Greek music in the twentieth century: a European dimension

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In the musical life of Greece at the present time two parallel traditions are evolving. One is the modern development of folk traditions, which in its most basic form, artistically, is heard in *bouzouki* music, although there is also a higher level, artistically, in *tragoudi*; this is essentially the eastern tradition in Greek music, which remains popular in Greece. The other tradition is the music written under western influence, which began some two hundred years ago. After a brief historical review, this article concentrates mainly on the western tradition, both in "classical" and popular music, in which fields a number of Greek musicians have become internationally famous.[1]

Documentation on the beginnings of Greek music dates from classical times. Music appears to have reached its artistic climax in the period 700-400 BC, when it played an important part in nearly all occasions in Greek life. Very little of the actual music has survived – just a few fragments – and the interpretation of the notation has been the subject of considerable research and speculation over the last century. There have been many reconstructive performances of ancient Greek music in recent years, but there is little in the way of agreement amongst scholars as to the authenticity of any such performances.

Despite the paucity of surviving notation, there are many descriptions and discussions surviving from classical times about the philosophy and theory of music, especially in the writings of Pythagoras, Ptolemy and Aristoxenus. The interpretations of these tracts in the Middle Ages, though not based on knowledge of the actual music which they described, gave rise to the

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[1] A bibliographical note listing some basic secondary reading on the history of music in Greece can be found at the end of this article.

systems of church modes which dominated ecclesiastical and art music for centuries.

The ancient theories certainly had a strong influence on the tradition in Greek music which has the longest pedigree: the music of the Byzantine church; but it is likely that the ancient Greek music itself has been preserved to some degree in Byzantine chant. There is notation of Byzantine music dating back to the ninth century; from the twelfth century the notation is very detailed, and we can be fairly confident about the accuracy of modern transcriptions. The first centres of Byzantine music seem to have been Antioch and Palestine, and the roots of the music can be traced to eastern origins such as Syria; there is also considerable current research into connections between Byzantine chant and the chants of the ancient Jews. Indeed the Byzantine musical tradition has continued virtually unbroken for the last 1,500 years, and it is still of great importance in the living music of Greece today.

The other continuous tradition is that of folk music. However, until very recent times no folk music was recorded or notated, so it is very difficult to know exactly what it was like in earlier centuries. There is one exception, in that a few Greek folk songs have been found notated in manuscripts on Mount Athos – presumably they were favourite songs of the monks whose job it was to notate the liturgical music. We know, however, that the folk music has roots dating back to classical times, and also in the music of the Byzantine church: some of the folk-dance types, and their rhythms, have a classical origin, while certain modes and melodic patterns are derived from ecclesiastical music.

As any visitor to Greece will be aware, the folk music tradition is still very much alive. Some of its survival is inevitably through something of a "museum" culture, though it is a much more living tradition than in most Western European countries. And the folk traditions are also remarkably varied – from the ancient polyphonic tradition from Epirus in the West, the Pontic music in the East, to the Cretan music in the South. It is the folk music of Crete which is the most popular music with the British.

European music first became widely known in Greece in the nineteenth century, after the War of Independence; but there had

already been a strong European influence prior to that, from about 1770, in the Ionian Islands, which were never under Ottoman domination. From the late fourteenth century until 1797 the Islands were ruled by the Venetians, and both the folk music and the music of the church showed the influence of cultural contact with Italy.

In this last period also, from about 1773, Italian opera companies were staging performances in the Ionian Islands. By the early nineteenth century Greek composers from the Ionian Islands were beginning to write Italian-style operas themselves, to Italian libretti, and usually performed by Italian companies.

The first of these composers to write an opera to a Greek text was Spyros Xyndas (1812-1896) with *O Ypopsifios Vouleftis* – "The candidate member of parliament" – a charming political satire. Another composer was Nikolaos Mantzaros (1795-1872), who is now remembered above all as the composer of the Greek national anthem. This was written in the late 1820s, during the War of Independence, as part of a "Hymn to Liberty", and is a setting of a poem by Dionysios Solomos consisting of 158 stanzas. Mantzaros set all the verses in a choral cantata for men's voices and piano; it is only the first eight stanzas which are set to the tune which was adopted as the national anthem in 1864, at the suggestion of King George I of the Hellenes. The style of this cantata is very definitely European: indeed, it is reminiscent of the pieces Schubert was writing in Vienna at the same time for male voices and piano.

