

The So-Called Common Balkan Culture in Popular Music: The Case of “Alipasalitika”¹

Alipasalitika” were thematic songs especially based on Ali Pasha Tepelenlis, an Ottoman Albanian ruler who served as Pasha of the Pashalik of Ioánnina, a large part of the Ottoman Empire’s European territories. It was during the late 18th and the beginning of the 19th centuries, till the Greek Revolution in 1821, when Ali Pasha played an important role in various regions in Greece and in Albania. His personality became a very popular subject in the Balkans and America and inspired various cultural art forms, such as music, poetry, painting, etc. and the times of this legendary figure led to the creation of a large body of songs and melodies. The article examines through the lenses of musicology and folklore the Alipasalitika songs in the 78rpm discography, which were recorded in various languages and locations by different record companies during the first half of the 20th century.

Introduction

It has been argued for many years that the peoples of the Balkan Peninsula form a unity in various respects². As the academician A. Keramopoulos once remarked: one has only to listen to the folk music of the Balkan countries on the radio to realize how much how the music of the respective peoples share common features. The same applies to poetry, architecture and languages in the Balkans. This “unity” of the Balkan peoples can be easily attributed to their long-term co-existence with the civilian administration of pre-Romanian Hellenism first and the Turkish sultans after that. During the Ottoman domination of Greece in the late 18th century, a certain Ali Pasha Tepelenlis (or *Alí Pasás*, as he was called in Greek), took advantage of the absence of Ali Zot-at that time the Pasha of Ioannina – and staged a coup, taking control of Ioannina and also giving him jurisdiction over mainland Greece. In the end, this was approved by the Ottoman government, the *High Porte*.

The person of Ali Pasha and his life formed an inspiration for various cultural art forms, such as music, painting, poetry, theater plays (including even *karagiozis* shadow-plays). But music is the main focus of this research. The life and times of this legendary figure led to the creation of a large body of songs and melodies. During the first half of the 20th century many of these songs were recorded on the then relatively new medium of 78rpm records, thus securing a kind of fossilized legacy for posterity. In addition, this article marks the 200th anniversary of the Greek Revolution of 1821, when Ali Pasha played an important role for more than 40 years in the region of Ioannina and also in other regions of Greece and in Albania, from 1788 when he took control of Ioannina till the beginning of the Greek Revolution.



Figure 1: Portrait of Ali Pasha. Source: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Gennadius Library. Friedel Adam de, *Greek Portraits*, 4th part, London 1826.

The discography that follows this article explores an aspect of Ali Pasha's lore (“Alipasalitika”), which was only fleetingly and superficially touched on by the late Rudolf Maria Brandl in his book *Ali Pasha und die Musik des Epiros*². The book contains very little, at times even incorrect, information on 78rpm recordings: so, this discography aims at filling that gap. It shows all the important elements of the recordings, which have been discovered till now, with the tireless contribution from the specialist Hugo Strötbaum.

Brief historical and geopolitical survey of the Ottoman Empire

Ali Pasha (1740 – January 24, 1822), alternately referred to as *of Tepelena* or *of Ioannina*, or *the Lion of Yannina*, was an Ottoman-Albanian ruler who reigned as Pasha over a large part of western Rumelia, the Ottoman Empire's European territories, which was referred to as the *Pashalik* (Tu. paşalık) of Ioannina⁴. His court was in Ioannina and the territory he governed incorporated most of Epirus and the western parts of Thessaly and Greek Macedonia.

He first appeared on the historical scene as a leader of gangs involved in clashes with Ottoman officials in Albania and Epirus. Thanks to his military prowess, his bravery, and his intrigues, he managed to join the Ottoman military and administrative apparatus, holding various posts until he was finally appointed Pasha in 1788, that is, commander of the *sancak* (sub-division of a province) of Ioannina. To achieve his goals, Ali Pasha embraced all the religious and ethnic groups in his territory. The apparent secularism in his court did not prevent him from punishing Christians and Muslims who had sexual relations with each other. On the other hand, it should also be mentioned that during the first years of his rule, he built roads, ports, bridges, aqueducts and founded schools. He also consolidated security in his territory through the elimination of robbery. Another remarkable detail is that Ali Pasha had great respect for scholars and scientists.

His diplomatic and administrative abilities, his interest in modern perceptions, his popularity, his religious neutrality, his fight against banditry, his cruelty and vindictiveness in law enforcement and his looting behavior, in order to increase his earnings, caused admiration and at the same time criticism, dividing the historiography on his personality.

The picture below shows a Portrait of Ali Pasha. Its source is the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Gennadius Library. Friedel Adam de, Greek Portraits, 4th part, London 1826.

The “alipasalitika”: a survey of a musical genre based on actual copies of 78rpm gramophone re- cords, covering the period 1904-1957⁵

Performers, record companies, recording locations and dates of recordings which had Ali Pasha as their main theme, or, in fact, carried his name

If we look at the total body of Greek 78rpm recordings made during the first half of the 20th century, we notice that a number of those recordings are folk songs which refer to the days of Ali Pasha, and especially to Ali Pasha as a legendary historical person.

During my research, I was able to compile a survey of recordings by various performers in a wide range of locations, starting from 1904 and continuing up to 1957.

The new technology of recording and reproducing “live” sounds on cylinder or flat disc had been gradually developed at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century. It meant an enormous change and a revolutionary improvement over all previous music-producing mechanical devices such as the street-organ and the music box (*laterna*). With the arrival of this new technology it became possible to record with great vividness a live performance and play the recording back afterwards. Thus, time and geographical boundaries were for the first time transcended. Thanks to this new technology something that was recorded in 1905 in Constantinople, could be heard years later in America.

The earliest recordings were acoustical: they were made in a mechanical way with



Figure 2: Label of the Setrak Mechian, */563/*, 27cm/10¾", Giannis Moutsos aka Samiotis, “Aly Pacha”, recorded in Cairo (Egypt) ca 1920 (#114). Source: Hugo Strötbaum Archive.

a horn. By 1925 the horn (or horns) was being replaced by a new revolutionary device: the microphone. This led to a tremendous improvement of sound quality. It should be remembered that most of the recordings listed in the discography were made by record companies for commercial purposes. Only a very small number were made for academic purposes (#23-24, #69 and #72-75). However, musically speaking, we can't say that there were major differences between commercial and academic recordings. This last kind of recordings were unrehearsed “live” performances, which, limited to a few minutes of a 78rpm record, were a realistic representation of spontaneous musical conditions, although not completely reliable, because of the inevitable time-limit.

The record companies soon realized the business potential of making recordings all over the globe. They began sending their recording engineers with their heavy equipment to various foreign countries. At this time, local professional studios did not exist, so they used hotel rooms, theaters and clubs. The wax masters were then transported back to the factories (Germany in most cases) to be processed and the finished product was shipped back to the countries involved.

Many European companies often had American counterparts; The Gramophone Company / Zonophone with Victor, British Columbia and Favorite with American Columbia. Other companies and individual which showed an interest in Ali Pasha's songs were His Master's Voice, folksong collector Melpo Merlier, Lyrophon, Odeon, Orfeon, Panhellenion, Parlophone, Pathé, Polydor, Balkan and the Egyptian Setrak Mechian.

The Orient as recording location for Greek repertoire

The first known recording of an “Alipasalitika” song was made in 1904 in Constantinople. At the time, Constantinople was a cosmopolitan center, where many ethnicities were living together: Turks, Greeks, Armenians, Jews and Albanians, just to name a few. A kind of ethnic melting-pot. And, since Constantinople could easily be reached by train, it served as an ideal location for European record companies to make Turkish, Greek, Armenian and Sephardic recordings. In the early years the emphasis was mainly on making Turkish recordings, while there was distinctively less interest in making Greek recordings. Of course, the various ethnic populations in the whole of the Ottoman Empire (Asia Minor, the Balkans, Syria and Egypt) constituted a large business potential for the foreign record companies.

The first to enter the Oriental market was The Gramophone Company. In 1900, they sent a recording engineer to Constantinople to make Turkish and some Greek recordings.

In the years that followed The Gramophone Company recorded artists like Petros Zounarakis and the baritone Ioannis Agiasmatzis (#31)⁶. Max Hampe was the recording engineer⁷. Agiasmatzis made the first recording in 1904 in Constantinople (#30)⁸, Agiasmatzis and Zounarakis continued with Gramophone (#31) and Favorite in 1905 (#25)⁹ and Lyrophon in 1906 (#70)¹⁰ and 1911-12 (#71). In 1906 a German music critic, reviewing a few Oriental records in a German trade journal, wrote that the performance by Agiasmatzis was a cross between a müezzín's call for prayer from a minaret and an aria from an opera at a concert¹¹. Agiasmatzis was accompanied by an ‘*armonica*’, a sort of primitive button accordion, which was very popular in those days and shows up on many early recordings¹².

Zounarakis recorded with Gramophone in 1912 (#43). Yangoulis recorded in 1906 with Odeon (#76)¹³ and Yangos Psamathianos in 1913-14 with Favorite (#29)¹⁴. In 1908-09 a Smyrna Estudiantina recorded with Odeon (#79)¹⁵. Gramophone made two recordings in Shkodra, Albania, in 1908, both instrumentals (#32, #33) and one in Egypt (Alexandria or Cairo) in 1914 with a singer called Kolitsakovic (#44). Around 1910 the Pathé Company recorded a Turkish instrumental ensemble (#100).

Between 1911-13, Blumenthal Frères, the first independent local record company and factory in Turkey, recorded Zounarakis (#91)¹⁶, Tsanakas (#92)¹⁷ and Pantelis Voliotis (#93)¹⁸ on their Orfeon label; Voliotis recorded one other title, but we have no further information about him. In the same period the Hungarian Premier Record¹⁹ recorded Agopos Efendi in Istanbul (#113). A pre-WWI Turkish recording of a certain Hüsnü Bey on the Odeon label has not yet been found (#78).

Between 1925 and 1927, Edison Bell recorded the Jewish performer, Stella, in Zagreb or, less likely, Constantinople (#22). In 1928 Odeon Turkey released an instrumental recording of a Turkish ensemble, Türk Musiki Heyeti, with Ramazan Efendi on clarinet (#80). In 1929 Columbia UK recorded an Albanian dance song with the clarinetist Selimi and singer/violinist Hafisja (#13)²⁰.

A few recordings were made in Smyrna, but they were particularly important after being reissued by three different companies in Europe and America. Thus, in 1910, Gramophone recorded singers Tsanakas (#40) and Menemenlis (#41, #42)²¹, in September 1911 Favorite recorded Stamatis Boyas with violin and guitar (#21, #26) and 1912 singer Tsanakas (#28)²². Around 1912-13, a unique Pathé disc in Greek was recorded in Russia or Bulgaria with unknown singers (#101).

A recording comes to us from 1920 made in Cairo by the Egyptian company Setrak Mechian. Ioannis Moutsos (aka 'Samiotis') is the singer (#114). Finally, two other recordings on His Master's Voice (HMV) label which are not Greek need to be mentioned. One is by the Serbian *tsigane* (Romany) soprano Sofka Nikolič, accompanied by violins, bass and piano and recorded in 1927 in Belgrade (#62)²³. The other one in Albanian with Mati Kola & Shoqnija Vjerdha (violin, guitar and mandolin). It was recorded in June 1930 in Shkodra (Scutari), the capital of Albania (#66)²⁴.

