

MUSICAL HYBRIDITY THROUGH GREEK DIASPORA:
IN THE CASE OF CALLIOPE TSOUPAKI AND YANNIS KYRIAKIDES

BY

ELYSE NOELLE DALABAKIS

SUPERVISED BY

PROFESSOR DONALD MAURICE AND PROFESSOR JOHN PSATHAS

A thesis
submitted to the Victoria University of Wellington
in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of
Master of Music in Performance

Victoria University of Wellington
Te Kōkī / New Zealand School of Music
2015

TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | |
|--|------------|
| TABLE OF CONTENTS | 1 |
| ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS | 2 |
| TABLE OF FIGURES | 3 |
| ABSTRACT | 4 |
| PREFACE | 5 |
| | |
| CHAPTER 1 | |
| THE CREATION OF THE MODERN NATION-STATE..... | 7 |
| RISE OF NATIONALISM IN EUROPE THROUGH THE ENLIGHTENMENT | 7 |
| THE GREEK NATION-STATE AND NATIONALISM IN THE 19TH CENTURY | 9 |
| NATIONALISM IN MUSIC | 17 |
| CHAPTER 2 | |
| IMPACT OF GREEK HISTORY AND DIASPORA ON MUSICAL STYLE | 20 |
| TRADITIONAL VS MODERN IN TERMS OF MUSIC | 20 |
| GREEK TRADITIONAL MUSIC..... | 21 |
| SOCIAL VS NATION MEMORY | 23 |
| GREEK DIASPORA AND IDENTITY | 24 |
| CHAPTER 3 | |
| IN THE CASE OF TWO LIVING, GREEK COMPOSERS | 28 |
| CASE STUDY METHODOLOGY..... | 28 |
| CALLIOPE TSOUPAKI: THE CASE OF AN ARTISTIC IMMIGRANT..... | 29 |
| YANNIS KYRIAKIDES: THE CASE OF MULTIPLE NATIONALITIES..... | 34 |
| IN THE CASE OF A PERFORMER | 38 |
| SUMMARY | 42 |
| APPENDIX 1: INTERVIEW MATERIALS..... | 44 |
| <i>Section 1.1: Interview Questions.....</i> | <i>44</i> |
| <i>Section 1.2: Calliope Tsoupaki Interview Responses.....</i> | <i>46</i> |
| <i>Section 1.3: Yannis Kyriakides Interview Responses.....</i> | <i>53</i> |
| APPENDIX 2: <i>KEY DATES</i> BY RICHARD CLOGG | 57 |
| BIBLIOGRAPHY | 64 |
| USB DEVICE WITH ADDITIONAL MATERIALS..... | BACK COVER |

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank a number of people who have contributed towards the success of this exegesis. Firstly, I would like express my appreciation to the New Zealand School of Music staff, students, and my colleagues for their constant support and encouragement. My appreciation goes to the Barbara Finlayson Scholarship Fund, as well, for their support during the 2015 year. In addition to these thanks, I would like to specifically recognise:

- Calliope Tsoupaki and Yannis Kyriakides: for their contributions towards my exegesis, for helping me further understand my “Greekness,” and for responding to my questions pertaining to their compositions.
- Professor Donald Maurice: for your unconditional support and encouragement throughout my entire degree – before, during, and now. Your guidance and mentorship has been a key pillar in the success of my completion.
- Professor John Psathas: for always inspiring me during our meetings and leaving me feeling “refreshed” as well as your assistance with the execution of this research.
- Dr Kimberly Cannady: for your encouragement, time, and inspiration in discussing my overall exegesis. The few meetings I had with you had a huge impact and for that I am eternally grateful.
- Ailsa Lipscombe, Connie, and the Lipscombe-Clement clan: for welcoming me into your family, for being a constant source of joy in my life, and for your endless reassurance. A special thanks to Ailsa for her tireless proof-reading and edits. Ailsa, you have been such an important part of not only my degree, but also my life here in New Zealand and beyond.
- Nana and Granddad: for always believing in me, my passions, and dreams. Also, innumerable thanks for inspiring this journey to New Zealand.
- Papou and Grandma: for being a source of light in my darkness and for your encouragement to follow my dreams and pursuits. Papou, thank you for exposing me to Greek music and culture. The memories I have with you will be with me forever.
- Hannah: my life, my love, my home. Thank you for partaking in this adventure with me. Today, and every day, you make my life so special by just being a part of it.

I would like to dedicate my thesis to my great-grandparents, Demetrios and Sophia Dalabakis, who were the catalyst to my family’s cultural hybridity, a source of inspiration and motivation, and whose journey to the United States inspired me to pursue this area of scholarship.

TABLE OF FIGURES

| | |
|--|----|
| FIGURE 1. GEOGRAPHY OF THE NATIONAL SCHISM: 'OLD' & 'NEW' GREECE IN 1916/17 ... | 13 |
| FIGURE 2. OUTCOME OF BALKAN WARS..... | 14 |
| FIGURE 3. EXPANSION OF THE GREEK STATE, 1832-1947 | 17 |
| FIGURE 4. CALLIOPE TSOUPAKI | 32 |
| FIGURE 5. YANNIS KYRIAKIDES..... | 37 |
| FIGURE 6. BAR 14 OF <i>ENIGMA</i> AS EXAMPLE OF GLISSANDO VS PITCH BENDING | 44 |
| FIGURE 7. FIRST TWO BARS OF <i>ECHOES OF GREECE</i> BY MICHAEL KIMBER | 45 |

ABSTRACT

This research explores the influence of Greek history and diaspora and its impact on Greece and the progression of Greek popular musical styles – traditional, folk, and *rebetika* music. This research examines the question: How have Greek music and musical styles impacted Greek composers now residing outside Greece? Through the lens of two case studies, this exegesis examines the effect of Greek history, diaspora, and the ever-transforming national and popular musical styles on two living Greek composers – Calliope Tsoupaki and Yannis Kyriakides, who both now teach at the Royal Conservatory of The Hague in Den Haag, Netherlands. Though these cases are similar, this is not a comparative study nor a conclusive study to be applied to a collective Greek experience; but rather an examination of the results of Greek diaspora in the twentieth century on not only Greece's musical styles but also the contemporary art music that is being created today by two Greek people residing outside Greece.

This exegesis examines concepts of *imagined communities* (Anderson 2006), *nationalism* (as discussed by Taruskin, Curtis 2008), *nationalism and music* (Bohlmann 2011, Curtis 2008), *diaspora* (Clifford 1994, Safran 1991, Clogg 1999), *traditional vs modern* (Cassia 2000), *social vs national memory* (Pennanen 2004), and *hybridity and popular music* in regards to *rebetika* (Holst-Warhaft 2003). Through applying these concepts towards the case studies in chapter three, this exegesis examines the results of the birth of the Modern Greek nation, Greek diaspora, progressive musical style, and the impact of musical styles on two living Greek composers who now reside outside Greece; furthermore, it explores what this means for their sense of Greek identity and hybrid identity.

By applying the Greek history from 1832 and the progression of its popular musical style discussed in chapters one and two to Kyriakides' and Tsoupaki's experiences, the third chapter of this research shows two real-world experiences concerning diaspora and migration and examines the discovery of their hybrid identities through culture and their compositions, as well examining my own position as a performer who identifies as a hybrid of nationalities through the final section of this exegesis - "In the case of a performer." The importance of these case studies is to explore the impact the nineteenth and twentieth century Greek diaspora had on the musical styles of Greece which has further influenced Kyriakides and Tsoupaki on their personal and musical journey as Greek people residing outside Greece.

PREFACE

This research was inspired by my great-grandparents' emigration from Greece due to the 1923 exchange of populations between Greece and Turkey, my own journey and understanding of "Greekness," as well as what it means to be a part of an "imagined community;" moreover, a community that exists outside of its place of origin.

Growing up, I struggled with understanding my own identity as after my parents divorced I was separated from my father's side, also the Greek side, of my family. Being Greek and a product of both of my parents, I had difficulty developing a sense of self. Throughout this time in my life, music provided me with stability and hope; moreover, when I finally reconnected with my Greek family, I realised that music was one of the key areas that brought us together. Likewise, I noticed the things I enjoyed most were reflections of my Greek family. I found my tastes in music had Greek influence—it is second nature for me to hear, identify and sing-along to the rhythmic and melodic patterns of my Papou's favourite Greek folk music.¹ Through these little discoveries of my heritage, I was able to find a greater sense of self not only as a human being, but also as a musician, instrumentalist, and violist. This awareness of self was realized through the many commonalities I share with my relatives. I did not need to feel unsure of myself any longer—I *am Greek*. However, my identity does not stop there as I consider myself to be Greek-American, a hybrid of heritage and culture; a hybrid identity that impacts me as a performer.

It is due to self-reflection and the discovery of my passions during my pursuit of my Bachelor of Music that I have chosen to continue to study viola, specifically works written by living, Greek composers, at the Masters level. This exegesis adds to scholarship and discussions pertaining to Greek diaspora, Greek history, Greek studies, transnational studies, modernity vs tradition, nationalism, and identity through music.

This research begins in chapter one with a discussion of the creation of the modern "nation-state" and the rise of nationalism in Europe during the Enlightenment and explores how this concept was later adopted in Greece concurrently with the Greek War of Independence from the Ottoman Empire in 1832. To fully understand the impact of Greek history and Greece's position through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in relation to the two case studies, the third chapter then applies these concepts discussed in chapters one and two to Greek composers who reside outside Greece, Calliope Tsoupaki and Yannis

¹ "Papou" is the Greek name for grandfather.

Kyriakides, to further examine their own perceived and received identities and compositional style as that of hybrids. Furthermore, these concepts are then applied to me, as a person who identifies as a hybrid, and what this implies for my status and identity as a performer and viola player.

To understand musical hybridity, this exegesis points to the epilogue of *Songs of Minotaur – Hybridity and Popular Music in the Era of Globalization: a comparative analysis of Rebetika, Tango, Rai, Flamenco, Sardana, and English urban folk*:

Applied to our specific subjects, musical hybridization refers to a socially and culturally significant coalescence of unlike styles including those from different cultures or ethnic traditions....²

In the case of Tsoupaki and Kyriakides, their hybridity stems from their personal experiences abroad and within Greece, as well the connectivity of their experience with their heritage from a distance. For me, my hybridity stems from a similar place – a place developed through an inherent feeling of being Greek (*instinct*) and learned behaviours and information via my memories with my Greek family, as well as the research I have undertaken for this exegesis and the subsequent discovery of myself (*intellect*).³

To close this preface and to open my first chapter, I leave the reader with a quote that examines the “consequences of social and cultural change related to increasing migrations” and music’s portable role in this process from the epilogue of *Songs of Minotaur – Hybridity and Popular Music in the Era of Globalization*:⁴

It is no exaggeration to state that... music permits us to maintain our relationship with lost space and tradition, although the musical bridge, constructed from a distance, from now and here back to there and then, has to be treated as a new, transcultural and hybrid construction of significance and identity.⁵

² Gerhard Steingress, “What is hybrid music? An Epilogue,” in *Songs of Minotaur – Hybridity and Popular Music in the Era of Globalization: a comparative analysis of Rebetika, Tango, Rai, Flamenco, Sardana, and English urban folk*, (New Brunswick and London: Transaction Publishers, 2002), 310.

³ The terms *instinct* and *intellect* are used in the final section of this exegesis to demonstrate the combined need for both when performing hybrid music.

⁴ Gerhard Steingress, “What is hybrid music? An Epilogue,” 299.

⁵ *ibid*

CHAPTER 1

THE CREATION OF THE MODERN NATION-STATE

RISE OF NATIONALISM IN EUROPE THROUGH THE ENLIGHTENMENT

During the Enlightenment, the creation of the modern European nations began simultaneously with the development of modern European music.⁶ The need to have “national symbols and sounds” stemmed from historical events, such as the French and American Revolutions, and both – the revolutions and this need for “national symbols and sounds”- exemplified the collective of their citizens.⁷ As Bohlman states:

The European nation-state first took shape in the Enlightenment. The Enlightenment assumed different and distinctive forms throughout Europe, but even such differences were anchored in linguistic and historical distinctions that were, at root, national. After the Enlightenment and the historical events that put its theories into practice, especially the French and American revolutions, and after the rise of French imperialism under Napoleon, the European nation was radically different. For the first time the nation began to embody its citizens. The Enlightenment nation could, and indeed should, take account of its citizens.⁸

Through the creation of a nation-state, citizens, or the collective, cling to artefacts that embody their culture to solidify their national identity. Bohlman suggests that one of the ways in which nationalism came to the forefront in Europe was through the theory of “unisonance.” This was a term coined by Benedict Anderson around the time music began to take a nationalist approach. Bohlman defines “unisonance” as “the ways in which certain songs (e.g., national anthems) embody the nation when sung together by the nation’s citizens.”⁹ Unisonance was taken into action with the realisation of “folk,” and music coming from “folk” (e.g. folk music). Bohlman describes “folk” in simplified terms as “the people sharing the common culture of a nation.”¹⁰ Bohlman further suggests that the overall discovery of folk within European culture developed from the fact that “folk and Europe were linked by the history of the nation.”¹¹ That is to say, the history of the nation determined the folk aspect of the culture which in turn realises nationalist elements of the nation. Considering the linguistic and historical aspects of the newly developed nation-state, music that embodies nationalism would be expected to be representative of modern European nations.

⁶ Philip V. Bohlman, *Focus: Music, Nationalism, and the Making of the New Europe second edition* (New York: Routledge, 2011), 23.

⁷ *ibid*

⁸ *ibid*

⁹ *ibid*, 26.

¹⁰ *ibid*, 29.

¹¹ *ibid*

Interestingly, this fascination with creating nation-states occurred like a drop of water in a pond: a ripple effect. Through the demolition of colonial empires, the concept of the nation-state was born. To further define nation, consideration of Benedict Anderson's definition is imperative.

According to Anderson's *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*, a nation "is an imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign."¹² An "imagined community" is limited, Anderson points out, as "members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of the communion,"¹³ as such, there is an intangible sense of community, fraternity, or "togetherness," that stems from being a part of a "nation" no matter the size or awareness of nationalists to each other. Coined at a time of Enlightenment and the destruction of divine, religious, and hierarchical dynasties, the term 'nation' provokes a feeling of valuing sovereignty to nationalists. During this time in human history "nations dream[ed] of being free... The gauge and emblem of this freedom is sovereign state."¹⁴ A nation is not only imagined as limited and sovereign, but also as a community. Anderson explains, "...the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship. Ultimately, it is this fraternity that [made] it possible, over the past two centuries, for so many millions of people, not so much to kill, as willingly to die for such limited imaginings."¹⁵ The need for such terminology came about due to the fall of empires, or succeeding of nations. Anderson points to the loss of the "axiomatic grip" on three fundamental cultural concepts and print-capitalism as the means for solidifying collective national identity in the creation of new nation-states. The "axiomatic grip" refers to universally understood principles and truths associated with and promoted by empires and dynasties, which preceded nation-states. Anderson states that the three fundamental concepts that stood in the way of the development of a nation-state were firstly, the idea that "a particulate script-language offered privileged access to ontological truth;" secondly, the belief that "society was naturally organized around and under high centres – monarchs who were persons apart from other human beings;" and thirdly, the conception of "temporality in which cosmology and history were

¹² Benedict Anderson, *Imagined communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism* (London: Verso, c2006), 6.

¹³ *ibid*

¹⁴ *ibid*

¹⁵ *ibid*

indistinguishable, the origins of the world and of men essentially identical.”¹⁶ Relating these fundamental concepts to print-capitalism, Anderson states:

Combined, these ideas rooted human lives firmly in the very nature of things, giving certain meaning to the everyday fatalities of existence (above all death, loss, and servitude) and offering, in various ways, redemption from them. The slow, uneven decline of these interlinked certainties, first in Western Europe, later elsewhere, under the impact of economic change, ‘discoveries’ (social and scientific), and the development of increasingly rapid communications, drove a harsh wedge between cosmology and history. No surprise then that the search was on, so to speak, for a new way of linking fraternity, power and time meaningfully together. Nothing perhaps more precipitated this search, nor made it more fruitful, than print-capitalism, which made it possible for rapidly growing numbers of people to think about themselves, and to relate themselves to others, in profoundly new ways.¹⁷

Print-capitalism helped to promote the three fundamental culture concepts and further the sense of a collective national identity that needed to occur to create a modern nation-state. Shortly after the development of the nation-state and the progression of print-capitalism, the concept of nationalism began to trickle down into neighbouring territories, as was the case for Greece and the Ottoman Empire at the beginning of the 1800s with the Greek War of Independence and the spark of the “Great Idea,” or *Megali Idea*.

For the purposes of this exegesis, Anderson’s definition of nation will be used to describe and discuss larger issues dealing with Greece, Greek diaspora, and elements of nationalism stemming from the breakdown and reinvention of Greece beginning in the nineteenth century.

THE GREEK NATION-STATE AND NATIONALISM IN THE 19TH CENTURY

The following discussion of Greek history and events is relevant insofar as it illustrates the prolonged struggle for national identity felt in Greece beginning in 1832. For the sake of the current exegesis, this discussion focuses on the Greek War of Independence, the “Great Idea,” the National Schism, the First Balkan War, the First World War, the Greco-Turkish War (1919-1922), the Second World War, the Greco-Italian War of 1940 and the Greek Civil War (1946-1949).¹⁸ This research focuses on these events as they show the progression of the Modern Greek nation-state, development of nationalism in Greece, and

¹⁶ Anderson, *Imagined communities*, 36.

