UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
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Becoming Mediterranean:
Greek Popular Music and Ethno-Class Politics in Israel, 1952-1982

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy
in Musicology

by

Oded Erez

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

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Greek Popular Music and Ethno-Class Politics in Israel, 1952-1982

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Professor Tamara Judith-Marie Levitz, Chair

This dissertation provides a history of the practice of Greek popular music in Israel from the early 1950s to the 1980s, demonstrating how it played a significant role in processes of ethnization. I argue that it was the ambiguous play between Greek music's *discursive* value (its "image") and the *semiotic* potential of its *sound* and music-adjacent *practices*, that allowed for its double-reception by Euro-Israeli elites and Working-class immigrants from Arab and Muslim countries (Mizrahim). This ambiguity positioned Greek music as a site for bypassing, negotiating, and subverting the dichotomy between Jew and Arab.

As embodied in the 1960s by the biggest local star of Greek music—Aris San (1940-1992) —and by Greek international films such as *Zorba the Greek*, Greece and "Greekness" were often perceived as an unthreatening (i.e. neither Arab nor Muslim) Mediterranean culture.

At the same time, much of the popular music practiced under the Greek sign betrayed the lingering influence of earlier Ottoman café music, which it shared with other forms of popular and traditional music from across the Middle East. As such, it successfully furnished sonic spaces catering to immigrants from Arab and Muslim countries and even to Palestinian-Arab audiences, and provided a model for the hybridization and modernization of Oriental musical practices and tastes.

In the 1970s, Aris San's departure opened the field for a vibrant industry of Greek music by and for working-class Mizrahim or Oriental Jews. At this point, Greek music exerted direct and indirect influence on the crystallization of a new local genre—*musikah Mizrahit* (Mizrahi music)—which both articulated and contributed to the consolidation of the category of the ethno-class category of "Mizrahim." As opposed to previous scholarship on musikah Mizrahit, my focus on the appropriation of Greek music in in the formative deacade of its emergance allows us to see the emergance of musikah Mizrahit not as a bid for reshaping national culture, but as a form of vernacular cosmopolitanism.

The dissertation of Oded Erez is approved.

Nina Eidsheim

Edwin Seroussi

Timothy D. Taylor

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2016

I dedicate this dissertation to my brother Amir Erez,

my first and best teacher on how to properly love music.

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Vita

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Introduction

Keywords

> What I really wish to work out is a science of singularity; that is to say, a science of the relationship that links everyday pursuits to particular circumstances. And only in the local network of labor and recreation can one grasp how, within a grid of socio-economic constraints, these pursuits unfailingly establish relational tactics (a struggle for life), artistic creations (an aesthetic), and autonomous initiatives (an ethic).
>
> Michel de Certeau[1]

A widely popular skit from 1980, by the Israeli comedy trio ha-Gashash ha-ḥiṿer, opens with the character of a Mizrahi (literally, Oriental) Jew entering the stage. He is singing in a gibberish that is meant to be a parody of the Greek language, with its abundance of hissing sibilants: "*Im anaxepsys yanus minus kithasous. Psychiamous, psychiatrics simonipsyamo psysou*," and so on. As is the case in many cultures, Israeli humor serves as a central site for the reproduction of ethnic stereotypes. Here, the comedy trio clearly evokes Greek language and music as a stereotypical attribute of *Mizraḥiyut* (Orientality)—the pan-ethnic cultural identity constructed by and for non-European Jews in the state of Israel. Given that Oriental Jews came predominantly from Arab and Muslim countries, the question arises: how did Greek sounds come to play such a prominent role in signifying Mizrahi identity? To answer this question, I embark on a journey that begins in the Jewish quarters of Salonica in the early twentieth century, continues through the leisure culture of Salonica Jews in Jaffa of the 1950s, and crisscrosses the history of popular music in Israel in the three decades that follow.

[1] Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Lif*e (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), ix.

My own interest in this question, however, did not start with this skit from 1980. Rather, it was ignited by a passing comment made by the Greek performance scholar Hypatia Vourloumis. In a paper on the topic of sound in the context of anti-austerity protests in Athens, which she presented at the EMP conference "Sounds of the City" at New York University in 2012, Vourloumis casually mentioned that Greek rebetiko music was born out of "resistance to de-Orientalization."[2] Even though at that time I knew very little about Greek modern history and culture, I found the definition strikingly appropriate for what I understood to be the function of Greek music in Israeli culture. It was also clear to me that the predominantly Mizrahi audiences who participated in the Greek music subculture in Israel were by-and-large unaware of the social history of this music in Greece, or of the similarities between that history and their own. Was it therefore a coincidence that they adopted this music, or is there a more complicated explanation for this? It was this similarity in the socio-political function of the same music in Israel and in Greece—as a site of negotiation between a Eurocentric national project and its internal Oriental other—that first led me to believe that the history of Greek music in Israel would provide fertile ground for studying transnational vernacular music practices and the politics of ethnicity (or rather, as I will explain below, of ethnization).

In the course of the 1960s, Greek music and culture became very popular in Israel, especially among Jewish immigrants from Muslim and Arab countries, as well as within certain circles of the urban elite. Motti Regev and Edwin Seroussi have dubbed this trend "the Greek wave."[3] The (Christian) Greek singer and guitar virtuoso Aris San (b. Aristeidis Saysanas, 1940-

[2] "Sounds of the City" was the name of the cponfernce, organized by the EMP (Experience Music Peoject) Museum at New York University in March 22-25, 2012. The EMP's Pop Conferene was held jointly that year with the Annual Meeting of the U.S. branch of the Internatoinal Associaton for the Stuy of Popular Music (IASPM-US).

[3] Motti Regev and Edwin Seroussi, *Popular Music and National Culture in Israel* (Berkeley: University of California press, 2004), 200.

1992), who had a stellar career in Israel between 1958 and 1969, played a leading role in establishing this trend. Members of the vibrant Sephardic community of Salonica, the second largest city in the Ottoman Empire, who began immigrating to Israel in significant numbers in the 1930s, laid the groundwork for him. In the 1950s, these immigrants contracted Greek musicians like San to play in their cafés. San went on to become a prominent figure in a vibrant nightclub scene, achieving celebrity status and playing a privileged role in the bohemian and elite circles of Tel Aviv. In the 1970s, after his departure for the United States, Greek music became part of a growing Mizrahi musical subculture. Young guitar players who played on the seminal early recordings of the emerging field called musiḳah Mizraḥit (Mizrahi music) emulated San's "a-la-bouzouki" guitar style, making it a central and enduring element in its sound-print.

Although Greek music remains an important subculture in Israel, and in spite of the wide recognition of Aris San's influence on several genres of Israeli popular music, scholars have yet to look closely at the rise of Greek music in Israel and its significance. This dissertation provides a history of the practice of Greek music in Israel from the early 1950s to the 1980s, demonstrating how it played a significant role in processes of ethnization, particularly in negotiating the meaning and cultural content of *Mizrahiyut* as an identity category. I argue in this dissertation that the popularity of Greek music contributed to the development of the cultural ideology of Mediterraneanism. As I will show, Mediterraneanism is a form of strategic cosmopolitanism that seeks to align Israeli culture with a shared regional culture of Mediterranean peoples (Spanish, Italian, French, Greek, and Turkish, etc.), while deemphasizing

Palestine's historical and geographical place within the Arab Middle-East, and the historical ties of a large segment of Israel's Jewish population to Arab culture.[4]

Processes of ethnization through Greek music occurred in Israel in two main stages: in the first, during the 1960s, Aris San's success, together with that of Greek international cinema, led to the increased popularity of Greek music and to the emergence of the Jaffa nightclub scene as a significant site of local popular culture. During this stage, the connotations of Greek music within the local ethno-class system were often ambivalent, allowing multiple forms of identification to take place in fixed or transient, actual or virtual "Greek" sonic spaces. In the second stage, during the 1970s, San's departure opened the field for a vibrant industry of Greek music by and for working-class Mizrahim or Oriental Jews. At this point, Greek music exerted direct and indirect influence on the crystallization of a new local genre—*musikah Mizrahit*—which both articulated and contributed to the consolidation of the category of *Mizrahim*. The new technology of cassette tapes allowed for the rise of a dynamic "for-us-by-us" *Mizrahi* music industry. Cassette entrepreneurs initially sold copies of Greek records (alongside Indian, Turkish, and other popular musics) and later produced local recordings of Greek music and Hebrew-language songs in the new hybrid style of musikah Mizrahit. Some of the most successful songs in this new style used Greek melodies and many others featured Greek influences in their arrangements.

I explore the reception of Greek music in Israel by people from various social strata, including an elite subset of the Euro-Israeli hegemonic group in the country, and the subaltern

[4] See Gil Hochberg, "The Mediterranean Option: On the Politics of Regional Affiliation in Current Israeli Cultural Imagination," *Journal of Levantine Studies* 1 (Summer 2011): 41-65; Alexandra Nocke, *The Place of the Mediterranean in Modern Israeli Identity* (Boston: Brill, 2009); and Edwin Seroussi, "'Mediterraneanism' in Israeli Music: An Idea and its Permutations," *Music and Anthropology* 7 (2002), accessed September 3, 2015, http://www.umbc.edu/MA/index/number7/seroussi/ser_00.htm.

group of Mizrahim or Oriental Jews.[5] It was the ambiguous play between Greek music's *discursive* value (its "image") and the *semiotic* potential of its *sound* and music-adjacent *practices* (dancing, drinking, sticking money bills to the performers' bodies, etc.) that allowed for this double-reception and positioned Greek music as a site for bypassing, negotiating, and subverting the dichotomy between Jew and Arab. This dichotomy was central to the conceptual organization of national culture in Israel and to the marginalization of Jews from Arab and Muslim countries. With the help of Greek international cinema and other cultural products designed for export or tourism, Greece and "Greekness" were often perceived as an unthreatening (i.e. neither Arab nor Muslim) Mediterranean culture. At the same time, much of the popular music practiced under the Greek sign betrayed the lingering influence of earlier Ottoman café music, which it shared with other forms of popular and traditional music from across the Middle East. As such, it successfully furnished sonic spaces catering to immigrants from Arab and Muslim countries and even to Palestinian-Arab audiences, and provided a model for the hybridization and modernization of Oriental musical practices and tastes. In light of the Zionist taboo on Arab culture (enforced with varying degrees of success), Oriental tastes and practices were easier to sustain under the guise of "the Greek." Furthermore, they gave audiences and venues the symbolic benefits of participating in a leading cross-sector cultural trend.

Greek music allowed members of a Eurocentric "Sabra" elite to take pleasure in some of the fascinating and "forbidden" elements of Oriental culture without transgressing the taboo on

[5] The discourse of Jewish ethnicities in Israel generally recognizes the dichotomy of Ashkenazim and Mizrahim. However, the historical reality is that Zionism as a national movement was in many ways premised on a rejection of the "Ashkenazi,"—i.e. East-European traditional Jewish culture. Instead, it often upheld the values of Western European secular modernity as articulated in earlier European national and socialist movements. The descendants of European immigrants in Palestine were already born into this new "Sabra" culture, which emphasized a "native" Hebrew identity with strong European-secular overtones. I emphasize this genealogy by referring to this group as "Euro-Israeli," rather than "Ashkenazi," as Ella Shohat has done. See, for example, Ella Shohat, "The Invention of the Mizrahim," *Journal of Palestine Studies* 29, no.1 (1999): 5-20.

Arabness; at the same time, it offered immigrants from Arab and Muslim countries—and second-generation immigrants in particular—a key resource for articulating an identity that was distinct from Arabness (and therefore acceptable to Zionist hegemony) yet also semiotically equipped to articulate the "Eastern" difference that marked their social position. In reality, there were divergent spaces and repertoires of Greek music in the 1960s, some catering predominantly to an Oriental working-class sensibility and others to middle-class, Euro-Israeli taste. Key venues and musicians (including café Arianna in Jaffa and musician Aris San) trod a middle ground, however, to reach the largest possible cross-section of the audience. The Oriental, working class, and middle-class, Euro-Israeli receptions of Greek music are deeply connected in at least two significant ways: first, both groups were invested in music played by the same artists in the same venues, which became "sites of encounter" between them. Following Michel Foucault, I designate these sites *heterotopias*, or places that are simultaneously inside and outside the political order and social topography.[6] Second, the enthusiastic reception of Greek music by members of the hegemonic group (such as Moshe Dayan)—a reception that was shorter and weaker than the reception of this music by the working-class Mizrahim—gave the practice of Greek music and its practitioners' real and symbolic capital. This in turn facilitated the later, more lasting and significant Mizrahi appropriation of this music. In this dissertation I demonstrate both the disparate logics *and* mutual implications of these two strands of reception, often discussing them in conjunction.

By way of introducing my project and elucidating the theoretical premises on which it stands, as well as the methodological choices derived from these theoretical premises, I thought it best to provide a deliberate and systematic exposition of a few key concepts in this

[6] Michel Foucault, "Of Other Spaces," trans. Jay Miskowiec, *Diacritics* 16, no. 1 (Spring 1986): 22–27.

introduction. They are presented below in an order that, I believe, serves best to understand their interconnectedness.

Mizrahim

For the purpose of this research, I adopt many of the premises of the postcolonial perspective on the study of Mizrahim.[7] The establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine by (mainly) European Jews was in essence a European-nationalist project that took place in the Middle East. As such, it reproduced some colonial thought patterns with regard to Middle Eastern people, Muslims and Jews alike.

The European Jewish pioneers who settled in Palestine saw non-European Jews as "ethnics"—a category opposed to the unmarked norm of "Ashkenaziness" or (later) the Euro-Israeli "Sabra" (a term designating a Jewish native of Israel), which they saw as "simply" Israeli.[8] These European Jews similarly failed to recognize that many urban Jewish communities had already undergone significant processes of modernization in imperial (Ottoman), colonial (especially in North Africa), and Arab-national settings (as in Iraq). Zionist and Arab-nationalist discourses have reconstructed Jewishness and Arabness as mutually exclusive, making a whole range of practices, symbols, and traditions of Oriental Jews a suspect gray area. At the same time, Zionism as a national movement also considered non-European Jews potential members of a Jewish ethno-national community (especially after the Second World War and the destruction of

[7] Foundational works of this school include Ella Shohat, *Israeli Cinema: East/West and the Politics of Representation* (Austin: University of Texas Press. 1989); and Hannan Hever, Yehuda Shenhav, and Pnina Motsafi-Haller (eds.), *Mizrahim be-Israel: Iyun bikorti mehudash* [Mizrahim in Israel: A critical observation into Israel's ethnicity] (Tel Aviv: Ha-kibbutz ha-me'uhad, 2002); and Yehuda Shenhav, *The Arab Jews: A Postcolonial Reading of Nationalism, Religion and Ethnicity* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006).

[8] Ella Shohat, "The Invention of the Mizrahim," 14.

European Jewry by the Nazis), and in some cases encouraged their immigration to the new state of Israel after 1948. After their arrival in great numbers, which dramatically changed the demographics of the Jewish population (making North-African and Asian Jews close to half the population by the late 1950s, and a majority by the 1970s), the state strove to eliminate their cultural difference for the sake of creating a culturally homogeneous national community. However, this very demand implied a "cultural problem" and as such did not diminish, and even solidified, the extent to which immigrants form these counrties were perceived as intrinsically different and backwards. They were collectively referred to as *edot ha-Mizrah* (communities of the East), and increasingly since the 1980s as "Mizrahim" (Easterners/Orientals), a term that many eventually adopted for self-identification.

Facing the paradoxical realities of marginalization and pressure to assimilate, second-generation immigrants encountered the difficult task of identification. This task was conditioned by the crisis in traditional or modern diasporic identities and cultures (Jewish-Yemeni, Jewish-Moroccan, Jewish-Iraqi, etc.) on the one hand, and the Zionist imperatives of "modernization" and "nationalization" transmitted by state agencies of socialization (schools, the media, state sponsored culture, military service, etc.), on the other. Under these conditions, the meaning of this new ethnic identity—Mizrahiyut—came into being as a dialogic process or negotiation between Zionist hegemony and Mizrahi subjects.[9]

Over the past two decades there has been a growing trend—both in academia and outside of it—to retroactively apply the category of Mizrahim to periods preceding the emergence of the term in the state of Israel, when speaking about Middle Eastern, Maghrebian, Central Asian, and

[9] To cite Yehuda Shenhav, "The Zionist Project during the twentieth century can be understood only in relation to the hegemonic status it obtained through mobilization, co-operation, and co-optation—through these categories—rather than based on coercion or repression (as far as the Jewish subjects of the project are concerned)." Shenhav, *The Arab Jews,* 14.

Sephardic Jews. Concomitantly, some scholars and activists, notably Ella Sohat and Yehuda Shenhav, have promoted a politicized use of the category of Arab-Jews.[10] Recently, this last term has come under scrutiny in historically oriented scholarship, making its scholarly application more nuanced and complex.[11] The academic discourses of Mizrahiyut and the Arab-Jew often have the explicit purpose of politicizing these categories and, accordingly, have applied (not without care, and to varying degrees) what Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak has called "strategic essentialism."[12] As what is at stake in my dissertation is the very formation of the category of Mizrahim, I have reserved this term for later stages in this history, when the category became more explicitly articulated. I have also used the term to denote a discursive unit rather than a group of people.

Throughout large portions of this dissertation I use the term "Oriental Jews" as shorthand for Jews of lands of Islam. In so doing, I wish to (1) highlight the extremely diverse backgrounds of the communities subsumed under the category of "Mizrahim;" and (2) stress that these communities' common socialization after immigration to Israel is what led predominantly to the consolidation of this shared ethnic category.

As an associated choice, I use the adjective "Oriental" to describe sound practices and other practices shared by several cultures of the Middle East. I am aware of the fact that for many English readers this word might sound arcane, or be associated with Orientalism and the

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[10] See Shohat "The Invention of Mizrahim;" and Shenhav, *The Arab Jews*. See also Ammiel Alcalay, *After Jews and Arabs: Remaking Levantine Culture* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993); Gil Hochberg, *In Spite of Partition: Jews, Arabs, and the Limits of Separatist Imagination* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007); and Gil Anidjar, *The Jew, the Arab: A History of the Enemy* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003).

[11] See Lital Levy, "Mihu Yehudi-Aravi? Iyun mashve be-toldot ha-she'ela, 1880-2008 [Who is an Arab Jew? a comparative inquiry into the origins of the question, 1880-2008]," *Teorya u-vikoret* 38-39 (Winter 2011): 101-135; Hillel Cohen "The Life and Death of the Arab-Jew: Eretz Israel-Palestine and Beyond," *Iyunim bitkumat Israel*: *Thematic Series* 9 (2015): 171-200.

[12] Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, *In Other Worlds: Essays in Cultural Politics* (London: Routledge 2006 [1987]), 281.

"Orientalist gaze." I use it deliberately to counter what I see as a politically correct tendency to imagine colonial knowledge or stereotypes about these cultures (i.e. the products of "Orientalist" gaze or discourse) as neatly separable from the "objective" reality or self-perception of these groups. In my view, unproblematized assumptions about the term "Oriental" have developed as a consequence of the widespread reception of Edward Said's work on Orientalism.[13] Such assumptions about the term are often symptomatic of a lack in familiarity with these cultures. In the course of researching this topic, I have found time and again that Mizrahi Jews and other "Orientals" mobilize Orientalist stereotypes in earnest moments of identification, using them as part of what Foucault has called "technologies of the self."

Finally, It is crucial to note that "Mizrahim" has never been (nor is it today) a purely ethnic category, but rather has always been determined by class and geography as well. It is not simply an ethnicity, but a social position that has been described by several scholars as an "ethno-class." As Oren Yiftahel writes:

> Israel's planning policies have created a fairly distinct social sector in the towns with notable characteristics of a low-status 'ethno-class.' Such an identity is a newly constructed form of class and ethnicity, created by the fusion of ethnic background, deprivation and a shared national space. . . . The combination of deprivation and ethnic origins in the development towns created a stigma and a vicious circle of underdevelopment and negative social selection. 'Mizrahi' and 'development town' thus became coded terms for Israel's Jewish 'lower classes,' even though the second and third generations in the towns were largely assimilated into Israel's mainstream culture. Yet,

[13] In this I follow Bhabha, who criticized what he saw as misappropriations of Foucauldian ideas in Said's project. Such misinterpretations preclude, at least to some extent, seeing colonial relationships as ambivalent and dialogic. As Bhabha writes, "[t]he productivity of Foucault's concept of power/knowledge lies in its refusal of an epistemology which opposes essence/appearance, ideology/science. *'Pouvoir/Savoir'* places subjects in a relation of power and recognition that is not part of a symmetrical or dialectical rejection—self/other, master/slave—which can then be subverted by being inverted. . . . It becomes difficult . . . to conceive of the process of subjectification as a placing within Orientalist or colonial discourse for the dominated subject without the dominant being strategically placed within it too. The terms in which Said's Orientalism is unified—the intentionality and unidirectionality of colonial power—also unify the subject of colonial enunciation." Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 2005 [1994]), 72.

> the Mizrahi label remained, constituting what Lewis (1985) termed a 'phantom ethnicity.'[14]

What Yiftahel demonstrated for the case of "development towns"—peripheral suburban settlements that the state has populated with Oriental immigrants in the 1950s—holds true in many ways for Oriental-Jewish neighborhoods and suburbs in the Tel Aviv metropolitan area, as well as for other major cities in Israel. One is not categorized, or one does not identify oneself, as Mizrahi based solely on where one or one's parents came from, but rather also on where in Israel one was raised, the schools one attended, the army unit in which one served, etc. A Jew with Middle Eastern background born and raised in a Kibbutz or in an upper-class urban community in Northern Tel-Aviv might not act, feel, or identify as Mizrahi; on the other hand, the son of recent Russian immigrants raised in a development town or in one of the poorer southern neighborhoods of Tel Aviv, could easily participate in almost every aspect of Mizrahi subculture.[15] Significantly, intermarriage between Mizrahim and Ashkenazim (roughly 30% of marriages as of the early 1990s) did not give rise to a new (intermediate or hybrid) ethnic category, and did not result in the binary of Ashkenazim/Mizrahim loosing its prominence in the discourse of ethnicity among Israeli Jews.[16] This fact demonstrates further that the category "Mizrahi" reflects the cultural aspects of socio-economical stratification in Israel at large, and is not merely a matter of one's ethnicity.

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[14] See Oren Yiftachel, "Social Control, Urban Planning and Ethno-Class Relations: Mizrahi Jews in Israel's 'Development Towns'," *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 24, no. 2 (June 2000): 433.

[15] Sociologists have recently documented the rise, over the last few decades, of a Mizrahi middle-class, a phenomenon that we may also hypothetically be associated with the mainstreaming of musikah Mizrahit. This development complicates further the relationship between class and ethnicity embodied in the category of Mizrahim. See Uri Cohen & Nissim Leon, "The new Mizrahi middle class: Ethnic mobility and class integration in Israel," *Journal of Israeli History: Politics, Society, Culture* 27, no. 1 (2008): 51-64.

[16] On intermarriage and mixed ethnicity see Barbara S. Okun and Orna Khait-Marelly "Demographic Behavior of Adults of Mixed Ethnic Ancestry: Jews in Israel," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 31, no. 8 (2008): 1357-1380; and Talia Sagiv, *Hetzi-hetzi: al Isre'elim mimotza adati me'orav* [On the fault line: Israelis of mixed ethnicity] (Tel Aviv: ha-Kibutz ha-me'uhad, 2014).

Cosmopolitanism

Regev and Seroussi's *Popular music and National Culture in Israel* from 2004 remains the most comprehensive publication on popular music in Israel to date. The authors offer a panoramic socio-historical account of Israeli popular music ranging from the pre-state period of Zionist settlement (the 1920s and 1930s) to the late 1990s. They devote the majority of their book to three musical genres: Songs of the Land of Israel (SLI), Israeli rock, and musikah Mizrahit.[17] These genres exemplify for the authors three moments—or, rather, three variants—of "Israeliness." According to the model that they utilize in this book, individuals and social groups produce music as part of a nation-building project or, alternatively, as a way of competing over the definition of its meaning and values. The nation functions therefore as a definitive point of reference, against which practitioners measure their identity, relative power, and course of action.

Other scholars of popular music in Israel have tended to concentrate on a more narrowly conceived national narrative, often focusing explicitly on the category of "Hebrew Song," as well as genres such as Songs of the Land of Israel—a primary vehicle of Zionist ideology.[18] Exceptional in this regard are studies that have taken a postcolonial approach to the music of

[17] In 2014, the Open University Press published the first Hebrew edition of Regev and Seroussi's book. For this edition the authors added a new chapter, thus extending the period that the book covers to include the first decade of the twenty-first century, while largely maintaining the same methodological framework devised by the authors in the 1990s. Significantly, the term "national culture" has been removed from the book's title in the later Hebrew edition, giving way to the more general and inclusive term "culture." See Edwin Seroussi and Motti Regev, "Musika popularit ve-tarbut be-Israel" [Popular music and culture in Israel] (Ra'anana: ha-Universita ha-Ptuha, 2013).

[18] See, for example, Nathan Shahar, *"Shir shir ale-na": toldot ha-zamer a-ivri* ["Song o rise and soar": Hebrew song and its development] (Ben Shemen: Modan, 2007); Talila Eliram, *Bo, shir Ivri: shirei Eretz Israel, hebeitim muzikaliyim ve-hevratiyim* [Come, thou Hebrew song: the songs of the land of Israel, musical and social aspects] (Haifa: Universitat Heyfa, 2006).

"Arab-Jews,"[19] or that have focused on the recent reception of global styles.[20]

Taking Regev and Seroussi's broad and sturdy foundation as a point of departure (and being grateful for exemption from the treacherous task of writing *the* book on "Israeli music"), I choose in this dissertation to offer a new perspective that resists what Ulrich Beck and others have called *methodological nationalism*—i.e., the standpoint of social scientific observers who implicitly or explicitly undertake research using concepts and categories associated with the nation.[21] My project adopts a framework that is simultaneously local and transnational, in the form of what I will call *cosmopolitanism-from-below*. This approach is opposed not only to methodological nationalism but also to what Pheng Cheah describes as "philosophical cosmopolitanism"—a type of cosmopolitanism that he associates with Immanuel Kant, who conceived of the idea before the rise of nationalism. "Philosophical cosmopolitanism" presupposes a universal human subject and is based on the principles of universalist humanism. In this, it shares features of—and is in no way antithetical to—the ideology of nationalism. As both Cheah and Beck have shown, this interpretation of cosmopolitanism is idealist, prescriptive, and potentially harmonious with nationalism.[22] I will name the tendency to direct national culture using a cosmopolitan ideal—or to analytically mobilize the category of cosmopolitanism with

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[19] Inbal Perlson, and Simha gdola ha-layla: *musikaim Yehidum-Aravim ve-zehut Mizrahit be-Yisrael* [A great joy tonight: Arab-Jewish musicians and mizrahi identity in Israel] (Tel Aviv: Resling, 2006); and Galit Saada-Ophir, "Borderland Pop: Arab Jewish Musicians and the Politics of Performance," *Cultural Anthropology* 21, no. 2 (2006): 205-233.

[20] See Uri Dorchin, *Zman emet: Hip-hop be-Israel / hip-hop Israeli* [Real time: hip-hop in Israel / Israeli hip-hop] (Tel-Aviv: Resling, 2012).

[21] Ulrich Beck and Nathan Sznaider, "Unpacking Cosmopolitanism for the Social Sciences: A Research Agenda," *British Journal of Sociology* 57, no.1 (2006): 2-3. See also Nina Glick Schiller and Ulrike Hanna Meinhof, "Singing a New Song? Transnational Migration, Methodological Nationalism and Cosmopolitan Perspectives," in *Music and Arts in Action*, "Music and Migration," eds. Nadia Kiwan and Ulrike Hanna Meinhof, special issue,,3. no. 3 (2011): 3-20.

[22] Pheng Cheah, "Introduction Part II: The Cosmopolitical—Today," in *Cosmopolitics: Thinking and Feeling Beyond the Nation,* eds. Pheng Cheah and Bruce Robbins (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998), 24. See also Beck and Sznaider, "Unpacking Cosmopolitanism," 6-7.

similar normative undertones—*cosmopolitanism-from-above*, or *strategic cosmopolitanism*.

A different concept of cosmopolitanism emerges (again, according to Cheah) with the writings of Karl Marx. For Marx, cosmopolitanism occurs with the global proliferation of capitalist forms of exploitation. His descriptive and critical, social-scientific approach, gives rise to a cosmopolitanism that is "no longer just a normative horizon but an *existing and necessary* condition resulting from the development of forces of production on a global scale."[23] This perspective locates cosmopolitanism in an already-existing situation in which people find themselves as part of a historical process often driven by others' interests. A host of terms share this approach, including *social-scientific cosmopolitanism*, *actually-existing cosmopolitanism*, *discrepant cosmopolitanism*, and *vernacular cosmopolitanism*, as well as *minor transnationalism*. I collectively refer to this shared perspective as *cosmopolitanism-from-below* or *tactical cosmopolitanism*.[24]

The relationship between methodological nationalism and philosophical cosmopolitanism is evident in recent music scholarship. In commenting on the work of scholars that include Thomas Turino, Motti Regev, and others, Martin Stokes has noted that "it takes a musical cosmopolitan to develop a musical nationalism, to successfully assert its authenticity in a sea of competing nationalisms and authenticities." These scholars, Stokes concludes, view nationalism and cosmopolitanism as "mutually constructing and reinforcing processes in a global musical

[23] Cheah, "Introduction Part II: The Cosmopolitical—Today," 26 (my italics).

[24] See Ulrich Beck, *Cosmopolitan Vision* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2006), 17-47; Bruce Robbins, "Introduction Part I: Actually-Existing Cosmopolitanism," in *Cosmopolitics*, 1-19*;* James Clifford, *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), 17-47; Homi Bhabha, "Unsatisfied: Notes on Vernacular Cosmopolitanism," in *Text and Nation: Cross-Disciplinary Essays on Cultural and National Identities*, eds. Laura Garcia-Moreno and Peter C. Pfeiffer (Columbia: Camden House, 1996), 191-207; and Françoise Lionnet and Shu-mei Shih, "Introduction: Thinking through the Minor, Transnationally," in *Minor Transnationalism*, eds. Francoise Lionnet and Shu-mei Shih (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005), 1-26.

field."[25] Regev employs this type of cosmopolitanism in his studies of popular music in Israel. In his work, cosmopolitanism is associated with the nationally defined, Westward-looking genre of Israeli rock, which he labels a manifestation of "globalized Israeliness." At the same time, musikah Mizrahit (which draws extensively on Greek, Turkish, and Arab repertoires, as well as on global elements of rock and pop music), is classified as representing "ethnic Israeliness."[26] In *Popular Music and National Culture in Israel* (and more emphatically in later publications by Regev alone), cosmopolitanism and national culture as closely related. Regev and Seroussi find it noteworthy, for example, that in its early stages of development, before newly composed, local melodies were used, "musikah Mizrahit was not specifically Israeli."[27] They do not consider the situation in which Jews from Morocco or Yemen come to favor songs with Greek melodies and Hebrew lyrics as "cosmopolitan," but they also don't consider these musical practices to be instances of "Israeli" culture. What does merit the use of these terms are genres such as "Israeli rock" in which, as Regev has defined it in a later article, "ethno-national cultural uniqueness is associated with [global] cultural forms […], and as such is produced from within the national framework."[28] This is also what distinguishes Regev's specific use of the term "cosmopolitanism," which corresponds to what I have defined as strategic cosmopolitanism, and sets it apart from my own emphasis on cosmopolitanism-from-below. I use the term cosmopolitanism to refer to a set of tactical practices people develop in response to the

[25] Martin Stokes, "On Musical Cosmopolitanism," *The Macalester International Roundtable* 2007. Paper 3, 6, accessed September 3, 2013, http://digitalcommons.macalester.edu/intlrdtable/3.

[26] Regev and Seroussi, *Popular Music*, 19-22. The specific mix of styles and repertoires that proliferated among Mizrahim before 1980 (and in many ways after that date as well) was entirely peculiar to local communities and reflective of two decades of local negotiation of musical tastes (as this dissertation will demonstrate). We must surmise therefore that "not specifically Israeli" means in this case "outside the orbit of national culture."

[27] Ibid, 234.

[28] Motti Regev, "Cultural Uniqueness and Aesthetic Cosmopolitanism," *European Journal of Social Theory* 10, no. 1 (2007): 123.

constraints of their socio-cultural situation, and in the absence of a regulating ideal through which these practices can coalesce into a coherent "project."

So how can we give a systematic account of border-crossing practices without repeating the assumptions of methodological nationalism, or those of Philosophical cosmopolitanism? According to Rogers Brubaker, "[t]he alternative to the substantionalist idiom of bounded groups is not individual choice but (as Bourdieu never tired of emphasizing) a relational, processual, and dynamic analytical language."[29] Brubaker invites us to think of ethnicity, race, and nation as processes (ethnization, racialization, nationalization) and in terms of "practical categories, situated actions, cultural idioms, discursive frames, cognitive schemas, organizational routines, institutional forms, political projects, and contingent events."[30] As such, Brubaker believes that the study of ethnicity should not be reduced to the study of ethnic groups. This is precisely the logic which governs my attempt to examine the politics of ethnicity in Greek music: rather than positing or delimiting one or more ethnic categories as a stable object of investigation, I use the presence of Greek music in various situations and texts as a sieve in order to sift for *moments of ethnization* and to string them together provisionally into a historical narrative that is not subordinate to the framework of an ethno-national project.

Of course, this is not to say that we can simply do away with categories such nationalism of ethnicity altogether. If we are to recognize the importance of cultural practices that both fall short of, and overshoot the boundaries of what is "ethno-nationally unique," we must first understand how "top down" projects of constructing ethnicity operate. As Stokes has suggested:

> Ethnicities are to be understood in terms of the construction, maintenance and negotiation of boundaries, and not on the putative social "essences" which fill the gaps within them.

[29] Rogers Brubaker, *Ethnicity without Groups* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press), 3.

[30] Ibid., 11.

> Ethnic boundaries define and maintain social identities, which can only exist in "a context of opposition and relativities."[31]

This logic of boundaries and borders regulates not only the maintenance of ethnicities as such, but also those of nations and states, and indeed—as Etienne Balibar argues—of thought itself: "what can be demarcated, defined, and determined maintains a constitutive relation with what can be thought."[32] This is precisely the fundamental challenge in conceptualizing cosmopolitanism-from-bellow. As Balibar writes:

> One can be a citizen or an expatriate, but it is difficult to imagine being a border. But isn't this precisely what, all around us, many individuals, groups, and territories must indeed try to imagine? It is precisely what they are living, what most intimately affects their "being" insofar as it is neither this nor that.[33]

Concepts such as "nation" or "state" are premised on the assumption that a border is the line dividing two discrete units which are defined in mutual opposition. Nationalism has turned this assumption into its religion by teaching it in schools: one history and not another, one language and not another. But despite this ideal, Homi Bhabha tells us,

> . . . no culture is full unto itself, no culture is plainly plenitudinous, not only because there are other cultures which contradict its authority, but also because its own symbol-forming activity, its own interpellation in the process of representation, language, signification and meaning-making, always underscores the claim to an originary, holistic, organic identity.[34]

This never-ending self-production through negation is not simply or necessarily an international

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[31] Martin Stokes, "Introduction: Ethnicity, Identity and Music," in *Ethnicity, Identity, and Music: The Musical Construction of Place*, ed. Martin Stokes (Oxford: Berg Publishers, 1994), 6.

[32] Etienne Balibar, "The Borders of Europe," in *Cosmopolitics,* eds. Cheah and Robbins, 216.

[33] Ibid., 217.

[34] Homi Bhabha, quoted in Jonathan Rutherford, "The Third Space: Interview with Homi Bhabha," in *Identity: Community, Culture, Difference*, ed. Jonathan Rutherford (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1990), 210.

one, for it is not only directed outwards but also inwards: "Cultures are only constituted in relation to that otherness internal to their own symbol-forming activity which makes them decentered structures."[35] The making of national culture is thus a project grappling with what is always its potential undoing: a dialect or a vernacular. The vernacular is that which rides or crosses the border (conceptual or geographical) of the national, that which exceeds or traverses it, and that which confounds its task of sustaining an inside/outside coherence. The cultural abject, or the remainder of the nation as subject, are always "those identities . . . [that] arise from fissures in the larger social fabric, [containing] its contradictions and injustices . . . remaining necessarily incomplete versions of any individual's particular experience."[36] This is the subject of Bhabha's *vernacular cosmopolitanism*: a cosmopolitan community envisaged in its marginality. It is precisely this liminal experience that attracts Bhabha:

> "Vernacular" shares an etymological root with the "domestic" but adds to it . . . the process and indeed the performance of translation, the desire to make a dialect: to vernacularize is to "dialectize" as a process; it is not simply to be in a dialogic relation with the native or the domestic, but it is to be on the border, in between.[37]

In this dissertation, I argue that the Mizrahi practice of Greek music and the subsequent emergence of musikah Mizrahit to which it contributed are examples of what Homi Bhabha has termed a *vernacular cosmopolitan negotiation*: a practice emerging from the shared experience of minorities caught between national, transnational, and intra-national identities, and that both poses a challenge to purist imaginaries of the nation and "dialectizes"—i.e., introduces internal differences within such imaginaries.

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[35] Ibid.

[36] Bhabha, "Unsatisfied," 194.

[37] Ibid., 202.

Importantly, the negotiations involved in making this local Mizrahi dialect are closely related to processes that have taken place in Greece, Turkey, and elsewhere. Martin Stokes has argued that musical "dialects" (that emerge in a manner similar to how this is described by Bhabha) have posed a potential threat to "top down" constructions of ethnicities. This is because "musicians often appear to celebrate ethnic plurality in problematic ways," by having a "magpie attitude towards genres, picked up, transformed and reinterpreted in their own terms."[38] The relationship of nationalism to vernacular musics has often been ambivalent, or two-pronged. As Julie Brown shows in her study of Bartok and Gypsy music, "gypsies were associated with the taint of urban and commercial music making while the peasantry were emblematic of a rural natural state of musical grace."[39] This model of how musical nationalism works was later disseminated beyond Central Europe, informing musical nationalism in many countries. For example, Stokes showed how Bartok was personally involved in how the Kemalist movement in Turkey imported this model.[40] The trope of "gypsy music" is paradigmatic of how this model works. It is perhaps self evident that mobile professional musicians who made a living by adapting their repertoire to the tastes of whomever their audience may have been, posed a threat to emerging nationalisms. Roma musicians fulfilled this function all over Europe and around the Mediterranean basin. Klezmer bands fulfilled a similar function in some parts of Europe, insofar as their repertoire was also eclectic and elastic, and also often related to that of Roma

[38] Stokes, "Ethnicity, Identity and Music," 16.

[39] Georgina Born and David Hesmondhalgh, Introduction to *Western Music and its Others: Difference, Representation, and Appropriation in Music,* eds. Georgina Born and David Hesmondhalgh (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 15.

[40] Martin Stokes, "East, West, and Arabesk," in *Western Music and its Others*, 221.

musicians.[41] Across the Ottoman Empire, too, professional music-making was the trade of minorities such as Jews, Roma, Greeks, and Armenians. Around the turn of the twentieth century, with the emergence of a record industry, new hybrid styles of urban popular music surfaced around the Mediterranean Basin. Such styles, which often combined elements of several local and European types of popular music, were particularly anathema to ethno-national movements.[42]

In many ways, the history of twentieth century popular music in the East and South Mediterranean is characterized by the development and hybridization of stylistic elements that crystalized over centuries in the multi-ethic context of the Ottoman Empire and in the wake of national projects of purification. Donna Buchannan has highlighted the persistence of a shared repertoire across a wide area of influence that she calls "the Ottoman ecumene."[43] In the words of Peter Manuel, "Turkish music . . . constituted a musical lingua franca influencing urban musics throughout the area and lending them a cohesion which enables us to treat the entire region as a distinct, if internally diverse entity."[44] Specters of these shared Ottoman traditions haunted the nation states that took its place, not only as lingering "folk" repertoires, but also in the form of hybrid modern urban genres of popular music.

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[41] See Walter Z. Feldman, "Bulgărească/Bulgarish/Bulgar: The Transformation of a Klezmer Dance Genre" *Ethnomusicology* 38, no.1 (Winter, 1994): 1-35.

[42] As Stokes writes, "Greek Rebetika . . . Turkish Arabesk . . . and Israeli Rock Mizrahi . . . even Andalucian Flamenco . . . celebrate an Oriental 'other' which is highly subversive in the contexts of official nationalist discourses which explicitly reject their internal 'orients' as aspects of a backward past. Where official ethnicities are defined through opposition to a pernicious otherness embodied by neighboring states, this celebration of ethnic profusion in what we might loosely call the popular musics it seeks to control is always a potential threat." Martin Stokes, "Ethnicity, Identity and Music," 16.

[43] Donna A. Buchanan, "'Oh, Those Turks!' Music, Politics, and Interculturality in the Balkans and Beyond," in *Balkan Popular Culture and the Ottoman Ecumene: Music, Image, and Regional Political Discourse,* ed. Donna A. Buchanan, (Lanham: The Scarecrow Press, 2007), 3-56.

[44] Peter Manuel, "Modal Harmony in Andalusian, Eastern European, and Turkish Syncretic Musics," *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 21 (1989): 83.

In the cases of Greece, Turkey, and Israel, the making of modern, Western-oriented nation-states often involved a rejection of what those states considered to be their immediate respective Orients (for Greeks, the Turks; for Turks and Israelis, the Arabs). However, during the second half of the twentieth century, long after the demise of the Ottoman Empire as a political entity, the development of hybrid popular genres in these countries preserved marginalized groups' affinity for "Oriental" music. Moreover, it involved an exchange between such populations across geographical borders. Laiko, the style of Greek popular music that succeeded rebetiko in the 1950s, was a homegrown Greek musical idiom that was increasingly perceived as a national style, while at the same time retaining musical elements that originated in Ottoman café music.[45] It also continued to draw on contemporary popular styles from Turkey, Egypt, and India. By the 1970s, this style would fuel the rise of musikah Mizrahit in Israel. In Turkey, Anatolian populations who moved to the big cities "tuned out" of governmental radio stations, opting for Egyptian radio. Eventually, this led to the rise of a hybrid style known as arabesk, which combined Turkish folk music with Western and Arabic popular music.[46] This style also found a receptive Mizrahi audience in Israel, who encountered it largely through cinema. By the 1990s, the Turkish *Arabesk* style became a leading trend in musikah Mizrahit, making in-roads for singers such as Zehava Ben, Ofer Levi, and Sarit Hadad (of Moroccan, Kurdish, and Bukharan decent, respectively) in what was until then a genre dominated by Yemenite singers.

It is important to remember, however, that groups producing or identifying with these

[45] As Pennanen notes, " . . . in spite of Westernization in Greek urban culture and the harmonization of melodies in makam-based compositional systems of Greek popular music called *dromoi* (sing. *dromos* "road"), some characteristics of the dromoi have been retained in both *rebetika* music and its *successor laika*." See Risto Pekka Pennanen, "The Development of Chordal Harmony in Greek *Rebetika* and *Laika* Music, 1930s to 1960s," *British Journal of Ethnomusicology* 6 (1997): 65.

[46] See Martin Stokes, *The Arabesk Debate: Music and Musicians in modern Turkey* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992).

new hybrid styles do no simply oppose nationalism or national culture. Rather, the identities of vernacular-cosmopolitan subjects are overdetermined by multiple geographic, cultural, and historical relationships. The term that best captures this complex relation is James Clifford's *discrepant cosmopolitanism.* As Clifford notes, although cosmopolitanism points in ambiguous political directions, it recognizes something important—the existence of "worldly, productive sites of crossing; complex, unfinished paths between local and global attachments."[47] Discrepant cosmopolitanism acknowledges not only many types of human mobility—from violent displacement to the opportunity-seeking flocking to the "New World"—as constitutive of culture, but also the effects of these types of mobility on others who have stayed put, as well as the mobility of cultural forms that don't requires anybody to go anywhere. While such cosmopolitanisms (the term now necessarily pluralized) work within and against national structures, "they cannot be said to work 'through' them," as they undermine "the 'naturalness' of ethnic absolutisms whether articulated at the nation-state, tribal, or minority level."[48]

Clifford has a very nuanced definition of what is at stake when we speak of discrepant cosmopolitanisms, which is again characterized by turning away from static groupings that presume to be self-evidently discrete:

> Discrepant cosmopolitanisms begin and end with historical interconnection and often violent attachment. Cultural separation and claims for ethnic purity appear as strategies within this historical context, moments not ends. . . . A focus on discrepant cosmopolitanisms . . . gives us a way of perceiving, and valuing, different forms of encounter, negotiation, and multiple affiliation rather than simply different "cultures" or "identities."[49]

Negotiation, I believe, is a key notion in applying concepts of cosmopolitanism-from-below in

[47] James Clifford, "Mixed Feelings," in *Cosmopolitics*, eds. Cheah and Robbins, 362.

[48] Ibid., 365.

[49] Ibid.

cultural and historical analysis. According to Bhabha, we are always negotiating, even when we don't know it: "Subversion is negotiation; transgression is negotiation; negotiation is not just some kind of compromise or 'selling out' which people too easily understand it to be."[50]

The site for mapping such negotiations—indeed, the site or the scene of the vernacular cosmopolitan subject—is the realm of practice. In opposition to the "homogenous empty time" of nationalism, Bhabha urges readers to seek the subject or community in the everyday form of "continuance" that Fanon calls "living inside history."[51] Many of the cultural practices I discuss in this dissertation are also pragmatic responses, forms of "making the best of given (often bad) situations."[52] As pragmatic responses, vernacular cosmopolitan cultures are often *not* marked by dissent or opposition, but rather depart from "the giveness of national and transnational forces."[53] At the same time, it should be noted that national cultures are themselves, in practice, hybrid processes of reconstitution.[54] One can, therefore, expect that the products of both national culture and vernacular cosmopolitan negotiations will not constitute two divorced worlds of signification, but rather will often share interacting and overlapping idioms.

Having recognized the ubiquity of cultures constituted in this way, I seek in this dissertation to overcome the habit of conceiving of them exclusively in relation to dominant national or global cultures. Francoise Lionnet and Shu-mei Shih speak to this issue in their book *Minor Transnationalism*. They discuss trying to overcome a "compulsory mediation by the

[50] Homi Bhabha, quoted in Rutherford, "The Third Space," 216.

[51] Bhabha, "Unsatisfied," 192.

[52] Clifford, "Mixed Feelings," 366.

[53] Ibid, ,368.

[54] Ibid,, 364.

center," that always engenders "vertical struggles" for recognition.[55] Even in situations of civic nationalism (such as in France or the Americas), where ethnic exclusion is supposedly overcome by the promise of full citizenship in exchange for voluntary cultural assimilation, what is in reality guaranteed is the minority's structural disadvantage in beating the dominant group at its own game. In the curious case of Israel, where moments of colonialism and settler-colonialism are tightly knit together,[56] two modes of exclusion have been at play for two "Oriental others": An ethno-nationalist framework excludes non-Jews on the grounds of ethnic/religious difference; while a "softer" mechanism of exclusion operates for Oriental Jews—one that is reminiscent of what Lionnet and Shih describe as the exclusionary mechanisms of civic nationalism. Lionnet and Shih remind us that the transnational, "is not bound by the binary of the local and the global and can occur in national, local, or global spaces."[57] The important contribution of their theory to this discussion is that it allows us to conceive of cultural transactions occurring not between a center and its periphery, but between different marginalized groups, whether they share a relationship to one dominant culture or not.

Mediterraneanism

As they appear in this dissertation, the concepts of the "Mediterranean" and "Mediterranean music" most often refer to discursive constructs that have more to do with ideology and cultural strategy than with historical or musical geographical realities. The reason is not that there are no

[55] Francoise Lionnet and Shu-mei Shih, "Introduction," 2.

[56] For a detailed argument about how the history of Zionism betrays both moments of colonial and settler-colonial logic, see Arnon Yehuda Degani, "The Decline and Fall of the Israeli Military Government, 1948–1966: A Case of Settler-Colonial Consolidation?," *Settler Colonial Studies* 5, no.1 (2015): 84-99.

[57] Lionnet and Shih, "Introduction:," 2.

cultural or musical practices common to many regions or groups on the shores of the Mediterranean sea (if anything, this dissertation takes a step towards proving that the opposite is the case). Rather, it is because evoking, highlighting, defining, appropriating, or imagining these shared practices is a task that people have usually taken on for a specific purpose—one often subordinated to a national project. For this reason, Kevin Dawe and David Cooper speak of the Mediterranean as "a place of the mind."[58] Or, to cite Takis Theodoropoulos's poetic phrasing highlighted in the same volume, "the Mediterranean doesn't exist. . . . rather [it] is a necessary condition for the existence of its inhabitance."[59]

Several scholars have commented on the ideological nature of discourses of the Mediterranean and of Mediterranean music in the three national contexts that concern me in this dissertation: Israel, Greece, and (to a lesser extent) Turkey. Discussing the work of Turkish ethnomusicologists in the young Turkish Republic of the 1920s, John Morgan O'Connell argues that, "the music of the Mediterranean provided a neutral space for articulating political dissent."[60]As O'Connell demonstrates, whether they were trying to affirm or attempting to deny the Mediterranean provenance of Turkish music (or even "the Turkic origin of all Mediterranean musics"), these scholars did so as part of larger debate concerning what was deemed historically "true" Turkish national culture,vis-à-vis imagined geographies of the West and East, Europe and Asia. Dafni Tragaki discusses Greek intellectuals' fierce debates in the 1960s regarding rebetiko music—a hybrid urban genre with "dangerous" Turkish roots, yet one that was considered a

[58] David Cooper and Kevin Dawe, "Introduction," in *The Mediterranean in Music: Critical Perspectives, Common Concerns, Cultural Differences* (London: Scarecrow Press: 2005), xiii.

[59] Cited by Goffredo Plastino in "Open Textures: On Mediterranean Music," in *The Mediterranean in Music*, eds. Cooper and Dawe, 187. For further discussion on the concept of the Mediterranean and Mediterranean music see Goffredo Plastino, "Introduction: Sailing the Mediterranean Musics," in M*editerranean Mosaic*: *Popular Music and Global Sounds*, ed. Goffredo Plastino (New York and London: Routledge, 2003), 1-36.

[60] John Morgan O'Connell, "Sound Sense: Mediterranean Music from a Turkish Perspective," in *The Mediterranean in Music*, eds. Cooper and Dawe, 3.

valuable resource for the crafting of neo-Hellenic song. Tragaki describes how intellectuals developed a discursive strategy of presenting the undeniable historical connections of this music to a cosmopolitan style prevalent across East-Mediterranean urban centers, not as a problem in determining the genre's authentic Greek origins, but rather as a benefit, in that it reminded of a Greek territorial golden age in classical antiquity and in the Byzantine Middle Ages.[61]

In Israel, Mediterraneanism appears as a key strategy—or, rather, as a collection of divergent strategies—in both making and challenging national culture. As Edwin Seroussi notes:

> From its inception, Zionism was plagued by internal contradictions. On the one hand, it attempted to create a "new Hebrew person" and to offer a narrative linking this new identity to the "normal," biblical Israelites. By defining the Jewish existence in the Diaspora as "abnormal," secular Zionism demanded from its followers to cut off their ties with their immediate, traditional culture and religious Jewish legacy. On the other hand, Zionism had to forge an alternative cultural identity for the "new Hebrew person." This search for identity was carried by addressing, among many other issues, the location of a European-oriented Jewish secular nation-state in the midst of the Islamic Arab Middle East, and eventually with the fact that half of the Jewish population of Israel originates in Islamic countries. Mediterraneanism refers to one of the escape routes from these inherent contradictions of the Zionist enterprise.[62]

In the same article Seroussi offers three models of Mediterraneanism: (1) the "synthesis model," wherein "the Mediterranean signifier serves as a solution for the East-West paradoxes in which the inventors of modern Israeli music were trapped." He associates this model predominantly with the Orientalist "coloring" of Western music with Yemenite and other Middle Eastern

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[61] Dafni Tragaki, "Humanizing the Masses: Enlightened Intellectuals and the Music of the People," in *The Mediterranean in Music*, eds. Cooper and Dawe, 58-59. Also relevant to this debate is Risto Pekka Pennanen's striking demonstration of the ways in which the transnational Ottoman repertoire of café music was purified and nationalized in Greek discourse: "We can see how some Greek authors tend to nurture the idea of Ottoman-Greek popular music as a style created and performed by Greek musicians for Greek audiences. This idea is not based on historical facts." See Risto Pekka Pennanen, "The Nationalization of Ottoman Popular Music in Greece," *Ethnomusicology* 48, no. 1 (2004): 7.

[62] Edwin Seroussi "'Mediterraneanism' in Israeli music," under "1. Introduction." For a later version of this paper see Edwin Seroussi, "*Yam tikhoniyut*: Transformations of the Mediterranean in Israeli Music," in Plastino, *Mediterranean Mosaic*, 179-198.

musical stereotypes, and with theory and practice related to the so-called "Mediterranean school" of Israeli art music;[63] (2) "The Judeo-Spanish Model of Israeli Folksong," a vision according to which the traditions of Sephardic Jews—a community with a Hispanic legacy, on the one hand, and centuries of musical exchange with circum-Mediterranean cultures (in urban centers of the Ottoman empire, the Maghreb, and Italy), on the other—served as a blueprint for an Israeli culture that brought together European and Asiatic Jews, while laying claims to indigeneity in the region; and, finally, (3) the "resistance model," which refers to the musical preferences of Mizrahi taste publics and to the emergence of the field of Mizrahi music as a contestation of the Eurocentric dominant Israeli culture.[64]

Seroussi's first two models of Mediterraneanism fall under what I have defined above as *elite-* or *strategic cosmopolitanism*. Taken together with the Turkish and Greek cases of elite discourses presented by O'Connell and Tragaki, Mediterraneanism appears here as a strategy for reinforcing "ethno-national uniqueness" (to use Regev's term). At the same time, the term allows those who adopt it to selectively keep at bay old and new transnational trends that pose a challenge to national self-imaginings. As for Seroussi's third model, I would argue that the diverse field of Mizrahi musical practices of consumption, production, dissemination, and discourse before and during the 1980s do not amount to or adhere to a specific strategy that one

[63] On the negotiation of East and West in Israeli art music see Jehoash Hirshberg, "Alexander U. Boskovitch and the Quest for an Israeli National Style," in *Modern Jews and their Musical Agendas* (*Studies in Contemporary Jewry*, 9), ed. Ezra Mendelsohn (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 92-109; also Jehoash Hirshberg, *Music in the Jewish Community of Palestine* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 241-272.

[64] Seroussi offers a fourth model as well—"Musical Mediterraneanism as compromise"— but this model refers to the mainstreaming of musikah Mizrahit during the late 1990s and early 2000s, and as such is beyond the scope of this dissertation.

can identify with Mediterraneanism, but rather consist of an array of tactics that I propose to address using the concept of *vernacular-cosmopolitan negotiation*.[65]

Yet these "tactical" practices are never divorced from, and are often informed or conditioned by, discourses of Mediterraneanism. For instance, music venues, shows, or albums often label their content "Mediterranean" as a means of advertising Oriental music to interested audiences without either transgressing the taboo on Arabness or associating themselves with a stigmatized, working-class Mizrahi subculture. It is a key finding of this dissertation that the history of Greek music in Israel is a site of articulation between Mediterraneanism—as a prescriptive discursive strategy for the orientation of Israeli culture—and practices of "musicking" that, in and of themselves, do not amount to a strategy.[66]

Practice

The theoretical framework of cosmopolitanism-from-below requires employing methodologies that will allow me to resist the historiographical and epistemological dominance of "the narration of the nation." One methodological principal that enables this resistance is the adoption of a practice-based approach.

[65] While Seroussi explicitly refers to phenomena that he enumerates under the model of resistance as a "strategy," the backbone of his argument is a public advocacy campaign led almost exclusively by composer Avihu Medina during the 1990s. Therefore, rather than being contradictory, our accounts are to a large extent complementary, due to their divergent historical foci.

[66] According to Christopher Small, "[to] music is to take part, in any capacity, in a musical performance, whether by performing, by listening, by rehearsing or practicing, by providing material for performance (what is called composing), or by dancing." I would extend this definition (as Small does too) to include the mediation of music through its trading, recording, and collecting. See Christopher Small, *Musicking: The Meanings Of Performing And Listening* (Hanover: Wesleyan University Press, 1998), 9.

My own understanding of the concept of practice stems from reading the works of Pierre Bourdieu, Michel Foucault, and Michel de Certeau, who sought to describe how people navigate everyday life vis-à-vis the constraints of social structure.[67] As de Certeau notes, consumption or "usage," being more common than production, do not involve passively receiving something, but rather are active ways of generating meaning, which he calls a second, "silent" production. What makes these consumer practices "silent" is that there is no discourse that captures or regulates their operation. Studying the practice of everyday life has therefore "the twin functions of delimiting a social stratum of practices that have no discourse and of founding a discourse on these practices."[68] I mobilize this approach by addressing a significant yet understudied aspect of popular music culture in Israel: the rich and diverse world of listening to, dancing to, buying, selling, copying, discussing and playing non-Hebrew popular music. That these activities leave few traces for historians to collect does not diminish their importance to everyday musical life, nor their centrality to the way individuals and communities experience and use music outside, beyond, or in relation to the narrative of the nation.

To this aim, I collected for this dissertation historical data and records of personal experience by conducting interviews with music fans, club owners, musicians, producers, collectors, and their family members. In total, I have interviewed twenty-three individuals.[69]

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[67] See, for instance, Pierre Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice*, translated by Richard Nice (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990); Michel Foucault, "Technologies of the Self," in *Technologies of the Self: A Seminar with Michel Foucault*, eds. Luther H. Martin, Huck Gutman and Patrick H. Hutto (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1988), 16-49; and Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Lif*e.

[68] De Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Lif*e, 46.

[69] A full list of the interviews I conducted is appended to this dissertation. On three occasions I interviewed two or more people together. I interviewed Pnina Nahmias together with her spouse Yaakov, Trifonas Nikolaidis together with his personal manager Asher Reuveni, and the Azoulay Brothers (David, Isaac, and Meir) together at their family record store. At their request, this last interview was not recorded. On three occasions I conducted interviews over the phone: with Yossi Huri, Jimmy Siman-Tov, and Levi Mualem. These interviews were shorter (20-45 minutes, as opposed to 70-120 minutes for most live interviews), and I recorded only the third one. Otherwise, I recorded and summarized, or selectively transcribed, all interviews.

When planning for my research I assumed that archival materials such as newspaper articles would provide me with the basic timeline for the practices of Greek music in Israel during the period I set out to study, while interviews would offer the more "meaty," rich experience, of participants in these practices, as well as insight towards a phenomenology of the spaces marked by Greek music. To my surprise, what eventually happened was almost the opposite.

