

Musical palimpsests: Jewish-Greek historical discography

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Prelude: Cosmopolitanism in Greek historical discography¹

The Kounadis Archive Virtual Museum's² collection under the title of "Cosmopolitanism in Greek historical discography" constitutes a singular tool for examining and shedding light on cosmopolitanism in music over a wide geographical area, offering access not only to audio but also to visual data. This area includes the following broad regions: Europe (including Russia), North Africa, the Middle East, and the United States of America. In a few cases, recordings have been found in Central and Southeast Asia, and also in Central and South America. Crucial findings have resulted from this research, regarding the relationships between various "ethnic" repertoires. More specifically, dozens of music tunes have been detected and documented, which were recorded in Greek historical discography. The same tunes were recorded also in other repertoires (in some cases earlier and in others later than the Greek recordings). In essence, these are amongst the first recordings ever made, as the phenomenon of discography took its first steps in late 19th and early 20th centuries. Historical recording companies/labels, such as Gramophone, Odeon and Pathé, sent mobile workshops all over the world, and at the beginning of the century they recorded in Constantinople (now Istanbul), Smyrna (now Izmir), but also Thessaloniki, Athens, Alexandria and Cairo; in all these places we find Greek-language recordings.³

At the epicentre of this new virtual room in the Kounadis Archive lies the intertextuality which is observed in folk-popular repertoires of the 20th century. Moreover, issues such as the ever-changing fluidity during performance, and the appropriations enacted by musicians are critical in this research project. These repertoires, and the musicians who carry them, can be regarded as conduits in the uniquely diverse cultural heritage of this musical world. They borrowed and lent, but they also carried more distant traditions from the places where they had previously lived and the places in which they had traveled. The mutual influences are evident in performance practices, instrumentation, rhythm, harmonisation, vocal placement and, in general, the habits that each musician carries in him/her. Repertoires are deterritorialised and mixed with others, which take on supralocal characteristics. Musicians constituted key interlocutors within the borders of three major multicultural Empires (Austrian / Austro-Hungarian, Russian, Ottoman) and other smaller or larger political entities, not to mention their travels outside these borders, and they composed a rich musical mosaic consisting of heterogeneous but co-existing palimpsests. This mosaic can be regarded as a pool to which everyone added and from which everyone received something. This convergence of geographical coordinates is accompanied by another one, the convergence of internal cultural coordinates. These are the fields of scholarly and popular music, which have traditionally been treated not only as independent, but also as segmented. The popular and the scholarly enter into a creative dialogue in a variety of ways, introducing in-between "places", depending on the historical conditions.

This article deals with one of the cases that, together with Leonardos Kounadis, I encountered during the aforementioned research for the Kounadis Archive, and it concerns the relations between Greek-language and Jewish-language repertoires as they were reflected in the historical discography. Apart from the role played by the Greek Jews in the musical developments of the Greek peninsula, there were also significant mutual influences between the Greek-speaking Christian Orthodox community and the Jewish community, in various other areas where the two communities dwelled together. In other words, beyond the geographical boundaries of the Greek state, the cultural conversations between Greek Orthodox and Jews also occurred in other parts of the world, in both Europe and America, where they encountered each other as immigrants.

Greeks (and) Jews: Romaniotes

The population and the dynamic presence of the Jews declined violently with the events of World War II. The communities, however, re-established themselves and remain standing. The rich history of the Jews of Greece did not stop with the genocide, despite the irreparable damage that was wreaked.

Research on Greek Jews, despite flourishing in the last two decades, remains meagre and rudimentary. The bibliographic explosion seen in recent years, in reference to issues concerning the history and genocide of the Greek Jews, has created the illusion that the relevant issues have been covered adequately. Various aspects of their presence in civic life and their historical role in the shaping of Greek culture have yet to be addressed by research. If one of these holds the sceptre in terms of its dynamism, its wealth of expression and its role as a catalyst in modern Greek culture, this is without a doubt music.

Sources testify to the timeless existence of the Jewish element since at least the Hellenistic period, in the regions which millennia later came to be the Greek state.⁴ It is no coincidence that Paul the Apostle preached in Jewish synagogues post-50 AD during his missions in the Greek peninsula, which was then part of the Roman Empire. After the Edict of Milan in 313 AD and the gradual Christianisation of the Eastern Empire, the Jewish element deteriorates.

The Jewish communities, established since that period in these regions, are known as “Romaniotes”.⁵ Their historical geographical centre is the city of Ioannina, in North-Western Greece, now the capital of the Epirus region. Their language is Greek, but mixed with several other linguistic idioms.

Apart from Ioannina and the rest of Epirus,⁶ Romaniote communities (some quite large and some small) existed or still exist in Larisa, Corfu, Chalkida, Zante and smaller ones in Crete, Patras, Naupaktos and Naxos. Undoubtedly though, the most committed to their traditions were those of Ioannina. The Romaniotes, in contrast to the Sephardim, used the Greek language not only in their daily life but also in their rituals, mixing it with a lot of Hebrew. More specifically, they spoke a Greek dialect, but wrote in Hebrew script, with words from prayers, thanksgiving and curses, and with a particular intonation. The Romaniotes were assimilated, largely, linguistically but also culturally into the broader Greek society.

Especially surprising is the fact that the popular (usually religious) poetry of the Romaniotes was in Greek but written in Hebrew script. The formulas as well as the music of this poetry were intensively influenced by the local Greek culture. The singularity of these songs was not limited to their external form and the fact of their being written in the Hebrew alphabet – a common practice anyway among the Jews of the diaspora. The singularity of these songs extends also to their content, in which despite the influence of the language of the Greek-speaking folk songs of the region and the form of the Ioannina couplets especially, the subjects of the lyrics were usually religious. These compositions were collected by old cantors and filed in handwritten collections together with other Jewish songs, these too originals, sung only in Epirus, usually in various religious ceremonies. They were, however, not only religious but also secular in nature, as they were sung in moments of both leisure and celebration. The Romaniotes were inspired by the local folk-popular culture and its traditions and, by combining it with their customs and traditions, they created a singular “Greek-Jewish” tradition, while at the same time preserving their religious identity.⁷

If we were to single out one person among the leading figures of Greek discography, this would be Minos Matsas, who came from the Romaniote community of Preveza. Matsas was initially the representative of the Greek branch of Odeon-Parlophone, and later co-founder, along with his son Makis, of Minos Matsas & Son (today Minos-EMI, a Universal Music Company). Minos Matsas was a key figure for the course of musical trends and discography in Greece (for details, see Kounadis, 2007 and Matsas, 2014).