¹⁷ Anderson, *Imagined communities*, 36.

¹⁸ See Appendix 2: Key Dates by Richard Clogg for a more detailed list of key dates in Greek history from *A concise History of Greece: second edition*.

point to the two pivotal events that impacted the two composers: the Greek dictatorship and 1974 Turkish invasion of Cyprus, examined in chapter three. Although there are many events in Greek history from 1832 that are not mentioned here, these events in particular help to paint the picture of the progression of Greece from 1832 to 1974. As well, it is important to note that the three events of Greek history that pertain to Tsoupaki, Kyriakides, and myself are the Greek dictatorship, the 1974 Turkish invasion of Cyprus, and the 1923 population exchange between Greece and Turkey; however, in order to understand the impact these events had on Greece at the time it is important to discuss the events leading up to these pivotal moments in history.

On 7 May 1832 Greece became an independent state during the London Conference, free of the Ottoman Empire; however, there was still a heavy Ottoman occupation for the next one hundred years until 1924.¹⁹ Simultaneously as Greece became an independent state, British, French, and Russian diplomats decided Greece would be ruled by the monarchy at the Conference of London of 1832 without conferring with Greece. For a period of 30 years (1833-1863), the Bavarian prince, Otto, took the throne, though it was still some time until a constitution was established.

The people's demands for a constitution sparked the concept of the "Great Idea" (*Megali Idea*), which was the need for Greek union - or rather an idea of unifying all the lands in which Greeks reside, though a firmly established Greek identity was not reached until well into the 20th century. The ideals trickling down from European nations began to influence the Greek people. As Hugh Seton-Watson comments "During the eighteenth century European education and ideas made themselves felt among a considerable part of the Greek people."²⁰ With the fall of King Otto, King George took the throne in 1864.²¹

Under the guidance of Britain and King George, Greece created a new constitution that implemented more democratic elements, including abolishing the Senate and reducing the powers of the monarchy.²² Unfortunately, Greece declared public insolvency in 1893 due to its weak economic situation – the result of Ottoman occupation, frequent change of political figures, and vague government structure from previous centuries.²³

¹⁹ Richard Clogg, *A concise history of Greece: second edition* (United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 46.

²⁰ Hugh Seton-Watson, *Nations and States: an Enquiry into the Origins of Nations and the Politics of Nationalism* (London: Methuan & Co. Ltd, 1977), 111.

²¹ Clogg, *A concise history of Greece*, 55-57.

²² *ibid*, 77-83.

²³ *ibid*, 271.

In addition, during this time in the nineteenth century, an official language had not been established, which in turn caused more strain on the concept of Greek identity. Since there were many different types of people living in different parts of Greece (e.g. Bulgarian-Greeks, Serbian-Greeks, Turkish-Greeks, Armenian-Greeks), language was diverse. It is due to the survival of the Greek Orthodox Church that the Greek language was still practised during the Ottoman Empire.²⁴

In Crete around this time, Eleftherios Venizelos was a young political leader who eventually would have a large influence on the internal and external affairs of Greece. He was elected in 1910 as Prime Minister of Greece, representing the Liberal Party – a political party supported mainly by the middle class. Venizelos was a strong promoter of the “Great Idea,” and planned to implement nationalistic elements to further unify the Greek people. His ideals greatly conflicted with those of King Constantine, which brought about the National Schism.²⁵

The National Schism was a series of disagreements between Venizelos and King Constantine I regarding Greece’s involvement in the Balkan Wars and World War I.²⁶ Generally, Venizelos was in favour of Greek involvement because he believed it would strengthen the “Great Idea,” whereas Constantine thought it would be best for Greece to stay neutral for fear of instability.

²⁴ Thomas W. Gallant, *Brief Histories: Modern Greece* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 3.

²⁵ Clogg, *A concise history of Greece*, 71.

²⁶ *ibid*, 87.

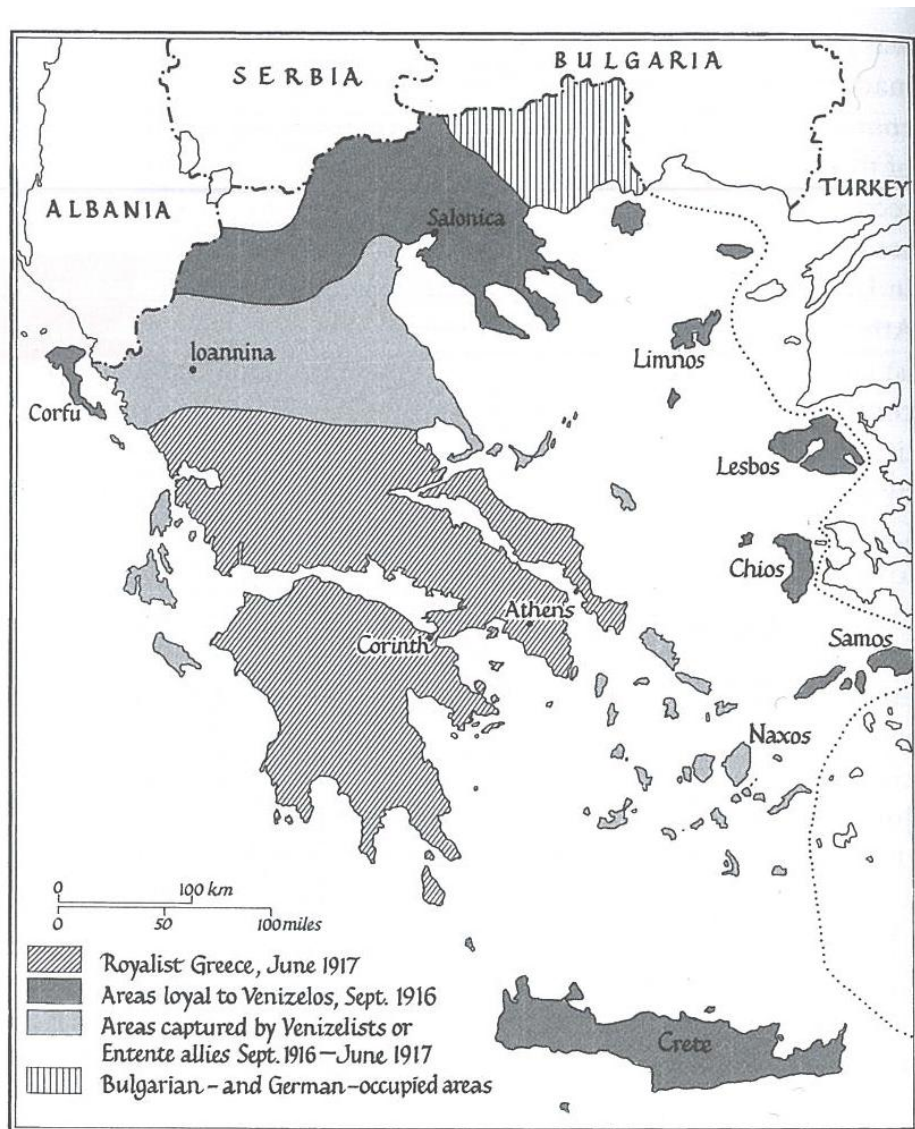


Figure 1. Geography of the National Schism: 'Old' & 'New' Greece in 1916/17²⁷

In 1912, the First Balkan War began. The Ottomans were defeated eventually by the four contributing parties: Greece, Serbia, Bulgaria, and Montenegro, who then scrambled to claim as much territory as they could for their respective countries. The war ended with the Treaty of London in 1913. Shortly after, dissatisfied with the division of territories amongst the four parties, the Bulgarians attacked Greece and Serbia. This marked the beginning of the Second Balkan War, in which the Bulgarians were defeated.²⁸

The war ended with the renouncement of the Treaty of London and the new installation of the Treaty of Bucharest, which left Greece with almost double the amount of land it previously controlled.

²⁷ Clogg, *A concise history of Greece*, 90.

²⁸ *ibid*, 79-86.



Figure 2. Outcome of Balkan Wars²⁹

With their newfound territory, Greece implemented the Treaty of Bucharest in surrounding countries such as Bulgaria, Romania, Serbia, and Montenegro.³⁰ This directly affected Greece during the First World War when Bulgaria declared war on Serbia on 14 October 1915.³¹ Since Greece had a surplus of newly claimed territory from the outcome of the Balkan War, Greek administrators wanted to remain neutral at this time; however, the threats made on their Serbian allies provoked Greece to come to their aid.

After the end of the First World War in 1918, new Greek territorial lines were being established with the Treaty of Sèvres in 1922.³² Under this treaty, Smyrna was to be governed by a local administration and to remain in the area of Ottoman occupation; however, in five years' time, Smyrna was to be given the option to choose to join the Ottoman Empire or Greece, though the city was never given that chance.³³

²⁹ Clogg, *A concise history of Greece*, 84.

³⁰ *ibid*, 81-87.

³¹ *ibid*, 85-88.

³² *ibid*, 93-97.

³³ *ibid*

During this time, a Turkish Nationalist Movement developed. Through this movement, Turks essentially rebelled against the Treaty of Sèvres, rejected Greek culture and fought for their own ideals; thus, the Greco-Turkish War from 1919-1922 began.³⁴ Through fighting for their new-found nationalism the Turks captured Smyrna - considered an epicentre of Greek identity and nationalism - and burned the city to the ground. Only Jewish and Turkish ghettos were salvaged. A mandatory population exchange was agreed upon by both sides, which saw the replacement of over a million Christians and half a million Turkish-Muslims and was based on “the exchange of religion, rather than language or ‘national consciousness’.”³⁵ Although this conflict involved land, the ultimate goal was to try to establish a national identity for both Greece and Turkey through religious agreement although “national consciousness” was disregarded – ultimately creating an unstable foundation for the “Great Idea” to continue, thus the “Great Idea” collapsed.³⁶ While the entire exchange process was long and chaotic, it also left Greece, an already unstable country, with millions of starving, new refugees; quite the opposite of the Treaty’s intentions. Two of these refugees were my grandparents, Sophia and Demetrios Dalabakis, who later emigrated from Greece to Ellis Island, New York in search of stability.

By 1923, the Greeks, yet again, were calling for a new constitution. One can only imagine the dismay and disorganisation that would occur in a country that has not established any “real roots” for almost 500 years. With more elections, the monarchy was abolished and a New Republic was born - although, this Republic was built upon unstable ground. The Greeks had just been through a battle with their neighbours, a World War, as well as bankruptcy. Before this, they had been suppressed for many centuries during the Ottoman Empire which prevented them from exposure to major Western eras of history (e.g. Enlightenment, Reformation, and Industrial Revolution). Through the concepts and thoughts associated with the “Great Idea,” the Greek people felt a need to establish concrete elements of nationalism, such as a constitution and an official language. They wanted a way in which they could unite themselves, despite the turmoil they had endured throughout their history; even though they did not yet have the resources to fulfil this idea.

After an intense series of disruptions - Venizelos spending a short period in exile, the overthrow of the Republic, the restoration of the Republic, the Great Depression, failed Venizelist military coups to restore the Republic, and declared and restored monarchy -

³⁴ Clogg, *A concise history of Greece*, 99.

³⁵ *ibid*

³⁶ *ibid*, 98-99.

Konstantinos Demertzis was assigned by King George as Prime Minister, shortly to be succeeded by Ioannis Metaxas in 1936.³⁷

Metaxas kept Greece neutral at the beginning of the Second World War; although ultimately he did not have much choice given the threat of an Italian invasion. This sparked yet another conflict: the Greco-Italian War of 1940 that resulted in a win for the Greeks and further driving the Italians back into Albania. Although the Greeks fought for their identity and country, they could not avoid invasion, even with the help of the British. By 1941, they were occupied by Germany. During this time, the Germans controlled all of the Greek assets which included fishing and food supplies. Preventing the Greeks from tending to their assets resulted in a widespread famine which killed hundreds of thousands of people from 1941-1942, especially in the winter months.³⁸ During the German occupation, a few resistance groups were formed; most notably, the National Liberation Front (Εθνικό Απελευθερωτικό Μέτωπο, *Ethniko Apeleftherotiko Metopo*, EAM). This coalition was mainly supported by Communist party members, but ultimately was one of the largest social movements of Greek history. Although there can be social stigma associated with communism, the Communist party in Greece represented the people, the workers, and the individuals impacted by these tragic events.³⁹

After the Germans withdrew their occupation in 1944, the previous government that had been exiled to Crete returned. However, the EAM and other resistance groups were at large throughout Greece. By the end of 1946, after many more elections, the Communist Democratic Party of Greece was created. Slowly, through 1947-1948 the National Army was able to gain control over significant areas of Greece and sparked the Greek Civil War between the remaining Communists. Through the National Army's success, they were able to regain control of Greece. Over 100 years later, it was as if Greece was in the same position as it had been in 1832.

³⁷ Clogg, *A concise history of Greece*, 115.

³⁸ *ibid*, 121-123.

³⁹ Ed Vulliamy and Helena Smith, "Athens 1944: Britain's dirty secret," *The Guardian*, November 30 2014, accessed 19 August 2015, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/nov/30/athens-1944-britains-dirty-secret>.

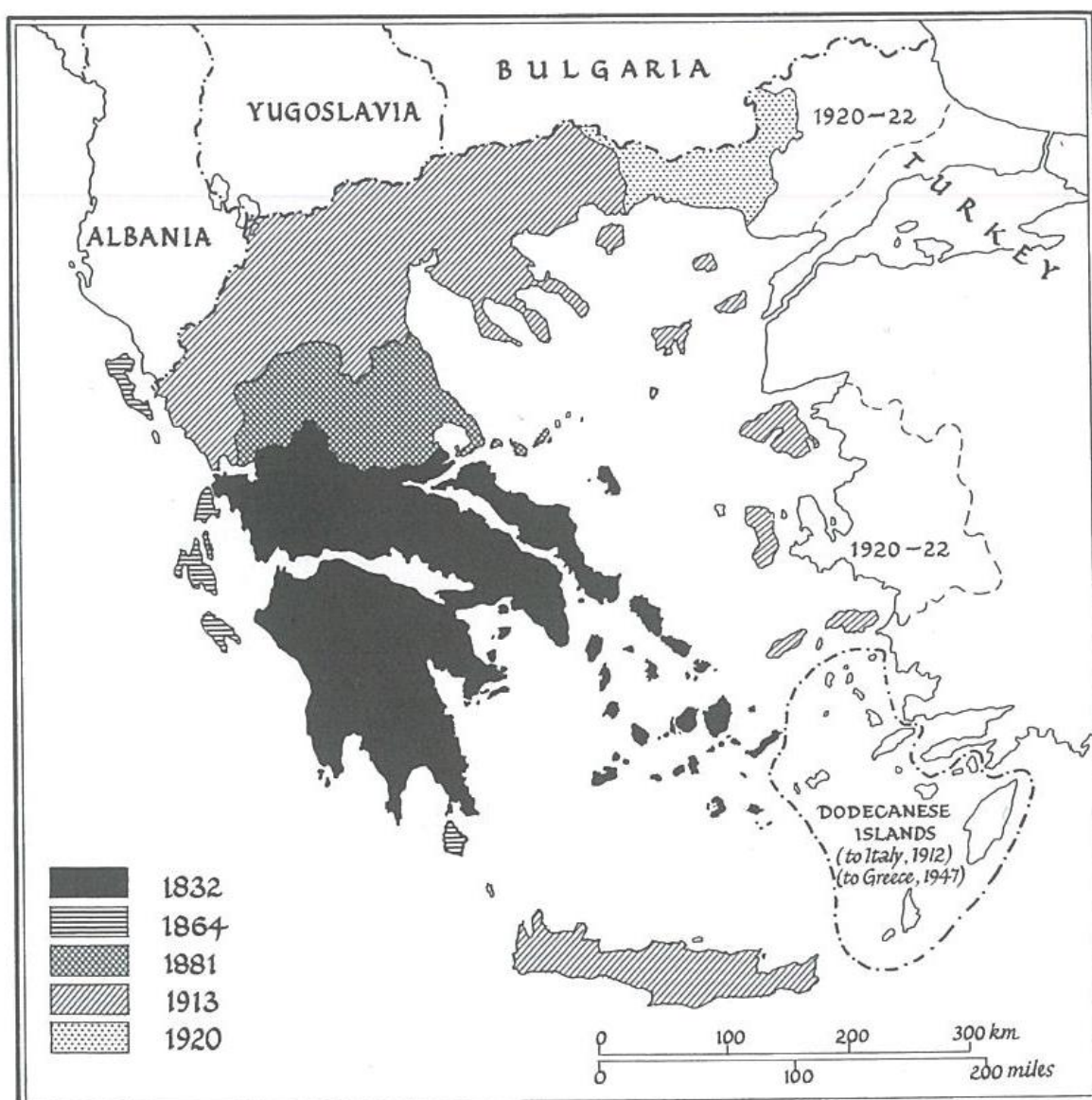


Figure 3. Expansion of the Greek state, 1832-1947⁴⁰

By 1967, the Greek military Junta, or Regime of the Colonels or the Dictatorship, had been established. The Junta reigned for seven years and only ended in 1974 with pressure from the Turkish invasion of Cyprus.⁴¹ The dictatorship and 1974 Turkish invasion of Cyprus were pivotal events not only in Greek history in the twentieth century, but also in the lives of the two living composers discussed later in chapter three.

⁴⁰ Clogg, *A concise history of Greece*, 42

⁴¹ *ibid*, 160-165.