As it turned out, my interview partners (almost all of them born before 1950 and nearly a third before 1940) were often able to offer a pretty clear timeline for how Greek music touched their lives, but could rarely provide descriptions of specific events, spaces, and individuals. My questions often targeted exactly those everyday "practices that have no discourse" of which de Certeau speaks. But what has no discourse produces no memories either. My interview partners had never been called upon to narrate these experiences (which nobody believed were of historical value), let alone perform that task half a century later. Even active professional musicians such as Trifonas Nikolaidis found it hard to remember, beyond the highlights that proved to have an enduring place in their career, what songs comprised the repertoire that they played every single night during a specific year in the 1960s or 1970s. On the other hand, journalists at the time frequently tried to capture the minute details of the experience of this or that Greek venue, its music, and its audience. I have taken great care in engaging with these texts critically, taking into account the position of the author and the nexus of biases, taboos, or prejudices that may have conditioned his or her perspective.

A third important research activity was the collection, dating, and analysis of recordings. This activity proved central in forming a picture of the shifting trends in repertoire and style over three decades. While most of the recordings made in Israel were later reissued as CDs, these later editions rarely included the original discographic data. For this reason, I had to resort to the

original vinyl releases, or to some other registry that allowed me to access the records' metadata. This involved the critical use of a few online discographies, including the Israeli blog *Stereo ve-Mono* and the international *Discogs.com*. The information I found there was crosschecked with physical copies of the records when these were available to me or with photos of album covers and labels that I found online or received from collectors such as Dudi Patimer.

Even when I had access to the metadata printed on the record label or cover, the date of release was not printed on them. This made dating a difficult task, but one that I found crucial for establishing a timeline. Fortunately, Aris San and other artists often recorded songs that had been recently released by other artists in Greece. Finding the release date of the first recording of a song in Greece (using several comprehensive and reliable online discographies), allowed me not only to see which artists were important models for San and to draw out the similarities in style between Greek and Israeli recordings, but also (in combination with information from interviews and newspaper articles) to date Israeli recodings accurately. Much of my efforts in this area were devoted to compiling a comprehensive (if not exhaustive) discography of recordings by Aris San, which provides the basis for extensive parts of Chapter 2.

An equally important aspect of my research focused not on the production of sounds but rather on their consumption. My exploration of listening practices in relation to Greek music was informed by existing trends within Sound Studies, and in particular by what Mark M. Smith describes as "historical soundscape studies"—the study of how sounds have been perceived in the past.[70] From a methodological point of view, Smith understands this task as one of contextualization, which he sees as critical to understanding the meanings of historical sounds.

[70] Mark M. Smith, "Listening to the Heard Worlds of Antebellum America," *Journal of The Historical Society* 1 (June, 2000): 63. Quoted in Kara Keeling and Josh Kun, "Introduction: Listening to American Studies," in *American Quarterly*, special issue on "Sound Clash: Listening to American Studies,"eds. Kara Keeling and Josh Kun, 63, no. 3 (September 2011): 13.

Rather than examining sounds objectively—which Smith believes will serve "to deafen us to the social and historical construction of the heard world"—he argues that understanding sounds as socially constructed requires listening to the listeners.[71]Josh Kun has provided a transnational model for this type of methodological approach to sound studies. In his book, *Audiotopia: Music, Race, and America*, Kun proposes that:

> . . . applying a transnational ear to the Americas and listening to them as a hemispheric field of sound ripe for plunder, recycling, transformation, and recontextualization. This new listening requires a theorization of a direct link between sonic production, sonic reception, and the subsequent construction and deconstruction of national topographies. It entails hearing music as, in part, a spatial practice. Listening to music for what it tells us about local and global geographies and subsequent contests for cultural ownership highlights the shifting nature of contemporary cultural and subcultural forms across the geopolitical and discursive space of the Americas.[72]

Drawing on these models, I attempted to "found a discourse" of the historical practice of Greek music, not just by examining its impact on a national debate of Israeliness, but also by understanding the way people put it to use as a "technology of the self"—i.e., as an operation of individuals on their own bodies, thoughts, conduct, and ways of being, so as to transform themselves.[73] Through the interviews that I have conducted, I explored the venues and contexts in which people listened to Greek music, and the practical calculus that their listening entailed vis-à-vis contemporary imaginations of ethnicities. In doing this I was guided by what Foucault defined as the central question behind technologies of the self: "how had the subject been compelled to decipher himself in regard to what was forbidden?"[74] This question leads directly to

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[71] Mark M. Smith, *Listening to Nineteenth Century America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 263.

[72] Josh Kun, *Audiotopia: Music, Race, and America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 188.

[73] Michel Foucault, "Technologies of the Self," 18.

[74] Ibid.,17.

my thesis regarding the role of Greek music in subverting the Jew/Arab dichotomy and in the making of the new ethnic category of Mizrahiyut.

In order to approach listening practices of Greek music from a transnational perspective, I draw on what Ana Maria Ochoa calls practices of "sonic recontextualization." Ochoa describes such recontextualization as crucial to the constitution of aural modernities and as a primary tool in both the enforcement and the subversion of nationalist cultural policies. Practices of sonic recontextualization can take the contradictory forms of "epistemologies of purification, which seek to provincialize sounds in order to ascribe them a place in the modern ecumene" and "epistemologies of transculturation which either enact or disrupt such practices of purification."[75] This model has proved illuminating throughout the various historical stages that I discuss in this dissertation. The tandem operation of transculturation and purification manifests itself clearly both in the ways in which popular Greek music developed at the beginning of the twentieth century and in the ways it was received in Israel in the 1960s and 1970s.

Chapter Outline

The prologue to this dissertation provides the historical context or "pre-history" of the practice of Greek music in Israel. Its focus is on the musical aspects of the modernization of Jewish workers in Salonica. I argue that the Hellenization of working-class Jews during the interwar period involved a process of musical exchange with Christian refugees from Asia-Minor—who faced similar pressures to "become Greek"—and an identification with the grief and nostalgia they

[75] Ana Maria Ochoa-Gautier, "Sonic Transculturation, Epistemologies of Purification and the Aural Public Sphere in Latin America," *Social Identities* 12 no. 6 (2006): 804.

expressed in their music for a lost Ottoman world. This inter-group dialogue, taking place within the context of the Greek nation-state, prefigures later negotiations surrounding the practice of Greek music in Israel. The repertoires and cultures of taste it shaped fed directly into the Israeli context via immigration and other forms of musical exchange. The relationships between class, cultural identity, and musical styles in the musical world of Jews in Salonica in the first half of the twentieth century were reproduced in Israel, where Salonica Jews came to embody the "Greek."

In Chapter 1, I trace the emergence of the Greek music scene in Jaffa. I examine how Greek music spread across the country, and how it influenced mainstream Hebrew popular music of the time. The origins of the Jaffa Greek music scene lie in the early 1950s with the establishment of Café Arianna, a Greek style venue operated by Salonica emigrants. Live Greek music provided by Jewish immigrants from the Balkans was one of the main factor in the intitial success of Café Arianna. In the latter half of the decade, the owners expanded and diversified the musical program by contracting professional musicians from Greece to play at the café. Soon, other "Greek" venues in the Jaffa nightclub district followed this practice. As Greek venues became central to how of Jaffa appeared in the cultural imagination of Israelis, the city acquired the status of a "Greek" heterotopia, in which the relations between the binaries of East/West and proper/improper were negotiated. Jaffa was imagined as an exotic Oriental city, but one hospitable to middle-class, Euro-Israeli audiences from Tel Aviv, who were thus able to participate in this culture without suffering the social stigma associated with the practice of Oriental cultures.

In the second part of Chapter 1, I demonstrate how Greek music developed into a national trend, partly through the involvement of Greek musicians who played western-style Greek songs

that appealed to Euro-Israeli Middle-class audiences. At the peak of the Greek Wave of the 1960s around 1966, mainstream artists of Hebrew popular song also took an interest in Greek music, and performed Greek songs with Hebrew lyrics or newly composed Greek-style Hebrew song. These artists mostly drew on the music of "serious" Greek composers such as Manos Hatzidakis and Mikis Theodorakis, however, who became famous in Israel and around the world through their film music. When mainstream Hebrew artists did engage with the more Oriental strains of Greek popular song, there was often a satirical element to their engagement. They often highlighted the "Greekness" of the original song by resorting to stereotypes.

In Chapters 2 and 3, I elaborate and further concretize the thesis developed in Chapter 1. In Chapter 2, I offer a microhistory of Aris San's Israeli career between 1958 and 1969, which I consider a focal point for examining cultural identifications through Greek music in Israel. I examine San's career as a performer, recording artist, club manager, and public figure, treating it as an extended series of negotiations. I focus on San's performances and his role as a club manager, his recorded repertoire, his social affiliations, and his public image. The chapter is in two parts. In the first, I evaluate San's contribution to the development and popularization of a specific model of Mediterranean nightclub. These were spaces in which San's "Greek chic" was a key element in balancing the production of a cosmopolitan appeal and catering to the taste-preferences of working-class urban Mizrahi audiences.

The second part of this chapter consists of a detailed analysis of San's recorded repertoire, highlighting several themes. First, I consider the role of Latin music in San's repertoire. During the 1950s and 1960s Latin music was popular in both Greece and Israel (as it was around the world). For Israelis, I argue, Latin and Greek popular music both evoked cultural imaginaries that had the quality of what I call *marginal Occidentality*. That is, they were both models for

identification allowing people to imagine themselves as being positioned on the inner fringes of Western culture rather than being excluded from it altogether. Second, I consider the place of markedly Oriental or Orientalist music in San's repertoire. I argue that the central place of Oriental song in his performances has to do with the role of Greek music as a substitute for Arab music for immigrants from Arab countries. The Oriental Greek songs that San performed are a way of "Greekwashing" the sounds that appeal to these audiences—sounds that, if enjoyed through Arab music directly, would constitute a transgression against the Zionist taboo on Arabness. I go on to analyze San's most successful song of all time, "Boumpam," in which he integrated a long instrumental quote from the Egyptian hit "Inta Umri." It is this "Greekwashed" quotation, I claim, that was responsible for the success of the song. Finally, I consider San's transition to Hebrew song, his desire to enjoy the status of a "national artist" in Israel, and the reasons for his limited success in achieving this status.

In Chapter 3, I discuss the representation of Greek "bouzouki music" in Israeli and Greek cinema, and the ethno-class connotations attached to it. Greek films were a key component in the popularization of Greek music in Israel during the 1960s. Additionally, as I show in this chapter, Greek films influenced the way Greek music was used in Israeli films of the 1960s and 1970s, as a marker of ethnicity and class. I analyze six films (three from Israel and three from Greece) in which the bouzouki plays significant a role.

My analysis in this chapter focuses on the status of the bouzouki and the music associated with it—rebetiko and laiko—as markers of ethnicity, class, and nation. As I show, in the 1950s and 1960s the status of the bouzouki and of "bouzouki music" (rebetiko and laiko) in Greek cinema shifted between stereotypically representing the lower classes or a generalized "Greekness." A key factor in this process was the success of Greek international films such as

Never on Sunday (1960) and *Zorba the Greek* (1964), which came to represent modern Greece and its culture globally. In these films, Greece is produced in part as an exotic stereotype for a Western audience. In Israeli films, representations of Greek music and of the bouzouki were used to shape and negotiate a Mizrahi stereotype. By using Greek music as an attribute of Mizrahiyut, Mizrahim were stripped of their "Arabness." Through the use of Greek musical stereotypes, the Oriental difference of Mizrahim was "normalized" to fit the model of Israel as a Mediterranean nation, while still marking them as an internal Oriental other.

Finally, in Chapter 4, I address musical developments in the 1970s and the early 1980s, when the practice of Greek music came to be identified almost exclusively with Mizrahi subculture and became a foundation for the emerging field of muzikah Mizrahit. The 1970s witnessed the increased participation of Mizrahim in the Israeli public sphere and in Israeli politics. This led to increasing efforts to amend or supplement national culture with images and sounds that could accommodate or "stand for" Mizrahim as different (but not too different) Israelis. The strategy of Mediterraneanism once again plays a key role in these negotiations, with Greek music recruited to function as a Mizrahi stereotype. At the same time, a new cadre of second-generation Mizrahi musicians and audiences was coming of age and shaping the soundscapes out of which a distinct Mizrahi culture would emerge as a modern, vernacular-cosmopolitan field. Riding on the coattails of Aris San's success, Greek and Israeli musicians were able to enjoy commercial success in the club scene and record industry, among a predominantly Mizrahi audience. From their midst arose a new national mega-star—Trifonas Nikolaidis—whose appeal "spilled-over" to the mainstream, attracting media attention, and thus amplifying the entire process. Young Mizrahi singers also rose to meet the demand for more live Greek music by assuming Greek stage personas. With Mizrahim setting the tone, Turkish music

also gained increased importance, in what became a unified Turko-Greek marketing category. Finally, when the divergent field of Mizrahi subcultural sounds gave rise to a new Hebrew language popular idiom—musikah Mizrahit—Greek melodic and instrumental practices went on to function as a foundation of this new style, from its inception to the present day.

Prologue

Becoming Greek: Jews, Rebetiko, and Nostalgia between Salonica and Tel Aviv

> Nostalgia is paradoxical in the sense that longing can make us more empathetic toward fellow humans, yet the moment we try to repair longing with belonging, the apprehension of loss with a rediscovery of identity, we often part ways and put an end to mutual understanding. *Algia* - longing- is what we share, yet *nostos* - the return home - is what divides us.
>
> Svetlana Boym.[1]

In this prologue I provide the historical context, or "pre-history" for the practice of Greek music in Israel. Because Jewish immigrants from Greece laid the foundations for a local scene of Greek popular music, it is essential to understand the nature and origins of the diverse taste cultures that they brought with them, and the negotiations of class, ethnicity, and cultural identity embodied in them.

The integration of Salonica Jews into the Greek state after 1912 most strongly affected the development of musical tastes after that date. This process involved complicated ways by which Salonica Jews came to consider themselves as Greek; Greek music played a significant role in this long drawn out, conflicted, and partial transformation. The modernization of the music of the Jewish working-class will be of particular importance in my account. It is my intent to show that the Hellenization of working-class Jews during the interwar period involved: (1) a musical exchange with Christian refugees from Asia-Minor—who were facing similar pressures to "become Greek;" and (2) an identification with the grief and nostalgia for a lost Ottoman

[1] Svetlana Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia* (New York: Basic Books, 2001), xv-xvi.

world that these refugees expressed in their music. This inter-group dialogue took place within the context of the cultural project of the Greek nation-state, and prefigures later negotiations surrounding the practice of Greek music in Israel. The repertoires and cultures of taste it shaped fed directly into the Israeli context, as I discuss in subsequent chapters.

The Advent of Modernity in an Ottoman Salonica

Thessaloniki, or "Salonica" as its Jewish inhabitants called it, was the biggest Ottoman city west of Istanbul; its port was an important hub for trade with Europe, especially during the later nineteenth century. The Jewish community in the city was comprised predominantly of Sephardim, i.e. descendants of Jews exiled from Spain in 1492.[2] By the early sixteenth century, Jews were the dominant ethnic group in the city. The most frequently invoked proof of Jewish domination was the fact that Saturday, the Jewish Sabbath, was the day of rest for commercial activity and services until the Greek government changed that through legislation in 1924. As Ottoman subjects, and later Ottoman citizens, the Jews developed a group identity and group cultural practices by borrowing from Ottoman culture, and by retaining and adapting Spanish traditions. The Sephardim's link to Spain was accentuated through their use of the Judeo-Spanish vernacular language, and its literary counterpart called Ladino. The latter was written in Hebrew script until the early twentieth century. With the advent of modernity, a prolific Ladino literary culture developed, with the publication of periodicals, novels, theatre plays and more.[3]

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[2] Jews had lived in the territory of modern Greece since antiquity. These communities, whose members are called Romaniotes (derived from the Greek name for the Byzantine Empire) also formed communities in Ioannina, Corfu, Rohdes, Cyprus, and later also Athens. They were not part of any larger stream of Judaism, had their own unique liturgy, and spoke a distinct Greek dialect called Judeo-Greek, or Yevanic. After the arrival en mass of Sephardic Jews in the late fifteenth century, most of the Romaniotes gradually adopted Sephardic customs and language. And yet some Romaniote communities exist to this day in Greece, Israel, and the USA.

[3] See Elena Romero, *La creación literaria en lengua sefardí* [Literary works in the Sephardic language] (Madrid:

Like other Jewish communities in the Islamic world, Salonica Jews also adopted and adapted the music of their cultural surroundings. In particular, they borrowed Ottoman melodic and rhythmic systems and instrumentation in both their religious and secular repertoires. Since the publication in Safed 1587 of Rabbi Israel Najara's *Zemirot Yisrael*—a volume of sacred Hebrew poems set to the melodies of familiar Turkish, Arabic, and Greek songs—the practice of contrafacta had also been common in Sephardic communities.[4] This collection and others of its kind were printed in Salonica during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. By the nineteenth century, the classical Ottoman makam had come to dominate creative and performative practices in Jewish sacred music.[5]

In the aftermath of the *Tanzimat* reform era (1839-1876) and the constitution of 1876 that formally granted universal civil rights to non-Muslims, Jewish commerce thrived in Salonica. During the last third of the nineteenth century the Jewish community founded its own modern institutions, including schools, hospitals, houses of worship, and organizations providing other civil services. It became a driving force in the modernization of the city. This process of modernization went hand in hand with European education received in schools belonging to the *Alliance Israélite Universelle*. Adolph Crémieux had founded the *Alliance* in Paris in 1860 in the spirit of the French "civilizing mission." Schools were established all around the Middle East to

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Mapfre, 1992).

[4] On the place of contrafacta in Sephardic music see Edwin Seroussi and Susana Weich-Shahak, "Judeo-Spanish Contrafactas and Musical Adaptations: The Oral Tradition," *Orbis Musicae* 10 (1990-1): 164-194.

[5] For the role of classical Ottoman music in the sacred music of Salonica Jews see Edwin Seroussi, "Musika osmanit klasit be-kerev yehudei Saloniki" [Ottoman Classic Music among the jJews of Saloniki], in *Ladinar: Mehkarim ba-sifrut, ba-musika uva-historia shel dovrei ha-Ladino*, [Studies in the literature, music, and history of speakers of Ladino] eds. Judith Dishon and Shmuel Refael (Tel Aviv: The Institute for Research of the Jews of Salonica, 1998), 79-92.

bring of European modernity to Oriental Jews.[6] The effects of *Alliance* education on the Jewish community were profound, and contributed to the creation of a Europeanized, secularized (but not secular) Jewish middle class. This process was not limited however to the Jewish population. A larger group of tradesmen and bureaucrats of all confessions in the city participated in this process of westernization. Mark Mazower argues that in the final third of the nineteenth century:

> 'Frankish' values spread quickly throughout Salonica—more quickly perhaps than anywhere else in the empire. A wealthy Greek and Jewish "aristocracy" challenged the power of their own religious leaders: founding schools and newspapers, they subsidized European languages, learning and ideas. . . . Salonica was escaping the gravitational pull of Istanbul and establishing profitable connections with Western Europe.[7]

The European education provided by the *Alliance* substantially influenced musical life for the Jewish and Greek middle and upper classes in Salonica. By the end of the nineteenth century, Jewish and Greek modernized elites had acquired a taste for operettas by Charles Lecocq and Jacques Offenbach, as well as dances such as the waltz, polka, and lancers.[8]

At the same time, Jews in Salonica invigorated the practice of Ottoman music in several ways, causing this repertoire itself to go through a vibrant process of modernization. In the late nineteenth century, there was a renaissance of makam-based sacred Jewish song in Salonica, with the establishment of several singing groups and the publication of several song collections based on the model of Najara's *Zemirot Yisrael*. Some consider the rise in importance of this

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[6] See Aron Rodrigue, *Hinukh, Hevera VeHistoria: Kol Israel Haverin VeYehudei Agan HaYam-Hatikhon, 1860-1929* [Education, society and history: L'Alliance Israélite Universelle and jJews around the Mediterranean basin, 1860-1929], translated from French and English by Tzvia Zmiri (Jerusalem: Yad ben-Zvi, 1991).

[7] Mark Mazower, *Salonica, City of Ghosts: Christians, Muslims and Jews, I430-I950* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2005), 211. In many parts of Asia and Africa the word "Franks" or "franji" means " West European" in general.

[8] See Dafni Tragaki, *Rebetiko Worlds* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2007), 6; and David M. Bunis, *Voices from Jewish Salonica: Selections from the Judezmo Satirical Series "Tio Ezra I su Mujer Benuta" and "Tio Bohor I su Mujer Djamila" by Moshe Cazes* (Jerusalem: Misgav Yerushalayim, 1999), 283.

music as reaction to the Jewish middle class's trend to secularize and culturally assimilate.[9] Jewish professional musicians also participated in the burgeoning hybrid cosmopolitan style of Ottoman café music. Alongside the *café-chantants*, where European music reigned supreme, a vibrant scene of *café-amans* flourished in the early twentieth century.[10] In these establishments, Jewish, Armenian, Roma, and Christian-Anatolian musicians played a mix of the urban café music of Constantinople, urbanized versions of the folk songs played by various ethnic groups—Greeks, Vlachs, Bulgarians etc.— that inhabited the region of Macedonia, and also Arab songs. These musicians performing in the café amans were often highly mobile, working in many urban centers of the Ottoman Empire—a fact that contributed to both the internal diversification of the repertoire, and to its consolidation across local urban scenes.[11]

Within this loose, shared stylistic framework for music proliferating across ethnic and religious boundaries, language became a key factor for safeguarding ethnic identities, or even cultivating nationalist sentiments. Greeks, Turks, and Jews—who were, in the Ottoman city, "mixed but unmixable"[12] —could sing the same melody, accompanied by the same instruments (sometimes even played by the same musicians), yet still believe themselves to be practicing the music of "their" group, if they sang the repertoire in "their" language.[13]

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[9] Seroussi, "Ottoman Music," 81.

[10] This type of venue takes its name form the Ottoman genre of vocal improvisation called in Turkish *mani,* and in Greek *manes* or *amanes* (pl. *amanedes*). These improvisations often started with the words "adam, aman" (mercy, man). See Risto Pekka Pennanen, "The Nationalization of Ottoman Popular Music in Greece," *Ethnomusicology* 48, no. 1 (2004): 9-10.

[11] Tragaki, *Rebetiko Worlds,* 11-13; Pennanen, "Nationalization."

[12] Julia Philips Cohen, *Becoming Ottomans: Sephardi Jews and Imperial Citizenship in the Modern Era* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 132.

[13] As Pennanen observes: "The language issue reveals the true nature of the term "rebetika." Sung in Turkish, an Ottoman popular piece is usually classified as a non-Greek 'Turkish song' by Greek musicians, audiences and writers on music, while the Greek-language version of the same piece is regarded as a national 'rebetiko tragoudi.' We can see that the definition of the term 'rebetika' is neither musical nor cultural. Instead, it is language-based:

Jews, Greeks and Refugees

The combined effects of Ottoman reforms, modernization, and the growing presence of European culture made Salonica the home of a rich and diverse musical culture. As Dafni Tragaki writes:

> In the beginning of the 20th century, Thessaloniki appeared as a cosmopolitan city, a metropolis where various musical traditions co-existed and interacted to a greater or lesser degree within a cultural network that stimulated the interplay of various musical cultures. … [a] manifold urban musical reality featuring Western European light orchestras, tango and waltz dancing, French cabaret music hosted in *cafe-chantants*, local *dhimotiko traghoudhi* [Greek rural folk song] and light popular song, and the eastern Mediterranean repertory of *cafe-amans.*"[14]

With the occupation of Macedonia by Greek forces in 1912, Salonica and its inhabitants became part of the Greek state. As was the case in the younger European-Jewish national movement of Zionism, ethnicity and religion became virtually inseparable for Greek nationalism. If at first the policy of the Greeks towards Jews and other minorities in its newly acquired territories appeared liberal (largely because these populations were being used as collateral against the treatment of millions of Greeks still living in Ottoman territories), this policy of tolerance didn't last very long. In 1917 a fire decimated the old center of Salonica, where most of the Jewish neighborhoods and businesses were located. Over 50,000 Jews—more than half of the Jewish population—were left homeless. The Greek authorities took the opportunity to rebuild the city slowly, according to a modern European plan, and thus de-facto cleared the city center of its Jewish population. The Jews, and especially the poor Jews, were resettled in new neighborhoods on the outskirts of the lower city. In the aftermath of the fire, many Jews emigrated and the

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the use of Greek justifies the inclusion of an Ottoman piece in the Greek national repertoire." See Pennanen, "Nationalization": 19.

[14] Tragaki, *Rebetiko Worlds*, 53.

Jewish population shrunk. Coupled with a global economic slow-down, this led to a massive proletarization of lower-income Jews.[15] The Socialist Worker's Federation, founded in 1909 by Avraham Ben-Aroya, a Sephardic Jew from Bulgaria, stepped up to the challenges created by this situation. Although the Federation was the first multi-ethnic socialist organization in the Ottoman Empire, most of its members were Jews. It was not until the late the late 1920s and early 30s that Zionist organizations became established among the Jewish working classes, who previously had benefited from a host of social services offered by the largely anti-Zionist Federation.

In the aftermath the Greco-Turkish war (1919-1922), the Greek army hastily retreated from Anatolia. They were followed by a stream of Christian refugees fleeing the genocidal violance of the advancing Turkish forces. The Lausanne Treaty of 1923 formalized the exodus, declaring an exchange of populations based on religion. The well-to-do Muslin minority of Salonica, comprising about one-third of the city's inhabitants, was expelled, and over 100,000 Christian refugees from Asia Minor took its place, settling in the city. As a result of this dramatic demographic change, writes Eyal Ginio, Jews were now "clearly the only minority of any significance left in the city. Their image was described in the contemporary [Greek] literature as the ultimate "others:" Oriental foreigners and an unwelcome vestige of the Ottoman era, who were loath to assimilate by absorbing Greek culture."[16]

A key component of the Greek state's program of Hellenization with regard to the Jewish population of the city had to do with their education. Instruction in Greek and in Greek language,

[15] Mazower, *Salonica, City of Ghosts*, 306.

[16] Eyal Ginio, "'Learning the Beautiful Language of Homer': Judeo-Spanish Speaking Jews and the Greek Language and Culture between the Wars," *Jewish History* 16, no. 3, special issue on "Ladino Print Culture" (2002): 239.

history, and geography, became a condition for schools to receive public funding. While other routes to Hellenization existed, none were as significant as primary and secondary education. As a consequence, the process of Hellenization of Salonica Jews created a generational gap: while the elders remained entrenched in Ottoman ways and continued to speak Ladino, (although it was also common for them to speak Turkish), the youth opened up to Greek culture and its westernizing trends.

The national task of homogenizing the Greek population faced setbacks with the Christian Anatolian refugees, many of whom spoke little or no Greek and regarded themselves as "Christian of the East" rather than as Greeks. Mark Mazower vividly describes how locals perceived the arriving refugees:

> Salonica's Muslims were astonished. 'They didn't know Greek and spoke Turkish,' recalled the young Reshad Tesal in surprise. 'They sang in Turkish in our makams [musical scales].' With their arrival, the market for Turkish records quickly expanded and Greek cinemas screened Turkish melodramas well into the 1950s. They had insults hurled at them by Greeks from the Peloponnese or the islands— they were "Turkish-seed" and "the yoghurt-baptized"—for to the existing population of Old Greece they scarcely seemed Greek at all. In fact, the population exchange was not about bringing a nation together so much as assembling the component parts from which one would emerge. Two or three generations passed before their descendants stopped referring to themselves as refugees, and felt more at ease in their new homeland."[17]

All Jews and refugees were subject to the cultural policies of Hellenization. Yet as part of its project of ethnic homogenization, the Greek government, and especially the Liberal Party under the leadership of Eleftherios Venizelos, promoted policies that increased refugees' access to housing, jobs, and business opportunities while marginalizing the

[17] Mazower, *Salonica, City of Ghosts*, 337.

Jewish population in Salonica.[18] In what Orly C. Meron has defined as an "ethnic-controlled economy in transition," refugees created their own separate trade and labor unions. This helped the government to diminish the power of organized labor, and the dominance of Jewish workers in the port, as well as in the tobacco and garment industries.[19]

At the same time, many refugees saw the Jews as collaborators of the Turkish-Ottomans, and adopted ultra-nationalist positions hostile to them. Things came to a head in 1931 with the "Campbell Riots," when a Greek mob incited by the proto-Fascist, refugee-led National Union of Greece (EEE) set ablaze the homes and shops of over 200 poor Jewish families.[20] With the rise to power of the anti-Venizelist Popular Party in 1933, however, and particularly with the establishment of the Metaxas dictatorship in 1936, there was a notable improvement in the state's attitude toward Jewish communities.[21]

While these two populations were politically and economically at odds, however, culturally they often had more in common with each other than either of them had with the old Greek elites. The urban folk style now called "rebetiko music" developed in the

[18] See for example Orly C. Meron, "Hutim mekashrim? Yevanim, plitim ve-Yehudaim be-ta'asiyat ha-textil shel Saloniki, 1923-1943 [Connecting threads? Greeks, refugees, and Jews in Thessaloniki's textile industry, 1923-1943]," *Zmanim* 129 (Winter 2015): 78-93; and Shai Srougo, *ha-Po'alim ha-Yehudim be-namal Saloniki: bein ha-olam ha-Otmani le-olama shel medinat ha-leom ha-Yevanit (1869-1936)* [The Jewish laborers in the port of Thessaloniki: Between Ottoman world and the Greek nation state (1869-1936)] (Jerusalem: Ben Zvi Institute and the Hebrew University, 2014).

[19] Orly C. Meron,"Ethnic-Controlled Economy in Transition: Jewish Employment from European Semi-Colonialism in Ottoman Macedonia to Greek Nation-State," *Sociological Papers* 11, no. 3 (2006): 1-58. See also Srougo, *ha-Po'alim ha-Yehudim,* 197-204.

[20] Mazower, *Salonica, City of Ghosts,* 385-388.

[21] Aristotle A. Kallis, "The Jewish Community of Salonica under Siege: The Antisemitic Violence of the Summer of 1931," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 20, no. 1 (Spring 2006): 50.

1920s and early 30s out of two largely distinct styles: Greek-language Ottoman café music, and a second style emerging from the city of Piraeus. The first style—Ottoman café music—was usually performed by small ensemble comprising violin (*keman*), qanun/santuri, oud/cümbüş, and percussion, while the latter was performed by ensembles featuring the bouzouki, guitar, and baglamas.[22] Today these two style are often retroactively named *smyrnaiko* (i.e. the Smyrna style), and *peiraiotiko* (the Piraeus style), respectively.

The refugees' arrival immediately invigorated performances and recordings of music in the "Smyrna style." Highly qualified musicians from Smyrna, such as Panayiotis Toundas (1886-1942), came to occupy key positions in the Greek record industry, based in Athens.[23] In the early 1930s, musicians from Piraeus, including Markos Vamvakaris, first recorded their music, expanding the popularity of the Piraeus style, and of the sound of the bouzouki in particular. In the course of the 1930s these two styles became increasingly hybridized in practice and conflated in discourse. Those critics who disliked rebetiko blamed the refugees for importing bouzouki music from Anatolia. This accusation was false in that the bouzouki had actually been introduced by musicians from Piraeus.[24] Nicholas G. Pappas argues that in the wake of the rising popularity of the Piraeus bouzouki style in the early 1930s, " . . . some of the Anatolian café amán exponents invented what may usefully be termed the 'pseudo-bouzouki' . . . refugee performers, perhaps also at the behest of the recording companies, made a conspicuous attempt in their new

[22] *Baglamas* is a small, high pitched-lute with three double strings. It is not to be confused with the larger Turkish instrument of the same name (*baglama*), also called *saz*.

[23] Stathis Gauntlett, "Between Orientalism and Occidentalism: The Contribution of Asia Minor Refugees to Greek Popular Song and its Reception," in *Crossing the Aegean: An Appraisal of the 1923 Compulsory Population Exchange between Greece and Turkey*, ed. Rene Hirschon (New York: Berghahn Books, 2003), 250.

[24] Ibid., 247.

recordings to convince their audience that a bouzouki was being played in circumstances in which one was not heard."[25]

Risto Pekka Pennanen argues that the refugee musicians actually performed Ottoman café music,[26] and that naming the music they recorded in the 1920s and 30s "rebetiko" was an act of "nationalization." Pappas, in contrast, interprets the refugees' music from the perspective of Greek nationalism, and explains their situation as follows:

> The tensions brought about by relocation and discrimination threatened these displaced Greeks' sense of identity, an identity that they believed to be based upon centuries of Greek settlement in Asia Minor. To their surprise, they found a not-too-hospitable community in Greece that displayed all the paranoia and intolerance of a host nation to immigration. In this case, however, because these new and insecure arrivals viewed themselves as fully Greek as their hosts, a crisis of identity ensued for them. They soon found that it was through the recording of their music that they could boldly assert their *Greek Oriental culture* and find an outlet for the preservation of their distinct cultural identity.[27]

Of course, there is no real contradiction between the two perspectives: Pennanen gives a musicological account that interprets this music in terms of stylistic *practice*; Pappas speaks of what refugees might have *thought* they were doing, i.e. of a *discourse* that gave those practices meaning. There is no reason not to hold on to both perspectives.

The performance and recording of rebetiko music encountered a major setback with the rise of the Metaxas dictatorship in 1936. The new regime responded to long-standing resentment in the population toward the culture of refugees by adopting some of the claims against it as the basis for official policy. Under Metaxas, rebetiko was officially banned. It appears that the ban

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[25] Nicholas G. Pappas, "Concepts of Greekness: The Recorded Music of Anatolian Greeks after 1922," *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 17, no. 2 (October 1999): 365.

[26] See quote on footnote 13 in this prologue.

[27] It is crucial to keep this statement in mind, as it reveals a startling resemblance in attitudes toward the Greek refugees and toward the Mizrahim in Israel.

was never fully enforced, but it did lead to severe censorship and persecution of musicians.[28] Pappas argues that the ban contributed to the decline of the Smyrna-style, and to the ultimate rise in popularity of the bouzouki in Greek popular music.[29]

In this period, Salonica became a safe-haven for rebetiko musicians. Under the protection of the local chief of police, who was a fan of this music, leading rebetiko musicians, including Markos Vamvakaris and Yiannis Papaiouannou, thrived. They spent more and more time performing there.[30] The combination of the restrictions set on "à la turka" café music, and of the demonization of rebetiko as a moral ailment threatening the cultural health of the nation, were significant factors in the rise of a second generation of musicians who "cleaned-up" their act by bringing bouzouki music closer to mainstream, middle-class sensibilities. The most prominent figure in this regard was Vasílis Tsitsanis, a former law student who moved from Athens to Salonica in 1937.[31] Tsitsanis further "westernized" the music with more frequent or robust use of minor and major, chordal accompaniment, parallel thirds, and more lyrical texts, paving the way for a nouveau riche fad of bouzouki music sometimes called *archondorebetiko*— "the rebetiko of mansions." This trend is personified by bouzouki virtuoso and composer Manos Chiotis, and in the post-war popular musical style known as laiko.[32]

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[28] Pennanen, "Nationalization": 12, Tragaki, *Rebetiko Worlds,* 58.

[29] Pappas, "Concepts of Greekness": 37.

[30] Tragaki, *Rebetiko Worlds,* 58-61.

[31] Ibid., 63-65.

[32] *Laiko tragoudi*, literally "popular song," is the post-war genre of Greek popular music that inherited the traditions of rebetiko, mixing them with Western styles of popular music. In the post-war period, the terms rebetiko and laiko are often used interchangeably. Sometimes music that could be identified as either was simply called "bouzouki" music (see Chapter 3 in this dissertation). Today rebetiko refers first and foremost to the pre-war musical styles in Piraeus and that of Smyrna (i.e. Ottoman café music with Greek lyrics), and, to some extent, to bouzouki music of the 1950s, some which was composed during the war. Laiko refers mostly to music from the 1960s onwards. On the social history and musical theory of laiko, see Christine Adele DeBoer, "Laiko: Definition and Significance of a Greek Popular Music Genre," (Master's Thesis, University of California, Los Angeles,

Jewish and Refugee Nostalgia

Looking at the relationship of Jews and refugees through the prism of song allows us to read it against the grain of enmity. In what follows, I argue that beyond their shared Ottoman ways, these populations had in common a sense of nostalgia and loss. This nostalgia played a principle role in how both populations mobilized song to navigate the turbulent changes and disasters of the first half of the twentieth century, including the final destruction of the Jewish community of Salonica in the holocaust.

It might seem inappropriate to speak of the devastating traumas of the Greek Genocide in Asia Minor and the Jewish Holocaust in terms of survivors' common sense of nostalgia for their homeland. As Svetlana Boym famously argued, however, the discomfort such a suggestion causes may be the product of certain taboo placed on nostalgia in modernity. Against the grain of those who perceive nostalgia as an "unproductive," romantic form of contemplation of "the good old days," Boym considers nostalgia an expression of loss and displacement.[33] "Nostalgia inevitably reappears as a defense mechanism in a time of accelerated rhythms of life and historical upheavals."[34] Not unlike the concept of genocide, it is "coeval with modernity itself."[35]

The Great Fire of Salonica of 1917 and the Great Fire of Smyrna in 1922, became for the Jewish and refugee communities key symbols of the end of long prosperous eras in which they

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1996); Despina Michaels, "Tsitsanis and the Birth of the 'New' Laiko Tragoudi," *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 4 (1996): 55-96; and Nikolaos Ordoulidis, "The Recording Career of Vasílis Tsitsánis (1936-1983): An Analysis of his Music and the Problems of Research into Greek Popular Music," (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Leeds, 2012).

[33] Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia,* xiii.

[34] Ibid., xiv.

[35] Ibid., xvi.

dominated one or the other of these two cities. In the working-class Jewish neighborhoods in Salonica, writes Mark Mazower "the elderly reminisced about life as it had been before the fire, but this was already a lost world to the younger generation."[36] Jews wrote new songs and adapted old ones about the fire of 1917, and the traditional Oriental customs that died with it.[37] These songs were often in old poetic tradition of *coplas del fuego*—epic poems that narrated historical occasions such as fires that befell the Sephardic community through the generations.[38] After their arrival, Anatolian refugees also recorded such songs of commemoration and longing. Gauntlett provides the following two examples of their work

Smyrna, you were embellished with riches and charm […]
Smyrna with your environs, blessed city,
your riches and advantages have been devastated by a storm.

("Smyrna with your environs")

Cheer up, my refugee girl, forget your misfortune
and one day we shall return to our familiar haunts.
We'll build our nest in our lovely Smyrna
and enjoy my [sic] sweet love and embraces.

("Refugee girl")[39]

[36] Mazower, *Salonica, City of Ghosts*, 343.

[37] See for example the song "Saloniko" by Sadik and Gazoz, published in 1925, as reprinted in Bunis, *Voices*, 286-8.

[38] *Coplas* or *complas* is a genre of strophic poem that narrates events in the history of the community. For a concise taxonomy of poetic genres in the Sephardic oral tradition, see Susana Weich-Shahak, "Musico-Poetic Genres in the Sephardic Oral Tradition: An Interdisciplinary Approach to the Romancero, Coplas and Cancionero," *European Journal of Jewish Studies* 9, no. 1 (2005): 13-37. For a detailed account of the literary tradition of coplas del fuego, see Elena Romero, *Entre dos (o mas) fuegos: fuentes poeticas para la historia de los Sefardies de los Balcanes* [Between two (or more) fires: poetic sources for the history of Sephardim in the Balkans] (Madrid: CSIC, 2008). For a discussion of songs/poems in response to the great fire of 1917—coplas and other genres— preserved in both oral and written sources, see Shmuel Refael, "Los Cantis del Insidio: The Great Fire of 1917 and its Reflection in Judeo-Spanish Folk Song," in *Ladinar,* eds. Judith Dishon and Shmuel Refael (Tel Aviv: The Institute for Research of the Jews of Salonica, 1998), 93-117.

[39] Quoted in Gauntlett, "Between Orientalism And Occidentalism," 252.

Perhaps the single most important point to be made about the refugees' nostalgia, has to do with the relationship between the Oriental and the Orientalist in refugee songs. Gauntlett elaborates:

> . . . rebetiko songs composed and/or performed by refugees for recording in the inter-war period sit in a paradoxical relationship with the Orientalist discourse that was stigmatizing and marginalizing them within Greek society. Their songs are usually conspicuously Oriental in their music (based on the makam system of modes), in their main dance-rhythms (zeibekiko, hasapiko, and tsifteteli or bel1y-dance) and in their instrumentation. . . . Yet their lyrics can often be seen to represent the East . . . as a fairy-tale setting full of carnal temptations, recreational drugs and opportunities for enrichment and leisure among compliant hordes of subjugated women.[40]

What Gauntlett calls "self-orientalization," I consider intrinsic to the negotiation of identity by marginalized groups such as the Asia Minor refugees and Mizrahi Jews in Israel. Nostalgia often couples, to quote Boym again, "the apprehension of loss with a rediscovery of identity." As such, it is as much about becoming as it is about remembering. This becoming consists in a negotiation or engagement with the very same marginalizing national discourse that demands that cultural discontinuity accompany physical or political displacement.

In addition to composing new lyrics for old tunes, Jews and Anatolian refugees expressed their nostalgia by cultivating a continued interest in Turkish music. As a result, Salonica remained a key market for Turkish records well into the 1930s, until the ban on rebetiko and other kinds of Oriental music crippled it.[41]As Shai Srougo notes, the Jewish community was sympathetic to the newly arriving refugees, and both collected donations and extended financial and material aid to them.[42] Whereas the Jews and the refugees differed clearly in their religious

[40] Ibid., 254-5.

[41] Ibid., 253.

[42] Srougo, *ha-Po'alim ha-Yehudim*, 182.

and other customs, they resembled each other in how they organized their work and leisure lives (especially those of the men), and in the role they gave music and musicians therein. Rebetiko music thus became a site of encounter between Jews and refugees.

The most prominent Jewish musician to shine in the world of rebetiko was Sara "Roza" Eskenazi (189?-1980), a Constantinople-born Jewish singer and dancer raised in Salonica and its vicinity. In the early 1930s, Eskenazi was one the most successful recording artists in Greece, and a key exponent of the "smyrna-style" of rebetiko. Although Eskenazi was not a practicing Jew, she became a proud symbol for members of the community who cared about this music, and for her relatives in Salonica, whom she helped save during the holocaust.[43]

In 1924, the German recording company Odeon appointed the Jewish firm "Abravanel and Benveniste" in Salonica as their exclusive agents for the purposes of selecting artists and repertoires for the Greek market. The German company was interested in profit, and knew that with a million potential new consumers, there was a lot of money to be made in selling "à la turka" music.[44] In spite of Jews' outstanding contributions to rebetiko culture in Greece, however, the music was not necessarily received well in the Jewish community at large. Rather than deduce something about the musical tastes and affiliations of the entire Jewish community form the key contribution of a few individuals, it is important to take into account evidence that allows for a more nuanced account of this history, which highlight both internal divisions and tensions, and the transitional nature of cultural affiliations embodied in musical taste.

[43] On Eskenazi's life and legacy see *My Sweet Canary*, documentary film directed by Roy Sher (Tel Aviv: Yehoshua Rabinovich Foundation of the Arts, 2011), DVD.

[44] Pappas, "Concepts of Greekness," 355.

Figure P.1: Photo of Roza Eskenazi, Agapios Tomboulis (standing), and Dimitrios Semsis, Athens, 1932, photographer unknown, reproduced in Gail Holst, *Road to Rembetika* (Limni, Greece: David Harvey, 2014 [1975]), 35

Rivka Havassy offers a crucial glimpse into the reception of rebetiko music in the Jewish community when she discusses the case of a Sadik Nemaha Gershon and Moshe Cazes (know as "Sadik and Gazoz").[45] Made up of a highly-regarded blind musician (Sadik) and writer (Cazes), this creative duo took it upon themselves to bridge the gap between the older members of the community—who were versed in Ottoman music and Judeo-Spanish song traditions—and the younger generation, who were more attuned to the changing soundscape, now filled with Anglo-

[45] Rivka Havassy, "Musikah popoularit ba-kehila ha-Yehudit be-Saloniki bein shtei Milhamot ha-Olam: iyun be-yetziratam shel Tzadik Gershon ve-Moshe Cazes (Sadik ve Gazoz) [Popular music in the Jewish community of Thessaloniki in the interwar period: a study of the work of Sadik Gershon and Moshe Cazes (Sadik y Gazoz)]," in *Levush ve-tokh: Musikah ba-havaya haYehudit* [Garment and core: Jews and their musical experiences], eds. Eitan Avitzur, Marina Ritzarev, and Edwin Seroussi (Ramat Gan: Bar Ilan University Press, 2012), 141-164. For an earlier version in English see Rivka Havassy, "New Texts to Popular Tunes: Sung-Poems in Judeo-Spanish by Sadik Gershon and Moshe Cazes (Sadik y Gazoz)," in *Proceedings of the Twelfth British Conference on Judeo-Spanish Studies, University College, London, June 2001* (Boston, Brill: 2004), 149-158.

American, French, and Greek songs and dance tunes emerging from movie theaters, operettas, revue shows, dance halls, gramophone records, and the radio. To achieve this, Sadik and Gazoz published and performed popular contemporary tunes with newly written Ladino lyrics, often of a humorous, satirical, or nostalgic nature. Between 1924 and 1935 more than one hundred of these "sung-poems"—as this literary genre was known—were published in Ladino newspapers, as well as ten independent booklets entitled *Kantes Populares de Sadik y Gazoz* (The popular song of Sadik and Gazoz).[46] In the introduction to their first collection of poems, published in 1924,Cazes describe the reason for publishing them:

> Everything goes out of style, even the traditional Turkish music ensemble. The piano, bass and violin have defeated the Eastern violin, oud and tambourine; the foxtrot has beaten the Eastern-style love song. "Having a good time" today means dancing, and dancing without end. There are many people who have no intention of growing old. But not knowing the secrets of the 'one-step,' at today's parties they can only crowd around the sides and watch. At today's bashes, modern music is for nothing but dancing. It is on behalf of such people that Sadik Gershon has cleverly devised a defense, for himself and his fellow Oriental ensemblists, against the attack of the modern orchestra: his new songs in Spanish [i.e., Judezmo] are now the center of attraction at parties. The lancers squares are becoming undone as the most dance-crazed girls sit down beside their mothers to hear songs that entertain while poking fun at today's ways. This ingenuity has made a veritable celebrity of Sadik, who even before was rather well known to the public.[47]

Sadik often performed these songs with his *calgi* (read "chalgi," a Turkish-style popular music ensemble), at weddings and other community functions. Some songs remained in the collective memory of the community, members of which transmitted and transported them orally from one generation to the next, even when they left Salonica.

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[46] Bunis, *Voices,* 284.

[47] *Kantes populares de Sadik I Gazoz* (Salonica: La Vara, 1924), 1. Quoted in Bunis, *Voices*, 326n75.

As Havassy's analysis of these contrafacta shows, the majority of tunes selected by Sadik and Gazoz were popular Greek-language songs in a "Western" style (which often meant they were foxtrots or tangos). Such songs may have originally been Greek contrafacta of English, French, or Spanish songs. Havassy also notes a rise, towards the end of this period, in Sadik and Gazoz's inclusion of rebetiko songs, i.e. local compositions in an Oriental style, which gradually suppressed the popularity of songs in French. The presence of Spanish and Latin-American songs remains constant throughout. She concludes that while the tunes chosen by Sadik and Gazoz reflect the popularity of Western-oriented "light" music in Greece, they also indicate an increasing interest in the rising local style of rebetiko.[48]Albertos Nar has also documented some remarkable instances of cross fertilization between rebetiko music and Ladino song, including Ladino contrafacta of songs recorded in Greek by Markos Vamvakaris, Antonis Dalkas, and Roza Eskenazi, as well as rebetiko songs written about Jewish girls, and even a song composed by Tsitsanis to lyrics that describe the deportation of the Jews from Salonica by the Germans.[49]

Perhaps best known among these contrafacta is the Ladino song Cazes wrote to the tune of the Turkish-style song "Ta matakia sou ta duo" (Those two eyes of yours) composed by the Smyrna-born violinist Yiannis Dragatsis (1886-1958).[50] The Ladino lyrics (peppered with many Turkish words) tell of Jaco, a professional Jewish musician who (according to the lyrics) sings in weddings and circumcision ceremonies, but also in the taverna. Using his command of four different languages, he preys on customers "like a flea":

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[48] Havassy, "Popular Music," 149-150.

[49] Albertos Nar, "Evraioi kai rempetika" [Jews and rebetika], in *Judeo-Espaniol: The Evolution of a Culture*, ed. Raphael Gatenio (Thessaloniki: Ets Haim Foundation, 1999), 139-166.

[50] It was recorded several times over the 1930s, including by Roza Eskenazi.

Come on Jaco
To weddings and bris [circumcisions]
Don't look faint
You've got customers

A tavern musician
I never stop singing
I stick to them like a flea
To reach their pockets

Come on Jaco…

A tavern musician
I never stop singing
I rock like a ship
Jaco is my name

Come on Jaco…

As a tavern musician
I'm quite smart
I get what I want from the drunk
I sing to him as he deserves

…

The "old-school" Jewish musicians soon came into competition with Western-style music bands, which used saxophones and other instruments foreign to Turkish music. Jewish *calgidjis*—musicians of the traditional Ottoman small ensemble—had to adapt by learning the Western and Westernized Greek melodies.[51] The ban on Oriental music, implemented in 1937, must have exacerbated the situation even further. In their struggle to maintain their traditions, they were in league with refugee musicians, with whom they also maintained professional relationships of

[51] Bunis, *Voices*, 295.

mutual admiration.[52] In 1938, Cazes described Sadik as follows:

> It would be ungracious of me to speak of our maestro Sadik only as a *chalgidji*. It is true that he began there, but he traveled far, arriving at a level of accomplishment which, it may be said, added considerable prestige to this profession, now in decline. For all those who would speak with disdain of our traditional musicianship, Master Sadik provides a shining example of its "progress": living with music as he lives with his very breath, Sadik also dedicated himself early on to European music, to such an extent that today, besides being a composer, he, together with the author of these lines, reclothed all of the new popular songs in our own idiom, thereby resuscitating the dying profession of the *chalgidji*. With his gifts and talent it can be said that Sadik is truly an "international" musician, who plays many instruments and sings in Turkish, Greek, Judezmo, and Arabic. *The excellent traditional musicians who reached Salonica from Istanbul during the period of the population exchanges categorize Master Sadik as a "gramophone*"; it suffices for him to hear any piece of music just once in order for him to learn it; and if it contains mistakes, he will correct them. All of this treasures, once hidden in a coffee house full of smoke and musicians' arguments, was discovered by Mr. Kaufman, a professor at the conservatory in our city, who readily made of Master Sadik his best friend and musical confidant.[53]

From this fascinating glimpse into the musical world of Salonica in the 1930s, we learn that Sadik and Gazoz—and perhaps others of their generation— bridged between the past glory of Jewish Salonica and what they experienced as the profound, often lamentable, transformations of modern life under the Greek state. While determined to keep up with the times (and taking pride in doing so) the incessant discourse of "change" in Cazes's writing seems indicative of the profound sense of loss and displacement (even through they stayed put!) haunting his milieu. As Bunis writes, "In what seems to have been their last songbook, published in 1935, Sadik and Gazoz included several songs suggesting that their longings for Old Salonica, and their despair over its 'modern,' 'progressive,' 'Europeanized' replacement, had reached the zenith."[54]

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[52] Gauntlett, "Between Orientalism and Occidentalism," 257; and Bunis, *Voices,* 299.

[53] Cazes, quoted in Bunis, *Voices,* 305n98. I have added the italics in this quote for emphasis.

[54] Ibid., 326.

The topos of noatalgia in the music Jews and refugees gives evidence of both their cultural and class affinities. The circumstances that distinguished the experiance of working-class Jews from that of the Jewish upper classes, led them to identify with cultural manifestations of refugee experience. In the last chapter of his book, Srougo constructs a social history of working-class Jews in Salonica around a comparative and integrative discussion of the Jews and their refugee neighbors. He concludes:

> In the early 20s the Jewish neighborhoods on the outskirts of the city were flanked by new neighborhoods built to house Anatolian refugees. The two populations had much in common: the authorities neglected to address the housing and infrastructure problems of both populations. On these grounds, the first half of the 30s saw the first reports of joint organization across ethnic lines of residents of outskirt neighborhoods.[55]

Mazower adds that "Greek and Jewish children played games like *aiuto* together in the streets, shouting Judezmo terms that refugee kids were quick to pick up."[56] As Cazes himself writes, the Ladino contrafacta he created with Sadik Gershon were intended "for the seamstress, the tobacco worker and the cup girl," in short—the working classes, with whom Cazes, who was a socialist, "identified so deeply."[57]

We find songs that tell of the plight and dreams of poor workers in both refugee music and the sung-poems Sadik and Gazoz. In their booklet from 1935, Cazes and Gershon included a Ladino contrafacta of "Ergátis timiménos" ("Honorable worker"), a 1932 *amanes* by Panayiotis Toundas, in the dance rhythm of *karsilama* (9/8). This Greek song gives a first person account of a young man who speaks of economic hardship and working class pride, and who fantasizes about a future in which he will roast fish with garlic, drink *retsina*, and make love with the

[55] Srougo, *ha-Po'alim ha-Yehudim*, 318.

[56] Ibid., 388.

[57] Bunis, *Voices*, 283.

woman he wants to marry.[58] Responding to the wave of Jewish port laborers who immigrated to Palestine to work at the port of Haifa, Cazes transformed the lyrics so that the fantastic destination became Palestine, and the fish became "bananas and oranges."[59]

As we shall se, the class-based taste cultures which characterised Jewish society in Salonica the 1930s—with rebetiko music appealing to the working class and Western styles and light Greek song appealing to the middle and upper classes—appears to have persisted within the Salonica community in Israel, where it echoed in part Israeli realities of ethnicity and class in the 1950s, and the cultural steroptypes it spawned.

Salonica Jews in Palestine

The immigration of Salonica Jews to Palestine started as early as 1917, in the aftermath of the Great Fire. At this time Palestine was simply one of many destinations for starting a new life, and not chief among them. Notable well-to-do merchant-entrepreneurs came in 1924, such as Salomon Florentin, who founded in 1927 a neighborhood in Tel-Aviv now bearing his name, and Moshe Karaso, who co-founded a leading bank and pioneered the automotive industry. The largest wave of immigration of as much as 10,000 Jews came in 1933-35. This wave of immigration consisted mainly of porters and stevedores with their families, recruited by Aba Hushi—a Zionist delegate and secretary general of Haifa worker's council—to increase the number of Jewish laborers in the port of Haifa. Members of the Salonica elite also immigrated during the same years, including Avraham Recanati, deputy mayor of Thessaloniki.[60]

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[58] On *manes* see footnote 10 in this prologue.

[59] For the Ladino version see Bunis, *Voices*, 292-293.

[60] Shai Srougo, "mi-Namal Saloniki le-namal-Heifa: aliyatam shel po'aley namal Saloniki bein shey Milhamot ha-Olam [From the port of Thssaloniki to the port of Haifa]," Master's Thesis, University of Haifa, 2003; Srougo, *ha-*

A few years after they were integrated into the workforce of the port of Haifa, about 50 workers and their families moved to Tel-Aviv to create a workforce for the construction and operation of the port of Tel Aviv. The port was officially opened in 1938, and the street leading down to it (later named Yordey ha-sira or "boatmen" street) became a small but vibrant neighborhood of Salonica Jews. This small community was served by a synagogue and as many as three cafés. Porters spent their idol hours in these cafés when there was not enough employment for all of them.[61] This small neighborhood joined the larger concentrations of Salonica Jews of other professions in the South Tel Aviv neighborhoods Florentin and Shapira, as well as in Jaffa (see figure P.2).

Po'alim ha-Yehudim, 262-263*;* Orly C. Meron, "Le'ymiyut kalkalit be-mabat mashve: Poaley namal Yehudim bein Saloniki le-Haufa, 1923-1936 [Economic nationalism in comparative perspective: Jewish port workers between Salonica and Haifa, 1926-1936]," *Iyunim Bitkumat Israel* 18 (2008): 193-235.

[61] Moshe "Moshiko" Silvas, interview with the author, 22 November 2013.

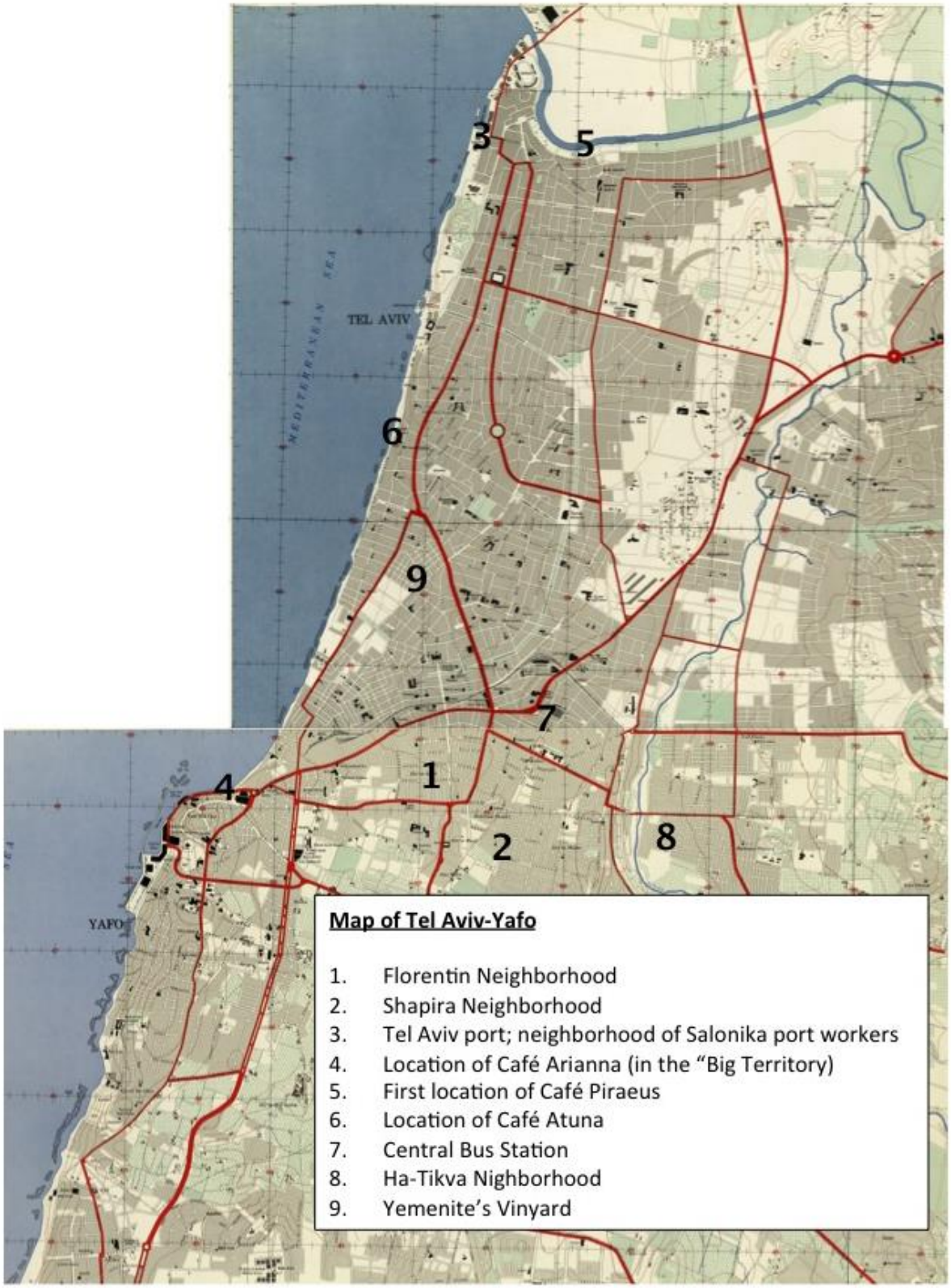

Figure P.2 Locations in Tel Aviv-Yafo

As in Salonica, music was central to every social gathering that took place in the small community of Salonica Jews in Palestine. The house of Pnina Nahmias (b. 1939, Palestine) in the Shapira neighborhood in the south of Tel-Aviv became a location for communal gathering. Many members of his family played mandolin or oud, and the adults sang in French (the language of their schooling), Judeo-Spanish, or in Greek—which they did not master, and which they spoke with a heavy accent. Pnina's future father-in-law, who was a butcher in Salonica and avid dancer, frequented Salonica's Western-style dancing halls, called *dansinges.*[62] In Palestine he tuned his radio to Greek-language stations broadcasting from Cyprus, to listen to Greek-language songs, but mostly to listen to JCPA—a British army radio station also broadcasting from Cyprus (a British colony at the time) – in order to listen to jazz.[63] His son Jacob (b. 1933, Salonica), Pnina's housband, was also a fan of American popular music and fashion, but remembers that Greek-language songs had an in important place at the Shabbat table, alongside Ladino songs. He never understood the lyrics. Records of Greek songs were a rare and prized possession, acquired from sailors in the ports of Tel Aviv and Haifa.[64]

The Nahmias family had a Salonican Jewish middle-class sensibility, which I would characterize in terms of musical taste by an inclination towards European and American music, as well as toward Greek elafra.[65] Elafro songs such as "Eis ton afro tis thalassas" (also known as

[62] *Dansinges* is the Judeo-Spanish plural form for the (Turkish) colloquial name given to Salonica dance halls playing Western music. It is derived from the English word "dancing."

