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**"Shifting" identities or "hidden" messages?  
A musical ethnohistory of Northwestern Greece**

*Athena Katsanevaki*

THESSALONIKI 2021

*to my Professor Dimitris Themelis  
for his continuous support and encouragement*

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### *Abstract*

This research explores the musical culture of an unknown area of Northwestern Greece (Western Macedonia and Epirus) and its neighboring areas in the State of North Macedonia and Northern Epirus in Southern Albania. It reveals that areas considered alien and linguistically distinguished from each other, belong to the same musical culture despite the difference of language. Thus, the conventional division of the area of Western Macedonia in Greece into three zones, the Greek-speaking part (the largest one), the Vlach-speaking part (on the Pindus Mountains), and the Slav-speaking, on the Northern part of the area, is seriously disputed. Emic comments of the locals about their language and identity, justify these findings and are confirmed by historical research in the Byzantine, but also before that, past of the area.



*Pramoritsa bridge, Grevena region. 2001. Phot. A. Katsanevaki*

**Keywords:** Western Macedonia, Pindus, Epirus, Musical Ethnohistory, Historical Ethnomusicology, Identity, Vocal music, Historical meaning, musical form, common melodies, heterophony, polyphony, pentatonic, *spondeion*.

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## Foreword

The present work is the second publication of the Digital Archive of Greek Traditional Music "Dimitris Themelis" of the Library of the School of Music Studies. The first was the release of the double CD "Voices of Ierissos", with previously unpublished recordings from the area of Ierissos, all found in the collection of recordings from East Chalkidiki kept in the Archive.

The digital repository of the School of Music Studies of the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki includes, among others, approximately 40 Bachelor Theses with around 800 recorded songs and transcriptions from the areas of Western Macedonia, and more specifically from Kozani, Grevena, Kastoria and Florina.

The work by Athena Katsanevaki is a result of many years of research in the area of North -Western Greece (Western Macedonia, Pindus, Thessaly and Epirus in Greece and Albania) and includes a large amount of field recordings. It is also the first systematic research of an oral music culture that has been neglected by the Greek State for many decades. This systematic and in-depth work in the area has allowed the recording of songs performed by the almost last generation of inhabitants, who have learned to use them in the different facets of their everyday life.

Her research is the first work that collectively presents a musical tradition of an area, in which three ethnic groups that represent the tri-lingualism of the area co-exist: the Greek speakers, which is the main group of the area, the Vlach and the Slav speakers.

It thus notionally complements a triangle that consists of areas which have contributed a lot, and for many years, to the music diversity of the Greek space.

I would like to thank the author for the honour to entrust our Archive the result of her research, but also the associates of the Archive Dr. Olga Kolokytha and Dr. Panagiotis Panagiotidis for their contribution to the present publication.

January 2021

*Aris Bazmadelis*

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## Preface

When, in 1990, I started my fieldwork in the framework of my diploma thesis in the village of *Kalloni*, I would have never imagined what this would mean for the coming years. My first encounter with the area of Pindus brought me in contact with a music unknown to me. A few dance melodies, the standard fare of the area, played in LP records in the family feasts on the name day of my grand-father Thanasis was all my personal engagement with this kind of music. But these dance melodies almost ignored the complexity of the oral vocal music of the area of Pindus. As a result, my first encounter with the area was a great shock to me as it revealed a musical world absolutely unknown to me and different from what one could ever consider music. It was very different from my experience in what is considered European classical music, as well as from the Cretan tunes I had listened to as a result of my father's roots and his love for violin.

In the mouths of the people in the field, during my fieldwork, the word *music* did not exist at all as well. And they were right. What they sung, and still sing on suitable occasions, with the exception of their participation in my fieldwork, cannot be called music. In fact the few times I used this word in my effort to gain new explanations about their *music* was an ethnographic "disaster". Instead, they used other means to express the sounds: the word *echós* which means melodic path/type bound to special ritual occasions. Other local, emic terminology to express processes that involved this kind of music involved clear references to mouth and words. *Vgazame to gamo me to stoma-βγάσαμε τον γάμο με το στόμα*, which means *we sung through all the wedding by mouth*. A conclusion that almost no instruments existed, even a few years ago, in the vast part of the area, and a fact that justifies my particular focus on the vocal music of the area. If I was to find a proper way to express what these sounds sounded like and how they were organized in order to sound, I would suggest the term *speech melody* as the most proper one. Other researchers have used terms equivalent to speech music which are connected to wailing and lamenting, such as for example *Amy de la Breteque's melodized speech*. It is not a coincidence then, that these words coincide perfectly with the words the Ancient Greeks called their own *speech melody*: *logodes melos*.

In the following chapters it is obvious that the aesthetics and the organization of this musical system increasingly recreate the same norms to express, by the contemporary *speech melody*, the norms of the *logodes melos* of the Antiquity. Until the end of this work, it becomes clear that the wider area of the South Western Balkans, which in the Roman times was called *Macedonia*, shares a common past despite the differences in language. From the historical approach and analysis it also becomes clear that this common past is not just a contemporary matter. It is traced back in the Past. This becomes clear as the contemporary cultural musical map keeps the basic ethnological distribution of Antiquity. But even this is not a phenomenon only of the South-Western Balkans. The Balkan Peninsula as a whole, possesses a wider cultural background where the current borders of its modern States come against concrete cultural zones which coincide perfectly with the ethnological map of Antiquity and its indigenous populations such

as the Illyrian, the Thracian and the Proto-Hellenic-Phrygian and Pelasgian, which would suggest inner links and inter-relationships beyond the contemporary divisions. Later, the Slavs in the Balkans were incorporated in such a way as to create "local Slav cultural and historical entities", based on the former ethnic components. The political efforts to formulate in certain borders these local ethnic variations and the older ethnicities, which pre-existed in the area, in order to form the new modern States of the Balkans, complicated even more the complexity of the area (in the absence of any justification) due to the waves of the European nationalisms.

In this context the matter of identity, which is analyzed first and coincides in the later chapters with the *speech melodies* of the area, becomes crucial and further complicated: shifting identities become a way to declare the past, which is embodied in the social life of each ethnic group (and which is indispensable with survival), but in the surrounding contemporary context. This way, adjacent ethnic groups sharing a common past make slight or crucial shifts of names and self-definitions in order to produce a contemporary identity which will embody the past. A past which is important for their survival, but will give a contemporary meaning suitable for the overall scene of the contemporary Balkans in our case. Nonetheless, vocal music never stopped to unearth the shared past of the contemporary divided but adjacent and formerly related ethnic groups.

In order to travel in such a pace and tempo as to be able to embody all my experiences around me, I followed multiple scientific directions. At first I found most proper to express my methodology as a historical ethnomusicological approach. Though it never stopped to belong to this specific field of our discipline, objections aside, its local orientation and character would equally locate it to the field of a musical ethno-history.

The following text is not just a small synopsis and presentation of my overall research, but also a result of a constant re-evaluation and checking of the results, as well as a constant deliberate doubt of my own initial conclusions first presented in my Dissertation back in 1998. With very minor changes, my initial research was extended to embrace the wider area and the population around the Pindus Mountains, in the North Central Greece but also in Albania and in the State of North Macedonia.

I would also like to thank the Editors of this work as well the Editors of the Journal of the IMS Regional Association for the Study of Music of the Balkans (RASMB) who accepted to publish a short introduction of this extended text in their journal.

Last but not least I would like to devote this work to my Professor Dimitris Themelis for his continuous support and encouragement, and his constant belief in my work.

May he rest in peace.

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*I was in the modern part of the town of Nevesj (pseudonym), densely built with blocks of flats, those characteristic of the time of political isolation in most of the Balkan countries after World War II. I was supposed to meet with the older women of the professional group of the S..... a group with a constant presence and representation of the group singing of S... (S..... in Greek). We located the last "S...." members with the aid of two local ethnomusicologists. I was informed that the oldest and more active of these women had already passed away, so my visit did not exclusively aim to record the polyphonic repertory. I was hosted in Nevesj by a friend who was married to a local man. So we traveled there, and stayed with them in a neighborhood next to the Albanian mahala, which had to be crossed before one could get into the urban Westernized part of the city. I was there mainly to meet these women who, being isolated from their homeland, in Western Macedonia in Greece, represented a style that had become the landmark of the State of Northern Macedonia as an opposition to Greece. "We want to come back to our motherland. We haven't done anything bad. We want to see our houses, our people there". Indeed, as the discussion - which was held in fluent Greek (though they were Slav-speakers who left Greece at the age of 15-20) unfolded, in-between songs, they narrated to me how they left from their villages: They had no idea exactly why. A group of partisans of the communist party suddenly came into the village one day crying "They are coming now! Go away! They will kill you!". Thus they left their village in a hurry. They didn't even know who those people who would come to the village to kill them were. After a long time, one of these women went back to visit her village in Greece. Some of her relatives (also Slav-speaking local Macedonians) reacted negatively. She told us: "They thought I came back to claim my property....".*

*The reason for my visit, then, was not mainly to record the songs. Rather, it was to meet them, and fulfill a deeper desire to reassure them that there are still people in Greece who remember them...*

*After our meeting, which lasted almost five hours, and while saying goodbye, one of them - the most spontaneous - addressed one of our local collaborators in enthusiastic expectation with the following question: "Gritski Makedonski?". The other one looked surprised: "Ne! ... Makedonski! " (Greek Macedonian? No! Macedonian!).*

*Before leaving for Greece, I grasped the opportunity to have a photo taken in front of the huge, spectacular statue of Alexander the Great riding his horse, in the central Square of Skopje, the Capital of Northern Macedonia....*

### **Introduction: the first encounter.**

Western Macedonia<sup>1</sup> in Greece participates in the wider context of the musical system of Western Greece and Southern Albania (Northern Epirus). Ethnographic and anthropological approaches as well as linguistic data divide the area mainly into two zones: the Greek-speaking part, which is strongly related to the central mountainous area of Pindus where the Vlachs (the third group) reside, and the Slav-speaking one, extending to the Northeast.

Such approaches however ignore the cultural background of its populations, who are self-identified in both cases as "Macedonians". In most relevant texts, it is not made clear that there is a Greek-speaking population equally local and self-identified as "Macedonian" as well. Nonetheless, small-scale fieldwork has revealed important data about the clear sub-divisions of self-definitions, and the inter-relationships which unify the areas. The data also provide information about the connection of these areas with the central zone of the Pindus Mountains despite the two different languages: the musical form of the ritual songs reveals the historical past, as well as the reasons for the gradual introduction of the Slavic language in the wider area of Western Macedonia in Greece and beyond. Language can serve in certain cases as a secondary cultural identity, while "hidden" identities can be represented by other cultural expressions (in this case the musical form), carefully guarded by the communities but not apparent to outsiders.

The relation of music and identity has been considered as a process of interchangeability in time, space and society. Music is considered as a major factor of "making" social identity or supporting and confirming social or other identities<sup>2</sup>. As Rice (2010) puts it in his critical approach of Ethnomusicology as discipline, after 1994 and the works of certain authors like Fredrik Barth and Martin Stokes, "authors writing about music and identity should be asking whether, in their particular case, music is contributing to identity formation or to some other process involving identity" (Rice 2010, 322) .

This research reveals a different relationship of music and identity. Musical form becomes a symbol and vehicle in order for an ethnic group to convey oral messages of its own hidden and endangered group identity. Thus it becomes a means of sustainability and endurance of a hidden and oppressed ethnic identity in the course of time. Essentially, it becomes a symbol. And though Turino (1999,250 in Rice 2010,321-22) claims that music is a powerful sign of identity because it is a sign of

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<sup>1</sup> Part of this research (both fieldwork and historical research) is presented in: Katsanevaki. 1998, 2017. See also: Katsanevaki 2014,2019, 1121-1140.

<sup>2</sup> The issue of Music and Identity has become a major topic in Ethnomusicology and has been reviewed in detail by Timothy Rice (2007). Equally, it was treated as a main topic in other publications (e.g. Stokes,1994, introduction, 1-27). Music is considered as a major factor in "making" social identity or supporting and confirming social identities. As far as I am aware, the term "Shifting identity" is used for a first time in Turino (1999). I explain the connection of my own approach to his further on.

"direct feeling and experience" unmediated by language, stressing the difference between "propositional semantico-referential language and non-propositional sign modes" like music and dance (Turino 1999,222), it must be stressed that my field was slightly different: in the course of the research it became clear that this music being almost exclusively vocal, is created by melodic formulas which are there and are formed (in the way they do it), due to the accents of the words. In this way, its symbolism and ability to function as a sign of feeling is directly bound with the ways melody is composed along with language; in this case language is the core factor which has contributed to the creation of the musical norms. What I propose here is that often, the carriers of these traditions become bilingual, while later they use the second language, and adjust the compositional technique of the original language to the second language. In this way they keep the same style of verse and the same way of combining melodic formulas with the accented and unaccented syllables. This technique of composition is bound with language but not with the meaning of the text as such. Together with the purely musical characteristics of the melodies this process lends the special melodic nature, the aesthetics and style to these melodies, and becomes the symbol of their ethnic emotions and identity while contributing to the sustainability of these communities.

In fact keeping in mind Turino's model while proceeding with our own case-study would suggest that music in our case represents his "identity factor", while language and the linguistic shift I observe in these traditions represents his "hegemonic factor" (1984,253-254).

It seems then that different parts of the area have more in common than one might consider during a first encounter.

To show what can be seen as unifying the area despite the different languages, I provide seven case studies from certain parts of the area, which represent regional musical styles, and provide common musical forms among groups that are considered as "different". Far from being considered as mere borrowings, these forms are part of the historical ritual vocal repertory (wedding, funeral, Easter, Saint John's or other) of each group. In order to check the possible historical reasons for these common forms, I have reviewed the wider historical framework of the area, especially during the main era in question, namely the Byzantine Era but, in cases, also the Roman Era and the Antiquity. Thus I draw certain connections between areas usually considered as alienated. Finally, I conclude that the combination of the information found in historical sources and cultural data challenges the conventional division of the area and justifies the common self-definitions of the different linguistic groups.

### **Historical ethnomusicology or a musical ethnohistory? Seeking for a framework in scholarship.**

It is generally thought that research has to be part of or develop in the framework of a specific methodology in a certain field, thus it is usually required to explain this framework.

In the case of this research, apart from some basic methodological tools which are part of the process of fieldwork and participant observation, I didn't rely on any given framework. This happened partly because of the local character of my work which stayed in the margins of Ethnomusicological scholarship and partly because of the needs of the field. My main method was to gradually introduce myself in the field and to become familiar with people there and their musical culture; to listen carefully to their life experiences, reactions and messages and to develop, step by step, a methodology that would be based on the needs of the field itself. This required a constant concern and engagement which resulted in changes of direction in case a new particular need or new questions came on board.

The paths opened to me led to different scientific fields and the complexity of the data and messages suggested that a holistic view of the area and its people was required.

Both scholarship and Orality were necessary in order to understand and interpret these messages.

Scholarship involved written sources and data in reference to the historical, cultural, linguistic and ethnic aspects of the area and its music.

Orality involved field data and experiences. Of course my main topic was music within this context. But it must be clarified that usually the songs I recorded besides providing musical data, became a vehicle for me to be introduced into the world of the people in the field and to gain a proximity and good relationship with them which would permit me to witness certain confessions about their lives and experiences that, otherwise, would never be exposed to others.

As the process of "building" my method gradually developed a framework that would involve both historical written sources and ethnographic methods, I named it quite arbitrarily "a historical ethnomusicological approach" (Katsanevaki 1998): arbitrarily because it didn't follow what was the general (up to the time) meaning, or the distinctive approaches of historical Ethnomusicology, or the relationship of our field with history, as was hitherto explained or followed by different scholars of our field for different case-studies (see Nettl 1958, 520; Blacking 1971; Nketia 1971; Seeger 1991;1993; Widdens 1992; Coplan 1993 and much later in McCollum and Hebert 2014). In the case of my work the historical past was extended to an extremely remote era and part of my sources belonged to the ancient Greek past. This was not acceptable. Though this was not my initial purpose but a need required in order to interpret the musical system of my area of study it was thought too much

for a study that was initiated as a synchronic approach. It seemed quite an exaggeration to link a contemporary musical system to musical prehistory.