NATIONALISM IN MUSIC

During the development of the nation-state, aspects of a community's culture were used to unite citizens for a community identity. Prominent examples of this can be found in dance, art, and music within eighteenth-century Europe and later in Asia Minor. Vital to this exegesis is an understanding of how to define nationalism within music. While Richard Taruskin defines nationalism as a "condition",⁴² this exegesis will examine Benjamin Curtis' perception in *Music makes the Nation*. Curtis states nationality is "an idea of a condition, perhaps (that condition presumably being a person's relationship to her communal group's culture and history), but nothing more tangible than that."⁴³ This is to say, if you are to define a person's relationship to a communal group's culture and history as a condition then nationality is the *idea* of that condition. Curtis then applies this theory to nationalism in music, stating:

Nationality, since it is not a thing, an essence, or a condition, cannot be found in music – it cannot be found on the printed page of a score or in the music as pure sound produced by a piano, a choir, or an orchestra. Rather, since nationality is an idea, it can truly only be found in the ideas about music. How do people think about nationality, and how do they think about nationality in music? Where do they think nationality in music comes from—from a "national spirit," from the influence of the landscape on a people, from the rhythms of a people's language?⁴⁴

This is not to say that a composer from a specific nation does not exude national qualities in their compositions, but rather these qualities of nationalism are personal composition techniques that have potentially been influenced by their respective nation. This could include influences from their nation's language, landscape, and "national spirit" and further suggests that national musical styles proceed in how ideas of a specific culture are realised through a work. As well, a work can only be considered national if it was the original intention of the composer.⁴⁵ Curtis goes on to explain his perception of the product of nationalism in music:

Instead of this unconscious, innate expression of nationality, we should instead conceive of nationality in music as the product of intent. A piece of music is nationalist, above all, because its composer wants it to be nationalist. A piece of music is nationalist by design. As Leo Treitler has persuasively argued, in order to understand a work of art and its place in history, we need to understand what the

⁴² Richard Taruskin, "Nationalism," *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, accessed 19 August 2015.

⁴³ Benjamin Curtis, *Music Makes the Nation* (New York: Cambria Press, 2008), 27.

⁴⁴ *ibid*

⁴⁵ *ibid*, 31-32.

artist's intentions were for the work. This sort of knowledge allows us to place the artist and his or her work in context, to analyze art and the production of art not in an intellectual vacuum but as inextricably linked to developments in society.⁴⁶

In chapter three, the intentions of Tsoupaki's and Kyriakides' work and compositions are discussed in relation to their identified hybrid compositional style, a style of multiple influences through their Greek heritage and now current location in the Netherlands.

Throughout the development of the Greek nation-state, there are many examples of Greek nationalism coming to the forefront of attention which have been discussed in context regarding the "Great Idea" – an irredentist movement within Greek history to encourage an overall national Greek identity after the Greek War of Independence. Although by the end of the Greek War of Independence there was a Greek state, the establishment of a Greek nation was just beginning. During the Ottoman Empire, most communities were divided according to religious association rather than ethnicity, which was also a division tactic used almost 100 years later with the 1923 exchange of minorities between Greece and Turkey regulated by the Lausanne Treaty, which further complicated language problems.⁴⁷ Considered one of the important aspects of nationalism in music, is the influence of language. Without a unified language, one can imagine the difficulty in finding an element of one's culture to latch onto to in order to create a sense of identity or belonging.

As an attempt to unify the country with language reform, Adamántios Korais created the *Ataka*, composed from 1828-1835, which is considered the first Modern Greek Dictionary.⁴⁸ The reform of the Greek language that was inspired by its classical past was favoured by the upper-class, but was unintelligible to the nation as a whole.⁴⁹ Hugh Watson-Seaton mentions the language divide in his book *Nations and States* and writes, "The differences between the two languages (*Kathairevousa* and *dimotiki*) became a difference of class and it accentuated the division of the nation; or rather, by dividing the Greek population it retarded the emergence of a Greek nation."⁵⁰ An important connection between language and Greek music is that traditional music from Greece was created by citizens considered to be lower-class and would most likely speak *dimotiki* instead of *Kathairevousa*. A discussion of Greek traditional and folk music reception in relation to upper and lower classes is examined in chapter two. It should be noted, however, that traditional and folk musicians

⁴⁶ Curtis, *Music Makes the Nation*, 31.

⁴⁷ Risto Pekka Pennanen, "The Nationalization of Ottoman Popular Music in Greece," *Ethnomusicology* 48 (2004), 2.

⁴⁸ Seaton-Watson, *Nations and States*, 114.

⁴⁹ *ibid*

⁵⁰ *ibid*

perform *dimotika*, or “songs of the people,” and therefore would speak *dimotiki*, “language of the people,” as opposed to *Kathairevousa*. Dimotiki is considered to have evolved over time from Ancient Greece; whereas, *Kathairevousa* was created to “fixat[e] on the classical past and ‘purif[y]’ [the] form of language” but was later demoted in 1976 as the standard Greek language.⁵¹ Although it took almost 100 years for *Kathairevousa* to be widely accepted, Greek traditional music has existed throughout the different Greek communities. The shape the Greek music took was largely due in part to the Greek diaspora throughout the twentieth century, the crossing of cultures, and the exchange of peoples. By examining these two composers and their place in Greek history in chapter three, this exegesis focuses on the composers’ intentions, the composers’ identity or self, and their self-identified hybrid compositional styles. These claims pertaining to hybrid identity and compositional style help to understand the developing society and identity of Greece in the case of two living composers.

⁵¹ Clogg, *A concise history of Greece*, 49.

CHAPTER 2

IMPACT OF GREEK HISTORY AND DIASPORA ON MUSICAL STYLE

TRADITIONAL VS MODERN IN TERMS OF MUSIC

When examining the emergence of a nation and its elements of culture, one must also observe not only the difference between “traditional” and “modern,” especially in terms of music, but also how these two concepts intertwine with each other. It is important to realise “modernity is increasingly pursued through the celebration of traditionalism.”⁵² For music, Paul Sant Cassia states “this celebration of traditions is expressed through *experiences of discovery* which should be *narrated*,”⁵³ implying that the rediscovery or celebration of tradition is communicated to listeners, either through words, music, or a combination of both. Although, Cassia uses this definition to discuss “traditional” music in Malta and other Mediterranean Societies,⁵⁴ the same can be applied to Greece. Cassia implies the preservation of culture lies in music and technological advancements, such as radio and the cassette. These recordings and transcriptions influence the present perception of identity through the lens of the past. Cassia cites Ghana as an example, “Ghana has come to *represent* tradition as tradition, rather than a residue or survival *of* traditional singing in the present...”⁵⁵

The same can be considered regarding traditional Greek music: once a form of peasant, or lower-class, entertainment and expression or a product of minorities, Greek traditional music developed through historical events (such as the Greek War of Independence and 1923 exchange of minorities between Greece and Turkey) into a popular national style known as *rebetika*.⁵⁶ Although the term was not formally adopted until well into the 1970s, recordings from the early 1920s and 1930s are considered to be under the umbrella of the *rebetika* genre.⁵⁷ *Rebetika* stems from the music of the rebetes, “men of waywardness and non-conformity;” the term now is used to encompass non-Western Greek popular music from the mid-1950s.⁵⁸

For the purpose of this exegesis, it is important to note that the phrase “Greek traditional music” also refers to Greek folk music. Specifically, *dimotika* refers to what most

⁵² Paul Sant Cassia, “Exoticizing Discoveries and Extraordinary Experiences: ‘Traditional’ Music, Modernity, and Nostalgia in Malta and Other Mediterranean Societies,” *Ethnomusicology* 44 (2000): 282.

⁵³ *ibid*

⁵⁴ Cassia refers to Malta in comparison to Cyprus, Greece, and southern Spain.

⁵⁵ *ibid*, 288.

⁵⁶ Instead of referring to the Greek singular, “*rebetiko*,” and plural, “*rebetiki*,” for music, I have chosen to refer to this genre as “*rebetika*” for the sake of consistency.

⁵⁷ Pekka Pennanen, “The Nationalization of Ottoman Popular Music in Greece,” 17-18.

⁵⁸ Risto Pekka Pennanen, “The development of chordal harmony in Greek rebetika and laika music, 1930s to 1960s,” *British Journal of Ethnomusicology* 6 (1997): 65, accessed 19 August 2015, doi: 10.1080/09681229708567262.

would call folk music, and is considered the “urban Greek popular music;”⁵⁹ whereas, *paradosiaká* refers to what can be considered as “traditional music.” Although also considered “urban music,” *paradosiaká* refer to Ottoman-occupied Greece, Asia Minor, and Ancient Greece.⁶⁰ It is important to note that while *rebetika* was revived in the 1960s, this rediscovery assisted in the revival of *paradosiaká* in the 1980s as part of the rekindling of these Greek musical styles. As the discussion of Greek popular music style in the forthcoming texts examines, Greek music has many different genres. These “types” of Greek music, which are quite different depending on the region of Greece, helped shape Greece’s popular music style into what it is today. To clarify, the terms “traditional” will be used to imply “folk,” and in some areas of this exegesis will be used together (e.g. Greek traditional and folk music), which is to offer clarification to the reader and imply that these styles are similar while also influencing each other.

GREEK TRADITIONAL MUSIC

Fivos Anoyanakis in *Greek Popular Musical Instruments* describes how Greece has been a “crossroads between East and West [that is] situated in the middle of two cultural currents of great influence.”⁶¹ Of course, he is referring to this influence taking place after the mid-nineteenth century due to Ottoman occupation, in which Greece was ostracised from other cultural movements. Additionally, typically “popular” Greek music or “modern” Greek music is defined as occurring after 1830.⁶²

Anoyanakis discusses the expressive power of Byzantine chant and its rhythmical variety, as well as the cultivation of the Greek folk song. He compares the early Greek folk songs, akritic (or acritic) songs, with that of ancient Greek dramas or tragedies: telling a story, ballad, or narrative. He delves into the cycles of folk song, such as the akritic cycle (ninth and eleventh century) and klephtic cycle (late Byzantine period and 1821). He later explains that in 1821 Greece saw a break in folk music and popular songs. He describes Greek folk songs as “diatonic or chromatic, in syllabic or melismatic style. As Byzantine music is monophonic and modal in structure...”⁶³ folk songs within the klephtic cycle were in association with the Klephts – Greek nationalists living as outlaws in the mountains during

⁵⁹ *ibid*

⁶⁰ Eleni Kallimopoulou, *Paradosiaká: Music, Meaning and Identity in Modern Greece* (England: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2009), 1.

⁶¹ Fivos Anoyanakis, *Greek popular musical instruments* (Athens: Melissa, 1991), 15.

⁶² *ibid* 25.

⁶³ *ibid*, 26.

the period of Ottoman rule over Greece, 1452 to 1832. The songs associated with Klephts are known as Klephtic ballads and are considered to be much like Greek poetry, as well as tending to embody nature, a stereotypical “Greek outlook,” and have been a medium for rejuvenation for Modern Greek poetry, Greek nationalism, and the progression of the national musical style of *rebetika*.⁶⁴

Anoyanakis also gives a short description on the Roma, or Gypsy, involvement in the progression of Greek music:

In earlier times it was not customary for the ‘locals to stoop to the profession of the instrument-player,’ thus instrumental music in Greece was essentially in the hands of the itinerant Gypsies. The most famous shawm and drum-players at the time were Gypsies. Gypsies played the best clarinet as well, and were known for their ‘good blowing’ and ‘caressing manner of playing.’ Instead of saying, ‘the instruments have come!’ people would shout ‘the Gypsies have arrived!’ so closely bound up with the Gypsies was the profession of popular musician to the Greek mind. As instrument-players, the Gypsies decisively influenced the evolution of an instrumental style, as well as, in certain instances, the very structure of folk melody. The embellishment of a melody with an ever-increasing number of intrusive [ornamental] notes in different rhythmical patterns, often contributed to the alternation of the true melodic and rhythmical appearance of the song in question. In regions where there were never any gypsy musicians, as in western Crete, songs having a chromatic augmented second are much rarer than in those areas where gypsy players performed and lived.⁶⁵

He further implies that the events of the twentieth century ultimately determined the fate of Greek music. Since Greek traditional music was made in and by small communities,⁶⁶ the author states that with the bombardment of western influence via print-capitalism during the Enlightenment and gramophone and radio during the Balkan Wars (as discussed in Benedict Anderson’s claim on print-capitalism regarding “imagined communities”), folk music was directly influenced. In addition, it is understood that the intention of traditional music was to tell a story, or recount events from the past; moreover, the aural essence of traditional music has assisted in immortalising collective experiences throughout Greek history via social memory.

⁶⁴ Noah Tesch, ed., *Cyprus, Greece, and Malta* (New York: Britannica Educational Publishing, 2014), 100.

⁶⁵ Anoyanakis, *Greek popular musical instruments*, 29.

⁶⁶ This type of music was once associated with lower-class citizens and during the Ottoman Empire Greece was comprised mainly of small communities determined by religious association rather than a unified collective as has been previously pointed out in chapter one’s discussion of Greek history.

SOCIAL VS NATIONAL MEMORY

As mentioned by Philip Bohlmann “connecting folk songs to the nation with acts of naming was first possible when the songs themselves demonstrated – or were recognized as demonstrating – the traits of a collective.”⁶⁷ Perhaps it can be assumed that through Greek historical events of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and Greek diaspora, as well as events preceding these centuries, Greeks may have used traditional music to represent and immortalise their silenced experiences, further pointing to the popular musical style today that incorporates elements of different genres of Greek music (e.g. sacred music pertaining to the Greek Orthodox Church, *dimotika*, *paradosiáká*).⁶⁸ Realising this in conjunction with the understanding that “the power of the folk to create folk music and thus respond with music to the conditions of their own lives” provides a deeper understanding of Greece, its historical events, how these events led to nationalism, and how nationalism further solidified Greek music as an element of “Greekness,” or Greek nationalism.⁶⁹

Recall that traditional and folk music of Greece has often been associated with peasants, or lower-class citizens. Even the initial reception of *rebetika* associated it with the lower-class and it was not until its revival in the 1960s that it was then considered a part of a national musical style. It has been a recent progression during the twentieth and twenty-first century for the Modern Greek nation to adopt the musical expression of traditional musicians and their compositional and improvisational skills as an element of Greek culture and Greek music. As previously stated, although not formerly adopted through official government recognition, or national memory, until well into the 1970s, it is clear that traditional music has been preserved through social memory and social recognition. The concept of social and national memory is addressed by Risto Pekka Pennanen in *The Nationalization of Ottoman Popular Music in Greece*. Pennanen claims:

Social memory is what individual social groups remember and talk about among themselves, so as to establish an identity for themselves that has roots in the past. James Fentress and Chris Wickham state that peasants, workers, and women, for instance, have particular ways of perceiving the past; their identity is based on other things than national identity. By contrast, since the advent of capitalism, national memory in each country has represented the way the upper middle classes and the intelligentsia perceive the past. It is the official history that is taught at school and support in media. The goal of national memory is the reconstruction, legitimization, and maintenance of the nation-state and national culture.⁷⁰

⁶⁷ Bohlmann, *Focus: Music, Nationalism*, 31.

⁶⁸ Anoyanakis, *Greek popular musical instruments*, 32.

⁶⁹ Bohlmann, *Focus: Music, Nationalism*, 29.

⁷⁰ Pennanen, “The Nationalization of Ottoman Popular Music in Greece,” 14.

It is obvious that despite an official recognition by national memory throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries until its revival in the 1960s, traditional Greek music has survived and progressed into its modern, popular form of *rebetika* that now presents a national Greek musical style through social memory; the social memory that influenced its traditional and folk musicians and continues the tradition today through modern performance practice. This can be seen through similarities between early twentieth-century recordings of Greek music, which were labelled in hindsight as *rebetika* or traditional Greek music after recognition in the 1960s, and today's recordings of Greek music under the genre of *rebetika*, or traditional music.⁷¹

GREEK DIASPORA AND IDENTITY

The tragic and influential events of Greek history outlined earlier in this exegesis comprise the twentieth-century experience known as the Greek diaspora. Firstly, to define diaspora in accordance with James Clifford's article *Diasporas*, he mentions William Safran's definition of the term:

'expatriate minority communities' (1) that are dispersed from an original "center" to at least two "peripheral" places; (2) that maintain a "memory, vision, or myth about their original homeland"; (3) that "believe they are not-and perhaps cannot be-fully accepted by their host country"; (4) that see the ancestral home as a place of eventual return, when the time is right; (5) that are committed to the maintenance or restoration of this homeland; and (6) of which the group's consciousness and solidarity are "importantly defined" by this continuing relationship with the homeland (Safran 1991:83-84).⁷²

Clifford then breaks down this definition to include the main features of diaspora: "a history of dispersal, myths/memories of the homeland, alienation in the host country, desire for eventual return, ongoing support of the homeland, and a collective identity importantly defined by this relationship."⁷³ For the purpose of the two case studies to be examined in chapter three and the remainder of this exegesis, the term diaspora will be used to describe expatriate minority communities that maintain a memory, vision, or myth about their original homeland, as well as to explain and describe historical events in Greece and those individuals from Greece who have relocated to other countries, specifically two living, Greek composers

⁷¹ See Pennanen, "The development of chordal harmony in Greek rebetika and laika music, 1930s to 1960s."

⁷² James Clifford, "Diasporas," *Cultural Anthropology* 9, no. 3 (1994), 305.