[63] JCPA was a medium-waves British Forces Broadcasting Station (BFBS), that was initiated in Palestine in 1944. With the collapse of the British Mandate in 1948 the British Forces relocated the station to Cyprus. See "Radio broadcasting from Cyprus - Part 2" *Shortwave Central Blog* September 18, 2013, accessed on March 2, 2016, http://mt-shortwave.blogspot.co.il/2013/09/radio-broadcasting-from-cyprus-part-2.html.

[64] Pnina and Yaakov Nahmias, interview with the author, October 31, 2013.

[65] *Elafro* (pl. *elafra*), literally meaning "light," is a Greek genre-label that describes urban popular music characterized largely by European (and later also American or Latin-American) instrumentation, rhythms, and modes. This type of music was often composed for the stage, and included in cabaret, revue and operetta

"Yalo yalo"), "Yirise", and "To Yelekaki" were popular in the Jewish community of Palestine beyond the circles of Salonica immigrants, either in their recorded/broadcasted form or as contrafacta with Hebrew lyrics.[66] Importantly, this middle-class community of small business owners, shopkeepers, and professionals seemed not to know or identify with rebetiko. Likewise, it seems that café culture was not as prominent among the men in these families—a fact that later lead to them frequenting Greek venues in Israel less, and participating less in the live musical cultures prevalent there.[67]

In contrast, men of working-class background, including those involved in the port and sea trades, were strongly invested in Ottoman café music and its Greek variants. They came to know rebetiko music earlier than the middle class did, partly through the well-known Jewish rebetiko musicians Roza Ashkenazi and Stella Haskil. Many working class Jews who arrived in Palestine in the 1930s had received little or no education, and were illiterate.[68] As education was the key factor in Hellenization, they appeared "behind" their middle class brethren in terms of their knowledge of Greek language and culture. While the middle class and elites stuck with French or learned Greek, Jewish communists advocated the cultivation of Judeo-Spanish—the authentic vernacular of the Jewish worker.[69] Musically, adhering to tradition meant preserving

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performances. By the late 1950s, elafro song was increasingly hybridizing with bouzouki music, to form the larger field of modern popular music: laiko.

[66] Yaakov Nahmias, Interview. See my discussion of Hebrew contrafacta for the latter two songs in Chapter 1 of this dissertation.

[67] Avraham Covo confirmed that middle-class Salonica immigrants played a smaller role in Greek café culture in the 1950s compared to the working-class immigrants. Avraham Covo, interview with the author, October 24, 2013.

[68] Srougo, *ha-Po'alim ha-Yehudim*, 284-288

[69] Mazower, *Salonica, City of Ghosts*, 377.

Ottoman styles and instrument in the secular tradition of the *café-aman*, and its religious counterpart—the *piyutim*— in the synagogue.

Growing up in the poor neighborhood of Baron Hirsch, Yaakov (Jako) Maestro (b. 1927), heard music coming from two neighborhood cafes, owned by Arditi and by Moshon Karduan.[70] A newspaper advertisement from 1936 for the former declared: "If you wish to enjoy heaven on earth, come entertain yourselves at Arditi's café, where you will find next to the megaphone the latest records in Greek and Turkish."[71] Maestro describes how children would cling to the windows and watch the men play billiards and listen to rebetiko songs by Markos Vamvakaris on the radio.[72] Card games and raki where likewise part of the café culture. Whereas Ariditi's was a "family" establishment,[73] other neighborhood cafés included gambling. Maestro remembers hearing the child prodigy David "Daviko" Pitchone singing in the synagogue (Pitchone would go on to become a professional musician during the years of occupation, and later lay the foundation for a Greek music scene in Israel).[74] Maestro's first encounter with live instrumental music was when the owner of the store where he worked as a teenager—an Anatolian refugee— sent him on an errand, and he passed by a café where the *rebetes* sat and played, to his amazement, during the day.

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[70] Yaakov "Jaco" Maestro, interview with the author, September 22, 2014.

[71] Quoted in Havassy, "Popular Music," 142-3.

[72] Maestro, interview with the author. Greek state radio was officially founded in Athens in the second half of the 1930s. However, as Tragaki writes, "in Thessaloniki Christos Tsingiridis operated a local radio station (the first of its kind in the Balkans) as early as 1926 and this station did not exclude rebetiko music. According to Tragaki "by 1929 most Thessalonikian houses owned a radio and had access to international broadcasting programs." This was hardly the case in the poor Jewish neighborhoods. See Tragaki, *Rebetiko Worlds*, 57.

[73] In several of the interviews I conducted, my conversation partners described a place as "for families" when trying they were trying to describe its moral character. In practice, every venue serving alcoholic beverages, in Greece as well as Israel, was designated for a public 18 years old and over, with the exception of weekend matinées.

[74] I give Pitchon's biography in Chapter 1 of this dissertation.

After surviring Aushwitz and immigrating to Israel, Maestro listened to nothing but Greek music all of his life. From the moment he achieved economical stabilty for his family (as the owner of an auto-repair shop), as early as 1957, he regularly visited Piraeus and Cyprus with his wife, where they would enjoy live music and food, and buy new recordings for his collection. This collection, I learned, was made up largely of the "heavier", i.e. more Oriental variety of laiko. When I asked him about the "ligher" songs mentioned as old favourites by Yaacov and Pnina Nahmias and by Avraham Covo—my interview partners who grew up in Israel in middle-class families of Salonca immigrants who came in the 1930s—he reacted with disdain, saying they were outdated or that they wern't "heavy," implying that this was what he liked.[75]

Even in the late 1960s and early 70s, Salonica immigrants from working-class backgrounds would ask musicians to play for them old Smyrna-style rebetiko songs, such as "To koritsi apopse thelei", "Ta matakia sou ta duo", and "Hariklaki," which were no longer among the favorites of the larger, multi-ethnic audiances following Greek music in Israel by that time.[76]

The Arrival of Holocaust Survivors and the Retroactive Hellenization of the Palestine Community of Salonica Jews

A significant shift in the life of the community of Salonica Jews in Palestine, and in in the practice of Greek music in Israel, occurred around 1948, with the arrival of survivors of the Holocaust from Salonica and other parts of Greece. The survivors were mostly young men and women, born and raised in a Greek environment. They had been educated in Greek public

[75] The use of "heavy" and "light" to distinguish music that is at once lamentful and Oriental, from music that is more upbeat and Occidental is common in Greek parlance today. It is likewise accepted with regard to musikah mizrahit in Israel.

[76] Trifonas Nikolayidis, interview with author, September 3, 2014

schools, and had come of age during the period when the Hellenization of Jews was in full swing. Many had fought for their country either in the Greek military or as partisans. As a consequence, their Greek identity was significantly stronger than that of immigrants who arrived in the 1930s or earlier. It was not only a generation gap that allowed those who arrived in Israel after the war to develop such a strong Greek identity, however. As Katherine Elizabeth Fleming has argued, the identity of being a "Greek Jew" became truly consolidated only outside of Greece, in the German concentration camps and in Israel.

In Auschwitz-Birkenau, Jews who had formerly been Greek citizens constituted a tiny minority within a prisoner community dominated by Central and East-European Jews. Being from Greece, made them, in the eyes of prisoners and guards—Greek Jews. In this context, Salonica Jews became enmeshed with smaller groups of Greek Jews from Athens, Corfu, Ioanina, and other places. While their Jewishness had been instrumental in marking and organizing their experience of difference in Greece, it no longer served that function in this multi-ethnic Jewish social context. It was here in the camps that their "Greekness" emerged as a defining category of their identity.

The Greek Jews were known in the camps for their strong solidarity, strengthened by their linguistic and cultural isolation from the majority Ashkenazi prisoners. They were known as well for their great physical strength, general "streets smarts," and a penchant for communal singing. By all accounts, Greek prisoners in Auschwitz-Birkenau sang constantly. The German permitted Salonica Jews to sing. As the Germans could not understand the lyrics, singing became used as a means of disseminating forbidden messages. Once again the contrafacta tradition of Sephardic Jews served as a tool for adapting to a changing cultural environment. Lyrics were written in the camps and, after liberation, in Ladino and in Greek, to well-known Greek melodies,

many of them rebetiko songs. There were songs nostalgia for Salonica, or about life in the camps.[77] One such song, which later became a staple in the repertoire of Greek survivors in Israel, starts with the line "Thessaloniki mou glykia, patrida doxasmeni" (My Sweet Thessaloniki, beloved fatherland). According to the testimony of Leon Haguel, the prisoners started singing this song in the camps. Yet according to Jaco Poliker (Palikari), they sang it after liberation.[78] Haguel's testimony attributes the melody it to the rebetiko song "1912" by Vamvakaris. This is a song from 1936 praising the city of Thessaloniki and its incorperation into the Greek state in 1912. The melody used by Jaco Poliker is not that of the Vamvakaris song.[79] Becuase Haguel's testimony includes exactly the same lyrics as those sung by Poliker, and I was unable to match the prosody of these lyrics to Vamvakaris's song, it is probable that the reference to the latter in Haguel's testimony is a mistake. However, even as a mistake it is telling: the Greek rebetiko song of love for the city of Thessaloniki, with its clear hellenocentric markers, had become by the 1940s a symbol for Jewish longing. The affective vocabulary of the Jews had become, (to borrow Flemming's bitterly-ironic wording) "Greek at last."

Having lost their families and property, the survivors who arrived in Israel were embraced by the local community of Salonica Jews, who provided temporary or makeshift

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[77] See Katherine Elizabeth Fleming, *Greece: a Jewish History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), 151-154. See also Paris Papamichos Chronakis, "Oi 'Éllines Evraíoi' sto Áousvits kai oi chríseis tis ethnikís taftótitas [Greek Jews in Auschwitz and uses of national identity]," paper presented at the conference "Archives of Memory: The Experiences of Greeks Jews through Audiovisual Testimonies," Volos, February 24-25, 2012), accessed March 25, 2016, http://extras.ha.uth.gr/gjst/photos/paper-3.pdf.

[78] Yehuda Poliker, in *Biglal ha-milhama ha-hi* [Because of that war], documentary film, directed by Orna Ben Dor (1988; Jerusalem: Israeli Film Service, 2003), DVD. Haguel's testimony was recorded In Thessaloniki on April 11, 1989 by Erika Kounio-Amariglio. Excerpts pertaining to the song are available on the website ***Rejected.gr***, accessed February 25, 2015, http://rejected.gr/subs/thoughts/cause/leon-h.html,

[79] The same melody can be heard in a performance by the survivors Haim and Ester Refael, as recorded in 2002 for the Israeli Chanel 2 TV show *baYamin ha-hem – ba-zman ha-ze* [In those days, in this time], directed by Amir Gera. The clip is available on *Youtube.com*, accessed May 10, 2016 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vOWOQg2N7L4.

housing and labor for them. A key figure in this operation was Mordekhay "Mentesh" Zarfati, an immigrant from Salonica who came in the 1930s and rose to power in the community from the docks of the Jaffa port. By the late 40s, Mentesh had become the all-powerful boss of a loading, unloading, and moving business, dominated by the "Greeks," and a prominent community leader among them. Half a century later, every descendant of this community that I talked to still seemed eager tell me how Mentesh and his men strong-armed homeowners all across Tel-Aviv into letting survivors and their families live in laundry rooms and under staircases inside their buildings.

The survivors constituted a closely-knit group, through ties cultivated back in Salonica, in Auschwitz, and in refugee camps in Italy and Cyprus. Their heightened Greek identity and the strong solidarity between them made them influential beyond their numbers among Salonica Jews in Israel. They brought with them a thoroughly Hellenized musical repertoire, which spanned from military and partisan "folk" songs and marches to rebetiko music, which was slowly becoming mainstream in the late 1930s and early 40s.[80]

A curious and highly significant effect of the arrival of the survivors, was that the whole community became retrospectively Hellenized, and Greek identity reinforced even among those born in Israel to parents raised in a largely Ottoman Jewish community in Salonica. This process spanned at least the first three decades of Israel's statehood. Several factors contributed to this desire for Hellenization, among them the emerging image of Greece as a modern state in the Israeli imagination, and the binary of "edot ha-Mizrah" (diasporas of the East) versus the unmarked norm of a Western-oriented Israeliness (or Ashkenaziness) in Israeli national discourse. In Israel, and in particular in middle class contexts, it quickly became clear that being

[80] Fleming, *Greece: A Jewish History*, 148-160.

identified with diasporas of the East was a disadvantage. This state of affairs might have been the catalyst that led workers and survivors to cultivate even further their "Greek" identity, rather than becoming enmeshed in the Sephardi "soup" of "edot ha-Mizrah."[81]

As with the Salonica immigrants of the 1930s, hellenic sentiment among survivors from Salonica was often reflected in the domestic experience of their children. This subject erupted in Israeli public discourse with the release in 1988 of Yehuda Poliker's album *Efer ve-avak* (Ashes and dust), and the documentary *Biglal ha-milhama ha-hi* (Because of that war) directed by Orna Ben Dor. Poliker, the son of Holocaust survivors from Salonica, was a leading figure in the Israeli rock scene in the early 1980s with his band Benzin. As a solo artist, he rediscovered his Greek heritage, releasing in 1985 album *Einaim sheli*" (My eyes). The album included rock-infused version of Greek songs (mostly from the repertoire of George Dalaras) with Hebrew lyrics. It reintroduced Greek music into the Israeli mainstream as something profound and respectable after a decade of its marginalization in the "Mizrahi" cultural sphere. The subsequent album *Efer ve-avak* explored the trauma of the holocaust from the perspective of the next generation, based on the childhood experience of Poliker and his close collaborator, lyricist Yaakov Gilad. In Ben Dor's film, the making of the album provides the context for conversations with the two artists and their parents. In one of the first scenes, Poliker sings "Anixe, mana" (Open, mother) a song he had learned at home. He accompanies himself on the bouzouki, an instrument that he only learned to play a few years earlier, while making *Einaim*

[81] This is not the only case where the diasporic identity of Jewish immigrants in Israel underwent a revision in the aftermath of their immigration. Some Slovakian Jews, for example, became Hungarians, because the latter formed a larger, stronger group with its own newspaper and other informal or semi-formal organizations. Since the 1990s, over a million individuals from former USSR (including the Ukraine, Uzbekistan, and Belarus) have collectively become known as "Russians." Their children often identify as Russian-Israeli regardless of their country of origin. What both these cases have in common however is a linguistic factor: the Slovaks are competent in Hungarian, and immigrants from former Soviet states are fluent in Russian.

shelli. Poliker explains how his elders sang this song and listened to it over and over, and translated the lyrics for him. Later in the film he puts this practice in context:

> At home they listened to Greek music. Greek music that isn't happy, that only brings heaviness and depression, these are songs they heard to at home [unclear whether he means the home in Israel where he grew up or the home in Salonica in which his parents grew up], songs about wars, exile, pain; and I absorbed it. I remember sometimes I would tell my father "enough," stop it, I can't listen to this anymore, it makes me cry, it makes me feel bad. And my father would reply: "it makes me feel bad too. It reminds me of the family I had back there. If you only knew what happened, what I've been through, you need to listen to this, you need to know that your father had brothers, and a sister, and uncles, and that there was happiness, and all that happiness was brought to an end." And he added: "I can't live without this music, I have to listen to it."[82]

What makes this testimony by the young Poliker so staggering is that the song he refers to was composed in 1958, fifteen years after the Nazi occupation brought an end to Jewish life in Salonica. Stelios Kazandzidis, the son of Anatolian immigrants whose mother spoke only Turkish, recorded it for the first time that year.[83] Kazantzidis recorded many older rebetiko songs, but in general he was the exponent of a new popular style that reintroduced Oriental influences and the cry of downtrodden refugees into Greek popular music. With Kazantzidis's rise to stardom in Greece, his songs soon became extremely popular with fans of Greek music in Israel, especially in Mizrahi working-class social contexts.[84] Kazandzidis and other musicians in the 1950s and 60s came to represent for working-class Greek Jews the sounds of their lost *Greek* Salonica. Their neighbors in Yafo and on the southern neighborhoods of Tel-Aviv had also left a

[82] Yehuda Poliker, in *Because of that War*, at around 00:26:00.

[83] Kazandzidis was Aris San's idol and the most popular laiko singer of his day, as I discuss in Chapters 1 and 2.

[84] As is I discuss in Chapter 1, this song was popular among various audiences in the Greek café scene in Israel during the 1960s. Different listeners interpreted the song differently at that time, and not always necessarily within the context of war. Sometimes, they interpreted it, for example, in the context of poverty and crime.

world behind, in Alexandria, Bagdad, or Sophia. They too often found their sense of loss echoed in Kazantzidis's nasal moans.

Conclusion

The array of languages, musical styles, and cultural and religious affiliations that characterize the culture of Salonica Jews during the first half of the twentieth century proves crucial to examining the Salonica community's role in laying the foundations for a Greek music scene in Israel. The consequences are twofold: (1) In Israel Salonica Jews came to embody, for others but also, to some extent, for themselves, an identity that was considered unproblematically "Greek." However, as we have seen, Greekness had been for Salonica Jews more of *a cultural destination* associated with a process of *modernity* than an established "traditional" identity. The sense of Greekness as an open-ended becoming—a route to modernization, and a space of negotiation, rather than an indicator of a traditional, time-honored cultural canon to be safeguarded—went on to become a defining trait of the reception of Greek music in Israel at large; (2) The music practiced in Israel during the 1950s, 60s, and 70s under the label "Greek" likewise became a heterogeneous field straddling styles as disparate as Turkish belly dance music and contemporary Latin pop. As such, the cosmopolitan soundscape of Salonica as a city at the juncture between Europe and the Middle East, resonated in the Israeli field of Greek music.

As I continue in this dissertation to trace the emergence and transformations of the adjective "Greek" as applied to people, cultural practices, and goods (including music, dance, and food, etc.), as well as places, spaces, and atmospheres, it will be important for the reader to keep in mind the complex history I have described here. As we have seen, multiple layers of

nostalgia, trauma, and loss are folded into this identity category, and are also revealed in the identity work performed by Greek Jews in Israel.[85]

[85] In sociology, "identity work" is a concept that highlights how individuals categorize themselves and are categorized by others in the course of everyday interaction. This performative approach to identity stems from Erving Goffman's groundbreaking work *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (London: Penguin, 1990 [1959]). I borrow the term in a somewhat transformed manner, however, and extend its use to symbolic, communal activities such as musicking. For an extensive application of the term to denote the function of music in everyday life, see Tia DeNora, *Music in Everyday Life* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

Chapter 1

The Greek Wave: The Rise of Greek Music and the Mediterranean Heterotopia of Jaffa

"Yafo" (Hebrew for Jaffa), a cabaret song in Hebrew from 1952, describes the human landscape in the postwar city of Jaffa as filled with an exotic and cosmopolitan mass of poor immigrants. It is a city in transit, bustling with the energy that will transport it out of the shadows of its Arab past and into its luminous future as a "Hebrew city," a concept typified entirely by its young Northern neighbor—Tel Aviv. When this light-hearted, chanson-style song was written, Jaffa had already ceased to exist as an independent municipality, and had been officially incorporated into the unified city of Tel Aviv-Jaffa. The Israeli government forced the Tel Aviv municipality to agree to this merger, because it was eager to rid itself of handling directly the housing, sanitation, education, and employment needs of close to 50,000 immigrants.[1]

Rather than perpetuating a historical portrait of the city in its transient post-war state, however, the song inaugurated a topos of de-Arabized Jaffa as an exotic playground with lax legal, cultural, and sexual rules. If we look at a song from the musical film *Kazablan* (directed by Menahem Golan in 1973), also plainly titled "Yafo," we find that Jaffa had neither lost its image as an exotic counterpart to the modern and European Tel-Aviv, nor become in any simple way a "Hebrew city." Instead, it had become marked by a Mediterranean culinary and auditory culture, and in particular by, of all things, Greek music.

[1] See Arnon Golan, "The Demarcation of Tel Aviv-Jaffa's Municipal Boundaries Following the 1948 War: Political Conflicts and Spatial Outcomes," *Planning Perspectives* 10, no. 4 (1995): 383-398.

The trajectory marked by these two songs, which span two decades of urban development and artistic fermentation, is a testament to Jaffa's leading role as the hub of the Greek Wave: a term that designates the rise in popularity of Greek music and culture within Israeli cultural life that peaked during the 1960s, and is still remembered largely in association with its mythical protagonist, Greek singer and guitar virtuoso Aris San (1940-1992). San was the star attraction of Jaffa's most famous Greek venue, Café Arianna, and went on to open a series of his own clubs, successfully competing with his former employers. I devote the next chapter to a detailed account of his career.

In this chapter, I trace the emergence of the Greek music scene in Jaffa, how it spread across the country, and its influence on mainstream Hebrew popular music of the time.[2] My goal is to provide a framework for understanding the role of the Greek wave in shaping the way Israeli society negotiated the place and meaning of its internal and external Oriental others. In the spirit of Josh Kun's proposal to "hear music as a spatial practice," I will listen to the wide array of musical sounds and practices that can be subsumed under the title of Greek music (a very ambiguous label, as we shall see), for "what it tells us about local and global geographies" and about "the shifting nature of contemporary cultural and subcultural forms across [a] geopolitical and discursive space."[3]

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[2] In this chapter, as in the rest of this dissertation, I focus on the Greek music scene in in Jaffa, Tel Aviv, and the neighboring cities. However, there were Greek venues of scene in other urban centers in Israel, such as Jerusalem and Haifa. In Haifa there was an especially robust scene that developed around the same time as that of Jaffa. Haifa and its metropolitan area (ha-Krayot) were home to a sizable community of Salonica immigrants since the 1930s. There was also a small Greek-Orthodox community in the city since the Ottoman period. Finally, as Israel's main port, Greek sailors on shore leave would often seek entertainment in the cafés and brothels of the lower city of Haifa. Despite the fact that a vibrant Greek music existed in Haifa since the 1950s, the impact of this scene on the reception and meaning of Greek music on a national scale was marginal. Generally, Tel Aviv has always been the center of Israeli cultural and economical life, and home to the circles who dictated cultural trends to the rest of the country. Additionally, Tel Aviv and the surrounding Central District were home to half of Israel's population, and so even the populations that participated in marginal or working-class culture scenes in an around Tel Aviv were significantly larger than other urban centers.

[3] Josh Kun, *Audiotopia: Music, Race, and America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 188.

Jaffa's Greek scene lies at the center of concentric synecdoches: the Greek-style venues that hosted Greek or "Mediterranean" music drew visitors to Jaffa; these venues then allowed Jaffa to take on the symbolic function of representing "Mediterranean culture" in Israel's imagined cultural geography. The Mediterranean Jaffa allowed for a Mediterranean identification, open to everyone, while it also contained (in both senses of the word) the "Levantinization" of Israel at large. Containing "Levantinization" trough Mediterraneanism means in this case that elements of Oriental cultures that were taking root (or already existing) among the lower strata of Israeli society on a large scale (e.g. belly dancing), were represented in the cultural imagination through Greek and Mediterranean imaginaries that are closely associated with Jaffa.

In fulfilling this role, "Greek" Jaffa became an "other" space, a heterotopia. Heterotopias, according to Michel Foucault, are places that are simultaneously inside and outside the political order and social topography. As Foucault notes in his essay "On Other Spaces," heterotopias constitute a category of sites that "have the curious property of being in relation with all the other sites, but in such a way as to suspect, neutralize, or invert the set of relations that they happen to designate, mirror, or reflect."[4] They are places that really exist, but are a sanctioned exception to the social rules that abide outside of them. I argue that the spaces organized—in whole or in part, sporadically or regularly—by the practice of Greek music, functioned as heterotopias of ethnic identification in Israel.

In the Greek heterotopia, relations between the binaries of East/West and *propere/impropre* (correct and "incorrect") were negotiated.[5] The designation of the Greek

[4] Michel Foucault, "Of Other Spaces," trans. Jay Miskowiec, *Diacritics* 16, no. 1 (Spring 1986): 22–27.

[5] I use the French word following Michel de Certeau, who highlights the double sense of ownership and decorum implied by it: *propre* refers to a sanctioned style or manner that is appropriate to a person, group, or context. If we

spaces (nightclubs or Jaffa at large) as both *propre a*nd *impropre*, included and excluded from the Israeli cultural imaginary, is best understood as homologous with—or a site of articulation for— the emergent ethno-class category of Mizrahim. The relationship could be summed-up as follows: the space of Greek music was imagined as *propre* to working-class Salonica immigrants, to other Sephardim/Mizrahim, and to the residents of Jaffa; anyone else could enter it, participate in it, experience themselves as "Mediterranean" through it, but its image did not "follow them home"; working-class Mizrahim were supposedly those who dwelt within this space, while everybody else enjoyed the paradoxical simultaneity of being both tourists and landlords at the same time.[6]

Hebrewism and Immigrant Cultures: The Persistence of the Vernacular

On the eve of Israel's declaration of independence in May 1948, 70 percent of the Jewish population living under the British Mandate of Palestine spoke Hebrew. With mass immigration that followed, the Jewish population doubled to about 1.3 million within 18 months, and the rate of Hebrew speakers plummeted. In the domestic and communal spheres, Jewish immigrants spoke in dozens of languages; they also read and wrote for periodical and even daily newspapers in several of these languages.[7] This linguistic diversity went hand in hand with a wealth of

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were to define heterotopias using these terms, we would say that they are the proper place of the improper; the place for those practices that have no place in a given society. See Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Lif*e, trans. Steven Rendall (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984).

[6] Importantly, both the wealthy Salonica elite (which included the Recanati family), and some of the descendents of middle-class Salonica Jews were *not* associated with the Jaffa scene or with its music. Musical tastes reflecting class differences among Salonica Jews were largely determined already before immigration to Palestine/Israel. They were reproduced inside the somewhat similar circumstances of class and ethnicity prevalent there, as I have explained in the prologue.

[7] Anita Shapira, *Kekhol am ve-am: Israel 1881-2000* [A nation like any other: Israel 1881-2001] (Jerusalem: Zalman Shazar Center, 2014), 230.

vernacular cultures expressed in religious, artistic, culinary, and leisure practices. Despite the relative scarcity of literature dealing with non-Hebrew urban immigrant culture, there is no doubt that during the first two decades of statehood everyday cultural practices—including numerous professional and semi-professional staged performances of musical and dramatic arts—reflected these cultural and linguistic pluralities.

The status of these localized and extremely heterogeneous migrant practices was precarious, however, as they were in contradiction with the central cultural ideology of the Jewish national project: Hebrewism. The ideology of Hebrewism espoused the exclusive use of Hebrew in all avenues of life, from the most banal discourse to the literary, professional, and scientific. It had been the dominant principle of cultural Zionism in Palestine since the 1920s, when it was enforced by organizations such as the Hebrew Language Defense League. It later become the crux of the "melting pot" model of acculturation that the state and veteran Jewish population attempted to impose on all Jewish immigrants, with varying degrees of cooperation from immigrants themselves.[8]

While Hebrewism remained an important ideology well into the 1960s, its practice continued to encounter obstacles arising from what immigrants were able or willing to do. In every domain of life, from communication between construction and agricultural workers to cabaret shows, diasporic vernaculars persisted and mixed with Hebrew in overt or covert, and direct or indirect ways. Recently, Israel Bartal has termed this "the preservation of the transnationality of Jewish immigrants through vernacular imperial cultures [Ottoman (Ladino),

[8] See for example Zohar Shavit, "Tel Aviv's Language Police" in *Tel Aviv, the First Century: Visions, Designs, Actualities*, eds. Maoz Azariahu and S. Ilan Toren (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2012), 191-211. See also Motti Regev and Edwin Seroussi, *Popular Music and National Culture in Israel* (Berkeley: California University Press, 2004), 16-18.

Austro-Hungarian (German), Russian, etc.] within Hebrew Zionist culture."[9] There are many examples of this: initiatives to bring Hebrew theatre to immigrant communities failed, while Yiddish and other foreign-language theaters thrived.[10] Or the state was reluctant to introduce television broadcasts, so thousands of Arab-speaking Jews purchased sets and tuned in to Egyptian stations, where every Thursday they could watch an Umm Kulthum concert.[11] Or the Beatles were banned from performing in Israel, but teenagers and soldiers hungry for rock 'n' roll music got their fix by tuning in to a radio station broadcasting from Ramallah, then under Jordanian sovereignty.[12]

Perhaps more than any other place, Jaffa was a symbol of the linguistic and cultural Babel that fermented beneath the ideological umbrella of Hebrewism. Once a key urban center for the Palestinian Arab population, the vast majority of its inhabitants had fled Jewish attacks on

[9] As one of his examples, Bartal mentions a booklet released in 1947 by the folkloristic society Yeda Am (People's knowledge), a collection of everyday phrases used in Jewish agricultural settlements in Palestine, such as Kibbutzim. The phrases, Bartal shows, are overwhelmingly derived from Yiddish. As the conscious and declared goal of such collections was to provide the foundation for a national culture, Bartal surmises from this and many other examples that despite the "dream" of Zionist pioneers, Zionism never gave rise to a new Hebrew culture, but rather to a hybrid immigrant culture. Israel Bartal, "Between 'Diaspora Languages' and 'National Culture': Yiddish, Judesmo, Zionism, and Culture" (paper presented at the conference "The Cultural Turn in the Study of Zionism and Israel," Tel Aviv University, March 26, 2014).

[10] In December 1952, the Center for Culture and Propaganda of the Histadrut (General Federation of Laborers in the Land of Israel), together with the Board of Education, founded "Telem"—an initiative designed to bring Hebrew theater to Jewish immigrants. As Shimon Lev-Ari has noted,"from the cultural aspect and in terms of the efficiency of its actions, Telem was a failure. Many immigrants, especially the older ones, did not understand Hebrew. Others, mainly of the Oriental diasporas, did not enjoy the plays, which initially dealt with Jewish life in Eastern European towns." On the other hand, Lev-Ari notes, by the mid 1960s an audience of 300,000-550,000 viewers a year had opted for plays in languages such as Yiddish, Romanian, Hungarian, German, and English. See Shimon Lev-Ari "ha-Aliya ha-hamonit ve-ha-teatron be-Yisrael [Mass immigration and theater in Israel]," in *Olim u-ma'abarot 1948-1952* [Immigrants and transitional camps, 1948-1952], ed. Mordechai Naor (Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi, 1987), 227.

[11] See Tasha G. Oren, "The Belly Dancer Strategy: Israeli Educational Television and its Alternatives," *Media Culture Society* 25 no. 2 (March 2003): 167-186.

[12] Regev and Seroussi, *Popular Music*, 140.

the city in April and May 1948.[13] The Old City was deserted and in ruins. The abandoned houses were quickly filled by the multitude of Jewish immigrants who flowed into Israel between 1948 and 1951. Immigrants similarly occupied abandoned houses in other Palestinian cities, including Ramle, Lod (Lydda), and parts of Jerusalem. Empty buildings in former Arab cities were used first to house Jewish immigrants; only once those were full did transitional camps and new periphery settlements begin to provide the main solution to the housing problem. This meant that the new ethnic makeup of such cities was in many ways determined by who came first.

And those who came first were Holocaust survivors (from many European countries, including Greece) who were waiting in British interment camps in Cyprus, Bulgarians (who became the dominant immigrant group in the city), but also Moroccans, Iraqis, Turks, Poles, and Romanians.[14] As Sikron points out, unlike other immigrations,—including the Yemenites and Moroccans, who were dispersed throughout the country,—Balkan Jews (from Salonica, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia) settled predominantly in Jaffa and Tel Aviv.[15] According to a census from 1961, 63 percent of Jaffa's inhabitants who immigrated between 1948 and 1954 came from Europe, while 47 percent came from Asia and North Africa.[16] The percentage of Europeans among all immigrants (regardless of year of immigration) was also about 60 percent (as opposed to over 70 percent in Tel-Aviv). Of those born in Europe and living in Jaffa, however, about half were

[13] Of 70,000 inhabitants only 4,000 remained or retuned after the war. See Yoav Gelber, *Komemiyut ve-Nakhba* [Independence and Nakba] (Tel Aviv: Dvir, 2004,) 404.

[14] See Moshe Lisak, "Mediniyut ha-aliya bi-shnot ha-ḥamishim [Immigration policy during the fifties]," 9-18 and Moshe Sikron, "ha-Aliya ha-hamonit: memadeyha, me'afyeneyha ve-hashpa'oteyha [Mass immigration: its scope, characteristics, and influences]," 31-52 in Naor, *Immigrants and Transitional Camps.* See also Tom Segev, *1949: ha-Yisraelim ha-rishonim* [1949: the first Israelis] (Tel Aviv: Domino, 2001), 105; 165.

[15] Sikron, "Mass Immigration," 50.

[16] Central Bureau of Statistics, *ha-Ukhlosiya ba-arim Yerushalayim, Haifa ve-Tel Aviv-Yafo: netunim meforatim* [The population in the cities of Jerusalem, Haifa, and Tel Aviv-Jaffa: detailed information] (Jerusalem: Central Bureau of Statistics, 1968), 63.

Sephardim, and overwhelmingly from Bulgaria. As a consequence, the percentage of Ashkenazim stood at about 30 percent. That the majority of Jews came from Europe did not hinder, as I will show, the persistence of Jaffa's image as an exotic and Oriental place. The unique combination of Jaffa's Arab history with the fact of its ethnic make up being dominated by Balkan Jews—an urban, European, Sephardic population that was a relatively small and powerless sector of the general population of Israel at large—contributed to the ambivalent symbolic place it would occupy in the cultural imagination.[17]

Part I: The Emergence of a Greek Music Scene

If I wish to identify a starting point for the transformation of Jaffa into a place imagined as Greek or Mediterranean, I could do no better than to pick the establishment of Café Arianna, a Greek-style taverna founded by and for (albeit not exclusively) Jewish immigrants from Salonica, featuring food and music from "back home."

As early as 1952, an article in the evening newspaper *Maariv* attested to the presence of a Greek café in Jaffa.[18] The article pointed to an unnamed venue that, although labeled "Greek," was described as a site for live music, and also as a place that reflected the diversity of southeast European Jewish immigrants in the city. The article mentions this venue alongside the Arab cafés in the city. It does not specify whether the patrons of these "Arab" venues are Jews, non-Jews, or both). The following translation presents the article in full:

[17] See Guy H. Haskell, *The Jews of Bulgaria in Israel: Components of Identity* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: UMI, 1986).

[18] T.L, "Tayarim le-erev ehad [Tourists for one evening]," *Maariv*, July 12,1952.

Tourists for one Evening

There is already a traditional itinerary of sorts for tourists coming to Israel: We show them the Galilee, Jerusalem, and our own private desert— the Negev. But we do not show them Tel-Aviv itself and its surroundings, the great construction of the suburbs, and the projects [Shikunim]

Abroad, this is not the case. The tourist in Rome or Paris usually tours the city itself, and does not skip, of course, its nightlife. Only later do they venture further out. Now, this will also become the custom with us.

A few days ago journalists were invited to take a tour of "Tel Aviv and Jaffa by night," in luxurious buses equipped with all types of comfort: air-conditioning, comfy seats, a bar, and an electric refrigerator— only ashtrays were forgotten for some reason.

This tour was meant to show the press what tourists will now see. The selection of places was good: *a Greek cafe in Jaffa where they play Greek, Bulgarian, Romanian, and Hungarian music, and sing in all of these languages*. An Arab Restaurant with falafel and hummus in Ajami, and don't forget the Arab music from Radio Damascus. A ma'abara [refugee/immigrant camp] of Iraqi newcomers in Hiria, to give the tourist an idea of how they live in "the second Israel." A visit to The Bat, our new nightclub, which is the cabaret of the Li-La-Lo artists, underneath the Rama cinema in Ramat-Gan [sic.].

Explanations were given in English and French, although all of the reporters were Israelis. But the intention was to stage a tourist's tour, down to the last detail.

This kind of nightlife is entirely different, of course, from what the tourist will find in his own country, or anywhere else in the world. Yet this is the case for all other manifestations of life in Israel: that there is nothing like it in the whole world.[19]

The context for the reporter's visit to the cafe was a new tourist initiative designed to show visitors from overseas the "authentic" urban realities of Israel. Like many other sectors of the economy, tourism during the early 1950s was largely a state-organized or state-sponsored industry.[20] The reporter's use of the passive voice, which places an unspecified agent behind this initiative, strongly suggests that some branch of government was responsible for it.

[19] Heading and sub-heading in bold characters follow the original article. The italics are my addition.

[20] See Adam LeBor, *City of Oranges: An Intimate History of Arabs and Jews in Jaffa* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2007), 195.

This article indicates that while the state did not consider the modern, non-Hebrew entertainment cultures practiced by immigrants worthy of cultivation (as opposed to traditional cultures, which were the object of folkloristic study, museum preservation, and symphonic adaptations), the person responsible for organizing the tour considered them, at least provisionally, as possessing a quality of local authenticity that they thought was essential to a modern touristic experience. Exposing visitors to these sites of everyday immigrant culture becomes a means of portraying Israel as a "normal" country among countries, rather than as a an aspirational national "project" drifting between the social utopias of the Kibbutz and the romantic fantasy of the "land of the bible." Being "normal" in this case includes being spontaneous and vibrant, but also sufficiently exotic or unique—an experience that the organizers did not believe, so it seems, a common European-style Tel Aviv café, serving the middle-class Ashkenazi population (that could also have been enlaces of immigrant culture), could provide. The tourist is imagined here as a Western person, and local authenticity is evaluated through his or her eyes as something that is sufficiently distinct from what he or she knows from back home.

By including the Greek café in this touristic itinerary, the author of this article already envisions it as a heterotopia: the tourist is supposed to feel he has entered a quintessential space of vernacular Israeliness, when in reality what he would encounter there was the abject remainder of Hebrewist national culture, where singing "in all those languages" still took place: it is precisely these "foreign" vernaculars that the project of Hebrewism was trying to eliminate, if not through immediate sanctions than at least through long-term assimilation. Yet here these vernaculars provide the flavor of urban *Lumpen*-folklore, which ideologically-mobilized Zionist culture lacks, but which a proper metropolis should possess. Similarly, the Balkan immigrants'

café culture is included in the cultural geography of the state through what is effectively an exclusion: it is deemed, alongside its Arab and Arab-Jewish counterparts, sufficiently exotic to be the object of tourist curiosity. But the café mentioned in this article was not erected for this purpose or by virtue of this logic. It had a history, and a story, of its own.

Café Arianna: The Origins of Jaffa as a Greek/Mediterranean Place

In all likelihood, the Greek venue mentioned in this news story from 1952 was Café Arianna. Before expounding on the musical culture this café spawned, it is crucial to acquaint ourselves with the kind of space it provided, both in terms of its physical and cultural attributes, and in terms of the shifting clientele that characterized it during the years of its ascent.

Figure 1.1: Location of Café Arianna and Clock Tower Square on a contemporary photo of Jaffa

In 1951, Samuel Barzilay, a Jewish immigrant from Salonica, took over a small café located by Kikar ha-Shaon, the old Clock-Tower Square in Jaffa, on the edge of the hill by the

waterfront.[21] Before the war, the building housed the café called Qahwat al madfa (The cannon café), named after the city's Ramadan cannon, which stood on its roof.[22] That café had catered to the city's wealthiest Arab patrons.[23] In its first post-war reincarnation it was operated by the Jewish Saranga family, and men would sit their during the day, playing cards and backgammon. Occasionally a belly dance performance would take place to the sound of recorded popular Arab music. For this reason, the people of Jaffa called it ″Falfilu. [24]″

Barzilay and his partner, Nissim Aljam (who left the business early on), initially also operated Arianna as a daytime café during the week. On weekends, however, they shifted its function by providing live music performances during the evening. After witnessing the great appeal of these weekend shows, Barzilay switched permanently to evening activity, and made live music the center attraction at his venue.

Patrons at Arianna sat around rectangular tables covered by simple white tablecloths. Renovations in the late 1950s increased the capacity of the café from about 85 to as much as 150 seats. In 1966, Arianna burnt to the ground, and was rebuilt to fit 300 seats.[25] There was a small dance floor between the table area and the small stage, but dancing took place everywhere: even on the tables. The building was freestanding with no adjacent structures, and so there were windows facing in all directions. This was especially important in the summer, as

[21] The widely accepted story of the origins of Arianna claims that it was first named Mifgash ha-sabalim (The porters' hangout). This is incorrect: The Porters' Hangout was a café on ha-Kishon street in Tel Aviv owned by Samuel Barzilay's uncle, David Barzilay.

[22] In many Muslim cities, cannons were used to signal the time of the *iftar*, the meal which breaks the fast during the month of Ramadan. The custom dates back to the Ottoman period.

[23] Yossi Granovski and Yusuf Asfur, *Panayikh ve-lo ha-yare'ah, Yafo!* [Your face and not the moon, Jaffa!] (Tel Aviv: Ḥamol, 2005), 30.

[24] Probably after the 1950 hit song "Ya awazel falfilu" by Egyptian singer Farid al-Atrash. Ya'akov Barzilay, interviewed by the author, January 13, 2014.

[25] Barzilay claimed it was "arson perpetrated by competitors," but the police could not prove this was the case. See "Mo'adon Arianna nisraf" [Arianna club burns down]," *Davar*, March 7, 1966.

there was no other air conditioning but the Mediterranean breeze. It also meant that on weekends when the café was full, people could bring their own chairs, sit outside, and enjoy the music. Sometimes there were so many people outside that street vendors set up their stalls to provide them with food and drink.

Arianna also owed its popularity to the high quality of its food, which was cooked using ingredients Barzilay procured with the help of Greek sailors. These ingredients stood out at a time when austerity measures severely limited the quality of local food products. By the late 1950s, the economic situation in Israel improved however, increasing the disposable income of Arianna's patrons. Arak was the most popular alcoholic beverage, although beer and soft drink were also available. The menu included traditional Greek small plates (*mezzes*) such as olives, feta cheese, *tarama* (fish egg paste), *skordalia* (potato salad), *lakerda* (pickled or smoked Bonito fish), and fruit, as well as entrées of grilled meat or fish. The food and drinks were moderately priced.

Yaakov Barzilay (Samuel's son) insists that Arianna's patrons had many different ethnic backgrounds (although he did not mention Palestinian Arabs), and came from all ranks of society. He remembers ministers and generals mixing with known and unknown criminals. In spite of Yaakov Barzilay's claims, however, it is doubtful whether Arianna was a regular hotspot for Tel Aviv socialites and bohemians before 1959 or 1960. During the 1950s Arianna enjoyed the same reputation and mystique as its surroundings, known as the "Big Territory."[26] For every newspaper article about the joyful atmosphere and international Greek musical program at

[26] The Big Territory was the destroyed, dark part of the old city of Jaffa, where crime and prostitution thrived. Its mythic image was cultivated in songs such as Heaim Hefer's "Ein kmo Yafo ba-leilot," and especially Yigal Musinzon's novels and plays such as *Hasmba*, *Aldorado* and *Kazablan*. In igniting the imagination of these authors, the Big Territory became a synecdoche for Yafo at large, until an ambitious redevelopment program by the municipality eradicated it in the mid 1960s. The municipality evicted the residents, destroyed most of the structures, conducted archeological excavations designed to uncover and display the city's pre-Arab history, and built a well-lit park for tourism and recreation. This project was completed by 1965.

Arianna, about three other articles mentioned criminal activity and brawls in and around the café. In some ways, these reports seemed to amplify the attraction of the place, placing it at the center of Jaffa's urban mythology.

A story about Tel-Aviv nightlife in *Davar* (the newspaper associated with Ben-Gurion's ruling socialist party, Mapai) from 1957 placed Arianna at the lower end of a spectrum of respectabile social venues (on the other end of which was the nightclub at the Dan Hotel, which had a strict dress code and live jazz music). "At the Arianna there are no diplomats, lawyers ['orkhei din'] or 'golden boys,' but there are many, many outlaws ['okhrei din'] and 'copper boys.'"[27] If this last term at first seems to characterize the patrons as less-then-outstanding young men (copper being a metal inferior to gold) the meaning of this metaphor quickly changes into a classification of ethnicity when juxtaposed with the description of two "good girls" from Tel-Aviv: "Against the copper-shaded background, two milky-white faces shined bright."[28] When they saw they were being photographed, the two girls were horrified: "'I don't belong here, I'm a gymnasium student,' one of them begged us. Her friend … tried a more practical approach: 'we are only here by chance; I am willing to come see you tomorrow and explain.'"[29] The characterization of the patrons in this story is a classic example of the entanglement of ethnicity, class, and geography that will characterize the discursive category of Mizrahim later on. Arianna is presented here, within the gamut of Tel Aviv nightlife, as proper to the Big Territory of Jaffa: a place where the working-class, Mizrahim, crime, and certain kind of sexuality come close to

[27] Shlomo Giv'oli, "mi-Dan ad Arianna [From Dan to Arianna]," *Davar*, June 7, 1957.

[28] It is likely that the copper metaphor here is derived solely from the copper pans that were hanging from the ceiling as decoration, but the author is clearly exploiting it to comment on the skin tone of the patrons. See figure 1.2b.

[29] Giv'oli, "mi-Dan ad Arianna."

being synonymous.[30] The "white" girls from Tel Aviv are clearly part of the audience that night, part of the ethnoscape of Arianna, but their presence cannot be integrated into the place that Arianna is allowed at this point in the imagined cultural geography: they "don't belong" there.[31]

Figure 1.2a: Patrons at Arianna with Samuel Barzilay (raising left hand in the back), date and photographer unknown, Moshe Talbi personal collection; Figure 1.2b: Musicians and Patrons at Arianna, with Barzilay "asking for some peace and quiet." Photo by Martin Solomon, *Davar*, June 7, 1957

This kind of press coverage, which put Arianna on the map, was already a sign that the tide was turning, however. The next year, another article about Tel Aviv's nightlife in the more populist newspaper *Yediot Ahronot* described Arianna as, "exceptional among the Tel-Aviv area nightclubs, due to its distinct Mediterranean atmosphere: Greek song, Oriental dishes etc. . . . .

[30] The area known after the 1948 war as the "Big Territory" was the destroyed, dark part of the Old City of Jaffa, where crime and prostitution thrived. In the early 1960s the municipality decided to redeelop it. It evicted the residents, destroyed most of the structures, conducted archeological excavations designed to uncover and display the city's pre-Arab history, and built a well-lit park for tourism and recreation. This project was completed by 1965.

[31] Ethnoscape is a term coined by Arjun Appadurai, which denotes, "the landscape of persons who constitute the shifting world in which we live: tourists, immigrants, refugees, exiles, guestworkers, and other moving groups and persons constitute an essential feature of the world, and appear to affect the politics of and between nation" I find this term especially useful in describing the social landscape of Israel during and immediately-following the early years of mass immigration, as part of an alternative framework to the ideologically-loaded narrative of "Aliya," which singles-out the immigration of Jews to the Land of Israel as a unique and spiritual form of repatriation. See Arjun Appadurai, "Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy," *Theory, Culture, Society* 7, no. 2 (1990): 297.

Many, who follow their curious desire to meet face to face with members of the underworld are disappointed. They usually meet only other curious visitor drawn there by the very same desire."[32] "Mediterranean" is here the magic word that bestows legitimacy on the "Oriental" venue. It bridges the othering of Arianna as "exceptional" and "Oriental," with the assurance that guests will, nonetheless, find themselves among their own kind there.

As the legitimacy of Arianna and interest among the population increased, the young men who dominated its patronage in the 1950s (at least on weeknights; weekends were more popular with Salonica families), gradually gave way, by the early 1960s, to adult couples who came in groups. People danced every night, and patrons made reservations by Monday for Friday night, as the place was regularly booked full.

A sizable part of the weeknight traffic included wedding parties. The wedding halls located on ha-Masger Street closed around 10:30 p.m., after which the couples and some of their guests would often move to Arianna to continue their celebrations there. During the zenith of the Greek Wave, Arianna became almost strongly identified with the extreme exuberance epitomized by the occasion of a wedding party: An Israeli professor born in Tel Aviv to a notable Ashkenazi family told me casually in conversation that in the early 60s he celebrated at Arianna on the night of his marriage to his Jewish-American bride. When I asked him why they went there and not somewhere else, he found the question odd: "that was simply what people did back then ," was his reply. I asked him if he had ever been there before or after that occasion, and he could not recall any other visit.

[32] Efraim Katz, "Ziporey ha-layla shel Tel Aviv [Night owls of Tel Aviv]," *Yediot Ahronot*, June 13, 1958; reproduced in Yinon Roichmann, "ha-Stzena [The Scene]," *Ynet*, December 28, 2006. http://www.ynet.co.il/articles/0,7340,L-3344784,00.html.

Daviko Pitchone and the Inception of Greek Music at Arianna

The first musician to perform Greek music at Arianna was David "Daviko" Pitchone. His biography, and the course of his musical career in Israel, provide crucial insight into the array of musical styles subsumed in Israel under the title of "Greek music," and the processes of sonic transculturation that mark the reception of these styles.[33]

The son of a livestock merchant, Daviko was born in Salonica in 1920. He picked up a mandolin at a very early age, and eventually moved to guitar and oud, which he studied from the age of nine with a teacher nicknamed "Hejaz."[34] He received six years of primary education at an *Alliance* school, where the languages of instruction were Greek, Ladino, French, and Italian.[35] His musical education was rooted in Turkish music, but he also played Greek, French and Italian popular songs. His first public performances took place at a taverna in Salonica, where his father regularly drank raki after work with the other merchants.

With the German occupation of the city in 1941, when the steel factory he worked in was destroyed, Daviko was driven by economical circumstances to rely on music for a living. He put together a four-man band, including himself on guitar and oud, and three Christian-Greek musicians playing keman (fiddle), santur, and percussion. He kept his Jewish identity secret by assuming the name Dino. The band played at the Astron (Star) café, where patrons would invite

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[33] Unless otherwise specified, the biography provided here is based on interview I conducted with Daviko Pitchone and his son Daniel Nye, himself a New York-based lounge musician. Daviko Pitchone, interview by the author, December 18, 2013.

[34] According to a reportage by Moshe Kazes from 1938, "Hejaz" was the nickname of a storyteller and musician by the name of Vidal Arokh. See David Bunis, *Voices from Jewish Salonica* (Jerusalem: Misgav Yerushalayim,1999), 295.

[35] This list reflects Pitchone's own account as transmitted to me in our interview. Historical sources tell us that the languages of instruction were Greek, Hebrew, Ladino, and French. See Eyal Ginio, "'Learning the Beautiful Language of Homer': Judeo-Spanish Speaking Jews and the Greek Language and Culture between the Wars," *Jewish History* 16, no. 3 (2002): 246. I discuss the chain of schools established by the *Alliance Israélite Universelle*, and its impact on the Jewish community of Salonica, in the prologue.

the musicians to approach their tables and play one or more songs for tips. The patrons were interested in hearing mostly songs in Greek, from this band playing Turkish instruments, which means they were probably playing Smyrna-style rebetika.[36] Daviko was later deported with the rest of Salonica Jews to the Birkenau concentration camp in Poland, where his musical abilities––and in particular his familiarity with a European repertoire—contributed to his survival. When a German officer found out that he could play and sing, he gave him a balalaika and commanded him to demonstrate his abilities. Daviko performed the Neapolitan song "Mamma son tanto felice," which satisfied the officer greatly, earning Daviko extra food and further requests to play for the Germans.[37] After the liberation of the camp he spent three years in transitional camps in Italy, where he married and had a child, and later in a British interment camp in Cyprus, before arriving in Israel in 1949.

Like most immigrants from Salonica, Daviko first made a living in the moving business. After singing for tips at the Porter's Hangout café, he realized that he could earn a significant supplementary income as a musician. Samuel Barzilay heard him play at the Porter's Hangout, and offered him to play at Arianna on weekends. Daviko started by performing solo sets with guitar every Friday night. When Barzilay saw how successful these weekend performances had become, he gave the go-ahead, and Daviko quit the moving business to form a band and perform at Arianna nightly. Joining him in the band were two Bulgarian immigrants—Sami Semo on accordion, and Tommy, who played saxophone and violin—as well as a Turkish drummer named Charley.

[36] Daviko could not recall the names of songs he used to play there.

[37] "Mamma son tanto felice" is a popular song composed in 1940 by Cesare Andrea Bixio (1896-1978), to Italian lyrics by Bixio Cherubini (1899-1987). It was first popularized by the Italian tenor Benjamino Gigli (1890-1957).

The audience, Daviko says, was thirsty for Greek music, and especially zeibekikos, such as Mitsakis' "Opou Yorgo kai Malama" (known in Israel simply by its opening lyrics: "Oso agapo").[38] An electric engineer by the name of Azriel Gatenyo constructed an amplification system for the band. At times, other musicians joined them, including Jakito Cohen, a violinist who specialized in Turkish music, and another Turkish or Romanian violinist named Tony. The latter could read and write music, and he taught those skills to Daviko. Achieving musical literacy allowed Daviko to transcribe new recordings he heard for band members who could read music. At times, Daviko even earned money writing parts and copying music for other musicians on the scene, including jazz saxophonist and arranger Albert Piamenta.

Around 1960, Daviko was invited to play on a concert broadcast on radio, as part of a series by Kol Yisrael (the national radio service) called *From The Folklore of the East.* Alongside luminaries such Shoshanna Damari, Daviko and his band sang two songs: "Nani nani" (1959) and "Marinella" (1957), but a roaring audience compelled the host of the evening, Haim Yavin, to allow them to continue and play a third ("Ena filaki," 1958).[39] These songs, composed by Giorgos Mitsakis, Tolis Harmas, and Haralambous Vasileiadis respectively, were not part of any traditional Jewish repertoire from Salonica. Rather, they were contemporary Greek popular hits that combined rebetiko and elafro influences. As such, they were in no simple way either "folkloric" or "of the East": While the song "Marinella" features a 9/8 Turkish dance meter called *karsilama,* which is often associated in Greece with the Roma population of Thrace, "Nani Nani" is in even meter, and the rhythm sounds like a hybrid between Turkish tsifteteli and some

[38] Based on a 9/4 dance meter, zeibekikos were the most popular subgenre of late rebetiko and early laiko song in Greece. The zeibekiko is also a highly expressive and improvisational solo dance for men.

[39] "Nani Nani" was composed by Giorgos Mitsakis, and first recorded by Manolis Angelopoulos and Nitsa Negri "Marinella" was composed by Tolis Harmas and first recorded by Tolis and Litsa Harmas in 1957; "Ena filaki" (One kiss) was composed by the operetta and light music composer Aki Smyrnaiou, and recorded in 1958 by Oula Baba.

kind of tresillo-based Latin-American rhythm. The song ends with a unison "cha-cha-cha!" finale, a practice that was common in Greek popular music during the 1950s. Manolis Angelopoulos and Nitsa Negri recorded a version of this song in Greece in 1959. That version starts with a descending piano glissando, which is further evidence of the Western influences it incorporates. Pitchone's performance, however, starts instead with a more traditional taximi, played on the accordion.[40] Because he was not singing in Hebrew, and because of the Turkish elements in the music he was playing (it was all "Arabic" to an untrained European ear), the modern, hybrid nature of the music could not be recognized outside the realm of the Greek night club, or the wedding hall. Beyond these spaces, in the aural public sphere of national radio, it was framed as the music of an Oriental Jewish diaspora: a legacy rather than a horizon. Pitchone's musical style was one among many that remained unrecognizable to the gatekeepers of national culture, and unrecognizable as a living form of Jewish modernity in Israel. But there were other ways for this music to become not only recognized but even to become a model for what a modern, cosmopolitan Israel culture could be. In the Jewish state, what a Jew could not do, a gentile could.

The Arrival of (Christian) Greek Musicians: Greek Music Goes International

Although the exact timeline for this development is unclear, in the latter half of the 1950s the musical program at Arianna, and later in other venues as well, started to feature professional Greek musicians from Greece or Cyprus. By hiring these musicians, Barzilay was able not only to increase the diversity and quality of the musical program at Arianna, but also to enjoy the

[40] *Taximi*—the Greek pronunciation the Turkish "taksim" and Arabic "taqsim," meaning "partition"— is a genre of instrumental improvisation performed before another musical piece, in the same mode.

appeal of an international program. For these touring musicians, Israel was not too far away, and there were regular shipping routes between the two countries, as well as flights. The local Israeli economy was growing fast, and international artists received payment in U.S. dollars, which were worth significantly more than the drachma.[41] The Israeli market for Greek music might have been infinitely smaller than the Greek market, but also far less competitive.

