

**PLURALITY IN MOTION:  
Dance and Cultural Identity on the Greek Ionian  
Island of Lefkada**

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## **ABSTRACT**

The thesis concerns the issue of dance and cultural identity on the Ionian island of Lefkada. Dance is treated as a sociocultural product which is instrumental in the construction of cultural identity and the aim of this study is to understand “Lefkadian identity” through the study of “Lefkadian dance”. The rural repertoire studied presents a paradoxical situation whereby presentational (official) and participatory (unofficial) dance performances seem to bear little relation to one another.

The study follows an interdisciplinary strategy that leads to a synthesis of social and dance analyses. Historical and laographic sources are used within the context of an ethnochoreological approach, which brings together contextual information and motional analysis of the dances. The dance phenomenon, embodied in a sociocultural framework, is revealed through its structural and stylistic dimensions, parameters of equal importance for the definition of a dance form.

The folk-classification of the dances as “indigenous” or “foreign”, along with the differing statuses afforded the genres, reveals the way the dance repertoires are manipulated by the Lefkadians. In conclusion, cultural identity is defined analytically from the dance point of view and is further examined in the wider Greek cultural frame of the “Helleno-Romeic dilemma”.

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**‘Το μέλλον είναι το παρελθόν που ξαναγυρίζει από άλλη πόρτα’  
[The future is the past that comes back from another door].**

**(In Tsiros 1997:3)**

## **Prologue**

## 1. Introduction

'...And now you are going to watch the Lefkadian dances *patinada*, *milia*, *th(e)iakos* and *ballos*'. This is a typical announcement that a visitor of the Greek Ionian island of Lefkada may hear when attending one of the <sup>the performances of</sup> dance groups from the island, as well as from all over Greece, performing dances from Lefkada on stage. Such performances can be found in folk festivals, in cultural events taking place at village squares, at national celebrations, and in tourist spectacles. A common practice of these dance groups is to select and combine in various ways from a repertoire of a certain number of dances, namely *milia*, *lemonia*, *barbouni*, *karavakia*, *ballos*, *th(e)iakos* and *patinada*, demonstrating them as being representative of the "Lefkadian" dance tradition. Whether the audience is made up of locals, Greeks, or tourists does not affect the synthesis and performance of these dances on stage. Yet, the phrase 'perform an *argo syrto* and a *tsamiko*' is a typical command given by Lefkadians to the musicians at a village fair. *Tsamikos*, *syrto argos* and *syrto grigoros*, classified as a "foreign" repertoire by the Lefkadians themselves, constitute their favourite dances and are continually performed whenever the islanders are among themselves, such as at village fairs, *horoesperides* (formal evening dances) or family celebrations, be that engagements, weddings or name-days.

From my very first contact with the island I came across this contradiction, as the two repertoires performed seemed to have nothing in common. My curiosity grew as I realised, according to the information gathered, that these two particular repertoires were separated totally only thirty years ago. Before that, the dances, currently only performed on stage, were also executed in other contexts along with the "foreign" dances. The opposite, however, i.e. the performance of the "foreign" dances on stage, never happened, at least under the name of Lefkadian dances. Of course, the present situation has now raised a number of questions. How and when were the "foreign" dances imported? How did they appeal to the islanders? Why did the two repertoires separate at some point in the past? Were there particular historical, economic or social reasons for either their coexistence or separation? What is the relationship between the two repertoires, if any? What sort of dances should be characterised as "Lefkadian": those performed on stage, those performed by Lefkadians themselves, or both? Is it right to talk about Lefkadian anything? Does the

different use of repertoires indicate something about the people themselves? To what extent does the different use of repertoires indicate the existence of a net of identities with which Lefkadians play in different times and contexts, and why?

A further matter I wondered about could be added to the above questions. Many Greek dance experts/researchers had already remarked on the dance-music and cultural singularity of Lefkada. For instance, Dora Stratou in the account of her visit to the island writes: 'The next morning, a fine young man, a musician, did in fact come as arranged before. "Wait a bit", he said to me, "because I can't find the clarinettist". I was surprised, I must admit: Why in the name of heaven did he need a clarinet for music in the Ionian Islands?' (1977:25). To understand her surprise, it must be noted that the clarinet is the main musical instrument of many Greek mainland areas but not of the islands. In fact, Lefkada is the only one among the Ionian Islands that incorporates the clarinet in its basic instrumental ensemble.

Yet, despite the island's cultural peculiarity, the existing opinion among Greek dance experts/researchers has generally been that Lefkada does not present either an interesting dance repertoire or a dance-music phenomenon "rich" enough to merit study. These opinions made me doubtful about my particular choice of place at the outset of my research. My former personal practical experience had convinced me that in most Greek areas there is a strong indigenous dance tradition that shows specific regional styles. So why should Lefkada be different, especially when the rest of the area to which it belongs, namely the other Ionian Islands, has a "rich" dance tradition?

A number of extra reasons enhanced my belief that Lefkada is an interesting place for dance research. Firstly, it presented an impressive urban dance folklore phenomenon: despite its small size, there are six dance clubs, and an International Folklore Festival is organised every year. Second, it constitutes a crossroad of West and East as, apart from its geographical proximity to the mainland while being part of the Ionian Islands, it is also the only Ionian island which was under both Turkish and Venetian Occupations. Finally, consisting actually of a group of islets, Lefkada also presented a geographical autonomy. Thus, it could be studied separately by taking into consideration, of course, the various influences of the neighbouring areas.

It is evident that a combination of many different reasons made this particular island a very stimulating place for dance research, at least for my own interests. The latter should not be neglected as 'we all write and speak from a particular place and time, from a history and culture which is specific. What we say is always "in context", *positioned*' (Hall 1990:222; italics in original). Thus, what follows is the presentation of my "positioning" that is necessary to understand my perceptions, and, consequently, to appreciate the personal parameter of the study.

## 2. Frame of Perception

I was born and brought up in Athens. Close ties with both my parents' birthplaces in the mainland of Roumeli and the island of Evia (see Map 1) were always maintained, particularly with the latter. This gave me the opportunity to realise quite early that each level, be that family, village, region, country and so on, having its own configuration, provides different degrees of freedom, as well as the importance of these social constructs in Greek life. A decision to carry out fieldwork in one of the two parents' birthplaces seemed "appropriate" and "logical". This would have offered me advantages such as previous experience, easier access or immediate support, and would have enhanced my family's prestige. However, it seemed to me that too much familiarity was not a good idea. Thus, I decided to research the dances of another Greek area on the grounds that such a selection would ensure me a "safe distance", despite the fact that I was going to be an "outsider" at certain levels in the social construct of Greek life.

The maintenance of this "distance" was one of the main preoccupations during fieldwork as well, another aspect of my "positioning". Although I did not originate from Lefkada, I had started having closer relationships with Lefkadians ever since my school days, because of my friend Akriki Zakynthinou-Ktena, but not with the island itself. Of course, I could never have imagined that at some point I was going to carry out research on the island. Once this happened, my experience of the islanders who had migrated to Athens proved to be a great advantage as I had formed a network of very good relations with Lefkadians. Yet, I rejected the invitation to stay with my friend's parents-in-law once arrived



on the island; instead, I preferred to be on my own. Although I was going to play a new role as a dance researcher, I was still a Greek. A balance between the two had to be kept as I knew that my work was going to be “unusual” for the locals, and, at the same time, that I had also to find “safety valves” for myself.

I knew, for instance, that neither sitting inside a *kafenio* (coffee house) nor smoking, were “proper” modes of behaviour for a “respectable” Greek woman, at least on the periphery of Greece. Yet, I had to do the first as it was one of the best ways to interview men in public circumstances, and I did not intend to stop the second either. Or I was aware that, to some extent, I was supposed to be involved both in the male and the female activities. Yet, I could not stand the idea of learning the local famous specific embroidery stitch as my supervisor encouraged me to, a usual Greek female activity that I had rejected quite a long time previously because of its gender connotations. However, I could sit and watch the local women carrying out this activity for hours. I think that such attitudes constitute examples of ‘the reflexive character of social research; that is to recognise that we [researchers] are part of the social world we study’ (Hammersley and Atkinson 1983:14).

My relationship with Greek dance before undertaking the present study, constitutes a further aspect of my perceptions. My experience with it started through family activities (by attending and participating in village fairs, dancing at weddings, and at family gatherings). It continued during school life (participating in the Greek dance activities and performances of the school), and resulted in my choosing Greek Folk Dances as a specialisation as part of my first academic degree in the Physical Education and Sports Sciences Department at the University of Athens. The transition towards dance from a means of entertainment to a professional career was definitely a turning point in my relationship with Greek dance, which was in parallel enhanced by my involvement since 1985 in “semi-professional” dancing, as being a folk dancer is not yet considered a full-time profession in Greece. Starting from Greek dance groups of the Athenian tourist area of Plaka, I became a member of the Theatre of Dora Stratou and of the London Section of Lyceum of Greek Women Dance companies among others, while I have been teaching dance since 1986 in various places.

Of course, this background meant that, once I decided to study Greek folk

dance at postgraduate level, I was not “innocent” of my subject as I had already learned, performed and taught Greek folk dances in general and “Lefkadian” dances in particular. Perhaps this point may be regarded as a disadvantage at least in terms of objectivity. Yet, it was this extensive and intense involvement with dance itself that led me towards its theoretical orientation, particularly from an anthropological point of view. Apart from the fact that the latter inevitably indicates absence of ‘absolute objectivity’ (Grau 1983:4-5), this knowledge proved an invaluable experience in many ways during the research. The main point, I think, is that I became sufficiently aware of my strengths and weaknesses (see Loizos 1992:170), which, in turn, provide a fuller perspective regarding the conditions under which this study was carried out.

A final aspect of my frame of perception refers to the issues that I selected to examine in this study. A number of themes “jumped out” of the material provoking my interest. However, I chose to concentrate on those which also attracted me; among these, the issue of identity as this takes shape in dance phenomena, is the most significant. One of my beliefs, as a person and as a researcher, is that identity is neither self-existent, nor one-sided. On the contrary, it is an artificial construction with many facets, each of which is enlightened differently to serve different needs. Although consideration of the concept of identity has a long tradition, skepticism about the nature of the concept and discussion on the multiplicity and conflict of its discourses are very recent. Furthermore, the way identity is constructed through dance is a rarer topic, while the study of its multiplicity and conflict through its dance discourses has drawn even less attention.

Before the present study, I had examined an aspect of this relationship, namely its urban manifestations, a study area that has been neglected and diminished in Greece, on two different occasions. First I had studied the case of *koutouki*, an urban winter night entertainment based on Greek elements such as dance, song and music, customers and service, and the general contextual framework (Koutsouba 1991a) where mainly Greeks are participating, and, second, the case of the Greek dance groups of Plaka that form part of the large category of ‘paid Greek dance groups’ (Koutsouba 1991b) where mainly tourists attend. The examination of the urban dance phenomenon in coexistence with rural manifestations of Greek dance in areas where both Greeks and tourists are

involved was among my future aims. It is obvious that dance on the island of Lefkada not only presented a speciality on its own, but, it also satisfied my personal interests.

### **3. Aims and Methodology**

The combination of the above enquiries and personal interests formed the core of this study as they fulfil the three reasons for effecting fieldwork, that is 'personal interest, feasibility in carrying out research and contribution to general human knowledge and development' (Kioumourtzoglou in Atsalakis 1990:2). Thus, considering dance primarily as a sociocultural product, the aim of this study is to explore the possibility of defining cultural identity through the analysis of its dance discourse. This aim will be examined through the way Lefkadians use the dance phenomenon as a quest for defining themselves; in other words, how Lefkadians manipulate their dance profile so as to create a specific cultural identity. The reasons for the introduction and wide application of the "foreign" repertoire on the island, the contextualisation of the dances, the existence of some kind of relationship between the two repertoires, the separation of their performance in two entirely different contexts at some point in time, and the meaning attributed both by the locals and the outsiders to each of the two repertoires constitute the various parameters through which the aim of this study will be realised.

An attempt has been made to approach these issues from an anthropological-laographic point of view. The use of the term 'laographic' instead of the English 'folkloristic' is deliberate as the two terms do not entirely coincide (see 1.2.2). For the time being I am using the first one arbitrarily so as to avoid a misunderstanding as to the approach used. The selection of the particular frame of work emerged from my belief that once researchers intend to learn more about people through their dancing, then they have to carry out a complete study of dance. For a dance study to be complete both the dance and its environment must be examined. The former includes an analysis of its structure and style, as both parameters are considered of equal importance during the dance action. The latter refers to the contexts in which dance is embedded. Last but not least, historical information is also used wherever this illuminates aspects

of the examined dance phenomenon.

As a result the following stages were followed in this study. The thesis is mainly separated into three parts. Part I provides the theoretical orientation and ethnographic information. In particular, Chapter 1 refers to the theoretical background of the study and consists of a discussion of cultural identity and dance, an elucidation of various dance study areas, and a presentation of the existing academic research of the dance under examination in Greece. Chapter 2 introduces the island of Lefkada where fieldwork was effected, the particular place of research, that is the village Karya, and the various sources and methods adopted for the collection of first and second hand data. Chapter 3, an account of the dance material gathered, presents the overall dance profile of the island in terms of dance repertoires performed, dance events taking place, and the relationship of dance and music, which in fact provides information on the contextual aspect of the examined dance phenomenon. A justification for the selection of a particular dance repertoire for detailed analysis and a critical consideration of the dance profile is also provided in this chapter.

Part II focuses on the second aspect of the examined dance phenomenon, that is the detailed study of the dance repertoire itself, and consists of two chapters. Chapter 4 presents the methodology used for the analysis of the dances, the notation system and the method of typology necessary for the comparison of the dances. In particular, this chapter in terms of the method of analysis includes the presentation of both a structural and stylistic model on the grounds that the two parameters, structure and style, are considered to be of equal importance for the definition of the dance forms, a position which is justified in this chapter. Chapter 5 consists of the actual analysis of the examined dances in which the breakdown of the structure and style of the dance forms takes place. This chapter also includes the results emerged from this systematic analysis.

Part III includes the discussion of the results of the analysis followed by the concluding section and consists of only one chapter. Thus, Chapter 6 includes a presentation of the already existing status of the dances studied followed by an attempt to approach the ambivalence of their Lefkadian character from a dance point of view. Based on this, a discussion of the Lefkadian cultural identity as this

is formulated through its dance discourse follows. The entire phenomenon is then placed in a wider Greek cultural framework that seeks to overcome the isolation of its occurrence and to render a more rounded and complete interpretation. Finally, the concluding section provides a summary of the study through which further areas of investigation are proposed.

A final point concerns the inclusion of many Greek words in the study. Their use was considered necessary as even the best translation cannot render the exact meaning of them. This holds true for a number of Greek words which have already been translated in English but which do not correspond to the pronunciation used in Greece. In this case the Greek version was preferred. In terms of spelling, there are also various possibilities; I tried to use the one that was nearest to the Greek language. A glossary of all the Greek words is provided separately in Appendix 1. In addition, whenever an English translation of the Greek texts is not available, the translation is mine.

...

**PART I: THEORY AND ETHNOGRAPHY**

# **CHAPTER 1: Theoretical Orientation**

## **Introduction**

In an attempt to define Lefkadian cultural identity through its dance dimension, a number of theoretical issues emerged, regarding both areas of inquiries, that is cultural identity and dance, and their interrelationship. This chapter seeks to explore these issues, and, consequently, to provide the theoretical framework that forms the conceptual basis of the present study. The chapter is divided in three sections: the first examines ways of conceiving cultural identity and the manner in which dance is mingled with these different schemes of conception; the second focuses on dance, illuminating various aspects of its study areas related to the present study; the final section includes a presentation of the academic studies of Greek folk dance, providing a description of the previous work in the country where the study was effected and stating the contribution of each.

### **1.1. Cultural Identity and Dance**

From the point of view of the concept of cultural identity, two important dilemmas are immediately raised. The first concerns the way cultural identity can be approached and centres on an “us”/“them” opposition. In particular, “us” refers to an inside approach according to which Lefkadians formulate their cultural identity on their own, while “them” refers to an outside approach in which Lefkadian cultural identity is formulated by “others”. The second dilemma pertains to the conception of cultural identity either as an “accomplished fact”, a permanent product which dance only represents, or as a continuous production which dance not only represents but also structures. It is these issues that the following discussion aims to clear up.

#### **1.1.1. Cultural Identity**

With regard to the former inquiry referring to the way identity is formulated, there are at least two opinions. On one hand, there is the belief that “‘Other’ is a constituent of identity’ (Kellner 1992:142). According to this point of view, ‘identity is about belonging, about what you have in common with some people and what differentiates you from others’ (Weeks 1990:88). This seems to hold



true for all levels of identity on the grounds that 'just as the individual becomes aware of his[her] own identity when he[she] interacts with a social "other", so too with cultures' (Cohen 1982:5). From this perspective, even 'the formation of cultural identities presupposes the notion of "other"' (Larrain 1994:142). Diametrically opposite to the above belief lies the argument that local identities are formed primarily from the inside as 'social forms acquire their significance from the meanings which their *own* members perceive in and attribute to them' (Cohen 1982:9; italics in original). In consequence, the formation of cultural identity is entirely a matter for the people themselves.

However, both points of view meet serious objections. Defining identity in relation to some single "other" is considered to be 'a practice that entraps the complexities of identity formation in binary schemes such as self-other, male-female, right-left' (Sutton 1994:256). Similarly, the formation of identity only from the inside is not 'the end of the story. Ethnicities [identities]<sup>1</sup> can never be understood outside the wider power relations in which they are embedded' (Stokes 1994:7). The emerging deadlock is resolved by a third approach that is proposed by Anya Peterson Royce who introduces the "double boundaries" model, that is 'the boundary maintained from the inside, and the boundary imposed from the outside' (1982:29). This approach seeks to combine the two previously opposite positions emphasising the fact that identity is not only how "they" see "us", but also how "we" see "ourselves". Because it is considered that this approach provides a more balanced view of the way cultural identity is formulated, it has been adopted for the present thesis. Thus, Lefkadian identity is considered to be a synthesis of the islanders' view of themselves and of the "others" view of Lefkadians. These two, sometimes different points of view, are in a constant interplay affecting the attitudes and beliefs of both sides.

Similarly, thinking about cultural identity may be articulated from at least two opposite positions. The first position defines cultural identity in terms of:

...one, shared culture, a sort of collective "one true self", hiding inside the many other, more superficial or artificially imposed "selves", which people with a shared history and ancestry hold in common. Within the terms of this definition, our cultural identities reflect the common historical experiences and shared codes which provide us, as "one people", with stable, unchanging and continuous frames of reference and meaning, beneath the shifting divisions and vicissitudes of our

actual history. This “oneness”, underlying all the other, more superficial differences, is the truth, the essence... (Hall 1990:223).

Yet, on the grounds that shared identities ‘are never monolithic: they embody traditions of arguments and debate’ (Weeks 1990:98), a second view of cultural identity is suggested. Cultural identity in this second sense:

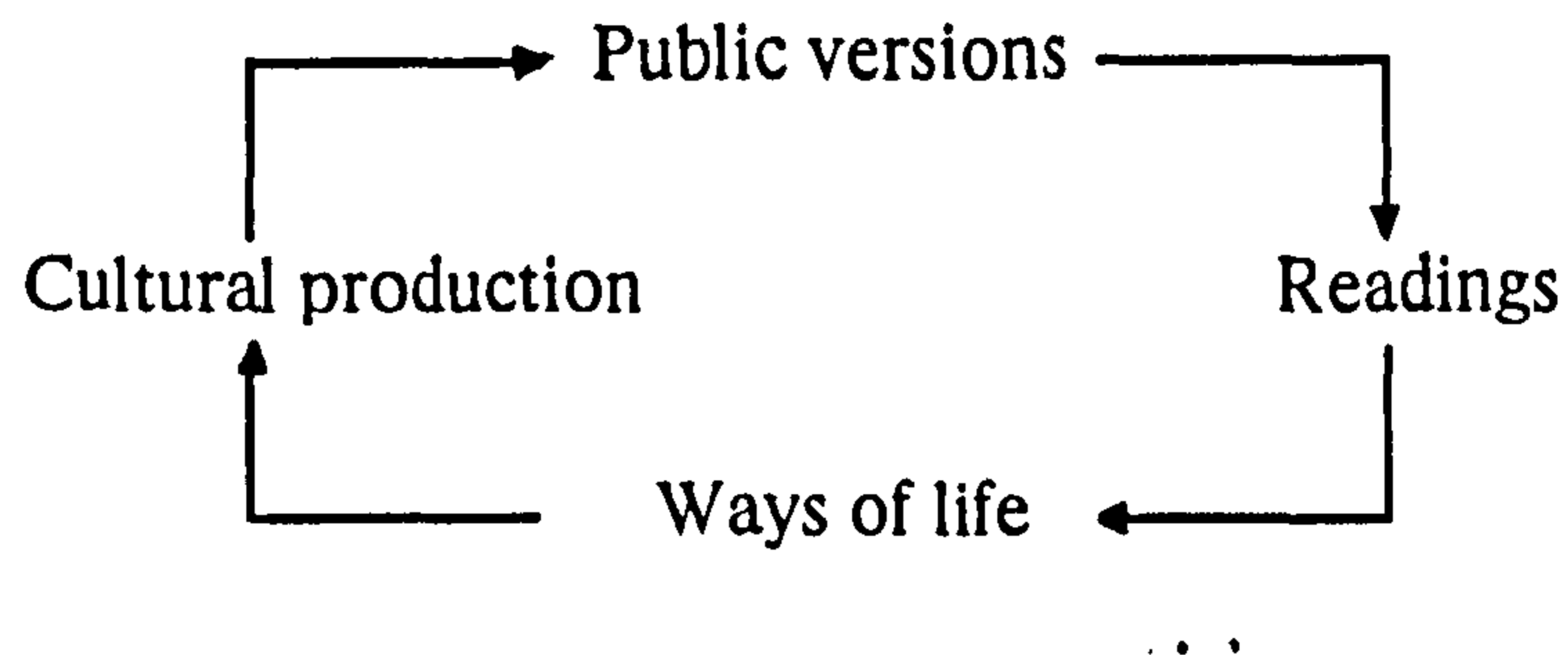
...is a matter of “becoming” as well as of “being”. It belongs to the future as much as to the past. It is not something which already exists, transcending place, time, history and culture... But, like everything which is historical, they undergo constant transformation. Far from being eternally fixed in some essentialised past, they are subject to the continuous “play” of the history, culture and power. Far from being grounded in a mere “recovery” of the past, which is waiting to be found, and which, when found, will secure our sense of ourselves into eternity, identities are the names we give to the different ways we are positioned by, and position ourselves within, the narratives of the past... We might think of... identities as “framed” by two axes or vectors, simultaneously operative: the vector of similarity and continuity; and the vector of difference and rupture... identities have to be thought of in terms of the dialogic relationship between these two axes (Hall 1990:225-226).

Jorge Larrain in his discussion on these two ways of thinking about cultural identity expresses doubts about both as he argues that the first one is ‘essentialist, narrow and closed, the other historical, encompassing and open’ (1994:157-158). In the former, the main ideas associated with identity ‘seem to be those of permanence, cohesion and recognition... imply[ing] a certain continuity, an overall unity and self-awareness’ of identity (p. 143), whereas the latter emphasises ‘difference over uniformity, cultural relativism as against objective truth and historical discontinuity as against unilineal and teleological conceptions of history’ (p. 142). Going a step further, Larrain claims that:

...the very term “identity” may lead one to believe that there is a single received version of it, that one can somehow determine with some precision what belongs to it and what does not, irrespective of whether one conceives of it [identity] as an immutable essence or as a historical construct. In fact, the enormous complexity and diversity of social practices and cultural forms of a particular people differ from what publicly counts as being typical of its identity (Larrain 1994:163).

Richard Johnson provides an in-depth interpretation of this complexity and diversity through an interesting model. According to him:

...the public versions of identity and the enormous variety of ways of life in a country or region are two moments of an identity circuit which ought to be distinguished but which feed on each other. This is illustrated in the figure:



At the basis there is a complex society with an increasingly diversified culture and a huge variety of ways of life. From this big complex reservoir, cultural institutions such as the media, churches, educational and political apparatuses produce some public versions of identity which select only some features that are considered to be representative, and exclude others. These public versions in their turn influence the way in which people see themselves and the way they act through a process of reading or reception which is not necessarily passive and uncritical. Public versions are constructed from ways of life but also constitute sites of struggle which shape the plurality of ways of life (in Larrain 1994:163).

The foregoing presentation indicates that identity is not transparent or unproblematic. For these reasons Stuart Hall's suggestions that 'perhaps instead of thinking identity as an already accomplished fact, which the new cultural practices then represent, we should think instead, of identity as a "production" which is never complete, always in process, and always constituted within, not outside, representation' (1990:222) is fully sustained. In line with this point of view, 'a study of representation becomes, not a study of mimetic mirroring or subjective projecting, but an exploration of the way in which narratives and images structure ourselves and how we construct our notions of self, in the present and in the past' (Hutcheon 1989:7). In other words, it is accepted that a study of the means of representation, be that language, discourse or image, becomes an exploration of the mechanisms that narrow the discursive construction of a cultural identity (Johnson 1993).

### 1.1.2. Dance as a “Representation” of Cultural Identity

In this study, dance, a cultural product in itself, is perceived as one of the many “representations” that structure cultural identity. In other words, dance discourses and images are not solely regarded as an ‘ideal expression’ and ‘an epitome of total culture’ (Kealiinohomoku 1972a:103), or as ‘a reflection of culture... somehow separable from other parts of culture and of which it can be considered a mirror’ (Kaepler 1978:45). Rather they are regarded as instrumental to its formation and active contributors to the construction of cultural identity. Of course, the acceptance of dance as “representation” inevitably means that dance also has political implications. In this case “politics” is understood in its wider sense<sup>2</sup> of ‘the totality of power relations’ (Strinati 1995:118), on the grounds that ‘cultural production... involves social relations and apparatuses, and has definite societal effects... [It is] not independent - socially, economically, ideologically, politically’ (Burgin 1986:55). On this basis, dance, ‘a catalyst for political thought and action’ (Glasser 1991:113),

...is not only an expression of political feelings, it can also influence the perception of the participants and viewers and contribute to transforming socio-political systems... where you dance, whom you dance with, what kind of dances you do, and your attitude toward dance will say something about you as a political being, as well as a performer or ‘artist’. This is not an attempt to reduce dance to politics, but rather to acknowledge that it is an integral part of the life of people, as well as cultural or recreational phenomenon. Dance not only reflects the society, but it can also mould society (Glasser 1991:120).<sup>3</sup>

From this point of view dance is seen as an “open creation” of meanings which can be used and abused for political and ideological ideas (Giurchescu 1994:15), or as ‘an active creation of meanings’, ‘an organ of establishment control’ (Brinson 1985:211, 208). As Judith Hanna suggests ‘mental categorisations may be transformed into dance, signs of visual configurations, to transmit information about and for social interactions’ (1979:83). It is on the grounds of the ‘polysemous’ (Giurchescu 1994:15),<sup>4</sup> ‘multivocal and flexible’ (Novack 1990:42) character of dance where ‘certain content and abstract ideas [externalise] non-verbally’ (Lange 1981:13) that render to it the capacity for symbolic transformation and making it ‘a kind of cultural knowledge’ (Sklar 1991:6).<sup>5</sup> Perceived in this way, dance, ‘one of the most exciting and appealing

aspects of a country's culture' (McIntosh 1972:31), establishes its use as an 'identity marker' (Royce 1977:155) among the most important ones as it is a 'cultural manifestation that has become an integral part of the visible pattern and a reflection - or rather embodiment of issues relating to identity' (van Zile 1996:28).

For the study of dance as an 'identity marker', a characteristic concept of identity, that of 'display' (Royce 1982) must be taken into account. 'Display' presupposes the existence of certain 'frames' (Cowan 1990:18-19) or 'contexts' (Loizos and Papataxiarchis 1991:4-5) as 'it is precisely because of detailed analyses of bounded social settings that [we] have succeeded in making sense of such significant abstractions as... identity' (Moore 1994:273). The concept of dance-event, as this was introduced by Jane Cowan, covers this necessity. In accordance with her usage 'dance-events are conceived as temporally, spatially, and conceptually "bounded" spheres of interaction where individuals publicly present themselves in and through celebratory practices' (1990:4). In this sense, dance events are regarded as 'cultural scenarios' (Schieffelin 1976:3)<sup>6</sup> where play of identities takes place, and provide the basis for examining 'how a given group of people find or, more accurately, *make meaning*' (Sklar 1991:6; italics in original).

In concluding this discussion on cultural identity and dance, it must be underlined that in this study the "representation" of dance "discourses" and "images" as these "are displayed" in various "dance events" on the island of Lefkada are seen as "cultural scenario", the study of which can illuminate the way Lefkadian identity is structured. In particular, the definition of the Lefkadian dancing cultural identity through the examination of what sort of dance is performed, in which dance event, and by whom, may enlighten Lefkadian cultural identity in general. It must be made clear that the absence of a definition of dance throughout the previous discussion was an intentional omission. Transferring Martin Stokes' notions for music into dance it is maintained that 'the fact that [dance] is left as a vague category is not a problem...; [dance] "is" what any social group consider it to be, contrary to the essentialist definitions and quests for [dancing] "universals" of 1960s' (1994:5). On the grounds that both dance and music are 'complex means of expression [which] are differently conceptualised in different cultures' (Giurchescu and Torp 1995:143), the focus is towards a

definition of what dance is for the Lefkadians themselves, keeping in mind Kealiinohomoku's prerequisite that 'the resulting phenomenon is recognised as dance both by the performers and the observing members of a given group' (1976:12).

## **1.2. The Science of Dance**

The selection of the particular "representation", dance, and its study from the aforementioned frame, are closely related to the science of choreology and to social scientific approaches. Within this broad area of study, there is the belief that certain disciplines are at odds with each other because they seem to work within different frames of reference. Because of their specific histories some are perceived as having more kudos than others. For example, folklore is seen by some as "old-fashioned" in contrast to the more "trendy" anthropology. I feel, however, that there is a great deal of overlap between the various factions despite the power relations underlying them (American versus European, scholars versus "peasants", anthropology versus folklore etc.). However, as the latter go beyond the scope of this study, the following discussion focuses only on the clarification of areas such as choreology, dance anthropology and the latter's links with folklore and history. This is considered to be an unavoidable task that may restrict the width and break down the subject matter, dance, but, it is also imperative for the sake of determining the milieu in which this study is placed.

### **1.2.1. Choreology and Dance Anthropology**

In the course of dance study,<sup>7</sup> the terms 'choreology' and its derivatives 'choreologist' and 'choreological approaches' or 'choreological studies' have been identified with dance notation or the study of dance through its own intrinsic methods, even with the structural analysis of dance.<sup>8</sup> In all cases, what has been neglected<sup>9</sup> are the Greek roots of the word, as 'choreology' is the combination of two Greek words '(c)horos+logos' (χορός+λόγος) meaning 'dance+discourse'. On this basis 'choreology' cannot be seen either as dance notation or as a specific approach focussed only on the dance product or its structural analysis. It can rather be accepted according to Gertrude Kurath's definition as 'the study of

dance' (1960:234).<sup>10</sup> Thus, 'choreology' in this study is identified with 'the science of dance'; in this sense it 'can legitimately encompass all forms of dance -folk, ethnic, and the classic danse d'ecole' (Royce 1972:50)<sup>11</sup> and the different methodologies and approaches individual dance researchers have applied within the science of dance 'choreology', be that anthropological, sociological, historical, educational, psychological, phenomenological, biomechanical, physiological or others.

A number of these approaches such as dance education (McFee 1994), the physics of dance (Laws 1984) or dance movement therapy (Stanton-Jones 1992) have clearly outlined their aims. Others are still confusingly defined or, when they are defined, they still leave room for doubts. Amongst these, two main streams can be identified: (a) the "choreological", structural, morphological and stylistical, and (b) the "anthropological", ethnological, contextual and folkloristic ones. Their interrelationship is also ambiguous. Each of the two streams has a predominant characteristic; the former treats dance essentially as movement, examining it at a kinetic level searching the "texture" of dance (Lange 1980:15); the latter treats dance as a social phenomenon investigating its societal dimensions (Kaeppler 1991:12).

Structure, style and form are three closely related concepts. An extended discussion of them is presented later in the thesis (see Part II). For the present discussion it can be briefly stated that structure involves the study of the organisation and interrelation of the parts of the dance, style is associated with the qualities of the dance, while their combination makes up the form of the dance. The problem this option of dance study usually meets is that it is often characterised as being a "choreological" approach. Yet, it has already been stated that the term is not acceptable in this study with this sense. The term 'textural analysis', both emically and etically (Kaeppler 1972:174), are used here as alternatives to characterise this particular option of study.<sup>12</sup>

The second discussed stream of study is even more complex. With regard to the "ethnological approach" and the "anthropological approach", Adrienne Kaeppler (1991) distinguishes them on the grounds of the difference of emphasising either the dance or its societal dimensions, both involved in this stream of study.<sup>13</sup> Without doubt, both approaches present close similarities with

the relative fields of anthropology and ethnology from which they emerged.<sup>14</sup> Because of this relationship, in the present study the difference of emphasis mentioned by Kaeppler is not regarded as a difference of approach, but as a different stage of one approach, the 'anthropological approach', the three stages of which have been presented by Claude Lévi-Strauss. According to him ethnography corresponds to the first stages in research - observation and description and fieldwork- and aims at recording as accurately as possible the perspective modes of life of various groups. Ethnology represents a first step towards synthesis and leads towards conclusions sufficiently comprehensive, while anthropology is the second and final stage of synthesis that aims at a global knowledge of human being (Claude Lévi-Strauss 1963:2-3 and 354-355). Thus, according to the writer:

Ethnography, ethnology, and anthropology do not form three different disciplines, or three different conceptions of the same branch of study. They are in fact three stages, or three moments of time, in the same line of investigation, and preference for one or another of these only means that attention is concentrated on one type of research, which can never exclude the other two (Lévi-Strauss 1963:356).

Besides the complexities of the terms related to the respective study areas, there is a further objection regarding the nature of the anthropological approach of dance as a study of its societal dimensions. If an "anthropological approach" to dance is limited to the study of its societal dimensions, how is this possible, if the medium, "dance", is not studied? How is it possible to talk about "people dancing" if "dancing" is not analysed? This predicament can be overcome if Andrée Grau's perspective of what constitutes an anthropological study of dance is adopted:<sup>15</sup>

There have been three main theoretical approaches in dance studies. Firstly, dance can be approached as patterns of movement, that is, as essentially a technical product. Secondly, dance can be seen as a social phenomenon, made by people for other people, arising out of people's thoughts and couched in the framework of human society. Studies following this line often do not say anything about how the dance looks... The third approach... is the anthropological approach which seeks to combine the other two approaches (Grau 1979:3).

If the anthropological approach of dance is accepted in this holistic view, which in any case is implied if the full anthropological approach is taken into



consideration, then dance is perceived in its entity, as 'not only product but concept and behavior [sic] too' (Merriam 1972:24). If the term 'textural approach' has been adopted for the study of dance, then the term 'contextual approach' (Giurchescu and Torp 1991)<sup>16</sup> can be used to define the study of dance which is limited in the examination of its societal dimensions only.

In summary, three terms have now been clarified, that is the textural, contextual and anthropological approaches. The only one remaining, and not by chance, is the "folkloristic" approach. This term was used by Adrienne Kaeppler to refer to the European approaches which 'focused on choreological products and the migration of these products into urban settings' aiming towards 'classification, definition of local and regional styles, historical layers, and intercultural influences'. In contrast she sees the American tradition as being more anthropological in that it emphasised 'processes and cultural constructions' (Kaeppler 1991:11-12). These two approaches are not necessarily mutually exclusive. In the same article, for example, Kaeppler suggests that 'the wave of the future is an emphasis on cultural relevance - understanding history, social and ethnic diversity, and cultural understanding in our ever-volatile world' (1991:18). On these grounds a discussion of ethnology-anthropology and folklore (folk life studies) seems necessary to illuminate this final point.

### **1.2.2. Anthropology and Folklore**

It is common knowledge that classical anthropology and folklore developed in different historical, scientific, ideological and cultural conditions.<sup>17</sup> It is also widely admitted that, during the last decades, social anthropology has undergone a crisis (Skouteri 1979:20-35, Papataxiarchis 1993:38-40). One of the consequences has been, for instance, that it opened the field towards what is known by a number of terms such as 'anthropology at home' (Jackson 1987), 'auto-anthropology' (Strathern 1987), 'native anthropology' (Mascarenhas-Keyes 1987), or 'indigenous anthropology' (Gefou-Madianou 1993b),<sup>18</sup> a movement that is also related 'to the invitation for "repatriation" of anthropology; with an introspective turn and a critical approach of the familiar culture' (Gefou-Madianou 1993a:44) as well as to economic reasons such as the decrease of grants for research in distant locations.

There are different points of view regarding the nature of this expansion. On one hand, the expansion focuses on the subject of anthropological study. According to this, classical anthropology has concentrated on “primitive” or “exotic” people, opposite to folklore which has concentrated on “the lower” and “illiterate” rural people; with its expansion, anthropology turned to the study of the rural people as well (Ntatsis 1988, Papataxiarchis 1993). On the other hand, Maurice Godelier argues that the traditional scope of anthropology ‘derived from two fragments of human history, those of non-western societies, usually non-literate and colonised by Europe, and rural Europeans with a backward mode of production and precapitalist and preindustrial types of social organisation’ (1977:30). From this point of view, the expansion of anthropology does not concern its subject matter, instead is a matter of centrality, i.e. in the past the people under investigation were always in the “margins”, out of the centre of power, while today there is a desire of bringing anthropological analysis to the centre.

Because of this expansion, in many countries where folklore had already been developed, the two approaches came to overlap resulting in various contrasts and juxtapositions between them. Quite surprisingly, this led to a lack of interest towards each other that becomes bigger as anthropologists at home tend to compare this new trend with classical folklore, which was restricted to the narrow practices of an “artificial” external study of their subject, while later folklorists, by expanding their interest towards internal examination and interpretation of their subject, cover a sphere whose exclusiveness is claimed by anthropologists (Gefou-Madianou 1993a, Nitsiakos 1991, Varvounis 1993). Yet it seems that this attitude towards each other is probably not so much a matter of deep intellectual difference, but more a matter of professional survival as separate entities. At least, this is what happens in Greece, where the two areas of study will be further examined on the basis that they ‘have a different history and content in each country... [and thus] the theoretical and methodological problems must be locally resolved’ (Alexakis 1993:23).

Whilst the study of social anthropology in Greece started around the 1950s, when Greece attracted the interest of western anthropologists,<sup>19</sup> it is only in the 1980s that it was established as an academic subject in universities (Alexakis 1993, Gefou-Madianou 1993a, 1993b, Nitsiakos 1991). Greek folklore or

laographia (Λαογραφία) - as the Greek term is usually maintained -<sup>20</sup> however, has been a well established discipline in Greece since the turn of the century. Although it started as a 'positivistic folklore based on German Romanticism... duly drafted in the nationalistic drive to create a Greek national identity' (Gefou-Madianou 1993b:164), it extended its interest to the historical and social frame of the phenomena under examination (Alexakis 1993:33, Herzfeld 1982:102-103, Kyriakidou-Nestoros 1978:24-26, Meraklis 1989:15, Nitsiakos 1991:10-12). The two disciplines have a history of little communication between them. In recent years, however, a number of Greek researchers have started to acknowledge the relationship between the two fields and declare their interests as lying in a combination of folklore and social sciences, while others present themselves as folklorists-anthropologists or adopt a folkloristic-anthropological approach.<sup>21</sup> Because of the existing situation, and as both areas provided useful material for the needs of the present study, reference to both seemed obligatory despite their separation.

### 1.2.3. Anthropology and History

Further debate arises from the fact that fieldwork, originally very much the prerogative of anthropology, is inevitably related to the study of the present, the synchrony, and anthropology has been criticised for having been a-historical in its early manifestations.<sup>22</sup> With regard to the subject matter of dance, and very pertinent to the issues of identity, Ana Sanchez-Colberg examines the importance of taking history, the diachronic aspect, into consideration in her study on *tanztheater*.

A synchronic modality, which takes the subject out of its historical time, describes a hypothetical construction which may promote exactly what this study insists on avoiding; namely that without a time frame which provides the context from which the features gain their identity, elements which are heterogeneous may be regarded as similar, and analogous relations might be made where there are none... *Tanztheater* must be traced through sixty years of history which have experienced drastic and profound changes. *Tanztheater* cannot escape its specific history (Sanchez-Colberg 1992:17-18).

Obviously, the researcher 's knowledge of the communities' history is of great importance in the understanding and appreciation of their dance

phenomenon. On these grounds, the advance of 'the idea of a choreological discourse linking the developing field of Choreological Studies [sic] to that of historical analysis' (Sanchez-Colberg 1992:i) which leads to a combination of synchrony to diachrony is of great value. In this sense, historical analysis is not used as 'an introduction to the main theme as if it was detached from that' (Nitsiakos 1991:41); it means 'association of the phenomena with the historical terms of creation and evolution... and incorporation in a particular social, economic, political and cultural framework which is conceived as an historical and not transcendent entity' (Nitsiakos 1991:11). It must be stressed, however, that the present study treats history as one of the many strands shaping contemporary Lefkadian identity.

#### **1.2.4. Theoretical Synthesis**

It is evident that the study of any human phenomenon, dance included, requires an interdisciplinary approach. For instance Vassilis Nitsiakos states that 'the breaking of a study into pieces and a separation of the fields among the various human sciences... has rather negative consequences for the comprehension and interpretation of the human society, a fact which grows on common conscience and leads to the increase of the interest towards interdisciplinarity' (1991:12). In addition Michalis Varvounis argues that the 'methodological dogmatisation constitutes the worst advisor; the same customarily form, if of course the data offers these possibilities, can be examined from a diachronic and synchronic point of view, as well as from a functional, structural, comparative, psychological and mapping one' (1993:78). Thus, some researchers are coining new terms such as 'folk-ethno-anthropological sciences' (Ntatsis 1988) or 'anthropological folklore' (Kellner 1992).

For the study of dance, in particular, it seems that possible pre-existing "blinkers" must be removed through the absence of dogmatism and the openness towards other disciplines without however losing the request for the development of 'the study of dance into an established and autonomous field' (Giurchescu and Torp 1991:7). The present study has no intention towards claiming a particular title, be that anthropological, ethnological, folkloristic or anything else, but it aims to draw information from as many areas as possible, so

that the dance phenomenon under investigation will be illuminated in the best way. This should not be taken as an attitude that implies an unlimited and indefinite approach to the subject matter, but as a useful strategy in the framework of interdisciplinarity.

### 1.3. Review of the Academic Studies of Greek Folk Dance

Despite the laographic and anthropological interest in Greece, it is only during the last ten years that Greek folk dance<sup>23</sup> has been introduced as an autonomous and worthwhile subject for academic study in both areas of research.<sup>24</sup> This is quite surprising as Greek dance 'linked to the everyday life... [presents] an impressive, in terms of size and liveliness, practice... [yet] because dance is so common around us we do not pay any attention to it' (Raftis 1985:11). The slow entrance of international choreological pursuits in Greece, only in the late 1980s, and the late establishment (1981) of Physical Education and Sports Departments in Greek Universities, which is the only place where Greek folk dance is studied academically, played an important role in the delay of academic interest in dance in Greece.

Nevertheless the existing situation does not amount to a total absence of interest in dance in Greece. Much information is scattered in various places, such as local journals and history books, tourist and travellers guides, as well as dance teachers' publications, publications of aficionados of Greek dance, Greek and foreign journals of mainly folkloristic interest, seminars' and conferences' proceedings and others, forming a significant corpus of sources. In 1992 Irene Loutzaki reviewed in some detail most of the dance material published in Greece,<sup>25</sup> so I will not dwell on it here as it is largely peripheral to this study. Rather, I will concentrate on unpublished academic works or works published abroad which were not included in Loutzaki's review. These are significant to the present thesis for their theoretical orientation which lies broadly in the social sciences<sup>26</sup> and for the fact that Greek folk dance is their main subject matter and not a by-product resulting from another interest.<sup>27</sup>

The late 1980s experienced an outburst of interest on the study of Greek folk dance.<sup>28</sup> In particular, 1989 can be considered the turning point in the history

of its academic study as within a few months of each other three PhD theses on the specific subject were presented in Greece and abroad and paved the way for a number of others. Although these studies have various aims, which are achieved through different combinations of approaches and methods, they proved to be quite inspiring in the ways the study of dance in general, as well as Greek dance in particular, are perceived in this study. Thus, a brief presentation of each follows.

One of the few studies that focused on the concept of dance style and the only one examining the particular issue in the Greek context is the thesis of Irene Loutzaki, the first PhD thesis, to my knowledge, on Greek folk dance presented abroad. Under the title *Dance as a Cultural Message: A Study of Dance Style Among the Greek Refugees from Northern Thrace in Micro Monastiri, Neo Monastiri and Aeginion*, the thesis was submitted to the Social Anthropology and Ethnomusicology Department, Queen's University, Belfast, in October 1989. In this study, Loutzaki, taking a step further her master dissertation *Dance and Society in a Complex Greek Peasant Community*, submitted to the same University in 1984, examined the entire dance repertoire of three communities through an attempt to combine the 'ethnoscience movement analysis as set forth by Adrienne Kaeppler..., with basic principles of stylistics, semiology, and structural ethnography, and those of choreology and dance ethnology' (Loutzaki 1989:ix).

In particular, Loutzaki attempted 'to relate surface manifestations of movement to the underlying structure of style and to demonstrate how style is based on and influenced by such considerations as age, sex, locality, community, and ritual/secular occasions' (1989:ix). In her ambition to produce as full a picture of the dance phenomenon as possible, Loutzaki takes the reader into many directions, incorporating parameters too numerous to discuss here in the sense that each would be worthy of a whole study. Pertinent to the present thesis is Loutzaki's definition of the term 'regional style', and her analysis of both structure and style as shaping the form of the dance, even though different methods of analysis are used here.

During the same year (1989) two more theses were completed this time in Greece. In May, Magda Zografou submitted her thesis under the title *Λαογραφική-Ανθρωπολογική Προσέγγιση του Σέρα Χορού των Ποντίων*

[Laographic-Anthropological Approach of *Sera* Dance of Pontii] to the Laographic Department of the Faculty of History and Archaeology University of Ioannina, while at the same Department a second thesis under the title *Ο Παραδοσιακός Χορός στο Συρράκο. Λαογραφική και Ανθρωπολογική Προσέγγιση* [The Traditional Dance at Syrrako. Laographic and Anthropological Approach] was presented by Elias Demas in December. With regard to the former, Zografou attempted to unify what she saw as the ‘two main concepts of dance anthropology, those of structure and function’ (Zografou 1989:21) and substantially to apply both to one of the dances of the refugees from Pontos who migrated to Greece. By using a modification of the Conté notation system and the structural model offered by the Hungarian scholars Martin and Pesovar (1961), Zografou examined the “traditional” and “artistic” form of *séra*, a male Pontic war dance, in relation to music accompaniment and style, compared them and indexed the transformations that took place (1989:28-31). The transformations were explained with the use of the communication model ‘transmitter (dancer) - message (dance)-receiver (spectator)’ and the dynamics between these parameters, and with reference to particular historical periods (1989, Chapter 4). Ethnohistorical material was also used to relate the *séra* dance with the ancient Greek dance *pyrrichios*. Although Zografou analysed only one dance of the Pontic repertoire, which may be considered a minimal sample for applying her method, the fact that she did analyse the dance and place it in its sociohistorical frame constitutes the first attempt to examine Greek dance in its entirety, and thus acts as a guideline at least in the Greek context.

The focus of the latter thesis was on the transformation of dance from ‘a means of social induction and participation of the person to the community to a means of entertainment, personal expression and showing off’ (Demas 1989:15). In doing so, Demas examined the entire dance repertoire of the community of Syrrako, Epiros, in terms of form, expression and “dance consciousness”, taking into consideration historical, economic and cultural changes. Form and expression were presented in a descriptive way, while “dance consciousness” was associated with gender, age, knowledge of the local and other dance repertoires, and participation in dance activities (1989:140-143) and was analysed with sociological methods such as structured questionnaires, tables, statistics, and percentages. The community examined was perhaps abnormal in that it lives at Syrrako only during the summer months. Thus, the study referred to a new form

of maintenance of tradition, that of '*in absentia* of space', a phenomenon also mentioned by Nitsiakos (1991:41).

A common characteristic of the above-mentioned three theses is that, despite the fact that they were completed either in Greece or abroad, they were written by Greeks. In 1990 Jane Cowan from the USA published the book *Dance and the Body Politic in Northern Greece* based on her 1988 thesis *Embodiments: The Social Construction of Gender in Dance-Events in a Northern Greek Town*. Cowan's study is about 'the intertwining of power and pleasure in gender and sexual relations, the social shaping of the human body, [and] the ambiguities of social experience' (Cowan 1990:xi). Cowan looked at the synchronic manifestation of specific dance events,<sup>29</sup> analysing neither the broader framework of political and class structures nor dance itself, arguing that 'detailed descriptions or analysis of steps, body movements, or the structural aspects of individual dances, are for the most part, not directly relevant to the basic questions explored here' (1991:18).<sup>30</sup> Cowan's perspective towards dance as a means for examining concepts such as power, identity and gender, and the attention that she paid to everyday habits, however, were of great importance in the way Greek dance could be approached.

From a dance perspective a significant study was Vassiliki Tyrovola's 1994 thesis carried out at the Ethnomusicology Department, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Athens under the title *Ο Χορός "Στα Τρία" στην Ελλάδα. Δομική-Μορφολογική και Τυπολογική Προσέγγιση της Μορφής του Χορού "Στα Τρία"* [The Dance "Stia Tria" in Greece. Structural-Morphological and Typological Approach of the Form of the Dance "Stia Tria"]. In this study, Tyrovola focused on the form "*sta tria*", a dance widely used all over the *Helladic* world, that is 'all the ethnosocial components which live under the same sociohistorical and cultural network' (Kontogiorgis 1979:10), under the same or different name. Tyrovola aimed at 'the study of the composition of the dance "*sta tria*"...; the substantiation of the structure of a large number of dances according to that of "*sta tria*" and the investigation of the properties and characteristics which contributed to the distinctive forms of various areas; the classification of these dances in relation to species and the degree of relationship with the morphic type of "*sta tria*", and to the establishment of the term <type "*sta tria*"> as a fundamental species category... combining methods and techniques coming from social anthropology,



Choreology, Musicology [sic] and structural linguistics' (1994:20-21). Although Tyrovola focused on the dance product, a fact which she acknowledges when she states that 'the study of elements which have content value i.e. history, social structures, social event, and others' are excluded (1994:32), her typological model is of great importance for comparative dance studies.

Finally in 1995, a thesis entitled *Ο Παραδοσιακός Χορός στις Κοινότητες των Ακμπουναριωτών στο Γκενεράλ Ίντζοβο Βουλγαρίας και στο Αιγίνιο Πιερίας. Συγκριτική Λαογραφική Προσέγγιση* [The Traditional Dance at the Communities of Akbounarioton at Gkeneral Intzovo, Bulgaria and Aeginion, Pieria. Comparative Laographic Approach] was presented by Ioannis Prantzidis at the Educational Department, University of Athens. The innovation of this study lies in the comparison of the dance tradition of the communities of two different countries. The two communities are closely related as they both originate from Ak-boumar in Eastern Roumelia (Northern Thrace) and were separated after 1924: the part of the population that remained, became known as that of Gkeneral Intzovo as became part of Bulgaria, while the rest migrated to Aeginion of Pieria, Greece. Prantzidis aimed to study the form, the content and generally the role of dance in the united community of Ak-boumar until 1924 and to investigate the process of the dance phenomenon, its transformations and the reasons for them in the two communities that emerged after the separation of population (1995:14). Prantzidis used 'descriptive analysis' (1995:14) for the examined dances while history is used to a great extent.

Through the presentation of these academic studies on Greek folk dance it is clear that, despite the existing multiplicity of aims, approaches and methods, the main interest lies in the study of specific communities. These communities, because of a particular reason, be that migration (Zografou, Loutzaki, Prantzidis) or phenomenon of community "*in absentia* of space" (Demas), maintain their (dance) traditions. With the exception of Cowan, who does not take local history into consideration, historical information plays an important role in most of the communities examined. Additionally, in most of the studies, dance and its societal dimensions are examined in combination, as only Tyrovola's focuses solely on the dance product and Cowan's on the contextual framework. However, the use of descriptive methods in the presentation of the dances in two of the other theses (Demas and Prantzidis), lessens their dance product orientation and their

contribution towards an analysis of the dance.

#### **1.4. Conclusions**

The present study also focuses on a particular community. Yet, despite its turbulent history, this community was not under some sort of “threat” or official isolation. Thus, the community chosen can be considered more “open” to the various external influences that shaped its specific (dance) tradition and resulted in the formation of a local cultural peculiarity. In order to examine this peculiarity, dance, a sociocultural product which is treated as instrumental in the construction of cultural identity, is selected for study.

The thesis follows an interdisciplinary strategy that leads to a synthesis of social and dance analyses. Historical and laographic sources are used within the context of an ethnochoreological approach, which brings together contextual information and motional analysis of the dances. The dance phenomenon, embodied in a sociocultural framework, is revealed through its structural and stylistic dimensions, parameters of equal importance for the definition of a dance form. Cultural identity is defined analytically from the dance point of view and is further examined in the wider Greek cultural frame in which it is embedded.

## **Notes:**

1. Marcus Banks argues that 'nationalism or identity present the two very different offsprings from their parent ethnicity' (1996:142). It is on this basis that I add the word 'identities' to Martin Stoke's quote.
2. Sylvia Glasser explains that 'the narrow or specific use of "political" is connected with the state or government and its organisation at various levels' (1991:113).
3. Sylvia Glasser in the same article acknowledges the opposite belief or view due to which 'politics and art should not be mixed and that dance is solely a form of entertainment'. But she underlines that 'it is often those in the society who have political power who support the idea that art (or dance) is not political...' (1991:112).
4. According to Anca Giurchescu 'the polysemy of dance arises at the point where the conceptual, the social and the artistic levels of meaning interact' (1994:15). From another point of view, this characteristic is also mentioned by Anya Peterson Royce when she notes that 'another aspect of dance that may contribute to its potency as a symbol [is] the fact that it carries information in a number of channels simultaneously' (1977:162).
5. As Deidre Sklar explains 'cultural knowledge is embodied in movement, especially the highly stylised and codified movement we call dance... the knowledge involved in dancing is not just somatic, but mental and emotional as well, encompassing cultural history, beliefs, values, and feelings' (1991:6).
6. Edward Schieffelin states that 'a cultural scenario is a series of events embodying a typical sequence of phases or episodes, which between its commencement and resolution effects a certain amount of social progress or change in the situation to which it pertains' (1976:3).
7. Although instead of 'dance' the term 'human movement' is considered by many authors as more "precise" (Kaeppler 1991:12) and "accurate" since the concept of "dance"... may not be appropriate cross culturally' (Grau 1993:21), I will agree with Andrée Grau that 'the term "human movement" is rather

cumbersome and since it is “dance” - rather than martial arts or signing systems for instance - that is usually looked at, the use of the term “dance” is justifiable. In the above comments the terms ‘dance’ and ‘human movement’ are associated with ‘anthropology’, yet because the latter will be discussed extensively below, the discussion here is limited to ‘dance’ and ‘human movement’.

8. With regard to the former, Fernau Hall defined choreology as ‘the study of all forms of movement through notation’ (1967:196), following Rudolph Benesh, who named his system of dance notation “choreology” (see Lange 1981:21). It must be noted, however, that the Institute of Choreology renamed itself the Benesh Institute in recognition of the fact that it could not monopolise the word. With regard to the latter, Valerie Preston-Dunlop centres the intrinsic systems of dance on ‘movement both experienced and observed, and on the infrastructure between the movement and other essential ingredients, namely the dancer, the sound, and the space in which the dance takes place’, clarifying that ‘the term in United States was used to describe structural methods of dance analysis’ (1989:1-2).

9. Anya Peterson Royce (1972:49) had criticised the previous incorrect use of the term, a criticism which was later on repeated by Lange (1981:21). Despite the existing criticisms of the previous incorrect use of the term, in 1991 a number of dance scientists (Kaepler, Giurchescu and Torp) used the term “choreological approaches” in relation to the specific ‘focus of the European dance researchers on the dance product and its authenticity’ (Kaepler 1991:11) in contrast to American scholars. However, I have to emphasise that the contrast refers mostly to the East Europeans dance researchers who are supposed to have concentrated mostly on movement analysis versus the British and the American dance researchers who are closer to contextual and/or anthropological analysis.

10. Gertrude Kurath had used the term choreology in two previous cases as ‘the science of movement patterns’ (1956:177) and as synonymous of ‘ethnology of dance’ (1959). However, in both cases there is a derivation from the Greek meaning, a fact which Kurath changed with her 1960 definition.

11. Anya Peterson Royce (1972:50) points out the existing argument of these terms and refers to Kurath (1960) and Kealiinohomoku (1969-1970) for excellent

reviews of the many definitions. For the use and meaning of the terms in Greece see Zografou 1992:2-18.

12. The terms 'movement analysis' (Lange 1980:15) or 'kinetic analysis' are usually used. Yet, because they refer only to the analysis of the movements, which restrict the width of this approach, the term 'textural', originating from Lange's use of word 'texture', was preferred.

13. In her article, Adrienne Kaeppler defines the "ethnological approach" as an approach which 'focuses on dance content, and the study of cultural context aims to illuminate dance... the social relationships of the people dancing are backgrounded while the dance itself and its changes over time are foregrounded. "Anthropological approach" is an approach which 'focuses on system, the importance of intention meaning, and cultural evaluation... [and] aims not simply to understand dance in its cultural context, but rather to understand society through analysing movement systems' (1991:16, 17). For an overview of the anthropology of dance see also Helen Thomas (1995:167-170).

14. Evangelos Ntatsis notes that 'Ethnology [sic]... regarding its material in its diachronic, historical dimension offers a wide knowledge of the facts and their time succession without advancing on inductive generalisations and "nomothetic" targets, [whereas] Social Anthropology [sic] has a synchronic and "nomothetic" character... it studies not isolated subjects but entire systems of cultural phenomena... puts the weight on the relationships among the isolated phenomena... and its ulterior scientific target [is] the search of laws which arrange the inner balance of the social systems' (1988:248-249).

15. Unrevised extracts of Grau's MA dissertation were published under the title 'Some problems in the analysis of dance style with special reference to the Venda of South Africa' in 1990. Irene Loutzaki similarly states that 'besides studying dance as a choreographic creation and analysing the movements of which it is composed, dance anthropology is concerned with the relationship of dance to other cultural phenomena such as economic life, kinship systems and social organisation' (1985:7).

16. The term has been suggested by Anca Giurchescu and Lisbet Torp (1991). It

is however interesting that, while both American and European dance researchers (Kaepler, 1991, Giurchescu and Torp 1991), use the term 'choreological approaches' with the same sense, i.e. textural approach, a similar consensus does not exist for the other stream of dance study which they define as anthropological versus contextual respectively.

17. Evangelos Ntatsis states that 'the development of Ethnology and Social Anthropology [sic] is essentially related with the most important colonialist forces of Europe (England, France etc.) and with America where the historical conjunction created a sort of "internal" colonialism. In contrast to those countries that had developed industrial production but little colonialist activity, or countries that had remained on the periphery of industrial and capitalist development of the European countries (such as the Balkans), the career of Ethnology and Anthropology [sic] was hypotonic, [and] the leading role was held by the development of Folk-lore' (1988:245-246). The author continues that the parallel development, inter-relationship and mutual influence of these sciences was based on 'their common and indisputable characteristic [to study societies] where each sort of collective experience... is transmitted from one generation to the other through oral speech and "mimesis"... [thus having as] common scientific object the "oral" and not "written" cultures and their "differentiations"'. See also Papataxiarchis (1993:36) and Gefou-Madianou (1993a:45).

18. Dimitra Gefou-Madianou explains that 'these terms reflect different historical phases and interpretative patterns of the development of anthropology as well as different trends of the anthropological practice which however are related'. However, she emphasises that 'the distinction of anthropology at home from classical anthropology is of methodological character... Anthropology at home is not a new anthropology but an anthropological viewpoint which was created to correspond to particular historical, scientific, ideological and cultural coincidences' (1993a:44-50).

19. In fact, anthropological interest in Greece mainly emerged in USA starting with Ernestine Friedl and followed by a plethora of anthropological studies (Campbell 1964, Alexiou 1974, Danforth 1979, Herzfeld 1985, Dubisch 1986, Loizos and Papataxiarchis 1991 to refer only to a few).

20. The term 'laographia' (*Λαογραφία*) was established in Greece in 1884 by Nikolaos Politis. The term is usually kept in its English translation not only for the discipline, but also in publications of journals such as those of the Greek Laographic Association (Laographia) and of the International Greek Folklore Society of USA (Laografia). Alexakis (1993) explains this maintenance on the grounds that laographia has a wider content than that of the English folklore. The latter excludes the study of areas such as social organisation, folk law, material life and folk arts with exception of that of folk literature, areas which the Father of Greek laographia had also included (see also Politis 1909:5). In fact, this is the reason why some Greek folklorists suggest that the term laographia encompasses folklore and ethnography at the same time coinciding with ethnology (Alexakis 1993, Dimitriou 1989, Meraklis 1989). For the Greek and international scientific name of folklore see also, Alexiadis 1988.

21. A typical example of the first position is demonstrated by Nitsiakos who locates his interests in the sphere of 'Laographia, Social History, Sociology and Social Anthropology [sic]' (1991:12-13). Some typical examples of the second position are expressed by Kakouri 1963, Zografou 1989 and Demas 1989, who either use the title folklorist-anthropologist as the first one, or the respective approach, laographic-anthropological, as the last two who have applied it to Greek dance.

22. For instance, Vassilis Nitsiakos states that 'an inevitable consequence of the synchronic approach of the anthropological studies of the Greek community is the supplanting of the history; the communities are presented at zero time as if they were a-historical' (1991:41). The point has also been emphasised by Dimitra Gefou-Madianou who, referring to the necessity of the retrospective approach of the community examined, which has a rich folklore tradition and previous historical studies, argues that 'the anthropologist who lacks historical perspective, while he/she is able to discern social behaviours and to elicit their cultural significance, he/she cannot place them in a time frame. Nor is he/she able to estimate the social change, if he/she does not know the continuities and discontinuities of the society he/she studies. He/she cannot specify for example, if a specific behaviour constitutes an occasional reaction or a repetitive model of behaviour' (1993a:46). For an extensive discussion of anthropology and history see Papataxiarchis and Paradellis 1993.

23. Although the term 'folk', like 'popular' or 'traditional', is troublesome, as it has already been used by many dance researchers (Buckland 1983:315-332, Kealiinohomoku 1972b:385, Kealiinohomoku 1983:533-549, Mazaraki 1984:3-6, Zografou 1992, Chapter 1), its use here is unavoidable so as to distinguish the dance form under examination from other forms of Greek dance.

24. It has already been mentioned that anthropological interest in Greece did start before 1962. Yet, although some of the researchers referred to the presence of dance at important events in the communities under examination, such as weddings and village festivals (Campbell 1964 and Herzfeld 1985), the overall impression is that of neglect. Loring Danforth (1979) is an exception as he sees the dance in the context of the Anastenaria ritual therapy.

25. After 1992 a number of books on Greek folk dance has been published by writers such as Drandakis (1993), Raftis (1992), Tyrovola (1992) and Nitsiakos (1994).

26. A number of academic dance studies have been carried out mainly in Greece and abroad but with different theoretical orientations. For instance, Atsalakis 1989, Serbezis 1995 and Zikos 1991 adopted an educational approach, Panagiotopoulou 1991 deals with issues of philosophical enquiries of genesis of dance, while Sachinidis 1993 has mainly a sociological orientation.

27. For instance, Dimitrios Loukatos, who already in 1960a proposed a systematic study of Greek dance is mainly a folklorist; Eleftherios Alexakis published in 1992 an article on dance, yet he is mainly interested in the Greek kinship system and the ethnology and ethnohistory of Balkan peoples; Vassilis Nitsiakos, is mainly interested in 'Traditional Social Structures' (1991), yet he introduced the book '*Χορός και Κοινωνία* [Dance and Society]' (1994); Pavlos Kavouras also published an article on dance in 1992, although his particular anthropological interests are in symbolism, cultural change, emigration and the ethnography of modern Greece. Finally, Lisbet Torp in her 1990 book has included a large number of Greek dances in her material but without making exclusive reference to Greek folk dance.

