showcase a variety of local

skopoí from his grandfather's generation, which will feature him singing and playing the *mandolíno* as the last mandolin player of Arhággelos.

Giánnis Kladákis

Figure 17. © Giánnis Kladákis, used by permission. Giánnis Kladákis playing the *potamós skopós* on a *lýra* made at the Mástoras silver factory and instrument workshop in Rhodes.

Giánnis Kladákis grew up in the village of Kremastí and is a renowned, local *lýra* player and music researcher born in 1972. Through his involvement with multiple, local ethnographic projects developed in close collaboration with the Hellenic Music Archives, in addition to his own publication and recording projects that present an anthology of Rhodian songs and dances, Giánnis is an extremely accomplished professional musician, researcher, writer, and traditionalist, while also working as a professional in the local heavy machinery industry.

Giánnis grew up in a musically enriched environment, as his grandmother's brother, Mouzourákis, was a talented, local clarinet player and musician. While he had been exposed to traditional music throughout his life, it was not until 1984 that he began lessons with an accomplished *lýra* teacher and instructor at the music school of Rhodes, Giórgos Paragiós, two times a week over the course of six months (Kladákis 2014).

Eventually parting ways with his teacher because of his passion for learning the traditional, local dialects and expressions, his musical education progressed through his personal experiences and, most significantly, in speaking to and learning from elders from villages across the island. By learning mainly through oral transmission, Giánnis was forced to memorize the songs from each of his impromptu "lessons" because he only had one tape on which he could record new material. In describing how he began to learn the local music, he explains that, "I started learning [local songs] in 1985. First, I started with a few older women in my neighborhood. Then, I got myself a bicycle and I would travel to other villages. Then when I got older, I bought a motor bike and went even further" (Kladákis 2014). Around this time he also began to study Byzantine music at the School of Byzantine Music of the Municipality of Rhodes with local chanter and theologian, Manólis Theolákis.

As he cultivated an expansive library of the local musical dialects and *skopoí* of Rhodes by memory, it became vital for him to collect as much data as possible before the elders of the community "would take the songs with them to the grave" (Kladákis 2014). Simultaneously, he also began to gain recognition as a local *lýra* player, performing professionally for the first time in 1987. As time passed, this notion of lost culture and identity plagued him, and he grew increasingly concerned that if he were to do nothing, many of the distinct traditions, songs, and *skopoí* of Rhodes would be lost completely. It was at this point that he began to purposely focus on the development of an independent research project showcasing the traditional songs and dances of Rhodes, which eventually manifested in the book *Paradosiaká Tragoúdia tis Ródou* (2009) [Traditional Songs of Rhodes] and the album produced in collaboration with the Hellenic Music Archives in

Athens, *Tragoúdia kai xoroí tis Ródou* [Songs and Dances of Rhodes] (Arheío Ellinikís Mousikís, 2000). When asked about his book, he reflects that, "when I was young, I never thought I would write a book. I just loved collecting our history" (Kladákis 2014).

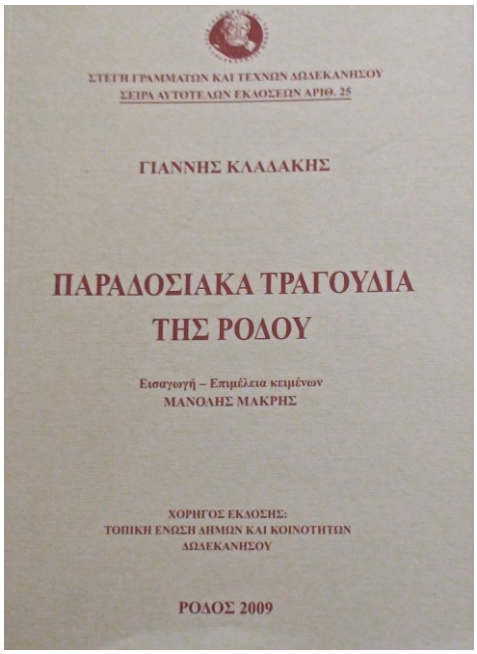


Figure 18. Kladákis' book *Paradosiaká Tragoúdia tis Ródou* [Traditional Songs of Rhodes] (2009). © Stegi grammaton kai texnon Dodekanisou.

His field methods involved sitting with village elders, and learning their songs through one-on-one instruction and observation. He recalls that, "whatever notes her voice sang, I mimicked on the *lýra.* I copied her exactly. I think that naturally music was first sung and then played by instruments. I listened to the embellishments and tried to mimic that on my instrument" (Kladákis 2014). As he collected more songs from the community, he grew equally interested in their contexts, and soon this became an integral part of his documentation process as well. In a moment of reflection on this ten-year study collecting songs and dances from the villages of Rhodes, he fondly refers to his female participants as, "the last [traditional music] transmitters of our time" (Kladákis

2014). In remembering the elder women with whom he had worked over the years, he recalls that:

> "[These women] are people who have passed and you can feel their absence now. They never attended school, and they worked incredibly hard in their lives. They were heroes. They worked as hard as men, while also taking care of a big family and the home. At the end of the day, they couldn't express their opinions, and were often abused. All of these women were courageous" (Kladákis 2014).

Figure 19. Giánnis Kladákis' album *Tragoúdia kai xoroí tis Ródou* published with the support of the Hellenic Music Archives from Athens (*Arheío Eliinikis Mousikís)* in 2000.

As a professional touring musician, Giánnis has performed for national and international audiences in Canada, the United States, France, Turkey, and Egypt. He has continued to foster his close relationship with the Hellenic Music Archives in Athens through his involvement in a number of subsequent recording projects highlighting a diverse range of traditional music from Rhodes and the Dodecanese. In his endless pursuit of documenting local, Rhodian traditions before they are extinguished, Giánnis has become a vast source and a living library that has captured and memorized the music and dances of the local people of the island for generations of musicians to come.

Chapter 4: The Centrality of Women in Traditional Music Revivals as Preservers, Educators, and Performers

The roles that Rhodian traditional singers embody as preservers, educators, and performers of traditional music are fundamental to the existence of traditional music's niche in the diverse musical soundscape of Greece. Women's centrality to revival movements is due to a number of factors, which include a shift from a trade-based to a tourist-based economy on the island, a deeply-rooted, generational desire to study music, often from young women's fathers, which encourages and supports women in the development of stable music careers, and because tradition in male public spaces is progressively being decommissioned and transferred to the sole charge of women in domestic spheres. Through the clearly defined articulation of female revivalists' roles as preservers, educators, and performers of traditional music, women's past identities are expanded on and contested allowing for an anomalous level of social autonomy that functions within the bounds of normative female behaviour in the community.

The framework for this all-encompassing analysis accounts for the dynamic interrelationships and intricacies of women's experiences locally, developed through my personal observations and through multiple conversations with my participants who situated themselves or their colleagues in similar terms. This understanding served to reinforce the legitimacy and internal relevance of this tripartite structure as an analytical lens from which to investigate the crucial roles of women in traditional revival

movements, which, of course, may vary depending on particular factors such as class, status, and age.

Throughout the course of this project, this method explicated local models for female, traditional music revivalists through their expression of preservationist, educational, and performance roles. In this section, I will illustrate the complexity of these identities through intensive examinations of the work of Xristína and Matína. In examining the past and present engagement of women with these roles, and in discussing the parallels and differences in approaches adopted by Matína and Xristína, this analysis will bring to light the dichotomous actor and agent approaches in preservationist roles, and institutional versus grassroots approaches in educational and performance roles in an effort to illuminate the diversity and centrality of female musical identities in traditional music revivals.

The Preservationists

Preservationists in music revivals play an active role in the formal process of archiving and documenting the community's traditional music. I have found that this role includes two identities: an *actor* and *agent*. While Hill and Bithell provide a brief discussion of revivalists as agents in the processes of decontextualizing and recontextualizing music traditions in a more general sense, I believe that in examining the involvement of preservationists on a micro level, there is an equally integral agent component that is consistently expressed in music revivals. In addition to being *agents* of preservation, I have found that revivalists also exhibit a unique character as *actors* in the process. I believe that these two interrelated identities are necessary to successfully facilitate the preservation of oral histories and musical folklore in a community.

According to this framework, a preservationist *actor* is an individual, male or female, who becomes embedded in the process of preservation as a source, authority, or living library on the subject. A preservationist *agent* is an individual, male or female, who embodies a more formal role as a student, researcher, or archivist, drawing data from a comprehensive sampling of actors to develop and organize collections for archival purposes. Therefore, while "revivalists…are active agents in reinterpreting, modifying, and forging new histories" (Hill and Bithell 2014, 13), I argue that they may also simultaneously engage in *actor* roles as they progressively become entrenched in the process of transmission as authenticated sources of local musical knowledge for other agents. These classifications are not necessarily divided by gender. However, in the past when traditional music repertoires closely conformed to social structures, this bifurcation of control over information was not uncommon. For example, historically, female archivists could *potentially* collect repertoires from members of both genders as *agents*. However, female *actors* in the past would often have a more extensive knowledge of women's musical repertoires because women were excluded from many male-dominated, public musical spaces. Conversely, male *actors* would have more familiarity with male repertoires, as female songs and stories were often purposefully hidden and silenced in their presence. With the rise of modernity, however, the decline of tradition in public spaces has resulted in domestic space often becoming the sole repository for tradition in the community. In Rhodes, this transference has elevated women as the core sources of tradition in the family and often the last remaining sources of tradition in the village.

Therefore, in examining women's contemporary roles as *actors* and *agents* in preservation, this framework leads to an understanding that suggests that, as female

preservationists seek out and study musical sources within the community, they are simultaneously sought out and studied as vital sources of musical expertise by other revivalists as well as researchers and musicians locally and abroad.

Past

Historically, women were primarily, but not exclusively, actors in musical preservation. Through a series of large-scale documentation projects engaged by musicologists and folklorists working for private and public organizations established in the 20th century, roles for men and women became naturalized and divided early on. Commonly, women were prescribed roles as secondary folk sources and participants, while men were considered to be the authoritative scholars, researchers and primary participants of early studies. In this universalizing system, female scholars such as Mélpo Merliér and, later, Dómna Samíou were considered exceptions to the rule. Despite the intrinsic, disproportionate interplay of power that elevated the work of researchers above that of their subjects,[23] the mutual reliance of both of these roles must not be overlooked. While the decisions made over the type of data to collect and present are an easily visible form of power that was exclusively assigned to archivists and scholars, participants, through latent executions of power, profoundly shaped the collection of that data as well. These women, and men, controlled traditional music transmission locally, nationally, and internationally, and in selectively culling what music was to be shared with their families, researchers, and international scholars, women exerted power far beyond their conventionally perceived domain of domesticity.