⁷³ *ibid*

who now reside in the Netherlands. Moreover, this terminology will be used to examine the common result of diaspora: people living outside their homeland.⁷⁴

To define Greek diaspora specifically, this research turns to Iannis Hassiotis' definition:

As a rule, the modern Greek diaspora is generally connected with that segment of the Greek people which having settled, not necessarily permanently, in countries or regions outside of the 'Greek homeland,' has continued in various ways to maintain its material, social, and above all its ideological and emotional ties with the Greek 'national centre.'⁷⁵

In regards to the two case studies that will be discussed in chapter three, these participants – Calliope Tsoupaki and Yannis Kyriakides - have settled in a country outside Greece but remain connected to Greece through ideological, emotional, inspirational, and familial ties which they have expressed in their interview questionnaire responses.

One can only imagine the number of identified Greek people living outside Greece must be massive, considering there are roughly ten million people accounted for in the 2011 Greek census in comparison to the over one million identified Greek people in the 2011 American census.⁷⁶ Statistically, in Greece's case, it seems there are more people of Greek descent who live outside Greece than within Greece's territorial divisions. For example, today Melbourne, Australia houses one of the world's largest Greek populations outside Greece - 252,217 Greek speakers to be exact, according to the 2011 Australian census.⁷⁷ Of those 252,217 Greek speakers, 54.4% of them were born in Australia whereas 34.9% of them were born in Greece.⁷⁸ As well, by examining the charts of Greek immigration one can see how the largest influx of Greek people to Australia occurred in the 1960s; coincidentally, around a delicate time in Greek history.⁷⁹

The results of diaspora and migration can be bittersweet. The high influx of immigration to a new area can lead to a lower number of citizens living in their homeland, but also can influence the "new" home through crossing of cultures. In the case of Greek diaspora, Greeks have retained their "Greekness" via naturally occurring elements of

⁷⁴ Clifford, "Diasporas," 302-338.

⁷⁵ Iannis Hassiotis, "Past and present in the history of modern Greek diaspora," in *Diaspora, Identity and Religion: New directions in theory and research*, ed. Waltraud Kokot et al. (London and New York: Routledge, 2004), 95.

⁷⁶ "Press release: publication of provisional results of the 2011 population census," last modified 22 July 2011, http://www.statistics.gr/portal/page/portal/ESYE/BUCKET/General/A1602_SAM01_DT_DC_00_2011_01_F_EN.pdf and "U.S. Census Bureau," last modified 22 December 2011, <http://ia601608.us.archive.org/26/items/2011AmericanCommunitySurveyAncestry/2011Acs.pdf>.

⁷⁷ "SBS Census Explorer", last modified 21 June 2012, <http://www.sbs.com.au/censusexplorer/>.

⁷⁸ *ibid*

⁷⁹ Rajeshni Naidu-Ghelani, "Greeks Flock to Australia as Recession Hits Hard," 14 June 2012, accessed 19 August 2015, <http://www.cnn.com/id/47808864>.

nationalism, such as dance, art, poetry, and contemporary art or traditional and folk music verses integrating Greek culture and/or aesthetics into a pre-existing culture (e.g. Australian culture).

When referring to “Greekness,” this research turns to a quote from Eleftherios Venizelos in the aftermath of the First World War at the Versailles Peace Conference: “A Greek is a person who wants to be Greek, feels he is a Greek, and says he is a Greek.”⁸⁰ While the contemporary national memory recognises Greek music as a part of “Greekness,” it has been the social memory – the wanting for and the feeling of, embodying “Greekness” by the collective – that has preserved this idea of “Greekness” within music through traditional and folk music.

When using the phrase “naturally occurring elements” this means elements of cultures that occur naturally, such as human expression relating to artistic mediums previously mentioned (e.g. dance, art, poetry, and contemporary art or traditional and folk music verses). This is not to say that Greeks have not been influenced by the other countries in which they have been dispersed, but rather to say their national identity transcends territorial divisions through their culture. This exegesis examines the effects of diaspora, issues of Greek history, and how these events influenced Greek art and folk music; moreover, how these issues echo with the experiences of the two Greek composers that are case studies addressed in a later chapter.

In part, the tendency of Greek dislocated people to cling to elements of Greek culture that comprise “Greekness” stems from the centuries of suppressed Greek identity - beginning with the Ottoman Empire, moving through the nineteenth century, and taking a ‘step backwards’ in the twentieth century - during which time, these elements of “Greekness” were being positioned, but were not yet finalised or recognised, in the national memory. When discussing Modern Greece today, the first thoughts that come to mind may be regarding the economy, riots and protests; or perhaps, Byzantine Empire, mythology, the birth of Western civilisation. Either way, Modern Greece has been formed over time through diaspora that has not only impacted its territory divisions and overall culture, but also influenced its national identity.

As Khachig Tölölyan discusses in *The Nation-State and Its Others: In Lieu of a Preface*, coming to terms with one’s own experience of hybridity and multiple belongings can be an experience felt by many authors writing about diaspora. The same can be true for

⁸⁰ Richard Clogg, ed., *The Greek Diaspora in the Twentieth Century* (Great Britain: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1999), 16.

composers involved in or experiencing the effects of living outside their identified “homeland.” Composers who have been a part of diaspora, relocation, and/or living outside their homeland cannot deny this experience as an element of their being; furthermore, they must come to terms with these experiences when composing, as the act of composition is the act of expression.

For myself, a person who identifies as a hybrid of nationalities and writing about diaspora within the context of my heritage, it was imperative for me to come to terms with my own experience of being dislocated not only from Greece but also my Greek family when I was growing up in the United States of America. Through coming to terms with my own experiences, I feel I am able to empathise with these two case studies, which further helps me to understand their identified compositional style and do justice to their works.

As mentioned in the introduction of *Diaspora, Identity, and Religion*:

The logic of the sedentary persists in the lived experience of the transnational, even if it is currently neglected in scholarship. Any diaspora is still a space of real and imagined relations between diasporic communities as well as between them and the homeland. But this space is still composed of places, of localities that are both sites of settlement and nodes in a transnational network of mobility and communication.... The different strands of interconnectedness of diaspora, identity and locality are open for empirical research as well as for theoretical debate.⁸¹

This exegesis examines the relation of these “strands of interconnectedness” through the acknowledgement of historical events that were the catalyst for Greek nationalism in chapter one, a discussion of Greek diaspora in chapter two, and realisation of identity through “imagined communities” outside one’s homeland. The recognition of inspirations and influences associated with a relocated person’s local community through their self-identified hybrid nationality is explored in chapter three via two case studies and the final section, “In the case of a performer.”

⁸¹ Waltraud Kokot et al., introduction to *Diaspora, Identity and Religion: New directions in theory and research* (London and New York: Routledge, 2004), 5.

CHAPTER 3

IN THE CASE OF TWO LIVING, GREEK COMPOSERS

CASE STUDY METHODOLOGY

Consideration of the historical events and concepts behind diaspora and nationalism begs the question: how have these processes impacted living Greek composers who reside outside Greece today? What does this mean for their identity, their compositions? What elements of their heritage do they consider to be a part of them or woven into their compositions? Do they reject their “Greekness,” or embrace it? Or perhaps do they cling to elements of the culture and country in which they currently reside, or a combination of both? To find a solution to these questions I chose to explore the personal experiences of two composers, Calliope Tsoupaki and Yannis Kyriakides, through an interview questionnaire. For the sake of the performance component of my degree, I have chosen Greek composers who have written for viola. Some of these works are included in my final recital in October 2015.⁸² As well, these composers have identified their compositional style as “hybrid” – that is to say, both composers feel their style of composition is a melding of many different styles and influences.

My interview questionnaire was designed to explore the impact Greek history had upon both of their lives, which resulted in both composers living and working outside Greece. As well, I enquired how Greek folk and traditional music influenced not only their sense of self but also their compositions. Their responses to my participant questionnaire assisted in my exploration of their experience through departing their home country and realising the ways in which they felt connected to Greek folk music, either personally, through their compositions, or a combination of both.

While these two questionnaires are not a comparative study, their responses do show similarities and point towards a similar direction: the development of a musical style that is inherently Greek, yet not of a Greek national style (e.g. *rebetika*) but rather a transformative musical style that blends identity, heritage, and culture – a musical hybridity. It is important to note that while Kyriakides’ and Tsoupaki’s experiences are similar, these are two case studies and cannot be applied as a general statement or stereotypical experience of Greek individuals impacted by Greek historical events and diaspora or Greeks living outside Greece.

I have explored the responses of my participants through the framework of theories developed in this exegesis: migration due to historical events, formation of identity through

⁸² To view a copy of my October 2015 recital programme, refer to the file title “October 2015 Recital Programme” which can be located on the included USB device.

“imagined communities,” the formation of an “imagined community” through elements of Greek nationalism such as traditional and folk music, and the overall influence these concepts have had on their lives, their compositions, their self-perceived identity as composers of Greek descent residing outside Greece, and identity of their musical style as a hybrid, or fusion, of different styles.

This exegesis takes these case studies a step further and applies concepts of hybridity and identity to the case of a performer - myself. Specifically, in the case of a Greek-American violist living outside Greece and the United States; and furthermore, how this experience as an artistic immigrant and dislocated person impacts and influences a performer’s ability to execute the works of these composers.

CALLIOPE TSOUPAKI: THE CASE OF AN ARTISTIC IMMIGRANT⁸³



Figure 4. Calliope Tsoupaki, image from personal website

Born in Piraeus, Greece in 1963 Calliope Tsoupaki’s compositional style is a unique blend of “early and contemporary music as well as the music of Greece and the Middle East.”⁸⁴

She has held composer residencies for institutions such as Sweelinck Conservatorium Amsterdam and Institute for Research on Music and Acoustics (IEMA) Centre Contemporary Music Athens, as well as teaching composition

at the Royal Conservatoire The Hague from 2007. She has also composed commissions for

the Holland Festival of 2008, 2010, 2014, and 2015. The mixture of early and contemporary as well as Greek and Middle Eastern elements in Tsoupaki’s compositions provides a style that is completely her own and has projected her as one of the defining composers of contemporary Dutch music culture. Tsoupaki started her musical career on the piano at Hellinicon Conservatory in Athens, Greece, where she pursued tertiary studies with a focus in

⁸³ Calliope Tsoupaki, email message to Elyse Dalabakis, 14 June 2015.

⁸⁴ “Calliope Tsoupaki website bio,” accessed 19 August 2015, <http://www.calliopetsoupaki.com/>.

piano and music theory.⁸⁵ Although her main focus at the time was practising piano and study, she also taught music theory to children.⁸⁶

Although her departure from Greece was not entirely due to one specific event, but rather because of artistic immigration,⁸⁷ she recounted a memory from her childhood in our interview regarding her experience in Greece at the time:

One particular event I remember was an instance where my father and mother were listening to a song very, very soft...very, very soft on our pick-up, and I said 'What's going on here? Why is this music so soft?' 'No, no, no this guy is a criminal, we should never, never listen to the music again.' It was music by [Mikis] Theodorakis. So of course, I remembered that. Later on the dictatorship was more influential because of the politic-neo event in Athens when the students were fighting against the dictatorship and many of them were killed by tanks...I was a child but this was a very, very powerful experience and you didn't know what would happen, perhaps my father would go have to fight – Cyprus, you know, was attacked so it was very...these moments of course are unforgettable. The influence of Greece for me is in the 60s, 70s and 80s when it was kind of very warm, warm Greece with the Byzantine music in the church and the popular songs by pop singers.⁸⁸

When asked if she composed while living in Greece, she stated at the time of her studies in Athens she was not a full-time composer but composed “songs on the side, for [herself], when [she] was fourteen/fifteen.”⁸⁹ Although her early teachers in Athens were not particularly encouraging towards her pursuit in composition, her later courses in Delphi, Greece with Iannis Xenakis fuelled her drive to write music. Before moving to Amsterdam to study with Louis Andriessen, she made her way to Darmstadt in Germany and consequently met Morton Feldman in her early twenties. During her time in Darmstadt, she developed her musical pallet and stated in her response when asked about specific memorable experiences that influenced her and/or her career:

My composition was not really encouraged by early teachers, but was later fuelled by my own drive and participation in courses in Delphi and with [Iannis] Xenakis. Going to Darmstadt [in Germany] in my early twenties was important because I was hearing all the music I didn't want to write, and I also met [Morton] Feldman while I was there before moving to Amsterdam. Deciding to leave Greece was very, very decisive for my career...my decision to move to Amsterdam to study with Louis Andriessen was very important to me. As well, there were many

⁸⁵ See Appendix 1: Interview Materials, Section 1.2, Question 3.

⁸⁶ *ibid*, Question 3.

⁸⁷ Tsoupaki uses the terminology “artistic immigrant” to describe herself as there was not a single event in Greek history that led her to her departure; but rather, her departure occurred due to her need to satisfy her desire to become an artist – something she felt was not possible if she remained in Greece. Her reasons for leaving Greece are discussed further in this section.

⁸⁸ *ibid*, Question 4.

⁸⁹ *ibid*, Question 2.

composers there in Amsterdam in 1988 who were very inspiring – Cage, Ligetti – and this was an important time in my early career.⁹⁰

Through the exposure she received from travelling abroad and experiencing different types of music, Tsoupaki knew she needed to further her compositional career outside Greece. Although there was not a particular historical or political event that was the catalyst for her departure from Greece, Tsoupaki explained how difficult it would have been to become a successful and sought-after composer, especially a composer who specialises in a genre other than Greek folk or traditional music, in Greece. When asked if she feels connected to Greece as a whole while residing outside Greece, she explained that:⁹¹

...to develop as a composer was very difficult because you must have performances, and if this is a problem it's not a question of being ambitious [and writing] lots of pieces and having a career, it's a question of being a composer! Without performances you cannot be a composer - it's very simple. So, I left because of that and I was very hard to get it here [Amsterdam] but I tell you there is something in the air there [in Greece] that you cannot find anywhere else...and this is very true. I mean, it is not by chance that so many people are so crazy about Greece. So I feel both – I am connected to particular part of Greece but also Greece as a whole.⁹²

Through my interview with Tsoupaki and other research relating to Greek music, it seems the music that is supported today in Greece is traditional or folk music and therefore musicians, in order to be supported, must fit themselves into a specific genre. Tsoupaki longed for her own identity, one where she could express her love for her Greek heritage but compose in a style that was entirely her own: a hybrid compositional style that represents her experience in Greece and now as someone who lives outside Greece, but ultimately represents herself through these experiences.⁹³ When discussing her decision to pursue a musical journey, Tsoupaki had this to say regarding her Greek heritage influencing her world-view and musical passions:

Well, my decision to move to Amsterdam for school had largely to do with the fact that I was literally unsupported and unable to be a practicing composer in Greece.... I would say you cannot develop yourself as a composer if you're not a traditional composer, there [in Greece]. I mean, I did not chose to be a traditional composer. I did not choose to be making traditional music or to do Byzantine music, so it was very, very important to find your own voice as a composer.... I wanted so much to combine, and to find a personal way of expressing myself through, and my Greek roots, but also with my early music. It's very important for me, early music, early European music... And also to see wherever all these transformations and melting points exist, for example, in the Roman song where

⁹⁰ See Appendix 1: Interview Materials, Section 1.2, Question 2.

⁹¹ *ibid*, Question 1.

⁹² *ibid*, Question 6.

⁹³ *ibid*, Question 7.

you get the Byzantine chanting before it's all totally and only Greek orient for example. But all these things, if you don't have an idea how you want to make it sound [you will not be able to execute it].⁹⁴ That's why it's important that I left. That's why both those traditions are very important. Because the Western tradition that I wanted to be a part of... you have the ability to notate, to know exactly what you mean can become yourself [as in understanding what your composition intentions are and execute them].... By staying in Greece I wouldn't be able to have a distance with enough material that I was interested to use [for my compositions]. That's because you need air, you need distance, you need to understand, to appreciate this material in order to see how beautiful it is.⁹⁵

Later in our interview when asked “Do you consider yourself to be an extension of traditional and/or contemporary Greek art music or do you reflect it, or are you indifferent to it?” she had a similar explanation to add:

I think they are both my influences...my music is a melting of both, it is a transformation of those Greek influences and I try to adapt them in my own style to create something new through the techniques I've learned in Amsterdam and with Louis, but also through the influences of Greek culture and music. [Composition and music] Technique, and also influences from other music that I've heard [and] loved... I wanted to bring together to a new something.⁹⁶

Heritage and distance from Greece aside, Tsoupaki believes her compositions are directly influenced through her communication and interactions with others, as well. When asked the question “Being active as a composer outside Greece, do you believe your compositions are freer or more limited by living in Amsterdam? Do you think they would have been the same or similar if you were in Greece had you gone to Amsterdam to study and come back?” she responds with:

It's [composition is] a practice, you are around with people, people interest you and you influence people...that's why I loved [coming] here to Amsterdam, because I have friends composers, we teach, we have a very nice team where we teach composition and we're influencing each other, we're very different...this is a treasure. It's as important as my tradition from Greece, because this is a liv[ing] thing. This is alive. It [composition and influence from communication and interaction] is alive. It's something where you see how your friends are making music, and you meet more friends, you meet more composers...⁹⁷

Through the influence of interactions with colleagues and immersing herself in an environment filled with music-making, it is apparent Tsoupaki pulls not only on her heritage for inspiration but also the individuals and sounds surrounding her. This melding of

⁹⁴ In this instance, the addition of the clause in brackets is to assist in further understanding Tsoupaki's claim of needing to know “how to make it [a composition] sound.” This is my own added commentary to accommodate the language barrier.

⁹⁵ See Appendix: Interview Materials, Section 1.2, Question 7.

⁹⁶ *ibid*, Question 14.

⁹⁷ *ibid*, Question 9.

influences caters towards her unique style that simultaneously embodies Greek and Middle Eastern music and early and contemporary music.