Some years later, in England's *Gramophone*, we read the following inspiring description regarding the recording of "Ali Pasina Pesma" sung by Sofka with *tsigane* accompaniment: *Not long ago an American walked into the Yugoslav Consulate at Geneva, and with a curt "Do you know this?" proceeded to whistle a selection of Serbian folk-songs. When the Consul had recovered from his astonishment and asked the reason for this musical display, the American revealed that this was his way of asking for a visa to go to Belgrade for the purpose of making a talkie of the tzigane singer Sofka. If you want to know why the Americans thought it worth while to have a talkie of Sofka get AM1073, and listen to her singing Ali Pasina Pesma, the song of Ali Pasha of Yanina, the Albanian who ruled over Epirus and Macedonia at the end of the 18th century and drowned his wife and her twelve handmaidens in the Lake of Yanina. Sofka is magnificent. She had not risen to fame in 1924-6 when I was at Belgrade, but I picture her rather like the brown, little figure of Kaya, who in my time used to draw everyone to the Bumskeller²⁵. She has the same deep voice and the same wild despair in her manner of singing. She vividly expresses the pent-up feelings of the Serbs through five centuries of foreign domination. As a friend of mine put it: "She sounds as though she were about*

to commit murder or suicide!”²⁶ What else could one add to this description? Almost a century has passed since the date Sofka recorded that song and the feelings that are aroused when listening to it are quite the same.

Europe as recording location for Greek repertoire

For a long time, Constantinople (Istanbul) remained the preferred location for recording Turkish and Greek repertoire. European record companies sent their recording engineers relatively late to the other important commercial centers of what was then the Ottoman Empire and Greece.

The Gramophone Company and Odeon made recordings in Athens for the first time in 1907. Other important commercial centers like Salonica and Smyrna were not visited until 1909. In May 1912, an Ali Pasha song was recorded in Thessaloniki by Naki Effendi for Favorite (#27)²⁷. In 1924 another unique recording was made in Paris with the French Pathé and Mr Varopoulos as performer (#102)²⁸.

Then followed Odeon in 1924-25 with Constantine Nouros, accompanied by violin, laouto and guitar (#82)²⁹. Nouros recorded again in 1930 with Columbia. At that time, he was accompanied by a popular orchestra under the direction of Tountas (#4)³⁰. In 1926 and 1930 F. Tambouras (#55)³¹ and Antonis Dalgas (#65)³² were respectively recorded by HMV. In 1927, HMV recorded a similar song with Solo Soprano, but it was never issued (#60). In the meantime, Kostas Karipis in 1927 recorded with Polydor (#107)³³, in 1928 Seraphim Gerothodoros with Columbia (#12)³⁴, in 1930 Dalgas with Pathé (#103)³⁵ and in 1931-32 Elias Panopoulos with Polydor (#110).

Melpo Merlier is well-known for a number of non-commercial recordings which were made in 1930 in the Hall of the Alhambra Theatre³⁶ in the centre of Athens, together with Sorbonne Professor Hubert Pernot. Among the many Greek recordings the team captured was a performance by Christos Bouras³⁷, with the title «Xipna Kaimen’ Ali Pasha» (#72)³⁸. Bouras came from the county of Fthiótida and sung unaccompanied.

In the 1930s another type of “alipasalitika” song was recorded under the title «Na’tan oi kampoi thalassa» (“*If only the plains became sea*”). These are laments and hymns dedicated to the memory of Ali Pasha. Arapakis in HMV (#67) and in 1934 in Pathé (#105)³⁹ and Dalgas in Columbia in 1931-32 (#5) were the interpreters. Kostas Benatsis⁴⁰, recorded a song for Melpo Merlier under the title “Chanson d’ Ali Pasha”, with the lyrics rendered as «Na’tan oi kampoi thalassa», accompanied by folk ensemble consisting of clarinet, violin and *laouto* (#74)⁴¹. The lyrics of all these songs refer to the Sultan’s messenger, a *tataris*, who delivered the Sultan’s written order (*firman*) for the execution of Ali Pasha. A ‘*tataris*’ was a paid equestrian postman who delivered the commands of the *High Porte* (also called *Sublime Porte*) to dignitaries in other parts of the Ottoman Empire.

The United States of America as recording location for Greek repertoire

In America, most recordings were made at first in New York because Columbia and Victor were located there. Later Chicago became a recording center because of its large population of Turkish, Greek and other immigrants. Here many foreigners found work and a home. Of course, their presence created a great demand for the music of their mother countries. Apart from a few sparse Greek recordings by a certain Michael

Arachtinghi in 1896, Greek and Turkish repertoire did not become a hot item until 1910. Greek artists were recorded locally at first by the Columbia and Victor companies, but soon they began issuing recordings that were leased from their European counterparts.

In 1917 Mme Coula appeared, accompanied by Makedonas on violin, Patrinos on laouto and Melas on santouri (#16)⁴² and in 1923 Marika Papagika (#17) recorded for Columbia USA. Papagika was accompanied by violin, cello and cymbalom. Amalia Vaka recorded in 1927 with Victor⁴³, accompanied by the great Alexis Zoumbas on violin (#121)⁴⁴. On the same day, she recorded the same melody with different lyrics under the title «Thalassa-gianniotiko» (“Sea-Gianniotiko”) (#122)⁴⁵.

In 1920, Mme Coula records in New York for the Panhellenion label (#95, #96)⁴⁶ and in 1927, Epaminondas Asimakopoulos recorded a *Gianniotiko Mane* with the Greek Record Company of Chicago (#46).

Songs which are indirectly related to the Ali Pasha theme

Although the Ali Pasha songs dominate most of the 78rpm recordings in my discography, two prominent historical personalities, associated with the Ali Pasha theme, should be mentioned: the ladies **Frosini** and **Vasiliki**. Their names were immortalized in a number of songs, which were subsequently recorded.

Kyra-Frosini (Mrs. Frosini)

Euphrosyne Vasileiou (Frosini) was known for her beauty, intelligence and her manners. She came from a noble family and was a niece of the *Mitropolitis* (Bishop) of Ioannina. She was the wife of a major merchant, Demetrius Vasileiou, who owned two trading houses in Vienna and Venice and was constantly traveling. There were many rumors that when her husband was away, Frosini engaged in infidelity. At one point, she fell in love with Ali Pasha's eldest son, Muhtar. It was a big and stormy love, which they did not hide. Ali Pasha knew about this relationship, but ignored it, until Muhtar's wife demanded the punishment of Frosini, but he tried to avoid it. Ali Pasha met this beautiful woman from Ioannina and offered her wealth and gifts on the condition that she would divorce his son, Muhtar. It is said that the powerful Pasha was dazzled by her beauty and asked for her love. She refused and the enraged Ali demanded her punishment. Frosini and seventeen other women were taken to the lake to be executed for adultery. This decision was taken on 11 January 1801. The story of the fate of Frosini and the other women was immortalized in the song “Kyra-Frosini”.

Of the song “Kyra-Frosini” the following recordings are known to exist: firstly, it was recorded in 1917 in a prison-camp in Görlitz, Germany, by a certain Panagiotis Ressopoulos (#24)⁴⁷; the lyrics of this version exist handwritten by the singer, documented in a notebook of the days of the recording⁴⁸. In 1926 and 1927 Petros Doukakis accompanied by Salonikios on violin with HMV (#54, #58)⁴⁹. A year later, in June 1928, Doukakis' recording was advertised in an English magazine under the heading of “Kleptika” songs, as a record which should be in every collection⁵⁰. Then comes 1933, when Ioannis Panagiotopoulos (Kouros) recorded in Athens with Columbia (#6)⁵¹ and Gerotherodoros with the famous Karakostas on clarinet with Parlophone (#98)⁵². This song is exactly the same historical folk song as the one in Nikolaos Politis' book⁵³ referring to the forcible drowning of Frosini and the other women in the lake.

Kyra (“Mrs/Lady”) Frosini also inspired the poet Aristotle Valaoritis to write a long poem and in turn the Greek composer Pavlos Carrer (1829-1896), who composed the homonymous opera with a libretto by Elizabethious Martinigues. This opera was first performed in 1868 on the Greek island of Zakynthos. Parts of this opera were recorded by Gramophone Company in Athens and Istanbul in the spring of 1909 by singer Yiannis Kokkinis (1870-1925) and his wife Stella Konstantinou-Kokkini (1874-1954) (#34, #35, #36, #39) and Hercules Paschalides (1877/8-1938?) (#37). Paschalides was a close friend of Mr and Mrs Kokkinis.

Valaoritis also inspired Tetos Dimitriades to compose a song entitled “Frosini Sent Me”. This song was recorded in April 1928 in New York by Victor (#123). It was performed by the Masked Choir, consisting of vocalists Christos Demetracopoulos (bass), Tetos Demetriades (tenor and director), G. Emmanuel and Nontas Kontogeorge⁵⁴, accompanied by a guitar, two mandolins and an accordion⁵⁵.

Lady Vasiliki

Vasiliki Kontaksi was born in Plisivitsa of Filiates (today’s Frame) in 1789 and was the daughter of Kitsos Kontaksis, a district leader and sister of the chieftain George Kitsos and Simos Kontaksis. A counterfeit money fraud involving her father and residents of Plisivitsa, brought her into contact with Ali Pasha, just at the age of 12. Little Vasiliki begged the aged ruler of Epirus for mercy for her arrested father. Ali, dazzled by her beauty, not only granted life to her father, but ordered his men not to disturb the village again. For this, Vasiliki had to pay the price: she was to become the precious gem of Ali Pasha’s harem. He married her in 1808, when she was 26 and he 76, despite objections from Ali’s first wife, Emine.

Vasiliki used her power to the benefit of Christians, many of whom she was able to free at the last moment from the hands of their enemies, the Muslims. Such was her influence over Ali that she not only refused to convert to Islam, but even arranged for a room of the harem to be turned into a chapel with a regular priest. Her adventurous life has been surrounded by many legends and her name has been preserved in traditions and folk songs. She was Ali Pasha’s last companion and the only woman to rest at his feet. But also, the one who managed to make demands on Ali and get him to comply with her wishes and the one who was ultimately responsible for his betrayal and death.

This explains the title of the song «Vasiliki prostazei» (“*Vassiliki commands*”) and her resting at the feet of Ali Pasha has become part of some of the lyrics of those familiar songs. In 1907, we have a composition by Ioannis Sakellarides for piano recorded in Athens with Odeon (#77)⁵⁶. About 20 years later, in 1926 and 1929, Petros Doukakis performed for HMV in Athens accompanied by an orchestra (#53, #64)⁵⁷. Doukakis recorded also in 1927 but that recording was never issued (#59). There exists another recording with the Vasiliki-theme by the vocal trio John Miliaris, George Savaris and Frangos Loucien recorded in Athens for Columbia in 1927 (#3, #10). In 1928, Dalgas recorded for French Pathé (#104)⁵⁸, in 1930 Benatsis⁵⁹ in Melpo Merlier’s sessions with violin (#75) and in 1931 Parlophone recorded George Papisideris with violin and laouto (#97)⁶⁰. The last known recording of the song «Vasiliki prostazei» (“*Vassiliki commands*”) on a 78rpm gramophone record was made in 1957 in Athens by Odeon: The vocals were done by Stella Kallivitou, accompanied by a folk ensemble, with Anatselos on clarinet (#88)⁶¹.



