

French Images of Greek Music from Mikis Theodorakis to Chris Marker: Notions of Heritage and Multiple Identities

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The present study examines the processes of appropriation, reception, and interpretation of Greek music in France from the 1950s through the 1980s, as presented in various images and discourses diffused in the media, cultural productions, and the tourist industry. It offers the initial results of my research on the history of how such representations illuminate the processes by which Greek musical identity was constructed in France during the second half of the twentieth century. This question, which has been at the center of various discussions in Greece for at least the last two decades, retains its privileged position in current Greek musicological discourse. The question of Greek musical identity both in Greece and abroad has been the subject of a recent book edited by Dafni Tragaki, which includes Gail Host-Warhaft's study of rebetiko and its perception as "essentially Greek music" in countries such as Italy, Germany, Israel, and the United States.¹ However, the reception of Greek music in France is not discussed, despite the many intellectual and artistic relationships the two countries maintained throughout the twentieth century.²

What could be defined as "Greek" in France during the years 1950–90? It suffices to recall the sojourn of Odysseas Elytis in Paris in the early 1930s, the activities of E. Tériade and Christian Zervos, the famous episode of Mataroa in 1947, as well as the numerous travels in Greece of French writers from André Gide to Roland Barthes.³ Thus, the manner in which these cultural interactions contributed to the process of constructing Greece's musical identity in France still requires particular attention.

Several Greek musicians became associated with musical Greekness in France during the period in question, including Nana Mouskouri, Demis Roussos, Melina Mercouri, Iannis Xenakis, Georges Moustaki, Maria Farandouri, Irene Papas, Georges Aperghis, and Manos

1 Gail Holst-Warhaft, "Is Zorba More Greek than Greek Music? How Greek Music Is Perceived and Reproduced Beyond Greece's Borders," in *Made in Greece: Studies in Popular Music*, ed. Dafne Tragaki, (Oxford and New York: Routledge, 2018), 219–28.

2 "France" is absent from the book's index.

3 For more on these exchanges, see Servanne Jollivet and Nicolas Manidakis, eds, *Le voyage du Mataroa: Portrait d'une génération en exil* (Athens: Hestia, 2017); Lucile Arnoux-Farnoux and Polina Kosmadaki, *Le double voyage: Paris–Athènes 1919–1939* (Athens: École française d'Athènes, 2018); and Sophie Basch, *Le mirage grec* (Paris: Hatier, 1995).

Hadjidakis. And of course, there was Maria Callas, who resided in Paris during the final years of her life and maintained a well-known relationship with French conductor Georges Prêtre. French familiarity with these artists resulted in a multiplicity of French impressions of what Greek music was, far beyond the one-dimensional sound of Zorba's *syrtaki* and the bouzouki. For instance, the recordings *Chants de la Grèce* (1966) or *Chants de mon pays* (1968) by Nana Mouskouri, who arrived in France in 1960, have symbolized Greece in the popular French imagination since the 1960s. But by contrast, the names of Maria Farandouri and Irene Papas, singers of the musical repertory of *entechno*, are still associated with the political Left and in particular the resistance against the Greek Junta of 1967–74. While the music of Angélique Ionatos is appreciated by a more restricted, one might say elite, French public that is particularly attuned to the musics of the Mediterranean, we may question the relation between her works and the avant-garde creations of Georges Aperghis and Iannis Xenakis. Noting those contrasting impressions of Greekness in music, we may further question what identifiably Greek commonalities exist between the music of Demis Roussos, ex-member of the progressive rock group Aphrodite's Child, and the "metic" music of Georges Moustaki; or between the recordings of Ocora-Radio France and *Never on Sunday* as sung by Melina Mercouri. Finally, we must also question why musicians like Giorgos Dalaras, Charis Alexiou, Stelios Kazantzidis, Dimitris Mitropanos, and Dionysis Savvopoulos—all considered as iconic performers of *laïko* and *rebetiko* within Greece—have remained unknown in France, despite those genres having gained special interest during the 1980s as French music lovers were becoming increasingly attentive to world music.

To address this question, I have chosen to focus on the Greek composer Mikis Theodorakis (1925–2021) and the French filmmaker Chris Marker (1921–2012), with all the connotations their names carry. As prominent cultural actors in France, both Theodorakis and Marker confronted questions about Greek music, ancient heritage, and the relationship between people and their past. Theodorakis is known primarily for elevating *entechno* music to international artistic status, while Marker was central in promoting Greek avant-garde composer Iannis Xenakis (1922–2001). Associating a filmmaker with a composer for this purpose stems from my concern for interdisciplinarity and my wish to account for differences between the audiences for their respective discourses and artistic works, differences in which the definition of Greek musical identity in France is based above all in contexts of perception. Its representations vary according to the medium analyzed: discs, books, musicological articles, television documentaries, public commercials, and reviews.

The Two Poles of Greek Music in France: Mikis Theodorakis and Iannis Xenakis

The development of Greek musical identity in the twentieth century cannot be separated from the emergence of world music as a widely accepted category, which coincided with the development of mass tourism in Greece. A consequence of the voluntarist politics encouraged by different Greek governments since the early 1950s, the rapid growth of tourism accompanied and fuelled a period of increased economic prosperity resulting from financial reforms and investment programs following the end of World War II.⁴ Because this

4 Paris Tsartas, *Du tourisme de masse au tourisme alternatif* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1998), 9–65; Joëlle Dalègre, *La Grèce depuis 1940* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2006), 101–6; and Mathilde Chèze, "Les

social and economic prosperity depended primarily upon attracting foreign money, it encouraged Greeks' complicity in satisfying and conforming to foreigners' idealizations of their country as uniquely hospitable and politically stable. In Greek intellectual circles, the extent to which Greeks themselves began to define Greekness in terms of outsiders' expectations provoked profound reflection on the nature of what might constitute an authentic Greek identity, already long subsumed under the concept of "Hellenism."⁵ The polemical nature of these debates directly led to the emergence of divergent conceptions of Greek musical identity, as reflected in the work of Theodorakis and Xenakis, both of whom maintained close relationships with France and enjoyed considerable popularity there during the 1970s and 80s.