When asked if she felt her music had adopted Dutch styles or influences, Tsoupaki went on to explain how the guidance of her teacher Louis Andriessen at The Hague School influenced her in a positive light.

...he never pressed me to write something that I didn't like and that I didn't want to write. So, his influences are positive in a way that, as a composer your technique is being tested. You're not just writing only what you like...For me, I'm very satisfied with the technique that I developed, using my Greek, you could say, influences. And this is something I learned here, I didn't develop this in Greece. The distance but also the essence with Louis Andriessen is very important. I mean the way he - it's very technical - the way he modulated in this specific way of writing modal music and then modulating and making it chromatic. These are very, very specific technical things that I had to search to find in my Greek...you won't find it...I found my answer in the technique of composing by Louis...⁹⁸

To further understand her reception as a Greek composer in Amsterdam, I asked in our interview if where she lived currently she was considered a Greek composer, or perhaps the Netherlands try to claim her as their own. Tsoupaki explained she is Greek-Dutch, a fusion of the two – a Greek-Dutch composer who draws on her Greek heritage and tradition while simultaneously finding inspiration in the elements within her surroundings.⁹⁹ Similarly, when asked how she perceives herself, she explains feeling that she belongs to both the Netherlands and Greece:

I belong to both of them but musically speaking, my musical developments are here. All the last 27 years that I wrote all of my most important works, they were composed here and this makes it – It's not that they are Dutch or whatever, but I mean, if I could go back to Greece and not come back here – I think this would have been a problem and to leave it behind, so, the longer you live in a place the more you become really somebody from both of the places.¹⁰⁰

Having identified herself as a person of Greek descent, but also a Greek-Dutch composer, the impact her artistic immigration had on her musical journal is apparent. She has found her unique compositional style through her experiences in Greece, her surroundings and mentors in the Netherlands, and she continues to find inspiration through both of these mediums providing the audience, and performer, with a unique aural experience. Her style is a meld of cultures that she identifies with and this style has further perpetuated her identity into her compositions. The final question of our interview pertained to any additional information she wanted to provide which she felt was relevant to this area of scholarship.

⁹⁸ See Appendix: Interview Materials, Section 1.2, Question 10.

⁹⁹ *ibid*, Question 12.

¹⁰⁰ *ibid*

Through discussing this following quotation from our interview, Tsoupaki realises in her own words that her experience as a person living outside Greece is, in fact, inherently Greek:

The only thing I can value perhaps is the emotional and mental impact of leaving....it is a big one. It is a big one...the fact that I decided to live here has come with also lots of sadness, and you know, you have realise, sometimes you realise what your choice is, as the years go by, your choice is very definite sometimes. You know you cannot go there for a long time to stay there, you cannot be a nomad...I also have a family here I have a job. But it's not that bad because it's also that this brings another dimension to your music sometimes. The fact that...yes, perhaps it gives you this personal kind of depth because you know how it is to say goodbye to something you love and this, this mental and emotional contact you keep with this other place, it makes you very much aware of what you want to keep, of what it is you are treasuring so much. This is also the very influential for your music, it has an emotional impact on your music in general. Not techniques, or technical stuff or concrete stuff, but this is something that is abstract, but the fact that you did this and the fact that you are feeding yourself from a distance from your own country, you have this distance...in a way it's very Greek isn't it?¹⁰¹

YANNIS KYRIAKIDES: THE CASE OF MULTIPLE NATIONALITIES



Originally from Cyprus, Yannis Kyriakides was born in 1969 and later immigrated to Great Britain in 1975. A violinist and composer, Kyriakides' compositional style focuses on "new forms and hybrids of media," as well as "combining traditional performance practice with digital media."¹⁰² Now a teacher of composition at the Royal Conservatory of Music in The Hague, Kyriakides has been highly recognised for his compositions and unique style. He won the Gaudeamus composition prize in 2000 for a *conSPiracy cantata*, received an honorary mention in 2006 by Prix Ars Electronica for his CD "Wordless," and won a French Quartz electronic music award for his composition *Antichamber*, to name a few. In addition to his recognition and awards, Kyriakides has been a featured composer at the 2007 and 2011 Huddersfield Contemporary Music Festival as well

Figure 5. Yannis Kyriakides, photo from "Fifteen Questions Interview with Yannis Kyriakides,"

<http://15questions.net/interview/fifteen-questions-interview-yannis-kyriakides/page-1/>

¹⁰¹ See Appendix: Interview Materials, Section 1.2, Question 17.

¹⁰² "Yannis Kyriakides website bio," accessed 19 August 2015, <http://www.kyriakides.com/>.

as released 10 CDs of his music.¹⁰³ His self-identified multiple nationalities and overall hybrid of compositional style is discussed in this section.

Yannis Kyriakides and his family departed from Greece in 1975 due to the Turkish invasion of Cyprus in 1974 and immigrated to Great Britain.¹⁰⁴ Although only five years old at the time of his departure from Cyprus, Kyriakides reminisces about his early influences of Greek and Middle Eastern popular music:

I was too young to study music but because my father ran a live music venue with many well-known Greek and Middle Eastern popular music artists appearing there - I had an early saturation of this kind of music. Apparently my brother and I had a good (toddler) knowledge of Greek pop music.¹⁰⁵

Though their original departure was in search of financial stability, Kyriakides' family felt the strain of living abroad. By his mid-teens, Kyriakides' parents had returned to Greece at which time Kyriakides remembers feeling more connected to Greece. However, after spending his gap year travelling around Greece "the idea of identity became more of an issue," suggesting that his experience travelling impacted his sense of identity as both a Cypriot and Englishman.¹⁰⁶

When asked "Did you come to your passion for music through self-reflection and heritage or through a "wider world view" (or a combination of both, or both but at different times)? Essentially, to what extent have your Greek heritage and broader world view influenced your musical passions?" Kyriakides writes:

I can't really say where my passion for music comes. As far as I remember it grabbed me when I was about seven and heard a Brahms symphony for the first time. A few years later I heard some Xenakis (Nomos Gamma for orchestra) and immediately knew I wanted to be a composer. It wasn't so much the 'Greekness' but by the raw power and clarity of the music. What my Greek heritage has enabled me to do is to distance myself from the Classical music tradition, much as I also love it. I remember having a distinct revelation when I thought that I don't really feel as though I can express myself entirely in the Classical music idiom (or even the related 'Contemporary Classical tropes that represented the establishment at the time). On the other hand I couldn't really immerse myself totally in traditional Greek music because I felt very much a visitor there, but what the knowledge of this other way of thinking about music enabled me to do was reject certain givens in classical music and look for something different in my own work.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰³ "Yannis Kyriakides website bio," accessed 19 August 2015, <http://www.kyriakides.com/>.

¹⁰⁴ See Appendix: Interview Materials, Section 1.3, Question 1.

¹⁰⁵ *ibid*, Question 2.

¹⁰⁶ *ibid*, Question 5.

¹⁰⁷ *ibid*, Question 7.

Although he departed from Greece at a young age, upon a return visit when he was eighteen, Kyriakides met Ross Daly, a well-known Irish-Greek musician who is credited for the “revival of Ottoman and so-called ‘Byzantine’ style... folk tradition” and also teaches “Ottoman classical music theory on traditional instruments such as the Ud, Lyra, and Tambur.”¹⁰⁸ He recollects that his trip served specifically to “enrich [his] knowledge of traditional music.”¹⁰⁹ Later in life, Kyriakides realised the influence his Greek heritage played in his compositional style. In his travels around Greece, he found musical inspiration through the music of the mountains in Epiros and music of the island Crete. When recollecting about his experience he writes:

In my travels in Greece, I became fascinated by both the music of the mountain regions, especially Epiros, but also the music of Crete (through Ross Daly) which seemed to have an incredibly lively music culture. Actually in both regions I experienced an intense participation in music making by people there - What you don't get simply on recordings of this music is that performances can go on for days. What I loved about the music of Epiros was the incredible sense of space in it, as if the music has internalised the reflections of the landscape. This sense of space was something that I consciously tried to find later in my own music.¹¹⁰

These diverse cultural experiences led Kyriakides to develop his own musical style, combining traditional performance elements with digital media.¹¹¹ His discovery of identity is realised through his compositional style – “hybrids of media, synthesizing disparate sound sources and exploring spatial and temporal experience.”¹¹² When inquiring about the impact Dutch influence has had on his compositions, Kyriakides believes he has adopted mannerisms of his teacher, Louis Andriessen, but this awareness has also helped him to distance himself to further his identity through awareness:

In some way yes, I think I adopted the mannerism of my teacher when I just finished my studies, but then tried to distance myself from this. I do think there are strong European schools of contemporary music styles, but I do try and stay an outsider as much as I can. Calliope and I both teach at the Royal Conservatory in Den Haag, so we are in some way part of the establishment here, but I think we also somehow manage to stay outside it, by the fact that we are also foreigners. One thing I can say about my Dutch identity is that it has helped to distance myself from both French and German mannerisms; so not interested in Spectral music and an over reliance on extended techniques, and gesturalism.¹¹³

On the contrary, when asked “Being active as a composer outside Greece, do you believe your compositions are freer or more limited? Do you think they would have been the

¹⁰⁸ See Appendix: Interview Materials, Section 1.3, Question 3.

¹⁰⁹ *ibid*

¹¹⁰ *ibid*, Question 6.

¹¹¹ “Yannis Kyriakides website bio,” accessed 19 August 2015, <http://www.kyriakides.com/>.

¹¹² *ibid*

¹¹³ See Appendix: Interview Materials, Section 1.3, Question 10.

same or similar if you were in Greece?” Kyriakides’ response explains his need for his own identity, without the constraints of composing with specific guidelines – as Greek mainstream musicians and composers do:

I think if I had stayed in Cyprus, or moved back there (like my brother) and against the odds had still become a composer, I think I would have felt uncomfortable practicing a music which was not mainstream, or I would never have come to the idea, or heard anything different. In any case the idea of the avant-garde is I think in an Orthodox religious culture is not really understood and at worst considered Iconoclast.¹¹⁴

Through his decision to move to the Netherlands, Kyriakides presented himself with opportunities to discover what he liked and disliked pertaining to musical style, and in turn what types of sounds and soundscapes he wanted to produce. Although the influence of Dutch, British, German, and Cypriot music is present through his compositional expression, how does Kyriakides identify himself? When asked “When you go back to Greece (if you do), are you considered a Greek composer? Do you find when/if you have returned to Greece that Greeks attempt to “claim” you as their own? Do you consider, or identify, yourself to be Greek now?” Kyriakides writes:

I'm very happy to be seen as a Cypriot composer because there are not so many of us! But I don't make such a big deal out of it. In a sense most artists I know themselves have multiple identities, if not multiple nationalities, so I also feel fine being labelled Dutch, British and Greek, because I know that some part of my identity belongs there. More problematic is being labelled as making a particular type of music, because that never shows the complete picture.¹¹⁵

Furthermore, he explains his reception in the Netherlands as a composer:

Currently I am based in The Netherlands and I am considered Dutch to some degree. Though there is often a confusion about my other cultural identities, so I might be: CY/NL [Cyprus/Netherlands] or GR/NL [Great Britain/Netherlands] or CY/GB [Cyprus/Great Britain] or GB/CY/NL [Great Britain/Cyprus/Netherlands] but never GB/NL [Great Britain/Netherlands], which is a relief.¹¹⁶

When asked, however, how he perceived himself, his response is that of multiple nationalities:

I wouldn't really say I feel Dutch to a great degree, even though I have lived here the longest of any place. I still feel I am Cypriot in many ways - but when I'm in Cyprus I feel slightly alien. When one has lived so many years in different places, you accept that you have aspects of your identity that are mixed and sometimes incompatible, and this is fine, because National identity is not something I spend a lot of time worrying about.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁴ See Appendix: Interview Materials, Section 1.3, Question 9.

¹¹⁵ *ibid*, Question 11.

¹¹⁶ *ibid*, Question 12.

¹¹⁷ *ibid*, Question 13.

Having presented these two case studies within the context of the concepts discussed in chapters one and two, in the following section I apply these same concepts to my own identity as a hybrid and a performer; moreover, how to look beyond the page of hybrid music to capture the essence within the composer's perceived identity and original intentions while understanding the work's and composer's position in history.

IN THE CASE OF A PERFORMER

As a Greek-American performer, what does 'hybrid music' mean for performance? How does a performer communicate the intentions of the composer who identifies their music as fusion, or a hybrid of multiple styles? As a performer living outside Greece and the United States, I have a similar experience to Calliope Tsoupaki and Yannis Kyriakides in the sense of identity and identity through music, as well as my execution of performing hybrid music as a person of hybrid nationality.

In the early twentieth century, my great-grandparents emigrated from Greece to Ellis Island, New York due to the burning of Smyrna and the 1923 population exchange between Greece and Turkey. My great-grandmother, Sophia Dalabakis, was forced into the exchange of peoples in 1923, as well as lost an uncle a year earlier in the burning of Smyrna. Searching for stability and a new life, my great-grandfather, Demetrios Dalabakis, relocated to New York. After establishing a family, the Dalabakis' moved to Florida. The story of their struggles and successes is a conversation that occurs at least once a year at family gatherings, despite my great-grandfather passing away in 1970 and my great-grandmother passing away in 1991. It is something we relive, in memory of them, to reaffirm our gratitude and understanding of their sacrifice. Through their relocation, my Papou, Eli Dalabakis, and his sisters became first-generation Greek-Americans, the first of many Greek-American Dalabakis', representing the beginning of my family's cultural hybridity. This history, in association with my personal journey, has directly impacted the way I approach musical performance; specifically in the case of hybrid music.

While my great-grandparents encouraged my Papou to marry a woman of Greek-descent, my Papou chose love over heritage and married my grandmother, Joyce Branscombe – adding British heritage to our Greek bloodline. In 1989, my father, a Greek-American - further adding to the current melting-pot of heritages - married my mother, an adopted child believed to be of Scandinavian descent. In 1990, I was born and later in 1995 my sister,

Sophia, was born and named after my great-grandmother; however, not all was well on the “home front” in my house. By 1998, my parents had divorced and the overall state of our family unit was that of dysfunction and non-existence.

Through being dislocated from my family, experiencing distance and being denied my heritage, I found elements of my past family life to cling to in an attempt to understand myself; the most important of these elements was my inherent feeling of “being Greek,” despite not knowing the language or being directly associated with my Greek family during the ages of eight to eighteen. Perhaps this was due to childhood conditioning of being around my Greek family and hearing stories of my great-grandparents; nevertheless, my sense of Greek identity, and my sense of an “imagined community” through my Greek family, is one that has pumped strongly through my veins despite being ostracised from my family for ten years.

Later in my life when coming to the decision to pursue graduate study in performance, I found myself tempted by the idea to look outside the United States and in this way I identify with Calliope Tsoupaki as an artistic immigrant. I came to New Zealand to study with Professor Donald Maurice, a New Zealand musician, in a similar way to Tsoupaki’s and Kyriakides’ decision to study with Louis Andriessen, a Dutch composer and musician. Tsoupaki lived through the Greek dictatorship and Kyriakides through the Turkish invasion of Cyprus in 1974; while I am not comparing Greece’s twentieth-century or current political and social position to the United States, I am, however, realising our decisions were made in a similar way: the search for ourselves through the influence and inspiration of others and other cultures, the need to explore our heritage from a distance and understand the sounds and techniques we wish to implore in our musical practice. In this way, although my study and living in New Zealand has been conducted only throughout the past year, I find myself attracted to elements of New Zealand and Wellington culture as well as identifying with works by New Zealand composers, such as Douglas Lilburn, who studied outside New Zealand, but whose works are now recognised and claimed as New Zealand compositions.

How though does one embody hybrid music? This question could be repositioned as, how does one embody the composer’s intentions through the performance of a work? As a performer, our job is to communicate to our audience through the means of a composer’s composition. This is true for performances from ancient to modern times. I believe this begins with awareness: awareness of yourself as a performer, of the work in which you intend to perform, of the composer’s intentions, and of the composer, their identity, their perceived identity, and their musical and personal journey thus far. This is most important with musical

style that is identified as hybrid, either received as hybrid music or identified as hybrid music by the composer. In addition to this, a performer of hybrid music must look beyond the page in order to bring these works to life which requires a combination of *intellect* and *instinct*.

When learning these works by Tsoupaki and Kyriakides for the performance part of my degree, I took my time to understand *rebetika*, traditional Greek music, and Greek folk music within the context of Greece, but was also simultaneously aware of its context in my life as a person who was once dislocated from my Greek heritage and family, my “imagined Greek community.” I formed my interpretation of their works through my experience of dislocation, multiple identified nationalities, and artistic immigration; all three of these elements assisted in my understanding of their works, future execution of their works, and completion of this exegesis. I have taken my understanding of “Greekness” in my life, furthered my understanding of Greek history and diaspora in conjunction with the development of modern nation-states, applied these events to the origin and progression of the recognised popular musical style, and compared this framework to the real-life experiences of Tsoupaki and Kyriakides and how it has impacted their overall composition style to be that of hybrid music, music stemming from their heritage as well as surroundings and preferred compositional palette. I believe in order to perform their works with their original intention, all of the following factors must be considered: 1) historical context 2) musical influence 3) compositional intention 4) received identity 5) self-identity. By identifying as a once-dislocated person of multiple nationalities and artistic immigrant, I found myself to be empathetic not only to their responses to my interview questionnaire, but also to their works.