Figure 3: Label of the His Master's Voice, BJ 285-1/18-12413/AO 151, 25cm/10", Petros Doukakakis, "Vassiliki Prostazei", recorded in Athens, March 8, 1926 (#53). Source: Maria Kapkidi Archive.

The city of Livadiá

The last subject of our research is the song Livadiá and its namesake city. With mixed lyrics from the song Ali Pasha and a melody similar to the rest of the songs, there exist quite a few 78rpm recordings of this song. This shows that there existed historical and musical ties between three of the most important regions of ancient Greece; Peloponnese, Roumeli and Epirus. Livadiá had fallen to the Ottoman Empire as early as 1458, two years after the surrender of Athens to Mohammed II the Conqueror.

Livadia had suffered from the war in Boeotia during the Turco-Venetian war of 1684-1699 and specifically in 1694 and 1695. Improved conditions at the beginning

of the 18th century stimulated the development of new economic activities. After the dedication of donations to the Yeni Cami, the inhabitants were granted privileges, resulting in the strengthening of the community institution and the creation of a class of elite. About ten families constituted the aristocracy of the city and the surrounding land, whose mutual unity could not be broken by Ali Pasha, despite the pressure he exerted on the subdistrict (Tu. kaza) of Livadia. Although Ali Pasha was bent on occupying Livadiá, he did not succeed in breaking its resistance.⁶²

Thus the city, which at the end of the 18th century was characterized as “the largest in Boeotia”, as it was located on the Peloponnese-Macedonian trade route, obtained a remarkable treaty. It granted Livadiá permission to conduct trade in wool, wheat, and rice with other parts of Greece and areas further afield. Despite the fact that the flow of emigration was limited, a significant number of prominent men came from Livadiá who distinguished themselves in the Greek communities of Russia and Central Europe.

On the eve of the Greek Revolution, Giaur (Tu. gâvur) Livadiá, as the Turks called it on account of its large Greek population, had 10.000 Greek inhabitants. Livadiá was the focal point of actions of the “Society of Friends” (Filikí Etaireía)⁶³ for eastern Central Greece in 1820, but also played an important role till the Balkan wars of 1912-1913. On March 31, 1821, the Turks surrendered and on April 1, a solemn doxology was performed in the church of Agia Paraskevi.

The following recordings of this song are known to exist: the first recording was made in Smyrna in 1909, where the soprano Miss Maria, was accompanied by a Greek estudiantina⁶⁴, recorded for Gramophone; despite the fact that the title on the label is “*Gianniotiko-Ali Pashas*”, the lyrics are entirely similar to those of the song *Livadiá* (#38)⁶⁵. This record was reissued by three more companies (Polyphon (#112), HMV (#47, #48, #49), Victor (#117))⁶⁶.

In 1917 Andreas Koitsanos, a native of Livadiá, sergeant of the 37th Infantry Regiment, 4th Regiment, was recorded at the Görlitz prison-camp in Germany (#23)⁶⁷. Then there is a 1924 recording from Chicago by Amalia Vaka (a singer from Ioannina of Jewish descent) on the Greek Record Company label, accompanied by Nikos Rellias on clarinet and Spyros Stamos on cymbalon (#45). In 1925 Sotiris Stasinopoulos recorded with Odeon USA (#90). Amalia Vaka also recorded in 1943⁶⁸ in New York with cymbalom and violin orchestra for Balkan Company (#1)⁶⁹. There also exists an instrumental piece with the Standard Company from around 1947 under the title *Livadia-Tsamico*⁷⁰ (#115).

Various recordings of Livadiá were also made in Athens: Odeon recorded an Athenian estudiantina to accompany tenor K. Misailides in 1924-25 (#81)⁷¹, Dimitris Arapakis (#85)⁷² and George Lazaridis or Spanos (#86) in 1928, and Kostas Roukounas in 1934 (#87)⁷³. German Odeon chose Kostas Thomaidis accompanied by violin, santouri and guitar (#83)⁷⁴, and Gerotherodoros with violin, santouri and laouto (#84)⁷⁵. HMV recorded similar versions with Arapakis in 1926 (#52) and 1927 (#61) and 1934 with Stavros Remoundos or Marmaras accompanied by violin, laouto and cymbalon (#68)⁷⁶. In 1927 HMV recorded Dalgas (#56, #57), but these two recordings were never issued. Dalgas issued another recording in 1928 (#63). In a magazine in 1928, Arapakis’ recording was compared with the following: *If you want to hear what a Greek inn sounds like late on a Saturday night, get “Livadia” (A.O.193). It is an acquired taste, I admit, the author notes*⁷⁷. Kostas Karipis recorded in 1927-28 with UK Columbia (#8, #9, #11)⁷⁸ and Polydor (#108) and Rosa Eskenazi in 1929 with Columbia (#14)⁷⁹.



Figure 4: Label of the Greek Record Company, 458/*/506, 30cm/12", Amalia [Vaka], "Livadia", recorded in Chicago, 1924 (#45). Source: Maria Kapkidi Archive.

Polydor calls upon Evangelos Sofroniou (#106)⁸⁰ and Dalgas (#109), in 1927 and 1929 respectively. In 1930, Melpo Merlier recorded Irini Boyiatzi⁸¹ who performed an impressive *a capella* version of the song Livadiá (#73)⁸². In 1933 Rita Abatzi appeared for Greek Columbia accompanied by a folk orchestra (#7)⁸³ and Roza Eskenazi for Parlophone (#99). Eskenazi's recording was re-issued by Balkan in New York in 1954 (#2). Between 1928 and 1933 the Paris Phonetic Institute recorded an unknown singer, possibly a certain Sammane, a Muezzin of The Great Mosque of Damascus, in the song of Livadiá, without the accompaniment of instruments (#69)⁸⁴.

Reissues of recordings that were originally recorded in the Orient and Europe

It has already been mentioned that record companies in America were not just interested in recording local Greek artists. The major American record companies leased recordings made by their European counterparts. Thus, we see that a large number of recordings, originally made in the Orient and Europe, was reissued on American record labels. Recordings by Serapheím Gerotherodoros (#18), Yangos Psamathianos, Yangoulis (#89,

#94), Ioannis Tsanakas (#15)⁸⁵ and Lefteris Menemenlis (#50, #51, #118, #119)⁸⁶, Stamatis Boyas (#21), Petros Zounarakis (#120), Ioannis Agiasmatzis (#111, #116, #126)), Antonis Dalgas (#124), Panopoulos (#125), Roza Eskenazi (#20) and Miss Maria (#47, #48, #49, #112, #117)⁸⁷ were made. There also exists an Albanian recording (#19).

Musicology and Folklore of Recordings

In the aforementioned recordings concerning Ali Pasha, Kyra-Frosini, Vasiliki, and Livadiá, the general characteristics of the folk songs are noticeable. Either as compliments or as denunciations of Ali Pasha, the various folk songs began to emerge after his rise to power in 1789. However, it is not possible to determine which of these were lyrical only and which of these were intended for dance. We find them in Epirus and Albania, but also in other areas of its satrapies, such as Thessaly, Rumeli, Macedonia, and even in Turkey and Serbia. Among the many variations of Ali Pasha's song, one version was found and sung/performed among the Greeks of Plovdiv (Bulgaria)⁸⁸.

Their main creators are the musicians who frequented Ali Pasha's court, as well as anonymous people⁸⁹. In their music, they tried to mix the urban songs of Constantinople and Moldavia, the Thracian *manedes* and the Arab-Persian *makams*, while they colored and decorated the local songs, changing their style and ethos⁹⁰. The weaving of these songs is considered to be influenced by the poetry of fables and was not only performed by professionals; many people were able to develop a song as this particular type of composition followed an already pre-existing poetic and melodic technique. So, the Ali Pasha songs belong to the so-called impersonal poetry form. These are like-minded couplets that do not exist in the rest of mainland Greece and use the semitone.

Their time signature is also indeterminant and the popular expression is attributed to local idioms. Variations are also obvious. The literary creation of memories from national adventures reveals the character of the nation, the emotions and the intellect of the people, which is the reason why they are indisputably classified as monuments of discourse in the science of folklore⁹¹. At the same time, they depict the social structure of the time in which they were created. They are distinguished by features such as repetition of the homologues that led to the habituation and homing. Also common is the repetition of the same concept that led to the parallelism of the musical parts, the well-known *amanedes*⁹².

Below, an example of the lyrics of one of the Ali Pasha songs is shown. Each song uses a mixture of lyrics that all come from the oral tradition⁹³. Their meter is the iambic, it consists of 15 syllables and often show rhyme. The creators of the folk songs did not have the ambition of an individual projection, which is why they often remained unknown and anonymous⁹⁴. It is precisely the poetic creation of the one, the unknown and anonymous, that expresses at a certain moment and reflects the mental state and the feelings of a wider group or people in general and is embraced by many. Thus, the song, from the original creator, gradually passes from the oral tradition to the performed tradition and undergoes a continuous secondary processing.

Lyrics in Greek:

Ξόπνα καημένε Αλή-Πασά να δής τα Γιάννενά σου

τα πήρανε οι Έλληνες δεν είναι πια δικά σου.
 Σήκω καμμέν» Βασιλική και βάλε το φακίόλι
 γιατί σε θέλ» ο Αλή-Πασάς να πάτε για την πόλη.
 Να» ταν οι κάμποι θάλασσα και τα βουνά ποτάμια
 να πνίγονταν ο Τάταρης που φέρνει τα φερμάνια.
 Και το φερμάνι έγραφε, το βέβαιο χαμπέρι
 Να σηκωθείς Αλή Πασά να πας στο Τεπελένι.

Lyrics transliterated:

Xipna kaimene Ali Pasha na deis ta Yiannena sou
 ta pirane oi Ellines den einai pia dika sou.
 Sikw kaimen' Vasiliki kai vale to fakioli
 giati se thel' o Ali Pashas na pate gia tin poli.
 Na'tan oi kampoi thalassa kai ta vouna potamia
 na pnigontan o Tataris pou fernei ta firmania.
 Kai to firmani egrafe, to vevaio hamperi
 na sikotheis Ali Pasha na pas sto Tepeleni.

Lyrics translated:

Wake up poor Ali Pasha to see your Ioannina,
 the Greeks took it, it is no longer yours.
 Sit up poor Vasiliki and put on the fakioli⁹⁵
 Because Ali Pasha wants you to go to city.
 Let the plains be the sea and the mountains the rivers,
 to drown the Tataris who brings the firmans⁹⁶.
 And the firmán wrote, the sure message
 get up Ali Pasha and go to Tepeleni.