Theodorakis first sojourned in France between 1954 and 1958 with the support of a grant from the Greek state.⁶ From the outset of his contact with France, Theodorakis's reputation there relied on intertwining his entechno-influenced musical compositions and his leftist politics, as evidenced by his emblematic friendship with first secretary of the French Socialist Party, François Mitterrand.⁷ In addition to the popularity of his musical works, Theodorakis's struggle against the Greek dictatorship, which had led to his incarceration and ultimate expatriation to France in 1970, also helped him acquire a position of high artistic and political esteem in leftist circles.⁸ The depth of his connection with the French political Left was marked in 1977 by his composition, at Mitterrand's request, of the Socialist Party's hymn *Changer la vie*. Written to support the Socialists' campaign for the legislative elections of 1978, which would see the party greatly consolidate its power, Theodorakis considered *Changer la vie* as his particularly Greek musical contribution to the socialist cause, as he explained on French television in 1977.⁹ In the 1970s, Theodorakis's political views also found an audience in France through published translation of writings such as his *Culture et dimensions politiques* (1972), prefaced by the communist author Roger Garaudy, and *Les fiancés de Pénélope* (1975), a book of interviews with Denis Bourgeois and a preface by

Français en Grèce: Du tourisme de lettrés au tourisme de masse (années 1930–années 1990)," *Histoire et politique* 28 (2016): 126–44.

- 5 Eleni Kallimopoulou, *Paradosiaka: Music, Meaning and Identity in Modern Greece* (London: Ashgate, 2009); Yiannis Zaimakis, "'Forbidden Fruits' and the Communist Paradise: Marxist Thinking on Greekness and Class in Rebetika," *Music & Politics* 4 (2010): 1–26; and Georges Prévélakis, *Qui sont les Grecs?* (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 2017).
- 6 Paris is synonymous with "solitude" for Theodorakis, who confessed in 2007 that "France has been crucial in my life because it offered me a refuge." Quoted in Yorgos Archimandritis, *Mikis Théodorakis par lui-même*, trans. Anne-Laure Brisac and Florence Lozet (Arles: Actes Sud, 2011), 199–200; for the Theodorakis-Mitterrand friendship, see Archimandritis, *Mikis Théodorakis*, 181–97.
- 7 François Mitterrand, preface to Mikis Théodorakis, *Les fiancés de Pénélope* (Paris: Grasset, 1975), i–v; and Jack Lang, preface to Archimandritis, *Mikis Théodorakis*, 11–12.
- 8 Dalègre, *La Grèce depuis 1940*, 124–26.
- 9 "Changer la vie: l'hymne du PS en 1977," video recording available on the website of the Institut National de l'Audiovisuel (INA), <http://fresques.ina.fr/miterrand/fiche-media/Mitter00139/changer-la-vie-l-hymne-du-ps-en-1977.html>.

Mitterrand. Theodorakis's status among French leftists was further improved with Mitterrand's election as President of the French Republic in May 1981, followed five months later by the victory of Andreas Papandreou and the socialist party PASOK in Greece, and all in the same year that Greece acceded to the European Economic Community. Although French-Greek political relationships would become strained in the 1980s, the French translation of Theodorakis's two-volume memoir, *Les chemins de l'archange*, published by Belfon in 1989–90 shortly after the 1986 publication of the Greek original, attests to the composer's lasting esteem in France throughout the decade.¹⁰

Theodorakis's position in French musical life had been partly established with the help of other musicians who popularized his music. For example, his *L'été sera beau* had been performed by Jean Ferrat in 1965; his *Enfant de la Grèce* and *Chansons pour Andreas* by Georges Moustaki in 1970; and *To trévo φεύγει στις 8* (The Train Departs at 8) by Dalida, who performed Pierre Delanoë's arrangement under the title *Mon frère le soleil*, also in 1970. In the early 1970s, the film score composer Gérard Calvi (1922–2015), who collaborated with many leading French film directors, recorded his *12 Chansons de Mikis Théodorakis*, which included orchestral arrangements of the composer's most popular hits in France.¹¹ Theodorakis's reputation became so great in France that it generally overshadowed the work other Greek composers of *laïka* songs until the 1980s. Although Manos Hadjidakis had been known to the French public through his music for the film *Never on Sunday*, such prominent composers as Yannis Markopoulos, Stavros Xarhakos, Nikos Mamangakis, and Manos Loizos remained unknown. By the mid-1980s, this had begun to change, as evidenced by Charis Alexiou's 1986 concert at Paris's Théâtre de la Ville, which gave the Parisian public the chance to hear the music of Tsitsanis, Hadjidakis, Loizos, and Markopoulos alongside that of Theodorakis.¹²

If Theodorakis popularized the entechno style in France, the music of French-Greek composer Iannis Xenakis, along with that of his student George Aperghis, was taken to represent the opposite, avant-garde end of the stylistic spectrum. Theodorakis himself characterized this contrast in 2007:

Les critiques musicaux [français] considéraient mes œuvres symphoniques comme des pièces "folkloriques," à l'instar de n'importe quel morceau doté d'une ligne mélodique. Ils sont incapables de comprendre que de nos jours on peut écrire des mélodies. Et ils parlent du "folklore" d'un ton méprisant. Alors quand de toute la musique que j'ai composée, ils imaginent que je n'ai écrit que Zorba [...] qu'est-ce que vous voulez. Xenakis était d'un autre bord, ils avaient deux Grecs à comparer. Xenakis et Théodorakis, les deux pôles de la musique grecque contemporaine. L'intello et le Populaire.¹³

10 For Franco-Greek relations, see Mathilde Chèze, *La France en Grèce: Étude de la politique culturelle française en territoire hellène du début des années 1930 à 1981* (Paris: Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales-INALCO, 2013), 431–40, <https://tel.archives-ouvertes.fr/tel-00966630>.

11 Disque Magellan 526052T [1973?].

12 "Haris Alexiou au Théâtre de la Ville," *Le Monde*, 26 April 1986.

13 Archimandritis, *Mikis Théodorakis*, 196–97.

(French music critics considered my symphonic works as folkloric pieces, as one might any piece with a melodic line. They are incapable of understanding that it is possible to write melodies nowadays. And they talk about "folklore" with contempt. If from all the music that I have composed they think that I am only the composer of Zorba [...] then what do you expect? Xenakis was from a different side, they had two Greeks to compare. Xenakis and Theodorakis, the two poles of contemporary Greek music. The intellectual and the popular.)