Most of the leading composers of the Ionian school studied in Naples, and spent much time working abroad. The most notable of these was Spyridon Samaras (1861 or 1863-1917), who wrote perhaps the very first operas in the "verismo" style, predating Mascagni and Puccini; indeed he almost overshadowed them for some time in reputation, although his operas are now forgotten. He is still remembered, however, as the composer of the *Hymn for the Olympic Games*, performed at the first modern Olympic Games, held in Athens in 1896. It was adopted in 1958 as the official anthem of the Olympic Games.

Another type of music which became popular in mainland Greece late in the nineteenth century was operetta, with composers like Hadjipostolou writing in a straight Viennese style, but with a Greek libretto: the result can be rather dis-

orientating to the unprepared listener! The cities of Patras and Ermoupolis (Syros) were important musical centres in the late nineteenth century and an extensive repertoire of operatic works was performed. It is noteworthy that in the decade 1870-80 Patras had no fewer than three philharmonic orchestras (Bakounakis 1991: 27).

The foundations of a Greek tradition of what one might call "art music", in the western sense, began in the late nineteenth century, with the establishment of the Athens Conservatory and subsequently the Hellenic Conservatory and the National Conservatory. The leading figure in this nationalist movement was Manolis Kalomiris (1883-1962). He and the other composers of the group used a basically European musical style, but combined it with Greek folklore, in terms of both literary material and subject matter; they sometimes also used Greek folk music melodies and styles.

Kalomiris's training was first in Greece, then at the Vienna Conservatory in the opening years of this century, where he developed a profound admiration for Wagner. After this he spent four years in the Ukraine, working as a piano teacher, and gained an extensive knowledge of the Russian nationalist school. The fourth principal influence on his music was the movement for demotic Greek – an influence he shared with many other leading intellectuals and writers.

Kalomiris wrote five operas, which all exploited the Wagnerian principle of "unendliche Melodie" and the "leitmotif". The most popular of his operas have been *To Dakhtylidi tis Manas* ("The Mother's Ring"), based on a play by Yannis Kambysis, and *O Protomastoras* ("The Masterbuilder") based on the Kazantzakis play.

Amongst all the music Kalomiris composed, perhaps his best-known work is the First Symphony, known as *Levendia* ("Heroism"), written towards the end of the First World War and first performed in the Herodes Atticus Theatre in Athens in 1920, during the victory celebrations. Its final movement has become another Greek national hymn: a grand setting of the Byzantine hymn to the victorious Virgin Mary.

During the 1920s there were two Greek composers who made contact with contemporary music in Europe and began to express themselves in contemporary idioms. The first was Dimitri

Mitropoulos (1896-1960), who is still remembered as a famous international conductor, but is almost forgotten as a composer. His piano work *Eine Griechische Sonate* (1919) is an example of his European, post-Lisztian, style. But he was also a pioneer in compositional techniques. In 1925 he wrote a work for violin and piano called *Ostinata*, in a twelve-note idiom which predates Arnold Schoenberg's invention of the system.

It was a Greek pupil of Schoenberg who became the first major international Greek composer: Nikos Skalkottas (1904-1949). Skalkottas's style was uncompromisingly modern, mainly atonal, and largely written in twelve-note technique. This technique involves treating each semitone of the scale as of equal importance, thus avoiding the idea of major and minor keys and modes and of normal-sounding melodies and chords. Skalkottas spent the last sixteen years of his life composing prolifically, despite continuous depression and ill health; he earned his living as a back-desk orchestral violinist in Athens. Nearly fifty years after his death a large amount of his more avant-garde music still remains unperformed. Skalkottas did make some attempts, however, to establish contact with his fellow-countrymen, in a set of 36 arrangements of *Greek Dances* for orchestra, some of which have remained popular both in Greece and other countries.

Twelve-note ("serial") music was an influential style in European music from the late 1920s up to the 1960s, but more recently the style and technique have lost most of their impact and influence to more populist, "post-romantic" and "post-modern" styles, which have at last brought the output of many contemporary classical composers into the middle ground of popular interest and acclaim. With twelve-note music becoming ever more unpopular, it seems likely that much of Skalkottas's unperformed œuvre will never reach the stage or the microphone.