The *alipasalitika* are long Oriental songs with a mournful, plaintive character which were inevitably influenced by Turkish musical tradition. Musical genres like *gianniotika*⁹⁷, *moraitika*, *alipasalitika* and *kleftika*⁹⁸ songs were also developed⁹⁹ in a complex style. Not only is the tonal scale (Gr. *dhrómos* / Tu. *makam*) very specific, but the songs themselves are executed in a free measure in the main strain of the song and in the rhythm of 4/4 in the refrain. This structure was influenced by the Phanariotic musical tradition together with the one coming from the Ionian Islands. Often, they are written in the Ionic mode, the plagal 4th, sometimes in the chromatic plagal 4th. The melody of the songs is often divided in two parts, which contain a slow and then a fast rhythm.

Ali Pasha's court had a special relation to the music of Constantinople. It was transmitted to the mainland (Macedonia, Thessaly, Roumeli and the Peloponnese) by the professional gypsy ensembles which consisted mainly of clarinet, violin, *laouto* and *defi*. The musical style of Roumeli and Peloponnese encompasses remnants of the former Albanian tradition that extends around Delphi and Thebes, that is, the music tradition of the *klephts*¹⁰⁰ who inspired the familiar songs.

Most of the singers on recordings were accompanied by folk ensembles of violin, *laouto* and *santouri*. These were also instruments of the pre-revolutionary period in Greece along with the three-string mandolin, as the Irish traveler Edward Dodwell (1767-

1832), travelling through the region between 1801-1806, informs us. François Pouqueville witnessed Ali Pasha first hearing the clarinet¹⁰¹, which is also present in many of these recordings, in Ioannina¹⁰².

The musical instruments featured in the recordings are the following¹⁰³:

armónika: button accordion, harmonica¹⁰⁴

báso: (double)bass

défi: tambourine; frame drum¹⁰⁵

kithára: guitar

klaríno: clarinet; the Albert-system clarinet in C is the most common, and full use is made of cross and partly covered fingerings. The clarinet usually forms part of an instrumental ensemble consisting of lute or guitar and violin, which doubles the clarinet in unison or at the octave in heterophonic style. These ensembles accompany dancing as well as the Kleftic ballads¹⁰⁶.

laóúto: lute; The chief accompanying instrument of traditional Greek ensembles is the *laouto* ('lute'). The neck has 11 movable frets (an additional eight are glued to the soundboard) and the four double courses of metal strings are tuned in 5ths (*c-g-d'-a'*). Traditionally the *laouto* is played with a quill plectrum. Except on Crete where it is usually used to play a simplified version of the melody, in heterophony with the *lira*, its prime role is to provide a rhythmic or chordal accompaniment. In some areas it is rapidly being replaced by the guitar and the *laoutokithara* (a guitar with added tuning pegs and movable frets, tuned as a *laouto*)¹⁰⁷.

Mandolin(e): Type of small, pear-shaped, fretted string instruments plucked with a plectrum, quill or the fingers. It has four (the most common), five or six courses of double (occasionally single) gut strings, which are plucked either with the fingers or with a quill, and a wide neck with eight or nine frets tied around it and sometimes several more frets (usually of wood) glued onto the soundboard.¹⁰⁸

Oúti: oud; a fretless, short-necked lute with 10 strings in the form of five double courses. Sometimes a single bass string is added. Like the *laouto*, the *oud* is played with a plastic, previously quill, plectrum.

Santoúri (zither; portable kind of hammered cymbalon) & **tsímbalo** (cymbalon; large santouri on legs). Trapezoid dulcimer played with sticks. The *santouri* and *tsimbalo* are trapeziform dulcimers; like the *laouto* they provide chordal accompaniment in ensembles. The strings of both instruments are struck with cotton-covered mallets. The basic difference between the two lies in the distribution of their strings and in their tuning. The *santouri* is more closely allied to the instrumental and vocal music of the (eastern Aegean) islands, while the *tsimbalo* is more commonly found on the mainland.¹⁰⁹

Violí: violin

Violoncello: or cello

Piáno: piano

Epilogue

With the passing of time Ali Pasha of Ioannina became a very popular subject in Greek folklore in the Balkans and America since the beginning of the 19th century. In history, literature, art, theater and music, his presence has been felt and continues to be so. Apparently, the magic of this stormy character has not gone unnoticed at many different

cultural levels, and still plays an important role in the general context of both Ottoman and Greek history, and of the Balkans in particular; the same phenomenon occurs in the several musical productions of the early 20th century that were mentioned above. Ali Pasha's footprints extended even as far as America. The story of Kyra-Frosini and Ali Pasha was regularly selected as repertoire for music-drama troupes and was often highlighted and commented on by the Greek press in America¹¹⁰.

The era of Ali Pasha was also an important period for Epirote merchants. In those days, Greek education was very much promoted. The Epirus region had a variegated population: there were Greek-speaking Christian Orthodox people, Albanian-speaking Christian Orthodox, Arvanites, Albanian-speaking Muslims such as Ali Pasha, Turkish Albanians, Vlachs, Roma and also Jews. Most of the urban Muslim and Jewish inhabitants in Ioannina spoke Greek. Traditionally Greek was the language used in writing and the administration, so it is no coincidence that the whole archive of Ali Pasha is in the Greek language, as is also the case with the majority of gramophone recordings presented above. The fact that Ali Pasha continuously promoted education in Greek automatically meant a boost to the Greek language as the common language ("lingua franca") used in public space and commerce. This was necessary to meet the daily needs of the state he created within the Ottoman Empire. Greek schools were even attended by Muslims, children of the most important families: the learning of Greek was considered a token of excellence in the formation of local elite communities.

So, let this survey be the basis for future research on the interesting and unexpected musicological manifestations that emerged from the Ali Pasha songs.

Discography

What follows is the Discography of the songs of Ali Pasha. The columns of the Discography present briefly all the essential details, including everything that was described extensively above. The way and the techniques under which the Discography was composed are not parts of the present research, however they are important for its understanding. For all these reasons, the specialist Hugo Ströthbaum has written an excellent article that follows, on the Structure and Terminology of the Discography. Below there are some briefly explanatory details about the content of each column.

Abbreviations used in the Discography

- acc. = accompaniment
- Alb. = Albanian
- cl = clarinet
- Const/ple = Constantinople
- cym = cymbalon
- dir. = director
- Estud. = Estudiantina
- It = laouto/lute
- orch. = orchestra
- Pop. Orch. = Popular Orchestra

Rec. Date = Recording Date
Rec. Location = Recording Location
Ref. No. = Reference Number
Rec. Size = Record Size
sant = santouri
sopr. = soprano
Turk = Turkish
vl = violin
vlc = violoncello
w. = with

Some basic guidelines for the Ali Pasha Discography

Second Column

Numbers in the second column correspond to Reference Numbers in the First Column.

Record Company / Label in normal type :

arrow (→) plus number refers to *earlier* original issue by other company and other issues (if any)

Record Company / Label in bold type :

original first issue

arrow (→) plus number refers to *later* issue(s) elsewhere in discography

Third / Fourth/ Fifth Column

There are 3 types of empty cells in the Ali Pasha Discography :

(a) empty cell: here data is **possibly missing**, but it is uncertain if that is the case or not.

(b) cell with dash/hyphen: not relevant/applicable

(c) cell with “**unknown**” or an “**asterisk**” (*): information (yet) unknown or not (yet) available.

Fifth Column

Coupling number between square brackets :

this number does not show up as such on record label.

Ali Pasha Discography

Ref No	Record Company/Label	Matrix No Side No Coupling No	Rec. Size	Title, {Composer} Artist(s), Accompaniment	Rec. Location Rec. Date
BALKAN (USA)					
1	BALKAN	— No. 809-A BAL-809	25cm10"	Ali Pasas (Livadia) Amalia [Vaka], Trio Orchestra	New York 1943
2	BALKAN	— No. 828-B BAL-828	25cm10"	Livadia Roza Eskenazi, Popular Orchestra	New York 1954
COLUMBIA (GREECE, UK & USA)					
3	COLUMBIA GREECE → 10	unknown — DG 43	25cm10"	Vasiliki prostazei Miliaris, Savaris & Lousien	Athens 1927
4	COLUMBIA	WG 89 — DG 54	25cm10"	Gianniotiko ala Smyrneika Constantinos Nouras, Pop. Orch., Dir. Tountas	Athens 1930
5	COLUMBIA	WG 343 — DG 212	25cm10"	Na'tan oi kampoi thalassa Antonis Dalgas	Athens 1931/1932
6	COLUMBIA	WG 567 — DG 342	25cm10"	I Frosini Ioannis Panagiotopoulos (Kouros)	Athens June/July 1933
7	COLUMBIA	WG 682 — DG 471	25cm10"	Livadia Rita Abatzi, Popular Orchestra	Athens Dec 1933
8	COLUMBIA UK	W 20050 or W 20091 — 8016	25cm10"	Livadia Kostas Karipis	Athens 1927
9	COLUMBIA UK	W 20094 — 8011	25cm10"	Livadia (gianniotikos) Kostas Karipis w. violin, santouri, outi	Athens 1927
10	COLUMBIA UK → 3	unknown — 8211 or 8221	25cm10"	Vasiliki prostazei Miliaris, Savaris & Lousien	Athens 1927
11	COLUMBIA UK	W 20335 — 8271	25cm10"	Livadia ala Moraita Kostas Karipis, Popular Orchestra	Athens ca Sep 1928

Ref No	Record Company/Label	Matrix No Side No Coupling No	Rec. Size	Title, {Composer}	Rec. Location Rec. Date
				Artist(s), Accompaniment	
12	COLUMBIA UK → 18	W 20421 – 8278	25cm10”	Ali Pasas (Kleftiko) [Serafeim] Gerothodoros, Tenor, w. Pop. Orch.	Athens ca Sep 1928
13	COLUMBIA UK → 19	W 22862-2 – 18805	25cm10”	Ali Pasha Tepelena Dance Song Duet: Z. Selimi & Hafisja, Alb.	Istanbul (Const/ple) 28 July 1929
14	COLUMBIA UK → 20	W 20629 – 18057	25cm10”	Livadia Roza Skinazi (<i>sic</i>), Pop. Orch.	Athens Sept/Oct 1929
15	COLUMBIA USA → 28	7045-t 1-55047 E 6075	25cm10”	Yannioticos Manes [Ioannis] Tsanakas	Izmir (Smyrna) 1912
16	COLUMBIA USA	44922-2 – E 3609	25cm10”	Yiannioticos Ali Pasas Mme Coula and Co. vl: Makedonas, lt: Patrinos, sant: Melas	New York 1917
17	COLUMBIA USA	59863-2 – 56004-F	30cm12”	Yiannioticos Folk Song Marika Papagika, Sopr. w. vl, vcl, cl, cym	New York 1923
18	COLUMBIA USA → 12	294203-2 – 56211-F	30cm12”	Ali Pasas (Kleftiko) [Serafeim] Gerothodoros, Tenor, Pop. Orch.	Athens 24 Nov 1928 - 24 Jan 1929
19	COLUMBIA USA → 13	294240-1 – 72014-F	25cm10”	Ali Pasha Tepelena Dance Song Duet: Z. Selimi & Hafisja, Alb.	Istanbul (Const/ple) 28 July 1929
20	COLUMBIA USA → 14	294244-1 – 56231-F	30cm12”	Livadia Roza Skinazi (<i>sic</i>), Pop. Orch.	Athens Sept/Oct 1929
CORONA RECORD (bootleg label)					
21	CORONA RECORD → 26	5971-t No. 18 –	25cm10”	Ali Pacha, Male song Stamatis Boyas, with violin & guitar	Izmir (Smyrna) 15 Sept 1911
EDISON BELL					
22	EDISON BELL	* * Z 1106	25cm10”	Ali Pascha Grčki [= Greek] Stella	Istanbul (Const/ple or Zagreb) 1925-1927