However, with the rise in the number of voyagers between 1950 and 1980 and the advent of mass tourism, the image of Greek music changed in a decisive manner. Rather than a quest for origins, aesthetic pilgrimage, and a desire for otherness, a voyage to Greece now represented a search for sun and entertainment.¹⁴ In 1960 Jacques Lacarrière first noted the mutation caused by the influx of tourists. Besides the development of touristic infrastructure (hotels, clubs, seaside resorts, roads), cruise trips introduced occidental music like cha-cha-cha.¹⁵ Admittedly, if one considers the fox-trot and tango vogue in Greece between the wars, that phenomenon was not entirely new. On the other hand, the growth of mass tourism coincided with the composition of the first entechno musical works of Theodorakis (*Epitafios*, 1959) and with the reevaluation of rebetiko after 1945.¹⁶

In the 1960s, Greek music in France had become associated with the entechno style of Theodorakis and Hadjidakis, which revealed an image rather different from that promoted by the Manolis Kalomiris's national school in the first quarter of the twentieth century.¹⁷ The entechno style crystallized easily recognizable and memorable tunes, widespread through cinema and commercial recordings. In the first rank are the films *Children of Piraeus* (also known as *Never on Sunday*, 1960) and *Zorba the Greek* (1964), whose title songs became international hits. In the 1960s and 70s they became famous in France either as instrumental arrangements or as songs with lyrics translated to French and sung by popular singers such as Dalida, Georges Guétary, Nana Mouskouri, Gloria Lasso, Marie Myriam, and Georges Moustaki. Since that time, the syrtaki of *Zorba* and the *Children of Piraeus* have belonged to the "folklore planétaire" described by Edgar Morin in 1965. Observing the emergence of world music, Morin characterized this folkloric sphere as diffused globally by the mass media, and comprising Arabic music, Flamenco, the musics of North- and Latin-America,

14 Hervé Duchêne, *Le voyage en Grèce* (Paris: Laffont, 2005), xxvii–xxviii.

15 Jacques Lacarrière, *L'été grec* (Paris: Plon, 1976), 292.

16 Stathis Damianakos, *La Grèce dissidente moderne: Cultures rebelles* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2003); Panagiota Anagnostou, "Définir le peuple et sa musique: Les débats sur le rebetiko dans la presse de gauche pendant et après la guerre civile grecque (1946–1961)," *Transposition* 4 (2014), <http://transposition.revues.org/969>); Polina Tambakaki, "'Art-Popular' Song and Modern Greek Poets—Interactions and Ideologies: The Case of Mikis Theodorakis," in *Made in Greece*, ed. Tragaki, 55–57.

17 Bliss Little, "Folk Song and the Construction of Greek National Music: (PhD diss., University of Maryland, 2001); and Georges Kokkonis, *La question de la grécité dans la musique néohellénique* (Paris: Association Pierre Belon, 2009).

and Greek music. Most importantly, Morin was characterizing a new cosmopolitan culture whose adherents detached themselves from any connotations of nationalist identity.¹⁸

A single instrument symbolized this new cosmopolitan and hybrid Greek music in the context of the globalization of music and sound: the bouzouki. Combined with Western classical instruments in ensemble compositions by Theodorakis and Hadjidakis, the sound of the bouzouki, once associated with rebetiko, came to signify an imaginary representation of authentically Greek music to foreign audiences.¹⁹ Despite being rejected, along with rebetiko, by a large part of the Greek bourgeoisie and by the communist Left after the war, the bouzouki nevertheless became, little by little, the predominant emblem of Greek music in France and America. This was because it represented a structural element of music tourism in Greece, itself constituted by a folkloric fantasy combining music, tavern cuisine, and dance. Indicative of this is Iordanis Tsomidis's recording *Bouzoukee – The music of Greece* (1968), which blends the melody of *The Children of Piraeus* with *hasapiko*, *zeibekiko*, *tsifteteli*, and *amane*.²⁰ Greece was also represented musically in symphonic arrangements, such as those appearing on the disc *L'âme de la Grèce* (1972).²¹ With its ultra-romantic performances by the 101 Violins, a classical Western orchestra that incorporates drums, accordion, and amplified bouzouki, the recording includes hits by Theodorakis and Hadjidakis, along with *Twilight over Mycenae* and *Hellena* by the American composer Robert Lowden.

Since the 1960s, commercial recordings have contributed significantly to the reproduction of stereotypical Greekness through the iconography of their packaging (blue sky, blue sea, white houses, dancers) as well as through their accompanying texts.²² In France, besides the music of the film *Alexis Zorba*, which was distributed on LPs throughout 1964–65, the disc *Escale en Grèce* (Stopover in Greece, 1966) presented the bouzouki ensembles of Giorgos Zambetas with a note of ethnographic information for the tourist: cuisine (the inevitable moussaka and retsina wine), the touristic sites (Athens, Plaka, Mykonos, Crete, Rhodes, Corfu, Peloponnese, Delphi, Mount Athos), rural cultures, and the music of the bouzouki as the "Greek instrument par excellence." In short, the anonymous author of the article concluded this note as follows: "Greece is a country that enchants the tourist, whether the intellectual or the contemplative type."²³

18 Edgar Morin, "On ne connaît pas la chanson," *Communications* 6 (1965): 9.

19 In the early 2010s the French agency Héliades, which was founded in 1975 and specialized in inexpensive vacations in Greek hotels, once again used the bouzouki as a sonic sign of its radio ads. Newer listening practices, such as streaming and YouTube, also contribute to reinforcing the connection of the bouzouki sound to sirtaki as markers of modern Greece. On the relation between branding and music by an actual promoter of audio branding, see Michaël Boumendil, *Design musical et stratégie de marque. Quand une identité sonore fait la différence!* (Paris: Eyrolles, 2017).

20 Sotirios Chianis, review of *Bouzoukee: The Music of Greece*, *Nonesuch HS-72004, Ethnomusicology* 13 (1969): 591–92.

21 *L'âme de la Grèce*, Sonopresse ALS65003, 1972.

22 Gail Holst-Warhaft, "Is Zorba More Greek than Greek Music," 224–25.

23 *Escale en Grèce*, Présence Mondiale-Lyra DUX 40324, [1966].

Typical reception of the bouzouki's importance is exemplified in the liner notes to the 1969 recording *Voyages autour du monde: Grèce* (Philips), featuring pieces by Giorgos Zambetas and Giorgos Mitsakis. As Christos Tsipas, the author of the notes, explains:

Le bouzouki est un des plus vieux instruments musicaux dans l'histoire de la musique grecque. Nous le trouvons dans la musique classique grecque et dans la musique byzantine sous des noms variés. Ses origines remontent aux civilisations pré-helléniques: Egypte, Assyrie, Chine, Indes. Il porte alors le nom de pandouris. Deux autres noms lui sont également attribués: pandoura ou tamboura. Nous le retrouvons à nouveau sous le nom de bouzouki pendant la domination de la Grèce par la Turquie. S'il est possible d'affirmer que le bouzouki est un instrument musical populaire grec, c'est parce qu'il appartient à la tradition grecque, parce qu'au son du bouzouki, le peuple de Grèce a chanté ses espoirs, ses peines, exprimé chaque sentiment de la vie. [...] Le bouzouki, c'est la Grèce tout entière dans une de ses plus belles expressions.²⁴

(The bouzouki is one of the oldest musical instruments in the history of Greek music. We find it in classical Greek music and in Byzantine music under various names. Its origins go back to pre-hellenic civilizations: Egypt, Assyria, China, India. Then it carried the name pandouris. Two other names are equally attributed to bouzouki: pandoura or tamboura. We find it again under the name bouzouki during the occupation of Greece by Turkey. If it is easy to affirm that bouzouki is a popular Greek instrument, it is because it belongs to the Greek tradition, because to the sound of bouzouki, Greek people have sung their hopes, pains, expressed every sentiment of life. [...] Bouzouki is the whole of Greece in one of her most beautiful expressions.)