[23] In many ways, this remains an issue that requires further dissection and critique in contemporary ethnomusicological discourse and literature generally.

Moreover, the impact of early, published recordings of women's repertoires have proceeded to transcend generational borders, as many of the songs that were recorded by early musicologists and folklorists are still referenced today as foundational material for music revivals and contemporary studies examining traditional music. In fact, Matína emphasizes the internalization of these early recordings and songs for all of her young students at the music school, "so their ears get trained to the older, earlier expressions [of the style], and they can learn the right scales and rhythms first" (Mástora 2014d).

On the island of Rhodes, there is an excellent historical example of the delicate interplay between local female singers, foreign researchers, and private archives, which I will briefly introduce here to provide a contextual foundation from which to understand the contemporary roles of women as preservers in music revivals. In examining the work of musicologist, Baud-Bovy, and one of his participants from the village of Arhággelos, Triantafillió Argyroú, one can acquire a palpable understanding of this elusive actor and agent relationship from the late 1920s to the early 1930s on the island of Rhodes.

A Historical Example: Samuel Baud-Bovy and Triantafillió Argyroú

Swiss Hellenist, musicologist, musician, and professor, Samuel Baud-Bovy had a far-reaching impact on the early development of music scholarship in the Dodecanese. A student of classics, violin, piano, and conducting in Geneva, and of composition and musicology in Vienna and Paris, Baud-Bovy was a keen scholar and recipient of the Lambrákis-Maunoir Foundation fellowship in the late 1920s. This institutional support enabled him to travel abroad to Greece, to study Byzantine and modern Greek music, poetry, and art, and to further deepen his knowledge of the field.

The Musical Folklore Archive (MFA) was simultaneously developing at this time as an internal department of the Centre for Asia Minor Studies in Athens. The centre was first conceptualized following the Smýrna Catastrophe in 1922 with the primary goal of preserving and documenting the music of refugees from the Asia Minor region. Created by musicologist, Mélpo Merliér, and her husband, Octave Merliér, the Musical Folklore Archive (MFA) has preserved and documented countless unpublished manuscripts, documents, records, instruments, and written works in their extensive library collection of folk music. Their purpose, as stated on their official website (2015), is, "to study the musical, linguistic and ethnographic peculiarities of each specific locality and to do research on the correlation of influences absorbed from or exerted on other areas, both in the narrower sense of adjacent Greek regions and in the wider sense of neighboring peoples."

As his study commenced in Athens, Baud-Bovy met Merliér in passing and learned about her organization's extensive work in music preservation. They stayed in contact, and with her encouragement and recommendations he embarked on a study of Byzantine music at the National Music Conservatory in Athens. During an informal gathering, Baud-Bovy was first introduced to the music of the Dodecanese by a group of talented island musicians. Wanting to learn more about the music from this distinct region, he took his first preliminary research trip to Rhodes, which marked the beginning of a lifelong study of the music and folklore of the Dodecanese.

During the summer of 1930, Baud-Bovy's fieldwork commenced and soon he was introduced to local Arhággelos singer, Triantafillió Argyroú. After their initial meeting, it was decided that Argyroú and her male cousin would travel to Athens to record several

examples of folk songs and *skopoí* from Arhággelos for the Musical Folklore Archive (MFA). Argyroú was 29 years old at the time – an age where it was expected that she would already be married with children. Nonetheless, her travels commenced upon receiving her Italian passport that was required in order to make the journey to Athens at that time. Recording fourteen songs for the project, her repertoire makes up a considerable portion of the published recordings of Baud-Bovy's research on the album *Kai stis rodiás t'aéri: Tragoúdia apó ta Dodekánisa* (1930–1998*)* [Breeze Through the Rosebush: Songs from the Dodecanese].

Figure 20. ***Kai stis rodiás t'aéri: Tragoúdia apó ta Dodekánisa*** **(1930–1998*)* [Breeze Through the Rosebush: Songs from the Dodecanese].**

Through her work, Triantafillió Argyroú not only transgressed normative female roles that discouraged and stigmatized women who sang in public contexts, but she also confronted these roles as a woman travelling abroad, singing for foreign researchers, and recording professionally at a time of significant political unrest on a national and international level.

During a period when women's public musical expression extended primarily to the liminal space of mourning through the voicing of laments (*moirológia*), Argyroú's boldness would have been heavily noted. Traditionally clothed in all black, visually and aurally consumed by the grief of loss, women in the village were expected to mourn death heavily and publicly. In the soundings of grief, rural women were the specialists, and any deviation from this public musical behaviour would have led to their being ostracized by fellow villagers. While there are examples of a few other socially-condoned public spaces for women to sing in the community, these spaces were conditionally deemed acceptable based on the stipulation that a woman was never to be overheard or seen singing outside of the home. As Sarikás recalls, "she could sing in the home when no one was around, or when she went outside in the yard she could sing quietly as she picked the olives or grapes," but, "she never sang publicly because it was provocative." If she were caught, "it would become a subject at the *kafenío* the next day" (Sarikás 2014).

In private, a women's musical autonomy was contingent on the dynamics of her family life. If her character was bold, or if her father or husband permitted it, women in the village would be able to sing songs that existed beyond the standard realm of female repertoires inside of the home. However, because a women's primary role was rooted in the mental and physical nourishment of the family, singing songs that would provide stimulation, comfort, life lessons, and entertainment for the children was deemed a far more socially acceptable repertoire for women to sing in domestic spheres.

During this early era, there are countless collections that suggest that, "men and women usually performed different repertoires [in different musical spheres] with a strong gendered character" (Magrini 2003, 8) in rural Greece. Triantafillió Argyroú,

however, brought the permeability of these demarcations into collective consciousness. By making her voice aurally and visually public, she began what can be considered today in academic terms a process of deconstruction of traditional music roles for women that later would allow and normalize women's presence in the musical spotlight. She also contributed to a growing, academic corpus of previously undocumented musical forms by local women, heightening the value of women's musical contributions as a legitimate and fruitful area for further scholarly investigation.

Undoubtedly, because of this she faced a variety of negative responses and repercussions for her actions. There is a story that suggests that her brother threatened to disown her if she defied him and the family by recording in Athens. According to Sarikás, her brother followed through on his intimidation (2014). In addition to her renouncement, she was reprimanded with the ultimate social threat to an adult woman: she was never to marry.

However, today her voice has become *the* voice of the island. As an emblem of the unique qualities of Rhodian music, her sound and interpretation of local songs inspire contemporary revivalists of both genders to continue in their efforts to sustain traditional music in the locally diverse soundscape. [24]

Present

In examining the roles of female preservationists in the present, Xristína and Matína are vivid examples of the dramatic shift over the last 50 years. Both women

[24] Audio Supplement Track 1: Here is an early recording made by Baud-Bovy capturing Triantafillió Argyroú and Panagiótis Papanikoláou singing *Arhaggelítikos*, a *skopós* from the village of Arhággelos, for the Musical Folklore Archive in Athens.

engage directly with research locally and regionally, as well as with roles as community sources for traditional material for the younger generations in Rhodes.

Xristína has embodied the duality of actor and agent identities through the local research she has carried out in the village, which investigates the roles of women in music historically and the *mantinádes* performed by prominent, female, musical elders in the community. This research and knowledge has cultivated a deep appreciation for the transmission of oral history, and has positioned her in a fundamental position as a source of music traditions for future generations.

As an agent in traditional music preservation, Xristína has been involved in multiple research projects studying the oral traditions of the village in a general capacity, as well as through the ongoing development of a personal micro archive[25] of local women's repertoires and *mantinádes.* In researching the oral traditions of the village through cultural gatekeepers and archival recordings from the Hellenic Music Archives in Athens, she is learning material for an ethnographic recording project that will document rare *skopoí* from the village before they are lost completely to modernity. In describing this current project, she explains that, "When Baud-Bovy came to the island and documented the songs of our village, there were a few songs that were notated but never recorded. So, the Hellenic Music Archives in Athens asked me if I would sing them. These were songs I had never heard before. [At my age] I learned that there are still more [local] songs [to learn]" (Kóza 2014). While this position places her at a point of engagement dealing with music preservation as both an actor and agent, the preparation

[25] A micro archive is a small, personal collection of local songs and stories amassed by an individual, scholar or non-scholar, who maintains an active interest in the preservation of their community's traditions and history.

for the recording of this album is grounded in archival research and long-term studies through mentor relationships which place her in a primarily agent capacity.

Xristína has also documented the social stigma that was used to silence female singers in what was deemed to be "inappropriate" contexts in the past. Her research revealed that there are still many who believe that, "it was not nice to hear women singing," because, "it was shameful for a woman to sing in public" (Kóza 2014). One of her interviewees remembered being scolded by her mother for singing in the house because of her mother's tangible fear that the neighbors would overhear her. To bypass this, the young girl would hide in the supply closet that held large vats of olive oil and sing to herself softly, as to not be accidently overheard. Like her participants, Xristína also recalls her grandmother telling her to, "close the door so we can sing and the neighbors won't hear us" (Kóza 2014).

In focusing on her research examining local woman's repertoires and *mantinádes* specifically, Xristína has also noticed the shift in women's roles in the transmission of this genre. Whereas it was once the men who were the sole proprietors of *mantinádes* recitation, today women are gradually assuming a more central role in the transmission process. This presents an interesting point of further interrogation, because women were traditionally not allowed to perform *mantinádes* in public or private, yet they are easily able to remember these rhyming distichs, and even carry out full conversations in them. Kladákis suggests that it is precisely because women were not permitted to perform them, that they observed them with such focus and intensity as to remember and recite what they had heard later for further critique, discussion, and performance informally with friends (2014). As Rhodes rapidly adjusted to modernity, many of these women remained

in the home to bring up the children and ensure the success of the *nikokyrió*. Sociability continued to be an integral component of these responsibilities, which enabled the continuous transmission of traditional songs and *mantinádes*.

As tradition began to fade from public life, however, men were exposed to these same repertoires with far less frequency than in the past. As their work focused primarily on the development of tourist industries and the modern infrastructure to support it, men's work became more isolated, focusing on individual, monetary gain over a traditional economy that valued communal success and support through the trading of goods and services. Whereas men historically spent their working days collectively recounting and composing songs and stories about village life and the islands, they were soon occupied with tasks that no longer encouraged such sociality and sharing. Men were also the first to work outside of the home, often for a non-local employer, which further discouraged social entertainment in the interest of productivity for an increase in economic gain. The confluence of all of these factors greatly impacted the centrality of men's roles in the transmission of traditional music. Therefore, researchers frequently approach elder women in the villages to recite the *mantinádes* instead of elder men. The precise details and quantity of local repertoires and stories that these women can recollect increases their value to scholars and researchers, reinforcing women as sources of tradition locally and abroad (Kyriazí 2014; Mástora 2014d; Kóza 2014; Kladákis 2014).