Though it was apparent to me that the social fabric of these population groups was changed considerably only after World War II, it was not apparent to scholarship. In any case some kind of proof was required. Additionally this link seemed to imply superficial historical leap in time with view to support Greek Nationalism. So, I developed a different method that again presented some outside similarity to an equally "obsolete" method of the past: The method of Geography. But while the Geographical method aimed at universals and universal conclusions I never considered the extraction of universals a realistic or useful purpose. On the contrary, my purpose was to explore the area in such a way as to discover the links or the "cracks" in its fabric of communities and social and cultural networks. This required me to develop an extended network of community field locations in order to locate all minor differences or similarities in the local musical culture and its social context and to follow its geographical changeability.

Gradually I filled a map with musical variants of identical melodic forms of various different functionalities that reduced considerably the "leap" in three ways:

1. Firstly by proving that the same musical system is used in the extent of four languages that reached the area in different historical eras (Greek, the main linguistic corpus, Vlach, Albanian, and the last one Slav). This meant that the musical system itself was as old as the space of time required for the introduction of these languages in the area.
2. Secondly the fact that the geographical distribution of certain melodies by means of community life in concrete regions bound to each other, suggested that the last formation of these melodies took place at least as far back as in the 9<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> century (Katsanevaki 2012, 154). This conclusion revealed that the compositional techniques and the formulas could indeed be traced as original formations and notions to antiquity.
3. The combination of the two methods (research in written sources and the overall contemporary framework) filled the gap in time by reaching the same point from two opposite directions Past to Present, Present to Past.

But still this work was outside any given framework in scholarship. It could be called Historical Ethnomusicological approach, but it had a personal style not previously supported by this subdivision of our field. On the other hand, its regional style better suited with Ethnohistory<sup>3</sup>: though delving in deep past, this work combined ethnographic work and historical research in a certain region; at the same time its main

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<sup>3</sup> Today, the methodology of Ethnohistory typically "uses both historical and ethnographic data as its foundation". Ethnohistory is defined as an approach that is "essentially interdisciplinary with primary emphasis centered in the use of history, ethnology and other fields of knowledge employed to understand culture in its own terms" (Chaves, 2008, 493).

purpose and way of interpretation never stopped being the musical culture of the area. This special part of the overall research presented here is equally regional, ethnographic, historical and musicological with music becoming a main tool for interpretation. Though historical Ethnomusicological, it stays in-between Historical Ethnomusicology and Ethnohistory; thus considering its regional style and the fact that starting from the musical data I kept changing my research orientation to all other aspects of the history and culture of the area I called it "*A Musical Ethnohistory*". And it considerably reveals that in a similar way that "*music makes history*" (Seeger 1991, 1993), *history equally makes music* and in this way, history and social change is traceable in musical form, in very definite ways.

### **About the notion of "History" in Ethnomusicology, in accordance with the present case-study.**

The role of Historical Studies within Ethnomusicology was a concern that was indicated directly or indirectly in the works of many authors in the past. Widdens was the first to use the term "Historical ethnomusicology" as the title of his paper in 1992. His approach however, was absolutely different from mine when, a few years later in 1998, I used the same title for my Phd Thesis (A Historical-Ethnomusicological approach)<sup>4</sup>. Though Widdens is mainly concerned with the written sources of contemporary "high cultures" as well as with notations and musical transcriptions, his observation regarding the importance of the historical dimension is remarkable: "But it is clear from the work done in many areas that any picture of the present that is not informed by an appreciation of the historical dimension is sadly incomplete" (1992,219). Nettl mentions that there are two principal classes which represent the historical aspects of Ethnomusicology: Origin and Change (1958, 518). Both are basic perspectives of my work but with regard to a specific area and it is in this way that my methodology differs. And though I give the geographical movement fair consideration (op.cit, 520) my approach is different as I test my results by means of numerous variations compiled in the same area and originating from adjacent and related communities. In 2008 Bohlman expressed his difficulty to accept that ethnomusicology should keep a distance from the politics of history, as they continuously permeate its multiple areas of study (2008, 96-97). And though he criticizes the field's adherence to the view of tradition as a notion that becomes an obstacle for new perspectives in the discipline, his final goal is to put emphasis on the critical approach that every ethnomusicological research should adopt forming a constantly "new" discipline based on constantly "new" multiple and different case studies (2008,104, 111). Ziegler, has critically reviewed the issue of historical studies and historical sources in the

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<sup>4</sup> George Kitsios's Phd dissertation (2006), is another historical ethnomusicological approach based on the notion of micro-history and concerning musical life in the City of Jannina in Epirus at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and in the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century in the Ottoman time. For an overview of the Historical and Ethnographic dimensions in the field of Ethnomusicology see Hapsulas 2010.

discipline of Ethnomusicology (2010). The approaches of Blacking among the *Venda* and of Nketia in West Africa are also counted as referential. Both of them consider in detail the distributions of musical styles and their social functionalities, but always combined with historical records in their respective areas of study in order to locate and explain musical change (Nketia, 1971; Blacking 1971). After considering the importance of the symbols carried in the musical performances, Blacking, concludes: "If African music is studied on these lines, the results of analysis should be of considerable use in reconstructing African history" (1971, 188). This can be postulated as one of the purposes of my research. Though Blacking refers clearly to the danger of comparing "similar" musics which are differently produced, addressing this way the necessity of cultural and social analysis (1971, 186), this danger is almost eliminated in my area of study, because the regional styles I compare are part of adjacent societies and are experienced in the same or very similar social and cultural contexts. Bilingualism is a later difference, gradually introduced in similarly formed repertoires and this is why it is possible to trace this process in the various musical forms found in these areas. So if searched in detail they are ideal in reconstructing the history of my area in a similar way that Blacking claims for his own area of study.

The multiple possible perspectives of Historical Ethnomusicology have been analytically presented in the reference volume edited recently by Jonathan Mc Collum and David G. Hebert (2014). Keith Howard describes the development of the many different views of history within the discipline of Ethnomusicology, putting emphasis on the "shift in scholarship marked by the notion of the "historical construction" introduced by Timothy Rice in accordance with Clifford Geertz's theory about the "historically constructed symbolic systems" (Rice 1987,480;2003,152 in Howard 1994, p.x). In the forward by Keith Howard as well as in the Introduction of the volume, it is claimed that Historical Studies have occupied an important role in Ethnomusicology, despite the field's recent emphasis on ethnographic studies of contemporary music practices (see Collum-Hebert 2014,2); nevertheless, it is noted, in official websites, reference to historical research "is merely added onto the end with no further explanation (op.cit,p.1). It is equally stated that ethnomusicology, like anthropology and its related disciplines, has in recent years taken what some would call a "historical turn" (see op.cit. Forward p.ix).

All in all, it must be stated that this work stays quite in the margins of the methodologies presented in the above-mentioned volume. One good reason for this, is that it is a space-specific case study which thus developed its own method. Furthermore, it is clearly stated that "SEM's Historical Ethnomusicology SIG is an organization developed for all scholars interested in the study of music history and the application of historical methodologies within the field of Ethnomusicology" (op.cit.2). Plural here suggests that methodologies in this field are not exhausted within the limits of a single reference volume.

## On Methodology

*"There is an Indian story (at least I heard it as an Indian story) about an Englishman who, having been told that the world rested on a platform which rested on the back of an elephant which rested in turn on the back of a turtle, asked (perhaps he was an ethnographer, it is the way they behave), what did the turtle rest on? Another turtle. And that turtle? "Ah, Sahib, after that it is turtles all the way down." (Clifford Geertz, 1973, 1993, 28-9)<sup>5</sup>*

This research was based on participant observation which started in 1990 and is still in progress. I focused on specific moments in the field which are considered important moments of emic interpretation by the locals. These moments function as focal points regarding the overall description of the context (ethnographic, historical, or musical). Thus, I avoided a detailed narrative or extensive textualization (see footnote 5) as well as direct questions about their identity. In fact, the first textualization of my Ethnographic experience was presented in my diploma Thesis in 1991 in accordance with the vocal repertory of a single village of the area (Katsanevaki 1991).

In many cases when a researcher aims at extended interviews regarding the identity of the locals, he/she reveals the current strategies of the locals in order for them to negotiate with the surrounding policies. This has happened in many anthropological works engaged with political science and with groups like the Slav-speaking Macedonians. Aiming at revealing hidden processes not explicitly found in the contemporary present, they unravel, (instead of their own interpretations or values), the ways the locals manage to survive their surrounding policies. This was not my main concern because my focus was different. I managed to listen to their music carefully, in order to reveal what is hidden systematically.

This vocal repertory, sung during the local rituals, and festivities, was far from being part of any education, if not an exclusively oral tradition. It was handed down as an experience of communal life and female activities, and was not a product of dominant policies in the area.

It is also no longer active in the communities of the area. The depopulation caused by the two World Wars and the Civil War destroyed the fabric of the communities. As a result, (both in Greek-speaking and Slav-speaking communities as well as in the Vlach-speaking communities) the local ritual repertory was preserved only by the older generation, aged 75-90 or even 100 (and more) years old. Consequently, research that focuses on current changes and negotiations of the bearers of this oral tradition would

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<sup>5</sup> Though Geertz concludes regarding this story that "Cultural analysis is incomplete", he later adds "But that, along with plaguing subtle people with obtuse questions, is what being an ethnographer is like". Ethnography and Ethnographic writing has been critically reviewed by certain authors in *Writing Culture. The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography* (Clifford and Marcus, 1986). But even in these works the extensive ethnographic textualization (even as "the mutual dialogical production of a discourse" or a "polyphonic text", op.cit.126) as a basic presupposition for writing culture has not been doubted. There is though a tendency (which asserts the words of Clifford Geertz I cited above), to criticize ethnographic writing in ways that leave very little space for a possibility to continue with Ethnography.



not be the appropriate approach, because these songs are not anymore active in communal life.

### **Why focus on a vocal ritual repertory which is no longer active?**

"Most scholars agree that all over Macedonia until the end of the 19th century, religion was the principal factor taken into consideration by the Ottoman bureaucracy for dividing the population into administrative units; it was also the most important aspect of identity for most of the region's inhabitants. Family status, residence in a certain village and membership of a certain socio-economic class were other aspects of differentiation among the population (Danforth 1995:58). *This does not mean that no national categories existed, but that cultural background was not the most important criterion for the ascription of an individual to a collective entity*" (emphasis by the present author) (Manos 2002,8).

Consequently, one might consider that at least at this time, cultural background was neither affected by, nor manipulated for purposes of ascription to collective entities, and thus one might focus exactly on the cultural background of this Ottoman Era and even earlier, in order to locate hidden identities, before the time of negotiations of these ethnic groups towards conforming to the accepted Western notion of nationality.

This means that a local vocal repertory that was not anymore active (like the repertoires I present here) could be ideal for revealing the hidden (and shifting at the time of negotiation) identities of the related ethnic groups. In fact this statement confirms my own methodological purpose (see section "On Methodology"), and orientation to avoid an exclusively contemporary ethnographic research, in order to locate what was behind the walls of today's' nationalistic western authorization.

### **Previous research: A critical review**

This research<sup>6</sup> aims to provide a combined interdisciplinary approach which interweaves historical ethnographic and musical data with experience in the field. It was conducted among the three main ethnic-linguistic groups in Western Macedonia in Greece (and the adjacent areas), Greek-speakers, Vlach-speakers and later among Slav-speakers, tracing possible ways in which the musical data and the historical testimony combine with and justify the self-definitions of the different ethnic-linguistic groups.

The Slav-speaking part of Macedonia in Greece, has generally been isolated from scholarly research. But even the Greek-speaking area has been lacking in data about its musical map. The prejudices against this ethnic group (the Slavophones) were caused by the dictatorships during and after the regime of Metaxas up to 1980 in Greece and the oppression of the Slavic language musical repertory. It must be mentioned though, that according to the locals during Venizelos's regime the Slav language was not prohibited. Later this repertory was regarded as dangerous, as it

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<sup>6</sup> Initially a paper presented at the ICTM World Conference, July 2017, Limerick, Ireland.

was used to support the claims of the Greek communist party (during the Civil War), for an autonomous Macedonia including all Northern Greece. It was also considered dangerous because of certain political propagandas in the Southern Balkans, against the Hellenic origin of the ancient Macedonian language -which nonetheless was later firmly supported by linguistic research (see Eric Hamp's linguistic tree below) and history. So this article aims at filling a gap, while presenting data of fieldwork that started in 1990 and lasted for almost 25 years. In the case of the Slav-speakers of West Macedonia in Greece, as well as in the State of North Macedonia, fieldwork lasted more than a decade.

In general, literature on the Slav-speakers of Northern Greece is mainly anthropological, concerned with issues of nationalism (Danforth 1995) or the anthropology of dance, or is related to language politics, though not purely linguistic.<sup>7</sup> Cowan's work is a detailed anthropological analysis of the local negotiations in the contemporary life of a community in Central Macedonia in Greece, namely the village of *Sochos*, where she analyses dance as a means of gender policies among the different male or female groups and/or generations in the village. Karakasidou's work, is a detailed anthropological analysis in regard to political aspects of identity, but it is concerned with a restricted locus of space and time, undermining this way other processes or political factors, contemporary or former, in the wider area and/or the cultural background. Gourani (2014), refers to and analyzes the local musical repertory in the area of Edessa in Greece. This work presents a small but important account of the local vocal repertory, though some genres (like the laments, for example) are absent. Considering the difficulties encountered during the documentation of this repertory, this work stands among the very few that can be evaluated as a serious contribution to the musical knowledge of a certain area of Slav-speakers. This area though is musically different from my area of concern as it follows the musical system of Central Macedonia. Kavakopoulos' work (2005) discusses the instrumental and instrumental dance repertory. It is a detailed report of the dance music of the instrumental bands in the area of Florina, thus there is little, if no connection with the implications and interpretations found in the vocal repertory I am concerned with. Manos's work (see footnote 7) is concerned with negotiations, definitions or identifications of identity performed through dance practices. It examines instrumental dance music, or ways and policies in which music became instrumental. As he puts it: "more specifically, the project draws attention to the ways collectivities and individuals define themselves and are defined by others in relation and response to hegemonic discourses of cultural difference" ... (Manos,2002,3).

As in the cases of Cowan and Karakasidou, Manos's work reveals mainly social, economic, political, or/and cultural practices performed by the locals in order to

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<sup>7</sup> Danforth, 1995, 118-119, 124, for a historical ethnographic approach of the Civil War in Greece (related to the anthropology of political Sciences). See also: .Danforth and Boeschoten, 2012. (Regarding the issue of Children abduction, I relied mainly on the information I had in the field). Karakasidou, 2009, with respect to a certain locus of Central Macedonia, Cowan,1990; and Manos, 2002. Also, Manos, 2008.

negotiate with contemporary political issues and/or other political or social policies. In Cowan (see above), interactive processes in the framework of a gender analysis is a main focus. Only Manos's and Kavakopoulos' work involves the area of Western Macedonia (both mainly the area of Florina), although their purpose and methodology differ significantly from each other. Regarding the linguistic issue I follow Ioannidou, who argues that, though the Slav dialects in Greece have become a means for defining the ethnic identity of the Slav-speakers themselves, "even today, in fact, very few scientists interested in Greece's Slavophones are really in a position to describe or even to name the language spoken by them besides Greek"<sup>8</sup>

Objections aside, the only linguistic work in Greek, regarding the Slav-speaking dialects, is the work of Andriotis (1984). The author, who has been a leading figure of linguistic studies in the Academy in Greece, in cases clearly projects his own viewpoint. Nonetheless it is unique in presenting plenty of linguistic data about the Slav-speakers of Greece and of the State of North Macedonia of today. Almost all others refer to the general topic of language and politics performed in the times after World Wars I and II.