The above characterization differs completely from that offered by André Mirambel, one of the French experts on neo-Hellenic literature, who in 1939 wrote one of the earliest French studies on the bouzouki in the *Revue de musicologie*.²⁵ Mirambel underlined the obscure origins of the instrument and its name, which one would have to go to Turkey to find. But the antique and popular origin of the bouzouki was an authoritarian argument that conferred additional prestige on the instrument: Fivos Anoyanakis had already proposed such an interpretation since 1946–47 in the context of the communists' criticism against rebetiko, invoking the regular thesis of the musical and cultural continuity of Greece since antiquity.²⁶ This genealogy of the bouzouki becomes a commonplace, found again in the French press, for example Jacques Dupont in the 1982 issue of *Le monde de la musique*, which, from the early 1980s, began dedicating numerous articles to rock music and to the *musiques du monde*.²⁷ The bouzouki constituted one of the signs of Greekness for a French public that consumed it through images and travel-related texts (romances, voyage books, guides). The

24 *Voyages autour du monde: Grèce*, Philips 843.622 BY, 1969.

25 André Mirambel, "Un instrument de musique populaire en Grèce: le μπουζούκι (bouzouki)," *Revue de musicologie* 20 (1939): 22–23.

26 Panagiota Anagnostou, *Les représentations de la société grecque dans le rebetiko* (Bordeaux: Université Montesquieu-Bordeaux IV, 2011), 197–98; and Zaimakis, "'Forbidden Fruits,'" 12–13.

27 Jacques Dupont, "Le rebetico: 'la Grèce des criminels' / 'Le bouzouki des criminels,'" *Le monde de la musique-Télérama* 49 (October 1982): 80–84.

effect was to orient the tourist towards a traditional music that had been Westernized in its rhythmic and harmonic structure to make it acceptable (a typical trait of world music).²⁸

Such representations efface the political dimension attached to instruments and musical genres at a time when their political signification was more immediately perceptible in Greece. As Anna Papaeti has noted, the Colonels, between 1967 and 1974, just like Metaxa between 1936 and 1940 turned *tsamiko*, *syrtos*, and *dimotika* songs into ideological weapons made to fight against foreign, immoral, or communist influences in the musical domain. It was believed that attending to music regarded as "authentically" Hellenic and ensuring that it was diffused on the radio and taught in schools would contribute to the correct education and moralization of the nation. In detainment camps, according to a method already employed in Makronissos during the Civil War, political prisoners were forcibly exposed for several hours a day to traditional music played through loudspeakers. Even today, former prisoners cannot tolerate the sound of the clarinet because it reactivates suppressed memories of their torture.²⁹ The use of these types of music for propagandistic purposes was equally visible in France. In *Hellas éternelle: Économie et tourisme de Grèce*, a propagandist journal distributed in English, French, and Greek between November 1967 and June 1968, one finds folk music at the foreground. For example, the brochures announce the programs of great lyric and symphonic concerts during the Athens Festivals of 1967 and 1968 in the pages dedicated to "Tourisme Hellénique."³⁰

The relationship between tourism, music, and political propaganda was generally forgotten in the French touristic guides of the 1970s and 80s. Most often, discussion of music was limited to the mention of bouzouki as an identity marker along with cuisine, dance, coffee, the maritime landscape, and the Parthenon. In *La Grèce sans monuments* (1978), the geographer Michel Sivignon presents a geographic, economic, social, and cultural tableau of contemporary Greece, with a particular interest in music as a sign of Greek ethnicity. In his version of Greece without the antique monuments, Greek music is Callas, Theodorakis, and Xenakis, but above all, the bouzouki.³¹ In 1982, in a guide for the travel agent Delta, Françoise Huart dedicated several articles to Greek music—bouzouki, syrtaki, and zeibekiko—but not a word on the dictatorship of the Colonels.³²

These stereotypical discourses echo in recordings of Greek music situated under the symbols of the bouzouki and the sun, for example in the albums *Musiques du soleil (Grèce, Portugal, Israël)*, *Les bouzoukis de Théodorakis* with Maria Farandouri in 1974, and *The Greek Sound* (Theodorakis's songs in instrumental versions) in 1976. A 1984 compilation entitled *Bouzouki: Musique en évasion* (Bouzouki: Escapist Music) by Polydor summarized what "Greek" music

28 Simha Arom and Denis-Constant Martin, "Combiner les sons pour réinventer le monde: La World Music, sociologie et analyse musicale," *L'Homme* 177/178 (2006): 154–64.

29 Anna Papaeti, "Folk Music and the Cultural Politics of the Military Junta in Greece (1967–1974)," *Mousikos Logos*, 2nd ser. online., 2 (2015): 50–62; and Dalègre, *La Grèce depuis 1940*, 156.

30 *Hellas éternelle: Économie et tourisme de Grèce* 1 (November 1967): 43–44; and "Manifestations artistiques de l'Organisme Hellénique de Tourisme," *Hellas éternelle* 7 (May 1968): 40.

31 Michel Sivignon, *La Grèce sans monuments* (Paris: Hachette, 1978), 106.

32 Françoise Huart, *Grèce*, Collection des Guides Delta (Paris: Flammarion, 1982), 73–74.

represented in mass culture: Melina Mercouri sings *Zorba, Je suis Grecque, Les enfants du Pirée*, and *Le Métèque* (The Metic) by Moustaki, as well as some songs by Xarhakos. Theodorakis himself has deplored the reduction of his own music to syrtaki and, after abandoning the bouzouki in his compositions of the 1980s, he expressed his contempt for the "blind and deaf tourists" who "did not love the country they visited" and came to satisfy their "biological needs" without concerning themselves about the dictatorship.³³

New Representations of Rebetiko in France after 1974

The commercialization of rebetiko, as well as the entechno stereotypes, led to a reaction in Greece in the 1970s. On the other hand, Junta censorship provoked a revival of rebetiko and other traditional non-urban genres, all in the framework of a protest culture. These developments were evident in France between 1974 and the first years of the 1990s among Greek and French intellectuals living in both countries.