As an actor of preservation, Xristína is admired by a small, dedicated, local group of youth also interested in learning the musical traditions of the village. Through her extensive research, she has become a source for local traditional music for the younger generations of Arhággelos. Projects such as the recent album she is

completing as part of a locally-inspired initiative to document traditional music in a variety of localities further embed her as a cultural gatekeeper within the community. Through methods of direct mentorship and her recordings, Xristína assumes the role of source musician because of the diverse traditional musical knowledge and oral histories of the village she has collected over the years. This process directly positions her in a simultaneous act of reinterpreting, reinforcing, and relaying traditions within the community, sustaining and nourishing older musical practices for generations to come.

Matína engages in equally prominent actor and agent roles as a preservationist within traditional music revivals. Integrating her work within institutional and community-oriented contexts, Matína has, as an agent, developed highly insightful research projects investigating the roles of women as protectors and primary transmitters of local music traditions in the Dodecanese. She argues that this is because "women sang the most styles of music" (2014d). Matína believes that women maintained such large musical repertoires because songs accompanied many of their diverse tasks in everyday life. For example, she suggests that, "women would take the kids to church to teach them religion. She would feed them and entertain them with songs and games. At the same time, she had to work, where she also learned more songs. A woman's [daily] work was a source of inspiration [for her music]" (Mástora 2014d). Matína's extensive knowledge of the subject of women's musical traditions has been internalized in the community through her work, and positions her as an actor and essential source of her research in the process.

As an agent, Matína has been drawn to researching and collecting women's songs and stories from the island and from the Dodecanese holistically. As part of her degree requirements at the University of Macedonia, Matína had to complete a research project of her choosing dealing broadly with the subject of folk music. In studying the role of women as protectors and cultural bearers of traditional music through group and individual interviews, archival research, and mentorship lessons with her participants, she argues that women have always held an active and essential role in the preservation of local repertoires despite common misconceptions. She believes that it is because women sang many types of traditional songs that they have remained integral sources of musical knowledge in the family and community through to the present. In addition to the submission of this work as an academic account of her findings, she has also continued to maintain and nurture those early fieldwork relationships and has in this way sustained her study as an independent scholar in the field.

As an actor, Matína maintains personal and professional roles as a source of traditional musical content for her students and for other revival musicians. Through the deepening of her knowledge of the field, she, too, becomes a source within this distinct musical lineage. Because of her unique, highly specialized understanding of Greek music traditions, local culture and arts organizations and private members of the community often request that she performs specialized repertoires with local ensembles to create an authentic musical experience for an appreciative audience. As a teacher at the music school, this actor position is amplified in an institutional setting that necessitates deference to a more

knowledgeable authority. As a source, Matína holds substantial power in differentiating material to pass on to her students, as well as removing material that is no longer relevant or deviates too far from traditional practices. Through fostering an environment of respect and value for past musicians and their musical works, Matína hopes to impart her extensive historical knowledge of the field onto her students, even if they only select certain qualities and characteristics from the music in the development of their own, individual sounds and performance styles (Mástora 2014b).

As agents and actors of preservation, both women have secured prominent musical roles within the community. They are not only recognized in their respective areas of specialization as significant contributors to musical revivals, but they are also living components of building and sustaining tradition through a dedication to their work and to furthering research in the field.

The Educators

Women's roles as traditional music educators are similar and connected to their roles as preservationists in how they demonstrate continuity with traditional female identities, while also challenging and expanding on historical norms prescribed to local women. Traditionally, educating one's children was considered to be one of the most important facets of identity for women in the village. In fact, it was often the domestic process of education that naturally facilitated the preservation of songs and stories, passing traditional knowledge generationally from the mother, grandmothers, and aunts to the future women and men who would make up the community. This transmission process was considered vital and central to female identity and the sustenance of village

identity, and women were held in high esteem for their success and heavily criticized for their failures by their peers.

While today success in this role is still considered central to being a good mother and, therefore, a good woman, female revivalists have stretched the boundaries of educational roles in ways that challenge, and even contradict, these traditional responsibilities. Immediately, one can see the shift that repositions women from the private domain to the public one. While this change expands on traditional roles in the move from domestic to public education, it also marks the professionalization and legitimization of women's work in rural communities. As Friedl noted in her early research, "[t]he only prestige-bearing public professional activities available to women in the village [were] school-teaching and other civil service posts (1986, 46). Revivalists, motivated by a passion to share their traditions and empower future generations to learn about and pass on their heritage, often have complementary careers as professional teachers in institutional or grassroots settings in order to ensure their economic stability. Whether working in the public school system, for conservatories, for private organizations, or through local outreach programs at cultural associations, revivalists are actively educating the community at a number of levels and receiving a steady income[26] as a result.

Integral to women developing professional careers as musical educators is the acceptance and promotion of education for young girls in the village. If one is to go back only two generations, it is common to find women who recall being pulled out of school at a very young age, if they were allowed to attend at all. Whether it was because of a

[26] It is also important to note that many female educators have also become the primary, stable income providers for a family in the current economic environment. While statistics for this percentage are not yet available, it does signify a complete role reversal that contradicts societal norms. In my research, Matína was an example of this phenomenon.

need for extra labour or because there was no perceived value to sending a girl to school at that time, the relatively recent social acceptance of educating young girls has had a profound impact on Rhodian revivalists and their students. For example, Matína is the first woman in her family to obtain a university degree and conservatory specialization. It is because of these competitive qualifications that she was able to obtain a stable career in her field. Because of her position as a teacher at the music school, she is able to share her vast knowledge with a wide range of students, female and male, that may not otherwise have exposure to the specific music that she has studied. Additionally, female students are able to observe a woman in a position of power with an independent career, which may further encourage and empower a younger generation of women to seek out a higher education and assume positions of power in educational and musical capacities.

While this argument can be viewed as imposing Western capitalist and feminist models on women in Greece, I believe that the significance of supporting and fostering the education of women is of critical importance in any country, but even more so in a country that is in a state of rising economic uncertainty and that has a mounting national debt that has reached hundreds of billions of euros owed. If this is to be examined on a micro level on the island of Rhodes, the necessity becomes even more tangible. If, in a single income family supported by the woman of the household, or a family where both parents are musicians, women were not allowed to obtain paid employment as musical professionals, the family would suffer. With austerity measures that have largely decreased the amount of state funding available to underserved families, this hardship would be substantially greater. Therefore, it is imperative that women are a part of an ever-evolving economic system, be it capitalist or otherwise. The goal is to enable

women to be a part of creating that system internally, not of prescribing a one-size-fits-all, foreign model that is often at odds with what is happening presently and what is customary locally. Moreover, the model of women as educators in Greece has been an essential part of female identity throughout history. Arguably, women's roles as educators even supersede that of preservationists in importance, which is evident in examining the historical progression of women's musical roles within the community.

The centrality of women in the process of traditional music education cannot be overlooked. While the positions of authority and power that contemporary revivalists have achieved may challenge and contradict traditional models for female behaviour, there is still a sense of continuity with the past that enables the community to view women in these roles in a positive and supportive manner. For Matína and Xristína, this support and encouragement has been central to the development of their careers and the transmission of traditional music. While Xristína adopts a more grassroots approach to education based on inclusivity with regards to local knowledge, Matína takes an institutional approach that promotes exclusivity and highly refined specializations in specific knowledge streams. Despite their different music education methodologies, interestingly, both artists face similar challenges and concerns for the future of traditional music education in Rhodes.

Past

The positioning of women in educational roles is not necessarily considered to be a position of innovation in the Rhodian community. Nurtured and coveted within domestic spheres of influence, the education of children was delegated primarily to the women of a family – the grandmothers, mothers, mother in laws, aunts, and sisters of the household (Mástora 2014d, Sarikás 2014, Kóza 2014). In many ways, this reality still

holds true for numerous women living in villages on the island. For as long as can be remembered, women have ensured that the community thrived through concentrating their efforts on the successful upbringing of their children, which was considered to be essential in the shaping of future generations. In this way, music became the ideal medium for the transmission of central lessons, values, and belief systems integral to the functioning of the village. In examining these early lessons, the instilling of Rhodian gender structures was crucial in the maintenance of its strictly patriarchal society, which so closely parallels prescribed female and male interactions and behaviours in the Orthodox Church. From an early age, mothers actively prepared young women to run their own households and young men to provide for their family and mediate public spaces within the village. As the children grew older, the boys would more frequently accompany their fathers, spending more time outside of the home, while girls public excursions grew less frequent as they assumed greater responsibilities in caring for the *nikokyrió* (household). With the division of their daily chores came the division of their musical repertoires, until everyday, public musical interactions between genders became more and more infrequent as they grew older, eventually ceasing to exist, except on rare social occasions.

Present

As education became institutionalized on the island of Rhodes, however, there was a massive shift in traditional methods of transmission, and the quality and type of content that was disseminated. For the first time, music was presented as a subject of study in school, complete with textbooks, workbooks, and lessons. Additionally, music became a common extracurricular activity for school children, as private lessons became

available in Rhodes City and eventually in other surrounding villages. As music curriculums were introduced, women began to pursue professional careers as teachers at schools locally. Because teaching could be linked to historic maternal roles socially designated to women, this profession was deemed to be an appropriate role for respectable women from the village.

Xristína and Matína have distinct approaches to ensuring that traditional music education remains integral and engaging in local revival movements. Xristína approaches children's traditional music education through a grassroots approach that works with boys and girls of a very young age, as well as with local youth in a mentorship capacity. Contrastingly, Matína's role in education is formalized, as she is professionally employed as a Byzantine and traditional music educator for children in a secondary school.

In an effort to instill a deeper and more extensive appreciation of local traditional music in future generations from a young age, Xristína has organized a local children's choir program that runs out of the church hall in the village of Arhággelos. In catering the traditional content to these "little ones" she hopes that they will learn to love the traditional songs of the village as deeply as she does (Kóza 2014). Increasingly, this work has reiterated its importance as she observes a growing apathy towards traditional music that has become noticeably exhibited in each successive generation. In considering the future of traditional music in the community, she reflects that, " [she has] to believe that they will carry on [our] traditions" (2014).

Her work as a choir director was influenced by a growing disengagement of youth with traditional music. At this rate, she worries that the traditional music of Rhodes is dwindling dangerously towards extinction. One factor that is believed to be a viable

threat to traditional music is the ever evolving and expanding reach of music from global markets. Whereas local youth once pursued studies of the *mandolíno* or *santoúri,* today it is preferable, and viewed as more valuable, to study the electric guitar or keyboard (Kóza 2014). Even in the smaller villages, the majority of extracurricular music studies are focused on European classical or popular music traditions over local genres. To understand the effect that this has had on traditional music knowledge locally, an explanation from Xristína will suffice: " Today, the youth of Arhággelos know the sound of maybe a handful of *skopoí*. In only rare instances, are they actually able to sing them" (2014).