One of the few but most prominent linguistic studies regarding the South Slavic dialect that constituted the literary form of language in the State of North Macedonia is Victor Friedman's work (see footnote 8). Friedman states that "the geographic region, like the rest of the Balkans, has always been multilingual. For our purposes Modern Macedonian (henceforth Macedonian) can be defined as the Slavic dialects spoken in the territory of geographic Macedonia". In this sense, the Greek dialects spoken in the same area could also be named "Macedonian". This is a serious issue that complicates matters when a name is used in order to define a national or linguistic identity in geographical terms. Such a name can be used for a local ethnic identity; but when it comes to an official name of a State, then it might seriously perplex the general balance of an area, creating successive misunderstandings. Nonetheless, as Friedman's work was published in 2001, there have arisen since certain changes of data that alter his statement that Ancient Macedonian was a generally Indo-European language without close affinity to Ancient Greek or the Hellenic linguistic branch (see footnote 8). On the other hand, Eric Hamp's linguistic tree in 2012 presents Ancient Macedonian as part of the Hellenic-Macedonian branch. So while in his earlier tree in 1989 he puts a question mark next to the Macedonian language, in 2012 his viewpoint is absolutely definite about the affiliation of Hellenic (Greek) and Macedonian, (2013,7-8).

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<sup>8</sup> Ioannidou, 1999b,55. She also refers to the different linguistic methodologies of Hill (1990), who based his work on contemporary data (op.cit p.60 footnote 13), or of different linguistic criteria (regarding the definitions of differences or relationships among the Eastern and Western dialects) of Stojkov (1993) and Ivanov (1994) (op.cit.p.61). For an overview of the linguistic issues of the South Slav dialects in Greece see also Ioannidou 1999a. See also Friedman, 2001, 4-5 (in reference to the dialect of the area of Bitola-Veles-Prilep-Kičevo). Dinas basing his research on a bilingual auto-biography by a local Slav-speaker in Ochrid, concludes that there is a strong connection between the dialect spoken in the area of Ochrid and the Bulgarian language, in a way that would not support the view that it is a separate language but rather a dialect (2012).

Taking into consideration all previous works, I thought that it was necessary to develop a method that would focus on the cultural identity of these groups and that evaluating their musical vocal repertory was of great importance in order to understand what they really are, instead of what they projected to "Others" as their own "identity".



*View of the Korestia settlement and valley, from Kranionas. Vitsi mountain and. Bapchor (Poimeniko) are located at the right of the photograph (North-East) Phot. A. Katsanevaki.*

### **Archival research - Fieldwork data: A critical evaluation.**

Part of the local vocal repertory exists in the musical archives of Skopje (in IRAM institute). However, the lack of relevant Greek and Vlach language repertory would never allow for a wider and complete knowledge of the area. It would also not reveal the relevant affiliation of these "Macedonians" (who moved to the Former Yugoslavia because of the Civil War in Greece), with their surrounding Greek-speakers and Vlach-speakers.

Examples of these recordings were presented during the conference "The Via Egnatia Revisited".<sup>9</sup> Part of the recordings concern the village of *Bapchor*, in the *Vitsi* and *Korestia* region<sup>10</sup>. These recordings are better in quality as the women that sung were much younger at the time of the documentation. But the value of the recordings I made in the villages of West Macedonia in Greece is indubitable, though they are weaker in timbre and loudness, and in the case of the Slav-speaking "Vlach Farserot-style" polyphony the second voice is not adequately performed. But whoever is familiar with the Vlach Farserot style can easily reconstruct the second voice and have an excellent example of its Slav-speaking counterpart.

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<sup>9</sup> *The Via Egnatia Revisited. Reanimation of an old road, Bitola 20-22.2.2009*, by Dr. D.Buzarovski, T. Jordanoska, Dr A. Dimitrijevi, "Presentation: IRAM [Institute for Research and Archiving of Music], Historical collection of Balkan Folklore".

<sup>10</sup> See my references in Katsanevaki, 1998, 2017, Part I, 425, footnote 2.

Additionally, the women I met in the State of North Macedonia during my research there, though excellent performers of their local polyphony (though not active any longer), were unable to sing laments. Being forced to leave Greece by the age of 20, in all probability, they had not been introduced yet to the lament genre in their communities.

However, I recorded many lament melodies in the local Slav-speaking communities, performed for me by the older generation. I was not so lucky with the distinctive polyphonic styles because it was almost impossible to gather a group after so many years. Part of the repertory was abandoned after World War II and the Civil War and, as it was considered politically suspicious by the dictatorships, it was forbidden for many years. Furthermore the older generation had passed away. At the time I succeeded in documenting a group of women singing the *Ukano* style in *Toixio* (see above) and another woman singing one of the voices of the second two-part polyphonic style of the area of *Kastoria* (Kostur). And though I was more than disappointed because the woman who sung this voice to me was unable to sing the second one as she had never sung this during the singing process, these recordings compared with the recordings made by Nikolai Kauffman, verify the existence of this same style and same melody in more than one village, as a fixed melodic and polyphonic ritual style. Similarly, the recordings of Nikolai Kaufmann contributed to locating one more polyphonic song which belongs to the same system, while additionally presents a strong structural and melodic similarity with a song I recorded among the Greek-speakers of the higher villages of the Grevena (Pindus mountains)<sup>11</sup>. It must be stressed though, that what I present here, does not refer to an analysis of the process of the musical performance performed on the spot. Instead, it concerns the music as form.



*House in Kalloni, Grevena region. Phot. A. Katsanevaki*

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<sup>11</sup> I am immensely grateful to both my singers in the field and to the Bulgarian colleagues who uploaded the work of Nikolai Kaufmann (see *case 5*).

## *Part A*

### **Identity matters...**

#### **When Self-definition contradicts Self-definition**

-Gritski Makedonski?

-Ne! Makedonski!

There are two more ways today to perceive the word "Macedonian", (both revealed in this short dialogue), despite the different historical past and present of the term "Macedonian" (connected with Greece). In both cases the word "Macedonian" represents the Slavic language. For our collaborator from Skopje, any connection with Greece would be impossible, while for the women from Kastoria (Kostur) this was exactly what they wanted to know: "Hey! You! Any relation to Greece?".

I realized that, in a slightly different sense but with exactly the same result, this is what the Greek-speakers claim about themselves: "Gritski Makedonski" (Ellines Makedones, Greek Macedonians). This last definition gives a different meaning to the term "Macedonian": The "Gritski Makedonski" use the term to denote the Slavic language. So, in order to define that though speaking a Slavic dialect, they have Greek roots, or at least they come from a Greek place, they add the adjective Gritski. For the Greek-speaking Macedonians, the term "Macedonian" means a Greek past and origin and is clearly connected with Greek language. The adjective "Greek" is added in order to make clear that Macedonian means Greek. So, though the term Macedonian has received a different secondary meaning, deviating from its primary Greek denotation to a Slavic linguistic contemporary present (for part of the population of Macedonia), both Slav-speaking and Greek-speaking Macedonians claimed their affiliation to Greece by adding the word "Greek". As I show later, it seems that the secondary meaning of the term "Macedonian" as a Slav-speaker, was used as a differentiation from the Bulgarians. Outside interventions (mainly of the Bulgarian policies) manipulated the term "Macedonian" and attributed an anti-Greek sense to it, thus leading both groups to the same form of self-definition. In fact, there is here a process of symbolic deviation from the initial meaning of the word "Macedonian", creating two different stages of self-definition, which reveal the common reaction of both ethnic groups. It is important to note that this common reaction is not alien to their cultural background; on the contrary, ethnomusicology fieldwork revealed a common cultural basis, which has been ignored due to political issues that have been projected by ethnographic and anthropological research, and which can be further supported by deep historical research in the area of Western Greece.

## What's in a name?

### "Ellinas Makedonas" and "Gritski Makedonski"

Whoever comes into contact with the Slav-speaking and Greek-speaking ethnic groups in the wider geographical area of Macedonia in Greece and beyond comes across the term "Macedonian". This has nevertheless developed in such a way as to receive two different layers of symbolisms: one primary and one secondary:

*Macedonian with its original Hellenic derivation:*

The local Greek population with deep roots in the area of Macedonia, with a historical Hellenic past, especially in the western part.

*Macedonian as a secondary term:*

The Slav-speaker with deep roots in the geographical area of Macedonia.

In most cases, the local Slav-speakers in Greece call themselves "local Macedonians" (*dopios Makedonas*), attributing to themselves their relationship with Macedonia as a place of origin and a historical and geographical space. However, the use of the same term by some Bulgarian-speaking people and by others of the new State of North Macedonia, diverts its meaning to one less affiliated with Macedonia. "Macedonian" is not considered a term of Greek origin. It means the Slav-speaker,<sup>12</sup> in a differentiated secondary definition, alien to Greece.

The reasons for this radical opposition of these two definitions of the term "Macedonian" are mainly political. The Slav language was introduced into the geographical area of Northern Macedonia in Greece, in the Byzantine times. A first influx took place in the 6th century mainly in the areas of Central and Eastern Macedonia, but it was absorbed and reanimated in the 10th century. But the alienation of the term "Macedonia" as a concept, as a geographical area and historical space with its relevant populations started much later, with the Panslavic movement. Berard refers to a Slav-speaker priest from Resna (Resen), who firmly insisted to him that "Alexander the Great and the Macedonia of his time was Slav and was later Hellenized and now his sons ... returned back to the language of their ancestors ...!"<sup>13</sup> This was a new concept. It diverted the history of the area in an attempt to offer more space for a Slav origin of its populations.

This reaction and full acceptance of the Bulgarian Exarchy (the autonomous Bulgarian Church alienated from the Patriarchate of Constantinople) was a result of the desire of Slav-speakers to be accepted as an integral part of the area. On the other hand, there

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<sup>12</sup> The first written document about this Slav dialect comes from a Greek-speaking Macedonian who documented 301 Slav words (using the Greek alphabet) in the area around *Kastoria* (Kostur). This text, was published for the first time by Giannelli and Vaillant with the title "Un lexique Macedonien du XVIIe siècle" (Andriotis, 1984,46) and Stojkova-Serafimovska,2008, 23); see also Katsanevaki.1998,2017, Part I,26.

<sup>13</sup> Berard, 123. In 1903, G. F. Abbott declared that there wasn't a "Macedonian" nationality. His declaration clearly refers to a "Macedonian" that claims a separate and alien identity from that of the Greek Macedonian (Abbot 1903).

was a group of Slav-speakers in today's Greek Macedonia (Ottoman at the time) who of their own free will declared their Greek origins to the Bulgarian comitat (groups of Bulgarian insurgents), no matter how dangerous it was. In most cases they were killed after being physically abused and terrified. These people, were called by Bulgarian insurgents "Greco-maniacs" (Grecomani), people that suffered from "Mania" (obsession) about Greece without any basis on real origin or historical past. Vakalopoulos refers to the Grecomaniacs in more detail. Danforth makes only a brief reference to this phenomenon, consequently obscuring its importance for the Greek part of the area. Nonetheless, many local stories refer to the sacrifice of these Slav-speakers and their struggle for Hellenism against Ottomans and Bulgarians.<sup>14</sup>

Thus there were two different accounts by the Slav-speakers. Both called themselves "Macedonians". Greco-maniacs (Grecomani) referred very directly to their Greek origin. The other group of Slav-speakers attempted to change the historical past to connect it with what seemed to be their main feature: the Slav language. According to them Alexander the Great was undoubtedly a Slav...

### **The "Macedonian" self-definition as a later concern for both ethnic groups.**

During my fieldwork with the Greek-speaking population in West Macedonia, I had no evidence for an earlier use of the term Macedonian among the local Greek-speaking populations, whose cultural background revealed their long presence and origin in this area. Though the term "Macedonia" was used in written sources, people themselves seemed to use local names that referred to small areas (*Anaselitsa*, *Tsarsabas*, *Siniatsiko*), taking names from politically or ecclesiastically divided regions, or other local names given by geographical toponyms or by the Ottoman administration (information from field research). On the other hand, when there was a need to define themselves outside their territory they used the term "Macedonian": the Greek-speaking Stone-builders of *Anaselitsa* called their neighborhood in Istanbul (Constantinople) "Makedonika" or "Douvartzidika" (Gioblakis, 1978, 6).

So the term "Macedonian" started to be used more extensively by the Greek-speakers of Macedonia for a special reason.

It seemed then that there was a special reason for the Slav-speakers to identify themselves as "Macedonians" (Greco-maniacs or not), while a similar reason forced the Greek speakers of the area to initiate the frequent use of the same term.

In both cases there was a competitiveness to identify themselves with the area of Macedonia and to declare their origin from this place, reacting positively or negatively

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<sup>14</sup> Danforth, 1995, 221, Vakalopoulos K., 1986, 236 For a detailed reference to the *Grecomaniacs*, a description and a different viewpoint, regarding the beginning of the twentieth century see Tzinikou-Kakouli, 1986,152-154. For a general overview see Stavrianos, 967-973), and a detailed account in K. Vakalopoulos',1986, op.cit.



to the idea introduced in the 19th century by Bulgarian policies and Panslavism in the area, that Macedonia does not have any Greek past but that the contemporary Slav-speaking populations were proof that the history and populations of Macedonia were Slavs.

On the other hand, during my fieldwork among the Slav-speakers in Western Macedonia I realized that they had two ways of self-definition. The one was "local" (*dopios*), the other (less used) "Macedonian", in cases combining both of them as "local Macedonians". Their local Southern Slav dialect was called by them "po nasem" (ours), or less often "Makedontski". During my fieldwork I didn't come across any attempt to use this term in order to differentiate negatively against Greece or the rest of the Greek-speaking population of the area, except in special cases when they had experienced oppression – mainly at the time of the dictatorship of Metaxas, but also in earlier dictatorships. Though they often asked me "Do you want me to sing for you in Greek, or in Macedonian?" trying to define in some way the two different languages in a way that I would understand, their main concern was that they were different languages, but this didn't mean/ imply any hostility towards either of them.

This testimony is contrary to the widespread concept that there is a strong opposition between the two ethnic groups. Indeed what looks like "hostility" towards the Greek State, is rather a general fear about the problems that a new political 'earthquake' in the area might cause them: they don't want to talk, even now, about their own experiences or about their Slav-speaking songs. The Greek speakers live in fear of this problem as well, no matter whether it concerns their vocal repertory or not. They were equally afraid to refer to their terrifying experiences during the Civil War in Greece and the crimes committed in the area, as well as to their own stories of the period between 1944-1949 and they didn't allow me to record them.

The general view concerning the Civil War and its aftermath was described by a Greek-speaking woman:

– When the communist partisans came to the village we were terrified. They took people to the valley nearby and we could hear their screams from the village. When the "Maides" (security battalions) came, we were also a little bit afraid... When the official Greek army came we were not afraid.

– Would you tell me that again so that I can record you?

– No, I don't want to.

Though she felt comfortable in the warm atmosphere of our company and she spontaneously revealed her traumatic experiences, she nevertheless was reluctant to have them documented by a researcher using an audio-recorder.

In a Slav-speaking village in the Florina region I was told that the groups called by this woman "Maides", must have been the so-called "Paotzides" (who, "if you met them they could hit you"). The terminology differs from area to area and one can guess that it represents the degree of the negative activities of each group in a certain area.

There were many communist partisans in the mountains of Greece at that time who committed atrocities.<sup>15</sup> Some of the executioners were arrested later but others escaped. Consequently, people feel insecure even today.