First, one should refer to French philhellene Jacques Lacarrière, author of the well-known *L'été grec* (Greek Summer) of 1976. Upon meeting Theodorakis in 1959, he listened with wonder to *Epitafios*, immediately grasping its importance for Greek music. He maintained his relationship with Theodorakis during the Junta, when he was very active as a columnist (*Les lettres nouvelles, Le Monde, Les temps modernes*), criticizing the Junta, defending censored Greek authors, and denouncing the "prisons de soleil." Among his actions of political protest and support of Greek intellectuals was staging a show featuring Mikis Theodorakis and Yiannis Ritsos: *Grecité* was presented on 8 May 1974 in the Théâtre de l'Odeon, five months after the Athens Polytechnic crackdown, and two months before the Turkish invasion of Cyprus and subsequent fall of the Junta. Later, in 1976, under different circumstances, Lacarrière staged *Chant profond de la Grèce* in Villeneuve-lès-Avignon, which was reprised in Creusot in November 1982. In *Chant profonde*, some twenty-odd poems (by the likes of Seferis, Sikelianos, Ritsos, Vassilikos, Elytis, and others) alternate with six songs: *Chant du soleil levant*, a traditional song from Epirus; a Maniatiko *mirologi* (lament); *Nuit sans lune*, a rebetiko song by Apostolos Kaldaras; *Nous savons*, a poem by Ritsos set to music by Christos Leondis in 1975; an excerpt from a Seferis poem, *Epifania Averoff*, set to music by Theodorakis; and an instrumental version of the "air oriental," *Kaiktsis*, by Apostolos Hadjichristos.

This choice expressed the idea about Greek music Lacarrière was promoting in France, namely, that the music of Greece was above all rebetiko and folksongs. A sensitive listener since his early age, Lacarrière discovered rebetiko in 1950 during one of his first travels to Greece and set out to propagate it in his 1970s radio shows. Throughout his life, he never stopped coming back to rebetiko. In 1999, together with Michel Volkovitch, he published *La Grèce de l'ombre*, an anthology of 105 rebetika. Thirteen years earlier, in 1986, in a text accompanying the CD *Chants de l'âme grecque: Le rébétiko* of the singer Angela, he presented rebetiko as a truly "popular" (*laïko*) song genre. For him, rebetiko was the manifestation of a "Greek soul" inscribed in the greatest depths of the "popular soul," of which he had had an intimation after dancing rebetiko with Greeks in the 1950s:

33 Archimandritis, *Mikis Théodorakis*, 124.

Pour moi, c'est d'abord cela, le rébétiko: une atmosphère autant qu'un chant, des visages silencieux et marqués autant que des danses ou des cris, des odeurs mêlées de vin résiné, d'ouzo, de sciure fraîche sous les tables, de mégots refroidis. Plus tard, avec l'abâtardissement dû au tourisme, ces tavernes se muèrent en vitrines à néon, à langoustes réfrigérées, à consommations ruineuses et à verres et assiettes qu'on casse en criant: hopa! d'un air las, pour faire croire qu'on s'amuse. Le rébétiko n'est pas mort mais une certaine époque – et une certaine vérité – sont mortes néanmoins.³⁴

(For me rebetiko is, above all, as much an atmosphere as a song; so much silent and marked faces as dances and cries; mixed smells of retsina and ouzo, fresh sawdust on the floor, and stale cigarette butts. Later, along with tourist bastardisation, these taverns were transmogrified to neon showcases, with frozen lobsters, extravagant consumption, and broken dishes accompanied by cries of opa! all in a loose mood that should pass as enjoyment. Rebetiko may not be dead, but a certain epoch and a certain truth are.)

At the time Lacarrière was writing these lines, a reinvention of musical tradition was taking place in Greece, beyond the touristic and commercial uses of Greek urban musics. This movement was also reflected in France. The rediscovery of rebetiko was partly linked to the promotion of musical subcultures in the wake of May 1968, as well as to the ethnomusicologically motivated rediscovery of oral music traditions. Parallel to the advent of rock, free jazz, and world music, rebetiko emerged as a way to protest "bourgeois classical" culture, at least in the eyes of a number of French intellectuals. In line with the work of Elias Petropoulos, one could cite Marxist philosopher Olivier Revault d'Allones, as well as the Greek Marxist sociologist Stathis Damianakos, author of *Sociology of Rebetiko*, the basic themes of which were integrated in a French publication (*La Grèce dissidente moderne*, 2003). Expressing a similar line of thought, although less contentious, were Jacques Dupont (1982) and Michel Grodent (1989).³⁵

Christian Marcadet also offered a Marxist sociology of rebetiko to assess its subversive potential in mid-century Greece.³⁶ He proposed an interpretative scheme that relied upon a familiar narrative, following Petropoulos and Gail Holst. It emerged at the beginning of the twentieth century as urban music, construed as a marginal-culture product, alien to bourgeois values and Western music standards. Following its expansion in the 1930s, it experienced a golden age with the so-called Piraeus quartet around Markos Vamvakaris. The 1950s witnessed an aesthetic and social transformation with Vassilis Tsitsanis and Hadjidakis. Finally, it suffered a decline caused by bourgeois and tourist appropriation that led to the fading of its typical traits (Orientalism, drugs, prison, violence) in favour of unoffensive lyrics and tonal-modal musical language. Highly critical regarding the rebetiko restoration movement of the 1970s, Marcadet describes it as primitivist, dismissing its ideological quest for original purity. He particularly disapproves of a recording by Vassilis

34 Lacarrière, *L'été grec*, 374–75.

35 Damianakos, *La Grèce dissidente moderne*; Dupont, "Le rebetiko"; Michel Grodent, *Le bandiet, le prophète et le mécréant* (Paris: Hatier, 1990).

36 Christian Marcadet, "La chanson: un rapport social pertinent: le cycle exemplaire du rebetiko," *L'Homme et la société* 126 (1997): 49–67

Tsitsanis published in the ethnomusicological series of Ocora, part of which was produced by the France-based Greek writer Aris Fakinos.³⁷

At the end of the 1970s, Fakinos took it upon himself to present the French audience with an alternative image of Greek musics. He had fled the military junta by coming to France in 1967. Thanks to the Agence Athènes-Presses Libres, he was able to denounce oppression in Greece in his *Le livre noir de la dictature en Grèce* (1969). In 1977, after becoming a producer for Radio France, he issued the first recording of Greek music in the Ocora-Radio France collection: Byzantine chants with the ensemble of Théodore Vassilikos. This recording was followed by several others belonging to the *Musiques traditionnelles vivantes* series: another three Byzantine music recordings between 1978 and 1981; *Chants des Acrites* with Domna Samiou in 1982; *Chants polyphoniques d'Épire* in 1984; *La tradition du rébetiko. Chansons des fumeries et des prisons* with the group Rebetiko Tsardi in 1985; and *Hommage à Tsitsanis: Bouzouki* in 1986. Finally, he published his *Grèce* in 1988, a volume in the Seuil series *Petite planète*, founded in 1952 by Chris Marker with the ambition to present various countries through high-quality texts and accompanying images.