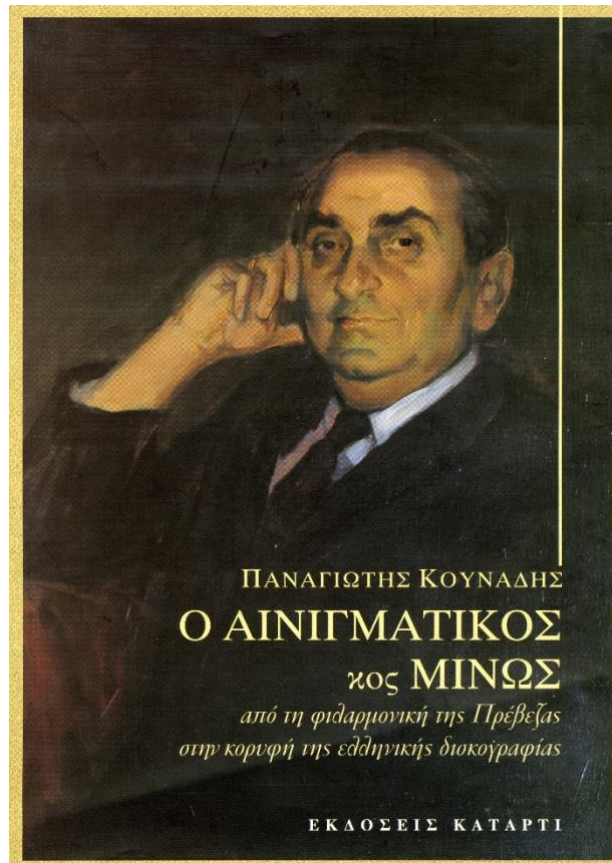


Fig. 1: A painting by Giorgos Vakirtzis – Cover of Panagiotis Kounadis’s book *The Enigmatic Mr Minos* (2007).

Greeks (and) Sephardim

After 1492, and the Alhambra Decree of the Spanish Royals Ferdinand and Isabella, Jews who refused to embrace Christianity were expelled from the Iberian Peninsula. These were the “Sephardic Jews”, one of the largest Jewish ethno-cultural categorisations (in Jewish texts, the word “Sepharad” refers to the region of present-day Spain and Portugal). Thessaloniki was one of the main destination points of this movement, as ties with the city were old and already close. Since then, Thessaloniki has been considered the “capital” of the Sephardim. It should be noted that, during the late Ottoman era, the census that began in 1880, the records of which were published in 1893, indicated that in the city of Thessaloniki there were 36,985 Greeks, 34,523 Jews, 29,489 Muslims, 1,117 Bulgarians, 471 Catholics and 149 Armenians (see Karpas, 1978).

As far as Sephardic Jews are concerned, in terms of their musical relations with the Greek-speaking Orthodox, we can organise the following categories:

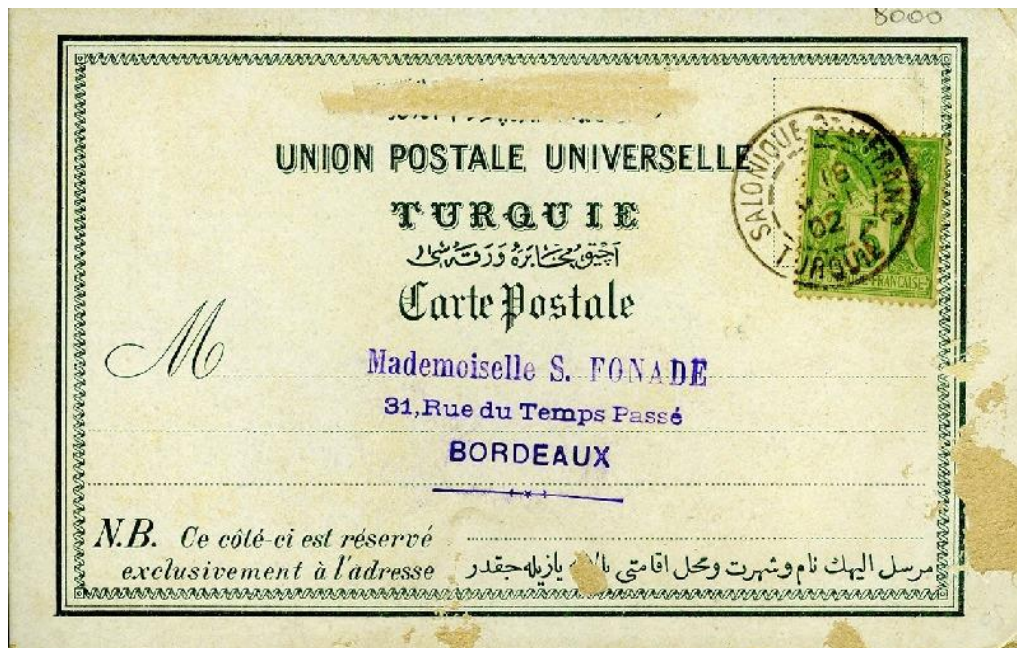
Permanent inhabitants of the regions located on the Greek peninsula. In the modern political state system, the Sephardim of these regions, apart from being considered Greek citizens, also have a Greek self-identity and, of course, speak Greek. This was powerfully confirmed by Rafael Oli, born in Thessaloniki in 1924 and sent to Auschwitz by force on 6 April 1943. Alberto Nar, the important intellectual of Thessaloniki, recorded him on 3 November 1992.⁸ Oli sings a verse from a song by Jacob Levi, who made it up while imprisoned at Auschwitz:

Χρόνια είμαι μακριά σου, παντού πλανήθηκα κι ζω
μα το χώμα σου, Ελλάδα, πάντα εγώ το νοσταλγώ
είσαι η πρώτη μου πατρίδα, και ποτέ δεν σε ξεχνώ
είσαι η πρώτη μου πατρίδα, και γι’ αυτό σε νοσταλγώ.
Είμαι απ’ το Ρεζή Βαρδάρη, τον παλιό συνοικισμό,

Εβραϊόπουλα λεβέντες είδαμε εκεί το φως
το φονάζω και καυχίμαι, είμαι Θεσσαλονικίος
και θα είμαι ως το τέλος γνήσιος και πιστός Ρωμιός.

I've been away from you for years, wandering and living far and wide
But always yearning for your soil, Greece
You are my first homeland, and I never forget you
You are my first homeland, and so I yearn for you.
I am from Rezi Vardari, the old quarter
We young Jewish lads first saw the light there
I shout it out, and boast: I am a Thessalonian
And to the end I'll remain a true and faithful Romios [Greek].





Figs 2a and 2b: A postcard (front and back) that was sent from Ottoman Thessaloniki to Bordeaux, France, possibly in the first decade of the twentieth century. The postcard reads: “Salonique, Femmes israélites de Salonique dansant”. [Kounadis Archive Virtual Museum]



Fig. 3: Stella Haskil, a singer born in 1918 in the Sephardic community of Thessaloniki. [Kounadis Archive Virtual Museum]

The second category concerns residents of important urban centres of the Ottoman Empire which did not join the modern Greek state, such as Smyrna and Constantinople. In these places the Sephardim are in relation with the equally well-established Greek Orthodox communities. Some of them also speak Greek.