Despite this break in tradition, Xristína does find members from the younger generation who are interested and enthusiastic about the future of traditional music. As students look to resources such as mentorship opportunities and musical networks to supplement their developing knowledge, Xristína has stepped into the position of educational mediator for individuals wanting to study particular instruments or styles with particular musicians or elders. One challenge she faces in this role is rare occasions when a member of the community does not want to teach younger generations their traditional songs or skills. Indeed, this frustration was expressed to us by several revivalists, as they have all come across cases where certain community members would rather take their traditions to the grave with them than to pass them on to the youth wanting and willing to learn (Kóza 2014; Kladákis 2014). Whether out of a personal fear of losing limited performing opportunities and income in the village, or out of a stubborn belief that the younger generation is incapable of sustaining the traditions of their elders, contemporary revivalists and younger members of the community continue to puzzle

over this attitude that appears to strongly counter normal behaviour. Fortunately, this outlook is uncharacteristic of the local community as a whole, and Xristína encounters rare problems with the connections she has made to encourage the discovery and sustenance of traditional music.

As a professional teacher at the music school since 2008, Matína faces similar challenges in her efforts to teach traditional, "old" sounds and songs to younger generations (Mástora 2014a). While in her case she is fortunate to work with a selection of students that have chosen a specialized study in traditional and Byzantine music specifically, at times she still feels resistance in her class's ability to embrace traditional genres. Whether this is due to pervasive encroachments of global popular music or because of tangible tensions that can be felt between music specializations in a formalized secondary school environment, her goal to teach traditional music in a way that keeps it pertinent and engaging is a never-ending process that she, fortunately, enjoys immensely.

One of the most problematic challenges she experiences as an educator of traditional music is the hierarchy of music traditions inside and outside the classroom. She explains that, "[i]t is difficult to teach the kids the ancient, Byzantine music. They are bombarded with too much information in the classroom; they have to learn English, because it's the international language. They may hear or learn do, re, mi, fa, so, la, ti do, but when will they hear the Byzantine scale ni, pa, vou, ga, thi, ke, zo, ni?" (Mástora 2014a). Outside of the classroom, she recognizes that Greek families who are looking to provide the greatest opportunities for their children nationally and internationally will do so by selecting a study of

European classical music over a study of Greek traditional music. Upon reflection, Matína believes that, "today, usually the parents will think that a good education includes music. So, they want to teach their kids music, but most [parents] want their kids to study Western music. But there are still a few parents that want their kids to learn our traditional music" (Mástora 2014d). Particularly because of the current economic and political environment, parents are intent on ensuring the economic stability of their children through a stable job – most often outside of Greece. In the music school, the external value of elite over folk traditions is easily evident in an examination of the student body, where a background in European classical music is overwhelming present and knowledge of traditional music is often subsidiary, if existing at all. As disproportionate values are placed on music studies outside of the classroom, these skewed evaluations become internalized within the school as a result. Matína sees this fissure in the valuing of individualism over collectivism, competition over collaboration, and canonical repertoires over anonymity. It is in this way that the grounds of institutionalized music education have grown increasingly contested and political.

Nonetheless, Matína is adamant about fostering a supportive and positive environment for her students in their efforts to master Byzantine and traditional genres. With an intensive focus on historically-informed performances of traditional music, she has learned how to best accommodate the knowledge disparity visible in the first year students new to the program. One of her immediate tasks at the start of the school year is to begin to gradually fill the generational gap in information about traditional artists and repertoires. To remedy this, she engages her students in listening exercises and activities

meant to familiarize them with the dominant sonic qualities of early traditional music. In addressing matters of aesthetics, theory, repertoire, lyrics, and instrumentation, she attunes their ears to the subtleties and expressions of music from the past. It is her hope that the students find value in these exercises and develop an increasing appreciation for traditional music over the course of the program. With this growing appreciation, there is the potential for students to integrate characteristics of what they are hearing into their own developing sound, sustaining traditional music for subsequent generations of students yet to come.

Therefore, the second task she faces as an educator is supporting students and keeping them engaged in ways that allow them to cultivate their own, artistic sound through performances of traditional music. Through giving students extra responsibilities in class and playful ear training exercises that integrate opportunities for improvisation, she encourages learning and individual forms of creative expression, granting students the freedom to explore traditional sounds in their own way. She believes strongly that "there is room for creativity [in traditional music today] because in the [early] traditional music there was always room for interpretation" (Mástora 2014d). Reflecting on her approach when teaching her first year students, she explains that, "[t]hey are very young and need to learn and take the opportunity to learn," so she provides them a space to take responsibility and explore the music (Mástora 2014b). With this method she aspires to encourage a sustained engagement with traditional material by permitting room for elements of creativity in performance. In her embodiment of play, tradition, and reinterpretation in her own work, Matína becomes an illustrative example of this process through her skill and fluidity as an artist.

Both Xristína and Matína aim to cultivate a positive learning environment and performance space for their students to encourage a sustained engagement with traditional music. Key to harnessing this sustenance is the multiple government and non-governmental organizations that ensure that traditional music remains visible and audible in an increasingly loud sonic environment. Many of these outreach programs, local festivals, and traditional concerts have become an emerging introductory space for younger generations to learn about this music. For example, Matína believes that presently there are far more cultural organizations in Rhodian villages than ever before, which work towards encouraging the youth to get involved in the preservation and performance of local, traditional dances and songs (2014d). As she explains, "The Karpathians, the Pontians, the Cretans, the Dodecanese people, we all have cultural organizations for dancing and singing. [These organizations] often connect kids to [traditional] music through dance. Most kids that want to learn traditional music today likely started by learning traditional dance" (Mástora 2014d). For music educators, these resources are invaluable in enhancing music programs through their provisions for observation and performance opportunities for students new to the realm of traditional music.

Another resource that is becoming increasingly helpful as a classroom and networking tool is technology. While technology can initially be viewed as a force that suppresses and thwarts traditional practices, it may also be repurposed to support and increase access to traditional music through the creation of digital archives, the production and promotion of traditional music on social media websites such as YouTube and Facebook, and through the development of

innovative pedagogic programs and websites that provide an alternate and wide-reaching forum for those interested in learning more about traditional music.

For example, for many of their students, one of the most natural ways in which to begin a study of traditional music is to log on to YouTube and iTunes. In response to an absence of Rhodian traditional music on the Internet, Xristína and her fans have posted numerous videos of her performances on her personal YouTube channel.[27] Though her videos present a diverse array of music genres, she has noticed that videos of her performing traditional songs have garnered considerable attention nationally and internationally. In addition to social media, audio media continues to be an important resource for students of traditional music. Matína's most recent album, *Nostos,* is an exemplary example of a successful blending of traditional and contemporary content to cultivate an extremely unique and attractive sound. This album serves not only as reference material for students at the music school, but also extends its reach to national and international audiences that may not have exposure to traditional music otherwise. Through its ability to extend the reach of traditional music across generations, regions, and continents, audio media and the Internet have the potential to engage even more students and enthusiasts on a national and global scale.

Potential drawbacks and critiques inherent in the use of technology in traditional music education remain, however, and must be acknowledged fully before developing educational programming endeavours completely reliant on technology in the future. For example, there is always the risk of "losing" a musical

[27] For examples of her performances of traditional music and to listen to the many other styles she performs, see Xristína Kóza's Official YouTube Channel (2015).

tradition completely to the global, world music market. Often, albums featuring "traditional" or "authentic" music from a particular geocultural position are far removed from the reality of that tradition and place when economic capital is involved. In examining any world music section in a record store, one can observe limited representations of music traditions. With glossy, hyperbolic images depicting cultural stereotypes of a community and limited mediation of these images with well-researched liner notes that contextualize and critique these pervasive images, a barrier is erected between the foreign listener and local sources of tradition. Additionally, many of the commercial albums available through major, international distributers have been shaped musically to sound somewhat familiar and extremely palatable to a foreign, Western audience, while remaining completely alien and abstract to members of that community. Therefore, when these constructed albums and songs become representative of an actual musical experience of the people, there is much that remains lost in translation. This is, without a doubt, problematic and an issue for revivalists to consider for the future of traditional music inside and outside of Rhodes

The Performers

The role of women as performers in contemporary revival movements can be viewed as an excellent example of the contestations and intersections embedded in the construction of female identity for revivalists. Whereas preservation and education confirm and expand on historical roles women have traditionally assumed within the community, performance marks a significant digression from

traditional views of femininity and women's "naturalized" identities and behaviours in the village.[28]

In part, this is because the staging of female musical forms by women who were not social outcasts of the community as foreigners or courtesans was incomprehensible during the early part of the 20th century. Because of this fact, the staging of women's repertoires, voices, and physical bodies as a point of public attention transgressed, and in many ways continues to transgress, entrenched honour and shame ideals linked to social status and power and prestige in Rhodes.

Local, female singers, however, gradually began to change negative perceptions towards a more tolerant and supportive view by the end of the century. For example in Arhággelos in the 1970s and early 1980s, singers such as Evangelía Lelé, Flóra Kritikoú, and Zoé Varélli are credited as having been the first to perform on stage at village events. At the beginning, their early efforts were often, though not always, met with domestic violence and social stigma for performing in public on stage. Today, these singers are referred to with admiration and respect by many local musicians and members of the Arhággelos community (Sarikás 2014, Kóza 2014, Mástora 2014c, Kladákis 2014). Unfortunately, the names of the early female voices of the past in numerous other villages on the island have long been forgotten, their songs and memories lost to promises of progress and modernization. It is because of this discontinuity, that the work of Matína and

[28] Many behaviours and situations in my fieldwork were explained as being "natural" for a woman. Conflictingly, I commonly found myself in situations feeling quite unnatural and even uncomfortable at times. When I brought this relativity up with my participants, a common response was that I did not understand because of my outsider status. This explanation was undoubtedly true, but it seemed to fail to address the complexity of learned gender structures in everyday, village life.

Xristína focuses so heavily on collecting, documenting, and performing the songs of elders in their localities.

In addition to these vital preservation and education endeavours, Xristína and Matína have also successfully fostered viable, long-term careers as professional performers. By exploring their distinct sounds and staging practices for traditional performances, one can see how their individual approaches have enabled them to cultivate dedicated, wide-reaching audiences locally and abroad, sharing Rhodian traditional music simultaneously with the community and the world.