Ref No	Record Company/Label	Matrix No Side No Coupling No	Rec. Size	Title, {Composer}	Rec. Location Rec. Date
				Artist(s), Accompaniment	
GESCHLIFFENE EDISON BLANKWALZEN					
23	EDISON (cylinder)	* 656 —	—	Livadia	Görlitz (Germany) 17 July 1917
				[Andreas] Koitsanos	
24	EDISON (cylinder)	* 693 —	—	Kyra Frossini Ke Ali Passas	Görlitz (Germany) 17 July 1917
				[Panagiotis] Ressopoulos	
FAVORITE					
25	FAVORITE	1063-f 1-55012 —	25cm10"	Aly Pasha	Istanbul (Const/ple) 1905
				[Petros] Zounarakis	
26	FAVORITE → 21	5971-t 1-55039 —	25cm10"	Ali Pacha, Male song	Izmir (Smyrna) 15 Sept 1911
				Stamatis Boyas, with violin & guitar	
27	FAVORITE	7023-t 1-055327 —	25cm10"	Ali Pacha	Salonica May 1912
				Naki [Effendi], clarinet et out	
28	FAVORITE → 15	7045-t 1-55047 —	25cm10"	Janioticos Manes	Izmir (Smyrna) 7 June 1912
				[Ioannis] Tchanakas	
29	FAVORITE	*-q 7-55003 —	27cm10¾"	Ali Pasas	Istanbul (Const/ple) 1913-1914
				Yangos Psamathianos	
GRAMOPHONE CONCERT RECORD / CONCERT RECORD GRAMOPHONE					
30	GRAMOPHONE	682 e 2-12634 —	25cm10"	Ali Pacha	Istanbul (Const/ple) April/May 1904
				Ayazmadzis or Zounarakis	
31	GRAMOPHONE → 111, 116, 126	442 r 14-12933 —	25cm10"	Ali Pacha	Istanbul (Const/ple) 1905
				Ayasmadjis with harmonica	
32	GRAMOPHONE	4572 r 10773 —	25cm10"	Chanka (Këngë [South Albania]) Ali Pases	Shkodra (Scutari) (Albania) April 1908
				Companija Hencheive Scahirave	
33	GRAMOPHONE	4610 r 5-12807 —	25cm10"	Ali Pase Gusia	Shkodra (Scutari) (Albania) April 1908
				Chusna Me Fel Los Deda (Malisor)	

Ref No	Record Company/Label	Matrix No Side No Coupling No	Rec. Size	Title, {Composer}	Rec. Location Rec. Date
				Artist(s), Accompaniment	
34	GRAMOPHONE	12528 b 6-12443 –	25cm10"	The Farewell of Mouchtar (Kyra Frosini) {Pavlos Carrer}	Istanbul (Const/ple) 16 March 1909
				Yannis Kokkinis	
35	GRAMOPHONE	12535 b unissued –	–	I Kyra Frosini {Pavlos Carrer}	Istanbul (Const/ple) 16 March 1909
				Yannis Kokkinis	
36	GRAMOPHONE	12535½ b 6-12447 –	25cm10"	Thourion of Mouchtar (Kyra Frosini) {Pavlos Carrer}	Istanbul (Const/ple) 16 March 1909
				Yannis Kokkinis	
37	GRAMOPHONE	12539 b 6-12457 –	25cm10"	I Kyra Frosini {Pavlos Carrer}	Istanbul (Const/ple) 17 March 1909
				Iraklis Pashalides	
38	GRAMOPHONE → 47, 48, 49, 112, 117	12828 b 4-13546 –	25cm10"	Gianniotiko Mané Ali Pacha	Izmir (Smyrna) April 1909
				Mlle Marie, Greek Estud.	
39	GRAMOPHONE	13394 b 3-14390 –	25cm10"	Exomologisis (Kyra Frosini) {Spyros Samaras}	Athens May/June 1909
				Yannis Kokkinis & Stella Kokkini	
40	GRAMOPHONE	1557 y 10-12867 –	25cm10"	Gianniotiko	Izmir (Smyrna) June/July 1910
				[Ioannis] Tsanakas	
41	GRAMOPHONE → 118	1559 y 10-12868 –	25cm10"	Gianniotiko	Izmir (Smyrna) June/July 1910
				Lefteris [Menemenlis]	
42	GRAMOPHONE → 50, 51, 119	1600 y 11-12166 –	25cm10"	Gianniotiko	Izmir (Smyrna) June/July 1910
				Lefteris [Menemenlis]	
43	GRAMOPHONE → 120	17358 u 14-12485 –	25cm10"	Ali Pasas	Istanbul (Const/ple) 20 Sept 1912
				Petros Zounarakis	
44	GRAMOPHONE	3378-1 ah 15-12757 *	25cm10"	Gianniotiko	Alexandria or Cairo (Egypt) Jan 1914
				Kolitsakovic	

Ref No	Record Company/Label	Matrix No Side No Coupling No	Rec. Size	Title, {Composer}	Rec. Location Rec. Date
				Artist(s), Accompaniment	
GREEK RECORD COMPANY (USA)					
45	GREEK RECORD COMPANY	458 * 506	30cm12"	Livadia	Chicago 1924
				Amalia [Vaka]. N. Relias (cl), S. Stamos (cym)	
46	GREEK RECORD COMPANY	unknown * 532	30cm12"	Gyanniotikos Manes	Chicago 1927-1928
				Epamenondas Asimakopoulos & Con. Patsios	
HIS MASTER'S VOICE					
47	HMV (a) → 38, 48, 49, 112, 117	12828 b 4-13546 090	25cm10"	Gianniotiko Mané Ali Pacha	Izmir (Smyrna) April 1909
				Mlle Marie, Greek Estud.	
48	HMV (b) → 38, 47, 49, 112, 117	12828 b 4-13546 AO 124	25cm10"	Gianniotiko Mané Ali Pacha	Izmir (Smyrna) April 1909
				Mlle Marie, Greek Estud.	
49	HMV → 38, 47, 48, 112, 117	12828 b 4-13546 AO 341	25cm10"	Gianniotiko Mané Ali Pacha	Izmir (Smyrna) April 1909
				Mlle Marie, Greek Estud.	
50	HMV (a) → 42, 51, 119	1600 y 11-12166 092	25cm10"	Gianniotiko	Izmir (Smyrna) June/July 1910
				Lefteris [Menemenlis]	
51	HMV (b) → 42, 50, 119	1600 y 11-12166 AO 123	25cm10"	Gianniotiko	Izmir (Smyrna) June/July 1910
				Lefteris [Menemenlis]	
52	HMV	BJ 229-1 18-12453 AO 182	25cm10"	Livadia ala Moraitika	Athens 3 March 1926
				Dimitris Arapakis	
53	HMV	BJ 285-1 18-12413 AO 151	25cm10"	Vassiliki prostazei	Athens 8 March 1926
				Petros Doukakis, Tenor with Native Orchestra	
54	HMV	BJ 289-1 18-12416 AO 153	25cm10"	Kyra Frossini	Athens 8 March 1926
				Petros Doukakis with Orchestra	
55	HMV	BJ 297-1 18-12445 AO 175	25cm10"	Ali Pacha	Athens 10 March 1926
				F. Tambouras, Baritone with Native Orchestra	
56	HMV	BF 792-1 unissued —	—	Livadia ala Moraitika	Athens 24 June 1927
				Antonis Dalgas	

Ref No	Record Company/Label	Matrix No Side No Coupling No	Rec. Size	Title, {Composer}	Rec. Location Rec. Date
				Artist(s), Accompaniment	
57	HMV	BF 812-1 unissued –	–	Livadia	Athens 27 June 1927
				Antonis Dalgas	
58	HMV	BF 818-1 18-12532 AO 197	25cm10"	Kyra Frossini	Athens 28 June 1927
				Petros Doukakis, Tenor with Original Orchestra	
59	HMV	BF 819-1 unissued –	–	Vassiliki prostazei	Athens 28 June 1927
				Petros Doukakis	
60	HMV	BF 865-1 unissued –	–	Ali Pasa	Athens 4 July 1927
				Soprano Solo	
61	HMV	BF 918-1 18-21232 AO 193	25cm10"	Livadia ala Moraitika	Athens 7 July 1927
				Dimitris Arapakis	
62	HMV	BK 2638-1 5-13464 AM 1073	25cm10"	Ali Pašina Pjesma	Belgrade (Serbia) 1 Dec 1927
				Sofka-Sopran [Sofka Nikolić], sa svojim ciganskim orkestrom (In Servian w. gypsy Orch.)	
63	HMV	BF 1691-2 18-12643 AO 250	25cm10"	Livadia ala Moraitika	Athens 13 June 1928
				Antonis Dalgas	
64	HMV	BG 71-1 30-1014 AO 326	25cm10"	Vasiliki prostazei	Athens 18 May 1929
				Petros Doukakis, acc. violin, guitar, mandolin	
65	HMV	BG 548-1 30-5160 AO 411	25cm10"	Ali-Pacha	Athens 10 April 1930
				Antonis Dalgas, Tenor w. Original Orchestra	
66	HMV	BW 3696-1 70-1330 AM 2978	25cm10"	Ali Pasha Tepelena	Shkodra (Scutari) (Albania) 18 June 1930
				Mati Kola, Shopnija Vjerdha (Albanian), acc. violin, guitar, mandolin	
67	HMV	OGA 144-1 151-155 AO 2202	25cm10"	Na'tan oi kampoi thalassa	Athens, 17 Dec 1934
				Dimitris Arapakis	
68	HMV	OGA 165-1 151-201 AO 1075	25cm10"	Livadia ala Moraitika	Athens 28 Dec 1934
				Stavros Remoundos or Marmaras, S. Semsis on vl. acc. w. laouto & cym.	