28. Previous interest in dance as a subject matter had been expressed by Loukatos



1960 and Kilpatrick 1975, the former a folklorist, the latter an ethnomusicologist. Still, the interest before the 1980s can be considered minimal in comparison with the 1980s outburst.

29. Cowan for example chose to exclude from her discussion the famous pre-Lenten Carnival of Sohos, an exclusively male activity (1990:5).

30. It is interesting to refer to two reviews of Cowan's book as they clearly demonstrate the different emphasis of what constitutes "valuable" elements from a dancing and an anthropological point of view. The first by Susan Foster having a dancing focus criticises the fact that 'Cowan talks all around the dance, but leaves the reader by the end with only the vaguest sense of what the dancing looks or feels like' (1992:363) or 'as it is presented in the book, the dance remains mute and even irrelevant' (1992:365). However, the anthropologist Eugenia Georges pays little attention to the absence of dance itself as she is more concerned by the fact that Cowan in order 'to complement her detailed explorations of the diffuse sorts of power pervading sociable practices, greater attention to the influence of more systematic political and class structures would have been valuable' (1993:300).

## **CHAPTER 2: Ethnography**

## **Introduction**

The setting in which this study was conducted and the methods adopted during fieldwork are presented in this chapter, which is divided into three parts: the first part provides general information about the island of Lefkada; the second presents the particular place of my residence, that is the village of Karya, explaining the reasons for its selection; the third part refers to the sources from which the first and second hand data were collected.

### **2.1. The Island of Lefkada<sup>1</sup>**

The information listed here concerns the island's geography, name, administration-population and economy, followed by a concise presentation of the historical course of the island. The latter constitutes an integral part of this study not merely a parade of events, but a significant parameter in understanding and explaining the sociocultural particularities and uniqueness of Lefkadians. The aim is to reveal and explain the various attitudes towards, and of, Lefkadians, attitudes which construct the levels of identity on the island, and which are constructed and manifested in all activities and, in particular, dance.

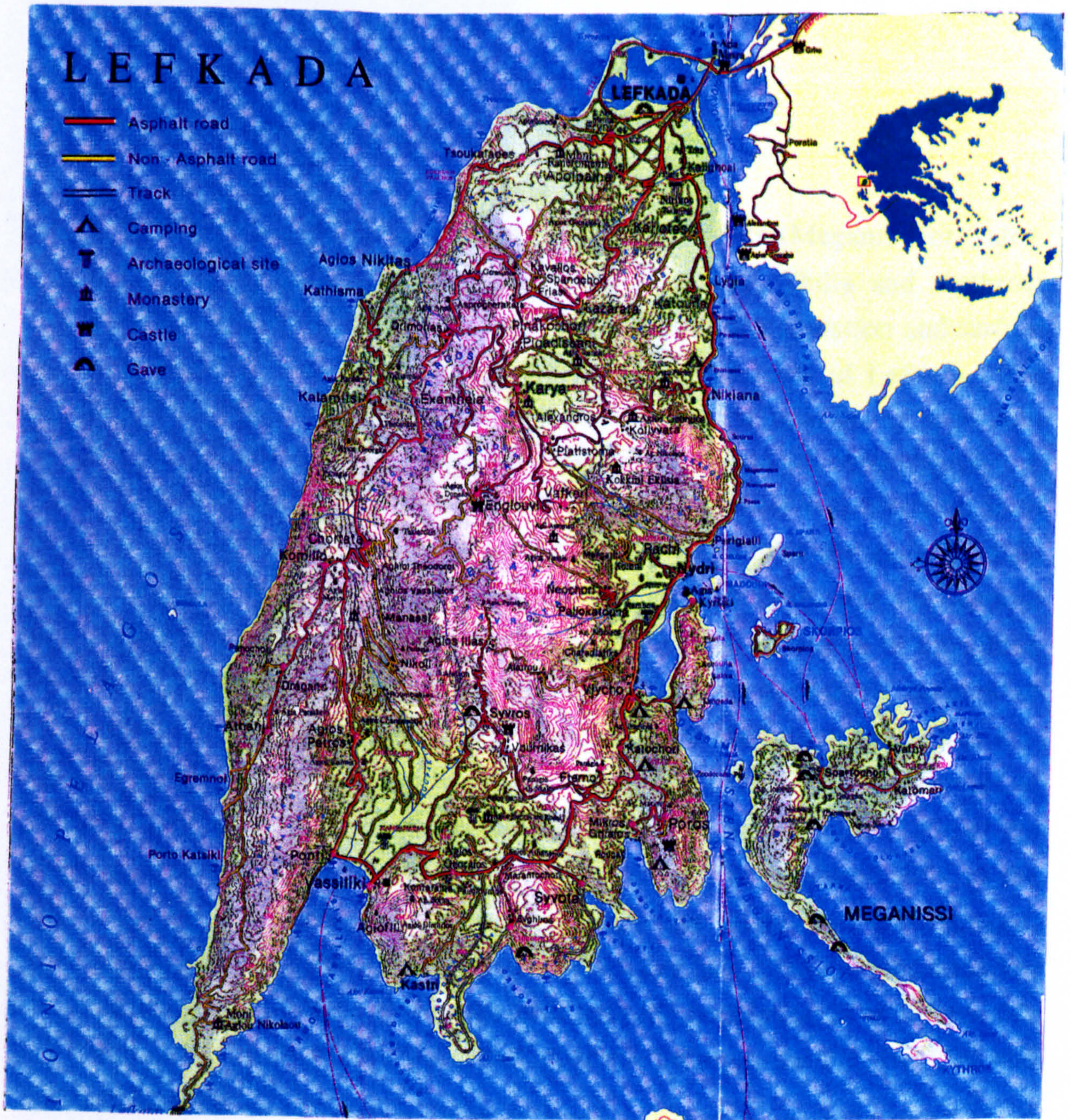
#### **2.1.1. Geography**

Lefkada is an island in the Ionian Sea, one of the *Eptanissa* (Seven Islands) located around the middle of the western coast of mainland Greece (see Map 1 and Map 2). The island lies at a distance of 78 metres from the mainland coast of Aetoloakarnania from which it is separated by a shallow lagoon and a narrow channel, where transportations are effected by a ferry called *Perataria* or *Perama*. The channel is 25 metres wide and is spanned by a floating bridge. With an area of 305.21 square km, Lefkada is the fourth largest of the Ionian Islands after Kephallonia, Kerkyra (Corfu) and Zakynthos. 72.6% of the island is mountainous, 17.2% is semi-mountainous and only 10.2% is plain. Lefkada's only true plain is found in the north of the island (see Plate 1). Like all the other Ionian islands, Lefkada is located in an area of tectonic rifts. Earthquakes have shaken the area on a number of occasions since antiquity, and many of them, such as



Map 2: The Island of Lefkada

Map 1: Greece



**Map 2: The Island of Lefkada**

those of 1825 and 1948, to refer only to modern history, have been destructive. The frequent appearance of this phenomenon has made the islanders learn to live with it, although it does not mean that they are used to it. At least, this was the case when, during fieldwork, in winter 1994, the island was once more shaken by serious but not destructive earthquakes.

### **2.1.2. Administration-Population**

Administratively, Lefkada and its nine surrounding islets (Meganissi or Tafos, Kalamos, Kastos, Skorprios, Skorpidi, Madouri, Sparti, Thilia and Kythros) constitute the smallest Greek Prefecture in terms both of population and surface area (see Plate 2). The capital of the Prefecture is the town of Lefkada. The population of the Prefecture is 23,000 persons and it consists of one sub-prefecture (that of Lefkada) with three municipalities and 40 communities. A union of small neighbouring villages to form municipalities is a common local target as better economic and administrative privileges from the state are thus gained. The Prefecture, established on 17th March 1946, has uninominal representation in the Greek Parliament; this means that, according to the Greek political system, only one candidate, the one who won the largest number of votes, has the right to represent the population of the island in Parliament. Considering that Lefkada is one of the prefectures with the highest percentage of left wing voters, this fact has played an important role in the political life of the island since central government was until the early 1980s predominantly to the right. Poverty and political indifference were the norm, and persecutions, injustices, even assassinations were part of everyday life. Although the situation is calmer nowadays, events of the past have split the population in two parts, left and right wing voters, and consequent quarrels between people, families and villages still exist.

### **2.1.3. Economy**

Agriculture, mainly olive crops and wine making but also cattle breeding, fishing and lately the cultivation of pansy flowers, together with tourism, provide the basis of the economy. The salt-marshes in the south part of the capital should



**Plate 1:** Panoramic view of the town of Lefkada with the island's only true plain around it. The shallow lagoon and the artificial strait can also be seen.

(photo by Theodoros Stavrakas)



**Plate 2:** The town of Nydri and a number of surrounding islets that form the Prefecture of Lefkada.

(photo by Spyros Stavrakas)

also be noted. The local products are distributed both to Greece and the European Community. On the island there are also small scale industries, mainly olive-oil factories (73), while a few are occupied with the production of cereals and milk. A significant source of income, mostly for women, is embroidery. Despite these economic resources, profits were never enough. Islanders seeking a better life have always been obliged to migrate to the mainland or further abroad. Villages continuously lose their population and agricultural jobs are disappearing because small land holdings such as those found on Lefkada cannot compete economically with the large automated industrial farms on the mainland. Furthermore, integration in the European Union led to a “double-edged” way of development. For instance in the early 1990s, among other new programmes such as improving of the island’s road network, people were enticed with large sums of money to cut down olive trees and vines in line with Common Market policies on quotas. This had a significant impact on the agricultural picture of the island.

Since 1978, tourism has played an important role in the economy of the island. Natural beauty-spots, such as Vassiliki’s site for windsurfing, and the inclusion of Porto-Katsiki beach among the six best of the Mediterranean Sea (see Plate 3), have increased tourist interest in the island. Most islanders attribute the increase of tourism to the fact that Aristotelis Onassis owns Skorpios, the islet just opposite Nydri. The fame gained in this way, along with the easy access to the island and the surrounding areas, reduced significantly the unemployment of the locals and led to the promotion of the entire island. However, tourist interest is focused on the southeast area, leaving the mountainous villages and those of Adriatic Sea less developed.

#### **2.1.4. Name**

Lefkada is the female noun derivative of the adjective *lefkos* or *leukos*, literally meaning ‘white’. The name Lefkas - Lefkada in purist/“official” Greek language - was initially given to the southernmost cape of the island, known to foreign sailors as Lefkatas or Cape Doukato, because of the white vertical cliffs that reach 70m in height (see Plate 4). Known also as *Lefkas Petra* (White Stone) and *Lefki Akri* (White Edge), the cape was the terror of ancient sailors. It was after this cape





**Plate 3:** The famous Porto Katsiki beach.

(photo by Theodoros Stavrakas)



**Plate 4:** The Cape Lefkatas after which the whole island was named.

(photo by Spyros Stavrakas)

that the Corinthians named the town they founded in 7BC Lefkas. Later, the whole island was called Lefkas and the already existing town Nirikos was renamed. During the Venetian Occupation (13AD) the town and the island were renamed Santa Maoura (Santa Mavra) after the small church that is in the fort and which is consecrated to that Saint.

### 2.1.5. History

Lefkadians experienced a succession of conquerors, fundamental in the formation of their special character of Lefkadian culture. Briefly, in various interchanges, Corinthians, Macedonians, Athenians and Akarnanians in prehistoric times, along with Romans, Turks, Venetians, French, Russians, British, Italians, Germans in historical times left their imprint on the island (see Table 2.1). *Hirospilia* (Pig's Cave), *Esvospilia* or *Asvospilia* (Badger's Cave), Nydri's tombs, Kaligoni's ruins of ancient Nericus and of the Pre-Roman period, the castle of Santa Mavra, the Griva Fort, *Daimonas* or *Spilia tou Papanikoli* (Demon or Papanikolis' Cave) are some of the archaeological places and monuments remaining from this long history. Migrants must also be taken into consideration. In 1699 colonists from Crete and few years later a wave of Greek refugees from the part of Greece that was occupied by the Turks came to the island. In addition, in 1725 Catholic refugees from Chios moved to Meganissi, while in 1922 new refugees from Asia Minor migrated to the island. However, no remnants of these minorities have survived, either because migrants moved away or because they were totally integrated, nor is there any indication of a separate community holding ties with Chios, Crete or Asia Minor.

To this history, the presence of the mythical figures of Teleboans and Kephallenes, the worship of Apollon at his Cape Lefkatas temple, or the suicide of the poetess Sappho<sup>2</sup> from the same place lends a mythical allure. Myth and history, dream and reality are thus fused on this island, giving the best example of what Herzfeld has already pointed out for the entire country: 'Greece is torn between two opposing stereotypes, the holy one of the timeless Hellas and the one deriving from the historical *Tourkokratia* (Turkish Occupation)' (1987:41). An aspect of the former stereotype can be traced to the local's insistence on identifying Lefkada with Homer's Ithaci (Ithaca). Although there is still an

<b>Table 2.1: Historical Chronicle of Lefkada</b>		
<b>Period</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Conquerors/Alliances</b>
Ancient period (7-3BC)	7BC 338BC 323BC 312BC 272BC	Alliance with Corinthians Macedonians Alliance with Athenians Independence Alliance with Akarnanians
Roman period (2-4BC)	197BC-395AC	Romans
Byzantine period (5-15AD)	5-12AC 1204-1294  1296-1479 (1296-1331 1331-1362 1362-1479)	Byzantines Domain of Epiros (Greek principality based on Ioannina, Epiros) Venetians (Orsini Dynasty, Andrigavi, De Tocci Dynasty.)
Turkish and Venetian period (1479-1684)	1479-1502 1502-1503 1503-1684	Turks Venetians Turks
Venetian period (1684-1797)	1684-1797	Venetians
French, Russian and British period (1797-1864)	1797-1798 1798-1808 1808-1810 1810-1864	French Russians French British
Liberation and Union with Greece	1864	
Italian and German period (1941-1944)	Word War II	Italians and Germans

ongoing academic controversy over recognition and location of the places described in the *Odyssey* among three islands (Ithaci, Lefkada and Kephallonia), this is irrelevant to Lefkadians who, with a sign at the entrance to the island, welcome the visitors to the Homeric Ithaci. The latter stereotype, however, is not revealed in such an obvious fashion and to unravel the different strands is as complicated a task as the history from which it originates.

A first aspect of this complexity concerns the common frame in which Lefkadians coexist with the other islanders of the *Eptanissa* (Seven Islands) called altogether *Eptanissii* (Inhabitants of the Seven Islands). Two historical strands played important roles in the formation of this common classification. The first is that all the Ionian Islands were under the long-lasting Venetian Occupation followed by French, Russian, and finally British rule, while the rest of Greece was under the Turkish Occupation. This differentiation made the Ionian Islands similar to the Crete and the Aegean Islands, also occupied by Venetians, more western European orientated. This was accepted as a reason for the existence of a more “developed” civilisation in the area in comparison with the rest of Greece. The second and predominant historical strand which led to the development of an Ionian identity is the Ionian Islands’ frequent request for independence from Britain, the last of the conquerors, and for a union with Greece, which was finally achieved in 1864. Institutions with names like Ionian Academy or Ionian University are examples of this desire (Danell 1994).

Lefkada, however, presents a particularity in relation to the rest of the Ionian Islands due to a number of factors whose economic, political and social consequences had a decisive impact on the history of the island. First of all, Lefkada was the only Ionian Island under Turkish Occupation for almost two hundred years (1479-1502 and 1503-1684, with Venetian control in between), which did not allow the island to know the prosperity and wealth similar to the other *Eptanissa*, especially Kephallonia and Kerkyra (Corfu). Second, its geographical proximity to the mainland, as well as the poverty of the villagers, led to the development of various sorts of close transactions between the two areas. The latter was additionally supported by the frequent visits of the mainlanders, particularly those of Epiros, who, being famous for their building skills, moved to Lefkada for long periods after the earthquakes to rebuild the houses (Demas 1996). Thirdly, in contrast to the rest of Ionian Islands, and possibly of more

importance, the Lefkadians never had trade and navigation in their own hands. There were two reasons for this. First, because of the island's geographical position with good harbours and numerous surrounding islets and its unstable situation resulting from the constant change of conquerors, Lefkada constituted a natural haunt for pirates of the Mediterranean Sea, who kept the islanders out of this activity. Second, due to the exclusive occupation of the harbour by the various conquerors for their own purposes, the islanders were restricted to the inner mountainous part of Lefkada in settlements invisible from the sea, which are still preserved because of the island's late tourist development and the economic recession of the last decades.

The absence of trade and maritime trade activity<sup>3</sup> inevitably led to the rise of agricultural economy on the island, primarily for local consumption. Instead of the merchant class, the island's economy created prosperous landowners. Thus, when the 1684 Venetian established Oligarchy by Morozini needed to expand for financial reasons in 1760, the inclusion of the landowners, the rich people of the time, into the ruling class was inevitable. This unusual inclusion had two results. On one hand it led to a distinction, not widely used in other Ionian Islands, of the local aristocrats between old and "authentic" ones, those before 1760, and new ones, those after 1760. On the other hand it led to the impression outside the island that Lefkada did not have an aristocracy like that of the other Ionian Islands. Of course, the selection of seventy members of the then existing most powerful members of the upper class who formed the *Symvoulío Kinotitas* (Commune's Council) in 1684 having the 'Privilegi della Spettabile Communita di Santa Maura'<sup>4</sup> proves that there was a considerable number of "nobles" on the island.<sup>5</sup> Yet, the impression had already been established. Two points must be emphasised regarding the existing social structure of the time on the island. First, that villagers did not benefit from the evolution of agriculture on the island since they worked for the landowners and had to travel frequently to the mainland to find the necessities of life. Second, that the absence of a grande-bourgeoisie did not equally mean the absence of a petite-bourgeoisie. The latter consisted of skilled workmen and small tradesmen of the town who, however, could not be included in the Commune's Council.

A further isolation between townspeople and villagers must also be mentioned as the former had no means of communicating with the hinterland and

the latter never inhabited the coasts. In fact, it is no more than 100 years since the mountain-dwelling villagers started to build settlements near the sea, a phenomenon which expanded after the tourist development. Even after 1840, when the oligarchy had weakened and the current petite-bourgeoisie, along with villagers who moved to the town seeking a better life, formed the middle class, the extant separation of those living in the villages and those living in the town continued. The terms '*bouranelos*' or '*branelos*' (meaning either the fishermen or the citizens)<sup>6</sup> which was previously used for the petite-bourgeoisie was used to represent all the townspeople in this new situation. Through this presentation, the social and economic situation of the island becomes apparent. In summary, in the town there were aristocrats, on the periphery of whom moved '*braneli*'. In the mountains were the villagers, isolated and having their own way of life.

The existing social stratification, the absence of trade and navigation, the Turkish Occupation and the island's transactions with the mainland formed the particular framework for the position and relationship of Lefkadians with their neighbours and also between themselves. Broadly speaking, it is obvious that Lefkadians have peculiarities compared to the other Ionian Islanders and of course to the mainlanders. In both cases, these peculiarities are used by Lefkadians and their neighbours as the two sides of one coin. In comparison with other Ionian Islanders, Lefkadians are characterised as having a higher degree of "Greekness". Yet, at the same time, Lefkadians are characterised as the "poor relatives" of Ionian, the "Vlachs<sup>7</sup> of *Eptanissa*". With regard to the mainlanders, Lefkadians who lived under western rule and particularly under the Venetian Occupation are considered to be more "civilised" than the Vlachs of the mainland but because of the peculiar Lefkadian history they are nevertheless regarded as being east-orientated. In a narrow sense, the aristocrats of Lefkada are the only real Ionians, whereas the rest of islanders, namely the '*braneli*' and the villagers, are not. Yet the '*braneli*' are more "civilised" than the villagers who were "Vlachs". But the latter, because of their close relationships with the mainland, may be more "Greek" than the rest of Lefkadians. This illustrates the complexity of issues of self-identity and identity perceived by others.

It is this complex web of characterisations used by Lefkadians themselves and/or applied to them by others that makes the examination of cultural identity imperative as 'whenever there is a conflictive and asymmetric encounter between

different cultures, be it by means of invasion, colonisation or extensive forms of communication, the issue of cultural identity arises' (Larrain 1994:142). Yet, it must be underlined that this network of characterisations is only part of the various "identities" of Lefkadians. Many more "identities" are added when 'distinctions among islander, returned migrant, seasonally returned migrant and non-local' (Kenna 1993:90) are taken into consideration along with 'the shifting of levels: "we" and "they" of neighbouring villages become "we" against bureaucrats of the capital, who, in their turn, can be incorporated into "we" versus foreign...' (Kenna 1993:76). However, these other "identities" go beyond the limits of this study.

## **2.2. The Village of Karya**

The village of Karya was selected as my place of residence. The choice of this particular village was based on a number of reasons. First, Karya is famous among the islanders and scholars for its long tradition in cultural activities in general and in dance in particular. This fact is not contradictory to the general belief about the island's "dance poverty". In every area, whatever the cultural situation might be, there are places appreciated for their "cultural" contribution. In this framework, Karya is considered to be one of Lefkada's villages with a high degree of cultural activity.<sup>8</sup> A second reason for the selection of the particular village is its geographical position. Karya is a northern central village with access to both the capital of the island and to a considerable number of villages. This fact, along with the third reason, that of Karya being one of the two main villages of the island, decided the issue. Finally, an important stimulus for this selection derived from my previous experience and relationship with *Karsanous* (the genitive plural of *Karsanos*, the inhabitant of Karya) in Athens, which offered me a point of reference to start my research.

In the upland part to the north of the island, twenty minutes drive<sup>9</sup> away from the capital, Karya village is spread over the slopes at the east side of *Mega Oros* (Great Mountain) (see Plate 5). It has a view over half of the island down to the sea and over to the mountains of the mainland. The origins of the name of the village are ambiguous as there are two explanations for it. It is said that it derives either from the word *karydies* (meaning walnut trees in Greek) which



**Plate 5:** A panoramic view of the village of Karya.

(photo by Theodoros Stavrakas)



**Plate 6:** Villagers at the Angelos Sikelianos square at Karya waiting for the bus. Note the difference of clothing between the generations of women.

(photo by Maria Koutsouba)



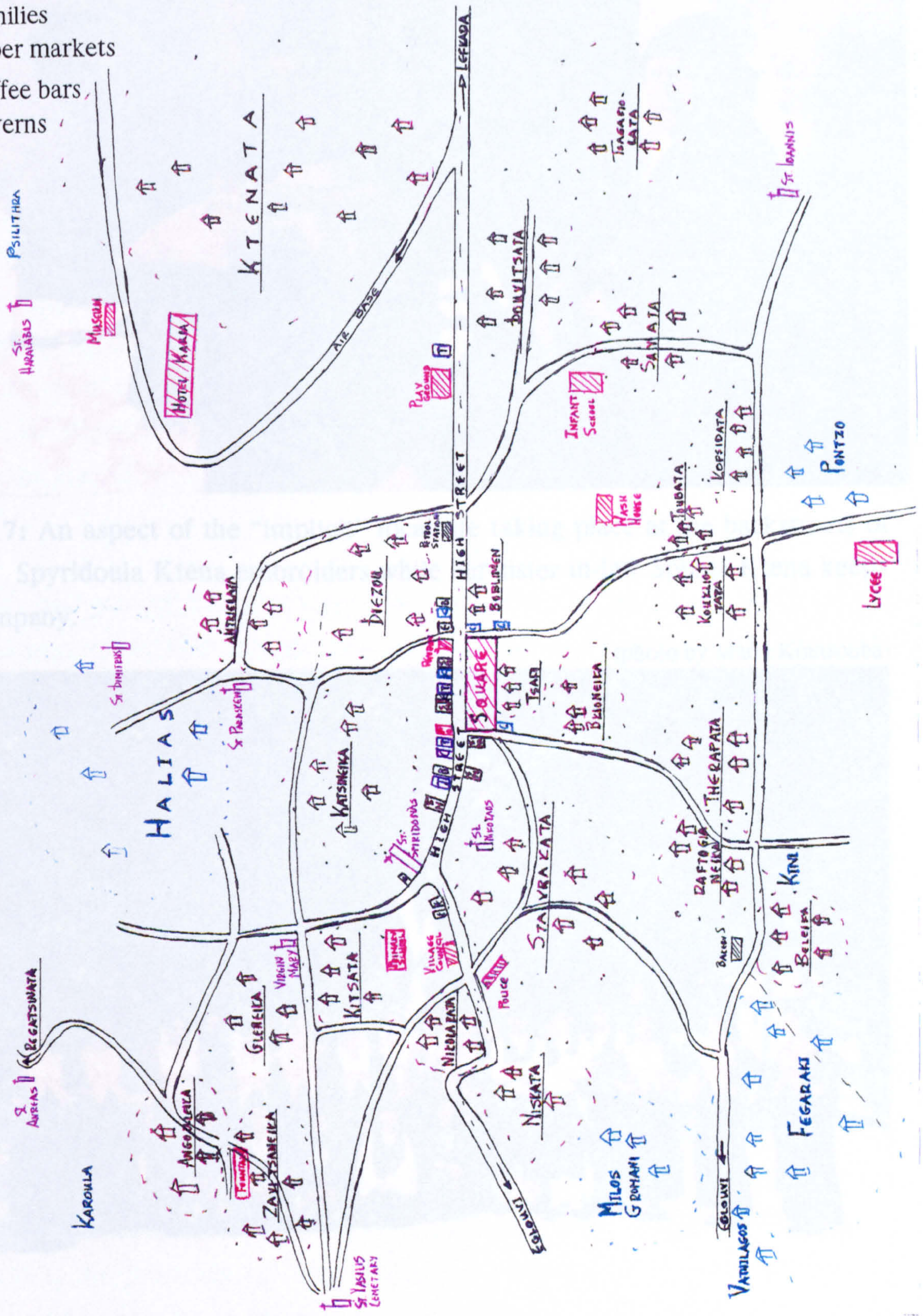
grow all over the village and especially in the Angelos Sikelianos'<sup>10</sup> square, where they form a natural bower (see Plate 6), or from the Turkish word *karié* which means the main village (Athiniotis 1989:136). Karya is one of the two main villages of Lefkada, the other situated to the south of the island being Agios Petros (Saint Peter). Both have a steady number of permanent inhabitants in comparison with other villages which are totally depopulated and deserted,<sup>11</sup> their social activities go on throughout the year and continue to prosper.

At the time of fieldwork, the permanent inhabitants of Karya numbered only 953, which is considered to be an important decrease in comparison with the 2,500-3,000 people living there in the 1960s. Most of them (about 75%) are old people. Only 20% are thought as constituting an "active population", aged between 25 and 50 years old (Vlachos 1994). The younger ones have office jobs, while agricultural and other rural activities are of secondary importance, whilst older people are mainly cultivators dealing with olive crop and wine making. An important income is provided by the selling of the local embroideries made with a special stitch. Being the trade mark of *Karsanes*, the stitch has been taken up by all the female population of the island and has become a unique product all over Greece (see Douvitsas 1995).

As a main village Karya has good communication with the neighbouring villages and with the capital. It is the centre of a wider area for supplies of goods as well as for entertainment. Villagers throughout the island, however, visit regularly the capital called Lefkada or *Hora* (literally 'the country', but islanders use it when they refer to the capital). Basic services such as pharmacy or first aid for example, are not available at Karya, and its entertainment is limited. There is a frequent daily communication to and from the capital but the bus service stops at five o'clock in the afternoon. This restricts communication, particularly during the night and especially during the peak tourist season, and one is dependent on taxis or personal transport.

The village consists of a number of neighbourhoods (see Map 3), each constituting a somewhat self-contained community, with its own saint and church,<sup>12</sup> and inhabited by specific families. Every year, on the name day of the saint, a special church ceremony takes place. On this day, all the families of the particular neighbourhood celebrate and exchange or accept visits from families of

- ☒ = embroidery shops
- | = neighbourhoods
- ☒ = coffee shops
- | = families
- ☒ = super markets
- ☒ = coffee bars
- ☒ = taverns



Map 3: Overview of Karya Village



**Plate 7:** An aspect of the “implicit” local life taking place at the backstreets of Karya. Spyridoula Ktena embroiders while her sister-in-law Sophia Ktena keeps her company. –

(photo by Maria Koutsouba)



**Plate 8:** The dance group ‘Apollon Karyas’ at the village square. The traditional custom of women carrying pots on their heads continues at the dance club.

(Archive of the ‘Apollon Karyas’ dance club)

other neighbourhoods of the village. Despite these “local” saints, the entire village has its patron saint, Agios Spyridonas (Saint Spyridon), and its central church near the square. The most important and famous fair takes place on his name day, 11th of August. Such an extensive religious practice inevitably indicates the interdependent relationship of secular and religious lives.

Karya is also divided in two parts, the upper and the lower village, with the square and the high street acting as a dividing landmark. This division does not indicate any difference in social, economic or political status as often happens in other villages, such as in the neighbouring village of Piganissani where the high street separates the left from the right wing voters. The visitor can find most of the stores along the high street and around the square, a pattern typical of every small town over Greece. Five coffee shops (*kafenia*), one coffee-bar (*kafeteria*), one bar, six mini-markets, two butcher’s shops, three taverns and six traditional craft shops are all to be found within a distance of not more than two hundred metres.

At one end of the high street the bell-tower of the main church of the village is imposingly raised, reminding both villagers and visitors of the important role of religion in local life. At the other side of the high street, at the end of the square, one of the two fountains of the village is an attractive sight. The other is outside the village. Both were the main water sources until the early 1990s, as houses did not have running water. This is quite surprising considering that Lefkada is not a barren island such as the islands of Cyclades, for instance, and that other basic facilities such as electricity were installed in the mid-1960s. The quality of the water together with the good climate were the reasons for making Karya one of the three most favoured places in Greece for people recovering from tuberculosis in the 1940s-1950s.

The square and the high street are the centre of the “explicit” social life of the village.<sup>13</sup> It is the “showing off” place where all the festivities and sociopolitical events take place and where everything is discussed. On a daily basis, this is the place for the men of the village to socialise, visiting the coffee shops, playing cards or chess, drinking *ouzo* (aniseed-flavoured spirits) with the traditional boiled potato,<sup>14</sup> and discussing politics. Throughout Greece politics is the favourite theme for discussion in coffee shops. This is especially true in

Lefkada because of the “dissident” history of the island. A further dimension is added by the fact that various national politicians come from this village. It is characteristic that at Karya each coffee shop is the meeting place of the people of the same political party, a fact which is usually indicated by the colour of the chairs and the tables.

An “implicit” facet of social life takes place in the courtyards and the backstreets. This concerns mainly the female population (see Plate 7)<sup>15</sup> who, apart from big events such as the local fair or other festivities, avoid visiting the square. Indeed it is only since the 1980s or thereabout that women have been allowed to pass through or sit in the square without being commented upon. The entrance to the coffee shops, however, remains a restricted male privilege, particularly during the winter months when village life takes its basic rhythm (see also A.B. 1994). In the past, women, and especially widows, used to attend all the events standing next to the fountain of the square, an attitude used until the present day by some.

At the opposite side of the village, spread on a hill, there is the one and only hotel of the village called ‘Karya Village Hotel’. Although it opens only during the summer holidays and sometimes during the Easter holidays, it offers a part-time income for some villagers, especially women. A few rooms in the village are also available for rent during the tourist season. Next to the hotel there is the folklore museum of the village, one of the two on the island. The museum, along with the embroidery school ‘School of *Karsaniki* Stitch’, were founded and maintained on the private initiative of Theodoros Katopodis (*benardis*) (anon. 1993, anon. 1994, Katopodis 1994), one of the island’s dance experts and previous dance teacher of the local dance club ‘*Apollon Karyas*’ (see Plate 8). The latter, having a history of more than forty years, shares a home with the village’s public library and council, above which an old people’s home was being prepared at the time of fieldwork. Karya, apart from the primary and high school, has also a kindergarten and a nursery school, bank and a post office.<sup>16</sup>

The use of nicknames illustrates an aspect of the way the local life is constructed. As many families in the village have the same surnames, not indicating kinship relationships with any certainty, but pointing to some common roots, this is a common practice necessary for their distinction. Nicknames may

derive from a person's work (e.g. *fasolias* refers to the person who cultivates beans or *mizithras*, the person who makes cream cheese etc.); an important event that occurred in one's life (e.g. *Jimena*, refers to the woman whose brother-in-law, called Dimitris, went to America where he used to be called Jimmy); a family situation known to everybody or a particular characteristic of a person's character (e.g. *bonoulo*, the woman who always claims that she cannot stand anything any more -*den boro pia*); finally unknown or forgotten reasons (e.g. *benardis*). Of course, this practice is very confusing and complicated for the outsiders, not only because it takes time to learn all the nicknames and distinguish them from the real first names, but also because it is common for individuals to have more than one nickname, some of which may be insulting and best avoided when dealing with them.

This village became my second home for a year and a half, from January 1993 till August 1994. My refuge was one of the many houses belonging to families that have migrated to Athens and used only for a few days during the summer holidays. Fieldwork, along with the visits to the island during the preliminary research in autumn 1992 and the previous continuous relation with Lefkadians in Athens, created a considerable body of first and secondhand data. An account of this corpus collected through research in archives and libraries, interviews, recording on video and participant observation constitutes the third part of this chapter.

### **2.3. Primary and Secondary Sources**

The main body of firsthand data (see Tables 2.2 and 2.3) was gathered on the island, particularly at Karya. I attended all the activities of the village whenever appropriate and many in the rest of the island, even though transportation were not easy since I did not have a car. Of course, particular attention was paid to events related to "cultural" and dance activities such as the International Folklore Festival, folkloristic festivities, performances at village squares, fairs and *horoesperides* (formal evening dances). Apart from *Karsanous*, with whom I developed closer relationships and participated in all the cultural activities of their village as well as in many family celebrations, I also visited people from all over the island who were introduced to me as being of "dance origins" (see section 3.4)

or having dance knowledge. Thus, I interviewed present and former dance students, dance teachers, members of dance committees, “dance people” (see section 3.4), musicians, folklorists, librarians and, of course, various other islanders (a list of the key informants is presented in Appendix 2). A common characteristic of all these people is that they are more or less involved in the various dance clubs. As a result almost all of them, when providing information, mixed up elements of their social life with those concerning the dance clubs.

I visited most of the dance clubs and attended classes of the dance club ‘*Apollon*’ in Karya as a way of gaining inside knowledge of such an institution. During classes I followed the programme of activities just like any other student. However, I did not participate in the dance performances of the club taking place at the island, all over Greece or abroad. This would automatically have meant the exclusion of a local girl from the performance and would have caused problems. I also attended performances of all the dance clubs either on the island or in Athens on various occasions.

Further firsthand data were gathered in Athens. This information, apart from the attendance of performances of the island’s dance clubs and the participation in *horoesperides*, mainly concerned contact with emigrants considered as “dance people”. It was very difficult for these people to spend a lot of their free time with me during their short visits to Lefkada. Those few days every year were their only chance to see their families and friends from the village. Thus, they preferred to see me in Athens during the winter season. These periods, when the village life was more relaxed and only a few events occurred, were used for short trips to Athens. This practice proved to be profitable in various ways. First, the time spent on the island was mainly devoted to the local inhabitants. Additionally, it enabled me to observe the behaviour of the same people in different environments; immigrants both in their birthplace and the place of immigration and locals being among other locals and in the company of immigrants returning to their home island could be studied.

The secondhand data (see Table 2.4) refers to archives and libraries either on the island of Lefkada or in Athens. In the Folklore Archive of the Philosophy Department, University of Athens, there are thirty-seven undergraduate final year dissertations referring to various villages of the Prefecture Lefkada over a

<b>Table 2.2: Firsthand Data Informants</b> (*=former and present members)	
<b>“In” Context: Karya and Lefkada</b>	<b>“Out” of Context: Athens</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- “dance people”</li> <li>- musicians*</li> <li>- dance teachers*</li> <li>- dance students*</li> <li>- dance club’s committee members*</li> <li>- Karya’s village council’s members*</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- dance scholars</li> <li>- Lefkadian “dance people”</li> <li>- former dance teachers at Lefkada</li> <li>..</li> </ul>

<b>Table 2.3: Firsthand Data Dance events</b>			
<b>“In” Context: Karya and Lefkada</b>		<b>“Out” of Context: Athens &amp; elsewhere</b>	
participatory	presentational	participatory	presentational
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-fairs</li> <li>-<i>horoesperides</i></li> <li>-folklore festivals</li> <li>-celebrations</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Dance clubs’ performances at the International Folklore Festival and village squares</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-<i>horoesperides</i></li> <li>- celebrations</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Dance clubs’ performances at Festivals and TV programmes</li> </ul>

<b>Table 2.4: Secondhand Data</b>	
<b>“In” Context: Karya and Lefkada</b>	<b>“Out” of Context: Athens</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Public Library of Lefkada</li> <li>- <i>Haramoglios</i> Private Library</li> <li>- Public Library of Karya</li> <li>- Archive of ‘<i>Apollon Karyas</i>’</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Folklore Archive, Philosophy Dept., University of Athens</li> <li>- Greek Folk Dances Speciality, PES Dept., University of Athens</li> <li>- Archive of Asia Minor Studies Foundation</li> <li>- Archive of Dora Stratou’s Theatre</li> <li>- Academy of Athens’ Archive</li> <li>- <i>Eteria Lefkadikon Meleton</i> (Association of Lefkadian Studies)</li> </ul>



period of almost thirty years, from 1966 till 1994. The dissertations were typical folklore studies giving detailed accounts of the various aspects of local life, especially regarding material life (description of the local occupations, construction of the households and clothing), social life (birth, marriage, death) and religion (superstitions, myths etc.). References to dances were many. Yet they were limited to when and who used to dance, without specifying what or how they used to dance. The phrase 'and now they dance...' was in constant use. Exceptions to this rule were some later dissertations with more extensive references to dance and music. These reflect the shift of academic interest towards dance since the 1980s.

A second archive investigated was that of the Physical Education and Sports Department, University of Athens, particularly that of the speciality of Greek Folk Dances. In this case, the attempt was more fruitful in the sense that the available material focused on dancing. However, because of the recent foundation of the archive (1989), the number of dissertations was limited to only three. The archive of the Foundation of Studies on Asia Minor also proved to be a rich one. The director, Marcos Dragoumis, is half Lefkadian originating from the very well known family of the poet Aristotelis Valaoritis, of the islet Madouri. The fact that he is also one of the most famous ethnomusicologists in Greece, was an additional privilege. Not only did he give me important information about the dances of Lefkada because of his personal interest, but he generously notated the music of a number of the examined dances as well.

Research in three more archives was not very successful and could be characterised as limited and/or indirect. The first was that of the Theatre of Dora Stratou. In this case I came in contact with the previous costume director, Roula Hatzigeorgiou, one of the first members of the Theatre. She informed me that Dora Stratou, during her visit at Lefkada, did not film the dances but only recorded the music. The Lefkadian dance suite<sup>17</sup> performed at the Theatre along with many others had been choreographed by Nikos Kastrinos in collaboration with Dora Stratou. The second is the Academy of Athens, whose Greek Folklore Studies and Tradition Department has an enormous archive. Although the Academy of Athens is supposed to be a "public" organisation, particularly available to researchers, it has proved to be inaccessible. Its committee meets sporadically and I am still waiting for a reply to my application. Finally, the

*Eteria LefkadiKon Meleton* (Association of Lefkadian Studies), based in Athens, published a number of books on various issues regarding the island, but did not have any information concerning the dances of Lefkada.

Beyond these archives located in Athens, special reference must be made to those of Lefkada, both for the material they provided and for their collaboration. The two libraries in the capital of the island, the Public Library of Lefkada and the *Haramoglios* Special Library,<sup>18</sup> the public library and the archive of the dance club '*Apollon Karyas*' were the main sources for second hand information, despite the fact that the material was scattered and difficult to access.

## Notes:

1. Information on the island has been gathered from a number of sources such as reviews and bibliographical references, enhanced by personal notices and comments. Instead of the constant repetition of the bibliographical references in the text, their presentation in a summary was preferred:

Activities for the Christian Movement for Peace (no date), anon. 1987, anon. 1992, anon.1994, Archive of the Folklore Institute, Philosophy Department, University of Athens 1966-1994, *Eteria Lefkadikon Meleton* (Association of Lefkadian Studies) 1884, Filippa-Apostolou 1992, Foss 1969, Lazaris 1970, Malakassis 1982, Mamaloukas 1978, 1982, Maniatea 1994, Matafias 1992, Mitrelis 1987, Papadopolis-Stavrou 1992, Psaras 1988, Rontogiannis 1966, Rontogiannis 1980, 1982, Tsiorou 1994, Zambelis (priest) 1988, 'Zenon' *Physiolatricos Syndesmos Pireos* (Naturalist Association of Pireus) 1979.

2. Sappho was the greatest poetess of antiquity, often being referred to as the 'tenth Muse'. She made the cape universally famous and attached to it the name '*Kavos tis Kyras*' (the Lady's Cape). The story about her love for Phaon originates in some erotic verses written by her, and the myth that she threw herself from the rocks of Cape Lefkatas to release herself from this love is still vivid in Latin literature. The story of the 'Lady' lives on as a folktale of the island (see also Foss 1969:150).

3. The only exception are the people of the island of Meganissi who were historically seafarers. For more information see Just 1981. This difference, along with a number of others, created a permanent opposition between the two islands.

4. These were 'poor imitation of the privileges of the ruling class of the Most Serene Venetian Democracy consisting of the right to be elected and be eligible as to acquire some authority within the small local government' (Papadopolis-Stavrou 1992:7).

5. The *Synadelfi tou Naou tou Pantokratoros* (The Colleagues of the Pantokrator Church) is a characteristic example of such nobles. For an analytical presentation on this see particularly Papadopolis-Stavrou (1992) and Malakassis (1982).

6. There are two opinions as to the etymology of the word: i) it derives from the suburb Borano of Venice from where fishermen came to the town of Lefkada to work during the Venetian Occupation and ii) from the Latin word Urbanus which means noble, urban, which with the ending *-elos* becomes *Urban-elos* and indicates the citizens; with the years it was corrupted to *bouranelos* and at present *branelos*. For a further analysis see Mamaloukas (1982:54) and particularly Matafias (1992:72).
7. Vlachs are an ethnic group spread over the Balkans. They have a long history in Greece and are classified as Greeks. For more information see Winnifrith (1987). However, the term Vlachs is used mockingly among Greeks to characterise the village people who are considered less “cultivated” and “civilised” in comparison with townspeople.
8. The village’s fame derives from a number of reasons. First of all, it is the village where the increased interest in dance led to the foundation of the first dance group of the island. Secondly, it is the village where all the people, islanders and scholars, guided me answering to my question where to look for “dance people”. Thirdly, although restricted to the local fair, the village is well-known for its dance activities worldwide. For instance, Pamela Westland writes that ‘in the mountain village of Karia [sic] there’s a 2-days festival of folk songs and dancing on the 11th and 12th in honour of St. Spiridon [sic]’ (1989:56), while Dana Faracos includes in her list of festivals the fair at Karya ‘Ag. Spyridon at Karia [sic], when the people bring out their old costumes...’ (1994:142).
9. Karya is the second village after Eglouvi in altitude (500m). The latter is not exceptionally large, yet the natural construction of the area gives the impression of a village spread in a scattered manner up the mountain. It is interesting that Spyros Vrettos, for example, compares the first in altitude village of Eglouvi with the famous mountainous villages of Epiros (1991:48). Thus, although Karya is only 14km away from the capital, the narrow, winding and rising road makes access to the village quite difficult and sometimes dangerous.
10. Named in honour of the poet Angelos Sikelianos who was born on the island of Lefkada. For more information see *Eteria Lefkadikon Meleton* (1984).

11. This is an obvious fact for the visitors, also confirmed by villagers' comments. *Karsani* (plural of *Karsanos*) feel quite lucky because many emigrants build new houses or restore old ones for the sake of even the few days when they visit the island during the year.

12. Traditions of the neighbourhoods were more intense in the past. For example, they used to have separate weekly church ceremonies, annual fairs, and family cemeteries. However, the dramatic change of life after the 1950s brought many changes to the village's life as well. Thus, at present the weekly ceremonies and the annual fair are associated with the main church of the village, and a main cemetery outside the village has been constructed.

13. "Explicit" and "implicit" aspects of Greek social life (rural and urban) constituted one of the main foci of the anthropological research in Greece from its very beginning. For an account and a critical examination of the extensive study of the issue in Greece see Danforth (1983:157-160) and Papataxiarchis (1992:11-98).

14. A boiled potato, possibly a slice of tomato and exceptionally an olive is a traditional snack offered with *ouzo* at the coffee shops of the village's square. The combination of food symbolises the local products. The components and the quantity one remind of the village's poverty at least in previous years.

15. It must also be mentioned that old women in the village and throughout the island still wear their traditional costumes. Wearing western European clothes was adopted by women after World War II. Men adopted the same habit after the World War I. For more information see Asprogerakas (1969-1970:11), Lazari (1976-77:20) and particularly Kontomichis (1989). Traditional costume is such a strong symbol for the women of Karya that it is almost an imperative duty for a mother to pass one to her daughters. Of course, women under 60 years old do not wear it anymore, but the costume can be "exhibited" in the performances of the local dance club, where the young girls participate (see Plate 9).



**Plate 9:** Rania Stavrika trying on her traditional wedding costume under the critical eye of her aunt Irini Ktena.

(photo by Maria Koutsouba)

**16.** The village also used to have a gendarmerie station and county court which served the wider area. However, with the depopulation both were closed down and all the legal business carried out in Lefkada.

**17.** Dance suite is a mixture of three to five dances of a particular area, presented without a break during a performance. This practice has been extensively used in stage performances of Greek dances. However, it has resulted in the limited and standardised dance representation of the various areas. Irene Loutzaki also refers to the term 'dance suite' (1994:68), while Vassiliki Tyrovola clarifies that the dance suite, apart from staged performances, exists as a concept and practice in traditional contexts as well (1993:58).

**18.** *Haramoglios* Special Library of Lefkada won the Academy of Athens award in 1994 for being the best specialised library of Greece on a particular subject, namely Lefkada.

**CHAPTER 3: Dance Profile of the Island of  
Lefkada**

## **Introduction**

The totality of dances performed during the various dance activities all over the island of Lefkada attracted my interest during preliminary research since they formed a multifaceted dance picture. Yet the quantity and complexity of the material which emerged imposed place and data limitations from the very beginning of the actual fieldwork. This chapter attempts to present this dance multiplicity. It is divided into four sections. The first provides a picture of the totality of the dance repertoires performed on the island, presenting their time and mode of introduction. The dance repertoire selected for this particular study is discussed in detail, providing the reasons for its selection. The second section presents the cultural and dance reference point of Lefkada, consisting of an account of the various dance events taking place on the island every year, the kind of dance repertoires performed in each of the dance events and a presentation of the dance clubs of the island. The third section presents the relationship of dance and music on the island, while the final section discusses the status of the Lefkadian dance portrait through an account of the islanders' opinions. It must be pointed out that the following presentation is intended to be a rounded and balanced presentation of the various parameters but is in no way an exhaustive account of each of the issues discussed.

### **3.1. Dance Repertoires of the Island of Lefkada**

The complexity of the elements shaping the local dance profile imposes an artificial categorisation. The groupings are constructed according to data provided by informants. Some of the categories presented have thus been copied from informants' descriptions. Others, which were less clearly articulated by the Lefkadians themselves, have been elicited during discussions with them. The categorisations refer to dances performed within 'living tradition', that is 'dances still being performed after World War II or those dances which can still be reproduced or identified by the people concerned, as part of their own culture' (Torp 1990:16). Imported forms of popular modern dances such as disco, pop, rock etc., are not included in this presentation.

A first distinction (see Tables 3.1, 3.2 and 3.3) is made between pre- and



post-War dance repertoires.<sup>1</sup> The pre-World War II dances can be further divided into urban and rural subcategories. This is not surprising considering the contrast described earlier between the capital of Lefkada and the rest of the island, particularly the mountainous areas. The urban pre-War subcategory includes dances of mainly western influence introduced to the island by the various conquerors. This repertoire includes quadrilles, polkas, waltzes and dances of lancers performed by the upper class of the capital (Dragoumis 1975-76:241). Around the 1950s, the improvement in contact between the capital and its periphery resulted in the transfer of the urban repertoire to the latter. For instance, in Karya, the first event of this kind of dances was organised around 1948 in one of the village's coffee shops by Petros Stavrakas (*kokoros*). Petros Stavrakas could be described as a "cultural broker", a typical figure found in all the island's villages. Having close relationships with the capital mainly for commercial reasons, these people were exposed to urban stimuli earlier than their fellow-villagers and became the "agents of cultural transmission". Some of these western dances had disappeared by the time of my fieldwork, whilst others, along with a number of ballroom dances such as tango and cha-cha-cha were widely performed all over the island under the name *evropaika* (European).

The subcategory of pre-War rural dances refers to dances primarily performed in the rural areas of the island, particularly the mountainous ones, but also by the lower social classes of the capital city. The upper class of the capital labelled this repertoire as *horiatika* literally 'from the villages' and by implication of low quality,<sup>2</sup> and did not perform it. *Milia, lemonia, barbouni, karavakia, ballos, th(e)iakos, Yiannis o Meratianos, Marathianos* or *Peratianos, tsamikos, syrto argos, syrto grigoros, koftos, stavrotos, tria passa*, are the dances included in this "low class" dance subcategory, which, interestingly, was subsequently taken to represent an "official" Lefkadian identity.

The post-War dance category is associated with the appearance of the dance groups on the island and the processes of urbanisation and migration both taking place during the 1960s, followed by the tourism development. All these parameters led to the opening of the communities to external inputs during which dances from various Greek areas were introduced to the island. In this category are included dances from the Aegean islands (mainly *syrto* and *ballos*), Asia Minor (mainly *zeibekikos, hassapikos argos* and *hassapikos grigoros*), and dances

**Table 3.1: Dance Repertoires of the Island of Lefkada**

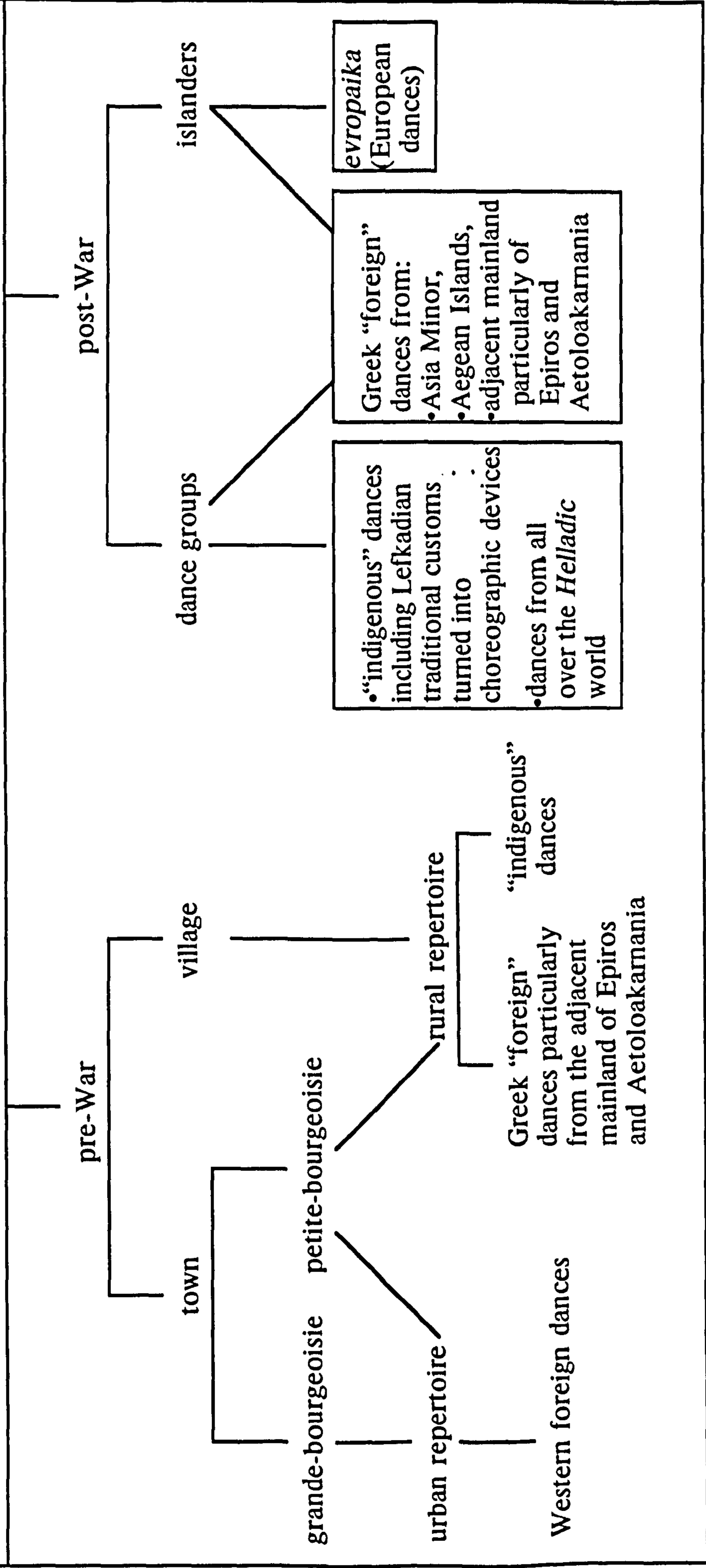


Table 3.2: Roots of Repertoires	
Dance Repertoire:	Cause of Introduction:
pre-War urban	Western influences- Venetian occupation
pre-War rural "foreign"	geographical proximity to mainland-transactions
post-War	appearance of dance clubs on the island, urbanisation, migration, tourism

Table 3.3: Contexts of Repertoires	
Dance Repertoire:	Place:
pre-War urban	<i>horoesperides</i>
pre-War rural "foreign"	fairs, folk festivities, celebrations, <i>horoesperides</i>
pre-War rural "indigenous"	dance clubs
post-War	fairs, folk festivities, celebrations, <i>horoesperides</i>

from the mainland (such as *syrtos sta tria*). Two more dances, *patinada* and *tetzeris*, must also be listed in this category. These two dances are presented as rural dances by the local dance groups. Yet they are nothing more than traditional everyday skilled activities which dance teachers transformed into dances. For instance, *tetzeris* is a choreographic device by Nikos Thanos (1993), the first dance teacher of the dance club 'Apollon Karyas', based on the women's custom of carrying water in large pots on their heads.

### 3.1.1. Dance Repertoire Selected for Study

This general overview exhibits the multiple ways in which dance is displayed on the island of Lefkada. This multiplicity, as well as conflict in dance discourse, is particularly manifested in the pre-War rural dance repertoire. This can be better understood once further distinctions of this repertoire into “indigenous”/“foreign”, “Lefkadian”/“foreign”, and “Lefkadian” /Epirotic dances by the islanders is taken into consideration. According to Lefkadians, “indigenous” dances are the “true Lefkadian”, “their own” dances. “Foreign” dances are dances imported - either in their entirety or transformed and adjusted - from other Greek areas, mainly from Epiros and Aetoloakarnania (see Map 1), areas with which Lefkadians had close communication. Most, if not all, Lefkadians have a very clear opinion on the definitions of these subcategories. The same does not hold true, however, for the content of these subcategories. Disagreements about which dance belongs to which subcategory abound. A specific example demonstrates the case more tangibly.

Thirty years ago the dance variously called *Yiannis o Meratianos*, *Marathianos* or *Peratianos* was considered an “indigenous” dance performed during various dance events both by the islanders and the dance clubs. Between 1965 and 1968, for instance, in the dance programmes of ‘*Apollon Karyas*’ club the dance *Yiannis o Marathianos* was characterised as a “Lefkadian” dance. In the course of time, because the dance included the motif of the “foreign” dance *tsamikos*, it was excluded from the category of “indigenous” dances by the dance clubs. Consequently, this dance was excluded from their performances, as the changed attitude towards the classification of dances affects the “official” dance representation. At present the dance is performed by the dance clubs as originating from the nearby mainland. The change of attitude towards the dance has not affected its performance. *Yiannis o Meratianos* is still performed by Lefkadians and is one of their most popular dances.

The selection of this repertoire for investigation was based on a number of reasons, summarised as follows: the change of the character of the dances from “low class” ones to those used for “official” dance representation of the island; the disagreement of the islanders about the Lefkadian or foreign status of the dances; the ability of the pre-War rural repertoire to create and display multiplicity and

conflict in dance discourse and, consequently, the particular way it is involved in the issue of constructing the Lefkadian identity; finally, the fact that this repertoire concerns Greek folk dances in general.

### 3.2. Dance and Calendar Festivities

In terms of cultural and dance activities the calendar can be divided in two main periods, winter and summer (see Table 3.4). The former is regarded as a relaxed and quiet time as few social and dance events are organised. In fact, Christmas and Carnival are the only two winter occasions during which a dance event may take place. Bad weather, agricultural occupations, school, and the absence of emigrants and tourists are significant parameters for the existence of this “social hibernation”. The social and dance awakening of the island starts at Easter time, followed by a summer outburst of these activities. July and particularly August are the peak months for this outburst.<sup>3</sup>

Dance festivities during the year can be distinguished between presentational and participatory ones (Nahachewsky 1994).<sup>4</sup> The decisive factor in this distinction lies in the participation of the audience. The passive involvement of an audience that is restricted from joining the dance event defines the presentational dance activities. The latter mainly concern dance performances on stage and refer to dance club presentations in various places, such as village squares and festivals. Tourist dance performances must also be incorporated in this kind of event. On the contrary, the active participation of the audience is a prerequisite for participatory dance activities. Fairs, *horoesperides* (formal evening dance events), celebrations of various kinds that conclude in dancing are included in this category.

Some clarification is necessary regarding terminology employed. First, during a participatory dance activity, the presence of a passive audience is implied. For instance, during a fair there are always people attending the dance group's performance. Second, concurrence of presentational and participatory dance events is also possible. For instance, a fixed dance event, such as the Re-enactment of a Peasant Wedding at Karya, is usually followed by dancing of all the people in the village square. Finally, the term participatory does not imply the

<b>Table 3.4: Dance Festivities of the Island of Lefkada</b>							
<b>Time</b>	Winter (infrequent) and mainly Summer (frequent)						
<b>Classification</b>	<table border="1" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <thead> <tr> <th style="text-align: center; width: 50%;"><b>Participatory</b></th> <th style="text-align: center; width: 50%;"><b>Presentational</b></th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td style="vertical-align: top; padding: 10px;"> <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> <div style="width: 45%;"> <p>village fairs</p> <hr style="border: 0; border-top: 1px solid black; margin: 5px 0;"/> <p>folk festivities (such as Festival of Oregano, Reenactment of a Peasant Wedding)</p> <hr style="border: 0; border-top: 1px solid black; margin: 5px 0;"/> <p><i>horoesperides</i></p> </div> <div style="width: 45%;"> <p>celebrations (such as engagements, marriages, family celebrations, name-days)</p> </div> </div> </td> <td style="vertical-align: top; padding: 10px;"> <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> <div style="width: 45%;"> <p>Dance clubs</p> <hr style="border: 0; border-top: 1px solid black; margin: 5px 0;"/> <p>Narrow (scale performances)</p> <hr style="border: 0; border-top: 1px solid black; margin: 5px 0;"/> <p>village squares</p> </div> <div style="width: 45%;"> <p>Wide</p> <hr style="border: 0; border-top: 1px solid black; margin: 5px 0;"/> <p>festivals either in Greece or abroad</p> </div> </div> <div style="margin-top: 20px;"> <p>Tourist dance groups</p> <hr style="border: 0; border-top: 1px solid black; margin: 5px 0;"/> <p>hotels and/or taverns</p> </div> </td> </tr> <tr> <td colspan="2" style="text-align: center; padding: 10px;"> <p>other "cultural" festivities</p> </td> </tr> </tbody> </table>	<b>Participatory</b>	<b>Presentational</b>	<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> <div style="width: 45%;"> <p>village fairs</p> <hr style="border: 0; border-top: 1px solid black; margin: 5px 0;"/> <p>folk festivities (such as Festival of Oregano, Reenactment of a Peasant Wedding)</p> <hr style="border: 0; border-top: 1px solid black; margin: 5px 0;"/> <p><i>horoesperides</i></p> </div> <div style="width: 45%;"> <p>celebrations (such as engagements, marriages, family celebrations, name-days)</p> </div> </div>	<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> <div style="width: 45%;"> <p>Dance clubs</p> <hr style="border: 0; border-top: 1px solid black; margin: 5px 0;"/> <p>Narrow (scale performances)</p> <hr style="border: 0; border-top: 1px solid black; margin: 5px 0;"/> <p>village squares</p> </div> <div style="width: 45%;"> <p>Wide</p> <hr style="border: 0; border-top: 1px solid black; margin: 5px 0;"/> <p>festivals either in Greece or abroad</p> </div> </div> <div style="margin-top: 20px;"> <p>Tourist dance groups</p> <hr style="border: 0; border-top: 1px solid black; margin: 5px 0;"/> <p>hotels and/or taverns</p> </div>	<p>other "cultural" festivities</p>	
<b>Participatory</b>	<b>Presentational</b>						
<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> <div style="width: 45%;"> <p>village fairs</p> <hr style="border: 0; border-top: 1px solid black; margin: 5px 0;"/> <p>folk festivities (such as Festival of Oregano, Reenactment of a Peasant Wedding)</p> <hr style="border: 0; border-top: 1px solid black; margin: 5px 0;"/> <p><i>horoesperides</i></p> </div> <div style="width: 45%;"> <p>celebrations (such as engagements, marriages, family celebrations, name-days)</p> </div> </div>	<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> <div style="width: 45%;"> <p>Dance clubs</p> <hr style="border: 0; border-top: 1px solid black; margin: 5px 0;"/> <p>Narrow (scale performances)</p> <hr style="border: 0; border-top: 1px solid black; margin: 5px 0;"/> <p>village squares</p> </div> <div style="width: 45%;"> <p>Wide</p> <hr style="border: 0; border-top: 1px solid black; margin: 5px 0;"/> <p>festivals either in Greece or abroad</p> </div> </div> <div style="margin-top: 20px;"> <p>Tourist dance groups</p> <hr style="border: 0; border-top: 1px solid black; margin: 5px 0;"/> <p>hotels and/or taverns</p> </div>						
<p>other "cultural" festivities</p>							

absence of structure in the dance events referred to. On the contrary, some of them, such as the village fair, are dance events with a fixed order of activities.

### **3.2.1. Participatory Dance Events**

The first kind of such event concerns the village fairs (a list of the island's fairs is presented in Appendix 3). The majority of them take place during spring and summer, usually in the square of each village, but also in church and school yards, on the name day of the saint to whom the village is consecrated. Although the fairs constitute an important aspect of the social life based on the participation of the whole village, they are organised by individuals (coffee shops and tavern owners) or social associations (cultural clubs). These are responsible for inviting the musicians, providing part of their payment when a fixed fee has been arranged in addition to the participants' payments, and finding the place to conduct the event.

Fairs also used to take place at the end of the agricultural seasonal work, such as olive picking and grape harvest (Asprogerakas 1969-70, Filippa 1974-75, Ktena 1994, Stavrika 1993, Toumba 1977-78). However, due to a change in the way of living and the decline of the importance of agriculture in local life, such fairs have disappeared. The change in lifestyle has also affected the character of the on-going fairs. Twenty years ago, fairs constituted an important event for the local community, being one of the few chances for dancing to live music, and probably the only opportunity for younger people to meet members of the opposite sex. Participation today is more dependent on the public presentation of economic prosperity and social power. Economic factors existed in the past too, but were of secondary importance. This shift of interest constitutes an important reason given by a number of older villagers as to why they refuse to participate or even attend the fairs any more. A presentation of Karya village's fair follows as a model of what such events entail.

In Karya, the fair takes place on the name day of Agios Spyridon, the saint to whom the village is consecrated, on the 10th and 11th of August, a very unusual period for festive activities as people fast for the 15th of August (the feast of the Assumption of Virgin Mary). In the past, the fair used to last three days, the

saint's name day falling on the middle of the three days. Nowadays, it lasts only two days, ending on the name day. The second day is the most important. Live music in the form of instrumental ensembles (*organa*) is one of the main characteristics of the fair. This is the reason why the fair is referred to as *organa* as well. Alternatively, it is also called *klarina* named after the *klarino* (clarinet) the main musical instrument of the event or *violia* (probably from the violin). According to my informants, there used to be many ensembles at these events, six or even seven playing simultaneously in different areas of the square. After the introduction of amplified sound these have been reduced to one or at the most two, and in this latter case, one will be situated away from the square to prevent musical confusion.