In *Grèce*, Fakinos asserts that Greek music is only rebetiko and folk music, while he lumps together Greek composers of "Western art-music" in a short list comprising Theodorakis, Hadjidakis and Xenakis.³⁸ Previously, in the liner notes of the 1985 Rebetiko Tsardi recording, he had criticized the appropriation of rebetiko by the Greek bourgeoisie of the 1950s, and emphasizes the Turkish origins of the bouzouki, an instrument similar to the *saz*. In both writings, he denounces the syrtaki and its "Parisian inventors" who, he says, "completely deformed the dance of the *rebetes* by adding acrobatic steps, pirouettes, and ridiculous hops, the whole buffoonery admired today by tourists in their ill-conceived exoticism [...]."³⁹

According to Fakinos, one should abandon amplified bouzouki and use limited instrumental combinations. The group Rebetiko Tsardi features no more than three members (Nikos Syros on bouzouki, Giorgos Tzortzis on baglama, and Christos Spourdalakis on acoustic guitar). The same idea motivated Tatiana Yannopoulos and the ethnomusicologist Simha Arom in their recording of Vassilis Tsitsanis in February 1980. A musician of considerable fame in his own country, the "king" Tsitsanis was far less known in France than Hadjidakis or Theodorakis. Before the Ocora recording, which placed Tsitsanis in the category of "musiques traditionnelles vivantes," no recording dedicated specifically to his work had been released in France. Even though his songs had been distributed widely in Greece for decades by Columbia Records, Tsitsanis's music appeared in France in 1980 as an object of ethnomusicological study.

The conditions under which the 1980 recording took place must be recounted.⁴⁰ Tsitsanis, who was experienced in studio recording for commercial labels, namely Columbia, was

37 Ibid., 66–67.

38 Aris Fakinos, *Grèce*, Petite Planète (Seuil: Paris, 1988), 74–75.

39 Aris Fakinos, liner notes for *La tradition du rébetiko. Chansons des fumeries et des prisons*, Harmonia Mundi France-Radio France, 1985.

40 Simha Arom, interview with author, 15 May 2018.

surprised by the recording setup chosen by Arom, who had knowledge neither of Greek nor of Greek urban cultures, and who previously had worked since 1960 in the Central African Republic on Pygmy music and polyrhythm. His equipment included a Nagra device with two portable microphones operated by the sound technician (i.e. Simha Arom himself). With Tsitsanis's consent, the recordings took place during two night sessions: the first, in a tavern kitchen in Athens, the second, in an apartment. Arom made Tsitsanis play without amplification, with only a guitar and a baglama. The songs, preceded by *taqsimi*, were selected by Arom on purely musical criteria, with total indifference to their recognizability or textual content. The result of this setting is a rebetiko that is a far cry from what Greek music was to French ears—or Greek ears for that matter. This is why the record won the André Schaeffner Prize of the Académie du disque Charles Cros, named after the French ethnomusicologist who died in 1980. Arom's liner notes, which analyzed the structure of Tsitsanis's pieces by emphasizing polyrhythmic effects and the superposition of tonal harmony and modal melodies, heightens the music's alienating effect for a French public used to *Zorba* and *The Children of Piraeus*.

With these Ocora recordings another image of the Greek musical tradition appeared in France, one looking towards Turkey and the Near East. Fakinos, Yannopoulos, and Arom are responsible for a rapprochement of traditional Greek musics to Turkish music, at the same moment when this was also the case in Greece. However, for decades the Greek musical tradition has been treated apart in musicological studies due to a fundamental ideological criterion, the link with Ancient Greece, still claimed to be valid by Theodorakis in 2007, in the name of the "Greek man" and "Hellenism":

Les Occidentaux, dont les chansons sont d'une manière générale assez légères – conçues pour divertir – sont incapables de se représenter le sens et la valeur de nos chansons. D'ailleurs il n'existe dans aucune langue étrangère de mot qui corresponde exactement à ce type de musique. Cette particularité n'est pas seulement propre au langage, on la retrouve, plus profondément, dans l'univers intérieur de l'homme grec et dans son rapport profond avec la chanson grecque: la chanson moderne, la chanson populaire, la chanson traditionnelle et les cantiques religieux qu'il continue d'entendre à l'église. Il s'agit là d'une culture autre que celles de l'Occident et de l'Orient, une culture qui vient de loin et qui nous oblige, en tant que Grecs d'aujourd'hui, à nous connaître nous-mêmes et à nous pencher sérieusement et de façon constructive sur notre héritage.⁴¹

(Western Europeans, whose songs are generally speaking very light [and] fun-oriented, are in no position to imagine the meaning and value of our songs. Indeed, there exists in no other language a word for this type of song exactly. This particularity regards not only language but also, and more profoundly at that, the inner world of the Greek man and his deep relationship with Greek song: novel song, popular song, traditional song, and the chants one can still hear in church. Unlike Western or Oriental cultures, this is a culture from the distant past which obliges us, us Greeks of today, to know ourselves and study our legacy in a serious and constructive way.)

Jacques Lacarrière presented a vision similar to Theodorakis's in his *L'été grec*, which advances the idea of a perennial Greek culture. This book reinforced in France the image of an "everyday 4000-year-old Greece" displaying itself in the diversity of its landscapes,

41 Archimandritis, *Mikis Théodorakis*, 98.

traditions, and cultural manifestations since antiquity. According to Lacarrière, ancestral Greece also survives in song, whose character differs vastly from that of Western song. For Lacarrière, who picks up a commonplace of philhellenism, a link exists between antiquity, Klephtic song, and modern song, the common element being a certain unity between text and music, forsaken in the West but still intact in Greece.⁴² Moreover, one can observe a link between the aphoristic verses of ancient drama and the musical expression of the *rebetes*, as Lacarrière notes in his 2001 *Dictionnaire amoureux de la Grèce*, upon commenting on Markos Vamvakaris's song *H μάνα* (Mother):

L'auteur ignore sûrement qu'il reprend là un des plus vieux thèmes, pour ne pas dire un des plus vieux refrains, de la tradition grecque. "Mieux eût valu ne jamais naître" est une maxime qu'on trouve déjà chez tous les poètes grecs antiques et surtout chez les dramaturges. C'est presque un lieu commun, si commun qu'il va jusqu'à unir Sophocle et Bambakaris!⁴³

(To be sure, the composer does not realize that he takes up one of the most ancient themes, if not one of the most ancient refrains, in Greek tradition. "Better not be born" is a maxim found already in all ancient poets, especially in the dramatists. It's almost a commonplace, so common as to connect Sophocles to Vamvakaris!)