Although both Tsoupaki and Kyriakides state that they do not directly quote Greek music, traditional or folk, intentionally unless specifically noted, they do identify the influence their heritage, travel, and relocation has had on their compositions. Tsoupaki describes her compositions as inherently Greek, with a Greek feel;¹¹⁸ whereas, Kyriakides employs concepts within his works, fusing traditional practices with new media.¹¹⁹ Consider, for example, in Tsoupaki’s *Enigma for viola* included in my recital in October 2015: the glissando used in this work is considered a modern technique, however, within the context of hybrid music, specifically Greek-hybrid music, a performer must be mindful of pitch-bending and its intervals in relation to Greek music (see Figure 7 for an example of this in Tsoupaki’s work). This is where *intellect* and *instinct* are imperative. In order to capture the essence of

¹¹⁸ See Appendix: Interview Materials, Section 1.2, Questions 10 and 12.

¹¹⁹ *ibid*, Question 8.

this work, an awareness of Greek music (tradition, folk, or *rebetika*) is required to understand and be able to emulate what Tsoupaki calls for in her work. In Figure 7, a performer without an awareness of Greek music may treat this as a “standard glissando,” whereas, I have chosen to “bend the pitch.”¹²⁰ As well, having been surrounded by Greek music since I was a child, I found searching for the essence of this work to be “second nature,” or instinctual. While learning her *Enigma for viola*, there was a voice within me calling for “more rubato!” or “more tension before this resolution!” only to realise that what I was instinctively doing was emulative of traditional, folk, or *rebetika* musicians.

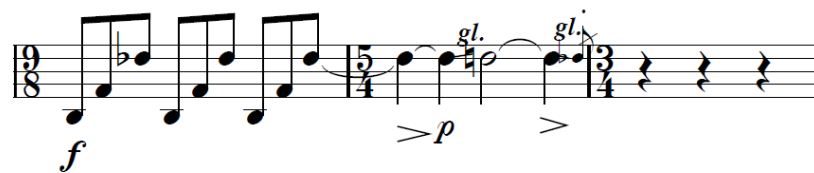


Figure 6 Bar 14 of *Enigma* as an example of glissando vs pitch-bending

For Kyriakides, the most apparent example of Greek concept within his work is a collaborative project he conducted with Andy Moor, a guitarist, entitled *Rebetika*. The work has seven tracks that are based on classical *rebetika* songs that have been “lovingly deconstructed and reassembled.”¹²¹ An example of Kyriakides’ work with concepts through music can be found in his composition *Music for viola*. In this work, Kyriakides takes the “encryption of the word ‘music’ as it written or spoken in the world’s 100 most common languages, in order of popularity.”¹²² Kyriakides’ intention with this work is to present a metaphor, not to highlight the “universality of music transcending linguistic difference,” but rather to show “how the meaning of music just like the meaning of the word ‘music’ is never constant but in constant fluctuation.”¹²³ Interestingly enough, the concept behind this work by Kyriakides can be applied to this exegesis and the idea of musical hybridity. While learning this work, I found the concept of music and its meaning as constantly fluctuating to fit the audience, the listener, the time period, the political movement, etc. to resonate with me.

Through this experience of coming to terms with my own “imagined community” and identity as a hybrid musician, and by applying this to my practice and performance of these two composers’ works, I find the thoughts and process transfer through performing works

¹²⁰ To hear Figure 7 played with pitch bending technique please listen to the recording of myself interpreting these two bars located under the file name “Enigma” which can be found on the included USB device.

¹²¹ “Yannis Kyriakides Rebetika description,” accessed 19 August 2015, <http://www.kyriakides.com/rebetika.html>.

¹²² “Yannis Kyriakides Music for viola description,” accessed 19 August 2015, http://www.kyriakides.com/music_for_viola.html.

¹²³ *ibid*

that are meant to echo, or embody Greece. This can be seen in Michael Kimber's work *Echoes of Greece* (see Figure 8). Hypothetically, the fingering options for the opening two and a half bars could be interpreted by a performer as 1, 3, 1, 2, 1, 2, 1 (indicated in red in Figure 8) as may be implied by Kimber's markings in the opening bar; however, after my experience with Tsoupaki's and Kyriakides' work I have decided the most appropriate fingering for this passage, in order to achieve the aural essence I believe Kimber intended, would be 2, 4, 2, 2, 2, 2, (indicated in purple in Figure 8) in order to *echo* Greek influence.¹²⁴

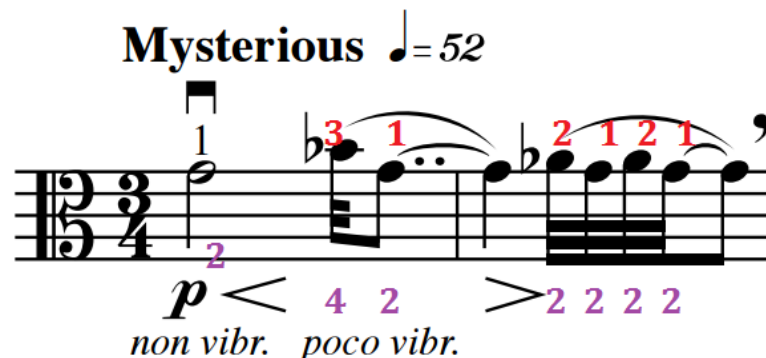


Figure 7. Bar 1 and part of bar 2 in *Echoes of Greece* by Michael Kimber

SUMMARY

Through the application of concepts pertaining to nationalism in chapter one and how this was later adopted in Greece simultaneously with its independence from the Ottoman Empire and the “Great Idea,” this research has discussed and examined hybridity within a musical and identity context, which was further realised through the interview responses of Tsoupaki and Kyriakides as self-identified hybrid composers and applied to myself as a performer in chapter three. This exegesis has addressed areas of scholarship concerning Greek diaspora, Greek history, Greek studies, transnational studies, modernity vs tradition, nationalism, and opens up further discussions regarding musical hybridity, identity through music, identity through hybrid music; moreover, how to approach hybrid music from a performer's perspective.

It is apparent that musical hybridity means *being aware* for a performer: awareness of the performer's experience in relation to the music, of the work which the performer intends to perform, of the composer's intentions, and of the composer, their identity, their perceived identity, and their musical and personal journey thus far. Through this awareness, it is

¹²⁴ To hear Figure 8 played using the fingering indicated in red, please listen to this recording of myself interpreting these two bars under the file name “Echoes 1.” To hear Figure 8 played using the fingering indicated in purple, please listen to this recording of myself interpreting these two bars located under the file name “Echoes 2.” Both recordings can be found on the included USB device.

imperative to apply one's *intellect* and *instinct*, as well in the interpretation of hybrid music. The concept of hybridity is not new to music scholarship; however, the results of the twentieth-century diaspora can be seen today through cases like Calliope Tsoupaki and Yannis Kyriakides and their discovery of their identity through the melding of musical styles. Therefore, it is important for music and performance scholars to be aware of this steady appearance of musical hybridity in Western art music in the years, decades, and generations to come.

Although these case studies cannot be applied to a collective Greek diaspora experience, it is a glimpse into the ramifications of the nineteenth- and twentieth-century historical events in Greece that began in 1832 with its independence. Greece's need for a national identity was preserved through small communities and realised in the twentieth century as a national musical style; a style that has progressed into what is considered *rebetika* today. The crossing of cultures and exchange of people throughout the twentieth century, in conjunction with the revitalised musical style of *rebetika* and Greek traditional and folk music, has influenced those people, especially people pursuing a musical journey, who now live outside Greece. The impact of these historical events and diaspora can be seen through the unique, hybrid compositional style that developed out of the distance from Greece that Tsoupaki and Kyriakides have experienced, as well as the Dutch influence and inspiration they currently experience living outside Greece. A nation familiar with diaspora and hybridity of cultures, Greece's national style and national identity transcends the boundaries of Greek territory via the preservation of culture through social memory and self-identity of its people residing outside its borders.

APPENDIX 1: INTERVIEW MATERIALS

For the purpose of this exegesis, the concepts utilised during the first and second chapters pertaining to Greek diaspora and musical hybridity are applied in the third chapter through interviews and responses from two living Greek composers who now reside outside Greece. This appendix includes the participant interview questions and responses from Calliope Tsoupaki and Yannis Kyriakides. Tsouapki's questionnaire was transcribed from a face-to-face interview conducted on Skype.

Section 1.1: Interview Questions

1. When and why did you depart from Greece?
2. When you were in Greece, where did you study music? Did you perform or compose while in Greece? If yes, can you describe your experiences? Do you have specific memorable experiences that influenced you and/or your career?
3. If you were taught music in Greece, what was the focus of your teachers? What did they decide was important to teach you in your music studies? Were their lessons based on Euro-centric ideas, or "Greek-centric" ideas, or both?
4. Are there specific events in Greek history that stand out to you in your memory, either events you have lived through personally or beyond, of your past, your life in Greece, or life in general?
5. Are there particular events that impacted your feelings about your location or influenced you and your family's choice of location? (e.g. these could be events that occurred in Greece, affected Greece, or any other event you feel is relevant or influential to you.)
6. Do you feel more connected to particular parts of Greece, or Greece as a whole? Are you aware of the distinct differences associated with folk music and specific areas or regions of Greece? If so, do these differences carry meaning to you either in your life or in your work (or both)?
7. Did you come to your passion for music through self-reflection and heritage or through a "wider world view" (or a combination of both, or both but at different times)? Essentially, to what extent have your Greek heritage and broader world view influenced your musical passions?
8. Do you find yourself holding onto Greek influences or rejecting them? How has this changed over time for you?
9. Being active as a composer outside Greece, do you believe your compositions are freer or more limited? Do you think they would have been the same or similar if you were in Greece?

10. Looking back, do you feel you have adapted to Dutch aesthetics/influences in music and/or composition?
11. When you go back to Greece (if you do), are you considered a Greek composer? Do you find when/if you have returned to Greece that Greeks attempt to “claim” you as their own? Do you consider, or identify, yourself to be Greek now?
12. Where you live currently, are you considered a Greek composer? Or do you find the country you live in now considers you ‘their own?’
13. Which do you feel you belong to most, Greece or the country you live in now, or do you feel you belong to both equally?
14. Do you consider yourself to be an extension of traditional and/or contemporary Greek art music or do you reject it, or are you indifferent to it?
15. How would you rate the impact of Greek folk music on your work on a scale from 1-10 (1 being little or no relation to, or impact on, your work, and 10 being your work is highly integrated with Greek folk music elements)? Overall, how would you describe your work in relation to Greek folk music?
 - Would you consider your use of ethnic influences to be:
 - urban or rural,
 - fundamental and obvious, or sophisticated,
 - explicit or implicit in relation to Greek contemporary art music,
 - explicit or implicit in relation to Greek folk music
16. What are you teaching to your students now in relation to music and composition? Does your “Greek-ness” shape or influence your teaching? If so, how?
17. Is there any extra information, or contribution, you would like to provide that I have not already asked in regards to your life, your career, Greek history, Greek music, or anything that you find relevant to this topic?

Section 1.2: Calliope Tsoupaki Interview Responses

Responses received via Skype interview on 30 April 2015.¹²⁵ We used this to accommodate the language barrier (as English is not her first language) and her schedule.

1. When and why did you depart from Greece?

I left Greece on September 2, 1988. I was accepted to study at The Hague Conservatory, so this was the primary reason for leaving. Also I needed to get out of the country, to find a different way for my music and I wanted to study abroad with a teacher. I also wanted to be somewhere that it wouldn't be like a dead environment but an adventurous environment at The Hague, and I studied with Louis Andriessen, so that's why I left.

2. When you were in Greece, where did you study music? Did you perform or compose while in Greece? If yes, can you describe your experiences? Do you have specific memorable experiences that influenced you and/or your career?

I started on piano with a private teacher who was a friend of my mother's. Then I went to the Hellinicon (a music school in Athens) to finish piano studies with her teacher, and to do theory lessons. Then in my early twenties I went to Choir universities and then went to Darmstadt, then to Delphi in Greece – this was all while I was living in Athens going to a private conservatory, a private music school, so I went there...that's how it started. I did not perform regularly on piano while living in Athens – only practice and full-time study, as well as teaching music theory for children. Even though I was not a full-time composer then, I was composing some songs on the side, for myself, when I was fourteen/fifteen. My composition was not really encouraged by early teachers, but was later fuelled by my own drive and participation in courses in Delphi and with Xenakis. Going to Darmstadt in my early twenties was important because I was hearing all the music I didn't want to write, and I also met Feldman while I was there before moving to Amsterdam. Deciding to leave Greece was very, very decisive for my career...my decision to move to Amsterdam to study with Louis Andriessen was very important to me. As well, there were many composers there in Amsterdam in 1988 who were very inspiring – Cage, Ligeti – and this was an important time in my early career.

3. If you were taught music in Greece, what was the focus of your teachers? What did they decide was important to teach you in your music studies? Were their lessons based on Euro-centric ideas, or “Greek-centric” ideas, or both?

It was not so systematic. Theory and piano study at the Hellinicon Conservatorium was very academically conservative – The French books...that's how you learn counterpoint and harmony...The immediate connection to the composer and music was not evident to me, and the exercises were very academic, they weren't even Bach. I learned music theory for the sake of learning theory, not for writing music. It's only rules and exercises... We study

¹²⁵ To view Tsoupaki's fully transcribed interview, please refer to file titled “Transcribed Interview with Calliope Tsoupaki” which can be found on the included USB device.

academics, theoretic study...so I did that, and then my composition classes. My composition work with my teacher at the Hellinicon was very philosophical. My teacher would not focus on the notes, but when I said "I want to write these chords," he told me "If you have it in your mind to write these chords, you will do it." Once I went to study with Louis Andriessen at The Hague Conservatory, the lessons were the opposite. They were about notes, about this is the note, this note is not good, this is not so good, what are you doing there? It's all technique, it was very, very intense.

4. Are there specific events in Greek history that stand out to you in your memory, either events you have lived through personally or beyond, of your past, your life in Greece, or life in general?

When I was a child there was a dictatorship in Greece, and I remember my family trying very hard not to be overtly political. Life actually for us, my family would be not political, just you know, normal... One particular event I remember was an instance where my father and mother were listening to a song very, very soft...very, very soft on our pick-up, and I said 'What's going on here? Why is this music so soft?' 'No, no, no this guy is a criminal, we should never, never listen to the music again.' It was music by [Mikis] Theodorakis. So of course, I remembered that. Later on the dictatorship was more influential because of the politic-neo event in Athens when the students were fighting against the dictatorship and many of them were killed by tanks...I was a child but this was a very, very powerful experience and you didn't know what would happen, perhaps my father would go have to fight – Cyprus, you know, was attacked so it was very...these moments of course are unforgettable. The influence of Greece for me is in the 60s, 70s and 80s when it was kind of very warm, warm Greece with the Byzantine music in the church and the popular songs by pop singers.

5. Are there particular events that impacted your feelings about your location or influenced you and your family's choice of location? (e.g. these could be events that occurred in Greece, affected Greece, or any other event you feel is relevant or influential to you.)

No. Not that...no, not that I know.

6. Do you feel more connected to particular parts of Greece, or Greece as a whole? Are you aware of the distinct differences associated with folk music and specific areas or regions of Greece? If so, do these differences carry meaning to you either in your life or in your work (or both)?

Well, the thing is that Greece is a kind of drug and if you are there, you see, you feel there is something in the atmosphere that makes you addicted to it, and the feelings you get from this place, from wherever you are, I mean on an island or in other places...it's unforgettable... it's as if, when you are there, in Greece, you can't get it from another place. So in a way it's very, very vital to me, the contact with Greece, and I don't want to miss it and that's why I go there quite often, once every year, sometimes twice. It was a great problem, actually when I moved here to Amsterdam because it was my decision to move and of course I wanted to see other things and I was planning to stay abroad, because composing in Greece would be an issue, it was very difficult to survive from this and also to develop as a composer

was very difficult because you must have performances, and if this is a problem it's not a question of being ambitious to write lots of pieces and having a career, it's a question of being a composer! Without performances you cannot be a composer - it's very simple. So, I left because of that and I was very hard to get it here but I tell you there is something in the air there that you cannot find anywhere else...and this is very true. I mean, it is not by chance that so many people are so crazy about Greece. So I feel both – I am connected to particular part of Greece but also Greece as a whole.

The distinct differences associated with the folk music and the specific areas or regions of Greece are very meaningful...all of the musical tradition of Greece. It talks in my heart and more than that, it's just a part of my musical personality because also with Xenakis you can see how influential was the Greek music also for him, and the Byzantine music, how much this affected all his way of making modes and re-tuning modes with other tunings and experimenting with that and fantasising about Ancient Greece – you can see how dominant this Greek world was also for him who did, kind of, 'other music' and for me it's even worse because I have decided to work with very concrete melodic materials, so for me, if I have to think of stuff. It's amazing, rhythmic and so "Paganistic," it's so inspiring! Even all this talking in the music – like the rhythmic talking, it's like almost rock or something...and it's very vital and I find it very special way of expressing... For example the rhythms that are in the Greek folk music and in the different places where the folk music comes from...the rhythms sometimes I think come from Ancient Greece...It's also something that will never let you down, unless you will use it and misuse it, of course. I mean to take the superficial side of the tradition and use it and just do music with it, I mean I just don't do that. When I will chose to go and be busy with a part of our tradition and traditional thing, musical creativity or music from this and that, or a melody that I like from a specific, melody from a specific traditional song...I don't want to go and use it superficially...I go in the depths of it and see what I want to express, and this has to do very much with me minding myself as a composer. I pull the things that I love in the music from Greece, for example, or Byzantine melodies, or whatever, it's not that I will just take them and write them and use them, that's all. It's that...the way I like them, it's existential, you know, I want very much to be a part of it, and then I bring it in my music. It's like a melting of these two things in one, it's like a hybrid thing, because you recognise things but you never heard them like this. A more, I would say, not an extension but more a transformation of music and musical style.