. .

The general structure of the fair is as follows: various groups of relatives and/or friends (see Plate 10), mainly from the same village or other villages, will dance in turn. The order of the dance is fixed according to prearranged bookings. The leader of each group gives a piece of paper with his name on it to the musicians. The musicians then call each one of them, following strictly the order of priority of the booking, otherwise dissension (*parexigisi*) may occur. Only one group performs at a time and no outsider is allowed to join in. Usually each group participates in only one of the two days of the fair, while each member of a group dances one, or at most two, favourite dance-songs as leader. This is for practical reasons, since each group must pay the musicians thus maximising their financial reward.

Village fairs are opportunities to demonstrate social power and economic strength. The bigger the group, the more it demonstrates its social power. Most people present will criticise each performance. A group can be evaluated either in terms of dancing competence or in terms of social respect. Appreciation will be shown by sending an offering (*kerasma*) to the dancers, usually beer and occasionally champagne. The duration of each group's performance can vary between one and four hours. This is an interesting point considering the fact that the fair starts at about eleven o'clock at night and can go on until the next morning, when the attendance of the morning church service is obligatory for the community. The duration of the group's performance is related to the economic status of the group and the number of its members, since each member of the group has to perform one or two dances, and has to pay the musicians about





**Plate 10:** Company of friends at Karya's fair.

(photo by Theodoros Stavrakas)



**Plate 11:** Waiting for *riganada* at the crowded Karya's square.

(photo by Theodoros Stavrakas)

5.000 drachmas (almost £15) for every small section of a song in a specific dance. It should be noted that musicians usually do not play all the verses of a song, particularly if the dance is a slow one such as the *tsamikos*. Thus, if the dancers wish to perform all the verses of a dance-song, they must pay two or more times. A small group of four people may easily pay 40.000 drachmas (£100), while a large group of ten people may pay 100.000 drachmas (£250). Thus, the performance of many dances by a large group inevitably demonstrates economic wealth. By comparison, an Athenian worker earns an average of 5.000 drachmas (£12) per day. Performers may choose to give gold coins, but this is considered ostentatious. At present, only pre-War "foreign" dances are performed in the fair, predominantly *tsamikos* and *syrtos argos* or *syrtos grigoros*.

*Horoesperides* are a second participatory dance event. *Horoesperides* are formal evening dance events which take place during all the great feast periods of the year such as Christmas, Carnival and Easter, and also during summer. They are organised by local associations, such as the village council, cultural institutions, or political parties, which are entirely responsible for the holding of the dance event and charge an entrance fee. These formal dance events are also called *organa* (instruments) and the *bouzouki* is the main musical instrument of the instrumental ensemble. In this case, musicians are paid by the association organising the event and present a fixed music-dance programme, although participants are allowed to order a favourite song, giving a gift of money to the musicians. This affects the structure of the event and the dance repertoire performed. Pre- and post-War dance repertoires are performed in turn with the exception of the pre-War "indigenous" repertoire. The place where a *horoesperida* takes place affects the repertoires performed. For instance, during fieldwork, *horoesperida* during Carnival at the capital was predominantly *evropaika* (European), while at the event at Karya during Easter both repertoires were performed in turn. In such events, various groups of relatives and/or friends can perform on the dance floor at the same time, while the mixing of the dancers of different groups is allowed.<sup>5</sup>

Dance events where everybody can participate take place in folk festivities such as *riganada* (Festival of Oregano - see Plate 11) and *anaparastasi horiatikou gamou* (Reenactment of a Peasant Wedding - see Plate 12).<sup>6</sup> These events constitute those traditional customs of the island that, instead of disappearing,



**Plate 12:** Dancing at Karya's square during the Reenactment of a Peasant Wedding.

(photo by Theodoros Stavrakas)



**Plate 13:** Easter celebration of Kostas and Christos Stavraka's families ending in dancing.

(photo by Theodoros Stavrakas)

have over time been transformed into folklore attractions. They usually end up with dancing by lots of people who attend the event and spectators. As the events take place or terminate in the village square, the entire place is transformed into a huge dance floor. Rules for participation are almost absent and people mingle together. The Pre-War "foreign" dance repertoire is mainly performed, while it is also possible to perform post-War dances as well. The payment of the instrumental ensemble is provided by the association organising the festival, and participants have no monetary obligation. For instance, at Karya the village council together with the music-dance club '*Apollon Karyas*' usually shoulders this financial responsibility. However, live music is not a prerequisite. In its absence it is replaced by a cassette player.

A final kind of participatory dance event includes celebrations during name days, engagements and weddings.<sup>7</sup> Family gatherings can also end in dancing. Indeed, during fieldwork only exceptionally did family gatherings and name-day celebrations not end up with dancing (see Plate 13). In most cases the music was provided by a cassette player, which, inevitably, restricts the dance repertoire performed to that available in the market, namely pre-War "foreign" and post-War ones.

### **3.2.2. Presentational Dance Events**

This category of dance event refers to performances of the island's dance clubs in various contexts, including those in tourist settings. With regard to the dance clubs, their performance contexts can be distinguished into those of narrow and wide scale. The former consists of dance club presentations at village squares either on their own or as parts of other cultural events. What must be pointed out about these local, narrow scale performances is the restriction of the dance clubs to particular areas. For instance, the dance group '*Apollon Karyas*' performs in the village of Karya where it is based and in the nearby villages of Piganissani or Eglouvi that do not have dance groups of their own. Yet '*Apollon Karyas*' does not perform at the southeastern part of the island where another dance club, '*Alexandros*' has its base. A similar pattern applies to the students of the dance clubs as well.

The wide scale performances of the dance groups refers to their participation in various festivals or cultural events either at home or abroad. Among these is the International Folklore Festival, a unique institution in the country that takes place every year in the capital of Lefkada during August, an event of great importance in terms of prestige. The festival is part of larger cultural activities known as the '*Yiortes Logou ke Technis*' (Festival of Arts and Letters), which, apart from the dance performances, includes various other activities such as concerts of music, theatre and ballet, seminars, symposiums and round tables. The Festival of Arts and Letters, begun in 1957, was the islanders' reaction to the tragic decade of 1940s which included both World War II and the Greek Civil War. Lefkada became the first town to give a message of 'Peace, Love and Brotherhood' as expressed in the 'Peace and Love' dancing song, the emblem of the Festival. At present, the Festival of Arts and Letters is under the auspices of the Cultural Centre of the municipality of Lefkada. Each year it is dedicated to a particular issue. For instance, in 1992 it was organised in honour of Macedonia (history and culture),<sup>8</sup> in 1993 for modern medicine's achievements, and in 1994 for Greek civilisation, with the Parthenon as its symbol.

Until 1962 the International Folklore Festival was incorporated in the two-week period of folkloristic festivities. Since then, in an attempt to lengthen the cultural and tourist season, it has taken place independently in the last week of the Festival of Arts and Letters, despite the fact that the organisers and the participants of both festivals often overlap. Participation in the International Folklore Festival is considered the most important annual performance of the dance clubs on the island, a performance whose preparation lasts a whole year. Of course, this attitude is justified because of the international character of the event. However, the fact that the International Folklore Festival is the venue for the simultaneous presentation of all the island's dance clubs is also a very important reason, as it offers a chance for them to be compared. Because of this, an unofficial competition between the different dance clubs for the best presented dance performance goes on (see Plate 14). This results in a thorough organisation of every aspect of these performances, which, in turn, demonstrates economic, social, and dance power. Music accompaniment is a characteristic example of this situation. Live music, which in small scale performances is easily replaced by a cassette player, is considered a prerequisite, and famous, well-paid musicians from all over Greece are invited to play.



**Plate 14:** The dance group ‘*Apollon Karyas*’ in the parade of the International Folklore Festival at Lefkada.

(photo by Maria Koutsouba)

In the presentational dance events of the island we must also add the performances in tourist contexts during the summer period. These concern the latest arrangement at hotels and taverns for tourist consumption and consist of a presentation of various dance suites from all over Greece, including the pre-War “indigenous” dances of Lefkada. This phenomenon mainly appears in south-eastern Lefkada, which is developed touristically. The music in these events is provided either by a cassette player or by the hotel’s or tavern’s orchestra, while the dancers are often members of the island’s dance groups. As the presentational dance events are so related to the presence of the dance clubs on the island, it would have been a significant omission not to refer to the dance clubs themselves. Thus, what follows is their presentation which provides further information about the status of dance on the island.

### 3.2.2.1. Dance Clubs

At present, there are six Greek folk dance clubs at the island on Lefkada. They are in order of longevity: *Mousikophilologikos Omilos 'Apollon Karyas'* (Music-Philological Society 'Apollo of Karya'), *Mousikophilologikos Omilos 'Orpheas Lefkados'* (Music-Philological Society 'Orpheus of Lefkada'), *Mousikochoreftikos Omilos 'Nea Horodia Lefkadas'* (Music and Dance Society 'New Chorus of Lefkada'), *Politistikos Syllogos Nydriou ke Perichoron 'Alexandros'* (Cultural Association of Nydri and its Environs 'Alexander'), *Omilos Laikon Horon 'Pegasos'* (Society of Popular Dances 'Pegasus') and *Mousikochoreftikos Omilos Notiou Lefkadas 'Lefkatas'* (Music and Dance Society of South Lefkada 'Lefkatas') (for more information see also Appendix 4). The number and location of the dance clubs, the name and aims of the societies in which they are included, the age of their students and the repertoire taught, and the year they were founded are interesting points to consider.

Half of the dance clubs were established in the 1960s and the other half in the 1990s. These two periods are characteristic of the entire country as the phenomenon of the Greek folk dance clubs was spread throughout Greece. Both periods are explained by a number of reasons, such as the overcoming of the terrible effects of the Civil War in the first case, the advent of new kinds of prosperity, the attempts for redefinition of "Greekness" in combination with the movements of 'exoticism and return to the old' (Meraklis 1989, Lekkas 1996) and the 'fragmentation of "common" culture' (Collins 1989). Particularly at Lefkada, the number of the dance clubs established during these two periods is remarkably large considering that all of them are specifically based on the island and not the Prefecture of Lefkada. In particular, half of them are established in the capital, with the other half scattered over the rest of the island. This could be seen as indicative of the importance of the centre over the periphery, a phenomenon justified by the process of urbanisation on a small scale. Their large number is surprising since they all share the same dance interests, namely dances of the island and of other parts of Greece. This extended repertoire is a common phenomenon in Greek areas where populations of different origins are mingled, but, since it is not the case in Lefkada, it is quite remarkable.

This multiplicity of dance discourses expressed by the number of dance

clubs can be interpreted as the two sides of a coin. On one hand, it can be associated with issues of social power and esteem. Participation in dance clubs, particularly in their committees, is a matter of social acceptance and superiority. Thus, the establishment of many dance clubs offers the opportunity to a large number of islanders to gain these social privileges. On the other hand, this multiplicity of dance clubs stresses the heterogeneity of the people involved in dancing regarding dance expression itself. Different points of view concerning various parameters of dancing result in the formation of many clubs. This is said to be the reason for the foundation of various dance clubs in the capital which have been formed after disagreements between the members of the first established dance group, the '*Orpheas Lefkados*'. Whatever the truth, both islanders and outsiders are exposed to various dance stimuli. But, the question raised at this point is, to what sort of dancing are they exposed?

Despite isolated differences, all the dance clubs state in their Articles similar aims, that is the maintenance, promotion and expansion of cultural institutions and traditions of Lefkada in particular and of Greece in general. The way that this applies to the dances of Lefkada is revealed by the dance repertoire performed. For the dance clubs the "Lefkadian" dances are restricted to the performance of the pre-War rural "indigenous" dance repertoire. Pre-War urban, pre-War rural "foreign" and post-War dance repertoires are thus excluded. If dance clubs are conceived as messengers of exclusively rural repertoires, then the exclusion of the pre-War urban dances can be explained. If the dance clubs are envisaged as messengers of "traditional" Lefkadian dances, then the post-War dance repertoire from other parts of Greece, as this materialises in local life, must also be excluded. However, exclusion of pre-War rural "foreign" repertoire cannot be explained on the grounds of either of the above reasons, particularly if the complexity of the category is considered. It must be emphasised that the exclusion of the particular dance repertoire concerns the "Lefkadian" dance expression performed by dance clubs. This repertoire is performed by the dance clubs either as Epirotic or "pan-Hellenic" (for a discussion of the term see 5.1.8, 5.1.9, 5.1.10 and 6.1.2). In this way, the dance clubs, expressing the official aspect of dance, impose on Lefkadians and outsiders their own interpretation of what "Lefkadian" dance is.

Furthermore, the dance clubs present their version of "Lefkadian" dance as



this results from their contact with external dance stimuli. Through their performances at festivals on the island, in Greece and abroad,<sup>9</sup> the dance clubs are influenced by aesthetic criteria different from those of the island. For the sake of winning a prize or “improving” the local dance status, some of these criteria are adopted and applied to the “Lefkadian” dances. Thus, the image of “Lefkadian” dance performed by the dance clubs may not coincide with the one the islanders perceive of the pre-War rural “indigenous” dance repertoire. Yet, because of the dance clubs’ presentational, official status, the first image predominates over the second and the new aesthetic criteria are imposed on the island’s dance discourse<sup>10</sup> overcoming the local ones. This is also expressed in economic terms, as the development of dance clubs created new outlets for the musicians, giving them regular employment as well as possible national and international fame. In turn, this affected the musicians’ relationship with the other islanders as the balance of power was shifted: it seems that as dance activities grew within the dance clubs, activities at fairs and other such events decreased, since people were less able to commit themselves financially. This opens an enormous area of enquiry and research regarding perhaps the existence of a kind of inner colonisation which, however, goes beyond the limits of this study. The point that has to be emphasised in this thesis concerns the fact that the official representations of “Lefkadian” dances are restricted to the performance of the pre-War, rural “indigenous” dance repertoire.<sup>11</sup>

The names of the dance clubs is also significant. In every society or association with more than one activity, the dance section was one of the very first to be established. In addition, dance, the common denominator of the societies’ activities, is considered to be of major importance because, along with music, it disseminates the fame of the overall society through its participation in festivals. Yet with the exception of two, the *Mousikohoreftikos Omilos ‘Nea Horodia Lefkadas’* and the *Mousikohoreftikos Omilos Notiou Lefkadas ‘Lefkatas’*, the rest do not manifest this interest through their name. Other interests, mainly music and philology, are emphasised. This practice is quite contradictory. On one hand, dance is favoured, as it significantly and uniquely contributes to the fame of the societies. On the other, dance, at least in terms of name, is not honoured. Does this mean that dance is considered less respectable in comparison with the other interests, such as those of philology or music? Does this demonstrate the existing belief that dance is a “low art” in comparison with

music, theatre or poetry being the “high arts”? Or is it, on the contrary, that dance is so much part of life, that, like the air we breathe, it is not even questioned?

### 3.3. Dance and Music

These two concepts, dance and music, are inseparable for the locals. In fact, it is impossible for them to think about the one without referring to the other. An example of their way of thinking is demonstrated by their need to sing the melody of the dance when asked to perform it out of context. As they characteristically say: ‘Let me remember the song/music of the dance, and then I can show you this dance’ or ‘I remember seeing this dance but I cannot recall it, I do not remember its song/music’. Indeed, learning or reproducing a dance through an abstract method, such as counting, is non-existent for Lefkadians even in the case of some of the dance teachers. The musical accompaniment even in the form of vocal singing is imperative. The inseparability of these two concepts is demonstrated by the different participation and mood of the islanders in relation to the presence or absence of live music. For instance, at Karya during the 1993 *anaparastasi horiatikou gamou* (Reenactment of a Peasant Wedding) where live music was performed, the dance at the square attracted lots of people and went on until late into the night. During the *riganada* (Festival of Oregano) the same summer, music was provided by a cassette player and few people participated in the dance, and then only for a short time.

The importance of dance and music in local life means that in every community certain families or members of these families are appreciated for their dance and/or music skills. These families are considered by the locals to be “gifted”. Such a gift according to the general belief is innate and transferred from one generation to another. As the islanders emphasise, “these families have dance or music in their blood”, a belief not exclusive to Greece (see for example Baily 1995). Stories about locals who had to give up these “innate” talents for various reasons are very popular on the island. Such stories are quite common, particularly of women originating from dancing families who happened to marry men from non-dancing families. The fact that they had to give up dancing is often a point of discussion. People at Karya, for instance, still recall about a woman

who was not allowed to perform since she was in mourning, but who, under the guise of the Carnival, found her way to satisfy her need to express herself in dance movements. Similarly, it was surprising that *barba* (uncle)-Panos, while being in mourning, danced at 1993 Karya's village fair, yet, by choosing to perform a very favourite slow piece which reminded him of his wife, he demonstrated his grief over her death. Such stories remain not only as amusing local anecdotes, though the tragic elements behind them, but additionally indicated people's understanding of the need to move.

In terms of instrumental ensembles, these are few in number and the same groups play for dance events all over the island. These groups are made up of local Lefkadians (see Plate 15). The older musicians are self-taught amateurs who have music as a second job. The phenomenon of a few younger people having proper musical education and being professional musicians has appeared in recent years. The existence of local musicians does not exclude the invitation of famous musicians and singers, especially from the mainland opposite, to play at local fairs, or of professional musicians from all over Greece participating in the important performances of the dance clubs. Because of the limited number of the musicians a mutual relationship between performers and musicians is established, whereby the former know the specialities of the latter, and the latter the dancing tastes of the former. In such a situation, every act, such as the choice of a particular song, becomes meaningful to the people involved.



**Plate 15:** Music ensemble of the dance group '*Apollon Karyas*'. The flag of the club can also be seen. (photo by Maria Koutsouba)

The musical instruments found on the island used in several combinations each specific to a particular part of the dance repertoire. Thus, the pre-War rural dance repertoire is accompanied by *violi* (violin), *klarino* (clarinet) and *laouto* (lute). In recent years the *akordeon* (accordion) has also been added for this repertoire. *Mantolina* (mandolins) and *kithares* (guitars) usually accompany the pre-War urban dance repertoire. Other instruments which could have been used as dance accompaniment are mentioned, such as *daouli* (tabor), *santouri* (dulcimer) and *zournas* (shawn) (Filippa 1975-76, Horti 1975-76, Kontogiorgi 1976-77, Kouniaki 1975-76, Michael 1974-75, Panagiotidou 1975-76, Papadopoulou 1974-75, Skiada 1977-78, Sklavenitis 1971, Toumba 1977-78, Verykiou 1968-69).<sup>12</sup>

### **3.4. Critical Consideration of the Dance Profile**

The different dance repertoires performed in a variety of dance events, the number and frequency of the dance events, the presence of a significant number of dance clubs, and the extensive involvement of islanders in dance and cultural activities are important parameters that exhibit a dance plurality on the island of Lefkada. Nevertheless, Lefkadians express their disappointment about the gradual decline in terms of quantity and quality, based on the fact that a number of “cultural” events no longer take place, while the quality of the existing ones is said to have deteriorated. With regard to the former, the demise of the pre-Lenten Carnival Parade in the capital during which all the villages used to participate with floats, the absence of the holding of many village fairs, the smaller number of cultural activities on the island in comparison with those that used to take place as recently as the 1980s, are some of the points that islanders complain about. With regard to the latter, the unsuccessful organisation of the on-going dance events, the unwillingness of people to participate in them, even the loss of interest in attending them are mentioned.

Lefkadians attribute this decline to various reasons. First, they believe that the annual repetition of some activities such as the International Folklore Festival and the dance performances of dance groups at village squares in which they do not have the chance to actively participate have turned them into commonplace sights which no longer attract much interest. Secondly, the change in the character

of some events from a means of socialising and entertainment to an ostentatious means of economic display, along with the opening up of local society to new ways of life, has also affected the quality of cultural activity. Finally, islanders complain of a lack of financial help from the state in supporting cultural activities, while finding it difficult to sustain them personally.

However, it is worth noting that while there was a decrease in the opportunity to dance because of the decline in the participatory events, this was counterbalanced by increased opportunities provided by dance clubs in presentational events. This reality denotes that, despite the various complaints or changes in character of the events, there is something in dancing that is still important for the people. This allows one to conceive of dance and dance activities as an integrated, functional part of local society which has an active role in the daily life of Lefkadians. It is on these grounds that an analysis of the dance phenomenon on the island of Lefkada is justified, as it appears in the pre-War rural dance repertoire, and seems to contribute both to the study of the dancing cultural identity of the island and to the possibility of commenting upon Lefkadian cultural identity in general.

## Notes:

1. Obviously, World War II is a provisional demarcation which is rather arbitrary, as in 'living tradition' there is a slow and overlapping transformation and/or disappearance of the dances. However, it is widely used in Greek literature (Meraklis 1989:92-92, Rombos-Levides 1994:99-100).
2. *Horiatika*, literally means the products coming from the villages. However, the term is offensive as these products are considered to be subordinate in comparison with those of the capital. It is also used for people, as *horiates* are considered to be less "educated" and "civilised" in comparison to the inhabitants of the capital. The term is often used as an alternative to the term Vlachs (see Section 2.5).
3. Apart from the weather conditions or availability of free time, the emigrants' and tourists' visits to the island play an important role in this outburst, which in turn is used as a means of tempting visitors to stay longer on the island in the summer. For instance, this is the reason why the International Folklore Festival always takes place at the end of August.
4. These two conceptual categories have been proposed by Andriy Nahachewsky to distinguish dances. According to the writer 'in participatory dances, the focus tends to be on the dancers themselves... Presentational dances are often performed on formal stages and in other locations where the physical and cultural distance between performers and audience is greater' (1994:1). In this study, the terms are used in a similar sense to distinguish the dance events as well. However, the point referring to the cultural distance of the presentational dance events does not apply in the case at Lefkada. Most of the dance festivities take place during the summer when both islanders and tourists are on the island. The International Folklore Festival for example, is attended by tourists but also by a large number of islanders. Village fairs are mainly for the islanders but tourists passing through the villages may also stay and attend them. Thus, this sort of division does not apply in Lefkada. Other conceptual categories have also been proposed from various dance scholars. Thus, Irene Loutzaki (1989:328) distinguishes 'formal' from 'informal' dances, while Magda Zografou suggests (1989:104) the 'connotative' and 'emotional' function of dance respectively. However, with regard to the former, I believe that all the dances are formal in

some way or another, while regarding the latter, both aspects may be involved in a dance performance.

5. Because *horoesperides* is a common post-War phenomenon all over Greece, the differences from one place to another are few. For this reason the detailed analysis of this dance event by Cowan (1990, Chapter 5) is useful and valid in the case of Lefkada as well.

6. A similar occasion was that of the Festival of Lentils at Agios Donatos site of the village Eglouvi. However, the dancing part of the festival has been stopped in recent years.

7. Engagement and marriage at Lefkada, as performed in the past, has been described in detail (A.K. 1995, Drakontaeidis 1970, Kontomichis 1972, Politis 1909, Rontogiannis 1966 and in almost all the undergraduate dissertations of the Folklore Archive, Department of Philosophy, University of Athens).

8. It must be noticed that the Festival in some cases can be used as an official way of reinforcing national identity, as happened in this year.

9. Opportunity for travelling abroad is one of the main reasons why many of the students go to attend the dance classes. The social dimension of this experience must also be pointed out particularly because of the fact that such journeys started 35 years ago when life was stricter than at present. Thus, the islanders are not only receptors of new dance ideas but of cultural elements as well taking into consideration the fact that dance clubs, which organise one of the few activities occurring during the winter months, constitute a central component of the local network, in which most of the people participate at some period of their life.

10. This is even more important because of the young age of the students participating in the dance clubs. Most people participating are between the age of 5 and 30 years. After that age, if they wish to have contact with the dance club, they are involved in the committee or dance teaching. It seems as if dancing in the club is not a decent activity for respectable people after a certain age or status. Marriage, for instance, is an important reason for stopping performing.

11. A first idea of this fact is provided by the additional inclusion of versions of the “Lefkadian” dances as performed by islanders. The transformations are obvious although the choreographies used by the dancers of the dance club, which further emphasise the point of discussion, have not been included.

12. *Flogera* (flute) is referred as the shepherd’s musical instrument.



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## **PART II: ANALYSIS**

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## **CHAPTER 4: Methods of Analysis**

## **Introduction**

The starting point for the approach of cultural identity through its dance dimension is the study of the dances themselves, that is, the analysis and comparison of the two repertoires under examination. In order to achieve this, a method to approach both structure and style of the dances is required as both parameters are necessary for the definition of the dance forms.<sup>1</sup> In addition, a system of typology is demanded for their comparison. This chapter presents the methods used in this study both for the analysis and for the comparison of the dances. It is divided into four sections. The first section introduces the method for analysing the structural aspect of the dance form, which emerged from a combination of selected elements of preexisting techniques so as to suit the requirements of the study. In this section the notation system used is also included. The second section presents the system of typology, while the third section refers to the method of analysis regarding the stylistic aspect of the dance form. With regard to the latter, it must be mentioned that the selection and use of the particular system, that is Laban's Effort system, additionally constitutes a test of its applicability on Greek folk dance, as it is the first time, at least to my knowledge, that the system is completely applied on this sort of dance.

### **4.1. Structure-Form Method of Analysis**

Perhaps in the age of post-structuralism and post-modernism, the use of methods emerging from structuralism may seem outmoded and invalid, as the latter has been accused for 'universalising implications', i.e. 'make general claims about the universal, causal character of structures' (Strinati 1985:88). In the present study, however, structuralism is not conceived in this way. It is rather used in its broader sense, as 'a way of looking for reality not in individual things but in the relationships among them' (Scholes 1974:4). In this way, elements from structuralism are used as 'an approach [which] encourages the social anthropologist to perceive that cultural phenomena which he/[she] had previously thought of as quite separate are really variations of a common theme' (Leach 1973:49).

Structural analysis is widely used in dance studies as 'part of the complex

study of dance providing a method for the analysis of dance at its surface (formal) level of significance' (Giurchescu 1986:33). In this case, the method of dance structural analysis, whose 'epistemological roots... have been ethnomusicology, linguistics, social anthropology, ethnography and, later, semiotics' (Giurchescu 1986:34) implies 'a constant "etic" (objective) - "emic" (subjective) dialogue', (Giurchescu 1986:33) as 'researchers attempting to comprehend the structure of the dance ideally weigh their (outsiders) analysis of the dance with the dancers' (insiders) view of their own tradition' (Giurchescu with Bloland 1995:117).

In the course of dance study various structural-morphological models have been proposed. Among these, a number of elements have been selected for the needs of the present study. In particular, elements regarding dance and music terminology, the relationship between dance and music, and the use of tables have been chosen from the structure-form method of analysis proposed in 1974 by the International Folk Music Council Study Group for Folk Dance Terminology (henceforth referred as IFMC Study Group).<sup>2</sup> Without denying its value, it must be stressed that with the shift of theoretical thinking this project has been criticised especially for its claim to universality as 'it is relatively limited and dependent on the characteristic traits of the dance culture in which it was rooted' (Giurchescu and Torp 1991:4). However, as the method conforms with the particular traits of the Greek dancing culture it can be legitimately applied in this study.

In addition, the IFMC Study Group has listed the factors that play an important role in the sectioning of dance. These factors concern a number of dance components. Changes and/or expansions of this method, which, along with a number of others, has been applied on Greek dances by Vassiliki Tyrovola (1994) are also adopted. These concern the music terminology and the relationship between dance and music. Another aspect of the present analysis concerns the classification of the components of dance. In this case the taxonomies presented by Anca Giurchescu (1986), Adshead *et al.* (1988) and Ana Sanchez-Colberg (1992) are taken into account. The two last studies also introduced a method of discerning the dance form which was found to be quite useful. An analytical presentation of the method used in this study follows.

#### 4.1.1. Presentation of the Structure-Form Method of Analysis

The first point that needs clarification concerns the use of the term 'form' in the present study. The term, as the subject-matter of morphology, has been used in a number of different senses in dance studies (see Preston-Dunlop 1995:351, 587). Once this term is clarified, the method of analysis reveals itself. Thus, 'form' in this study is treated according to the IFMC Study Group

...as an aspect of structural analysis (which is only part of the complex analysis of dance). The term *form* is used here solely in the sense of composition. When we speak of the form of a dance, we mean the integral arrangement of the form elements, which brings the material, namely the movement of the human body in relationship to music into expression (IFMC Study Group 1974:121-122; italics in original).

According to this definition three points need further explanation, namely the form elements, the structural levels (units) and the relationship between dance and music. Prior to that, the form models are presented.

Forms (IFMC Study Group 1974:123-127) are designed according to two different principles of composition, the **linking principle** and the **grouping principle**. With regard to the former, the segments of a form are arranged so that the number of segments and their correlations are not fixed. These forms usually appear as open forms, and in two types. First, the **chain form (CF)** in which the individual segments are lined up one after the other and where the number and sequence of the segments are not determining factors. This type can be divided in a) homogeneous chain form (**HmCF**) which is identified by the unlimited repetition of a unit; b) the heterogeneous chain form (**HtCF**) in which the individual segments are different and arranged one after the other without consistent organisation, thus they have no fixed order; and c) the variation form (**VtF**) in which the individual segments are observed as variations of the basic segment. Secondly, there is the **rondo form (RF)** which is identified by the regular reappearance of one or more basic segments in a certain order and where the number of segments is not a determining factor.

With regards to the latter, the grouping principle, the number and correlation of segments (sequence, proportions, relationships) are in some way balanced by internal connections. These forms usually appear as closed forms.

On the basis of this principle a **two (AB)**, **three (ABC)** or **multi-segment form** can appear consisting of two, three or more equally important but contrasting phrases which are tightly bound together in a certain balance. Although the character of the individual segments is defined as being of equal importance but contrasting, however, the relationship between the nature of the segments is not stated. Thus the segments of the dance form which are arranged according to the grouping principle may have homogeneous, heterogeneous, variation or rondo relationship (Tyrovola 1994:36). Finally, the arrangement of segments according to the grouping principle does not exclude the possibility of characterising the individual segments according to the linking principle in homogeneous chain, heterogeneous chain, variation or rondo forms.

The graphic symbols for form models can be summarised:

<b>CF</b>	=chain form
<b>HmCF</b>	=homogeneous chain form
<b>HtCF</b>	=heterogeneous chain form
<b>VtF</b>	=variation form
<b>RF</b>	=rondo form
<b>AB</b>	=two-segment form
<b>ABHm</b>	=two-segment homogeneous form
<b>ABHt</b>	=two-segment heterogeneous form
<b>ABVt</b>	=two-segment variation form
<b>ABC</b>	=three-segment form

#### **4.1.1.1. Form Elements**

The form elements of a dance refer to the properties of the dance and their spatio-temporal relationships. As it has already been mentioned, a number of classifications of these elements have been proposed by various dance scholars. Thus, Adshead *et al.* refer to the observable elements or components of a dance form and distinguish amongst them in movements which have spatial and dynamic elements, dancers, visual setting, aural elements and their complexes. The same dance scholars also suggest that the relations according to components, at a point of time, through time, between the movement and the linear development, and the major/minor subsidiary relations are the tools for discerning the form of

dance (1988:21-59). Alternatively, Anca Giurchescu refers to choreographic features (physical elements) that build a system which is divided in classes of parameters that concern the arrangement in space, the kinetics, the rhythm and the multiplicity (1986:35-38).

Ana Sanchez-Colberg in her discussion of the intrinsic aspects of the dance medium which are distinguished in four main strands, namely body, movement, space and sound, presents an exhaustive list of each of them (1992:33-63). Finally the IFMC Study Group refers to the number of participants, the group formation, the type of connection, the type of movement, the direction of movement, the floor pattern, the tempo, the metre, the rhythm, the dynamics and the structure of musical accompaniment, defining them as the factors that play an important role in the sectioning of the folk dance and pointing out that 'in a concrete case one factor is often sufficient to influence the structure' (1974:122).

What must be pointed out about the aforementioned taxonomies is that, despite the different use of names and ways of classification, the form elements that are presented include information about the dance *per se* and concern similar parameters. On this basis, a list of the various form elements follows along with the graphic symbols used in the present analysis. Although what follows might be complicated for those who are not familiar with dance analysis, some researchers have realised the important role of this kind of analysis in anthropology (see for instance Street 1977):

i) Symbols for the movements of the legs:

a) Symbols for the legs:

$\delta$  (the first letter of the Greek word  $\delta\epsilon\chi\acute{\iota}$  which means right)=right foot, either **support**, that is the movement that carries weight or **gesture**, that is the movement in space that does not convey weight (Hutchinson 1977:22).

$\alpha$  (the first letter of the Greek word  $\alpha\rho\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\rho\acute{o}$  which means left)=left foot, support or gesture

b) symbols for leg supports:

$\alpha o/\delta o$ =the left/right foot/support carries weight; the numbers in this case indicate the various directions in space according to the Labanotation system:

$\alpha/\delta_0$	$\alpha/\delta_{01}$ =in place	□
	$\alpha/\delta_{02}$ =forward	◻◻
	$\alpha/\delta_{03}$ =backward	◻◻
	$\alpha/\delta_{04}$ =right	▷
	$\alpha/\delta_{05}$ =left	◁
	$\alpha/\delta_{06}$ =diagonal forward right	◻
	$\alpha/\delta_{07}$ =diagonal forward left	◻
	$\alpha/\delta_{08}$ =diagonal backward right	◻
	$\alpha/\delta_{09}$ =diagonal backward left	◻

c) symbols for leg gestures:

$\alpha/\delta_x$ =the left/right leg is weight-free; the numbers in this case indicate the various destinations in space according to the Labanotation system:

$\alpha/\delta$ :	$\alpha/\delta_1$ =lift of the left/right leg in front of the central line of the body with bending knee <sup>3</sup>
	$\alpha/\delta_2$ =lift of the left/right leg with extended or bending knee <sup>3</sup>
	$\alpha/\delta_3$ =projection on the toes of the left/right foot
	$\alpha/\delta_4$ =position of the left/right foot, where the toes of one foot are to the side of the toes, the middle, or the heel of the other foot without having weight <sup>3</sup>
	$\alpha/\delta_5$ =the heel of the left/right foot kick the ground before the lift
	$\alpha/\delta_6$ =crossing of the left/right foot above the other without carrying weight

d) other symbols for the movements of the legs:

( )= in the tables, indicates that the movement has pulse/bounce; the timing of the pulse, which is clearly shown in the notated score, is written separately below the symbol. In the types of the dances it shows that two movements take place either simultaneous or in succession. Timing in the types of the dances is indicated over the symbol.

< >= indicates a) the support during a leg gesture and b) that this support is the



same as the previous one, i.e. the foot does not make any other movement.

└┘= it joins two supports and indicates the maintenance of support in the same position.

x?/x? =two separated movements taking place in succession

xo?+x?=a change of support and a gesture taking place simultaneously

⌒ ⌒ ⌒=jump

~ ~ ~ =pulse/bounce

. . . =run

ii) Handhold:

**T**=the arms around the shoulders

**W**=from the hands with bending elbows

**X**=with arms crossing each other

**M**=from the hands without bending elbows

**Σ**=arm in arm

**Y**=arms raised

**U**=unattached

These graphic symbols when accompanied by the symbol (**D**) indicate the dance composition, i.e. WD refers to the whole dance; when they appear on their own they indicate kinetic motifs.

iii) Dancers:

a) sex:

**M**=men, **W**=women

b) formation:

**MW**=men and women mixed in whatever way

**M**⌒**W**⌒=man, woman etc.

**W**⌒**M**⌒=woman, man etc.

**MvW**=couple

iv) Direction in space:

a) direction of the movements:

↑=forward

↓=backward

↕=in place

→=to the right

←=to the left

↗=diagonal forward right

↖=diagonal forward left

↘=diagonal backward right

↙=diagonal backward left

b) direction of the dance:

↪=open circle that moves to the right

↩=open circle that moves to the left

↕ =in place

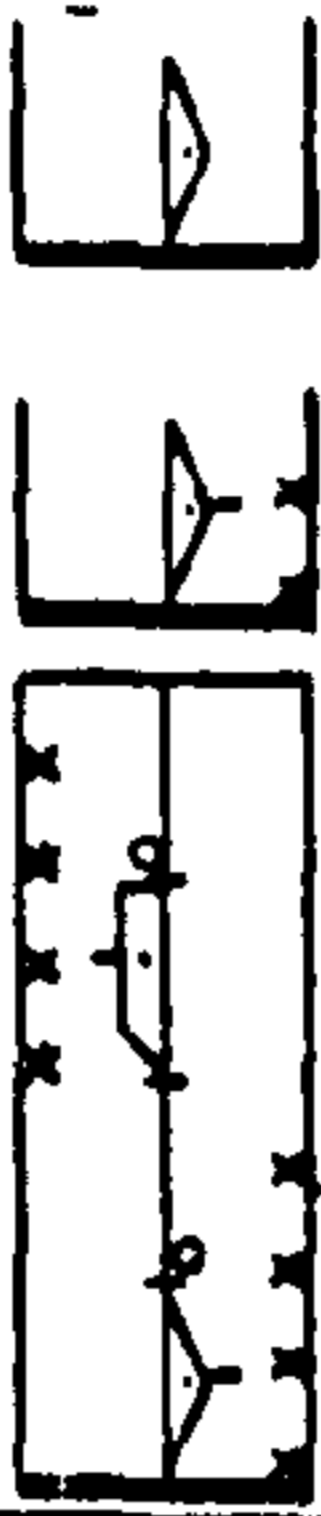

#### 4.1.1.2. Structural Levels (Units) of Dance

These are divided in small and larger structural units (IFMC Study Group 1974:127-132) or in microscopic and macroscopic level (Nahachewsky 1995:5) respectively (see Table 4.1). The former include the (kinetic) element, the cell and the kinetic motif and the latter the dance phrase, the section, the part and the dance composition:<sup>4</sup>

The **(kinetic) element (e)**<sup>5</sup> refers to the smallest movements of dance and includes all movement possibilities of the human body, its postures and positions. The kinetic element is not divisible; its function is to unite with other elements to build larger organic units.

The **cell (c)** is a simple configuration of the kinetic elements of a dance movement which are arranged plastically, rhythmically and dynamically, and as a rule are focused on a strong point representing the rhythmic organisation of the movements of the body. The cell has no independent function; it is rather dependent on other cells and larger units; it can become a motif if it takes over the function of the motif within a larger structural unit.

**Table 4.1: Structural Units (Levels) of Dance**

Structural Units (Levels) of Dance	Examples (footwork only)		
	Labanotation	Typology	(Description)
<p>Small Structural Units or Microscopic Level</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>(kinetic) element (e)</li> <li>Cell (c)</li> <li>Kinetic Motif (KM)</li> </ul>		<p><math>e = \delta o' 4</math></p> <p><math>c = \delta o' 4 (\delta o_4)</math></p> <p><math>KM = (\delta o' 4 + \alpha o_8)</math></p>	<p>step to the right side with the right foot</p> <p>step to the right side with the right foot with pulse/bounce</p> <p>step diagonally backward right with the right foot with pulse/bounce</p> <p>step to the right side with the right foot with pulse/bounce</p>
<p>Large Structural Units or Macroscopic Level</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>(Dance) Phrase (P)</li> <li>Section (S)</li> <li>Part (P)</li> <li>Dance Composition (D)</li> </ul>		<p><math>P =  KM1(\delta o' 4 + \alpha o_8) + KM2(\delta o' 4 + \alpha o_6) + KM3(\delta o' 4 + \langle \delta o_4 \rangle \alpha o_8) + KM4(\alpha o' 5 + \langle \alpha o_5 \rangle \delta_2) </math></p>	<p>gesture with the left leg</p> <p>step to the left side with the left foot with pulse/bounce</p> <p>gesture with the left leg</p> <p>step to the right side with the right foot with pulse/bounce</p> <p>step diagonally forward right with the right foot with pulse/bounce</p> <p>step to the right side with the right foot with pulse/bounce</p> <p>step diagonally backward right with the right foot with pulse/bounce</p> <p>step to the right side with the right foot with pulse/bounce</p> <p>It is supposed that this dance composition has one part that coincides with the section constituting of one dance phrase.</p>

The **kinetic motif (KM)**<sup>5</sup> is the smallest compositional unit of dance, in which the kinetic elements are combined plastically, rhythmically, and dynamically in a set form resulting in a closed choreographic pattern. The kinetic motif is constituted of units which are described as 'cells'. It builds larger units by repetition, reprise, modification and by binding with other motifs. It corresponds to a rhythmic motif, that is to a music metre, and there is usually a direct relationship between the inner subdivision of the rhythmic motif and the kinetic elements or cells; the alteration of the inner rhythmic structure and of tempo leads to the alteration of the character of the kinetic motif.<sup>6</sup>

The **dance phrase (F)**<sup>7</sup> is the simplest organic compositional unit of the dance, which demonstrates the fundamental content and form of the dance idea; the autonomous character of content and form gives to it a new and thoroughly independent quality. The dance phrase can consist of the same motif repeated or of motifs of various types organised either as a group or a line. It unites to form higher form units following the same process which unites motifs into phrases. In this case, all possibilities of repetition, reprise and modification are valid.

The **section (S)** is the next higher structural unit after the phrase and consists of the union of two or more similar or different related phrases. Changes of rhythmic organisation and tempo are possible.

The **part (P)** is the highest structural unit of the dance. It consists of different or repeated sections or phrases. It is united choreographically, musically, structurally or thematically with other parts of the dance. However, the parts are always apparent even if they are danced dependently in a sequence; the union of similar parts with each other occurs according to the grouping principle; in simple dances there is concurrence of the part with the section and the phrase.

The **dance composition (D)**<sup>8</sup> is the integrated form of the dance, the highest compositional unit, in which all components are brought together into a closed, completed design; the integrated form of the dance is designed either according to the grouping principle, in which case it breaks down into two or more parts, sections or phrases; or according to the linear principle (in that case it divides into sections or phrases) or as a single-phrase dance, directly into motifs;

the structure of the choreographic pattern is closely related to the structure of the accompanying music.

In summary, the symbols for the structural units of dance are:

**TD, WD, XD, MD, ΣD, YD, UD**=[ ]=dance (**D**) in relation to the various handholds

**P**=| |=part of the dance

**S**=| |=section of the dance

**F**=| |=phrase of the dance

**KM**={ }=kinetic motif

**c**=( )=cell

**e**=(kinetic) element

Among all these structural units one has to be chosen as the central object of analytical work. Which one is going to be chosen, however, depends on the aims of the analysis and may vary from study to study. The kinetic motif which is 'the starting point for the sectioning of the dance down to the smallest observable movements of the human body as well as for the specification of the higher structural layers up to the dance as a whole' (IFMC Study Group 1974:129) is very important when the study focuses on the discovery of the dance vocabulary of a community. It is the dance phrase, however, that 'has a thoroughly independent quality, represents an absolute creative factor within the dance, is an expression of artistic creativity and is fixed in the awareness of the dancers' (Zografou 1989:53, Tyrovola 1994:41). For these reasons, particularly the one associated to the dancers' awareness, the central object of analysis in the present study is the dance phrase as it is about people constructing their identities. For example, when asked to demonstrate one dance or another, people usually respond by demonstrating this kind of structural unit.

#### **4.1.1.3. Dance and Music**

In the structure-form analysis of the particular dances, the relationship between dance and music is of great importance, for two reasons. First, because Greek folk dances constitute a threefold indivisible unity of dance, music and poetry, a fact which has been highlighted by many scholars (see for instance Loutzaki 1985

and 1989, Zografou 1989, Tyrovola 1994). Secondly, whilst some dances can be accompanied by a number of songs, many dances from the examined material (45.5%) have their specific song, which inevitably restricts the dance performance to certain limits. The relationship between dance and music is analysed at two levels (Tyrovola 1994:42). The first refers to the parameters of music that affect the dance performance, particularly the rhythmic pattern (rhythm) and the rhythmic organisation (metre, tempo, time value and dynamics). The second refers to the multiple relationships between the structure of music and the structure of dance, which result from the different possible combinations of dimension, succession, and congruence (IFMC Study Group 1974:132-133; see also Loutzaki 1989:166-167).

#### **4.1.1.3.1.1. Rhythmic Pattern**

**Rhythm** should not be understood solely as a temporal quantity but should be conceived as the order within a flow of energy that is distinctly marked by accent or stress and plays a special role in the relationship between dance and music, whose rhythmic formulas exist in certain relationships. In dance accompaniment, rhythm can be produced instrumentally, vocally, or in dances in which such musical accompaniment is not present, by stamps, claps, body hits, or other noise and sound elements. The rhythmic patterns are arranged by the various ways of combination of the metric stress with the rhythmic accent. These two are analogous and may occur at the same time. The shift in relation to one to another changes the position of the stress. The rhythmic structure can be either isorhythmic (**Ir**), that is the absolute repetition of the same rhythmic pattern during the progress of a music piece (maintenance of the inner balance of rhythmic structure), or anisorhythmic (**Ar**), when the repetition is not an absolute one (IFMC Study Group 1974:132-133, Tyrovola 1994:42-46).

#### **4.1.1.3.1.2. Rhythmic Organisation**

**Metre** is one of the four important and indispensable co-ordinates for the recognition of the temporal relationships of the music-dance rhythm. It can be either heterometric (**Htm**) or isometric (**Ism**); the former refers to the change

of the metre within a music piece which indicates change of the dance phrase and thus of the dance form; the latter refers to the maintenance of the metre within a music piece. There is also the phenomenon of polymetre (**Pm**), in which different metric orders progress independently in dance and music. **Tempo**, in the structural observation of dance, is understood as the speed of the basic rhythmic unit of the music in relation to the movement. Change of tempo (suddenly or gradually) leads to strong dynamic increases/decreases and is important for the artistic expression of a dance. Tempo is defined either in relation to the metronome's readings or with established terms of musicology such as *allegro*, *adante* etc. (IFMC Study Group 1974:132-133, Tyrovola 1994:42-46).

The use of particular **time values**, their frequency of appearance and the way they are interrelated is an additional element for the characterisation of the dance form. In Greek dances, although the number of time values in use is not very large, within each a number of possibilities exists. This is related to the inner division of the musical metre, where different combinations of time values play an important role in the performance of movement and thus, determine the form. In the case where every cell of a kinetic motif has the same time value then there is the phenomenon of isochronism (**Ic**). In any other case there is anisochronism or non-isochronism (**Ac**). The **dynamic** possibilities in music and dance are related in a way that can be described as stages, accents and developments. The dynamics of the music can be a parameter for defining the dynamics of movement (Tyrovola 1994:42-46).

In summary, the graphic symbols for the musical structure and form of dance are the following:

i) Rhythm and rhythmic organisation:

**Ir**= isorhythmic structure=the absolute repetition of the same rhythmic form during the process of the melody

**Ar**= no total isorhythmic structure

**Ism**= isometric metre=maintenance of the metric union during the entire music piece

**Htm**=heterometric metre=change of the metric union during the performance of the music piece which leads to the differentiation of the dance phrase and thus of the dance form.

**Pm**= polymetry=the repetitions of the metric sequences do not coincide with the

process of the structure of dance.

ii) Speed of music performance (tempo):

<b>L</b>	( <i>Largo</i> )	=40-60	♩ per min
<b>La</b>	( <i>Larghetto</i> )	=60-66	" "
<b>Ad</b>	( <i>Adagio</i> )	=66-76	" "
<b>An</b>	( <i>Andante</i> )	=76-108	" "
<b>Mo</b>	( <i>Moderato</i> )	=108-120	" "
<b>Al</b>	( <i>Allegro</i> )	=120-168	" "
<b>Pr</b>	( <i>Presto</i> )	=168-208	" "

iii) Accent: ' =strong beat of the rhythmic motif

iv) Time value of the movement in a music metre:

**Ic** =isochronic =when the cells of a kinetic motif have the same time value

**Ac** =anisochronic=when the cells of a kinetic motif do not have the same time value

#### 4.1.1.3.2. Structural Relationships Between Music and Dance

**Dimension** refers to the extension of the structural units and appears as dimension congruence or incongruence. The former takes place when there is complete dimensional correspondence between all form units of the music and dance and thus musical cadences and half cadences correspond to similar structures in the dance. In some dances, such as the homogeneous chain form, in which the dance limits are not clearly shown, the musical cadences and half cadences are decisive for the analysis of the structure of the dance. Dimensional congruence can be observed especially in dances designed according to the grouping principle. Dimensional incongruence takes place when, although the small units of music and dance are dimensionally the same, the music and dance do not correspond at higher levels. Absolute non-correspondence between music and dance occurs if the music and dance units are dimensionally different on all levels.

**Succession** refers to the sequence of the structural units. The



relationship of the succession of music and dance form units can result to four possibilities; first, dances where the dance and music structure units have a fixed succession; secondly, dances where the music has a free succession, but the dance has a fixed succession; thirdly, dances where the music has a fixed succession, but the dance has a free succession; fourthly, dances where both dance and music have a free succession. Finally, **congruence** refers to the correspondence of the structural units and can be either dimensional as above or can refer to dances in which the dance units, although dimensionally the same as the music units, do not start at the same time, so that a shift in the concurrence of the music and dance units occurs (IFMC Study Group 1974:132-133, Tyrovola 1994:42-46).

As a result, i) the symbols for the dimensional relationship dance and music are

≡=unison of dance and music

≠=non-unison (motifs only)

≠≠=non-unison (phrases or sections)

≠≠≠=non-unison (whole form)

while ii) those for the relationship in the succession of structural units are

||=fixed succession in dance and music

∩|=free succession in music-fixed in dance

|∩=fixed succession in music-free in dance

∩∩=free succession in both music and dance

Finally, iii) the symbols for the relationship of congruence are

⊥=congruent=concurrent relationship between music and dance

⊥⊥=discongruent=non-concurrent relationship between music and dance

#### 4.1.2. Notation System

Although a number of notation systems have been used worldwide (Hutchinson-Guest 1984), the Labanotation's or Kinetography-Laban's wide use in dance analysis led to its selection for the present study. It must be emphasised that the notations presented are descriptive, in the sense that they 'document the actual movements in space and time, observable on the film or video' (Nahachewsky 1995:5),<sup>9</sup> and observable in a dance performance too. Of course, the notations refer to particular dance performances. As far as Labanotation symbols are

concerned, because of the large number used in this study, their presentation in a separate appendix was considered to be more functional (see Appendix 5).

## 4.2. Typological System of Analysis

Typology is necessary for comparative work as it is 'only the graphic display - the abstraction - [that] gives us the possibility of scientific comparison' (IFMC Study Group 1974:118). In this case, the model presented by Vassiliki Tyrovola is adopted along with the use of specific typological tables. In particular, the abstract terms 'kinetic type' and 'morphic type' are used. Considering 'type [as] the combination of separate kinetic motifs (syntagms) in order to form larger units, namely dance phrase' (1994:54), Tyrovola used it as a methodological tool for dance typology. In particular, 'type' appears either as **kinetic type**, that is 'the type of structure', or as a **morphic type**, that is 'the characteristic features and properties of form' (Tyrovola 1994:21). The former 'defines exactly the support<sup>10</sup> and refers to the duration of the supports of the legs that take place in every kinetic motif and also to the repetitions of the same support or the changes of the supports during one dance phrase; in that way the kinetic type, even in an abstractive way, indicates with exactness the development of the movements in space and time'. The latter 'represents the dance in a codified form in relationship to the elements of the form; furthermore, it represents the in-between relationship of the elements in space-time sequence' (Tyrovola 1994:56).

### **4.2.1. Presentation of the Kinetic Types Used in the Present Analysis**

Preliminary research of the rural dance repertoire of Lefkada along with my previous empirical experience indicated that certain kinetotypes play an important role in the construction of these dances. The kinetotypes (kinetic types) most common in Greek dances, are those of *syrtos sta tria*, *syrtos (kalamatianos)*, *syrtos sta dyo* and *tsamikos*. Scientific study has been carried out only for the first type by Vassiliki Tyrovola in 1994. However, scattered references to the rest allow and justify their use in the limits of the present study, though the scientific research of the rest is of primary importance for the development of dance studies in Greece.

Thus, the kinetic type of the form of the *syrtos sta tria* dance (Tyrovola 1994:99-105 and 161-162) consists of a dance phrase which has three rhythmic and kinetic metres. The rhythmic motifs are of isometric and isorhythmic structure. The kinetic motifs consist of two isochronic movements. The type presents an antithetical and asymmetrical use of space with two shifts to the right and one to the left. The form of the *syrtos sta tria* dance has a linear open circular process to the right. Supports have a particular succession and kinetic relationship based on the strong parts of the three rhythmic motifs. The latter, after the change of symbols into the system of the present study, is represented as:

$$\delta o' \quad \alpha o | \delta o' \quad \alpha_x \quad | \alpha o' \quad \delta_x$$

$\begin{array}{ccccccc} & \rightarrow & \rightarrow & & \leftarrow & & \\ & \rightarrow & \rightarrow & & \leftarrow & & \end{array}$

Thus, the kinetic type of the form of the *syrtos sta tria* dance is:

$$\delta o' \quad \alpha o | \delta o' \quad \langle \delta \rho \rangle \alpha_x | \alpha o' \quad \langle \alpha \rho \rangle \delta_x$$

$\begin{array}{ccccccc} & \rightarrow & \rightarrow & & \leftarrow & & \\ & \rightarrow & \rightarrow & \updownarrow & \leftarrow & & \updownarrow \end{array}$

The structure of music accompaniment (rhythmic organisation of the dance music and congruence of music/dance units), the dancers' sex, number, handhold and formation, the dance formation (one or two circles etc.) and the kinetic elements of the second part of the second and the third kinetic motifs may vary.

Although a complete study has not been carried out with regard to the kinetic type of the form of *syrtos (kalamatianos)*, a number of existing references form a database for its description (Loutzaki 1989:271-272, Torp 1991:91, Tyrovola 1994:189-190). Its kinetic type consists of a dance phrase that has four rhythmic and kinetic metres. The former presents isometric and isorhythmic structure. The latter consists of movements that have the metric relationship 1:0,5:0,5 in which supports are in particular succession and kinetic relationship based on the strong part of the first, second and third music metre.

$$\delta o' \quad \alpha o / \delta o | \alpha o' \quad \delta o / \alpha o | \delta o' \quad \alpha o / \delta o | \alpha o' \quad \delta o / \alpha o$$

$\begin{array}{ccccccc} & \rightarrow & \rightarrow & \rightarrow & \rightarrow & \leftarrow & \leftarrow \\ & \rightarrow & \rightarrow & \rightarrow & \rightarrow & \leftarrow & \leftarrow \end{array}$

or

$$\delta o' \quad \alpha o / \delta o | \alpha o' \quad \delta o / \alpha o | \delta o' \quad \alpha_x \quad | \alpha o' \quad \delta_x$$

$\begin{array}{ccccccc} & \rightarrow & \rightarrow & \rightarrow & \downarrow_x & \leftarrow & \downarrow_x \\ & \rightarrow & \rightarrow & \rightarrow & \downarrow_x & \leftarrow & \downarrow_x \end{array}$

Its kinetic type (Tyrovola 1994:190) is:

$\delta o' \quad \underline{\alpha o / \delta o} \underline{\alpha o'} \quad \delta o / \alpha o \underline{\delta o'} \quad \alpha o / \delta o \quad \underline{\alpha o'} \quad \delta o / \alpha o$   
 $\delta o' \quad \underline{\alpha o / \delta o} \underline{\alpha o'} \quad \delta o / \alpha o \underline{\delta o'} \quad \underline{\langle \delta o \rangle \alpha_x} \underline{\alpha o'} \quad \underline{\langle \alpha o \rangle \delta_x}$

The form has a linear, open circular process to the right. The use of space is usually antithetical and asymmetrical, with three shifts to the right and one to the left, but others can also be performed. The rhythm presents an interesting point in relation to the name of the type. The rhythm can be of two, four or seven counts.<sup>11</sup> A seven-beat rhythm (3:2:2) produces the form known as *syrtos kalamatianos*. The two (1:0.5:0,5) or four-beat rhythm (2:1:1) produces the form that has the structure of *syrtos kalamatianos*, yet the definition *kalamatianos* is not used to *syrtos*. However, *syrtos* can refer to other dance forms, too, that do not have the metric relationship and the structure of *syrtos kalamatianos*, such as *syrtos sta dyo* or *syrtos nisiotikos*. For the sake of clarification, in this study *syrtos kalamatianos* refers to the seven count rhythm and *syrtos (kalamatianos)* to the two or four count rhythm that have the same metric relationship and structure with *syrtos kalamatianos*. The structure of music accompaniment (rhythmic organisation of the dance music and congruence of music/dance units), the dancers' sex, number, handhold and formation, the dance formation (one or two circles etc.), and the kinetic elements of the second part of the third and second part of the fourth kinetic motifs may vary.

Complete study of the kinetic type of the form of *syrtos sta dyo* has not been carried out, either. Once more, only scattered references (Demas 1979:79-81, Roumbis 1990:168-169, Tyrovola 1994:166) provide information about its presentation. This kinetic type consists of a dance phrase that has two rhythmic and kinetic metres. The rhythmic motifs can have a two or four beat rhythm and are isometric and isorhythmic. The form has an open circular linear process to the right. The kinetic motifs consist of movements which have the metric relationship 1:0,5:0,5. The form consists of a particular succession of supports which present a certain kinetic relationship based on the strong part of the first and of the second music metre that is represented as follows:

$\delta o' \quad \underline{\alpha o / \delta o} \underline{\alpha o'} \quad \delta o / \alpha o$

Its kinetic type is:

$$\delta o' \quad \alpha o / \delta o | \alpha o' \quad \delta o / \alpha o$$

It can be seen that *syrtos sta dyo* is a sub-type of *syrtos kalamatianos*. Its variables are the structure of music accompaniment (rhythmic structure of dance music, congruence of music/dance units), the dancers' sex, number, handhold and formation, the dance shape (one or two circles etc.), and the kinetic elements of the second part of the first and second part of the second kinetic motifs.

Finally, the kinetic type of the form of *tsamikos* dance must also be included. This might seem peculiar considering the fact that *tsamikos* is mainly an improvisatory dance form and thus cannot have a particular kinetic type. This is true regarding its performance on the island of Lefkada as well. However, the use of a kinetic type is unavoidable. *Tsamikos* on the island of Lefkada presents a certain form as well, as part of the dance *Yiannis o Meratianos*, *Marathianos* or *Peratianos*. In this case the simultaneous existence of a particular song limits the improvisatory character of the dance. Thus, its kinetic type, as this emerges from various sources (Demas 1993:136-143, Roumbis 1990:160-161), consists of a dance phrase that has five rhythmic and kinetic motifs. The music metres can have a three or six count rhythm and present isometric and isorhythmic structure. The form has an open circular linear process to the right with three shifts to the right and two to the left. The kinetic motifs consists of movements that have the metric relationship 2:1. The type consists of a particular succession of supports that have a particular kinetic relationship based on the strong part of the first, and second music metre, which is:

$$\delta o' \dot{+} (\alpha o + \delta o) + \alpha o | \delta o \dot{+} (\alpha o + \delta o) + \alpha o | \delta o' + \alpha_x \quad | \alpha o \dot{+} (\delta o + \alpha o) + \delta o | \alpha o' + \delta_x$$

Its kinetic type is:

$$\delta o \dot{+} (\alpha o + \delta o) + \alpha o | \delta o \dot{+} (\alpha o + \delta o) + \alpha o | \delta o' + \langle \delta o \rangle \alpha_x | \alpha o \dot{+} (\delta o + \alpha o) + \delta o | \alpha o' + \langle \alpha o \rangle \delta_x$$

Its variables are the structure of music accompaniment (rhythmic structure of dance music, congruence of music/dance units), the dancers' sex, number and formation, the dance shape (one or two circles etc.), and the kinetic elements of the second part of the third and second parts of the fifth kinetic motif.

#### 4.2.2. Degrees of Relationship

This refers to the degree of relationship of forms that belong to a particular kinetic/morphic type and of forms that belong to a particular "pattern" (see Table 4.2). The former, according to the typological differentiations of their kinetic/morphic types are classified as identical, heteromorphic, varied, remodelled and related forms (Tyrovola 1994:54-56 and 145-147). The **identical** (equivalence) forms of a type have common syntactic (the horizontal study) and syntagmatic (the vertical study) structure, and common kinetic and morphic types without any changes in the basic components of the form.

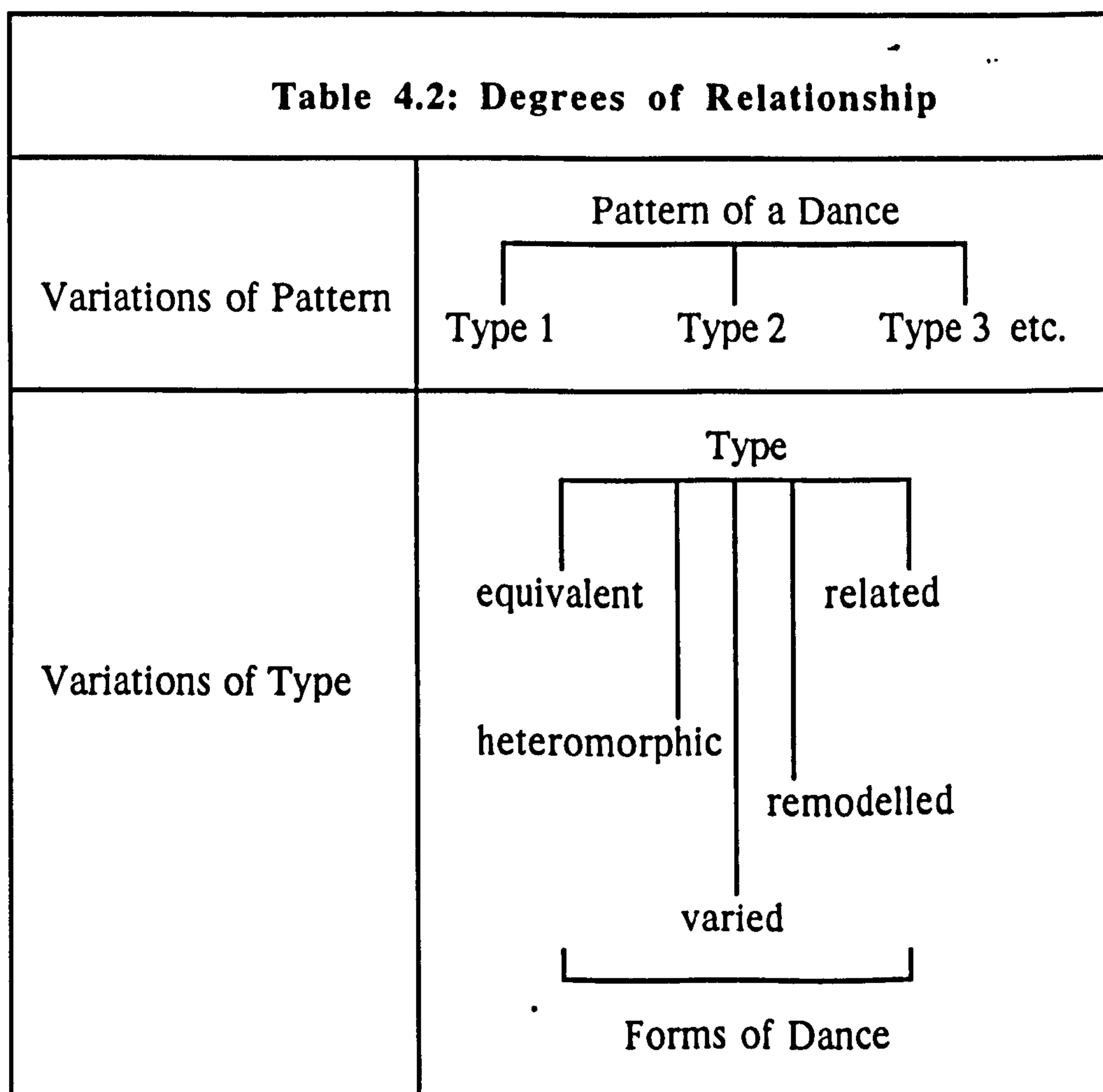
The **heteromorphic** (heteromorphy) forms indicate the transformation of a dance that is related with the changes of the context (social and historical). Heteromorphic forms are the ones that have common syntagmatic structures and may form either a common kinetic yet different morphic type changing only some of the components of the form, or a different kinetic type (regarding only the kinetic elements of the ending kinetic motifs) with or without important changes of other components of the form such as kind of handhold, sex, and dance formation.