It is possible that the trend toward hiring Greek musicians started when Lakis Giligonos, a local member of the Greek-Orthodox community of Haifa, achieved success as a guest performer at Arianna. In 1955, this young amateur guitarist and singer signed a three-month contract to perform nightly at the Arianna. According to an article in the evening newspaper *Maariv,* Giligonos's talent was discovered at King's Bar in his home city, where he performed "Spanish, Flamenco, and Greek songs." [42] The Greek 20-year-old was fashionable among Tel-Aviv bohemians, who would go down to Jaffa several times a week to enjoy his singing.[43]

Around this time, Barzilay started going to Greece and contracting musicians. According to Yaakov Barzilay, the hiring of Greek musicians started after a couple named Ana and Fotis, a singer and a bouzouki player, walked into Arianna looking for employment. Fotis "Fotakis" Haloulakos was one of the most prominent rebetiko musicians to ever perform and record in Israel.[44] According to one biography, Haloulakos worked in Israel between 1956 and 1961,

[41]World War II and the civil war that followed devastated the Greek economy. One of the key measures taken in 1953 to restore the economy was a drastic devaluation of the drachma. While the 1960s were an age of economic growth on the macro level, improvement hardly reached all levels of society and rapid urbanization also contributed to increasing social gaps. During the 1960s, 12 percent of the population of Greece immigrated to Australia, Germany and other countries, mostly as manual laborers. See Andrew F. Freris, *The Greek Economy in the Twentieth Century* (New York: St. Martin Press, 1986).

[42] Azaria Rapaport, "Kokhav darakh ba-bohema [A new star shines on bohemians]," *Maariv,* October 10, 1955.

[43] Ibid.

[44] Haloulakos was born in Thessaloniki in 1922, and became a professional bouzouki player in 1941. He is known as the composer of many songs, and in particular of "Y Gopa" (The Bogue fish) which he recorded together with

where he also met his wife.[45] It is unclear whether the couple resided in Israel permanently or on a seasonal basis.[46] Following the success of their performance, Samuel Barzilay got in touch with an agent in Athens, who prepared materials (photos, resumes, or recordings) of local talents for him to review and later audition. Three-month contracts were the norm, but some artists stayed longer, or returned for multiple tours, sometimes working in other venues as well. The season for club performances in Athens was the winter, so during the summer musicians often traveled to find employment elsewhere.

Some artists did not stay for the duration of their contract. One such famous case involves the escapade of Lukas Dalaras (1927-1977), a traveling rebetiko singer, composer, and bouzouki player, and father of the famous singer George Dalaras.[47] Dalaras the elder left quite an impression on the locals, including Pitchone (whose band accompanied him), not only because of his great musical skill but also because of his proclivity for getting drunk and causing trouble. He was eventually released from his contract and deported by the police.[48]

Barzilay usually booked male performers who were outstanding bouzouki players—a rare skill among local musicians. If they could not play bouzouki, these performers could at least accompany themselves or others on guitar. Barzilay paired them with attractive female singers, who also danced. Unlike their male counterparts, female singers often performed and recorded in

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Yiannis Kyriasis (1947). For info on Haloulakos, see Tasos S'horelis, *Rempetiki Anthologia IV* [Rbetiko anthology IV] (Athens: Plethron, 1992), 123-124; 141-158.

[45] Ibid, 124.

[46] During his time in Israel, Fotakis also recorded with his wife (under the pseudonym Janette Greco) and Daviko Pitchone (on accordion) for the Jaffa-based label Makolit. These recordings were released in 1962 as part of a compilation LP titled *Greek Hit Parade.* Another notable recording artist, Antonios Mavros, recorded for Koliphone Records during his time in Israel.

[47] Lukas Dalaras became well-known in Greece in 1954, when Marika Nino recorded his song "To Vouno" (The mountain).

[48] Daviko Pitchone, interview with the author.

Israel under exotic or generic stage names (Artemis, Mary Louise, Matilda Ray, Janette Greco), surely for marketing purposes but possibly also due to the difficulty of remembering and pronouncing their Greek names. This practice has made it by-and-large impossible to trace their identities and to assess the level of recognition and success they enjoyed in Greece.

In the summer of 1957 the star attraction at Arianna was the bleached blond singer Mary Louise, who also later became the center of a scandal covered extensively by the local newspapers.[49] The newspapers paid far more attention to her physical appearance than to her singing voice, but did mention anecdotally that she had learned to perform an Israeli song: "Simona mi-Dimona" (Simona from Dimona).[50]

Figure 1.3: Daviko Pitchone (on the right) accompanying Lukas Dalaras at Arianna. Date and photographer unknown, Daviko Pitchone personal collection

[49] Uri Dan reported in *Maariv* that "Mary Louise" was the 22-year-old Marushka Robnovka, born in Russia and brought to Greece by her parents as a baby. She was a bar singer in Athens before accepting a lucrative contract in Israel, where she became the love and object of obsession for a local con man of Hungarian descent. One evening her admirer spent a fantastic sum of money (as much as 2,500 ISL) on food and drinks for all who were present at the Arianna, celebrating the birthday of his Russian-Greek muse, but the evening ended sourly after the singer, who was singing atop one of the tables, fell and broke her leg. A few months later the singer tired of her suitor, and after threating her life with a pistol he ended up killing himself. See Uri Dan, "Zerem ha-kesef hufsak bi-yeriya [The flow of money was interrupted by a gunshot]," *Maariv* October 28, 1957.

[50] Dimona is a development town in the Negev desert, first populated in 1955 by North African immigrants. In the lyrics of the song, written in 1957 by Haim Shalmoni for the singer Israel Itzhaki, a man yearns for a dark-skinned girl from this settlement, named Simona. The motif of a dark-beauty from Dimona is at the heart of the plot of the movie *Fortuna* (Menahem Golan, 1964), which I discuss in detail in Chapter 3.

Some musicians were not contracted initially as headliners but as band members. The key example is Aris San, a 17 years-old guitarist and singer who first arrived at Arianna in 1957. San became a permanent guitarist and singer in Arianna's house orchestra, and quickly gained popularity with the local audience. Daviko Pitchone educated the young San after his arrival in Israel about Arianna's audiences' musical tastes. Aris had a tape recorder, which he used to record Daviko during rehearsals at the latter's home. He would then study the recordings to learn the local audience's favorite songs. One night, says Daviko, Aris San went on stage and performed a medley comprising all of Daviko's greatest hits; Daviko was at a loss: San had left him with nothing more to give the audience. For a while they worked side by side, but San's growing popularity quickly marginalized Daviko, and by 1960 San had officially replaced him as bandleader. Pitchone then moved on to playing *halturot* ("gigs"), which included private events such as weddings and Bar-mitzvahs.[51] He dominated this field (with regard to Greek music in particular) for the next decade, with his band Los Amigos.[52]

After the Arianna café achieved mainstream success with Aris San as its headliner, many other cafes in Tel-Aviv and Jaffa started to offer a Greek menu and Greek live music, and the promise of a Greek atmosphere. In 1960, San left Arianna and went on to open a series of clubs

[51] The word "halutra" (pl. "halturot") comes from Russian, and refers to "side work," or work performed unofficially apart from one's main job. In Hebrew, with regard to musicians, it is the equivalent of the English slang word "gig."

[52] As the band's name suggests, in addition to their Greek repertoire it also performed Latin American and Spanish music, which Daviko sang in his mother tongue. In addition, over the years, Pitchone expanded and updated his repertoire to include local favorites in Hebrew, French, Italian, Yiddish, Russian, Romanian, Bukhari, Farsi and Arabic, all in accordance with the background of the bride and groom. As a wedding music performer, he became famous for his catch phrase "A little bit of this and a little bit of that" (spoken in Hebrew with a heavy Salonica accent: "kesat mize ve kesat mize"), as a way of illustrating that the music represented the diverse origins of the family and guests. Still, Greek music remained Daviko's forte, and there was no family occasion celebrated in the Salonica community without him and his band. Wedding gigs, if one was able to secure them regularly, were a very good way to make a living, partly because in the case of Greeks and other Eastern diaspora's, on top of what the client would pay, guests would also pin bills on the musicians or "shower" them with money. Also, the payment was usually in cash. Daviko Pitchone, interview with the author.

in and around Jaffa, as I describe in detail in Chapter 2. While San competed as a club manager with the Arianna café in Jaffa, its principle competition in Tel Aviv became the café Piraeus. An elaborate structure floating on the Yarkon River near its estuary and the port of Tel Aviv, café Piraeus had been hand-built by Haim (Haimiko) Silvas (1920-2011).[53] The construction of the café had been laborious and expensive, and taken several years to complete. Haimiko had finally launched his café, which operated only during the summer months, in 1961. Initially the café had featured Daviko Pitchone and his band, but soon Haimiko had also turned to booking acts from Greece, with the help of an impresario named Berman. The most prominent of these Greek musicians was Tolis Harmas (b. Apostolos Harmantalis, 1918-2008). Harmas had a successful career with his wife Litsa, with whom he recorded between 1947 and 1956, as "Duo Harma."[54] In 1956, Litsa Harmas had retired from performing live. It was sometime after this date that Tolis started traveling to Israel in the summer for work. According to drummer Avi Farin, Harmas played in Jerusalem around 1960 at the café Aquarium. Farin played with him a few times, and it was Harmas who introduced him to Greek rhythms—a skill that would later afford him a long and prosperous international career with Aris San. According to Moshiko Silvas (Haimoko's son) Harmas was the musical director at café Piraeus for several years, until the café was closed in 1965. Harmas left a significant mark on the local Greek music scene. Shortly after his arrival in Israel in 1959, Aris San recorded Harmas's song "Marinella," probably as it was a favorite of the

[53] Haimiko immigrated to Palestine with his family of boat builders from Salonica in 1933, but had given up working at the port with the rest them, and instead started building small rowboats on his own. From 1939, he operated a rowboat-for-hire business on the Yarkon River for recreational purposes. His business contributed to making the Yarkon River a site for young couples to go on romantic dates—a cultural phenomenon inscribed in many songs and movies. For a detailed account of Haimiko's place in the popular culture of Tel Aviv, see the obituary published after his passing in *Zman Tel Aviv*: Yossi Fentilt, "Melekh ha-Yarkon: hayav u-moto shel Haim (Haimiko) Silvas [King of the Yarkon: the life and death of Haim (Haimiko) Silvas]," *Zman Tel Aviv* [reproduced online at *NRG.co.il*], October 18, 2011. http://www.nrg.co.il/online/54/ART2/238/300.html.

[54] I discuss the duo's movie appearances in Chapter 3.

local fans of Greek music. Together with Fotis Haloulakos, Harmas is probably the most prominent Greek musician to have played in Israel for a significant period of time (in terms of his reputation in Greece).

Figure 1.4: Greek musicians at Café Piraeus. Haimiko Silvas is standing in the middle; to his right (holding a bouzouki) is Tolis Harmas. Date and photographer unknown, Moshiko Silvas personal collection

During the five summers of its operation, café Piraeus was an immense success. Moshiko Silvas claims that while Arianna was an all-Israeli place that featured the "watered-down" Greek music of Aris San, Piraeus remained a true stronghold of Salonica immigrants. However, reports in the newspaper attest to the fact that everyone wanted to get into Piraeus, which on weekends was impossible to do without making a reservation well in advance.[55] The artistic program also included, as it did in all other Greek venues, variety acts and Latin-American music. For

[55] For a report on the café's opening, see "Beit kafe shat al ha-Yarkon hutkan al rafsoda-sfina [A floating café on the Yarkon was installed on a raft-ship]," *Davar* June 23, 1961. For reports on the popularity of Piraeus, and the need for reservations see Shefi Gabai, "Ktzarim leilot ha-kayitz ba-ir [Short are the summer nights in the Ccty]," *Davar*, August 11, 1965.

example, in the summer of 1964 the audience enjoyed the following international program: female singers Efi Pantazi and Rika Drema, guitarist and singer Yorgos Lambrakis (who was advertised as singing "in six languages"), accordionist/saxophonist Andreas Callas, and "Los Tres de Granada," a guitar trio singing Spanish and Flamenco songs.[56] All the musicians were accompanied by Tolis Harmas (who played bouzouki), and his dance orchestra.[57]

In addition to Piraeus, another major contender was a venue called Atuna (Athens), opened in 1960 on the Tel Aviv Promenade. The owner, an Iraqi immigrant named Anwar, adopted the Arianna model of contracting Greek artists for a period of three months, and in 1966 he was responsible for bringing to Israel the Cypriot bouzouki player and signer Trifonas Nikolaidis (b. 1944), who would go on to inherit Aris San's role as the country's biggest Greek star.[58] Trifonas (known in Israel by his first name alone) was recruited by impresario Yaakov Hollander and the Cypriot-born Israeli author Yaakov Saporta, who offered him a job performing at Atuna, where he would lead a group that included two female singers and a four-piece orchestra. The young musicians were eager to "see the world."[59] They were offered 25 U.S. dollars a night, and were asked to come in November, which was off-season in Cyprus anyway. According to Trifonas, Salonica immigrants visited Atuna on Saturdays, but on weeknights the crowd consisted of "night people" (criminals), and he did not like playing there. After a short period, Samuel Barzilay came and offered him a six-month contract at Arianna that doubled his pay. Trifonas accepted. He went on to play at Arianna for the next five years, five nights a week. Like his predecessors in the 1950s and early 60s, Trifonas also sang occasionally in Turkish and

[56] I discuss the enduring presence of Spanish and Latin-American music in the Greek music scene in Chapter 2.

[57] Advertisement published in *Maariv*, May 15, 1964.

[58] Trifonas Nikolaidis, interview by the author, September 3, 2014.

[59] Ibid.

Spanish in accordance with the demands of the local audience. Unlike Atuna, Trifonas says, Arianna was "a real Greek place, like in Greece."[60]

Although a comprehensive list of Greek musicians who performed in Israel between the late 1950s and early 70s would be impossible to compile, my cautious estimate puts the total number at well over a hundred. To be sure, clubs in Tel Aviv, Jaffa, and other cities featured musical acts from many other countries and cultures as well. It is doubtful, however, if any single one of them had as many representatives as Greece, especially in proportion to its size and influence, and considering the negligible size of a Jewish or Christian Greek diaspora in Israel. The presence of these musicians contributed to the international aura and prestige of the venues in which they played; it quenched a thirst among Israelis of all ranks of society to feel part of a larger cultural ecumene—the Mediterranean—even if the exact the borders of that ecumene were in dispute. Importantly, it also kept the local scene in constant touch with the shifting trends of contemporary Greek popular music, well beyond the "tourist" repertoire reflected in Greek international film, as I will discuss in Chapter 3.

"Thus Sings Greece": Greek Music goes National

With the growing popularity of Greek-style venues and Greek cinema in the early 1960s, larger circles of the Israeli public became interested and involved in Greek music and culture. An important milestone in this process was the arrival, in September 22, 1961, of a troop of twenty Greek musicians and celebrities, to present a show titled *Thus Sings Greece*.[61] This show was designed to showcase Greek culture in music and dance, encompassing both "the ancient" and

[60] Ibid.

[61] In Hebrew: "Kakh Sharah Yavan." See S. Kalai, "Bamot u-fargod [Stages and screen]," *Herut,* September 22, 1961.

the modern. The show was scheduled to tour the entire country for 25 days. It included an orchestra directed by the Athens-based Greek-Jewish musician Zak Iakovidis (B.1928 as Yaakov Benvensite), a conservatory-trained composer of light song and music for stage and screen.[62] With the orchestra arrived leading performers Fotis Dymas (who had his first hit in 1959 with a song composed by Iakovidis), Iovanna Fasou, and the famous Trio Gitara, as well as a "folk singer" (read: rebetiko musician) who may or may not have been the great Vasilis Tsitsanis. The shows were such a success that the orchestra remained for a second, one month-long tour, this time featuring singer Mary Mont and Tolis Harmas (a veteran of the Israeli scene) on bouzouki. Dymas stayed with the orchestra for the second tour.

Figure 1.5: Trio Bel Kanto performing in Tel Aviv as part of the radio-broadcasted show *Bidur 61*'. Date unknown; photo by Photo Maki (photography studio), 1962, Evangelos Metaxas personal collection

[62] For a full biography of Iakovidis see Kostas Papaspiloius, *Zak Iakovidis: Tha Ziso Elefthero Pouli* [Zak Iakovidis: I will live a free bird] (Athens: Eklotiki, 2011).

Shortly thereafter, Trio Bel canto, one of Greece's best-known vocal trios, also toured Israel in what was probably a related enterprise to the *Thus Sings Greece* tour. According to Evangelos Metaxas, founder and leader of the trio, their Israeli tour included three big shows in music halls in Tel Aviv, Haifa, and Jerusalem. In Tel Aviv they performed on the show *Bidur 61'* (Entertainment 61) broadcast by Kol Yisrael and accompanied by the Kol Yisrael Entertainment Orchestra.[63]

Thus Sings Greece and its offshoots introduced the amorphous yet enticing package-deal of "Greek music" to Israelis on a state-wide scale, in a way that perhaps exceeded even the reach of Greek cinema. Much like Hatzidakis's scores for films such as *Never On Sunday* (dir. Jules Dassin, 1960) and *Stella* (dir. Michalis Cacoyannis, 1955, rereleased in Israel 1961), which were very well received in Israel, the repertoire featured in these shows offered Israeli audiences a minimal amount of distinctly Greek sound (bouzouki, hasapiko rhythms, and of course the sound of the Greek language) to assure them that what they are hearing was authentic, within a program of mostly high-quality Western music. These programs were in effect Greek variety shows that included equal amounts of Greek and international music, such as Latin-American, French, and Hebrew songs, and even some rock 'n' roll.[64] The Greek language repertoire was itself mostly of the light variety (elafro), i.e. Western-style Greek popular music. Most of the musicians involved had middle-class backgrounds and conservatory training in composition or operatic performance. Hardly any of them (with Harmas being the notable exception) came from the circles of rebetiko music.

[63] Evangelos Metaxas, interview by the author, September 6, 2015.

[64] Ibid.

Whereas the local Daviko Pitchone could enter the hallowed halls of national radio only under the banner of "folklore of the East," the international Trio Bel Canto could do so as more easily by being framed as a contemporary cosmopolitan form of entertainment that did not pose an ideological threat to the project of Israeli national culture. As we shall see, different groups played in different ways with this ambiguity about which actual musical styles made up what was called "Greek music," and the degree to which those styles could be perceived as Oriental or Occidental. At times, the music had, in effect, little to do with the Ottoman heritage of music in Greece, but still functioned in an Israeli context as a token of the Oriental. For example, during the Jerusalem Purim parade in 1961, the procession included "floats themed by cultures and peoples from around the globe." One float presented what a newspaper article described as something out of *One Thousand and One Nights*: "A colorful Oriental palace, paraded by veiled beauties of the harem, to the sounds of the tune "The Children of Piraeus" from [the movie] *Never on Sunday*."[65]

As I discuss in Chapter 3, this song was composed by Manos Hatzidakis for Jules Dassin's movie from 1960, and became world famous.[66] It was a C-major hasapiko with a pinch of bouzouki and some chromatic ornamentation: hardly a prime example the "Oriental" in music.[67] But the actual Arabs, in the form of Jordanian Legion snipers, were sitting on the walls

[65] Eitan Bentzur, "Adloyada na'a hitkabla be-adishut [A fine Adloyada received with indifference]," *Maari*v, March 5, 1961.

[66] As Jeff Smith writes, "Within a year of the film's release there were some thirty versions of [the song] in the United States and more than four hundred worldwide. Together these versions accounted for the sale of between fourteen and sixteen million singles. Don Costa's instrumental and Melina Mercouri's vocal versions, both for United Artists Records, were the top sellers, but they were simply the frosting on a very lucrative cake. United Artists additionally profited from soundtrack album sales of a half-million copies, more than a million dollars in performance royalties and licensing fees, and several hundred thousand dollars' worth of promotion via television." Jeff Smith, *The Sounds of Commerce: Marketing Popular Film Music* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), 61.

[67] Hasapiko is a 2/4 dance slow meter.

of the Old City just hundreds of meters away (to say nothing of Arab Jews being among the participants of the parade), and so Greek must have seemed Oriental enough. And it was, one must admit, a very catchy tune.

This was the sleight of hand afforded by "The Greek": it could provide the soundtrack for the most "Orientalist" of scenes with a tune that could just as easily have been a Neapolitan song, or legitimize the most Oriental of sounds and practices (Hejaz modes, tsifteteli rhythms, even belly dancing) for the enjoyment of Euro-Israeli audiences (recall the professor on his wedding night). If in *Thus sings Greece* and Hatzidakis's film music "Greek" sounds were largely European, at the other end of the spectrum, the Greek signifier became instrumental in furnishing spaces of Oriental identification for immigrants from Arab and Muslim countries, and even contact zones with the Palestinian population, as I will now demonstrate.

"No Place Like Ramle at Night": Greek Venues as Mizrahi Spaces

The national tours and Greek film music that arrived in Israel included little or no echoes of the repertoire performed by some of the biggest stars of Greek popular music in the post-war era, such as Stelios Kazantzidis and Manolis Angelopoulos. During the 1950s, these artists retained, invigorated, or reintroduced the Oriental (read: Turkish) and the "Orientalist" streaks of rebetika, and in particular the stylistic elements that had been introduced into this music by refugees from Asia Minor in the 1920s and 30s. In Greece, these singers were most popular among disenfranchised urban workers. As Gail Holst poignantly describes:

> Immensely popular in the late fifties and sixties, Kazantzidis introduced a new quality into Greek *laiko* (popular) song, one that had little to do with Piraeus *rebetiko*, but appealed to a younger generation of working-class Greeks. His voice would epitomize the singers of the low-class dives, known as *skiladhika*, the haunts of truck-drivers: it was

> a late-night, smoky, sexy voice, well-suited to the songs that were called "Turko-gypsy" or "gypsy" not only because of their use of erotic subject matter, but also because of a preference for *tsiftetelia*. . . . Kazantzidis sang about the hardships of contemporary Greek life, especially the pain of emigration, in a style that was deliberately "Orientalized."[68]

This "re-Orientalized" popular music was extremely successful with working-class Salonica immigrants, who heard in it the echoes of the Ottoman music of their youth. It was becoming equally appealing however, to immigrants from other Middle Eastern countries, as I describe in the next chapter. During the 1960s, Kazandzidis's songs were so popular in Israel that at least one record company "pirated" them and released a many records containing music for which it did not have the rights. In the venues dominated by a Mizrahi audience, *this* was considered Greek music. The cult of Kazandzidis and his style formed an important part of the Greek music trend, which was at once entangled in and distinct from the more Western-sounding Greek music that was becoming popular in Israel through national tours and Greek international cinema.

Kazandzidis and his style were especially popular in cities that were in some way comparable to Jaffa in terms of geography, demographics, or historical situation. These were often formerly Arab or mixed cities, where the first post-war immigrants (including Bulgarians and Turks) had settled into the houses of Palestinians, or where Salonica immigrants had arrived earlier. They included Haifa, Jerusalem, and Ramle.

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[68] The Greek terms are all italicized in the original. Gail Holst-Warhaft "The Tame Sow and the Wild Boar: Hybridization and the Rebetika," in *Songs of the Minotaur: Hybridity and Popular Music in the Era of Globalization: a Comparative Analysis of Rebetika, Tango, Rai, Flamenco, Sardana, and English Urban Folk,* ed. Gerhard Steingrass (Münster: LIT Verlag, 2002), 35. The Greek terms are all italicized in the original. *Skiladhika* literally means "doghouse." *Tsiftetelia* is the Plural of tsifteteli, a 4/4 Turkish dance rhythm associated in Greece with belly dancing and with the Roma minority. It closely resembles the popular Arabic rhythm known as "masmudi" or "sha'abi," and is easily superimposed on or combined with Western duple-meters, and in particular the habanera and its relatives.

An especially interesting case is the city of Ramle. Located just 20 kilometers South-East of Tel Aviv– Jaffa, The Arab inhabitants of Ramle were largely expelled during the 1948 war. The city was immediately resettled with Jewish immigrants, predominantly of Middle Eastern, North African, and Balkan decent. Unlike cities such as Jerusalem or Haifa, it did not have a nucleus of a Jewish population who lived there before statehood, and who could support the economical and cultural integration of Jewish immigrants. Ramle thus became one of the poorest cities on the outskirts of Tel Aviv, and at the same time a hub for a working-class, Mizrahi nightlife.[69] In the late 1960s and early 70s, clubs such as Calypso, Karish (shark), and Dolphin, became the breeding grounds for Israel's first rock scene, "lehakot ha-ketzev" (the beat bands). This music was initially associated with Mizrahi youth, before becoming mainstream and absorbed into Hebrew popular song.[70] Some of the leading singers of the Ramle scene in the 1970s, including Shimi Tavori and Margalit Tzan'ani, later become stars of the of musikah Mizrahit.

But before all this, there was Greek music. In an article from 1962, A. Peleg reports on nightlife in Ramle under the revealing title "Ein kmo Rmala ba-leiylot" (No place like Rmala at night), which alludes to Haim Hefer's song from 1957 describing Jaffa's "Big Territory": "Ein kmo Yafo ba-leiylot."[71] The title positions Jaffa as the model for the kind of nightlife culture being cultivated in Ramle. Peleg's article describes in detail a Greek-style café, which Balkan and Arab Jews as well as Palestinian Arabs frequent:

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[69] See Arnon Golan, "Lydda and Ramle: From Palestinian-Arab to Israeli Towns, 1948-67," *Middle Eastern Studies* 39, no.4 (October 2003): 132.

[70] See Regev and Seroussi, *Popular Music*, 138-144.

[71] Written for the Theatre Club Quartet to the tune of a French song, Hefer's song merrily reports the nocturnal misadventures of a group of young men from the "Big Territory." These include the harassment of women and couples, drinking, playing cards, and committing petty crimes together with fictional Jaffa characters such as "Moishe Ganev the thief" and "Elie Poker the card player," leading to eventual incarceration.

Every ethnic group [eda] in the city has its own cafe. At Karako-Mimi gather the Turks, Bulgarians and Arabs. . . . Let's enter the Café Karako. "Here, everything is Greek. The atmosphere, the language, the food, and the dancing. The port of Piraeus, painted across an entire wall, welcomes those who enter. The atmosphere is homely and cozy, and you can buy your way in for ten liras. For this amount you will receive a "meze" meal that includes a bottle of Cognac, fruit, Kashkaval cheese, and sausage. An orchestra comprising an accordion, qanun, and daul fills the air with the sounds of Greek music.[72]

"With us everything goes in Greek" explains the owner, himself of Turkish origin, "and people come to spend a good hour after midnight. We get young couples, guys from Sha'arayim, and people of every type and kind.[73] We opened this cafe, he explains, "So the that folks from Ramle wouldn't have to go to Tel-Aviv, so they would have something of their own here. Except we give everything in the manner of the people ["be'ofen amami," i.e. cheaper, more low-key]. After all, Ramle is a worker's city, who here has money?"

And indeed, the atmosphere at café Karako is entirely populist [amamit]. … Suddenly, a young man emerges from his corner, taking a guitar into his lap, and bursts into a Greek song: "Alitse Mama" [sic].[74] This is the sad story of a youth who fell into bad company and the street. Finally he returns to his home with a knife in his back and sings with his dying breath "Alitse Mama"—mother open the door.[75]

Young men with oiled curly hair release a heavy sigh from their heart, and young women with sweaters wrapped around their waists shed tears like water. "That is so sad, I'll be damned! It cleanses the heart from the tears." Encouraged by such a warm and hearty response, the singer begins with a second song—"Cocaine."[76] Again, this is a story of a young man who rolled down the slope of life until he became a slave to the drug. "Oh!" Sigh the listeners all around, "the way he gives it [i.e. performs the song] you would think that he injected cocaine himself."[77]

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[72] To be sure, the name "Cognac" was being applied to any and all locally produced brandy. *Daul*, (also *davul* or *tupan*) is a large double-headed drum played with mallets, common in the northern regions of the Ottoman empire: the Balkans, Turkey, and Kurdistan.

[73] A Yemenite neighborhood in the city of Rehovot, adjacent to Ramle.

[74] From the description of the song's content, it is clear that it refers to "Anixe, mana," a song by Kazandzidis from 1958, which I discussed in the prologue.

[75] It is interesting to compare this synopsis, which focuses on a life of crime, to that provided by Yehuda Poliker, in which the youth in the song is said to be returning from the war (See the prologue to this dissertation). The lyrics of the song do not clearly support either of these interpretations.

[76] Cocaine, heroine, and other drugs were a common topic of old rebetika (but not as common as hashish). One of the most famous cocaine songs is the 1929 tsifteteli "Yati foumaro kokaini" (Why did I smoke cocaine) by Panos Toundas.

[77] A. Peleg, "Ein kmo Rmale ba-leilot [No place like Rmale at night]," *Maariv*, April 18, 1962.

Peleg goes on to interview the owners, who speak about how they brought in two belly dancers from Turkey. The dancers made so much money in tips that they had to be sent away, for fear that they would further impoverish the population.[78] Kararko's café was also, according to the same article, home to the first TV set in Ramle. At first this was a welcome addition because on Thursday nights Egyptian TV broadcast a musical performances by Umm Kalthoum and other stars of Egyptian song, which the patrons all loved. But one night, Egyptian President Gamal Abed el Nasser appeared on the screen and was cheered by the Palestinian Arab patrons, leading to a brawl with Jewish patrons, and to the destruction of the TV.

Karako's is clearly recognized by all parties here as a "Greek space," yet it seems that there were no Greeks around. Instead, the audience spans the gamut from Bulgarians through Palestinians to Yemenites. We do not know who told the reporter what the songs were about or who the singer was, yet it appeared that person was an amateur. The instruments in the orchestra included the guitar and accordion, but also the qanun and davul, which are found in Turkish, Arabic, and Kurdish folk music. The owner implies that he modeled his café on venues in Jaffa, when he says that he established it "so people wouldn't have to go to Tel-Aviv"—reinforcing the implication of the song reference in the title of the article. The Greek repertoire is also of the Oriental variety, both old and new: a zeibekiko recorded by Kazantzidis in 1958, and a song in the Smyrna style from 1929, recorded by Roza Eskenazi.

This vivid report from the Ramle café underlines the ambiguities that emerge as Greek music became popular during the Greek Wave: although the different appearances of Greek music that I have described were all part of a one nation-wide wave of popularity for all things "Greek," the styles of music and surrounding practices could vary markedly. When targeting

[78] It is a custom to stick bills onto the sweaty foreheads of the dancers, or simply "shower" them with bills.

wider audiences, artists usually favored the lighter, more occidental Greek repertoires, while in the "contact zones" of mixed cities such as Jaffa, Rmale, and Haifa, the "heavier" more Oriental style of rebetiko and laiko prevailed, with or without the presence of Greeks.[79]

There was, however, a wide middle ground between the two poles that I have described here for analytical purposes as "ideal types." The great unifier in this regard was beyond doubt Aris San. As I show in the next chapter, although San's appearance, demeanor, vocal style, and his choice of the electric guitar as his main instrument suggested a thoroughly occidental kind of Greekness, his repertoire betrayed a strong awareness of the appeal of the type of working-class Greekness embodied by Kazantzidis for Mizrahi audiences.

It is vital to acknowledge that the Mizrahi scene around Greek music in Israel during the 1960s did not represent an underground subculture detached from the way Greek culture was perceived elsewhere: People from Ramle (or from Bat Yam, or from Sha'araim) *did* go to Jaffa, and to Arianna, and to Aris San's clubs. The ambiguity afforded by the Greek signifier, and the divergent forms of identification it engendered with different audiences, is what allowed Greek venues to function as heterotopias, or sites of play within the Israeli context: sites where identification could take place in a way that traversed the dichotomy of Oriental and Occidental. A Greek space was a "third space": no one could decisively map it onto one side of the dichotomy or to another. That was its appeal.

[79] To be sure, the concepts of "light" and "heavy" style are emic terms, used in the same way in Greek and in Israeli parlance to describe music that is more upbeat and Western in style, or verse music that is more melancholy and Turkish in style, and that employs a nasal, lamenting vocal performance.

Part II: The Impact of Greek Popular Music on Mainstream Hebrew Popular Song

Another measure of the scope of influence of the Greek Wave, especially among the (largely Ashkenazi) cultural elite, is its reverberation in mainstream Hebrew popular song. Since the days of the Yishuv, popular song, or to be precise the pseudo-folk genre called *Songs of the Land of Israel* (SLI), has been a key site for the construction of a national culture.[80] What motivated the creation of this corpus (named retroactively) was the need to provide Zionist settlers with a Hebrew repertoire in lieu of a common historical repository of folk songs. The settlers pursued this goal in accordance with the European model of nationalism in which the identification, documentation, and sublimation (to say nothing of fabrication) of such a repository are foundational steps in the making of a national musical culture.[81] Songwriters and composers of concert music and communal song alike were attempting to devise a local musical idiom through appropriating local sounds (such as the *ney* flute playing of Palestinian shepherds) and by turning to modal practice as means of distinguishing the new national idiom from generic European diatonicism.[82]

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[80] See for example Regev and Seroussi, *Popular Song*, 49-70. See Also Nathan Shahar, *"Shir shir ale-na": toldot ha-zamer a-ivri* ["Song o rise and soar": Hebrew song and its development] (Ben Shemen: Modan, 2007); Talila Eliram, *Bo, shir ivri: shirei Eretz Israel, hebeitim muzikaliym ve-hevratiyim* [Come, thou Hebrew song: the songs of the Land of Israel, musical and social aspects] (Haifa: University of Haifa Press: 2006).

[81] As Richard Taruskin shows, this model originates in Germany, and is later developed throughout Europe and around the world. The particularity modernist version of this paradigm, clothed in the scientific attire of the new science of ethnomusicology, is best exemplified in the influential work of Béla Bartók. See Richard Taruskin, "Nationalism" in the *Grove Music Online*, Oxford University Press, accessed August 15, 2015, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/50846. For an account of the place of song in early Zionism, see Philip Bohlman, "Before Hebrew Song," in *Nationalism, Zionism and Ethnic Mobilization of the Jews in 1900 and Beyond*, ed. Michael Berkowitz (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 25-60.

[82] See Jehoash Hirschberg, *Music in the Jewish Community of Palestine* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 241-272.

However, the need to provide ad hoc music for everyday use, coupled with the reinvigoration of various European musical cultures which came with each wave of immigration, and the hardships of adapting to a new way of life in a foreign land, all led immigrants to rely extensively on music favored in their cultures of origin. They often adapted this music by furnishing existing melodies with new Hebrew lyrics. As a result, the emerging Zionist song idiom in Palestine came to be largely based on Russian melodies, which provided the principle foundation for the project of developing a local, national style. Subsequent waves of immigration from Central Europe contributed to the development of urban middle-class culture, and the growing importance of cabaret music and jazz. The first two decades after statehood were characterized by the popularity of French and Italian contemporary popular song. By the late 1960s American popular styles, and rock music in particular, had become a major influence. At the same time, the focus on authenticity in rock led to a devaluation of the practice of writing Hebrew lyrics to foreign melodies. From the 1980s on, the practice of borrowing melodies from contemporary non-Hebrew pop songs became increasingly identified with *muziqah Mizrahit*.

Greek popular melodies sporadically inspired Hebrew song as early as the late 1940s. In the Palmach—the elite fighting force of the Jewish underground army (the Haganah)—a Hebrew rendition of the Greek tango "To Yelekaki" (The little vest) from 1932, became a song to sing before mealtime, starting with the worlds "Ani Ra'ev" (I'm hungry).[83] Another song with a far more illustrious career was "Yirise (Ela Ela)," also a Greek tango, from 1947. According to popular myth, Haim Hefer—leader of Palmah's entertainment and song troop, called the Chizbatron—heard this song on Cypriot radio when he travelled with his troop to the British

[83] The story of the song's provenance is recounted on the website *Zemereshet*, which serves a community of professional and hobbyist scholars of early Hebrew song. See "Ani ra'ev," *Zemereshet*, accessed May 15, 2015, http://www.zemereshet.co.il/song.asp?id=1326.

interment camps in Cyprus to escort the last prisoners to Israel in May 1949. Hefer adapted Hebrew lyrics for the song while riding in a jeep.[84] The Hebrew lyrics follow very closely the sounds of the Greek, with "yirise" (return) becoming "irisim" (irises), and "matia mou" (my eyes) becoming "Mot Amut" (I will die). It appears, however, that this song was not performed until the late 1950s, when Hefer gave it to singer Ilana Rovina. Rovina's rendition was successful with audiencea, especially when performed as a duet with Arik Einstein as Tsemed ha-Gafrurim (the Matchstick Duo). It was first released on a commercial recording only in 1966, in a heavy rumba arrangement (tango was long out of style). That the song reappeared in the 1960s, after being forgotten for a decade, seems to be the first omen of the new appeal of Greek music among Israel's cultural elite and bohemians.[85]

Of all the various agents of Greek music, Aris San had the most significant impact on Hebrew popular song. In the second half of the 1960s, San composed Greek-style songs with Hebrew lyrics, which he himself and a number of Israeli female singers performed and recorded, with great success. Striving to distinguish themselves from San's strand of Mediterranean pop, Israeli mainstream artists sought to appropriate Greek music that they perceived to be of more elevated stock. They found their model in the music emanating from the sound systems of movie theaters, in Israel and around the world.

Cosmopolitan Nationalists: Hatzidakis and Theodorakis as the Ushers of Greek Song

While it is clear that the buzz around Jaffa and its new Greek trend was strong among the Tel Aviv bohemians, the idea that mainstream Israeli artists could perform Greek music probably did

[84] Shmuelik Tesler, *Shirim be-madim* [Songs in uniform] (Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi, 2007), 40.

[85] "Bohema" was a common term for the elite urban circles of Israel. As there was no real economical elite, the term referred to "insider" circles, the core of which were the intellectual and artistic elite, but which also included people in influential positions in the government, bureaucracy, military, and labor unions, etc.

not become robust until Greek composers such as Hatzidakis and Theodorakis achieved global fame through the film industry, as I discuss in detail in Chapter 3. Not only were these composers highly-skilled and "cultivated" representative of a modern Greece, palatable to the Western orientation of the Israeli elites, but they were also following a model of musical nationalism highly recognizable to the Israeli elite: they were elevating what they perceived to be the authentic folk music of the Greek people, and adapting it to the standards of the international music industry. Since the late 1940s, these composers had been responsible for rehabilitating rebetiko music within the Greek intelligentsia. Their key activity, in addition to theoretical analysis and the sponsoring of rebetiko composer and performers, was to apply rebetiko musical elements to concert music, "artistic" popular song (*entechno*), and film music. In the compositions of Hatzidakis and Theodorakis, Greek stylistic elements appear both cultured and European, *and* as an expression of ethno-national uniqueness of a specifically Mediterranean variety. Motti Regev has described this as aesthetic cosmopolitanism operating as a vehicle for cultural nationalism in music.[86] The two composers modeled how to be modern and cosmopolitan, while also authentically channeling Mediterranean indigeneity through a national style.[87]

And indeed, after the worldwide recognition he was afforded by winning and Oscar in 1961, Hatzidakis became the first contemporary Greek composer to write melodies that were adapted by leading exponents of Hebrew popular song. In 1965, ha-Yarkon Trio, comprising two of Israel's biggest star-singers of all time—Arik Einstein and Yehoram Gaon—alongside Beni

[86] Motti Regev, "Ethno-National Pop-Rock Music: Aesthetic Cosmopolitanism Made from Within," *Cultural Sociology* 1, no. 3 (2007): 317-341.

[87] For a recent meditation on the populism of these two composers, see Paris Konstantinidis, "When Progress Fails, Try Greekness: From Manolis Kalomiris to Manos Hatzidakis and Mikis Theodorakis," in *The National Element In Music (Conference Proceedings, Athens, 18-20 January, 2013*), ed. Nikos Maliaras (Athens: University Of Athens, Faculty Of Music Studies, 2014), 314-320.

Amdurski, performed "Ayelet ahavim" (A loving doe), a rendition of Hatzidakis' "O taxydromos pethane" (The mailman is dead, 1961) with Hebrew lyrics by Naomi Shemer. It was included in their first program, performed at the Hamam club in Jaffa, and recorded in their first LP *Ahava rishona* (First love, 1965). The song became part of the canonical repertoire of SLI and received many cover versions over the years.

One of the main forces in the field of Hebrew song between the 1950s and the mid 70s were the army bands. These were small, cabaretesque troops, which performed songs, skits, and dances for the entertainment of soldiers and civilians. Some of them enjoyed immense popularity and often topped the radio charts. Taken collectively, not only were these troops the largest clients for songwriter, composers and arrangers, but also the prime sources for providing the civilian scene with a steady flow of new, "battle proven" talent: before 1980, practically every Israeli artist of note started their career in one of these bands.[88] In 1966, Lehakat gyasot ha-shiryon (The armored corps band) covered a Hatzidakis song—"Lu hayta li mandolina" (If I had a mandolin, Hebrew lyrics by Tirza Atar).[89] But Hatzidakis was not only for the young and trendy: in 1967, Yafa Yarkoni and Shayke Ofir, veterans of the Palmach, included in their program *Hayu zmanim* (Those were the days) a Hatzidakis tune to lyrics by Haim Hefer: "Yaldut sheli" (Childhood of mine).[90] In all these cases, the Greek origins of the song were underplayed, yet not denied, and there was an attempt to naturalize the place of the song alongside original, locally-produced repertoire.

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[88] See Regev and Seroussi, *Popular Music*, 90-112.

[89] The Greek original is "Ferte mou ena mandolino," from 1961.

[90] Covers of Hatzidakis songs continue well into the 1970s, by leading artists of SLI, including Yehoram Gaon (in 1973 and 1977), Hava Alberstein (1973), and Ilanit (1970). Songs by his Mikis Theodorakis—who surpassed Hatzidakis in international fame after the overwhelming success of his score for *Zorba the Greek* (1964)—also received Hebrew versions, for example by HaDudaim (1972) and Yehoram Gaon (1973). In 1973 singer Lior Yeini did an entire program and album of Theodorakis's songs.

In contrast to adapting songs by naturalizing Greek melodies into the Hebrew song repertoire, musicians also sometimes highlighted a song's origins. In their next concert program, ha-Yarkon , released as an LP entitled *ha-Tokhnit ha-hadasha* (The new program) in 1966 also Trio took a bolder step and recorded a song from Stelios Kazantzidis's repertoire. The Greek Vasilis composed in 1957 by ,original, "Ouiski, Tzin kai Froumel" (Whisky, gin and froumel) Karapatakis with lyrics by Hristos Koloktronis, is a jazzy hasaposerviko, where the speaker fantasizes about a night of intimate drinking with an old love, in his chamber (using the Turkish —noitidner werbeH s'taliE anfaD ni ,emaceb tI [91].)word "Oda," meaning room or chamber Hakol biglal ha-ahava" (All because of love). The Hebrew lyrics also describe a night of " drinking to forget the lover that has left, but the venue has changed: In Hebrew the drinking take place at the bar owned by a "Mrs. Muki /a singer with a bouzouki," where the patrons dance till dawn. Clearly, the Hebrew lyrics appeal in this description to the reputation of Greek venues in . Israel

Unlike Hatzidakis's songs, which were harvested for their melodies and performed earnestly, Kazantzidis' song remains othered, distanced from the Israeli self through the use of Greek stereotypes in the Hebrew lyrics. To reinforce this stereotypical representation of Greekness, the trio mocks the Greek accent in their performance of this song, by replacing the "sh" sounds with "s": "Ani **s**ote **s**ampania" instead of "Ani **sh**ote **sh**ampania" – "I drink champagne"). The inspiration for this joke is likely to be Aris San, who was just beginning to sing in Hebrew on stage, and was struggling with Hebrew pronunciation in his communication

[91] "Frumel" is a Greek brand of fruit liquor. Hasaposerviko is a musical genre based on as a fast duple-meter dance rhythm.

with Israelis, both on stage and off.[92] The markedly different way in which Israeli musicians treated the music of Greek elite composers and they way they treated the music working-class pop stars such as Kazantzidis, attests further to the fact that the ethno-class connotations of Greek music were largely decipherable to Israeli musicians and audiences, and that Israelis assigned value to these connotations, according to their own socio-cultural position within Israeli society.

Another aspect of these "rules of engagement" with different registers of Greek song is evident in the practice of listing songs and attributing authorship on album covers and labels. Unlike songs by Hatzidakis or Theodorakis, songs by laiko or rebetiko composers and lyricists were either not attributed to any author, labeled "Greek folk song," or wrongly attributed. On the back-cover of Hayarkon Trio's second LP, "ha-Kol biglal ha-ahava" is attributed to the mysterious "Masa Poserviko."[93] The origins of this mistake are fairly easy to trace: On Greek rebetiko records, it was usually the custom to mention, after the composer and lyricist's names, the dance rhythm of the song; the label for "Ouiski, Tzin kai Froumel" must have read "hasaposerviko."[94]

Perhaps the most extreme example of this phenomenon is found in another Hebrew contrafacta of this time. In 1965, HaGashash HaHiver recorded "Ma sheba la" (Whatever she feel like doing), a humorous Hebrew rendition of Kazantzidis' hit "Mantoubala," with Hebrew lyrics by Yossi Gamzo. In the recording, the group's regular guitarist—Menahem "Magi" Gross–

[92] There were some famous jokes about San's accent. For example, San would often invite the audience to clap along. In Hebrew the phrase would be "lehi**tzt**aref be-kapayim," but San pronounced this "lehi**s**aref ba-kapayim," which means "to burn while clapping."

[93] Many Israeli websites still cite this nonsensical name as the name of the composer of this song.

[94] It was released in 1958 as a 78 rpm single, the B-side of "Anixe, mana." I did not have access to this record or to an image of the label.

–does a remarkable Aris San impersonation with his guitar part, based on the bouzouki part of the original recording. It is entirely possible that the musicians in the band never even heard the original by Kazantzidis, and were familiar with the song entirely through Aris San's live or recorded versions.[95] Although this was a Bollywood-inspired song, Kazandzidis himself is usually credited with its composition.[96] However, on ha-Gashsash's LP cover, the credit for the song goes to none other than Manos Hatzidakis.

The parodic mode, in which participation in the practice of Greek music is mediated through stereotypes, eventually also inspired original compositions. In 1968, Lehakat heil ha-yam (The navy band), a rising force in the field of army band, recorded its first LP, containing songs from its eighth program *ha-Yom ha-shlishi* (The third day). The program included the song "ha-Shemesh be-Piraeus" (The sun in Piraeus), a humorous syrtaki-style "sailor song" with music by Yair Rosenblum and lyrics by Yoram Teharlev. This song also demonstrates parodic engagement with the Greek stereotype, while presenting a far more extensive familiarity with Greek culture than the previous Greek-style frivolities of ha-Yarkon and ha-Gashash trios. The sailors shout "yasou palikari" (a toast or greeting meaning "To your health, young fighter"), and drink retsina.[97] Simultaneously, the Greek stereotype is extended to include references to classical Greek culture (Odysseus and Aphrodite), and puns involving the words "Aristophanes," "Olympus," "Sophocles" and "Zorba." In 1969, the song was included in a TV show that featured some of the band's hits, in a series of scenes that look like rudimentary music videos. In this televised version, the song was preceded by a short skit, in which members of the band play

[95] The song was arranged for ha-Gashash by Dubi Seltzer, who had worked with Aris San and emulated Greek music in nany of his compositions, as I discuss in Chapters 2 and 3.

[96] On the influence of Bollywood music in Greece see footnote 30 in Chapter 2.

[97] A traditional Greek resin wine.

drunken, lazy Israeli sailors who speak the broken Hebrew of Salonica immigrants. The video is important because it delineates a semantic field that brings the stereotype of working-class Salonica immigrants as a kind of subset of Mizrahiyut, together with global (*Zorba*-style) stereotype of Greekness, and with maritime (i.e. Mediterranean) connotations.[98] In this it represents a watershed moment in the engagement of mainstream Israeli culture with Greek music: coinciding with the peak of Aris San's career, and with his final departure for the US, this video encapsulates both the zenith of the popularity of Greek music, and the "spilling over" of its image into the domain of a Mizrahi subculture.[99] As I show in Chapter 3, this trend became reinforced in Israeli films of the 1970s.

ha-Parvarim, The 7/8 Rhythm, and the Fleeting Moment of Greek "Crossover"

In 1964, the record market in Israel was about to undergo a significant change, with the arrival of an international music corporation—CBS records—through its new local subsidiary, CBS Israel. Simon and Shirley Schmidt started CBS Israel as a humble record store in Tel-Aviv, and ran it from their private home. But their business grew exponentially. By building a modern recording studio and starting its own house orchestra directed by Alex Weiss, the company was able to compete with Hed Artzi for the leading artists of Hebrew song, while on the other hand

[98] Previous scholarship has attributed this to the resale of the film *Salomoniko* from 1972. See K.E. Fleming, *Greece: A Jewish History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), 190-205.

[99] Following the success of the Navy Band, similar Greek musical parodies were recorded by Lehakat Pikud Merkaz (Central Command Band) in 1969 ("Ahava yam-tichonit" [Mediterranean Love]), and by Tsevet Bidur Heil Avir (The Air Force Entertainment Crew) in 1973 ("Haristos Haristopoulos"). In a paper he presented in 2009, Yossef Goldenberg identifies at least ten more songs by army bands that betray Greek influences, at least rhythmically. Some of these seem to me unconvincing. I think these songs could be associated with Greek music through a more general idea of Balkan music, which had influenced local composers for decades. See Yossef Goldenberg, "Ma'arag va-zehuyot shel hashpa'ot Balkaniot ba-zemer ha-Ivri u-va-musikah ha-Isre'elit ha-omanutit [The web of identities in Balkan influences on Hebrew popular song and Israeli art music]," paper presented at the Fifteenth World Congress of Jewish Studies, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, August 2009, accessed May 15 2015, https://www.academia.edu/418474/מארג_הזהויות_של_השפעות_בלקניות_בזמר_העברי_ובמוזיקה_הישראלית_האמנותית.

promoting non-Hebrew music based on its market potential, with little concern for the ideological hang-ups of "Hebrew culture."

CBS's main strategy of entering the local market was to sign young promising talent and vigorously promote them to leading positions in the field of Hebrew song. Schmidt joined forces with the young composer Nahum "Nah'tshe" Heimann, who brought along some of the first performers of his songs. Among them were ha-Parvarim. Originally ha-Paravarim was a guitar duo comprised of Yossi Ḥuri and Nissim Menahem. Between 1965 and 1967 they performed and recorded with a third member, Jimmy Siman-Tov, trying to emulate the *trio romantico* model of Latin-American guitar duos and trios such as "Los Panchos." All three were of Middle-Eastern origins.[100] As a trio, they recorded for CBS an EP with old Oriental-style Hebrew songs, as well as an EP of Songs in Ladino.

At the time, a key event for promoting new material in the field of Hebrew song was the Israeli Song Festival, held annually and broadcasted live on national radio. The festival consisted of a competition, not only between performers, but also between songwriters. For this reason, every song was performed twice, by different artists and in different arrangements, so as to ensure that the referees were not simply rewarding a good performance. In 1966, the young Nahum Heimann entered "Reiah tapuah ve-odem shani" (The scent of apple and crimson red) to lyrics by Yoram Teharlev into the competition. The song was marked by its 7/8 meter. This odd-meter dance rhythm, popular throughout the Balkans and known in Greece as *kalamatiano*, differed from the even-meter Greek rhythms commonly appropriated in Israeli music such as the tsifteteli and the hasaposerviko in that it could not be hybridized with Western dance rhythms or

[100] Ḥuri emigrated from Iraq as a child, but grew up in the predominantly Ashkenazi neighborhood of Ramat Aviv in Northern Tel Aviv. Menahem was born to a Yemenite family in Kerem ha-Teymanin ("Yemenite's Vineyard")—the old Yemenite neighborhood of Tel Aviv, and Siman-Tov, also from Southern Tel Aviv, was of Turkish descent.

"normalized" by giving it a musical arrangement or "feel" that made it less exotic. It was therefore, in the Israeli context, a distinct marker of Balkan—or in some cases specifically Greek—influences.

By this time, the Israeli public had already encountered the 7/8 dance meter as a marker of Greek music, and not only in Greek venues. Alongside Greek cinema, theater was also an influential site for introducing and negotiating Greek music and stereotypes during these years. In 1962, the Cameri Theater in Tel Aviv staged a production of *Capitaine Karagheuz*. The play, written by the Swiss Louis Gaulis in 1959, depicts the life of an aging Greek man and his family in an impoverished and decaying post-civil-war Greek village. The protagonist is a Zorba-like figure, embodying both the grotesque and the heartwarmingly human aspect of the non-Western low-other. Israeli poet Nathan Zach translated the play from French, and added original lyrics for six songs. These were composed by the Romanian-born, Paris Conservatoire-trained, Israeli composer Gary Bertini in "a Greek style." Nama Handel performed the songs and also recorded four of them for Hed Artzi in 1964.[101] Finding musicians who could perform in a Greek style (two clarinets and a guitar player) seems to have been a real challenge for the Cameri theater. According to one newspaper article, even Aris San did not want to help, as he was "saving the good ones [musicians] for himself."[102] For at least two of the songs in the play—"Yam sheli" (My sea) and "Rak aluma ahat li be-sadi" (Only one sheaf I have in my field)—Bertini composed music in 7/8 time.[103] Nama Handel was also successful with this style of "folk" song in her show

[101] Uri Hefer, "Me'ahorei ha-kla'im [Backstage],"*Heru*t, March 5, 1962. The phrase "Greek style" is in quotation marks in the original article.

[102] Tamar Avidar, "Masakh u-masekha [Screen and mask]," *Maariv*, February 25, 1962.

[103] In the song " the 7/8 meter is used only for the instrumental refrain sections, while the verse is in 8/8 time (3+3+2).

Shirey amim (Songs of various nations), which highlighted the Macedonian "Yovano yovanke," another 7/8 song in a Hejaz-like mode, and including an augment second.

Returning to Heimann's song from 1965, I would note that alongside its 7/8 dance rhythm, the Oriental sound of the song is provided by the mode —E major with a flattened sixth degree (natural C), creating an augmented second (C-D#). The groups performing the song were ha-Parvarim trio (promoted by Heimann and CBS) and ha-Yarkon Trio. While the orchestral accompaniment in the performance by the ha-Yarkon Trio (arranged by Alex Wise) was rather standard for this type of festival, featuring a slightly mechanistic snare drumbeat and somewhat cumbersome vocal harmonies, the Parvarim's arrangement, done by Yossi Ḥuri, featured an instrumental chorus played in parallel thirds on two guitars (one of them a requinto), a commom technique in bouzouki music. The instrumental and vocal arrangements for ha-Parvarim's version bare a striking resemblance to the sound of the Greek trios that played and recorded in Israel in the early 1960s, such as Trio Gitara, Trio Greco, and Trio Bel Canto. The latter were influenced by the same Latin-American trios that had provided the model for ha-Parvarim. While Heimann's melody avoids the augmented second interval in the mode (which is nonetheless implied in the harmonies), it is featured prominently in the instrumental refrain of Ḥuri's arrangement, where it is coupled with parallel thirds to give the song an unmistakably contemporary Greek sound. The song won second place in the festival, became part of the SLI cannon, and still remains today one of ha-Parvarim's greatest hits of all time.

However, this was only the beginning of ha-Parvarim's affair with Greek music. In the summer of 1966, Yafa Yarkoni, who had successfully marketed herself as a Mediterranean-cosmopolitan singer, was performing as a contract artist in a Greek taverna in South Africa. Just like Arianna, the taverna in South Africa had a house orchestra of Greek musicians, and featured

artists contracted for a period of three months. Yarkoni, who had previously recorded with Greek musicians in New York, could fit in with the Greek orchestra on the one hand, and provide variety with Israeli, Spanish, and other "international" songs on the other.[104] When she was about to return to Israel, Yarkoni proposed to the owner to contract the ha-Parvarim in her stead, as if knowing they could deliver a similar repertoire: a "Mediterranean" style but also Latin-American songs, which were as in demand there as they were in Israel and in Greece. During their three-month tenure at the taverna, the ha-Parvarim were invited to record back-up vocals for a Greek-Egyptian singer who was also performing at the same venues.[105] When they returned to Israel the trio recorded these songs for CBS on a 7-inch EP. The EP included one song in Turkish ("Istemem babacem" also called "Kizim Seni Aliye") and three songs in Greek ("Paploma," "Sousourada" and "Den boro"). These songs were firmly within Aris San's repertoire and part of the Arianna scene. "Paploma" was composed by Giorgos Mitsakis and popularized by Kazantzidis in 1965. In 1966, Aris San had recorded it for Koliphone, as the B-side of his future bestseller "Boumpam." Both "Paploma" and "Sousourada" are in 7/8 time, although "Paploma" features a less common, reverse arrangement of the beats (2+2+3).

With this release, CBS records began to compete with the small Jaffa companies catering specifically to a Mizrahi audience. They released the same repertoire at the same time, only performed by artists that were also successful in the mainstream of Hebrew song. "Sousourada" (composed and popularized by Nikos Gounaris in 1954) was also recorded in Israel at least twice: by Foti "Fotakis" and Janette Greco (probably in the late 1950s), and by Aris San in

[104] For detail on Yarkoni's Greek repertoire see footnote 108 in this chapter.

[105] Aliza Azikri, the star of Aris San's club Zorba, was next to fill the Israeli slot after HaParvarim's return. All the information regarding this affair come from interviews I conducted with Yossi Ḥuri and Jimmy Siman-Tov. Yossi Ḥuri, interview by the author, August 6, 2015; Jimmy Siman-Tov, interview by the author, August 10, 2015.

1961.[106] The arrangements of all four songs are very similar to that of "Reiah Tapuah," utilizing parallel thirds to mimic bouzouki technique. The resemblance is particularly striking in "Sousourada," which has the exact same 7/8 rhythm, and also uses an E mode with an augmented second.

According to Yossi Ḥuri, the trio attempted to include these songs in their live performances, but the audience was more interested in Hebrew songs already familiar to them. When we discussed their Ladino EP, Ḥuri told me that he thought it was unsuccessful because Izak Levi, who was in charge of Ladino repertoire at Kol Yisrael, wouldn't play it.[107] If this was the case for a Ladino music—a distinctly Jewish culture represented by a specialized position within Kol Yisrael's personnel—the odds were obviously even worse for the Greek EP. Ḥuri's comments reveal the different routes of reception for artists from the Greek club scene and mainstream Hebrew artists: while the latter could expect their audience to hear their new material on the radio, promoting record sales and demands for concerts, artists singing in Greek, or, for that matter, any language other than Hebrew, had to rely largely on local, "sub-national" circuits of dissemination.

[106] The Turkish song on the EP was part of the shared Turkish Greek repertoire. It was recorded with Greek lyrics as "San theo s'agapo" in 1960 by Manolis Angelopoulos and Iota Lidia.

[107] Yossi Ḥuri, interview with the author.

Figure 1.6: ha-Parvarim on the cover of their EP *Istemem Babajim* (1967)

Figure 1.7: Yafa Yarkoni and Anthony Quinn on the cover of Yarkoni's promotional single.