By contrast, for Fakinos, Arom, and Yannopoulos, Ancient Greece can no longer serve as a frame of reference confirming the value of rebetiko or the bouzouki. For them, a certain awareness of different cultural spaces shifts the issue of tradition in a novel direction. Thus, the 1980s emerge as a particularly important time of transition in the cultural wars around Greek musical traditions in Greece, but also in France. While in the 1970s the relationship of music to politics was woven around the central notion of liberty, in the 1980s political commitment resulted in the reinvention of Greek tradition through its anchorage to the Ottoman world and cultural exchanges with the Orient.

Would this mean that reference to Ancient Greece vanished from French discourse on Greek music? On the contrary. Another way of thinking the Ancient Greek heritage appeared in 1987–88 in the work of two leftist intellectuals who found themselves on the margins of dogmatic artistic and political currents: Iannis Xenakis and Chris Marker.

Chris Marker, Iannis Xenakis, and Greek Cultural Heritage

In 1987 and 1988 French writer and director Chris Marker produced the documentary series *L'héritage de la chouette* for La Sept, a new French television channel and the forerunner of the Franco-German channel Arte. A prominent figure of French cinema in the second half of the twentieth century, Marker started out as a writer and journalist for the Editions Seuil and the review *Esprit*.⁴⁴ A militant leftist, he collaborated with Alain Resnais in the censored anti-colonial film *Les statues meurent aussi* (1953). During the 1960s and 1970s he produced a series

42 Lacarrière, preface to Grodent, *Le bandit, le prophète et le mécréant*, 7–8.

43 Jacques Lacarrière, *Dictionnaire amoureux de la Grèce* (Paris: Plon, 2001), 437.

44 Raymond Bellour, Jean-Michel Frodon, and Christine Van Assche, *Chris Marker, Cinémathèque française* (Paris: Actes Sud, 2018); and Anne-Lorraine Bujon and Carole Desbarats, "Les engagements de Chris Marker," *Esprit* 5 (2018): 37–40.

of documentaries on the subjects of the Cuban Revolution, the social struggles in France, Soviet film, and the history of leftist movements. His *La Jetée* (1962) was a reflection on death, war, the future of humanity, and memory and time, presented in the form of a narration overlaid on photographic montage. Before the *Héritage de la chouette*, he filmed *Sans soleil* (1982), a documentary on Japanese culture in its alterity.

Always fascinated by the relationship between memory and history, Marker continued these reflections in the *Héritage de la chouette*, broadcast on French television in 1989. The title of each episode included a French word of Greek origin, thus evoking the active relationship between past and present in the French language. Within individual episodes, but also between consecutive episodes, Marker constructed a multi-layered structure consisting of the discourses of his many interlocutors and his own reflections on the notion of heritage. The voice-over, indicating the director's presence under the narrator's mask, is read by French actor André Dussollier. The theme music is the work of Eleni Karaindrou, the composer and collaborator of Thodoros Angelopoulos, who was active in France during the 1970s. Karaindrou had come to Paris in 1967 to flee the Colonels and to study at the Schola Cantorum and the Sorbonne, earning a PhD in ethnomusicology in the early 1970s under Claudie Marcel-Dubois with a dissertation on rebetiko.⁴⁵

The Franco-Hellenic presence in certain structural elements of the film is also manifest in the narrative structure of the episodes. Marker presents a dialogue between French and Greek intellectuals, many of whom represent a version of the Left which is critical of Marxism and communism: Cornelius Castoriadis, Kostas Axelos, Thodoros Angelopoulos, Iannis Xenakis, Jean-Pierre Vernant, and Vassilis Vassilikos. Among the many academics, politicians, and artists in the USA, the UK, and Athens that Marker interviewed, not only on the topic of classical Greek heritage but also on the presence of Greece in the contemporary world, were George Steiner, Oswyn Murray, Angélique Ionatos, Elia Kazan, Michel Jobert, Alexis Minotis, and Michel Serres. Always sensitive to political struggle, he did not ignore Greece's modern history, to which Episode 5, *Amnésie, ou le sens de l'histoire* (Amnesia, or the Sense of History), is dedicated, mainly exposing the views of Vassilis Vassilikos and Elia Kazan.

The eighth episode bears the title *Musique ou l'espace du dedans*. It forms a coherent whole with the preceding episode, *Logomachie*, in which Marker touches upon the question of Greek diglossia and the study of Ancient Greek in secondary education. 'Music' partakes in the final reflections on language and emotion, since it falls outside *logos*, according to the old Platonic opposition between sound and *logos*. Episode 8 is organized around Marker's interview of Xenakis, which occupies most of the episode, although Angélique Ionatos makes an appearance very briefly at the end, commenting on the relationship between music and death.

It is difficult, due to its density, to analyze in depth this twenty-five-minute episode. As a pianist and passionate melomane himself, Marker possessed a deep and technical knowledge of music, not only of its use in cinema. This is exemplified in the Episode's opening sequence, whose first three minutes, subsequently resumed like a musical theme, introduce the aesthetic question of the origins of music. This question is approached through archive images of modern Greece. Marker associates the origin of music in rhythm with the pace of

45 Nathalie Bittinger, "Le cinéaste-caméléon et la mémoire palimpseste," *Esprit* 5 (2018): 66–76.

the Evzones, photographed by tourists, and appearing in the background of Syntagma Square. He then goes on to the rhythm of Byzantine chanting, then to UPIC and Xenakis, before bringing in Janacek's *The Barn Owl Has Not Flown Away* (from *On an Overgrown Path*), a humorous allusion to the 'chouette' in the series title. Finally, Xenakis appears on screen for about two-and-a-half minutes, ruminating about a problem that had always been central to him: music notation. In fact, Xenakis presents UPIC, the tool that enabled him to realize glissandi by drawing sound.

In the three minutes of this opening sequence, fundamental issues of musical tradition are introduced in condensed form, from the bodily origins of music to its most avant-garde manifestations. Still, this is also about a certain idea of Greek music and its heritage. The most telling omission is the failure to mention Theodorakis: the entechno style, as well as the *dimotika*, are never referred to in *L'héritage de la chouette*. Music notation, the relationship between hearing and seeing, music after Byzantium—all these are presented only through Xenakis's viewpoint. In this way, through the images and the accompanying discourses and commentaries, Marker shows two different ways of making use of the 'heritage of the owl': the novel conception of Xenakis and the reactionary vision of the Colonels, documented in Episode 5 (*Amnésie*) by an archive film showing the dictator Papadopoulos dancing the *syrtos*.

The link between the avant-garde and antiquity is evoked by UPIC, which is used to produce a visual and sonic image of the owl before the Marker's camera. This recalls the myths regarding the origin of music, or more precisely, the *aulos*, referred to by Pindar in his Twelfth Pythian Ode: the imitation of Gorgo's cry by a wind instrument played by Athena. The Aristotelian problem that the myth is raising, one regarding imitation and realism, was a consistent source of puzzlement for Xenakis.