Fig. 4: Roza Eskenazi, born into the Sephardic community of Constantinople. She ultimately settled in Athens and became a leading singer in the discography as well as on the musical stage. [Kounadis Archive Virtual Museum]

An example of these relationships from the commercial historical discography seems to be the piece recorded in Constantinople around 1907-8, by the Sephardi Haim Behar Menahem, entitled “La rosa enfloresse”,⁹ that is, “The rose blooms”. The tune was used by the Thessalonian composer Stavros Kouyioumtzis in the song “The first words (of Christ)”, which was recorded and included in the album *Mikres Politeies* (“Small Cities”).¹⁰ This is an interesting case in which a tune located in a specific, non-religious, lyrical context, even though identified with the repertoire of a specific ethno-cultural and religious social group, that of the Sephardim, is isolated from it and placed in a clearly religious lyrical context. In its new “Greek life” the song uses figures and events from the core of the Christian faith (Christ, the Jordan River, a crown on the head, etc.).



Fig. 5: “La rosa enfloresse” label, recorded in 1907–1908 in Constantinople, by the Sephardi Haim Behar Menahem. [Joel Bresler’s archive, sephardicmusic.org]



Fig. 6: The back cover of the LP *Mikres Politeies*. Side 2 contains the song “Ta prota logia”. [Thanasis Gioglou archive]

A third category concerns musical intertexts that come from Sephardic repertoires, which are found in more distant areas, but they nevertheless also communicated with the Greek. These are melodies or lyrics themes that are found in both repertoires. Many times, these interactions involve not just the two ethno-cultural groups, but a much larger cultural network. Some examples that reflect the relations between the Sephardim and Greek-speaking Orthodox are the following:

The song “Sto pazari” was recorded in 1940 in Athens.¹¹ This is a recording of a well-known Greek children’s song. As a theme, the song borrows the story that penetrates Thessaloniki’s discography, a product of the dynamic Sephardic tradition that developed in the city over centuries. The song was recorded twice by Jacob Algava before 1912,¹² that is, before the annexation of Thessaloniki to the Greek state. According to research conducted by Hugo Strötbaum, the song was recorded for the third time in the Sephardic repertoire by Abraham Karakaş Efendi for Premier Record (“Madame Gaspar”, 10979). The recording most likely took place before January 1912. Mrs Gaspard or Gaspard, however, to whom the Sephardic song refers, seems to be an older composition by Henri Bachmann. The song is a French chanson. In fact, the indication under the title, in a music score which seems to have been published around 1898, reads “old song”, implying that it is a song from the folk repertoire. In the musical score,¹³ Madame Gaspard is depicted holding musical instruments and accompanied by animals. On the cover, it is noted that the performer of the song is Blanche Gaspard. In addition, the complete title, as it appears in the music score, is “Madame Gaspard va-t-au marché” (Mrs Gaspard goes to the market). A Columbia cylinder (37002),¹⁴ recorded in Paris by the singer Ragani and the technician Henri Lioret,¹⁵ was found with this title. This recording may have been made before the turn of the century, that is, before 1900. The same title is mentioned by Michael Thomas in a list of recordings of the Edison Bell company (763, Monsieur Coquillon¹⁶). This title refers to another one from the French

repertoire, which may be prior to Bachmann's composition (or adaptation): "Les animaux du marché" (The animals of the market). The song appears to have been released under this title since 1876 (see Laforte, 1977). In any case, the Greek version borrows only in terms of the theme. The music of the song was composed by Zozef Korinthios.



Fig. 7: "Sto pazari" label, recorded in 1940 in Athens, a composition credited to Zozef Korinthios. [Kounadis Archive Virtual Museum]



Fig. 8: "Madam Gaspard" label, recorded in 1909 in Thessaloniki by the Sephardi Jacob Algava. [Joel Bresler's archive, sephardicmusic.org]

The next song-example was recorded in 1939, in Athens, by Antonis Dalgas. It is titled "Pou na vro gynaika na sou moiazei".¹⁷ The music is his, while the lyrics were written by Kostas Kofiniotis. About three years later, on the other side of the Atlantic, Jack Mayesh recorded the song "Onde que tope una que es plaziente".¹⁸ It was actually the song "Pou na vro gynaika na sou moiazei" with lyrics in Ladino, that is, in the Spanish-Jewish dialect of the Sephardic Jews. The song was recorded on 8 September 1942, in Los Angeles, and was released by the Electro-Vox label. The recording was made by the company founded by Mayesh himself, The Mayesh Phonograph Record Co.; however,

some of its recordings were also issued on the label of Electro-Vox, in whose studio the recordings were made. Jack Mayesh was born in 1899 in Kuşadası, in the Ottoman Empire. In 1920 he married Flora Salmoni, a resident of the island of Rhodes, born in 1903 in the city of Pordenone in north-eastern Italy. Mayesh recorded the song for a second time between June and July 1948, this time in New York, for the Me-Re Record Co.¹⁹



Fig. 9: “Pou na vro gynaika na sou moiazei” label. This record is an American re-issue of the Odeon recording GA 7223. [Kounadis Archive Virtual Museum]



Fig. 10: “Onde que tope una que es plaziente” label on Electro-Vox. [Joel Bresler’s archive, sephardicmusic.org]



Fig. 11: “Onde que tope una que es plaziante” label on Me-Re Record. [Joel Bresler’s archive, sephardicmusic.org]

Yiddish-language Eastern Ashkenazi and Greek-language Orthodox

The Eastern Ashkenazi Jews mainly speak Yiddish, a *sui generis* Semitised Slavicised Germanic language (in Jewish texts, the Kingdom of Ashkenaz, a descendant of Noah, is connected with north-eastern European territories). As regards their recorded repertoire, we find a discographical corpus where the same tunes were recorded in both the Greek-language and the Yiddish-language discography.

The first tune-example is a recording titled “Kassapiko”, which was made for Homokord in 1929, probably in Constantinople.²⁰ A tune based on the *chasapiko* (χασάπικο) rhythmical entity, whose melody can be found in several different aesthetic contexts. This is an instrumental version, with a harmonica (an ancestor of the accordion), a mandolin and a guitar. The tune from the song “Garsona”,²¹ composed by Panayiotis Toundas, can be heard in this version. Moreover, this tune can also be found in the Jewish (klezmer, a term used to refer to the instrumental pieces; or Yiddish, to refer to songs) repertoire. More specifically, in 1954, Folkways Records released a 33 rpm record with recordings by Nathan Nazarovff,²² better known as Prince Nazarovff, who was born in Europe (probably in present-day Ukraine) and in 1914 immigrated to America. There is a track on this record entitled “Freilchs (Medley of Freilachs)”. Freilach is a musical form-genre in the klezmer/Yiddish repertoire, that is, that of the Ashkenazi Jews in Eastern Europe, and can be translated as “happy”. In this particular potpourri, musical phrases which relate to musical phrases from Toundas’s song “Garsona” can be heard.

The case of Sholom Secunda and his relation with the tune is of particular interest.²³ In 1932, Abraham Bloom’s Jewish operetta “I would if I could” was presented in America, set to music by Secunda and lyrics by Jacob Jacobs. The song “Bei mir bist du schön” (Bay mir bistu sheyn; To me you are beautiful) was heard for the first time in this operetta; it was based on the basic melodic and harmonic lines of this tune. The operetta and the song were not a hit until 1938, when the lyrics were translated into English and recorded for Decca by the Andrews Sisters.²⁴ This version was a big hit and, since then, the song has been recorded in various covers and languages (French, German, Russian). In 2001 the Milken Archive of American Jewish Music recorded the song using the original operetta musical score.