Ha-Parvarim's Greek EP provides one of several of examples of mainstream Israeli artists recording songs from the core repertoire of the Greek scene in the original language.[108] These recordings represent the moment of closet dialogue between the Hebrew mainstream and the Greek music scene. Aliza Azikri, Aris San's partner on and off stage, embodied such "crossover" success with a 7-inch single in Greek for CBS, released the same year as her bestselling self-titled LP of Aris San's songs in Hebrew. While Azikri was extremely popular at the time, she became entirely identified with San and his music, which led to her marginalization in the field of Hebrew song.[109] This association with "Mizrahi" music would haunt her for the rest of her career.

At this point, I would like to return to the song "Yafo" from the movie *Kazblan* (1973), which I mentioned at the beginning of this chapter. As I discuses in the next chapter, Azikri's performs this song in the movie version of *Kazablan*, in the role of nightclub singer that is largely based on her own success as the house singer of Aris San's club Zorba around 1966. Her appearance in this movie led to her last (and already nostalgic) major success in Israel. ha-Parvarim escaped this fate by banishing Greek and Turkish song from their repertoire, and towing a more conservative line of SLI. By the 1970s such "crossover" attempts became largely

[108] In 1963, Yafa Yarkoni, one of Israel's most established and popular singers, recorded for the New York-based label Epic records, owned by CBS, an album titled *From the Garden of Allah: The Exotic Sounds of Greece and the Near East*. Yarkoni was featured on the album with the Greek Trio Bel Canto (who performed in Israel just a year before), and accompanied by the George Stratis Ensemble. Five of the twelve tracks on the album were "Greek songs" and the rest were Israeli, Turkish, Armenian, and "Franco-Arab." In 1965, shortly after its establishment, CBS Israel released four of the Greek songs from Yarkoni's American album on a 7-inch EP. The Israeli release was marketed with Hebrew and English script on the cover; "Yafa Yarkoni in Greek," read the Hebrew, and the English subtitle was retained: *The Exotic Sounds of Greece.* That same year Yarkoni also released a promotional EP of famous tunes from *Zorba the Greek,* together with Greek bouzouki player named Kostakis Hurtos and, the Millionaires Orchestra—an appropriately-named Italian band that was accompanied her performances at the Sheraton Hotel club, Tel-Aviv's most "posh" dancehall. The front cover art showed Yarkoni's image superimposed on that of Anthony Quinn in the role of Zorba. It is designed to look like the two are dancing the *syrtaki* together. With a foothold at the Sheraton, Greek music was now represented across the gamut of Tel-Aviv venues, from Jaffa's smoky dens to Northern Tel-Aviv's most luxurious tourist spots.

[109] For a detailed account of Azikri and her collaboration with San see Chapter 2.

unsustainable: Israeli artists singing in Greek, a practice that during the late 1960s was starting to emerge with wedding singers in Mizrahi circles, had become the staple of Mizrahi culture.

In this chapter, I have provided an overview of the Greek Wave, describing the major elements in the rise of Greek music to the status of a national trend. I discussed the roots of this trend in the cafés of Salonica immigrants, its transformation into transnational market for live Greek music performers, and its impact on mainstream Hebrew popular song. I have also explained the divergent strands within this trend, which served as an ambivalent field for negotiating the Oriental and Occidental with Israeli culture. The next two chapters offer more detailed accounts of the two key agents for popularizing Greek music in Israel: Aris San, and Greek cinema.

Chapter 2

"Greek-washed": Aris San and Greek Audiotopias in Israel in the Long 1960s

When Aris San (b. Aristides Saysanas, 1940-1992) arrived in Israel in 1957, he was just an anonymous Greek teenager with a guitar. When he left in 1969, he was the best-selling recording artist in the country. During his twelve years in Israel, he managed to become an icon of not only celebrity, European chic, and musical fashionablity, but also of wedding music, *amkha* (common people), lowbrow culture, and *Mizrahiyut*. San was a key agent in transporting Greek music, or at least the conglomerate of styles, sounds and stereotypes loosely held together by this title, from the smoky confines of a Jaffa immigrant café to Israel's most illustrious music venues, including Heichal ha-Tarbut ("The hall of culture", the residence of the Israeli Philharmonic Orchestra), municipal Independence Day celebrations, national television, and the homes of leading generals and statesmen.

In an era when the bouzouki was being established globally as the national instrument of Greece, San wielded an electric guitar as his solo instrument. Employing bouzouki techniques and melodic formulas, he created a unique, signature sound, evocative of both bouzouki and rock-guitar virtuosity. In this and other ways, his musical persona was able to traverse the dichotomous fiction of Western modernity and Oriental backwardness.

The goal of this chapter is to look at San's career as a focal point for negotiating cultural identifications. In the course of the chapter I will present San's career as a performer, recording artist, club manager, and public figure, by treating it as an extended series of mediations, selections, combinations, adaptations and exclusions, in short—of negotiations. These take place

in the specific Mediterranean-cosmopolitan space of identification that he helped to bring about and shape. The chapter is in two parts, in which I focus on San's performances and role as a club manager, his recorded repertoire, his social affiliations, and his public image.

In my evaluation of San's illustrious career, the importance of his status as an outsider in Israel cannot be overestimated. San was neither Jewish nor Israeli by birth. As such, he was in an almost unique position: he enjoyed the privilege of Israeli citizenship (due to the intervention of Moshe Dayan and perhaps even David Ben-Gurion), but exuded the aura of an "international" artist. For Israelis, this aura not only spelled quality and authenticity, but also exempted him, prima face, from the task of embodying national "Hebrew" culture. Yet, in the end, this "free pass" proved to be a double-edged sword, hampering his ability to rise to the status of a national artist. While San eventually had limited success in riding himself of the status of an outsider, his failure to receive the highest accolades in the Israeli cultural establishment became one of the central factors leading to his eventual relocation to New York in 1970.

A representative of no community in particular, San was a musician who acted on of his own personal ambition. Ideologically, he was beholden to no one and needed to represent no one. He was free to maximize the enjoyment of his diverse audiences and earn the rewards of fame, fortune, and fan adoration. If he was to succeed financially, artistically, and socially, however, San had to navigate the complex cultural and ideological terrain of several Israeli contexts. In his choices, he answered to a *practical logic* predicated on the tastes of several kinds of audiences and the identificatory constraints placed upon them: from the peculiar demands of local patrons of Greek music, to the those of powerful politicians, businessmen and socialites; from the musical sensibilities of the larger circles of urban *Mizrahi* working-class—who comprised the majority of his fans for most of his career—to the imperatives of the more mainstream national

culture, fans of which he so eagerly courted. In navigating these overlapping contexts, San often innovated, channeled, and hybridized styles and repertoires in the manner of *bricolage*. As such, San functions in my reading like a cultural sonar device that allows me to learn about his socio-historical surrounding by picking up and amplifying the echoes of its disparate elements. His career reflected a multitude of musical, cultural and social scenes that shaped his practices and were shaped by them.

First and foremost, San's appeal as a performing artist and entertainer lay in many respects in his ability to conjure experiential spaces transcending the ideological imperatives that haunted Israeli national culture as manifested in the state-controlled media, festivals, and other platforms. In order to understand those spaces—defined by these imperatives but also exterior to them, I appeal to Foucault's concept of *heterotopias,* which I first discussed in my introduction.[1] I would like to extend this concept by drawing on Josh Kun's specifically sonic version of this idea—*audiotopias*—that he describes as, "contact zones' that provide the lived and imagined terrain by which disparate cultures and geographies historically kept and mapped separately are allowed to interact with each other in relationships whose consequences for cultural identification are never predetermined."[2] In this chapter, I pursue the task of characterizing these audiotopias in two parts. The first deals with the physical spaces that San helped shape and popularize: the Mediterranean nightclubs. In the second, I consider the sonic elements of these audiotopias, by looking closely at San's repertoire as reflected in his recordings.

[1] Michel Foucault, "Of Other Spaces," trans. Jay Miskowiec, *Diacritics* 16, no. 1 (Spring 1986): 22–27.

[2] Josh Kun, *Audiotopia: Music, Race, and America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 259.

Part I: San as an Arbiter of Space: The Mediterranean Nightclub

One of the notable features of San's legacy was his contribution to the development and popularization of a specific model of Mediterranean nightclub, in which dinner and a show were provided for a moderate price. These were cosmopolitan spaces in which San's "Greek chic" served as the centerpiece for a type of variety show comprised of guest musicians from Greece or Turkey, a repertoire that included Latin American or Spanish music, and performances by young, local rock and roll groups. These shows also included belly dancing, and occasionally also novelty acts with impressionists, strippers, jugglers, or magicians.[3] In developing this format, San was following the lead of Arianna and other Jaffa venues, but significantly going beyond and away from them. In these venues, the notion of "Greek" music or culture became an essential if vague framework for a more diverse and more modern vernacular of Mediterranean cosmopolitanism.

San was able to mold this format by taking advantage of his star status and social capital as a bohemian icon: "Greek" came to be defined by whatever he was doing in these clubs. To cultivate the image of these venues, of which San was the partner/owner or "face," involved balancing between, on the one hand, glamour, respectability, and an international appeal, and, on the other, catering to the taste preferences of working-class, urban, Mizrahi audiences. With

[3] The evolution of the Mediterranean clubs in Israel echoes similar developments around the world. For instance, in the East Coast of the USA Ann Rasmussen has documented the rise of, ". . . a polyethnic [Middle Eastern] nightclub culture that established alternate canons of musical taste and style, as well as new contexts and reasons for music making. . . . By the mid-1960s and into the 1970s." See Ann Rasmussen, "'An Evening in the Orient': The Middle Eastern Nightclub in America," *Asian Music* 23, no. 2 (Spring-Summer, 1992): 65. While Rasmussen focuses on the involvement of Arab-Americans in the rise of these clubs, she notes that a similar Greek scene emerged in New York City near 8th Avenue and 20th street. A group of Israeli-ran venues in the Greenwich Village, such as the Olive Tree Café, the Café Feenjon, and El Avram, provided another center for this multi-ethnic Oriental club culture. The latter was where San first found employment when he moved to New York, before opening his own highly successful club Sirocco.

respect to both of these tasks, San carved a niche that was at once radically different from, and complementary to, the Hebrew national culture promoted by the state and its institutions.

San arrived in Israel in 1957 at age of 17. By this time he had already played for a short while as a guitarist in an Istanbul nightclub, and before that also accompanied the rising star of Athens's laiko music scene, Stelios Kazandzidis.[4] When he saw that he could find permanent employment at Arianna he returned briefly to Greece to settle his affairs, and then assumed a regular place in the Arianna house band. At first he worked alongside Daviko Pitchone, who had been leading the house orchestra since 1952. Eventually, however, he took over Daviko's position as bandleader. San's popularity contributed greatly to the success of Arianna. As one reporter wrote in late 1959: "San has turned Arianna from a normal café into a "temple" where many customers flock to "worship," in what has become a cult of Greek music "lunatics."[5] San continued in that capacity until late 1960.

Now in his twenties, the ever-ambitious San could see that the club was making a great deal of money from him being the main attraction. He decided that there was no reason why he should not profit more personally from his own success, given it was only a matter of time before somebody else would try to open a club to compete with Arianna for the Greek music market. If somebody was going to profit from the situation, then why not him? San teamed up in late 1960 with a restaurateur named Haim Levy. The partners opened a new club right around the corner from Arianna, named Khalif. Not surprisingly, Aris headlined in this venue, accompanied by Alex Weiss and his band.

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[4]San was both an admirer and a personal friend of Kazantzidis. Around 1964 Kazandzidis visited Aris in Israel with his wife and co-star Marinella. They did not give an official performance, but did take the stage with San on one occasion, possibly in a closed event celebrating San's birthday. During the 1970s, Kazandzidis spent a year in New York staying at San's house and frequenting his club almost nightly. Avi Farin, interview with the author, May 5, 2014.

[5] Arie Avneri "Lirot mit'ofefot ba-avir [Liras flying through the air]," *Yediot Ahronot*, November 11, 1959.

Figure 2.1: Aris San (sitting on the right) at Café Arianna, with Harry Saloussi (standing in front of the microphone) and Daviko Pitchone (Sitting on the left). Photo by Moshe Pridan, Government Press Office, August 8, 1958, National Photo Collection

Khalif was designed as a Mediterranean-style "entertainment restaurant." It was essentially a cabaret, combining dining, a variety show, and a dance orchestra. Local newspapers recognized it as a novel concept in the Israeli club scene at the time.[6] To be sure, many other venues had an "international" program. And there was no lack of Middle-Eastern style watering holes (*hamaras*) as well. Yet what seemed to have struck contemporary observers as novel was that an aura of sophisticated cosmopolitanism was combined with an unabashedly Oriental flavor. As the famous prodigy from Arianna, San was an essential component in the "Mediterraneaness"

[6] S. Kala'i, "Bama u-masakh [Stage and screen]," *Herut*, November 20, 1960.

of the Khalif, which also featured Hebrew, U.S., European (usually French or Spanish), and Latin American musicians.

Unfortunately, the partnership between San and Levy did not last long. After only six months Aris left to find temporary employment at the club ha-Mafte'ah (the key) in Tel-Aviv. However, San did not give up on his dream of self-employment. In 1962, he tried a new partnership with David Azoulay, opening a club called Maxim in Jaffa.

To San's good fortune, the popularity of all things Greek came to a peak in 1962. The pinnacle of the hype around Greece came with the visit of Greek film Star Aliki Voyoklaki and the famous Trio Bel Canto to Israel. The national fascination with Greece was probably one of the reasons San was featured in that year's Kol Yisrael's entertainment show *Bidur 62*' (Entertainment 1962), which was recorded in front of a live audience. He was later invited to play on this show several times over the next few years. He was also called to perform on its popular equivalent at Galey Tzahal (IDF Waves, the military radio station), called "Teivat Noah" (Noah's ark). His records began to be reviewed in the papers and sold well.

The year 1962 also marked the beginning of San's participation in mass public concerts. The first of these was "An Evening of Greek Song" held at the amphitheater of the National Park in Ramat Gam (a city in the Tel Aviv metropolitan area), where he appeared together with a visiting Greek group, the Thanos Quartet. The performance drew a massive audience. During the 1960s, the Ramat Gan municipality cooperated with several different producers in organizing these large outdoor concerts. They were particularly attractive to Mizrahi working-class families, due to the extremely low cost of admission and their child-friendly environment.[7]

[7] Yisha'yahu Avi'am, "Bidur le-mishpahot be-Heik ha-teva [Entertainment for families in the bosom of nature]," *Maariv*, November 1, 1963.

Drawn by the success of his records, and the acclaim of his appearances on entertainment shows broadcast on the radio, thousands flocked to San's new club, which could only hold 200 patrons at a time. Yet San was still not content sharing the profits, and began building a club in the Southern Jabalia neighborhood of Jaffa that would bear his name. Artists owning their own clubs was very common in Athens, and it was becoming a trend among Israeli entertainers. Haim Hefer and Dan Ben-Amotz opened the ha-Hamam, Ze'ev Berlinsky and his wife Zehava opened Omar Kayam in Jaffa, Ilka and Aviva Raveh opened ha-Mafte'ah, and members of the Theater Club Quartet opened Mo'adon ha-Revi'iya (the Quartet Club).[8]

The official grand opening of Mo'adon Aris San ("The Aris San Club"), housed in a converted apartment complex, was held at the end of 1962, But San was already entertaining there for months by that time. This was an open secret reported by the newspapers, but without any indication of the exact location of the club. San did not have a license to operate this club. That did not prevent the Mayor of Tel Aviv, Mordechai Namir, who had received assurances that the procedure to procure a license was underway, from attending the opening. In January 1963, Idit Neumann reported the following:

> It is dreadful how the Israeli audience goes crazy for Aris San, with his velvet voice, electric guitar, and eternal sunglasses. Over a month after opening his club at Giv'at Aliya in Jaffa, it is still impossible to enter without losing clothing items or essential body parts on the way in, and without a short round of hand-to-hand combat with the healthy-bodied bouncers. Aris's club, one of the biggest in the country (500 seats), is so crammed with entertainment-seeking humanity that at times patrons are forced to dance on stage, among the guitars and members of the orchestra.
>
> The Greek belly dancers, however, seem not to be disturbed by the crowdedness: they are trained in dancing on the tables, between heaven and earth. Aris San is simply embarrassed amidst his many admirers. He transitioned through several clubs before starting his own, and now he has grandiose plans for the summer: he will open up the

[8] Tamar Avidar "Pitriyot u-shman moadonei layala [Mushrooms called nightclubs]," *Maariv,* June 11, 1962.

> club's terrace, overlooking the sea, and will arrange seating for 2000 fans. In a years time Heichal HaTarbut will stand ashamed in its insignificance . . . "[9]

Neumann's prediction was never realized: by the summer of 1963 the Aris San club had been closed by order of the police for operating without a license, and San had returned to Arianna for a bit before wandering around for a while.

The two-thousand-seat vision eventually did come to pass. In summer 1965, San took over the Riviera club on the beach of the costal suburb of Bat Yam, which borders Jaffa to the south. This move occurred in the context of the exodus of upwardly mobile Mizrahim from Jaffa and the southern neighborhoods of Tel Aviv to the neighboring cities of Holon and Bat Yam during these years. But San's club was not meant just for the locals: he drew thousands from Tel Aviv as well. At a time when changes in taxation and rising inflation made it more difficult for nightclubs in Tel Aviv to survive, San's Friday night performances delivered a crippling blow to them. Due to the sheer size of San's club, which could seat 2000 people under the summer skies, he was able offer dinner, a drink, and a musical program in which he was the main attraction, for half the price charged at the smaller Tel Aviv nightclubs. The newspapers reported that up to a 1000 patrons were sometimes left outside on sold-out evenings.[10]

By fall 1965, summer was over and San needed to find a new roof to play under. In early 1966 he opened "Aris San's Zorba" in the nightclub district of Jaffa, with his old partner David Azoulay. Opening at the very moment when Arianna burned to the ground (although the police found no evidence of arson), Zorba became San's most memorable venue in Israel. Here he was able to bring together his bohemians friends with his working-class audience—"a diverse

[9] Idit Neumann, "Orot ha-bama [Stage lights]," *Yediot Ahronot*, January 23, 1963.

[10]Emanuel Bar Kadma "Mashber be-moadoney ha-layla [Crisis in the nightclubs]," *Yediot Ahronot*, June 29, 1965.

proletariat hailing from Jaffa to northern Tel-Aviv," as one newspaper article described it.[11] With new Hebrew and Greek songs, and with a new Israeli female singer—Aliza Azikri— singing his songs in Hebrew, San strove to be recognized not a as foreign attraction, but as a leading "Israeli" artist.

Figure 2.2: Aris and his Orchestra Performing at Independence Day celebrations in Tel Aviv. Photo by Moshe Pridan, Government Press Office, May 5, 1965, National Photo Collection

San among the Elites - The Dayan Wedding

San spent his nights on stage, and his days sitting in Tel Aviv's cafés, rubbing shoulders with the who's who of the city. This was not only a personal but also a business choice: those he came to see during the day later came to see him play at night. If they were the "right" people, everyone else followed their lead. Through the years, San accumulated notable friends in the arts and the

[11] Idit Neumann, "Sylvester: bli mitun [Sylvester: without recession]," *Yediot Ahronot*, December 29, 1966.

media, including Uri Porat and Eli Tavor, who helped him advance his career and his clubs. Known to be a "ladies' man," he was always a favorite among gossip columnists.

Since the late 1950s, members of both Tel Aviv's bohemian circles and the Israeli political and military elite had made Arianna their club of choice. This was to a large extent the doing of Mordechai "Mentesh" Tsarfati. Another Salonica Jew, "Mentesh" was a businessman and labor organizer who had risen to power on the docks of Jaffa, and who had become an all-powerful event producer and political promoter for Israel's ruling party, Mapai.[12] Mentesh was especially close with Moshe Dayan and his family, and he was the one to bring Dayan, Ariel Sharon, and other generals to see Aris at Arianna. All of these generals later frequented the club regularly, and also arranged for San to become an Israeli citizen, although there was no legal ground to grant him citizenship. San also entertained members of these circles frequently at private parties held weekly at Mentesh's home in Ramat Gan. Dayan's friendship with Aris San and his fondness for Greek music was common knowledge, and contributed significantly to San's reputation and social standing.

The event that epitomizes San's powerful connections and the symbolic capital they afforded him—and by extension, Greek music—was famously the double wedding of Moshe and Ruth Dayan's daughter Yael, and son Assi. The wedding took place in July 1967, just weeks after the war, in an open field behind the home of the Dayan family in the northern Tel Aviv neighborhood of Tzahala. It was organized entirely by Mentesh. The caterers were Salonica immigrants (some say the food came from Arianna itself), and Aris San and his band provided

[12] With regard to Mentesh, one of San's band members suggested me that he used to take a cut of San's earnings in return of making the right connections for him. Mentesh was rumored to act as a mediator between politicians and the criminal underworld, and even to be an organized crime boss himself. In 1977, *Ha'aretz* newspaper published a list of eleven individuals targeted by law enforcement and tax authorities as leaders of organized crime. Mentesh was at the top of the list. Although never indicted, he was heartbroken by this blow to his reputation. Doron Rosenblum, "ha-Hevre ha-tovim: hatzatza le-olam ha-pesha shel Israel [Goodfellas: a glimpse into the Israeli underworld]," *Ha'aretz*, December 5, 2008. http://www.haaretz.co.il/misc/1.1365179.

the music.[13] The Dayan wedding was a legendary event, rising above any other held in Israel during those years. It was attended by thousands, including the entire political and social elite of Israel, dignitaries and celebrities from around the world, and even the mayors of the recently occupied Palestinian cities of the West Bank. In many ways, it was the unofficial celebration of Israel's new status as a regional superpower, for which Moshe Dayan was the undisputed icon around the world. From my conversations with Yael and Ruth Dayan, it appears that family members were neither informed nor interested in the details of the practical matters pertaining to the wedding party, including the choice of music. All of this was left to Mentesh. However, they found San's performance an appropriate and welcomed—indeed almost obvious—choice. The public was not as equanimous, however: San's performance at the wedding became part of its mythology, and was mentioned by almost everyone with whom I spoke about Greek music in the 1960s.

Figure 2.3: Aris San, the Dayans, and friends at Café Arianna. Date and Photographer unknown.

[13] According to guitar and bouzouki player Avram Pengas, who played with San's band that night, San played a long set, that was followed by another band playing music of dancing. Avram Pengas, interview with the author, December 7, 2015.

The war itself was also an opportunity for San to involve himself in Israeli nationalism, and strengthen his claim for a place in the national arena. After the victory of 1967, which came as complete surprise following a deep recession, a wave of emigration, and weeks of fear of annihilation, Israelis were thrown into an intoxicated celebration of their power and glory. San joined other artists in performing for soldiers on the front lines. Musicians and records companies cashed in on the general state of euphoria. Naomi Shemer's "Jerusalem of Gold," written before the war for a song festival in Jerusalem, became an instantaneous mega-hit, and sold over 40,000 copies in its original performance by Shuli Natan. It was then recorded by dozens of other singers, and included in albums and compilations that were either celebrating the victory, or merely trying to get people to buy recordings. San, who was now also singing and recording in Hebrew, partook of this trend, composing and recording a patriotic anthem to lyrics by Yisrael Yizhaki. His song "Na'amin" (Let us believe), was included in a compilation album, *Songs of War and Victory*, released by CBS in 1967. It never became popular, perhaps because San composed the forceful text, clearly meant to be a march, to a slow rumba. However it did secure for him a place on several victory compilation albums, and a performance at Heichal ha-Tarbut on the two-year anniversary concert of the victory in 1969.[14]

During the War of Attrition that raged on the Suez Canal between 1967 and 1970, San and his band volunteered to perform for soldiers on the front lines, sometimes under fire. "It is good to die with Aris San," exclaimed one reservist who chauffeured San and his band from post to post, when asked why he volunteered to take the unnecessary risky mission.[15] Despite his lack of success as the author of nationalist Hebrew songs, San was making inroads in terms of his

[14] "Arvey yom huledet" [Birthday nights]," *Yediot Ahronot*, June 8, 1969.

[15] "Tov lamut im Aris San [Good to die with Aris San]," *Yediot Ahronot* July 16, 1969.

respectability. In September of 1968, San was featured artist of the month at Marvad ha-ksamim (the Magic Carpet), a high-end club housed in the Tel Aviv Sheraton hotel. San's engagement is reported as a "miniature revolution . . . introducing for the first time Greek and Hebrew songs beloved by 'amkha' ["the common people"] rather than the more exclusive audience that frequent this venue."[16]

This last quote captures the paradoxical image of San within Israeli culture, and the key to his success: his popularity with the Mizrahi working class owed much to his air of fashionablity and luxury. In turn, his success with the more respectable high-end circles of Israeli society was colored, and partially fueled, by his association with the Mizrahi "masses." His very presence implied a kind of "third space" in the ethnic and class imaginary that echoed the status of Greek culture at large as "third space" between West and East. The complexities involved in crafting this image are most apparent when considering the musical repertoire San was performing for his audience. I turn to that repertoire now.

Part II: The Arbiter of Sounds: Aris San's Recording Career

The lion's share of San's career is based on music he did not compose. This was of course normal for popular music of the pre-rock era, and is still the norm for the major genres of Middle-Eastern and Mediterranean pop in Israel, Greece, and elsewhere. As such, it is possible to view the cultural significance of San's music, as well as other musical practices inspired by his own, as what Ana Maria Ochoa calls *practices of sonic recontextualization*, which I have

[16] "Aris San le-Marvad ha-Ksamin [Aris San to play Magic Carpet]," *Yediot Ahronot*, September 8, 1968.

discussed in the introduction.[17] Practices of sonic recontextualization are relevant of course for original compositions as well, in that they mediate elements of style and convention from one context to another. This is also the case with the performance of music composed by somebody other than the performer, with every performance being also an act of interpretation. In what follows I focus on the diverse repertoire San performed and recorded in Israel, i.e., on *what* he was playing, but also, occasionally, on arrangement, instrumentation, and technique, in other words, on the *how* of these performances.

As relatively few recordings or other detailed accounts of the repertories San performed in the clubs survive, my analysis focuses on San's recorded repertoire. In the 1950s and early 1960s records by artist such as Aris San reflect a "pre-rock" approach to recorded music: rather than being a creative outlet for the artist as an author communicating new material to his audience, these records captured repertoire that was successful in live performances. Live performance was the everyday, primary activity of entertainers like San, and their prime source of income. Additionally, from the few live recordings we do have, and from comments made by two musicians that played with San, and with whom I conducted interviews—drummer Avi Farina md guitar/bouzouki player Avram Pengas— it appears that the recorded repertoire reflects to a large degree what San played in live performance, also in later periods.

[17] Ana Maria Ochoa-Gautier, "Sonic Transculturation, Epistemologies of Purification and the Aural Public Sphere in Latin America,*" Social Identities* 12, no. 6 (2006): 804.

The Recording Industry in Israel in the 1950s and 1960s

San started recording in Israel shortly after his arrival.[18] During his years in Israel he recorded with at least four different companies. The first company to record him was Makolit, a small Israeli company started by Shlomo (Salim) Feintuch around 1950. Makolit had a less conservative portfolio than the dominant company Hed Artzi, for which national stars such as Shoshanna Damari recorded. It was able to sign quickly performers trending in the live entertainment venues of Jaffa, and whose style was lighter and more international than the national Zionist mainstream. As such they, also recorded many of the Greek musicians that played at Arianna in the late 1950s.

During the early 1960s, San also recorded for Koliphone, another small Jaffa-based company that specialized in Oriental music of all varieties (including Egyptian, Moroccan, Iraqi, Persian, Indian, Yemenite, and Greek music). With their record shop situated at the heart of Jaffa's club district, no company was better suited to respond quickly to the developing musical tastes of those who flocked to the clubs at night. In 1961 and 1962, Koliphone, which also used the labels Ron-Ly and AZR, released two LPs and at least two EPs of San's music.

In 1961 Aris starts recording for Hed-Artzi (literally, "Echo of my Land"), Israel's largest and most prestigious company. However, San's "foreign" music was not released under the main Hed-Artzi label, which was reserved exclusively for Hebrew song, but rather on the company's "export" label, Arton. Other releases on this label during the early 1960s included mainly Yiddish songs, but also local artists performing foreign-language pop hits such as "Rock Around

[18] San's career as a recording artist begins already in Greece. in 1957, prior to his departure for Israel, San recorded a single with Voilà Gkika (Odeon GA 2577),. It included "Ohto htypaei to roloi" (Clock strikes eight), and "To parakanes Sokrati" (You overdid it, Socrates), for which he also wrote the music. Stelios Kazantzidis also recorded the latter.

the Clock." It appears that while the explicit purpose of this sub-label was to target Jews in the diaspora or Jewish tourists in Israel, it was also a "laundered" way of capitalizing on a significant domestic demand for "foreign music" without tainting the established national status of the brand.

An additional, and equally important reason for releasing music under the export label has to do with the shady reputation of local record manufacturers. Since the emergence of the local record industry and well into the 1960s, there was a decisive rift between local and imported records: the latter were seen as far superior in technical quality, and in the variety and novelty of their repertoire. Due to protective tariffs guarding the local industry (and in line with the austerity policies of the 1950s), there was also a sharp gap in prices: in 1964 the average price for a domestic record was about 13 IL (with 3 IL tax) and for an import about 25 IL, of which about 10 went to taxes. Finally, there was often a distinguishable gap in the quality of the covers, with quality photos and laminated cardboard being a marker of an imported product.[19] Local record companies stood to enjoy the best of both worlds by releasing products that appeared to be imported, but sold at the more affordable price range of a domestic record. For this reason, until the mid 1960s, San's records rarely had Hebrew type on them: Makolit used its own "export" label, Olympia, and Koliphone settled for a bilingual imprint of the artist's name, with the track list and all other information on the cover in Latin script.

A significant change in the local record industry occurred with the founding in the mid 1960s of a local subsidiary of CBS, which quickly won over a significant share of the local market, as I described in Chapter 1. San's moved to CBS in 1966 or 1967, is indicative both of his increasing mainstream status (and growing appetite for an international career), and of the

[19] Ruth Bondi, "Taklit im tavit [A record with a Label]," *Davar*, August 28, 1960.

liberalization of the local industry. It is also indicative of a certain erosion in the ideology of Hebrewism during the mid 1960s.

The Repertoire

An overview of San recorded repertoire between 1958 and 1972, which comprises fourteen LPs and roughly thirty EPs and singles, reveals that it represents the full range of styles of Greek music popular during these years, from older rebetiko songs and Turkish tsiftetelis, through novel hybrid styles that incorporate Bollywood and Latin influences, to the neo-folk, light compositions of academically-trained composers such as Mikis Theodorakis.[20] Another notable factor in these recordings is the relatively negligible place of the bouzouki, which is often substituted by guitar or accordion, or simply lost in the mix. The absence of bouzouki is evident on recordings by Aris San (who did play the bouzouki occasionally) and also of other artists. Contemporary Greek orchestras usually had two or more bouzoukis, which were sometimes electrified (i.e., amplified with a pickup), but this was rarely the case in Israel, where hardly any local musicians played bouzouki. A third major difference is the relative scarcity of odd-meter dance rhythms, and especially of the zeibekiko. Zeibekiko rhythms are evident in some of the biggest Greek hits of the 1950s. Although San and other Greek artists recorded some of the greatest zeibekiko hits in Israel, the overall number of zeibekika (plural) they recorded is significantly smaller the number recorded by leading Greek laiko artists during the same time. It

[20] In addition to Aris San's records that are mentioned in this chapter, the best snapshot of the soundscape of Greek music in the late 1960s is a compilation record released by Makolit in 1962, under the title *Greek Hit Parade* (Makolit 12026). The record features eight musical acts (Aris San, Artemis, Mary Kouzaku, Jeannete Greco and Foti Fotakis, Trio Greco, Trio Chris, Mario Scoutari, and Daviko Pitchone), recorded in Israel in the preceding five-year period. While half the recordings are by or includeAris San and had been previously released, it is unclear how many of the other recordings, if any, were released prior to the compiling of the LP. Some of the recordings were made in a studio, while others could have also been recorded at Arianna.

appears that the complex slow 9/4 rhythm, and the elaborate solo dance associated with it, were beyond the ability and interest of wider circles of Greek music lovers in Israel at the time, and were considered "heavy" material not suitable for broad and diverse audiences.

On the other hand, the *tsifteteli* rhythm was "overrepresented" (in comparison to its use in Greece). This rhythm was popular all around the Middle East, including in Arab music, and is associated with belly dancing. Also, as I noted in the previous chapter, because it is in even meter it is easily combined with Western rhythms, and is also reminiscent in its syncopated pattern of the habanera. The Janos-face semiotic potential of the tsifteteli is the key explanation for its frequency in San's repertoire. The other explanation, is that tsifteteli was also on the rise in Greece with performers of the Oriental variant of laiko, including Stelios Kazantzidis, Manolis Angelopoulos, and Panos Gavalas. Songs previously recorded by these three artists comprise a large portion San's discography, as I will discuss later in this chapter.

Finally, not all of San's recorded repertoire was Greek: he recorded many songs in Spanish, especially in his early years, in addition to the odd Italian or French song. There are also some traces of rock influence in his original songs. In the later half of the 1960s he composed and recorded songs to Hebrew lyrics commissioned from leading songwriters.

The Latin and the Greek: Marginal Occidentality at 33⅓ rpm

In the late 1950s, Latin music was fashionable in Israel, as it was around the world. Tango, popular in Palestine since the 1930s, was now being supplanted by mambos, boleros, calypso, and cha-cha-cha. Latin dance music was popular among immigrants from various urban communities in Central Europe, the Balkans, and North Africa.

As mentioned before, David Pitchone and his Ladino-speaking audience at Arianna also enjoyed performing the occasional song in Spanish. Quickly adapting to the local taste, San included such songs in his repertoire as well after joining Pitchone at Arianna. San's early adoption of these repertoires reflects not only audiences' tastes at Arianna, but also dance music trends among urban middle-class immigrants from central and southern Europe in Israel. Makolit's repertoire in the 1950s included many contemporary dance hits performed in the original Spanish by Giacomo Villa ("Lazarela") and Marcel Ricardo ("Asi es el mambo"),[21] or with new Hebrew lyrics, in the recordings of Lilith Nagar ("Limom limonero", "Shoshanna"), Fredi Dura ("Buba mi-Cuba" (Cuban doll), "Calypso be-Mizra" (Calypso in the kibbutz), "Maria mi-Nahariya" (Maria from Nahariya), and Tzemed ha-Pamonim (the Bell Duo) who recorded "ha-'Ole mi-trinidad" (The newcomer from Trinidad).[22] The emphasis on Latin music in Makolit is further evidence of the company's market position: it tried to gain a competitive edge in spite of its inferiority in size and institutional recognition in comparison to the national Hed-Artzi by targeting the local market for non-Hebrew song and light dance music.

Musically speaking, San was no stranger to Latin pop himself. Latin styles had been very popular in Greece in his youth, although under German and Italian occupation their reputation had waned, because they were favored by the occupying forces and thus seen as unpatriotic. After the war, Manolis Chiotis's compositions set a new standard for Greek popular music by hybridizing and modernizing bouzouki music through the integration of elements of *elafro* styles and contemporary Afro-Cuban, jazz, and Indian music. Chiotis's music gives a prime example of

[21] Giacomo Vila (born Jaco Cohen) and Marcel Ricardo (born Marcel Levy) were both Bulgarian Jews who immigrated to Israel in 1948. Ricardo also recorded duets in Hebrew with Yafa Yarkoni. All these recordings feature the Alex Weiss Band, which also accompanied San.

[22] Durra was a German immigrant. The other singers were all born in Tel Aviv and Jerusalem under the British Mandate of Palestine, but Nagar was raised in Egypt. I am indebted to the independent record collector, researcher, and blogger Dudi Patimer, whose work has uncovered many of these forgotten treasures of the Makolit catalogue.

how Latin music crossed over with the popular music of Greece. Groups in the format of a "trio romantico," with three male singers who played guitars, and specialized in performing various types of Latin music, were a regular feature on nightclub programs in Greece. Some, like the Spanish group Los Cinco Amigos, went on to perform in Israel, and even in San's own nightclub, after achieving success in Greece. Latin music can be partially included within a "Greek" or "Mediterranean" conceptual framework for several reasons: first, it was popular among Sephardic Jews from the Balkans; second, it had a significant impact on contemporary Greek popular music; and, finally, third, it held a position similar to "the Greek" on an imaginary dial of Western exoticism.

Latin and Greek musics are susceptible to the construction of a specific class of audiotopias that I propose to call *audiotopias of marginal Occidentality*. These are sonic cultural imaginaries that are sometimes perceived through the filters of tourism, film, records, and other forms of cultural display as *both exotic and Western at the same time*. The term *marginal Occidentality* has been previously used to refer to the self-imagination of some Latin American elites. As Gustavo Buntinx suggests, it is "a recurrent and compensatory fantasy of the global . . . : the anxious desire to belong to a model condition that is felt as one's own but unreachable at the same time."[23] While the case of Latin American elites is not entirely analogous to that of the fascination with Latin music in a Mediterranean context, I argue that a similar desire (to imagine oneself as marginal rather than excluded) is rendered audible through San's performance and recording.

[23] Gustavo Buntinx, "Communities of Sense/Communities of Sentiment: Globalization and the Museum Void in an Extreme Periphery," in *Museum Frictions: Public Cultures/Global Transformations*, ed. Ivan Karp et. al. (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006), 223.

The connection I wish to make between Greek and Latin cultures depends on their similar place in the global mid-twentieth century cultural imagination, rather than on their actual, very different, histories. People in the West have at times perceived the culture of modern Greece, as they have perceived those of Spain and of some Caribbean, Central, and South American countries or cities, as culturally-adjacent to the "West." This has led them to fetishize and commodify their hybrid musical styles in similar ways. Outside of the West, in other marginal contexts, such styles are seen (or rather heard) from afar, often through the mediation of a third cultural context such as U.S., Italian, or Mexican films and popular music. They are perceived in this context as cultural borderlands, rather than as full-fledged members of what has come to be called, since the end of the Cold War, the "global South."[24] This image of marginality (as opposed to exteriority) is amplified through the presence of significant diaspora communities from the Caribbean, Central, and South America in the U.S., and of Greeks (a tiny nation in comparison) worldwide. Based on these perceptions, I would like to define the aspiration to the condition of marginal Occidentality as the desire to imagine oneself on the inner rather than outer margins of the West. As opposed to the extensively studied phenomenon of exoticism in Western music, marginal Occidentality is not premised on the production of difference as such, but on the play between difference and identification from the perspective of those located outside the West. In other words, marginal Occidentality is about seeking ready-made models for being marginal to the West within globally-circulating cultural products. In the Greek reception of Latin music, and in the Israeli reception of both Latin and Greek music, I identify audiotopias

[24] For a discussion of the term and the literature on the global south, see Caroline Levander and Walter Mignolo, "Introduction: The Global South and World Dis/Order," in *The Global South*, special issues on "The Global South and World Dis/Order," eds. Caroline Levander and Walter Mignolo, 5, no. 1 (Spring 2011): 1-11.

of marginal Occidentality as forms of cosmopolitan engagement that are distinct from the reception of these musics in North America and Western Europe.

In Israel, marginal Occidentality and what I have previously defined as Mediterraneanism, are closely related. San's repertoire is at the center of this relation. In his second set of recordings for Makolit, released as an LP in 1958 or 1959, San is featured with his electric guitar accompanied by a band led by Hungarian-born arranger Alex Weiss (1929-2001).[25] On this LP, San and the orchestra perform ten songs that are designated in parentheses by their dance rhythm as genre title: bolero, cha cha cha, mambo, baión, rumba, tango and even one waltz. The young Aris San, probably fluent at the time in no language other that Greek, sings in Spanish the Cuban mambo standard "Yo tengo penita contigo" by Dominican-born composer Rafael Bullumba Landestoy. He attempts something that sounds like a mixture of Italian and Spanish, in "El Baión".[26] The lyrics of this last song also through in the mix the Brazilian origins of the baion, when San sings "guarda, guarda come si muove la Brasileira [look how she moves, the Brazilian girl]." In the song "Cha cha Cha fiesta", San's Spanish is also mixed with Italian, and sometimes makes little sense.

The remaining tracks on this LP are Greek songs inspired by Latin rhythms, or at least bearing some resemblance to them. "Zaira", an Orientalist song by Vasilis Tsitsanis, is tellingly described as "bolero oriental," and Kazantzidis's mega-hit from 1959, "Mandubala", inspired by Bollywood Star of that name, is described simply as a "bolero." Stripped of any bouzouki timbre, and delivered with San's soft falsetto voice (as opposed to the "Turkish" nasal tenor of Kazantzidis), these designations, while far from accurate, cannot be entirely contested.

[25] At the time Weiss's band was resident at the Club 55 in Jaffa, later renamed Sabra.

[26] Perhaps owing to Silvana Mangano's performance in the movie *Anna* from 1951, the baión became a trendy dance that inspired original compositions in Italy and circulated there in recordings and in sheet music.

These genre designations become more convincing thanks to the orchestra. For example, the clarinet player in Weiss's Orchestra had clearly studied carefully the opening taximi for "Zaira" from the definitive recordings of this songs by Marika Ninou. As if to mirror the difference between San's elafro vocal performance and the nasal rebetiko aesthetic dominating the Greek recordings, the clarinetist reproduces the solo note for note, but the Turkish-style vibrato evades him entirely.

The Greek songs on all of San's recordings for Makolit were also released as a three-volume compilation entitled *I Remember Greece* by the New York-based label Fiesta Records. The songs with lyrics in languages other than Greek, were omitted. Fiesta specialized in "world music," and targeted the Greek community in particular with the launch of its sub-label Grecophone. On June 6, 1960, the second volume of this trilogy received a three-star-rating from Billboard magazine (indicating "moderate sales potential"), and the following review:

> Three separate singers, namely Aris San, Mary Kozakou, and Harry Salussi, handle the vocal interpretations of these interesting arrangements. *Oddly enough, many of the scorings have a trace of the Latin about them, especially in the rhythm*. Only when the vocalists take over is the message unmistakably Greek. The recording was made in Europe and it has a quality sound for the folk enthusiasts.[27]

As I have hinted, this hybridization had something to do with the background and skills of the session musicians with whom San recorded. But it was also deliberate. San's significant excursions into Latin music is the late 1950s, and his effortless juxtaposition of Latin with contemporary Greek song, are indicative not only of the appeal of this music in Israel during those years, but also of his desire to present himself, both as a musician and as a Greek musicians, in a cosmopolitan light not confined to "Oriental" music, or to his audiences in Israel.

[27] "Reviews and Ratings of New Albums," *Billboard*, June 6, 1960.

Latin songs remain a constant component in San's repertoire throughout his career. In 1961 and 1962, Koliphone released two LPs and at least two EPs of San's music. One EP includes Latin songs performed with Los Cinco Amigos orchestra, who played at his club. These include "Esperansa", a cha cha cha hit by Antonio Machín (1903-1977), popularized in 1962 in a French version by Charles Aznavour. The two LPs recorded for Koliphone also include "light" Greek songs with a Latin tinge, such as the tango "Aspres Kordeles" and "Perasmenes Mou Agapes" (the latter by Manolis Chiotis), both from 1960.

One of San's biggest hits of the 1970s and by far his most memorable "Latin" song, is his rendition of the Mexican ballad "La Nave del Olvido", known in Israel as "Espera." San picked up this one during his first tour to Mexico in 1969, when he was performing at the Casino Royale. Performing there a night before was Spanish tenor Julio Iglesias, who sang his own rendition of the new local favorite, first popularized by José José. San continued to perform such songs for his New York audiences through the 1970s.

The "Shish Kebab" Effect: Oriental and Orientalist Songs Recontextulalized

Greek popular song has a long tradition of "self-orientalization." The term refers a situation in which Orientals engage in acts of self-representation or expression using Orientalist stereotypes. As we have seen in the prologue to this dissertation, self-orietnalization in modern Greek culture began in the nineteenth century, and became widespread in rebetiko songs of refugees from Asia Minor in the 1920s and 1930s. The practice was revived in the 1950s and early 1960s with the rise or the orientalized variant of laiko, spearheaded by Stelios Kazantzidis and Manolis Angelopoulos.

In the repertoire of these two singers, it is hard to distinguish between the Oriental and the Orientalist. They both recorded Turkish songs, either in the original language or with new Greek lyrics, as well as newly composed songs in the same styles. In and of itself, this is nothing but an earnest manifestation of the musical traditions of the communities form which they hailed (Kazantzidis was the son of refugees from Asia Minor, and Angelopoulos was of Romani origin). However, the new Greek lyrics often made each of them *thematize* their Oriental difference, making the Turkish (or, sometimes, Egyptian or Indian) style an exoticist trope. Songs with a tsifteteli rhythm become songs *about* the tsifteteli. This made them function—especially for a Greek audience that did not immediately identify with the musical style—as Orientalist texts. Here Kazantzidis and Angelopoulos continue a common practice in rebetiko songs of the 1930s, but also update and modernize this practice, by drawing on new Turkish, Arab, and Indian repertoires.

Aris recorded dozens of these songs such as ”Fatme,” “Mangla,” “Farinta,” “Grama pigrameni,” “Tetia koukla kai tsahpina,” and “Aneva sto trapezi mou.” These “Oriental” tracks were well-suited for Koliphone’s catalogue of (largely) Middle Eastern styles, and their large fan base of immigrants. They were also suitable for accompanying belly dancing, which was a common form of entertainment in Jaffa’s nightclubs. Oriental and Orientalist songs contributed significantly to the popularity of Aris San and the Mediterranean variety club entertainment he was spearheading, and were effective substitutes for Arab music. Because they were Greek, these songs did not violate the taboo on Arab music and language, even when they included, here and there, Arabic or Turkish phrases.

The majority of Orientalist songs—those written before the war as well as those written after it—are about or addressed to exoticized, "ethnicized" women.[28] Often, the lyrics specifically refer to women as "Indian," "gypsy," or sometimes "Arabic" or simply "dark." The topos of the exoticized Oriental woman often goes hand in hand with musical elements inspired by actual or imagined music of these cultures.

Perhaps the most extreme case of the conflation of the Orientalist and the Oriental is the song "Shish Kebab." This melody was originally composed in the USA by David Harris and George Stone, and peaked at number 10 on the Top 40 pop chart in 1957, in a version performed by Ralph Marterie and his orchestra.[29] "Shish Kebab" quickly made its way to Greece, where it was recorded with Greek lyrics by Yiota Lydia, and shortly afterwards in Israel by Mary Kozakou, accompanied by Aris San and Harry Saloussi. For the unsuspecting Israeli audience this was presented simply as Greek music. And in a way, it was.

More typical examples include the Kazantzidis songs "Madhubala," and "Ehis kormi Arapiko." The first song takes its title from the screen name of an Indian film actress (Mumtaz Jehan Dehlavi) and is one of many laiko songs from the late 1950s inspired by Bollywood. In some cases, Bollywood melodies were borrowed and adapted with Greek lyrics.[30] The song was a huge hit for Kazantzidis in Greece (and in Israel) and for San in Israel. In "Ehis kormi Arapiko" ("She has an Arabian/black body"), composed by Kazantzidis to lyrics by Christos Kolokotronis,

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[28] At least one song,"Xanthi Evreopoula" (Blond Jewish girl), recorded by Rita Abatzi in 1934, is about a Jewish girl, and addresses her in both Turkish and her native Spanish ("te quiero bien mucho, que no me manques"). As Nar understands it, the Turkish phrases, "contribute to the creation of a necessary atmosphere of exoticism encountered in other similar style rebetika songs that praise African, Spaniard, Arab, Gypsy, Turk, Armenian and [even] English Girls." See Albertos Nar, "Evraioi kai rempetika [Jews and rebetika]," in *Judeo-Espaniol: The Evolution of a Culture*, ed. Raphael Gatenio (Thessaloniki: Ets Haim Foundation, 1999), 159.

[29]David F. Lonergan, *Hit Records 1950-1975*, (Lanham, Md.: Scarecrow Press, 2005), 197.

[30] Helen Abadzi ,"Hindi Films of the 50s in Greece: the Latest Chapter of a Long Dialogue," *INDIKA Online*, accessed May 4, 2015, http://elinepa.org/2004/12/31/hindi-films-of-the-50s-in-greece-the-latest-chapter-of-a-long-dialogue/.

we see multiple stereotypes characteristic of Orientalist songs of the 1930s thrown together into the mix. The lyrics for this tsifteteli translate roughly as follows:

> You have an Arabian/negro body[31]
> and black eyes
> your mother who, gave birth to you
> was a gypsy
>
> Ya habibi ya leleli
> Dance for me the tsifteteli
>
> You're my flirty doll
> An Arabian/negro peasant [felaha]
> Ya habibi ya leleli
> Dance for me the tsifteteli
>
> Your beauty, mama
> Flairs up my desire
> Come, my sweet sultana
> And stay forever in my room

It is interesting to try and imagine the reception of this song in Israel. Although most of San's audience did not understand the Greek, they would have been able to identify the tsifteteli rhythm of the song and the Arab words in it, including "felaha" (the feminine form of the word "farmer"), and "ya habibi ya leli" (a common expression in Arab love songs meaning "oh, my love, oh my night."[32] It was a perfect "Greekwashed" substitute for Arabic music.

[31] *Arapiko* is an archaic word used in Greek in the past to denote Arabs or black people. It was often used in old rebetika songs.

[32] In 1945, Roza Eskenazi recorded a song called "Alexandriani felaha"(Alexandrian farmer). While this clearly reflects Kolokotronis's rehashing of Orientalist conventions in rebetika songs, it may also suggest that these and other words in Arabic had previously infiltrated the Greek language through the large Greek population that lived for centuries in the city of Alexandria.

San the Virtuoso: Voicing the Popular with "Boumpam"

It might seem that San's role in what I have termed "Greekwashing" was by and large a passive one. This impression would be false: San made very deliberate choices in developing his music style. The most obvious, of course, was his choice of the electric guitar. Yet there are many other examples of choices he made, the most intriguing being his greatest hit: "Boumpam."

The story of this song began in 1966, when San recorded for Koliphone a new single of the song "Bros gremos kai piso rema" (Between a rock and a hard place), which had been composed and recorded that same year in Greece by Panos Gavalas. To appeal to Israeli audiences, the title was changed to the more catchy "Boumpam," the opening phrase in the song's chorus. Gavalas's original version was characterized by three major elements: his vocal performance in the nasal Oriental style of Kazantzidis, a Latin feel to the rhythm (accentuated by the use of bongos), and the use of an electric organ in the solo sections—a new instrument on the contemporary Greek musical scene.

San's rendition of this song included two major changes. The first was a short, surf rock-inspired introduction. In Israel it is customarily accepted that this intro quoted the instrumental piece "Tequila" by the Champs, from 1958. Closer examinations suggests, however, that the riff itself is more similar to Ray Charles's song "What'd I say"from 1959. San also changed the rhythmic feel of the song in a way that brought it closer to the urban version of the Greek *syrto* (*politiko syrto*) and its Arab rhythmic parallel, the *malfouf*. The basic pattern of these rhythms is a simple division of 3-3-2.

Syrto/malfouf:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
X			X			X	

The instrumentation of the song was changed by San as well over time. In the original recording from 1966, a member of San's band played the organ parts from Gavalas's original on a more traditional accordion. Yet later on stage, and in a version recorded live in 1969, San plays these parts too on the guitar.

The most significant change in San's version was his guitar solo, which was as long as the entire original song. This solo was a virtuoso tour de force. It displayed San's full capability as an instrumentalist for the first time on a recording. His solos were the pinnacle of his live performances. But this was hardly the greatest innovation of this solo. It also included an instrumental quote from one of the most famous compositions of Arab music in modern times, "Inta Umri."

"Inta Umri" was an Egyptian song that became an instant classic in 1964 as performed by Egyptian singer Umm Kulthum. It was composed by Mohammed Abdel Wahab, with lyrics by Ahmad Sahafiq.[33] Umm Kulthum's many fans in Israel, Jews and non-Jews alike, could hear her music on Arab radio stations and in Arabic propaganda broadcasts on Israeli radio. The sale of her records was illegal because of an Israeli ban on the purchase of products from the surrounding enemy Arab states. Yet, more importantly, there was a strong nationalist taboo against listening to Arab music. This taboo was especially evident in the case of Umm Kulthum, who was strongly identified with Nasser's Egypt. As we now know, listening to Arabic music was a source of embarrassment for many immigrants from Arab countries, and especially their children. Years later, stories emerged about how they had to turn down the volume on their

[33] See Virginia Danielson, *The Voice of Egypt: Umm Kulthum, Arabic Song, and Egyptian Society in the Twentieth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 174.

parents' radio sets or close the windows so the neighbors wouldn't hear the music.[34] Nonetheless, this piece was famous enough to reach San's ears.

It seems clear that San wanted his audience to understand that he was quoting Umm Kulthum's masterpiece. As if to make sure that even the least musical of his listeners would pick up on the reference, San concluded his musical quote by exclaiming the words "Inta Umri" just as Umm Kulthum did in the climax of her rendition. The quotation also highlights commonalities between Greek music as embodied in San's style, and modern Arab song as embodied in Umm Kulthum's. Indeed, incorporating the quote was made possible by the fact that the two songs are in the same mode: the Greek mode (*dromos*) ousak of "Boumpam" corresponds to Arab maqam kurd of "Inta Umri" in terms of the order of intervals, with both corresponding to the Phrygian mode. In the intro to "Inta Umri," San introduces the melody on the electric guitar, highlighting a modern timbre San's and Umm Kulthum's orchestras share.[35]

Initially San's recorded single of "Boumpam" drew little attention and its sales where desultory. But everything changed when San performed this song on the recently established Israeli television network in 1968. To fully understand this development, it is important to step back and look at its immediate national and political context, with a particular eye to its impact on the media. As a result of the 1967 war, the number of Palestinian Arabs under Israeli rule jumped from about 300,000 to over a million. This necessitated, in the eyes of some, augmenting the channels through which the Israeli government could propagate its message to Arab populations, both inside and outside its borders. The government decided to fast-track the

[34] Famously this has been uncovered in Eli Eliyahu's poem "Under the face of the earth, where he calls the Arab radio stations the "stations of shame." See Eli Eliyahu, *Ani ve-lo mal'akh* [I and not an angle] (Tel Aviv: Helicon, 2008), 15.

[35] On Greek modes see footnote 45 in the introduction to this dissertation.

founding of a national broadcast channel, over which it had previously been delayed in the planning stages. The new network went live in May 1968.[36]

This is the context for San's performance in December of 1968 on the TV music special, *Yam sheli: shirei yam be-Akko* (My sea: songs of the sea in Acre).[37] This program was produced by Ralph Inbar and Antoine Salah and hosted in Hebrew and Arabic by Egyptian-Israeli singer Lilit Nagar. It included a range of Jewish and Arab performers with cross-linguistic appeal, such as the ha-Parvarim duo (singing a song in Turkish), Shoshanna Damari, Emil Hawa, Ziad Halil, and an Arab dance troop led by Subhi Shukri. The program itself had been crafted to be included in an international competition of TV programs in Monte Carlo, and as such was conceived as an advertisement of sorts of the new "pax Israeliana."[38] However, it ended up serving as San's big breakthrough.

In its first month of broadcasting, Israeli television naturally garnered great interest from the public and attracted an extraordinary number of viewers. Once "Boumpam" was showcased on this new medium, the demand for a recorded version exploded. The sluggish sales of the original single from 1966 now turned into a torrent: Over 100,000 copies were snapped up, and the record received gold certification on the Israeli market. In a piece titled "Pam of Gold," Rani Carmel of *Maariv* stated that this sales achievement rivaled that of the song "Jerusalem of Gold," the almost theological ode to Israel's victory in the Six Day War in 1967.[39]

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[36] See Tasha G. Oren, "The Belly Dancer Strategy: Israeli Educational Television and its Alternatives," *Media Culture Society* 25, no. 2 (March 2003): 167-186.

[37] The show was filmed on location in the city of Acre. In a way, Acre is the "Jaffa of the North." Much like Jaffa, Acre is an ancient city that was a Palestinian-Arab urban center before 1948, and became after the war a mixed city (with both Jewish and Arab inhabitants) with a Jewish majority.

[38] "Sof sof, bidur Shel mamash [Finally, real entertainment]," *Yediot Ahronot*, December 4, 1968.

[39] Rani Carmeli, "Boom Pam shel Zahav [Boom Pam of Gold]," *Maariv*, July 24, 1969.

Unfortunately for San, the public success of "Boumpam" had little financial reward. The only available recording for sale was that made under contract with Koliphone in 1966, in a commercial arrangement that barred San from receiving future royalties. It was not until 1970 that CBS released a compilation of San's greatest hits (*Sigal, Boumpam, Paploma*) including a live version of "Boumpam" recorded by Kol Israel. This later version entered the musical canon, and is still ubiquitous in Israel today.

While the fate of "Boumpam" provides for an engaging story, one must not lose sight of the dynamics that led to its creation. The multiple changes that were introduced into the song in terms of rhythm, instrumentation, and musical quotation reflect San and his "Greekwashing" at their best. This was a song tailored for an Israeli audience: it not only gave the audience what they wanted to hear, but also packaged it in manner that allowed them to enjoy it proudly. At the same time, it also highlighted San's abilities as guitar virtuoso, harnessing the energy of his live performances to a marketable recording. Before "Boumpam," Mizrahim had to listen to Umm Kulthum behind closed windows. Now, incorporated by San into a framework of Mediterranean cosmopolitanism, these sounds could be enjoyed openly.

The Move to Hebrew: Between San's Hasaposerviko and Seltzter's Hora

For close to a decade, San's career in Israel was impaired by the fact that he was not singing in Hebrew. This meant that his music was never played as part of the regular broadcasting slots on radio stations operated by the government, but rather only on special broadcasts devoted to live entertainment or to Oriental music. San wanted to break out of his confinement in the category of "entertainment"—the only space where the non-national or non-Hebrew was allowed—and enter the "sacred" realm of "Israeli music." To achieve this, he had to record original compositions

featuring Hebrew lyrics.[40] Here, he took a two-pronged approach of 1) composing songs for Israeli singers (usually female); and 2) recording his own songs with Hebrew lyrics. San started to sing in Hebrew in 1964, but his first Hebrew recordings under the CBS label were released in 1966. These included a duet single with singer Judy Alma, for whom he had written the music to Hebrew lyrics by Yehuda Ofen. That same year also saw the release of the soundtrack LP for the movie *Fortuna*, on which San sang two songs by Dov Seltzer and Amos Etinger.[41]

Yet San's quest for a place in Hebrew mainstream was only fully realized when he collaborated with Aliza Azikri (1961-2008). Born Lucy Malul in Morocco, Azikri grew up in an Israeli Kibbutz. A graduate of a military band, she was just beginning to establish herself as an actor and mainstream Hebrew singer when an accidental encounter with San lead to an offer to perform at his new club, Zorba. Azikri noted how singing in San's club transformed her performance style: from the "dry," conservative style demanded by performances with army bands or national song festivals, Azikri had shifted to the more outgoing and exuberant style of the Mediterranean cabaret.[42] The self-titled LP that San produced for her included mostly songs he composed with Hebrew lyrics. It was a huge success, as were the duo's performances at San's club. This was the first time that San's music received significant airplay on national radio outside the niche programing of "entertainment" or "Oriental" music.