Past

Female performers of traditional music as understood at present did not exist at the beginning of the 20th century. This is largely because the traditional music of today existed as a functional component of everyday life, fully integrated as it accompanied the daily activities of women, men, and children in the village. These folk repertoires were often gendered, but were also influenced by factors such as age and status. During this time, music making was not associated with individuals, although there were those who were recognized generally as singers in villages (Mástora 2014d, Sarikás 2014; Kóza 2014; Kladákis 2014). The emphasis was largely on communal participation and involvement, regardless of skill or aesthetic refinement. Because of the integral nature of shared music making, music was omnipresent as it narrated the lives of the people through the songs they sang while working, celebrating, and mourning. With its institutionalization, however, the functional, living musical practices of the past gradually became the more fixed traditional music of today. But even in the present, traditional music still remains "a

way of life in this society" (Mástora 2014d). For example, one can still hear traditional songs performed at weddings, *panigíria*, and life cycle events, but they have changed from the songs that were performed in the 1920s and 1930s, because "society sees [this early traditional music] as museum music" (Mástora 2014d).

Therefore, while the stage is often considered a place for the embodiment and confrontation of normative systems of gender stratification, traditional music remained largely untouched by the process until the late 1970s and early 1980s. Because of an invested interest in fostering nationalism and a sense of community during the period of transition that followed the collapse of the military dictatorship in 1974, however, female traditional singers cautiously began to perform traditional repertoires at staged events in the villages in a show of national and local solidarity.

Conversely, the participation of women in staged musical performances in alternate genres can be found much earlier in other localities in Greece. For example, *rempétika* in Athens and Piraeus during the 1930s and 1940s accepted the image of the female singer on stage early on. While there were undoubtedly general limitations placed on women's musical activities in public, urban centres at this time, the *rebétissa*, though an anomaly, "was an accepted part of the rebétika scene and…her daring made her an object of admiration" (Holst-Warhaft 2003, 170).[29]

Present

Much has changed over the course of fifty years and today the stage functions as a forum for Greek women and men to reinforce the significance, relevance, and artistry inherent in the sounds of the traditional music of Rhodes. While it was once believed

[29] The term *rebétissa (sing.)* is used to refer to a female singer of *rempétika.*

that, “girls who accompany musicians and sing with them at village festivals,” were, “somewhat shameless” (Friedl 1986, 46), expanding on the work of those revolutionary, early singers, contemporary women gradually gained acceptance and even admiration as professional singers and performers in the villages of Rhodes. As Holst-Warhaft explains, “the demand for women singers in the theatres, the clubs, and recording studios encouraged public respect for the *kalitechnis,* the woman artist who was forgiven, even admired for her independent lifestyle” (Holst-Warhaft 2011, 85).

Upon further reflection, however, the contemporary commodification of the female voice and body for the stage cannot exist unproblematically. It can be argued that, as traditional music became an object to be staged and presented, polished and refined with unified modalities and scores, contemporary instrumentation, various levels of mastery, and displays of virtuosic improvisation, women, too, became objects subjected to a new set of systemic controls and restrictions, which, in fact, often serve to *reinforce* patriarchal ideals instead of subverting them. For example, both Xristína and Matína participate in maintaining a distinct stage image that can be argued to placate patriarchal images and standards that depict women on stage with heavy makeup, seductive dress, and sensual movements. Of course, because a singer prefers to wear makeup and fashionable clothing and moves a certain way does not necessarily mean that she is in acceptance of and submissive to oppressive patriarchal norms. However, this reality must be acknowledged, even though the singers themselves did not view their choices in this way. In fact, neither of the singers considered their roles to be restricted or liberated, and their actions to be empowered or confined, at all. Rather, both artists simply stated that they wanted to be singers and they became singers, and no questions or critiques of how

gender limited or encouraged them were presented. Therefore, whether female singers in revival movements in Rhodes are truly "liberated" in accordance with Western ideals of feminism and perceptions of liberation, or oppressed by patriarchal standards for women modeled off of the Orthodox Church, illuminates an issue far more complex than a simple affirmation or negation.[30]

However, with the shift in "*music making* as an activity to *music* as an object" (Turino 2008, 24), which stabilized traditional music as a genre worthy of staged performance, women became integral in the process of professionalization that aspired to elevate the value of traditional music in the community. This concretization initiated a professionalization process that stratified performers based on internally determined aesthetic criteria, with a dissipating, though not extinguished, regard for gender. As a result, male and female performers were critiqued based on a rubric that assessed authenticity, skill, and breadth of repertoire. This created a newly established system of hierarchy amongst traditional musicians that developed largely beyond the confines of gender structures.

The work of Xristína and Matína is emblematic of this process. Though their individual approaches to reinterpreting and revitalizing past repertoires for formal and informal events differ greatly, they engage in cultivating a distinct repertoire, adjusting arrangements, articulating aesthetics, and combining instruments in uniquely expressive ways to fully represent their identities as revival artists in a similar, but by no means identical, manner. It is through these personal

[30] I have placed "liberation" in quotation marks because I feel that understandings of what constitutes liberation and empowerment are widely subjective and variable in the community itself and in academia generally. This debate poignantly illustrates the intersection of class, status, age, race, and gender and must be considered within the constraints and restrictions of a variety of relative and valuable positions and perspectives. Therefore, while I hesitantly use "liberation" in this instance, it is not without reflexively identifying my inherently problematic position as a young, female outsider in the process.

preferences that both artists engage in a process of decontextualization and recontextualization that keeps Rhodian traditional revival movements engaging, active, and relevant.

In exploring Xristína's performances of traditional music, the classification of her work as traditional is contested locally. While there are some musicians who confine her performances to *skyládika*, I feel that this superficial generalization of an individual's musical character fails to account for the necessary diversification that must happen to keep historical music relevant and stimulating.[31] While her work is definitely characteristic, I believe that it is no more or less valuable than Matína's in its efforts to sustain traditional music for future generations.

The repertoire that Xristína utilizes in performances of traditional music includes an amalgam of local songs from Arhággelos, Rhodes, the Dodecanese, and the Asia Minor. In examining the repertoire that she has derived from local sources in Arhággelos, one can find her performing the most commonly found traditional *skopoí* of the village, which include *érimos* (love)*, potamós* (river)*,* and *paraponetikós* (complaints) (Kóza 2014). If she is hired to sing at a specific lifecycle event, such as a wedding or engagement, she will commonly adapt and update these songs and *skopoí* into a compact, staged program. For example, for a wedding, she will frequently include songs such as *to kouloúri*, *pastós, nymfostóli, káto,* and *rináki*. Functionally, each song is connected to a particular event that happens during the wedding. For instance, *to kouloúri* is sung several days before the wedding as the women make the traditional wedding cookies (*kouloúria*).

[31] *Skyládika* is a critical term used to describe the cheapening of *nisiótika* and *paradosiaká*, which can literally be translated as "doggy music." It is characterized by excessive amplification, the heavy use of electric instruments and digital effects, and a musical valuation focused on quantity over quality.

Pastós is sung to compliment the house of the new bride, and *nymfostóli* is performed during the ritual dressing of the bride on her wedding day. In the evening of an Arhággelos wedding, the community sings the *káto skopós* to encourage dancing. As the wedding comes to a close, *rináki* is sung to signify the end of the ceremony. For village engagements, *potamós* is sung with an appropriate variation of the lyrics for an engagement context. A staple of traditional and fusion performances, Xristína commonly sings *potamós,* as she finds that it evokes a strong emotive response from her audiences in Greece and abroad. Her fusion of repertoires has proven to be a successful method for integrating traditional music more widely in her contemporary performances, with the potential of capturing greater audiences for traditional music in the process.

In examining her preferred instrumentation, she finds that it is important to use minimal amplification when performing traditional songs. She explains that, "when I sing traditional music, I never use electronic, amplified instruments. Nothing. No drums and no keyboard. We play only with the lute, violin, and voice, and we still make people dance at the party until the morning (Kóza 2014). Aside from rare occasions on which she sings a cappella, her standard traditional ensemble features the *laoúto*, *violí,* and the voice. The opportunities for her to perform with such a compact, acoustic ensemble have unfortunately diminished greatly with the expectation that a live performance will include amplification, digital effects, and electric Western instrumentation.

Xristína's vocal aesthetic characteristics are one of the most remarkable differences between the two revival singers. Because she has limited, professional

vocal training, she maintains a style of singing that is reminiscent of older, village styles in dialect, tone, and timbre. However, with the pervasiveness of popular music, there are distinct pop characteristics in her voice that surface in her performances of traditional songs. In an inadequate textual introduction to her voice, it can be said that her timbre expresses a piercing, nasal quality, with a fast vibrato, and audible tension in the voice.[32]

As a performer, Matína's small stature and immensely expressive voice are fondly referred to as her trademark. The extensive vocal training she has completed in European classical and Byzantine vocal music has profoundly shaped her sound and overall performance style.

Like Xristína, Matína mindfully develops a richly diverse traditional repertoire, which include traditional songs from Rhodes, the Dodecanese, and other characteristic musical regions of Greece. Because of her specialization in traditional music, Matína is familiar with many different melodies, including unique and rare songs from across Greece. With a unique sound and specific area of expertise, she is granted opportunities to perform traditional music at municipal showcases across the country and throughout the island. Interestingly, she has found program variation to be essential in her performances, particularly when performing at a venue more than once. She explains that, "you can't follow a set program with traditional music. We finish our set and someone will ask for a song, and people will start requesting [more songs] and everyone starts dancing. The goal is for

[32] Audio Supplement Track 2: Here is an ethnographic recording of Xristína singing a *skopós* from the village of Arhággelos called *Potamós.* This recording was made during our first interview with Xristína, which was conducted at Lime restaurant in Faliráki, where she performs weekly with a keyboard player for the restaurant's "Greek Music Nights."

people to dance and have a good time" (Mástora 2015). Like Xristína, however, she, too, finds it necessary to create fusion programs that appeal to a more diverse audience with varying musical tastes. In creatively designing a cohesive music program that incorporates songs from various repertoires and genres, Matína is truly an artist.

The instrumentation that Matína utilizes for revival performances can change radically depending on the context. From concerts featuring a full orchestra to pieces sung a cappella, Matína performs with a variety of instruments, Greek and non-Greek, of differing timbres, sizes, and with different amplification techniques. A typical ensemble that functions as her standard for traditional music includes the voice, violin, and *laoúto*. Amplification is commonly used for this type of ensemble, which can be found performing at restaurants, *tavérnes*, weddings, baptisms, village centres, and festivals. Unlike Xristína, she normally does not perform at *panigíria* because she believes that the listeners expect a heavily amplified and effected, electric sound that distorts the community's appreciation for traditional music, endangering the sustenance of revival movements locally (Mástora 2014d).