According to people who experienced the events of the Civil War, certain individuals were also imprisoned or sentenced to death or exile not because they had committed crimes, but because they were considered dangerous for their socialist ideology; this ideology presented an outside similarity with the "ideology" of the communist partisans who were guilty of atrocities while, in some cases, the latter escaped. The Slav-speakers (in this context), were considered dangerous. Some of them joined the communist partisans (sometimes against their own will). At that time, the Greek Communist Party (KKE) and its followers supported the policies of Bulgaria for an Independent Macedonia which would include all North Greece. For the official Greek State, as well as for many local people whether Slav-speaking or Greek-speaking, the communist partisans were identified with the Bulgarians. In the area of Florina, communist meant "a Bulgarian" and vice versa. So, the language (the Slav dialects of the area) was considered as equally dangerous and thus prohibited or at least discouraged again.

Consequently, the Civil War was the worst experience for both Slav-speaking and Greek speaking villages in the mountainous zone of Greece and everywhere. In many Greek-speaking villages, the victims of the Civil War far exceeded the victims of World War II, and it was the main reason for the depopulation of the area. I was told many times by the local people that those who left the villages in order to escape the atrocities or to protect their children from the "paidomazoma" (child abduction), never came back. They stayed in urban centers where they found safety and vowed never to return (Εριξαν μαύρη πέτρα). I was informed about forceful child abduction by the communist partisans in two villages, one Greek-speaking and one Slav-speaking in West Macedonia/Greece. I also heard a story in another Greek-speaking village about a mother who walked with her children in the snow all night all the way from the village to the town of Grevena in order to escape the child abduction conducted by the communist partisans. I also heard a story of forceful child abduction by the official Greek government in order to prevent the organized child abduction by the partisans in a Slav-Speaking village. And I was also told the story of a mother who brought her children to the communist partisans' camp in order to escape the bombs that fell during the war between the official Greek army and the partisans.

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<sup>15</sup> Also in Stavrianos, 2007, 1471.

### **"Burgari" or "Macedonians"?**

While these experiences marked the people of West Macedonia in Greece and caused the evacuation of numerous villages from both sides, it seemed that "Macedonian" had a different symbolism and did not refer to a superficial division of the area into two parts.

I seldom asked the locals questions about the name "Macedonian" and its meanings. This was because I didn't want to force them to give any explanations about this sensitive aspect of their lives<sup>16</sup>. I relied on their spontaneous comments or feelings by listening to their stories. It was quite clear, that they wanted to reassure their deep roots in the area though they spoke another language. And though it was impossible to identify themselves to Greeks in the narrow nationalistic sense of today, they distinguished themselves from the Bulgarians:

"Kakos mas len Burgari. Emis den eimaste Burgari, Emis miloume Ma-ke-do-ni-ka!"<sup>17</sup>, a woman burst out.

This comment was addressed to me, while I was recording the Slav-speaking repertory in a village. Elsewhere, when I asked them if their grandmothers used the term "Makedontski" they said: "Yes, we said Makedontski, so that they would not confuse us with the Bulgarians" (Interview in Korestia, May 2017). There were very few times when I came across hostile feelings towards Greece and this was due to negative experiences during the dictatorships in Greece.

Though it is claimed that in the North, in today's State of North Macedonia, the Slav-speakers used the term "Burgari" (Andriotis 1984,32) in the Southern Part of Macedonia (geographical territory), which is mainly identified with the vast part of Greek Macedonia, this term was not generally used. The Slav-speakers called themselves "locals" in most areas, where I conducted field research. On the other hand, the Greek-speaking Macedonians often used the term "Burgari" for the Slav-speakers to simplify matters and because of the confusion created by the propaganda of the Bulgarian Exarchy. The Muslim Greek-speaking *Valaades* that had converted to Islam during the Ottoman time were called Turks and the Vlachs that were converted by Rumanian policies were called Rumano-Vlachs. So the scholar who comes to the area should not take the precise meaning of such definitions for granted, but should delve deeper into the area's history, in order to analyze the deeper meanings and functionalities of these local definitions.

Consequently, the term "Burgari" was used by Greek-speakers as a simplification for "Slav-speaker" (the "Slav-speaker" who was misled by the Bulgarian Comitatus). In the same way, during the Greek Civil war, in sites where the Communist Party supported Bulgarian policies, the name "Bulgarian" was identified with the name "Communist",

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<sup>16</sup> Katsanevaki 2017, 101-102.

<sup>17</sup> "It is mistake to call us Bulgarians. We are not Bulgarians. We speak Ma-ce-do-ni-an!" (interview in the area of *Kastoria* in 2001).

while "Communist" meant "a Bulgarian" for the local people.<sup>18</sup> So the term "Macedonian" ("Makedontski") was used as a differentiation during the beginning of a conflict of self-definition, about who had deeper roots in the area, and against the Bulgarian strangers: though they had a similar linguistic past they were considered different and dangerous by the local Slav speakers. Nonetheless, in some cases it seemed that this was imposed or encouraged by the Bulgarian policies themselves, giving an anti-Greek meaning to the use of the term "Macedonian" by the local Macedonian Slav speakers.

### **The *Macedonia* of Strabo the Geographer: "free" (western) Macedonia and Epirus up to the Ionian Sea and its cultural-linguistic unity and musical parallels.**

The geographical term *Macedonia* was known and used in late antiquity and particularly during the Roman period. This is a period of great importance, since it involves Latin speakers living in the wider region of northwestern Greece. It is also associated with a period in time when the Latin language was introduced in the southwestern Balkans.

One of the important sources of late antiquity, which informs us about this region, is the text of Strabo the Geographer. Many Greek historians have referenced it in the past. However, they mainly cite his reference to its bilingualism, and pay little attention to matters concerning this regions' unity in language and culture. Since, it is precisely this unity that justifies it as *Macedonia*.

I have had the opportunity to examine this extract of Strabo in detail. In it he describes the whole region of Epirus and the distribution of its people, mentioning their local ethnic names. Further, their intermingling with the Illyrians (in certain areas of northern Epirus and especially in the central mountainous regions), beginning from the main Illyrian region (to the north). And, further, in the central region, their association with the *Bryges* (Phrygians):

«Ηπειρώται δ'εἰσι καὶ Ἀμφίλοχοι καὶ οἱ ὑπερκείμενοι καὶ συνάπτοντες τοὺς Ἰλλυρικοῖς ὄρεσι, τραχείαν οἰκούντες χώραν, Μολοπτοὶ τε καὶ Ἀθαμάνες καὶ Αἰθίκες καὶ Τυμφαῖοι, καὶ Ορέσται Παρωραῖοι τε καὶ Ἀτιντάνες, οἱ μὲν πλησιάζοντες τοῖς Μακεδόσι μᾶλλον οἱ δὲ τῷ Ἰονίῳ κόλπῳ. Λέγεται τὴν Ορεστιάδα κατασχεῖν ποτε Ορέστης φεύγων τὸν τῆς μητρὸς φόνον καὶ καταλιπεῖν ἐπώνυμον εαυτοῦ τὴν χώραν, κτίσαι δὲ καὶ πόλιν, καλεῖσθαι δ'αὐτὴν Ἄργος Ορεστικόν. Αναμείκται δὲ τούτοις τὰ Ἰλλυρικά ἔθνη τὰ πρὸς τῷ νοτίῳ μέρει τῆς ορεινῆς καὶ τὰ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἰονίου κόλπου. Τῆς γὰρ Ἐπιδάμνου καὶ τῆς Ἀπολλωνίας μέχρι τῶν Κεραυνίων ὑπεροικούσι Βυλλῖονες τε καὶ Ταυλάντιοι καὶ Παρθῖνοι καὶ Βρύγοι. Πλησίον δὲ πού καὶ τὰ ἀργυρεῖα τὰ ἐν Δαμαστίῳ, περὶ ἃ Δυέσται συνεστήσαντο τὴν δυναστεία καὶ Ἐγχέλειοι, οὗς καὶ Σεσαρηθίους καλοῦσι.»

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<sup>18</sup> See also above. Interviews in the Florina Valley.

"Epirots, then, are the Amfilohoi and the peoples above them, and those neighboring the mountains of the Illyrians, (who inhabit a rough country), and the Molossians and the Athamanes and Aethikes and Tymfaioi and Orestai, the Paroraioi and the Atindanes, the first of whom are closer to the Macedonians and the others to the gulf of the Ionian Sea. It is said, then, that at one time Orestes, when he fled because of the murder of his mother and abandoned his own country, conquered Orestiada and built the city that he named Argos Orestiko. The Illyrian tribes, then, that are located towards the southern part of the mountainous area and those that are above the Ionian Sea intermingled with them. Since from Epidamnus and Apollonia to the Keraunian Mountains, the Bylliones and Taulantioi and Parthinoi and *Brygoi* live on high mountains. Somewhere close to this are also the silver mines near Damastio, around which the Dyestes organized their rule, and the Enheleioi, who are also called Sesarethians".

Further, Strabo describes the area of western Macedonia and Epirus to the Ionian Sea and Corfu as a unified area in terms of linguistic dialect, dressing, hairstyle and other habits. Thus, exhibiting a linguistic and cultural unity.

*Ένιοι δε και σύμπασαν την μέχρι Κορκύρας Μακεδονίαν προσαγορεύουσιν, αιτιολογούντες άμα ότι και κουρά και διαλέκτω και χλαμύδι και άλλοις τούτοις χρώνται παραπλησίως. Ένιοι δε και δίγλωττοι εισί. Καταλυθείσης δε της Μακεδόνων αρχής υπό Ρωμαίους έπεσε. Δια δε τούτων εστί των εθνών η Εγνατία οδός εξ Επιδάμνου και Απολλωνίας. Περί δε την επί Κανδαουίας οδόν αι τε λίμναι εισίν αι περι Λυχνιδόν ταριχείας ιχθύων αυτάρκεις έχουσαι και ποταμοί . . . »*

"Some, in turn, call all the region to Corfu *Macedonia*, since the hairstyle, dialect, chlamys, and other everyday items are used in like manner. Some regions are bilingual. *Since/then* when the power of the Macedonians was destroyed, they came under Roman rule. *Via Egnatia* passes by all these regions, from *Epidamnus* to *Apollonia*. Even around the road to *Kandaouia* there are the lakes of *Lichnidos* that are full of salted fish, and rivers..." (Strabo, *Geography VII*, C326-327, see A. Katsanevaki 1998-2014, 2017 Part B, 44-48).

Keramopoulos (1942-1945, 197-198) interprets the word "*bilinguals*" concerning the groups that spoke both Greek and Illyrian. I have come to a slightly different conclusion, since we are already in the Roman Era and Strabo refers to the Illyrian people and their intermingling with the proto-Hellenic Epirots, without reference to bilingualism. On the other hand, it is when he refers to the Roman conquest and *Via Egnatia* that we find his first reference to bilingualism. I incorporated in my own interpretation both the words "*since*" and "*(then)*" because most commentators interpret the words "*katalythesis the*" as "*when their power ....was destroyed*", while I interpret these words as "*since when their power ....was destroyed*". This changes, somewhat, the meaning of the text giving an explanation that refers to Roman rule. Thus, connecting bilingualism of the Greek and Latin language with Roman rule and

the *Via Egnatia*. In any case, whatever the bilingualism may be Strabo gives to us testimony for three important ethnic characteristics: *a)* a unified linguistic area (initially with the Greek language), *b)* a culturally unified area, and *c)* a possible bilingualism, something that does not change the general linguistic unification of the western Macedonia and Epirus, considered at the time as one region, so as to call them both *Macedonia*.

The ethnographic map proposed by *Strabo*, together with the historico-musical testimony, coincide perfectly with the ethnomusicological and ethnographic map of today. This will become apparent in the following chapters. The only difference is the introduction of a third language: the Slav language.



*The Church of Metamorphosis, Kastoria region. 2nd half of the 8th cent. - 9th cent. 16km NE of Kastoria. Phot. V. Sarantis. A tricorner, one room, stretched temple with a dome. The tricorner shape was a well-known and popular type in the widest areas of the Byzantine Empire. Dates back in the ancient times and examples are found since the early Christian period. Because of its concentric form and the symbolism of the shape, it was used in the baptisteries and sanctuaries of the early Christian basilicas. The reappearance and evolution of this type of temple, during the 9-11th centuries, in Western Macedonia and in the central Balkans, develops after the restoration of Byzantine rule in the region. (N. Moutsopoulos, Churches of Kastoria: 9-11<sup>th</sup> century 1992, pp 3, 80, 84).*

**Part B**

**A first encounter with a possible common musical identity? Tracing and locating the vocal ritual repertory.**

During fieldwork in the *Grammos* Mountains in 2001, I came across information that became the main motive to continue my fieldwork with the Slav-speaking Western Macedonians in Greece. The woman who said to me plaintively "Kakos mas len Burgari. Emis den eimaste Burgari, Emis miloume Makedonika!" was the first to sing for me a version of the well-known song "Biliana platno" as if she was a Greek-speaker of the area<sup>19</sup>.

α1

bi - lia - na pla - tno\_\_ bć' - le - she\_\_\_\_  
na\_\_\_\_ Yo - rich - kt - ti l' - svo - ri(e)  
(V)os do - la\_\_ gre - dc\_\_\_\_

**Audio and musical Example 1a.**

"Biliana Platno" (village of *Nestorio* in *Kastoria* Region) field recording by Athena Katsanevaki, 28<sup>th</sup> of April 2001, first presented as audio in Katsanevaki 1998-2014 English version New data audio ex.1

This comment does not refer to the language of the song (the Southern Slav dialect of *Kastoria*), but to the composition of the verse and the melodic peaks which coincide perfectly with the accented syllables of the verse (which, as in the case of the Greek language songs, is iambic) and of the words. The flexibility of the voice and the melody is "composed" in the same way that the Greek-speaking women compose and perform their laments and ritual songs. The raising of a fourth or fifth of the accented syllables is a common composition practice of the central mountainous zone of Western Greece and extends to its two slopes covering all the area of Epirus (and parts of Southern Albania, Northern Epirus), Western Macedonia and Thessaly, while being transformed into numerous variations of formulas.

<sup>19</sup> See reference in Katsanevaki, 1998, 2017, 424, and in [http://digitize.iema.gr/is\\_ent.php?phys\\_item\\_id=14706&entity\\_id=36963](http://digitize.iema.gr/is_ent.php?phys_item_id=14706&entity_id=36963) for the audio file of this field-recording.

This song however, is usually sung with an urban melody which is well known among so-called "Macedonians" (Slav-speakers) in the State of North Macedonia, and in the Greek part of Macedonia, by those Slav-speakers who have been influenced by the urban music of *Monastiri* (*Bitola* in the State of North Macedonia). It is widespread probably because of instrumental bands. During my fieldwork, I often recorded this urban melody but I never considered it part of the local repertory. Its urban style is apparent and it is a famous part of the so-called unified "Macedonian repertory"<sup>20</sup>.

1b

Bi-lia-na pla - tno bč - le - she na O - krich tsi - ti(c) I - svo - rye(ryc)  
 Ot - go - re i - ma vi - na - ru vi - na - ru be - lo gra - ya - ni

#### Audio and musical example 1b.

"Biliana Platno" (The Urban melody recorded in the village of *Papagianni*, *Florina region*) field recording by Athena Katsanevaki on the 3<sup>rd</sup> of June 2007.

My encounter with the performance in the *Grammos* mountains was actually my major incentive to extend my fieldwork beyond *Kastoria*: both repertories, regardless of language, Greek or Slav, followed the same norms as systems and compositions. It proof that the cultural identity of both groups in many cases was relational. The Vlach speakers' cultural identity was relational as well.

#### The musical form and its historical meanings

Additionally it was revealed (see *Cases 1-6* below) that the local vocal repertory revealed the different stages of linguistic Slavization of a part of West Macedonia (Greece), but at the same time the connection of each regional style and population with the surrounding population (Greek-speaking or Vlach-speaking).