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[40] San voiced his frustration with not being fully accepted as an Israeli singer in a television interview he gave Rivka Michaeli in the mid 1980s, on her show *Siba li-msiba* (Cause for celebration). An excerpt from this interview was included in Dalya Mevorakh's and Dani Dotan's documentary *The Aris San Mystery*. One of San's musical collaborators, saxophonist Albert Piamenta, also spoke in this film about Aris's frustration: "He was an Idol! But he had a problem: he wasn't accepted in the mainstream of Israeli radio, and that pained him very much. He wanted to be as well known as Hava Alberstein, Yehoram Gaon, or Arik Einstein." See *The Aris San Mystery*, documentary film directed by Dalya Mevorakh and Dani Dotan (2007), on YouTube.com, accessed on May 12, 2016, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Llm91uFYZN8.

[41] I discuss these songs in detail in Chapter 3.

[42] She made comments to this effect on the documentary *The Aris San Mystery*.

In his compositions and arrangements on this record, San achieves a balance by mixing Greek flavor with stylistic elements characteristic of contemporary Hebrew popular song. A particularly fascinating dialogue emerged between San's compositional style and that of Dov Seltzer. Seltzer, who was of Romanian descent, had made his fame in the 1950s as a composer of hora for the military band Lehakat ah-Nahal with such hits as "Hora he'ahzut," and "Ne'ahez be-khol mishlat." Some of his biggest hits around 1966 were also horas, including the famous "Kol ha-kavod" from the musical *Kazablan*. Around the time San started to compose songs with Hebrew lyrics, Seltzer had taken a stab at composing "Aris-San-style" music for *Fortuna* and for the stage musical *Kazablan.* San in turn, had adopted some of Seltzer's own stylistic features, including the hora. The latter is used for San's two biggest Hebrew hits, "Sigal" and "Tel Aviv," included in his LP *Aris* from 1968. In both these songs San exploited the rhythmic similarity between the hora—a Romanian dance adopted by Zionist pioneers as the their national folk dance—and the Greek hasaposerviko. In short, the Israeli Seltzer's horas became yet another ingredient in San's cosmopolitan mix.

Conclusion

We can now see what makes Aris San of singular importance in the evolution of popular music in Israel. As a Greek non-Jewish "outsider," San was neither viewed as a candidate for Zionist cultural homogenization, nor as a representative of a politically suspect Arab or Muslim culture. As such, San was in a unique position to open the way for enjoying a "secular" Mediterraneanism, relatively free of either religious or national ideology, while sidestepping a frontal clash with national culture.

In the final analysis, San's long sought after adoption by wider circles in Israel after 1967, is not indicative of his inclusion as much as it is an indication that Israelis embraced his exteriority. Due to this exteriority, a range of sounds changed their status in the Israeli soundscape. Before San, these sounds had been ideologically unaccounted for or unacceptable. Under the shelter of San's exteriority, they were recognized and symbolically integrated, without a fundamental realignment of cultural ideologies.

This dynamic brings us back to the idea of audiotopias. San's Greek audiotopia seems to follow the logic of Foucault's fifth principle of heterotopias:

> Heterotopias always presuppose a system of opening and closing that both isolates them and makes them penetrable. In general, the heterotopic site is not freely accessible like a public place. Either the entry is compulsory, as in the case of entering a barracks or a prison, or else the individual has to submit to rites and purifications. To get in one must have a certain permission and make certain gestures. Moreover, there are even heterotopias that are entirely consecrated to these activities of purification. . . . There are others, on the contrary, that seem to be pure and simple openings, but that generally hide curious exclusions. Everyone can enter into the heterotopic sites, but in fact that is only an illusion—we think we enter where we are, by the very fact that we enter, excluded.[43]

San's audiotopia included many signifying sounds otherwise excluded from the ideological core of Israeli music; this inclusion, however, was premised on the necessity of hearing them as part of a vague totality labeled "Greek."

In May 1969, San participated in a recording in front of a live audience of the radio show *From the Folklore of the East*, in Binyaney ha-Uma in Jerusalem.[44] The host of the show, Shai Ofir, introduced San to the stage with these words: "Even the most *vuzvuz* of *vuzvuzim* [pl.]

[43] Michel Foucault, "Of Other Spaces," 26.

[44] Binyaney ha-Uma [literally, "buildings of the nation"] is a hall in Jerusalem built by the Jewish Agency to house international Zionist conventions. Its construction was completed in 1963, and it hosted major national events, concerts, and festivals.

cannot remain indifferent to the sounds of syrtaki and the rhythms of the bouzouki: Aris San!"[45] San then took to the stage, and performed four of his hits. The songs he played, as with the rest of his repertoire at the time, incorporated neither bouzouki playing nor syrtaki rhythm.[46] San and his music thus occupied a liminal space between "the folklore of the East" and the cinematic imaginary of Greek music produced for touristic consumption, that I will describe in detail in the next chapter. This space could not be mapped onto the physical or symbolic terrain of Israeli culture; it was a mobile, virtual space that manifested wherever San's music was heard.

The importance and value of San's Greek exteriority can be best understood by comparing how it functioned at the height of his career to what happened to the Greek music scene in Israel after he departed for the USA. The void he left was filled during the 1970s by a new Greek star, Trifonas Nikolaidis, as well as a host of Israeli performers who adopted Greek or pseudo-Greek stage names such as Nikolas, Stalos, and Levitros. They performed live and made records in which they sang Greek lyrics that they did not understand. As I discuss in the final chapter of this dissertation, these performers enjoyed great success over the next decade, but were almost exclusively embedded in the Mizrahi subculture of clubs and wedding parties. If their audience was "duped" by this charade, it was only because they wanted to be: they wanted to continue their identification with music that was Oriental but modern, and that was somehow exterior to the cultural hierarchies of Israeli national culture. They needed the exteriority that characterized San's success to continue, so they could go on enjoying what it had to offer them.

[45] Vuzvuz (pl. vuzvuzim) is a derogative term for Ashkenazim or European Jews, that imitates the sound of Yiddish, and in particular the word "vas" ("what?") associated with seniors who are hard of hearing.

[46] As I will show in Chapter 3, the syrtaki dance, played on the bouzouki, was central to the kind of Greek music that came to represent Greek culture for the West in the 1960s: it is a free amalgamation of two different traditional dances, and was invented by composer Mikis Theodorakis for the famous instrumental piece he wrote for Michael Cacoyannis's film *Zorba the Greek* from 1964.

Chapter 3

Bouzouki Fictions: Greek Popular Music in the Cinema of Greece and Israel

In this chapter I explore the representation of Greek popular music in Israeli and Greek films between 1950-1973 (and to a lesser extent in plays later adapted into films). The six Greek and Israeli films that I consider in this chapter were all highly successful in Israel at the time, and the music in them played a key role in their success. As such, understanding them is crucial for understanding the reception of Greek music in Israel before 1980.

The 1960s was a significant decade for both the Greek and Israeli film industries. For the Greek industry, the 1960s were part of its Golden Age. During this period Greek cinema achieved unprecedented international recognition, especially with the international (often bi-lingual) productions of directors such as Jules Dassin and Michalis Cacoyannis. Simultaneously, the 60s saw a zenith in the volume of local commercial productions.[1]

The Israeli film industry was minuscule in comparison to the Greek; after a few modest productions in the 1950s, the 1960s marked its true beginning.[2] During this decade, Israeli films began to enjoy large-scale local box-office success, and also garnered international critical attention for the first time, notably with the film *Salah* (1964, dir. Ephraim Kishon), which was awarded the Golden Globe for the Best Foreign Film, and nominated for an Academy Award.

[1] According to Max T. Roman, the number of production rose from about 260 during the 1950s to an astounding 1000 films and more during the 1960s (in a country of roughly 8.5 million inhabitants). See Max T. Roman, "Introduction," in Dimitris Koliodimos, *The Greek Filmography, 1914 through 1996* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co., 1999), 15.

[2] Although the population and GDP of Greece were about double that of Israel, the number of films produced there in the 1960s was about ten times greater.

In both industries, a small group of leading composers scored major productions; these composers straddled the borders between concert music and popular song, and negotiated the task of articulating a national style within the constraints of a commercial operation.[3] In Greece this group included Manos Hatzidakis and Mikis Theodorakis, and in Israel Yohanan Zarai and Dov Seltzer.

My analysis will focus on the status of the bouzouki and the music associated with it—rebetiko and laiko—as markers of ethnicity, class, and nationality. In the 1950s and 60s, the status of both the instrument and the music associated with it shifted in Greek cinema between stereotypically representing the lower classes or a generalized "Greekness." A key factor in establishing these stereotypes was the success of Greek international films such as *Never on Sunday* and *Zorba the Greek*, which came to represent modern Greece and its culture globally. These films—scored respectively by Hatzidakis and Theodorakis—convey an image of Greece in part as an exotic stereotype for a Western audience. However, as my analysis will show, the deployment of bouzouki music takes a different form in each film.

In Israeli films, representations of Greek music and of the bouzouki were used to shape and negotiate a Mizrahi stereotype. Taking their cue from how Greek laiko and the bouzouki appear in Greek films as markers of class and ethnicity, Israeli films contributed to the development of a touristic stereotype of Greekness designed to be palatable in the West. In Israel, "Greek" music also played a part in shaping the Mizrahi stereotype, in a way that often stripped Mizrahim of their "Arabness" (though, as I will show, there are interesting exceptions to this rule). Through the use of Greek musical stereotypes, the Oriental difference of Mizrahim was

[3] In Greece, where close to 100 films were being made every year, there were naturally many composers scoring lesser films with little or no pretense of advancing the cinematic or musical arts.

"normalized" to fit the model of Israel as a Mediterranean nation, while still marking them as an internal, Oriental other.

Part I: The Bouzouki and "Bouzouki Music" in Greek Cinema: From Marker of Ethnicity and Class to Marker of Greekness-at-Large.

As we saw in the previous chapter, between 1930 and 1960, the status of the bouzouki shifted from symbolizing the denigrated outlaw music of the rebetes to being the staple instrument of Greek popular music (laiko). In laiko music, several overlapping trends pulled the connotations of the instrument in different directions: in Tsitsanis's music it is associated with the pain and joy of the Greek "everyman" expressed via the direct yet poetic idiom of a modern urban troubadour; in Chiotis's music it is used to demonstrate musical virtuosity. His bouzouki music integrates Latin and Jazz influences and gains a cosmopolitan aura. In Kazantzidis's music the instrument is a vehicle for the Oriental legacy of refugees from Asia Minor. Kazantzidis also introduces into bouzouki music new Turkish, Arab, and Indian influences.

In the post-war era, intellectuals and composers such as Manos Hatzidakis and Mikis Theodorakis also rehabilitated bouzouki and rebetiko music. Each of these composers in their own way turned to bouzouki music as the source of a new and authentically Greek national art. As Hatzidakis and Theodorakis were also the leading film composers of the 1950s and 60s, film music became an important arena for negotiating the place of the bouzouki and of laiko in both the national and the international imagination.

What I propose to call the *dialectics of the bouzouki* describes the negotiation of these conflicting roles of the bouzouki as a symbol. As in any national cinema, Greek films juggle a

number of different (at time, contradictory) tasks: entertaining local audiences, reflecting and critiquing social realities, advancing a unique national cinematic idiom, and engaging in dialogue with international styles, audiences, and critics. The ways in which the bouzouki enters Greek films are therefore determined—simultaneously or interchangeably—not only by its place in Greek popular music of the time, the agendas of concert-music composers, or the need to project outward a certain image of the Greek nation, but rather by a negotiation between all of these concerns.

"Unheard" (Greek) Melodies? Bouzouki Music as a Subcultural Sound

A central question that I wish to pose in the course of my investigation of bouzouki music in Greek cinema has to do with the *markedness* of bouzouki music. In musicology, Robert Hatten has effectively utilized the linguistic concept of markedness for which he provides the following definition:

> Markedness depends upon, or identifies, an asymmetry of opposition, in which the marked term is more narrowly conceived than the unmarked term. By more narrowly conceived, I mean that the marked term has a narrower range of meaning than the unmarked, and that it likely occurs less often in the style. … The member that is understood as the prototype is unmarked, when opposed to less typical members of a category. For American school children, the robin is an unmarked prototype of the concept/bird, whereas the ostrich or the kiwi are marked as atypical, in that neither bird flies. [4]

In the study of film music, the idea of markedness (though not the term itself) has been central to understanding two distinct functions of music, which often correspond to diagetic or non-diagetic contexts. In Claudia Gorbman pivotal study of music in Hollywood cinema, non-

[4] Robert S. Hatten, "Markedness and a Theory of Musical Expressive Meaning," *Contemporary Music Review* 16, no. 4 (1997): 55.

diagetic (background) music plays a key role in shaping the viewer's experience. However, in order for music to effectively play this role in cinematic signification, it must do so without drawing attention to itself and alerting the viewers to its presence or function.[5] According to Gorbman, a specific musical idiom—the symphonic music of late romanticism—has been privileged in fulfilling this role of "unheard" music. This idiom therefore possesses the status of an unmarked norm.

Mark Slobin has coined the term "superculture" to describe the transparent, taken-for-granted musical norm in a given society.[6] He too later extended the use of this term to the study of music in cinema:

> The music superculture has ideological underpinnings and strong control systems. In Europe, the state did much of this work traditionally, through centralized radio and television broadcasting (think BBC) and support for the arts, including their "national heritage" side. In the United States, the state is traditionally less interventionist, leaving much of the definition of the social order to commercial forces through popular culture. [One such] supercultural force is film music as it developed in the studio era, when a handful of enterprises controlled the production and the worldwide distribution, exhibition, and marketing of American film. This system spawned the integrated film score in the early 1930s, an extremely effective technical and aesthetic practice that spread to the rest of the world as, simply, the way that film music works.[7]

In a way that has been only slightly upset by the rise to prominence of postmodern filmmakers such as Quentin Tarantino, supercultural styles are those that can be applied as non-diegetic music, fulfilling the key roles of background music in the model of classical Hollywood: to "interpret" the narrative for the audience, and cue the correct emotions it should have toward the

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[5] Claudia Gorbman, *Unheard Melodies*: *Narrative Film Music* (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1987), 129.

[6] See Mark Slobin, *Subcultural Sounds: Micromusics of the West* (Middleton, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1987).

[7] Mark Slobin, "The Steiner Superculture," in *Global Soundtracks: Worlds of Film Music*, ed. Mark Slobin (Middleton, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 2008), 3.

characters. Film music as a supercultural force is used to tell us what "people," who are "like us," feel or experience. What happens, though, when the films show us "other" people: foreign cultures, or people of an ethnicity, race, or social position that is outside of the unmarked norm? In such cases, Slobin argues, film composers resort to an "ethnographic" mode or representation. They deploy music that is conspicuously outside of the idiom that film audiences are trained not to notice: music that is *marked* with specific connotations that the composer wants activated in regard to a particular character, place, or theme in the film. Often, these "other" or subcultural sounds appear as diagetic music, which is by definition not "invisible."

Of course, the status of any music as supercultural, subcultural, or intercultural (that domain in which the supercultural and subcultural interact or become hybridized), is in constant flux. As I proceed with analyzing the role of bouzouki music in Greek—and later also Israeli—cinema, it is this dynamism or flux that I will attempt to narrate. Here, too, what interests me most is the negotiation of imaginaries of ethnicity and class between national, transnational, and sub-national contexts. The measure of the status of bouzouki music in any individual film will be determined by the ways in which it appears to be marked. With whom is it associated? In which constructed binary oppositions does it participate? And finally, to what extent and under which circumstances may it appear as "unheard" background music?

Rebetiko, Laiko, and the Bouzouki on the Greek Screen

In Greek films of the early 1950s, bouzouki music is always diegetic. It consists of performances by laiko musicians, who perform their own music, much as they would in any other setting. The scoring practices of non-diegetic music, in contrast, largely follow Hollywood conventions, with

a favoring of music in a Western idiom for small orchestras or piano. Within these films as fictional works, bouzouki music appears as a trope, and usually functions as a marker of class.

Bouzouki music has been represented in Greek cinema since at least 1948, when the young bouzouki virtuoso Manolis Chiotis sang and played his instrument in the film *Lost Angels* (dir. Nikos Tsiforos).[8] As Vrasidas Karalis observes, the movie "depicted the unscrupulous domination of the social reality of the country by the nouveaux riches."[9] Yiannis Vellas (famous for the tango "Yirise") composed the music. The musical scenes juxtapose jazz played in the fancy club where the rich characters spend their time with bouzouki music played in the taverna where the "common thieves" sit. The song Chiotis and his band perform, which was also composed by him, betrays a distinct swing rhythm. This type of hybridity characterizes Chiotis's bouzouki music; his fame as the proverbial bouzouki virtuoso peaked around 1960. Ironically, Chiotis and his hybrid style went on to become an icon of *arhondorebetiko* ("mansion rebetiko"), a mixture of rebetiko with Latin, jazz, and other Western styles that was associated with the very same nouveaux riches depicted in *Lost Angels*. The stereotype of the bouzouki is more significant in this representation than the actual music being played.

[8] The music can be heard at about 00:10:20 in the film.

[9] Vrasidas Karalis, *A History of Greek Cinema* (New York: Continuum, 2012), 52.

Figure 3.1: Manolls Chiotis (center) in *Lost Angels* (1948)

The director of *Lost Angels,* Nikos Tsiforos, repeated this trick in order to represent disparity in class culture in his comedy *'Ela sto theio* (Come to uncle) from 1950 (which featured the duo Tolis and Litsa Charmas),[10] and in a scene featuring rebetiko composer Giorgos Mitsakis, bouzouki player Giorgos Zambetas, and singer Anna Chrisafi in his comedy *The Tower of Knights* (*O Pyrgos ton Ippoton* directed by Nikos Tsiforos and Giorgos Asimakopoulos) from 1952. Once again, the story is about "classless" people who come into money. In this case, the main character is a grocery store owner who capitalizes on the fortune of his former Jewish partner, who was murdered by the Germans. He moves to a high-rise populated by the old aristocracy, but always feels out of place. A memorable scene in the movie depicts a banquet in the high-rise; the guests are all in formal evening attire (the men are wearing tuxedos), and in the background a string quartet plays Haydn's String Quartet Op. 76, no. 3, upon which the German

[10] The duo Harmas sing in a taverna with a band that does not feature bouzoukis. They are twice compelled to perform rebetiko/laiko songs by characters who take to wild dancing and breaking plates, infringing on the respectable middle-class character of the venue. In one of these scenes the characters explicitly asks for "heavy" music.

national anthem is based.[11] The grocer, drunk on champagne, interrupts the string quartet accompanying the banquet, and introduces the rebetiko musicians to the stage with the following pun: "Ladies and gentlemen, they say that in life there are many kinds of people [*cosmos kai cosmakis*]; you've listened to the music of the high-society [*cosmos,* cosmopolitan people] now listen to the music of the simpletons [*cosmakis*]." A farcical scene ensues, in which the aristocrats attempt to dance the zeibekiko to the sound of the rebetiko musicians performing Mitsakis's song "Mia Yinaika Dyo Andres" (One woman, two men). The lyrics speak of a woman who keeps two men: one for money and one for love. Class antagonisms are thus firmly aligned with musical and dance styles, fashion, sexual morals, and gender roles.

The Nationalization of the Bouzouki: Hatzidakis as a Film Composer

The paradigm of representation prevalent in Tsiforos's comedies is challenged toward the middle of the decade in the work of Manos Hatzidakis, the most prolific Greek composer for the screen at that time. This shift in film music practices accompanies a larger process of maturation in Greek cinema. According to Karalis, "Between 1954 and 1956 . . . a hybrid form of realism was constructed . . . [that was nonetheless] based on accepted melodramatic conventions, which secured commercial success with script innovations for the production of "quality" films. 1954 to 1956 became the wonder years of film production."[12] During these breakthrough years, Hatzidakis composed extensively for the screen, and was involved in the most commercially successful and critically acclaimed productions.

[11] Like the circumstances under which the grocer became rich, this choice implies the nouveau riche's complicity with the German occupation.

[12] Vrasidas Karalis, *A History of Greek Cinema*, 63.

The story of Greek composers of art music "discovering" rebetiko music has been told many times over.[13] According to the canonical version of this story, rebetiko was rediscovered during a famous lecture Manos Hatzidakis gave on January 31, 1949 at the Art Theatre in Athens, Greece. In this lecture the 24-year-old aspiring composer of concert and theater music defended rebetiko music, which intellectuals on both ends of the political spectrum had rejected before then. Inviting two prominent rebetiko musicians—Vasilis Tsitsanis and Soteria Bellou—to perform five songs as musical examples for his talk, Hatzidakis literally ushered this music and its practitioners into the halls of Athenian intellectual and artistic life. Hatzidakis began his talk by discounting rebetiko's recent vogue in the field of commercial popular music, which he perceived as detrimental to the project of elevating it as an art form and as national music.[14] Second, he refuted the commonplace association of this music with the urban underclasses, stressing both its universal and pan-Hellenic qualities. He also defended its moral character by attributing to it a certain social and historical veracity.[15] Finally, Hatzidakis argued that rebetiko conformed with all the accepted cultural and musical legacies of the Greek nation: the demotic

[13] For more on intellectuals and bouzouki music see Dafni Tragaki, "Humanizing the Masses: Enlightened Intellectuals and the Music of the People," in *The Mediterranean in Music: Critical Perspectives, Common Concerns, Cultural Differences* eds. David Cooper and Kevin Dawe (London: Scarecrow Press, 2005), *49-75*.

[14] "Without a shadow of doubt the rebetiko has made its presence felt, positively or negatively, whether we admit it or not. At the same time it seems to have become fashionable, and naively so, thus incurring our not unwarranted reaction against it and our doubts about the future and the qualitative development of the genre. . . . Who can put a stop to this? Indeed, who will not recognize the need for such a spell of faddishness (let's call it that) until things settle down and return to normality? To my mind, we must wait for this to happen with rebetiko songs. It would be foolish to believe that the hasapiko can or ever will replace the tango. Folk rhythms have something more than it takes to provide for evenings of entertainment, regardless of the fact that this kind of music is standard among the lower classes. . . . Any attempt at routinizing rebetiko songs is not only frivolous but also doomed to fail. But doesn't this also apply to other music, the one we call serious? Can anyone possibly imagine that Beethoven's Sonata No. 110 can drive dull care away?" Manos Hatzidakis, "Interpretation and Status of Contemporary Greek Popular Song (Rebetiko), 31 January 1949," [the translator is uncredited], *Manos Hatzidakis Official Website*, accessed February 25, 2016, http://www.hadjidakis.gr/english/works/ergo3.asp?WorkID=208.

[15] "These people [moralistic critics of rebetiko] conveniently ignore our times, and also that folk songs reflect with unique brilliance not only class or category of people, but the influences of an entire era upon a nation, a nation and its local customs. . . . These are trying years; and folk songs, which are not written by fugueists and contrapuntists so as to be solely concerned with improvements and improvisations, express the truth and nothing but the truth." Ibid.

(traditional culture of sedentary rural Greek-speaking populations), the Byzantine (embodied in Greek-Orthodox church music, yet also an accepted "whitewashed" term for Ottoman influences), and the (ancient) Hellenic.[16] As such, he tugged at all the possible heartstrings of Greek national sentiment.

Putting theory to practice, Hatzidakis first drew on rebetiko music in his piano suites *To katarameno fidi* (The accursed serpent, 1950) and *Exi laiki zografies* (Six popular paintings, 1951).[17] In addition to composing in rhythms and modes inspired by rebetiko, Hatzidakis imitates bouzouki technique on the piano. This sort of deliberate and focused appropriation of rebetiko did not characterize most of Hatzidakis's music for the theatre and concert stage, however. He engaged most intensely with bouzouki music as a composer for the screen, and most often as a composer for highly commercial Greek cinematic productions.

In 1955 alone, Hatzidakis composed music for the top three Greek films by three different directors, for three different production companies. For *The Counterfeit Coin* (dir. Giorgos Tzavelas), considered one of the best Greek films of all time, he composed a score for chamber orchestra that seemed to be inspired by Hollywood practices of the time. The film consists of four separate stories, and Hatzidakis composed different themes for each, while

[16] "Now some of you might say: 'Fine. What you've said is true and we go along with it. But what is there to convince us that—as you imply—today's folkloric expression is connected with the demotic and Byzantine musical tradition and not something peculiar to a certain category of people?' . . . the argument that it expresses personal feelings is totally unfounded. So there remains for us to study its Greek nature . . . The zeibekiko is the purest of Modern Greek rhythms. As for the hasapikos, it has assumed a completely Greek idiosyncrasy. . . . Everything is given sparingly, unobtrusively, often with astonishing inner power. But isn't this the principal, the grandest element that characterizes the Greek race? Moreover, isn't the awesome grandeur of ancient tragedy and ancient monuments based on clarity, simplicity of form and, above all, an endless sostenuto that presupposes strength, conscience and substance? Nowadays, which of the fine arts in this country can boast of having preserved this elemental Hellenism— the only true inheritance we possess— so paramount for its composition? What music can claim today that it exists beyond that of Byzantium, beyond demotic songs, and at worst beyond the broken columns of the Parthenon and the Erechtheum, there where all these found themselves in their day and age? Rebetiko songs are genuinely Greek, uniquely Greek." Ibid.

[17] George Leotsakos and Renata Dalianoudi, "Hatzidakis, Manos," *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press), accessed December 14, 2015, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/12136.

giving a unified style to the entire film. Faint echoes of Mediterranean folk music are noticeable in the form of extended trills played on the mandolin and piano, and in a hasapiko-like rhythm, especially in the third section of the film.

In the comedy *Laterna, Poverty and Pride* (dir. Alekos Sakelarios) a variety of musical style are all "minced" through the uniform sonority produced by the "Laterna"—a portable barrel piano that was extremely popular in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Athens.[18] The narrative follows the adventures of two traveling laterna operators; during the course of the film the two are able to accommodate everybody they meet with music of their liking. In the countryside, they meet a group of "gypsy" schoolgirls, and accompany them as the sing and dance a tsifteteli ("Carnation behind your ear"). The lyrics, written by the director, stereotypically describe a "turko-gypsy" woman, in the manner typical of the lyrics of tsiftetelia by rebetiko composers. Later the laterna operators encounter another group of Roma celebrating in the fields to music played by an old violinist. As they approach, one of the men (played by Tolis Harmas) wants to dance the zeibekiko, and his wife (portrayed by Harmas's wife Litsa) tries to stop him. The Roma violinist says he doesn't know any zeibekika, and once again the laterna operators are able to accommodate the demand, providing the music for Harmas to sings to his wife "I am a man and I'll get my amusement." Towards the end of his life, Harmas claimed that he composed the two songs featured in this film, and that he had sold the rights to the producer, Philopimin Finos, who in turn transferred them to Hatzidakis.

In a way, this film reproduced the prior practice of introducing rebetiko as a trope in the form of marked diegetic music, taking it out of the taverna and the city to the countryside. Outside the urban context, the class trope is exchanged for an ethnic one: the tsifteteli is heard in

[18] For a history of the laterna in Greece, see the website of laterna builder and scholar Panos Ioannidis, accessed December 14, 2015, http://www.laterna.info/index_en.htm.

conjunction with the Roma people. It also represents a sort of middle ground in term of authorship: Hatzidakis is the purported composer of songs that are "in the style of" tsifteteli and zeibekiko, but they are still performed by a rebetiko singer —Tolis Harmas. On the other hand, the fact that all kinds of music in this film, regardless of ethnic and class connotation, is "minced" through the medium of the laterna, makes the laterna appear as a metaphor for the role of the "learned" composer Hatzidakis as the author of a synthesized national Greek music.

Stella (1955): Class Conflict and National Character

The third movie from 1955 for which Hatzidakis composed the music, *Stella* (dir. Michalis Cacoyannis), is of particular interest for the present investigation. This was the director's second feature, and was awarded a Golden Globe for best foreign feature, and nominated for a Palm d'Or. It was also the breakout film for one Greece's greatest film stars (and future Minister of Culture), Melina Mercuri.

Stella, the heroine, sings at the Paradiso, a small Athens taverna featuring bouzouki music. She is seeing Alekos, a young man from a wealthy family who wishes to marry her. But Stella values her carefree, passionate way of life, and refuses to be tied down. She meets Miltos, a local football star, and a temperamental man who is everything Alekos is not. He violently courts Stella, who finds in him a reflection of her own passion and contempt for bourgeois morals. She forsakes Alekos and pursues her relationship with Miltos. But Miltos too, she learns, wishes to tie her down, and make her his and his alone. Realizing that marriage will end her singing career and free lifestyle, she argues with Miltos who is not as cordial about his proposal as Alekos. He provides her with an ultimatum, and forces her to say "yes" or "no." Overpowered by his resolve, she "nods" yes, but never utters the word.

Miltos moves forward with the wedding arrangements, set for "Ohi Day" (October 28th, literally "Day of the No"), the national holiday celebrating General Metaxas's refusal of Mussolini's ultimatum, which led to the Greco-Italian war in 1940-1941. With this fatal date, the nation dramatically enters the film: Stella has uttered neither "yes" nor "no"; she nodded for "yes," but her true answer is embodied in the name of the holiday, which foretells the fate of the wedding. Stella's free, proud, and rebellious spirit thus becomes an allegory for the Greek nation, foretelling the tragic outcome of this refusal.[19] Deciding not to marry, she leaves Miltos waiting at the altar and goes dancing with another boy, celebrating her "day of the no." The unforgettable final scene brilliantly combines the culmination of classical tragedy with a cowboy movie "showdown" in the empty town square. The exhausted Miltos encounters Stella at dawn warning her to go away because he is going to kill her. She approaches instead, and Miltos stabs her to death.

Music is laced into the fabric of this rich and layered cinematic work on every possible level. Hatzidakis composed the music for this film in collaboration with Vasilis Tsitsanis. In the movie's title sequence, however, Hatzidakis is credited with composing the music, while Hatzidakis and Tsitsanis are credited together for "popular motives" and Tsitsanis alone for "direction of the popular (laiko) orchestra" and "solo performance." In the same way that their different capacities are carefully separated, the music in this film engages in symbolically-loaded juxtapositions of "high" and "low," as well as "Western" and "Eastern" (bouzouki) music.

In this movie, Hatzidakis utilizes the model of Dimitri Tiomkin's famous score for the western *High Noon* (1952), in which the theme song of the movie ("Do not Forsake Me, oh My

[19] The ploy of using a woman as an allegory for the nation is a time-honored practice in fiction in general, and in film in particular. A notable example is Roman Polanski's *Death and the Maiden* (1994) based on a play by Ariel Dorfman. As Laurie Langbauer shows, when a writer genders culture as feminine, he extricates himself from it and is thus able to act upon it. See Laurie Langbauer, "Cultural Studies and the Politics of the Everyday," *Diacritics* 22, no.1 (1992): 54-55.

Darling") is used as raw material for non-diagetic music throughout. In *Stella* a similar process occurs with the song "Agápi pou 'gines díkopo machaíri" (Love has become a double-edged sword), composed by Hatzidakis based on an older melody by Tsitsánis to lyrics by the director Cacoyannis. The music that accompanies the opening credits self-consciously brings together Tsitsanis playing bouzouki and Hatzidakis playing piano. He plays staccato bass notes reminiscent at once of a *marche funèbre* and of Bizet's famous habanera. On top of this, Tsitsanis plays short motifs on the bouzouki, giving the song a woeful, romantic tone.

In the first scene, we hear the type of bouzouki music played at the Paradiso when Anetta—Stella's opening act—performs the hasapiko song that is the club's "anthem." Later Stella also sings this song. We then see Stella trying to do what she defines as "something artistic": the house lights are turned off as she enters to the sound of a mambo playing from a record, and dances to the light of a makeshift follow spot. But the record jumps, and the meager effort to improvise a follow spot also fails. This scene establishes a dichotomy between bouzouki music as provincial and Western popular music as something "artistic" and "classy" that is beyond the reach of performers of bouzouki music.

Alekos tries to win Stella's love by buying her a piano. Delighted with the new addition to her act, she heads down to the port in Piraeus to fetch the neighborhood pianist Pepe.[20] She finds him performing at a wedding party, where together with clarinet, violin, and santuri players he accompanies a group of men dancing the *tsamiko*.[21] It is in this context of folk music that Stella meets Miltos. As such, we are provided with a social topography defined through different

[20] For a discussion of the role of the piano in *Stella*, see Robert Shannan Peckham and Pantelis Michelakis, "Paradise Lost, Paradise Regained: Cacoyannis's Stella," *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 18, no. 1 (May 2000): 67-77.

[21] Tsamiko is a traditional Greek folk dance in 3/4 time. It is danced by men, and carries associations with the nation and war.

musical styles and instruments: the expensive piano for Alekos; folk music with Oriental instruments for Miltos. Stella occupies the middleground of laiko music. As the protagonist of the film who functions, as I mentioned above, as an allegory of the nation, she embodies the desire to combine or synthesis the poles of East and West. This is important because outside of the fiction of the movie Manos Hatzidakis fulfills this task: he is the "hero" of national music who can balance these oppositions with the "sublation" (*Aufhebung*) of bouzouki music.

The role of music as a site in which the dialectics of class and cultural identity play out is underscored in at least two more scenes in the film. In the aftermath of her breakup from Alekos, Stella celebrates in the taverna to the sound of bouzouki music. The music heard on the soundtrack at this moment continues to play into the next scene, as the image cuts to show us a radio in the home of Alekos's family. We hear a women shouting disdainfully for "someone to turn of that horrible bouzoukia." A hand reaches for the radio, and the music stops. We then see the family quietly passing the time: one family member smokes a cigar, another reads the newspaper; the mother plays cards while the sister knits. Meanwhile, Alekos sits in seclusion in another part of the patio, pen and paper in hand:

> Mother: Alekaki, what are you writing?
> Alekos: A poem.
> Mother: A poem? what about?
> Alekos: Bourgeois boredom.

Thus, the scene self-consciously constructs the vitality of bouzouki music and the social forces associated with it in opposition to the entropy of a bourgeois existence that is not animated by the life-force of the Greek "folk."

After Stella has left Miltos at the altar she goes to the city where marching bands celebrate Ohi Day. She continues to a bar with a young man. Meanwhile, Miltos goes to the Paradiso and gets drunk. The penultimate scene consists of cross-cuts back and forth between Stella dancing to the increasingly fast-tempo "modern" Western music at the bar (tango, rumba, and mambo), and Miltos drinking and dancing his rage to the sounds of an accelerating instrumental bouzouki rendition of the title song of the Paradiso. The battle of will between the two lovers is thus cast in terms of a battle for the cultural orientation of the nation (it is, after all, a day of national celebration): torn between the "artisticness" of Western music and the "hot-blooded," "masculine" allegory of the death drive embodied in bouzouki music.

In conclusion, *Stella*'s score synthesizes bouzouki music with the more Western-oriented musical idioms represented by the piano and by dance rhythms such as the tango and the mambo, but bouzouki music remains marked nevertheless. As a trope, it remains anchored to one side in a set of corresponding binaries: East and West, working class and middle class, the authentic and the "artistic." By using Tiomkin's model of the monothematic score (one song out of which all the non-diagetic music in the film "grows"), Hatzidakis is able to transplant the bouzouki into the background while retaining its markedness: it has not yet become an "unheard melody."

Never on Sunday (1960): An East for the West

During the Cannes Festival in 1956, when *Stella* was in the competition, Mercouri and Hatzidakis met American expat director Jules Dassin. Four years later, in 1960, Dassin directed the comedy *Never on Sunday*, which collected many of the themes, tropes, and characters of Greek cinema at the time and made them accessible to international audiences. Cacoyannis's *Stella* was the key source of inspiration for this movie.

The plot is basically a Pygmalion story. Ilya, the prostitute-with-a-heart-of-gold who is the heroin of Dassin's film, is not only portrayed by the same actress who played Stella, but also, to a certain extent, the same character. She is a fiery and fiercely independent woman who refuses to settle for one man, or to have her freedom limited by a relationship. Just like Stella, Ilya has two men trying to change who she is: the brute and the gentlemen. The brute, Tonio, is also portrayed by the same actor who played his counterpart in *Stella*—Giorgos Foundas. Except for the comic aspects of his performance, Tonio is almost identical to Miltos.[22] Dassin himself, playing the lead male role of Homer Thrace, takes the place of Alekos as the sensitive bourgeois man. Homer is an armchair philosopher from Middletown, Connecticut, who comes to Greece to find why it has fallen from its ancient glory. He chooses Ilya as the symbol of the country's demise. The exchange of a bourgeois Greek for an American tourist shifts the topic from the internal class antagonisms of Greek society to the external issue of Greece's image as a backward, "Byzantine" Eastern country opposed to the cultured West, which truly carried the torch of Hellenic civilization. Concomitantly, the meaning of bouzouki music in the film shifts from it being a marker of class to it being a marker of Greece as a nation. More accurately, these classes and their culture become a metonym for the Greek people at large. In Dassin's film, only the Greece of prostitutes, fishermen, dockworkers, taverna waiters, and the bouzouki players of Piraeus is offered to viewers.

Hatzidakis, now confident in his ability to compose and conduct a bouzouki-centered score, commands an electrified bouzouki orchestra led by virtuoso soloist Giorgos Zambetas. Once more, he follows Tiomkin's model, which served him well in *Stella*. He uses one song,

[22] Dassin might have given Tonio the unnecessary twist of being half-Italian just to distinguish him from Cacoyannis's Miltos.

tailored for Mercouri, as the main theme of his score.[23] The script gave Hatzidakis even more opportunity to explore his craft than he had in *Stella*. The title theme, a hasapiko tune in C major played by a battery of bouzoukis, was designed to be simple and accessible enough for a Western ear. Even so, the bouzouki remains intentionally marked: although the film opens with a vibrant up-tempo version of the theme music to accompany images of the Piraeus port, Dassin superimposes those images with a close up of hands playing a bouzouki: the instrument, it appears, needs to be introduced to the audience, and as such any chance of "invisibility" is literally abolished.

Throughout the film, taverna scenes offer ample occasion to employ "heavier" zeibekiko rhythms and more challenging Oriental modes, such as sabah, considered the most woeful of all. In this exposition of Greek popular culture as the proverbial Greek culture, the bouzouki is highlighted not only in the score and visuals but also in the script: Trying to cure a sailor of his "performance anxiety," Ilya turns on the radio. The sound of a bouzouki emanates from it: "This is Greek. Bouzoukia music. *Men* like this music. You like?"[24]

In the taverna, home to many of the scenes in this film, the piano and bouzouki coexist naturally, as if declaring their successful marriage since the days of *Stella.*[25] But, as in *Stella*, the piano (along with classical music) still symbolizes Western enlightenment. As part of Homer's two-week Pygmalion experiment, he attempts to convert Ilya away from passion and sin, and show her the true happiness that a cultured, moral life of the mind can bring. He begins her

[23] On Tiomkin and the monothematic score, see Kathryn Kalinak, *How the West was Sung: Music in the Westerns of John Ford* (Berkeley: University of California, 2007), 163.

[24] In this Stella echoes what the taverna waiter had just told Homer. The waiter was angry with him for ordering coffee. He replied to Homer's question as to what everyone else was drinking with the words "Ouzo is what *men* drink."

[25] By 1960, most of the major clubs in Athens featuring bouzouki music probably had a piano. In smaller tavernas this was less common.

education by transforming the space in which she lives. He fills her room with books and furnishes it with a globe. The photos of FC Olympiakous—Piraeus's beloved soccer team—give way to a copy of a painting by Picasso, and the laterna is set aside in favor of a piano. This transformation takes place to the sounds of the prelude from J.S. Bach's Cello Suite No. 3 in C major (BWV 1009), emanating from the record player. When Ilya has a crisis of faith with her new way of life and misses the old one, she literally changes the tune: she replaces Bach's cello music with a Greek record, playing the music that will accompany her as she sings the title song: "The Children of Piraeus" (for which Hatzidakis also wrote the lyrics). Ilya pulls out the photo of the football players, and sings to them along with the record.

The last victim of Homer's doomed attempts at enlightening the people of Piraeus is Takis, leader of the bouzouki orchestra at the taverna. Homer had told him that if he can't read music, then he is not a real musician. The gang finally gets Takis, who had locked himself in the bathroom, to come out by suggesting to him that birds also can't read music. Through this comic moment, bouzouki music is once more associated with nature in the binary of nature versus culture, leaving "culture" as the exclusive domain of the West. In the final scene, Homer capitulates to the contemporary "natural" Greek way of life, adopting the local alcoholic beverage (ouzo) and the local music (bouzouki music). As he drinks and dances, Homer's final dialogue with Ilya once more ties the story back to that of *Stella*:

> Homer: I wanted to save you!
> Ilya: … why me?
> Homer: because you were the symbol!
> Tonio: Is not symbol. Is woman.

With these words, Dassin seems to undermine the representational ploy at the heart of his (and Cacoyannis's) film: the allegorical pairing of the liberated woman and of the Greek nation. He

similarity underlines the allegorical role of the music: for the most part, Greek bouzouki music doesn't appear in its own rights. Instead of appearing as Greek *music*, it appears as *Greek* music.

Zorba the Greek (1964): Enter Theodorakis

As his fervently ideological biographer George Gianaris likes to stress, while Hatzidakis was delivering his famous lecture on rebetiko in Athens, his friend and comrade from the resistance movement, Mikis Theodorakis, was interned and being tortured on the Island of Makronisos as punishment for participating in the communist revolt. On the island he fraternized with working-class rebetiko musicians, including Giorgos Bithikotsis.[26] After his release, Theodorakis completed his musical education, which was curtailed by the war. Shortly thereafter he departed for Paris, where he studied at the Conservatoire under Olivier Messiaen and others. He returned to Greece in 1960, launching an attack on the music establishment for failing to cultivate a true national style in music. One component of this campaign was the publication in 1960 of a "Manifesto of Music," which called for the reorganization of national music life on every level: composition, performing bodies, education, and research. Five other Greek composers co-signed the manifesto, including Iannis Xenakis. Famously Manos Hatzidakis did not sign. He later claimed that he thought the reactionary government would reject and perhaps punish such an initiative: "I believe that only individual attempts are fruitful and achieve anything definite," he said.[27]

[26] George Gianaris, *Mikis Theodorakis: Music and Social Change*, with an introduction by Mikis Theodorakis (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1972), 74.

[27] Quoted in Gianaris, *Mikis Theodorakis,* 116. The biography is littered with instances of thinly veiled condemnation and disparagement of Hatzidakis.

Theodorakis aimed to make music that was accessible to the Greek masses, and endowed with the depth and force of Modern Greek poetry. The first composition he wrote after his return to Athens did exactly that. *Epitaphios* was a song cycle based on poems by Yiannis Ritsos that Theodorakis composed and arranged in rebetiko style. His recording of this piece featured Manolis Chiotis playing bouzouki, and the distinct voice of his comrade Giorgos Bithikotsis, the plumber from Piraeus. Hatzidakis liked the piece and decided to record his own version with Nana Mouskouri, accompanied by a "normal" (western-style) orchestra without bouzouki. The two recordings were released at the same time on the same label, sparking what some have called a "small civil war" between the Theodorakis camp and the Hatzidakis camp.[28] According to Gail Holst:

> What Theodorakis proved [in *Epitaphios*] is that the raw material of rebetika was the most powerful musical force in Greece and that by harnessing its strength to the most advanced art form in Greek society, modern Greek poetry, you had the potential of creating something unique in Western music—popular music which would reach across all classes of society. Theodorakis's achievement in making Epitaphios both popular music on a broad level and an intellectually satisfying composition, which in no way degraded the text but rather made it accessible to Greeks who would never have read Ritsos, was remarkable.[29]

With this history in mind, we may briefly assess Theodorakis's score for *Zorba the Greek.* Cacoyannis's international film from 1964 brought immense international fame to both director and composer. Since its release it has been the definitive text through which the world perceives Greece, its culture, and its music.

[28] Gail Holst, *Theodorakis: Myth & Politics in Modern Greek Music* (Amsterdam: Hakert, 1980), 44.

[29] Ibid., 56.

Figure 3.2: Manolis Chiotis, Mikis Theodorakis, and Giorgos Bothikotsis (left to right) working on *Epitaphios*, photo by Takis Pananidis, 1960

Based on the novel by Nikos Kazantzakis from 1946, *Zorba the Greek* tells the story of the young Englishmen Basil, an aspiring author traveling to Crete to inspect an abandoned mine his father owns. On his way he meets the colorful Zorba, who convinces him to take him along as a foreman for the mine and as a translator. In Basil's father's old village, he finds himself attracted to a young widow. Meanwhile, Zorba takes up with the Madame Hortense, who runs their hotel. All their efforts in love and business end in catastrophe, but Zorba teaches Basil to enjoy life regardless of the circumstances.

Zorba the Greek epitomizes the tension between the Western and non-Western in Greek modern identity. Unlike Homer and Ilya, the protagonists of *Never on Sunday*, Zorba and Basil have, in theory, the same ethnicity (Basil is half-Greek) and gender. These similarities highlight their differences as cultural and "philosophical." There is a hint of class antagonism in their relationship—Basil being the capitalist and Zorba his worker—but the story masterfully

collapses this relation by (1) placing both of them as outsiders to the traditional lifestyle of rural Crete, and (2) by virtue of the utter dependency of Basil on the skill, knowledge, and drive of his employee Zorba. They end up becoming distilled, polarized embodiments of opposite ends of the spectrum of masculine subjectivity; as such they are allegorical figures both with respect to the Greek national character, and to the more universal question of balancing the Dionysian and Apollonian.

These basic elements of the story, along with other components of the plot, are in part responsible for what Theodorakis accomplishes with his score, which in some ways follows the precedents set by Hatzidakis in *Stella* and *in Never On Sunday*, and in other ways departs from them. In the soundtrack of *Zorba*, bouzouki music finally graduates into full-fledged non-diegetic music. *Zorba* begins in much the same way as *Never on Sunday* did: with an onslaught of bouzoukis accompanying the opening credits. However, the music stops abruptly when the first scene takes us to the Piraeus port: we are not given the satisfaction of associating bouzouki music with Piraeus and its working-class population, and of unleashing in our minds the stereotypes that tie them together. The bouzouki orchestra theme music remains associated with the movie title and the story at large: it is the *Zorba* theme.

We receive the next installment of this theme only after Basil and Zorba board a ship to Crete. Here it functions in a "Mickey-Mouse" way to emphasize the comic aspects of the scene, in which passengers are tossed hither and tither as the waves rock the ship. The music is used in this scene neither for its Greekness nor for its class associations, but rather for its dynamic, upbeat character. It would be possible to object to my interpretation here by claiming that the way in which music functions in the sequences I have just described is a result of editing decisions rather than compositional choices. The next occurrences of bouzoukis in the score,

however, exemplify an altogether new sublation of the instrument. About 34 minutes into the film, the villagers torment the widow by stealing her goat. Theodorakis composes chromatic, dissonant, terrifying sounds for the bouzouki, applying its unique timbre to music that suits the dynamic and affect of the scene. As such, we get non-diegetic music that operates according to the Hollywood principle of the "unheard." It utilizes the bouzouki as unmarked, by expanding its range of signification beyond denoting an ethnicity, class, or national stereotype.

But not all of this is Theodorakis's doing. If in *Zorba* there is no taverna and no bouzouki on screen, it has to do with the story as well. Crete, where the story is set, has its own musical tradition, in which the principal plucked string instrument is the laouto: a fretted lute that resembles the oud. Another important instrument in the music of the island is the lyra—a small, pear-shaped, bowed instrument. These instruments are featured in diegetic music played by the Cretan villagers. In addition, Zorba plays the santuri, another traditional instrument common throughout Asia and South-Eastern Europe. In addition to its diegetic role, when Zorba plays it, the santuri has a role equal to that of the bouzouki in the score.

Interestingly, other than the santuri and Cretan instruments, all diegetic music in the film is Western music. Madame Hortense's mansion functions as a kind of sonic bubble, characterized by European-style dance music (some of it with Greek lyrics) and Parisian accordion. Further, when Zorba travels to the city he goes not to a taverna but to a cabaret, where an orchestra made up of a piano, violin, and drum kit plays jazz and tango. The tables are turned when European musical stereotypes are deployed as diagetic music: this music then become "marked" in the environment of non-diegetic mood music that Theodorakis composes for the bouzouki and santuri.

Of course the famous final scene, in which Zorba teaches Basil to dance, is the most iconic. Here we receive the full, tripartite version of the Zorba theme. It begins with a slow hasapiko, taken from the intro to Theodorakis's song "Stróse to stróma sou gia dýo" (Lay down your mattress for two, lyrics by Kabanalis) from 1963. It then accelerates to a faster hasaposerviko. It finally accelerates again, in a third and final part, in which we hear a *haniotikos syrtos*: a syrto dance in the style of the town of Chania, Crete, where the film was shot. According to Magda Zografou and Mimina Pateraki, it was Cretan laouto player Giorgos Koutsourelis—a musician whose style has been described as "moving on the borderline between traditional and popular Turk-Cretan compositions"—who brought the syrto into the mix.[30] Zografou and Petraki also state that the combination of the slow-to-fast hasapiko and Koutsourelis's Cretan syrto dance was the director's choice. Cacoyannis, they argue, "… maintained that the hasapiko was more accessible for a foreign actor, and more impressive in on-screen presentation than the zeibekiko. . . . the solo zeibekiko dance (of the rebetika genre), heavily loaded with cultural connotations, would be technically prohibitive [for Quinn to perform]."[31] Zeibekiko was prohibitive not only because of its elaborate dance moves, but also because of its odd meter (in both senses of the word) of 9/4, which can sound foreign to a Western ear. We have already seen the dynamic of "purifying" Greek music of its more exotic rhythms in the process of its transculturation, in the repertoire popularized by Aris San in Israel:[32] In *Zorba* zeibekiko was, in a sense "too Greek" for the task.

[30] Magda Zografou and Mimina Pateraki, "The 'Invisible' Dimension of Zorba's Dance," *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 39 (2007): 126.

[31] Ibid., 123-124

[32] See Chapter 2 of this dissertation, 146-7.

In contrast to how I have described the rest of the score, then, this synthetic dance is "invented" and Western-orientated."[33] After the film's release, this invention was named "syrtaki." As Torp documents, the success of the film, and the unprecedented global success of this tune in particular, led to hundreds of recorded versions of it, and to a cottage industry of Greek dance manuals, all featuring the non-existent tradition of syrtaki.[34] The Greek music and film industry, as well as state authorities in charge of this crucial sector of the Greek economy, were quick to provide tourists and fans at home and overseas with the music and dance they came to seek.[35] The movie thus spawned an entire commercial subgenre of Greek popular music called *touristika*.[36]

Just like the "happy end" final scene in which it appears, Zorba's dance seems to run counter to what Theodorakis accomplished with the rest of the score. It is telling that two important biographies of Theodorakis, by Gail Holst and George Gianaris, almost completely avoid any discussion of *Zorba,* and generally marginalize Theodorakis's output as a composer for film.[37]

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[33] Zografou and Pateraki, "The 'Invisible' Dimension of Zorba's Dance,": 118.

[34] Lisbet Torp, "Zorbas Dance: The Story of a Dance Illusion and its Touristic Value," *Ethnografika* 8 (1992): 207-210.

[35] For example, it took the Greek International film start Aliki Vougiouklaki and her co-star and partner Dimitris Papamichail just one year to produce two musical films featuring the syrtaki: Ē *kóri mou* ē *Sosialístria* (My Daughter, the Socialist, 1966, dir. Alekos Sakelarios) and *Diplopenni*és (released internationally under the title *Dance the Syrtaki*, 1966, dir. Alekos Sakelarios). Regarding the latter see Lydia Papadimitriou, "Stars of the 1960s Greek Musical: Rena Vlahopoulou and Aliki Vougiouklaki," in *Stellar Encounters: Stardom in Popular European Cinema,* ed. Tytti Stoila (New Barnet: John Libbey, 2009), 207-216.

[36] Risto Pekka Pennanen, "The Development of Chordal Harmony in Greek Rebetika and Laika Music, 1930s to 1960s," *British Journal of Ethnomusicology* 6 get number (1997): 79-82.

[37] Holst and Giannaris both collaborated closely with Theodorakis in writing their biographies.

Greek Cinema in Israel

The popularity of Greek cinema in Israel during the 1960s is part of the *Greek wave* I have explored in previous chapters. Both *Never on Sunday* and *Zorba* were extremely popular in Israel, as they were around the world. As I will now show, not only did these films contribute to the popularity of Greek music and Greek venues among the general public, they also provided models for local filmmakers such as Menahem Golan, who were interested in producing film that would appeal to both Mizrahi and Ashkenazi audiences.

Any account of the influence of Greek cinema in Israel would be deeply lacking without at least some consideration of musical films starring Aliki Vougiouklaki, however. Vougiouklaki rose to stardom in Greece after receiving the prize for best actress in a lead role at the inaugural Thessaloniki Film Festival in 1960. Aliki (as she was known to Israeli audiences) was a Brigitte Bardot-like, blonde "sex symbol," and her films post-1960 where largely conceived as vehicles for her as a star. However, in Israel her comedies and melodramas were equally appealing to Israeli audiences because of their music. Three of her films were released in Israel in 1961: *To ksilo vgike ap' ton Paradiso (*The cane is heaven sent 1959, dir. Alekos Sakelarios released internationally as *Maiden's Cheek*), *Madelena* (1960, dir. Dinos Demopoulos) and *Aliki sto nautico* (Aliki Joins the navy, 1960, dir. Alekos Sakelarios).[38] All three films enjoyed tremendous box office success, especially because of music composed by Manos Hatzidakis. The scores he composed for these films balance Hollywood orchestral idioms with Greek folk music, Latin music (cha-cha-cha), and even rock and roll influences. These styles fit the light-hearted, youth-oriented narratives of these films; Israeli audiences accepted this musical mix simply as being "Greek." Much like the music of Aris San, these films provided a model of "Greek music"

[38] In Israel *To ksilo vgike ap' ton Paradiso* was released under the Hebrew title *ha-Gil ha-yafe beyoter* (The most beautiful age).

that was very much European, cosmopolitan, and bourgeois. These films do not feature any marked bouzouki music.[39]

At the end of January 1962, Aliki visited Israel to promote her film *Ē Líza kai ē álli* (Liza and the other woman, 1961, dir. Dinos Dimopoulos).[40] She was greeted by thousands of fans at the airport and at the two theaters in Tel Aviv and Haifa where the film premiered. Police protection was required everywhere she went. Aris San managed to get involved on several occasions in Aliki's tour, bolstering his status as the local representative of the Greece that Aliki represented for Israelis.[41]

In the Israeli reception of Aliki and her musical films, discourses of ethnicity once more play a leading role. While her fans threatened to tear Aliki apart with their admiration, the critics did much the same to her films. Ze'ev Rav-Nof, *Davar*'s authoritative film critic, was furious that the audience fell for Aliki's films while remaining indifferent to Ingmar Bergman. To hammer home his point about the inferiority of her kind of cinema, he resorted to racist rhetoric that today sounds extreme: "The average Greek actor combines Slavic pathos with Levantine excess, and the outcome is a primitive performance".[42] While Rav-Nof (himself of Polish descent) felt the need to assert his superiority by targeting the "Orientality" of Greek actors and filmmakers, Oriental spectators saw it the other way around. Mizrahi activist Shula Keshet recalls that the first time movie she ever saw as a child in the 1960s, for example, was a Turkish film: "They also showed Greek films at that movie theater, but I felt less of a connection to those. The Greek

[39] Aliki had established herself as a star in Greece and Israel prior to the moment of the "*Zorb*a effect" in the mid to late 1960s. However, She was quick to jump on the bandwagon after *Zorba* and the syrtaki became a success (see footnote 33 above).

[40] This film was released in Israel as *Ani ve-ha-gvarim* (Me and the men)

[41] "ha-Ma'aritsim nisu leharim et Aliki im ha-mekhonit" [Fans tried to lift Aliki in the air with her car], *Maariv*, February 1, 1962.

[42] Ze'ev Rav Nof, "Ali, ki at na'aretzet al milionim [Rise, for you are adored by millions]," *Davar*, February 2, 1962.

films featured blonde women, and I felt more of a connection to the black women in the Turkish films."[43] From Keshet's perspective, Greek film stars such as Aliki and Melina Mercouri were clearly not Oriental enough.

Part II: Greek Music and the Making of Mizrahiyut in Israeli Cinema

I will now turn to examining the issues that have concerned me regarding Greek cinema—namely, class and ethnic relations, the negotiation of a national identity between East and West, and the representation of bouzouki music—in three Israeli films (and one stage musical) of the 1960s and 70s. As all three films represent—to varying degrees—a local genre called *Burekas*, which I characterized here as an "ideal type."[44] Burekas films take their names from a Sephardic pastry that has become a staple of Israeli cuisine. As a general rule these films focus on class and ethnic relations in the state of Israel. Their point of departure for such films is usually an accentuated binary or "gap" between Ashkenazim and Mizrahim/Sephardim. The Mizrahim are generally presented as warm, poor, lazy, primitive, ignorant, religious, and patriarchal. The Ashkenazim are cold, well off, progressive, and educated. The hero of the film is usually a poor Mizrahi man who comes into conflict with state institutions or with Ashkenazi characters. Additionally there is always a budding romance between a Mizrahi young man and an Ashkenazi

[43] Quoted in David Shalit, *Makrinim koakh: batei ha-kolnoa, ha-sratim ve-ha-Israelim* [Projecting power: the cinema houses, the movies and the Israelis] (Tel Aviv: Resling, 2006), 251-253. Keshet is a visual artist, curator, and prominent Mizrahi-feminist activist. When she says "black" she means dark-skinned women, and not women of African descent.

[44] The following definition is distilled from the third chapter of Ella Shohat, *Israeli Cinema: East/West and the Politics of Representation* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1989), 115-178. For another illuminating discussion of the definition and borders of the genre, see Rami Kimchi, *Shtetl be-Eretz Israel: sirtey burekas u-mekoroteyhem be-sifrut Yiddish klasit* [Stetl in the Land of Israel: bourekas films and their origins in classical Yiddish literature] (Tel Aviv: Resling, 2012), 59-70.

young woman, or vice versa. In the end, the plot conflict is resolved through intermarriage between Ashkenazim and Mizrahim. Bourekas films are usually comedies, but may also be melodramas. The film *Sallah* from 1964 is generally regarded as the prototype for this genre. By the late 1960s the conventions of the genre were established, and from that point until the decline of the genre in the late early 1980s most Burekas were formulaic, unassuming works with low production values. According to prominent directors of Bourekas films such as Boaz Davidson, they generally targeted the lowest common denominator of Israeli audiences, in an attempt to appeal to the largest possible viewership. In her classic book *Israeli Cinema: East/West and the Politics of Representation,* Ella Shohat discusses all three of the films that I will address here as exemplars of Bourekas films. However, of the three only the last—Salomonico—exemplifies the "ideal type." While Fortuna and Kazablan share many of the characteristics of Bourekas films, they also diverge from the ideal type in several ways.