It is Matína's vocal sound that immediately sets her apart from other singers on the island. She describes the timbre of her voice as being heavily influenced by the chanting of Byzantine music and European classical vocal training (Mástora 2014d). Upon observation, the precision and accuracy with which she expresses and differentiates between the smallest microtonal pitches is remarkably fine-tuned and the result of years of training and intensive study. Her unique vocal sound

illustrates a purity of tone and dynamics that is often fondly referred to as resembling the voices of early female singers from the island such as Triantafillió Argyroú. Despite her training, however, she proposes that the vocal production for traditional singing is extremely unique (Mástora 2015). She explains that you need, "different breath depending on the phrase, different *melísmata* (ornamentation), different tone. The language is more poetic. [Because of this,] you have to know your breath because there are longer phrases…and the phrasing is very important [in traditional music]" (Mástora 2015). In examining the vocal mechanics of her traditional sound, she uses, "more throat, and sings through the nose and chest," because, "it cannot be just from the diaphragm […] You have to be flexible in vocal placement" (Mástora 2015). Because of her attention to detail when presenting early traditional vocal styles from the 1920s and 1930s, her voice is seen as a successful recontextualization of tradition. Like Xristína, however, it remains increasingly vital for her to adapt her sound to accommodate a wide variety of styles and repertoires in her performances in order to maintain a sustainable music career.[33]

While their sounds differ remarkably, Xristína and Matína engage with the critical role of performer in musical revivals in surprisingly similar manners. They both view these performance roles as vital to ensuring that there is a lasting space for women in traditional revival movements and for traditional music itself in the diverse, Greek soundscape. Through their dynamic and engaging performances, both singers not only inspire existing traditional music audiences to explore the diversity and beauty of

[33] Audio Supplement Track 3: Here is an ethnographic recording of Matína singing a *skopós* from the village of Arhággelos called *Arhaggelítikos*. This recording was made at the Mástoras Silver Factory below Matína's apartment during one of our final interviews.

Rhodian musical traditions, but they also work to entice a wider community of music consumers on a national and international level to appreciate the vibrant music traditions of Rhodes.

Chapter 5: The Future of Traditional Music

In the "act of making visible that which has been hidden" (Hill and Bithell 2014, 5), this small, revival community aspires to leave a lasting impact, demonstrated through their ability to "reintroduce forgotten, abandoned, neglected, suppressed, or otherwise interrupted practices from the past into the present" (Hill and Bithell 2014, 12) in a fluid and eloquently articulated manner. Despite the external destabilizing factors that have greatly affected revival performances of traditional music over the past five years, the music continues to sustain its relevance, and in doing so, its existence as a musical form that remains comparatively free from global and Western musical forces in the diverse Rhodian soundscape dominated by popular music.

Women's roles as preservers, educators, and performers within this movement are continuously engaging in a simultaneous process of decontextualization and recontextualization that fuels and redefines the movement and women's roles within it. As women continually rearticulate and reconcile distinct personal and professional and traditional and modern identities, both expanding on and challenging roles deemed socially acceptable for women over the past fifty years, men have maintained comparative consistency and continuity in their musical and social roles and expressive outlets in music revivals and the broader Rhodian music scene. In studying women's

involvement in traditional music revivals specifically, this complex and intricate process of reidentification becomes vividly evident in the careers of professional singers such as Xristína Kóza and Matína Mástora.

In examining the longevity of traditional music revivals and in an attempt to hypothesize about the future impact of women's involvement on revival movements, I would suggest that the results are threefold: (1) women's involvement in traditional revival movements potentially can increase the visibility and demand for traditional music locally and abroad, which (2) creates opportunities for work for revival musicians of both genders inside and outside of Rhodes, and (3) produces an ever-evolving, sustainable, and relevant traditional music which encourages the preservation of Rhodian stories and sounds for future generations.

In increasing the presence of and generating a demand for traditional music, musicians can potentially cultivate a niche market in the Greek music industry that would allow those passionate about traditional music an opportunity to foster a sustainable, profitable career. Today, an increase in professional performance and teaching opportunities are an immediate concern for many revival musicians, women and men alike. At a time when the future of the Greek economy remains volatile, frugality is no longer simply a choice but a necessity. This has had a severe impact on traditional singers in its reduction of performance opportunities locally, which in turn compound the economic strain on local revivalists, destabilizing the security of traditional music in the community.

Therefore, a major aim of traditional revival singers is to creatively increase the visibility of traditional music in the community through appealing to a broader

audience. This increase in exposure may create the possibility, however minute, of a reinvigoration that designates an elevated status to traditional music repertoires, securing traditional music in the modern, Rhodian soundscape. This additive perceived value in the community would create more work for traditional musicians, further increasing the likelihood of economic and musical long-term sustainability.

The final outcome marks an enduring objective of many revivalist movements. Largely a byproduct of the first two goals, heightening the profile of traditional music and increasing professional opportunities for traditional musicians accordingly would have a stabilizing effect on traditional music in the village soundscape. Giving traditional music a space in the professional sphere of musicking pacifies not only traditional musicians in unpredictable economic situations, but also the general population through the promotion of nostalgia, connectivity, and nationalism on local and national levels. At a time when the community feels increasing uncertainty about the future, nationalism and nostalgia act as strong unification agents that counter the dispersion, isolation, and frustration felt in the community at present. Successful results of this effort can be seen gradually on a small scale over the past few decades. While the traditional music scene is still comparatively small, there is a notable increase in activity and involvement in the last twenty years (Mástora 2014d). In compounding the efforts of music schools, post-secondary institutions, and national conservatories across the country, and with the dedicated persistence of teachers and performers involved in traditional music revivals locally, this movement is gradually growing and

expanding its reach as the next generation of revivalists prepare to become a part of the local music industry.

In addition to increasing the prevalence of traditional music in the community, it is also my hope that this work will encourage future researchers to follow the movement's expansion and development over time. In documenting the ways in which gender roles change and shift, these researchers will further illuminate the subtle relationships between gender and traditional music that remain unexplored, awaiting further elicitation in potential research projects. Through this process, researchers will not only document local revival movements for later comparison, but will also provide further examples of the tenacious resilience of musical traditions and female revivalists on the island of Rhodes, in Greece, and cross-culturally.

Bibliography

Abu-Lughod, Lila. 1991. "Writing Against Culture." *Recapturing Anthropology: Working in the Present,* edited by Richard Gabriel Fox, 137–162. Santa Fe, N.M.: School of American Research Press. Accessed June 15, 2015. http://xcelab.net/rm/wp-content/uploads/2008/09/abu-lughod-writing-against-culture.pdf.

Akoyunoglou-Christou, Mitsi, and Maria Apostoliadi-Le Bouder. 2013. *Greek Folk Music*. World Federation of Music Therapy: 1–13. Accessed June 15, 2015. https://www.academia.edu/2508067/Greek_Folk_Music.

Alexiou, Margaret. 1974. *The Ritual Lament in Greek Tradition*. London: Cambridge University Press.

Anogianákis, Foívos. 1991 [1976]. Elliniká Laiká Mousiká Órgana [Greek Folk Musical Instruments]. Athens: Ekdotikos oikos – Melissa.

Anthony F. C. Wallace. 1956. "Revitalization Movements." *American Anthropologist* 58, no. 2: 264–81. Accessed June 15, 2015. http://www.jstor.org/stable/665488.

Auerbach, Susan. 1987. "From Singing to Lamenting: Women's Musical Role in a Greek Village." In *Women and Music in Cross-Cultural Perspective,* edited by Ellen Koskoff, 25–44. Contributions in Women's Studies, No. 79. Westport, C.T.: Greenwood Press Inc.

Baud-Bovy, Samuel. 1935. *Tragoúdia ton Dodekaníson, Tomos A'* [Songs of the Dodecanese, Volume A']. Akadimias 42. Rhodes, Greece: Sýllogos pros diádosin ofelímon vivlíon politistikós organismós dímou Ródou.

Baud-Bovy, Samuel. 1935. *Tragoúdia ton Dodekaníson, Tomos B'* [Songs of the Dodecanese, Volume B']. Akadimias 42. Rhodes, Greece: Sýllogos pros diádosin ofelímon vivlíon politistikós organismós dímou Ródou.

Baud-Bovy, Samuel, and Foívos Anogianákis. 2005. *Dokímio gia to Ellinikó dimotikó tragoúdi* [Paper for the Greek Traditional Song]. Nafplio, Greece: Peloponnisiakó laografikó ídryma.

Beaton, Roderick. 1980a. *Folk Poetry of Modern Greece*. Cambridge, N.Y.: Cambridge University Press, 1980.

———. 1980b. "Modes and Roads: Factors of Change and Continuity in Greek Musical Tradition." *The Annual of the British School at Athens* 75: 1–11. Accessed June 15, 2015. http://www.jstor.org/stable/30103007.

———. 1986. “The Oral Traditions of Modern Greece: A Survey.” *Oral Tradition* 1, no. 1: 110–33. Accessed June 15, 2015. http://journal.oraltradition.org.login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/issues/1i/beaton.

Beauvoir, Simone de. 1953. *The Second Sex*, translated and edited by H. M. Parshley. London, England: J. Cape.

Bernstein, Jane A, ed. 2004. *Women’s Voices Across Musical Worlds*. Boston, M.A.: Northeastern University Press.

Bithell, Caroline, and Juniper Hill. 2014. *The Oxford Handbook of Music Revival*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Brandes, Stanley, and David D. Gilmore. 1987. “Reflections on Honour & Shame in the Mediterranean.” In *Honor and Shame and the Unity of the Mediterranean,* edited by David D. Gilmore, 121–134. Washington, D.C.: American Anthropological Association.

Brandl, Rudolf Maria. 1989. “Continuity and Change in Oral Music History of a Greek Island (Karpathos).” In *Ethnomusicology and the Historical Dimension: Papers Presented at the European Seminar in Ethnomusicology, London (May 20–23, 1986)*, edited by Margot Lieth Philipp, 111–25. Ludwigsburg, Germany: Philipp.

Campbell, John Kennedy. 1964. *Honour, Family, and Patronage: A Study of Institutions and Moral Values in a Greek Mountain Community*. Oxford, United Kingdom: Clarendon Press.

Caraveli, Anna. 1986. “The Bitter Wounding: The Lament as Social Protest in Rural Greece.” In *Gender and Power in Rural Greece*, edited by Jill Dubisch, 169–194. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

Caraveli-Chaves, Anna. 1980. “Bridge Between Worlds: The Greek Women’s Lament as Communicative Event.” *Journal of American Folklore* 93, no. 368 (Apr. – Jun.): 129–157. Accessed June 15, 2015. http://www.jstor.org/stable/541009.

Chianis, Sotirios. 1988. “Survival of Greek Folk Music in New York.” *New York Folklore* 14, no. 3 (Jan. 1): 37–48. Accessed June 15, 2015. http://search.proquest.com.login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/docview/1290934286/fulltextPDF/6FA4DDBB0E3D447EPQ/1?accountid=14474.