It would be naïve to claim that such a connection was due to the spatial proximity of these ethnic groups or because of an inter-exchange of their local repertories. The songs and melodies presented here are not a product of exchange. They are melodies serving important phases of the rituals of these little communities (term in Redfield,1955, 45), mostly sung by the female population. Additionally, they have no traces of urbanization at least today. A description of the fixity of such small-scale societies is given by Connell and Gisbon: "However, while "tradition" is fluid and constructed, some cultural expressions have persisted despite or in reaction to, cultural change." ..... "No cultures were ever wholly isolated from external contact, and from material transactions and culture change, but until recent phases of world history many

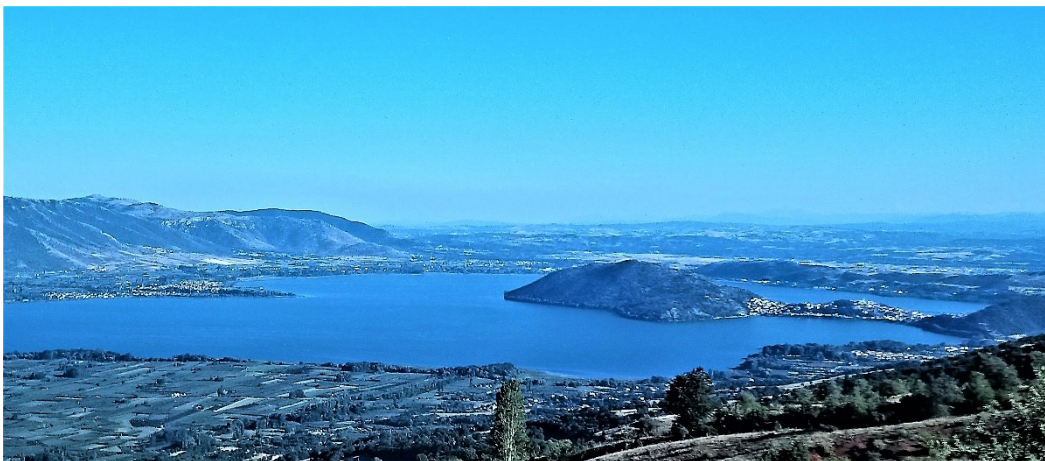
<sup>20</sup> For the so-called "unified Macedonian repertory" see Embeirikos, 2008, 54-55.



cultures were of the most part separate and distinct from others only ten kilometers away" (2003,21). When it comes to the Balkans a similar context is described: "The result, predictably enough, was a cultural dislocation between town and country, with a leaning towards hybridity in the towns and relative autonomy in the villages, and with limited space for cultural interactivity and mutual dependencies between the two" (Samson 2013, 102).

Such phenomena can only be explained by the extended network of a population which was expanded in the wider area over time, and the multiplication of older communities (attested in many local stories) which were divided into new ones or the recycling of people sharing common origin, and the simultaneous gradual introduction of the Slav language in part of these communities. The historical testimony, which coincides with the information hidden in the musical form, Vlach-speaking, Slav-speaking and Greek-speaking, was the result of research of numerous historical sources or studies specializing in the area of Macedonia. Certainly, the sources that explain the introduction of the Slav language concern the Byzantine era. The formation of the local Slav speaking repertory can be traced back to the 10th century. This is further verified by the age of the Greek speaking melodies too.<sup>21</sup>

It is also important to clarify that though in all Slav-speaking villages there are urban songs (see for example the urban melody of "Biliana platno") that have become part of the local repertory, these songs are not part of the repertory I examine in this book. In most cases these were songs used for gatherings of women during group housework or in the land or mountains or in local festivals. But the musical system of these songs and singing style is much more westernized (resembling the styles of *Kandada*) or follows the style of instrumental bands introduced from North-Central Macedonia. Thus, it differs radically from the musical system of the Slav-speakers of Western Macedonia in Greece, which is mainly pentatonic system following the norms of Western Greece and Southern Albania.



*Basin of Kastoria lake with the surrounding settlements. Photo taken from Loggas Castle site. 2020. Phot. A. Bazmadelis*

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<sup>21</sup> For an overview of this problem see Katsanevaki, 1998, 2017, Part A, 430-431.



Ruins and site of the Byzantine Castle of Loggas and the Vernon (Vitsi) mountain. Sidirochori, near Toichio, Kastoria region. 2020. Phot. P. Sarantis

## Different cases in the vocal repertory and their correspondences in the historical sources

### Case 1

#### The unknown musical dialect of the mountains of *Argos Orestikon*

In Western Macedonia there is a musical dialectology which reveals the former stages of Slavization. The Slav-speaking musical dialect<sup>22</sup> I found near the town of *Argos Orestikon* is the musical counterpart of the Greek-speaking dialect of the mountains of *Voion* (old *Anaselitsa*). The distance between the villages of *Anaselitsa* and the *Kastanochoria* (as the mountainous villages of *Argos Orestikon* are called which, in Greek, means "the villages of the chestnut trees") is short. Though the melodies are different they share the same composition rules, the same pentatonic melodic style, vocal ornamentation, and ritual circles. The technique of the musical composition is identical to the Greek language songs. The accented syllable of the word or verse, is described melodically as a raising of the voice.

The ritual of "*Klidona*" performed by the women on Saint John the Baptist's day (24th June) presents many variants throughout the mountainous villages, but is not found in the *Florina* plains to the north, close to the border. Easter dances (not Lazarus songs and dances, – this is mostly a ritual of the plain agricultural populations) and among them the "*Kseprovodisma tis Paschalias*" (Farewell to Easter, well known among the mountainous Greek-speakers), are also found there. On the other hand, in the *Florina* Valley the Lazarus ritual is widespread and seems to be the most important ritual, together with weddings and funerals. All these rituals then link the area of *Kastanochoria* to the Greek-speaking area of *Voion* and *Grevena*. Especially, with the area of *Voion*, the old *Anaselitsa*.

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<sup>22</sup> I briefly referred to this repertory for the first time without the audio examples and transcriptions in Katsanevaki, 1998, 2017, Part I, 421-422.

2

boy-da bi-ye mo - rem' Γιαν (Yan) no  
για(ya) - ta mai - ka  
I so mu te fue - tse (fus - tan) Για (Yan) n no  
φουστάκι  
γιου — ράβ da βέ - rish



House and singer, Perivolaki, Argos Orestiko. Kastoria region. 2002. Phot. A. Katsanevaki

### Audio and musical example 2

"Agio Gianni" (A *klidonas* Slav speaking dance song from the village of *Perivolaki*, *Argos Orestikon* region), field recording by Athena Katsanevaki on the 25<sup>th</sup> of July 2002.

3  $\frac{3/2/3}{8}$  -υ-

Ο - ο - σα κά - στρα καν - πή - γα κίαν περ - πα - - -

κίαν περ - πά - α τη - σα Σα - ντης Μω - ριάς το - κά - στρο

κάσ - τρο δε - ν εν - εί - δα (είδα)



Two singers, grandmothers Eriphyli and Stavroula. Kalloni, Grevena region. 1990. Phot. A. Katsanevaki

### Audio and musical example 3

"Osa Kastrá ki an epíga" (An Easter Greek speaking dance song from the village of *Mesologgos* in the *Voion-Anaselitsa* region), field recording by Athena Katsanevaki /24<sup>th</sup> of June 1995.

In this area, many reasons for Slavization can be traced: One reason might be the ecclesiastical influence: even in the case that the Old Slavonic language of the Church did not present a direct relationship with these Southern Slav dialects, this does not exclude the possibility of Church linguistic influence, which would encourage the already introduced Slav language to create local variations. This idea also concerns the

ritual of *Slava* I documented in two villages in the area (see footnote 26). It is reasonable to present the viewpoint of Andriotis:<sup>23</sup> the language that was the main tool of the translation of the first ecclesiastical texts by Saint Cyril and Methodius, was the Slav dialects of the "Sklaveniai" around the plain of *Thessaloniki*, which offered them the way to reach the dense Slav-speaking populations of the Northern part of Macedonia (in today's State of North Macedonia) and Serbia. This language must have been the language of the Church of the Archdiocese of *Ochrid (Achrida)*. And when much later Basil "the Bulgar-Slayer" offered some of the dioceses of Northern Greece to this Archdiocese,<sup>24</sup> then this Slav dialect must have been recycled and further expanded in the wider area of Northern Greece and especially in Western Macedonia. When Dusan conquered Byzantium, all of Greece belonged to the Serbian Patriarchate of Peč and this language was affected by the Serbian language as well.

Another reason is the existence of Castles (Byzantine or earlier): Towers and Castles close to small groups of Slav-speaking villages make a case for the possibility that these became matrices of Slavization, when they were conquered by the Serbians and later by the Bulgarians.<sup>25</sup> They might have a special connection with the former Vlach speakers and their relationship with the *limitanei* (see below) justified by a strong relationship of the songs of the village of *Nestorion* with the Vlach and Greek-speaking heterophonic style of the *Grammos* mountain (case 2 and 3). The introduction of the Slav dialect could happen in many cases through only the male population. If the male population enjoyed (as in the case of the Vlach-speakers) special privileges from the administration system of the newcomers, then the second generation (initially Greek-speaking or Vlach-speaking) would become bilinguals and the third monolinguals (Slav-speakers).

One more detail is important: in the local Slav language repertory, in almost all Western Macedonia, one can trace an exclusion of the male population from singing. The local repertory is retained and handed down by the women alone. According to the women and my own personal experience, men did not sing – at least in the case of the ritual songs. I found only one male singer in the area of *Ptolemaida*. "The men don't sing" said the women of *Nestorio*, adding no other explanation. This supports the ideas that the male population either migrated for work for long periods of the year, or that the introduction of the Slav language was due to a first stage of bilingualism

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<sup>23</sup>1984, 29. A similar viewpoint about the first documents of the language of Cyril and Methodius, the relationship of its phonology and morphology with the oral spoken Slav dialects of this time which reflect a common "protoslavic" language, is presented by Ioannidou much later (*Introduction to the Old*.....6).

<sup>24</sup> On the Archdiocese of Ohrid see Delikari, 2014, 109-110, 165-166, and in Ostrogorsky, 1997, vol. 2,194.

<sup>25</sup> Such are the Castles close to *Nestorion* (*Grammos*), in *Katochori* and another near the village of *Sidirochori* (*Korestia*), where the Byzantine Castle of *Loggas* is located. This Castle was destroyed later by Basil "the Bulgar-Slayer" when he re-conquered the area which had been conquered before by the Bulgarians who didn't surrender; Karagianni, 2010, 157. It should be clarified that in contrast with what is supported by a part of Greek or foreign researchers, in the area of West Macedonia we don't have any definite testimonies of early permanent settlements of Slavs. It seems that the first waves orientated their activities and attacks towards Southern Greece Dapergolas, 2009.

introduced by the male population. So it seems plausible that bilingualism might have affected the female population later and women might have the possibility to divert their traditional musical idioms into another language introduced by the male populations. It is also important that the Latin speakers developed a semi-independent relationship with the Roman State (because of the system of *limitanei*, the Macedonian Legion and administration) (Poghric, 1989,16-26), which, possibly, permitted them to keep their oral traditions whether they changed linguistically or not. On the other hand, the continuing Bulgarian or Serbian occupations in these areas encouraged local people to keep these introduced Slav languages in the area of West Macedonia. But it seems that the main expansion of the language happened during the Ottoman Era.

Such a process, which together with the musical data supports the hypothesis of a later Slav linguistic influence in the area of West Macedonia in Greece, should not be taken for granted for the rest of Central and East Macedonia in Greece and beyond Greece. Each small group of villages is a different research case. I believe that the initial Slav-speaking matrices of the area (before the above circumstances resulted in the expansion of the Slav dialects) were very few. I was able to trace some later hints of ritual northern female repertory transferred to the southern areas in very few villages (Lazarus songs with a restricted musical range), a form that is widespread in the Northern part of West Macedonia or what is today the Southern part, of the State of North Macedonia. This supports the possibility of a restricted introduction of "northern brides" in some villages of the area, later.

## Case 2

### The tri-lingualism of Grammos Mountain in a musical dialect

Having presented briefly these cases before (Katsanevaki 1998,2017, 422) I present here the musical data (audio and mus.exs. 4, 5, 6 not formerly presented), for the sake of a holistic overview.

Case 2 refers to the similarity of the heterophony of the Vlachs of *Grammos* Mountain (bilingual: Greek-speakers and Vlach-speakers) to the heterophonic style of the Slav-speakers of the same area. This is revealed in the local repertory I recorded in the village of *Nestorion* and the Grecophone or Vlachophone repertory of the Vlachs of the *Grammos* mountain. This group moved to the region of *Giannitsa* (Central Macedonia/Greece) and to *Prosotsani* (Eastern Macedonia/Greece) or *Papatsair* in Bulgaria, having migrated there in the 18th century (Audio and mus.exs 4,5,6).

4 --/--/

A - γε - ρα μου μω - ρέ ν'α - έ - ρα μου

A - έ - ρα μου μω - ρε κα - λο - καιρ' - νέ (καλο-αγέρα)

κα - βά - λα πε - ρ - πα - του - σα - μα - ρη κα - λή κο - πέ - λα

κα - βά - λα περ - πα - τού - σα πά - ρε τη ρό - κας' κιέ - λα

στη στρα - ν'α μω - ρε στη - στρά - τα ν'α - - -

- στη στρά - τα ν'α - μω - ρε πού πάι - ει - να - - -

- στο δρό - μο που πη - γαί - νω μω - ρή κα - λή κο - πέ - λα - - -

στο δρό - μο που πη - γαί - νω πά - ρε τη ρό - κας' κιέ - λα

#### Audio and musical example 4.

"Aera mou more n'aera mou" (Greek speaking dance song from the Vlach speakers of the town of *Prosotsani*. Origin: *Grammos* mountain) field recording by Athena Katsanevaki, on the 30<sup>th</sup> of September 1995.

5     3/8 or or uu• or 5/8 ( $\frac{2+3}{8}$ )

tsin - tsu dža lí lya Mar - tsu lui liati kniadz - luš mur - ta - ri  
 Mar - tsy - lui liati kniadz. —

tsun - tsu dža lí lia Martsy lui lya tik nadzi ar - ma - nie - sti

tk - nadz - lí - smu - ta - re lia tik - natzi ar - ma - nie - sti

### Audio and musical example 5

"Tsintsi Dzali", Vlach-speaking dance song from the Vlach speakers of the town of *Prosotsani*. Origin: *Grammos* mountain) field recording by Athena Katsanevaki, on the 30<sup>th</sup> of September 1995.

6

Yor - ga pe - ri mo-re na - re - ka - ta

Yor - ga pe - ri mo-re na - re(t) - kat'

### Audio and musical example 6

"Yorga peri" Slav speaking heterophony: a female Easter Dance song from the village of *Nestorion* in the *Grammos* mountain field recording by Athena Katsanevaki, 11<sup>th</sup> of July 2001.



Having already explained the reasons for this identification above I propose a partial Slavization of the Vlach villages (bilingual Vlach and Greek-speaking) of the *Grammos* Mountain at a later stage, during the introduction of the Slav languages and the Serbian or Bulgarian occupation of the areas around the 10-11th century.



Group of singers, Nestorio, Kastoria region, 2001, phot. A. Katsanevaki

### Case 3

#### **The musical dialect of the *Korestia* mountains - The Northern Epirot Vlach Polyphony in a Slav dialectev**

Case 3 refers to the identification of the Slav-speaking polyphony of the area of *Korestia* (Kastoria) with the Northern Epirot Vlach-speaking male and female polyphony of the Vlachs in *Fraseri* in South Albania (North Epirus) and the male polyphonic repertory of the *Cams*<sup>26</sup> (audio and mus.exs. 7, 8). What is suggested and also confirmed through historical testimony, (see case 4 below), is the gradual introduction of Vlachs from Northern Epirus during the Byzantine Era and their later linguistic Slavization during the 10-11<sup>th</sup> century.