Fortuna (1966): Dov Seltzer, Aris San, and the "Top Down" Fabrication of a Generic Mizrahi Identity

For those of you who have read this dissertation to this point, it should come as no surprise that the first Israeli film to include Greek-style music featured Aris San and his band. This film was *Fortuna*, directed by one of Israel's pioneering filmmakers, Menahem Golan.

Golan launched his filmmaking career in 1963 with *Eldorado*: a crime drama set in Jaffa, and based on a play by Yigal Mossinson. In 1964, the movie *Salah*, which Golan produced, had enormous success. Two films directed by Golan were also released that year: the teenage adventure movie *Shmona be-ikvot ehad* (Eight in the footsteps of one), and the comedy *Dalia ve-hamahim* (Dalia and the sailors). The latter was modeled on the Greek film *Aliki sto nautico* (Aliki Joins the navy) starring Aliki Vougiouklaki. Golan attempted to appeal to Israeli and

international audiences alike by casting the French Veronique Vendell in a risqué performance. A host of Israeli stage entertainers, including members of the veteran Theater Club Quartet and the budding Gesher Hayarkon Trio (who performed newly composed songs by Naomi Shemer), joined her.

His next film, *Fortuna* (released internationally as *The Girl from the Dead Sea* and *Seduced in Sodom*) was a melodrama based on a story by Menahem Talmi. Nissim Bouzaglo and his sons are Algerian immigrants living in the desert town of Dimona. They work at the mineral quarry in Sodom, half way between Dimona and the Dead Sea. Bouzaglo also has a teenage daughter, Fortuna, who is betrothed to "Monsieur Simon"—an Algerian relative living in France. The men of the family long for the arrival of this relative, purported to be rich and successful, to extract them from the their hard life in Dimona. The middle brother Haim, a violent, free-willed character, even dreams of leaving Israel with his Algerian relative to become a taxi driver in Paris. Meanwhile Fortuna falls in love with Pierre, a young French engineer who works at the quarry as an advisor. When Monsieur Simon finally arrives, everybody discovers he is old and unattractive, not rich, and living in Marseille instead of Paris. Bouzaglo still forces Fortuna to marry him. The youngest brother Yossi, who served in the Israeli military and adopted the "modern" values of Israel, is the only one who tries to revolt against the patriarchic ways violently enforced by his father and his brother Haim; he urges his sister to run away. During her engagement party, held at the quarry, Fortuna and Pierre try to escape together. A drunk Haim chases them in his car, finally catching up with them at dawn. He steers his car into Pierre's Jeep. Fortuna is caught in the middle and ends up dead.

In *Fortuna*, Golan attempts to combine the social commentary and the attractiveness to Mizrahi audiences of *Salah*, with the international flare and pop star appeal of *Dalia and the*

Sailors. *Fortuna*'s cast included the famed French actor Pierre Brasseur (as Bouzaglo), the Italian Saro Urzi (who had just won the Best Actor Award in Cannes) as Monsieur Simon, and the young French-American Mike Marshall as Pierre. For popular music appeal Golan recruited two of Israel's top entertainment acts: ha-Gashash ha-Hiver Trio and Aris San. San was then at the height of his popularity in Israel. His career had previously benefited from two "waves" of Greek international films, which widened Israel interest in Greek music: the Aliki/Melina Mercouri wave (1960-1963) and *Zorba the Greek* (1964). It made sense therefore to cast him in a movie: the Israeli audience liked Aris San's Greek music, and they liked movies with Greek music in them.

San and his band are featured In *Fortuna* as the musicians playing at the wedding party. However, San does not perform music from his own repertoire in the movie; rather, he performs songs composed for the film by Dov Seltzer to lyrics by Amos Etinger.[45] The first song of the wedding sequence, "Al tihyi ko'eset" (Don't be mad), is an upbeat *hora*, a style for which Seltzer had become famous in the 1950s. In what seems like an attempt to express Mizrahi culture, the simple lyrics of the chorus make a clumsy, confused use of Arabic phrases that have infiltrated Modern Hebrew:

La lai, la lai, la lai lai
La lai lai lai lai - *yala*![come-on!]
La lai, la lai, la lai lai
La lai lai lai - *Insha'Allah*! [God willing!]
La lai, Baruch *Ya Allah* [Blessed Oh God]
Bo'u ve'nashir! [Let us sing!][46]

[45] Except for one rock and roll song written and composed by Israel rock musician Danny Soshan.

[46] The Italicized words are of Arabic origin.

The next song, “Bo’u lishtot” (Come and drink) is in a triple dance meter, and its lyrics are of the same vein.

The two songs appear as a kind of middle ground between what Seltzer and Etinger imagine to be a Mizrahi celebration, and the kind of Hebrew songs that Seltzer had been composing for a decade. The result is a vaguely Oriental, dumbed-down version of contemporary Hebrew popular song. In and of themselves, these songs bare little resemblance to the Greek music for which San was famous. They certainly do not resemble any kind of Algerian or Maghrebi wedding music. Yet carried by San’s voice (to hear him sing in Hebrew was still a novelty at this time) and enveloped in his signature guitar sound, they stood a chance of satisfying an audience that was familiar with San’s reputation as a performer of joyful music beloved by Mizrahim and worthy of a wedding party.

In the third song in the wedding scene, bouzouki music makes its entrance. Avram, the oldest brother, addresses San, saying “Aris, give us the Arak dance!” San then cues the Hagashash trio, who take to the stage. The band starts to play a slow, minor-mode hasapiko, and we hear a short bouzouki *taximi* (although on screen San is playing an electric guitar). The Bouzaglo men (save the “good” brother Yossef), are all very drunk, and dance à la Zorba, but the music and lyrics are neither joyful nor festive, and foretell the tragedy that is about to come:

The scorching heat of the rising sun
The storms will come
for the route that descends to Sodom
there in the Dimona road

Don’t go there
Where the South sizzles
Don’t go there
For it burns, burns
there in Sodom

Moonlight did no shine
in the sky if you come Sodom
the taste of salt burns every lip there
as it burns the Dimona road

Don't go there...

It is clear that San was included in the movie neither merely because of his popular appeal, nor because of the successful precedents of Greek musical films. He was cast for the wedding scene because of his association (and that of Greek music in general) with the Oriental, with Mizrahi immigrants in particular, and also with wedding music. However, it is significant here that San is not playing music from his repertoire, but rather music composed for the film by Seltzer, including the *hasapiko* "Kvish Dimona" (Dimona road). While San was beloved by many Mizrahim and did occasionally entertain wedding parties (whether in clubs, wedding halls, or at private homes), it is extremely unlikely that he would have done so in Dimona, or that he would be the musician of choice for a wedding where both bride and groom are Maghrebi immigrants.[47] More conservative Zionist critics, however, such as Ze'ev Rav Nof, commended Seltzer for creating a "vibrant background atmosphere, avoiding noisy vulgarity."[48]

The musical state of affairs in this fictional wedding is therefore a perfect illustration of the "top-down" fabrication of a generic Mizrahi identity, according to parameters set by the Ashkenazi/veteran Israeli group. This choice of the filmmaker, even taking into account the

[47] Unlike Moroccan Jews, the Jews of Algeria enjoyed French citizenship and few chose to immigrate to Israel until the very final stages of the Algerian Civil War. Even then, when a mass exodus of Jews ensued, peaking in 1962, 85% of the departing Jews went to France, and only 15% to Israel. Dimona was founded in 1955, and initially populated by Moroccan immigrants. Bouzaglo is also a predominantly Moroccan name. It is unclear why Golan decided that the family would be Algerian or if he was true in this regard to the story by Menahem Talmi, on which the script was based. Perhaps he wanted to avoid a conflict with the large population of Moroccan Jews, who suffered from a bad reputation as it was.

[48] "Ze'ev Rav Nof, "Bona Fortuna: mazal tov!," *Davar*, September 14, 1966.

commercial considerations involved, demonstrates a disregard for the specific social realities that set apart center from periphery (San was largely active in the Tel-Aviv/Jaffa metropolitan area), one "Oriental" Jewish diaspora from the other, or recent from less-recent immigrants. The paradigm here is not "ethnographic." The director is not interested in discovering, studying, harnessing, or even modernizing the culture of Mizrahi immigrants, but rather with inventing it.

Furthermore, the division of labor between Seltzer and San in *Fortuna* echoes in some ways that between Hatzidakis and his rebetiko collaborators (Harmas in *Laterna* and Tsitsanis in *Stella*). As in these movies, Seltzer is credited for the music, while the musicians, who bring vernacular and "Oriental" credibility, as well as unique sound and performance qualities, seem to occupy a subservient role. As in the Greek movies of the 1950s, San and his music appear when the representation of certain social, ethnic, and class groups is needed.

But this is by no means where the similarities end. *Fortuna* appears to draw on Greek films familiar to Israeli audiences in several ways. The melodramatic plot of both *Fortuna* and *Stella* (the choice of title being another telling point of similarity), obeys genre conventions that go well beyond the two films: a great love affair confronts opposition from families, community, and traditional morality, and it all leads to the inevitable *Liebestod*.[49] The similarities are even greater than that: both movies end with frantic dancing to "Greek music", in an all-night festivity that unleashes a drunk, violent man driven (or driving, in the case of *Fortuna*) to kill a woman he loves in order to restore a "backwards" patriarchal order and mend his own male ego. In this, Fortuna's brother Haim is the counterpart of Stella's lover Miltos; Pierre also fits in this analogy as the counterpart of Alekos—the "civilized", modern man.[50] In both films, melodramatic

[49] See also Ella Sohat's discussion of the plot. Ella Shohat, *Israeli Cinema*, 155.

[50] Pierre shares this role in some ways with Yossef, the young and reformed/modernized/"Israelicized" Bouzaglo brother who befriends him. It is also noteworthy that in spite of these similarities in male roles, the female

conventions are recruited for the production of allegorical commentary on the binaries of modernity/tradition, Oriental/Occidental, and bourgeois/working-class within the context of the Israeli or Greek nation.

In addition to drawing on *Stella*, Golan also draws on Cacoyannis's more recent (and more famous) *Zorba*. The Frenchmen Pierre is the counterpart of the English Basil in Cacoyannis' *Zorba:* he finds himself in the unfamiliar territory of a peripheral Middle Eastern community, whose way of life he cannot comprehend. Both men become involved with a local woman whose romantic and sexual availability, it turns out, is subject to the traditional law of the "Oriental" community (the Cretan widow in *Zorba* and the betrothed Fortuna). In so doing, they both effectively condemn that woman to death.[51] These similarities, were not lost on Israeli film critics, who reproached Golan for producing a derivative film.[52]

Finally, it is also worth noting that several of the characters in the film appear to be stylized after famous Hebrew songs. Fortuna herself seems to have stepped out of the song "Simona mi-Dimona" (1957, lyrics by Haim Shalmoni):

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characters are nothing like each other, and are almost opposites in appearance, age, status, maturity, intelligence, and initiative etc.: Stella is a full-fledged heroine, while Fortuna is a victim, who is almost completely devoid of agency and portrayed as an object of desire, control, or care/compassion for everyone around her.

[51] The similarities are not confined to plot and character design, but also extend to the specific application of neorealist visual language. This is especially true regarding the visual representation of the people of Dimona. Although some of the neorealist elements (a dwarf, a huge obese boy) evoke Italian neorealism directly, I believe it is Cacoyannis's grotesque depiction of the Cretan villagers that inspired Golan's styling of Dimona/Sodom as a kind of "ethnic hell." In particular, the scenes where the people of the town laugh at the Bouzaglos when they see how old Monsieur Simon is, and when those same extras are shot close-up during the engagement party, seem to derive their aesthetic from the "anthropological" camerawork in *Zorba*.

[52] *Ma'ariv*'s film critic Azaria Rappaport also noticed that the film contained "groundless" associations with *Zorba* and other current films. "Ilia Kazan and Michael Cacoyannis are worthy of being a source of inspiration, but an eclectic pastiche of their styles is no substitute for an independent point of view", he added. See Azaria Rapaport, "Nisu'in… nosakh Dimona [Marriage… Dimona style]," *Maariv* September 12, 1966. *Yediot*'s critic Shlomo Shamgar was even less subtle: "Menahemidis Golanopoulos, the most productive foreign director East of Crete, presents us—to the whirling sounds of the Jewish convert Aris San from the "Zorba" club— with the first Greek tragedy in the cycle of his cinematic work." Shlomo Shamgar, "Fortuna me-Atuna [Fortuna of Athens]," *Yediot Ahronot*, September 22, 1966.

Everyday on the high plane of Dimona
here she sadly stands
the tanned Simona
and awaits her partner

Love burns inside of me
for the dark and fair one
And my heart will sing to her
to Simona from Dimona

The Sodom valley of sulfur and salt
My eye awaits the tan one
Lot is already gone
Only my heart is still drunk

The comic character of the local politician, mister Leon, the "respectable," bourgeois Sephardi, likewise appears to reference a song titled "Adon Leon" (Mister Leon) with lyrics by Haim Hefer. According to Hefer's lyrics, mister Leon is "the highest clerk of the Discount Bank."[53]

By reading *Fortuna* through the prism of Greek music as embodied by Aris San, I have uncovered a historic dialogue between this film (and Golan's previous one) and contemporary Greek cinema. This dialogue occurs on several levels that go well beyond the music. It reveals that in the realm of cinema, as we have also seen in previous chapters, Greek culture provided a model for how Israeli culture could decipher, shape, and present itself as both modern and authentic, and process its social tensions through global forms. Cacoyannis provided the world with a passionate image of Greece through an unapologetic and unflattering neo-realist depiction of the people of rural Crete. Golan was trying to do the same for the geographic and social periphery of Israel. As we have seen, the result was problematic in many ways. Still, the very attempt reveals the great value that the Israeli veteran population placed on Greek cultural

[53] A bank founded by two notable Salonica families. It indeed employed many Sephardim, and especially Salonica immigrants.

products: they were a model for Mediterraneanism, i.e., the production of national symbolism through the sublimation of the internal "Orient" in cosmopolitan aesthetic forms.

Kazablan (1966/1973): Seltzer Composes More Greek Music

Around the same time that he was working on the music for *Fortuna*, Seltzer composed music for a stage musical based on the play *Kazablan*. There are many points of resemblance between these two works. *Kazablan* exemplifies the continued efforts of Israeli cultural elites to produce works that would appeal to a Mizrahi audiences, and use Greek music as a marker of Orientality that did not violate the Zionist taboo against Arab culture. In 1973, Menahem Golan adapted *Kazablan* into a musical film. In what follows I discuss the play and film to the extent that each is relevant to my argument.

Yigal Mossinson wrote the play *Kazablan* in 1954 for Telem: Te'atron la-Ma'abarot (Telem: theatre for transitional camps).[54] It was the first play to tackle the challenges faced by Jewish immigrants from Arab and Muslim countries, and therefore the first to achieve any success among these immigrants. It depicts a Moroccan immigrant nicknamed Kazablan, after his native city of Casablanca. After fighting in the 1948 war, he is forsaken by his Ashkenazi comrades and lives an outlaw life in Jaffa's "Big Territory." Kazablan is accused of stabbing the brother of the Ashkenazi girl with whom he is in love. The play depicts the investigation of this incident. In the course of the investigation, the inter-ethnic (and class) relationships between the well-to-do Ashkenazim and the "frustrated" Moroccans are exposed. Like in his other "Big Territory" crime plays and youth novels (*Eldorado,* 1955; and *Hasamba and the Deserted Children*, 1951), Mosinson drew his inspiration from the two years he served as press officer for the Israel Police.

[54] On the establishment of Telem, see footnote 10 in Chapter 1 of this dissertation.

In 1964, theater producer Giora Gudik asked Mossinson to adapt and update the play into a stage musical, together with the director Yoel Zilberg and the artistic director of the Gudik theatre, Yoram Kanyuk. They selected Yehoram Gaon to play Kazablan. Haim Hefer and Amos Etinger wrote the song lyrics, and Seltzer composed the music.[55] Gudik, who had previously produced successful local adaptations of Broadway hits such as *My Fair Lady*, *Fiddler on the Roof*, and *The King and I*, felt that it would be difficult to find somebody in Israeli to who furnish his musical with state-of-the-art orchestral arrangements and choreography. He decided to bring in Crandel Dill, an experienced choreographer from the United States. Talila Ben-Zakay, *Ma'ariv*'s culture critic, found this choice understandable, "despite the fact that the rhythms and atmosphere [of the play] are Mediterranean."[56] Ben Zakay was not alone in her concern (implied in the quote) regarding the ability of the Americans to convincingly capture the sounds and "moves" of the people of Jaffa. The producers also paid attention to this issue. In order to ensure the authenticity of the "Oriental" dances, they dragged the American choreographer around "from Aris San's club, to Arianna, to a … Yemenite wedding," so that he could "capture the atmosphere."[57]

[55] Gudik originally contracted Dan Almagor to write song lyrics, but later changed his mind. Almagor brought a lawsuit, claiming that some of the songs that Gudik eventually used were his, and the court ruled that his name should be added to the credit list for those songs.

[56] Talila Ben Zakai, "Masakh u-maekha [Screen and mask]," *Maariv,* December 25, 1966.

[57] Talila Ben Zakai, "Masakh u-maekha [Screen and mask]," *Maariv,* October 26, 1966.

Figure 3.3 The Production team of *Kazablan* in action. Siting (right to left): artistic director Yoram Kanyuk, director Yoel Zilberg, orchestrator Arthur Harris, and lyricist Haim Hefer. Standing: the composer Dov Seltzer; with his back to the camera: choreographer Crandel Dill, photo from the original playbill, reproduced on Dov Seltzer's personal website

Concerns about authenticity extended to the music itself. Seltzer's music was orchestrated by another American—Arthur Harris. Perhaps partly due to Harris's touch, theatre critic Nahman Ben Ami found the music to be generically American, with nothing particularly Israeli about it: there was "nothing from Kazablan's Jaffa, or from the people and country surrounding it."[58] *Davar* critic Ezra Zusman joined him in this opinion: "The talented composer Duvik Seltzer, having no authentic folklore, no popular [musical] language, … no neighborhood slang, was forced, as it seems, to constructs a substitute lacking all national uniqueness."[59] Both critics

[58] Nahman Be Ami, "'Kaza' be-kibbutz ha-galuyot ['Kaza' at the ingathering of diasporas]," *Maariv,* December 28, 1966.

[59] Ezra Zusman, "ha-Shetah ha-mumhaz ve-ha-mahazemer [The represented territory and the musical]," *Davar* January 13, 1967.

noted (and lamented) the overwhelming influence of American musical theatre (and opera), from *Porgy and Bess* to *West Side Story*.

The plot was also updated, mostly to accommodate the song and dance numbers, but also so that the audience could imagine it as a contemporary rather than historical story. One addition was a scene at "Charlotta's nightclub", a fictional Jaffa venue, where Charlotta sings a song about Jaffa. The song describes in the second person the arrival of the listener to Jaffa, and the sights, sounds, smells, and experiences that characterize it. It locates the visitor in the Clock Tower Square, where all the Mediterranean nightclubs were located. In the second verse the song lyrics go on to describe a typical experience in one of these Greek-style venues, including the sound of bouzouki, and the consumption of a full meal accompanied by the drinking of Arak. The bridge section is styled in the manner of an amanes[60]—with the chorus responding "Yasou Charlotta" and "Aman Aman," according to the convention of rebetika.

Yafo

Come and "put your eyes" on the clock in the tower
Look to the skies
A thousand stars above
Smell the scents and look at the wink
And then you'll feel it in your bones
You'll feel that you are once more…

You are in Yafo
You are in Yafo
My beautiful Yafo.

Come lend your ears and order a full meal
Listen to the bouzouki its good for the soul
We'll pour you a glass of arak that will go down to your heart

[60] On amanes, an Ottoman genre of vocal improvisation, see footnote 10 in the prologue to this dissertation.

And then you'll feel it in your bones
You'll feel that once more you love…

You are in Yafo
You are in Yafo
My beautiful Yafo.

Ahh, **("Yasou Charlotta!")** in Yafo like an embracing mother **("Aman, Aman")**
Ahh, in Yafo like a laughing little girl
Ahh, in Yafo like one that hasn't known a man before
Ahh saying "hands off, is that clear?"

Seltzer composed the verses of this song as a habanera/tsifteteli, like the ones found on Aris San's early records. He composed the chorus as a fast "umpa," that magical articulation point between the Israeli hora and the Greek hasaposerviko (both relatives of the polka). In addition to the rhythm, Seltzer highlighted the "Oriental" atmosphere with the use of an augmented second in the melody (in the penultimate line of the verse), and with an abundance of ornaments in the melodic line. The version of this song from 1966, however, with its full orchestral arrangement, sounds more like an American stage piece, just as the critics claimed, and is similar to popular arrangements of Hebrew song in the 1950s. In any case, it was nothing like the club music of Jaffa in the 1960s; if anything, it resembled the light "bubblegum" scores composed by Hatzidakis for Aliki Vouguklalki's films.

All of this was corrected in the film version of the musical from 1973, directed by Menahem Golan.[61] The first change was that Aliza Azikri—still strongly associated at the time

[61] Although it has no direct bearing on what concerns me in this chapter, it is probably worth noting that the first cinematic adaptation of *Kazablan* was made in Greece and released in 1964. Larry Frisch an American-born pioneer of Israeli cinema, bought the rights for a cinematic version from Mosinson for $2000 around 1960. Frisch submitted a script adapted by Alex Mimon to Asher Hirshberg, the omnipotent bureaucrat in charge of governmental funding and tax breaks for Israeli film production. Hirshberg rejected the script on the grounds that it could harm the reputation of Israel as a democracy. In Greece the government offered a full tax exemption for film productions, and so Frisch decided to produce his film there. He made the film with English-speaking Greek actors, and planned it for American and Israeli release. Later Greek dialogue was also recorded and the film was

with the Aris San and with Jaffa's Mediterranean club scene—replaced Oren in singing the Jaffa song. Azikri therefore sang a role for which she was herself had been the role model in 1966. The arrangement also changed significantly; the habanera gave way to a slow hasapiko, accelerating to a hasaposerviko in the chorus. As such, the entire song was recast as a syrtaki, in the manner of Theodorakis' *Zorba the Greek*. This transformation was bolstered by the overwhelming use of bouzouki music, mostly in the form of taximi (instrumental improvisations) that gave the song an unmistakable Greek feel. The club band, shown on screen in the film, features two bouzoukis, though none are heard in the soundtrack. The "role" of bouzouki is played by an electric guitar—a mirror image of the "Greek" wedding song in Golan's *Fortuna*.

In the cinematic version of the *Kazablan*, the Greek Jaffa song is part of an isolated moment, embedded in a soundtrack that now has a strong disco accent.[62] The disco sound of the film score reflected both the latest trend in American pop culture and music, and also positioned Mizrahim as the harbingers of "lowbrow" international trends in Israel. Together, these two musical styles –Greek music and disco—allowed for the representation of Mizrahi as an internal, low "other" in both class and ethnic terms, whose links to the Arab world had now been thoroughly severed. Tapping into the Greek stereotype became a way of solving the problem of representing a de-Arabized "East" on stage and screen, and finding for it a proper place inside a text that sought to represent Israel to Israelis.

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released locally. The film was a complete box-office and critical failure, both in Israel and abroad. See Marat Perhumovski and Avital Beckerman, interview with Larry Frisch, on the *Israeli Cinema Testimonial Database*, accessed December 25, 2015, http://www.ictd.co.il/לארי-פריש/אישיות.

[62] In the film version another song by Seltzer was added to the nightclub sequence: "Roza roza," which became one of Yehoram Gaon's greatest hits. The Aris San-style guitar features prominently here as well. Gaon's Kazablan sings with a heavy, generically-Mizrahi voice that offers nothing of the Moroccan accent that would have been appropriate for the character he is portraying. *Kazablan* remains to this day the most successful stage and screen Israeli musical of all times. The soundtrack LP of songs from the musical was Yehoram Gaon's fist record with CBS Israel, and positioned him as one of Israel's greatest stars of all time.

Salomonico (1972): The Greek Jew as a Mizrahi Stereotype

The final film I wish to discuss is a Burekas classic: Alfred Steinhardt's *Salomonico* from 1972, based on a script by Eli Tavor. In *Fortuna* and *Kazablan*, Greek music symbolizes a generic Mizrahiyut. "Greekness" as such was never a theme in these films. The theme of Greekness becomes explicit in *Salomonico*, however, a Burekas film that focuses on Salonica Jews in Israel. As Fleming notes, this film affords working class Salonica Jews an unproblematized Greekness.[63] As I showed in the prologue to this dissertation, this Greekness is a reductive stereotype that does not reflect the complex cultural identity of Salonica Jewry. At the same time, however, *Salomonico* also marks them as Mizrahim. The filmmaker achieve this primarily by telling a story about Salonica Jews using the Burekas narrative structure, grounded in the social antagonism between Mizrahim and Ashkenazim.

It is important to note that the relevant precedents for *Salomonico* include not only Burekas in general, and the aforementioned representations of Greek music in Israeli films, but also several stage productions which attempted to reclaim and rehabilitate "pure" Sephardic culture. These include *Romancero Sepharadi* from 1969, a show that featured songs from the tradition of the Jerusalemite Sephardic community. Yehoram Gaon directed this show and starred in it; it was followed in 1970 by the play *Bustan Sephardi*. These two shows (also released as albums) served to elevate the culture of Ladino-speaking Sephardic communities from Jerusalem, Greece, Turkey, the Balkans, and Western Europe in the eyes of the Israeli public, and to distinguish these communities from the rapidly developing stereotype of the Mizrahim.

[63] See Katherine E. Fleming, *Greece: a Jewish History* (Princeton; Princeton University Press, 2008), 195-6.

The continuity between *Romancero Sepharadi*, *Bustan Sephardi,* and *Salomonico* is evident in the fact that the latter casts Etti Grotes as Salomonico's wife, Alegra. Grotes was an actress of Salonica descent who participated in *Bustan Sepharadi,* and was thus associated with it. The character of Salomonico is also portrayed by a Sephardic actor—Reuven Bar Yotam. In the two scenes presenting a Shabbat meal, and in the final wedding scene, we hear traditional Sephardic melodies. Whereas *Bustan Sepharadi* was a nostalgic piece set in a pre-Zionist, half-mythical Jerusalem, however, *Salomonico* transfers elements of Sephardic fiction to a contemporary social setting via use of the genre conventions of Burekas. Salomonico, the ignorant but endearing port laborer, lives in Florentine, a crime-infested southern neighborhood of Tel Aviv founded by Salonica Jews. Throughout the film, he is subject to the same subordination, misunderstanding, and ultimate assimilation into the bourgeois Ashkenazim that define Bourekas as a genre. He is cast within the foundational binary of Mizrahim/Ashkenazim that *Romancero Sepharadi* and *Bustan Sepharadi* attempted to escape.

In the film, making Salomonico Greek, as opposed to "just" Sephardic, and making him Mizrahi turn out to be mutually constructive efforts. When writing the script, Tavor had at his disposal two readymade stereotypes: (1) that of the Greek music fan, already associated with Mizrahim in Israel, and (2) that of the working-class, seafaring, ouzo-drinking macho, who likes bouzouki music. Greek music allows Tavor to tap into both of these stereotypes. As a consequence, when Tavor characterizes Salomonico as Greek he also characterizes him as Mizrahi.

Once again, the Greek star of the day is recruited in order to usher in a Mizrahi character through the gates of musical Greekness. And again he does this by performing "Greek" songs composed by Dov Seltzer. This time, Aris San's spot is filled by his heir, Trifonas Nikolaidis.

Trifonas was also a bouzouki player, and so we finally hear and see the bouzouki at the same time. Trifonas appears in the movie in three different scenes. In the first, Salomonico finds himself at the lowest point of desperation, in a neighborhood cafe. Trifonas (who just happens to be there, it seems) opens with a bouzouki *taximi*, and then leads the cafe dwellers in a syrtaki-style song —"Yesh rega'im" (There are moments). After they take their cue from him, he is left in the background as the Israeli actors dance and sing. The next scene to include Trifonas occurs when Salomonico's family holds a house-warming party. Trifonas leads them again in the same manner (with a bouzouki intro, and then breaking into song before stepping back) He sings "Saloniki mi amor", a lively hasaposerviko (Seltzer's famous hora in Greek disguise) full of nostalgia for the paradise lost of Jewish Salonica.[64]

Finally, Trifonas and his band appear on the stage during the wedding scene that closes the movie. Almost in the manner of an operatic *finale*, the long and complex scene is packed with elaborate music and dance sequences. The arrival of the guests to the wedding hall, where Salomonico's daughter is to marry the rich Ashkenazi boy who impregnated her, is accompanied by an Ashkenazi-style tune played by an organ, guitar, and flute. Guitar interludes serve to add an Oriental component drawn from Aris San's style. The band then accompanies the couple who walk down the aisle to a rock rendition of Mendelsohn's wedding march. A Sephardic and an Ashkenazi rabbi, each singing in turn in a distinct, over-the-top style, preside over the ceremony. Right before the groom breaks the glass, we hear a short instrumental snippet from the song "Saloniki mi Amor."

[64] Both song sequences also include dancing à la *Zorba the Greek*. Rather than function as diegetic music, music in these two scenes (and a third one, described below), reverts to the norms of the film musical genre, where musical sequences appear as suspended between diegetic and extra-diegetic codes, in what Raymond Knapp has called "musically-enhanced reality mode." In this they both draw on the success of the stage musicals such as *Kazablan*, and foreshadow their cinematic version. The melodies of the two songs provide Seltzer with most of the material for the non-diegetic music through the film. See Raymond Knapp, *The American Musical and the Performance of Personal Identity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006), 67.

Figure 3.4: Trifonas in *Salomonico* (1972).

The musical sequence that follows the ceremony is again introduced by Trifonas playing a taximi on the bouzouki. The scene then cuts to what might be described as a "musical battle" between the Sephardi and Ashkenazi "camps." It begins with the mother of the bride singing a Ladino wedding song; under the command of the groom's father, the Ashkenazi camp retaliates with a Yiddish song. The exchange continues with increasing rapidity (cutting between song snippets), and includes several Ladino versions of popular Greco-Turkish hits ("Barba Yiannis," "Uskudara," "Rampi rampi" [Çadırımın Üstüne]).[65] Each Ladino song receives a Yiddish (and in one case, Romanian) "retaliation." At some point the exchange takes on a farcical turn, as the two camps start performing each other's repertoire: a dark-skinned, dark-haired young lady,

[65] As I show in Chapter 4, these songs were popular in Israeli Mediterranean clubs during the 1970s, in their original Greek and Turkish versions.

wearing heavy make-up (to ensure our proper reading of her "classlessness", i.e. Mizrahiyut) breaks into Yiddish song. The masquerade culminates with Gabi Amrani, a Yemenite actor playing the role of Salomonico's best friend Raphaelo, delivering parts of Verdi's "La Donna e Mobile" from *Rigoletto.*[66]

The musical sequence concludes with everyone dancing together, singing Seltzer's "le-Hayey ha-'Am ha-ze" (Long live this nation").[67] The song, to lyrics by Haim Hefer, celebrates the unity of the Israeli people, which reveals itself in times of great need, despite the prominent divisions that govern Israeli everyday life.

The entire wedding sequence is therefore one of the most didactic and transparent allegorical performances of the "melting-pot" ideology. This cathartic union is repeated in almost every exemplar of the Bourekas genre, but nowhere with such bravado. Within the span of eight minutes and about a dozen musical snippets, it takes us from a "past" of multiple Jewish traditional cultures (which is clearly very much the present), to a "future" of national unity through intermarriage and cultural exchange.[68]

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[66] This moment, which the audience is clearly supposed to read as the most farcical of all, perhaps encapsulates best the Mizrahization of Salonica Jews in this film. It performs the sleight of hand that transforms the proper domain of the Ashkenazi from Yiddish (as a symbol of narrowly conceived, pre-national East-European Jewish culture) to Western civilization as such. In so doing, it banishes the Mizrahi to the realm of the Oriental, unenlightened, and traditional. That this is simple gag supports such a towering ideological construction, becomes evident when we take into account that the eclectic repertoire of Ladino was significantly influenced by opera. Just two years earlier, in 1969, Yehoram Gaon released an album of Ladino Romances, including the famous "Adio Querida," which borrows its chorus from "Adio del Passato", and Aria form *La Traviata* by Verdi. See Edwin Seroussi, "ha-Musika shel ha-shir ha-amami be-Ladino [The music of Ladino popular song]," *Pe'amim* 77 (1999): 5-19.

[67] This song is taken from the stage musical *I Like Mike* from 1968, which was produced following the success of *Kazablan* and was the handy-work of the same authors (Gudik, Zilberg, Hefer, and Seltzer).

[68] See also Ella Shohat, *Israel Cinema*, 115; 134.

Conclusion

As I have shown in this chapter, Greek laiko and the bouzouki—the instrument most strongly associated with it—are called upon to negotiate imaginaries of ethnicity and class within Greek and Israeli national identity in both internal and external frameworks. In Greek cinema, they first appear as subcultural sounds: we find them inside the fictional world of the film, as diagetic music associated with the lower classes. Gradually, as part of the process of this music being appropriated as a national symbol, we see classically-trained composers of film scores using it as background (non-diagetic) music. However, when it is transformed from being an ethno-class sterotype to being a national stereotype this music still remains marked. In retaining its marked status it also reproduces some of the older stereotypes of class and ethnicity, even s in films that perform its "sublation" to a national idiom, such as *Never on Sunday*.

In Israel, Greek contemporary film and music provided the creative elites—those with the authority to be authors—with a model for domesticating the internal Oriental other, and harnessing its vitality in the creation of national culture. The authors of this music often did not go further than the nightclubs of Jaffa to find music they thought could represent the Israeli Oriental. They were happy to characterize that Oriental using the same music used by their Greek role models. This led them to invent a new generic Mizrahi Jew in the image of the Greek lower class. In doing this, they were able to represent a de-Arabized Israel.

Away from the movie screen, Mizrahim played a more active part in the co-production of this new identity category. They did not participate in how the filmmaking elites represented their "Greekness." In fact, this representation ended up being closer to Greek fiction than to

Israeli reality. Cinematic Mizrahim dance the syrtaki—and do not listen to Kazantzidis; cinematic Greek singers sing songs by Dov Seltzer—and not by Giorgos Mitsakis.

Chapter 4

"Me and the Bouzouki in the Vineyards of Yemen": Greek Music and the Making of Mizrahiyut in the 1970s

> Many years ago I heard in the Central Bus Station a so-called Greek song by a Yemenite singer, with the idiotic line "me and the bouzouki in the vineyards of Yemen."
>
> Elderly Salonica immigrant[1]

On one of the episodes of his TV show *Halom la-Yam ha-Tikhon* (Mediterranean dream) Shimon Parnas asks journalist Kobi Niv (b. 1947), a self proclaimed Hellenophile and avid fan of Greek music, what attracted him to this music.[2] "In my youth it was Aris San, whose music I loved very much," replies Niv, "but somehow [Greek music] disappeared, and then suddenly came back with Yehuda Poliker's record of Greek songs."[3] Niv's narrative, it seems, takes the 1970s to be

[1] This quote is from one of my interviews with an articulate and highly educated octogenarian born in Salonica. To the best of my knowledge a song with these lyrics does not exist. The anecdote was meant to be an illustration of the fact that this octogenarian generally found the appropriation of Greek music by Mizrahim to be distasteful. "be-Kharmei teyman" (In the vineyards of Yemen) is the name of a love song composed in 1945 by Moshe Vilenski to lyrics by Nathan Alterman, for the fifth program of the cabaret theatre "Li-La-Lo." It was perfformed by Shoshana Damari, a young Yemenite singer, for whom Vilenski later composed several other Yemenite-themed songs. The song is not really about the vineyards of Yemen, but about the Tel Aviv neighborhood called Yemenite's Vineyard.

[2] Israeli Educational TV produced the show between 2010 and 2011. Niv appeared on episode 6.

[3] Niv is refereeing to the album *Einayim Sheli*, recorded by the Israeli rock musician Yehuda Poliker in 1984. The son of Holocaust survivors from Salonica, Poliker tried to escape the Greek music beloved by his parents, which he associated with trauma and loss, and opted to become a rock musician. In the 1980s, he decided to confront his heritage, and recorded Hebrew renditions of Greek songs. Taking his cue from the Greek singer George Dalaras, Poliker's treatment of the Greek songs and the poetic texts written by his partner Yaakov Gilad afforded his return to this music the status of an intellectual engagement with "heritage." In addition, the success of the album also had to do with Poliker's status as an accomplished artist in the field of Israeli rock.

"lost years" for Greek music in Israel, in which Greek music somehow "went away." But Parnas probes further:

> But you know, the common Israeli Hellenophile is . . . you know, usually taxi drivers, market vendors. What do you—after all, you are you are Polish, a "flower child," rock fan, journalist— have to do with popular [*amamit*], proletariat Greek music that in Israel had for many years a very inferior image, and even in Greece during certain periods.

Niv's "lost decade" and Parnas's narrative of Greek music as inferior and antithetical to being "Polish" or a "rock fan," are in fact two sides of the same coin. In the 1970s, members of the Euro-Israeli middle-class, who were briefly invested in Greek music at the height of its popularity in in the mid-late 1960s, had moved on to Anglo-American rock music. Greek music was becoming increasingly identified with the Mizrahi working class, and no longer synonymous with the Mediterranean-cosmopolitan Jaffa. It was now the soundtrack of cassette stores and "ghetto blasters" around Tel-Aviv's Central Bus Station—the largest hub for inter-city public transportation in the country—and in the adjacent ha-Tikva neighborhood, overwhelmingly populated by Mizrahim.

In this chapter I show how during the 1970s Greek music became part of a distinct Mizrahi culture, and later a pillar of the emerging local genre of *Muzikah Mizraḥit* (Mizrahi/Oriental music). By observing how the status of Greek music changed in this period, I provide in this chapter a new perspective on how the ethno-class category of Mizrahim was negotiated in Israel during the 1970s. As I will show, Greek music played a part in both the developed of a cosmopolitan taste culture in Mizrahi neighborhoods, and in the consolidation of "Mizrahiyut" as a discursive category in mainstream national culture. By observing both what Mizrahim *do* and how they are *represented* through the single prism of Greek music, I am able to

demonstrate how the category of Mizrahim emerges as the product of a negotiation between Mizrahi subjects and Zionist hegemony.

Mizrahim (or Edot ha-Mizrah) was a category that, like a prediction, became a self-fulfilling prophecy; a fiction that inspired a reality.[4] By treating all immigrants from Muslim countries more or less the same way, the state subjected most of them to a common socialization. Living together in peripheral social enclaves gave rise to a shared experience, and a shared mythology. In this way Jews of the lands of Islam and their descendants became an imagined community with their own unique and modern culture.

In the 1970s these marginalized populations, who by then made up the majority of Jewish Israeli society, started to claim their place in national politics and culture. By 1977, they were the driving electoral force in a political revolution that led to the right wing taking power for the first time in Israeli history. The new presence of Mizrahim in national discourse, led to growing attempts to "amend" that discourse or supplement it with images and sounds that could accommodate or "stand for" Mizrahim as different, but not *too* different Israelis. As I will show, these attempts often employed what I have described in the introduction as Mediterraneanist strategies.

At the same time, a new cadre of second-generation Mizrahi musician and audiences came of age, creating a distinct Mizrahi musical culture. Crystalizing around everyday sites of music making—weddings, parties, and nightclubs—the emerging field of Mizrahi music took shape in dialogue with several repertoires. These include the music of Aris San and his (Greek

[4] In the strong words of Ella Shohat, "In a roundabout way, the Mizrahim as an "imagined community" are a Zionist invention. . . . by placing Jews from the Muslim world in a new situation on the ground, by attempting to reshape their identity as simply ""Israeli," by disdaining and trying to uproot their Easterness, by discriminating against them as a group, Zionism obliged Arab Jews to redefine themselves in relation to new ideological polarities, thus provoking the aporias of an identity constituted out of its own ruins." Ella Shohat, "The Invention of the Mizrahim," *Journal of Palestine Studies* 29, no. 1 (1999): 13.

and Israeli) successors, non-Hebrew rock and pop, and the hybrid Hebrew repertoires of amateur musicians in Mizrahi neighborhoods They also included the products of those Mediterraneanist attempts at integration coming from the ranks of mainstream Hebrew popular song.[5]

Mediterranean nightclubs of the 1960s provided an already established model for a musical identity that was at once Oriental (but not specifically Arab) and modern. Greek music thus functioned as a stable component in a growing practice of wedding and party music, adding to these events a "secular" and cosmopolitical flavor.[6] The demand for Greek music also extended to the market of recorded music (alongside Bollywood music, which similarly provided opportunity for Oriental and cosmopolitan identification). It became a driving force in the rise of a local industry of music "piracy," which relied on the new affordable media of cassettes.

At the same time, music impresarios tapped the Mizrahi market for live Greek music. Riding on the coattails of Aris San's success, they cultivated a new national mega-star—Trifonas Nikolaidis—whose appeal "spilled over" into the mainstream, attracting media attention. Young Mizrahi singers also rose to the demand for more live Greek music by assuming Greek stage personas. When the consolidation of Mizrahi subcultural sounds finally gave rise to a new Hebrew-language popular idiom—musikah Mizrahit—Greek melodic and instrumental practices remained at its foundation.

[5] Regev and Seroussi discuss several of these sources at length in chapter 9 of their book. See Motti Regev and Edwin Seroussi. *Popular Music and National Culture in Israel* (Berkeley: University of California press, 2004), 191-212.

[6] By "secular" I mean not only non-religious, but also free of the imperatives of national culture.

Part I: Mediterraneanism as a Strategy in the Top-Down Invention of a Mizrahi Identity

In 1971, social protests erupted in Israel on an unprecedented scale. Leading the protests was a Jerusalem-based group of poor Mizrahi youth who called themselves the Black Panthers.[7] As I discuss later in this chapter, that same year, the Israeli Broadcasting Authority initiated Festival ha-Zemer ve-ha-pizmon ha-Yisraeli be-signon Adot ha-Mizrah (The Israeli festival of song in the style of the diasporas of the East).[8] The coincidence of these two events is symbolic of the sea change in the presence of Mizrahim in Israeli national discourse. This change consisted in self-conscious Mizrahi political and social mobilization, and in attempts by the Israeli establishment to contain this mobilization through symbolic gestures that did not require a fundamental overhaul of Israeli national culture. The attempts at symbolically integrating Mizrahim were evident both in state-sponsored initiatives (such as the aforementioned festival), and in commercial productions of mainstream Hebrew culture, such as records and theatre performances. As I will show, several of these initiatives and products evoked Greek music, resorting to the strategy that I have termed Mediterraneanism. The people behinds these initiatives evoked Greek music in several contradictory ways, in order to reimagine the cultural difference of Mizrahim. Greek music appeared alternately as a stigmatized Mizrahi stereotype, or as a model for the desired orientation of Israeli culture, in which Mizrahim would have a place.

[7] On the Israeli Black Panthers see Sami Shalom-Chetrit, *ha-Maávak ha-Mizrahi be-Yisrael: bein dikui le-shihrur, bein hizdahut le-alternativa, 1948–2003* [The Mizrahi struggle in Israel: between oppression and liberation, identification and alternative, 1948–2003] (Tel Aviv: Am-Oved/Ofakim Series, 2004), 136-185.

[8] Another landmark heralding this shift is Bezalel Aloni's founding of the Theater workshop in ha-Tikva neighborhood in 1971. The workshop, a grassroots social initiative for cultivating the arts among the Mizrahi inhabitants of the southern neighborhood of Tel Aviv, was a breading ground for Ofra Haza, a Yemenite-Israeli who enjoyed superstar success in mainstream pop both nationally and internationally during the 1980s and 1990s.

"Love is Like Sugar": The Pathologization of Bouzouki Music Fandom

In the early 1970s, Yehoram Gaon was probably the most popular mainstream artist in Israel. He was not a youth idol, and did not represent the pinnacle of sophisticated taste. Rather, he offered an "all-Israeli," middle-of-the-road music for diverse adult Jewish audiences. He was also, together with Hava Alberstein, ha-Parvarim, and Aris San, one of the original stars that catapulted CBS Israel from being a tiny operation to the leading force in the Israeli music industry within a few years. In 1969 alone, CBS released six LPs and 4 EPs featuring Gaon. Gaon's was strongly identified with the role of Kazablan—a young Mizrahi *charmant* figure—, with Ladino song (after the success of his show and album *Romancero Sepharadi*), and with his home city of Jerusalem. However, he was also a prominent interpreter of mainstream Hebrew popular song. Going into the 1970s, he relied on all these facets of his success to build his career, while trying to stay in touch with consumer trends.

Perhaps in response to the ripples caused by the events of 1971, in 1973 Gaon released an LP titled *Ahava Yam Tikhonit* (Mediterranean love). The album appears to be geared towards Mizrahi audiences while also trying not to alienate Euro-Israeli listeners. This is implied in the title of the album, which mobilizes the term "Mediterranean" to delimit an inclusive space for both Mizrahi and Euro-Israel audiences without evoking too strongly the negative stereotype associated with Mizrahim. This attempt at integration becomes patent, however, in the lyrics of the songs themselves. The album included 13 songs, most of them newly composed by Nurit Hirsch to lyrics by Dan Almagor.[9] Many of the songs are stereotypical portraits of Mizrahi characters, or otherwise deal with Mizrahi "topics."

[9] Other contributors were composers Naomi Shemer, Moni Amarillo, and Yair Rosenblum, as well as lyricist Yehoram Teharlev. The album followed a show by the same name, which premiered in February 1973. The show also featured songs by Theodorakis, Leonard Cohen, and Moshe Vilenski, which were not included on the LP.

"Ziona" (composed by Hirsch to lyrics by Dan Almagor) is an allegorical love song to "Ziona," the personification of the Land of Israel. It features Oriental flavors in the melody and Aris-San-like guitar solos. "Ben porat Yossef" (composed by Moni Amarillo to lyrics by Yoram Teharlev) celebrates the biblical nickname that the patriarch Jacob gave his son Joseph; this name is a staple of Sephardic folklore, where saying it out loud is believed to bring good luck and protect against the evil eye. "Isha pshuta" (Simple woman, by Amarillo and Almagor) lauds the working mother, who takes the bus to work her housekeeping job; she is illiterate (in Hebrew at, least), so she can't read the letter that her daughter, who serves in the army, sent her. A fourth song called "Arak Zahlawi" (composed by Yair Rosenblum to lyrics by Dan Almagor) vilifies a certain old "mister Nawi" (a common Iraqi name), described as a "fat philandering bastard" in his sixties. In this comical (yet horrifying and disgusting) song, Nawi tries to get a 17-year-old girl drunk on Arak and take advantage of her, but falls into his own trap. Finally, the title song, "Ahava Yam Tikhonit" (By Rosenblum nad Almagor), forgivingly describes the aggressive courting style of "Mediterranean" men, closing with the words: "Perhaps it's not very polite/and rugged and common/but Mediterranean love/is Mediterranean love."

Of the greatest relevance to my inquiry, however, is the song titled "Ahava ze kmo sukar" (Love is like sugar, by Hirsch and Almagor). The following is an annotated translation of the full song:

Yoel Zilberg was the director of the show, and its musical director was Arie Levanon. "Madrikh le-eru'ei ha-shavua [guide to this week's events]," *Davar hashavua* (weekend supplement), February 9, 1973.

Love is Llike Sugar

Verse I:
[spoken, to the sound of slow-dance music]
When you see him walking down the street
or driving his car
you think he's a normal person,
like everyone else.
[sung]
Wears a suit, with a tight crease
in his hands—a luxurious briefcase
looks like a doctor, or an insurance agent
in short: a proper person.[10]
Comes back home everyday at five o'clock.
picks up flowers or cake on the way
and no one can guess
that this person is simply crazy

[Spoken]
But the moment,
The moment he hears a single note of the bouzouki [the bouzouki is heard here][11]
The shadow of the strains of Greek music [[the bouzouki is heard here]

[Singing, fast 9/8 rhythm]

He undoes his tie
He takes of his suit
The briefcase he casts aside without hesitation
and he simply begins to dance

[Instrumental hasapiko prechorus with "bouzouki" (guitar) solo]

Chorus:

Love is like sugar
it sweetens every bitter moment

[10] I use "proper" to translate the Hebrew slang "mesudar," which literally means tidy or well organized, but figuratively means someone with job security and/or financially confortable.

[11] Probably played by an electric guitar.

too bad that like sugar
it melts and then it's gone

verse II:
[Spoken]
In the morning as he drives to work
He turns on the radio
and hears a kind of bouzouki tune [the bouzouki is heard here]
or the begging of a syrtaki [the bouzouki is heard here]

[Singing, fast 9/8 rhythm]

Even if he is racing at a hundred and twenty
he lifts up both his arms
starts dancing in front of the cops
runs through all the red lights.

Chorus: Love is like sugar…

Verse III:
Finally, he decides to go to the hospital
To receive psychiatric care
so that they remove the "Yasou!" from his head
[Singing, fast 9/8 rhythm]
They restrained him
—its a shame to say—
in a straight jacket
hooked him up to electrodes
even tried hypnosis.

[whispers] "Sleep!" Sleep!"
[bouzouki sounds] "Oh, doctor! did you hear it?
[doctor]: What sound?
[bouzouki sounds] This, this is what drives me mad
this bouzouki [bouzouki sounds]
[doctor]: The bouzouki?
Yes!
[doctor]: But it's wonderful!

[Spoken, all of a sudden with a Mizrahi accent, over fast 9/8 rhythm]

I came here so they would remove the "Yasou" from my head
and what do you know, the doctors are themselves sick!
Yil'an abuki ya bouzouki![12]

[singing, fast 9/8 rhythm]

They danced there, wildly
the doctors and the patients
and if they never got tired
they are still dancing till this very day

Chorus: Love is like sugar…

This humorous song, as it appears on the album, is a shortened version of a song-skit that Gaon performed as part of the live show. It enacts (even if for the sake of good humor) what we can describe as the "pathologization" of the Greek music craze. As satirical commentary on the widespread social reality of Greek music fandom, it implies that there is something excessive, irrational, and even unhealthy about the fans' fervent love for this music.

The song depicts a "respectable" middle-class person, who involuntarily responds to the sound of Greek music with dancing, casting aside all semblance of proper appearance and behavior, and even betraying a disregard for safety and the law. The "Jekyll and Hyde" split between the respectable man and the Greek music nut presents bouzouki music as something inherently alien to middle-class culture.[13] Interestingly, in the final verse, when Gaon speaks as the person described in the song, he adopts a Mizrahi accent, and resorts to an Arabic curse that is commonly used in modern Hebrew. With this final touch, the main character in the song is

[12] Arabic: "may god curse your father, bouzouki"

[13] The relationship of the chorus to the rest of the song remains somewhat opaque, but it appears to be an allegorical statement about how saccharine, flimsy things are inappropriate for a man who is no longer young. Perhaps it is best not to read too much into the relationship between chorus and the rest of the song, but doing so might hint that one thinks Greek music lacks merit or gravitas.

characterized as Mizrahi; if not for this addition, listeners could have imagined this character without any clear ethnic identity. Taken as whole, the lyrics enact therefore the de-facto exclusion of Mizrahim from the middle-class in the Israeli imaginary. By stigmatizing bouzouki music in ethno-class terms, Gaon provides a counterpart to how it was represented in Israeli cinema, as I described in chapter 3.

Beyond the stigmatization of Greek music as Mizrahi, the song gives evidence of how widespread and well-recognized hardcore Greek music fandom was. Audiences would not have found the song amusing if they had not been familiar with at least the echoes of the phenomenon of Greek music fandom, or if they had not been fans themselves. It appears therefore that by 1973 Greek music was no longer identified with Greece, Yafo, or Aris San as exotic imaginaries: rather, it was a fully localized social trend to be reckoned with, proper to a significant group of people who are by-and-large identified as Mizrahim.

Finally, it is significant that the host of Mizrahi stereotypes in this song are accompanied by conservative Western-style music. Overall, the arrangements of the songs have a middle-of the road, almost lounge-music-like sound, that was not uncommon for popular Hebrew song at the time. Such songs are usually orchestrated for drums, electric bass, guitars, organ, saxophones and trumpets. The brass in particular evades Oriental connotations, and distinguishes this album from rock music popular among Mizrahim.

In conclusion, the album seems to participate in imagining a shelf-product Mizrahi identity that could be offered to Mizrahi consumers in search of an Israeli culture in their own image. Yet it was produced and marketed by the same people who produced mainstream products that reinscribed Euro-Israeli cultural perspectives. In short, it was for Mizrahim, and about them, but certainly not by them. Gaon may have served as a symbol of Ladino-speaking

Sephardim, and as an icon for how Hebrew culture *represented* Mizrahim for more than a decade (recall the long history of *Kazablan*), but he was completely out of touch with the actual subcultures of Mizrahi neighborhoods.

The Mizrahi Song Festival and the Institutional Making of Mizrahiyut

As I mentioned, one of the events that made 1971 a watershed moment in the consolidation of the Mizrahi category was the inception of Festival ha-zemer ve-ha-pizmon ha-Yisre'eli be-signon adot ha-Mizrah (Israeli festival of song in the style of the diasporas of the East). As Regev and Seroussi note, the "general" Israeli Song Festival, held since 1960, was regularly under fire from several directions. One strain of criticism had to do with the "flagrant exclusion of the Israeli 'other'," and, in particular, the music of Mizrahi Jews.[14] The Mizrahi song festival was the initiative of Yossef Ben Israel, head of the Folklore Department of Kol Israel.[15] Ben Israel had to fight the directors of Kol Israel in order to get their approval for the festival, and eventually had to use the entire annual budget of his department to fund it.[16] Ben Israel conceived of the festival as way of "elevating" the music of Oriental Jews to the level of mainstream Euro-Israeli popular music, sanctioned by state institutions. He based this festival on the model of the main Israeli song festival; judges, arrangers, and some performers were among the leading (largely Ashkenazi) musicians in the country. Musicians included members the

[14] Regev and Seroussi, *Popular Music*, 122.

[15] For a concise biography of Ben Yisrael (in Hebrew), see Dudi Patimer, "'la-Menatzeah shir mizmor': sipuro shel meyased ha-musika ha-Mizrahit, Yossef Ben Yisrael" [A song to the victor: the story of the founder of Mizrahi music, Yossef Ben Yisrael], *Dudipedia* online, accessed on March 24, 2016 https://dudipedia.wordpress.com/2015/06/18/המוסי-מייסד-של-סיפורו-מזמור-שיר-למנצח.

[16] Shifra Fürst, "Festivaley ha-musika ha-popularit ke-re'I shel tmyrot ba-hevra ha-Isre'elit [The popular music festivals as a mirror of change in Israeli society]" (Master's Thesis, Bar-Ilan University, 1999). Quoted in Regev and Seroussi, *Popular Music*, 123.

Israeli Broadcasting Authority Symphony Orchestra, a as well as the Kol Israel in Arabic Orchestra,[17] but the resulting sound was often indistinguishable from that of the main Israeli song festival. Musical markers of the Oriental often appeared in the form melodic clichés, or in short instrumental interludes, but mainly in that the song lyrics, which leaned heavily towards themes of Jewish tradition. The vibrant sounds of the Mediterranean club scene were by and large absent from this event, which was designed to give the vaguely conceived style of "Oriental Jewish music" respectability and gravitas.[18]

Another strategy for "elevating" the music of Oriental Jews (or, as Regev and Seroussi call it, "domesticating" it) was to tap into existing forms of Mediterranean cosmopolitan popular music from *outside* of Israel. And so the first festival featured the French-Algerian Jewish singer Enrico Macias as its guest of honor.[19] The third day of the fifth festival, held in 1974, was planned as an International Mediterranean Song Contest that would feature singers and referees from France, Italy, Spain, Yugoslavia, Greece, Turkey, and "other countries that have yet to announce their participation."[20] The plan was never realized, but the local festival did feature the Greek composer Manos Hatzidakis, and singer Lakis Pappas— an interpreter of Hatzidakis's songs.[21] By selecting Hatzidakis and Papas, festival organizers demonstrated just how far their festival was from the musical scene fermenting in Mizrahi-dominated neighborhoods, wedding

[17] Most of the musicians in this orchestra were highly skilled Jewish musicians who emigrated from Egypt and Iraq. It is important to note the title avoids calling the orchestra itself "Arab," but rather indicates that the orchestra is affiliated with the department of Kol Israel that is in charge of broadcasts in the Arabic language. See Inbal Perlson, and Simha gdola ha-layla: *musikaim Yehidum-Aravim ve-zehut Mizrahit be-Yisrael* [A great joy tonight: Arab-Jewish musicians and Mizrahi identity in Israel] (Tel Aviv: Resling, 2006), and especially pages 148-157.

[18] See Regev and Seroussi, *Popular Music*, 123-126.

[19] "Bidur" [Entertainment]," *Maariv*, February 5, 1971.

[20] Yossi Refaeli "[An international Mediterranean Song Festival to be held in Israel]," *Davar,* September 19, 1974.

[21] "Niftah festival ha-zemer ha-Mizrahi [The oriental song festival has commenced]," *Davar,* December 7,1974.

halls, and Mediterranean-style clubs. Pappas was a notable contributor to the artistic-folk song movement known as the *Néo Kýma* (New wave). Originally inspired by Hatzidakis, the movement took its name from the *Nouvelle Vague* movement of French cinema, and followed the model of French chanson (especially in the style of George Brassens) and of folk song movements around the world such as Latin American and Iberian *Nueva canción*. Pappas was virtually anonymous in Israel, and his style was nothing like the Oriental-sounding, bouzouki-heavy, Greek laiko that was popular among Mizrahim. As in the case Gaon's album, it appears that the Oriental Song Festival was more about constructing a specific image of Mizrahiyut agreeable to national ideologues, than about voicing the contemporary musical proclivities of Mizrahim.