Clifford, James, and George E. Marcus, eds. 2010 [1986]. *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Clogg, Richard. 2013. *A Concise History of Greece*. Cambridge Concise Histories. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Cooper, David, and Kevin Dawe. 2005. *The Mediterranean in Music: Critical Perspectives, Common Concerns, Cultural Differences*. Europea Number 3. Lanham, M.D.: Scarecrow Press.

Danforth, Loring M., and Alexander Tsiaras. 1982. *The Death Rituals of Rural Greece*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

Dawe, Kevin. 1996. "The Engendered *Lýra*: Music, Poetry and Manhood in Crete." *British Journal of Ethnomusicology* 5: 93–112. Accessed June 16, 2015. http://www.jstor.org/stable/3060868.

Demetriou, Nicoletta. 2013. "Kyriakou Pelagia: The Housewife/Grandmother-Star of Cyprus." In *Women Singers in Global Contexts: Music, Biography, Identity,* edited by Ruth Hellier, 112–130. Urbana, I.L.: University of Illinois Press.

Dicks, Brian. 1974. *Rhodes*. The Island Series. Harrisburg, P.A.: Newton Abbot, David & Charles.

Dubisch, Jill. 1972. "The Open Community: Migration from a Greek Island Village." Ph.D., Chicago, I.L.: The University of Chicago. Accessed June 16, 2015. http://search.proquest.com.login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/pqdtglobal/docview/302622239/2865F37C907045BCPQ/1?accountid=14474.

———. 1986. *Gender & Power in Rural Greece*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

———. 1993. "'Foreign Chickens' and Other Outsiders: Gender and Community in Greece." *American Ethnologist* 20, no. 2 (May): 272–287. Accessed June 16, 2015. http://www.jstor.org/stable/645646.

Du Boulay, Juliet. 1974. *Portrait of a Greek Mountain Village*. Oxford Monographs on Social Anthropology. Oxford: The Clarendon Press.

Fauriel, Claude Charles. 2010 [1999]. *Elliniká Dimotiká Tragoúdia* [Greek Folk Songs]. Heraklion, Crete: Crete University Press.

Foucault, Michel, and Colin Gordon. 1980. *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977*. New York: Pantheon Books.

Friedl, Ernestine. 1962. *Vasiliká: A Village in Modern Greece*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

———. 1967. "The Position of Women: Appearance and Reality." *Anthropological Quarterly* 40 (3): 97–108. Accessed June 16, 2015. doi:10.2307/3316943.

———. 1986. "The Position of Women: Appearance and Reality." In *Gender and Power*

in Rural Greece, edited by Jill Dubisch, 42–52. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

Gilmore, David D. 1982. "Anthropology of the Mediterranean Area." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 11: 175–205. Accessed June 16, 2015. http://www.jstor.org/stable/2155780.

Hanna, Judith Lynne. 1988. *Dance, Sex, and Gender: Signs of Identity, Dominance, Defiance, and Desire*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Hellier, Ruth, ed. 2013. *Women Singers in Global Contexts Music, Biography, Identity*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Herndon, Marcia, and Susanne Ziegler, eds. 1990. *Music, Gender, and Culture*. Intercultural Music Studies 1. Wilhelmshaven: Florian Noetzel.

Herndon, Marcia. 2000. "Epilogue: The Place of Gender within Complex, Dynamic Musical Systems." In *Music and Gender,* edited by Pirkko Moisala and Beverley Diamond, 347–359. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Herzfeld, Michael. 1982. *Ours Once More: Folklore, Ideology, and the Making of Modern Greece*. Dan Danciger Publication Series. Austin: University of Texas Press.

———. 1985. *The Poetics of Manhood: Contest and Identity in a Cretan Mountain Village*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

Hobsbawm, E. J., and T. O. Ranger. 1992. *The Invention of Tradition*. Past and Present Publications. Cambridge, N.Y.: Cambridge University Press.

Holst-Warhaft, Gail. 1983 [1975]. *Road to Rembetika: Music of a Greek Sub-Culture – Songs of Love, Sorrow, and Hashish*. Athens: D. Harvey.

———. 1992. *Dangerous Voices: Women's Laments and Greek Literature*. New York: Routledge.

———. 2003. "The Female Dervish and Other Shady Ladies of the Rebétika." In *Music and Gender: Perspectives from the Mediterranean*, edited by Tullia Magrini, 169–194. Chicago Studies in Ethnomusicology. Chicago, I.L.: University of Chicago Press.

———. 2005. "Re-Evaluating the Nisiótika." *Music and Anthropology: Journal of Musical Anthropology of the Mediterranean*, no. 10. Accessed June 16, 2015. http://www.umbc.edu.login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/MA/index/number10/holst/holst_0.htm.

———. 2011a. “Greek Women and Popular (*Laika*) Music.” In *Her Art: Greek Women in the Arts from Antiquity to Modernity*, edited by Diane Touliatos-Miles, 85–98. New York: Peter Lang.

———. 2011b. Review of “Paradosiaká: Music, Meaning and Identity in Modern Greece.”*Lied und populare Kultur* 56: 315–320. Accessed June 16, 2015. http://search.proquest.com.login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/docview/963621469?accountid=14474.

Kallimopoúlou, Eleni. 2009a. “Ethnomusicology and its Greek Meanings: Practices, Discourses, and Pedagogies in the University.” *The World of Music* 51, no. 3: 111–137. Accessed June 16, 2015. http://www.jstor.org/stable/41699910.

———. 2009b. *Paradosiaká: Music, Meaning and Identity in Modern Greece*. Burlington, V.T.: Ashgate.

Karás, Símonas I. 1981. *Méthodos tis Ellinikís Mousikís: Theoretikón* [Method of Greek Music: Theory]. Athens: Syllogos pros diadosin tis ethnikes mousikís.

Kazákos, Giórgos. 2014. Interview by Ari Mástoras and Allison Sokil at Difono café in Arhággelos, unpublished interview. July 11, 2014. Rhodes, Greece.

Kladákis, Giánnis. 2009. *Paradosiaká Tragoúdia tis Ródou* [Traditional Songs of Rhodes]. Rhodes, Greece: Stegi grammaton kai texnon Dodekanisou.

———. 2014. Interview by Ari Mástoras at the Mástoras Silver Workshop, unpublished interview. June 13, 2014. Rhodes, Greece.

Koskoff, Ellen, ed. 1987. *Women and Music in Cross-Cultural Perspective*. Contributions in Women’s Studies 79. New York: Greenwood Press.

———. 2014. *A Feminist Ethnomusicology: Writings on Music and Gender.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Kóza, Xristína. 2014a. Interview by Ari Mástoras and Allison Sokil at Lime restaurant in Faliráki, unpublished interview. July 14, 2014. Rhodes, Greece.

———. 2014b. Interview by Ari Mástoras and Allison Sokil in the village of Arhággelos, unpublished interview. July 21, 2014. Rhodes, Greece.

Kyriazí, Pagóna. 2014. Interview by Ari Mástoras at his family home in Kalithiés, unpublished interview. June 18, 2014. Rhodes, Greece.

Leacock, Eleanor Burke. 1981. *Myths of Male Dominance: Collected Articles on Women Cross-Culturally*. New York: Monthly Review Press.

Leontis, Artemis. 2009. *Culture and Customs of Greece*. Westport, C.T.: Greenwood Press.

Liavas, Lampros, Anna Karapanou, eds. 2007. Mousikí apó ta Dodekánisa [Music from the Dodecanese]. Athens: Ídrima tis Voulís ton Ellínon gia ton Kinovouleftismó kai ti Dimokratía.

Loizos, Peter, and Evthymios Papataxiarchis. 1991. *Contested Identities: Gender and Kinship in Modern Greece*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

Mackay, Mercedes. 1955. "The 'Shantu' Music of the Harims of Nigeria." *African Music* 1, no. 2: 56–57. Accessed June 16, 2015. http://www.jstor.org/stable/30249426.

Magrini, Tullia. 2003. *Music and Gender: Perspectives from the Mediterranean*. Chicago Studies in Ethnomusicology. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Mástora, Matína. 2008. *To Moirolói kai to Nanoúrisma, I ginéka os fílakas kai dimiourgós: Mia laografikí proséngisi gia tin periohí tis Dodekanísou* [The Lament and Lullaby, the Woman as a Guardian and Creator: A Folklore Approach for the Dodecanese Region]. Bachelor's thesis. Ilías Papadópoulos, supervisor. Thessaloníki: Panepistímio Makedonías.

———. 2014a. Interview by Ari Mástoras and Allison Sokil at the music school, unpublished transcript. June 9, 2014. Rhodes, Greece.

———. 2014b. Interview by Ari Mástoras and Allison Sokil at Matína's home, unpublished transcript. June 9, 2014. Rhodes, Greece.

———, 2014c. Interview by Ari Mástoras and Allison Sokil at the Mástoras Silver Workshop, unpublished transcript. June 11, 2014. Rhodes, Greece.

———. 2014d. Interview by Ari Mástoras and Allison Sokil at the Mástoras Silver Workshop, unpublished transcript. July 17, 2014.

———. 2015. Skype interview by Ari Mástoras and Allison Sokil, unpublished transcript. March 21, 2015. Edmonton, AB, Canada.

Mástoras, Dimítris. 2014. Interview by Ari Mástoras and Allison Sokil at the Mástoras Silver Workshop, unpublished transcript. June 15, 2014. Rhodes, Greece.

McClary, Susan. 1991. *Feminine Endings: Music, Gender, and Sexuality*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Merriam, Alan P. 1980 [1964]. *The Anthropology of Music*. Evanston, I.L.: Northwestern University Press.

Merry, Bruce. 2004. *Encyclopedia of Modern Greek Literature.* Westport, C.T.: Greenwood Publishing Group.

Moisala, Pirkko, and Beverley Diamond, eds. 2000. *Music and Gender.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Nash, Dennison. 1961. "The Role of the Composer (Part I)." *Ethnomusicology* 5, no. 2 (May): 81–94. Accessed June 16, 2015. http://www.jstor.org/stable/924322.

Nettl, Bruno. 2005. "I'm a Stranger Here Myself: Women's Music, Women in Music." In *The Study of Ethnomusicology: Thirty-One Issues and Concepts*, 404–418. 2nd edition. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Ortner, Sherry B. 1972. "Is Female to Male as Nature to Culture?" *Feminist Studies* 1, no. 2 (Autumn): 5–31. Accessed June 16, 2015. http://www.jstor.org/stable/3177638.

Ortner, Sherry B, and Harriet Whitehead, eds. 1981. *Sexual Meanings, the Cultural Construction of Gender and Sexuality*. Cambridge, N.Y.: Cambridge University Press.