After the Second World War there were two parallel developments in Greek music. The "art music"' developed remarkably and very richly, and indeed it continues to do so. The other development at this time was in the folk tradition. This was not so much to do with the folk music of the countryside; it was more to do with urban folk music, and in particular *rebetiko*, sometimes referred to as "the Greek Blues". *Rebetiko* originated

with the Greeks in Asia Minor in the late nineteenth century; it was with the influx of a million and a half Greek refugees from Asia Minor in the 1920s that the music was brought to mainland Greece – especially into the vast urban expansion which took place in Athens and Salonika, where *rebetiko* became the folk music of the criminal underground and songs of protest for the downtrodden working classes.

The subject matter of the songs was hashish dens, prison, love and the futility of life, and this led to the songs being officially banned in the 1930s and 1940s. There has been a revival of this original *rebetiko* tradition since the 1970s, recreating the original gritty and pungent style of delivery and with original instruments.

In the 1950s *rebetiko* became recognised as an art form by the intellectual milieu in Greece, and much of the popular song style in Greece in the last thirty years, *tragoudi*, has developed from this tradition. The key figure in this development – indeed the father-figure above all in modern Greek music – was Manos Hadjidakis (1925-1994), who was responsible for some of the earliest concerts in Greece of the avant-garde, including expatriate composers such as Xenakis. Hadjidakis himself composed in a popular style, producing over 800 songs and more than 100 film scores. He achieved international prominence with his score to Jules Dassin's film *Never on Sunday* (1964), starring Melina Mercouri – though he claimed to object strongly to that, remarking: "There is nothing worse than success, when it comes from a source you don't esteem!"

Hadjidakis's exact contemporary, Mikis Theodorakis (b. 1925), had a similar success with his music for Michael Cacoyannis's film *Zorba the Greek* (1964); he has composed much for the western concert platform, but like Hadjidakis most of his music is in what might be described, in western terms, as somewhere between "art song" and popular song. Theodorakis has always been associated with left-wing political causes, and one of his most popular works in this vein is the cantata setting poems by the Chilean Pablo Neruda, *Canto General*, made famous by Maria Farantouri's interpretation.

Music in this tradition is at the heart of contemporary Greek popular music; the *bouzouki* tradition is a natural evolution of it, though a poor relation artistically. There are many Greek

musicians, especially singers, who travel internationally with this type of music; one of the most celebrated in Greece is George Dalaras, who is also noted as a modern performer of *rebetiko*. One of his most popular programmes is a modern revival of *Rebetiko*, in a film version by Costas Ferris (1983), with music by one of the best-known of the middle generation of Greek popular composers, Stavros Xarhakos. Dalaras has recently made a documentary about Greek music with the expatriate Greek director Costa Gavras.

Dalaras and several other Greek musicians tour a number of European countries regularly, especially England and Germany, and also parts of the United States and Australia. When Dalaras comes to London, his audience is normally composed of perhaps 80% Greek Cypriots from North-East London, perhaps 15% mainland Greeks, and at the most 5% British. Modern Greek popular music does not seem to travel so well outside the ethnic traditions. British tourists, for example, like to hear it in Greece, but not much back home.

Since this article is concerned with the European dimension of Greek music, it is not intended to be a detailed survey of those composers who, although popular in Greece and with Greeks in general, have not made a significant impact on the non-Greek world.

In fact the area of music in which Greece has made the biggest impact internationally is that of opera singers. Maria Callas of course became a legend in her own time; the leading Greek soprano now is probably Agnes Baltsa, though there are several others on the world stage, including the young mezzo-soprano Markella Hatziano, who has achieved considerable success in Europe and the USA in the last few years.

It seems a curious fact that Greece has over the past few decades produced some of the greatest female opera singers, but very few male singers of international status. The other great singing nations, such as Spain, Italy and Wales, seem to produce great male and female singers in equal quantities.

Another area in which there is a strong vein of Greek talent is that of concert pianists: there are several with major international reputations. In very recent years also there has been an exodus of many fine young Greek classical guitarists to the European capitals.

In the field of pop music, there are many groups in Greece who have tried to emulate western rock music, but with little success outside their own country, and there are only two Greek popular musicians who have achieved an international success comparable with that of the leading European and American stars.

The first is the singer Nana Mouskouri, who has managed over many years to keep an even balance between songs from her Greek heritage and the demands of the western music market. The other is a composer, Vangelis, who is known throughout Europe and (to a lesser degree) the USA as a leading popular composer, although many people do not even know that he is Greek. Indeed, with the normal American pronunciation of his name, "Van-Jelis", many people assume that he is Dutch!