Fig. 12: “Kassapiko” label, recorded in 1929 probably in Constantinople. [Kounadis Archive Virtual Museum]



Fig. 13: “Garsona” label, recorded in 1937 in Athens. This record is a Columbia re-issue in the USA. [Kounadis Archive Virtual Museum]



Fig. 14: “Bei mir bist du schön” label, recorded in 1937 in New York. [Internet Archive, uploaded by Jakej]

In 1913, in New York, the Russian-Jewish musician Abraham Elenkrig, who immigrated to America around 1906, possibly due to the pogroms against the Jewish population, recorded the following instrumental work: “Die Mame iz gegangen in Mark”.²⁵ The tune is also found in the book titled *International Hebrew Wedding Music*, edited by Wolff Kostakowsky and published in New York in 1916. It is transcription 63, which is titled “Bulgar, Die Mome iz Gigangen in Mark”. However, one can find in Alan Kelly’s Zonophone archives (www.kellydatabase.org), in Europe, the entry titled “Chora Roussiki”,²⁶ from about seven years earlier. The person with the name “Mitsos” (which is an alternative for the name Dimitrios or Dimitris), as printed on the label, recorded mainly for Zonophone, in Constantinople, in the early 1900s. So far, research has not brought to light biographical information about him. This hora seems to be one of the first recordings of Greek-language headliners with clear references to the klezmer/Yiddish repertoire, which reinforces our impression regarding the relations between the two ethnocultural groups. Moreover, the fact that in the Greek version the title chosen is “Russian hora” may refer to the geographical area where the Greeks came in contact with this tune.²⁷



Fig. 15: “Die Mame is gegangen in Mark” label, recorded in 1913 in New York. [Internet Archive, uploaded by Jakej]



Fig. 16: “Hora Roussika” label, recorded in 1906 in Constantinople. [Kounadis Archive Virtual Museum]

The next example is one of the most popular music tunes of the Greek-language repertoire. Today, this tune is considered inextricably linked to the Greek shadow theatre, that is, Karagiozis (καραγκιόζης). According to the findings so far, the tune appears six times in the historical discography:

“Chasapiko politiko” (Χασάπικο πολιτικό; Constantinopolitan chasapiko), Trio Vrouva, Columbia W 205485 – 56046-F, New York, December 1926.²⁸

“Galatiano chasapiko” (Γαλατιανό χασάπικο; Chasapiko from Galata [a neighbourhood of Constantinople]), Dionysios Poggis’ Orchestra, Columbia W 205522 – 56064-F, New York, January 1927.²⁹

“Chasapiko tatavliano” (Χασάπικο ταταυλιανό; Chasapiko from Tatavla [a neighbourhood of Constantinople]), HMV BF 1659 – AO 265, Athens, 1928.³⁰

“Karavlachiko” (Καραβλάχικο³¹), Giorgos Kasaras, Columbia W 205886-1 – 56122-F, New York, March 1928.³²

“Serviko politiko grigoro” (Σέρβικο πολιτικό γρήγορο; Serbian Constantinopolitan fast³³), Laiki orchestra, HMV OW 95 – AO 1012, Athens, 12 May 1931.³⁴

“Galatiano chasapiko” (Γαλατιανό χασάπικο; Chasapiko from Galata), Kostas Papagika’s Orchestra, RCA Victor BS 038450 – 26-8354, New York, 11 September 1939.³⁵

The main motif of the introductory phrase seems to appear in variations, both in the high-status and folk-popular Ottoman as well as in the Jewish folk-popular repertoire. Specifically, in the Ottoman repertoire, it is used in the composition of Sadi Işılav (1899–1969) under the title “Sultâniyegâh oyun havası” or “Sultâniyegâh sirtı” (beginning of B section³⁶). Işılav married Deniz Kızı Eftalya (Athanasia Georgiadou), a Christian Orthodox singer.

In March 2021, a new volume of the “Secret Museum of Mankind” series was published. Its theme is “Guitars Vol. 1: Prologue to Modern Styles”, from Pat Conte’s archive (Jalopy Records). The first track of the album is entitled “Oudi Jorghi – Vlach Longassi”.³⁷ This is Giorgos Batzanos (Yorgo Bacano), who is performing a work that includes parts from Sultânîyegâh. The word “Vlach” in the title refers to the region of Wallachia (however, we cannot be sure if the same title was also printed on the original label). Judging by the melodic and harmonic form, in combination with the rhythmic references to the hora, the tune is probably related to that region. In addition, the title given to Kasaras’s recording in America (“Karavlachiko”) further reinforces this theory. Gypsies coming from the region of Wallachia were considered “Karavlaški” (see also Achim, 2004: 123 and Kokkonis, unpublished).

The book *Jewish Instrumental Folk Music – The Collections and Writings of Moshe Beregovski* by Mark Slobin, Robert Rothstein and Michael Alpert (2001) includes two freylekhs (number 146, 147 pages 170-1), as well as one sher (number 188, page 193), that is, tunes associated with Ashkenazi dances. The tune 146 was transcribed by the violinist G. Gershfel’d, in the Tiraspol region (today Moldavia), in 1937. The tune 147 was transcribed by G. Barkagan, a klezmer clarinetist and the leader of an orchestra in the Nikolayev region of southern Ukraine, in 1936. The tune 188 was transcribed by Beregovski from G. Barkagan. The beginning of the two freylekhs varies the original motif of the Sultânîyegâh / Vlach / Chasapiko. The sher presents even more similarities, as it largely references the Chasapiko. The two freylekhs, which are variations of the same tune, also entered historical discography, originally as Jewish songs.³⁸ Between 1912-14, the tune was recorded in an amateur version on a cylinder under the title “A skarbover khsidisher nign”³⁹ by Reb Avrom, in the city Turiis’k, in the Volyn region of present-day Ukraine, on the border with Poland. The word “nign” in the title testifies to the religious function of the tune, from the Hasidic tradition of Eastern Europe. Later, the tune appeared in the Jewish theatre and became known under the title “Lebedik Yankel”.⁴⁰



Music Transcription 1: Copy of freylekh number 146, found in *Jewish Instrumental Folk Music – The Collections and Writings of Moshe Beregovski* (Slobin, Rothstein and Alpert, 2001: 170)



Music Transcription 2: Copy of freylekh number 147, found in *Jewish Instrumental Folk Music – The Collections and Writings of Moshe Beregovski* (Slobin, Rothstein and Alpert, 2001: 171)



Music Transcription 3: Copy of sher number 188, found in *Jewish Instrumental Folk Music – The Collections and Writings of Moshe Beregovski* (Slobin, Rothstein and Alpert, 2001: 193)

The main motif of the introductory phrase can also be found in the Armenian repertoire. Specifically, in the 1930s, Haygagan Nuakakhump recorded in the USA, probably in Boston, the instrumental piece “Kasab”.⁴¹ The motif under consideration was also heard in the cinema. More specifically, in the Soviet film “Искатели счастья” (Seekers of happiness⁴²), which was released in 1936. The composer Isaak Dunayevsky used this motif in a composition which he recorded also in 1937, in Moscow, under the title “Еврейский танец” (Jewish dance⁴³).