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<sup>26</sup> The introduction of a Northern Epirot Vlach population from the Northern Epirus in the area of *Kastoria* in the late Byzantine time happened together with a Serbian influence in the area (Vakalopoulos, 1969: 44), attested also in the ritual of *Slava* I located in two villages (Katsanevaki, *Vlach-speaking and Greek-speaking songs*, Part I, p. 425, 429, 431). Additionally, the first migration of the Albanians from Northern Albania (*Mati Valey*) to the area of Northern Epirus according to the Slavic linguistic data is traced to the 11th century onwards; (Malingoudis 2013: 111-112), referring to Stadtmueller, (1966: 159).

7

1.

U - ðä - luā - tsel - laŷu moi u - da lya-tselu

c - c-moi

2.

u - ðä-luā-tselu lat-lu moi'sum - plu

s - laŷ - lu e!

e! e! moi su - mplu α - αρασι - (e)!

e! e!



Kranionas, Koresteia, Kastoria region. 2001. Phot. A. Katsanevaki



### Audio and musical example 7

"Udalu atselu" The polyphony of the Farserot Vlachs in *Sesklo* in *Volos, Thessaly*. Field recording by Athena Katsanevaki on the 5<sup>th</sup> of September 2009.

8

The musical score for "Udalu atselu" consists of two systems of three staves each. The first system features a vocal line with lyrics: "tri - sc - lá (m)ba' - re (bre) tri - sc la (m)ba' - ra". The second system features a vocal line with lyrics: "tri - ste - la (m)ba(re) bre - li - be stiaha men e! at - de!" and two accompaniment lines, one starting with "a!" and the other with "a!".

### Audio and musical example 8

"Tri sela bare" The Slav speaking "Farserot style" polyphony (*Ukano*) in the village of *Toixio* in the *Kastoria* region, field recording by Athena Katsanevaki on the 26<sup>th</sup> of July 2012.

#### Case 4

#### The Vlach Farserot lament melodies in the Slav-speaking laments of the area around the Lake of *Kastoria*

The similarity of the lament melodies between the *Farserot* Vlachs from North Epirus and their Slav-speaking equivalent population in West Macedonia/Greece is even more impressive. I recorded the same or similar lament melodies sung by the *Farserots* in *Sesklo* and in *Argyropouli* (old *Karadzoli*) in Greece and by the Slav-speakers around

the Lake of *Kastoria* (*Kostur*). These communities are not joined together. The Vlach communities of *Sesklo* and *Argyropouli* are situated in Thessaly, while the Slav-speaking one resides in West Macedonia/Greece.<sup>27</sup>

9

Sia - ra (la) dia - ľă - sa - ta pŕta - sni Na - slu ali

da - de moi so - ra moi e! fra - te

### Audio and musical example 9

"Siara dială" A Vlach speaking lament from *Sesklo* field recording by Athena Katsanevaki on the 5<sup>th</sup> of September 2009.

10a

Do - bre ú - tro mo - re Mi - tso do - bre u - tre

mo - re Mi - tso o! hĭc!

### Audio and musical example 10a

"Dobre utro" A Slav speaking lament from *Toixio* (the same melody with audio and musical example 9). Field recording by Athena Katsanevaki on the 27<sup>th</sup> of May 2007. (first presented as an audio in Katsanevaki 1998-2014 English version New data appendix audio ex.5)

<sup>27</sup> Audio and mus. ex. 10a, and ex.10b are similar melodies.

10b

sta-ni (vre) cho - v'ek\_\_\_ da si doy-dish

da\_\_\_ st\_\_\_ dot - dish do - má na kǎ - ŷta

za - shtc\_\_\_ ba - ret\_\_\_

### Audio and musical example 10b

"Stani vre chovek" A Slav speaking lament from *Toichio* (similar melody) field recording by Athena Katsanevaki on the 27<sup>th</sup> of May 2007. Sung two times with and without exclamations (a-hie!).

The origin of this lament melody from North Epirus can be confirmed for two reasons: first because I recorded this melody in Thessaly, by two different groups of Northern Epirot Vlachs (in *Sesklo* by a mixed group and in *Argyropouli* by a female group) who performed the same melody for their ritual laments. Furthermore, the existence of the same or similar lament melodies in West Macedonia in Greece in a Slav-speaking village in *Koresteia*, where part of the polyphonic style was clearly a Northern Epirot polyphonic style in origin, confirms the origins of at least part of these melodies from the Northern Epirot Vlachs.

### Case 5

#### The two-part Slav-speaking polyphonic style of *Kastoria* and the melismatic monophonic styles of the Greek-speakers in the *Pindus* Mountains

Among the Slav-speaking songs in *Kastoria* in Greece, which were recorded in Bulgaria by Nikolai Kaufmann, there is a repertory strongly related to the polyphony of Northern Epirus (a fact which demonstrates the origin of the population in these areas, as I presented above) and a two-part polyphonic style. This latter style is strongly related to the Greek-speaking three-part polyphony of the female harvest songs in *Kalamas* in Epirus and to the heterophony or the monophonic songs of the Pindus Mountains,<sup>28</sup> while utilizing the most characteristic "major" type of the pentatonic micro-scales of the area (fa-solT-la-do-la-sol or sol-laT-si-re-si-la)

<sup>28</sup> Katsanevaki, 2017 audio and mus. ex. 5 and 8.

11a

Γιαν'ς πα - ντρέ - υε - - ε - hic!

ε - ται μω - ρε ε! Γιαν'ς πα -

Ηα! ντρέ - ε! υε - - hic!

(e!) - - ται (e!) hic! (e!) - - hic!

αι-ντε-κα-λή γυ - νάι - αι - κα

α παί - αι - ρ - νει chic! - -

μω - ρέ ε 'πο το ιο! - - ρι - ι - -

ζι - ι - chic! - - e! hic! - -

('πο το ριζικό)



*Ruins of the Byzantine Castle of Loggas, Sidirochori near Toichio, Kastoria region. According to Professor N. Moutsopoulos, the Byzantine castle is based on an earlier precinct of a Roman settlement. The Roman wall was fortified with a tower during the reign of Emperor Justinian II. It was destroyed in the 7<sup>th</sup> cent., during the Slavic invasion and was abandoned until the 10<sup>th</sup> cent. when it was rebuilt by the Bulgarians. It was finally destroyed by the Emperor Basil II in 1017, so it wouldn't be used again by Bulgarian guards and the nearby inhabitants were scattered in the*

*surrounding areas. 2021. Phot. V & P. Sarantis.*

### Audio and musical example 11a

"Agio Gianni mou", A Greek-speaking song sung on the Day of Saint John from the village of *Rodia* in the mountains of *Grevena*. Field recording by Athena Katsanevaki on the 18<sup>th</sup> of May 2003 in *Rodia*. A very short extract (a cadence) presented in [http://musicologistjournal.com/8-last-cd1\\_track22\\_agios\\_yannis\\_rodia/](http://musicologistjournal.com/8-last-cd1_track22_agios_yannis_rodia/) <http://dergipark.gov.tr/musicologist/issue/33635/373186>

11b

### Audio and musical example 11b

"Aide miso sdrave" Slav-speaking song from *Bobishta* in the area of *Kastoria* (today's *Verga*).

Recording by Nikolai Kaufmann. <http://www.sscor.eu/en/karton.asp?zapisID=235>

What attributes the major flavor to these scales is the two successive major tones. I classified this micro-scale in the music of Pindus inside the wider range of the musical system as part of its evolutionary process, both as fa-solT-la-do, or sol-laT-si-re. In many cases in the Greek-speaking repertory the musical range exceeds the fourth and covers a fifth (see audio and musical example 11a). Its Slav-speaking counterpart has a narrower scale; but part of the Vlach- and Greek-speaking repertory completes the octachord.

It is therefore important that these Slav-speaking songs, as far as the melodic formulas and functionality of the melodies go, participate in the wider musical language of the *Pindus* Mountains in Western Greece and Southern Albania (Northern Epirus). In the comparative table of the two songs (Mus.ex.11a and b comparative table) it is apparent that the Greek-speaking song extends the melody with ornamentation and interjections while a similar structure and the hie! cries create a two-part polyphonic song in the case of the Slav-speaking song, very closely related to the female Greek-speaking polyphony of *Kalamas* in Epirus, Greece.



*Verga village and the lake of Kastoria, Kastoria region. Photo A. Bazmadelis*



Γιά'ς πα - ντρέ - υε - (ε / hie!)  
 αι - de e mi-so o zdra - (a hie!)\_\_\_\_  
 ε - ται μω - ρε ε! Γιά'ς παν -  
 Interjection in the Greek speaking song  
 - ve\_\_\_\_  
 ι! ντρέ υε - ται α hie! (ε - ται) e hie! e hie!  
 ve\_\_\_\_ hie!\_\_\_\_  
 αι-ντε κα - λή γυ - ναί - κα α παί - αι - ρνει α! hie!  
 i - lta a - da - sva - a to

The last part of the Greek-speaking song (verse) with a three-hemistich stanza (strophe) and with an even more similar (to the last part of ex.11b) melody.

μωρε το - ο - ρι - ζι e hie! e! hie!\_\_\_\_

### Musical examples 11a and b Comparative table

I wouldn't make any attempt to define which version comes first. Apparently, the Slav language arrived later in the area. In the first verse, the Slav-speaking song completes with the "aide" what is part of the main verse in the Greek-speaking song; the opposite happens in the second part of the verse. On the other hand, the Greek verse is a very old version of a trochaic twelve-syllable verse found in the Epic *Akritika* repertory, where the text of this Greek speaking version belongs. The dissonance created at the

end of the melodic phrases of the Slav-speaking song performs vertically what is the successive sounding of the tonic and subtonic in the Greek-speaking version. A local testimony that in the Greek-speaking village of *Radovisti* (*Rodia* in *Grevena*, where this Greek-speaking version comes from) part of its inhabitants traced their origins to Epirus seems to be reasonable in this case and might possibly betray the common background of the two songs, and their affiliation to the Pindus tradition as well: melodic formulas putting an emphasis on the accented syllables (a Greek-speaking "composition technique"<sup>29</sup>), are omnipresent in both versions, but are more definitely performed in the Greek-speaking version. Is this an echo of an older three-part polyphony divided into two versions when a new language reached the area or just a variation through time?

### Case 6

#### The "Lazarus" repertory of the Florina Valey and the "Vaitses" (Palm Sunday) repertory in *Ventzia* (area of *Grevena* in Western Macedonia –Northern Thessaly)

In Thessaly I found a different system in the Lazarus songs, which reveals a connection to North-western Macedonia. Being part of the Easter ritual cycle, the Lazarus songs which are usually performed by the women or the young girls on the Day of Saint Lazarus just before Palm Sunday, are a kind of Carol for this season. The musical system of these songs, as well as of wedding songs, blends with the musical system of



the *Pindus* Mountains. The melodies of the Slav-speaking songs of Lazarus in the *Florina* plains and the *Ptolemaida* plains, as well as some Easter songs and other ritual songs in *Ventzia* and *Elassona*, are almost identical. In *Ventzia* these melodies coincide with a heterophony similar to the voice of *Klostis* or *Gyrstis* in the Polyphony of Northern Epirus, Greek-speaking or not (audios and mus. exs. 12a, b). In the Russian equivalent one might observe a similar phenomenon (see musical transcriptions figure 1&2)<sup>30</sup>.

*Two singers. Polypotamos, Florina region. 2008. Phot. A. Katsanevaki.*

<sup>29</sup> Katsanevaki, 2017,110, footnote 13.

<sup>30</sup> Katsanevaki, 1998,2017,433-437, for more cases in the ritual repertory (in short).

12a

*recitative*

ε - δώ στα - α σπί - (νι) - τια τα ψη - (ι!) - λά \_\_\_\_

*rhythmic*

ε - δώ στα σπί - τια τα ψη - λά τ'α

νό - γεια τα με - γά - λα τ'α α \_\_\_\_

νό - γεια τα - με - γά

### Audio and musical example 12a

“Edo sta spitia ta psila” A Greek- speaking *Vaitses* song from the village of *Palaiochori* in the area of *Grevena* (on the day of Saint Lazarus) field recording by Athena Katsanevaki, on the 7<sup>th</sup> of April 2001.

12b

ma le chkaf - kó da yú-baf-ko le - da\_\_ yu-baf - ko

### Audio and musical example 12b

“Malechka fkoda” Slav speaking Lazarus song from the village of *Papagianni* in the *Florina* Valley. Field recoding by Athena Katsanevaki on the 3<sup>rd</sup> of June 2007.

The songs of Florina and Ptolemaida are Slav-speaking while those of Ventzia and Ellassona are Greek-speaking, but their melodies are identical. This melody in a different style –simplified and restricted in terms of melodic range – extends to the North, to the Northwestern border which is the southern part of the State of North

Macedonia (Veličkovska 2007:80-88). The tendency to create an attraction below the central tone is unreasonable in the Slav speaking repertory (audio and mus.ex. 12b), where the intervals and the tones are strictly distributed in the melodic range. In the Greek-speaking Vaitses (Vaia-Palm) songs (performed on the day of Saint Lazarus) in *Ventzia* the attraction looks reasonable because of the cyclic movements around the central tone (footnote 30). A characteristic found in the early Balto-Slavic polyphony, (Vyciniene, 2012, 119-147), the interval of the major second but with a different functionality in our case, and in a different musical context, is what gives all these melodies a special major character. When in Western Greece the pentatonic system develops (at a time that it is not now possible to define though apparent in the structure of the songs) and the disjunctive tone is present in the texture (mi-sol SubT-[laT-si]-re-mi), then the subtonic sol (an earlier tonal center) sounds with its perfect fourth below (re-sol-la), and these melodies, can thus reconcile their characteristic anhemitonic sounding with the local Greek-speaking tradition of the area.

It is then reasonable that these melodies, presenting strong similarities with the female repertory of the area of Smolensk in Belarus (see video1 and figures 1 & 2 with musical transcriptions by Olga Pashina and figure 3 map),<sup>31</sup> have become a small but important part of the female repertory of the area of West Thessaly and West Macedonia in Greece. In 2014 (footnote 34), I considered that their existence in Greece was due to the early *Sklaviniae* of the 6th century in Thessaly in Greece. Though these *Sklaviniae* of the tribe of *Velegezites* were in Eastern Thessaly, where the archaeological excavations revealed remnants of a culture of the group of *Andes* (an Eastern Slav group), their route to the South via *Elassona*, would transfer these melodies mixing them with the local Greek repertory. These *Sklaviniae* were assimilated by the Greek population of the area by the 9th century (footnote 34). So, when Tsar Samuel II transferred the population of the city of *Larisa* with the body of Saint Achilles to the area of *Prespa* in 985 A.D., these *Sklaviniae* were already assimilated and a Greek-speaking population was transferred to the *Florina-Prespa* area, creating a relationship between the population of *Florina-Prespa* and the Greek-speaking population of *Ventzia*, *Elassona* and Northern Thessaly. Due to the Ottoman conquest and the introduction of a heterogeneous population (the *Koniari* and *Giourouki* around 1390 A.D.) to the areas of *Kozani*, *Sari Giol* and *Kailaria*, the Northern populations became Slav-speakers while the Southern part remained Greek-speaking. Then a third level of the process followed, when these melodies, following the integration of the Slav population, became first Greek-speaking and then again Slav-speaking due to their transfer to the *Prespa* area. The Greek-speaking repertory of Thessaly was the second archetype of its East Russian counterpart. As we move to the North where the density of the Slav-speaking population increases and one might expect this repertory to be relevant in

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<sup>31</sup> I heard these Russian songs in 2011, during a presentation by Galina Tavlai demonstrating funeral lamentations, see video. According to Olga Pashina this style of laments is typical for the north of Belarussian territory and the neighboring Smolensk region; See Varfolomeyeva. 2003,2004. Vol. 2 2003: 552. I am grateful to Olga Pashina for this information. For the transcriptions see Pashina- Engovatova. vol. 1: 2003:382-383.

terms of musical form with its Eastern Slav archetype, the Northern Slav variants restrict their range and become diatonic. But the Slav-speaking repertory of the *Florina* plains, which I suggest as a secondary Slav-speaking creation (following the Greek-speaking archetype), keeps exactly the same melody though simplified. The Hellenization of these Russian melodies is apparent in the ornamentation of the melodies: while the Russian ornaments move vertically, the Greek ornaments move cyclically. Circular movements were extremely important for the creation of the system of Western Greece. Historical and linguistic research concludes that the *Velegezites* tribe in Thessaly belonged to the Eastern Slavs as the melodies of *Smolensk* do and they were completely Hellenized by the 9th century.