Vangelis's full name is Evanghelos Papathanassiou. He spent the first twenty years of his life in Greece: he was born and educated in Volos, then he moved to Athens, where in his teens he founded a rock group, *Formyx*, in which he played keyboards and composed most of the music, largely in a European pop style.

In 1968, after the beginning of the Junta, he moved to Paris. His group at that time was called *Aphrodite's Child*, with Demis Roussos as vocalist and Lukas Sideras on drums. They enjoyed considerable success, and their records are still something of a cult – some of Vangelis's best compositions date from this period.

Vangelis went on, mainly working as a solo artist, to be one of the pioneers of the electronic music era in popular music. He is, perhaps, best known for his Oscar-winning score to *Chariots of Fire*. Most of Vangelis's famous tracks have very simple tunes, with fairly simple harmonies supporting them; the genius is in the richness of the sounds which he creates. Such scores as *Chariots of Fire* sound as though there is a large orchestra supporting the solo piano; but in fact it is all played by Vangelis: the piano, the electronic keyboards (with orchestral sounds) and the percussion.

Because he can create such rich textures all by himself, Vangelis seldom uses orchestral players. What he does use quite often, though, is singers. It is in his vocal music that he harks back most to his Greek roots, using a chorus in a ritualistic way that is reminiscent of ancient Greek drama. Vangelis's Greek

heritage is still very important to him, and at the heart of his own philosophy about music. Perhaps the record which engages most with Greek musical traditions is one he made with Irene Pappas in 1979, called *Odes*. It is a collection of folk and traditional songs several centuries old, but in modern settings by Vangelis. When it came out there were strong reactions from several scholars, who regarded these settings as a distortion of the authentic Greek heritage; despite that, the songs were highly popular with the general public in Greece.

Vangelis's most recent major success was his music for the Columbus film *1492: Conquest of Paradise* (1992). Ridley Scott's film, starring Gérard Depardieu, did not achieve great popularity, but the music has taken on a life of its own, and the theme music in particular has become something of a modern classic.

On the classical side there is also only one Greek composer who is a major international figure in our time: Iannis Xenakis (b. 1922). From his earliest days Xenakis was something of an *enfant terrible*. He studied engineering at the Athens Polytechnic during the early 1940s, but then became heavily involved in the Greek resistance against the Germans. In the civil conflict which followed the liberation he lost an eye, on 1 January 1945, after sustaining a facial injury during an attack by a British Sherman tank. He was then hunted by the Greek military police for desertion, and in 1947 managed to escape to Paris, where he has lived ever since.

In Paris he found a job in an architectural studio, working for Le Corbusier, and he was involved in several of the architect's most revolutionary designs. At the same time he was studying composing, and went to Messiaen's composition classes. In the musical theories which he developed he employed the same scientific and higher mathematical principles which he used in architecture. He himself traces his synthesis of art and science back to the Ancient Greeks. From the earliest formulations of Aristoxenus and Euclid, music and mathematics have been intimately linked. In the Middle Ages in Europe, the study of music at university automatically included the study of arithmetic, geometry, architecture and astronomy – all sciences based on numbers. Xenakis has said that he regards music as "interesting", but mathematics as "beautiful", which is very much an ancient Greek idea.

Xenakis's work with Le Corbusier was on revolutionary concepts for buildings, involving immensely complicated calculations for proportions, lines and curves of pressure. He was also working with new materials, especially with pre-stressed concrete. One result of all this was a revolutionary building to Xenakis's own design: the Philips Pavilion for the Brussels World Fair in 1958. The shell of the Pavilion was designed as a hyperbolic paraboloid, but the whole of the surface was constructed from a series of straight lines.

Xenakis applied exactly the same principles in his first major composition, *Metastaseis* for orchestra (1955). The conventional way of composing in Western music has been to start with a theme – probably a tune, or a figure or motif of a few notes or chords – and to build up a larger form by developing these elements: a microcosmic way of creating a musical structure. Xenakis instead approached the construction from the outside, using large number theories to create masses of sound in clouds and galaxies. Then he progressively defined and sub-defined his material until finally the smallest details were charted: a macrocosmic approach. This provided great confusion for his early audiences, and the first performance of *Metastaseis* created a considerable scandal.