**Varied** (variation) forms are those which have a common meaning but different syntagmatic structure, characterised by expansion, contraction or differences in the inner structure of units from variation to variation of particular kinetic motifs. The term is considered to be of limited use because it presupposes the existence of an archetype which cannot be identified. However, it makes sense if the varied forms regard dances from the same cultural region or regard deviations of the form of a particular dance; in this case they may constitute improvisations of particular kinetic motifs or they are associated with those who lead the dance in performances and who enrich particular kinetic motifs with improvised ones.

**Remodelled** (remodelling) forms are those that probably have meaning and syntactic similarity but are characterised by a change of the main fixed qualities of dance, that of the isochronism of the movements. Finally, **related** (relative) forms are those that have different syntagmatic but in some cases possible syntactic similarity. Their relationship is restricted in some common

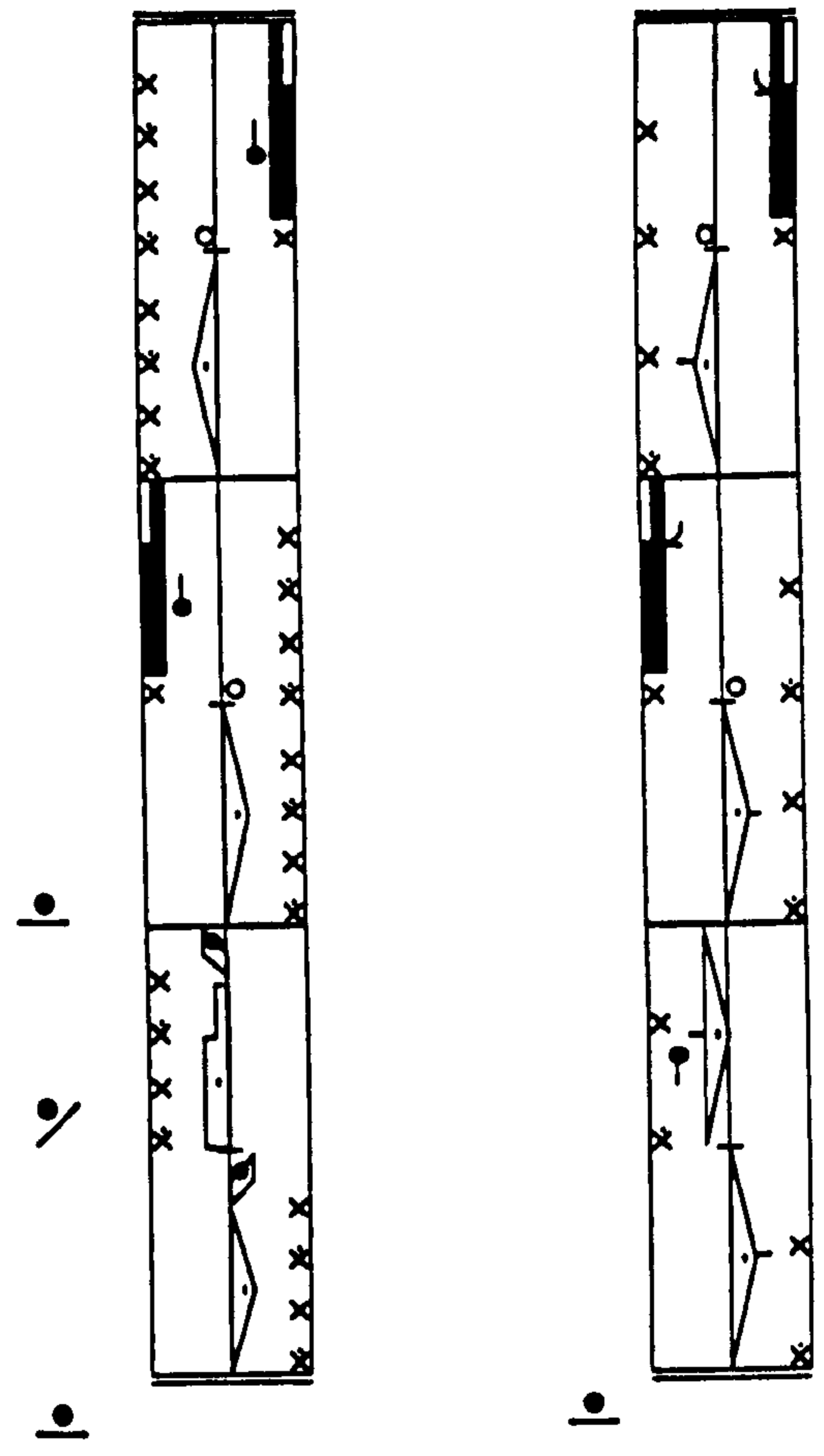
components of the syntagmatic chain that constitute points of relation with the kinetic or morphic types of the identical or heteromorphic forms.

The degree of relationship can also refer to the form of the same 'pattern'. 'Patterns' as defined by Yiorgos Sifakis are 'plans or models on the basis of which sequences of similar objects can be constructed' (1989:147). According to the writer, 'patterns are like a started embroidery... a half-built house, which, in each case has been completed differently by others' (1989:179). In this study the characterisation 'variation of pattern' is used to define forms that refer to the same dance (similar singing accompaniment, music metre, rhythm, inner division of time value, number of music/kinetic metres etc.), yet they present different kinetic/morphic types.

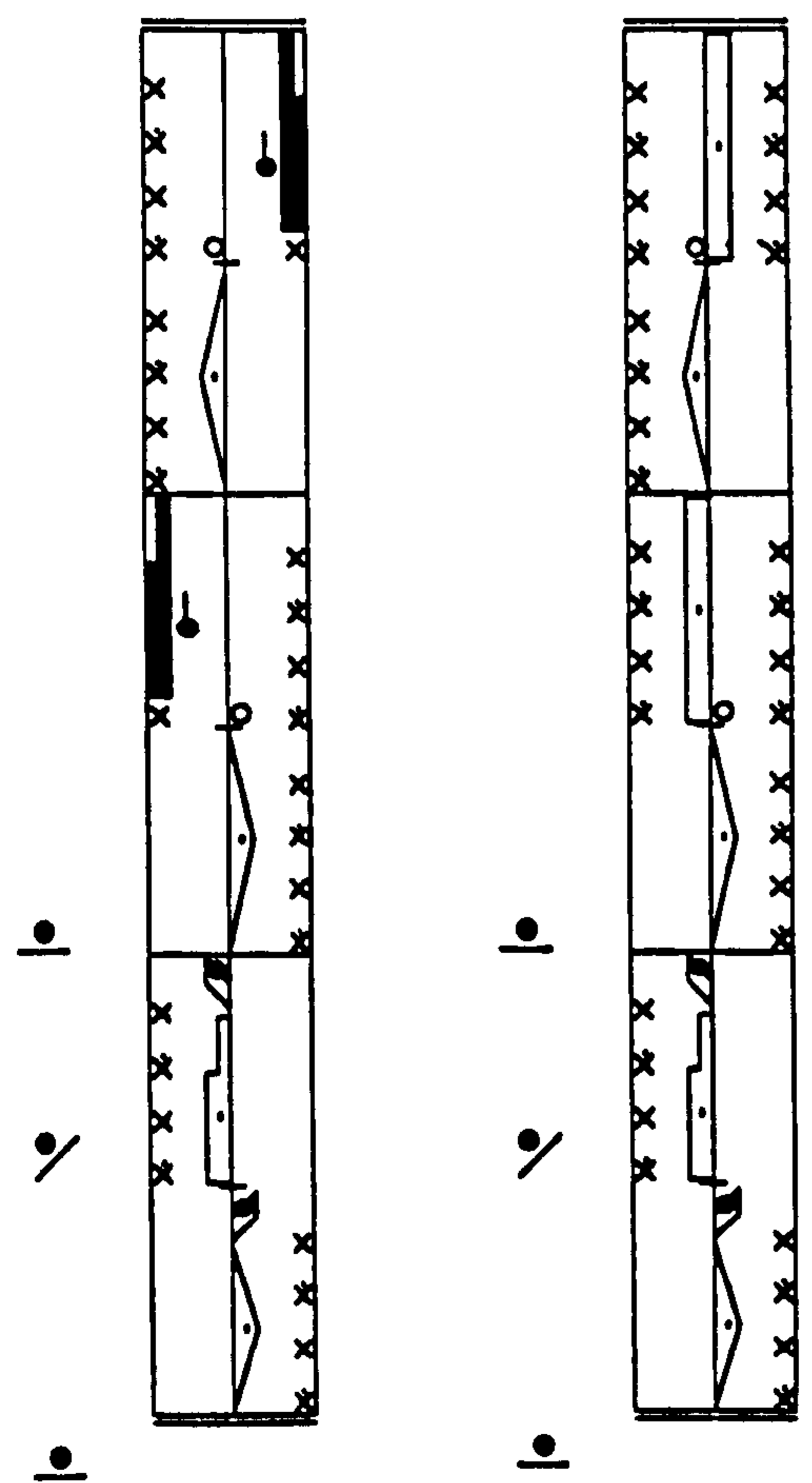


Among the aforementioned degrees of relationship, the identical, heteromorphic and varied degrees of a particular kinetic/morphic type and the variation of a pattern are used in the analysis within the present study. In order to clarify these, an example of each one follows so as to demonstrate the degree of relationship in more concrete way. Thus:

**Example 2:  
Heteromorphic Dance Forms of a Type  
(footwork only)**



a) *Syrtos sta tria*    b) heteromorphic dance form



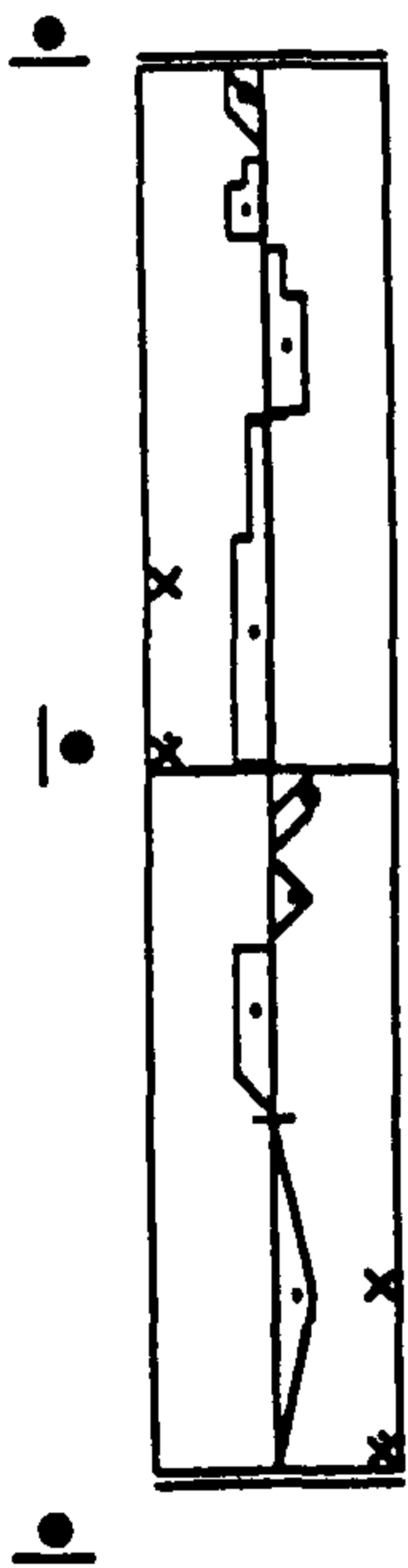
a) *Syrtos sta tria*    b) Identical dance form

**Example 1:  
Identical Dance Forms of a Type  
(footwork only)**

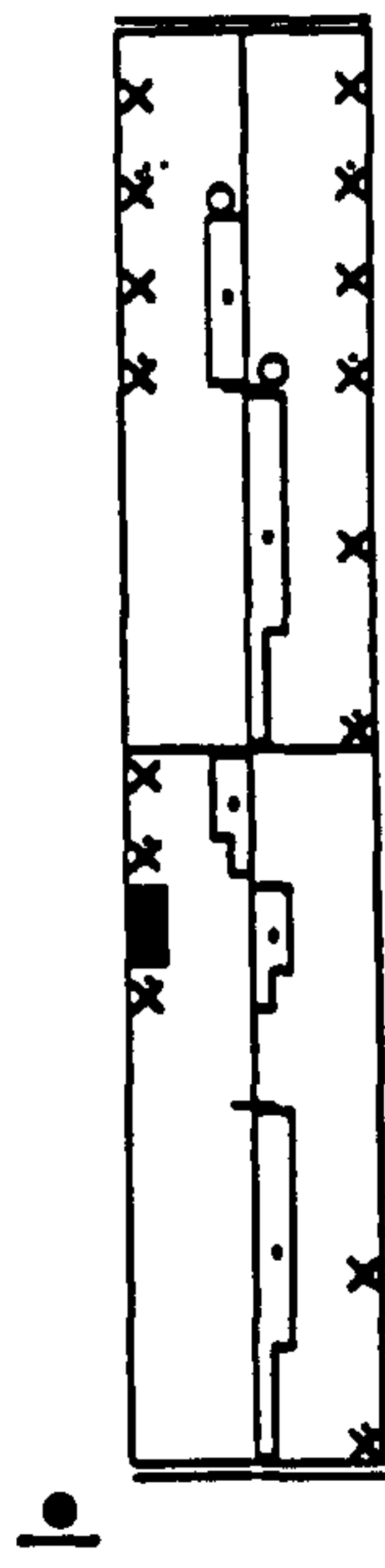


**Example 3:  
Varied Dance Forms of a Type  
(footwork only)**

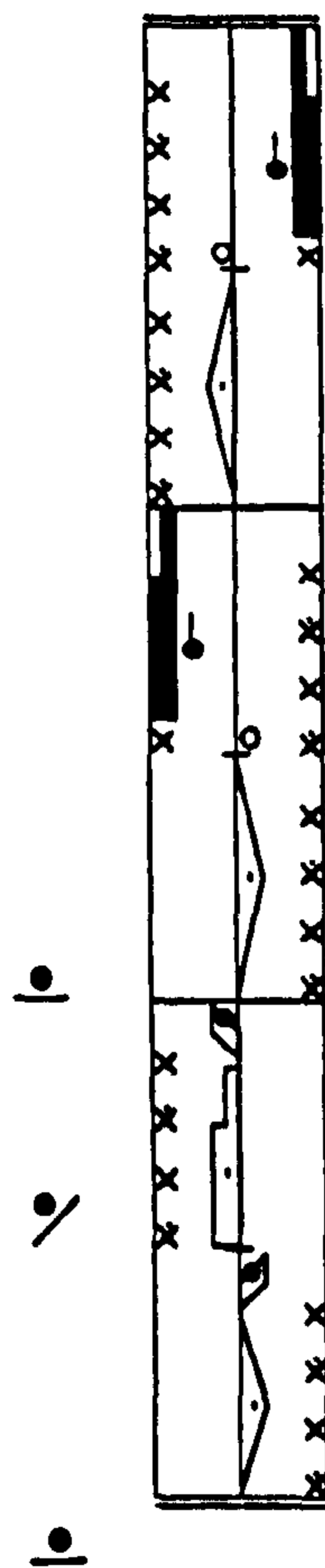
**Example 4:  
Variation Dance Forms of a Pattern  
(footwork only)**



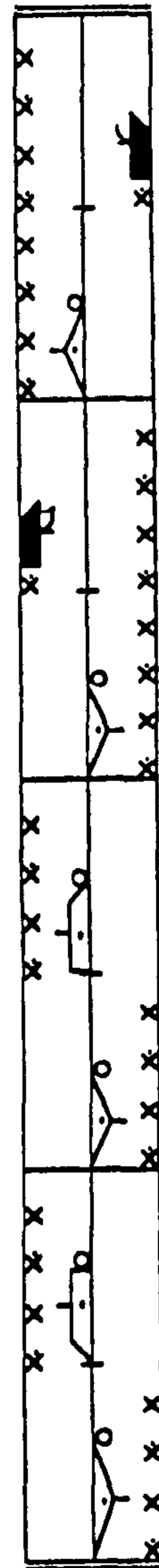
a) *Syrtos sta dyo*



b) variation dance form of the pattern



a) *Syrtos sta tria*



b) varied dance form

### **4.3. Style-Form Method of Analysis**

Up to this point we have discussed structure. Now the focus will be on style, that is equally important for the definition of a dance form. Although style has been characterised as the 'key signature' (Pforsich 1978:63) and the 'core quality' (Bartenieff 1972:187) of the dance, yet the need for a more coherent definition and for developing better tools for its analysis is still a very important step to be taken in dance studies. At least, this is the impression created by comments such as 'we have... no consistent way of talking about ranges of behavior [sic] whose relative presence or absence in dance patterns make them similar or different' (Bartenieff 1967:92), or 'the absence of a discussion of performance "style" in most of the dance literature is a serious shortcoming in the state of dance research' (Youngerman 1976:121) or more recently that 'research on stylistic analysis is still in its infancy. Writings on the subject have yet to propose a clear, comprehensive definition of what style in dance is' (Sanchez-Colberg 1992:28).

However, a more detailed study of the available dance literature proves the existence of a number of studies that make a significant contribution to the subject both in definitive and methodological terms. Furthermore, it reveals the existence of a satisfactory corpus of sources that overcomes the former practice of dance researchers (see for instance Faucette-Gwynn 1978, Maletic 1980, Loutzaki 1989) to draw upon others fields, such as linguistics, music, plastic art, painting, phenomenology, or philosophy for concepts applicable to dance style. A brief presentation of a number of these studies demonstrates the point in more tangible terms.

An early definition of style as it applies to dance was offered in 1977 by Anya Peterson Royce who perceived style:

...as a complex of features, most frequently referred to by the word "tradition" in the past, on which people rely on so as to mark their identity [and which] is composed of symbols, forms, and underlying value orientations, which include such areas as clothes, language, religion, music, dance, and architecture that are buttressed by values such as friendship, moral ethics and education (Royce 1977:157).

Later on, Eleanor Faucette-Gwynn, while not denying the historical, traditional or cultural influences on the style of a choreographic work or

performance, defined it as:

...the manner in which the choreographer fuses stable, yet flexible, formal elements into particular formal relationships that create a complex artistically expressive whole. Style is determined by the observable, qualitative aspects of a choreographic work. The style of a dance work, specifically as analysed according to formal elements and formal relationships, reveals characteristics that are distinctive of the work and the individual creator (Faucette-Gwynn 1978:16-17).

Maletic Vera proposed 'the distinction between the aesthetic judgment, based on culture and period bound norms, and [what she calls] the aisthetic, perceptual properties of the choreographic work' explaining that

all the elements in the aesthetic realm are affected by changes taking place in the human social experience, such as evolution of culture, society, technology and ideology... The aisthetic [sic] components may be seen as more stable; they are founded upon the sensory, intuitive, intersubjective dimensions of space-time-energy elements of dance which are shared by the performer and the perceiver' (Maletic 1980:1).

On these grounds she suggested that style 'is a choreographer's synthesis of aisthetic and aesthetic dimensions of the dance. In other words, choreographic choices within the space-time-energy dimensions of bodily movement (aisthesis) gain a particular significance when correlated to the aesthetic norms of period and culture' (1980:38-39). In 1989, Irene Loutzaki regarding dance style as 'a miscellany of interrelated rhythmic, kinetic, temporal, spatial, formal, socio-cultural relationships and processes' (Loutzaki 1989:374) defined it as 'people's practical experience, which had to be controlled by knowledge of the manner in which, under varying social and historical conditions, movements and performances are expressed by dance forms. form=structure + style' (1989:377).<sup>11</sup>

A later definition of dance style has been provided by Ana Sanchez-Colberg:

Style in dance refers to: when in creating or performing dance (a) distinguishable replicated patterns within the strands<sup>[12]</sup> of the dance medium<sup>[13]</sup> are distinguished. These patterns result from (b) the association of features of the strands in the functions of both form and

content. These features will become stylistic when (c) they are elements of dance as a symbol.<sup>[14]</sup> Not unlike the features of style in other arts the presence of stylistic features results from the artist's choice within a series of constraints.<sup>[15]</sup> This choice displays a tension between stability and flexibility.<sup>[16]</sup> Thus, the presence of certain stylistic features will associate certain dancers to others, and dances and choreographers within a historical, cultural and artistic context (Sanchez-Colberg 1992:35)

Another dimension of dance style, namely the properties that are implied to it, was provided by Andrée Grau. For her style is 'the manner in which something is done, and consists probably of a mixture of use of space and energy and of the kind and the way the movements are performed'. She argued that 'style does not appear out of nowhere, but it is chosen and intentional, consistent over a certain period of time, otherwise it would be impossible to distinguish it, and finally because it is chosen, style is representative of the identity of its owner' (1979:107).

An examination of the opinions presented on dance style reveals some common denominators which are the ones that play an important role in the present study. These refer to the selection among a series of related movements and other dance components, the quality of the movements and the contextual influences on the selection and/or performance of the movements. These three denominators define the kind of features that affect dance style and refer to the 'structural stylistic features' regarding choices of actual dance movements as well as choices of other dance components, the 'qualitative stylistic features', that is, the way the movements are performed, and the 'contextual parameters', that is, the parameters that affect the selection of 'what' and 'how' are respectively performed. Obviously the first two kinds of features refer to properties inherent in the dance action while the last refer to external properties. It is self-evident that all these features contribute to the creation of a style in an interwoven way, so as their separation is very difficult and should be done only for analytical reasons.

The question that arises at this point is to what type of style this study focuses on, since categories of dance style are so many.<sup>17</sup> Without denying the importance of each of these categories, in this study we will focus on the 'regional style' as this is directly related to the issue of identity examined in the wider

sense, namely of the Lefkadian identity. This is based on the fact that 'regional style represents the area' (Loutzaki 1989:371) and:

functions as a uniting force for individuals or groups of individuals who speak the same language, sing the same songs, use the same music, and perform the same dances. Individuals are identified with it by becoming conscious of a particular inherited stylistic framework to which each belongs, and according to which they must formulate their dance creations' (Loutzaki 1989:374).

#### **4.3.1. Presentation of the Method of Style-Form Analysis**

Various methods for the analysis of the features of dance style have been proposed by a number of writers. For instance, Adshead *et al.* (1984), Loutzaki (1989), Sanchez-Colberg (1992) and Tyrovola (1994) have suggested methods for the analysis of the dance components, that is the structural stylistic aspect, while the usefulness of Laban's ideas in the analysis of the qualitative aspect has been emphasised throughout much of the dance literature. In this study, the structure-form analysis provides the material for the first kind of stylistic analysis, that is the structural stylistics, which is presented in the section of the results. However, a more detailed analysis has to be carried out for the second kind of stylistic analysis, the qualitative one.

With regard to the latter, the analysis of the qualitative aspect of movement has been identified with Laban's ideas of Effort (Laban-Lawrence 1947).<sup>18</sup> Laban distinguished 'inner attitudes, or Efforts, of the mover towards the motion factors of weight, space, time and flow' (Loken-Kim and Crump 1993:15) (see Table 4.3). Each of these effort parameters refers to 'the manifestation of movement dynamics' (Youngerman 1978:107).<sup>19</sup> Thus, **effort weight** refers to the exertion of the body weight and ranges from light to strong; **effort space** refers to the security or not of the movement in space and ranges from direct to indirect; **effort time** refers to the capacity of controlling the speed of the movement and ranges from sudden to sustained; finally, **effort flow** refers to the capacity for control and ranges from fluent to bound (Laban and Lawrence 1974, Cohen 1978, Youngerman 1978, Loken-Kim and Crump 1993). However, a closer examination of Laban's Effort system shows that its

**Table 4.3: Motion Factors of Effort**

	are common to all movements. In qualitative measurements they can be described as the moving person's "attitude towards" weight, flow, time and space (North 1972:231-243).			
	Motion Factors:	Signs:	Elements of Movements:	Signs:
<b>Motion Factors:</b>	Weight:		light or strong	↘ ↙
	Flow:	↔	free or bound	↗ ↖
	Time:	- / -	sustained or sudden	- / / -
	Space:	└	flexible or direct	┘ ┌
	<b>Combined Sign for Effort Graph:</b>			
<b>Accent Sign:</b>	/ =is of major importance to the notation, i.e. some effort is present.			

primary contribution in style analysis concerns the existence of a satisfiable vocabulary for the qualitative description of the movement, such as light, strong, sustained etc. However, it is only through the examination of the dance elements at the structural level that this qualitative description is illustrated and supported.

**Notes:**

1. Anya Peterson Royce explains that 'form refers to the form and structure of movement systems and also to the body in its capacity as an instrument. Form is usefully divided further into body, technique, and style. The body is the physical instrument... Technique refers to the set of movements, gestures, and steps... Last we have style, where performers distinguish themselves from other instruments...' (1987:315).
2. The organisation was renamed International Council for Traditional Music (ICTM); the current ICTM Ethnochoreology Group, especially its structural analysis subgroup, grew out of IFMC Study Group for Folk Dance Terminology.
3. The exact part of the leg, the level of the lift of the leg, the degree of the bending of the knee, the exact position of the toes are not taken into account as they can be seen in the Labanotation score.
4. Other classifications have been used such as that of Martin and Pess<sup>l</sup>ovar (1961:5-7) and Adrienne Kaeppler (1972:174-176 and 202). Among the Greek scholars the former classification, with slight changes, has been used by Magda Zografou (1989) and the latter by Irene Loutzaki (1989).
5. The use of term kinetic is not used by the IFMC Study Group but has been added by Vassiliki Tyrovola (1994:40). I adopt this alteration particularly in the case of the kinetic motif so as not to be confused with other kinds of motif such as the rhythmic motif.
6. The characteristics related to the music have been added by Vassiliki Tyrovola (1994:40) to correspond to the Greek dance situation. The importance of this aspect for Greek dance has also been emphasised by Irene Loutzaki (1989:166-170).
7. Lefteris Drandakis (1987:54) and Magda Zografou (1989:53) use respectively the terms kinetic motif and dance motif instead. The former cannot be used as the term has already been used for a smaller structural unit. The latter may need further consideration on the basis that the term phrase used by the IFMC Study Group has music connotations as well, and the use of the same word both for



dance and music implies a correspondence between the two which may not exist.

8. The IFMC Study Group for Folk Dance Terminology proposes the term 'dance' instead in order to define this larger structural unit. However, this is very confusing for the Greek context as the word 'dance' has a double meaning: a) in its "specific" (Loutzaki 1989:208) or "narrow" (Zografou 1992:20) sense it refers to a particular dance, i.e. *milia*, *lemonia* etc. dance; b) in its "general" (Loutzaki 1989:208) or "wider" (Zografou 1992:20) sense it can refer to a whole dance event such as the Christmas Eve Dance (are you going to the dance tonight?), the dance lessons of a dance club (do we have dance this afternoon?), or the group of the dancers (the first and last of the dance must make sure that the formation of the whole group is maintained). For the use of the term in Greece see also Cowan (1990:18). The term 'dance composition' has been proposed by Tyrovola (1994:41) along with that of 'choreography of dance' adopted by Magda Zografou (1989:54) as well.

9. Nahachewsky contrasts 'descriptive notation' with the term 'prescriptive notation', one that documents 'what the dancers are "supposed" to do' (Nahachewsky 1995:5). However, Andrée Grau using the same terminology states that 'there are different kinds of notation. One can use a "descriptive" notation, that is one writes down every movement that is happening even though some of them might not necessarily be part of the dance. Or one can use a "descriptive" notation where, assuming the reader is familiar with the style, one omits certain information which is considered as "known"...' (Grau 1982:13).

10. In her text Vassiliki Tyrovola uses the term 'support index' from Martin and Pesovar (1994:23). In this study, the term 'support index' has been substituted with the Labanotation term 'support' as both have the same meaning and thus their interchange does not cause problems.

11. Many dance scholars have discussed this issue. For instance, Holden and Vouras note that 'originally there were two rhythms for the *syrτος* dance, the 3-2-2 of 7/8 music metre and the 4-2-2 of 8/8 or 2/4 music metre. A medley of 7/8 tunes, one of which contained the words '*san pas stin Kalamata*' (When you will go to Kalamata), became popular throughout Greece and thereafter all *syrτος* dances in 7/8 became known to musicians as "...like the Kalamata rhythm", hence

“*kalamatianos*” dance’ (1976:41). Loutzaki writes that ‘*syrτος* occurs in duple and in seven-four time’ (1989:271). Finally, Drandakis includes a detailed reference to the concept of ‘*syrτος*’ and argues that ‘dances which are characterised as “*syrτος*” are very different both compared one to each other as well as in comparison to the “*syrτος Kalamatianos*”... of course, in terms of types of dances, they are indeed all *syrτος* dances. But in order to understand exactly to which dance we are referring we must add some defining element...’ (1993:64). See also Mazaraki 1984:83.

11. Although both structure and style are considered to be parameters of equal importance in the definition of a dance form, yet the acceptance of the equation raises some questions. One could argue that once the style of a dance form changes then a new dance form comes up on the grounds that;

$$\text{Form1}=\text{Structure}+\text{Style1}$$

$$\text{Form2}=\text{Structure}+\text{Style2 etc.}$$

Thus Form1 and Form2 are not related, that means that the dance of Form1 and the dance of Form2 are two different dances. If we accept this way of thinking then, for instance, the 7/8 Greek *syrτος* that is performed all over the country in different styles should be considered not as one but as many dances. Yet, 7/8 Greek *syrτος* is considered to be one dance that presents many styles in Greece, in which case the proposed equation needs further discussion. Perhaps one way of getting around the problem could be to have the following equation:

$$\text{Form}=\text{core Structure}+[\text{Style(s)}]$$

12. Ana Sanchez-Colberg presents the strands in accordance with those in the Choreological Studies at the Laban Centre for Movement and Dance. Thus, the strands are four: dance is about 1) the body engaged in 2) movement in 3) space and 4) sound. The element of process/production has been added as a significant strand. The elements of audience, decor and costumes have been included as relevant substrands (1988:153 and 1992:35).

13. Sanchez-Colberg envisages the treatment of the dance medium as ‘moving away from choreography to choreology’ (1992:34) - “choreography’ as commonly understood to signify the organisation of dance movements to create a dance’ (1992:62) and “choreology’ as an expanded concept which includes the study of forms and qualities of the movement... the study of structures, methods,

norms and rules specific to the dance and their “interrelatedness” to historical, sociological, psychological, phenomenological and artistic structures, norms, rules and methods’ (1989:34).

14. As the writer states ‘it is in its capacity to act as a symbol that a work of art distinguishes itself from other human activities and creations’ (Sanchez-Colberg 1992:30). However, it must be underlined that works of art are not the only ones that have the potential to act as symbols, while it is debatable whether all works of art act as symbols.

15. ‘Constraints are these alternative possibilities, from which choice will be effected. They are socially, culturally, historically and psychologically defined, as well as by the nature of the medium’ (Sanchez-Colberg 1992:31).

16. According to the writer, ‘the preexisting materials, conventions and techniques available account for stability whereas those which are disregarded (or out of use in an unconventional way) account for flexibility’ (Sanchez-Colberg 1992:31).

17. For instance, Youngerman refers to four different kinds of performance “style”, i.e. ‘the way the dancers handle their bodies in order to interpret the dance structure’: the individual or personal manner of performance, the social style, the style of the dance idiom and the cultural style (1976:121). Zografou states that there are three kinds of a dance style, the personal, the social and the idiomatic (1993). Adshead *et al.* distinguish the general and specific style, the choreographic style and the performance style (1988:72-75). Choreographic and performance style are also referred by Faucette-Gwynn (1978:181). Loutzaki (1989) lists a number of dance styles including experts’ and amateurs’ style (p. 45), style in community level (p. 46), village style (p. 95), male and female style (pp. 98 & 107), age style (p. 114), individual style (p. 171), ritual/secular style (p. 231), traditional and neo-Hellenic style (p. 367), local and regional style (p. 371).

18. Since the 1947 publication, Laban’s ideas have been developed in various ways. For instance, in America the system was developed into what is known as Effort/Shape (Davis 1970 and Pforsich 1978). The choreometric project is probably one of the best known and controversial outcome (see Bartenieff 1967,

Davis and Schmais 1967 and Lomax, Bartenieff, Paulay 1972; in Greece Zografou 1989). However, different elements have also been studied either in isolation or in combination with other parameters such as the Effort element of energy use (van Zile 1977; for the energy use in Greek folk dances by Zografou and Chrissovoulos 1989), intra-cultural diversities (Gellerman 1978) or dance training (Loken-Kim and Crump 1993). Effort/Shape system has been further expanded to Labanalysis or Laban Movement Analysis (Cohen 1978 and Youngerman 1978) in which Effort along with Space, Shape and Body form the four basic categories of studies. Emphasis on one of these four categories is determined by the aims of the study. As this thesis focuses on the dynamic vitality the Effort category has to be emphasised (see Hackney 1993).

**19.** For the clarification of the terms 'Effort' and 'Dynamics' see Preston-Dunlop 1979:61.

## **CHAPTER 5: Analysis and Results**

## **Introduction**

During fieldwork, a large number of performances of the rural dance repertoire was recorded as performed by islanders who were or were not members of the local dance groups, and by dance groups from all over Greece. Only some of the material, however, serves the purposes of the present study, i.e. an analysis of the construction of Lefkadian cultural identity. For this reason, a number of performances are inevitably excluded. One type of exclusion concerns the private performances of the rural “indigenous” repertoire by Lefkadians. These sorts of performances, not incorporated within a dance event, are beyond the aim of the thesis as they are related to another dimension of dance study, such as the comparison of private versus public versions of dances or the exploration of the processes of transformation of dance forms through time.

A second group refers to the rural “foreign” dances as these are performed by the local dance clubs. These dances, as it has already been mentioned, in their performance on stage are presented by the dance clubs as being either Epirotic or pan-Hellenic. Thus, they do not provide a basis for discussion about Lefkadian (dance) identity as this is perceived and materialised by the Lefkadians themselves and are thus excluded. For the same reason the “Lefkadian” dances performed by other groups all over Greece have also been put aside. Of course, an investigation of the differences between the presentational and participatory way of performance of the rural “foreign” dances in the first case, and of the differences between the rural “indigenous” dances performed by dance clubs on the island and others in Greece in the second case, would be of great interest, but is outside the scope of this thesis.

As a result, the rural “indigenous” dance repertoire as performed by the local dance clubs of Lefkada at presentational contexts, such as folk dance festivals or village squares, and the rural “foreign” dance repertoire as performed by Lefkadians at participatory environments, such as village fairs or other celebrations, constitute the material under examination in the present study. Of course, such a selection may raise serious objections about the justification for examining repertoires of a different nature. The former having a presentational character is liable to processes such as stability, standardisation and use of group choreographic devices, whereas the latter being of participatory character is

improvisatory, flexible and largely individualised. Yet, these contrasting repertoires constitute the rural dance profile of the island at present and form the basis of our discussion. Indeed, it is the dance reality of Lefkada that imposes an otherwise peculiar choice. Furthermore, and without denying the existence of their different character, the nature of the two repertoires themselves overcome part of the contrast. As the analysis will demonstrate, rural “indigenous” dances’ stability and standardisation emerges not only from their presentational character, but also from the strict structure imposed by the presence of a certain musical accompaniment. Nevertheless, during their analysis, the particularities of each of the selected repertoires are taken into consideration, while a method able to deal with such particularities is used.

A further selection concerns the performance of the two dance repertoires by the local dance clubs and by the islanders. Performances of all the dance clubs have been recorded at various events. Similarly, the performances of a significant number and variety of individuals has been recorded. As the present focus is not on the differences of the performance of the same dance either by the dance clubs or by various locals, not all the available versions are analysed. Performances were selected from Karya village as extensive research was carried out in this context. In terms of dance clubs, therefore, the performances refer to the dance club ‘*Apollon Karyas*’. In the absence of <sup>an</sup>available performance of a dance from the particular dance group, as in the case of *ballos* dance, the performance of the dance group ‘*Lefkatas*’ is examined instead, on the grounds that both dance groups have the same dance teacher. In terms of individual performances these are selected among villagers of Karya. With regard to the latter, it can be argued that the examination of isolated cases cannot render a general idea of the entire community as every performance constitutes a unique case creating an “intra-community” diversity (Pelto and Pelto 1975). Indeed, such a uniqueness cannot be denied. However, all these isolated performances have to conform with the “dance rules” of the community as ‘every social group has formed its own dancing traditions, plastic expression, coordination of movements and ways of combining music with movements... [which] form its own kinetic and music “language” ’ (Tyrovola 1992:14). As a result, by examining a number of individual performances, an idea about the community’s dance “language” can be formed. Finally, choreographic devices used either by dance clubs or by individuals are not analysed in detail as processes

taking place at performances on stage and individual preferences respectively form the basis of another sort of discussion.

### **5.1. Presentation and Structure-Form Analysis of the Dances**

The dances *milia*, *lemonia*, *barbouni*, *karavakia*, *ballos*, and *th(e)iakos* represent the rural “indigenous” dance repertoire performed in presentational contexts. In addition, the dances *patinada* and *tetzeris* are also examined even though they constitute post-War choreographic devices, because they are presented as being “indigenous” by the dance clubs. With regard to the rural “foreign” dance repertoire performed in participatory contexts, *tsamikos*, *syrtos argos* and *syrtos grigos* are examined. The dance *Yiannis o Meratianos*, *Marathianos* or *Peratianos*, discussed earlier, is analysed at the end because of its peculiar present status, being performed in participatory dance events but having been excluded from presentational ones. Four more dances, namely *koftos*, *palamakia*, *stavrotos* and *tria passa* are presented but not analysed, on the grounds that they are widely discussed on the island and referred to in bibliographical sources. They have, however, fallen into disuse and were not performed during fieldwork either in presentational or in participatory dance events. The following analysis of the dances, apart from the text, also includes the song (whenever there is one), the music, the Labanotation score, the Effort graph (necessary for the style analysis) and the table of typology.

#### **5.1.1. *Milia* Dance**

*Milia* (meaning apple tree) takes its name from the lyrics of the accompanying song.<sup>1</sup> *Milia* is the most popular and representative dance of the island, the only one whose “indigenous” status is almost unchallenged.<sup>2</sup> The dance is also referred to as *tria passa* (see 5.1.15). The incorporation of the latter’s dance motif in *milia* possibly explains this alternative name.<sup>3</sup> In the performance of the dance by the dance group ‘*Apollon Karyas*’ (see Plate 16),<sup>4</sup> *milia* is performed by both men and women in succession, i.e. men and women alternating within the dance, with the lead dancer being always a woman.<sup>5</sup> All of them are dressed in traditional costume; the bride’s costume being the most common. The dancers



perform in an open circle which shifts predominantly to the right with simple movements, mainly steps having a constant pulse (the steps are in what is technically termed middle level - see Appendix 5). The body has an upright straight position. The handhold can be of two kinds; either with the arms around the shoulders or in a particular chain where the women have their hands on their waists and the men hold them from the upper arms. Singing, by dancers and/or musicians, is optional.

**Milia's song:**

*Milia m' pou'se ston egremno*

Apple tree that you are on  
the precipice

*gie m' ah! ta mila fortomeni*

oh! my son! full of apples

*ta mila sou rempeftika*

I fancied your apples

*ton egremno fovoume*

but I am afraid of the precipice

*Ki an efovase to gremno*

If you are afraid of the precipice

*ela ap' to monopati*

come from the path (lane)

*to monopati m'evgale*

the path led me

*mes' s' ena erimoklissaki*

to an isolated small church

*pou' chi 40 mnimata*

which has forty graves

*aderfia ke xaderfia...*

brothers and cousins...

Only the "joyful" verses of the dance are presented here as these were sung by Eleni Stavvaka (*fterougena*) during fieldwork. These may slightly change from place to place. The song goes on becoming more and more melancholic. These verses, however, are not used in the dance contexts. For other versions see Asprogeraka 1970-71, Katopodis 1966-67, Katsikogianni 1972-73, Kontomichis 1985:136, Panagiotidou 1975-76, Politou 1967-68, Skiada 1977-78, Verykiou 1968-69.

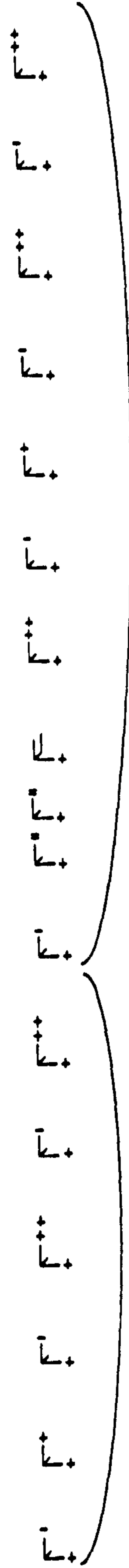
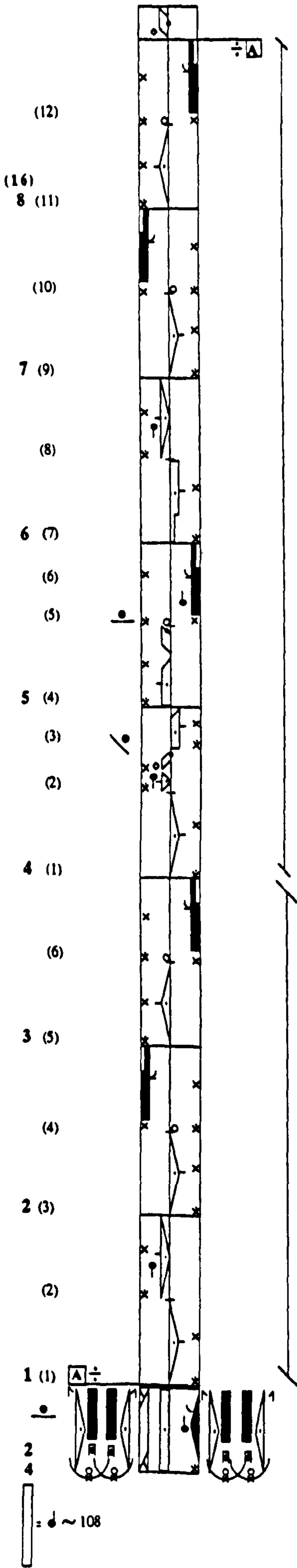
**Milia's music notation**

(Kotsinis in Tyrovola 1994, TD 71)



Labanotation

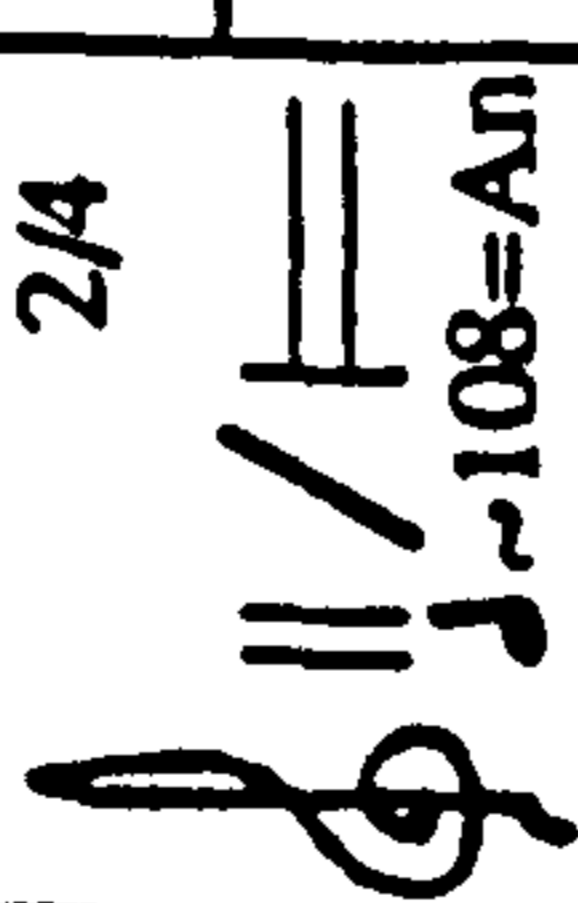
Effort Graph



BS  
 7 8  
 □ = ♪ ~ 132 \*  
 A = ♪ \*  
 \*  
 (64) ↑  
 49  
 (48) ↑  
 33  
 (12)  
 (11)  
 (32)  
 20 (10)  
 (9)  
 (8)  
 19 (7)  
 (6)  
 (5)  
 18 (4)  
 (3)  
 (2)  
 17 (1) B  $\frac{4}{4}$  ♪  
 20  
 19  
 18  
 17 B  $\frac{4}{4}$  ♪  
 B = ♪  
 K B

Detailed description of the musical score:

- Staff 1 (Left):** A standard musical staff with a treble clef, showing a melodic line with various note values and rests.
- System 1 (Left):** A vertical tablature diagram for frets 17-20. It shows a 6-string guitar neck with fret numbers 17, 18, 19, and 20. Notes are indicated by 'x' marks on the strings. A 4/4 time signature is shown at the bottom left of this system.
- System 2 (Right):** A vertical tablature diagram for frets 17-20, similar to System 1 but with different note placements.
- Fretboard Diagrams:** Two curved diagrams below the tablatures show the fretboard layout for the notes indicated in the tablatures.
- Legend:** Located at the bottom left, it defines symbols: a square for a quarter note (~132), a circle with a dot for a half note (A), and a circle with a dot and a slash for a quarter note (B).
- Measure Numbers:** On the left side, measure numbers 7, 8, 17, 18, 19, 20, 33, 49, and (64) are listed, with arrows pointing to specific measures in the musical staff.

TD1		Milia Dance				ABHt/Htm/AJ
P	A/HmCF					
F	FA.2					
KM	T1		T2		T3	
c	$\delta\dot{o}'_4$	$\alpha\dot{o}_4$	$\delta\dot{o}'_4$	$\alpha_3$	$\alpha\dot{o}'_5$	$\delta_3$
e	$\delta\dot{o}'_4(\delta\dot{o}_4)$	$\alpha\dot{o}_4(\alpha\dot{o}_4)$	$\delta\dot{o}'_4(\delta\dot{o}_4)$	$\alpha_3$	$\alpha\dot{o}'_5(\alpha\dot{o}_5)$	$\alpha\dot{o}_5 > \delta_3 (< \alpha\dot{o}_5 > \delta_3)$
2/4	1/4	1/4	1/4	1/4	1/4	1/4
	≡ / Ir/Ic		≡ / Ir/Ic		≡ / Ir/Ic	

T4		T5		T6		T7		T8	
$\delta\dot{o}'_4$	$\alpha\dot{o}_4/\delta\dot{o}_6$	$\alpha\dot{o}'_6$	$\delta_3$	$\delta\dot{o}'_3$	$\alpha\dot{o}_4$	$\delta\dot{o}'_4$	$\delta_3$	$\alpha\dot{o}'_5$	$\delta_3$
$\delta\dot{o}'_4(\delta\dot{o}_4)$	$\alpha\dot{o}_4(\alpha\dot{o}_4)/\delta\dot{o}_6(\delta\dot{o}_6)$	$\alpha\dot{o}'_6(\alpha\dot{o}_6)$	$\alpha\dot{o}_6 > \delta_3 (< \alpha\dot{o}_6 > \delta_3)$	$\delta\dot{o}'_3(\delta\dot{o}_3)$	$\alpha\dot{o}_4(\alpha\dot{o}_4)$	$\delta\dot{o}'_4(\delta\dot{o}_4)$	$\delta\dot{o}_4 > \alpha_3 (< \delta\dot{o}_4 > \alpha_3)$	$\alpha\dot{o}_5(\alpha\dot{o}_5)$	$\alpha\dot{o}_5 > \delta_3 (< \alpha\dot{o}_5 > \delta_3)$
1/4	1/4	1/4	1/4	1/4	1/4	1/4	1/4	1/4	1/4
≡ / Ir/Ic		≡ / Ir/Ic		≡ / Ir/Ic		≡ / Ir/Ic		≡ / Ir/Ic	

P		B/HmCF											
F		FB.4											
KM		T1			T2			T3			T4		
c	$\delta o' 4$	$\alpha o_8$	$\delta o_2$	$\alpha o' 5$	$\delta o_3$	$\delta o' 4$	$\alpha o_1$	$\alpha o' 5$	$\delta o_1$				
e	$\delta o' 4(\delta o_4)$	$\alpha o_8(\alpha o_8)$	$\delta o_2(\delta o_2)$	$\alpha o' 5(\alpha o_5)$	$\delta o_3(\delta o_3)$	$\delta o' 4(\delta o_4)$	$\alpha o_1(\delta o_4 > \alpha o_1 < \delta o_4 > \alpha o_1)$	$\alpha o' 5(\alpha o_5)$	$\delta o_1 < \alpha o_5 > \delta o_1 < \alpha o_5 > \delta o_1$				
$7/8$	$3/8$	$2/8$	$2/8$	$3/8$	$2/8$	$3/8$	$2/8+2/8=4/8$	$3/8$	$2/8+2/8=4/8$				$2/8+2/8=4/8$
$\equiv / \equiv$	$\equiv / \equiv$	$\equiv / \equiv$	$\equiv / \equiv$	$\equiv / \equiv$	$\equiv / \equiv$	$\equiv / \equiv$	$\equiv / \equiv$	$\equiv / \equiv$	$\equiv / \equiv$				$\equiv / \equiv$

$T D 1 = [P A / \Delta \pi + P B / M o] . x = [2 . (S) F A / \Delta \pi + 4 . (S) F B / M o] . x$

$$T D 1 = [F A \tilde{\Pi} 1 (\delta o' 4 v + \alpha o 4 v) + \tilde{T} 2 (\delta o' 4 v + \delta o 4 > \alpha 3 v) + \tilde{T} 3 (\alpha o' 5 v + \alpha o 5 > \delta 3 v) + \tilde{T} 4 (\delta o' 4 v + (\alpha o 4 / \delta o 6) v) +$$

$2/4 \downarrow - 108 + 7/8 \downarrow - 132$   
WM.

$$\tilde{T} 5 (\alpha o' 5 v + \alpha o 6 > \delta 3 v) + \tilde{T} 6 (\delta o' 3 v + \alpha o 4 v) + \tilde{T} 7 (\delta o' 4 v + \delta o 4 > \alpha 3 v) + \tilde{T} 8 (\alpha o' 5 v + \alpha o 5 > \delta 3 v) +$$

$$F B \tilde{\Pi} 1 (\delta o' 4 v + \alpha o 8 v + \delta o 2 v) + \tilde{T} 2 (\alpha o' 5 v + \delta o 3 v + \alpha o 3 v) + \tilde{T} 3 (\delta o' 4 v + \alpha o' 5 v + \alpha o' 5 v + \delta o 1 v) +$$

According to the grouping principle, the dance constitutes a two-segment, heterogeneous, heterometric, alternating form, i.e. the dance has two parts of different morphic type and two music metres which are alternated. According to the linking principle, each of the two parts consists a homogeneous chain form that is the same dance phrase repeated throughout each part. The first part has a binary rhythm ( $\sqrt{\text{♩}} \sqrt{\text{♩}}$ ) and 2/4 music metre;<sup>6</sup> it consists of eight rhythmic motifs that are repeated twice, that is sixteen in total. In terms of movements, this part consists of two repetitions of a one section-phrase, that is, the phrase coincides with the section in this case, which has eight kinetic motifs in total. The latter can be regarded as the synthesis of three types. In particular, the first and last three kinetic motifs form an heteromorphy of the type of *syrτος sta tria* dance as seen in 4.2.1, as during the performance of the second kinetic element of these kinetic motifs the left foot crosses behind the right foot and there is also a different use of space. The other two kinetic motifs coming in between form an heteromorphy of the type of *syrτος sta dyo* dance as there is a change of the two kinetic elements of the second cell and different use of space.<sup>7</sup>

The second part has a seven count rhythm ( $\sqrt{\text{♩}} \sqrt{\text{♩}} \sqrt{\text{♩}}$ ) and 7/8 music metre. It consists of eight rhythmic motifs which are also repeated twice, that is sixteen in total. The second part consists of four repetitions of a one section-phrase which has four kinetic motifs which form an heteromorphy of the type of *syrτος kalamatianos* dance as seen in 4.2.1, as there is a different use of space. Both parts have dimensional congruence, that is the kinetic and rhythmic motifs, and the dance and music/melodic phrases coincide, and there is a fixed order of succession in dance and music. The overall structure of this dance performance is represented by the morphic type:

$$\mathbf{TD1} = [\mathbf{PA}/\mathbf{An} + \mathbf{PB}/\mathbf{Mo}].x = [2.(S)\mathbf{FA}/\mathbf{An} + 4.(S)\mathbf{FB}/\mathbf{Mo}].x$$

$$2/4 \text{♩} \sim 108 + 7/8 \text{♩} \sim 132$$

$$W \sim M, \quad \curvearrowright$$

$$\begin{aligned} \mathbf{TD1} = & [\mathbf{FA} \tilde{\mathbf{T}}1 \{ \delta o'_4 \text{ }^{1/4} + \alpha o_4 \text{ }^{1/4} \} + \tilde{\mathbf{T}}2 \{ \delta o'_4 \text{ }^{1/4} + \langle \delta o_4 \rangle \alpha_3 \text{ }^{1/4} \} + \tilde{\mathbf{T}}3 \{ \alpha o'_5 \text{ }^{1/4} + \langle \alpha o_5 \rangle \delta_3 \text{ }^{1/4} \} | + \\ & \tilde{\mathbf{T}}4 \{ \delta o'_4 \text{ }^{1/4} + (\alpha o_4 / \delta o_6) \text{ }^{1/4} \} + \tilde{\mathbf{T}}5 \{ \alpha o'_6 \text{ }^{1/4} + \langle \alpha o_6 \rangle \delta_3 \text{ }^{1/4} \} | + \tilde{\mathbf{T}}6 \{ \delta o'_3 \text{ }^{1/4} + \alpha o_4 \text{ }^{1/4} \} + \\ & \tilde{\mathbf{T}}7 \{ \delta o'_4 \text{ }^{1/4} + \langle \delta o_4 \rangle \alpha_3 \text{ }^{1/4} \} + \tilde{\mathbf{T}}8 \{ \alpha o'_5 \text{ }^{1/4} + \langle \alpha o_5 \rangle \delta_3 \text{ }^{1/4} \} | + \\ & \mathbf{FB} \tilde{\mathbf{T}}1 \{ \delta o'_4 \text{ }^{3/8} + \alpha o_8 \text{ }^{2/8} + \delta o_2 \text{ }^{2/8} \} + \tilde{\mathbf{T}}2 \{ \alpha o'_5 \text{ }^{3/8} + \delta o_3 \text{ }^{2/8} + \alpha o_3 \text{ }^{2/8} \} + \tilde{\mathbf{T}}3 \{ \delta o'_4 \text{ }^{3/8} + \end{aligned}$$

### 5.1.2. LEMONIA DANCE

$$\alpha\sigma'_1 \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \updownarrow \\ 1^{4/8} \end{array} \right\} + \widetilde{T}4 \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \leftarrow \\ \alpha\sigma'_5 \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \updownarrow \\ 1^{4/8} \end{array} \right\} + \delta\sigma'_1 \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \updownarrow \\ 1^{4/8} \end{array} \right\} \left| \right|$$

*Lemonia* (meaning lemon tree), like *milia* takes its name from the lyrics of the

At the end of the dance-song *milia*, the melody of the the song 'perdika' (literally, partridge) is usually added, performed similarly to the second dance phrase of *milia* (Drakatou 1993, Kopsidas 1993, Stavvaka 1994, Verykios 1994).



**Plate 16:** *Milia* dance performed by the dance group 'Apollon Karyas' as all the others. (photo by Maria Koutsouba)



**Plate 17:** *Lemonia* dance. (photo by Maria Koutsouba)

### 5.1.2. *Lemonia* Dance

*Lemonia* (meaning lemon tree), like *milia* takes its name from the lyrics of the accompanying song even though singing has never accompanied the performance of the dance on stage. It is also known as *kathistos* because of the seated movements during its performance. In the case of this dance there are divergent opinions about its status. Some perceive it as an “indigenous” dance. Others argue that it is a “foreign” dance borrowed from the mainland which has undergone a process of “Lefkadanisation” (Peristeris 1967:354, Toska-Kamba 1991:46). The “identity” of the dance will be examined later in Chapter 6, the focus here being on the analysis of the form. *Lemonia* as executed by the dance group ‘*Apollon Karyas*’ (see Plate 17) is performed only by women dressed in traditional costume; the maiden’s and the bride’s costume can both be used although the former is preferred.<sup>8</sup> The handhold is that of the chain which restricts the freedom of the upper part of the body and allows only the passive participation of the arms. The body has an upright straight position and the dancers shift in space with simple movements, mainly steps (middle level) that have a constant pulse. The formation is that of an open circle which moves predominantly to the right.

#### ***Lemonia’s* song:**

*Mori kontoula lemonia*

*me ta polla lemonia*

*Stilianiotissa se ida ke arrostissa,*

*hamilosse tous klonous sou*

*gia na kopso ena lemoni*

*Stilianiotissa gia sena arrostissa,*

*gia na to stipso na to pio*

*na mou diavoun i poni*

*Stilianiotissa gia sena arrostissa.*

Short lemon tree

with many lemons,

*Stilianiotissa\** I saw you and felt ill,

lower your branches

so as to cut a lemon

*Stilianiotissa* I felt ill for you

to squeeze (the lemon) and drink it

so as my pains will go away

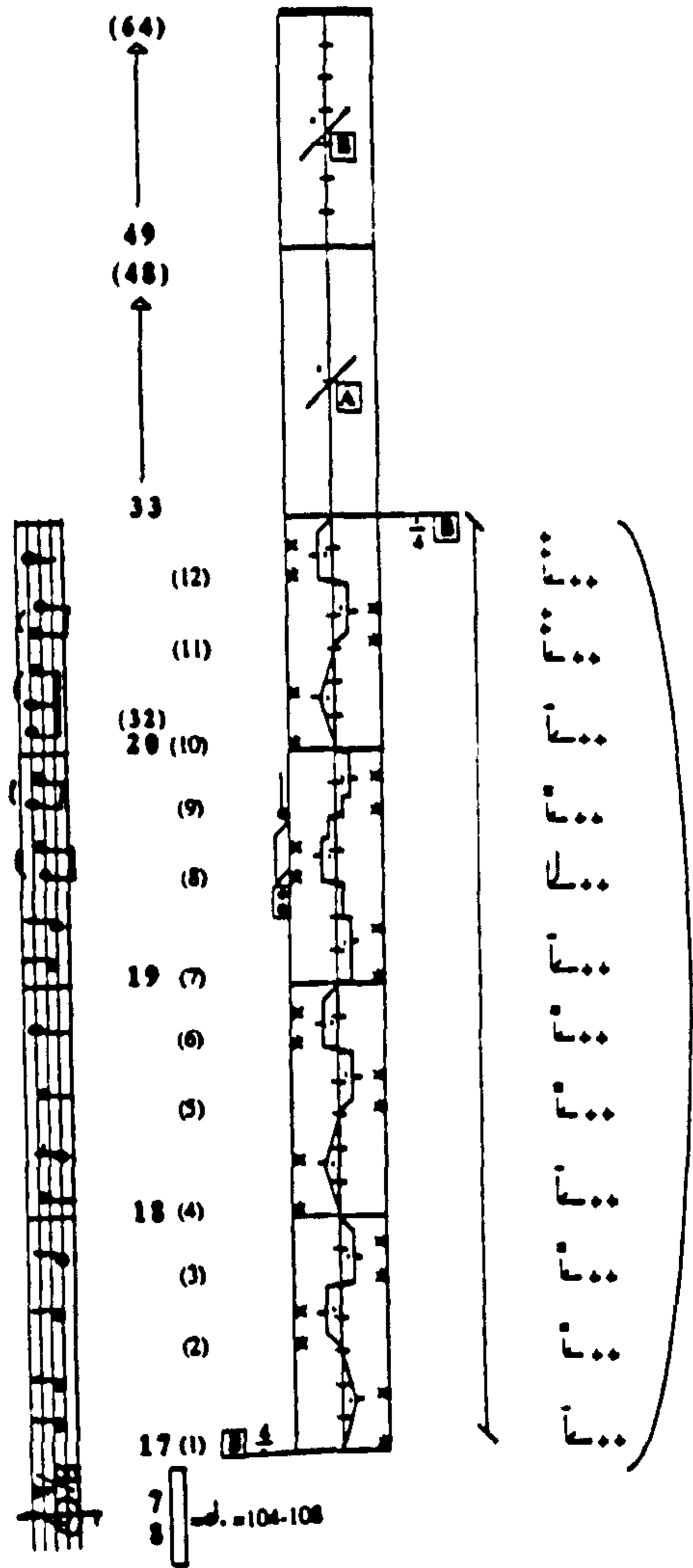
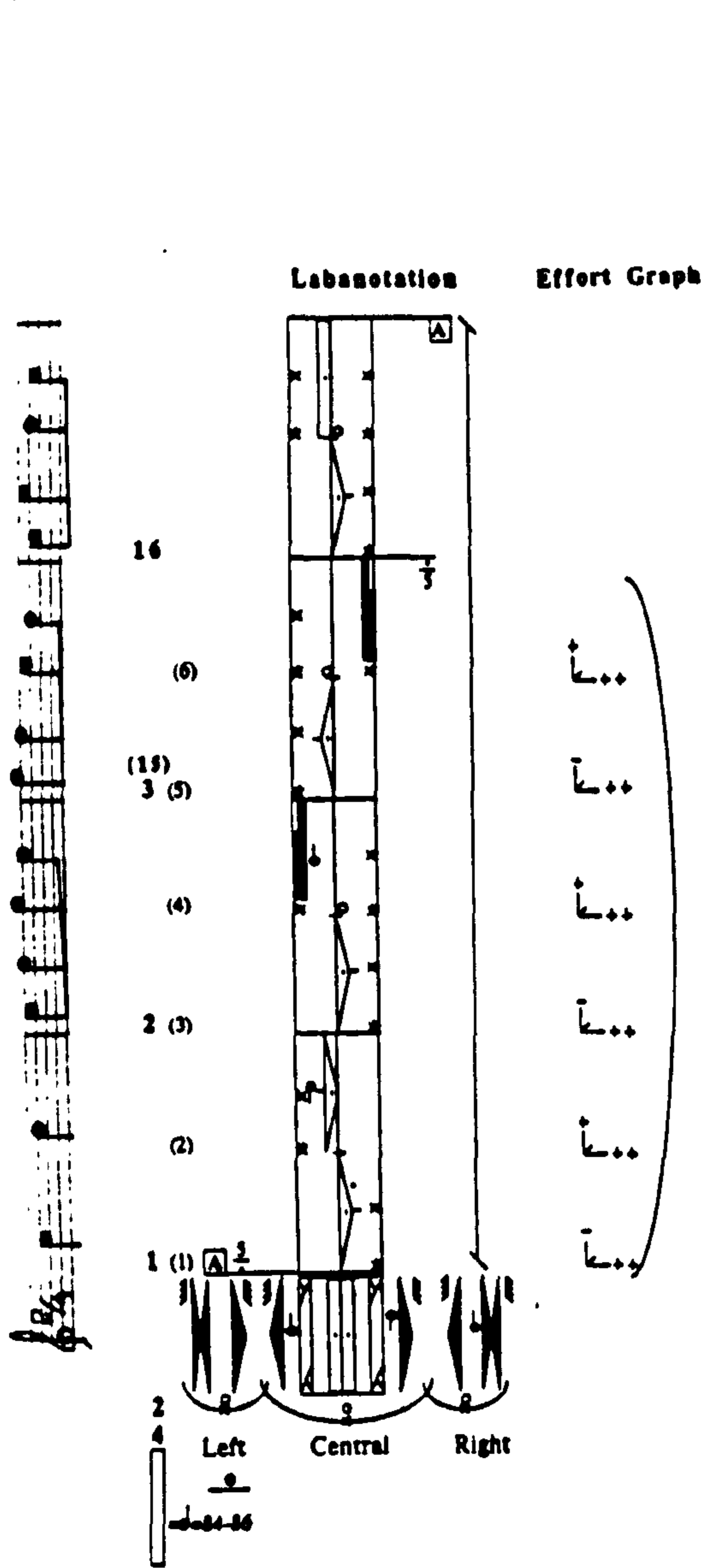
*Stilianiotissa* I felt ill for you.

*Lemonia* dance is not accompanied with its song any more, thus, the rhymes have fallen into disuse. The ones presented here have been sung by the musician Ylorgos Verykios from the Drymona village. Another version is offered by Kontomichis (1985:35). \*Apart from the word *Stilianiotissa* the words *Miridiotissa* or *Souveniotissa* are also used.