Papahristodoúlou, X. I. 1994. *Istoría tis Ródou: Apó tous proistorikoús xrónous eós tin ensomátosi tis Dodekanísou (1948)* [History of Rhodes: From the Prehistoric Times to the Reunification of the Dodecanese]. Athens: Dimos Ródou – stégi grammáton kai tehnón Dodekanísou.

Pendle, Karin, Melinda Boyd, eds. 2010. *Women in Music: A Research and Information Guide.* New York: Routledge.

Peristiany, John G. 1974 [1966]. *Honour and Shame: The Values of Mediterranean Society*. Chicago: Midway Reprint.

Peristiany, John G., and Julian Alfred Pitt-Rivers, eds. 1992. *Honor and Grace in Anthropology*. Cambridge Studies in Social and Cultural Anthropology 76. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Pipinou, Titsa. 2012. I Ginékes tis Dodekanísou [Women of the Dodecanese]. Rhodes, Greece: Kasseris Publications.

Rice, Timothy. 2008. "Toward a Mediation of Field Methods and Field Experience in Ethnomusicology." In *Shadows in the Field: New Perspectives for Fieldwork in Ethnomusicology*, 2nd ed., 42–61. New York: Oxford University Press.

Ricks, David, and Roderick Beaton. 2009. *The Making of Modern Greece: Nationalism, Romanticism, and the Uses of the Past (1797-1896)*. Farnham, U.K.: Ashgate. Accessed June 16, 2015. http://login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/logi

n.aspx?direct=true&db=e000xna&AN=280491&site=eds-live&scope=site.

Rosaldo, Michelle Zimbalist, Louise Lamphere, and Joan Bamberger, eds. 1974. *Woman, Culture, and Society*. Stanford, C.A.: Stanford University Press.

Sachs, Curt. 1940. *The History of Musical Instruments*. New York: W. W. Norton and Company.

Sarikás, Panagiótis "Varvarás." 2014. Interview by Ari Mástoras, Matína Mástora, and Allison Sokil at Panagiótis home in Stegná, unpublished transcript. July 1, 2014. Rhodes, Greece.

Spyridákis, Giorgios, et al. 1962. *Elliniká dimotiká tragoúdia* [Greek Folk Songs]. Athens: To Laografikón.

Spyridákis, Giórgos, and Spiridon Peristéris. 1968. *Elliniká dimotiká tragoúdia: mousikí eklogí* [Greek Folk Songs: Musical Selections]. Athens: Akademía Athenón.

Sugarman, Jane C. 1997. *Engendering Song: Singing and Subjectivity at Prespa Albanian Weddings*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

———. 2004. "The Nightingale and the Partridge: Singing and Gender Among Prespa Albanians." In *Women's Voices Across Musical Worlds,* edited by Jane A. Bernstein, 261–284. Boston: Northeastern University Press.

Tolbert, Elizabeth. 2003. Review of "Music and Gender." *Women and Music* 7 (Annual): 76–82. Accessed June 16, 2015. http://login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=edsgao&AN=edsgcl.108722074&site=eds-live&scope=site.

Turino, Thomas. 2008. *Music as Social Life: The Politics of Participation*. Chicago Studies in Ethnomusicology. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Discography

Dragoúmis, Márkos Ph., Thanássis Moraítis, producers, publishers, and liner note editors. 2011. *Kai stis rodiás t'aéri: Tragoúdia apó ta Dodekánisa* [Breeze Through the Rosebush: Songs from the Dodecanese]. Ekdóseis tou mousikoú laografikoú arxeíou. Athens: Friends of the Music Folklore Archive CD 8. Compact disc.

Karás, Símonas. 1973. *Songs of Kasos and Karpathos.* Society for the Dissemination of National Music SDNM 103-4. 12" 33 1/3 rpm disc.

Karás, Símonas. 1975. *Songs of Rhodes, Chalki, and Symi.* Society for the Dissemination of National Music SDNM 103-4. 12" 33 1/3 rpm disc.

Kazoúlli, Vasilía, Giórgos Konstántzos. n/d. *Na 'n' óra kalí: Sklipená Tragoúdia kai Xoroí* [Songs and Dances from Asklipion]. Athens: Arxeío Ellinikís Mousikís AEM 103. Compact disc.

Kladákis, Giánnis, Giórgos Konstántzos. 2000. *Tragoúdia kai Xoroí tis Ródou: Me ton Giánnis Kladákis* [Songs and Dances of Rhodes: With Yiannis Kladakis]. Athens: Arxeío Ellinikís Mousikís AEM 020. Compact disc.

Konstántzos, Giórgos. n/d. *Tragoúdia kai Xoroí ton Dodekanison* [Songs and Dances of the Dodecanese]. Rhodes, Greece: Arxeío Ellinikís Mousikís AEM 012. Compact disc.

Konstántzos, Giórgos, Eiríni Gergatsoúlli-Giannoustá. 2007. *Tha Tragoudíso na Xaró: Apolakkiátika Tragoúdia kai Xoroí* [I'm Going to Sing for Joy: Songs and Dances from Apolakia]. Athens: Arxeío Ellinikís Mousikís AEM 104. Compact disc.

Konstántzos, Giórgos, Giánnis Kladákis. 2010. *Móshos Mirízei sto Xoró: Tragoúdia kai Skopoí tis V. D. Ródou* [Dances the Smell of Musk: Songs and Dances of Northwest Rhodes]. Athens: Arxeío Ellinikís Mousikís AEM 031. Compact disc.

Konstántzos, Giórgos, Giánnis Kladákis, Manólis Kyriazákos. 2004. *O Voskós ki o Vasiliás: Tragoúdia kai Xoroí tis Oreinís Ródou* [The Shepherd and the King: Songs and Dances of Mountainous Rhodes]. Athens: Arxeío Ellinikís Mousikís AEM 023. Compact disc.

———. n/d. *I Mousikí mas Parádosi: Tragoúdia kai Xoroí apó t'Apóllona Ródou* [Our Music Tradition: Songs and Dances from Apollona, Rhodes]. Athens: Arxeío Ellinikís Mousikís AEM 102. Compact disc.

Konstántzos, Giórgos, Vasiliá Kazoúlli, Eiríni Gergatsoúli. 2005. *Káto sti Ródo, sti Rodopoúla: Tragoúdia kai Xoroí apo ti Nótia Ródo* [Songs and Dances from Southern Rhodes]. Athens: Arxeío Ellinikís Mousikís AEM 028. Compact disc.

Kóza, Xristína. 1997. *Nisiótiko Glénti: Me ti Xristína Kóza* [Island Party: With Xristina Koza]. Self-produced. Compact disc.

Nostos. 2013. *Nostos*. Debut album. Giánnis Giakoumákis on classical guitar, Vangélis Kontópoulos on double bass, Dimítris Panagoúlias on percussion, and Matína Mástora on vocals. Recorded and produced by Vangélis Kontópoulos at M.A. Productions. Mixed by Giórgos Korres and Vangélis Kontópoulos. Mastered by Panagiótis Petronikolos. Xanthi, Greece: Red Tree Records Greece. Compact disc.

Siebel Newsom, Jennifer. 2011. *Miss Representation*. Directed, produced, and written by Jennifer Siebel Newsom. Edited by Jessica Congdon. United States: Girls' Club

Entertainment. DVD, 85 min.

Web Pages

"Dómna Samíou Biography." *Official Dómna Samíou Website.* Accessed June 15, 2015. http://www.domnasamiou.gr/?i=portal.en.home.

"Folk Music from the Greek Islands." *Níkos Ksiloúris Official Site and Online Store*. Accessed June 15, 2015. http://xilouris.gr/catalog/index.php?cPath=23_27.

"Hellenic Folklore Research Centre Publications." *Academy of Athens*. Accessed June 15, 2015. http://www.academyofathens.gr/ecportal.asp?id=731&nt=18&lang=2.

"Hellenic Music Archives Home Page." *Institoúto Érevnas Mousikís Kai Akoustikís* [Research Institute of Music and Acoustics]. Accessed June 15, 2015. https://www.iema.gr/greek_music_archive/?lang=en.

"Kókkino Déntro [Red Tree Records]." *Official Website for Red Tree Records Greece*. Accessed June 16, 2015. http://www.redtree.gr/.

"Map of Greece." 2015a. Courtesy of the University of Texas Libraries, The University of Texas at Austin. Accessed June 15, 2015. http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/europe/txu-pclmaps-oclc-679396312-greece_pol-2010.jpg.

"Map of Rhodes." 2015b. Courtesy of the University of Texas Libraries, The University of Texas at Austin. Accessed June 15, 2015. http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/europe/txu-pclmaps-oclc-679396312-greece_pol-2010.jpg.

"Mélpo and Octave Merliér Archives Home Page." *Kéntro Mikrasiatikón Spoudón* [Centre for Asia Minor Studies]. Accessed June 15, 2015. http://en.kms.org.gr/Archives/MelpoandOctaveMerlierArchives.aspx.

"Music School of Rhodes Official Website." *Mousikó Sholeió Ródou.* Accessed June 15, 2015. http://www.gymmousrodou.gr/?lang=el.

Nagel, Norbert. June 14, 2006. "Rhodes Old Town with Souvenir Shops, Rhodes, Greece." *Wikimedia.* Creative Commons License. Mörfelden-Walldorf. Accessed June 16, 2015. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Rhodes_old_town_Greece_5.jpg.

"Nostos by Nostos." *iTunes Website*. Accessed June 12, 2015. https://itunes.apple.com/gr/album/nostos/id839271884.

"O prótos thískos tou sigkrotímatos Nostos kikloforeí! [The First Record From Nostos is

Released!].” *Ogdoo Blog.* Nostos Album Review. Published May 13, 2014. Accessed June 16, 2015. http://www.ogdoo.gr/diskografia/nees-kyklofories/o-protos-diskos-tou-sygkrotimatos-nostos-kykloforei.

Papadimas, Lefteris, and Karolina Tagaris. 2015. “Greece to Present Reforms Package to Eurozone by Monday to Avoid Bankruptcy.” *Financial Post*. Accessed June 16, 2015. http://business.financialpost.com/news/economy/greece-to-present-reforms-package-to-eurozone-by-monday-to-avoid-bankruptcy.

“Nostos.” *Official YouTube Channel for Red Tree Records Greece*. Joined March 11, 2012. Accessed June 16, 2015. https://www.youtube.com/user/RedTreeGreece/featured.

Sokil, Allison. 2015. “SoundCloud Audio Thesis Supplement.” Created August 3, 2015. Accessed August 3, 2015. https://soundcloud.com/llisonokil.

“The Centre for Asia Minor Studies Home Page.” *Kéntro Mikrasiatikón Spoudón*. Accessed June 15, 2015. http://en.kms.org.gr/.

“Xristína Kóza.” *Xristína Kóza Official YouTube Channel*. Accessed June 16, 2015. https://www.youtube.com/user/XRISTINAKOZA.