In fact, Xenakis had been interested in ancient Greek heritage since the 1960s, the time when he read Aristoxenus of Tarant. This interest surfaced time and again in the mythological allusions of many of his work titles, and in his music around Greek drama: from *Oresteia* (1966) and the *Suppliants* (1964) to *Kassandra* (1987) and *La Déesse Athéna* (1992).⁴⁶ Xenakis, breaking away from the tonal/modal enclave of Western-European music, was keen to bring Greek heritage into dialogue with non-European music and theatrical forms, specifically those of Japan, Java, India, and Africa. Not merely an archeologist trying to recover lost musical worlds, the composer aspired to decenter Greek dramas by basing them on cutting-edge technologies and the lessons of ethnomusicology.⁴⁷

This was similar to what Marker did in Episode 12, *Tragédie ou l'illusion de la mort* (Tragedy, or the Illusion of Death), in which he related Greek drama to Noh theatre. When he turned to Greece, it was not urban music that he filmed, but rather Greek-Orthodox chanting (which is close to another tradition referred to in *La Jetée*). A middle sequence in Episode 8 contains highlights from an Easter celebration in Patmos in 1988: close-ups of chanting on Holy

46 Marie-Louise Herzfeld-Schild, *Antike Wurzeln bei Iannis Xenakis* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2014).

47 Iannis Xenakis, "Eschyle, un théâtre total," in *Musique et originalité* (Paris: Séguier, 1996), 52–53; and Makis Solomos, "Xenakis, du Japon à l'Afrique," in *Musique et globalisation: musicologie-etnomusicologie*, ed. Jacques Bouët and Makis Solomos (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2012), 227–40.

Friday, makeshift rockets, and crowded churches. The sequence is rounded off by a voice-over commentary on music as a medium for bringing man close to the divine (a problem which had occupied Marker some thirty years earlier in reference to the work of Jean Giraudoux).⁴⁸ Xenakis appears once more to present his final reflections on music as a means to overcome death, and as an affirmation of humanity's liberty through the creation of unheard worlds.

Thus, through the dialogue between Marker and Xenakis, *Musique ou l'espace du dedans* proposes an answer beyond tourism, patrimonialization and entechno musics to the questions posed by the notions of heritage and musical identity. In 1988, French composer François-Bernard Mâche, a collaborator of Xenakis in the UPIC project, referring to Xenakis's "hellenism," suggested a definition of what it means to be a Greek composer:

Être un compositeur grec au XXe siècle, ce n'est pas être attaché au bouzouki ni même aux Anastenaria, c'est revivre le geste originel par lequel la Grèce a créé la civilisation européenne en inventant la Raison. Le Nous et le Logos dispensent de toute tradition.⁴⁹

(To be a Greek composer in the twentieth century is not to be attached to either bouzouki or even Anastenaria. It is rather to reenact the original gesture, by which Greece created European civilization by inventing Reason. *Nous* and *logos* dispense with any tradition.)

Without any doubt, Marker shares Mâche's opinion, all the more because Xenakis's opinions resonate with those of another main figure in the documentary series, Cornelius Castoriadis. Appearing in Episode 3, *Démocratie*, Castoriadis did not tire of challenging the idea of "ce qui fait la Grèce" (what Greece is made of), nor of asking what it is that links us moderns to the classical heritage, without necessarily implying the existence of a direct link to antiquity. It thus seems a suitable epilogue to this panoramic presentation of the reception of Greek music in France between 1970 and 1990 to conclude with an excerpt from a text by Castoriadis, the philosopher of autonomy and self-institution:

Aujourd'hui, la relation au passé se réduit soit au tourisme archéologique à bas prix soit à l'érudition et au muséisme de toute sorte. Nous devons rejeter la pseudo-modernité et la pseudo-subversion—l'idéologie de la table rase—ainsi que l'éclectisme (le "postmodernisme") ou l'adoration servile du passé. Un nouveau rapport au passé suppose de le faire revivre comme nôtre et indépendant de nous, c'est-à-dire d'être capable d'entrer en discussion avec lui tout en acceptant qu'il nous questionne. [...] Au-delà de ce que l'on appelle les possibilités du présent, nous devons, sans renoncer au jugement, oser vouloir un avenir—pas n'importe quel avenir, pas un programme arrêté, mais ce déroulement toujours imprévisible et toujours créateur, au façonnement duquel nous pouvons prendre part, par le travail et la lutte, pour et contre.⁵⁰

48 Chris Marker, *Jean Giraudoux par lui-même* (Paris: Seuil, 1952), 30–32.

49 François-Bernard Mâche, "L'hellénisme de Xenakis," (1988), repr. in *Un demi-siècle de musique... et toujours contemporaine* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2001), 318.

50 Cornelius Castoriadis, "Héritage et révolution," in *Figures du pensable, Les carrefours du labyrinthe 6* (Paris: Seuil, 1999), 172–73.

(Today, the relation to the past is reduced either to cheap archeological tourism or to erudition and academism of various sorts. We must dismiss pseudo-modernity, along with pseudo-radicality – the 'tabula rasa' ideology – and eclecticism ("postmodernism") or the servile adoration of the past. A new relation to the past means that we revive the past as our own and at the same time as independent of us, i.e., that we be able to enter into dialogue with it, letting ourselves be questioned by it. [...] Beyond the so-called possibilities of the Present, we must, without abandoning judgment, dare to will a future – not any future: not a ready blue print, but this ever unforeseeable, ever creative unfolding, in the shaping of which we can participate, working and struggling, for and against.)

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Abstract

This paper examines the reception of Greek music in France from the 1960s through the 1980s to illustrate how the understanding of Greek musical identity has changed in both countries. Under the influence of musicologists such as Théodore Reinach, Maurice Emmanuel, and Hubert Pernot, Greek music was linked with antiquity and popular traditions during the first part of the twentieth century. However, in the 1960s the bouzouki emerged as the symbol of Greek music in France, becoming part of the "folklore planétaire," described by the sociologist Edgar Morin in 1965. In a parallel development, the idea of New Greek music, mainly associated with Hatzidakis and Theodorakis, spread widely in France thanks to performers from Dalida to Jean Ferrat. Later, in the 1970s and 80s, musicologists and writers (Aris Fakinos, Jacques Lacarrière, Simha Arom) became interested in rebetiko, leading them to attempt to change the perception of Greek music in France once again. As a final stage, this survey considers an episode of Chris Marker's 1987 documentary, *L'héritage de la chouette*. Dedicated to the word "Music", the episode in question presents the music of Iannis Xenakis and Angélique Ionatos, two composers who had settled in France, as representative of modern Greek musical identity.

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