Handwritten musical score consisting of 14 staves of music. The notation includes various rhythmic values, slurs, and dynamic markings. The score is divided into two systems of seven staves each. The first system is marked with a tempo of  $\text{♩} = 104-108$ . The second system is also marked with a tempo of  $\text{♩} = 104-108$ .

Drkgoumis and Moraitis 1993





*Lemonia* constitutes a two-segment, heterogeneous, heterometric, alternating dance form regarding the grouping principle, and an homogeneous chain form regarding the linking group. The first segment has a binary rhythm ( $\downarrow \uparrow \uparrow \uparrow$  or  $\downarrow \uparrow \uparrow \downarrow$ ) and  $2/4^9$  music metre; its eight rhythmic motifs are repeated twice, that is sixteen in total. This part consists of five repetitions of a one section-phrase which has three kinetic motifs forming an heteromorphy of the type of *syrtos sta tria* dance as during the performance of the second kinetic element of the first kinetic motif the left foot crosses behind the right foot. The remaining rhythmic motif corresponds to the performance of the first kinetic motif of the form of *syrtos sta tria* dance. In this part there is a dimensional discongruence as kinetic motifs coincide with the rhythmic ones but the dance does not coincide with the music/melodic phrases. There is also fixed succession in dance and music.

The second part has a seven count rhythm ( $\uparrow \uparrow \uparrow \uparrow \uparrow$  or  $\downarrow \downarrow \downarrow \downarrow$ ) and  $7/8$  music metre. It consists of eight rhythmic motifs which are also repeated twice, that is sixteen in total. This part consists of four repetitions of a one section-phrase. The phrase has four kinetic motifs which form an heteromorphy of the type of *syrtos kalamatianos* dance as there is a different use of space. In this part there is dimensional congruence and fixed succession in dance and music. The overall structure of this version is represented by the morphic type:

$$\mathbf{XD2} = [\text{PA}/\text{An} + \text{PB}/\text{Mo}] \cdot \mathbf{x} = [5 \cdot (\text{S})\text{FA}/\text{An} + 4 \cdot (\text{S})\text{FB}/\text{Mo}] \cdot \mathbf{x}$$

$$\begin{array}{c} 2/4 \downarrow -84-86 + 7/8 \downarrow -104-108 \\ \text{w} \curvearrowright \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{l} \mathbf{XD2} = [\text{FA} | \tilde{\text{X}}1 \{ \delta \alpha'_4 \text{ }^{1/4} + \alpha \alpha_4 \text{ }^{1/4} \} + \tilde{\text{X}}2 \{ \delta \alpha'_4 \text{ }^{1/4} + \langle \delta \alpha_4 \rangle \alpha_1 \text{ }^{1/4} \} + \tilde{\text{X}}3 \{ \alpha \alpha'_5 \text{ }^{1/4} + \langle \alpha \alpha_5 \rangle \delta_2 \text{ }^{1/4} \} | + \\ \text{FB} | \tilde{\text{X}}1 \{ \delta \alpha'_4 \text{ }^{3/8} + \alpha \alpha_8 \text{ }^{2/8} + \delta \alpha_7 \text{ }^{2/8} \} + \tilde{\text{X}}2 \{ \alpha \alpha'_5 \text{ }^{3/8} + \delta \alpha_9 \text{ }^{2/8} + \alpha \alpha_6 \text{ }^{2/8} \} + \tilde{\text{X}}3 \{ \delta \alpha'_2 \text{ }^{3/8} + \\ \alpha \alpha_2 \text{ }^{2/8} + \delta \alpha_3 \text{ }^{2/8} \} + \tilde{\text{X}}4 \{ \alpha \alpha'_5 \text{ }^{3/8} + \delta \alpha_9 \text{ }^{2/8} + \alpha \alpha_6 \text{ }^{2/8} \} | ] \end{array}$$

### 5.1.3. *Barbouni* Dance

*Barbouni/barbounaki* (which means red or little red mullet respectively) takes its name from the lyrics of the accompanying song even though singing has never

accompanied the dance in its performance on stage. The dance is performed as an “indigenous” one, however its status is challenged by some on the basis that it originated from the islet of Meganissi even though Meganissi belongs to the wider geographical area of the Prefecture of Lefkada. This uncertainty about its origins raises questions about the nature of the relationship between islanders inhabiting the island of Lefkada and islanders inhabiting the islet of Meganissi (see Just 1994). Despite the various opinions, the dance was performed for me by Eleni Drakatou, a woman in her 80s from the mountainous village Exanthia on the island of Lefkada. The performance of the dance in the same village has also been mentioned by Mitsos Konidaris the famous musician of the island (1993), while the islander Theodoros Katopodis states that ‘the dance was performed in the coastal areas of the island, and for this reason it is also known as the “sea dance” ’ (1996:50).

***Barbouni's song:***

*Barbouni mou, barbounaki mou aman  
 barbouni mou thalassino  
 barbouni, barbounaki  
 psari\* ke lavrakaki,  
 den ime psa-, barbounaki mou aman  
 den ime psari na me fas  
 krithari na m' alessis  
 barbouni, barbounaki mou,  
 para ime to-, barbounaki mou aman  
 para ime to archontopoulo  
 ke tha parakalessis,  
 sarantape-, barbounaki mou aman  
 sarapente lemonies  
 stin ammo fitemenes,  
 me to nero-, barbounaki mou aman  
 me to nero sti riza tous  
 ki aftes varagiasmenes,  
 barbouni, barbounaki mou  
 psari ke lavrakaki.*

Red mullet, my little red mullet *aman*  
 my red mullet from the sea  
 red mullet, little red mullet  
 fish and little bassfish,  
 I am not, my little red mullet *aman*  
 I am not a fish so as to eat me  
 barley so as to grind me  
 red mullet my little red mullet  
 but I am, my little red mullet *aman*  
 but I am the young nobleman  
 and you beg me  
 forty, my little red mullet *aman*  
 forty five lemon trees  
 are planted in the sand  
 with the, my little red mullet *aman*  
 with the water to their roots  
 they are also resentful  
 red mullet, my little red mullet  
 fish and little bassfish.

These verses have been sung by Eleni Drakatou during fieldwork. However, other versions are also available. \*Spyros Peristeris in his version used the word ‘*kotsi*’ instead of ‘*psari*’ (1966 tape-cassette). *Kotsi* is the fish daurade in the local dialect (Peristeris 1966:141).

Al  $\text{♩} = 170-200$

B♭  $\text{♩} = 160-180$

Drogounis and Morxitis 1993

Detailed description: This block contains a musical score for two pieces. The top piece is in A major, 4/4 time, with a tempo of 170-200 bpm. It consists of eight staves of music. The bottom piece is in B-flat major, 4/4 time, with a tempo of 160-180 bpm. It also consists of eight staves of music. The notation includes various rhythmic values, slurs, and dynamic markings.

A vertical musical staff showing a sequence of notes, likely a scale or a specific melodic line, used as a reference for the Labanotation below.

**Labanotation** **Effort Graph**

Detailed description: This block contains Labanotation and an Effort Graph. The Labanotation is presented in two columns. The left column is numbered 1 through 8, with a circled 4 between 7 and 6. The right column is numbered 5 through 8, with a circled 16 between 8 and 7. The notation includes various symbols for movement, such as triangles, circles, and lines, along with 'x' marks indicating specific points or directions. The Effort Graph on the right shows a series of vertical lines with '+' and '-' signs, representing the effort quality of the movements. A large curved line on the right side of the Effort Graph indicates a specific effort quality or transition.

1 (1)  $\text{♩} = 190-200$





In the performance of *barbouni* by the dance group 'Apollon Karyas' both men and women participate in alternation but the dance is always led by a man. The dancers, dressed in traditional costume with the bride's costume being the most common for women, perform in an open circle that shifts predominantly to the right with simple movements, mainly steps in middle level having a constant pulse. The body has an upright straight position. The chain handhold is used, while the use of arms is passive. With regard to its structure, *barbouni* is a two-segment, heterogeneous, heterometric, alternating dance form in terms of the grouping principle, and an homogeneous chain form in terms of the linking principle. In particular, the first part has a four count rhythm (♩ ♪ ♩ ♩) and 4/4 music metre; it has eight rhythmic motifs which are repeated twice, that is sixteen in total. This part consists of four repetitions of a one section-phrase having four kinetic motifs that form a variation of the type of *syrtos sta tria* dance mainly because of the expansion of the type and the use of different isolated kinetic elements. In this part there is a dimensional congruence and a fixed succession in dance and music.

The second part has a seven count rhythm (♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩) and 7/8 music metre; its eight rhythmic motifs are repeated twice, that is sixteen in total. This part consists of four repetitions of a one section-phrase that has four kinetic motifs forming an heteromorphy of the type of *syrtos kalamatianos* dance as there is a different use of space. In this part there is also dimensional congruence and fixed succession in dance and music. The overall structure of this version is represented by the morphic type:

$$\mathbf{XD3} = [\text{PA/Pr} + \text{PB/Pr}] \cdot x = [4 \cdot (\text{S})\text{FA/Pr} + 4 \cdot (\text{S})\text{FB/Pr}] \cdot x$$

$$\begin{array}{c} 4/4 \downarrow - 198 - 200 + 7/8 \downarrow - 200 \\ M \sim W \end{array}$$

$$\begin{aligned} \mathbf{XD3} = & [\text{FA} | \tilde{\text{X}}1 \{ \delta o'_4 \xrightarrow{2/4} + \alpha o_8 \xrightarrow{2/4} \} + \tilde{\text{X}}2 \{ \delta o'_4 \xrightarrow{2/4} + \alpha o_6 \xrightarrow{2/4} \} + \tilde{\text{X}}3 \{ \delta o'_4 \xrightarrow{2/4} + \langle \delta o_4 \rangle \xrightarrow{\downarrow} \alpha_3 \xrightarrow{2/4} \} + \\ & \tilde{\text{X}}4 \{ \alpha o'_5 \xrightarrow{2/4} + \langle \alpha o_5 \rangle \xrightarrow{\downarrow} \delta_3 \xrightarrow{2/4} \} | + \\ & \text{FB} | \tilde{\text{X}}1 \{ \delta o'_4 \xrightarrow{3/8} + \alpha o_8 \xrightarrow{2/8} + \delta o_4 \xrightarrow{2/8} \} + \tilde{\text{X}}2 \{ \alpha o'_6 \xrightarrow{3/8} + \delta o_4 \xrightarrow{2/8} + \alpha o_6 \xrightarrow{2/8} \} + \tilde{\text{X}}3 \{ \delta o'_4 \xrightarrow{3/8} + \\ & \alpha o_8 \xrightarrow{2/8} + \delta o_7 \xrightarrow{2/8} \} + \tilde{\text{X}}4 \{ \alpha o'_5 \xrightarrow{3/8} + \delta o_9 \xrightarrow{2/8} + \alpha o_6 \xrightarrow{2/8} \} | ] \end{aligned}$$



#### 5.1.4. *Karavakia* Dance

*Karavakia* (meaning small ships) take its name from the lyrics of the song for the dance. When the dance is performed on stage it is never accompanied by singing. The dance is associated with the barefoot fishermen who used to perform it at the end of their fishing, holding the fishing-net (Hatzopoulou 1993). Although the dance is performed as an “indigenous” one, yet it faces the same challenge as *barbouni*, both being directly linked to the sea. However, the performance of the dance at Nydri has been mentioned (Hatzopoulou 1993), and Theodoros Katopodis states that it was ‘performed at the coastal areas of Lefkada, and that it is also called the “farewell/welcome dance”, as it was danced at the separation and the return of the migrants’ (1996:46).

#### *Karavakia*’s song:

*Tria karavakia ma tin Panagia*  
*ma tin Panagia armenizan*  
*tona armenizi me to Voria*  
*t’ allo me maistro*  
*erchome ke den se vrisko...*

Three little ships oh! my Virgin Mary  
oh! my Virgin Mary, they were plying  
the one is plying with the North wind  
the other with mistral  
I am coming and do not find you...

The song has fallen into disuse and most of its verses have been forgotten. The few ones presented here have been stated by the dance teacher of ‘*Apollon Karyas*’ Thymios Stavrakas. Another version is presented by Peristeris (1966:141).

#### *Karavakia*’s music notation

(Dragoumis and Moraitis 1993)



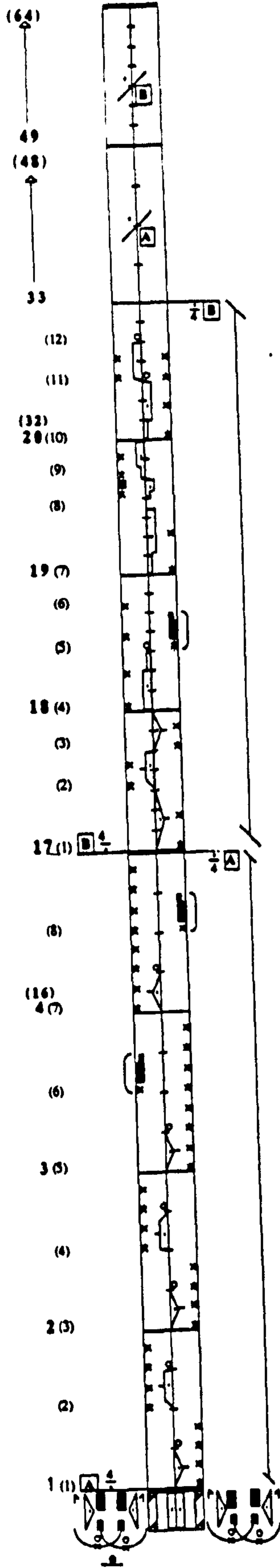
Labanotation

Effort Graph



7  
8 = ♩ ~126-130 or □ = ♩ ~200

4  
4 = ♩ = 132



TD4		Karavakia Dance				ABHr/Him/Al
P	A/HmCF					
F	FA.4					
KM	T1		T2		T3	
c	$\delta\overset{\cdot}{\delta}_4$	$\alpha\overset{\cdot}{\alpha}_3$	$\delta\overset{\cdot}{\delta}_4$	$\alpha\overset{\cdot}{\alpha}_6$	$\delta\overset{\cdot}{\delta}_4$	$\alpha\overset{\cdot}{\alpha}_2$
c	$\delta\overset{\cdot}{\delta}_4(\delta\alpha_4)$	$\alpha\overset{\cdot}{\alpha}_3(\alpha\alpha_3)$	$\delta\overset{\cdot}{\delta}_4(\delta\alpha_4)$	$\alpha\overset{\cdot}{\alpha}_6(\alpha\alpha_6)$	$\delta\overset{\cdot}{\delta}_4(\delta\alpha_4)$	$\alpha\overset{\cdot}{\alpha}_3(\alpha\alpha_3)$
$\frac{4}{4}$	$\frac{2}{4}$	$\frac{2}{4}$	$\frac{2}{4}$	$\frac{2}{4}$	$\frac{2}{4}$	$\frac{2}{4}$
	≡ / Ir/Ic		≡ / Ir/Ic		≡ / Ir/Ic	
	T4					
	$\alpha\overset{\cdot}{\alpha}_5$	$\delta_2$				
	$\alpha\overset{\cdot}{\alpha}_5(\alpha\alpha_5)$	$\alpha\overset{\cdot}{\alpha}_5(\alpha\alpha_5)$				
	$\frac{2}{4}$	$\frac{2}{4}$				
	≡ / Ir/Ic		≡ / Ir/Ic		≡ / Ir/Ic	

P		B/HmCF				
F	FB.4					
KM	T1		T2		T3	
c	$\delta\overset{\cdot}{\delta}_4$	$\alpha\overset{\cdot}{\alpha}_3$	$\delta\overset{\cdot}{\delta}_4$	$\delta_2$	$\delta\overset{\cdot}{\delta}_3$	$\alpha\overset{\cdot}{\alpha}_2$
c	$\delta\overset{\cdot}{\delta}_4(\delta\alpha_4)$	$\alpha\overset{\cdot}{\alpha}_3(\alpha\alpha_3)$	$\delta\overset{\cdot}{\delta}_4(\delta\alpha_4)$	$\alpha\overset{\cdot}{\alpha}_2(\alpha\alpha_2)$	$\delta\overset{\cdot}{\delta}_3(\delta\alpha_3)$	$\alpha\overset{\cdot}{\alpha}_2(\alpha\alpha_2)$
$\frac{3}{8}$	$\frac{2}{8}$	$\frac{2}{8}$	$\frac{2}{8}$	$\frac{2}{8}$	$\frac{2}{8}$	$\frac{2}{8}$
	≡ / Ir/Ic		≡ / Ir/Ic		≡ / Ir/Ic	
	T4					
	$\delta\overset{\cdot}{\delta}_3$	$\alpha\overset{\cdot}{\alpha}_1$				
	$\delta\overset{\cdot}{\delta}_3(\delta\alpha_3)$	$\alpha\overset{\cdot}{\alpha}_1(\alpha\alpha_1)$				
	$\frac{3}{8}$	$\frac{2}{8}$				
	≡ / Ir/Ic		≡ / Ir/Ic		≡ / Ir/Ic	

$TD4 = [PA/Al+PB/Pt] \times [4(S)FA/Al+4(S)FB/Pt] \times$

$TD4 = [FA\bar{T}1 | \delta\overset{\cdot}{\delta}_4 \alpha\overset{\cdot}{\alpha}_3 \delta\overset{\cdot}{\delta}_4 \alpha\overset{\cdot}{\alpha}_3 ] + \bar{T}2 | \delta\overset{\cdot}{\delta}_4 \alpha\overset{\cdot}{\alpha}_3 \delta\overset{\cdot}{\delta}_4 \alpha\overset{\cdot}{\alpha}_3 ] + \bar{T}3 | \delta\overset{\cdot}{\delta}_4 \alpha\overset{\cdot}{\alpha}_3 \delta\overset{\cdot}{\delta}_4 \alpha\overset{\cdot}{\alpha}_3 ] + \bar{T}4 | \delta\overset{\cdot}{\delta}_4 \alpha\overset{\cdot}{\alpha}_3 \delta\overset{\cdot}{\delta}_4 \alpha\overset{\cdot}{\alpha}_3 ] +$   
 $\frac{4}{4} \frac{J}{J} - 132 + 7/8 \frac{J}{J} - 200$   
 $FW \curvearrowright FB\bar{T}1 | \delta\overset{\cdot}{\delta}_4 \alpha\overset{\cdot}{\alpha}_3 \delta\overset{\cdot}{\delta}_4 \alpha\overset{\cdot}{\alpha}_3 ] + \bar{T}2 | \delta\overset{\cdot}{\delta}_4 \alpha\overset{\cdot}{\alpha}_3 \delta\overset{\cdot}{\delta}_4 \alpha\overset{\cdot}{\alpha}_3 ] + \bar{T}3 | \delta\overset{\cdot}{\delta}_4 \alpha\overset{\cdot}{\alpha}_3 \delta\overset{\cdot}{\delta}_4 \alpha\overset{\cdot}{\alpha}_3 ] + \bar{T}4 | \delta\overset{\cdot}{\delta}_4 \alpha\overset{\cdot}{\alpha}_3 \delta\overset{\cdot}{\delta}_4 \alpha\overset{\cdot}{\alpha}_3 ] +$

In the performance of the dance by the group 'Apollon Karyas' the dancers have their bodies in an upright straight position, shift in space with simple movements, mainly steps in middle level which have a constant pulse; the formation is the open circle which moves predominantly to the right. *Karavakia* is danced by men and women in alternation. The dancers are dressed in traditional costume with the bride's costume being the most common for women. The dance is always led by a man. The handhold is that of the arms around the shoulders. In general the use of arms in the dance can be considered as a passive one.

*Karavakia* constitutes a two-segment, heterogeneous, heterometric, alternating dance form according to the group principle, and an homogeneous chain form according to the linking group. In particular, the first part has a four count rhythm (♩. ♪♪♩) and 4/4 music metre; it has eight rhythmic motifs which are repeated twice, that is sixteen in total. This part consists of four repetitions of a one section-phrase with four kinetic motifs that form a variation of the type of *syrto sta tria* dance mainly because of the expansion of the type and the use of different isolated kinetic elements. In this part there is dimensional congruence and fixed succession in dance and music.

The second part has a seven count rhythm (♩♩ ♩ ♩) and 7/8 music metre; its eight rhythmic motifs are repeated twice, that is sixteen in total. This part consists of four repetitions of a one section-phrase that has four kinetic motifs. The first two kinetic motifs form an heteromorphy of the type of *syrto sta dyo* dance as there is a different use of space and change of isolated kinetic elements; the last two form a variation of the pattern of *syrto sta dyo*. However, a number of important reasons support the argument that both types belong to the same dance pattern. These are: a) the fact that they concern the same dance and b) that in the performance of this dance by the dance group 'Lefkatas' the type that belongs to the variation of the pattern has been replaced with the type of *syrto sta dyo* dance. In this part there is dimensional congruence and fixed succession in dance and music. The overall structure of this version is represented by the morphic type:

$$TD4=[PA/Al+PB/Pr].x=[4.(S)FA/Al+4.(S)FB/Pr].x$$

$$4/4♩\sim 132+7/8♩\sim 200$$

$$M\sim W \quad \curvearrowright$$

$$\begin{aligned}
\text{TD 4} = & [\text{FA} \tilde{\text{T}}1 \{ \delta o'_{4^{2/4}} + \alpha o_{8^{2/4}} \} + \tilde{\text{T}}2 \{ \delta o'_{4^{2/4}} + \alpha o_{6^{2/4}} \} + \tilde{\text{T}}3 \{ \delta o'_{4^{2/4}} + \langle \delta o_4 \rangle \alpha_2^{2/4} \} + \\
& \tilde{\text{T}}4 \{ \alpha o'_{5^{2/4}} + \langle \alpha o_5 \rangle \delta_2^{2/4} \} | + \\
& \text{FB} \tilde{\text{T}}1 \{ \delta o'_{4^{3/8}} + \alpha o_{8^{2/8}} + \delta o_{4^{2/8}} \} + \tilde{\text{T}}2 \{ \alpha o'_{2^{3/8}} + \langle \alpha o_2 \rangle \delta_2^{4/8} \} + \tilde{\text{T}}3 \{ \delta o'_{3^{3/8}} + (\delta o_3 + \\
& \alpha_2)^{2/8} + \alpha o_{3^{2/8}} \} + \tilde{\text{T}}4 \{ \delta o'_{3^{3/8}} + \langle \delta o_3 \rangle \alpha o_{1^{4/8}} \} | ]
\end{aligned}$$

### 5.1.5. *Ballos* Dance

*Ballos*, originating from the verb *valizo* that means 'to dance alone' (Holden and Vouras 1976:21), is generally considered to be a characteristic dance of the Aegean islands (Micronis 1993a:36). It is also performed in some of the Ionian islands, namely Kephallonia, Zakynthos and Lefkada. However, on the island of Lefkada the word *ballos* was used by the dance clubs to refer to a certain type of *syrtos* (*kalamatianos*) which incorporated improvisatory elements which had become standardised after the introduction of the dance in the dance clubs.<sup>10</sup> *Ballos* is performed by the dancers of 'Lefkatas' dance group with their body in an upright straight position and shift in space with simple movements, steps in middle level and jumps; the formation is the open circle which moves predominantly to the right. Both men and women, participate in alternation, dressed in traditional costume; the bride's costume being the most common. The dance is always led by a man. The handhold is hands with bent arms in the first part and unattached in the second part.

#### *Ballos*' music notation

(Dragoumis and Moraitis 1993)



This image shows a page of musical notation, likely a score for a single instrument or voice. It consists of 12 staves of music, arranged in a single system. The notation is written in a standard musical staff format, featuring a treble clef on the left of each staff. The music is composed of various note values, including quarter notes, eighth notes, and sixteenth notes, along with rests and dynamic markings. A prominent marking 'rit.' (ritardando) is visible above the final staff, indicating a deceleration in tempo. The overall style is that of a traditional musical score, with clear notation and a focus on melodic and rhythmic development.

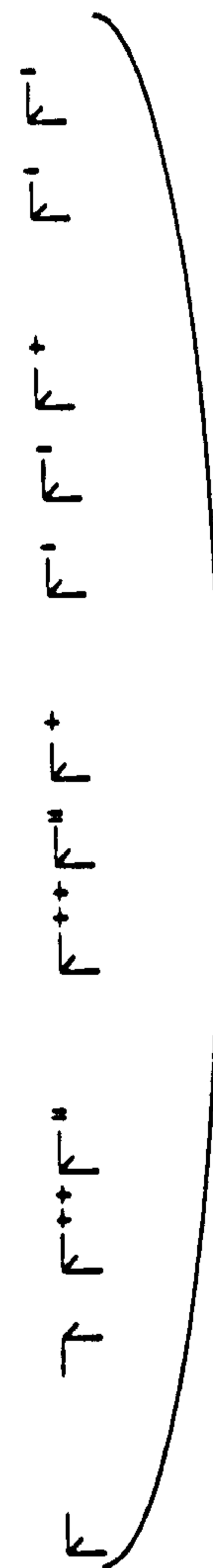


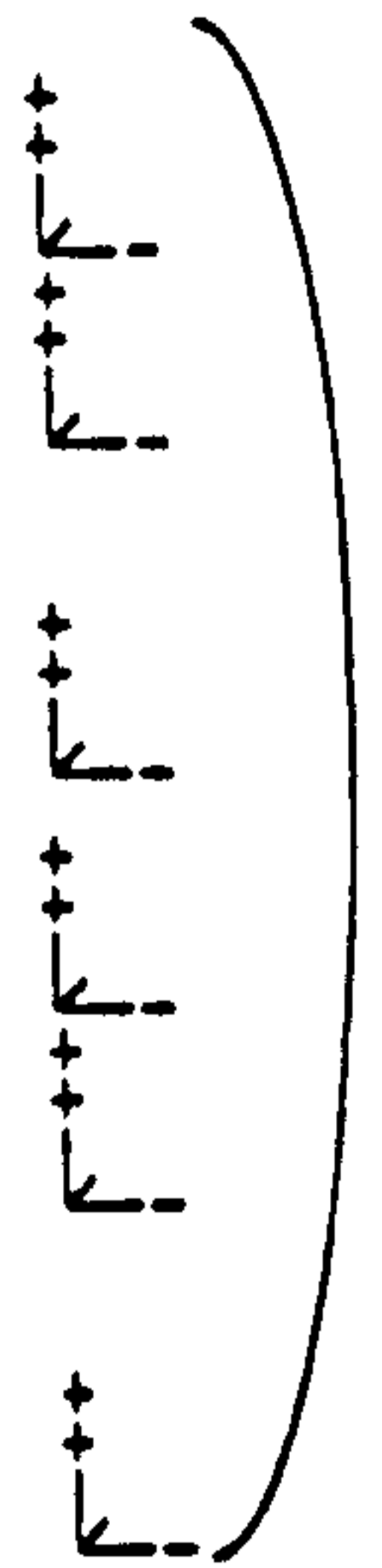
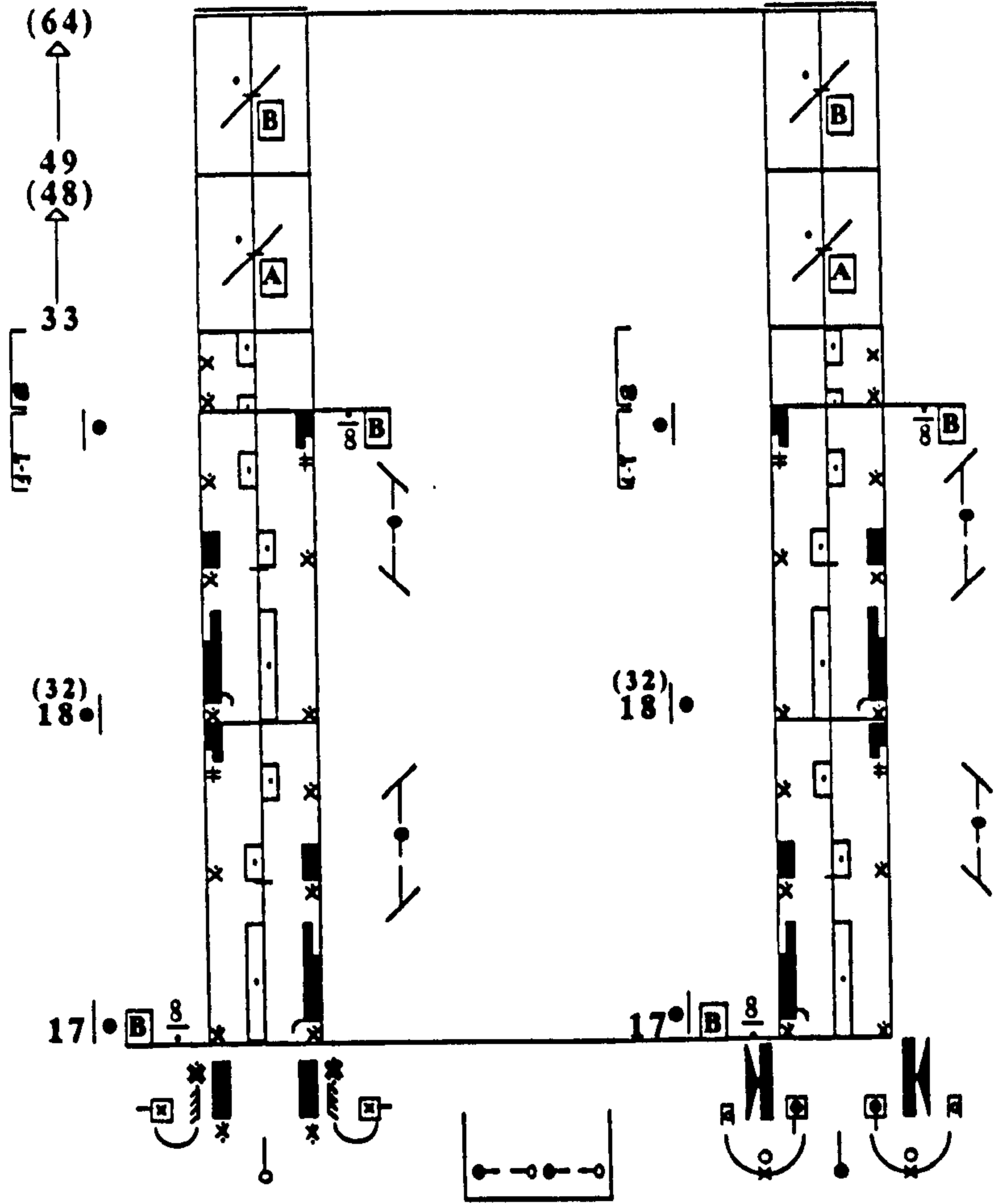
### Labanotation

1 (1) 2 (4) 3 (7) 4 (10) 5 (9) 6 (8) 7 (12) 8 (11) 9 (16)

2  
4 = 108-110

### Effort Graph







WDS		Ballos Dance								ABHr/lsm/Al
A/HmCF										
FA.4										
KM		W1		W2		W3		W4		
c	$\delta_0' \delta_1 \delta_2$	$\delta_0' \delta_1 \delta_2$	$\delta_0' \delta_1 \delta_2$	$\delta_0' \delta_1 \delta_2$	$\delta_0' \delta_1 \delta_2$	$\delta_0' \delta_1 \delta_2$	$\delta_0' \delta_1 \delta_2$	$\delta_0' \delta_1 \delta_2$	$\delta_0' \delta_1 \delta_2$	$\delta_0' \delta_1 \delta_2$
e	$\delta_0' \delta_1 \delta_2$	$\delta_0' \delta_1 \delta_2$	$\delta_0' \delta_1 \delta_2$	$\delta_0' \delta_1 \delta_2$	$\delta_0' \delta_1 \delta_2$	$\delta_0' \delta_1 \delta_2$	$\delta_0' \delta_1 \delta_2$	$\delta_0' \delta_1 \delta_2$	$\delta_0' \delta_1 \delta_2$	$\delta_0' \delta_1 \delta_2$
	$1/8+1/8=1/4$	$1/4$	$1/8+1/8=1/4$	$1/4$	$1/8+1/8=1/4$	$1/4$	$1/8+1/8=1/4$	$1/4$	$1/8+1/8=1/4$	$1/8+1/8=1/4$
	$\equiv /lr/lc$	$\equiv /lr/lc$	$\equiv /lr/lc$	$\equiv /lr/lc$	$\equiv /lr/lc$	$\equiv /lr/lc$	$\equiv /lr/lc$	$\equiv /lr/lc$	$\equiv /lr/lc$	$\equiv /lr/lc$
	$\equiv /lr/lc$	$\equiv /lr/lc$	$\equiv /lr/lc$	$\equiv /lr/lc$	$\equiv /lr/lc$	$\equiv /lr/lc$	$\equiv /lr/lc$	$\equiv /lr/lc$	$\equiv /lr/lc$	$\equiv /lr/lc$

WDS		Ballos Dance								ABHr/lsm/Al
B/HmCF										
FB.8										
KM		U1		U2		U3		U4		
c	$\delta_0' \delta_1 \delta_2$	$\delta_0' \delta_1 \delta_2$	$\delta_0' \delta_1 \delta_2$	$\delta_0' \delta_1 \delta_2$	$\delta_0' \delta_1 \delta_2$	$\delta_0' \delta_1 \delta_2$	$\delta_0' \delta_1 \delta_2$	$\delta_0' \delta_1 \delta_2$	$\delta_0' \delta_1 \delta_2$	$\delta_0' \delta_1 \delta_2$
e	$\delta_0' \delta_1 \delta_2$	$\delta_0' \delta_1 \delta_2$	$\delta_0' \delta_1 \delta_2$	$\delta_0' \delta_1 \delta_2$	$\delta_0' \delta_1 \delta_2$	$\delta_0' \delta_1 \delta_2$	$\delta_0' \delta_1 \delta_2$	$\delta_0' \delta_1 \delta_2$	$\delta_0' \delta_1 \delta_2$	$\delta_0' \delta_1 \delta_2$
	$1/8+1/8=1/4$	$1/4$	$1/8+1/8=1/4$	$1/4$	$1/8+1/8=1/4$	$1/4$	$1/8+1/8=1/4$	$1/4$	$1/8+1/8=1/4$	$1/8+1/8=1/4$
	$\equiv /lr/lc$	$\equiv /lr/lc$	$\equiv /lr/lc$	$\equiv /lr/lc$	$\equiv /lr/lc$	$\equiv /lr/lc$	$\equiv /lr/lc$	$\equiv /lr/lc$	$\equiv /lr/lc$	$\equiv /lr/lc$
	$\equiv /lr/lc$	$\equiv /lr/lc$	$\equiv /lr/lc$	$\equiv /lr/lc$	$\equiv /lr/lc$	$\equiv /lr/lc$	$\equiv /lr/lc$	$\equiv /lr/lc$	$\equiv /lr/lc$	$\equiv /lr/lc$

WDS = [PA/Mo+PB/Mo].x = [4.(S)FA/Mo+8.(S)FB/Mo].x

$WDS = |FA|W|((\delta_0' + \alpha_0) \nu + \delta_0 \nu + 1) + W2 | \alpha_0' \nu + (\delta_0 \nu / \alpha_0) \nu + 1 + W3 | \delta_0' \nu + (\alpha_0 \nu / \delta_0) \nu + 1 + W4 | \alpha_0' \nu + (\delta_0 \nu / \alpha_0) \nu + 1 +$

$2/4 J=108-110 MW$

$FBI\bar{U}|((\alpha_0' + \delta_0) \nu + (\alpha_0 \nu + \delta_0 \nu) / (\delta_0 \nu + \alpha_0 \nu)) + \bar{U}2 | ((\delta_0' + \alpha_0) \nu + ((\delta_0 \nu + \alpha_0) / (\alpha_0 \nu + \delta_0 \nu) \nu + 1)) |$

According to the performance of the dance by the 'Lefkatas' dance group, *ballos* is a two-segment, heterogeneous, isometric, alternating dance form in terms of grouping principle, and an homogeneous chain in terms of linking principle. It has a binary rhythm (♩ ♩ or ♩ ♩) and 2/4 music metre. The first part has sixteen rhythmic motifs. It consists of four repetitions of a one section-phrase. The latter has four kinetic motifs which form an heteromorphy of the type of *syrtos (kalamatianos)* dance as during the performance of the second kinetic element of the first kinetic motif the left foot crosses behind the right foot, various isolated kinetic elements are used in the last two kinetic motifs and there is also a different use of space.

The second part has also sixteen rhythmic motifs. It consists of eight repetitions of a one section-phrase that has two kinetic motifs which form an unspecified type. This is possibly indicative of the improvisatory character of this part. Both parts present a dimensional congruence and a fixed succession in dance and music. At the end of the dance, the rhythm of the second part turns to a seven count and 7/8 music metre (Dragoumis 1993, Peristeris 1967:353, Toska-Kamba 1991:46). However, this does not affect the performance of the dance *syrtos (kalamatianos)* as the improvised kinetic motifs adjust to the new rhythm. The overall structure of this dance is represented by the morphic type:

$$WD5 = [PA/Mo + PB/Mo].x = [4.(S)FA/Mo + 8.(S)FB/Mo].x$$

$$\begin{array}{l} 2/4 \downarrow = 108-110/Mo \\ M \curvearrowright W \end{array}$$

$$WD5 = [FA | \overline{W1} \{ (\delta o'_6 / \alpha o_8)^{1/4} + \delta o_2^{1/4} \} + \overline{W2} \{ \alpha o'_2^{1/4} + (\delta o_2 / \alpha o_2)^{1/4} \} + \overline{W3} \{ \delta o'_2^{1/4} + (\alpha o_2 / \delta o_2)^{1/4} \} + \overline{W4} \{ \alpha o'_5^{1/4} + (\delta o_7 / \alpha o_8)^{1/4} \} | + FBI \overline{U1} \{ (\alpha o'_1 + \delta_5)^{1/4} + ((\alpha o_1 + \delta_2) / (\delta o_1 + \alpha_2))^{1/4} \} + \overline{U2} \{ (\delta o'_1 + \alpha_5)^{1/4} + ((\delta o_1 + \alpha_2) / (\alpha o_1 + \delta_2))^{1/4} \} |]$$

### 5.1.6. *Th(e)iakos* Dance

*Th(e)iakos* is another dance having an ambivalent character performed on the island. Its ambivalence is indicated at first sight by the different spelling.

*Theiakos* corresponds to an “indigenous” dance which is said to have been created and made famous by the *Theiakos* family from Platystoma village (Rontogianni 1987:45). Indeed, during fieldwork, the villagers were quite clear about this as there is a family carrying the surname *Theiakos* at the village. The other spelling is used by those who consider it to be a dance of the island of Ithaca, as *thiakos* is the adjective of the name of the island. However, even with this spelling it is still considered to be ‘one of the oldest dances of Lefkada, as it is said that it took its name from Ithaca, which is actually the present island of Lefkada’ (Katopodis 1996:43). Whatever the case, the dance is related to a certain kind of *syrtos* (*kalamatianos*) which incorporates improvisatory elements which became standardised after the dance’s adoption by the dance clubs.<sup>11</sup>

### *Th(e)iakos*’ music notation

(Peristeris 1967:362-363)

The image displays ten staves of handwritten musical notation for the *Theiakos* dance. The notation is written in treble clef with a 3/4 time signature. It features a variety of rhythmic patterns, including eighth and sixteenth notes, and rests. There are several dynamic markings, including 'Al' (Allegro) and 'sc' (sforzando), and some phrasing slurs. The notation is arranged in a single column, with each staff containing a line of music. The handwriting is clear and legible, typical of a field researcher's notes.

Labanotation Effort Graph

(16)  
4 (10) /

(9)

(8) /

3 (7) ●

(6)

(5)

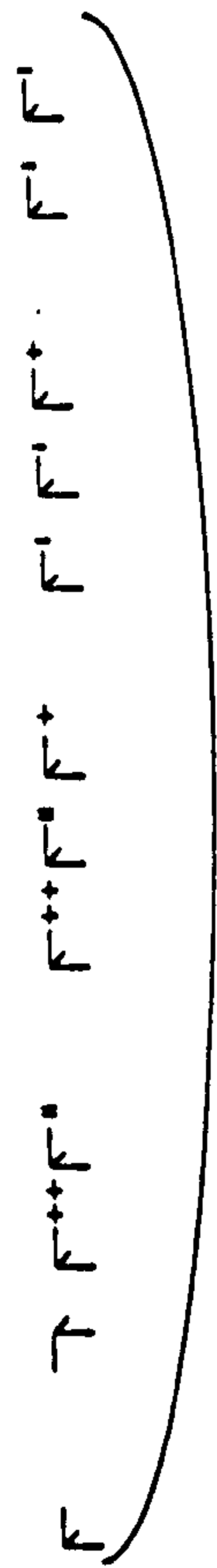
2 (4)

(3)

(2)

1 (1)

4  
=  $\dot{\sim}$  96



(80)

57  
(56)

41

(6)

(5)

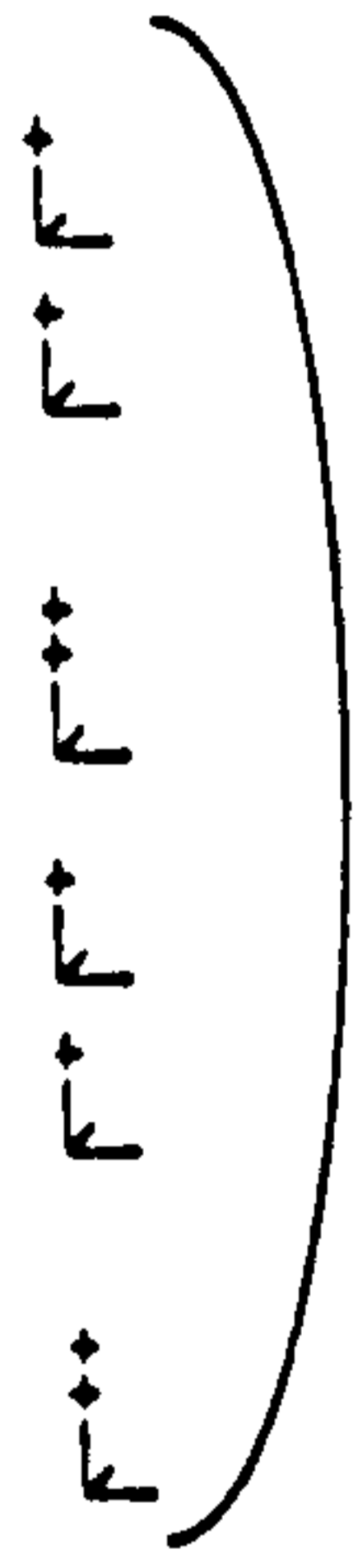
(40)  
18 (4)

(3)

(2)

17 (1)  $\frac{12}{4}$

2  
4 =  $\dot{\sim}$  134



WD6		Th(e)jakos Dance						ABHc/Hm/AI
P		A/HmCF						
F		FA.4						
KM		W1		W2		W3		W4
c	$\delta\dot{o}'_2$	$\overrightarrow{\delta\dot{o}'_2}$	$\overrightarrow{\delta\dot{o}'_2}$	$\overrightarrow{\delta\dot{o}'_2}$	$\overrightarrow{\delta\dot{o}'_2}$	$\overrightarrow{\delta\dot{o}'_2}$	$\overrightarrow{\delta\dot{o}'_2}$	$\overrightarrow{\delta\dot{o}'_2}$
c	$\delta\dot{o}'_2(\delta\dot{o}_2)$	$\overrightarrow{\delta\dot{o}'_2}$	$\overrightarrow{\delta\dot{o}'_2}$	$\overrightarrow{\delta\dot{o}'_2}$	$\overrightarrow{\delta\dot{o}'_2}$	$\overrightarrow{\delta\dot{o}'_2}$	$\overrightarrow{\delta\dot{o}'_2}$	$\overrightarrow{\delta\dot{o}'_2}$
$\frac{4}{8}$	$\frac{1}{8}+1/8=2/8$	$\frac{2}{8}$	$\frac{2}{8}$	$\frac{1}{8}+1/8=2/8$	$\frac{2}{8}$	$\frac{1}{8}+1/8=2/8$	$\frac{2}{8}$	$\frac{1}{8}+1/8=2/8$
	$\neq 1/r/c$	$\neq 1/r/c$	$\neq 1/r/c$	$\neq 1/r/c$	$\neq 1/r/c$	$\neq 1/r/c$	$\neq 1/r/c$	$\neq 1/r/c$

P		B/HmCF	
F		FB.6	
KM		U1	
c	$\delta\dot{o}'_4$	$\overrightarrow{\delta\dot{o}'_4}$	$\overrightarrow{\delta\dot{o}'_4}$
c	$\delta\dot{o}'_4(\delta\dot{o}_4)$	$\overrightarrow{\delta\dot{o}'_4}$	$\overrightarrow{\delta\dot{o}'_4}$
$\frac{2}{4}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{8}+1/8=1/4$	$\frac{1}{4}$
	$\neq 1/r/c$	$\neq 1/r/c$	$\neq 1/r/c$

WD6 =  $[FAI\overrightarrow{W1}|\delta\dot{o}'_2\overrightarrow{\nu}_1+(\delta\dot{o}'_2/\delta\dot{o}_2)\overrightarrow{\nu}_1|+\overrightarrow{W2}|\delta\dot{o}'_2\overrightarrow{\nu}_1+(\delta\dot{o}'_2/\delta\dot{o}_2)\overrightarrow{\nu}_1|+\overrightarrow{W3}|\delta\dot{o}'_2\overrightarrow{\nu}_1+(\delta\dot{o}'_2/\delta\dot{o}_2)\overrightarrow{\nu}_1|+\overrightarrow{W4}|\delta\dot{o}'_2\overrightarrow{\nu}_1+(\delta\dot{o}'_2/\delta\dot{o}_2)\overrightarrow{\nu}_1|+$   
 $\frac{4}{8} \overrightarrow{MW} \overrightarrow{FAI\overrightarrow{W1}|\delta\dot{o}'_2\overrightarrow{\nu}_1+(\delta\dot{o}'_2/\delta\dot{o}_2)\overrightarrow{\nu}_1|+\overrightarrow{U2}|\delta\dot{o}'_2\overrightarrow{\nu}_1+(\delta\dot{o}'_2/\delta\dot{o}_2)\overrightarrow{\nu}_1|+$

WD6 =  $[PA/An+PB/AI].x=[4.(S)FA/An+8.(S)FB/AI].x$

The dance is performed by the dance group 'Apollon Karyas' (see Plate 18) with the body in an upright straight position and shift in space with simple movements, steps in relaxed position and jumps; the formation is the open circle which moves predominantly to the right. *Th(e)lakos* is danced by both men and women alternating. The dance is always led by a man. The dancers wear traditional costumes, with the bride's costume most common. The handhold is hands with bent arms. In general, the use of arms in the dance can be considered as a passive one.

According to the grouping principle *th(e)lakos* is a two-segment, heterogeneous, heterometric, alternating dance form, whereas according to the linking principle it is an homogeneous chain form. The first part has a four count rhythm ( $\overline{\text{♩}} \overline{\text{♩}} \overline{\text{♩}} \overline{\text{♩}}$ ), 4/8 music metre and fifteen rhythmic motifs. In terms of movement, this part consists of four repetitions of one section-phrase that has four kinetic motifs which form an heteromorphy of the type of *syrtos (kalamatianos)* dance as there is change of isolated kinetic elements and different use of space. Because the rhythmic motifs are fifteen, though sixteen are necessary for the completion of the four repetitions, the fourth time the phrase is not completed. In this part there is a dimensional discongruence and a fixed succession in dance and music.

The second part has a two count rhythm ( $\overline{\text{♩}} \overline{\text{♩}}$ ) and 2/4 music metre. This part consists of six repetitions of a one section-phrase that has two kinetic motifs, which appear in the form of 'triple stepping sequence'.<sup>12</sup> In this part there is a dimensional congruence and a fixed succession in dance and music. The overall structure of this dance is represented by the morphic type:

$$\text{WD 6} = [\text{PA}/\text{An} + \text{PB}/\text{A}] . \text{x} = [4 . (\text{S})\text{FA}/\text{An} + 8 . (\text{S})\text{FB}/\text{A}] . \text{x}$$

$$4/8 \downarrow - 96/\text{An} + 2/4 \downarrow - 134/\text{A}$$

$$\text{M} \sim \text{W} \quad \curvearrowright$$

$$\begin{aligned} \text{WD 6} = & [\text{FA} | \overline{\text{W}}1 \{ \delta o'_{2^{2/8}} + (\alpha o_3 / \delta o_2)^{2/8} \} + \overline{\text{W}}2 \{ \alpha o'_{2^{2/8}} + (\delta o_2 / \alpha o_2)^{2/8} \} + \overline{\text{W}}3 \{ \delta o'_{4^{2/8}} + \\ & (\alpha o_8 / \delta o_2)^{2/8} \} + \overline{\text{W}}4 \{ \alpha o'_{9^{2/8}} + (\delta o_3 / \alpha o_2)^{2/8} \} | + \\ & \text{FB} | \overline{\text{U}}1 \{ \delta o'_{4^{1/4}} + (\alpha o_1 / \delta o_1)^{1/4} \} + \overline{\text{U}}2 \{ \alpha o'_{8^{1/4}} + (\delta o_1 / \alpha o_1)^{1/4} \} ] \end{aligned}$$



**Plate 18:** *Th(e)iakos* dance.

(photo by Maria Koutsouba)



**Plate 19:** *Patinada* dance.

(photo by Maria Koutsouba)

### 5.1.7. *Patinada* Dance

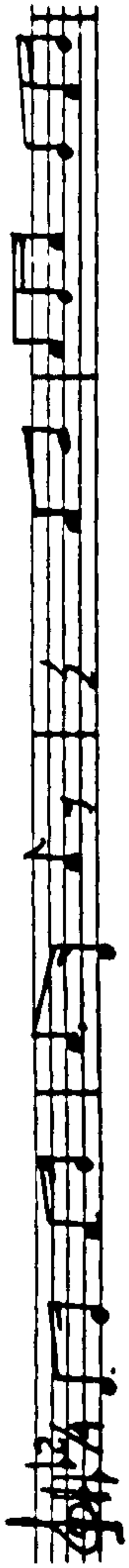
*Patinada* is the rhythmical dance step that takes place before the wedding ceremony and refers to the procession, with musical accompaniment, of the groom's family to the bride's house and afterwards of the bridal couple and the best man to the church.<sup>13</sup> This custom exists all over Greece and each area has its own *patinada* as part of the wedding procession. On the island of Lefkada the local dance clubs use a fixed form of *patinada* as an entrance dance to the "Lefkadian" suite. In this sense, *patinada* by the dance group 'Apollon Karyas' (see Plate 19) is always performed in couples which shift in open circle with simple movements, mainly steps in middle level.

#### *Patinada's* music notation

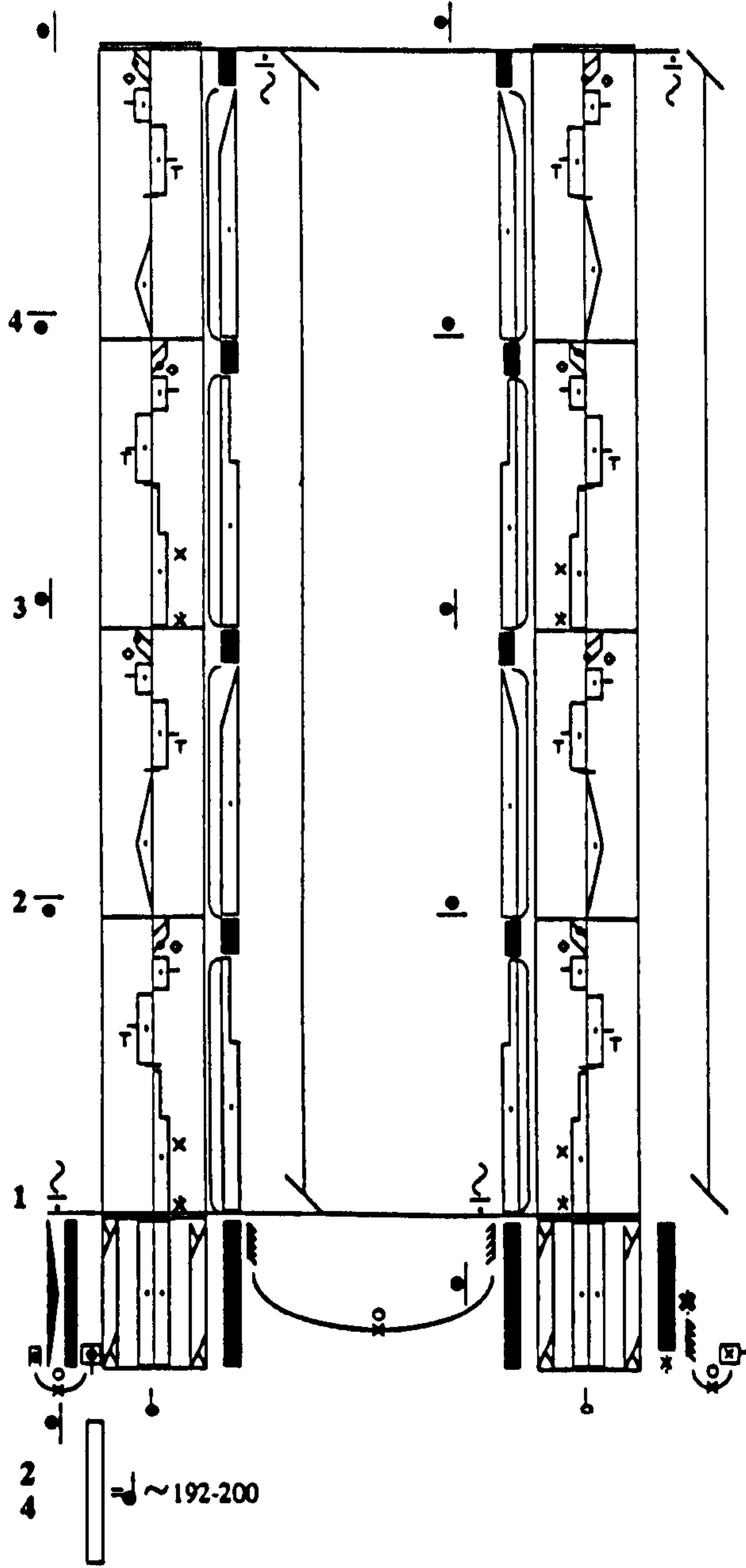
(Dragoumis and Moraitis 1993)

The image displays ten staves of musical notation for the *Patinada* dance. The notation is written in a single system, with each staff containing a line of music. The first staff begins with a treble clef, a key signature of one flat (B-flat), and a 2/4 time signature. Above the first staff, there is a handwritten annotation: "A) 1-152-210". The music consists of a series of eighth and sixteenth notes, with some rests. The notation is arranged in a way that suggests a continuous melodic line across the staves. There are some markings that look like "B)" and "C)" on the fifth and sixth staves, possibly indicating different sections or variations. The notation is clear and legible, showing the rhythmic structure of the dance's music.

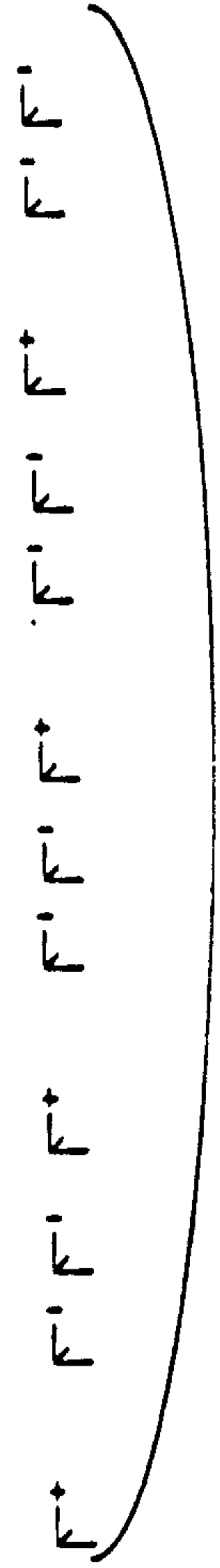


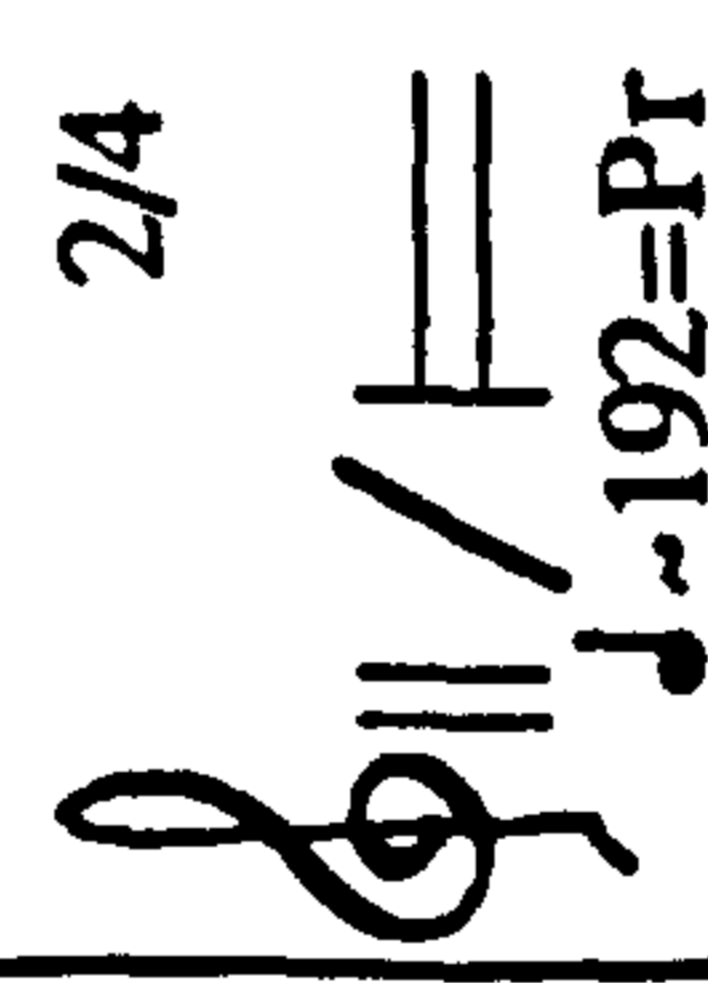


Labanotation



Effort Graph



WD7	Patinada Dance		AHm/Ism
P	A/HmCF		
F	F.X		
KM	W1	W2	
c	$\delta o'_4$	$\alpha o_1 / \delta o_1$	$\delta o_1 / \alpha o_1$
e	$\delta o'_4(\delta o_4)$	$\alpha o_1 / \delta o_1$	$\delta o_1 / \alpha o_1$
2/4	1/4	1/4+1/4=2/4	1/4
	$\equiv / Ir / Ic$		$\equiv / Ir / Ic$

WD7=[P/PΓ].x=[(S)F/PΓ].x

WD7=[FIW1{ $\delta o'_4$   $\delta o_1$   $\alpha o_1 / \delta o_1$ }+W2{ $\alpha o'_5$   $\delta o_1 / \alpha o_1$ }]|

2/4 ~192  
WUM,

*Patinada* is a one-segment, isometric, homogeneous chain form. It has a two count rhythm ( $\text{♩} \text{♩} \text{♩}$  or  $\text{♩} \text{♩}$ ) and the music metre is 2/4. The music phrase, which has two rhythmic motifs, can be repeated as many times as one wishes. Similarly, the dance consists of no matter how many repetitions of one section-phrase. The latter has two kinetic motifs that form an heteromorphy of the type of *syrtos sta dyo* dance because of the existing differences in the use of space and the group formation, and the alteration of isolated kinetic elements. The dance presents dimensional congruence and fixed succession in dance and music. The overall structure of this dance is represented by the morphic type:

$$\text{WD7}=[\text{P/Pr}].x=[\text{S(F)/Pr}].x$$

$$\begin{array}{l} 2/4 \downarrow \sim 192 \\ \text{WUM,} \quad \curvearrowright \end{array}$$

$$\text{WD7}=[\text{FIW1} \{ \underset{\uparrow}{\delta o'}_2^{1/4} + (\underset{\downarrow}{\alpha o_1 / \delta o_1})^{1/4} \} + \text{W2} \{ \underset{\uparrow}{\alpha o'}_5^{1/4} + (\underset{\downarrow}{\delta o_1 / \alpha o_1})^{1/4} \} ]$$

#### 5.1.7.1. *Tetzeris* Dance

*Tetzeris* (meaning pot) characterises a choreographic device of the first dance teacher of the dance club ‘*Apollon Karyas*’ around the 1960s. Nikos Thanos picked up the everyday practice of the local women who used to carry water or other things in pots and pans on their heads, and by using the music of the *syrtos kalamatianos* dance, in particular the melody of ‘*vatous ke agathia*’ (meaning brambles and thorns), and that of the *tsamikos* dance, in particular the melody of ‘*itia*’ (meaning willow), invented the dance *tetzeris* that became the emblem of the dance club ‘*Apollon Karyas*’ (Katopodis 1993, Stavrakas 1994, Thanos 1993).

#### 5.1.8. *Tsamikos* Dance

*Tsamikos*, a word whose origins are under discussion,<sup>14</sup> is considered to be a “pan-Hellenic” dance (Holden and Vouras 1976:104, Loutzaki 1994:71, Roumbis 1990:160, Torp 1990:58-61). Such dances are characterised as ‘those originating from the southern mainland, the Peloponnese [Peloponnessos], the first area liberated from the Turks -which were imposed throughout the country’ (Loutzaki 1994:71), and played a significant role in the construction of a “Greek” identity.

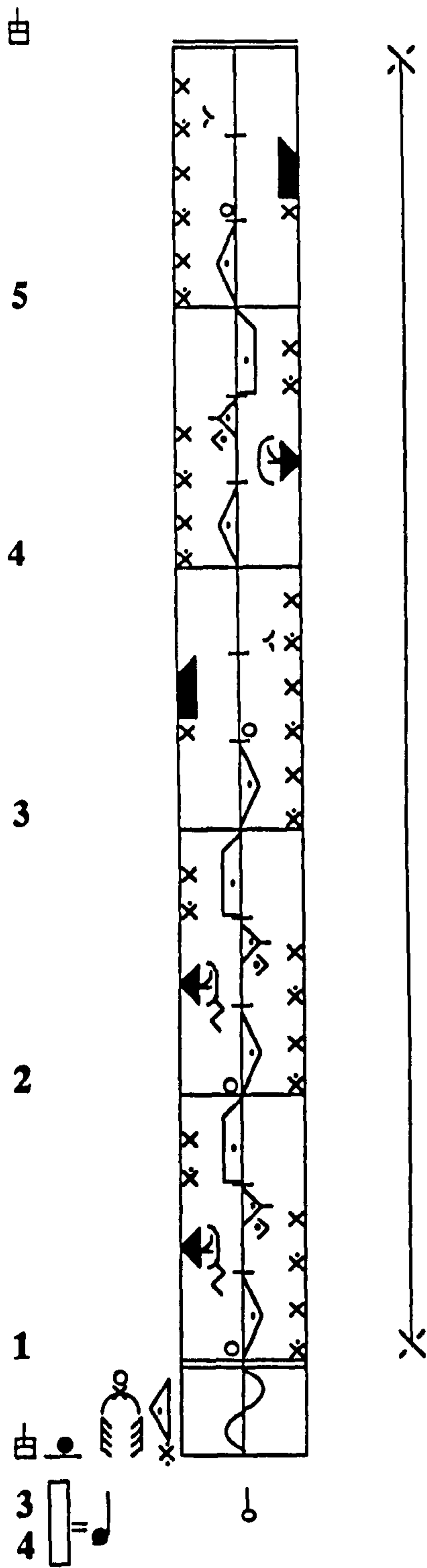
However, the characterisation has been put in inverted commas for *tsamikos*, as the dance is also performed in certain mainland areas, namely Epiros, Thessalia, Sterea Ellada, Peloponnessos and West Macedonia (Demas 1993:136, Tyrovola 1992:86-99) but not throughout Greece. *Tsamikos* is also a very popular dance among the Lefkadians, and is performed in all participatory dance events despite the fact that it is classified as a “foreign” dance. Geographical proximity of the island to the mainland and continuous communication between the two areas may explain the transference of the dance to the island. This is the reason why most of the songs accompanying the dance at Lefkada are either from Epiros, Sterea Ellada and Roumeli (Micronis 1993a:36).