Fig. 17: “Chasapiko politiko” label, recorded in 1926 in New York. [Kounadis Archive Virtual Museum]



Fig. 18: “Chasapiko tativliano” label, recorded in 1928 in Athens. [Kounadis Archive Virtual Museum]



Fig. 19: “Serviko politiko grigoro” label, recorded in 1931 in Athens. [Kounadis Archive Virtual Museum]



Fig. 20: “Galatiano chasapiko” label, recorded in 1939 in New York. [Kounadis Archive Virtual Museum]



Fig. 21: “Ch Sidem”, label, recorded between 1902–5 in New York. [Recorded Sound Archives, Special Collections Department, Florida Atlantic University Libraries]

The next example concerns the song “S’ echo varethei”.⁴⁴ It is a fast-paced chasapiko (or serviko, as written on the record) sung by Stellakis Perpiniadis. The name of Stavros Pantelidis is printed on the label of the record as the composer. The main melody of the song originates from the Ashkenazi Jewish repertoire and is rooted in a long tradition. In Jewish circles, it is known that this melody is the creation of one of the most important personalities of the Jewish tradition, Levi Yitzchok of Berditchev (1740-1809), in the region of present-day Ukraine. This particular niggun, as such religious creations are called, went down in history as “A dudele”.⁴⁵ Its most “commercial” version occurred in 1921, when Leo Low (1878-1960) arranged it and submitted it in the form of a song.⁴⁶ On 30 August 1922 it was recorded by Mordechai Hershman.⁴⁷ In 1932 the song was also heard in the cinema, in the movie “Di Umgliklekhe Kale”.⁴⁸ Finally, in 1937 in Minsk, Ukraine, the State Ensemble of Jewish Folk Music of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic recorded the song “Капагодл” (Karagodl).⁴⁹ Once again, it was the same tune.



Fig. 22: “S’ echo varethei” label (Turkish re-issue), recorded in 1937 in Athens. [Kounadis Archive Virtual Museum]

In 1939, the song titled “Thelo spiti kai lefta”⁵⁰ was recorded by His Master’s Voice, with music by Kostas Kanoulas and lyrics by Giorgos Kamvisis. Kanoulas was born in Söke, in the province of Aydın, around 1894. Based on our few sources about him, he seems to have been a player of guitar, cimbalom, double bass and cello. He is probably the person playing the cello in this recording. It also seems that, after 1922, he traveled and lived in Alexandria, Egypt, and then settled in Athens. Once again, the introduction of the song, as a whole (harmony, melody, rhythmic structures), comes from the extremely important Jewish tradition of Eastern Europe, where areas such as Ukraine were essential cradles of Ashkenazi Jews. Abraham Isaac Kook (1865-1935), who was also the first Ashkenazi Chief Rabbi of Mandatory Palestine after the World War I, was born through the Lithuanian Yeshiva tradition. He is credited with the music of “Zol Shoyn Kumen Di Ge'uleh” (or Geule, May redemption come), which is still performed in the Jewish world today.⁵¹



Fig. 23: “Thelo spiti kai lefta” label (American re-issue), recorded in 1939 in Athens. [Kounadis Archive Virtual Museum]

The last example is one of the most popular tunes in the Greek-language repertoire, which can still be heard even today during live performances of urban folk-popular song. The tune was originally recorded by Zonophone between August and September 1906 under the title “Chasapiko serviko”⁵² by the Compagnie Mitsos (harmonica, mandolin, guitar). In 1918, this instrumental tune was turned into a song and recorded by the Greek Estudiantina under the title “Makedon”.⁵³ The lyrics refer to the military and political movement under the leadership of Eleftherios Venizelos in 1916. Venizelos formed the so-called “Provisional Government of National Defence”. The song is still popular today under the name “Tis Aynis ta paidia” due to its inclusion in the well-known film “Rembetiko” by Costas Ferris in 1983.⁵⁴ In the album of the same title, the song is referred to as “traditional”, adapted by the composer Stavros Xarchakos.

This tune, however, is also known in the klezmer/Yiddish repertoire of the Ashkenazi Jews. It seems to have been recorded at least since 1912 and is often combined with other klezmer/Yiddish tunes. The musicologist Joel Rubin has dealt in detail with the history of the tune, its various performances and its musical analysis (2001, 2006, 2020). The following are some examples from the Jewish discography:

“Der Arbaytsman”, Rumynskii Orkestra Bel’fa, Sirena Grand 12422, Warsaw, July 1912.⁵⁵

“Der Nicolaiver Bulgar”, Harry Kandel, Victor B 22105 – 72281, New Jersey, 25 June 1918.⁵⁶

“Nikolayever Bulgar”, Mishka Ziganoff, Columbia 85580-1, 85581-1 – E 4865, New York, October 1919.⁵⁷

“Moliver Bolgar”, Israel Hochman, Clausophon 796 – E 403, New York, November 1922.⁵⁸

“Heiser Bulgar”, Naftule Brandwein, Victor B 27889-2 – Vi 73895 and Gramophone (France) K 3306, New York, 10 May 1923, August 1923 (release).⁵⁹

“Chasene Niginim”, Joseph Cherniavsky, Victor BVE 33873-2 – 78423, New York, 16 November 1925.⁶⁰



Fig. 24: “Chasapiko serviko” label, recorded in Constantinople in 1906. [Kounadis Archive Virtual Museum]



Fig. 25: “Der Nicolaiver Bulgar” label, recorded in New Jersey in 1918. [Discography of American Historical Recordings]



Fig. 26: “Nikolayever Bulgar” label, recorded in 1919 in New York. [Recorded Sound Archives, Special Collections Department, Florida Atlantic University Libraries]



Fig. 27: “Chasene Niginim” label, recorded in 1925 in New York. [Recorded Sound Archives, Special Collections Department, Florida Atlantic University Libraries]

Epilogue

Obviously, this has been quite a small sample of the cases we discovered. Undoubtedly, by bringing into central focus the relations between Jewish and Greek repertoires a new route opens as regards the networks within which musicians and music were moving. This condition challenges the rather closed boundaries of the Eastern Mediterranean within which the great majority of the relevant Greek literature operates. Moreover, the relations between Jewish and Greek musics add a new axis in terms of the interpretations that research has given up to now, regarding a series of issues, such as modality, rhythmology, instrumentation, performance practices and more. At the same time, we should not forget that both Jewish and Greek implementations involve their great

diasporas: moving musicians, that is, who appropriate the Other (or, of course, they can also inspire it). Obviously, this is an ongoing research, and perhaps it will stay that way because, although new findings from historical discography have constantly been coming to light, discographical validation on the one hand, and the huge number of recordings on the other leave us with two rather unsolved problems.