*Smolensk* is on the Trade Route of the *Varangians* to the Greeks<sup>32</sup>; these *Varangians*, who carried out the rituals of the Palace in Constantinople, were strongly related to the rituals of Palm Sunday and the day of Saint Lazarus in *Vlachernai* and the Church<sup>33</sup>. But despite these coincidences I consider the *Sklaviniae* of the 6th century<sup>34</sup> responsible for the relationship between the Russian and Greek melodies. The reason is that, nowhere in the entire Primary Russian Chronicle (footnote 32) is there a testimony about a transfer of Greek population to Smolensk to be found. In the absence of other evidence regarding any early ecclesiastical influence<sup>35</sup> or any other contribution of a Thracian background to the plains of Greece (following the findings of Russian linguists about Thracian and Phrygian traces in Baltoslavic areas as well, Vyciniene 2012:122), the early settlement of the *Velegezites* in Thessaly and their early assimilation by the Greek-speakers of the area must be considered the main reason for the similarity of the two repertories.

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<sup>32</sup> *The Russian Primary Chronicle Laurentian Text*: 49-50.

<sup>33</sup> Sigfús Blöndal, 1978, 1981, 180.

<sup>34</sup> For these *Sklaviniae* and their assimilation till the 9th century see Katsanevaki, 1998,2014 and Katsanevaki 1998,2017, Part II: 19, from Christophilopoulou, 1992, and Christophilopoulou, *Byzantine History*, 361.

<sup>35</sup> In the case we consider these similar melodies as a probable ecclesiastical influence, adopted by the local musical systems in both areas (Smolensk and Greek Thessaly), then we should combine our research with detailed ethnographic and historical research in the area of Smolensk and adjacent areas. Also, with the historical background regarding the beginnings of the Third mode, its functionality in the Byzantine Palace and Byzantine ceremonies and the probable connection of these ceremonies with the Byzantine provinces and the related Russian territories. A possible solution would, thus, involve a combined ethnographic and historical approach, in the fields of Byzantine music and Ethnomusicology. In the case that we consider it has a common Thracian background in Greece, the Southern Balkans and the Balto-slavic areas, then a common research effort among local experts would be needed (see conclusion).

382 12

Девоки, малдухи ванки завивагали,  
Мако, мако, мако эсдепо, у!  
Ванки завивагали, трову пагиттали,  
Як шавла травинка да Босу жалова,  
- Не жалься травинка, не жалься лугова.  
Девоки, малдухи, будем пить-гуляти,  
А тебе травинка, все лета стьяти.

Figure 1. Transcription by Olga Pashina (by permission of Olga Pashina)

383 13

Штой у лесу, у лесу дуб барёу калышетъ,  
Мако, мако, мако эсдепо, у!  
А братец сестрицы частя письма пишеть,  
Ты привысла, остра на чужай спаровце?  
- Хотя я не привысла - нада привыслати:  
Свекуро да свекурои нада уважати,  
Девакро, заловки нада нравити,  
Девакро, заловки и девачей жонке.

Figure 2. Transcription by Olga Pashina (by permission of Olga Pashina)

## Case 7

### **Heterophony and Polyphony on the *Pindus mountains* and *Epirus*. Common formulas and voices. The Heterophonic style (spontaneous polyphony) of Northern Pindus as the predecessor of the formal polyphony of *Northern Epirus*.**

The work of the three ethnic groups of scholarship involved with the polyphony of the Southwestern Balkans can be summarized in:

a) the Greek-speaking (see Peristeris 1958, 1964, Zotos Menelaos 1976, Lavdas Antonis 1958, Baud-Bovy 1971,1982, Lolis Kostas 1995, 2006, Tenta Georgia 1995, 2013-17),

b) the Albanian-speaking (see Sokoli Ramadan 1965, Stockman Doris 1965, Kruta Veniamin 1985, 1987a,b,1988, Këngë Polifonike Labe 1986 collective work, Shituni Spiro 1989, Pistrick Eckehard 2005, 2012, Koco Eno 2014) and

c) the Vlach-speaking (mainly Marcu George 1958,1977, Caranica Ioan, 1937, and Kauffman Nikolai, 1969, Katsanevaki 1998, 2014,2017).

The investigation of this polyphonic area was mainly restricted to polyphony. Heterophony was attested only by George Marcu, due to his engagement with those Vlachs that had migrated from the Pindus Mountains in Greece to the area of Dobrudja Rumania.

Taking into consideration this work one might say that they presented mainly a musicological analytical description, with the exception of those oriented to the field of anthropology (Pistrick 2005, 2012).

Some interesting points about the phenomenon of the iso were presented by Brandl (1976) and Boiko (2000), Koco (2014), and Tole (2012).

When it comes to the Greek-speaking polyphonic songs, (in fieldwork and present approaches, referring to Northern Epirus, in and out of Greece), it is considered as a musical dialect relative to the Albanian-speaking songs and it is generally compared with other polyphonies in the Balkans.

My own approach differs, somewhat, in the sense that it started with a central focus on the area of the Northern Pindus and not of Northern Epirus. It was extended to these and other relative areas in an attempt to explore the musical context of this central area of interest. In much the same way it was extended to the central area of Northern Epirus and the Polyphony of the Northern Epirot Vlachs, and to the Slav speakers of the area of Western Macedonia in and out of Greece. This intra-local approach resulted in a synthesis of themes and unearthed compositional rules, which reveal common concepts among these dialects. They also present a continuity and consistency to these rules when "constructing" their musical form. Thus, is revealed the historical connection of the heterophony (Vlach and Greek-speaking), in Pindus, Western Macedonia and Thessaly, with the Greek-speaking Polyphony of Northern Epirus and Epirus in general. It is clear that there is a certain priority in terms of time of the Heterophony of the Northern Pindus in comparison with the Greek-speaking

North Epirot Polyphony, which I will try to explain in the following chapter. At the same time, I took into consideration, the relevant comments of the Albanian musicologists about the priority of the two-part polyphony in comparison with the three-part and the four-part Albanian-speaking polyphony in Northern Epirus (Kruta 1988).

### **The first encounter with the singing tradition and its rules.**

My research started in 1990-1991. My first fieldwork and encounter with the area of Northern Pindus focused on the village of Kalloni. There, I initiated my own embodiment of this dialect of Pindus, trying to understand the way this music was created by the bearers of its oral tradition. Soon, I realized that in order to comprehend what was the meaning of this music I had to embody this music as an oral tradition following the same process its bearers followed during the process of community life. This would be possible only experientially and if the transcriptions and analysis were evaluated repeatedly through my experiences and commitment in the field.

I also realized that the faithful and precise performance of the melismas and their constant repetition had a reference to the characteristics of this musical system, which functioned due to certain melodic movements-formulas.

Some indirect references referring to the rule of the accented syllable and the heterophony of the area were that "when in the past there was a group and their voices matched one another they sung in polyphony (many voices), one of them would raise his voice (*tha to sikone- θα το «σήκωνε»*) the others would sing lower (*tha tragoudouse hamila-θα τραγουδούσε χαμηλά»*)" (Katsanevaki, 2012, 156).

With many repetitive recordings of these songs with the same singers and keeping intermediate long periods of time, it was ascertained that there is a certain consistency of the same singer to the same melody of the same song. This was noticed regarding the melismas and the melody of the song, that a certain emphasis was put by the singers on the exact performance of the peaks of the melodies on exactly the same points of the melodic strophe.

### **Tracing the importance of the melodic formulas as points of aesthetic emphasis**

As I have noted elsewhere I located smaller or larger variations of certain formulas:

1. from song to song, 2. from singer to singer, 3. from village to village, 4. from area to area.

These variations described melodically the process of the accented and unaccented syllables by raising the voice a 4<sup>th</sup> or 5<sup>th</sup> over the tonal center.

The continuing use of this formula revealed that it was used as a compositional repetitive feature. Also, it always confirmed a movement, which could be a point of emphasis and a structural device. I attributed its functionality to a historical structure based on the characteristics of the ancient Greek language, which predominated in the area from antiquity. Further, to the functionality of so-called *logodes melos* which raised



the voice accordingly almost one fifth up on the accents of the words (*oxeia*) (see in Katsanevaki 1998-2014, Part A, p.62-69).

After the comparative analysis of the data I located 160 such different variations of this basic melodic movement which appeared repeatedly in 117 songs (see in Katsanevaki 1998-2014, 2017 Part A p.354-368)



This was the basic melodic formula which could be traced in many variations. For example:



### **How this formula is "filled" in the heterophonic texture.**

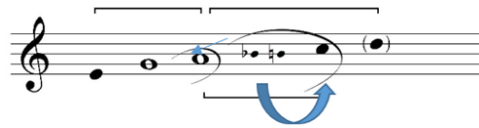
Following the evolution of the micro-scales a gradual progression of the system was attested. This occurred because of a central trichord and the attraction of a tone over the central tone *la* (*Mese*) (Katsanevaki 1998-2014 Part A 163-164, Katsanevaki 2011, 169-171)<sup>36</sup>.

This movement located around the *Mese* remains characteristically as a mobile drone inside the textural function of the melody. It is not just mobile but cyclic. Its existence is due to two reasons: the first is "*functional*" and aesthetic the second historical. Functional and aesthetic because it presents the cyclic movement as a characteristic and as the main reason for the creation and the evolution of the system. Historical, because it is a basic structure in the musical form and part of the process that created the system, which is practically experienced inside the texture of the songs. Consequently, it sounds below the pitch of the fourth that is raised up on the accented syllables of the words and the verse. Though the lower voice is an element of a historical structural "making" of the system, reflecting the evolution of the intervallic relationships of the tones and the gradual building of its extended scale, the upper voice is a structural element. It is developed neither because of the interactive relationships of the intervals between the tones nor because of the building of the system, but due to the filling of the texture by the melodic movements of the language and the accented syllables of the speech. Those two "historical" and always affirmed

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<sup>36</sup> In both studies I have presented and supported why I believe it is a process that explains, echoes and recreates an evolution that must have been of great importance in antiquity according to the information handed down to us by the ancient Greek authors: The omission of the *Trite* and the addition of the *Nete* by Terpander or (as supported by others) by Pythagoras is reflected by this evolutionary process found and depicted as historical structures in these musical dialects. Furthermore, I have supported that the evolution of Hemitonic and Anhemitonic pentatonism from this first trichord coincides respectively with the similar origin and evolution of the two ancient languages of the area (Protohellenic-Pelasgian and Phrygian) from the same linguistic branch and it is equally depicted on the musical ethnological and linguistic map of the wider area of the South-Western Balkans (see in Katsanevaki 1998-2014 and 2017 (printed edition) Part A, 451-457 and the respective map 490). The insertion of the disjunctive tone as a stable tone between the tones *la* and *do* is supported by the traditions of case 6. It is also supported by part of the polyphonic and heterophonic repertory of certain areas around the central mountainous zone in the East and West. See for the Vlach repertory around *Korytsa* in Katsanevaki 1998-2014, 2017 Part A, 444-45. A similar case is a repertory I recorded with Eckehard Pistrick in Kosovitsa in 2007 where the voice of *Richtis* is moving one major tone up making a diaphonic contrast of a major tone with the *ison*. A similar case is found in the songs from Polytsani recorded by Tenda Georgia for her diploma Thesis (see Tenda 1995). This insertion is supported fully by part of the Slav-speaking heterophony in the area of Kastoria where part of the repertory "imitates" the heterophony of the Pindus mountains Greek-speaking and Vlach-speaking moving the whole texture one major tone higher on the pentatonic *sol-la-si-re-mi* instead of *sol-la-do-re-mi*. Consequently even the standard slide of the hemitonic pentatonic movements between the tones *la-sib-re* is moved between *si-do-mi*. See for example in the following video <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wMODZc0JalQ> (retrieved on the 11.12.2020).

structures are the two basic voices in the polyphony of Northern Epirus and complete the whole range of the system.



(see this scale in Katsanevaki 1998-2014,2017 Part A, p.163-164,440)

Additionally the metrical substratum which I have attested in fieldwork (see video 2) and proposed as a third level of composition in the oral tradition of the heterophonic style of *Pindus* is equally found in the Northern Epirot Greek-speaking polyphony (see for example in Katsanevaki 2017 mus.ex.5 Female three part polyphony of Kalamas and audio and musical example 14 in this e-book).

### **The main voices of *Partis* and *Gyristsis* in the Polyphony of the Northern Epirus.**

The analysis of certain melodies of polyphonic songs shows that the certain formulas of the voice of the *Partis* in the polyphony are extended variations of the basic melodic formula of the accented-unaccented syllable found on the Pindus mountains.

On the other hand the voice of the *Gyristsis* is a more melismatic (now with certain tones) melodic movement relevant with the mobile drone of the heterophonic texture of Pindus. The only difference is that in some cases the *Gyristsis* moves downwards till the lower mi.

Veniamin Kruta names the drone of the Albanian-speaking two part polyphony "mobile drone" (pedal mouvent see Kruta,1988,48) referring mainly to a movement between the tonic and subtonic and in cases of the third over the tonic. This is closer to the *Gyristsis* voice of the Northern Epirot songs. What I called "mobile drone" in the Heterophony of the Pindus mountains in accordance with his terminology, is different: it is a cyclic drone which is performed by "pushings" of the voice, and it was this movement that urged me to "invent" a special symbol in my musical transcriptions in order to elucidate it. (See Katsanevaki 1998-2014, Part B, p. 40 no 7 Katsanevaki 2005, p.242, no 7).

The melodic formula of the accented-unaccented syllables then is filled in the following way:



The "building" of the Polyphonic song shows that it was developed in the course of time based on the stable continued drone, thus, putting emphasis on the sounding of

the vertical simultaneous melodies "in relation to" a fixed central tone. Though the use of the iso is attributed to an ecclesiastical influence (see Koco 2014) I would also suggest a previous equally important contribution of ancient wind instruments like *double aulos* or *askaolos* in the environs of the Ancient Greek Theaters of the area of Northern Epirus. In other words the existence of the drone requires the development and the emphasis of the vertical dimension instead of the cyclic. For this cyclic dimension was the characteristic of the archetypical system upon which, it "made" at first, its intervallic interactions. Here the tones are more stable and the flexible formulas, which are related to the accented syllables, are extended in time to receive a steady form that permits the vertical soundings to develop. Additionally, the cyclic mobile drone of the heterophony creates steady tones which, nevertheless, continue to come back repeatedly to the tonal center, which is still the tone of the Mese (la according to ancient theory). While at the same time it "touches" the lower tone of mi filling the octave downwards. In the following musical and audio examples I have marked in red circles the parts of the lower voice, which is the characteristic movement of the mobile drone that is transformed as the movement of the *Gyrstis* in the Polyphony of North Epirus (see audio and musical example 14). The blue circles mark the movement of the upper voice on the accented syllables and the respective formulas in the polyphonic texture of the voice of *Partis* (in audio and musical example 14).

-υ - / -υ - / -υυ / -υ - // -υ - / -υ - / -υυ / -υ - //

1<sup>α</sup> 112  
αι! μω - ρέ! κι(ε)-νη(ε) - σα τουο - ον δρόμο - δρό μο - ο  
X X / - U - / - U

16  
χαί - δε(ι) - μέ - ε - τένη(ε) (ε)μου(ο)-ου(ο) κι(ε)νη(ε) -  
- U U / - U - //

6  
σατο - ον δρό - μου δρόμου ο - ζη - λε -  
U - / - U - / -

8  
μέ - ε - τέ - νη η(ε)μου(ο) -  
U U / - U - //

### Audio and musical example 13

Kinisa ton dromo dromo (I started walking on the route) sung when they accompany the company of the bride to the church. Field recording by Athena Katsanevaki in the village of *Smixi* in the *Grevena* region (Pindus Western Macedonia) August 18, 1995.