*Tsamikos*, has a three count rhythm (♩ ♩) and 3/4 music metre,<sup>15</sup> is unusual in that it is not associated with and accompanied by a specific song. It is rather a dance pattern which takes many forms in the various areas of its performance and can be accompanied by many different songs. This phenomenon can be explained by the fact that improvisation is an important characteristic of *tsamikos* (Demas 1993:136-138, Drandakis 1993:194). The dance improvisation occurs mainly during the clarinet (*klarino*) improvisation, this being the main accompanying instrument for *tsamikos*. This instrumental improvisation is called *verso*. By that time, the dancer usually performs *ston topo* (in place) (Mazaraki 1984:103, Tyrovola 1992:89). Beyond its improvisatory character, *tsamikos* does have a form which is determined by a set of rules whenever it is performed. Thus, in Karya *tsamikos* is very popular with both sexes, following a certain structure, though the female version presents a more specific form than the male one (Koutsouba 1994).

In particular, the female *tsamikos* constitutes a one-segment, isometric, variation chain form. The music phrase can be repeated indefinitely. The dance consists of no matter how many repetitions of one section-phrase. The latter has five<sup>16</sup> kinetic motifs. The female *tsamikos* presents a fixed succession in dance even when the succession in music is free.

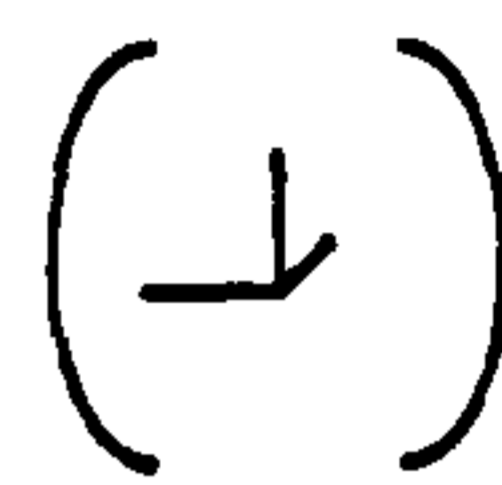
**Labanotation**


**Effort Graph**



female variation:  
turn to the left side

female variation:  
turn to the right side



WD8a	Female Tsamikos Dance				AVt/lsm
P	AVtCF				
F	F.x				
KM	W1/W2		W3		
c	$\overrightarrow{\delta_0'4}$	$\downarrow \alpha_4 + \delta_04$	$\overrightarrow{\alpha_06}$	$\overrightarrow{\delta_0'4}$	$\downarrow < \delta_04 > \alpha_2$
e	$\delta_0'4(\delta_04)$	$\alpha_4 + \delta_04(\alpha_4 + \delta_04)$	$\alpha_06(\alpha_06)$	$\delta_0'4(\delta_04)$	$< \delta_04 > \alpha_2 (< \delta_04 > \alpha_2)$
$\frac{3}{4}$	1/4	$1/8 + 1/8 = 1/4$	1/4	1/4	$1/4 + 1/4 = 2/4$
	$\neq / Ir / Ic$		$\neq / Ir / Ac$		

W4		W5	
$\overleftarrow{\alpha_0'5}$	$\downarrow \delta_4 + \alpha_05$	$\overleftarrow{\delta_07}$	$\overleftarrow{\alpha_0'5}$
$\alpha_0'5(\alpha_05)$	$\delta_4 + \alpha_05(\delta_4 + \alpha_05)$	$\delta_07(\delta_07)$	$\alpha_0'5(\alpha_05)$
1/4	$1/8 + 1/8 = 1/4$	1/4	1/4
$\neq / Ir / Ic$		$\neq / Ir / Ac$	

$WD8a = [P].x = [(S)F].x$

$$WD8a = F\tilde{W}1(\overrightarrow{\delta_0'4} \nu_4 + (\alpha_4 + \delta_04) \nu_4 + \alpha_06 \nu_4) + \tilde{W}2(\overrightarrow{\delta_0'4} \nu_4 + (\alpha_4 + \delta_04) \nu_4 + \alpha_06 \nu_4) + \tilde{W}3(\overrightarrow{\delta_0'4} \nu_4 + \delta_04 > \alpha_2 \nu_4) +$$

$$\frac{3}{4} \tilde{W}4(\overleftarrow{\alpha_0'5} \nu_4 + (\delta_4 + \alpha_05) \nu_4 + \delta_06 \nu_4) + \tilde{W}5(\overleftarrow{\alpha_0'5} \nu_4 + \alpha_05 > \delta_2 \nu_4) ||$$

The morphic type of the female *tsamikos* in the performance examined is:

$$\mathbf{WD8a}=[P].x=[(S)F].x$$

$$\frac{3}{4} \curvearrowright$$

$$\begin{aligned} \mathbf{WD8a}=[F|\widetilde{W}1\{(\delta o'_4)^{1/4}+(\alpha_4+\delta o_4)^{1/4}+\alpha o_6^{1/4}\}+\widetilde{W}2\{(\delta o'_4)^{1/4}+(\alpha_4+\delta o_4)^{1/4}+\alpha o_6^{1/4}\}+ \\ \widetilde{W}3\{\delta o'_4^{2/4}+\langle \delta o_4 \rangle \alpha_2^{1/4}\}+\widetilde{W}4\{(\alpha o'_5)^{1/4}+(\delta_4+\alpha o_5)^{1/4}+\delta o_7^{1/4}\}+ \\ \widetilde{W}5\{\alpha o'_5^{2/4}+\langle \alpha o_5 \rangle \delta_2^{1/4}\}] \end{aligned}$$

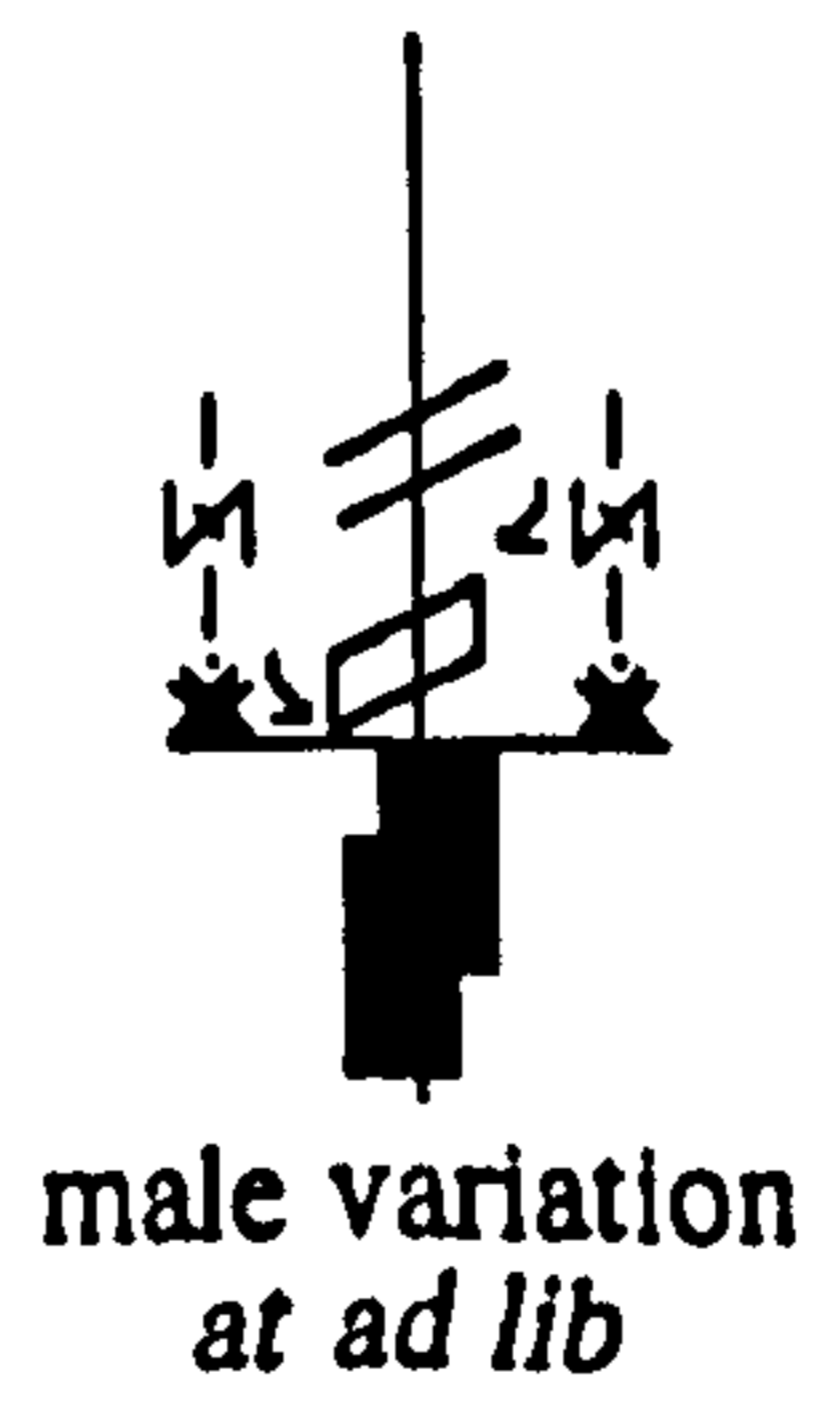
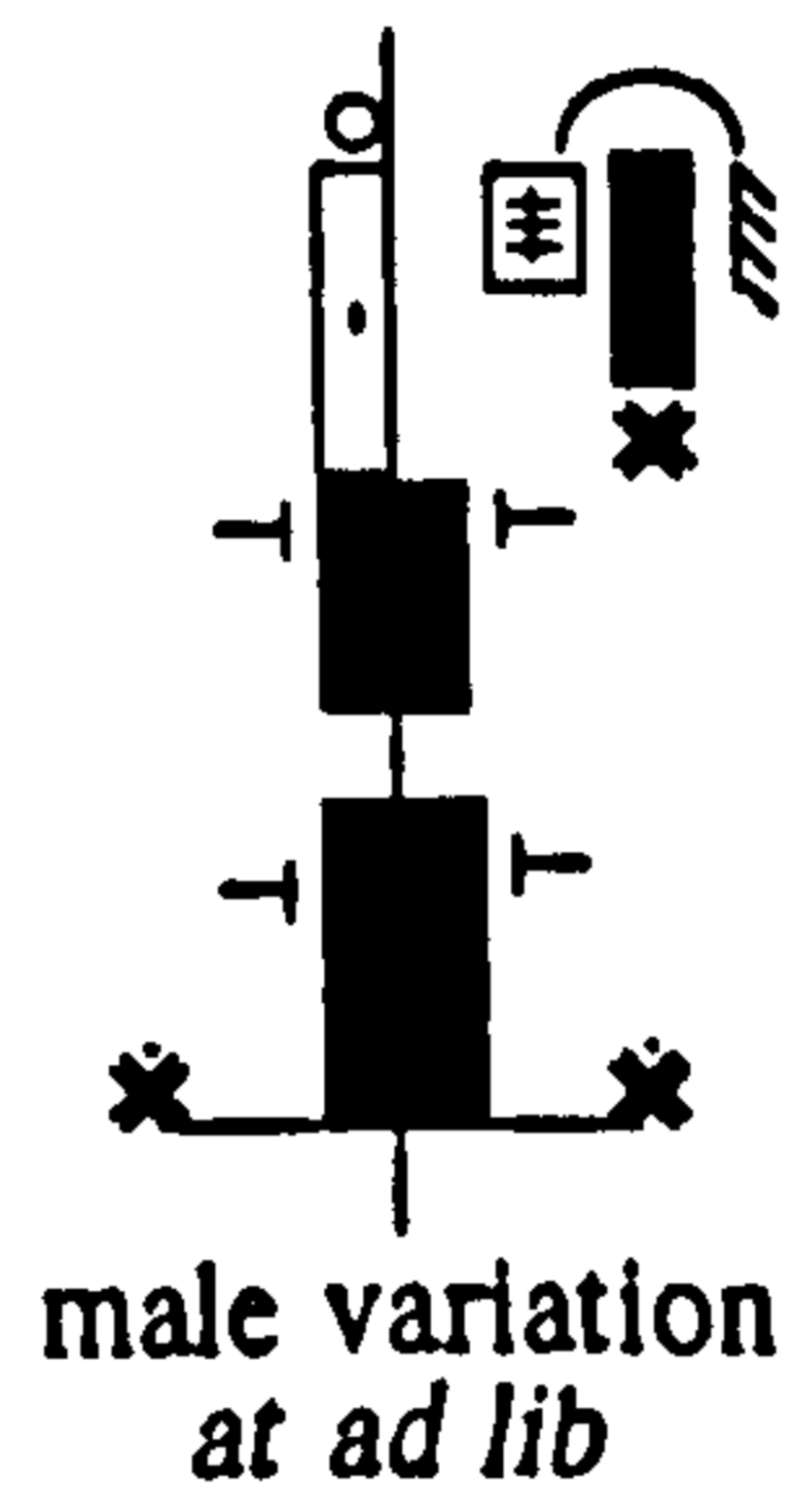
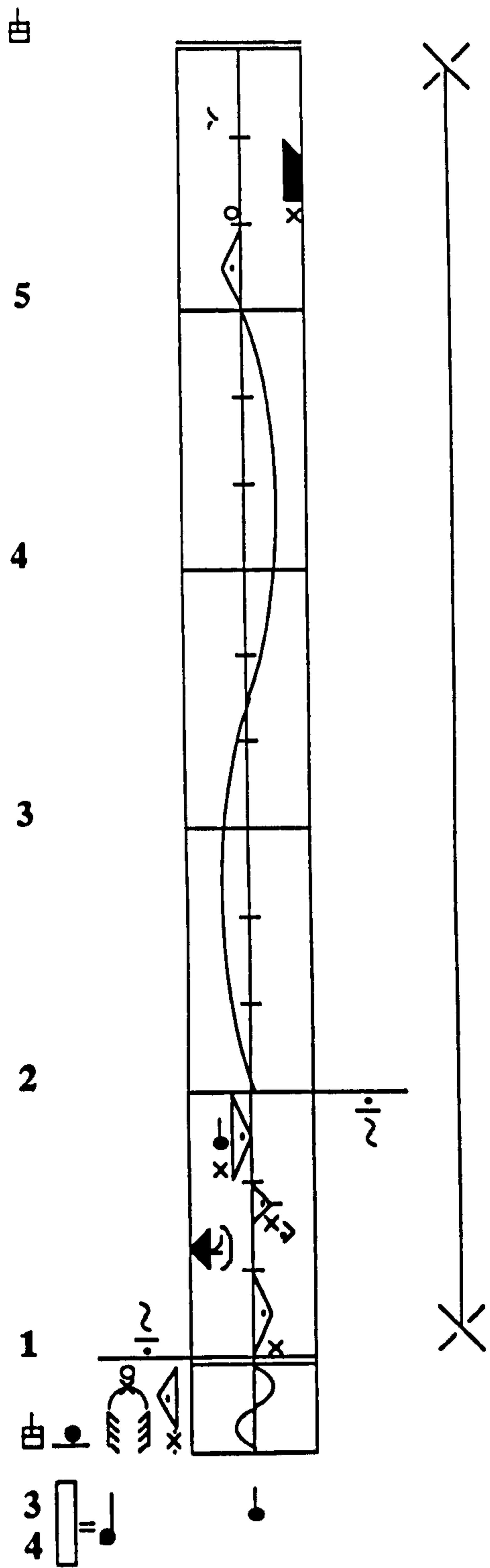
The male *tsamikos* is a one-segment, isometric, rondo form. The music phrase can be repeated at will. The dance “opens” with the performance of the first kinetic motif, the introductory one, which reappears during the dance. A second kinetic motif is used to close every improvisation. It is because of the regular reappearance of these two kinetic motifs in a certain order that the male *tsamikos* is characterised as a rondo form<sup>17</sup> in relation to the type of *tsamikos* dance. The male *tsamikos* presents a free succession in dance both when the music has a fixed or a free succession. The male *tsamikos* is represented by the following morphic type in the performance examined. In the type only the basic segments (kinetic motifs) are abstractly written, as it has already been mentioned that choreographic devices are not examined in this study and thus the word improvisation is used instead of their abstract presentation:

$$\begin{aligned} \mathbf{WD8b}=W1\{(\delta o'_4)^{1/4}+(\alpha_4+\delta o_4)^{1/4}+\alpha o_6^{1/4}\}+\text{improvisation}+\{\alpha o'_5^{1/4}+\langle \alpha o_5 \rangle \delta_2^{1/4}\}+ \\ \text{improvisation}+\{\alpha o'_5^{1/4}+\langle \alpha o_5 \rangle \delta_2^{1/4}\}+\dots \end{aligned}$$

$$\frac{3}{4} \curvearrowright$$

# Labanotation

# Effort Graph





WD8b	Male Tsamikos Dance				AR/ism
P	A/RCF				
F	-				
KM	W1		improvisation	W	
c	$\delta o' 4$	$\alpha_4 + \delta o_4$	$\alpha o_6$	$\alpha o' 5$	$\alpha o_5 > \delta_2$
e	$\delta o' 4(\delta o_4)$	$\alpha_4 + \delta o_4(\alpha_4 + \delta o_4)$	$\alpha o_6(\alpha o_6)$	$\alpha o' 5(\alpha o_5)$	$\alpha o_5 > \delta_2 (< \alpha o_5 > \delta_2)$
$\frac{3}{4}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{8} + \frac{1}{8} = \frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{4} + \frac{1}{4} = \frac{2}{4}$
$\approx$	$\approx$ / Ir/ Ic			$\approx$ / Ir/ Ac	

WD8b = FIW1{ $\delta o' 4$   $\frac{1}{4}$  + ( $\alpha_4 + \delta o_4$ )  $\frac{1}{4}$  +  $\alpha o_6$   $\frac{1}{4}$ } + improvisation + W{ $\alpha o' 5$   $\frac{1}{4}$  +  $\alpha o_5 > \delta_2$   $\frac{1}{4}$ } + ...

$\frac{3}{4}$  M.  $\curvearrowright$

### 5.1.9.-5.1.10. *Syrtos Argos* Dance-*Syrtos Grigoros* Dance

Despite the various interpretations of its name - *syrtos* literally means either to pull, more exactly to lead, or that the feet remain close to the ground without leaps (Holden and Vouras 1976:84) - *syrtos* is also considered a pan-Hellenic dance. The term is appropriate in this case as *syrtos* is a dance performed all over Greece, although there are many local variations. On the island of Lefkada *syrtos* appears in two form, as *syrtos argos* (slow *syrtos*) and as *syrtos grigoros* (quick *syrtos*). Both types are very popular in all participatory dance events. Although neither of them is classified as “foreign” by islanders, on the grounds that they are performed all over the country, yet this extensive use has excluded them from the presentational dance activities of Lefkada.

The distinction between *syrtos argos* and *syrtos grigoros*, both accompanied by many different songs, is based not on the form of dance performed but on the way this form is performed and on the tempo of the music. The two kinds of *syrtos* performed on the island of Lefkada refer either to the form of *syrtos kalamatianos* dance or to the form of *syrtos sta dyo* dance. Both forms may be performed in combination during *syrtos argos* or *syrtos grigoros*. Despite this combination, the *syrtos argos* and *syrtos grigoros* can be represented with specific morphic types because *syrtos sta dyo* and *syrtos kalamatianos* maintain their distinctive form even when they are performed together. Thus, *syrtos sta dyo* during its performance as *syrtos argos* is a one-segment, isometric, homogeneous chain form which consists of one dance section-phrase that can be repeated indefinitely. The dance section-phrase consists of two kinetic motifs that constitute an equivalent of the type of *syrtos sta dyo* dance as seen in 4.2.1. The form presents a fixed succession in both dance and music. The dancers, men and women in mixed groups, hold each others' hands with bent elbows in an open circle which moves predominantly to the right. The dance can have a two/four count rhythm and 2(4)/4 music metre. Thus, *syrtos argos* when performed in the form of *syrtos sta dyo* presents the following morphic type in the performance examined:

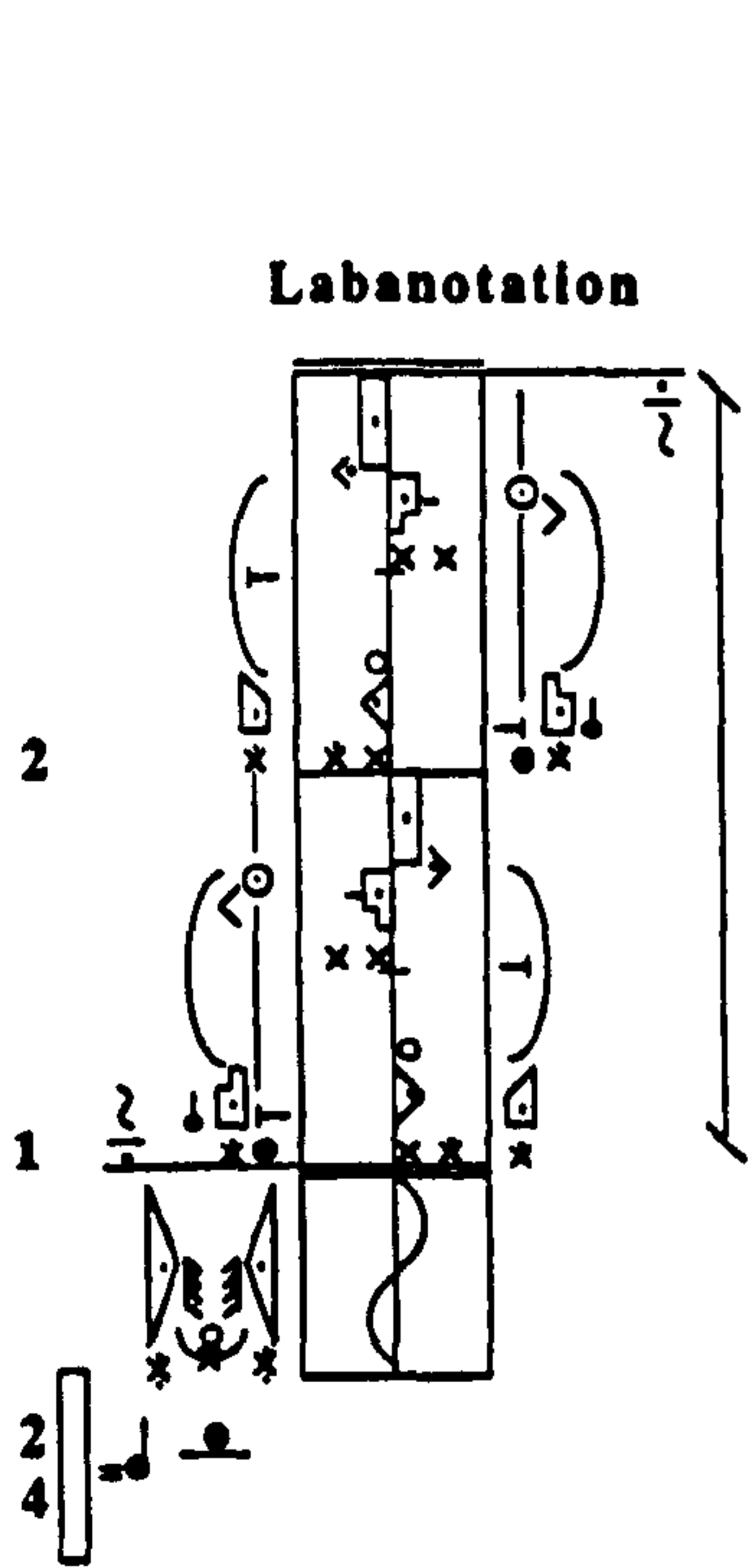
$$\begin{array}{c}
 \text{WD9a}=[\text{P}].x=[(\text{S})\text{F}].x \\
 \begin{array}{c}
 2/4 \\
 \text{MW,} \quad \curvearrowright
 \end{array} \\
 \text{WD9a}=[\text{F}|\widetilde{\text{W}}1\{\delta\alpha'_4{}^{1/4}+(\alpha\alpha_2/\delta\alpha_1)^{1/4}\}+\widetilde{\text{W}}2\{\alpha\alpha'_5{}^{1/4}+(\delta\alpha_2/\alpha\alpha_1)^{1/4}\}||]
 \end{array}$$

*Syrtos kalamatianos* during its performance as *syrtos argos* is also a one-segment, isometric, homogeneous chain form. It consists of no matter how many repetitions of one dance section-phrase which has four kinetic motifs that can constitute an heteromorphy or variation of the type of *syrtos kalamatianos* dance. The form presents a fixed succession in both dance and music. The dancers, men and women in mixed groups, hold each others' hands with bent elbows in an open circle which moves predominantly to the right. The dance can have seven count rhythm (♩ ♪ ♪) and 7/8 music metre. Thus, *syrtos argos* when performed in the form of *syrtos kalamatianos* it presents the following morphic type in the performance examined:

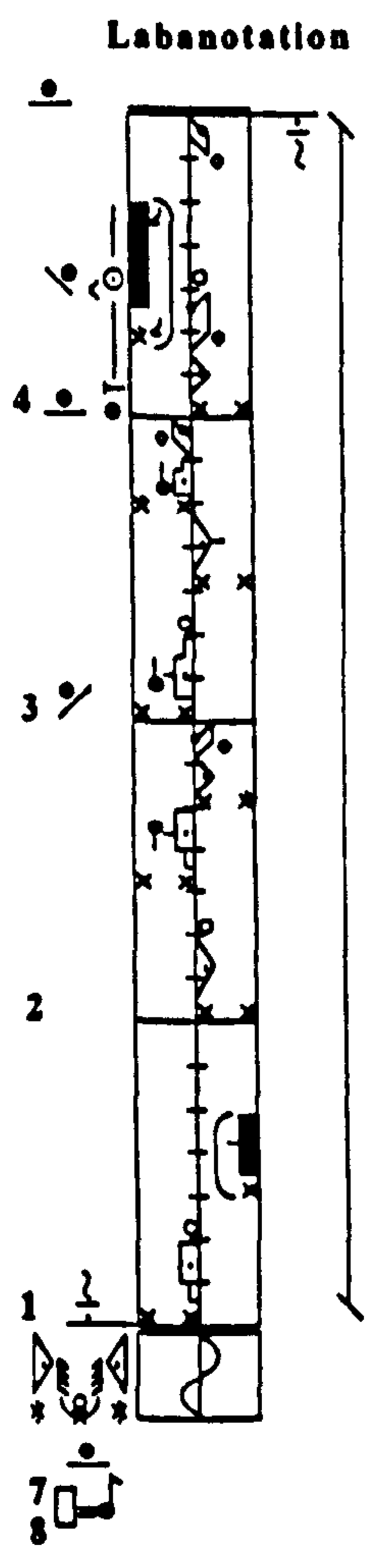
$$WD9b = [P].x = [(S)F].x$$


7/8  
MW, 

$$WD9b = [F| \tilde{W}1 \{ \alpha o'_3 \text{ } ^{3/8} + \langle \alpha o_3 \rangle \delta o_1 \text{ } ^{4/8} \} + \tilde{W}2 \{ \delta o'_4 \text{ } ^{3/8} + \alpha o_3 \text{ } ^{2/8} + \delta o_4 \text{ } ^{2/8} \} + \tilde{W}3 \{ \alpha o'_2 \text{ } ^{3/8} + \delta o_4 \text{ } ^{2/8} + \alpha o_2 \text{ } ^{2/8} \} + \tilde{W}4 \{ (\delta o'_4 / \alpha o_1) \text{ } ^{7/8} \} |]$$



**Effort Graph**



WD9a	Syrtos Argos Dance		AHm/IsM
P	A/HmCF		
F	F.x		
KM	W1	W2	
c	$\overset{\rightarrow}{\delta o'}_4$	$\alpha o_2 / \delta o_1$	$\delta o_2 / \alpha o_1$
e	$\delta o'_4(\delta o_4)$	$\alpha o_2(\alpha o_2) / \delta o_1(\delta o_1)$	$\delta o_2(\delta o_2) / \alpha o_1(\alpha o_1)$
2/4	1/4	1/8+1/8=1/4	1/8+1/8=1/4
	$\neq$ Ir/Ic	$\neq$ Ir/Ic	$\neq$ Ir/Ic

WD9a=[P].x=[(S)F].x

WD9a=[FI $\tilde{W}$ 1( $\overset{\rightarrow}{\delta o'}_4$ )+( $\alpha o_2 / \delta o_1$ )<sup>1/4</sup>]+ $\tilde{W}$ 2( $\overset{\leftarrow}{\alpha o'}_5$ )+( $\delta o_2 / \alpha o_1$ )<sup>1/4</sup>||

2/4  
MW.  $\curvearrowright$

WD9b		Syrtos Argos Dance								AHm/IsM
P		A/HmCF								
F		F.x								
KM		W1		W2		W3		W4		
c	$\alpha_0' 3$	$\delta_0' 4$	$\alpha_0' 3$	$\delta_0' 4$	$\alpha_0' 2$	$\delta_0' 4$	$\alpha_0' 2$	$\delta_0' 4$	$\alpha_0' 2$	$\delta_0' 4/\alpha_0' 1$
e	$\alpha_0' 3(\alpha_0' 3)$	$\alpha_0' 3 > \delta_0' 1 (< \alpha_0' 3 > \delta_0' 1)$	$\alpha_0' 3(\alpha_0' 3)$	$\delta_0' 4(\delta_0' 4)$	$\alpha_0' 2(\alpha_0' 2)$	$\delta_0' 4(\delta_0' 4)$	$\alpha_0' 2(\alpha_0' 2)$	$\delta_0' 4(\delta_0' 4)$	$\alpha_0' 2(\alpha_0' 2)$	$\delta_0' 4/\alpha_0' 1(\delta_0' 4/\alpha_0' 1)$
$7/8$	$3/8$	$2/8+2/8=4/8$	$3/8$	$2/8$	$3/8$	$2/8$	$2/8$	$2/8$	$2/8$	$7/8$
$\parallel$	$\neq$	$\neq$	$\neq$	$\neq$	$\neq$	$\neq$	$\neq$	$\neq$	$\neq$	$\neq$

$WD9b = [P].x = [(S)F].x$

$$WD9b = [F\tilde{W}1 | \alpha_0' 3 \text{ MW} \rightarrow | \alpha_0' 3 \text{ MW} + \langle \alpha_0' 3 \rangle \delta_0' 1 \text{ MW} \downarrow | + \tilde{W}2 | \delta_0' 4 \text{ MW} \rightarrow | \delta_0' 4 \text{ MW} + \alpha_0' 3 \text{ MW} + \delta_0' 4 \text{ MW} \downarrow | + \tilde{W}3 | \alpha_0' 2 \text{ MW} \rightarrow | \delta_0' 4 \text{ MW} + \delta_0' 4 \text{ MW} + \alpha_0' 2 \text{ MW} \downarrow | + \tilde{W}4 | \delta_0' 4 \text{ MW} \rightarrow | \delta_0' 4 \text{ MW} \downarrow |]$$

In *syrtos grigoros* the morphic types are similar but instead of steps close to the ground, leaping steps are performed. Thus the morphic types of the performances examined are:

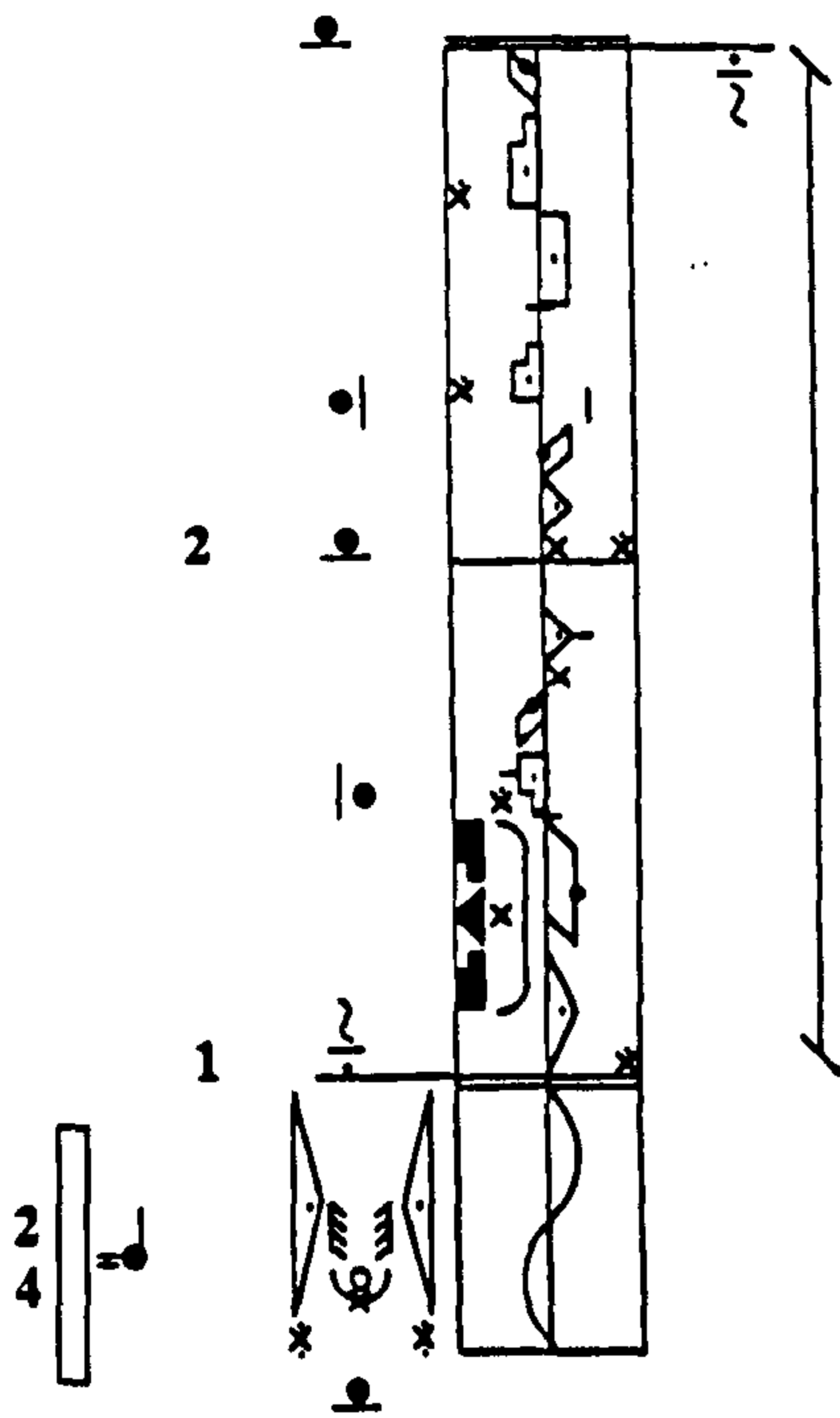
$$WD10a = [P].x = [(S)F].x$$


2/4  
MW, ↷

$$WD10a = [F|W1\{\delta o'_4{}^{1/4} + (\alpha o_3/\delta o_4)^{1/4}\} + W2\{\alpha o'_2{}^{1/4} + (\delta o_1/\alpha o_2)^{1/4}\}|]$$

Labanotation

Effort Graph



WD10a	<i>Syrtos Grigoros</i> Dance				AHm/lsm
P	A/HmCF				
F	F.x				
KM	W1		W2		
c	$\overrightarrow{\delta o'_4}$	$\overrightarrow{\alpha o_3/\delta o_4}$	$\overrightarrow{\alpha o'_2}$	$\overrightarrow{\delta o_1/\alpha o_2}$	
e	$\delta o'_4(\delta o_4)$	$\alpha o_3(\alpha o_3)/\delta o_4(\delta o_4)$	$\alpha o'_2(\alpha o_2)$	$\delta o_1(\delta o_1)/\alpha o_2(\alpha o_2)$	
 2/4	1/4	1/8+1/8=1/4	1/4	1/8+1/8=1/4	
	$\neq /lr/lc$		$\neq /lr/lc$		

$$WD10a = [P].x = [(S)F|].x$$

$$WD10a = [F|W1\{\delta o'_4{}^{1/4} + (\alpha o_3/\delta o_4)^{1/4}\} + W2\{\alpha o'_2{}^{1/4} + (\delta o_1/\alpha o_2)^{1/4}\}|]$$

2/4  
MW, ↷

$$WD10b = [P].x = [(S)F].x$$

7/8  
NM. ↗

$$WD10b = [F]W1 \{ \delta o'_4 \overset{3/8}{\rightarrow} + \alpha o'_3 \overset{2/8}{\rightarrow} + \delta o'_4 \overset{2/8}{\rightarrow} \} + \tilde{W}2 \{ \alpha o'_2 \overset{3/8}{\rightarrow} + \delta o'_6 \overset{2/8}{\rightarrow} + \alpha o'_2 \overset{2/8}{\rightarrow} \} + \tilde{W}3 \{ \delta o'_4 \overset{3/8}{\rightarrow} + \alpha o'_3 \overset{2/8}{\rightarrow} + \delta o'_7 \overset{2/8}{\rightarrow} \} + \tilde{W}4 \{ (\alpha o'_5 + \delta_2 + \delta_2) \overset{3/8}{\rightarrow} + \delta o'_3 \overset{2/8}{\rightarrow} + \alpha o'_6 \overset{2/8}{\rightarrow} \} ||$$

Labanotation

Effort Graph

WD10b	Syrtos Grigoros Dance												AHm/lsm
P	A/HmCF												
F	F.x												
KM	W1			W2			W3			W4			
c	δo'4	αo'3	δo4	αo'2	δo6	αo2	δo'4	αo3	δo7	αo'5+δ2+δ2	δo3	αo6	
e	δo'4(δo4)	αo3(αo3)	δo4(δo4)	αo'2(αo2)	δo6(δo6)	αo2(αo2)	δo'4(δo4)	αo3(αo3)	δo7(δo7)	αo'5+δ2+δ2(αo3+δ2+δ2)	δo3(δo3)	αo6(αo6)	
7/8	3/8	2/8	2/8	3/8	2/8	2/8	3/8	2/8	2/8	3/8	2/8	2/8	
	≠ Ir/AC			≠ Ir/AC			≠ Ir/AC			≠ Ir/AC			

$$WD10b = [P].x = [(S)F].x$$

$$WD10b = [F]W1 \{ \delta o'_4 \overset{3/8}{\rightarrow} + \alpha o'_3 \overset{2/8}{\rightarrow} + \delta o'_4 \overset{2/8}{\rightarrow} \} + \tilde{W}2 \{ \alpha o'_2 \overset{3/8}{\rightarrow} + \delta o'_6 \overset{2/8}{\rightarrow} + \alpha o'_2 \overset{2/8}{\rightarrow} \} + \tilde{W}3 \{ \delta o'_4 \overset{3/8}{\rightarrow} + \alpha o'_3 \overset{2/8}{\rightarrow} + \delta o'_7 \overset{2/8}{\rightarrow} \} + \tilde{W}4 \{ (\alpha o'_5 + \delta_2 + \delta_2) \overset{3/8}{\rightarrow} + \delta o'_3 \overset{2/8}{\rightarrow} + \alpha o'_6 \overset{2/8}{\rightarrow} \} ||$$

7/8  
NM. ↗

### 5.1.11. *Yiannis o Meratianos, Marathianos or Peratianos Dance*

*Yiannis o Meratianos, Marathianos or Peratianos* takes its name from the song accompanying the dance and refers to the person that used to travel between the island and the mainland opposite selling goods. Its several names indicate the divergent opinions about its dance status. The specification *Meratianos* is used by the islanders (Katopodi 1993, Stavraka 1993, Stavraka 1994; see also Rontogianni 1987:35) and indicates that this person, Yiannis, comes from the island of Lefkada and thus the dance is an “indigenous” one. The local dance clubs, however, used to call it *Yiannis o Marathianos* in their presentational dance activities using the name of the lyrics of the song. Finally, the specification *Peratianos* indicates that the person comes from the village of Peratia on the mainland opposite Lefkada and thus the dance is “foreign”.<sup>18</sup> In terms of performance, the dance presents some unique features on the island of Lefkada. As already mentioned, it has been excluded from the official rural “indigenous” dance representation for the last eight years because it encompasses the dance phrase of *tsamikos*. However, despite its ambivalent character, it is the only dance whose performance in participatory dance activities has never stopped and is still very popular.

#### ***O Yiannis o Meratianos’ song:***

*O Yiannis o Meratianos  
opou fori ta tsamika*

*ta kentita poukamissa  
oles i nies to agapoun  
ke ntreponte na tou to poun.*

*Syre kale mou pes tis to  
krifa kouventiasse tis to,  
Kyra mou o gios mou s’ agapa  
ke ntrepete na sou to pi.*

John the *Meratianos*  
who wears the *tsamika*  
(clothes of *Tsamides* )  
the embroidered shirts  
all the young girls love him  
but they are ashamed to tell him.  
Go my good man and say it to her  
say it to her in secret,  
My lady, my son loves you  
but he is ashamed of telling you this.

*Yiannis o Meratianos* has been sung as such by Eleni Stavraka (*fterougena*) during fieldwork. Other versions are also available. For instance see Peristeris (1966 cassette record) and Kontomichis (1985:15-16).



Katopodis 1996:59

Labanotation

Effort Graph

7 □ = ♩ ~ 252  
8

(46)

37  
(36)

29

(28)  
13

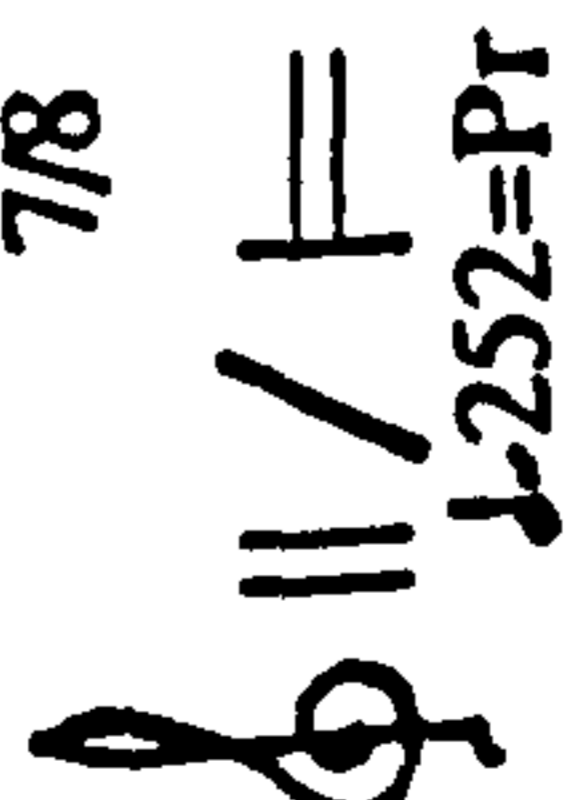
12

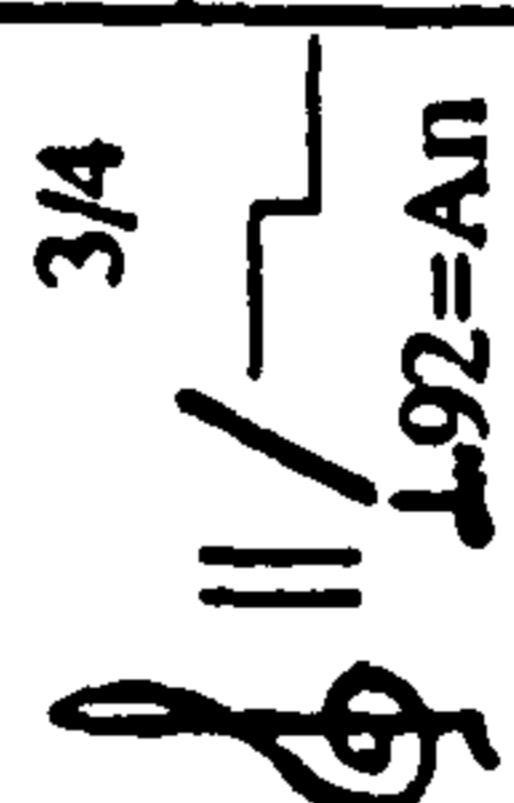
11

10

9

3 □ = ♩ ~ 92  
4

WD11		Yiannis o Meratianos, Marathianos or Peratianos Dance												ABHt/Htm/Al		
P		A/HmCF														
F		FA.2														
KM		W1			W2			W3			W4					
c		$\delta_0' 4$	$\alpha_0 3$	$\delta_0 4$	$\alpha_0' 2$	$\delta_0 2$	$\alpha_0 2$	$\delta_0' 4$	$\delta_0 4$	$\alpha_0' 5$	$\delta_0 5$	$\alpha_0 5$	$\delta_0 5$	$\alpha_0 5$	$\delta_0 5$	$\alpha_0 5$
e		$\delta_0' 4(\delta_0 4)$	$\alpha_0 3(\alpha_0 3)$	$\delta_0 4(\delta_0 4)$	$\alpha_0' 2(\alpha_0 2)$	$\delta_0 2(\delta_0 2)$	$\alpha_0 2(\alpha_0 2)$	$\delta_0' 4(\delta_0 4)$	$\delta_0 4(\delta_0 4)$	$\alpha_0' 5(\alpha_0 5)$	$\delta_0 5(\alpha_0 5)$	$\alpha_0 5(\alpha_0 5)$	$\delta_0 5(\alpha_0 5)$	$\alpha_0 5(\alpha_0 5)$	$\delta_0 5(\alpha_0 5)$	$\alpha_0 5(\alpha_0 5)$
$\frac{7}{8}$		$\frac{3}{8}$	$\frac{2}{8}$	$\frac{2}{8}$	$\frac{3}{8}$	$\frac{2}{8}$	$\frac{2}{8}$	$\frac{3}{8}$	$\frac{2}{8}$	$\frac{3}{8}$	$\frac{2}{8}$	$\frac{2}{8}$	$\frac{2}{8}$	$\frac{3}{8}$	$\frac{2}{8}$	$\frac{2}{8} + \frac{2}{8} = \frac{4}{8}$
		≡ / Ir/ Ac			≡ / Ir/ Ac			≡ / Ir/ Ac			≡ / Ir/ Ac			≡ / Ir/ Ac		

P	B/HmCF			
F	FB.4			
KM	W1/W2		W3	
c	$\delta\alpha_4$	$\alpha_4 + \delta\alpha_4$	$\alpha_6$	$\delta\alpha_4$
e	$\delta\alpha_4$	$\alpha_4 + \delta\alpha_4$	$\alpha_6$	$\delta\alpha_4$
$\frac{3}{4}$	$\frac{1}{8} + \frac{1}{8} = \frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{8} + \frac{1}{8} = \frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{4} + \frac{1}{4} = \frac{1}{2}$
	$\neq  I_r/I_c$		$\neq  I_r/A_c$	

W4		W5	
$\alpha\alpha_5$	$\delta_4 + \alpha\alpha_5$	$\alpha\alpha_5$	$\alpha\alpha_5$
$\alpha\alpha_5$	$\delta_4 + \alpha\alpha_5$	$\alpha\alpha_5$	$\alpha\alpha_5$
$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{8} + \frac{1}{8} = \frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{4} + \frac{1}{4} = \frac{1}{2}$
$\neq  I_r/I_c$		$\neq  I_r/A_c$	

$$WD11 = [PA/P_r + PB/A_n].x = [2.(S)FA/P_r + 4.(S)FB/A_n].x$$

$$WD11 = [FAI\tilde{W}1 | \delta\alpha_4 | \alpha_4 + \delta\alpha_4 | \alpha_6 | \delta\alpha_4 | + \tilde{W}2 | \alpha\alpha_5 | \delta_4 + \alpha\alpha_5 | \delta_7 | \alpha\alpha_5 | \alpha\alpha_5 | + \tilde{W}3 | \delta\alpha_4 | \alpha_4 + \delta\alpha_4 | \alpha_6 | \delta\alpha_4 | + \tilde{W}4 | \alpha\alpha_5 | \delta_4 + \alpha\alpha_5 | \delta_7 | \alpha\alpha_5 | \alpha\alpha_5 | + \tilde{W}5 | \alpha\alpha_5 | \delta_4 + \alpha\alpha_5 | \delta_7 | \alpha\alpha_5 | \alpha\alpha_5 |]$$

The performance of this dance on the island of Lefkada is executed by men and women, in mixed groups. The version analysed was performed by a group of *Karsanes* in various contexts such as *horoesperides* and folk festivities. The performance is characterised by the upright straight position of the body and shifts in space with simple movements, mainly steps in middle level having constant pulse. The formation is the open circle which moves predominantly to the right. The handhold is from hands with bent arms. Singing accompanies the dance. According to the grouping principle the dance is a two-segment, heterogeneous, heterometric, alternating form, whereas according to the linking principle it is a variation chain form. The first segment has a seven count rhythm (♩♩ ♩ ♩), 7/8 music metre and eight rhythmic motifs. This segment consists of two repetitions of a one section-phrase that has four kinetic motifs that form an heteromorphy of the type of *syrtos kalamatianos* dance as there are different isolated kinetic elements. There is dimensional congruence and fixed succession in both dance and music.

The second part has a three count rhythm (♩♩), 3/4 music metre<sup>19</sup> and eight rhythmic motifs which are repeated twice, that is sixteen in total. It consists of two complete repetitions of a one section-phrase that has six kinetic motifs which form a variation of the type of *tsamikos* dance because of the additional kinetic motif. The improvisatory dimension of *tsamikos* is not absent, but is very restricted because the form of the dance imposes an obligatory transition from one part to the other. This transition constitutes a very interesting aspect of the performance as during *tsamikos* there are four rhythmic motifs which correspond to the performance of the first four kinetic motifs. When the music shifts to the first segment, the phrase is completed with kinetic motifs borrowed from this segment. This transition, considered the most important aspect of the performance, is also used as a criterion for the dance ability of the dancers. In this part, there is a dimensional discongruence and a fixed succession in dance and music. The overall structure of this dance is represented by the morphic type:

$$WD11=[PA/Pr+PB/An].x=[2.(S)FA/Pr+4.(S)FB/An].x$$

$$7/8♩=252/Pr+3/4♩=92/An$$

$$w, \curvearrowright$$

$$WD11=[FA|\widetilde{W}1\{\delta o' \xrightarrow{4} 3/8 + \alpha o_3 \xleftarrow{3} 2/8 + \delta o_4 \xrightarrow{2} 2/8\} + \widetilde{W}2\{\alpha o' \xrightarrow{2} 3/8 + \delta o_2 \xrightarrow{2} 2/8 + \alpha o_2 \xrightarrow{2} 2/8\} +$$

$$\begin{aligned}
& \widetilde{W}3\{\underbrace{\delta o'_4}_{\rightarrow}^{3/8} + \langle \delta o_4 \rangle \downarrow \alpha_3^{4/8}\} + \widetilde{W}4\{\underbrace{\alpha o'_5}_{\leftarrow}^{3/8} + \langle \alpha o_5 \rangle \downarrow \delta_3^{4/8}\} | + \\
& FBI \widetilde{W}1\{(\underbrace{\delta o'_4}_{\rightarrow})^{1/4} + (\alpha_4 \downarrow + \delta o_4)^{1/4} + \underbrace{\alpha o_6}_{\rightarrow}^{1/4}\} + \widetilde{W}2\{(\underbrace{\delta o'_4}_{\rightarrow})^{1/4} + (\alpha_4 \downarrow + \delta o_4)^{1/4} + \underbrace{\alpha o_6}_{\rightarrow}^{1/4}\} + \\
& \widetilde{W}3\{\underbrace{\delta o'_4}_{\rightarrow}^{2/4} + \langle \delta o_4 \rangle \downarrow \alpha_2^{2/4}\} + \widetilde{W}4\{(\underbrace{\alpha o'_5}_{\leftarrow})^{1/4} + (\delta_4 \downarrow + \alpha o_5)^{1/4} + \underbrace{\delta o_7}_{\rightarrow}^{1/4}\} + \\
& \widetilde{W}5\{\underbrace{\alpha o'_5}_{\leftarrow}^{2/4} + \langle \alpha o_5 \rangle \downarrow \delta_2^{2/4}\} | |
\end{aligned}$$

### 5.1.12. *Koftos, Stitos* or *Tsif-Tsaf* Dance

*Koftos* (meaning something that is sharp or sharply cut) probably took its name from the stopping of the rhythmic motif at regular times which matches with the stopping of the corresponding kinetic motif as well. The dance used to be presented as “indigenous” by the dance clubs until the 1970s. However, it was excluded from the presentational dance activities because of the performance of the dance on the adjacent mainland of Epiros (for the Epirotic version of the dance see Demas 1993:97). Its performance was also very popular in participatory dance activities although it is said that the local version of the dance was accompanied by a different melody and had a different structure than the Epirotic one (Stavrakas 1994). With the expansion of the Epirotic version, the participatory performance of *koftos* fell into disuse. Thus, *koftos* was not performed at all during fieldwork. The other names of the dance, namely *stitos* meaning upright, probably from the upright position of the body and/or the raising of the arms (Dragoumis 1975-76:242, Kontomichis 1985:39), and *tsif-tsaf* (Kontomichis, 1985:40), are not popular on the island.

#### *Koftos/Stitos*' music notation

(Dragoumis 1975-76:242)



### 5.1.13. *Palamakia* Dance

*Palamakia* (clapping) probably took its name from the clapping that the dancers perform at specific parts during the dance. The dance used to be presented as “indigenous” by the dance clubs until the 1970s as it was said to be a Lefkadian dance. In fact, Theodoros Katopodis argues that ‘the dance is performed in the mountainous areas of Lefkada. About its authenticity we have doubts... because it is performed in a similar way in Sterea Ellada. Perhaps because of the geographical proximity of Lefkada to Sterea Ellada and the frequent communication between them, the Stereoelladites [the people of Sterea Ellada] took it from us, because the dance is performed in many places on the island’ (1996:48). It was because the dance was performed on the mainland opposite (for this performance see Demas 1993:94) the *palamakia* dance was excluded from the presentational dance activities, at least under the title “Lefkadian” by the local dance clubs. However, *palamakia* was not performed at all during my fieldwork.

#### *Palamakia*’s music notation

(Katopodis 1996:49)



### 5.1.14. *Stavrotos* Dance

*Stavrotos* literally means crossed and the dance probably took its name from the specific handhold in which the arms are around the shoulders (T). *Stavrotos* is not accompanied by a particular song. A large number of songs are performed under

this title, however, in the same way. For instance, the song *Menoussis* which in the mainland opposite constitutes a particular dance form (see Demas 1993:130) is known in Lefkada as *stavrotos*, and is performed as such. *Stavrotos* was considered by some people to be 'predominantly a marriage dance and popular in south Lefkada and Meganissi' (Micronis 1993a:37), while for others it was 'an old joyful dance, running for the women and leaping for the men' (Rontogianni 1987:52). However, the villagers of Karya did not confirm any of these points of view. On the contrary, to them it was the dance for the unskilled dancers, while its performance, depending on the sort of song accompanying the dance, could be either slow or quick. Furthermore, its uncomplicated structure made it popular among the "non-dance people" of the village (Katopodi 1993, Stavraka 1993, Stavraka 1994). For the time being, *stavrotos* has fallen into disuse and was not performed during fieldwork. The dance has never been performed in presentational events.

#### 5.1.15. *Tria Passa* Dance

*Tria passa* literally means three steps, which is a word of Italian origins as it is the plural of the Italian word *passo* that means step (Lazaris 1970:134). The dance, whose name is indicative of the western-Italian influence on the island, probably took this name from the dance motif that consists of three steps, or three kinetic motifs, similar to those of the *syrtos sta tria* dance. *Tria passa* is considered to be a dancing rhythm older than *milia* (Katiforis 1978). However, the dance fell into disuse in participatory dance events before the 1950s because of the expansion of *milia*, while it has never been performed in presentational events.

#### *Tria passa's* song:

*Oso ine to macros tou gialou*  
*ki o platos tou pelaou*  
*toso pani diazotane*  
*ki i kori stin avli tis.*

As it is the length of the seashore  
and the width of the sea  
so much fabric was woven by  
the daughter (young girl) at her yard.

*Ki o gios tou konte diavene  
ke tine heretai  
'Gia sou pou diazese  
ke lianokalamizis.  
Gia sou - hara sou lygeri'*

*'Kalos to palikari.  
Ego konte m' ki an diazome  
ki an lianokalamizo  
s' echo gramenone st' anti  
ke sto xilochteno mou,  
stin akri ap' ti saita mou  
s' echo zografismeno.  
Zografos pou zografize  
ton Agio Konstantino'.*

(Katiforis 1978)

The son of the count was passing  
and greeted her  
'Hey you that you weave  
and that you whittle the reel.  
Hey and to your happiness lissom girl'.

'Welcome young man.  
Even if I weave my count  
and if I whittle the reel  
I have written your name on the beam  
and on my wooden comb,  
on the edge of my shuttle  
I have painted you.  
As the painter that paint  
Saint Constantine'.





## 5.2. Qualitative Stylistic Analysis of the Dances

The examination of the effort graphs of the dances shows that, despite their individual characteristics, they present a number of common factors. The presentation of a combined analysis in the main text was preferred as to avoid repetitions. A detailed examination of each dance is presented in Appendix 7. All the dances under examination show an absence of transitional phases and present a specific treatment of the body. In particular, the body functions as a whole without separation of the lower from the upper part, or of the head from the trunk. Thus, the presentation of dynamics refers to a one-unit, erect body whose centre of gravity settles on the diaphragm and creates an upright position maintained throughout the performance of the dances.

This body position reinforces the weight factor of the performances which is one of the predominant qualities in all the dances except the male *tsamikos* where it is not absent but, because of the improvisatory character of the dance, it is supplanted by the time factor. The weight factor appears constantly light in varied degrees in all the dances, namely *milia*, *lemonia*, *barbouni*, *karavakia*, *ballos*, *th(e)iakos*, *patinada* (supported by the active participation of the arms), female *tsamikos*, *syrτος argos*, *syrτος grigoros* and *Yiannis o Meratianos* (or *Marathianos* or *Peratianos*). With regard to the male *tsamikos*, the weight factor alternates between strong and light but with lightness being predominant, while one strong weight factor appears also in *ballos* and *th(e)iakos* dances which, however, does not affect the overall quality of the performances.

The second predominant quality in all the dances is that of effort flow, which in all dances is bound rather than free. The only exceptions are the improvisatory parts of the male and the female *tsamikos* and the *syrτος grigoros* dances, where it is free. In the first two dances, male and female *tsamikos*, the free flow motion factor of the improvisatory parts turns to bound flow in the structured parts, an alteration, however, that does not affect the predominance of the motion factor flow throughout the performance, as free and bound refer to the same motion factor. In the third dance, *syrτος grigoros* dance, the flow motion factor can be sometimes substituted by the flexible motion factor of space. Whatever the case, it is observed that the accent of the music is respectively emphasised in the dance performance either with flexibility or with

delicateness giving a sense of lightness.

The feeling of boundness in the flow motion factor, present in all the dances, is confirmed by a number of parameters. Handhold is among the most significant ones for a number of reasons. Firstly, it restricts the movements and permits only a small degree of freedom, which, however, varies according to the handhold. Thus, in *lemonia* and *karavakia* dances the restriction is of the highest degree because of the crossing handhold. In *milia* and *barbouni* dances, where the arms are around the shoulders, the restriction is lower, but still bigger than in *ballos*, *th(e)iakos*, *tsamikos*, *syrτος argos*, *syrτος grigoros* and *Yiannis o Meratianos* (or *Marathianos* or *Peratianos*) dances where the handhold is formed by the hands with bent elbows, or from the *patinada* dance where the dancers hold hands. Even during the second segment of *ballos* dance, when the dancers do not touch each other, the flow factor remains bound as the hands do not move freely but have a specific position.

Second, the presence of handhold, apart from the actual touching, also affects the relationship between the dancers, that is strong in various degrees according to the sort of handhold because of the body closeness of the performers and the overlapping of their kinespheres, that is 'the sphere around the dancer's body whose periphery can be reached by easily extended limbs without stepping away from that place which is the point of support' (Laban 1966:10). The boundness is further corroborated by the maintenance of the same body design by the dancers who shift to the same direction in the form of translatory symmetry, that is 'a repetition of a regular spatial motif' (Daff and Oqlesby 1989:7), which in this study is used in relationship with the body, when a group of dancers all show the same body design.

With regards to the other two motion factors, time and space, the former in all the dances is defined by the metric use of the music. At this point it must be emphasised that sustained time is the main motion factor in male *tsamikos*, a fact which is justified by the existence of the dancer's improvisation in place during the music improvisation called *verso*. The latter motion factor, that here refers to the use of space, is expressed as pathways, directions and spatial progression, that is 'the spatial pattern perceived through time' (Preston-Dunlop 1981:54). In particular, all the dances move predominantly to the right in a curved pathway in

open circle formation apart from *patinada* dance that is performed in couples, That is not surprising considering that *patinada* is not a dance as such but a procession transformed into a dance by the local dance clubs. However, they present differences in terms of the directions used and the performing movements.

Thus, in *milia*, *lemonia* and *karavakia* small steps are performed in four directions, namely forward, backward, right and left side. Four directions are also used in *patinada*, but, in this case, the forward direction is the predominant one, while small steps are also performed in *barbouni* and *Yiannis o Meratianos* (or *Marathianos* or *Peratianos*) but only in two directions, right and left. The two directions also appear in *ballos*, *th(e)iakos*, *tsamikos*, *syrτος argos* and *syrτος grigoros*, but in these dances in addition to steps there is also running and jumping. *Ballos* and *th(e)iakos* dances have also parts with dancers dancing in one place, which, however, does not affect the predominant shift of the dance to the right.

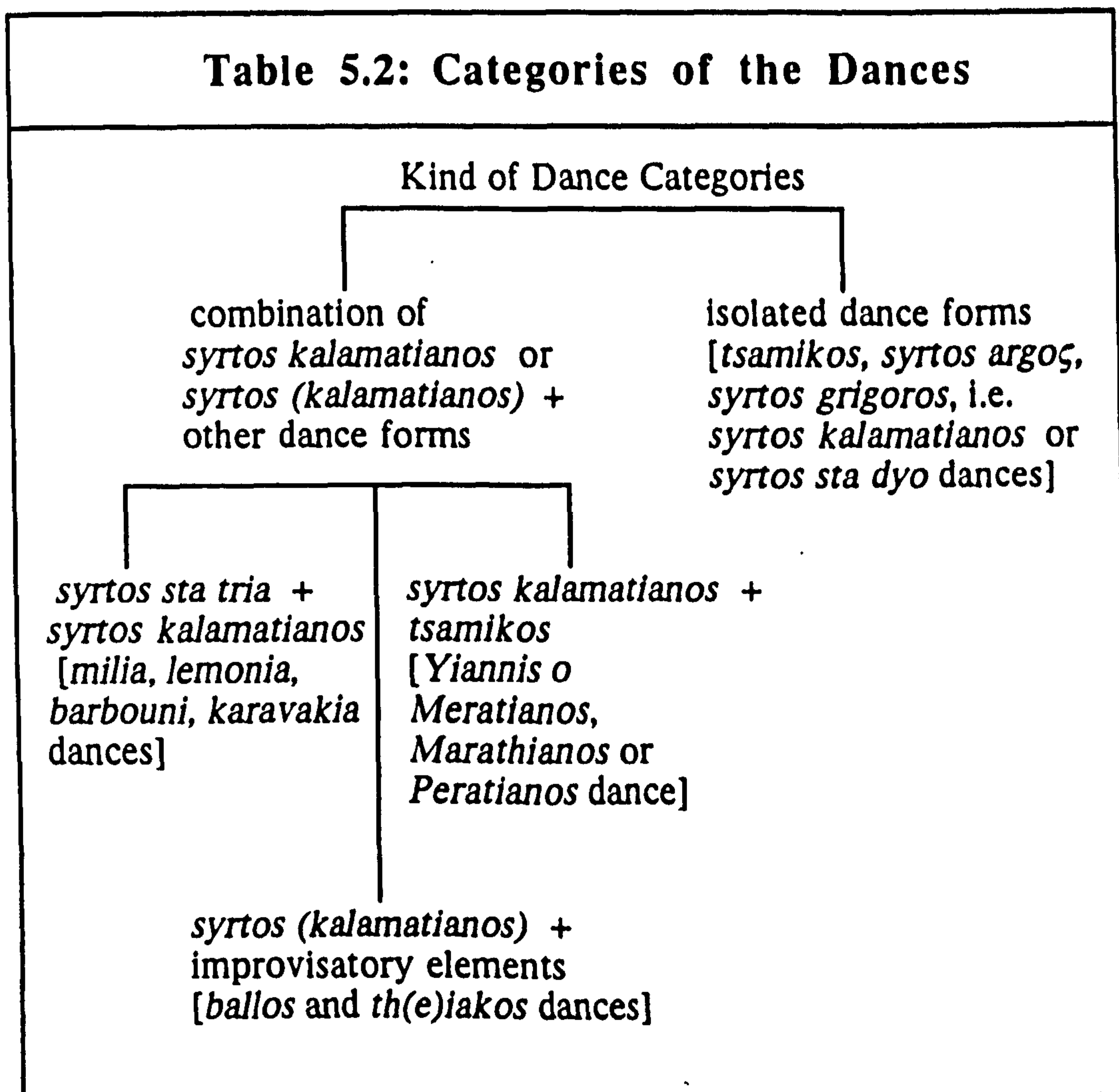
In most of the dances this horizontal progression is combined with a vertical straight progression emerged from a continuous pulse created by the constant touch and lift of the heel. The establishment and performance of the pulse contributes to a great extent to a sense of lightness in the movement, yet at the same time is earthbound, as it is a persistent weight-time pulse. The agreement with the music accent plays an important role to this, as the downward direction of the pulse coincides with the strong beats of the music, giving the feeling that it is connected to the ground and vice versa. This vertical straight progression is superior to the horizontal one and dominates in the performance of a number of dances, namely *milia*, *lemonia*, *barbouni* and *karavakia*. In *ballos*, *th(e)iakos*, *Yiannis o Meratianos* (or *Marathianos* or *Peratianos*) dances, the two progressions are of equal importance, while they also appear in *tsamikos*, *syrτος argos* and *syrτος grigoros*. Isolated efforts of space are also found in some dances, such as in *milia* where there are two flexible efforts in co-existence with the predominant ones of weight light and flow bound, or in *syrτος grigoros* where the flexible motion factor of space sometimes replaces the bound motion factor of flow.