It is possible to see, in the musical score of *Metastaseis*, how the construction of the work is exactly parallel to the plan for the Philips Pavilion: in visual terms, both the score and the plan are designed in curves which are constructed of straight lines at angles to each other. In terms of the orchestra, each one of the straight lines is given to an individual orchestral instrument, playing a glissando, and the rapid overlap and succession of these sounds creates the curve in sound, as the architectural design does in space. Xenakis normally writes his music first in the form of a graph, so that the aural structure is entirely clear visually; but in order for the performers to be able to play the music, he has then to transcribe it into conventional notation.

Xenakis's music is above all the organising of sound in space, aurally, in the same way that architecture is the organising of materials in space, visually. Xenakis has brought together the aural and the visual at various times in a series of works he calls *Polytopes*. These are pieces in which the musical and visual

aspects result from the same original calculations and they tend to be conceived on an epic scale. Several have been designed for large historic sites, such as Mycenae in Greece and Persepolis in Iran, and others have been designed for some of the most modern architectural structures. The musical source is an electronic tape, with vast numbers of speakers, and the visual component is vast numbers of light sources and lasers, all run from the same computer programme.

At Mycenae the whole landscape was used, with processions of peasants, soldiers and children, three choirs and a large orchestra, anti-aircraft projectors lighting up the surrounding mountains and clouds, cinema and slide projections on huge screens, and even a herd of hundreds of goats, each with special lamps and bells. This is the sort of spectacle more associated these days with Jean-Michel Jarre, but Jarre's epics are essentially just entertainment whereas Xenakis's have a strong intellectual basis.

In recent years Xenakis has suffered ill health, but as he approaches his seventy-fifth birthday he is still composing prolifically. His music is always pithy and dramatic: he never makes compromises for the sake of his listeners, nor does he make use of melodies and harmonies in the conventional sense; but such is the power of his constructive ability, the acuity of his musical ear for the invention of new sounds and textures, and above all the strength of his passion and intensity, that a fully committed performance (especially live) of a Xenakis work will rarely leave the listener unaffected.

Most of Xenakis's compositions have Greek titles, and he has composed much music associated with Greek drama, including incidental music for performances of plays in the ancient theatre at Epidaurus. In fact there is a remarkably strong and interesting corpus of music written over several decades now for productions at Epidaurus, from Greek composers on both the classical side and the popular.

A contemporary of Xenakis who made an international impact early on was Jani Christou (1926-1970), but since his early death his music has virtually disappeared from the musical scene. This is a considerable misfortune, as he was a strongly individual character and produced some of the most original music of his time. Christou was brought up in Alexandria, and

from his earliest days he was imbued with the ancient Egyptian obsession with life after death. In 1947 he came to England to study philosophy at King's College, Cambridge, with Bertrand Russell and Wittgenstein. His musical style developed from atonality, through serial techniques to his own system: he created works by preparing, as it were, libraries of sound patterns which he subsequently selected and ordered into large-scale forms. He then expanded his palette by including all the performing arts in his works, using symbolic and pictorial notation in his music.

An example of his compositions is *Praxis* for twelve players (1966). The title *Praxis* means "purposeful action"; in this score he contrasts *praxis* in the sense of normal purposeful actions, in that the performers play in a fairly conventional way, with *metapraxis*, where their actions are beyond rational control. In his words, "a violinist playing the violin is a *praxis*; a violinist screaming instead of, or while, playing the violin, is a *metapraxis*." To give an instance, in one passage the *metapraxis* consists of the players walking to the piano (instead of staying still), then shouting out the names of notes (instead of playing them).

Christou's style can be seen at its most extreme in terms of its philosophy in his work *Epicycle.* The complete score consists of just one page, which contains around twenty-five small pictures of situations and events. Round the edge of the page are written the days of the week, within a set of musical repeat marks. In the instructions Christou writes:

> the work may last throughout any stretch of time: days, weeks, months, years... Anybody wishing to participate in the continuum is welcome. For this purpose any sound may be produced (including vocal participation). Vigils are also welcome.

The final paragraph reads:

> Apart from the final event, no prior notice can be given for the occurrence of any of the other events. But the possibility that no events will take place, not even the event listed as "final", is a built-in possibility.