Here we are dealing with the historiography that passes from three great empires (Austrian / Austro-Hungarian, Russian and Ottoman) to the world of nation-states, and this research project offers a great motive for the re-examination of these historiographies. Naturally, in the large urban centres of these regions, the interactions amongst the “co-tenants” were more than intense. Very often the scope of this network extends to the rest of Europe and to the African North, not to mention the United States of America. The movement of populations to the “New World” (sometimes forcibly and sometimes voluntarily) and the multinational settlement and colonisation was a constant condition that started from the 16th century and defined the history of the continent. In essence, the now post-Civil War presidential confederation of states, the United States of America, is a microcosm of the globe: a “successful Babel”. Naturally, a unique syncretism also dominates in the field of music. The genesis of discography builds a condition that favours conversation and osmosis between the innumerable ethno-cultural groups that make up the population. These processes will lead to the reinterpretation, updating and renewal of old musical trends that arrive in the United States, and, at the same time, to their re-exportation to the “Old Worlds”, thus setting up a uniquely multi-layered network. Richard Spottswood’s now monumental multi-volume work *Ethnic Music on Records* vividly reflects the extraordinary production of recordings in the USA. There, “national” repertoires live a new, parallel life. This situation is not static and, to a large extent, is moulded by the discography, which addresses and “tunes” the overlapping relationships that have already developed in the “Old World”. Repertoires communicate with each other once again; a familiar and already dynamic condition in Europe. The circulation of musicians is already a reality before the 20th century with theatrical and musical performances tours, but also with the networks of music publishing houses. Discography is not only embedded in this context, but also plays a key role in its transformation. This time, the network is adjusted in a programmatic manner, under different terms and via new paths.

Especially regarding relations between Jews and Greeks, the evidence demonstrates the musical exchanges between them and gives a picture of an ecumene in which everyone contributes to the great musical “melting-pot”, and where everyone may draw from it, as well as redeposit it, in a new form, with a reformulated text and its meaning, with sometimes clear and sometimes blurred references to its pre-text, until someone else pulls it out again, through the “melting-pot”, so that it becomes clear that there is no end in this recreational and dynamic process where fluidity prevails. Together, they created and managed a corpus of music tunes, which looks like a rich musical mosaic, consisting of heterogeneous but co-existent palimpsests.

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NOTES

¹ Parts of this article were published on the website of the Kounadis Archive Virtual Museum, as well as in the article entitled "Musical symbiosis: Greeks (and) Jews", published in the newspaper *Ta Nea* (11/6/2022). Also, two talks related to this topic were held, one for the series of talks entitled "The Promiscuous World of Jewish Music

Series”, held online in California, organised by Josh Horowitz (2021) and one at the conference of the Hellenic Musicological Society, also held online in 2021. Many thanks are extended to the following for generously providing historical material and advice. Without the input of these persons in the previous years, this study could not have been completed: Panagiotis and Leonardos Kounadis and the Virtual Museum of the Kounadis Archive, which is now the only Greek archive of historical discography (www.vmrebetiko.gr); Martin Schwartz who is responsible for the birth of the notion and the research regarding the relations between Yiddish and Greek music, many years ago. Up to recently, he has been giving lectures on this issue and also published texts which highlighted these relations, having historical discography as a vehicle. A great number of the discographic cases examined in this paper and their relations to the Greek recordings have been brought to light by him. Joel Rubin, who has also been working on this subject for several years and who has brought to light several cases, Josh Horowitz, Joel Bresler and his Sephardic music archive (www.sephardicmusic.org), Michael Aylward, Judith Cohen, Rivka Havassy, Leon Nar and his father’s archive (Alberto Nar recordings archive, Greek Literary and Historical Archive, ELIA, of Thessaloniki), David Seubert and the Discography of American Historical Recordings database, at the UC Santa Barbara Library (<https://adp.library.ucsb.edu>); Alethea Perez and the Recorded Sound Archives (RSA), Special Collections Department, Florida Atlantic University Libraries (<https://rsa.fau.edu>); Ilya Saitanov, Thanasis Gioglou, Dick Spottswood, Nikos Dionysopoulos and Tony Klein.

² “The Kounadis Archive was initially established in the early 1960s by Panagiotis Kounadis, a researcher and scholar of Greek music and songs, and since 2008 has been run as a civic non-profit organisation. It is the most comprehensive and organised Center for the Research & Study of Greek 78 rpm Discography. It aims to collect, classify, research, record, study, rescue and disseminate Greek songs and music, as well as any other relevant information. It is comprised of material that has mainly been recorded during the period between 1900 and 1960 in various ways and different fields, with a central focus on music” [Home page of the archive’s website: www.vmrebetiko.gr]. In the last few years, part of the archive was digitised, creating the Virtual Museum of the Kounadis Archive.

³ “Cosmopolitanism in Greek Historical Discography” at Kounadis Archive Virtual Museum: <https://vmrebetiko.gr/en/cosmopolitanism-en/>.

⁴ Regarding the presence of the Jewish element in the Greek peninsula see Bowman (2005) and Lambropoulou and Tsiknakis (2008).

⁵ The word comes from the term “Romiós” (Ρωμιός), which mainly refers to a Greek-language speaker (hence the word “Rûm” in Turkish), which in turn comes from the word “Rome”, evidently from the transfer of the capital of the Roman Empire to Constantinople, which is referred to as the “New Rome”.

⁶ For the Jews of Ioannina, or Romaniote Jews, see Dalven (1990) and Krivoruchko (2005).

⁷ See for example the collection of Romaniote songs by Iosif Matsas, published in 1953 (Matsas, 1953). See, also, the album issued by Folkways Records (Shiloh, 2009).

⁸ This recording was released on the accompanying CD of the publication concerning the non-professional recordings made by Alberto Nar in Thessaloniki and elsewhere: Nar, Leon, ed. 2020. *Remember... Holocaust Survivors Sing Sephardic Songs*. Thessaloniki: Ianos. Although this article does not deal with non-commercial historical recordings, it is worth mentioning that the recording archive of Alberto Nar, which his family donated in 2011 to the Greek Literary and Historical Archive of Thessaloniki (ELIA), includes cases of songs from the urban folk-popular repertoire, where the Greek lyrics were replaced by Sephardic ones. Alberto Nar’s 1985 publication entitled *The Synagogues of Thessaloniki: Our Songs – Studies on the History and Tradition of Thessaloniki* [Ta tragoudia mas – Meletimata gyro apo tin istoria kai paradosi tis Thessalonikis] (Nar, 1985) should also be mentioned.