Ref No	Record Company/Label	Matrix No Side No Coupling No	Rec. Size	Title, {Composer} Artist(s), Accompaniment	Rec. Location Rec. Date
INSTITUTE DE PHONÉTIQUE DE PARIS					
69	INSTITUTE DE PHONÉTIQUE DE PARIS	AP 4077 * *	25cm10"	La Quebadia: Chant populaire grec (1821) M. Sammane de Damas (?), Solo	Paris (?) 1928-1933
LYROPHON					
70	LYROPHON	* 2 —	27cm10¾"	Ali Pascha Ayasmadjis	Istanbul (Const/ple) 1906
71	LYROPHON	* 41721 —	27cm10¾"	Ali Pacha unknown	Istanbul (Const/ple) 1911-1912
MELPO MERLIER					
72	MELPO MERLIER	94β 3027 —	25cm10"	Xipna, kaimen' Ali-Pasa.. Christos Bouras	Athens 1 Oct 1930
73	MELPO MERLIER	191β 3070 —	25cm10"	Ti omorfi in' i Livadhia Irene Boyadzi	Athens 1 Oct 1930
74	MELPO MERLIER	72β 3138 —	25cm10"	[chanson] d' Ali-Pascha Kostas Benatsis, Chanson epirote et violoniste acc. Tzaras (cl.) & Dalas (laouto)	Athens 29 Nov 1930
75	MELPO MERLIER	78α 3159 —	25cm10"	Vassiliki ordonne Kostas Benatsis, Chanson epirote et violoniste acc. Tzaras (cl.) & Dalas (laouto)	Athens 1 Dec 1930
ODEON (GERMAN & USA)					
76	ODEON → 89, 94	Cx 723 X 31956 —	27cm10¾"	Aly Paschas (Kleftiko) Yangoulis	Istanbul (Const/ple) 1906
77	ODEON	Gx 12 65024 —	27cm10¾"	I Vasiliki J. Sakellarides	Athens 1907
78	ODEON	Cx * * —	27cm10¾"	Ali Pascha Hüsni Bey (Turkish)	Istanbul (Const/ple) Pre WWI

Ref No	Record Company/Label	Matrix No Side No Coupling No	Rec. Size	Title, {Composer}	Rec. Location Rec. Date
				Artist(s), Accompaniment	
79	ODEON	Cx 1877 X 58594 –	27cm10¾”	Janiotico Estudiantina Smyrniote	Istanbul (Const/ple) 1908-1909
80	ODEON	Cx 3351 X 131023 b TX 5043	27cm10¾”	Ali Pascha Instruments soli: Türk Musiki Heyeti, Ramazan Efendi (cl) (Turkish)	Istanbul (Const/ple) 1928
81	ODEON	Go 48 A 154053 GA 1051	25cm10”	Livadia ala Moraitika Ténor Missailidis, santouri & violin Estudiantina d’ Athènes Dir. T. Marino	Athens 1924-1925
82	ODEON	Go 195 A 154271 GA 1161	25cm10”	Ali Pacha Constantinos Nouros, acc. violin, santouri et guitare	Athens 1924-1925
83	ODEON	Go 204 A 154214 GA 1125	25cm10”	Omorfi pou ine I Livadhia K. S. Thomaidis, Acc. violin, santouri & guitar	Athens 1925-1926
84	ODEON	Go 220 A 154265 GA 1157	25cm10”	Evmorfi pou eine I Livadia Serafeim Gerotherodoros, acc. vl, santouri et guitar	Athens 1925-1926
85	ODEON	Go 563 A 190081 a GA 1324	25cm10”	Ali Pacha Ala Moraitica Dimitris Arapakis, Pop. Orch. Semsis ‘Salonikios’ (vl)	Athens 1928
86	ODEON	Go 685 A 190185 b GA 1358	25cm10”	I Livafhia (Manes) Yiorgos Lazaridis or Spanos, Acc. Pop. Orch.	Athens 1928
87	ODEON	Go 2141 A 190626 b GA 1811	25cm10”	Livadia ala Moraita K. Roukounas ‘Samiotis’, Acc. Popular Orchestra	Athens 1934
88	ODEON	Go 5542 unknown GA 7994	25cm10”	Vasiliki prostazei Stella Kallivitou, Popular Orch., K. Anatselos on cl.	Athens 1957
89	ODEON USA / OKEH → 76, 94	[Cx 723] 82019-B [82019]	27cm10¾”	Aly Pascha (Kleftiko) Yangoulis	Istanbul (Const/ple) 1906
90	ODEON USA / OKEH	S 73162-B 82505-B [82505]	25cm10”	Livadia Sotirios Stasinopoulos, Kost. Gadinis (cl.)	New York 17 Feb 1925

Ref No	Record Company/Label	Matrix No Side No Coupling No	Rec. Size	Title, {Composer}	Rec. Location Rec. Date
				Artist(s), Accompaniment	
ORFEON					
91	ORFEON / ΟΡΦΕΙΟΝ	X 598 10408 —	27cm10¾"	Ali Pascha Petros Zounarakis	Istanbul (Const/ple) 1911
92	ORFEON	1412 11020 —	27cm10¾"	Gianniotiko [Ioannis] Tsanakas	Istanbul (Const/ple) 1911-1912
93	ORFEON	1490 11081 —	27cm10¾"	Neos Ali Pasas Pantelis [Voliotis] Vouriotis (<i>sic</i>)	Istanbul (Const/ple) 1912-1913
ORION (phantom label) = ODEON					
94	ORION = ODEON → 76, 89	Cx 723 31956 —	27cm10¾"	Aly Pascha Yangoulis	Istanbul (Const/ple) 1906
PANHELLENION (USA)					
95	PANHELLENION	B-161 5045-B 5045	25cm10"	Neos Ali Pasas Mme Coula	New York 1920
96	PANHELLENION	* 8037-B 8037	25cm10"	Ali Pasas Politicos Mme Coula. D.Poggis (vl), Evangelakis Vlahos (cl), Kostas Kastrounis (cym)	New York 1920
PARLOPHONE					
97	PARLOPHONE	101063 B-21554-II [B-21554]	25cm10"	Vasiliki prostazei Giorgos Papasideris, Arr. & lt: Isidoros Adrianos, D. Semsis (vl)	Athens 1931
98	PARLOPHONE	101375 B-21703-II [B-21703]-	25cm10"	Kira Frossini, Kleftiko [Serafeim] Gerothodoros, Acc. Pop. Orch. with Karakostas (cl.)	Athens 1933
99	PARLOPHONE	101433 B-21734-I [B-21734]	25cm10"	Livadia ala Moraita Roza Eskenazi	Athens 1933
PATHÉ					
100	PATHÉ	unknown 11327 —	25cm10"	Али (Пача?) Шаркн (= Ali Şarkı = Song) Оркестър Стюдити (Orkest'r Stjuditi) [Turk]	Istanbul (Const/ple) ca 1910

Ref No	Record Company/Label	Matrix No Side No Coupling No	Rec. Size	Title, {Composer}	Rec. Location Rec. Date
				Artist(s), Accompaniment	
101	PATHÉ	unknown 24933 —	25cm10”	Али Пашаъ (Гръци = Greek) artist not indicated	Russia or Bulgaria ca 1912-1913
102	PATHÉ	374 * —	25cm10”	Chanson d’Ali Pacha Mr Varopoulos Chant Populaire Grec	Paris 22 July 1924
103	PATHÉ	70007 X-80041 —	25cm10”	Aly Passas (Populaire) Antoine D. Dalgas. Tenor Acc. d’ Orch. Populaire	Athens 1930
				Antoine D. Dalgas. Tenor Acc. d’ Orch. Populaire	
105	PATHÉ	70376 X-80207 —	25cm10”	N’atan oi kampoi thalassa (Ali Passas) Dem. Arapakis, Acc. with popular orchestra	Athens 1934
POLYDOR					
106	POLYDOR	4558 ar unknown V 45074	25cm10”	Livadia-Ti emorfi poune i Livadia (Ghianniotiko) Evangelos Sofroniou	Athens 1926
107	POLYDOR	4575 ar unknown V 45102	25cm10”	Ali Pasas Kostas Karipis	Athens 1926
108	POLYDOR	5428 ar unknown V 50204	25cm10”	Livadia ala Moraita Kostas Karipis	Athens 1927
109	POLYDOR → 124	1194 BF unknown V 50911	25cm10”	Livadia Antonis Dalgas	Athens 1929
110	POLYDOR → 125	unknown V 51191-B V-51191	25cm10”	Ali Pasas, Neo Kleftiko Elias Panopoulos	Athens ca 1931-32
POLYPHON					
111	POLYPHON → 31, 116, 126	442 r 9678 13490	25cm10”	Ali Pacha Ayasmadjis, Baritone with harmonica	Istanbul (Const/ple) 1905
112	POLYPHON → 38, 47, 48, 49, 117	12828 b 9355 13327	25cm10”	Gianniotiko Mané Ali Pacha Mlle Marie (soprano) Estoudiantina Grecque	Izmir (Smyrna) April 1909

Ref No	Record Company/Label	Matrix No Side No Coupling No	Rec. Size	Title, {Composer}	Rec. Location Rec. Date
				Artist(s), Accompaniment	
PREMIER RECORD					
113	PREMIER RECORD	— 11059 —	25cm10"	Ali Pacha (roumdja = rumca = Ottoman Greek) Agopos Effendi	Istanbul (Const/ple) 1911-1912
SETRAK MECHIAN (Egyptian)					
114	SETRAK MECHIAN	* 563 *	27cm10¾"	Aly Pacha Ioannis Moutsos aka Samiotis	Cairo (EGYPT) ca 1920
STANDARD (USA)					
115	STANDARD	* F-9058-A *	25cm10"	Livadia - Tsamico Popular Orchestra	USA ca 1947
VICTOR (USA)					
116	VICTOR → 31, 111, 126	442 r 63545-B [63545]	25cm10"	Ali Pacha Ayasmadjis, Baritone with harmonica	Istanbul (Const/ple) 1905
117	VICTOR → 38, 47, 48, 49, 112	12828 b 63524-B [63524]	25cm10"	Gianniotiko Mané Ali Pacha Mlle Marie Soprano with Trio	Izmir (Smyrna) April 1909
118	VICTOR → 41	1559 y 63540-B [63540]	25cm10"	Ghianiotiko Mr. Lefteris [Menemenlis] (Tenor)	Izmir (Smyrna) June/July 1910
119	VICTOR → 42, 50, 51	1600 y 63544-B [63544]	25cm10"	Ghianiotiko Mr. Lefteris [Menemenlis] (Tenor)	Izmir (Smyrna) June/July 1910
120	VICTOR → 43	17358 u 67178-B [67178]	25cm10"	Ali Pacha Petros Zounarakis (Tenor)	Istanbul (Const/ple) 20 Sept 1912
121	VICTOR	CVE 38447-1 68820-A [68820]	30cm12"	Ali Pasha Yaniotiko Amalia Vaka, Soprano w. vl., oud and santouri	New York 11 April 1927
122	VICTOR	CVE 38452-2 68809-B [68809]	30cm12"	The Sea Amalia Vaka, Soprano w. vl, oud and santouri	New York 11 April 1927

Ref No	Record Company/Label	Matrix No Side No Coupling No	Rec. Size	Title, {Composer}	Rec. Location Rec. Date
				Artist(s), Accompaniment	
123	VICTOR	CVE 43525-2 59031-B [59031]	30cm12"	Frossini m' esteile (ghianniotico) {T. Demetriades} The masked chorus, male vocal quartet. Dir. Alf. Cibelli	New York 2 April 1928
124	VICTOR → 109	1194 BF V-8005-A [V-8005]	25cm10"	Livadia Antonis Dalgas	Athens 1929
125	VICTOR → 110	unknown V 51191-B V-51191	25cm10"	Ali Pasas, Neo Kleftiko Elias Panopoulos	Athens ca 1931- 1932
DISQUE POUR ZONOPHONE					
126	D. P. ZONOPHONE → 31, 111, 116	442 r X-102199 –	25cm10"	Ali Pashas Ioannis P. Ayasmadjis Greek Estudiantina	Istanbul (Const/ple) 1905