The Greek sector was hardly the only one where the borders of the Oriental were heavily patrolled. The winning song of the Festival in 1975, "Zamar boded hu ha-lev" (The heart is a lonely singer"), featured a relatively bold arrangement including a prominent role for the qanun (played by the song's composer, Avraham David HaCohen) and the Kol Israel in Arabic Orchestra. It was sung by the Egyptian Lilith Nagar, who also won first place in 1971 with a song by the same composer: "ha-Mal'akh ah-tov yofia" (The good angle will appear"). The "transgression" into the realm of Arab music did not go unnoticed by *Davar*'s critic Yaakov Bar-On, who wrote about the winning song:

> It was not merely more Oriental than the others, but sounded like an echo from . . . [sic.] the "Arab Song Festival." No doubt, it will quickly be forgotten, and the audience would prefer to remember Lilith Nagar . . . as the performer of "ha-Mal'akh ah-tov yofia" [The good angel will appear] from the first Mizrahi Song Festival.[22]

[22] Ya'akov Bar On "Akhzava mi-festival ha-zamer ha-Mizrahi [Disappointment from the Mizrahi song festival]," *Davar*, December 18, 1975. To be sure, there was no such thing as "the Arab song Festival": Bar-On was making

According to Bar On, Ben Israel envisioned a "multi-participant Mediterranean Festival held in Israel," yet that year circumstances had prevented him from realizing this vision: the costs of flying in a certain Armenian band had been too high; Enrico Macias had been in Australia; Nana Mouskouri had been booked solid for three years; and Manos Hatzidakis had suffered a sudden heart attack.[23]

In short, it appears that Ben Israel's vision for elevating Mizrahi music involved a strategy of Mediterranean cosmopolitanism, a vision that Kol Yisrael never saw fit to furnish with the appropriate funds.[24] The reality of the festival, in terms of musical style, was therefore the sum of the styles of musicians from the mainstream, and those of the musicians who filtered-in from Mizrahi circles of music making. Over the course of approximately 15 years during which the festival took place (1971-1981, 1982, and 1985), the balance of the acts shifted toward singer from the nightclubs who were fostered by the emerging Mizrahi music industry. These included Shimi Tavori, Avner Gedasi, and Zohar Argov. As such, it became the site of negotiations between the Mizrahi music scene and the popular music establishment. Several songs from the festivals became part of the canon of musikah Mizrahit. After being performed in the Festival, these songs were later performed and recorded by musikah Mizrahit artist in cover

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a pun. What happened was exactly the opposite of his prediction: while the song "ha-Mal'akh ha-tov yofi'a" has largely been forgotten, "Zamar boded hu ha-lev," as covered by Zohar Argov in the 1980s, remains highly canonical in musikah Mizrahit to this day.

[23] Bar On, "Akhzava mi-festival ha-zamer."

[24] Ben Israel's position is remarkably similar in this regard to that of his colleague from Sephardi Kol Israel, Izak Levy. As Seroussi notes, "Levy was ambivalent. As a musician trained in the Western tradition and a state radio employee, he was a member of the establishment. At the same time as a proud Sephardi Jews from Turkey he became, from within the system, an advocate of Mediterraneanism." See Edwin Seroussi, "'Mediterraneanism' in Israeli Music: An Idea and its Permutations," *Music and Anthropology* 7 (2002), accessed September 3, 2013, http://www.umbc.edu/MA/index/number7/seroussi/ser_00.htm.

versions that enriched them with Oriental-style guitar or bouzouki parts, and with Yemenite rhythms. By the mid 1980s, as Regev and Seroussi note, the "meteoric" rise of musikah Mizrahit made the festival obsolete, and it was discontinued.[25]

Part II: Greek Music and the Development of a Mizrahi music industry

After considering the "top-down" attempts to define the place and meaning of Mizrahim in Israeli society through the prism of popular music, it is time to turn our attention to the extra-institutional practices of musicians, producers, distrusters, and fans during the 1970. As we shall see, the status of Greek music changed in this context in complex ways: On the one hand, the overall popularity of Greek music (as measured in the volume of record sales and live performance attendance) seems to have increased, and become more rooted. On the other hand, its legitimacy in the eyes of the cultural elites declined. Greek music lost its cosmopolitan mystic, and could no longer serve as the exterior of the Israeli geo-cultural imagination. Gone were the Jaffa heterotopias with their ambivalent cultural orientations: Greek music was now firmly associated with Israel's Mizrahi majority. Instead of being marginal to the Israeli center, it was now central to the Israeli margins.

If we are to understand the dynamics of this change in the status of Greek music, some remarks are in order about the technological changes crucial to it. Since the birth of a local scene in the latter half of the 1950s, Greek music has been largely a performance-based, geographically bound phenomenon. As I have documented in previous chapters, dozens of locally produced records of Greek music were pressed during this period, most of which featured Aris San. Until

[25] Regev and Seroussi, *Popular Music*, 126.

the late 1960s however, the volume and sales of these niche-market recordings were modest. In addition, regular wholesale import of records from Greece did not exist until 1972. Because of the scarcity of recordings from Greece, people traded second-hand Greek vinyl and reel-to-reel audiotapes, onto which they recorded Greek music from vinyl records and from Cypriot radio stations. In some cases, individuals with contacts in Greece (such as Greek musicians working in Israel, and Salonica immigrants) receive reel-to-reel tapes made for them in Greece, and containing the latest hit singles released there.[26] A few stores in Tel Aviv and Jaffa sold these bootleg reel-to-reel tapes.[27]

In the late 1960s the, new home-audio technology of cassette tapes entered the local market. This new media offered simple, low-cost production and high portability (of both the media and the reproduction equipment). The quality of sound however, was inferior to vinyl records. While the major record companies dragged their feet in marketing music using this new cheap format, it was ideal for (initially) smalltime operations that were determined to meet the growing demand for non-Western music in Mizrahi neighborhoods.

Perhaps the most famous of these entrepreneurs is Meir Reuveni. Reuveni—himself of Persian and Jerusalemite-Sephardic decent—was born and raised in the East-Tel Aviv neighborhood of Yad Eliyahu. His family house stood next to that of a Salonica immigrant who played Greek music from a reel-to reel tapes "twenty-four seven, except for Yom Kippur."[28] Greek music was therefore his first musical love, and he actively sought it on the airwaves sing his first radio set. In 1963, Reuveni opened an electronics shop at ha-Tikva neighborhood in the

[26] Trifonas Nikolaidis, interview with the author, September 3, 2014. Also Meir Reuveni, interview with the author, February 26, 2016.

[27] Levi Mualem, interview with the author, March 8, 2016.

[28] Meir Reuveni, interview.

South of Tel-Aviv, and in 1966 he started selling records in this store. Realizing that Greek music was in great demand and that cassettes were an accessible and cheap technology for supplying this demand, he began making bootleg tapes from records in his possession. He also publicized that he was buying Greek records, and convinced people to buy new releases for him when traveling in Greece. The sales in his shop grew exponentially between 1967 and 1973, and Reuveni's production capabilities grew accordingly.[29]

ha-Tikva neighborhood was home to three movie theaters, making film the principle form of entertainment in general, and musical entertainment in particular: Greek, Turkish, and Indian films had dominated the cultural horizon of the neighborhood since the 1960s.[30] The demand for music created by these films, and the success of Aris San, fueled the Mizrahi cassette industry. The central bus station in Tel Aviv became the key site for selling these cassettes; the latest releases played on speaker systems where hundreds of thousands of people from all over the country passed every week. This became a winning promotional strategy.[31] As the Israeli-

[29] In a paper on music and the Greek diaspora of Australia, Stathis Gauntlett has similarly noted that by the 1970s, "the rise of cassette-recording and ethnic broadcasting had 'democratized' the recording and copying of Greek music, to put it euphemistically." He believes that this democratization is a partial explanation for the scarcity of locally produced music amongst the Greek diaspora in Australia. See Stathis Gauntlett, "Which Master's Voice? A Cautionary Tale of Cultural and Commercial Relations with the Country of Origin," online at *Academia.edu*, accessed May 11, 2016, https://www.academia.edu/23077675/Title_Which_masters_voice_A_cautionary_tale_of_cultural_and_commercial_relations_with_the_country_of_origin.

[30] The key work capturing the central place of Greek music and Indian film in the culture of the Mizrahi neighborhood during the 1960s and 1970s is Beni Torati's acclaimed fiction-film *Kikar ha-halomot* [The circle of dreams] from 2001. In the dream-like reality of this movie, in which the borders of the neighborhood are the borders of the universe, the two key places are the Greek taverna and the movie theatre (and, importantly, not the synagogue). Framed photos of Stelios Kazantzidis and Manolis Angelopoulos hang on the walls of the home, like the photos of religious figures. For more on this film see Shoshana Madmoni-Gerber, "*The Circle of Dreams*," in *24 Frames (Series): The Cinema of North Africa and the Middle East*, ed. Gönül Dönmez-Colin (London: Wallflower Press, 2007), 201-212; and Hannan Hever et. al., "Rav-siah: mi-ta ha-masok le-batey ha-kolno'a: paneha hsel ha-Isre'eliyut basratim Kipur ve-Kikar ha-halomot [Colloquy: From the helicopter cabin to the movie theater: The face of Israeliness in *Kippur* and *The Circle of Dreams]*," *Teoria u-Vikoret* [Theory and criticism] 18 (Spring 2001): 237-256.

[31] On cassettes and musikah Mizrahit, see Amy Horowitz, *Mediterranean Israeli Music and the Politics of the Aesthetic* (Detroit: Wayne University Press, 2010), 20-30; and Regev and Seroussi, *Popular Music*, 207. On the

Yemenite singer Ahuva Ozeri recently said: "I didn't' care that they didn't play my music on the radio stations; they loved me at the biggest station in Israel: the bus station."[32]

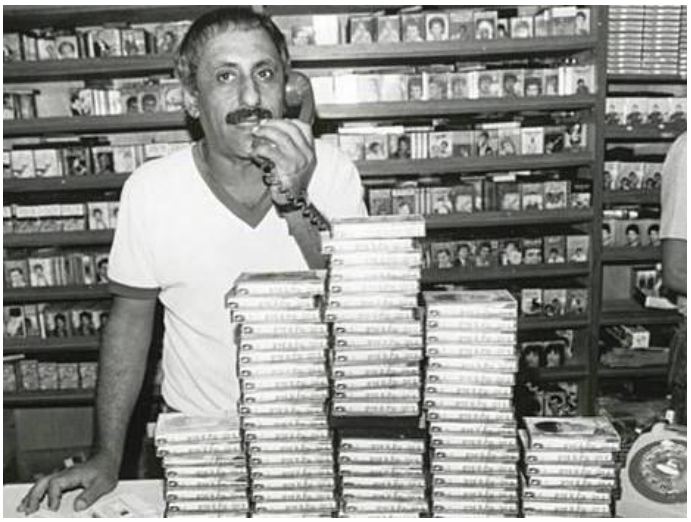

Figure 4.1: Meir Reuveni selling Cassettes, photo by Adi Avihsai, 198?, *NRG.co.il*, March 2, 2013

The Greek Scene after Aris San: Trifonas and other Successors

Aris San's departure for New York in late 1969, at the height of his popularity, left a significant void in the ever-growing market for live Greek music. He left an even greater void, however, in the symbolic economy of Greek music, in that he had literally embodied it for Israeli audiences. San kept releasing records for the Israeli market on the CBS Israel label, and they sold very well. He also retuned on an almost yearly basis to perform in Israel, especially during the first half of the 1970s. During his final years in Israel, San also toured the country extensively, trading the

global impact of cassette tapes on the music industry, see Peter Manuel, *Cassette Culture: Popular Music and Technology in North India* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1993): 1-35.

[32] I am paraphrasing from memory the comment that Ozeri made at a panel on the history of musikah Mizrahit. The panel took place in February 2016 as the fifth in a series of events led by radio DJ Yoav Kutner at the National Library in Jerusalem. Each event focused on a different chapter in the history of popular music in Israel.

lifestyle of nightly club performances for shows in movie theatres and public halls. Greek music was now a national trend, and audiences outside Tel Aviv could also expect live entertainment of this variety, in private and public events. At the same time, however, the radio was still ignoring Aris San's music, even though he had sold more records than any other artist in the country.[33] As such, his overwhelming success was also in part a symbol of the rift between the musical tastes of Israel's Mizrahi majority, and the sounds of national culture, as they were reflected in, and promoted by, the state-operated media.

The first Greek musicians to benefit from San's departure were those already working in the Jaffa club scene, including Statatos, Makis, Nino Nikolaidis, Spyros Katsaros, and Trifonas.[34] The latter (full name: Trifonas Nikolaidis), was already a veteran of the Jaffa Greek scene. He had been working regularly at Arianna and in private events since 1966.[35] Embraced by members of the local Salonica community, he was content with his life in Israel and brought his family over from his native island of Cyprus. Despite his great musical talent and experience (singing professionally since 1956), he lacked the ambition and entrepreneurial spirit of Aris San. And so when two managers, Dani Itzhaki and Yehuda Goren, approached him after San's departure and offered to make him a star, he initially found the idea absurd. Goren and Itzhaki, who worked

[33] In early 1971, *Yediot Ahronot* printed in two parts the transcripts of a panel discussion that brought together a group of experts to the discuss the state of Israeli popular song. The panel consisted of composers Noam Sharif, Nurit Hirsch, and Drora Havkin, radio executives Yitzhak Livni, and Gideon Samet, lyricist Didi Menusi, and cultural critic Ben-Ami Feingold. In the beginning of the second installment of this panel Nurit Hirsch mentions that San is for some reason "boycotted" by the radio although he sells more records than anyone else. The discussants debate what this says about the importance of radio in making or breaking a career but they all seem to agree that such a "boycott" exists. Later in the debate, Hirsch qualifies her assertion, claiming that the radio does play San's music but hardly in proportion to his record sales. Noam Sharif hypothesizes that Gedi Livne—who was the editor of Galey Tzahal's influential Hebrew song chart—doesn't include San's songs in the chart because "his fans are not the kind of people who send postcards to the radio." See "Haroshet ha-pizmonin [The song industry]," *Yediot Ahronot*, weekend cultural supplement, February 18, 1971.

[34] Just as Aris San changed his Greek given name to a more commercial name, most of these artists used their first name only as their brand. In some cases, I was unable to find out their full name.

[35] Trifonas Nikolaidis, interview with the author, September 3, 2014.

together with Haim Saban and Yehuda Talit in a production company called Te'atron ha-zman (Time theater), sighed a four-year contract with Trifonas. They came to see him perform at Arianna, and selected the songs that they felt the audience responded to the most, song that had hit quality, for Trifonas's debut record. It was recorded on a four-track tape at Koliphone studios and pressed by Koliphone, but released in 1972 as a demo, under the production company's name: Teatron ha-zman.[36]

Trifonas's repertoire, like San's, balanced rebetiko classics, 1960s hits in Greek and Spanish popularized by San, and contemporary hits from Greece and Turkey. For his debut promotional album, three songs were selected which could not be more different from one another in terms of their provenance. "Na'tane to '21" (If it was 1821) was the title track from the breakthrough album of a young Greek singer by the name of George Dalaras in 1970.[37] It was a lively neo-rebetiko song with a hasapiko rhythm, expressing nationalist nostalgia for the days of the Greek War of Independence. It never caught on with the Israeli audience. "Agonia" was a Western-style, romantic, slow-dance ballad in triple time, popularized in Greece by Tolis Voskopoulos. The third song, "Dirlada," was a traditional work song about sponge divers from the island of Kalymnos.[38] It was first recorded on a 45rpm record by Pandelis Ghinis, a sponge diving captain from the island.[39] In 1969 it was reinterpreted by the Greek Néo Kýma singer Dionisys Savvopoulos. Finally, in 1970 it was popularized across Europe by the Italo-Egyptian

[36] Ibid..

[37] The song, composed by Stavros Kouyioumtsis to lyrics by Sotia Tsotou, was first recorded in 1969 by Yiorgis Bithikotsis, but later became strongly identified with Dalaras.

[38] Kalymnos is a Greek island in the southeastern Aegean, off the coast of Asia Minor. Sponge diving— the retrieval of natural sponges for human use through free diving—has traditionally been one of the main occupations on the island.

[39] An article on the website of the Hotel Elies on the Island of Kalymnos offers a marvelous history of this song and an illuminating annotated translation of the lyrics. See "O dirlada kai teza oloi," *Hotel Elies Website*, accssed May 1, 2016, http://www.hotelelies.gr/?q=el/node/210.

international star Dalida, who recorded multiple versions in French, Italian, and German. Like all of these interpretations, Trifonas's rendition retains the quarter-note clapping accompaniment of the original recording. Unlike any of them, however, it makes the song an energetic dance number, incorporating staccato offbeat chords in the manner of Dov Seltzer's famous "um-pa" horas.[40]

The record was a success and "Dirlada," and to a lesser extent "Agonia," became huge hits. In fact, "Dirlada" became so famous in Israel that it reassumed its original status as a folk song. For decades after its initial success, it was an anthem in soccer matches, military prisons, and even schoolyards, receiving different Hebrew lyrics appropriate to the venue and context.[41] Trifonas's producers were able to use the popularity of this recording as a springboard, and book Trifonas ever more concerts alongside famous Israeli artists.

Months after the record's release, Trifonas's fame had clearly come to rival San's as the face of Greek music in Israel. In August 1972, San visited Israel and was exposed to the immense popularity of the new Greek mega-star; *Ma'ariv* called the contest between the two of them "the great bouzouki war":

> "[Trifonas] is a phenomenon"—agree all the managers that do not represent him. "We have seen nothing like this since Elvis." And one pop journal defined him as he truly deserves, according to what is happening around him: "the right man in the right place" (that same journal on a different page defined Aris San as "the wrong man in the wrong place." That should be sufficient to understand the predicament of the founder of Arianna [sic.]).[42]

[40] According to the article on the Hotel Elies website, after World Was II the people of Kalymnos also started dancing to this song, a dance that they considered to be of Arab origins. The article highlights the historical connection of the people of Kalymnos with the cultures of the Eastern shores of North Africa (Egypt and Libya), the waters of which were a key site for sponge diving.

[41] I can even recall this from my own years in grade school in the early 1990s. The most famous of these folk versions is the one about military prison, which begins with the words "ani yoshev be-kele shesh" [I sit in prison number six].

[42] Mirit Shem Or, "Milhemet ha-bouzouki ha-gdola [The great bouzouki war]," *Ma'ariv*, August 9, 1972.

As he became the talk of the country and attracted widespread media attention, Trifonas was able to drive the Greek music market in an unprecedented way. “Greek Music Hot on Israeli Front,” a headline announced in the international section of *Billboard* magazine:

> The popularity of Greek music has reached a new peak in Israel with at least five Greek singers, previously nightclub artists, now among the country's top record sellers. One of the major artists is Trifonas Nikolaidis, a Cypriot by origin who has been working in Israel for five years. His first album was released in Israel two months ago and has to date sold over 12,000 copies—making it one of the best-selling albums on the market. Among the reasons given for this increase in popularity has been the recent additional airtime for Greek music on Israeli radio and television. There are three Greek singers in the Israeli International Top 20: Nikolaidis, Statatos and Michalis.[43]

All of the artists mentioned had been recording for Koliphone. The article mentions the company’s pioneering role, but then turns its attention to the mainstream, local branch of CBS, which it describes as “the company which has taken the lead in the Greek music market.”[44] Otherthanthe fact that CBS was Aris San’s company, and that his records were all best sellers, this was largely an exaggeration. The article concludes with an announcement by a CBS executive, that the company will start marketing records by Greece’s largest record company, owned by the Jewish Matsas family:

> Abe Fineberg of CBS Israel disclosed this week his company has signed a licensing contract with the Greek Minos company. Within the next four months CBS is due to release 12 albums from the Minos catalog. CBS also has an office in Cyprus and last week the company new over a team of technicians to record an album of Greek Cypriot folk songs. “Greek music is now fashionable in Israel, the same way as Greek music was popular eight years ago,” said Fineberg. “But Greek music has always sold in substantial

[43] “Greek Music Hot On Israeli Front,” *Billboard* 4 (47), November 18, 1972.

[44] Ibid.

> quantities. A new Aris San record we released a few weeks ago sold a thousand copies on the first day. Greek music cassettes are also big sellers."[45]

Trifonas's period as a national star lasted for about four years. During the period following the October 1973 war, he joined the country's leading artists in performing daily for soldiers. These activities proved critical in expanding his audience.[46] He recalls:

> During the war and after it all the soldier and reservists got to know me, and then a crazy period of concerts started. I did tours in movie theatres with Shimi Tavori, Boaz Shar'abi, and Tzvika Pick. We exploded the box offices. Sometimes there were three concerts a night. They would take me off the stage after 25 minutes to make it to the next venue. Once, on Independence Day, we took an ambulance and did six shows in one night.[47]

Like Aris San before him, Trifonas moved to New York in 1980, after a decade of success in Israel. He even worked for a while a San's club, the Sirocco. During his years in Israel, he had released six LPs and several EPs, all on the Koliphone label. Trifonas had thus become the label's new cash cow, after the unanticipated success they had scored in 1969 with Aris San's "Boumpam" (recorded in 1966), long after San had signed with CBS and was no longer recording for them. To understand the complex relationship between the phenomenal, nation-wide success of Trifonas and the ongoing stigmatization of Greek music as a Mizrahi subculture, one has to imagine a somewhat mythical figure. Imagine that in the first half of the 1970s, the

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[45] Ibid. It is plausible that CBS's licensing contract led to what Meir Reuveni described as a crackdown on cassette bootlegging around 1973, which eventually encouraged him to give up his large operation and turn to recording local artists singing in Greek. It seems that CBS never became the major player in the local market for Greek music, however. It was a price-driven market catering mostly to the lower economic strata of Israeli society. At the time these consumers bought their music mostly in the form of cassettes at the Tel Aviv Central Bus Station or in neighborhood businesses. They were not interested in expensive, legally imported, hi-fi LPs. Meir Reuveni, interview.

[46] Over 300,000 reservists were recruited during the war, for a period that often lasted several months.

[47] Ben Shalev, "Trifonas makpitz ba-marim shel Tel Aviv [Trifonas makes the audience jump in the bars of Tel Aviv]," *Ha'aretz Online*, November 18, 2012, http://www.haaretz.co.il/gallery/music/1.1865574.

head of Greek music was breathing the thin air of national media attention, while its feet were firmly planted in the Streets of Mizrahi neighborhoods.

"And One Tape to Another Exclaims 'Yasou'": Turkization, Mizrahization, and Marginalization

Keen on maximizing their share in in the market for Greek music, Koliphone records released of LPs and compilations during the first half of the 1970s. These LPs featured almost every Greek musician working in the Israeli club scene. By this time the scene had expanded from Jaffa to the south of Tel Aviv and to the nearby towns of Bat Yam and Ramle. The last in particular gradually emerged as the new hub for young Mizrahi nightlife.

As a survey of the repertoire on these recordings reveals, these artist met their audiences' and record companies' increasing expectations to deliver both Greek and Turkish music, in what was becoming a consolidated marketing category encompassing both languages.[48] For some artists, such as Nino Nikolaidis, Turkish-language songs accounted for at least half of their recorded repertoire. The consolidation of this new repertoire as "Turko-Greek" was an important indicator of its "Mizrahization" during the 1970s, and its concurrent marginalization.

Commentators in the Israeli media, who had been observing the new Turko-Greek scene from the outside, reported on it with a growing sense of distance. At the peak of its second wave of popularity of Greek music in late 1972, even the cultural supplement of *Davar*—then a platform for a young elite cadre of Israeli authors and intellectuals— featured a (somewhat ironic) article about the Greek musician Spyros Katsaros. Although on the surface the article

[48] I refrain from saying both "styles," because, as I have shown throughout this dissertation, the category of Greek song itself was an amalgamation of various styles, and because the strain of Greek laiko that enjoyed the greatest popularity in Israel had never lost touch with Turkish music to begin with.

presented Greek music as appealing to Israelis of all ethnic backgrounds, in reality it reinforced stereotypes of ethnicity and class around it:

> Spiro is an *original* Greek singer, to the merriment of all those who love *original* Greek song. And they are many among us of late. No longer are they just Greek immigrants. No longer do they concentrate in Arianna, Zorba, or Cafe Atuna by the beach. Greek song is beloved by people of all ethnicities, old and young alike, and it can be heard more and more around us. Technical developments have brought to us the cassette tape from across the seas, and many now stride tall in the streets of their yellowing city, carrying a small tape player out of which pour and curl-out onto the street the sounds of a Greek singer, joyous or melancholy, and always in the loudest of loud voices: Aris San, Trifonas, Spyros, "Boom Pam," and one tape to another exclaims "yasou."[49]

In this tongue-in-cheek poetic description, all those who love Greek music are reduced to the kind of people who would play loud music on the street. This image clearly limits our imagination to a very specific lifestyle, which in the context of Israeli points to the kind of neighborhoods predominantly populated by Mizrahim.

Most of the Greek artists who enjoyed success in Israel at this time were not only singers but also bouzouki players. Their ability to play the bouzouki allowed them to deliver full Greek-style performances accompanied by one or more Israeli musicians. These accompanists usually came from the ranks of the "beat bands"—Israel's first rock groups—but worked across several styles.[50] A key figure in this regard is Marko Bakhar (b. 1947 in Bulgaria). Bakhar, who grew up in Haifa, was an accordion and keyboard player, and gained experience as an accompanist and arranger during his service in an

[49] "Sprio, ve-lo Agnew [Spiro, and not Agnew]," *Davar Hɑshavua*, , November 17, 1972,. The article twice uses the Hebrew slang idiom "original," meaning authentic or real. The use of this word highlights the playful tone of the article, and connotes a lowbrow register of spoken Hebrew.

[50] For a recent study of the beat bands see Noa Kanarek-Gilboa ,"'Noladeti ba-makom ha-lo-nakhon': sipura shel lahakat ha-Cherchilim ve-shel reshit tarbut ha-rok ha-Isre'elit [I was born in the wrong place`: the story of the band 'The Churchills' and the early years of Israeli rock culture]" Master's Thesis, Ben Gurion University, 2015; and Regev and Seroussi, *Popular Music*, 139-142.

army band. In 1970 he started a band called Soul Man, which enjoyed great success playing original songs and covers in the styles of rock, soul, and funk at the Pe'er club in Ramle. During the same years, Dani Itzhaki, who was managing Trifonas, took Bakhar on as an arranger and accompanist. Bakhar played on Trifonas's debut single, and went on to become the arranger for all of his subsequent albums, and for the majority of the Turko-Greek albums recorded in Israel during that decade and into the 1980s.[51]

Session musicians for these albums include some of finest rock instrumentalists of the day, including guitar player Gary Eckstein, Moshe Levy, and members of the band ha-Arayot (The Lions). Bakhar's affection for rock, soul, funk, and eventually also disco,— styles that were the bread-and-butter of most of the session musicians,— gave the albums a unique fusion sound today called "Turkish psychedelia."[52]

Bakhar and the other rock instrumentalists played a key role in shaping the sound of Oriental music pop music in Israel during the 1970s, but received little credit for their contributions. By and large, musicians of the beat band scene who crossed over into Hebrew popular song, and who invented what is now known as "Israeli rock," have become part of the canon of Israeli music history in both academic and non-academic circles. Those musicians who crossed over into the Turko-Greek scene and musikah Mizrahit, including Marco Bakhar himself, remain largely ignored by the mainstream.

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[51] Dudi Patimer, "'Paskol hayav': sipuro shel ha-,usikai ve-ha-me'abed Marco Bakhar ["'The soundtrack of his life': the story of musician and arranger Marco Bakhar]," *Dudipedia*, 07.11.2015 , accessed on May 1, 2016, https://dudipedia.wordpress.com/2015/01/07/מ-והמעבד-המוסיקאי-שלי-סיפורו-חייו-פסקול/.

[52] Although Anatolian psychedelic rock—embodied in the recordings of Erkin Koray and others—emerged during the same years, it is unlikely that Bakhar was directly influenced by its development. Rather, the similarities between them emerged because they were the product of a similar mix of influences, and because in both cases musicians with a rock orientation used Turkish melodies. Still ,in recent years, several Koliphone albums have been re-released by the Israeli label Fortuna Records, which specializes vinyl reissues, as representatives of the Israeli wing of Turkish psychedelia. These include recordings by Nino Nikolaidis, Grazia, and Levitros.

Bakhar and other session musicians are likewise largely absent from the internal mythology of musikah mizrahit, the protagonists of which are singers and producers.[53]

From Weddings to Cassettes: The Greek Beginnings of Musikah Mizrahit

The canonical story of the birth of musikah Mizrahit has been told many times over.[54] The role of Greek music in that story, however, has been largely overlooked. Several of the protagonists of musikah Mizrahit, musicians and producer alike, owe their beginnings to the Greek music trend among Mizrahim. Based on my interviews with some of the key players in the emergence of this music, I offer here a concise version of this story which places it within the larger narrative of Greek music in Israel.

A key site for the interaction between Mizrahi musicians and their audiences, wedding parties were often the spaces were tastes and trends were negotiated. As I have shown in previous chapters, Israelis of many classes and ethnicities had recognized the appropriateness of Greek music for joyful events since the heyday of the Arianna club in the early 1960s. For many Mizrahim who were not club-going types (often for religious or financial reasons), weddings and other parties featuring live music were prime sites for enjoying live musical entertainment and expanding their musical horizons. In the Yemenite neighborhoods of Tel Aviv—Shabazi and Kerem ha-Teymanin (Yemenite's Vineyard)—Singing at spontaneous musical gatherings was a favorite pastime, even when no special occasion (such as a wedding) called for a celebration.

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[53] Guitar players Yehuda Keisar and Moshe Ben-Mush are a notable exception to this rule. The role these two instrumentalists (who both later became producers) played in shaping the sound of musikah Mizrahit has been widely recognized. However, the fact that Marko Bakhar was responsible for the arrangements in Tziliey ha-oud's (Keisar's group) debut tour and later albums has largely been ignored. Likewise, the role of Yigal Hared, who produced their rivals/doppelgängers, Tzliley ha-kerem, has also been ignored.

[54] See Amy Horowitz, *Mediterranean Israeli Music*, 47-50; and Regev and Seroussi, *Popular Music*, 206.

The strains of the new, locally produced style of musikah Mizrahit emerged from these communal soundscapes..

In 1969, two young musicians from Yemenite families—Yossi Levi (AKA Daklon, b. 1944) and Moshe Ben Mosh (b. 1947) started to play at weddings and other parties (Mizrahim often refer to such events by the Arabic word for party, "hafla."). These musicians' first opportunities to play in public came from hanging out with a group of older amateur musicians from the Yemenite neighborhoods of Tel Aviv, who called themselves ha-Shubelim or sometimes Tzlilei Shabazi.[55] Ben Moosh learned to play the mandolin by watching Moshe Meshumar of ha-Shubelim practice in his home.[56] Like others of his age, especially in the south of Tel Aviv, Ben Mosh was taken with Greek music and soon traded his mandolin for a bouzouki. His friend Daklon, who had a good singing voice, transcribed by ear the lyrics of Greek hits in Hebrew script, and learned them by heart.[57] Because Greek music was in demand in the Yemenite neighborhoods, and the older musicians could not play this music, the two were invited to join ah-Shubalim and add Greek songs to their programs. According to Daklon, when the duo started to preform independently at parties and weddings, they added Hebrew and Yemenite favorites as well, but played them as well with a Greek tinge.[58] Following the name format of Tzliley Shabazi, Daklon and Ben Mosh sometimes went by the name Tzliley ha-Kerem

[55] The leaders of this group were mandolin player Moshe Meshumar, and singers Shlomo Mori (AKA Dovale) and Shalom Shubeli. The name ha-Shubelim is derived from the latter's last name. The alternate name Tzliley Shabazi means "the sounds of Shabazi," after the Shabazi neighborhood where the group used to play. This group formed already in the 1950s, and was performed mostly Hebrew songs (in the genre of Songs of the Land of Israel) with a Yemenite or otherwise Middle Eastern flavor. They would play in private houses or yards, and often out on the street, in joyous, spontaneous gatherings that would last all night. I call these musicians amateurs not as an assessment of their skill, but to highlight that they usually did not play for money.

[56] Dudi Patimer, "'HaGitara': Siporo shel Hayotzer Vehagitarist Moshe Ben Mosh ["'The guitar': the story of artist and guitarist Moshe Ben Mosh], *Dudipedia*, May 12, 2015, accessed on May 1, 2016, *https://dudipedia.wordpress.com/2015/05/12/משה-והגיטריסט-היוצר-של-סיפורו-הגיטרה/.*

[57] Yossi Levy (Daklon), interview with the author, April, 24 2014.

[58] Ibid.

(the other Yemenite neighborhood) or Tzliley ha-Bouzouki (Sounds of the bouzouki).[59] By 1971 they had acquired advanced equipment, including a drum machine, and Ben Moosh took up the electric guitar, in the manner of his Greek role model Aris San.

In the early 1970s, mobile tape recorders become available as a consumer technology, and bootleg cassettes of Daklon and Ben Mosh started to circulate. One hafla cassette in particular, is often mentioned in the canonic version of the story of the birth of musikah Mizrahit: the recording made at Asher Reuveni's wedding in early 1974, which achieved the widest circulation and demand. The reason this cassette is so often mentioned is that Reuveni's brother Meir was the in business of making, duplicating, and selling pirated recordings, mostly of Greek and Indian (Bollywood) music. When his brother Asher kept asking him for more copies of the tape containing the music performed at his wedding, Reuveni realized the commercial potential of producing records that would make this music into a marketable product.

Meir Reuveni was not the only person who realized this, however, and Tzliley ha-Kerem was not the only group able to supply the demand. Another duo of Yemenite youngsters, guitar player Yehuda Keisar and singer Rami Danoh, operated as a hafla band. They also performed in nightclubs. As a child, Keisar (b. 1954) played drums in Yemenite weddings.[60] He grew up in Kiryat Ono, a suburb in the Tel Aviv district, and his childhood friends (Ashkenazi and Moroccans) were all fans of rock music. And so Keisar initially became a guitarist in order to play the music of the Beatles, Jimi Hendrix, and Led Zeppelin. It was his encounter with the

[59] Ibid.

[60] Traditional Jewish Yemenite music excluded the use of musical instruments for religious reasons, but allowed for the tapping of rhythms on various metal objects that have a primary use other than music (metal trays and cans). In Israel, after 1950, this license was expanded to the use of drums, and so Yemenite musicians, including Aharon Amram, performed at weddings accompanied by drums. According to Keisar, the weddings of the 1960s also employed wedding bands that played both Hebrew and non-Hebrew popular music, but Amram performed the traditional wedding repertoire accompanied by drums alone. Yehuda Keisar, interview.

music of Aris San in 1969 that pointed him in a new direction, however. He spent days on end emulating San's guitar style, and reproducing his sound.[61]

Meir Azoulay, who was in charge of record production for Koliphone records, says that in 1974 more and more people came into the family store asking for the song "Hanale hitbalbela" (Little Hannnah was confused).[62] This was one of the songs on a hafla band bootleg cassette that was circulating at the time. In an attempt to track down the performers, Azoulay found Keisar and Danoh, and offered them a record deal.

The Azoulay brothers (of Koliphone records) and the Reuveni brothers, who in the meantime had signed a record deal with Daklon and Ben Moosh, were now competing to release essentially the same record.[63] With far superior experience and organization, the Azoulay brothers beat the Reuveni brothers to the task. They released the songs first, in cassette form and later as an LP (self-titled, 1975).[64] The band was called Tzliley ha-Oud (Sounds of the oud), although they never used an oud in any of their recordings or live performances. Their album was an instant best seller, and the band went on a national tour produced by Yehuda Talit and

[61] According to Keisar, his sister spent an exorbitant amount off money to buy him an electric guitar like the one San was playing. He used his hi-hat pedal to create an apparatus that would allow him to learn San's solos note for note: he would listen to a phrase, lift the record player needle using the pedal, and then play the phrase himself. When he released the pedal, the record would continue from the same point. Keisar, interview.

[62] For a detailed history of this song and its role in the emergence of musikah Mizrahit see Edwin Seroussi, "Hanale Hitbalbela," in "Hamishim le-Arba'im u-shmone: Momentim bikortiyim be-toldot Medinat Israel [Fifty to forty-eight: Critical moments in the history of the State of Israel]," ed. Adi Ofir, special issue, *Teorya u-vikoret* 12-13 (1996): 269-277. See alo Regev and Seroussi, *Popular Music*, 213-214.

[63] According to Keisar, he and Danoh didn't have the first clue on how to record in a studio. Azoulay told them to play as if they were performing at a party. They hired bass player and Hed Artzi executive Etchie Stroh as a musical producer, but that didn't work either. Finally, Keisar says, Azoulay staged for them a fake *hafla* in the studio, with drinks and an audience, and only then they were able to perform in a manner that was suitable for recording. Keisar, interview.

[64] By the mid 1970s most of the LPs releaed by Koliphone and the Azoulay brothers were also released as cassettes, and vice versa. Cassettes were considered an ephemeral media, and they were not assigned a catalogue number. Hardly anyone, let alone the producers themselves, still keeps copies of cassettes from the 1970s. Therefore, my account of recordings produced in Israel relies on LP releases.

Haim Saban, the leading artistic agents in the country. Tzliley ha-Kerem soon followed with a cassette/LP titled *Bezokhri Yamim Yamima* (As I remember the olden days), and also went on a tour, where they shared the stage with a Greek singer bearing the peculiar name Levitros.[65] Who was this Levitros, and where did he come from?

Figure 4.2: Daklon and Ben Mosh (Tzliley ha-Kerem) on the cover of their debut LP *Bezokhri Yamim Yamima* (1975)

[65] Yossi Levy, interview with the author.

Becoming Greek: The Greek Personas of Israeli Singers and Bouzouki Players

Alongside the Greek musicians working in Israel, another group of performers who attempted to meet the demand for Greek music in the early 1970s after Aris San's departure were the aspiring Mizrahi musicians. These singers and bouzouki players specialized in Turko-Greek music and adopted Greek stage names. The first of these was Levitros. Born in 1949 in Iraq as Levi Mualem, he grew up in Jerusalem listening to Arabic music at home, but also to Greek and Ladino songs from his neighbors' houses.[66] In his youth, he was a member of a beat band, singing rock music in Jerusalem's clubs. The years of his military service (1967-1969) were the peak years of Aris San's popularity, and in the early 1970s, when he retuned to the stage, he started integrating more and more Greek music into his shows. His Dutch manager in Jerusalem then decided that Levi Mualem was not a name that draws crowds, and gave him the stage name Levitros.[67]

In 1972, Levitros received an invitation to preform at a wedding in Ramle. This led to a regular gig at the Pe'er nightclub in this city, where Marco Bakhar and singer Nissim Seroussi also played at the time, and his career took off. The owner of the Pe'er club, together with "Amaney Israel" (an independent production company founded by Seroussi), decided to release a promo single for him, just as Trifonas's managers had done for him months before.[68] The single, produce by Koliphone, featured a Turkish song called "Kara kaslar" (Black eyebrows). It became a hit, leading to the release of the LP *Rubi Rubi* (1973). By the end of the decade Levitros would release three more LPs on the Koliphone label.

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[66] Levi Mualem, interview with the author.

[67] Ibid.

[68] On Nissim Seroussi and his company see Dudi Patimer, "'mi-Nisim be-ahava': sipuro shel ah-yotzer ve-ha-zamar Nisim Seroussi [From Nissim with love': the story of artist and singer Nissim Seroussi], *Dudipedia*, October 7, 2014, accessed May 1, 2016, *https://dudipedia.wordpress.com/2014/10/07/מניסים-באהבה-סיפורו-של-היוצר-והזמר-ני/.*

Levitros performed regularly in the clubs in Ramle. He also toured and entertained at weddings and parties around the country. Levitros says that he got most of his material from reel-to-reel tapes he bought at a Tel Aviv store. The reels were compiled by the owner of the store, from records bought in Greece and Turkey. And so, for the most part, he had no way of knowing the authors and titles of songs, or names of performers. As a result, the song titles he uses on his record covers and on the records themselves are usually invented from memorable words or phrases. This makes the task of tracing the original versions of these songs a difficult one. This is the case with all Turko-Greek records made in Israel during the period.

Another notable star of the Turko-Greek scene was a wonder child from Bat-Yam who went by the stage name Gratzia. Promoted by her father and by a famous manager nicknamed "Moshe Haltuera," she was on stage from the age of eight, singing in Greek and Turkish, and playing bouzouki. In 1978 Koliphone released an LP (Koliphone 46407) containing her interpretation of 12 Turkish and Greek songs popular in Israel.

A second wave of Israeli's with Greek stage personas came when the Reuveni brothers, who competed with Koliphone for the Mizrahi market, and who advanced from reproducing and selling cassettes of Greek music to producing their own records. The first locally recorded Greek LP they released was *Haide Yasou* (1977) by the singer and bouzouki player Stalos, whose birth name was Shimon Mizrahi. Like the Reuveni brothers, Stalos was from ha-Tikva neighborhood in the south of Tel Aviv, which was rapidly becoming, alongside the Ramle club scene, a major hub for the new Mizrahi pop. His parents came from Turkey and Iraq.

Stalos's debut album featured a surprising number of old rebetiko classics that I wrote about earlier in this dissertation, including "Elenitsa mou" and Harikalaki" (recorded by Roza Eskenazi in the 1930s) as well as "To vouno" (The mountain, from 1954, composed by Loukas

Dalaras). His repertoire generally boasted a variety of Greek dance rhythms (including zeibekiko, karsilama, and hasapiko). A few songs on the LP are taken from Stelios Kazantzidis's records of the mid 1970s, including one song composed by Mikis Theodorakis ("Stin anatoli"), and the first of many Israeli recordings of the song "ypárcho." (I exist) Marko Bakhar, who continued to be the principle arranger for Greco-Turkish records in the Reuveni era, kept overtly "synthesized" sounds to a minimum in this LP, and generally tried to produce it to sound as close as possible to a traditional laiko recording. Consequently, this record is perhaps the most "Greek" of all recordings made in Israel during the 1970s. It is almost as if the Reuveni brothers, who spent many years building a collection of Greek records to copy and sell as tape cassettes, were now aiming to rebuild their catalog with proprietary recordings, and to do so started from the beginning, with the Greek "classics."

The next musician to record for the Reuevenis was Izakis (Yitzhak Osmos). A veteran singer and bouzouki player from the Greco-Turkish scene, he had already recorded a promo 7" (1973, by the same "Amaney Israel" that first recorded Levitros) and a self-titled LP released on the label ha-Taklit (1978). ha-Taklit was a small Haifa-based record company founded by Dov Ze'ira in 1961, that recorded mostly mainstream Hebrew songs.[69] That it released Izakis's LP in 1978 is another testament to the fact that the mainstream music businesses in Israel recognized the great commercial potential of Greek music, even if it failed to reach its audiences effectively.[70] With the Reuvenu brothers, Izakis's recorded his LP *Sagapisa* from 1979

[69] For a short history of ha-Ttaklit, see "Al hevrat ha-Taklit [About ha-taklit Company]," ha-Taklit company website, accssed May 1, 2016, http://kmopaam.hataklit-music.com/KmoPaam/l_hhbrh.html.

[70] During that same year, Asher Reuveni joined CBS for short stint as a producer, reflecting the same trend. By 1980 he left to found his own artists agency and manage Zohar Argov. Today he manages Trifonas who has retuned to Israel after thirty years in the US. See "Profil hevra: ha-ahim Reuveni [Reuveni brother: company profile], *Reuveni Brothers company website*, accessed May 1, 2016, http://www.ahim-reuveni.co.il/infopage.php?ipage=company.html.

accompanied by ha-Psagot band led by Marko Bakhar. This album has a much more contemporary sound, as appropriate to the Greek repertoire it brings forth. The record included mostly recent songs, originally performed by Greek artists in the Oriental laiko style sometimes called *skyladiko* (literally: "doghouse"). This type of laiko music evoked the style of Kazantzidis and Angelopoulos, but updated and informed by Western Pop on the one hand, and Turkish arabesk music on the other. Izakis's LP includes songs popularized in Greece by relatively obscure nightclub singers including Polis Kermanidis and Vilmas Theodoros, alongside older songs by Kazantzidis, treated in the same contemporary style.[71]

Figure 4.3: Izakis (Itzik Osmos) on the cover of his LP *Siko Pano* (1978)

[71] Both Stalos and Izakis continue to preform and record today, and are firmly embedded in the field of musikah Mizrahit.

Finally, the biggest "Greek" start of the late 1970s was Nikolas (1952-2000). Born in Ramat Gan to a family from Bukhara (Uzbekistan), he was the protégé of an impresario named Izidor Saranga, who taught him to sing in Greek and Turkish. Nikolas often performed with his brother, a bouzouki player who went by the stage name Yanis.[72]

Guitar player Yehuda Keisar recalls that when his band performed at a wedding, it would bring Nikolas onto the stage for a session of Greek and Turkish songs. Such sessions became a staple in Mizrahi weddings during the 1970s and 1980s. At the end of the night, when it was time to collect their earnings, Keisar would take Nikolas with him to talk to the person in charge (the groom, his father, or another family member). They would pretend that Nikolas didn't speak Hebrew, and had to catch a plane back to Greece. The international aura they were trying to create—in the hope that they would receive a more generous or timely compensation for their labor—speaks to their audience's desire to have a "real" Greek singer at their wedding.[73]

This anecdote illuminates the entire phenomenon of the Greek persona in musikah Mizrahit. For over twenty years, local audiences had appreciated Greek music as performed by Greek musicians (at the front of the stage, at least). They had felt that their knowledge and appreciation of this music was a testament to their affinity for a vibrant cosmopolitan culture that went beyond the confines of Hebrew culture, within which they were marginalized. Rather than being imposters, these artists used their "Hellenized" stage personas to acknowledge their communities' need to identify through Greek and Turkish music in this way, and to "dialecticize" local culture by drawing on resources that circumvented the trajectory of Israeliness dictated by the Euro-Israeli mainstream. In the latter context, the only path to modernization open for the

[72] Yanis is still active as a performer of Greek music in Israel. His two sons, keyboard player Aaron Kamigarov and violinist Ron Carmi ("Ronius") are among the top instrumentalists of Greek music and musikah Mizrahit in Israel today.

[73] Yehuda Keisar, interview with the author.

Mizrahim involved assimilating, which meant adopting the cultural norms of the dominant group, in relation to which they were at a structural disadvantage. Mizrahim opted (not as a conscious choice, obviously, but de-facto), to follow a different, "Oriental" path of cosmopolitanism. They wanted to be (or identify with) Aris San or Trifonas, because these artists were not subordinate to the pecking order in Israeli society.

Greek Musical Practices and Repertoires as Pillars of Musikah Mizrahit: Keisar and Ben Moosh, Zohar Argov and Haim Moshe

The guitar style of Keisar and Ben Moosh, which was heavily influenced by that of Aris San, featured prominently in the early albums of musikah Mizrahit. But the role of these individuals didn't end there. Keisar and Ben Moosh became musical producers who took under their wing the next generation of musikah Mizrahit solo artists. In the late 1970s, Keisar cultivated the Yemenite singer Zechariah "Jacky" Mekayten (1955-2012), and recorded his first album (released as a cassette) in 1979. Months later, in 1980 he recorded the same songs again with a new singer, Zohar Argov (1955-1987), who became the undisputed king of Mizrahit after the release of this album—*Elinor* (1980). In the same year, Ben Mosh helped launch the solo career of singer Haim Moshe (b. 1955), and later produced his breakthrough Album *Ahavat hayay* (Love of my life, 1983). Both albums featured the Aris San-derived guitar style prominently, solidifying it as the key sound signature of musikah Mizrahit. Additionally, both included Hebrew versions of Greek songs.

Argov's title single "Elinor", takes its melody from "ypárcho." a song composed by Christos Nikolopoulos and recorded by Stelios Kazantzidis in 1975. The Hebrew lyrics are by Jacky Mekaiten, written for his own cassette from 1979. If it were not for Israeli performers of

Greek music such as Stalos and Nikolas, who in the late 1970s recorded this song and made it popular in their performances, Mekaiten probably would not have chosen or even known it. "Elinor" remains to this day one of the most beloved classics of musikah Mizrahit. Now represented by the Reuveni Brothers, Argov recorded several other Greek and Turkish songs from the repertoire of Nikolas, with Hebrew lyrics by Suzy Saranga, the teenage daughter of Nikolas's manager, Izidor Saranga. Best known among them are "'Einaikh ha-humt" (Your brown eyes), based on "Ta mavra matia sou," popularized by Manolis Angelopoulos, and "Ba'avar hayu zmain" (There were times in the past), which takes its tune from the Turkish "Neden saçların beyazlamış arkadaş" (which audiences in Israel know with the shorter title "Arkadaş"). The latter was Nikolas's greatest hit.

Haim Moshe's album *Ahavat Hayay* included a song by Kazantzidis with Hebrew lyrics ("Smadar"), as well as a cover version of Aris San's Hebrew song "Bau ha-Tzlilim" (The sounds came). Moshe's album *Toda* [Thank You] from 1986 enjoyed significant cross over success into the mainstream, and was comprised entirely of Greek songs with Hebrew lyrics by Uzi Hitman.[74] The widespread use of Greek melodies in early musikah Mizrahit, in addition to continuing the practices that I have described throughout this chapter, occurred also because of a shortage in competent composers willing to work in this genre and able to furnish the kind of songs to which audiences had grown accustomed. Further, using Greek melodies was faster, easier, and, most importantly, cheaper: For the most part, until the mid 1990s (and even later) Greek composers were neither given credit on album covers nor compensated. If credits appeared at all, the music was simply described as "Greek" or "Popular Greek." This practice was not merely a calculated attempt on the part of producers to conceal things, but rather a product of their longstanding

[74] On stage, both singers also performed songs in the original Greek.

habit of consuming Greek songs oblivious of their provenance, since the days of Aris San and reel-to-reel tapes. Nevertheless, in a highly competitive market, the fact that they did not have to pay composers or rights-owners gave producers a strong incentive to revert time and time again to Greek songs.

If the early recordings of Zohar Argov, Haim Moshe, and others established a Greek-Israeli guitar style as a staple of musikah Mizrahit, they also reestablished the practice of writing new Hebrew lyrics to Greek songs, and made Greek melodies a defining stylistic component in this genre.[75] Of course there were several other important sources of influence. The repertoire of early musikah Mizrahit included just as many Yemenite and Moroccan melodies, and old Hebrew classics. It also included original compositions by Avihu Medina, Zion Shar'abi, and others. Many of these songs are acquired through the year a central place in Hebrew popular song. But it is to a large extent the enduring presence of Greek and Turkish melodies and stylistic elements that has kept musikah Mizrahit in dialogue with contemporary popular music outside the borders of Israel, assuring its vitality and relevance.

Observed in the context of the longer history of Greek music in Israel, the significance of Greek music to the golden age of musikah mizrahit in the 1980s emerges as more than a mere fashion trend. This music continued a tradition that had developed thanks to the sustained presence of Greek music in Israel during the formative decades of the development of Mizrahi culture. In these decades—the 1960s and 1970s—a new generation of Israelis born to Oriental immigrant parents came of age. For those born in the mid 1950s, including Argov and Moshe,

[75] This is still the case even today. To date, the number of Hebrew songs using Greek melodies has acceded 500. The Israeli website *Isracover* lists 492 songs in the genre of musikah Mizrahit, with their Greek sources. The website also contains a list of about 50 songs with Greek melodies for which the sources has not been identified. See "Mekorot be-Yevanit [Greek ϭources]," *Isracover website*, accessed May 1, 2016, http://covers.vix.co.il/#.

Greek music had been a constant presence in the soundscape of their childhood. As one user named Yarin wrote in the forum of the Israel Greek music fan website *Radio Ilios*:

> … you bring me back to the mid 1970s dad comes home with a record player and a record of the king Stelios Kazantzidis and from that moment on it keeps on playing in our home and an all over the neighborhood. [Ours was a] modest house in Shikun ha-Mizrah with a nice yard in the middle of which stood a date palm with speaker hanging on it, and I as a boy getting addicted to these songs and the Kazantzidis record never taken off the player.[76] … Zohar Argov, who lived near by, took this hit by Stelios and became himself the all-time king of Mediterranean Music. I would like to thank my father who first exposed me to Greek music, and because of him I've been [listening to it] to ever since.[77]

This quote compels us to understand the significance of the narrative I have outlined in this chapter in terms of what Bhabha calls, following Fanon, the *temporality of continuance*. This "everyday form" of "living inside history" is, according to Bhabha, "the temporality of the practice of action: its performativity or agency is constituted from its emphasis on the singularity of the local."[78] For Bhabha it is this state of living inside the singularity of the local that births a vernacular cosmopolitanism, a "cosmopolitan community envisaged in its marginality."[79] It is in this sense that we should understand the place of Greek music in musikah Mizrahit, alongside- and as stylistic vessel for the re-interpretation of religious songs (Piyutim) such as "Et dodim kala"[80] These syncretic practices represent neither the Mizrahim's attempt to shape Israeliness,

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[76] Shikun ha-Mizrah was a predominantly Mizrahi neighborhood in the City of Rishon le-Tziyon. Zohar Argov also grew up in this neighborhood

[77] Yarin, 08.07.2012 (08:30Am), comment on glggm, "ha-Yom lifney shishim shana [Sixty years ago today]," *Ilios Radio Main Forum: Greek Music*, July 5, 2012, accessed May 5 2016, http://www.iliosradio.com/forum/index.php?showtopic=14675.

[78] Homi Bhabha, "Unsatisfied: Notes on Vernacular Cosmopolitanism," in *Text and Nation: Cross-Disciplinary Essays on Cultural and National Identities*, eds. Laura Garcia-Moreno and Peter C. Pfeiffer (Columbia: Camden House, 1996), 191-192.

[79] Ibid., 195.

[80] The text for this piyut, based on The Song of Songs, was composed by Rabi Haim Ben Sahel in the tenth century. In 1962 it was recorded by the Yemenite singer Aharon Amram (Makolit 54118), with the Babylonian-Jewish

nor join a transnational Mediterranean aesthetic community. Rather, they are a way of mobilizing the soundscape of the Mizrahi neighborhood in its entirety. In the words of Amy Horowitz, author of the first English-language monograph on musikah Mizrahit: "To the uninitiated, including mainstream music critics, the juxtaposition of religious themes and popular Greek or Turkish music was disconcerting. From an insider's perspective, however, this was a form of straddling stylistic traditions in which one remains connected to the home community within the context of innovative popular music."[81]

Conclution

In the decade that passed between the heyday of Trifonas and Levitros and the unprecedented popularity of Zohar Argov, Greek music became naturalized in the Israeli soundscape as a marker of Mizrahiyut, to the extent that many of its local strands ceased to be associated with Greece altogether. While recording Greek songs with Hebrew lyrics was a way of reaffirming the relevance of Greek music to a local identity, it was also a way of breaking with the ambivalent way in which this music functioned for a decade as both "Greek" and "ours": the Hebrew version, "Elinor," was now simply "ours." As I have noted in the beginning of this chapter and in the prologue, this state of affairs changed again by the mid 1980s when Yehuda Poliker—the son of Salonica holocaust survivors—created a new local hybrid of Israeli rock and

tune of a different piyut, "Yodukha Rayoni" by Rabi Israel Najara. Because it was in Amram's repertoire, as far as Zohar Argov was concerned it was a Yemenite song.

[81] Amy Horowitz, *Mediterranean Israeli Music*, 74.

rebetiko music. Poliker's solo career retuned to this music its "respectability," and rekindled the interest of the Euro-Israeli middle class.[82]

The history of Greek music in Israel over the last three decades is beyond the scope of this dissertation. However a cursory account of this history is required if we are to put the developments of the 1970s in perspective. During the 1990s, in the wake of peace negotiations between Israel and its neighbors, the ideology of Mediterraneanism was revived. Under these auspices, and with the rise of a Mizrahi middle class, the practices of Greek and Turkish music—as embedded in the field of musikah Mizrahit—and the middle-class engagement with the music of Greece as embodied by Poliker, began to coalesce. This was evident in the new popular format of taverna-style TV talk shows featuring Greek and other Mediterranean music, and in a new wave of Greek artists including Geogre Dalaras and Glykeria, who gave immensely popular arena concerts in Israel. In many ways this is still the state of affairs today.[83]

Certain media figures, such as Shimon Parnas and Yaron Enosh, built a career in national radio and television on their reputation as Greek music experts (and experts on Greece in general). While they appeared to be unbiased mediators who bridged the gap between the different strata of Greek music fandom, they also served as gatekeepers who reflected a selective picture of Greek popular music. They tended to foreground mainstream performers of laiko and rebetiko such as George Dalaras, Haris Alexiou, Eleni Vitali, and Elefteria Arvanitaki, who represented a somewhat conservative taste. At the same time, they shunned artists who represented variants of nightclub laiko that were at once "heavier" (more lamentful and more Oriental) and more modern in their sound (incorporating more electronic instruments). Artists of

[82] Regev and Seroussi, *Popular Music*, 184-186.

[83] See Alexandra Nocke, *The Place of the Mediterranean in Modern Israeli Identity* (Boston: Brill, 2009), 65-69; and Edwin Seroussi, "'Mediterraneanism' in Israeli Music," under "Mediterraneanism as Compromise."

such music included Vasilis Karras, Nikos Vertis, Notis Sfakiankis, Sotis Volanis, and Natassa Theodoridou. These artists remained, however, highly popular among audiences of musikah Mizrahit, and prime sources for Hebrew cover versions.

What we learn from these recent developments is that the results of the process described in this chapter, in which Greek music lost some of its ambivalence as a as a marker of class and ethnicity in Israel, were far from being final. Rather, the status and meaning of Greek music in Israel remains a dynamic site for the negotiation of identities, in which class and ethnicity are always intermixed.

Appendix: List of Interviewees

Name	Role	Place	Date
Avraham Kovo	Son of Salonica immigrants	Rehovot, Israel	October 24, 2013
Pnina Nahmias	Daughter of Salonica immigrants	Yahud, Israel	October 31, 2013
Yakov Nahmias	Salonica immigrant	Yahud, Israel	October 31, 2013
Jako Maestro	Salonica immigrant; Greek music aficionado	Bat Yam, Israel	September 29, 2015
David PItchone	Salonica immigrant; musician	Holon, Israel	December 18, 2013
Yakov Barzilay	Son of Yaakov Barzilay, founder of Cafe Arianna	Be'er Ya'akov, Israel	January, 13, 2014
Moshe Silvas	Son of Haimiko Silvas, founder of Cafe Pireaus	Ra'anana, Israel	November 22, 2013
Yael Dayan	Author and politician, partner of Michael Cacoyiannis between 1959-1967	Tel Aviv, Israel	March 18, 2014
Ruth Dayan	Textile entrepreneur, friend of Aris San, Mordechai "Mentesh" Zarfati, and Michael Cacoyannis	Tel Aviv, Israel	March 30, 2014
Avraham Pengas	Musician who played with Aris San	New York, NY	December 7, 2014
Avi Farin	Musician who played with Aris San	New York, NY	November 5, 2014
Jimmy Siman-tov	Musician, former member of ha-Parvarim Trio	Phone Interview	August 10, 2015

Yossi Huri	Musician, founder of haparvarilm Trio	Phone Interview	August 6, 2015
Trifonas Nikolaidis	Cretan musicians	Holon, Israel	September 3, 2014
Evangelos Metaxas	Greek musician, founder of Trio Bel Canto	Skype Interview	September 6, 2015
Levi mu'alem (Levitros)	Musician	Phone interview	March 8, 2016
Yossi Levy (Daklon)	Musician	Ramat Gan, Israel	April 24, 2014
Yehuda Keisar	Musician and producer	Kiryat Ono, Israel	March 30, 2014
David Azoulay	Co-owner, Koliphone Records	Jaffa, Israel	May 12, 2013
Izak Azoulay	Co-owner, Koliphone Records	Jaffa, Israel	May 12, 2013
Meir Azoulay	Co-owner, Koliphone Records	Jaffa, Israel	May 12, 2013
Asher Reuveni	Artist manager	Holon, Israel	September 3, 2014
Meir Reuveni	Music Producer; Owner, Reuveni Brothers Records	Tel Aviv, Israel	February 26, 2016

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