### 5.3. Results of the Structure and Style-Form Analysis

The analysis of the form in both parameters, structure and style, shows that while the former presents significant differences, the latter presents a uniformity at least from the qualitative point of view, as structural stylistic differences obviously exist. With regards to the structure-form dimension, the analysis shows that the majority of the dances (63.6%) are two-segment forms. Most of them (54.5%) are heterogeneous, heterometric, alternating forms, namely *milia*, *lemonia*, *barbouni*, *karavakia*, *th(e)iakos* and *Yiannis o Meratianos* (or *Marathianos* or *Peratianos*), while only one dance *ballos* (9.1%) has an heterogeneous, isometric, alternating form. The rest of the dances (36.4%), that is *tsamikos*, *syrτος argos*, *syrτος grigoros* and *patinada* are one-segment, isometric, homogeneous/heterogeneous /variation or rondo forms. Most of the two-segment, heterogeneous, heterometric, alternating forms (54.5% of the total) are accompanied by a particular song which affects their structure, namely *milia*, *lemonia*, *barbouni*, *karavakia*, and *Yiannis o Meratianos* (or *Marathianos* or *Peratianos*). All the two-segment forms have the type of *syrτος kalamatianos* or *syrτος (kalamatianos)* as one of the two segments (63.6% of the total or 100% of the two-segment forms). *Syrτος kalamatianos* or its sub-type *syrτος sta dyo* is also the constituent of some of the one-segment forms (18.1% of the total), namely of *syrτος argos*, *syrτος grigoros* and *patinada* dances. The music metres that are used in various combinations are those of 2/4 (54.5%), 4/4 (27.2%), 4/8 (9%), 7/8 (63.6%) and 3/4 (18%).

Based on these results, the dances under examination can be divided up between two categories according to their structure-form analysis (see Table 5.2). The first category includes dances that are a combination of *syrτος kalamatianos* or *syrτος (kalamatianos)* and another dance form and can be distinguished in three subcategories. The first is a combination of *syrτος sta tria* and *syrτος kalamatianos* dance forms, and includes the dances *milia*, *lemonia* and *barbouni*. In this subcategory the dance *karavakia* is also included, as it constitutes a combination of *syrτος sta tria* and *syrτος sta dyo* dance forms, on the grounds that *syrτος sta dyo* is a subcategory of *syrτος kalamatianos*. The second subcategory includes dances that are combinations of *syrτος (kalamatianos)* and some sort of standardised improvisation form, and encompasses the *ballos* and *th(e)iakos* dances. Finally, *Yiannis o Meratianos*, *Marathianos* or *Peratianos*,

that is a combination of *syrtos kalamatianos* and *tsamikos*, constitutes the third subcategory. The second category includes dances that have isolated forms, namely *tsamikos*, *syrtos argos*, *syrtos grigoros* and *patinada* (in fact *syrtos sta dyo* dance). The dances that have fallen into disuse are not included in these categorisations.



The analysis also shows that all the two-segment dance forms, that is the first two categories, are various combinations of the isolated forms either of the third category or of isolated forms that have fallen into disuse. For instance, *milia* and *lemonia* are a combination of *tria passa* and *syrtos argos* or *syrtos grigoros* in the 7/8 music metre of *syrtos kalamatianos*, while *Yiannis o Meratianos* (or *Marathianos* or *Peratianos*) is a combination of the isolated forms of *syrtos kalamatianos* and *tsamikos* dances. This is not unexpected as it has already been noticed that 'a dance form that is arranged according to the grouping principle and whose segments present entire heterogeneity has possibly resulted from the union of two different dances' (Tyrovola 1994:36).

A number of additional pieces of information about the situation of dance on the island of Lefkada can be gathered from the analysis. Thus, from a contextual point of view, it is evident that, apart from the two choreographic devices, *patinada* and *tetzeris*, the two-segment forms of the first category constitute the repertoire performed in presentational dance events or otherwise the “Lefkadian” dances, whereas the one-segment forms of the third category constitute the dances performed in participatory dance events, otherwise known as the “foreign” dances. The only exception is the *Yiannis o Meratianos*, *Marathianos* or *Peratianos* dance, whose particular status has already been discussed.

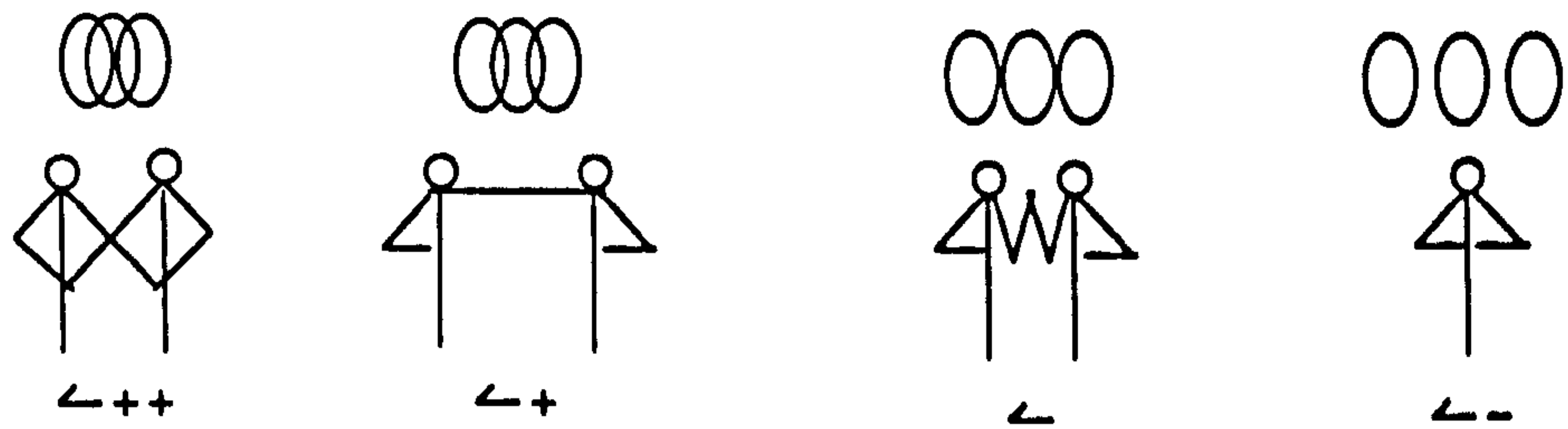
A further point is associated with the existence of improvisatory parts in *ballos* and *th(e)iakos* dances that have been standardised in the dance clubs. The fact that improvisations not only came to characterise a whole dance, but furthermore they were kept in “official” dance performances, is perhaps indicative of the importance of this phenomenon for the local community. As informants said, improvisations were nothing more than personal interpretations of a known dance form. For instance, both *ballos* and *th(e)iakos* dances are particular melodies of *syrtos grigoros* dance, on which at some point individuals improvised. Because their improvisations were considered to be “good” ones by the locals, they were repeated, maintained and expanded throughout the community, resulting in the creation of a “new” dance.

A final notice regards the fact that local uncomplicated dances such as *stavrotos* which used to be performed by “non-dance people” have fallen into disuse. Therefore, there are very few opportunities for the the “non-dance people” to participate in dancing. In turn, this possibly shows a change in the nature of dance. In particular, it can be suggested that while in the past it was necessary for everyone to take part in dancing, so dances demanding different skills were included in the repertoire as to cover the various needs of dance abilities, today it is only “dance people” that are involved in dancing. Although there might be some truth in this point, yet another fact must be mentioned; that with the opening of the communities and the foundation of dance clubs, new dances were introduced which replaced the local uncomplicated ones. Thus, the question is not whether people dance any more, as they all do to a certain extent, but, what they dance.

With regard to the structural stylistic analysis, the examination of the Labanotation scores along with the condensed dance Table 5.1 reveals some interesting points. Thus, it shows that all the dances of the presentational and participatory repertoires are performed by both sexes. The only exception is *lemonia*, a dance that is performed only by women. Of course, the group formation differs in each repertoire, as in presentational dances the formation is fixed whereas in participatory dances the performers are in mixed groups or groups of one sex. In both contexts, the dancers move in an open circle having as its focal point the centre of the circle. All the directions are used but that of the right side predominates. Simple movements in small or medium width are used for supports, mainly walking with pulse, running steps and a few jumps. More complicated kinetic combinations appear in the improvisatory parts of the dances both in presentational and participatory repertoires. But, whereas in the former the improvisations have been standardised, in the latter they keep their free character. The arms contribute passively to the performance of all the dances except in the *patinada*. The passiveness emerges from the presence of specific handholds that appear in many types, namely crossing, with the arms around the shoulders, or holding hands with bent elbows. The body does not appear in isolated parts but erect in a one-unit with the centre of gravity settled on the diaphragm.

Finally, the qualitative analysis shows that the presentational dances are dominated by the combination of two motion factors, light flow and bound weight. Sporadically, those of flexible space and strong weight also appear in combination with the two dominant ones in three motion factors, but that does not affect the overall picture. The predominant qualities differ in the matter of degree. This is not strange as the dances are not identical but have isolated different parameters that affect the degrees of these motion factors. For instance, the handhold which constitutes one of these parameters affects the motion factor of flow differently in each one of its types. Thus, the crossing handhold when the overlapping of the kinesphere is large, is related to the most bounded effort flow. In the handhold with arms around the shoulders, the overlapping is lower and thus the degree of boundness is lower. In the handhold with bent elbows when there is no overlapping but only touch, the boundness is even lower, while in the unattached handhold where there is no touch and no overlapping at all, the boundness is the least and is affected not by the handhold itself but by the specific use of the arms:





With regard to the participatory dances, we note that despite their improvisatory character they are dominated by the qualities of light weight and bound flow. Furthermore, they occasionally present the qualities of flexible space and strong weight in combination with the two predominant qualities in two or three motion factors. However, these occasional qualities do not change the overall image. The differences in quality that appear in the effort graphs are expected as the graphs refer to different dances and/or to different sex performing.

The uniformity in the style of all the dances regardless<sup>of</sup> the context of their performance is not surprising as it is closely related with the use of the body. Indeed, whatever dance is performed, the 'dancing body... is shaped, constrained and invented by society' (Grau 1996:2) that makes it move and perform within the rules of this society. Of course, the question that arises at this point is whether style is associated with identity more than structure. If this is the case, then why do Lefkadians not perform the participatory dances in presentational contexts and vice versa since stylistically they are quite similar? Or, does the separation of the dances in specific contexts show that structure is somehow related to identity as well? Chapter 6 attempts to answer such questions.

## Notes:

1. *Milia* is one of the most popular *paralages* (variations) of a well known song all over Greece. According to Petropoulos, it emerged from the mingling of the lament known as '*I phoni apo to mnima*' (voice from the grave) with the love motif of '*militsa*' (little apple tree) (1956:517). The former has a plaintive, slow melody adapted to the music form of *klephtiko* (adjective of the word *klepht* that means Greek mountain fighter) song and free rhythm. The latter has a dancing and joyful melody and is the one performed at Lefkada. Because of the joyful character only the first four or five verses are sung.
2. In recent years the "indigenous" status of *milia* has been contested as well, as variations of the dance have been found in other Greek areas. For instance, the dance teacher of '*Apollon Karyas*' Thymios Stavrakas after the performance of the Macedonian *milia* at a folk dance festival there, stated that even *milia* is not a Lefkadian dance (Stavrakas 1994).
3. By that name it was referred by a number of the informants. However, *tria passa* constitutes a separate dance (see number 5.1.15 in the analysis) whose incorporation in *milia* is argued by the islanders themselves and is confirmed through the analysis. That is why the folklorist of the island Pantazis Kontomichis when he uses the name *tria passa* for *milia* puts it in inverted commas, explaining that *tria passa* is in fact a separate Lefkadian dance (1985:243). *Milia* is also called *stavrotos* by some locals and scholars (Kontogiorgi 1976-77:422) because of the handhold (arms around the shoulders). However, due to the existence of another dance with that name (see 5.1.14), this name is not widely used for *milia* in order to avoid confusion. Finally, a common practice all over Greece is the reference of *milia* with the nick name *militsa*. However, this practice is not popular on the island.
4. Grigoris Micronis (1993a:36) and Yeorgia Rontogianni (1987:43) suggest that the dance is performed differently in the various areas of the island such as coast villages, inner villages etc., while Theodoros Katopodis argues that it is mainly performed in the mountainous areas (1996:40). However, after interviewing a number of people (villagers, "dance people", dance teachers, folklorists, musicians) from various places all over the island (Karya, Vafkeri, Platystoma, Eglouvi, Drymona, Exanthia, Nydri) such a difference was not mentioned nor

observed during fieldwork.

5. The fact that the leader is a woman is possibly indicative of the popularity of the dance among the women in participatory dance activities of the past. This does not exclude its performance by men, which at least at Karya was common. Its popularity with women is also indicated by the function of the dance in some areas where *milia* is identified with the mother-in-law's dance after the marriage. With regard to the latter, Yeorgia Rontogianni argues that this occurs in Karya and its environs (1987:44). However, this function of the dance has not been confirmed by my informants at Karya. Vassilis Thermos from the neighbouring village of Vafkeri, however, has verified this function of *milia* for his own village.

6. Spyros Peristeris has notated the music of the first segment of *milia* in a four count rhythm and 4/4 music metre (1967:361). However, Yiorgos Karatzas (1928:16), Yiorgos Kotsinis (in Tyrovola 1994, Appendix, no:71), and Marcos Dragoumis (1995) suggest that the first segment has a binary rhythm (2/4 music metre). The fact that the majority of the music scholars agree on the binary rhythm leads me to adopt their option.

7. The eight kinetic motifs of this part can also be combined in a different way. The first three as an heteromorphy of the type of *syrτος στα τρία* dance and the other five as a variation of the type of *syrτος (kalamatianos)* dance. Whatever the point of view is, it does not affect our discussion.

8. Eratosthenis Kapsomenos, in his discussion about symbolism in demotic song states that '*lemonia* and *milia* [symbolise] the unmarried girl' (1990:44). In the case of *lemonia* this applies perfectly as it is performed only by young girls dressed in the maiden's costume.

9. Spyros Peristeris has notated this part in four count rhythm and 4/4 music metre (1967:354). However, Marcos Dragoumis in his 1993 version notates it as 2/4.

10. This opinion has been expressed by almost all my informants during fieldwork whether they were dance teachers or "dance people", such as Katopodis (1993), Thermos (1994), Stavrakas (1994), some of whom demonstrated the

improvisatory elements. However, they mentioned that the name *ballos* was unknown before the introduction of the dance to the dance clubs. Instead, the people were asking the musicians to play a specific melody of *syrtos grigoros* dance (see also Micronis 1993:29) and it was this melody that later on took the name *ballos* in the dance clubs.

11. This idea has been expressed by almost all the informants during fieldwork, while the improvisatory elements have been demonstrated by the dance teacher Theodoros Katopodis as they were performed by *barba* (uncle)-Balerta, an old man who used to dance it at the mountainous village of Eglouvi but who has passed away.

12. The 'triple stepping sequence' has been analysed by Irene Loutzaki (1989:56) as it is widely performed by the migrants from Eastern Roumelia where it is known as '*syngathisma*'. On the island of Lefkada the term is not known, yet it presents the same structure, although a different style.

13. Jane Cowan, describing the same phenomenon at Macedonian Soho writes that '*patinada* is most of all a spectacle... The route of *patinada* always goes through the actual and conceptual "center" [sic] of town, the market place, even if the bride's house and the groom's house are in adjacent neighbourhoods on the same edge of the town' (1990:99). This holds true for Lefkada as well and it can be seen during the reenactment of the village marriage at Karya.

14. It is said that the dance takes its name either from the *Tsiamides*, the people who live in the area of Souli or Paramythia in south Epiros (Holden and Vouras 1976:104) or from the area called Tsamouria or Tsamiko in south Epiros (Demas 1976:36-37, Roumbis 1990:160). It is also called *Kleftikos* from the *klephts*, the mountain fighters during the Greek War of Independence from the Turks in 1821.

15. *Tsamikos* can also have a six count rhythm and 6/8 or 6/4 music metre (see Spyridakis and Peristeris 1968).

16. The dance section-phrase can also have six kinetic motifs. In this case there is a repetition of the first of the five kinetic motifs.

17. The characterisation of the form as rondo is based on the regular reappearance of basic isolated kinetic motifs in a certain order and not on segments as defined by the IFMC Study Group for Folk Dance Terminology (1974:125). However, as these kinetic motifs play the role of the segments, the term was legitimately used in this case too.

18. Grigoris Micronis gives his own interpretation of the third version of the dance's name as *Beratianos* possibly because the similarity with the Epirotic dance *berati* (1993a:36-37). The specification *Beratianos* is also included by Yeorgia Rontogianni (1987:35). However, during fieldwork none of my informants used this specification.

19. Spyros Peristeris gives a 6/4 rhythm but without the music notation (1967:354). Because of that, the 3/4 music metre notated by Samuel Baud-Bovy (1984) is used in this study.

## **PART III: DISCUSSION-CONCLUSION**

## **CHAPTER 6: Discussion and Conclusion**

## Introduction

This chapter will examine the paradoxical nature of the Lefkadian dance repertoire. I will first present the views of a number of writers who queried the status of some of the dances in terms of their Lefkadian or non-Lefkadian character. I will then examine their classifications in light of the evidence brought forward by my analysis. The reasons for the particular manipulation of the rural dances on the island of Lefkada will be revealed throughout the process and will be examined further within a wider Greek cultural framework. Finally, a summary of the thesis is presented in the conclusion, where further areas of research are also suggested.

### 6.1. The Status of the Examined Dances on the Island of Lefkada

As has already been mentioned, a large number of the dances examined have an ambivalent status as to their Lefkadian character. Because of this, most scholars, in their presentation of the local dances, avoid characterising them as Lefkadian. Rather, they refer to rural dances performed on the island of Lefkada. The number and kind of dances included in their presentations vary from one report to another.

Dimitrios Loukatos, for example, referring only to the dances performed at the island of Meganissi, mentions *ballos*, *syrtos* and *tsamikos* (1960b:269). On the other hand, Spyros Peristeris, in his account, distinguishes 'the instrumental from the singing dances of the island... [the former encompasses] the Lefkadian *ballos*, *koftos*, *karavaki*, *thiakos* (obviously introduced from the island of Ithaci) and *palamakia* dances, [while the latter includes] the dances *Yiannis o Marathianos* (introduced from the mainland areas of Aetolia and Akarnania), *milia*, *lemonia* or *kathistos* (probably introduced from the mainland of Greece), *barbounaki* and the *tsamikos Diamanto*<sup>1</sup> (known in all the areas of continental Greece and Peloponnessos)' (1967:352-354). A similar distinction is used by Soula Toska-Kamba. However, Toska-Kamba includes the dances 'Yiannis o Marathianos (introduced in Lefkada from the mainland Aetoloakarnania), *milia* (the predominant Lefkadian dance), *lemonia* or *kathistos* (possibly originating in the mainland of Greece), *barbounaki* and the *tsamikos Diamanto* (found also in



Epiros and Peloponnessos) in the singing category, [whereas] in the instrumental one the Ionian *ballos*, *koftos*, *karavaki*, *palamakia*, *thiakos* (from the island of Ithaci) and *stitos* dances' (1991:46-47).

The situation is similar among native Lefkadian scholars. For instance, Yeorgia Rontogianni in her study of Lefkadian dances separates them into 'the Epirotic dances *koftos*, *peratianos* (accompanied by the popular song *Yiannis o Marathianos*), *stavrotos*, [and] in the original Lefkadian dances *syrtos*, *tria passa* (of mainland influence), *tsamikos* (of Epirotic influence), *milia* (indigenous dance), *patinada* (instrumental wedding melody transformed into dancing entrance to the dance clubs), *theiakos* (probably from the Platystoma village) and the Lefkadian *ballos*' (1987:36-54). Grigoris Micronis, in his account of Lefkadian dances, refers to '*syrtos* (that is similar to *syrtos kalamatianos*), *ballos* (in fact *syrtos grigoros*), *tsamikos*, *beratianos*, *marathianos* or *meratianos* (a complicated dance also performed in the mainland Preveza), *militsa* (an old and "indigenous" dance of Lefkada), *stavrotos* (an old "indigenous" dance performed until the 1960s), and *thiakos* (known in Lefkada because the island is geographically situated close to Ithaci)' (1993:22-45). Marcos Dragoumis claims that '*milia*, *stitos* and *ballos* are three representative Lefkadian dances, and that the four double [two-segment] dances, namely *ballos*, *karavaki*, *barbouni* and *thiakos*, could be characterised as indigenous in the sense that, although they are performed elsewhere, they are mainly popular at Lefkada'. He also states that 'the two-segment dances *milia* and *Yiannis o beratianos* appear mainly in Lefkada, but, also, on the opposite mainland of Aetoloakarnania, and that the pan-Hellenic dances *koftos syrtos*, *tsamikos* and *syrtos* have also been recorded on the island' (1975-76:242, 1995:15). Finally, Theodoros Katopodis lists '*patinada*, *Marathianos*, *milia*, *ballos*, *tetzeris* as dances performed in other Greek areas, and *karavakia*, *thiakos*, *palamakia*, *barbouni*, *lemonia* which, although they are performed with variations in other areas, they are more "authentic" Lefkadian dances than the previous ones' (1996:39).

Through this brief account<sup>2</sup> the complexities regarding the status of the Lefkadian dances become evident, as scholars come up with different groupings as well as with different dances in each group (see Table 6.1). This lack of congruence among scholars is similar to that existing among Lefkadians themselves (see Chapter 3 and 5). Because of this situation, an alternative

**Table 6.1: Scholars' Classifications of Dances**

Scholars	Dances														
	<i>milia</i>	<i>lemonia</i>	<i>barbouni</i>	<i>karavakia</i>	<i>ballos</i>	<i>th(e)iakos</i>	<i>patinada</i>	<i>tzetzeris</i>	<i>tsamikos</i>	<i>syrtos</i>	<i>Yiannis Meraiianos</i>	<i>koftos/istitos</i>	<i>palamakia</i>	<i>stavrotos</i>	<i>tria passa</i>
Loukatos					+				+				+		
Peristeris	+	+	+	+	+	+			+		+				
Toska-Kamba	+	+	+	+	+	+			+		+	+			
Rontogianni	+				+	+	+		+		+		+		+
Micronis	+				+	+			+		+		+		
Dragoumis	+			+	+	+			+		+				
Katopodis	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+		+				+

approach for examining the status of the dances is proposed, as this emerges from a dance point of view. In doing so, the results of the analysis of the dances examined form the cornerstone of the following discussion. According to this analysis, two main dance categories can be distinguished. The first constitutes the two-segment presentational dances, with a segment being always a form of *syrtos kalamatianos* or *syrtos (kalamatianos)* and the other segment being a form of *syrtos sta tria*, *syrtos sta dyo*, or improvisation, and includes the dances *milla*, *lemonia*, *karavakia*, *barbouni*, *ballos* and *th(e)iakos*. The second category consists of the one-segment participatory dances *tsamikos*, *syrtos argos* and *syrtos grigos*. *Yiannis o Meratianos*, *Marathianos* or *Peratianos* will be separately examined as it is unique: it is formally a presentational dance but contextually a participatory one. *Koftos*, *palamakia*, *stavrotos* and *tria passa* are not performed at present and are excluded from the discussion.

At this point it must be emphasised that the purpose of this discussion is not to divide the dances into Lefkadian and non-Lefkadian. Rather, by assessing their status, the aim is to reveal the way dance, and consequently cultural identity, is manipulated on the island of Lefkada. The adoption of such a strategy, called an “anti-essentialist approach” by Michael Herzfeld, evades ‘the puzzlement that arises from the taxonomic imperatives - from the desire, above all, to classify everything as belonging, essentialistically, to one set or the other, substitutes the clash of interpretations from a formal binarism of essentialised object classes, [and] may help to make sense of certain paradoxes’ (1995:221). A similar paradox is found on the island of Lefkada.

### **6.1.1. Two-Segment Presentational Dances**

More or less all the dances in this category have been challenged on the issue of their Lefkadian status either by Lefkadian dance teachers, folklorists and musicians during my fieldwork or by various Greek researchers. The main objections centre either on the assertion that these dances have been introduced to the island from other Greek areas and thus they are not Lefkadian, or that, because they are also performed in other areas and are not unique to the island, they cannot be characterised as Lefkadian. Without denying this reality, two points must be taken into consideration. First, despite their performance in other

areas they have constituted the core of the presentational dance performances on the island for almost forty years while their participatory aspect has also been recorded. Secondly, even in the case of their performance in other areas, these dances, during their introduction to the island, have undergone a transformation in order to fit them into one of the two main categories that exist in the local dance tradition, which I referred to as the two-segment dance category. The issue will be better demonstrated through a particular example.

In this case, *lemonia* will be examined, a dance for which many of the informants who have a close relation with dance on the island, such as the musician Yiorgos Verykios (1994), the dance teacher Thymios Stavrakas (1993) or the former president of the dance club '*Orpheas Lefkadas*' Vassilis Thermos (1994), as well as many other scholars such as Dimitrios Loukatos and Soula Toska-Kamba, argue that it has been borrowed from the opposite mainland of Epiros. As already mentioned, this area presents geographical proximity and long periods of historical commonality, and close economic, commercial and social transactions with Lefkada. My informants characteristically said: '*lemonia* is not our dance; we borrowed it from the opposite mainland', or 'don't you see that it is the same thing as *kontoula lemonia* dance, but we have changed the words of the song *Vissaniotissa* to *Stilianiotissa*?' (see Table 6.2). It must be explained that *Vissaniotissa* is the adjectival complement defining a woman originating from the village of Vissani in Epiros, one of the areas where *kontoula lemonia* dance is performed. It is obvious that the use of this particular word by the Lefkadians would denote the Epirotic origins of the dance. Thus, as they claimed, they changed it to *Stiliniotissa* or *Miridiotissa* or something similar to that, words that rhyme with *Vissaniotissa*, but do not always correspond to a real word or refer to a place of origin.

The thematic relationship of the two dances is not apparent in the performance of the Lefkadian *lemonia*, as the dance is no longer accompanied by its song, whilst the dance's gestures and music bear no obvious relation to one another. Indeed, at first sight, one can only perceive them as two different dances. Yet, it is on the grounds of the islanders' belief in the existence of such a borrowing that the syncretism of the two dances is justified and allowed. Furthermore, I wanted to see whether or not the two dances had any

**Table 6.2: Songs of *Lemonia* and *Kontoula Lemonia* Dances**

***Lemonia* Dance (Lefkada)**

*Mori kontoula lemonia*

*me ta polla lemonia,*

***Stilianiotissa (Myridiotissa),***

*se ida ke arrostissa.*

*Hamilosse tous klonous sou*

*gia na kopso ena lemoni,*

***Stilianiotissa (Myridiotissa),***

*gia sena arrostissa.*

*Gia na to stipso na to pio*

*na mou diavoun i poni,*

***Stilianiotissa (Myridiotissa),***

*gia sena arrostissa.*

**TRANSLATION:**

**Lemon tree**

Little lemon tree

that have many lemons,

***Stilianiotissa (Myridiotissa),***

I saw you and fell sick.

Lower your branches

so that I can cut a lemon off

***Stilianiotissa (Myridiotissa),***

I fell sick for you.

I will squeeze it and drink it

so that my pains will go away,

***Stilianiotissa (Myridiotissa),***

I fell sick for you.

***Kontoula Lemonia* Dance (Epiros)**

*Mori kontoula lemonia*

*me ta polla lemonia,*

***Vissaniotissa,***

*se filissa ki' arrostissa*

*ki oute giatro de fonaxa.*

*Pote mikri megalosses*

*ke evgales vlastaria*

***Vissaniotissa,***

*se filissa ki' arrostissa.*

*Hamilosse tous klonous sou*

*na kopso ena lemoni,*

***Vissaniotissa,***

*se filissa ki' arrostissa.*

**TRANSLATION:**

**Little lemon tree**

Little lemon tree

that have many lemons,

***Vissaniotissa,***

I gave you a kiss and fell sick

and I did not even send for a doctor.

When did you, little (lemon tree) grow

and gave out sprouts?

***Vissaniotissa,***

I gave you a kiss and fell sick.

Lower your branches

so that I can cut a lemon off

***Vissaniotissa,***

I gave you a kiss and fell sick.

choreographical relation not perceivable at first sight. Obviously, a similar process can probably be carried out for each of the dances of this category with an ambivalent character, perhaps even for *milia*. However, the exhaustive comparison of dances from different Greek areas, among which it is said that some sort of relation may exist, is not the point of the discussion. Rather, the point is to emphasise first, that the fact that all the presentational dances on the island of Lefkada are of a similar form (structure and style) is not a matter of chance, and secondly, that even if there is a borrowing this is not an identical copy of the alleged borrowed dance, but a creative transformation of a dance form so as to harmonise with local dance norms.

#### 6.1.1.1. Comparison of *Lemonia* Dance of Lefkada and *Kontoula Lemonia* Dance of Epiros

The comparison refers both to the structure and style of the two dances so as to define their forms. However, because *lemonia* has already been analysed in detail (see 5.1.2 and 5.3), the dance is only presented briefly here. A more analytical presentation is effected for *kontoula lemonia* as this dance has not been examined before. In terms of structure, *lemonia* is a two-segment, heterogeneous, heterometric, alternating dance form. The first segment has a binary rhythm (••••• or •••••), 2/4 music metre, while its dance phrase constitutes an heteromorphy of the type of *syrτος στα τρία* dance. The second segment has a seven count rhythm (••••••• or •••••••), 7/8 music metre and its dance phrase consists of an heteromorphy of the type of *syrτος kalamatianos* dance. The dance also presents dimensional discongruence in the first segment and dimensional congruence in the second segment, while in both parts there is fixed succession in dance and music. Its morphic type is:

$$\mathbf{XD2} = [\mathbf{PA}/\mathbf{An} + \mathbf{PB}/\mathbf{Mo}] \cdot \mathbf{x} = [5 \cdot (\mathbf{S})\mathbf{FA}/\mathbf{An} + 4 \cdot (\mathbf{S})\mathbf{FB}/\mathbf{Mo}] \cdot \mathbf{x}$$

$$\begin{matrix} 2/4 & -84-86+7/8 & -104-108 \\ \mathbf{w} & \curvearrowright & \end{matrix}$$

$$\begin{aligned} \mathbf{XD2} = & [\tilde{\mathbf{F}}\mathbf{A} | \tilde{\mathbf{X}}1 \{ \underline{\delta o'}_4^{1/4} + \underline{\alpha o}_4^{1/4} \} + \tilde{\mathbf{X}}2 \{ \underline{\delta o'}_4^{1/4} + \langle \delta o_4 \rangle \alpha_1^{1/4} \} + \tilde{\mathbf{X}}3 \{ \underline{\alpha o'}_5^{1/4} + \langle \alpha o_5 \rangle \delta_2^{1/4} \\ & \mathbf{F}\mathbf{B} | \tilde{\mathbf{X}}1 \{ \underline{\delta o'}_4^{3/8} + \underline{\alpha o}_8^{2/8} + \underline{\delta o}_7^{2/8} \} + \tilde{\mathbf{X}}2 \{ \underline{\alpha o'}_5^{3/8} + \underline{\delta o}_9^{2/8} + \underline{\alpha o}_6^{2/8} \} + \tilde{\mathbf{X}}3 \{ \underline{\delta o'}_2^{3/8} + \\ & \underline{\alpha o}_2^{2/8} + \underline{\delta o}_3^{2/8} \} + \tilde{\mathbf{X}}4 \{ \underline{\alpha o'}_5^{3/8} + \underline{\delta o}_9^{2/8} + \underline{\alpha o}_6^{2/8} \} | ] \end{aligned}$$

*Kontoula lemonia* (for an exhaustive analysis see Tyrovola 1994:88-90) is a one-segment dance form performed by dancers of both sexes holding hands with bent elbows in an open circle which moves predominantly to the right and focuses on the centre of the circle. Its dance phrase consists of three kinetic motifs which are classified as belonging to the dance form *syrtos sta tria*. Its music metre can be either 6/8 or 2/4-3/4 according to the melodic performance and music notation. In the first case, *kontoula lemonia* is an isometric, homogeneous chain form performed with strong pulse. In the second case it is an heterometric, homogeneous chain form performed with minimal pulse. Yet the primary interest of my study is on the dance movement qualities and less on the musical characteristics. As pulse is a qualitative movement characteristic which widely characterises the Lefkadian dances, and as in both cases the dance form of *kontoula lemonia* differs from that of *lemonia*, the six count rhythm (•••••) of 6/8 music metre was considered more appropriate for the present analysis. Thus, the morphic type of *kontoula lemonia* dance is:

$$WD2.1=[P].x=[(S)F].x$$

$$\begin{matrix} 6/8 & 150/An \\ MW, & \curvearrowright \end{matrix}$$

$$WD2.1=FIW1 \left\{ \underbrace{\delta o'_4}_{\rightarrow}^{3/8} + \underbrace{\alpha o_4}_{\rightarrow}^{3/8} \right\} + W2 \left\{ \underbrace{\delta o'_4}_{\rightarrow}^{3/8} + \underbrace{\langle \delta o_4 \rangle}_{\downarrow} \alpha_3^{3/8} \right\} + W3 \left\{ \underbrace{\alpha o'_5}_{\leftarrow}^{3/8} + \underbrace{\langle \alpha o_5 \rangle}_{\downarrow} \delta_3^{3/8} \right\}$$

In terms of style, in *lemonia* the efforts of light weight and bound flow are predominant. The dancers having the centre of gravity settled high on the diaphragm perform with a body which functions as a whole, keeps its design, shifts in translatory symmetry, has overlapping kinesphere and strong relationship with the others through the crossing handhold. Four directions are used: right, left, forward and backward. The horizontal progression with small steps in a curved right side pathway is dominated by the vertical progression of an earthbound pulse originating from the constant touch and lift of the heels, which colour the movement with a sense of lightness.

In *kontoula lemonia* the efforts of weight and flow are also predominant but in a very different way. Effort weight presents the particularity of being separated in two parts as the body has two centres of gravity. In the lower body, the centre settles on the pelvis and the effort weight is strong. In the upper body, the centre settles on the chest and the effort weight is light. The particular body

Theofilopoulos in Tyrolia 1991: B4z



Labanotation

Effort Graph

WD2.1	<i>Kontoula Lemonia Dance</i>						AHm/lsm
P	A/HmCF						
F	F.x						
KM	W1		W2		W3		
c	$\delta o'_4$	$\alpha o_1$	$\delta o'_4$	$\alpha_1$	$\alpha o'_5$	$\delta_2$	
e	$\delta o'_4(\delta o'_4)$	$\alpha o_1(\alpha o_1)$	$\delta o'_4(\delta o_4)$	$\langle \delta o_4 \rangle \alpha_1 (\langle \delta o_4 \rangle \alpha_1)$	$\alpha o'_5(\alpha o_5)$	$\langle \alpha o_5 \rangle \delta_2 (\langle \alpha o_5 \rangle \delta_2)$	
	3/8	3/8	3/8	3/8	3/8	3/8	
	$\neq /lr/lc$		$\neq /lr/lc$		$\neq /lr/lc$		

WD2.1=[P/An].x=[(S)F/An].x

$$WD2.1 = [F|W1(\delta o'_4 \text{ 3/8} + \alpha o_1 \text{ 3/8}) + W2(\delta o'_4 \text{ 3/8} + \langle \delta o_4 \rangle \alpha_1 \text{ 3/8}) + W3(\alpha o'_5 \text{ 3/8} + \langle \alpha o_5 \rangle \delta_2 \text{ 3/8}) |]$$

6/8  $\text{♩} = 150/\text{An}$   
MW.



design is held throughout the performance and along with the dancers' shift towards the same direction results in the existence of a translatory symmetry. The lightness of the upper body is related to the handhold that is from the hands with bent elbows. The handhold, although indicating a relationship among the dancers because of the physical contact, leaves space for the mobility of the upper body, allows for a backward inclination of the dancers, and creates an outward projection of the chest. It also keeps the dancers' kinespheres independent and leaves enough space among their bodies for the performance of large steps. This affects the spatial progression of the dance, as the size of the steps leads to the dominance of a horizontal progression over the vertical one. The former occurs in a curved pathway, where only left and right side directions are used, with primarily that of the right side. The latter is characterised by a persistent earthbound pulse created by the continuous bending and stretching of the knees, while the entire sole of the foot constantly touches the ground, colouring the movement with a sense of strength.

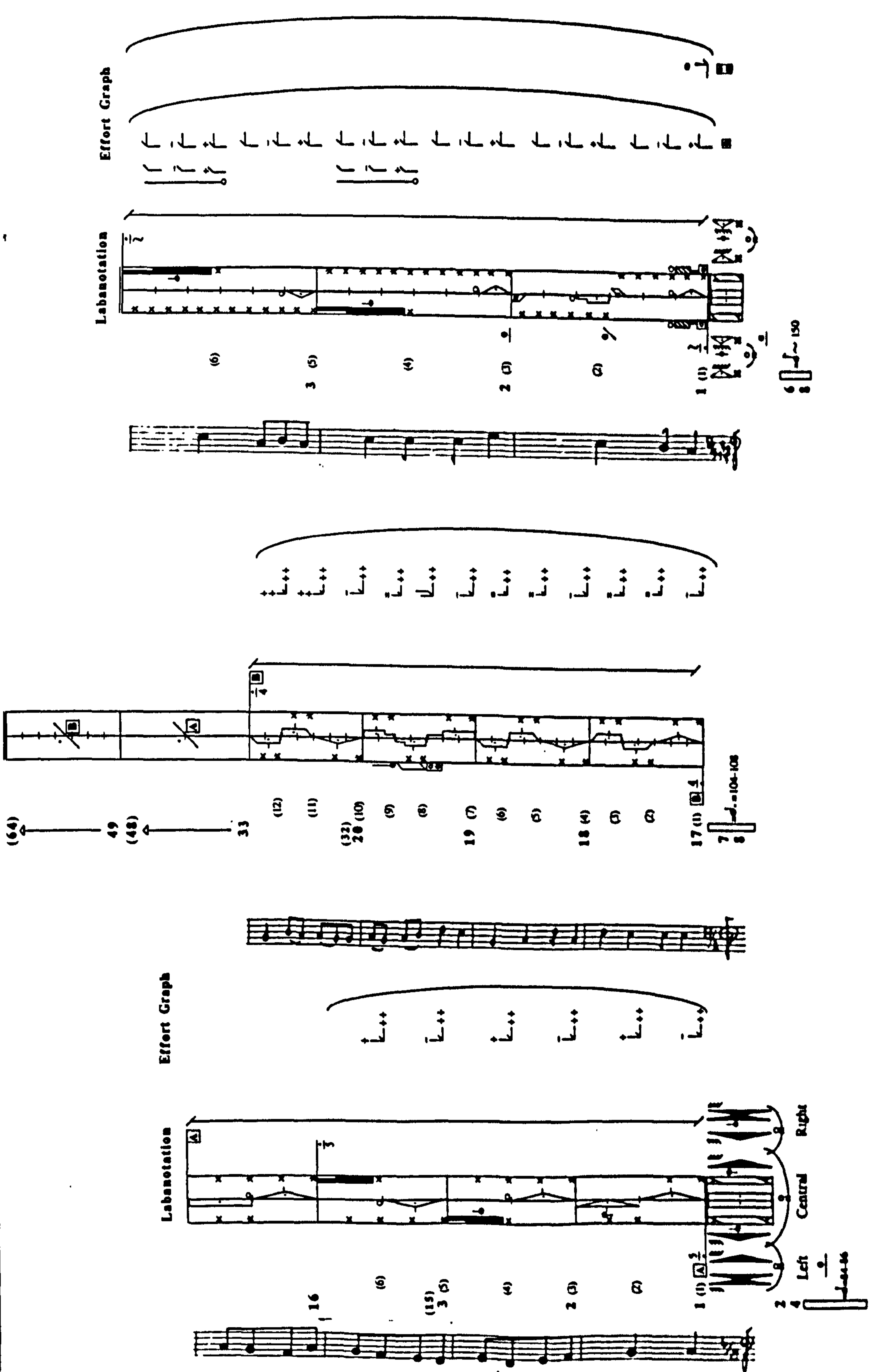
#### **6.1.1.2. Results of the Comparison**

The analysis shows that *lemonia* and *kontoula lemonia* dances differ in structure and style (see Table 6.3.1 and 6.3.2). Structurally, the two dances are unrelated, as fundamental differences appear in a number of parameters which play an important role in the characterisation of the dance structure (see Table 6.4). For instance, the number of segments, the construction of the dance phrase, the music metre and the rhythm are some of the more important. However, an interesting point must be considered. The dance phrase of *kontoula lemonia* constitutes the first segment of *lemonia* as the former is actually a *syrtos sta tria* dance and the latter an heteromorphy of the type of *syrtos sta tria* dance. Stylistically, the two dances present quite a few similarities, such as the maintenance of their dynamic qualities throughout the performance as well as within a single spatial progression, the predominance of the efforts of weight and flow, the limited dynamic range within each effort quality that never reaches the extremes, the presence of touching among the dancers who move with an earthbound pulse in translatory symmetry in a curved, right side pathway. However they also demonstrate a considerable number of differences (see Table 6.5).

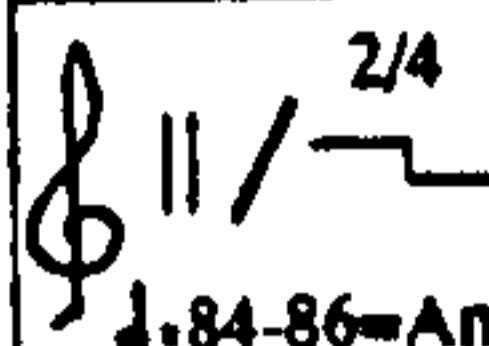
First, the use of the body varies. In *lemonia* a single unit has closed design and no projection, while in *kontoula lemonia* there are two units having an open design with backward inclination and an outward projection of the chest. Second, in *lemonia* the crossed handhold of the dancers results in the overlapping of their kinespheres whereas in *kontoula lemonia* the handhold with bent elbows results in the independence of their kinespheres. The third, and most important qualitative stylistic difference between the two dances lies in the dissimilar spatial progression. In *lemonia* the emphasis is on the vertical straight progression whereas in *kontoula lemonia* it is on the horizontal one. Small steps in all four directions, with a pulse created from the heels, are performed in *lemonia*, in contrast to the large steps in two directions, with pulse originating from the knees, in *kontoula lemonia*. The combination of all these parameters reinforces the qualitative differentiation of the two dances. *Lemonia* reveals the qualities of effort weight light and effort flow bound. *Kontoula lemonia* shows the qualities of weight light and flow free in the upper body and strong effort weight with bound flow to the lower body.

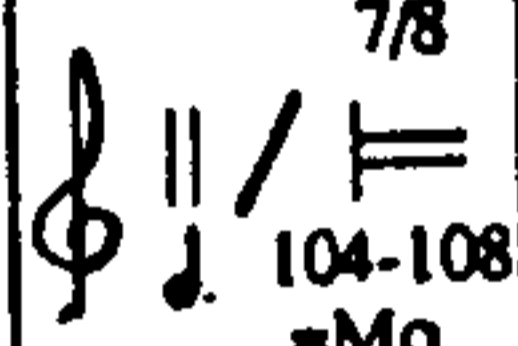
In conclusion, the comparison of the two dances, demonstrates both structural and stylistic dissimilarities. As a result, *lemonia* and *kontoula lemonia* dances, despite their thematic relationship, constitute two entirely different dance forms. In particular, both dances constitute characteristic dance idioms of the areas from which they originate. *Kontoula lemonia* is one of the many songs that accompany the dance *syrtos sta tria* that is characteristic of the entire region of Epiros. Similarly, the analysis reinforces the opinion that *lemonia*, in the form presented on the island of Lefkada, belongs to a specific local dance category whose particular structure and style allows its performance on stage as representative of the Lefkadian dance heritage. Even if there is some dance borrowing of Lefkada from the mainland, this was effected through a transformational process, so the dance to be “Lefkadadised” acquired the features that articulated the islanders’ aesthetic preferences. In both cases, the dances assumed the regional style that characterised the specific areas and came to constitute identity markers of these areas.

**Table 6.3.1: Comparison of Lemonia's and Kontoula Lemonia's Labanotation Scores and Efforts Graphs**



**Table 6.3.2: Comparison of *Lemonia's* and *Kontoula Lemonia's* Typologies**

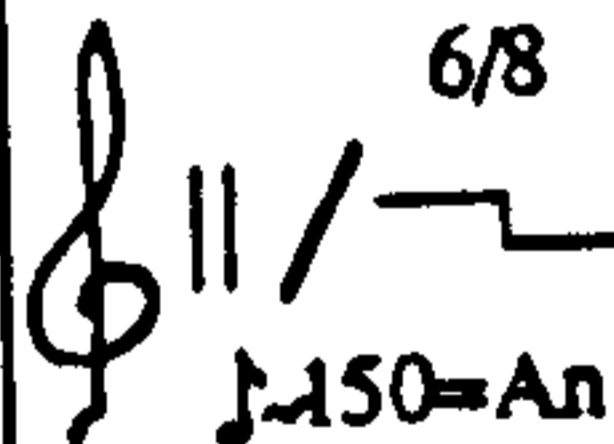
<b>XD2</b>	<b>Lemonia Dance</b>						<b>ABH/HmVAI</b>
<b>P</b>	<b>A/HmCF</b>						
<b>F</b>	<b>FA.5</b>						
<b>KM</b>	<b>X1</b>		<b>X2</b>		<b>X3</b>		
<b>c</b>	$\overrightarrow{\delta o'_4}$	$\overrightarrow{\alpha o_4}$	$\overrightarrow{\delta o'_4}$	$\downarrow \alpha_1$	$\overleftarrow{\alpha o'_3}$	$\downarrow \delta_2$	
<b>e</b>	$\delta o'_4(\delta o_4)$	$\alpha o_4(\alpha o_4)$	$\delta o'_4(\delta o_4)$	$\langle \delta o_4 \rangle \alpha_1 (\langle \delta o_4 \rangle \alpha_1)$	$\alpha o'_3(\alpha o_3)$	$\langle \alpha o_3 \rangle \delta_2 (\langle \alpha o_3 \rangle \delta_2)$	
	1/4	1/4	1/4	1/4	1/4	1/4	
	$\neq / Ir / Ic$		$\neq / Ir / Ic$		$\neq / Ir / Ic$		

<b>P</b>	<b>B/HmCF</b>											
<b>F</b>	<b>FB.4</b>											
<b>KM</b>	<b>X1</b>			<b>X2</b>			<b>X3</b>			<b>X4</b>		
<b>c</b>	$\overrightarrow{\delta o'_4}$	$\downarrow \alpha o_8$	$\downarrow \delta o_7$	$\overleftarrow{\alpha o'_3}$	$\delta o_6$	$\alpha o_6$	$\delta o'_2$	$\alpha o'_2$	$\downarrow \delta o_3$	$\overleftarrow{\alpha o'_3}$	$\downarrow \delta o_9$	$\alpha o_9$
<b>e</b>	$\delta o'_4(\delta o_4)$	$\alpha o_8(\alpha o_8)$	$\delta o_7(\delta o_7)$	$\alpha o'_3(\alpha o_3)$	$\delta o_6(\delta o_6)$	$\alpha o_6(\alpha o_6)$	$\delta o'_2(\delta o_2)$	$\alpha o'_2(\alpha o_2)$	$\delta o_3(\delta o_3)$	$\alpha o'_3(\alpha o_3)$	$\delta o_9(\delta o_9)$	$\alpha o_9(\alpha o_9)$
	3/8	2/8	2/8	3/8	2/8	2/8	3/8	2/8	2/8	3/8	2/8	2/8
	$\equiv / Ir / Ac$			$\equiv / Ir / Ac$			$\equiv / Ir / Ac$			$\equiv / Ir / Ac$		

$$XD2 = [PA/An + PB/Mo].x = [5.(S)FA/An + 4.(S)FB/Mo].x$$

$$XD2 = [FAIX1(\overrightarrow{\delta o'_4} + \alpha o_4) + \tilde{X}2(\overrightarrow{\delta o'_4} + \langle \delta o_4 \rangle \alpha_1) + \tilde{X}3(\overleftarrow{\alpha o'_3} + \langle \alpha o_3 \rangle \delta_2)] +$$

$$FBI\tilde{X}1(\overrightarrow{\delta o'_4} + \alpha o_8 + \delta o_7) + \tilde{X}2(\overleftarrow{\alpha o'_3} + \delta o_6 + \alpha o_6) + \tilde{X}3(\delta o'_2 + \alpha o'_2 + \delta o_3) + \tilde{X}4(\overleftarrow{\alpha o'_3} + \delta o_9 + \alpha o_9)]$$









<b>WD2.1</b>	<b>Kontoula Lemonia Dance</b>						<b>AHm/lsm</b>
<b>P</b>	<b>A/HmCF</b>						
<b>F</b>	<b>F.x</b>						
<b>KM</b>	<b>W1</b>		<b>W2</b>		<b>W3</b>		
<b>c</b>	$\overrightarrow{\delta o'_4}$	$\overrightarrow{\alpha o_1}$	$\overrightarrow{\delta o'_4}$	$\downarrow \alpha_1$	$\overleftarrow{\alpha o'_3}$	$\downarrow \delta_2$	
<b>e</b>	$\delta o'_4(\delta o_4)$	$\alpha o_1(\alpha o_1)$	$\delta o'_4(\delta o_4)$	$\langle \delta o_4 \rangle \alpha_1 (\langle \delta o_4 \rangle \alpha_1)$	$\alpha o'_3(\alpha o_3)$	$\langle \alpha o_3 \rangle \delta_2 (\langle \alpha o_3 \rangle \delta_2)$	
	3/8	3/8	3/8	3/8	3/8	3/8	
	$\neq / Ir / Ic$		$\neq / Ir / Ic$		$\neq / Ir / Ic$		

$$WD2.1 = [P/An].x = [(S)F/An].x$$

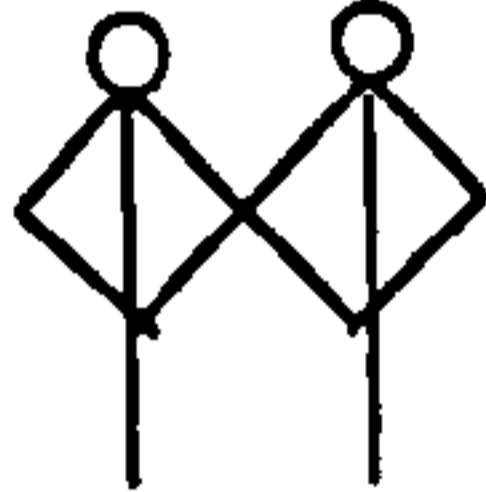
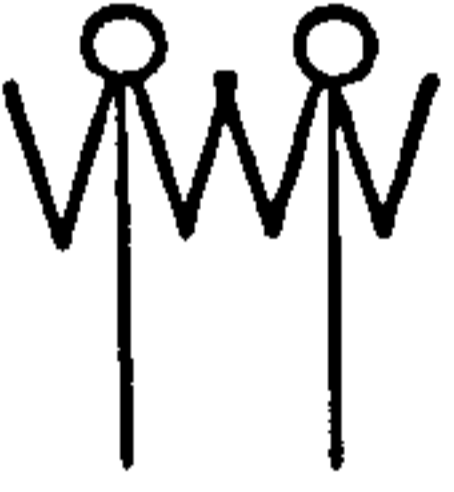
$$WD2.1 = [FI\tilde{W}1(\overrightarrow{\delta o'_4} + \alpha o_1) + \tilde{W}2(\overrightarrow{\delta o'_4} + \langle \delta o_4 \rangle \alpha_1) + \tilde{W}3(\overleftarrow{\alpha o'_3} + \langle \alpha o_3 \rangle \delta_2)] +$$

$$MW.$$

**Table 6.4: Results of the Structural Analysis**

<b>Parameters:</b>	<b><i>Lemonia</i> Dance (Lefkada)</b>	<b><i>Kontoula lemonia</i> Dance (Epiros)</b>
<b>Form:</b>	two-segment, heterogeneous, heterometric, alternating	one-segment, homogeneous, isometric
<b>Rhythm:</b>	binary   or   + seven count  	six count  
<b>Music meter:</b>	2/4+7/8	6/8
<b>Tempo:</b>	♩ = 84-86 Andante ♩. = 104-108 Moderato	♩ = 150 Andante
<b>Dimension:</b>	dimensional discongruence	dimensional discongruence
<b>Succession:</b>	fixed in dance and music	fixed in dance and music
<b>Sex:</b>	female	male and female
<b>Handhold:</b>	chain	holding hands with bent elbows
<b>Steps:</b>	middle level	middle level
<b>Formation:</b>	open circle	open circle
<b>Direction:</b>	right, left, forward and backward with predominant that of the right side	right and left with predominant that of the right side

**Table 6.4: Results of the Stylistic Analysis**

<b>Parameters:</b>	<b><i>Lemonia</i> Dance (Lefkada)</b>	<b><i>Kontoula lemonia</i> Dance (Epiros)</b>
<b>Use of the body:</b>	one unit	two units
<b>Effort weight:</b>	light	upper body: light lower body: strong
<b>Effort flow:</b>	bound	upper body: free lower body: bound
<b>Body design:</b>	 (dancers move in translatory symmetry)	 (dancers move in translatory symmetry)
<b>Kinesphere:</b>	overlapping	independent
<b>Progression:</b>	vertical with small steps below the centre of gravity	horizontal with large steps and lifts of the legs outside the centre of gravity
<b>Projection:</b>	non-existent	forward projection of the chest
<b>Pulse/bounce:</b>	created from the heels	created from the knees

On these grounds, the statements of some of the Lefkadians and Greek scholars about the origins of the Lefkadian *lemonia* are not supported by the analysis of the dance forms. Of course, the fact that the analysis indicates an absence of relationship between the two dances is an entirely “etic” conclusion which obviously contrasts and cannot possibly alter the “emic” views: In other words, the “scientific” proof for the absence of any kind of relationship between the two dances is unlikely to change the long standing beliefs of the local population, even though these beliefs only became crystallised with the emergence of the dance clubs culture in the 1960s, as will be discussed later.

A final point to be considered is the possibility of the claim that two-segment dances are also performed in other Greek areas, and thus this dance form is not characteristic of the island of Lefkada. For instance, two-segment dances also appear in the opposite mainland, such as the *Papigo* or *Sti vrysi sta Tseritsena* dances (Demas 1993:165 and 123 respectively), which may be regarded as another aspect of Lefkadian borrowing from the mainland. Or it can be argued that dances with light and bound style may be performed in other Greek areas. However, it must be emphasised that it is the combination of the two parameters, structure and style, as they appear in one particular place, the island of Lefkada, that create a unique form of expression that allows the people of Lefkada to claim that they have a characteristic dance idiom. Because of this, it is evident that the verbalised rejection of the Lefkadian status of *lemonia*, since the dance is performed as “indigenous” Lefkadian on stage, would seem to imply the rejection of the Lefkadian status of the entire dance idiom to which it belongs in general.

### **6.1.2. One-Segment Participatory Dances**

Evidently, this category presents the morphological characteristic of having a structure arranged of single segments. Indeed, *tsamikos*, *syrto argos* and *syrto grigos*, the last two actually being *syrto kalamatianos* and *syrto stadyo*, constitute one-segment dance forms. As such these dances are known and performed in many Greek areas, and in the mainland opposite where they dominate all dance activities (Demas 1993:81 and 137). Their introduction and performance on the island of Lefkada is not unexpected as the transactions between the two areas have already been explained. Yet, the reason for the

absence of any transformational process in these dances following their introduction on the island, a process which may have taken place in other dances, is interesting. Of course, transformation concerns solely the dance structure, as style is common since all the dances are performed by the same people, a fact that the analysis also proves. The question to be raised at this point is whether there is something particular or special in the status of these dances which does not allow any transformation, or otherwise the existence in those dances of a more powerful feature than of the island's corresponding one. A closer examination of these dances may throw some light on the matter.

As already mentioned (see 5.1.8, 5.1.9 and 5.1.10.) *tsamikos* and *syrtos*, either *kalamatianos* or *sta dyo*, as the latter constitutes a subcategory of the former, originated, and were predominantly performed on the mainland of Greece, namely Peloponnessos, Epiros and Roumeli, areas that played a leading part during the War of Independence in the 19th century. These dances were also the favourite ones of the Greek fighters before and during the War of Independence against Turkish Occupation. As a result, *tsamikos* and *syrtos* were associated with the core of "Greekness" and seem to demonstrate the "gallantry" and the "bravery" of the Greeks. When these particular areas of the Greek mainland were first liberated from the Turks, the authorities used *tsamikos* and *syrtos* to represent Greece itself. This was done by including these dances in the school curriculum throughout the country, in army training and in official events. This practice was expanded after the liberation of other Greek areas and, along with other historical coincidences, led to the pan-Hellenic character of the dances.

Obviously, the symbolic association of these dances with Greece itself made any attempt of transformation difficult. The dance emblems of Greece, *tsamikos* and *syrtos*, could not be altered in any of the areas where these dances were either already performed or were starting to be performed. Thus, it is not surprising that on the island of Lefkada these dances kept their structure, nor that they were performed along with the other local dance idioms, though it can be argued that they did become "indigenous" by acquiring the local style. Before the War of Independence their presence on the island was justified on the grounds of the geographical proximity and the transactions between the island and the adjacent mainland. Their unchangeability during that time is explained by the fact that these dances were performed mainly in the inner mountainous areas of



Lefkada where soldiers fighting against the Turkish occupation on the nearby mainland found shelter and influenced the local people. After the liberation, their performance on the island was additionally justified on the basis of the pan-Hellenic character that the dances acquired and no notion of alteration was to be considered.

### **6.1.3. Participatory Versus Presentational Dances**

With regard to the two repertoires under examination, a final aspect that needs to be discussed is the extended performance of the participatory dances *tsamikos* and *syrtos* (*syrtos argos* and *syrtos grigoros*) among Lefkadians, to the point of having entirely displaced the performance of presentational dances by the islanders. Indeed, the total separation of the two repertoires in two opposite contexts, participatory and presentational, since the middle of the century, is of great interest, as it means that what is considered by the islanders as “Lefkadian” dance is no longer performed by them, having been replaced by what is considered by them as “foreign” dance.

There are many reasons for this. First, the participatory character of the presentational dances was definitely affected by their transition on stage around the 1950s and their establishment as dance emblems of Lefkada. Through this process, any sense of alteration or free manipulation of these dances was automatically excluded. These dances therefore lost their importance to the islanders, some of whom did not approve of the official version of their performance. In addition, as the dances to be performed at all official events, Lefkadians became almost indifferent through their repetition. Furthermore, after the dance clubs were established, new music and dancing fashions were introduced to the island that affected the aesthetic preferences of the people. As many of the informants characteristically said: ‘these [the “Lefkadian] dances are very slow and boring; I would not choose to perform them in a fair or in any other form of entertainment’. It must be noted that “slow” here refers not only to speed, but more importantly to the lack of improvisatory elements in the dances. The change of the islanders’ attitude towards the “Lefkadian” dances and the latter’s institutionalisation resulted in their depreciation and their marginalisation on the fringes of the community’s life. It seems that the two-

segment presentational dances turned into “frozen” or “museumised” images, and fell in the trap identified by Jonathan Rutherford:

Identification, if it is to be productive, can never be with some static and unchanging object. It is an interchange between self and structure, a transforming process. If the object remains static, ossified by tradition or isolated by a radically changing world, if its theoretical foundations cannot address that change, then its culture and politics lose their ability to innovate. Its symbolic language can only conjure up the past, freezing us in another moment (Rutherford 1994:14).

Of course, the question that arises at this point is why a similar process did not take place for the participatory dances *tsamikos* and *syrτος* on the island, since their transformation into pan-Hellenic dancing symbols should theoretically have produced the same reaction. Two reasons, both associated with the pan-Hellenic character of the dances, may be responsible for this. On one hand, these dances could not in any way be removed from the local repertoire, while, on the other, they remained on the periphery of the island’s dance representation as they could not be converted into Lefkadian dance symbols. This combination resulted in *tsamikos* and *syrτος* keeping their innovative and free character on the island of Lefkada and thus they continued to be expressive for the islanders, having an active function in the community’s life.

## **6.2. Dance and Cultural Identity on the Island of Lefkada**

Apparently, the difference in status of the two dance repertoires under examination can explain their use in the construction of a particular cultural identity on the island of Lefkada. Thus, the presentational performance of the two-segment dances, because of their special nature, were capable of expressing a specific Lefkadian cultural identity, whereas the one-segment dances, because of their pan-Hellenic character, could not contribute to this end. However, the manipulation of the two dance repertoires can be understood only when their further connotations, implied by the wider Greek cultural frame in which they are embedded, are put forward, on the grounds that ‘making our identities can only be understood within the context of the articulation of existing social, cultural and economic relations we live within as well as the history of these relations, in the intersection of our everyday lives with the economic and political relations of

subordination and domination' (Rutherford 1990:19-20). In doing so, not only are the connotations of the dance repertoires with the Lefkadian cultural identity revealed, but the dance phenomenon is additionally located in a broader context, thus avoiding isolation.

In fact, the manipulation of the island's rural dance repertoires echoes the cultural opposition found throughout Greece between the concepts of Hellenism and Romiosini, that is the tension of modern Greek people being either *Ellines* (Hellenes) or *Romii*, that is 'a half-Graecised form of *rumi* used in Islam to characterise the Greeks' (Fermor 1966:98; see also Christou 1993:85-92).<sup>3</sup> The former, Hellenism, equates Greece with its classical past of "glorious Hellas", when Greece, the master of the world symbolised by the columns of the Parthenon, dominated most, if not all, of the Mediterranean coast. The term fell into decline after the expansion of Christianity, as it was associated with paganism. When Greece regained its freedom, the term was used by the foreign and local elite as the verbal symbol of the idealised Hellenic past of the country, which formed the intellectual ancestor of European civilisation. The latter, Romiosini, refers to the part of Greek history that includes the Byzantine Empire and the Orthodox Eastern Christianity symbolised by the great dome of St. Sophia, as well as the Turkish Occupation. After the Liberation the term Romiosini and its derivative *Romios* were used by the elite in a derogative sense, as they 'not only conjure up the tragedy of the Fall, but the helplessness of subjection and the strands of Turkish custom which inevitably, during an occupation lasting centuries, wove themselves into the web of Greek life' (Fermor 1966:160; see also Valetas 1982:13-50)<sup>4</sup>.

Emphasising either the Turkish elements of *Romios* or the idealised image of *Ellinas*, this antithesis encapsulates modern Greece's tension towards an occidental or oriental assimilation. Herzfeld suggests that this tension 'constitut[ing] the dialectic of Greek identity, is linguistically embodied in the model of *diglossia* [a term used in technical linguistics in order to characterise phenomena as those of the Greek "language question", that is purist/"official" and demotic/"everyday" language]. A conceptual expansion of that model, *disemia*... [that is] the expressive play of opposition that subsists in all the varied codes through which collective self-display and self-recognition can be balanced against each other, conveys the *multiplicity* of sign systems' (1987:114; italics in original).