- ⁹ “La rosa enflorése” (The rose blooms), Odeon CX 1627 – 54415 and 83048-A and Zonophone 104107, Haim Effendi, Constantinople, 1907-1908: <http://www.sephardicmusic.org/labels/Odeon/83048.htm> and <http://www.sephardicmusic.org/labels/Odeon/54415,54432.htm>.
- ¹⁰ “Μικρές Πολιτείες” (Mikres politeies, Small cities), Minos MSM 210, Athens, 1974. “Τα πρώτα λόγια” (Ta prota logia, The first words): <https://youtu.be/eVJvkiMYPFE>.
- ¹¹ “Στο παζάρι” (Sto pazari, At the market), Columbia CG 2020 – DG 6517 (American re-issue CO 27609 – 7206-F), Nikos Gounaris, Athens, 1940: <https://vmrebetiko.gr/en/item-en/?id=4650>.
- ¹² “Madame Gaspard”, Gramophone 12758 b – 6-12654, Jacob Algava, Thessaloniki, March 1909: <https://www.jewish-music.huji.ac.il/content/22952> and <https://www.sephardicmusic.org/labels/Gramophone/6-12650,6-12654.htm>; “Madam Gaspard si choi al Tcharschi”, Odeon xSC 8 – 46279, Jacob Algava, Thessaloniki, May-September 1909: <https://www.sephardicmusic.org/labels/Odeon/46279.46286.htm>.
- ¹³ For the music score see: https://blog.imagesmusicales.be/wp-content/uploads/2021/07/Gaspard_Chat-stamped.jpg and <https://www.letempsdeschansons.fr/partition/madame-gaspard-va-t-au-marche>.
- ¹⁴ For the cylinder see: http://www.phonobase.org/advanced_search.php?GETInterprete=Ragani&Ordre=Titre,Marque&langue=fr&ligne=0.
- ¹⁵ For Lioret’s exciting life see Julien Anton’s publication: *Henri Lioret – Clockmaker and Phonograph Pioneer*: <https://en.calameo.com/books/000452180b2fe038aea2c>.
- ¹⁶ See: <http://www.mgthomas.co.uk/Records/LabelPages/Bell.htm>.
- ¹⁷ “Που να βρω γυναίκα να σου μοιάζει” (Pou na vro gynaike na sou moiazei; Where to find a woman like you), Decca GO 3324C – 31222-A, Athens, 1939: <https://vmrebetiko.gr/en/item-en/?id=11073>.
- ¹⁸ “Onde que tope una que es plaziente” (Where can one find a pleasant woman), Electro-Vox E-1439 – 1439, Los Angeles, 8 September 1942: <https://www.sephardicmusic.org/labels/Mayesh/1439,1440.htm>.
- ¹⁹ “Onde que tope una que es plaziente”, Me-Re Record Balkan 6003-A, New York, June-July 1948: <https://www.sephardicmusic.org/labels/Me-Re/6003.htm>.
- ²⁰ “Kassapiko”, Homokord C 93 T – T. 4-28118, probably in Constantinople, 9 February 1929: <https://vmrebetiko.gr/en/item-en/?id=4469>.
- ²¹ “Γκαρσόνα” (Garsona; Waitress), Columbia CG 1542 – DG 6281 (American re-issue XCO 21542 – 56379-F), Athens, May 1937: <https://vmrebetiko.gr/en/item-en/?id=4167>.
- ²² “Jewish Freilach Songs”, Folkways Records FW 6809, New York, 1954: <https://svyazalamuzyka.wordpress.com/2012/12/24/nathan-nazaroff/>. “Freilchs (Medley of Freilachs)”: <https://youtu.be/P2u4-3t2YAY>.
- ²³ Secunda’s career interacted with Greek-speaking repertoire in several cases (see Ordoulidis, 2021: 257).
- ²⁴ “Bei mir bist du schön”, Decca 62811 – 1562 B, New York, 24 November 1937: <https://youtu.be/EGveTSQbH30>; https://adp.library.ucsb.edu/index.php/matrix/detail/2000290924/62811-Bei_mir_bist_du_schoen and https://archive.org/details/78_bei-mir-bist-du-schon-means-your-grand-andrews-sisters-secunda-jacobs-cahn-chapli_gbia0034246b.
- ²⁵ “Die Mame iz gegangen in Mark” (מאמע איז געגאנגען אין מארק), Mom went to the market), Columbia 38763 – E 1395, New York, 4 April 1913: https://archive.org/details/78_title-in-yiddish-die-mame-is-gegangen-in-mark_a-elinkriks-yidishe-orchestra_gbia0074979b and https://adp.library.ucsb.edu/index.php/matrix/detail/2000021561/38763-Mame_iz_gegangen_in_mark_.

²⁶ “Χώρα ρουσσική” (Hora Roussika, Russian hora), Zonophone r 1564 – X-108021, Constantinople, 1906: <https://vmrebetiko.gr/en/item-en/?id=11089>. The differences between the archival record in Kelly’s database and the imprinting of the information on the label released on the market reveals one of the most problematic issues of research into historical discography.

²⁷ One of the key-places, where Greek-speaking and Yiddish-speaking met and established strong communities, was Odessa (see, for example, Vassilikou, 2001 and Sifneos, 2007).

²⁸ See <https://vmrebetiko.gr/en/item-en/?id=4680>.

²⁹ See <https://rebetiko.sealabs.net/display.php?d=0&recid=7137>.

³⁰ See <https://vmrebetiko.gr/en/item-en/?id=10153>.

³¹ “Kara” stands for “black” in Turkish. Vlachiko derives from the word “Vlachia”, that is, the historical region of Wallachia, now Romania, its southern part, and a small part of Moldavia. This is a complex network and a region directly connected to the Greek-speaking world since the time of the appointment, by the Ottoman sultan, of Phanariotes as its governors (from Phanar region in Constantinople, now Fener). A careful listening to some of the Greek recordings makes the Romanian musical references clear (fast tempo reminiscent of a hora, phrasing in triplets reminiscent of a sirba, presence of cymbals, “classical” chordal processions of the Lăutari, that is, the gypsy folk-popular musicians of the region, etc.). In the urban folk-popular actualisations, as those appeared in Greek discography, the cases that demonstrate the relationships that developed between the entities of the doina, the hora and the sirba with their Greek counterparts, that is, the skaros, the chasapiko and the serviko, are noteworthy (see in detail the extremely interesting text by Giorgos Kokkonis, 2017).

These rhythmical entities are also part of the network in which the respective entities from the repertoires of other ethnic cohabitants participate, in their previous or evolved forms (hora, chasapiko, bulgar, sirto, longa, serviko, chasaposerviko, kasap, polka, etc.). Obviously, these regions have been in constant interaction with other regions and repertoires, too, such as the tamburitza tradition in the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (for tamburitza, see March 2013). In addition, encounters between the Greek-speaking Orthodox and the Eastern Ashkenazi Jews were also witnessed in the Romanian territories. The products of these inter-influences are also visible in historical discography. We should not forget the geographical position of Romania, since it is a key hub of the routes that start from the Baltic and reach the Mediterranean, but also from the centre of Europe to the Russian Empire.

³² See <https://rebetiko.sealabs.net/display.php?d=0&recid=6876>.

³³ The rhythm-dance “serviko” literally means “Serbian”. It can be also found as “chasaposerviko”.

³⁴ See <https://vmrebetiko.gr/en/item-en/?id=10211>.

³⁵ See <https://vmrebetiko.gr/en/item-en/?id=4383>.

³⁶ See <https://youtu.be/liCKAFD4LQE>.

³⁷ See: <https://jalopyrecords.bandcamp.com/track/vlach-longassi>.