7. Did you come to your passion for music through self-reflection and heritage or through a "wider world view" (or a combination of both, or both but at different times)?

Essentially, to what extent have your Greek heritage and broader world view influenced your musical passions?

Well my decision to move to Amsterdam for school had largely to do with the fact that I was literally unsupported and unable to be a practising composer in Greece. I was not getting gigs, not supported by my teachers, etc. I would say you cannot develop yourself as a composer if you're not a traditional composer, there [in Greece]. I mean, I did not chose to be a traditional composer. I did not choose to be making traditional music or to do Byzantine music, so it was very, very important to find your own voice as a composer. So...if you don't choose to be a traditional composer, to do something with traditional music yourself, be a part of it, to be a performer, to sing or to make your own new songs in a popular kind of Greek way, or whatever, I didn't choose for that. I chose for the total fiction, if I may say so...for something that really doesn't exist. I wanted so much to combine, and to find a

personal way of expressing myself through, and my Greek roots, but also with my early music. It's very important for me, early music, early European music, very, very important for me. And also to see wherever all these transformations and melting points exist, for example, in the Roman song where you get the Byzantine chanting before it's all totally and only Greek orient for example. But all these things, if you don't have an idea how you want to make it sound, because as I said it can be very superficial where you're making eclectic music. That's why it's important that I left. That's why both those traditions are very important. Because the Western tradition that I wanted to be a part of...it's a kind of frame like technically speaking, you have the ability to notate, you have the ability to keep this notation, to know exactly what you mean can become yourself. So in this way it's both of the traditions are very, very important. Because also, like if you're composing you want to express a kind of way of thinking, you want to give a very developed thought to your audience. You don't only take some melodies, you just want to give a whole musical, architectural... because you want to tell a story in this way, you want to get to say your vision, to say something. By staying in Greece I wouldn't be able to have a distance with enough material that I was interested to use. That's because you need air, you need distance, you need to understand, to appreciate this material in order to see how beautiful it is. For example, if you hear some songs, popular Greek songs and you are there you think, 'My God, they don't have any pension for classical music and they only want to hear this and this and this and it's only that and it's only Bouzouki ...you don't want...you say 'ahh, I don't like it.''' But if you're in Amsterdam, you would hear some of these sounds and you say like, "wow, there is something interesting in them." But you wouldn't be able to do it if you were only there and only hearing this, and you have no way to escape from the very dominant kind of culture that it is...Probably you could lose the fact that some interesting things are happening, even in these popular Greek songs that you think they are ridiculous. And so, that's a way of saying that you need some distance in order to understand how beautiful it is, and how you can use it...and you need technical requirements of talking with other composers, it's very important to interact.

8. Do you find yourself holding onto Greek influences or rejecting them? How has this changed over time for you?

No, and I cannot reject my own self because this Greek thing is in my mind, I cannot say 'no, I don't think of that, I think of that.' The distance makes you appreciate what is there. You see it more clearly, and you appreciate it more, and you can have a free relationship with this material to take it and to do things with it.

9. Being active as a composer outside Greece, do you believe your compositions are freer or more limited (by living in Amsterdam)? Do you think they would have been the same or similar if you were in Greece (had you gone to Amsterdam to study and come back)?

It's impossible, it wouldn't have been the same. I believe that composing is a practice. It's not something you will do somewhere in a mountain alone. It's a practice, you are around with people, people interest you and you influence people...that's why I loved to come here to Amsterdam, to leave, because I have friends composers, we teach, we have a very nice team where we teach composition and we're influencing each other, we're very different...this is a treasure. It's as important as my tradition from Greece, because this is a live thing. This is alive. It is alive. It's something where you see how your friends are making music, and you meet more friends, you meet more composers...like I know John. John, I don't know his music

very well but he came here, he did concerts with the Glass ensemble. Yannis Kyriakides is here...other composers come from Greece come here to study then go back there...I mean, all these things are very, very important, because I cannot survive without communication.

10. Looking back, do you feel you have adapted to Dutch aesthetics/influences in music and/or composition?

Of course, I'm here, there is a specific aesthetic point of view here for sure, a dominance especially from The Hague School where I started, especially from Louis Andriessen, but the thing is, he never pressed me to write something that I didn't like and that I didn't want to write. So, his influences are positive in a way that, as a composer your technique is being tested. You're not just writing only what you like, I mean it's every time, it's every note that you put down on your paper is a way of thinking of what you like but you don't like what influenced you...what should you write? You admit obviously you are saying that this... For me, I'm very satisfied with the technique that I developed, using my Greek, you could say, influences. And this is something I learned here, I didn't develop this in Greece. The distance but also the essence with Louis Andriessen is very important. I mean the way he - it's very technical - the way he modulated in this specific way of writing modal music and then modulating and making it chromatic. These are very, very specific technical things that I had to search to find in my Greek...you won't find it...I found my answer in the technique of composing by Louis, and later I just thought 'oh this is a very important piece of music... Music is also technique. It's technique, it's technique, it's not only the writings of melodies, it's a technique of what you do with melodies, and this is the most difficult thing...

11. When you go back to Greece (if you do), are you considered a Greek composer? Do you find when/if you have returned to Greece that Greeks attempt to "claim" you as their own? Do you consider, or identify, yourself to be Greek now?

I do identify as Greek. Nobody claims...I wouldn't mind if they want to claim...I don't know. Greece has their own problems at the moment, they don't claim composers. But, I have this interesting thing that any time that Greek people discover that I'm writing this music and they hear and all this stuff it they come to find me, they tell me that they like my music and all this stuff. I wish I would have a chance to present my known works to Greece in order that I think I would like to give it back to the country.

12. Where you live currently, are you considered a Greek composer? Or do you find the country you live in now considers you 'their own'?

Well...Greek-Dutch. I have both of them. I have both of the things, I live here, but I have the Greek tradition, and I'm Greek...So, in my works I'm very Greek, in a way. I write Byzantine, in Byzantine texts and all this stuff. But actually they have [asked me] to write a very Dutch opera, so I'm writing opera these days. Where I live now, I would consider myself a Greek-Dutch composer.

13. Which do you feel you belong to most, Greece or the country you live in now, or do you feel you belong to both equally?

I belong to both of them but musically speaking, my musical developments are here. All the last 27 years that I wrote all of my most important works, they were composed here and this makes it – It's not that they are Dutch or whatever, but I mean, if I could go back to Greece and not come back here – I think this would have been a problem and to leave it behind, so, the longer you live in a place the more you become really somebody from both of the places.

14. Do you consider yourself to be an extension of traditional and/or contemporary Greek art music or do you reject it, or are you indifferent to it?

I think they are both my influences...my music is a melting of both, it is a transformation of those Greek influences and I try to adapt them in my own style to create something new through the techniques I've learned in Amsterdam and with Louis, but also through the influences of Greek culture. And music. Technique, and also influences from other music that I've heard and that I love and that I wanted to bring together to a new something.

15. How would you rate the impact of Greek folk music on your work on a scale from 1-10 (1 being little or no relation to, or impact on, your work, and 10 being your work is highly integrated with Greek folk music elements)? Overall, how would you describe your work in relation to Greek folk music?

- Would you consider your use of ethnic influences to be:
 - urban or rural,
 - fundamental and obvious, or sophisticated,
 - explicit or implicit in relation to Greek contemporary art music,
 - explicit or implicit in relation to Greek folk music

For some pieces it's nine, for other pieces it can be seven, but it depends on the piece you write. Sometimes you start the piece and from the beginning you say...ok, for example, I have this piece for the recorder, for recorder solo, and then this piece from the beginning it has to do with Greek traditional music... But then you cannot recognise it in this piece, you cannot recognise it. And there is even a melody hidden somewhere, but...so this is the crazy stuff. My influences from Greek folk music are sophisticated, but they also have a kind of fundamental influence. Sometimes you can hear the influence of Greek music in my music and you cannot understand why, but you feel that it's Greek. I mean...you cannot say 'Oh, it's Greek because...' No! But you hear it and you say 'Oh, this is really Greek music,' and it's not Greek. There is nothing "Greek" that I used. It comes from being Greek. So this is a kind of fundamental thing.

16. What are you teaching to your students now in relation to music and composition? Does your "Greek-ness" shape or influence your teaching? If so, how?

I tell them sometimes, 'yeah, let's go walk around and then we can have a better lesson!' So, I think a lot about being with them in a kind of discussion. This is really Greek, I think, at

least. It has to do with me reflecting...Teachers of composition in Greece used to be very strict and very, you could say, very severe teachers, and very serious. I just want to place myself more to be in discussion and to have one thing on my mind - by teaching them, I teach myself...By teaching my students, I learn, and then if I were to learn then I am an interesting teacher for them in whatever I do. I mean, I started to do this because I wanted to know more things, I wanted to find a stimulation for myself to study more scores, to see more about more composers, to have discussion, and for me - that's the way I teach. I don't push Greek music or traditions on my students at all...but sometimes they find it themselves... and I tell them 'do you know that this exists?' and you know, music from Crete or whatever, I said 'do you know that this sounds.' I think it's enough for them to know, because it is not so avant-garde, I put it on sometimes...but it's not something that they do.

17. Is there any extra information, or contribution, you would like to provide that I have not already asked in regards to your life, your career, Greek history, Greek music, or anything that you find relevant to this topic?

The only thing I can value perhaps is the emotional and mental impact of leaving....it is a big one. It is a big one...the fact that I decided to live here has come with also lots of sadness, and you know, you have realise, sometimes you realise what your choice is, as the years go by, your choice is very definite sometimes. You know you cannot go there for a long time to stay there, you cannot be a nomad...I also have a family here I have a job. But it's not that bad because it's also that this brings another dimension to your music sometimes. The fact that...yes, perhaps it gives you this personal kind of depth because you know how it is to say goodbye to something you love and this, this mental and emotional contact you keep with this other place, it makes you very much aware of what you want to keep, of what it is you are treasuring so much. This is also the very influential for your music, it has an emotional impact on your music in general. Not techniques, or technical stuff or concrete stuff, but this is something that is abstract, but the fact that you did this and the fact that you are feeding yourself from a distance from your own country, you have this distance...in a way it's very Greek isn't it?

Section 1.3: Yannis Kyriakides Interview Responses

Responses received via email on 25 April 2015

1. When and why did you depart from Greece?

We emigrated from Cyprus in 1975 when I was 5 years old. This was a result of the Turkish invasion of 1974. We lived in Nicosia at the time and both my mother's business (textile printing factory) and my father's (live music venue) were in areas annexed by the Turkish military.

2. When you were in Greece, where did you study music? Did you perform or compose while in Greece? If yes, can you describe your experiences? Do you have specific memorable experiences that influenced you and/or your career?

I was too young to study music but because my father ran a live music venue with many well-known Greek and Middle Eastern popular music artists appearing there - I had an early saturation of this kind of music. Apparently my brother and I had a good (toddler) knowledge of Greek pop music.

3. If you were taught music in Greece, what was the focus of your teachers? What did they decide was important to teach you in your music studies? Were their lessons based on Euro-centric ideas, or "Greek-centric" ideas, or both?

SO I suppose this is not applicable to me - but it might be interesting to know that when I was 18 years old - I went to Greece specifically to enrich my knowledge of traditional music and ended up meeting and having lessons with Ross Daly, the well-known Irish/Greek musician who was one of those responsible for the revival of Ottoman and so called 'Byzantine' style in the folk music tradition, teaching Ottoman classical music theory on traditional instruments such as the Ud, Lyra and Tambur.

4. Are there specific events in Greek history that stand out to you in your memory, either events you have lived through personally or beyond, of your past, your life in Greece, or life in general?

The Turkish invasion of 1974 was a historic event that has had an effect on my life, in that it changed its course. It lead me later to a need to understand the geo-politics of the region in a much deeper sense, in order to see through the superficial symptoms of the events, namely the national interests, to see the conflict as a wider geo-political event with many more vested interests.

5. Are there particular events that impacted your feelings about your location or influenced you and your family's choice of location? (e.g. these could be events that occurred in Greece, affected Greece, or any other event you feel is relevant or influential to you.)

My family's decision to immigrate to the UK was simply because my father's brother had a business there and there was initial economic stability to move there. Actually both my parents didn't much like life in England and wanted to get away as soon as possible. My father left when we were about 10 and my mother when we were in our mid-teens. They both went their separate ways via Greece, and left my brother and I in the UK. At that stage I felt more of a connection in the UK, but after travelling around Greece in my gap year before university, I felt less inclined to go back to England or identify as English, but then the idea of identity became more of an issue.

6. Do you feel more connected to particular parts of Greece, or Greece as a whole? Are you aware of the distinct differences associated with folk music and specific areas or regions of Greece? If so, do these differences carry meaning to you either in your life or in your work (or both)?

In my travels in Greece, I became fascinated by both the music of the mountain regions, especially Epiros, but also the music of Crete (through Ross Daly) which seemed to have an incredibly lively music culture. Actually in both regions I experienced an intense participation in music making by people there - What you don't get simply on recordings of this music is that performances can go on for days. What I loved about the music of Epiros was the incredible sense of space in it, as if the music has internalised the reflections of the landscape. This sense of space was something that I consciously tried to find later in my own music.

7. Did you come to your passion for music through self-reflection and heritage or through a "wider world view" (or a combination of both, or both but at different times)? Essentially, to what extent have your Greek heritage and broader world view influenced your musical passions?

I can't really say where my passion for music comes. As far as I remember it grabbed me when I was about seven and heard a Brahms symphony for the first time. A few years later I heard some Xenakis (Nomos Gamma for orchestra) and immediately knew I wanted to be a composer. It wasn't so much the 'Greekness' but by the raw power and clarity of the music. What my Greek heritage has enabled me to do is to distance myself from the Classical music tradition, much as I also love it. I remember having a distinct revelation when I thought that I don't really feel as though I can express myself entirely in the Classical music idiom (or even the related 'Contemporary Classical tropes that represented the establishment at the time). On the other hand I couldn't really immerse myself totally in traditional Greek music because I felt very much a visitor there, but what the knowledge of this other way of thinking about music enabled me to do was reject certain givens in classical music and look for something different in my own work.

8. Do you find yourself holding onto Greek influences or rejecting them? How has this changed over time for you?

I don't feel that many of the Greek music influences are very conspicuous (even though I can deny them) except when the subject matter happens to be Greek -related or if I'm deliberately quoting Greek music, as in the Rebetika project I have with Andy Moor.

9. Being active as a composer outside Greece, do you believe your compositions are freer or more limited? Do you think they would have been the same or similar if you were in Greece?

I think if I had stayed in Cyprus, or moved back there (like my brother) and against the odds had still become a composer, I think I would have felt uncomfortable practising a music which was not mainstream, or I would never have come to the idea, or heard anything different. In any case the idea of the avant-garde is I think in an Orthodox religious culture is not really understood and at worst considered Iconoclast.

10. Looking back, do you feel you have adapted to Dutch aesthetics/influences in music and/or composition?

In some way yes, I think I adopted the mannerism of my teacher when I just finished my studies, but then tried to distance myself from this. I do think there are strong European schools of contemporary music styles, but I do try and stay an outsider as much as I can. Calliope and I both teach at the Royal Conservatory in Den Haag, so we are in some way part of the establishment here, but I think we also somehow manage to stay outside it, by the fact that we are also foreigners. One thing I can say about my Dutch identity is that it has helped to distance myself from both French and German mannerisms; so not interested in Spectral music and an over reliance on extended techniques, and gesturalism.

11. When you go back to Greece (if you do), are you considered a Greek composer? Do you find when/if you have returned to Greece that Greeks attempt to “claim” you as their own? Do you consider, or identify, yourself to be Greek now?

I'm very happy to be seen as a Cypriot composer because there are not so many of us! But I don't make such a big deal out of it. In a sense most artists I know themselves have multiple identities, if not multiple nationalities, so I also feel fine being labelled Dutch, British and Greek, because I know that some part of my identity belongs there. More problematic is being labelled as making a particular type of music, because that never shows the complete picture.

12. Where you live currently, are you considered a Greek composer? Or do you find the country you live in now considers you ‘their own?’

Currently I am based in The Netherlands and I am considered Dutch to some degree. Though there is often a confusion about my other cultural identities, so I might be: CY/NL or GR/NL or CY/GB or GB/CY/NL but never GB/NL, which is a relief.

13. Which do you feel you belong to most, Greece or the country you live in now, or do you feel you belong to both equally?

I wouldn't really say I feel Dutch to a great degree, even though I have lived here the longest of any place. I still feel I am Cypriot in many ways - but when I'm in Cyprus I feel slightly alien. When one has lived so many years in different places, you accept that you have aspects of your identity that are mixed and sometimes incompatible, and this is fine, because National identity is not something I spend a lot of time worrying about.

14. Do you consider yourself to be an extension of traditional and/or contemporary Greek art music or do you reject it, or are you indifferent to it?

I would say I feel indifferent to the idea of being part of a tradition or contemporary Greek art music practice. I think this is not so much a tradition as being represented to some extent by iconoclasts such as Xenakis, Christou, Aperghis, Logothetis, Skalkottas and others; composers who were perhaps inspired by something in Greek culture but who were very much outsiders to an ongoing cultural practice.