The image displays a musical score for a polyphonic lament-song. It consists of three systems of staves. The first system is labeled 'Partis' and the second 'Klostis and iso'. The lyrics are in Greek. Blue circles highlight specific melodic phrases in the upper staves, while red circles highlight rhythmic patterns and triplets in the lower staves. The lyrics for the first system are: 'Partis αχ! α - λη - σμο - νό — αχ - και χαί - ρο - ο - μαι — αι' and 'Klostis and iso ωχ! ω! και χαί - ρο - μαι -'. The second system lyrics are: 'Partis θυ - μου - μαι — και — λυ - πού — μαι αχ —' and 'Klostis and iso - - θυ - μου - μαι - και - λυ - πού - μαι -'. The third system lyrics are: 'Partis α - λη - σμο' and 'Klostis and iso ωχ, ω! λη — σμο.'.

#### Audio and Musical example 14

Alismono kai chairimai (I am happy when I forget) Polyphonic lament-song from *Pogoniani, North Epirus* in Greece. Field recording by Athena Katsanevaki and Eckehard Pistrick July 2007.

#### The Heterophony of Pindus as the antecedent to the Polyphonic Northern Epirot songs.

One might ask why did I consider Heterophony as a historical precursor in comparison with Polyphony: It was neither because of the number of voices or their formal roles. My conclusion is based on the entire historical as well as functional analysis of the musical form and the reasons it is formed the way it is. Also, on the observation about which of the two textures “functionally” serves as the reason for the creation of this form:

As it has become apparent in the previous chapters, I observed that the heterophonic texture, by means of musical performance, presents functionalities that are being recreated again and again and are redefined. In this way, the continuing redefinition of the system makes heterophony an extremely flexible system while its texture is “in

a process of constant movement" (*εν κινήσει*) something that makes the musical form of heterophonic style a very difficult to describe, analyze or justify further analytically. While it reaffirms repeatedly the evolutionary process of the musical system of the wider area.



*Recording with local men. Pogoniani, Ioannina region. 2007. Phot. A. Katsanevaki*

## Conclusions

This book presents the self-definition of the two main ethnic-linguistic groups (Greek-speakers and Slav-speakers) in West Macedonia in Greece and its historical reasons revealed in musical form in the wider context of North-Western Greece (Western Macedonia and Epirus). Historical processes or relations, found in cultural notions or expressions of identity, are distinguishable in musical form. Fieldwork reveals local testimony about self-definition. Both groups call themselves "Macedonians" referring to their origins in the area of Macedonia. This definition is equally related to reactions against outside interventions. If isolated, these phenomena cannot be interpreted adequately. They are usually considered as negotiations with contemporary policies of nationalism without an ethnic, historical and cultural basis. Nonetheless fieldwork revealed certain affiliations in regard to cultural expressions and specifically with the vocal repertory of certain regional styles. In most cases it becomes clear that there are common regional styles and certain correspondences between Greek-speakers and Slav-speakers or Vlach-speakers and Slav-speakers, as well as Greek-speakers and Vlach-speakers which reveal an original common wider population that followed process of Romanization and (later) of Slavization, revealed also by research in historical sources referring to the Roman and Byzantine past of the area. It seems then that the introduction of the Slav languages in the area of Macedonia in Northern Greece is not a recent matter, at least in the area examined (Western Macedonia in Greece). In most cases it is traced back to the late Byzantine times. In cases, it seems as a consequence of ecclesiastical influence or of domination by certain Slav leaders (Serbian or Bulgarian), who dominated the area till the Ottoman Era, when the Slav dialects expanded even more due to certain dynamics in the wider area. Traces of even older interactions between the Greek mainland and the matrices of the proto-Slavic languages in Russia are also attested. The early process of assimilation of the Slavic matrices, the old *Sklaviniae* of Thessaly, is also traced in these repertories in a way that justifies the will of the locals to be considered as indigenous people of the area of Macedonia. It is not then unjustified that, in cases, members of both groups, instead of simply "Macedonians", call themselves "Gretski Makedonski" or "Hellines Makedones" ("Greek Macedonians"). It is obvious in the chapters of this book and from the holistic historical approach and analysis that this common past is not a contemporary matter. It is traced back in a way that the contemporary cultural musical map keeps the basic ethnological distribution of antiquity.

Furthermore, a hypothesis should be based on the overall research and its re-evaluation in reference to the traditions of the plains and the Eastern areas of the Balkans: If we take into consideration the tradition of the Belarussian archetypes and that, on the Northern Part of the today's North Macedonia beyond Greek Macedonia, the melodies become more diatonic, then we find that the archetypes of this tradition are even more altered to the North of the Balkan area. Thus, we might probably dare to support a huge Thracian tradition in the plains of Greece and the central and North-Eastern Balkans that was divided. A part of it might be pushed to the North due to insertion of the *Avaroi* and the assimilation by them of parts of the Slavs before they



reached the Balkans. It seems that this tradition "met" the other two Indo-European musical branches (see also footnote 36), of pentatonic music Protohellenic and Phrygian (common trichord – hemitonic and anhemitonic pentatonism transposed to the heptachord and later octachord pentatonic system) in the plains of Central Macedonia. Also, a later mixing due to the *Sklaviniae* of Thessaly happened in the 6<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>37</sup> This is of course speculation that needs further investigation and a respective collaboration among local researchers. Nonetheless, it is strongly supported by the today's findings.

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<sup>37</sup> This evolution is supported by the melodies of the Lazarus and other ritual songs in certain plain areas in Thessaly and Western Macedonia, by part of the Vlach-speaking and Greek-speaking polyphony in North Epirus, by the female laments of the Cams, and the incorporation of the two successive major tones in the heterophonic styles of the Greek-speakers, Vlach-speakers and Slav-speakers as an evolutionary process in the system, by the evolved diatonic system of the Lazarus songs of the modern North Macedonia beyond Greek Macedonia, by certain octachordal melodies played on the bagpipes in Eastern Macedonia and Thrace in Greece, by a genre of old melodies in certain Greek-speaking areas in Central Macedonia, by part of the pentatonic octachordal with standard tones melodies of the Pomaks of Thrace and by the current melodies of the Belarussian ritual repertory of Smolensk presented in case 6. The later *Sklaviniae*, in all probability, united again these remote but related melodies. Consequently though the Northern part of the plains of Macedonia is more densely inhabited by the Slavs, the Greek-speaking melodies and the Russian are almost identical, and the secondary Slav-speaking melodies in the Plain of Florina are a simplification of these two archetypes, while the North Macedonian became diatonic.

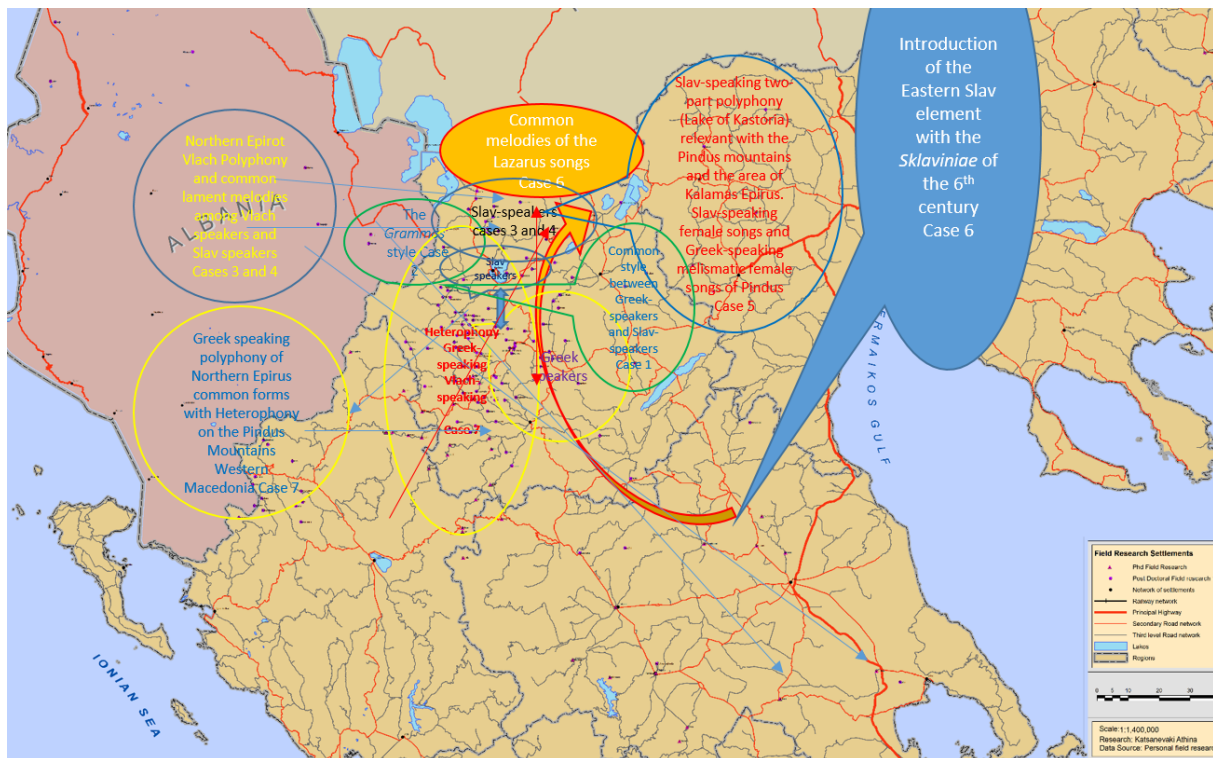


Figure 3. Map of the area and Cases 1,2,3,4,5,6,7.

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and:

[https://www.amazon.in/Vlach-speaking-Greek-speaking-Northern-Pindus-HistoricalEthnomusicological-book/dp/B01FFNFZDI/ref=sr\\_1\\_1?keywords=Athena+Katsanevaki&qid=1575987028&sr=8-1](https://www.amazon.in/Vlach-speaking-Greek-speaking-Northern-Pindus-HistoricalEthnomusicological-book/dp/B01FFNFZDI/ref=sr_1_1?keywords=Athena+Katsanevaki&qid=1575987028&sr=8-1)

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## List of Audio examples

1a. "Biliana Platno" (village of *Nestorio* in *Kastoria* Region) field recording by Athena Katsanevaki, 28<sup>th</sup> of April 2001 (first presented in Katsanevaki 1998-2014 English version New data audio

ex.1[http://digitize.iema.gr/is\\_ent.php?phys\\_item\\_id=14706&entity\\_id=36963](http://digitize.iema.gr/is_ent.php?phys_item_id=14706&entity_id=36963)).

1b. "Biliana Platno" (The Urban melody recorded in the village of *Papagianni*, *Florina* region) field recording by Athena Katsanevaki on the 3<sup>rd</sup> of June 2007.

2. "Agio Gianni" (A *klidonas* Slav speaking dance song from the village of *Perivolaki* *Argos Orestikon* region), field recording by Athena Katsanevaki

3. "Osa Kastraki an epiga" (An Easter Greek speaking dance song from the village of *Mesologgos* in the *Voion-Anaselitsa* region), field recording by Athena Katsanevaki 24<sup>th</sup> of June 1995.

4. "Aera mou more n'aera mou" (Greek speaking dance song from the Vlach speakers of the town of *Prosotsani*. Origin: *Grammos* mountain) field recording by Athena Katsanevaki, on the 30<sup>th</sup> of September 1995.

5. "Tsintsi Dzali", Vlach-speaking dance song from the Vlach speakers of the town of *Prosotsani*. Origin: *Grammos* mountain) field recording by Athena Katsanevaki, on the 30<sup>th</sup> of September 1995.

6. "Yorga peri" Slav speaking heterophony: a female Easter Dance song from the village of *Nestorion* in the *Grammos* mountain field recording by Athena Katsanevaki, 11<sup>th</sup> of July 2001.

7. "Udalu atselu" The polyphony of the Farserot Vlachs in *Seskloin Volos-Thessaly*. Field recording by Athena Katsanevaki on the 5<sup>th</sup> of September 2009.

8. "Tri sela bare" The Slav speaking "Farserot style" polyphony (*Ukano*) in the village of *Toixio* in the *Kastoria* region, field recording by Athena Katsanevaki on the 26<sup>th</sup> of July 2012.

9. "Siara dială" A Vlach speaking lament from *Sesklo* field recording by Athena Katsanevaki on the 5<sup>th</sup> of September 2009.

10a. "Dobre utro" A Slav speaking lament from *Toixio* (the same melody) field recording by Athena Katsanevaki on the 27<sup>th</sup> of May 2007. (first presented in Katsanevaki 1998-2014 English version New data appendix audio ex.5)[http://digitize.iema.gr/is\\_ent.php?phys\\_item\\_id=14706&entity\\_id=36967](http://digitize.iema.gr/is_ent.php?phys_item_id=14706&entity_id=36967)

10b "Stani vre chovek" A Slav speaking lament from *Toixio* (similar melody) field recording by Athena Katsanevaki on the 27<sup>th</sup> of May 2007. Sung two times with and without exclamations (a-hie!).

11a "Agio Gianni mou", A Greek-speaking song sung on the Day of Saint John from the village of *Rodia* in the mountains of *Grevena*. Field recording by Athena Katsanevaki on the 18<sup>th</sup> of May 2003 in *Rodia*. A very short extract (a cadence) presented in [http://musicologistjournal.com/8-last-cd1\\_track22\\_agios\\_yannis\\_rodia/](http://musicologistjournal.com/8-last-cd1_track22_agios_yannis_rodia/)  
<http://dergipark.gov.tr/musicologist/issue/33635/373186>

11b "Aide miso sdrave" Slav-speaking song from *Bobishta* in the area of *Kastoria* (today's *Verga*).

Recording by Nikolai Kaufmann. <http://www.sscor.eu/en/karton.asp?zapisID=235>

12a "Edo sta spitia ta psila" A Greek-speaking *Vaitses* song from the village of *Palaiochori* in the area of *Grevena* (on the day of Saint Lazarus) field recording by Athena Katsanevaki, on the 7<sup>th</sup> of April 2001.

12b "Malechka fkoda" Slav speaking Lazarus song from the village of *Papagianni* in the *Florina* Valley. Field recording by Athena Katsanevaki in *Papagianni* on the 3<sup>rd</sup> of June 2007.

13. "Kinisa ton dromo dromo" Greek-speaking song sung when they accompany the company of the bride to the church. Field recording by Athena Katsanevaki in the village of *Smixi* in the Grevena region (Pindus Western Macedonia) August 18, 1995.

14. "Alismono kai chairomai" Polyphonic lament-song from *Pogoniani* North Epirus in Greece. Field recording by Athena Katsanevaki and Eckehard Pistrick in *Pogoniani*, July 2007.

### **Biography: Athena Katsanevaki**

Athena Katsanevaki received her PhD in Historical Ethnomusicology (Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, 1998) and studied Violin, Music Theory, and Byzantine music. She has presented papers at international and World conferences, and is a member of the MOISA Society (Ancient Greek and Roman music) and a member and liaison officer of Greece in ICTM (Ethnomusicology-Traditional music). She published books and papers combining her two main fields of study: Historical musicology and Ethnomusicology. Traditional singing as sound, practice and performance is also one of her main research focuses since 1990. Athena has lectured for 12 years at the University of Macedonia in Thessaloniki, Department for Music Science and Art and she currently lectures at the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki School for Music Studies. She also runs the vocal ensemble "Echo". Her fieldwork in Northwestern Greece and the surrounding areas in Greece and abroad, has been honored by the Academy of Athens.



*Athena Katsanevaki and Yiannis Vlachodimos. Vlasti, Kozani region. 2002. Phot. A. Katsanevaki.*

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