Endnotes

- The following article is an enriched and complete version of the paper with the same title presented during the 8th International Musicological Conference in Bucharest, September 2-6, 2019. The subject of the Conference was *Musical and Cultural Osmoses in the Balkans* and was an academic event organized by the National University of Music in Bucharest in collaboration with the International Musicological Society - Regional Association for the Study of Music of the Balkans.
- Megas Georgios, “The so-called common Balkan Culture. The popular poetry”, Presentation in the Philological Association Parnassos in May 18th, 1950.
- Brandl Rudolf Maria, *Ali Pasha und die Musik des Epiros*, Cuvillier Verlag Göttingen, 2017.
- Ioannina* is the largest city and the capital of Epirus, Greece. In Greek, Ιωάννινα is also known as Γισννενα or Γιάννινα. In the English transliteration is *Ioánnina* and is also known as *Giannena*, *Yannena*, *Yannina* or *Yanina*, versions from the Greek informal variants. Another variant is the word *Jannina* which appears in the portrait of Ali Pasha, Fig. 1 on p. 3 of the main article. In this essay, I use the word *Ioannina* in order to keep the uniformity of the article.
- At this point, I would like to express my very great appreciation to dear **Hugo Strötbaum** for his valuable and constructive suggestions during the planning and the development of this research work. His willingness to give his time and knowledge so generously has been very much appreciated.
- Kounadis' Archive, “Ali Pasas”, 2019, <https://www.vmrebetiko.gr/item/?id=5003>, accessed April 30, 2020.

7. Strötbaum Hugo, "Theodor Heinrich Max Hampe - 1877-1957", *Recording Pioneers*, http://www.recordingpioneers.com/RP_HAMPE2.html, accessed April 30, 2020.
8. The numbers between the brackets are used for easy reference on the Discography.
9. "Αλή Πασάς", March 27, 2018, *rebetiko.sealabs.net*, <https://rebetiko.sealabs.net/display.php?d=0&recid=18453>, accessed May 5, 2020.
10. Kounadis' Archive, "Ali Pasas", 2019, <https://www.vmrebetiko.gr/item/?id=4438>, accessed April 30, 2020.
11. Chop Max, "Morgenländische Musik", *Phonographische Zeitschrift*, Jahrgang 7, Nummer 25, Berlin, Juni 21, 1906, p. 533.
12. For more about armonicass with text and pictures see: <http://www.recordingpioneers.com/grurks/index.php/odd-and-extinct-instruments/armonicass/armonicass-text> & <http://www.recordingpioneers.com/grurks/index.php/odd-and-extinct-instruments/armonicass/armonicass-slides>
13. Kounadis' Archive, "Ali Pasas", 2019, <https://www.vmrebetiko.gr/item/?id=5116>, accessed April 30, 2020.
14. Yangoulis and Yangos Psamathianos, may happen to be one and the same person but it is not certain yet.
15. sKounadis' Archive, "Gianniotiko", 2019, <https://www.vmrebetiko.gr/item/?id=5155>, accessed April 30, 2020.
16. "Αλή Πασάς", May 5, 2014, *rebetiko.sealabs.net*, <https://rebetiko.sealabs.net/display.php?d=0&recid=15861>, accessed May 5, 2020.
17. Tasos aigaleo, "Γιαννιώτικο (Τσανάκας 1909, Orfeon)", July 11, 2010, YouTube video, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TFTxhIfUcyI>, accessed May 1, 2020.
18. Kounadis' Archive, "Neos Ali Pasas", 2019, <https://www.vmrebetiko.gr/item/?id=4452>, accessed April 30, 2020.
19. Strötbaum Hugo, "Goulash, Wiener Schnitzel And Şiş Kebap: Premier Record", *Recording Pioneers*, http://www.recordingpioneers.com/docs/Y-PREMIER_RECORD.pdf, accessed April 30, 2020.
20. "Clarinetist Selimi and vocalist/violinist Hafisja were brother and sister, coming from a long line of famous musicians from the city of Leskovik at the southern border of Albania. By the mid-1920s they were living in Istanbul where they were the star attractions of the Albanian music scene. Selimi and Hafize recorded for Columbia during a session in Istanbul in 1928. Columbia made some 300 recordings the following year in Albania itself. To this day, the beautiful deep voice of Hafisja is considered a benchmark for female Albanian singers of the southern repertoire, and Selim's reputation as a clarinetist is highly regarded.", Maji Haji, "Selimi & Hafisja", *Shellac head*, September 2014, <https://shellac-head.com/2014/09/29/selimi-hafisja/>, accessed April 30, 2020.
21. Pankonstantopoulos, "Γιαννιώτικο, 1910, Λευτέρης Μενεμελής", January 2, 2016, YouTube video, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wYDu3zu58r8>, accessed April 30, 2020.
22. Pankonstantopoulos, "Γιαννιώτικος Μανές, 1912, Γ. Τσανάκας, Εστουδιαντίνα Τσανάκα", June 7, 2014, YouTube video, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=d1DvPEwWhkA>, accessed April 30, 2020.
23. Vaskovic Vladen, "Sofka Nikolic Ali Pasa na Hercegovini.mp4", September 1, 2010,

- YouTube Video, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=peAp8s5CFkI>, accessed May 1, 2020.
24. MusicalArk, “Ali Pasha Tepelena (1930) - Mail Kola, Shognija Vjerdha, May 27, 2013, YouTube Video, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dUMZZpLYdv0>, accessed May 1, 2020.
25. The word *Bumskeller* is a combination of the German verb “bumsen” which means “have sex” and the noun “keller” which means “cellar”. So, the *Bumskeller* is a place for alcohol and sex.
26. Gallop Rodney, “Some Records of Serbian Folk Music”, *The Gramophone*, Vol. VIII, No. 96, May 1931, 58 Frith St., London, p. 601.
27. Kounadis’ Archive, *Ali Pacha*, 2019, <https://www.vmrebetiko.gr/item/?id=4409>, accessed April 30, 2020.
28. Bibliothèque nationale de France, [Archives de la parole], September 9, 2011, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k129093c.r=grecque?rk=3583708;4>, accessed May 1, 2020.
29. Kounadis’ Archive, “Ali Pasas”, 2019, <https://www.vmrebetiko.gr/item/?id=10395>, accessed April 30, 2020.
30. Ibid., <https://www.vmrebetiko.gr/item/?id=9759>.
31. Kounadis’ Archive, “Ali Pasas”, 2019, <https://www.vmrebetiko.gr/item/?id=10102>, accessed April 30, 2020.
32. “Αλή Πασάς”, June 30, 2009, rebetiko.sealabs.net, <https://rebetiko.sealabs.net/display.php?d=0&recid=9677>, accessed May 6, 2020.
33. “Ο Αλή Πασάς”, February 10, 2016, rebetiko.sealabs.net <https://rebetiko.sealabs.net/>
- display.php?d=0&recid=17238, accessed May 6, 2020.
34. Kounadis’ Archive, “Ali Pasas”, 2019, <https://www.vmrebetiko.gr/item/?id=9554>, accessed April 30, 2020.
35. Ibid., <https://www.vmrebetiko.gr/item/?id=4485>.
36. *Alhambra* was a megaron established at the end of the 19th century, when it started operating as a theatre without electricity until 1902. During the Interwar operated also as a cinema. At those years, *Alhambra* was an imposing theater with a monumental entrance. It also functioned during the World War II, but in December 1944 it was completely destroyed. The damage was never repaired and so, inevitably it was demolished in June 1955. More on: { <https://paopedia.gr/megaron-alampra/> }, accessed August 31, 2020.
37. Bouras came from the county of Fthiótida and sung without being accompanied by orchestra. Mr Bouras was 35 years old and had studied at the Technical University. He became an army officer but during the Balkan Wars in 1913, he was injured in the region of Kilkis. That meant that in 1926 he left the army with honors and he became a politician. More info: Melpo Merlie Musical Folklore Archive, Moraitis Thanasis, August 30, 2010, http://www.mla.gr/song_prev_el.php?artist_id=354&song_id=11430, accessed April 30, 2020.
38. Bibliothèque nationale de France, [Institut de phonétique-Musée de la parole et du geste], November 7, 2016, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k1081011g/f2.media.r=chant%20grec>, accessed April 30, 2020.
39. Kounadis’ Archive, “Na’tan oi kampoi thalassa (Ali Pasas)”, 2019, <https://www.vmrebetiko.gr/item/?id=4530>, accessed April 30, 2020.

40. Benatsis was 55 years old, a Gypsy violinist living in Ioannina. His education reached the D' class of primary school. In violin he was initiated by his father and he worked in cafe aman and in traditional festivals. Melpo Merlier's note about his personality is that he was a remarkable person. More info: Melpo Merlier, *Ibid.*, July 6, 2020. http://www.mla.gr/song_prev_el.php?artist_id=3496&song_id=11363.
41. Bibliothèque nationale de France, *Ibid.*, November 14, 2016 <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k10809771/f2.media.r=grecque>.
42. *Ibid.*, <https://www.vmrebetiko.gr/item/?id=5453>.
43. "Αλή Πασά-Γιαννιώτικο", June 27, 2008, *rebetiko.sealabs.net*, <https://rebetiko.sealabs.net/display.php?d=0&recid=8723>, accessed May 6, 2020.
44. See King Christopher C., *Lament from Epirus: An Odyssey into Europe's oldest surviving Folk Music*, W.W. Norton & company, 2018, p. 78. For more info about Alexis Zoumbas see: Διονυσόπουλος Νίκος, «Ηπειρώτες της Αμερικής στις 78 στροφές», in Κατερίνη Λιάμπη, Νικόλαος Κατσκούδης, Νικόλαος Αναστασόπουλος (επιμ.), *Από την Άπειρο χώρα στην Μεγάλη Ήπειρο, Κοσμητεία της Φιλοσοφικής Σχολής Πανεπιστημίου Ιωαννίνων*, Ιωάννινα 2016.
45. Kounadis' Archive, "I Thalassa", 2019, <https://www.vmrebetiko.gr/item/?id=4260>, accessed May 3, 2020.
46. "Νέος Αλή Πασάς", September 1, 2018, *rebetiko.sealabs.net*, <https://rebetiko.sealabs.net/display.php?d=0&recid=18680>, accessed May 6, 2020.
47. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Königlich Preußische Phonographische Kommission, Leitung, Griechisches Liebeslied: Κυρά Φροσύνη και Αλή Πασάς [Kyra Frossini Ke Ali Passas], Ident. Nr. VII W 726.
48. The notebook is available here: <http://www.smb-digital.de/eMuseumPlus?service=DynamicsAsset&sp=SU5mxm4Yx%2FVa7mYMRtCIXANVY4X3zCXfuutmYEsi22Yy3VLMi3FnlwipXenNMJQGNMoSuYRH%2FNbpt%0AgOpfHFous75U17ius3TG&sp=Application%2Fpdf>, p. 49, accessed July 2, 2020.
49. "Κυρά Φροσύνη", September 11, 2015, *rebetiko.sealabs.net*, <https://rebetiko.sealabs.net/display.php?d=0&recid=17123>, accessed May 5, 2020.
50. Gallop Rodney A., "The New H.M.V. Greek Records", *The Gramophone*, Vol. 6, No. 61, June 1928, 58 Frith St., London, p. 27.
51. Χρήστος 5070, «Η Φροσύνη ~ Γιάννης Παναγιωτόπουλος (Κούρος)», August 17, 2017, YouTube Video, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SBkO14B7_Cw, accessed May 3, 2020.
52. "Κυρά Φροσύνη", March 14, 2006, *rebetiko.sealabs.net*, <https://rebetiko.sealabs.net/display.php?d=0&recid=3093>, accessed May 6, 2020.
53. Politi Nikolaou, *Δημοτικά τραγούδια. Εκλογαί από τα τραγούδια του ελληνικού λαού*, [Demotic Songs. Choices from songs of Greek people], Athens: Grammata 1991, pp. 7-8.
54. *Discography of American Historical Recordings*, "Rigler-Deutsch Index; trade catalog; Victor ledgers.", https://adp.library.ucsb.edu/index.php/matrix/detail/800017700/CVE-43525-Frosini_mestile, accessed May 4, 2020.
55. "Φροσύνη μ' στείλε", January 1, 2012, *rebetiko.sealabs.net*, <https://rebetiko.sealabs.net/display.php?d=0&recid=13118>, accessed May 6, 2020.