15. How would you rate the impact of Greek folk music on your work on a scale from 1-10 (1 being little or no relation to, or impact on, your work, and 10 being your work is highly integrated with Greek folk music elements)? Overall, how would you describe your work in relation to Greek folk music?

Certain projects refer directly to it, namely the Rebetika project and some others. Otherwise I would say the relation is less direct but influenced on a more intangible level: that the music can sometimes aspire to the 'floating', 'suspended' qualities that I attach to folk music. Sorry - I find it difficult to rate it between 1-10.

- Would you consider your use of ethnic influences to be:
 - urban or rural - *both*
 - fundamental and obvious, or sophisticated - *both*
 - explicit or implicit in relation to Greek contemporary art music - *implicit*
 - explicit or implicit in relation to Greek folk music - *implicit in the general influence but explicit in some projects like Rebetika*

16. What are you teaching to your students now in relation to music and composition? Does your “Greek-ness” shape or influence your teaching? If so, how?

No I don't think I bring that into teaching. But I do encourage the students to find some source of individuality or authenticity in their music - to not be afraid to reveal their musical identity - so if that is a secret love of techno or trip-hop - not to deny that in their own work.

17. Is there any extra information, or contribution, you would like to provide that I have not already asked in regards to your life, your career, Greek history, Greek music, or anything that you find relevant to this topic?

APPENDIX 2: KEY DATES BY RICHARD CLOGG¹²⁶

¹²⁶ Richard Clogg, *Key Dates to A concise History of Greece: second edition* (United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 269-275. These materials have been included as Appendix 2 for the convenience of the reader.

KEY DATES

- 1453 May 29: fall of Constantinople to the Ottoman Turks.
- 1461 Capture of the pocket Empire of Trebizond, the last area of sovereign Byzantine territory to fall to the Ottoman Turks.
- 1571 Venetian-ruled Cyprus captured by the Ottoman Turks.
- 1669 Venetian-ruled Crete falls to the Ottoman Turks following a twenty-year siege.
- 1709 Nikolaos Mavrokordatos appointed first Phanariot *hospodar* of Moldavia.
- 1748 Adamantios Korais, the intellectual mentor of the national revival, born in Smyrna.
- 1774 Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca ends Russo–Turkish war of 1768–74. Russia claims protectorate over the Orthodox Christians of the Ottoman Empire.
- 1783 Russo–Turkish commercial convention permits Greek ships to trade in the Black Sea under the Russian flag.
- 1797 Ionian islands ceded to revolutionary France by the treaty of Campo Formio.
- 1798 Execution of Rigas Velestinlis (Pheraios) in Belgrade following his abortive attempt to inspire a revolt against the Ottoman Turks.
- 1806 Publication of the *Elliniki Nomarkhia* (Hellenic Nomarchy), one of the most important polemical texts of the Greek national movement.
- 1814 *Philiki Etairia* (Friendly Society), the secret society which laid the groundwork for the war of independence, founded in Odessa by Emmanouil Xanthos, Nikolaos Skouphas and Athanasios Tsakaloff.
- 1815 Septinsular Republic of the Ionian islands established under British protection.

- 1821 February: invasion of Moldavia by Greek army commanded by General Alexandros Ypsilantis.
March (by tradition 25 March): outbreak of revolt in the Peloponnese.
April: execution of the Ecumenical Patriarch Grigorios V in Constantinople.
- 1822 Proclamation of the first constitution of independent Greece.
- 1823 British foreign secretary, George Canning, recognises the Greek insurgents as belligerents.
- 1825 Canning rejects Act of Submission which sought to place insurgent Greece under British protection.
- 1827 April/May: assembly of Troezen elects Count Ioannis Kapodistrias as president of Greece and enacts third constitution of independence period.
July: by Treaty of London, Britain, Russia and France initiate policy of 'peaceful interference' to secure Greek autonomy.
October: combined British, Russian and French fleet destroys Turco-Egyptian fleet at Navarino.
- 1831 Assassination of President Kapodistrias.
- 1832 Convention of London confirms offer of 'hereditary sovereignty' of Greece to Otto, 17-year-old second son of Ludwig I of Bavaria and places 'monarchical and independent' state of Greece under British, Russian and French guarantee.
- 1833 King Otto arrives in Nafplion, provisional capital of Greece.
- 1834 Athens replaces Nafplion as capital.
- 1835 End of Bavarian regency.
- 1843 Army-backed coup forces King Otto to concede a constitution.
- 1844 Promulgation of constitution.
- 1854-7 Anglo-French occupation of Piraeus, the port of Athens, to enforce neutrality during the Crimean war.
- 1862 King Otto forced from throne in army-backed revolt.
- 1863 Prince Christian William Ferdinand Adolphus George of the Danish Holstein-Sonderburg-Glücksburg dynasty ascends the throne as George I, King of the Hellenes.
- 1864 March: Ionian islands ceded to Greece by Great Britain.
October: enactment of new constitution.
- 1866 Outbreak of revolt in Crete.
- 1875 King George accepts principle of the *dedilomeni*, the obligation of the sovereign to call upon the party leader with the 'declared' support of a majority in parliament to form a government.
- 1878 At Congress of Berlin the Great Powers 'invite' the Ottoman Porte to modify her frontiers in favour of Greece. Great Britain acquires administration of Cyprus.

- 1881 Thessaly and the Arta region of Epirus ceded to Greece by Ottoman Empire.
- 1885/6 Theodoros Deliyannis mobilises armed forces to take advantage of Serb–Bulgarian hostilities, leading the Powers to impose a naval blockade of Greece.
- 1893 Greece defaults on external loans.
- 1897 Thirty-day Greek–Turkish war arising from revolt in Crete results in defeat for Greece. Establishment of International Financial Commission to oversee state finances.
- 1909 Military coup at Goudi on outskirts of Athens leads to downfall of government.
- 1910 Eleftherios Venizelos, founder of Liberal Party, becomes prime minister.
- 1911 Revised constitution comes into force.
- 1912 October: outbreak of first Balkan war. Greece, Serbia, Bulgaria and Montenegro combine to attack the Ottoman Empire.
November: capture of Salonica, Greece's second city.
- 1913 March: King George I assassinated by madman in Salonica. Succeeded by King Constantine I.
June/July: second Balkan war: Greece and Serbia repulse Bulgarian attack and, by Treaty of Bucharest (August), share most of Macedonia.
- 1914 November: annexation of Cyprus by Great Britain.
- 1915 March: Venizelos resigns following clash with King Constantine over entry into First World War.
June: election in which Venizelos wins 184 out of 317 seats.
August: Venizelos returns to power.
October: second forced resignation of Venizelos.
December: election from which supporters of Venizelos abstain.
- 1916 September: Venizelos establishes provisional government in Salonica, principal city of 'New' Greece.
December: royalist government repels Anglo–French landings in Piraeus and Athens. Britain and France establish blockade of 'Old' Greece.
- 1917 June: King Constantine I leaves Greece without abdicating the throne. Succeeded by second son, Alexander. Recall of parliament elected in June 1915, the so-called 'Lazarus chamber'.
- 1919 May: landing of Greek troops in Smyrna [Izmir].
- 1920 August: Treaty of Sèvres creates the Greece of the 'two continents and the five seas'.
October: King Alexander dies from monkey bite.
November: elections in which anti-Venizelists secure 260 out of 370 seats. Venizelos leaves Greece.
December: rigged plebiscite votes for return of King Constantine I.

- 1921 August: Greek advance on Ankara, Turkish nationalist stronghold, checked at battle of Sakarya river.
- 1922 August/September: Greek armies driven from Asia Minor. Burning of Smyrna.
September: Colonel Nikolaos Plastiras launches coup. King Constantine I driven into exile, succeeded by eldest son King George II.
November: execution of 'The Six' for high treason.
- 1923 January: convention on compulsory exchange of populations between Greece and Turkey.
July: Treaty of Lausanne reverses Greece's gains by the Treaty of Sèvres.
December: King George II departs Greece on 'extended leave'.
- 1924 March: proclamation of republic.
April: plebiscite ratifies establishment of republic.
- 1925 March: Cyprus becomes a British crown colony.
June: establishment of dictatorship by General Theodoros Pangalos.
- 1926 August: overthrow of Pangalos dictatorship.
November: adoption of proportional representation and formation of 'ecumenical' (all-party) government.
- 1927 June: promulgation of republican constitution.
- 1928 July: beginning of Venizelos' last administration.
- 1930 June: Ankara Convention inaugurates period of reconciliation with Turkey.
- 1933 March: unsuccessful Venizelist coup launched by Colonel Nikolaos Plastiras.
June: attempt on Venizelos' life.
- 1935 March: attempted Venizelist coup; Venizelos leaves Greece.
October: downfall of Tsaldaris government as result of putsch.
November: rigged plebiscite votes for return of King George II.
- 1936 January: elections result in parliamentary deadlock with communists holding balance of power.
March: death of Venizelos in exile in France.
August: establishment by General Metaxas of dictatorship of 4 August 1936.
- 1940 October: Italian invasion of Greece followed by Greek counter-attack into Albania.
- 1941 April: German invasion of Greece.
September: foundation of National Liberation Front (EAM).
- 1942 November: destruction of Gorgopotamos viaduct by Greek resistance forces and British saboteurs.
- 1943 September: outbreak of civil war within the resistance.

- 1944 April: outbreak of mutinies in Greek armed forces in Middle East.
October: liberation of Greece. Moscow 'percentages' agreement between Churchill and Stalin assigns Greece to British sphere of influence.
December: police shooting of demonstrators in Athens catalyst for communist insurgency. Churchill's abortive peace-making mission to Athens results in appointment of Archbishop Damaskinos of Athens as regent.
- 1945 February: Varkiza agreement ends communist insurgency.
- 1946 March: first post-war election gives victory to royalists.
September: plebiscite votes for restoration of king. King George II returns to Greece.
October: establishment of (communist) Democratic Army of Greece. Beginning of civil war.
- 1947 March: proclamation of Truman Doctrine results in massive US military and economic assistance to national government.
April: King Paul succeeds to throne on death of brother George II.
- 1949 August: remnants of Democratic Army, defeated in battles of Grammos and Vitsi, flee into Albania.
October: Communist Party of Greece announces 'temporary cessation' of hostilities, bringing civil war to formal close.
- 1952 January: promulgation of new constitution.
November: electoral victory of Marshal Papagos' Greek Rally.
- 1955 April: beginning of armed EOKA struggle in Cyprus for *enosis* (union) with Greece.
- 1958 May: far left United Democratic Left becomes official opposition with 24 per cent of vote.
- 1960 August: Cyprus becomes independent republic within the British Commonwealth.
- 1961 October: Georgios Papandreou launches 'unyielding struggle' to overturn Konstantinos Karamanlis' election victory.
- 1963 November: Papandreou's Centre Union secures narrow victory in elections.
December: breakdown of 1960 constitutional settlement in Cyprus.
- 1964 February: Centre Union secures decisive parliamentary majority.
March: death of King Paul. Accession to throne of King Constantine II.
- 1965 July: constitutional clash with King Constantine results in resignation of prime minister Papandreou.
September: formation of 'apostate' Centre Union government, with support of conservative National Radical Union.
- 1967 April: military coup forestalls elections scheduled for May.

- December: King Constantine launches abortive counter-coup, flees into exile. Regency established.
- 1968 September: authoritarian constitution ratified in plebiscite held under martial law.
- 1973 March: student occupation of Law Faculty of Athens University.
May: abortive naval mutiny.
June: proclamation of a 'presidential parliamentary republic'.
July: election of Colonel Georgios Papadopoulos, the only candidate, as president in a plebiscite held under martial law.
November: student occupation of Athens Polytechnic suppressed by the army. Papadopoulos replaced as president by General Phaidon Gizikis.
- 1974 July: Archbishop Makarios deposed as president of Cyprus in coup backed by military junta in Athens. Turkish invasion and occupation of northern Cyprus. Collapse of military regime and replacement by civilian government headed by Konstantinos Karamanlis.
November: Karamanlis' New Democracy secures 220 out of 300 seats in parliament.
December: plebiscite records 70 per cent vote for abolition of monarchy.
- 1975 June: promulgation of new constitution, reinforcing the powers of the president.
- 1977 November: Andreas Papandreou's Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK) becomes main opposition party.
- 1980 May: Karamanlis elected president.
- 1981 January: Greece enters European Community as tenth member.
October: Papandreou's PASOK forms Greece's first 'socialist' government.
- 1985 March: constitutional crisis leads to resignation of Karamanlis as president and election of Christos Sartzetakis.
June: PASOK re-elected for a second term.
- 1987 March: Aegean incident brings Greece and Turkey to the brink of armed conflict.
- 1988 January: Davos agreement holds out promise of Greek-Turkish *rapprochement*.
- 1989 June: election in which no party wins overall majority leads to temporary conservative/communist coalition.
November: inconclusive election leads to formation of all-party 'ecumenical' government.
- 1990 April: Konstantinos Mitsotakis' New Democracy secures 150 out of 300 seats in parliament and forms government.
May: Konstantinos Karamanlis elected president.
- 1993 October: Andreas Papandreou's PASOK returns to power.

- 1996 January: Andreas Papandreou forced to resign due to ill-health, succeeded as prime minister by Kostas Simitis.
Greece and Turkey come close to war over sovereignty over islet of Imia/Kardak.
- 1999 August/September: Earthquakes in Turkey and Greece promote rapprochement between the two countries.
- 2000 April: Kostas Simitis returned to power at head of PASOK government.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*. London: Verso, c2006.
- Anoyanakis, Fivos. *Greek popular musical instruments*. Athens: Melissa, 1991.
- Bohlman, Philip V. *Focus: Music, Nationalism, and the Making of the New Europe second edition*. New York: Routledge, 2011.
- Cassia, Paul Sant. "Exoticizing Discoveries and Extraordinary Experiences: 'Traditional' Music, Modernity, and Nostalgia in Malta and Other Mediterranean Societies," *Ethnomusicology* 44 (2000): 281-301.
- Clifford, James. "Diasporas." *Cultural Anthropology* 9, no. 3 (1994): 302-338.
- Clogg, Richard. *A concise history of Greece: second edition*. United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- Clogg, Richard, ed., *The Greek Diaspora in the Twentieth Century*. Great Britain: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1999.
- Clogg Richard. Key Dates to *A consice History of Greece: second edition*, 269-275. United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- Curtis, Benjamin. *Music Makes the Nation*. New York: Cambria Press, 2008.
- Fifteen Questions. "Fifteen Questions Interview with Yannis Kyriakides." Accessed 19 August 2015. <http://15questions.net/interview/fifteen-questions-interview-yannis-kyriakides/page-1/> .
- Gallant, Thomas W. *Brief Histories: Modern Greece*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2001.

- Hassiotis, Iannis. "Past and present in the history of modern Greek diaspora." In *Diaspora, Identity and Religion: New directions in theory and research*, edited by Waltraud Kokot, Khachig Tölölyan, and Carolin Alfonso, 93-101. London and New York: Routledge, 2004.
- Kallimopoulou, Eleni. *Paradosiaká: Music, Meaning and Identity in Modern Greece*. England: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2009.
- Kokot, Waltraud, Tölölyan, Khachig, and Alfonso, Carolin. Introduction to *Diaspora, Identity and Religion: New directions in theory and research*. London and New York: Routledge, 2004.
- Kyriakides, Yannis. "Yannis Kyriakides website." Accessed 19 August 2015. <http://www.kyriakides.com> .
- Naidu-Ghelani, Rajeshni. "Greeks Flock to Australia as Recession Hits Hard." 14 June 2012. Accessed 19 August 2015. <http://www.cnn.com/id/47808864>.
- Pennanen, Risto Pekka. "The development of chordal harmony in Greek rebetika and laika music, 1930s to 1960s." *British Journal of Ethnomusicology* 6 (1997): 65-116. Accessed 19 August 2015, doi: 10.1080/09681229708567262.
- Pennanen, Risto Pekka. "The Nationalization of Ottoman Popular Music in Greece." *Ethnomusicology* 48. (2004): 1-25.
- "Press release: publication of provisional results of the 2011 population census." 2011. http://www.statistics.gr/portal/page/portal/ESYE/BUCKET/General/A1602_SAM01_DT_DC_00_2011_01_F_EN.pdf.
- Seton-Watson, Hugh. *Nations and States: an Enquiry into the Origins of Nations and the Politics of Nationalism*. London: Methuan & Co. Ltd, 1977.
- "SBS Census Explorer." 2012. <http://www.sbs.com.au/censusexplorer/>.

Gerhard Steingress, Gerhard. "What is hybrid music? An Epilogue." In *Songs of Minotaur – Hybridity and Popular Music in the Era of Globalization: a comparative analysis of Rebetika, Tango, Rai, Flamenco, Sardana, and English urban folk*, 297-325. New Brunswick and London: Transaction Publishers, 2002.

Taruskin, Richard. "Nationalism." *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press. Accessed 19 August 2015.
<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/50846>.

Tesch, Noah, ed., *Cyprus, Greece, and Malta* (New York: Britannica Educational Publishing, 2014), 100.

Tsoupaki, Calliope. "Calliope Tsoupaki website." Accessed 19 August 2015.
<http://www.calliopetsoupaki.com/index.html>

"U.S. Census Bureau." 2011.
<http://ia601608.us.archive.org/26/items/2011AmericanCommunitySurveyAncestry/2011Acs.pdf>.

Vulliamy, Ed and Smith, Helena. "Athens 1944: Britain's dirty secret." *The Guardian*. 30 November 2014. Accessed 19 August 2015.
<http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/nov/30/athens-1944-britains-dirty-secret>.