³⁸ For example, “Ch Sidem”, Frank Seiden, Columbia 896, New York, between 1902 – 1905: <https://rsa.fau.edu/album/2927>.

³⁹ See <https://www.audio.ipri.kiev.ua/CD5.html>.

⁴⁰ First recording so far: “Lebedig Yankel” (Lebedik Yankl, לעבעדיג יאנקעל), Columbia 88934 – E7980, Abraham Rosenstein, New York, approximately December 1922: https://adp.library.ucsb.edu/index.php/matrix/detail/2000114449/88934-Lebedik_Yankl_. Brunswick E26833-67092, Aaron Lebedeff, New York, 3 June 1928: https://adp.library.ucsb.edu/index.php/matrix/detail/2000225985/E26833-E26834-Lebedig_Yankel_ and <https://youtu.be/1Dhkqp6yaQc>.

- ⁴¹ “Kasab”, The Orient – Armen Vahe Radio-Record Co AV 629-B:
<https://www.armenianmuseum.org/armen-vahe-radio-record-co>.
- ⁴² See https://youtu.be/Wy4ugq3fM_0?t=4526.
- ⁴³ Грампластрест и основные ГПК 035 – 5425, Orchestra of the Bolshoi Theatre of the USSR, Moscow, 1937: https://russian-records.com/details.php?image_id=8855&l=russian.
- ⁴⁴ “Σ’ έχω βαρεθεί” (S’ echo varethei; I got tired of you), Columbia CG 1647 – DG 6342, Athens, 1937: <https://vmrebetiko.gr/en/item-en/?id=9704>.
- ⁴⁵ See Reb Zalmen Levin’s rendition: <https://youtu.be/tjKbs9fGVac>.
- ⁴⁶ “A dudele”, published in New York, in 1921, by Jos. P. Katz:
<https://www.loc.gov/item/ihas.200196855/>.
- ⁴⁷ “A dudele”, Victor C 26849 – 68598, New Jersey, 30 August 1922:
https://adp.library.ucsb.edu/index.php/matrix/detail/800000774/C-26849-A_dudele.
- ⁴⁸ See <https://youtu.be/3NOwZNMjAiw>.
- ⁴⁹ “Καραгодλ” (Karagodl), Gramplasttrest 5181 – ypk 84, Moscow, circa 1937:
<https://search.library.wisc.edu/digital/ALQBQNQWOYININ8U/AMAUFZGYBIGFDA8X>
- ⁵⁰ “Θέλω σπίτι και λεφτά” (Thelo spiti kai lefta; I want a house and money), HMV OGA 886 – AO 2564, Athens, 1939: <https://vmrebetiko.gr/en/item-en/?id=11074>.
- ⁵¹ See for example Moshe Bear’s performance: <https://youtu.be/uY16-jSs8II>. A musical score, orchestrated and harmonised by Joshua Jacobson, was released in Poland by Transcontinental Music Publications around 1947.
- ⁵² “Χασάπικο σερβικό” (Chasapiko serviko), Zonophone 1562r – X 108020, Constantinople, August-September 1906: <https://vmrebetiko.gr/en/item-en/?id=11088>. According to the database that emerged from Alan Kelly’s research, the recording was also released under the Gramophone label (18287 and 18366).
- ⁵³ “Μακεδών” (Makedon; Macedonian), Orfeon S 2835 – 12633, 1918:
<https://rebetiko.sealabs.net/display.php?d=0&recid=18957>.
- ⁵⁴ “Rembetiko”: Film, 1983, production: Costas Ferris, Giorgos Zarvoulakos, Kostas Sakkaris, direction: Costas Ferris, screenplay: Costas Ferris, Sotiria Leonardou (<https://youtu.be/5Nm20EmLly8>). “Της αμύνης τα παιδιά” (Tis amynis ta paidia; The lads of the defence force): <https://youtu.be/TQ8RxyFi8M>.
- ⁵⁵ See <https://youtu.be/jtdwqj99Fs0>.
- ⁵⁶ See https://adp.library.ucsb.edu/index.php/matrix/detail/700007229/B-22105-Der_nicolaiver_Bulgar.
- ⁵⁷ See <https://rsa.fau.edu/album/1467>.
- ⁵⁸ See <https://search.library.wisc.edu/digital/A6I3YKTNCBA7V48R>.
- ⁵⁹ See <https://search.library.wisc.edu/digital/ADAODSFC2ZQOT38A> and https://adp.library.ucsb.edu/index.php/matrix/detail/800001872/B-27889-Heiser_bulgar.
- ⁶⁰ See <https://rsa.fau.edu/album/1389>.

APPENDIX: Online links for recordings of songs

“La rosa enflorése” (The rose blooms),
<http://www.sephardicmusic.org/labels/Odeon/83048.htm>;
<http://www.sephardicmusic.org/labels/Odeon/54415,54432.htm>

“Τα πρώτα λόγια” (Ta prota logia, The first words),
<https://youtu.be/eVJvkiMYPFE>

“Στο παζάρι” (Sto pazari, At the market), <https://vmrebetiko.gr/en/item-en/?id=4650> and <https://youtu.be/umlc74zPJoo>

“Madame Gaspare”, <https://www.jewish-music.huji.ac.il/content/22952>;
<https://www.sephardicmusic.org/labels/Gramophone/6-12650,6-12654.htm>

“Madam Gaspard si choi al Tcharschi”,
<https://www.sephardicmusic.org/labels/Odeon/46279.46286.htm>

“Που να βρω γυναίκα να σου μοιάζει” (Pou na vro gynaika na sou moiazei; Where to find a woman like you),
<https://vmrebetiko.gr/en/item-en/?id=11073>;
<https://youtu.be/5oGW7D3sDus>

“Onde que tope una que es plaziante” (Where can one find a pleasant woman),
<https://www.sephardicmusic.org/labels/Mayesh/1439,1440.htm>;
<https://youtu.be/JuVtRG9yxQk>

“Onde que tope una que es plaziante”, <https://www.sephardicmusic.org/labels/Me-Re/6003.htm>

“Kassapiko”, <https://vmrebetiko.gr/en/item-en/?id=4469>

“Γκαρσόνα” (Garsona; Waitress), <https://vmrebetiko.gr/en/item-en/?id=4167>;
<https://youtu.be/HrW7qkg4a8w>

“Freilchs (Medley of Freilachs)”, <https://youtu.be/P2u4-3t2YAY>

“Bei mir bist du schön”,
https://adp.library.ucsb.edu/index.php/matrix/detail/2000290924/62811-Bei_mir_bist_du_schoen; https://archive.org/details/78_bei-mir-bist-du-schon-means-your-grand-andrews-sisters-secunda-jacobs-cahn-chapli_gbia0034246b;
<https://youtu.be/EGveTSQbH30>

“Die Mame iz gegangen in Mark” (מאָמ קאָמט צו דעם מאַרק, Mom went to the market),
https://archive.org/details/78_title-in-yiddish-die-mame-is-gegangen-in-mark_a-elinkrigs-yidishe-orchestra_gbia0074979b;
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