56. Kounadis' Archive, “I Vasiliki”, 2019, <https://www.vmrebetiko.gr/item/?id=5161>, accessed May 3, 2020.
57. “Βασιλική προστάζει”, January 1, 2017, rebetiko.sealabs.net, <https://rebetiko.sealabs.net/display.php?d=0&recid=17982>, accessed May 6, 2020.
58. Kounadis' Archive, “Vasiliki prostazei”, 2019, <https://www.vmrebetiko.gr/item/?id=5258>, accessed May 3, 2020.
59. Bibliothèque nationale de France, [Institut de phonétique-Musée de la parole et du geste], December 14, 2016, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k10809630.r=chant%20grec?rk=3884139;2>, accessed May 3, 2020.
60. HSD, “Βασιλική προστάζει Γιώργος Πατασιδέρης”, May 18, 2016, YouTube Video, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Nuvyu-xF9As>, accessed May 3, 2020.
61. Χρήστος 5070 [Christos 5070], “Βασιλική προστάζει ~ Στέλλα Καλυβίτου”, January 2, 2018, YouTube Video, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ep79OzenQ_4, accessed May 3, 2020.
62. For more on the history of Livadiá see: { <https://dimoslevadeon.gr/history/> }
63. *Filikí Etaireía* or *Society of Friends* was the most important among all the various secret organizations which were created in order to overthrow the Ottoman rule of Greece and establish an independent Greek state. The Society was founded in 1814 in the third most populated city of the present day Ukraine (at that time was called Russian Empire), named Odessa. Society members were mainly young Phanariot Greeks from Constantinople and the Russian Empire, local political and military leaders from the Greek mainland and islands, as well as several Orthodox Christian leaders from other nations, like Serbia and Romania, that were under Hellenic influence. The Society initiated the Greek War of Independence in the spring of 1821.
64. *Estudiantina* is a large vocal or/and string (mostly) instrumental ensemble, that was extremely popular in the days of all these early made 78rpm records. *Estudiantines* typically perform in theatre and other stage settings. A very famous Greek *Estudiantina* was formed in Smyrna at the end of the 19th century.
65. Kounadis' Archive, “Gianniotiko Ali Pasas”, 2019, <https://www.vmrebetiko.gr/item/?id=5007>, accessed April 30, 2020.
66. See also: Strötbäum Hugo, “Alí Pasás. Nogmaals een bezoek aan het hol van de Leeuw van Ioánnina...”, *Lychnari, Verkenningen in het Griekenland van nu*, Nummer 1, voorjaar 2019, p. 45. Kaliviotis Aristomenis, *The Gramophone Co LTD και οι Ελληνοφώνες Ηχογραφήσεις της (1900-1960)*, Private Edition, Karditsa 2019, p. 37. Kaliviotis, Θεσσαλονίκη, η Μουσική Ζωή πριν το 1912, Private Edition, Karditsa 2015.
67. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Königlich Preußische Phonographische Kommission, Leitung, Griechisches Lied: Λιβανδία – Libadía (Livadhia), Ident.Nr. VII W 689.
68. For the source of the recording date look at: Audio CD, “Amalia Vaka: Ioannina Songs in America 1927-1943”, The Greek Archives, FM Records, Athens 1999. See also: { http://www.mla.gr/song_prev_el.php?song_id=6320 }, accessed August 8, 2020.
69. Iiakov, “Αλή Πασάς Αμαλία Βάκα”, April 30, 2012, YouTube Video, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dPR-nVAWTSE>, accessed April 30, 2020.
70. *Tsámico* is a Greek traditional dance in 3/4 metre from former settlements of the Çamen,

- now living in Albania. For more see: Chianis Sotirios, *The Vocal and Instrumental Tsamiko of Roumeli and the Peloponnesus*, diss., UCLA, 1967.
71. Kounadis' Archive, "Livadeia ala Moraitika", 2019, <https://www.vmrebetiko.gr/item/?id=10281>, accessed May 3, 2020.
 72. arxontisalili, "Δημήτρης Αραπάκης ~ Αλή Πασάς (Αλλά Μωραίτα)", June 26, 2014, YouTube Video, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bFAoSFl2zoo>, accessed May 3, 2020.
 73. "Λειβαδιά αλά Μωραίτα", December 24, 2005, *rebetiko.sealabs.net*, <https://rebetiko.sealabs.net/display.php?d=0&recid=3693>, accessed May 6, 2020.
 74. Kounadis' Archive, "Ενμορφή που είναι i Livadeia", 2019, <https://www.vmrebetiko.gr/item/?id=10368>, accessed April 30, 2020.
 75. Ibid., <https://www.vmrebetiko.gr/item/?id=10391>.
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 91. Politi, *Ibid.*, p. 1.
 92. (a)manés is a long melodic form played and often sung in a skilful and melismatic manner for “amorous laments” using modal improvisations (*taksim*) based on the makam modal system. *Amanes* (in Greek) or *gazel* (in Turkish) could have either Greek or Turkish lyrics. That the art of performing an *amane* or *gazel* has completely died out. A possible exception may be the protopsaltes in the Orthodox church (hymns) and some muezzins in Turkey who still have the right feeling and the right technique for those beautiful melismatic songs.
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 94. Politou N. G., *Γνωστοί ποιηταί Δημοτικών Ασμάτων*, Τύποις Π. Δ. Σακελλαρίδου, Εν Αθήναις 1916, p. 9.
 95. Fakióli comes from the latin word “fasciola” and is the women’s scarf tied to the head to protect it, especially when doing household chores.
 96. Fermáni (farmân) was a Sultan’s irrevocable order which meant that any order that coming from the High Porte could not be disobeyed.
 97. The word *Gianniótiko(s)/a* comes from the transliteration of the Greek Γιαννιώτικο(ς)/α. *Gianniotikos* appears also in the following spelling variations: *gianniotico*, *yanniotiko*, *yanniotico* and *ghianniotiko*. On the labels there are sometimes other versions, like: *Gianiotiko* (#38, #47, #48, #112, #117), *Janioticos* (#28, #79), *Ghianniotico* (#119), *Yaniotiko* (#121).
 98. *Kléftika* are “robber ballads” of the 19th century in free metre. *Kleftika* or Greek Revolution songs are folk songs which arose from historical circumstances, esp. the *Klefts* (see endnote 95) and their subjects reveal the revolutionary activity of the *Klefts*. K. Mendelsohn Bartholdy has said that the *Kleftika* songs give you the impression that they are foaming torrents springing not from human lips, but from the rocks of Mount Oeti and Mount Olympus.
 99. Mathiesen Thomas J., Conomos Dimitri, Leotsakos George, Chianis Sotirios and Rudolph Brandl M., “Greece” in { <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com> }, published online in 2001, accessed December 24, 2018.
 100. The *Klephts* (or *Klefts*) were armed Greeks who resisted against the Ottoman empire. They lived in the countryside but kept their dens in remote inaccessible mountainous areas. The *Klephts* were organized in small groups, each one with its own chief and its own flag. That kind of thieves was characterized by the hostility they felt towards Turks and the authorities in general, an element that made them beloved to the people. Thus,

- the *Klephs* became a symbol of the resistance of the Greek subjects against Ottoman rule.
- 101 A special study that exists for the clarinet is the following: Mazaraki Despoina, *To λαϊκό κλαρίνο στην Ελλάδα*, Αθήνα, 1959.
- 102 Pouqueville Francois Charles Hugues Laurent, *Histoire de la régénération de la Grèce: comprenant le précis des événements depuis 1740 jusqu'en 1824*, avec cartes et portraits, A Paris: Firmin Didot Père et fils, 1824.
- 103 The sources of the list with the Musical Instruments of the recordings come from the record labels, catalogues and audio files I had access to. So, the list cannot refer to the following recordings, because no relevant sources were available till today: #3, #5, #10, #22, #29, #32, #33, #34, #35, #36, #37, #39, #40, #41, #43, #44, #46, #60, #78, #100, #101, #110, #113, #114, #115, #118, #120, #125.
- 104 King Alec Hyatt, "Musical glasses" in *Grove Music Online*, Oxford University Press, 2001, { <https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000019422> }, accessed August 29, 2020.
- 105 Morris R. Conway, Rihtmann Cvjetko, Poché Christian & Doubleday Veronica, "Daff" in *Grove Music Online*, Oxford University Press, 2001, { [https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630-e-0000007050](https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000007050) }, accessed August 29, 2020.
- 106 Chianis Sotirios and Brandl Rudolf M. *Grove Music Online*, "Greece", Par. VI. 1. iv, "Traditional music; Pan-regional principles; Instruments", { [https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630-e-3000000167](https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-3000000167) }, published online in March 28, 2019, accessed August 29, 2020.
107. *Ibid.*
108. See Tyler James & Sparks Paul, "Mandolin" in *Grove Music Online*, Oxford University Press, 2001, { [https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630-e-0000046239](https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000046239) }, accessed August 29, 2020.
109. Chianis Sotirios and Brandl Rudolf M. *Grove Music Online*, "Greece", *Ibid.*
110. See for example: [Advertisement of the theatre], *National Herald*, Vol. 15, No. 5287, Thursday, October 17, 1929, N. York, p. 5. See also, Τσέκου Δ. Ν., «Από την Θεατρικήν Χοροεσπερίδα του Συλλόγου των Θεσσαλών «Ο Ασκληπιός». Ο μέγας πατριωτικός ενθουσιασμός κατά την παράστασιν «Η Φροσύνη και ο Αλή Πασάς» του Α. Βαλαωρίτου.», *Atlantis*, Vol. 40, No. 12.814, Wednesday, November 15, 1933, N. York, pp. 4,6.

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