Most of the present generation of Greek composers are writing mainly in what can be described in general terms as a Western European avant-garde style, though most of them at least occasionally use Greek subject matter for inspiration. There are also a few composers who rely strongly on the Byzantine tradition for inspiration, most notably Dimitri Terzakis and Michael Adamis. Adamis has written several works using Byzantine chant as the source material, and in keeping with Byzantine *melos* he writes in strictly horizontal style – this means that the lines of the music move in parallel, and are not constructed vertically, in a harmonic sense.

In the last thirty years there has been an absolute burgeoning of musical talent in Greece. A number of composers are working in Germany and Austria, mostly those now of an older age, including Mamangakis, Kounadis, Terzakis and Logothetis (another composer who has used graphic notation extensively).

Paris in particular has always had a strong attraction for Greek artists; apart from Xenakis and, indeed, Vangelis, who lives there for much of the time, there are a number of the middle and younger generation who have both studied and worked there, including Couroupos and Koumendakis, and especially Georges Aperghis, who has developed his own type of multi-media works, performed mainly by his own group of performers. Indeed Aperghis recently received an award as the most-performed French composer in France!

Several of the younger Greek composers have also studied in London. One who has made an impression as a fine composer in a fairly conventional style and also as a leading teacher is Periklis Koukos (b. 1960), who now teaches composition at the Athens Conservatory.

One of the most interesting among the younger generation of Greek composers is Christos Hatzis (b.1953), who emigrated to Toronto in 1982. He has written music directly inspired by the neo-Byzantine tradition, which uses ancient Byzantine modes, as in *Crucifix*, inspired by a visit to Mount Athos in 1987, and *Heirmos*, inspired by visits to several Greek monasteries in 1994. Hatzis recently had a ballet score commissioned in Britain for the Shobana Jeyasingh Company, a leading Indian dance company. This score is another link to the Byzantine tradition: the title is *Byzantium* and the music straddles East and West,

with Indian drums patterns, solo melody lines like an Indian shawm, but with western harmonies and techniques. Another recent work by Hatzis is the chamber work *On Cerebral Dominance*. The plan for this work is quite intellectual, as the title suggests, and it is uncompromising, in that in terms of its content and the difficulty to the players it is definitely avant-garde; but in terms of the aural result it is a highly attractive and engaging work. It again in its musical design straddles two worlds: in this case the New World – the United States – and the Old World – Europe, as still represented in his home country of Canada; Greek music is thus taken beyond a European to a New World dimension.

The western tradition of music is thus alive and well in Greece, though to achieve sustained international success composers and artists still tend to emigrate to other countries. The standards of performance in Greece, particularly by orchestras, remain below the best of many European countries, though the opening of the major new concert hall in Athens, the Megaron, has raised the international profile of music and performance in Greece. As the country gradually becomes a more equal partner in European culture the standards and achievements will no doubt improve in parallel. But it is to be hoped that Greece's own indigenous musical culture – folk music and the Byzantine heritage – do not suffer as a result, as such traditions have in so many European countries. The joy of music in Greece is its variety and richness of styles and traditions, and every effort should be made to protect and encourage these traditions so that they continue to flower as living and vital forces, and do not become another part of the European museum of folk culture.

A note on bibliography

There is little published in English about Greek music, except for specialised articles on specific subjects. The general reader will find informative articles in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, edited by Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan Publishers Ltd. 1980), Vol. 7, under the entry "Greece: I. Ancient. II. Post-Byzantine to 1830. III. After 1830. IV. Folk"; Byzantine

music is covered in Vol. 3 under "Byzantine rite, music of the"; and there are articles on a number of individual composers.

On the life and music of Xenakis, see Nouritza Matossian, *Xenakis* (London: Kahn and Averill, New York: Taplinger 1986). On Theodorakis, see Gail Holst, *Theodorakis: Myth and politics in modern Greek music* (Amsterdam: Hakkert 1980).

A good general account of the rise of *rebetika* in Greece can be found in Gail Holst, *Road to rembetika* (Athens: Denise Harvey 1975, ^{4}1989). I. Petropoulos's *Ρεμπέτικα τραγούδια* (Athens: Kedros 1968, ^{2}1979) is a classic work on the subject. See also Stathis Gauntlett, *Rebetika: carmina Graeciae recentioris: a contribution to the definition of the term and the genre rebetiko tragoudi through detailed analysis of its verses and of the evolution of its performance* (Athens: Denise Harvey 1985).

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