In analogy with Herzfeld's proposition, Lefkadian rural dance is perceived as a "sign system" that materialises the Greek cultural *disemia* on the island. In particular, the presentational performance of the two-segment dances *milia*, *lemonia*, *barbouni*, *karavakia*, *ballos* and *th(e)iakos* justifies the presence of a characteristic local dance idiom on Lefkada that allows the islanders to claim a local, self-existing dance heritage, which, in turn, privileges the claim for the existence of a distinguishing local cultural identity. Within the Ionian context of Venetian influence this implies an assimilation towards occidentalism. This particular Lefkadian (dance) cultural identity, indicates, if not the island's corresponding orientation, at least its detachment from the mainland opposite and the subsequent oriental connotations implied by the Turkish Occupation. A similar manipulation of the one-segment dances through their presentational performance could not be invented. On one hand, it would have been impossible to claim the existence of a Lefkadian dance idiom and thus a cultural uniqueness. On the other hand, the popularity of *tsamikos* and *syrtos* dances in the mainland would have immediately denoted the cultural relationship of the two areas and consequently the Romeic aspect of the island's socio-historical past through its Turkish Occupation.

In order to avoid this, a selection took place amongst the presentational performances of Lefkada's rural dance repertoire. In this selective process, the two-segment dances performed by the dance clubs are 'relatively explicit cultural forms produced within institutions and practices where the pressure is towards coherence and social reach are "highly-articulated"', whereas the one-segment dances performed by Lefkadians are 'relatively implicit cultural forms, more modest in address and more local in scope, [and] "under-articulated"' (Johnson 1993:173-174). Selection for the sake of creating cultural identity is not unusual, as 'identity is not so much what one is as what one wants to be and in the construction of the future not all of one's own historical traditions are equally valid' (Larrain 1994:166). Thus, while the presentational performance of the two-segment dances, despite whatever objections to their status, shapes an artificial dance profile and a particular cultural identity that enhances the prestige of the island in the eyes of the rest of the Ionian Islands and the mainland, the same does not hold true for *tsamikos* and *syrtos* whose presentational performance, at least in the name of being Lefkadian, would bring the opposite results, lowering the island's cultural status. Yet 'such double-coded identities signals the artificiality

of identity, that identity is constructed not given, that it is a matter of choice, style, and behaviour... It also suggests that identity is a game that one plays, that one can easily shift from one identity to another' (Kellner 1992:153).

It is in this framework that *Yiannis o Meratianos*, *Marathianos* or *Peratianos* must be examined, as the dance demonstrates admirably the complexity of the Lefkadian dance phenomenon as generated by the cultural connotations of the dances. In this case the structure and style analysis of the dance classifies it in the two-segment dance category. Thus, theoretically, there is no reason for the specific dance not to be characterised as Lefkadian, especially if its popularity among the islanders is taken into consideration. Yet, not only do other authors classify it as a dance borrowed from the opposite mainland, and particularly from the area of Preveza, but it has also been excluded from the presentational performances of the dance clubs for the last fifteen years.

With regard to the Epirotic origins of the dance, these have not been recorded by dance researchers.<sup>5</sup> With regard to its exclusion from the presentational performances, this is justified on the grounds that the dance is actually a mixture of *tsamikos* and *syrtos*, that is the two "foreign" dances of the one-segment dance category and thus cannot be a Lefkadian dance. Obviously, the rejection of the Lefkadian status of this dance results mainly from its connotations. Thus, even if the dance is accepted as being Lefkadian, there is no way of being "highly-articulated" by being performed on stage, since the part of the island's history associated with it is officially underplayed. The particular attitude towards the dance in the course of time, allows one to argue that 'cultural identity is permanently being made and re-made within available practices and relationships and existing symbols and ideas. The fact that there are recurrent symbols and ideas to define a cultural identity does not ensure that their meaning has always been the same or that it does not change in the context of new practices' (Larrain 1994:163).

Furthermore, the selection of specific dances amongst the available ones for the creation of a specific Lefkadian cultural identity permits one to envisage the presentational performances as an "ethnic theater" (Esman 1984:463) seeking cultural "authenticity". At the same time it strengthens the belief that 'authenticity is a socially constructed concept and its social connotation is

therefore not given but “negotiable” ’ (Cohen 1988:374). It seems then ‘that what we consider “our culture” has become *discourse-sensitive*, that how we conceptualise culture depends upon discourses which construct it in conflicting, often contradictory ways, according to interests and values of those discourses as they struggle to legitimise themselves as privileged forms of representation’ (Collins 1989:iii; italics in original). It is in this perspective where ‘identity, then, is constituted theatrically through role-playing and image construction’ (Kellner 1992:153) that it is claimed that the selective presentational performance of certain rural dances on the island of Lefkada not only represents but actively contributes to the construction of a particular cultural identity.

The issue raised at this point is the necessity of such a selection amongst the available dances. A closer examination of the “Helleno-Romeic dilemma” is perhaps vital for the illumination of this issue. It is true that this tension constitutes the core of the identity crisis in modern Greece, something which has affected Greek life in all its aspects. However, what is forgotten is that Hellenism and Romiosini constitute two sides of one and the same coin. Greeks are an amalgam of both aspects and it is their combination that constitutes the complexity of modern Greek identity. From this point of view, this tension constitutes a “pseudo-dilemma” generated by the fact that ‘the two antipathic aspects of our [Greek] collective identity coexist in different areas, they do not meet and do not lead towards a more concrete/complete identity, an identity which could be based on a real self knowledge: [leading] to a realistic knowledge of what we are, which are our strong and weak points and where we wish to proceed’ (Mouzelis 1994:43).

The acceptance of this synthetic point of view effaces the *disemia* of the Greek sign systems. Modern Greece, as well as modern Lefkada, constitutes a multi-faceted reality that has sprung out of a socio-historical and cultural medley whose every part plays an important and unique role in which their speciality is rooted. In this sense, Greek cultural identity is at the same time Hellenic and Romeic. Similarly, the Lefkadian one is both Ionian and continental. On these grounds there is no necessity for any selective process in the Lefkadian rural dance repertoire because of the Lefkadian status. Once a specific dance has been adopted by the local population in participatory and/or presentational contexts, regardless of whether it is transformed or not, it constitutes part of the local

dance tradition. As a result, all the dances under examination are considered to be Lefkadian as they constitute part of the islanders' life. To lessen the importance and popularity of some or to enhance those of others, only results in the failure to grasp the totality which created the present reality.

### **6.3. Conclusion**

The present thesis concerns dance and cultural identity as these are manifested on the Greek Ionian island of Lefkada, where the paradox of the absence of a relationship between presentational and participatory performances of the Lefkadian rural dance is evident. In order to examine this peculiarity, two assumptions were adopted. First, on the grounds that 'concepts and terms, like identity itself, are social constructs, arbitrary constructs which serve to mark and call attention to certain phenomena and which fulfil certain analytical or classificatory tasks' (Kellner 1992:175), cultural identity, one of the aforementioned social constructions, was considered to be negotiable by virtue of its shaping by the people themselves in specific time and place. Second, on the grounds that 'locally specific meaning is generated by... cultural artifacts' (Banks 1996:149), dance, a cultural product in itself, was perceived not as a mere representation of social constructions such as cultural identity but as one of many possible ways of shaping them. The combination of these two assumptions led to the formulation of the main hypothesis of this thesis. In particular, the study aimed to explore the relationship of the two concepts, and particularly the possibility of illuminating cultural identity through the study of its dance dimension.

In order to examine this hypothesis, an anthropological approach of dance was adopted. Because of the existence of a number of different opinions of what constitutes an anthropological study of dance, a presentation of the various trends was provided in order to clarify the way the approach is used in this study. Furthermore, the relationship of anthropology with the Greek folklore and history was also discussed. Thus, in this study, the anthropological approach to dance was defined both as an examination of the actual dance and its context, while laografia and history were considered as areas directly related to the issues examined.

This discussion defined the basis on which the thesis was constructed. First, the contextual information was presented concerning the place of the research, that is the island of Lefkada in general and Karya village in particular, the overall Lefkadian dance profile, the various participatory and presentational dance events taking place on Lefkada, and the relationship of dance and music on the island. This was followed by the detailed analysis of the rural dance repertoire that was selected for in-depth examination. In this case, the analysis of the dances concerned both their structure and style, as both parameters were considered of equal importance for the definition of the dance forms. In terms of structure, the method of analysis was composed from elements selected from a number of models for the structural analysis of dance proposed by other authors, while the analysis of style was based on the structural analysis as well as on the qualitative analysis of Laban's Effort system.

The analysis showed that, although stylistically the Lefkadian rural dances present similar qualities, yet they are structurally distinguished in two main categories. The first category constitutes of the two-segment presentational dances. In these two-segment dances one segment is always a form of *syrtos kalamatianos* or *syrtos (kalamatianos)*, while the other segment is either a) a form of *syrtos sta tria* or b) improvisation, or c) *tsamikos*. This category includes the dances *milia*, *lemonia*, *karavakia*, *barbouni*, *ballos*, *th(e)iakos* and *Yiannis o Meratianos*, *Marathianos* or *Peratianos*. The second main category consists of the one-segment participatory dances *tsamikos*, *syrtos argos* and *syrtos grigoros*. *Koftos*, *palamakia*, *stavrotos* and *tria passa* that are not performed at present were also mentioned, while choreographic devices, such as *patinada* and *tetzeris* were also analysed.

Based on the results of the analysis, a discussion on the status of the examined dances followed as this emerges from a dance point of view. The status of the dances explains their selection either for presentational or participatory performances which inevitably demonstrates the manipulation of the Lefkadian rural dance repertoire in order to create a particular cultural identity on the island. The Lefkadian dance phenomenon is then examined in the wider Greek cultural frame of "Helleno-Romeic" tension in an attempt to reveal the deeper connotations that lead to its specific manipulation which indicates the negotiability of concepts such as those of cultural identity.



### 6.3.1. Further Suggestions

Obviously, a thesis does not constitute an exhaustive study of every aspect of the subject examined, but attempts to answer a certain number of questions related to it. Through this process a plethora of further possibilities for enquiry emerge, a fact that not only advances the knowledge of the particular subject matter, but enriches the way of thinking as well. At least this is the feeling I have from the present thesis, an “outcome” that perhaps is not the “right” one, but which suggests many more questions than those I began with regarding the Lefkadian dance phenomenon in particular, and the nature of dance in general. Thus, I do not know if the fact that a number of future areas of research raised through this study increases the usefulness of my work, but “outlining them” seems to me to strengthen its value.

Future research plans emerging from the present study can be sketched in three possible areas. The first concerns the expansion of material in terms of place and space. The place refers to the study of the dance phenomenon in a large number of Lefkadian villages so as to gain a more detailed picture of the entire island. The space concerns a closer study of all the dance clubs and of all the dance repertoires so as to have a more in-depth knowledge of the dance profile of the island. To these, the study of dances that for some reason have fallen into disuse, such as *tria passa*, *stavrotos*, *koftos* and *palamakia* must also be included. Furthermore, the relationship between dance and music can also be examined, while an interesting area of research concerns the islanders’ beliefs about the existence of “dance” or “music” people.

A second quest of exploration is the comparative one. The potential of this direction is three-fold, even three levels. On a low level, it concerns the “local zone”, a comparison that refers to issues such as the antithesis of the dance repertoires between the town and the mountainous villages, the relationship of the dances of Lefkada with those of the island of Meganissi, the transformation of the dances after their introduction in presentational contexts, the possible links between the participatory repertoire with the corresponding one performed on stage but not in the name of being Lefkadian, the intra-community and intra-personal differences and aesthetic preferences. Taking a middle course, the possibility of carrying out comparative research in the dance repertoires of all the

Ionian islands which, through the unveiling of the differences and/or similarities in their dancing, will allow one to examine the presence of a particular Ionian dance idiom in this geographical area that presents a specific socio-historical route. Finally, on a higher level, comparison with parallel studies in similar contexts can also be effected, thus validating the present findings or revealing possible differences.

A third area of interest refers to issues regarding the conceptual basis of dance. In this case, the relationship of dance with other dimensions of cultural identity as these are manifested on the island can be examined, as well as its relationship with other social constructions. Furthermore, the political implications of dance phenomena can be traced, which in their turn question the low profile and limited study of dance itself. Is this a matter of chance, or is it because dance has such a strong potential to construct and comment on significant issues that those in power want to keep it under their own control?

## Notes:

1. *Diamanto* is one of the many songs that accompany the *tsamikos* dance. It is usually referred to as a particular dance, probably because of its popularity on the island, but it is not, as it is included in the *tsamikos* form.
2. There are of course a lot more references to these dances. For instance, Simon Karras in the songs of Lefkada includes *milia* (*syrtos kalamatianos* and *ballos*) and *Yiannis o Marathianos* (*kalamatianos* and *tsamikos*) (LP 1977), Samuel Baud-Bovy refers to the “double” or “mixed” dance *Yiannis o Marathianos* from Lefkada (1984:35), Vassiliki Tyrovola refers to the Lefkadian dances *militsa*, *stavrotos* and *tria passa* (1994:64) while Yvonne Hunt mentions *milia*, *ballos*, *Yiannis o Marathianos*, *karavaki* and *lemonia* dances (1996:72-73). The various references in the undergraduate dissertations of the Folklore Archive must also be taken into account.
3. The particular tension has been a favourite subject of analysis of a number of foreign and Greek scholars who provided the information presented in the text. To avoid their continuous repetition a list of the sources is listed here: Christou 1993, Fermor 1966, Herzfeld 1987, Mouzelis 1994, Rafailidis 1996, Tsaousis 1983, Valetas 1982.
4. As Herzfeld characteristically says, ‘this is a tension between a state of perfection on one hand, and a post-fall alienation from the idealised collective self’ (1987:41), as Greece ‘is symbolically both holy and polluted. It is holy in that it is the mythic ancestor of all European culture; and it is polluted by the taint of Turkish culture - the taint that late mediaeval and Renaissance Europe viewed as the embodiment of barbarism and evil’ (1987:7).
5. After personal contact with Elias Demas, senior lecturer at the speciality of Greek Traditional Dances at the P.E. Department of the University of Athens, who happens to have grown up in Preveza and to have specialised in Epirotic dances, I was assured that neither during his childhood nor throughout all the years of his personal research, had he any indication of the alleged performance of the dance in this area.

## **Epilogue**

When I started to write this thesis, I wavered between two courses of action: either to try to give an overview of the Lefkadian dance phenomenon and limit the analysis or look at a specific group of dances and carry out a deeper analysis. I made the decision to follow a middle course as I thought it would be more useful for me at this stage of my work. Thus, I decided to present the entire dance phenomenon of the island of Lefkada but to focus the analysis in a specific group of dances, namely the rural dances that played the most important role in the social life of the islanders. Even in this case, further questions were raised as to whether to analyse the entire repertoire or for instance, the most representative dance *milia*. I opted for the former solution, as I thought that only the entity of the rural dance repertoire would render an idea of what is going on the island. Of course, this meant that much of my data were put aside as only part of them was significant in terms of my perspective.

No matter how much of my data I put in this thesis, the picture I give is my personal view of the Lefkadian dance. However, as often happens after fieldwork, I had not the chance to discuss this thesis with islanders. I hope they will receive the work as generously as they received me during my fieldwork. Even now I am not sure if it is possible to understand their dances as they do, but I hope that my thesis is not too distant from what dance represents for them.

## **APPENDICES**

## Appendix 1: Glossary of Greek Words-Phrases

<i>Alexandros</i>	=Alexander
<i>anaparastasi horiatikou gamou</i>	=Reenactment of a Peasant Wedding
<i>Apollon</i>	=Apollo
<i>argos</i>	=slow
<i>barbas</i>	=uncle
<i>barbouni</i>	=red mullet
<i>bouranelos</i> or <i>branelos</i> (pl. <i>bouraneli</i> or <i>braneli</i> )	=the Lefkadian citizens
<i>daimonas</i>	=demon
<i>daouli</i>	=tabor
<i>Ellinas</i> (pl. <i>Ellines</i> )	=Hellene
<i>Eptanissa</i>	=Seven Islands, i.e. the Ionian Islands
<i>Eptanissii</i>	=inhabitants of the Ionian Islands
<i>esvospilia</i> or <i>asvospilia</i>	=badger's cave
<i>Eteria Lefkadikon Meleton</i>	=Association of Lefkadian Studies
<i>evropaika</i>	=European
<i>flogera</i>	=flute
<i>grigoros</i>	=quick
<i>hora</i>	=country; at Lefkada, islanders use it when they refer to the capital
<i>horiatika</i>	=from the village
<i>horoesperida</i> (pl. <i>horoesperides</i> )	=formal evening dance
(c) <i>horos</i>	=dance
<i>kafenio</i> (pl. <i>kafenia</i> )	=coffee shop
<i>kafeteria</i> (pl. <i>kafeteries</i> )	=coffee bars
<i>karavakia</i>	=little boats
<i>Karsanos</i> (pl. <i>Karsani</i> , genitive <i>Karsanous</i> )	=male inhabitant of Karya village
<i>Karsana</i> (pl. <i>Karsanes</i> )	=female inhabitant of Karya village
<i>karsaniki</i>	=from Karya village
<i>karydies</i>	=walnut trees
<i>kavos tis kyras</i>	=the lady's cape
<i>kerasma</i>	=offering
<i>kithares</i>	=guitars

<i>klarino</i> (pl. <i>klarina</i> )	=clarinet; the plural form also refers to a village fair
<i>klephts</i>	=mountain fighters during the Greek War of Independence from the Turks in 1821
<i>kleftikos</i>	=of the klephts
<i>koftos</i>	=cut/stopping
<i>kontoula</i>	=little or short
<i>koutouki</i>	=kind of Greek tavern
<i>laikos</i>	=popular
<i>laouto</i>	=lute
<i>lefkos</i> or <i>levkos</i>	=white
<i>lefki akri</i>	=white edge
<i>lefkas petra</i>	=white stone
<i>lemonia</i>	=lemon tree
<i>logos</i>	=discourse
<i>mantolina</i>	=mandolins
<i>mega oros</i>	=great mountain
<i>milia</i>	=apple tree
<i>Mousikophilologikos Omilos</i>	=Music-Philological Society
<i>Mousikochoreftikosos Omilos</i>	=Music-Dance Society
<i>Nea Horodia</i>	=New Chorus
<i>Notios</i>	=south
<i>organa</i>	=instrumental ensembles; also the village's fair
<i>Orpheas</i>	=Orpheus
<i>ouzo</i>	=aniseed-flavour spirits
<i>palamakia</i>	=clapping
<i>parexigisi</i>	=dissension
<i>passa</i>	=steps
<i>Pegasos</i>	=Pegasus
<i>perichoron</i>	=of environs
<i>Politistikos Syllogos</i>	=Cultural Association
<i>riganada</i>	=Festival of Oregano
<i>Romios</i> (pl. <i>Romiï</i> )	=a half-Graecised form of <i>rumi</i> used in Islam to characterise the Greeks
<i>santouri</i>	=dulcimer
<i>spilia</i>	=cave



<i>symvoulio kinotitas</i>	=commune's council
<i>synadelfi tou naou tou Pantokratoros</i>	=the colleagues of the Pantokrator church
<i>syrτος</i>	=creeping or leading
<i>tetzeris</i>	=the pot
<i>Tourkokratia</i>	=Turkish Occupation
<i>tria</i>	=three
<i>tsamikos</i>	=from Tsiamides
<i>violi (pl. violia)</i>	=violin; the plural form also refers to a village fair
<i>zournas</i>	=shawn
<i>yiortes logou ke technis</i>	=festival of arts and speech

The following are various nicknames included in the thesis:

*benardis*

*bonoulo*

*fasolias*

*fterougena*

*Jimena*

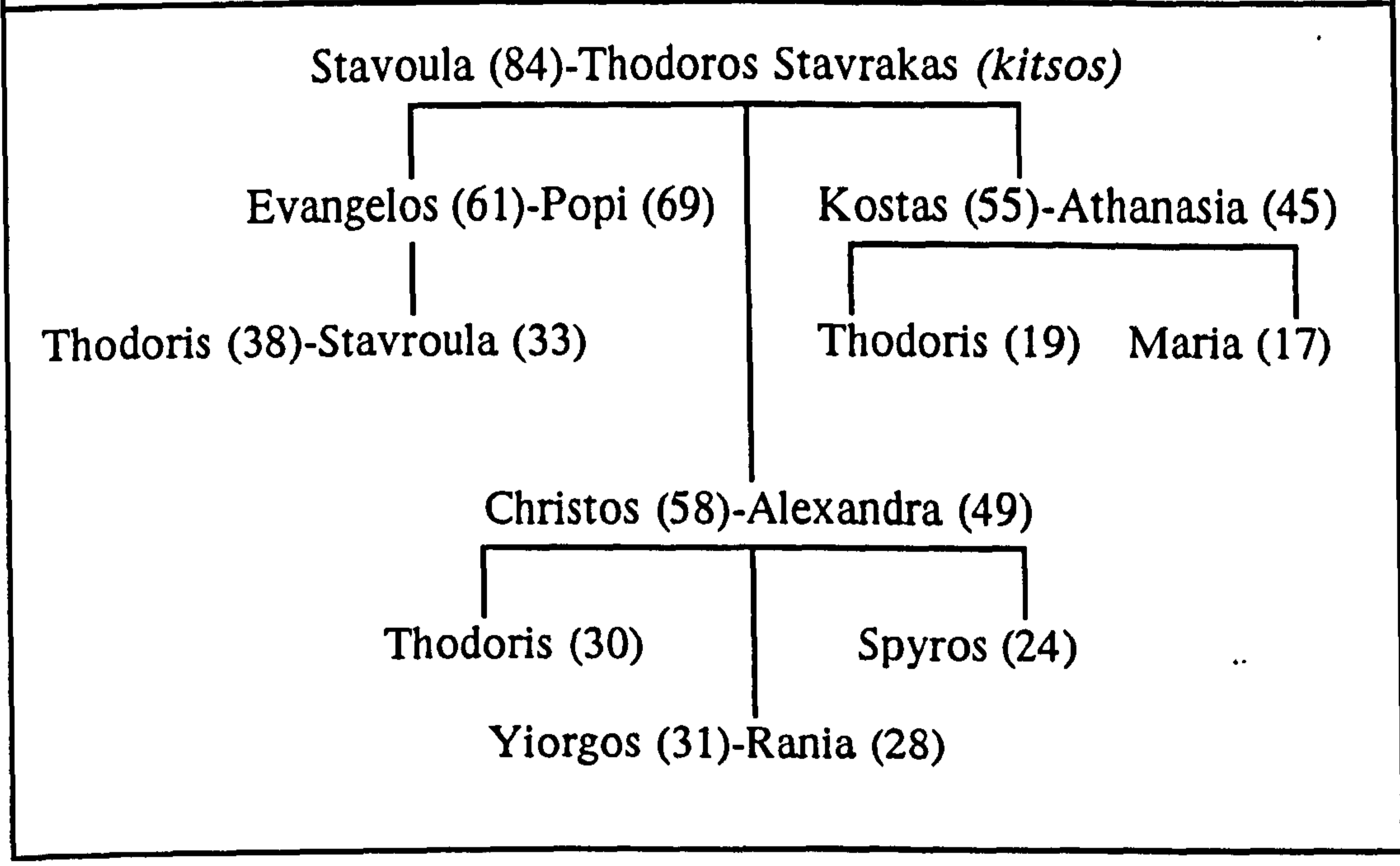
*kitsos*

*kokoros*

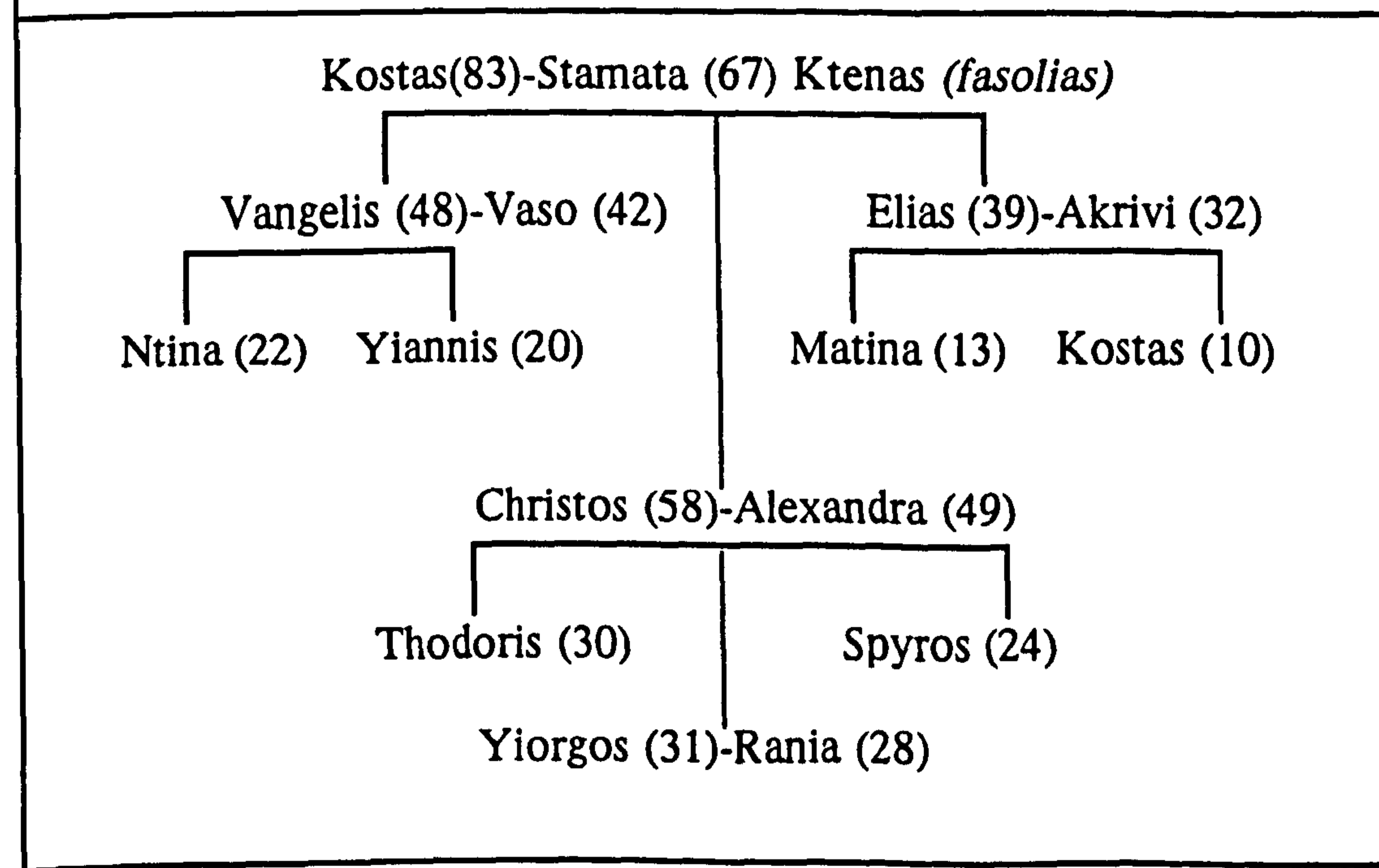
*mitzithras*

<b>Appendix 2: List of Key Informants</b>			
<b>Place</b>	<b>Name-Nickname</b>	<b>Profession</b>	<b>Age</b>
Karya village	<i>Stamata Katopodi-filippara</i>	household	74
	<i>Theodoros Katopodis-benardis</i>	retired civil servant former dance teacher, founder of the folklore museum at Karya	47
	<i>Vassilis Katopodis-perivolaris</i>	civil servant	43
	<i>Spyros Kopsidas-fogios</i>	retired civil servant musician	76
	<i>Mitsos Ktenas-koukos</i>	oil-painter	47
	<i>Takis Ktenas-koukos</i>	oil-painter	46
	<i>Spyridoula Ktena-fasolia</i>	household	66
	<i>Eleni Stavvaka-fterougena</i>	household	65
	<i>Koula Stavvaka-kitsou</i>	retired	65
	<i>Thymios Stavvakas-ritos</i>	civil servant dance teacher	35
	<i>Petros Stavvakas-kokoros</i>	owner of embroidery shop	63
	<i>Stathis Vlachos-niskios</i>	teacher	43
Lefkada and others	<i>Elias Demas</i>	academic lecturer	54
	<i>Antonis Douvitsas</i>	trader/musician	26
	<i>Eleni Drakatou</i>	household	84
	<i>Marcos Dragoumis</i>	ethnomusicologist	62
	<i>Eleni Hatzopoulou</i>	PE teacher	49
	<i>Vassilis Thermos</i>	retired civil servant	50
	<i>Yiorgos Verykios</i>	musician	57
	<i>Rigili Verykiou</i>	household	50

### Stavrakas' Family



### Ktenas' Family



**Appendix 3:****Calendar List of Fairs of the****Island of Lefkada\***

<b>Date:</b>	<b>Saint:</b>	<b>Place:</b>
25/3	Annunciation Easter	Perigiali Kontarena
23/4	St. George	Spartochori
8/5	St. John the Theologian	Vournikas
10/5	Nicolas the Archimandrite of Nicopolis	Kariotes, Athani
21/5	St. Constantine and Helen Ascension Day	Katomeri
29/6	Holy Spirit St. Peter and Paul The Holy Fathers	Alatro, Aspogerakata, Frias Tsoukalades, Lefkada Agios Petros
7/7	St. Kyriaki	Alexandros
17/7	St. Marina	Vlycho, Nydri
20/7	Prophet Elias	Vafkeri, Komilio
26/7	St. Paraskevi	Eglouvi
3/8	St. Donatus	Agios Elias, Alexandros
6/8	The Transfiguration	Eglouvi
11/8	St. Spyridon	Nikiana Karya

15/8	The Assumption of Virgin Mary	Evgiros, Kalamitsi, Lygia, Dragano, Agios Vassilios
23/8	Virgin Mary's Death Memorial Virgin	Gyra, Hortatiata
8/9	Mary's birth	Syvros, Episkopi
15/9	St. Nikitas	Agios Nikitas
20/10	St. Gerassimos	Haradiatika
26/10	St. Dimitrios	Katochori, Manassi
12/12	St. Spyridon	Lazarata
17/12	St. Dionysios	Lefkada

**\*Note:** A list of the island's fairs is provided by Raftis (1985:127-128). However, the list has been checked and/or added during fieldwork.

#### **Appendix 4: Dance Clubs of the Island of Lefkada**

The dance clubs are presented in chronological order of the foundation of the dance clubs themselves, and not of the societies to which they belong. In the case of simultaneous foundation, the alphabetic order is followed. A lot of the information presented is included in the publications of the Cultural Centre of the Municipality of Lefkada regarding the '*Yiortes Logou ke Technis*'.

##### ***Mousikophilologikos Omilos 'Apollon Karyas'***

(Music-Philological Society 'Apollo of Karya')

It is said that the origins of the Society are found in the improvisatory and amateur theatre company of the village, whose history began in the middle and late 18th century. This claim can be found both in written texts (Vrettos 1991:53-54) and in statements by villagers such as Petros Stavrakas (*kokoros*) who was an active member of the theatre later on and had searched for its origins. Emerging from the efforts of these theatre companies to bring about a local cultural awakening, the Society was informally founded in 1955. The following year it presented its Articles. According to them the aim of the Society was the cultural development of the village and the preservation and promotion of the "Lefkadian" tradition. The Society took its name after the ancient Greek god, Apollon (for the mythological information used throughout the appendix see Murray 1994), who was worshipped at the island.

Music and dance schools were thus formed, the very first two of the island, an indication of the prosperity and development of Karya village in previous years. At that time both schools had the same teacher, the non-Lefkadian Nikos Thanos (*morinas*), who was a music teacher. He also assumed the responsibilities of the dance school as neither there was a dance teacher available on the island nor there was enough money to bring someone from another area. In a short time, the dance school became quite famous, through performances all over Greece and abroad (Italy, France, Spain, Sweden, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria). At the time of fieldwork, it had 70 students between 7-25 years old. In 1994, a class of people between 25 and 45 years old was formed (Karsanika Nea 1994). Although this was quite interesting, it still excluded people over 45 years of age,

some of whom have actively contributed to the foundation of the Society, an omission which was covered by 1996 establishment of a dance class for mature students (Karsanika Nea 1996).

***Mousikophilologikos Omilos 'Orpheas Lefkados'***

(Music-Philological Society 'Orpheus of Lefkada')

The main body of the Society, named after the son of Apollo Orpheus, who was a famous singer and lyre player, was founded in 1937 in the capital of the island and aimed at the cultural and spiritual development of Lefkada. At present, the 1/10 of the population of the island belongs to one of its nine sub-societies, namely mixed chorus, mandolins, music school, movie club, broadcasting station, theatrical workshop, philological club, folklore museum and dance school. The folklore museum, founded in 1978, deserves special mention as it exhibits more than one thousand items from rural and urban life of the island, is the first one on the island and among the few in the Ionian Islands. In 1992 a second museum was founded at Karya by Theodoros Katopodis. The Society in 1993 was awarded the prize of Letters and Arts by the Academy of Athens.

The dance school was founded in 1960. Its main goals are the preservation and dissemination of "Lefkadian", Ionian and Greek dances. At the time of writing, the dance school has 120 students between 5-25 years old; older people do not participate in the dance group. The school is also famous for its large wardrobe, namely 180 traditional costumes from various regions of Greece. Although its dance group is amateur, its fame has gone beyond the island. Frequent participation in the International Folklore Festival of Lefkada and other festivals all over Greece, performances abroad (Italy, United Kingdom, Spain, Sweden, France, Luxembourg, Switzerland, Germany, former Czechoslovakia, Turkey, Hungary) where it has won first prizes and prestigious distinctions, and programmes on Greek, Japanese, Sweden, Italian, Polonaise and Yugoslavia television, have all contributed to this fame. It is also a member of the International Organisation of Folk Art of UNESCO (for a detailed presentation of the Society see Perdicaris 1992).

***Mousikochoreftikos Omilos 'Nea Horodia Lefkadas'***

(Music and Dance Society 'New Chorus of Lefkada')

The society was founded in the capital of the island in 1964 with the aim of the preservation, maintenance and dissemination of the cultural heritage and tradition. At the time of fieldwork, it had six sub-societies, namely the male chorus, the mixed chorus, the mandolin school, the music school, the adults' dance school and the children's dance school. Regarding the dance school, the adults' section accepts students over fifteen years old. Its dance repertory includes dances from *Eptanissa* (Lefkada, Kerkyra and Kephallonia), Epiros, Thessalia, Macedonia, Thraci (Thrace), Aegean Islands and Asia Minor. Performances have taken place both in Greece (International Folklore Festival of Lefkada and others) and abroad (Germany, France, Italy, Cyprus, Egypt, and Spain). The children's dance school was founded in 1988 and at present it has 140 children between 6-14 years old. This group has also performed at the island of Lefkada and all over Greece.

***Politistikos Syllogos Nydriou ke Perichoron 'Alexandros'***

(Cultural Association of Nydri and its Environs 'Alexander')

The association was founded in 1990 at Nydri, but named after either the village Alexandros or Aristotle Onassis' son, with the intention of developing the cultural and educational status of the area, the preservation of the cultural traditions of the island, the foundation of various sport clubs, the foundation of folklore museum, etc. At the time of writing it had 130 members. The foundation of a theatrical club and a music school are among its future plans. In its attempt to preserve the cultural heritage, the Association has organised a dance school for 220 students between 5-18 years old. Greek dances from various regions are performed at Nydri and its environs, including the island of Meganissi. The Association has also introduced the annual festivities in memory of the Ionian Islands' union to Greece and established the Cultural Summer Week at the area.



***Omilos Laikon Horon 'Pegasos'***  
(Society of Popular Dances 'Pegasus')

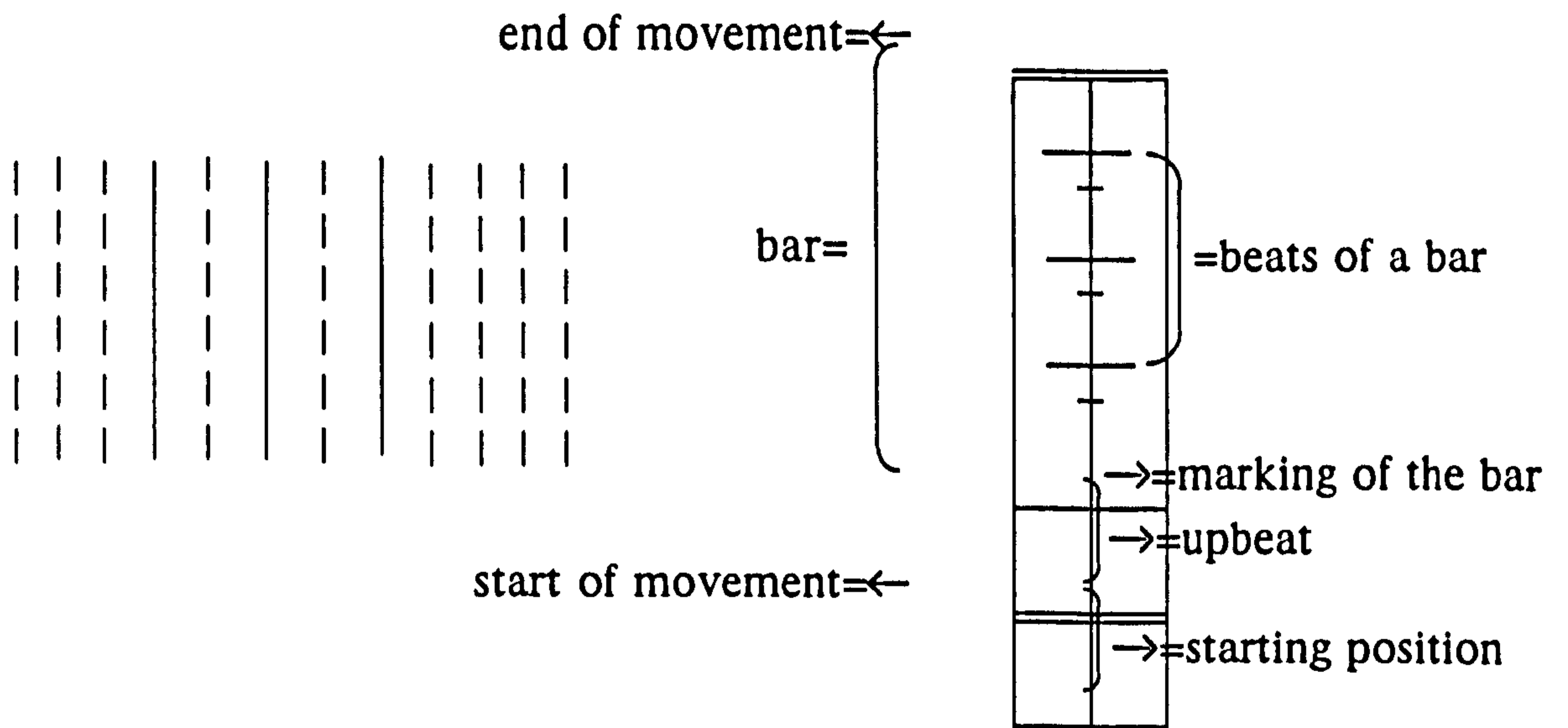
The society took its name after the winged horse of ancient Greek mythology Pegasus. It was founded in 1990 at the capital of Lefkada and aimed at the teaching and preservation of Greek traditional dances and songs. Its repertoire includes dances and songs from all over Greece. Performances have been presented in many villages of Lefkada, in Xanthi, Rhodos (Rhodes) and abroad (Cyprus and Italy). In addition it has participated in some programmes on the Greek television. The preservation of a large wardrobe of traditional Greek costumes is an additional activity of the society.

***Mousikophilologikos Omilos Notiou Lefkadas 'Lefkatas'***  
(Music and Dance Society of South Lefkada 'Lefkatas')

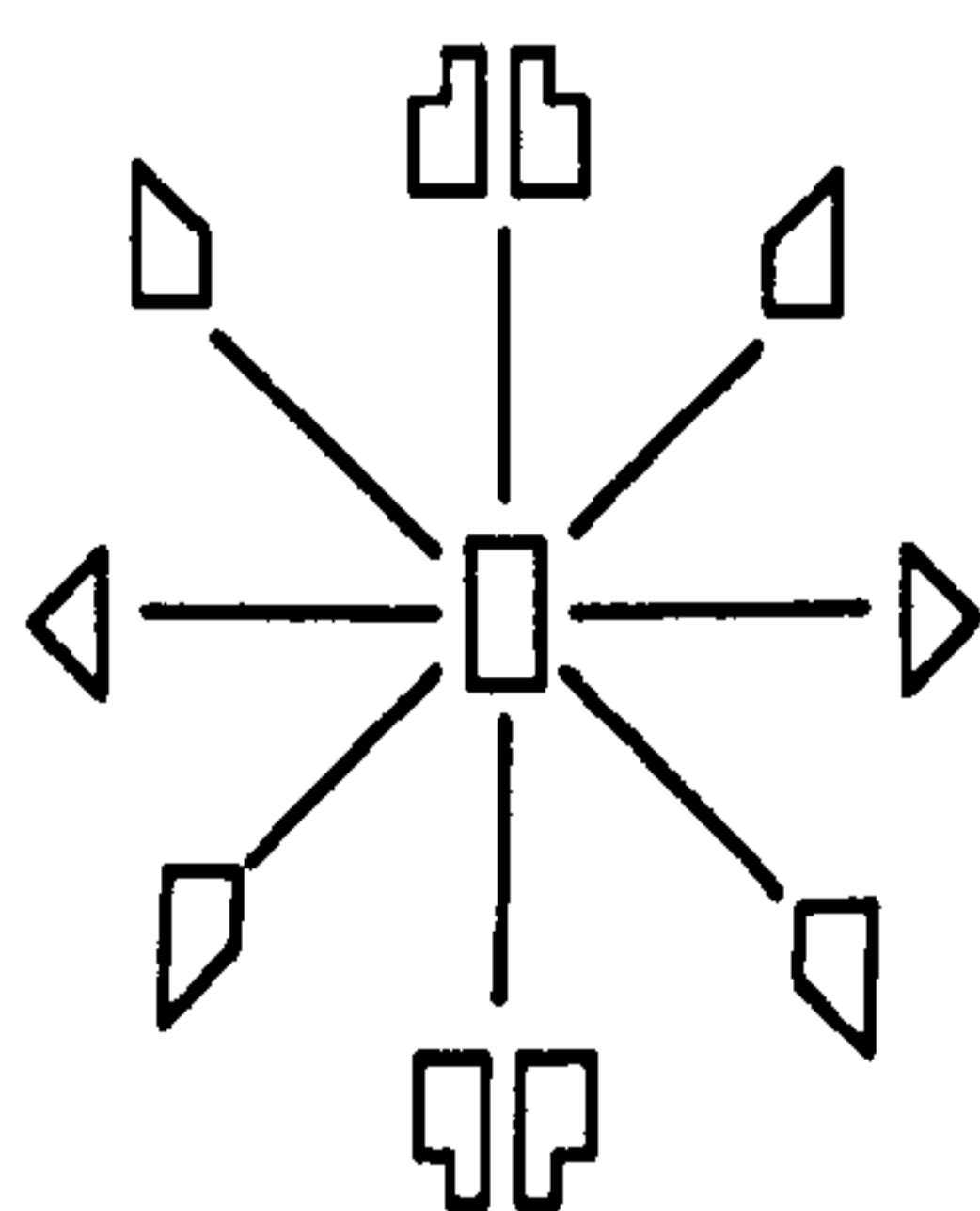
It was founded in 1993 by islanders of south Lefkada and named after the cape Lefkatas. The society aimed at the promotion and preservation of the institutions and the traditions of the island, and at the improvement and development of the cultural status of that area of the island through the strengthening of human relations. The first appearance of its dance group was in 1994 in the International Folklore Festival of Lefkada.

**Appendix 5: Labanotation Symbols Used in the Analysis**

**Staff and Columns - Marking off Elements of Music**



**Direction in Space:** is indicated by the shape of symbol



- place= □
- forward= ▤
- backward= ▥
- right side= ▷
- left side= ◁
- right forward diagonal= ▸
- left forward diagonal= ◂
- right backward diagonal= ◃
- left backward diagonal= ◅

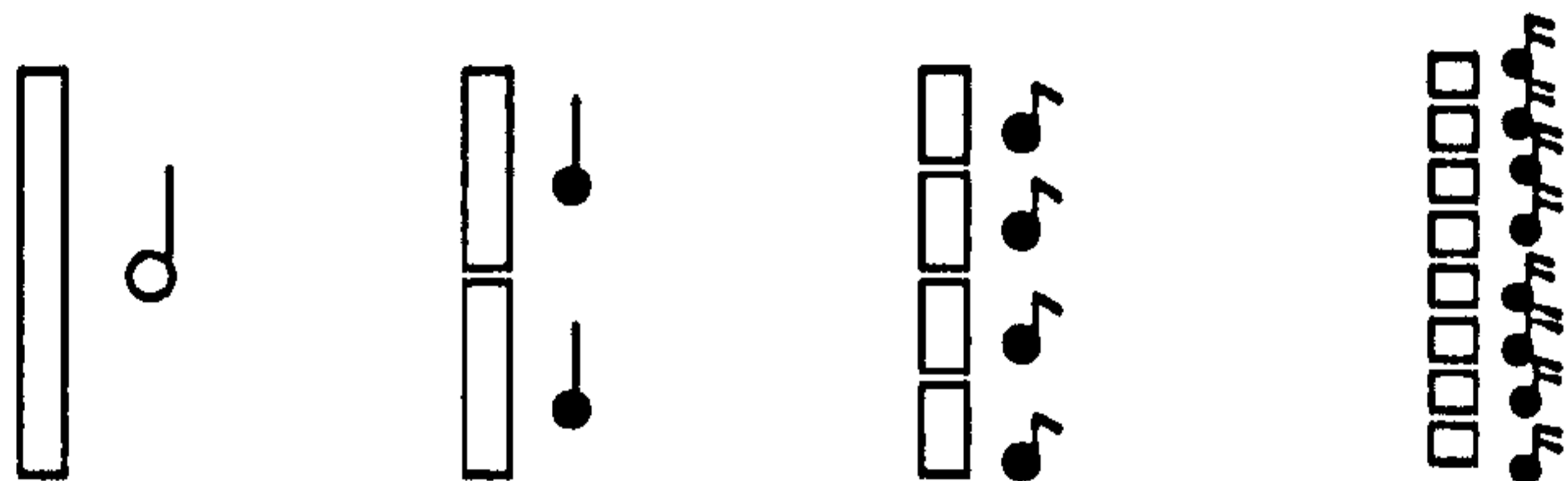
**Level:** is indicated by the shading inside the symbol

a high level= 




a middle level= 



a low level= 

**Timing:** is indicated by the length of symbol






**Part Moving:** is indicated by the placement of the symbol on the staff (see above)

**Turns:** right:  turn right or left (for gestures: the untwisted state) :  left: 

**Circling:** right:  left: 

**Relationship Pins:**

relationship of supports in sideways steps:  =forward  =backward

the extremity of arms and/or legs is in front of the midline of the body: 

in the turn symbols it shows the amount of turn 

in a circular path it shows the amount of circling

### Vertical Bow:

( or ) =by tying two symbols, it shows that the two actions happen at the same time

### Hold - Cancellation Signs:

- =hold sign
- ◇ =space hold
- ◉ =back to normal

### Focal Point:

- =on the appropriate side or corner of turn signs, certain instructions are given for the amount of turn
- =as a key at the start of the score or during the score to indicate particular directions

Sex:     ♀ =boy  
           ♂ =girl

### Contraction of the Limbs - Degrees:

- × =1st degree (rounded)
- \* =2nd    "    (bent)
- \* =3rd    "    (90o angle)
- \* =4th    "    (increasingly
- \* =5th    "    flexed)
- \* =6th    "    (totally flexed)

### Repeat Signs:

a) placed within the staff:

· / 1, 2, etc. =with a number below it indicates the identical repetition of a particular measure

· / A, B, etc.=with a capital letter below it indicates the identical repetition of a particular part

b) placed outside the staff:

·  
1, 2, etc.    =repeat total of the indicated  
1, 2, etc.    times the same side

## First and Second Ending:

[ =they are alongside each of the two endings;  
[ the number of the ending is placed inside  
[ each bracket

**Analogy Sign:** λ =ad libitum

**Dynamic Sign:** ∩ or ∪ =slight accent

## Foot Hooks:

∪ ∩ =toe  
∩ ∪ =ball  
∩ ∩ =heel

## Specific Parts of the Body:

↑ ↑ =shoulder

↗ ↖ =wrist

↗ ↖ =hand

↗ ↖ =fingers

⊠ =the chest (the exact part of contact of these body parts

⊠ =the waist are indicated by a short line placed in the

⊠ =the pelvis correspondent point)

⊠ =the waist and chest combination

⊠ =palm

⊠ =back of hand

## Relationship Signs, Horizontal Bows:

⌒ =momentary touch

⌒ =momentary grasp

⌒ =retention of grasp

⌒ =holding of object

**Vertical Bows, Brackets:**

< or > =caret=continuation;same part of the body

) =phrasing bow

} =inclusion bow

**Deviations:**

↵ =deviation to the right .

└ =deviation to the left

**Vertical Lines:** | =action stroke, duration line

**Butterflies:**=divided leg and arm columns in order to describe the movements of the upper and lower parts

## Appendix 6: Terminology of Laban's Effort System Used in the Analysis

**Motion Factors** are common to all movements. In qualitative measurements they can be described as the moving person's "attitude towards" weight, flow, time and space (North 1972:231-243).

**Kinesphere:** the sphere around the body whose periphery can be reached by easily extended limbs without stepping away from that place which is the point of support (Laban 1966:10).

**Translatory Symmetry:** 'translatory' is one of the many forms of the harmonic principle 'symmetry' and refers to a repetition of a regular spatial motif. In this study it is used in relation to the body, when a corps of dancers all show the same body design (Daff and Oqlesby 1989:7).

**Harmonic Principles:** the various proportional relationships or ordering principles embodied in the content of harmony (Daff and Oqlesby 1989:5-6).

**Spatial progression:** the direction of the motion, the spatial pattern perceived through time (Preston-Dunlop 1981:54).

**Spatial tension:** a way of moving or of holding a position which causes a connection to be seen between two parts of one dancer's body, or the bodies of two dancers, or one dancer's body and a focal point in the environment (Preston-Dunlop 1981:54-55).

**Spatial projection:** a line or a curve which continues beyond the body into the kinesphere or on into the shared space. It is not an actual line but an illusory line which is perceived to be there by the dancer's intention and/or performance (Preston-Dunlop 1981:56).

**Space:** it is used in two ways; either as a motion factor of Effort that presents sustained and sudden qualities or as pathways, directions and progression.

## Appendix 7: Detailed Qualitative Stylistic Analysis of the Dances

### ***Milia Dance***

A first look at the effort graph (Table 5.1.1) shows that it does not include transitional phases, while the treatment of the body is specific. In particular, the performers' bodies function as a whole and there is not a separation of the lower to the upper part or of the head to the trunk. Thus, the presentation of dynamics refers to a one-unit, erect body whose centre of gravity settles on the diaphragm and creates an upright position maintained throughout the dance. This body position reinforces the weight factor of the performance. The latter appears constantly light in varied degrees. During the performance, two flexible efforts also appear in combination with the two predominant qualities, namely lightness of the effort weight and boundness of the effort flow.

The feeling of boundness in the flow factor is confirmed by a number of factors. The handhold of the arms around the shoulders is among the most significant ones. This sort of handhold restricts the movements and permits a limited degree of freedom. Apart from the actual touching, it affects the relationship among the dancers. The latter is strong because of the proximity of their bodies and the overlapping of their kinespheres as the arms are around the shoulders. The boundness is reinforced by the maintenance of the same body design by the dancers and the inevitable shift of their kinespheres in the same direction in the form of translatory symmetry in each of the two dance segments.

With regard to the other two motion factors, time and space, the former is defined by the metric use of the music, while the latter, the use of space, is expressed in the form of pathways, directions and progressions. Forward, backward, right and left side directions are used, with the right one predominant which is achieved by small steps in a curved pathway. However, this horizontal progression is combined with a vertical straight progression created by a continuous pulse which dominates the performance. This pulse originates from the constant touch and lift of the heel. Thus, the sole is not in continuous touch with the ground, which results in a sense of lightness in the movement. However, this persistent weight-time pulse is earthbound. Its agreement with the music



accent plays an important role in this, as the downward direction of the pulse coincides with the strong beats of the music, giving the feeling that it is connected to the ground and vice versa.

### ***Lemonia* Dance**

The absence of transitional phases and the one-unit, erect body with the centre of gravity settled on the diaphragm are characteristics of the effort graph of *lemonia* (Table 5.1.2). The weight factor presents varied degrees of lightness that are constantly present. Lightness of the effort weight along with boundness of the effort flow are the predominant motion factors of the performance. The crossing handhold is among the most significant parameters for the feeling of boundness in the flow factor. This sort of handhold allows a limited degree of freedom as it is listed among the most restrictive ones. Indicating the actual touching, it is also responsible for the strong relationship among the dancers as it results in the bodily closeness of the performers and the large overlapping of their kinespheres. The boundness is enhanced by the maintenance of the same body design by all the dancers throughout the dance and the inevitable shift of their kinespheres in the same direction in the form of translatory symmetry in both dance segments.

With regard to the other two motion factors, time and space, the former is defined by the metric use of the music, while the latter, the use of space, is expressed as pathways, directions and progressions. Forward, backward, right and left side directions are used with predominantly the right one which is achieved by small steps in a curved pathway. However, this horizontal progression is less important than the vertical straight progression originated from a continuous pulse which dominates the performance. Constant touch and lift of the heel results in periodic touch of the sole on the ground, colouring the movement with a sense of lightness. This persistent weight-time pulse is earthbound as the downward direction of the pulse coincides with the strong beats of the music, giving a sense that it is connected to the ground and vice versa.

### ***Barbouni Dance***

The absence of transitional phases and the one-unit, erect body with the centre of gravity settled on the diaphragm characterise this effort graph (Table 5.1.3). The weight motion factor of the performance presents varied degrees of lightness which along with the boundness of the effort flow are constantly present. The handhold of the arms around the shoulders contributes to the feeling of boundness as it restricts the movements and permits a limited degree of freedom, while it indicates actual touching and strong relationships among the dancers because of the proximity of their bodies and the overlapping of their kinespheres. The boundness is strengthened by the maintenance of the same body design by the dancers and the inevitable shift of their kinespheres in the same direction in the form of translatory symmetry in each of the two dance segments.

With regard to the other two motion factors, time and space, the former is defined by the metric use of the music, while the latter, the use of space is expressed in the form of pathways, directions and progressions. Right and left side directions are used with predominantly the right one, which is achieved by small steps in a curved pathway. This horizontal progression is combined with a vertical straight one created by a continuous pulse appearing throughout the performance. Originating from the constant touch and lift of the heel, the pulse gives the movement a sense of lightness. This persistent weight-time pulse is earthbound as the downward direction of the pulse coincides with the strong beats of the music, giving the feeling that it is connected to the ground and vice versa.

### ***Karavakia Dance***

The absence of the transitional phases and the one-unit, erect body with the centre of gravity settled on the diaphragm are present in the effort graph of *karavakia* (Table 5.1.4). The effort weight factor appears in varied degrees of continuous lightness which is continuously present apart from one strong effort weight. Lightness of the effort weight along with boundness of the effort flow are the predominant motion factors of the performance. The feeling of boundness in the flow factor is confirmed by a number of factors. The crossing handhold is the most significant one. This sort of handhold allows a limited degree of freedom as

it is among the most restrictive ones. Apart from the actual touching, it affects the relationships among the dancers. The latter is very strong because of the bodily closeness of the performers and the overlapping of their kinespheres as the arms are crossed. The boundness is reinforced by the maintenance of the same body design by all the dancers throughout the dance and the inevitable shift of their kinespheres in the same direction in the form of translatory symmetry in both dance segments.

With regard to the other two motion factors, time and space, the former is defined by the metric use of the music, while the latter, the use of space, is expressed as pathways, directions and progressions. Forward, backward, right and left side directions are used with the right one predominant, which is achieved by small steps in a curved pathway. However, this horizontal progression is of less importance than the vertical straight progression created by a continuous pulse which dominates the performance. This pulse originates from the constant touch and lift of the heel. Thus, the sole is not in continuous touch with the ground throughout the dance that gives to the movement a sense of lightness. The persistent weight-time pulse is earthbound. Accordance with the music accent plays an important role in this, as the downward direction of the pulse coincides with the strong beats of the music, giving the feeling that it is connected to the ground and vice versa. The appearance of a jump does not affect the overall quality of the dance.

### ***Ballos Dance***

The absence of transitional phases and the dynamics that refer to a one-unit, erect body functioning as a whole and keeping an upright position as the centre of gravity settles on the diaphragm are the most obvious features of this effort graph (Table 5.1.5). This body position reinforces the effort weight factor of the performance. This is presented in various degrees of lightness which are constantly present apart from one strong effort weight. Lightness of the effort weight along with boundness of the effort flow are the predominant motion factors of the performance.

The feeling of boundness in the flow factor is confirmed by a number of

factors. The handhold with bent elbows is among the important ones. This kind of handhold allows some degree of freedom but it is also restrictive. Apart from the actual touching, it affects the relationships among the dancers who are close to each other. Even during the second dance segment, when the dancers do not touch each other, the flow factor remains bound as the hands do not move freely but have a specific position. The boundness is reinforced by the maintenance of the same body design by all the dancers throughout the dance and the inevitable shift of their kinespheres in the same direction in the form of translatory symmetry in both dance segments.

With regard to the other two motion factors, time and space, the former is defined by the metric use of the music, while the latter, the use of space, is expressed in the form of pathways, directions and progressions. Right and left side directions are used with the right one predominant, which is achieved by steps in a curved pathway. This horizontal progression is of equal importance with the vertical straight progression. The former is created by the running steps during the first dance segment and the jumps of the second dance segment, while the latter by the pulse which is present at certain moments of the performance. Running, jumping and pulse colour the movement with a feeling of lightness.

### ***Th(e)iakos Dance***

The absence of transitional phases and use of the one-unit erect body are the main points in the effort graph (Table 5.1.6). The effort weight factor of the performance appears in various degrees of lightness that are constantly present apart from one strong effort weight. Lightness of the effort weight along with boundness of the effort flow are the predominant motion factors of the performance. The handhold with bent elbows, the actual touching and the inevitable relationships among the dancers support the feeling of boundness in the flow factor. The boundness is reinforced by the maintenance of the same body design by all the dancers throughout the dance and the inevitable shift of their kinespheres in the same direction in the form of translatory symmetry in both dance segments.

With regard to the other two motion factors, time and space, the former is

defined by the metric use of the music, while the latter, the use of space, is expressed as pathways, directions and progressions. Right and left side directions are used with the right one predominant, which is achieved by steps in a curved pathway. This horizontal progression is of equal importance with the vertical straight progression. The former is created by running steps during the first dance segment and jumps during the second dance segment, while the latter by the pulse that is present at certain moments of the performance. Running, jumping and pulse gives to the movement a sense of lightness.

### ***Patinada Dance***

Although the dance is performed in couples, boundness of the effort flow along with lightness of the effort weight are the predominant motion factors of the performance (Table 5.1.7). Transitional phases are absent and the dancers' body functions as a one-unit in erect position. The active movement of the arms mainly support the lightness of the movement, while apart from the actual touching and the relationship among the dancers, they also corroborate the boundness. The boundness is further strengthened by the maintenance of the same body design by all the dancers throughout the dance and the inevitable shift of their kinespheres in the same direction in the form of translatory symmetry. With regard to the other two motion factors, time and space, the former is defined by the metric use of the music, while the latter is expressed in terms of pathways, directions and progressions. Forward and backward, right and left directions are used with that of the forward in a curved pathway predominant.

### ***Tsamikos Dance***

Qualitative analysis is carried out for both sexes for the peculiarities of their performances that have already been mentioned in the main text. Thus, male and female *tsamikos* are presented. However, in this case, the effort is not presented step by step as the structure is not fixed. Of course, there is a quality colouring the performance which is specific in relation to the particular steps but is free in the improvisatory parts. This is the reason why the effort graph concerns the overall quality presented throughout the performance and is not related element

by element with the Labanotation score. The female *tsamikos* presents a more organised structure, yet the various isolated improvisations can take place at every moment of the performance (Table 5.1.8).

In the male *tsamikos* three motion factors appear, namely flow, weight and time. The flow factor is bound, the weight factor alternates between strong and light but lightness is predominant, and the time factor is sustained. The main motion factor is that of sustained time which is justified by the existence of the dancer's improvisation in place during the music improvisation of *verso*. In the case of the female *tsamikos* two motion factors appear, namely flow and weight. When, the dance is performed with specific structure, these factors present bound and light qualities respectively. When, the dance is improvised, these factors demonstrate free and light qualities. It can be seen that there is a change of the flow motion factor between bound and free in the two cases. However, this does not change the fact that both refer to one motion factor, that is flow, which is present throughout the performance.

### ***Syrtos Argos* Dance - *Syrtos Grigoros* Dance**

*Syrtos argos* and *syrtos grigoros* are performed in an improvisatory combination of the forms of *syrtos kalamatianos* and *syrtos sta dyo*. This demands an overall qualitative analysis and not a step by step examination (Table 5.1.9 and 5.1.10). Thus, in *syrtos argos* two motion factors appear, light flow and bound weight. *Syrtos grigoros* demonstrates the same motion factors. However, whereas weight is light, flow is free. The flow motion factor can sometimes be substituted by the flexible motion factor of space. In any case, it is observed that the accent of the music is respectively emphasised in the dance performance either with flexibility or with delicateness, giving the sense of lightness.

### ***Yiannis o Meratianos, Marathianos or Peratianos* Dance**

The absence of transitional phases and the dynamics that refer to a one-unit, erect body that functions as a whole and keeps an upright position as the centre of gravity settles on the diaphragm characterise the effort graph of this dance (Table

5.1.11). This body position reinforces the effort weight factor of the performance. Various degrees of lightness are constantly present throughout the dance. Lightness of the effort weight along with boundness of the effort flow are the predominant motion factors of the performance.

The feeling of boundness in the flow factor is confirmed by a number of factors. The handhold with bent elbows is among the most important ones. This kind of handhold allows some degree of freedom but it is also restrictive. Apart from the actual touching, it affects the relationships among the dancers who are inevitably close to each other. The boundness is reinforced by the maintenance of the same body design by all the dancers throughout the dance and the inevitable shift of their kinespheres in the same direction in the form of translatory symmetry in both dance segments. With regard to the other two motion factors, time and space, the former is defined by the metric use of the music, while the latter is expressed as pathways, directions and progressions. Right and left side directions are used with the right one predominant, which is achieved by steps in a curved pathway. This horizontal progression is combined with a vertical straight progression. The latter results from a continuous pulse which dominates the performance. This pulse originates from the constant touch and lift of the heel. Thus, the sole is not in continuous touch with the ground throughout the dance, and gives to the movement a sense of lightness. The persistent weight-time pulse is earthbound. Accordance with the music accent plays an important role in this, as the downward direction of the pulse coincides with the strong beats of the music, giving the feeling that it is connected to the ground and vice versa.

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**Note:** Abbreviations are used for the following journals and associations:

ASA	=Association of Social Anthropologists
CORD	=Congress on Research of Dance
EEAM	=Επετηρίς Εταιρείας Λευκαδικών Μελετών [Yearbook of the Association of Lefkadian Studies]
(E)KEEA	=(Επετηρίς) του Κέντρου Έρευνας Ελληνικής Λαογραφίας [(Yearbook) of the Research Centre of Greek Folklore]
EOMMEX	=Ελληνικός Οργανισμός Μικρομεσαίων Μεταποιητικών Επιχειρήσεων και Χειροτεχνίας (Hellenic Organisation of Small and Medium Sized Industries and Handicrafts)
IFMC	=International Folk Music Council
ICTM	=International Council for Traditional Music
IOFA	=International Organisation of Folk Art
JASHM	=Journal of Anthropological Study of Human Movement
JMGS	=Journal of Modern Greek Studies
NRCD	=National Resource Centre of Dance
ΟΔΕΒ	=Οργανισμός Διάδοσης Επτανησιακού Βιβλίου [Institution for the Distribution of the Ionian Literature]

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